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DALMATIA AND MONTENEGRO :

WITH

A JOURNEY TO MOSTAR IN HERZEGOVINA,

AND

REMARKS ON THE SLAVONIC NATIONS ;

THE HISTORY OF DALMATIA AND RAGUSA ;

THE USCOCs ; &c. &c.

BY

John
SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, F.R.S.

&c. &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO
MR. AND MRS. HIGFORD BURR,

TO WHOSE KINDNESS I HAVE BEEN SO MUCH
INDEBTED,
BOTH IN ENGLAND, AND IN MY LAST VISIT TO THE
MEDITERRANEAN,

This Work is Inscribed,

BY
THEIR OBLIGED FRIEND,
THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

IN giving an account of countries not generally known, or visited, like Dalmatia, Montenegro, and Herzegóvina, I have thought it would increase their interest to accompany it with some remarks on the origin of the people, who now inhabit them, and with a summary of their history.

Every one is aware of the interest attached to countries that abound in early associations, and the comparative indifference with which monuments of by-gone days are viewed, when no historical recollections are connected with them; a strong proof of which may be found in the impressions of every one who visits any of the most imperfect remains at Rome, and the absence of those enthusiastic feelings, when he sees the more perfect remains at Nîmes, and other places, whose history is less known. The same remark applies to the mention of places destitute of historical associations, or, at least, those with whose history we are unacquainted. I have, therefore, endeavoured to supply the interest, which the mere names of districts or towns would fail to afford, by noticing the events that took place there, as well as the

part performed by the inhabitants in the history of their country ; and a description of Dalmatia and the neighbouring districts, during the struggles between Hungary and Venice, or the Venetians and the Turks, may explain the associations attached to many places by the people themselves.

In mentioning the Slavonians, I have thought it might be satisfactory to have some account of their early origin, religion, and customs ; and to see how they are connected with each other ; especially as the movement going on among them may possibly lead to the union of the various offsets of that race, and as greater importance is attached to them at the present than at any previous period. Of the probability of the success of the Panslavistic movement, I have ventured to offer very few remarks ; and, since they were written, events have taken place in Europe, the effect of which will depend on the sympathy or hostility of the Germans, the policy of Austria, or the inclination of Russia to uphold a Slavonic confederation under her protection. On these, however, it is useless to speculate, as time will enable every one to see the results.

I have occasionally had a difficulty in spelling some Slavonic words, in consequence of the various modes adopted by different authors ; some, for instance, writing *Macarsca*, or *Macarska* ; *Citluk*, or *Chitluk* ; *Cherni*, or *Tzerni* ; *Cettina*, or *Tzettina* ; *Harvoie*, or *Harvoye* ; *Strucca*, or *Struccha* ; Pro-

log, or Prologh ; Xabliak, or Zsabliac ; Pogitel, or Pocitegl, &c.; and, in words ending in *az*, pronounced *atz*, I have doubted whether to follow the orthography, or the pronunciation. I must, therefore, request the reader to excuse any discrepancies that may appear in these and similar cases; and if any of the names of the Servian Kings, in the History of Ragusa, are at variance with my list in the Appendix C., this is owing to my having followed the authority of Appendini, in that History, and the reader is referred to the list itself, for more certain information on that very intricate question.

The dialect of Slavonic spoken in Dalmatia I have called "Illyric;" and if some have used "Illyrian," as the general name of one of the principal divisions of the Slavonic tongue*, including the Servian, Dalmatian, and others, I consider myself justified in so applying it, as it is the name used by the Dalmatians themselves for their own dialect.

In my map of Dalmatia, the coast, and the position of the towns, are from a survey by the Austrian Government; the mountain ranges from my own observations, as is also the course of the Narenta to Mostar, neither of which are given in that survey. The part containing Montenegro is based on Colonel Karaçai's map; the corrections being made by the eye, as I did not take my instruments with me, from Dalmatia.†

* See Vol. I. p. 30. •

† See above, Vol. I. p. 560.

I have frequently had occasion to notice the help I have received from the various works of Farlati, Lucio, Catalinich, Albinoni's *Memorie*, Petter, and many others; I also feel it to be a pleasing duty to say how much I have been indebted to the kindness of some friends, who have aided me throughout the whole course of my work; and I most gratefully acknowledge my obligations to Mrs. Higford Burr, whose intimate knowledge of Italian enabled her to afford me much valuable assistance*; to Count Valerian Krasinski, whose name I have so often occasion to mention, for very full information respecting the Slavonians; and to Professor Carrara, of Spalato, for his courtesy, in sending me books, and various documents, relating to Dalmatia, as well as during my sojourn there.

To Mr. and Mrs. Burr, indeed, I am indebted, in a great measure, for having been enabled so quickly to complete my visit to many places in the Mediterranean; which, without the convenient transport of a yacht, would have required much more of the time I afterwards devoted to Dalmatia; and I have great pleasure in expressing my sense of their friendly offices on that occasion, as well as since my return to England.

* I am indebted to Mrs. Burr for the *History of the Uscoca* from Minucci and Fra Paolo; the diaries of 1571, and 1574; the "last Count of Veglia," and many useful extracts in various parts of the work.

Throughout the course of this work I have avoided as much as possible whatever was not immediately connected with Dalmatia and Montenegro: this will account for the mere passing notice given of Pola, and other places in Istria; and if I have confined my description of the palace of Spálato to a much narrower compass than the importance of that monument deserves, it is from its having been so well, and so amply, described by Adams.

With the same view, of avoiding questions foreign to the subject, I omitted some observations respecting the name of Amun, on a sphinx at Spálato (in the note of p. 136. Vol. I.); one of which I may be allowed to mention here: "It is remarkable that the *Re* of Amun-*re* has not been erased (a circumstance which I have observed on many other Egyptian monuments), and this leads me to think that the previous name was Atin-*re*, a deity probably introduced instead of Amun, or Amun-*re*, by the foreign kings who ruled Egypt just before the time of Amunoph III., and that Amun, or Amun-*re*, was restored to the Egyptian Pantheon on the return of the rule of the native princes." This I notice with a view to direct attention to similar erasures, and substitutions, on Egyptian monuments, wherever they may be found.

March, 1848.

P.S.—Since the present work was written, great changes have taken place in Europe; and as its

[a 4]

publication has been, and still may be, delayed, the opinions I have ventured to offer respecting the Slavonic movement may appear a little after date; I must therefore request the reader indulgently to consider that they were penned at a time, when there was not the most remote prospect of recent events. But though the revolutionary movement took place while the latter part of the eighth chapter was going through the press, I did not then find it necessary to alter the opinions I had already expressed on the subject of Panslavism, and the policy of a great northern power; nor do I now see any reason to revoke them. Circumstances may occur, before this work reaches the public, which may advance that policy, or even direct it into a course not *yet* intended; but unless events take an unlooked-for turn, there is reason to believe she will steadily pursue her long intended schemes, and use her Slavonic influence to promote her first object, — an advance upon Turkey; and that she will not yet employ it *directly* in other parts of Europe, unless induced to do so by the force of circumstances.

This will not, however, prevent that influence being also extended westward, at the same moment, among the Slavonic populations out of Turkey, as in Galicia, and other districts; the recent revival of the enmity of the Slavonians against the Germans has tended most opportunely to further her views; and notwithstanding the great changes that

have occurred since this work was begun, I feel little reason to alter the opinions expressed in one of the first pages *, written more than a year before the French revolution of February, 1848.

I avail myself of this opportunity to say, that those who are interested in Panslavism and the Slavonians may find a satisfactory account in a work, just published, by Count Valerian Krasinski†, whose name I have often had occasion to mention in the following pages, and from whose MSS. I have so frequently borrowed.

August, 1848.

* In p. 5. Vol. I.

† "Panslavism and Germanism." Newby, 1848.

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ERRATA AND ADDITIONS, IN VOL. I.

Page 9. for "χιλιοι," read, "χιλιον."

79, 80. for "Jadera," read, "Iadera."

92. note 1. for "See the History in Chapter V." read, "See the History in Chapter IX."

131. last line but 4, for "Carlo," read, "Charles, King of Naples."

151. last line but 3, for "Jader," read, "Iader."

183. line 8, for "of Hungarian time," read, "also of Venetian time."

238. last line but 4. for "road; that," read, "road, that."

261. note 2, for "Chapter VII." read, "Chapter VI. p. 551."

268. note, for "400 widows," read, "300 widows."

309. note 3, for "also called Ourosh," read, "called Radoslav."

310. add note on Tehomil, in line 11, "Appendini is wrong, Simeon and Tehomil are the same persons. See Appendix C."

313. line 6. date omitted; after A.D. put "1333—1342."

442. line 20. for "makes him," read, "make him."

461. add note, on the word "family," in line 18.

"The office of patriarch, among the Nestorians, is hereditary in one family, as in Montenegro; he is also forbidden to marry, and the civil and ecclesiastical authority are both vested in him."

DALMATIA AND MONTENEGRO.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

The Interest attached to Dalmatia. — Language. — Origin and Religion of the Slavonians. — Alphabet. — First Arrival of the Slavonians in Dalmatia. — Extent and General Features of Dalmatia.

FEW parts of Europe are so little known as the countries lying between the Danube and the northern frontier of Greece, though highly interesting from events connected with their past and present condition, and even from the prospect that dawns upon some of them, of becoming once more free from the despotism of the Turks, under which they have for ages groaned.

The circumstances that rescued Dalmatia from a similar fate render that country still more remarkable in the history of a period, when the crescent threatened to extend its desolating sway into the heart of Europe; while the defence of that portion of the Slavonic territory under the dominion of Venice does honour to the republic, which stood forth as Europe's great bulwark,

and the champion of Christianity, in the hour of need.

And though living, as we do, at a period when their remembrance has nearly faded away, it is interesting to recall the history of those glorious struggles, and to recollect how much a small strip of country contributed to prevent the progress of the Turks, in their advance into Europe.

When Kara Mustafa was pressing the second siege of Vienna, and Europe was alarmed at his almost successful attempt to obtain possession of that important position, Venice was maintaining herself, and defeating the Turkish arms in Dalmatia, and all the most important fortresses were already secured by the valour of Foscolo.

To those who are acquainted with the history of that eventful period, Dalmatia offers many interesting reminiscences ; the castles and strongholds of the country are still shown as the respected monuments of glorious times ; and nowhere are the manners of the people more primitive, or their costumes more varied, than in the towns and villages of the interior.

At Spalato the palace of Diocletian is an object of the highest interest to the architect and the antiquary ; the fortress of Clissa, — whose possession was the object of the fiercest contests, from the time of Tiberius to the present century, and which was, at various periods, in the hands of the Illyrians and the Romans, the Venetians, Hun-

garians, and Turks, the Uscocs, and the Templars, the counts of Bribir and the Croatians, the French, and the Austrians, — belongs to ancient as well as modern history; Zara, and other places, possess associations, connected with early, as well as later, times; and the island of Lissa, and numerous sea-ports along the coast of Dalmatia recall to an Englishman the brilliant achievements of our navy during the last war.

In Ragusa too, a feeling of sympathy is awakened by the noble defence of its liberty, despite the intrigues of the fickle Slavonic princes, or the subsequent rivalry of the Venetians and Turks; by the total and unmerited downfall of its prosperity; and by the position it held in commerce and literature. It was there that our Richard Cœur de Lion was shipwrecked, on his return from Palestine*; and the merchants of Ragusa were long known in England for the rich *argosies* that derived their name from that city.

Still further to the south, another remarkable state, which still retains its independence, though threatened by the repeated invasions of powerful Turkish armies, claims a post in the sympathies of Europe, in common with the Circassians and other defenders of their liberty; and the fact of Montenegro being still governed by the only remaining military bishop, who leads his hardy mountaineers

* See the History of Ragusa, in Chapter V.

to war and victory, renders it one of the most interesting countries in the world.

Italian is spoken in all the seaports of Dalmatia; but the language of the country is a dialect of the Slavonic, which alone is used by the peasants in the interior; and the same is exclusively employed throughout Montenegro, with this difference, that it is far purer than the Illyric of Dalmatia, and claims for itself the denomination of Servian, showing the origin of the people, who are proud of being an offset of the ancient kingdom of Dushan.

It is not from their history that the Dalmatians and Montenegrins derive their only interest, but also from being members of the great Slavonic race, to which the progress of events is beginning to call attention, and which promises to take a conspicuous position in eastern Europe.

It will not therefore be foreign to the subject to preface my notice of Dalmatia with a few remarks on the origin of the Slavonians, the part they performed in the early history of Europe, and their first introduction into the country. Of the growing importance of that race, and the influence it is likely to enjoy, we may judge from the fact of its amounting already to more than seventy millions of souls; and if it has not yet enjoyed the pre-eminence which has distinguished many other people, this may be attributed to the particular current of events; and it is reasonable to suppose that it only awaits the opportunity, which appears

to be afforded to all nations in their turn, of obtaining celebrity and power.

One of its branches has indeed been distinguished in modern times; and the wars of the Poles with the Turks have rendered their name for ever illustrious; and if Poland has fallen, another nation, whose chief elements are Slavonic, is rising rapidly to power; and never had that race so great a claim upon the attention of Europe, as at the present moment. Already do the Slavonic* tribes look to Russia as their head, through whom they hope to rise to a prominent position in the scale of European races; and anxiously may Europe watch the result of this moment. Even Poland begins to forget the sufferings of Warsaw, in the hope of sharing the honour reflected upon it by the rise of the leading Slavonic power; the distant and secluded Montenegrin rejoices in the increasing importance of that widely extended family, of which he is a member; and other Slavonic populations feel the community of origin and religion with the Russian.

It is for Germany to watch the result; and well may it be for Europe if France, instead of indulging in useless hatred of England, shall prepare for the moment when Russia will call forth the strength of her Slavonic influence.

* Sometimes most improperly written Sclavonic; an error which ought not to have been made by any one who remembered the origin of our word "slave." It should properly be Slavic.

Of the first arrival of the Slavonians* in Europe, and of the period when they established themselves there, nothing is known. According to the German historian Herder†, they were first met with on the Don amongst the Goths, and afterwards on the Danube amidst the Huns and Bulgarians, in conjunction with which nations they often disturbed the Roman empire. He considers them less warlike than the Germans, "preferring to obtain quiet possession of lands evacuated by the Teutonic tribes, rather than gain them by force of arms." On the north side of the Carpathian mountains their settlements extended from Luneburg, over Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony, Lusatia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Poland, and Russia; and beyond those mountains, where already, at an early period, they were settled in Moldavia and Wallachia, they continued spreading further and further, until they were admitted into Dalmatia. The kingdoms of Slavonia, Bosnia, Servia, and Dalmatia were gradually formed by them; and at last their possessions extended from the Don to the Elbe, and from the Baltic to the Adriatic. They were numerous in Pannonia; and

* In my account of this people I have borrowed largely from Count Valerian Krasinski, whose valuable contributions to our literature, by his Reformation of Poland, the Court of Sigismund Augustus, and numerous articles in the *Cyclopædia*, *Reviews*, &c., are well known and justly esteemed.

† *Ideen zur Philosophie der Menschheit*, vol. iv., quoted by Krasinski.

they reached from Friuli over the S. E. corner of Germany, so that their territory ended with Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola.

But though nothing is known of their first arrival in Europe, a comparison of their language with the Zend and Sanscrit alone suffices to prove them to be one of the Indo-Germanic or Indo-European tribes, who emigrated from Central Asia, long before the existence of historical records, and who were the parents of the Greek, Latin, Slavonic, and German, as well as of the Scandinavian, and other Gothic, races.

The common origin of Slavonic, and of our own tongue, also accounts for the "analogy" remarked by Brerewood, Fortis, and others, between English and Slavonic (or Illyric) words; instances of which have been found in *stina*, "stone;" *brate*, "brother:" *sestra*, "sister;" and many more: and we need not be surprised at its resemblance to other languages, which are offsets of the same parent stock in Central Asia. But some, instead of perceiving the common origin of the Slavonic, with that of other Indo-European tongues, have erroneously derived it from the Latin; though the number of those who speak it, and the extent of the countries over which it spread, at a most remote period, sufficiently prove the fallacy of such an opinion. Nor is there any probability that the arrival of the Slavonians in Europe was coëval, as some imagine, with the

irruption of the Huns, Avars, and other Asiatic tribes, who immigrated in the fifth century. This is disproved by the same facts, as well as by their agricultural and commercial habits, at so early a period; and there is little doubt, from their language, that they arrived at the same remote era as the Germans, the Latins, and the Greeks.

If any doubt existed regarding the origin of the Slavonic language, the formation of the words would decide the question, and show that it came from the same fountain-head as the other Indo-European tongues: its mode of deriving them from old roots, depending as it does on a fixed and consistent process, establishes the fact that the Slavonic did not borrow its words from a secondary source; and its direct relation to the Sanscrit proves it to be an offset from the parent stock, without having passed through a transition state.*

Though the subject is one of great interest, from its connexion with the early peopling of Europe, it is not my intention to prolong the inquiry, and enter fully into this intricate question: I shall therefore only compare the Slavonic, with the Latin and Sanscrit, numbers, which will suffice to show a far closer affinity to the latter, than to the Latin, the German, or the Greek.

* See Bopp's Comparative Grammar.

	Illyric Slavonic.	Sanscrit.	Latin.	Greek.	German.	Zend.
1	Yedan (Adin, Odin, Russ.)	Eka ("Adi first")	Unus	Eis, Mia	Ein	Aéva
2	Dva	Dwi (<i>dwad</i> dau)	Duo	Δω	Zwey	Dwa { <i>scm.</i> Dwyé <i>neut.</i> Duye
3	Tri	Tri (<i>plur.</i> trays)	Tres	Τρεις	Drey	Thri
4	Chetyri, Cétiri	Chatur (<i>pl.</i> Chatwara)	Quatuor	Τεσσαρες	Vier	Chathwár, Chathru
5	Pet	Panchan (<i>pancha</i>)	Quinque	Πεντε	Fünf	Panchan
6	Shes, Shest	Shash (<i>shat</i> , shad)	Sex	Εξ	Sechs	Cavas, Kahwas
7	Sédam	Saptan (<i>Septa</i>)	Septem	Επτα	Sieben	Haptan
8	Osam	Ashtan (<i>Ashtau</i>)	Octo	Οκτω	Acht	Astan
9	Dévet	Navan (<i>Nava</i>)	Novem	Εννεα	Neun	Navan
10	Déset	Dásan (<i>Dása</i>)	Decem	Δεκα	Zehn	Dasan
11	Yedanaest	Eká-dása	Undecim	Ενδεκα	Elf, Elf.	Aevandasan
12	Dvanaest	Dwa-dása	Duodecim	Δωδεκα	Zwölf	Dvadasan
30	Dvadeset, Dvases	Vinsati •	Viginti	Εικοσι	Zwanzig	Visati
100	Sto	Setam	Centum	Εκατον	Hundert	Setem
1000	Hilyada (Tisucha, Tysionts, Russ. and Polish)	Sahasra	Mille	Χίλιοι	Tausend	Hazanra

• This and the Latin Viginti are evidently from Dvinasti and Dvigniti.

Many proofs of this might also be adduced from a comparison of words in those languages, but I will only mention the following: *put*, "a way," or "path;" — Sanscrit, *pathy*, *patha*; *Vúk*, "wolf;" — Sanscrit, *vuka*; *svyet*, "light;" — Sanscrit, *sveta* (*sweta*), "white;" *voda* (*woda*), "water;" — Sanscrit, *uda**, &c.; and many others, which resemble the Sanscrit, are totally unlike the Latin or the Greek.

It is also a curious fact † that the Slavonians have names for animals, not natives of the countries they inhabit, as *werblud*, or *vielblond*, "camel;" *slon*, or *slogn*, "elephant;" *obesiána*, (in Polish, *malpa*, or *molpa*), "monkey;" which are not derived from other languages of Europe, and which must therefore have been brought by them from the East, at the period of their migration from that cradle of mankind.

Some Slavonian writers, with an enthusiasm quite patriotic, have not only disproved the possibility of their language being derived from Latin, but have gone into the opposite extreme, of making it the parent of every other "speech." Homer's *Iliad* has been pronounced, word for word, Slavonic; Adam and Eve are said to have spoken this language; and the distant Himalaya have been thought to derive their name from the sentence "there is snow." It is curious to see how the

* The Greek *ὕδωρ*.

† Krasinski.

proof of our first parents talking Slavonic is established by these etymologists ; and though we may smile on being told that God, in calling Adam, said, "*od-amo*," "come here ;" and on inquiring where his wife was, that Adam answered, "*evoye*," "here she is ;" yet these are gravely put forth "to prove the antiquity" of the Slavonic language, and the origin of the names of our first parents.

The favourite derivation of the name Slavonian, is *Slava*, "glory," which is shown to be constantly used in the composition of names, as *Vladislav*, "ruler of glory," *Stanislav*, "establisher of glory ;" while others maintain that it is from *Slovo*, "word," or "speech," used as a distinguishing expression, in opposition to *Niemetz*, "dumb," by which they designated the Germans, whose language they could not understand. This appellation is still retained by them ; and from it the Turks and Arabs have derived the name *Nemsa*, which is adopted, throughout the Levant, to denote the Germans. *Niem*, "foreign," was also used in contradistinction to Slavonic ; and since the original mode of writing Slavonic and Slavonian was *Slovanski*, and *Slovianin*, instead of *Slavinski* and *Slavianin*, there is reason to prefer *Slovo* to *Slava*, as the origin of their name.

The Slavonians are first mentioned by Jornandes, under the names of *Winidi*, or *Venedi* *, *Antes*, and

* Whence the Wends. Krasinski.

Slavini. These appear to have been the three principal tribes; and the two last, according to Procopius, were included under the general name of Spori. This word Krasinski thinks to be a corruption of Serbi, which is their ancient national appellation; but it may, perhaps, owe its origin to *Sbor**, "assembly," from the common meetings of the nation, since their laws and government, in early times, depended on the popular voice. They lived principally on the banks of the Vistula †, and along the southern coast of the Baltic, which doubtless received from them the name of Venedian Gulf." ‡

Their first connection with history, worthy of notice, is in the beginning of the sixth century, when a portion of this tribe went southward, and having attacked, and even defeated, the Byzantine troops, advanced upon Constantinople; and it required all the courage and wisdom of Belisarius to free the capital from their aggressions, and from the dread of a threatened assault. Retiring thence, they settled on the Danube §, and continued their inroads upon the empire, until conquered by the Avars, towards the close of the sixth century. From this state of humiliation,

* *Sbor*, from *Sberat*, "to assemble." Soviet, or sovyet, is a "council."

† Plin. iv. 13. Tacitus, 46.

‡ Ptolemy calls that part Venedicus sinus, and places the Venedæ on the east bank of the Vistula.

§ Gibbon, vii. c. 42. p. 281.

however, they succeeded in freeing themselves; and they finally entered into a treaty with the Emperor Heraclius, for the expulsion of the Avars from Illyria. This brought them, for the first time, to the Adriatic; an event which I shall have occasion to mention more fully hereafter.

The encouragement given them by the Cæsars, to settle within the Imperial territory, spread the Slavonians over many of the Byzantine provinces; from enemies, they became allies; and their conquests over the Avars led to their establishment in Slavonia, Rascia, Croatia, Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia. It is with this portion of the Slavonians that the subject of Dalmatia is connected; but it may not be altogether out of place to mention the northern division of this numerous race, interesting as it is from the advanced state of civilisation, to which it attained at an early period, and from the melancholy fate that awaited it at the hands of its German neighbours.

Whether it was from the opportunity afforded them of settling in countries, which more migratory and more warlike tribes had abandoned, or to a natural bias towards agricultural and commercial pursuits, that the northern Slavonians differed from their southern brethren in their habits, and assumed a peaceable rather than an aggressive character; certain it is, that they established commercial intercourse with their neighbours at a very early period, and traded in corn, cattle, and

the produce of their industry. Many towns were built by them on the shores of the Baltic, of which Arcona on the Isle of Rügen was one of the most noted; and Vineta, at the mouth of the Oder, became the greatest emporium of its day. Kiev, on the Dnieper, and Novgorod *, on the Wolkhow †, were also founded by them; and they united the commerce of the Black Sea with that of the Baltic.

But the danger of attending solely to peaceable pursuits, in the midst of warlike and uncivilised neighbours, was soon severely felt; their wealth was too tempting, their defenceless security too opportune, the plea of religion too plausible an excuse not to be taken advantage of, and the Franks ‡ would not *conscientiously* permit the idolatrous Slavonians to enjoy the credit, or the advantages, of commercial enterprise. This attempt at spoliation was carried out more fully by the Saxons; the lands were divided among the bishops and nobles; the people were reduced to bondage; and the name of *Slav* has been retained, with various modifications, to the present day, to denote the condition of a *Slave*. Other nations were not slow in profiting by the general plunder, and Vineta was destroyed by the Danes; but the death-blow was given to the commerce of the

* The "New City."

† Or Volkof.

‡ Gibbon (vol. ix. c. 49. p. 184.) thinks their conquest and conversion to be later than the time of Charlemagne; but the authority of Eginhart is of too great weight to be doubted.

Slavonians by the northern Germans. Nor have their descendants been freed from the state of oppression, to which they were doomed at so early a period; and though history has shown how capable they have been of changing the ploughshare for the sword, and how gallantly they have shared in the wars of Europe, nearly all the Slavonic tribes have been for ages under the yoke of foreign rulers.*

The career of the southern Slavonians differed from that of their northern brethren. Obligated by an overgrown population, or from the inroads of invading tribes, to quit their country, or preferring aggressive warfare to industrious pursuits, they overran the Greek provinces of the empire, into which, as early as the year 527, they had made destructive inroads. We find them at one time threatening Constantinople; at another taken into pay by the emperors; and again invading the empire in the reign of the Second Tiberius, during the war with Persia. This led to their subjugation by the Avars, at the instigation of the Byzantine court; after which they are found, in 626, serving under the banners of their masters in their attack on Constantinople.

The employment of a foreign tribe, for the expulsion of a troublesome neighbour, brought

* The Dukes of Mecklenburg are the only real Slavonic dynasty now existing.

about the same result that was witnessed in our own island, after the departure of the Romans; the invoked aid becoming a greater evil than the vexations it was called upon to check. The provinces of the emperor were ravaged, his ambassadors insulted, and his confidence mocked by the basest perfidy; till at length the insolence of the Avars, and the grasping ambition of their Khan, exhausted the patience of the Byzantine court.*

Their cruelties also became insupportable to their oppressed vassals. The Slavonians suffered every kind of indignity at home, and in battle their lives were "exposed to the first assault," that the swords of the enemy might be "blunted, before they encountered the native valour of the Avars." †

They therefore formed the resolution of freeing themselves from their oppressors, in which they were encouraged by their Bohemian brethren; and Samo, a Frank, having put himself at their head, defeated the Avars, and once more restored them to freedom. (A. D. 624.) Availing itself of so favourable an opportunity of ridding the Imperial provinces of those Scythian strangers, the Byzantine court once more sought an alliance with the Slavonians; and Heraclius invited the tribe of Chorvates, or Chrobati, to drive them from Illyria, and occupy that province as vassals of the empire. (A. D. 634.)

* Gibbon, viii. c. 46. p. 194.

† Ibid. p. 200.

These Chrobati lived on the northern side of the Carpathian mountains, in what is now southern Poland, or Gallicia.

Quitting their country, they advanced with considerable forces into Dalmatia, and, after a war of about five years' duration, succeeded in reducing the Avars to subjection. About the same time the Serbs sought, and obtained, permission from the emperor to settle in the countries to the east of the Chrobati, extending from the Save into Hungary, over the modern Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Venetian Albania; and their new possessions were divided into five provinces*, each having its ruler, subject to the prince of Servia, who was a vassal of the emperor. This connexion with the Byzantine court, and their occupation of provinces, some of which had embraced Christianity as early as the age of the Apostles†, naturally led to the conversion of the Slavonian strangers; and the Chrobati and Serbs were converted to Christianity about the year 640. The northern Slavonians continued to be Pagans until a very late period; and indeed, when compared to the other nations of Europe, they are remarkable for their lengthened adherence to the rites of idolatry; which were maintained at Arkona, the capital of the Isle of Rügen, till 1168.

* Called *Giupa*, or *Jupa*.

† Titus was in Dalmatia in the time of St. Paul, 2 Ep. Tim. iv. 10.

The religion of the pagan Slavonians bore no great resemblance to that of other neighbouring nations; and seems to suggest a distant, perhaps an Asiatic, origin. The two principles of good and evil were acknowledged by them, at least by the Slavonians of the Baltic; the former called *Biel Bog*, the "white god," the other *Tzerni* (or *Cherni*) *Bog*, the "black god," which was represented under the form of a lion. Procopius says, "The Slavonians worship one God, the maker of thunder*, whom they consider to be the only Lord of the Universe, and to whom they offer cattle and various kinds of victims. . . . They also worship rivers, nymphs, and some other deities."

"This," observes Krasinski, "agrees with Nestor's account of their religion, from which we learn that the chief Slavonic deity worshipped at Kiof (Kiev), Novgorod, and other towns, was *Perun*, that is, 'thunder.' He also says there were at Kiof (Kiev) the idols of the gods Dajebog, Volos, Stribog, Khors, Samagl, and Mokosh;" but these two last appear to be of Finnish origin. Stribog was the god of winds, and Volos presided over flocks and herds. Their principal divinity was *Sviantovid*, or *Sviantovit*, (that is, "holysight," or "holy warrior,") whose fane and idol were at Arkona, in the Isle of Rügen; and are

* Northern nations seem to be fond of the god of thunder; and while the vine-growing Italian's exclamation is "Cospetto di Bacco," we prefer the cloud-compelling "Jove," and a German's oath assumes the form of "thunder and lightning."

thus described by Saxo Grammaticus. "In the midst of the town was a level place, on which stood the temple, beautifully constructed of wood. . . . The exterior wall was of exquisite workmanship, and painted with figures of different things, executed in a rude and imperfect manner. It had only one entrance. The exterior consisted of a wall covered with a roof painted red ; but the interior, supported by four posts, had, instead of walls, hangings of tapestry, the whole being comprehended under a common roof. The idol which stood in that edifice, much larger than the natural size of a man, had four heads and two bodies, of which one was turned to the right, the other to the left. Its beards were carefully combed, and the hair of its heads closely shorn. It held in its right hand a horn made of different metals, which was filled once a year with wine* by the priest, who performed its worship. Its left arm was bent on its side, in the form of a bow and not far from the idol were disposed the saddle, bridle, and other things belonging to the god ; among which the most conspicuous was his sword, of a very large size, with a silver hilt, and a scabbard of excellent workmanship. His festival took place once a year, after the harvest. On this occasion all the people assembled before the temple, and the priest having brought

* Krasinski thinks more probably mead, the national Slavonic beverage. This word is evidently of Slavonic origin, med (pronounced mēud) signifying "honey."

out the horn from the hand of the idol, augured from its contents the prospects of the new year. If the quantity of the liquor had decreased, a scarcity was prognosticated; but no diminution indicated abundance. It was then filled again for the ensuing year; and the rest of the day was spent in feasting; excesses in eating and drinking being considered tokens of piety. Every man and woman paid annually a piece of money for the support of the temple and its idol. The third part of the spoils taken from the enemy was set apart for the god; and three hundred horsemen, who were devoted to his service, gave the whole of their booty to his priest. A white horse was consecrated to him, which none but the priest could feed, or ride; and it was believed that the deity sometimes fought on this horse against their enemies." He had also other fanes in different places.

The principal Divinities, after *Sviantovid*, worshipped in Rügen, were the seven-faced *Rugevit*, supposed to have been the god of war, with seven swords by his side, and an eighth in his hand; *Porevit*, with five faces; and *Porenut*, with four faces, and a fifth placed in his breast, which he held by its beard. He is supposed to have been the god of the seasons.*

Another great deity was *Radegast* †, represented

* *Pora*, in Polish, "season."

† Or Radigost, from *rad*, "glad," and *gost*, "guest," as if

in the form of a naked man with the head of a lion or of a dog, surmounted by a bird. In his right hand he held a battle-axe, and in his left a bull's head. Some suppose him to have been the god of war. *Woda* was also figured as a warrior; but he appears only to be the Scandinavian *Woden*: *Proven* was the god of justice; and *Chislobog*, with a crescent, was the god of numbers." *

The Eastern Slavonians worshipped *Perun*, the god of thunder,—*Volos*, the god of flocks,—*Koleda* †, the god of festivals,—and *Kupála*, who presided over the fruits of the earth, and who received sacrifices on the 23rd of June. It is from him that St. John, whose fête falls on the same day, has received, in many parts of Poland and Russia, the name of St. John *Kupala*.

There was another god, called *Svarog*, answering to Vulcan, who is mentioned in the old Russian Chronicle of Volhynia, composed in the thirteenth century; where his name is, strangely enough, supposed to be that of the Egyptian Hephæstus (Pthah); and allusion is made to the worship of the god of fire in a Russian MS. of 1523, lately discovered, containing a discourse, by an unknown writer, on the superstitions of the Slavo-

the god of hospitality; but some derive it from *rat*, an "armament," and thus account for his being the god of war.

* Like the Egyptian Thoth, who was the moon and the god of numbers and writing.

† His fête day was the 24th December, and his name is now used in Poland for "*Christmas*," or "*Christmas-box*."

nians.* “There are Christians,” he says, “who believe in *Perun*, in *Khors*, and *Mokosh*†, in *Sim*, and *Regl*, and in *Vilas* ‡ (“fairies”), who, as these ignorant people say, are three times nine sisters. They believe them to be all gods and goddesses, and they make offerings to them of cakes, called *Korovay* §, and sacrifice hens to them, and they adore the fire, which they call *Svarojich*.” ||

This fire-worship, and the origin of the name *Svarog* ¶, seem to connect that deity with the sun; and the resemblance of the word with *Sourug* and *Surya*, the Indian names of the sun, is another trace of the early Asiatic origin of the Slavonians.

There is reason to believe that the southern Slavonians had many of the same deities, and superstitious observances, as their northern brethren; but their early conversion prevented the establishment of idolatry in the Illyrian provinces; and if the term *Bog*, “god” is retained by them, it is merely like the *Deus* of the Latins, without any reference to their ancient belief. It cannot therefore be supposed that the numerous circular mounds, in Dalmatia and Herzegovina, are in any

* I am indebted for this account of the deities to Krasinski.

† Said by Nestor to have had their idols at Kiof (Kiev).

‡ A belief still prevalent in Dalmatia: see the superstitions of the Morlacchi, in Chap. VIII.

§ A name still given to the wedding cake by the modern Slavonians.

|| *Svarojich*, the patronymic of *Svarog*.

¶ From *svar*, *svor*, “the zodiac.”

way connected with the old pagan worship, or with the *Gorodishchas**, common in some Slavonic countries, if the latter were really places of worship. The modern account of the Dalmatian mounds is, that they were raised in compliance with a vow, and thence called *Zadrosbina*†; though to me they appear merely tumuli, similar to those found in many other countries, both of Europe and Asia. They are only heaps of loose stones, varying in size; and in some places stone tombs have been raised close to them, showing that those spots were peculiarly chosen for the burial of the dead.

The early Slavonians appear, from their ceremonies for the repose of the soul, to have believed in its immortality, and in a future state; though this has been questioned by some writers. Their funerals were celebrated with games and banquets. The favourite horse of the deceased was killed at his tomb; and his body was sometimes burnt, at others buried in the ground. This varied in different tribes; and Nestor relates that, even in his time, which was more than a century after the introduction of the Christian religion into Russia, the Krivitches and Viaticches burnt their dead, and laid their ashes in vessels placed on posts near the highways; whilst the Polanes always buried their dead in the earth, even before their conversion to

* From *grad*, *grad*, "inclosure" or "city."

† "For friendship."

Christianity.* But the most remarkable fact connected with their funerals is, that widows generally burnt themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands, which cannot fail to call to mind the Suttees of Hindoostan; and which, with the resemblance of their language, and the character of their many-faced and many-armed gods, appears to indicate a connection with India. The earliest mention of Suttees in India is in the Vedas, which date 880 years before our era; and they are noticed by Cicero and other ancient writers. But the custom is also said by Herodotus † to have existed among the Crestonians of Thrace, and it was found among the Scandinavians.‡

The government of the early Slavonic nations had a popular form, and Procopius tells us "they obey not the rule of a single man, but from the most remote times have lived under a democracy." It is, however, certain that though their public affairs were settled by popular assemblies (traces of which have existed till a very late period among some of them), the executive government was vested in a more limited body, and the supreme jurisdiction was committed to the hands of a sovereign, aided by a senate composed of the wealthy and influential chiefs of the land. Those who came to Dalmatia had their princes; and other Slavo-

* Krasinski.

† Herodot. 5. 5.

‡ Mallet, *Introd. Hist. Denmark*, vol. i. c. 13.

nians acknowledged an hereditary sovereign, as well as a class of nobles, from the earliest periods of their history. Nor do those inherited rights interfere with the existence of popular assemblies: the office of ruler of Montenegro is hereditary in the same family, as are the rights of the aristocracy amongst that Slavonic race; though the assembly of the people has always existed there, and has power to deliberate on measures regarding the public good, and even to resist abuses, if attempted by the hereditary chiefs.

The custom of holding their assemblies in the open air was very ancient, and was adopted by the old republics of Novgorod and Plescow, as well as by that of Poglizza in Dalmatia, till its extinction in 1807; and the same continues in Montenegro to the present day.

The principal dignities amongst the Slavonians were the *Pan*, *Jupan**, *Voyevoda*, *Boyar*, *Kniaz*†, and *Kral*.‡

The title of *Pan* was given to the ruler of Croatia in the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and the Austrian governor of that province is still called *Ban*. The principal nobles in Hungary, and Bohemia, were also styled *Pan*, during the middle ages. The same appellation was formerly given in Poland to the first dignities of the state, and it now signifies “*Lord*,” “*M^r.*,” or

* Or *Giupan*.

† *Kniesz*, or *Knez*.

‡ *Krol*, *Kragl*, or *Cragl*; the Crallis of the Gipsev language.

"*Sir*." *Jupan* was the chief of a province, called in Slavonic, *Jupa*. *Voyevoda** literally means "leader of war," like the Latin *Dux*, the Saxon *Heretog*, and the German *Herzog*; but its signification varied in different countries, and in Carniola it was given to the sovereign, and in Poland to the judge. *Boyar*, from *boy* "fight," is also an ancient title; and *Kniaz* or *Kniesz* is used in the Cyrillic version of the Scriptures for "prince." It is still applied to princes in Russia, and to chiefs of villages, or communities, in Servia.† Being derived from *Kon*, "horse," it is supposed to have been originally a title answering to "knight;" ‡ but in Dalmatia it has always been thought to correspond to "count;" and the "great count" of Poglizza was called *Veliki*, or *Veli*, *Kniaz*.

Kral signifies "king," and is supposed to be derived from *Kara*, "punishment," indicative of the office and power of the sovereign.§ *Gospodar*||, or *Gospar*, corrupted into *Ospodar*, answers to "master" or "gentleman," *Gospodine*, to "sir," in addressing any one, and *Gospa*, or *Gospodinia*, to "lady."

Of the Slavonic language I have already observed, that it belongs to the Indo-European

* *Voivoda*, or *Voywoda*, from *Voi*, "war."

† The account of these titles is from Krasinski.

‡ May knecht and cniht of the German and Saxon be from the same root?

§ Some think it an Armenian word.

|| *Gospod* "Lord," as *Gospod Bog* "Lord God," in the Cyrillic version.

family, and that its introduction is coeval with that of the Teutonic, Greek, and Latin. "It consists of various dialects, the principal of which are the Bohemian, Polish, Lusatian or Wend, Russian, Bulgarian, Illyrian, Croatian, and Carinthian; and it may be divided into two principal branches — the western, and the south-eastern, of which

"I. The former contains the following languages:

"1. *Bohemian*, subdivided into the Bohemian proper, spoken, in Bohemia, and Moravia, by a population of 4,414,000,— and the Hungaro-Bohemian, spoken by a population of 2,753,000, known under the name of Slovaks, and inhabiting the northern part of Hungary. The difference between the two dialects is not considerable, and the literary productions of the Slovaks are composed in the dialect of Bohemia proper. The modern language of Bohemia was introduced into that country, when the Slavonians migrated thither, towards the end of the fifth century." According to Tacitus, Bohemia had already been colonised, before the time of Cæsar, by the Boii, a Celtic race from Gaul*, whence it received the name of Boie-

* Strabo, 7. Tacitus M. Germ. 28. In Cæsar's time some of the Boii were in Gaul, on the upper Loire and Allier. The name of Volcæ he mentions (6. 22.) seems to be the Teutonic "Volk." Livy (5. 35.) says 'other Boii, coming from Gaul by the Penine pass, settled in Cisalpine Gaul (about the modern Parma), driving out the Etrurians and Umbrians; others lived in Pannonia, to the south of the Lacus Peiso (now Neusiedler See, in Hungary); and those who were driven from Boiënum

mum*, probably from the German Bojenheim, or "land of the Boii." This people were afterwards expelled from the country by the Marcomanni, who had come from their abode at the sources of the Rhine and Danube†; and these, again, having left it during the migration of the Germanic nations, Bohemia was occupied by the ancestors of the present Slavonic inhabitants. "They are called, by themselves and by other Slavonians, '*Chekh*' (*Czechs*).

"2. *Polish*, subdivided into the dialects of great or north-western Poland, of little or southern Poland, and the Mazovian of eastern Poland. The Cassubian is considered the remains of the lost Pomeranian dialect. The population speaking the Polish dialects amounted, in 1842, to 9,365,000.‡

"3. *Lusatian*, subdivided into the dialects of upper and lower Lusatia, and spoken by a population of 142,000, living under the dominion of Prussia and Saxony, and known by the name of Wends (*Vends*).

"II. The south-eastern branch contains the following:—

settled between the *Ænum* (Inn) and *Isarus* (Isar), in the modern Bavaria.

* Tacitus M. Germ. 28. The Helvetians and Boii were both Gallic nations.

† Tacitus M. Germ. 28.

‡ The Poles are called *Lekh*. This word (in Bohemian) was formerly used to denote a "noble," as well as a "land-owner." Pole means "field."

"1. The *Russian*, subdivided into these dialects:—

"*a. Great Russian*, or *Muscovite*, which may be further divided into the four subdialects of Moscow, Novgorod, Suzdal, and the Trans-Volgian or *Zavoljski*. It contains an admixture of Finnish, from which other Slavonic dialects are free, and many Eastern words imported during the Tartar domination of two centuries (1241—1477). It is spoken by the population of the north-eastern part of the Russian empire, amounting, in 1842, to 35,314,000; and is the literary and official language of the country. Though the Finnish population exists in Russia, that language has also been absorbed by the Slavonic, and it is the influence of Finnish words that has made the Russian so much softer than other Slavonic dialects.

"*b. The Little Russian*, called the Rusniack, or Ruthenian*, is perhaps the most harmonious of all the Slavonic dialects, and constitutes a kind of transition between the western and south-eastern branches of the Slavonic tongue. It is used in the ancient southern provinces of Poland, now belonging to Russia and Austria, extending from the Carpathian mountains and the Dniester to the Russian provinces of Mohilov, Smolensk, Orel, Kursk, and Voroniej, by a population of 13,144,000. Its literature is very limited, consisting chiefly of

* A Latin word given in the middle ages.

ballads and songs. There are 635,000 of the *Malo Russes*, or little Russians, in Hungary.

“c. The dialect of *White Russia*, spoken by a population of 2,726,000, inhabiting the province of White Russia, and other parts of the ancient grand duchy of Lithuania. It was the official language of Lithuania till about the middle of the seventeenth century.

“2. The *Bulgarian* is used by a population of 3,587,000. The Scriptures were translated by Cyrillus and Methodius into that idiom, in the ninth century; though the present Bulgarian differs a little from the language of the Bible.* The modern Bulgarian† has no literature; but it is remarkable from being the only Slavonic dialect having the article, which is always placed *at the end* of the substantive.‡ It does not, however, prevent the latter being declined, in the same manner as in the other Slavonic dialects.

“3. The *Illyrian*, subdivided into the following dialects: —

“a. *Servian*, composed § of the subdialects of

* A Bulgarian New Testament was published in London in 1828.

† Bulgar is an Asiatic name. They were probably from the Upper Volga, and became Slavonic, being absorbed in the conquered people.

‡ It is *masculine, feminine, and neuter*. This article “*the*” is the same as the pronoun “*this*” of other Slavonic dialects, and therefore corresponds rather to the Latin *hic, hæc, hoc*, than to the German or French definite articles.

§ According to Vuk Stefanovich Karačić.

Servia proper, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia, and which is spoken by a population of 5,296,000, of whom 2,594,000 live under the Austrian dominion, 950,000 in the principality of Servia proper, 100,000 in Montenegro, 1,552,000 in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and other Turkish dominions, and 100,000 in Russia, whither they emigrated at various times, chiefly in the time of the Empress Elizabeth, and mostly from Hungary, in consequence of an attempt of Maria Theresa to convert them to the Romish church.

“ *b. Croatian*, confined to a population of 801,000, under the dominion of Austria.

“ *c. Carinthian*, spoken by a population of 1,138,000, belonging to Austria.” *

“ It has been a question, whether the Slavonians possessed any written alphabet of their own, before their conversion to Christianity. The Bulgarian monk Khrabr, who lived in the tenth or eleventh century, says that they had none when they were Pagans, but that they wrote with lines and incisions; and that after their conversion, they used the Greek and Latin letters, until the invention of the Cyrillic alphabet. Runic, however, seems to have been adopted on some of their idols.†

“ The Cyrillic alphabet was called after Cyrillus, who was sent in 863, with his brother Methodius,

* Krasinski, from Szaflarik's Slavonic Ethnography.

† The old religion, the language, and the ancient and modern state of the Slavonians, will be fully explained in a work now preparing by Krasinski.

into Moravia, by the Emperor Michael, at the request of the recently and partially converted Slavonians, to translate the Scriptures into their language, and instruct them in their Christian duties; and that alphabet having been adopted by the Slavonic nations, its use in the Liturgy was afterwards allowed by the Popes*, to those who abandoned the Eastern for the Western church."†

It continued to be employed by them in their church service, till the middle of the eleventh century; but in the course of time, another Slavonic alphabet was substituted in its stead, called Glagolic, or Glagolitic; and the Cyrillic was only retained by the Slavonians of the Greek church, as the Russians, Servians, Walachians, Bulgarians, and others, who still use it in their religious service, and in ordinary books. The invention of the Glagolitic is ascribed to St. Jerome, which is, however, disproved by his having lived in the fourth century. Its name is said to be taken from the fourth letter, *glagol*, or *g*; though it seems more reasonable to derive it from *glagol*, "word" or "speech."† It is also called Jeronymiana, from its reputed inventor.

The same opposition does not seem to have been raised against it, as against the Cyrillic; which was denounced by the council of Salona, in 1060; and

* Allowed to the Moravians by Pope Adrian II. and Giovanni VIII.; and to the Dalmatians by Pope Giovanni X. in 914—928.

† Krasinski.

‡ Whence *glagolati*, "to speak."

the use of the Glagolitic was sanctioned by a bull of Pope Innocent IV., in 1248, in the Liturgy of the Dalmatian and other Illyrian Romanists. Since that time it has continued to be employed by them, and the priests still read and write the Glagolitic character. This permission, granted and continued by the papal see, is the more remarkable, as the use of Latin has always been insisted upon in other churches under Roman jurisdiction, to the exclusion of the language of the country.

The Cyrillic is taken from the Greek, with certain conventional characters for unusual sounds; but the Glagolitic is quite fanciful, unlike any other, inconvenient, and perplexing*; probably the invention of some monk in the 11th or 12th century, and ascribed to St. Jerome, to give it importance. The alphabet known in Dalmatia as the *Bukviza*, or *Bucvisáno*, is called from *Buc*, the name of the second letter *B*; but this is only another name of the Glagolitic.

The Illyric language is called, in the provinces where it is spoken, *naski*, signifying “ours,” or *Illirskee*; but though it has its own character, it is now generally written and printed in Latin letters; and in order to imitate the sounds unknown in

* The following may give an idea of the character:—

A † B Ъ I Ѣ L Ѧ
R 3 T □□
D

Italian, and other languages, it has been found necessary to give a particular force to some of them, as in writing their H , zs , or j , for which they use x , and some others.

> "The ancient Slavonians" are described as tall, and of very strong make; their complexion was not very white, and their hair was of a reddish colour. They could easily support hunger, thirst, heat, cold, and want of covering, and were dirty in their habits. They lived in miserable huts, and they often changed their place of abode. They went into battle without shirt or cloak, and their only covering was a pair of short trousers. They wore no defensive armour, but some had shields; and their offensive weapons were spears. They had also bows with poisoned arrows. They fought on foot, and were very expert in assailing an enemy among defiles, in woods, and in every place difficult of access. In these conflicts they displayed extraordinary address, inveigling their opponents into ambuscades by feigned retreats. Procopius relates a story of the dexterity displayed by a Slavonian, belonging to the army of Belisarius, in seizing an unsuspecting Goth, and bringing him into the camp; and the Emperor Maurice, in his Strategicon, mentions their peculiar cunning in battle, and the necessity of being prepared against it. 'They like not,' he observes, 'to fight in the open field, nor in close combat, but prefer forests and difficult passes, where the mode of warfare is

natural to them. They frequently offer a booty to their enemy, and then, feigning flight, they conceal themselves in the woods, and assail him unawares. The most favourable time, therefore, for attacking them is the winter, when the leaves are off the trees, when food is scarce, and the cold severe.' " * <

The above account cannot fail to strike every one who is acquainted with the modern Montenegrins, and their mode of fighting; nor does the mention of another peculiarity by early writers, the use of the cithara, recal less forcibly the habits of that people, whose bards constantly sing to an admiring audience the glorious deeds of their warriors, accompanying themselves with their favourite *gusla*. This instrument has been employed by all the Slavonic tribes from the earliest times; and the name *guslar*, or player on the cithara, being applied to a "wizard," appears to argue the use of it in the days of their Pagan superstitions. It has only one string, stretched from a long neck over a round body, like a guitar, and is played with a bow. †

Ancient and modern Illyria differ greatly in their extent, as their inhabitants do in their origin and language. Illyria, or Illyricum, under the Romans, included the provinces of the Danube, "esteemed the most warlike of the empire; but they deserve to be more particularly considered

* Krasinski.

† See below, Chapter VI. on the Montenegrins.

under the names of Rhætia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Dacia, Mœsia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece."* In the present century an Illyrian kingdom was formed by Napoleon out of Dalmatia, and other provinces belonging to Austria, some of which are still included under that title; but the name is now conventional, the Illyrians of the present day having no connection with the ancient inhabitants. And though the language of Dalmatia and the neighbouring provinces is called Illyrian, and many modern writers have run into the error of supposing it the same as that of their early predecessors, who occupied the country when conquered by the Romans, the fact of its being a Slavonic dialect, and the known period of the arrival of the Slavonians, suffice to disprove this, and show that it can bear no more relation to the ancient Illyrian than to the Epirote†, the Macedonian, or the Thracian. Nor has the modern Epirote, or Albanian‡, any resemblance to the Slavonic dialects.

Modern Dalmatia contains the principal part of the ancient province of that name, as well as of Liburnia; but ancient Dalmatia was confined within the river Drilo (now the Drino of Albania) and the Titius § (now La Kerka); and Liburnia ex-

* Gibbon, i. c. 1. p. 35.

† Strabo, vii. p. 224, 225.

‡ The modern Albanians, called Arnauts by the Turks, style themselves *Skipitar*.

§ Ptolemy, ii. 17. Plin. iii. 22.

tended thence to the borders of Istria, from which it was separated by the stream of the modern Fiume, or Fiumera. Dalmatia now extends from about $42^{\circ} 9' N.$ lat., or thirteen miles S. of Budua, to lat. $44^{\circ} 25'$, about nineteen miles north of Zara, the capital; where it is joined by part of Croatia, which occupies the remaining portion of Liburnia to the north. It has also many islands, mostly lying parallel to the coast; two of which, Pago and Arbe, extend its limits as far north as latitude $44^{\circ} 51'$. In breadth it is very limited, not exceeding forty miles in any part; and in the narrowest, near Ragusa, about two, from the sea to the Turkish frontier of Herzegóvina. Its limits have been extended, at various times, under the rule of the Venetians, from cessions made by the Turks; and it now contains 3655 Italian square miles, or, according to the official returns, 2,222,990 *jugeri*, or acres.

Under the Austrians, it has been divided into the four *Circoli*, or departments of Zara, Spalato, Ragusa, and Cattaro, containing respectively eight, ten, five, and three, *distretti*, or districts.* Under the Venetians, the present *circoli* of Zara and

* Those in the *circolo* of *Zara* are Págo, Arbe, Zára, Obbrovazzo, Knin, Scardóna, Dernis, and Sebenico: of *Spalato*, Träü, Spalato, Sign, Almissa, Imoschi, Brazza, Lissa, Lésina, Macarsca, and Fort-Opus: of *Ragusa*, Cúrzola, Sabioncello, Slano, Ragusa, and Ragusa-Vecchia: of *Cattaro*, Castel nuovo, Cattaro, and Budua; again subdivided into *communes*, which in the *Zara Circolo* amount to 249, in that of Spalato to 251; of Ragusa to 140, and in the *Circolo* of Cattaro to 104. See Ch. II.

Spalato, with the Isle of Curzola (now belonging to that of Ragusa), and the islands in the Gulf of Quarnero, constituted Dalmatia proper, and the *circolo* of Cattaro was styled (Venetian) Albania.

The number of *jugeri* (acres) and *klafter* *, in these *circoli*, with the proportion and quality of the land in each, may be seen in the following table; from which it appears that the greatest proportion consists of pastures, the next of wood, and then arable land, and vineyards. (*See next page.*)

The face of the country is very varied: a ridge of lofty limestone mountains † separates the northern portion from Turkey, and another runs nearly parallel with the coast, close to which it approaches in the vicinity of Spalato, and extends thence to Montenegro and Albania. The highest peaks are Orien, 6332 feet; Dinara, 6040 feet; and Pastovo, 5929 feet; and the largest and loftiest part of the northern range is that of Velebich, to the north-east of Zara, which measures 5439 feet.

The inland parts of Dalmatia are diversified by undulatory ground, hills, and high mountains; many of the latter having the same rugged, barren, aspect as those of the coast, which are said to have been once covered with soil and trees, since washed by the rains into the sea. Here and there, indeed,

* The *klafter* is a measure of 6 feet, or about 6 feet 3 inches English.

† Known partly as Mount Prolog, partly under other names; the Mons Ardius, Bebius, and other divisions of that range.

Circolo.	Arable.	Meadows.	Gardens.	Vineyards.	Olives.	Pastures.	Wood.	Salt- pans.	Lakes and Marabes.	Unculti- vated, with Fruit Trees.	Totally unculti- vated.	Buildings.	Total.
Of Zara { acres klasters	127-685 1-197	7-231 1-212	1-880 751	36-426 275	370 1-377	545-614 600	232-053 751	264 890	4 1-329	44 838	31-688 1-035	1-341 298	984-606 893
Spalato { acres klasters	109-309 805	9-189 1-350	2-674 1-147	53-861 103	11 1-053	355-749 72	321-171 959	0	10-197 703	26 1-563	27-188 1-556	1-235 1-086	890-616 747
Ragusa { acres klasters	22-669 1-575	23 1-458	724 604	18-132 1-598	1-400 709	71-367 1-595	118-728 495	80 308	0	12 786	3-785 1-128	402 1-298	237-329 254
Cattaro { acres klasters	16-230 990	1-056 1-505	502 393	3-567 942	157 780	61-945 1-376	24-126 444	0	32 1-110	4 243	2-571 1-138	242 837	110-438 158
Total { acres klasters	275-895 1-367	17-502 725	5-781 1-295	111-987 1-318	1-940 719	1-034-677 443	696-079 1-049	344 1-038	10-234 1-542	88 290	65-235 57	3-222 269	2-222-990 452

some trees remain to show that the tradition is not entirely destitute of foundation, but bareness is the general character of the hilly parts of Dalmatia; and it is singular that the northern sides are usually less barren than the southern. Though a few pine trees grow in the peninsula of Sabioncello, and some other places, the country is badly supplied with timber; nor is firewood abundant, a deficiency which the coal of Dernis might supply, were the people more alive to its use; but some of the islands produce pines and brushwood in great abundance, particularly Curzola, which in former times furnished the Venetian arsenal with timber, and has still the greatest quantity of wood in this part of the Adriatic.*

The soil of Dalmatia, though not rich, is good; and the produce suffices for the limited population of the country; and though many parts consist merely of bare rock, it would seem, if Strabo's account be true, when he describes the land as "sterile, unsuited to agriculture, and barely affording a subsistence to the inhabitants," that it is now more fertile than in ancient times. The peasants, however ignorant they may be, are tractable and capable of great bodily exertion, and only require proper instruction to direct their labours; the rivers offer ample means for irrigation, the establishment of manufactures, and other purposes; and the most unusual advantages are possessed by Dalmatia in the number, security, and

* See Chapter V. on Curzola.

commodiousness of its seaports. In this latter respect it offers a striking contrast to the opposite coast of Italy, which actually boasts no one good port from Chioggia to Otranto ; confirming most fully the remark of Strabo that "the whole coast of Illyria is well furnished with ports, as well on the mainland, as in the neighbouring islands, while the opposite coast of Italy is without harbours." * But, like the other recommendations it enjoys, these are all disregarded ; the Dalmatian ports are sacrificed to the benefit of Trieste ; and the trade of Turkey will probably never resume its former course to this province.

Neglect, indeed, seems at all times to have been its fate. Strabo says, "The country, which, with the exception of a few rugged spots, abounds everywhere with the olive and the vine, has always been neglected ; and its worth has been unknown, probably in consequence of the wildness and predatory habits of its inhabitants." The Venetians even purposely avoided every measure that could enrich, or better the condition of, the people, in order, more easily, to rule Dalmatia, while they supplied their army from its hardy peasantry ; and, however incredible it may appear, the Venetian Senate openly interfered to prevent the establishment of schools in that country. Printing was also forbidden there ; and the Venetians severely punished one of their people, for having dared to establish a press in the independent city of Ragusa.

* Strabo, 7.



Pola.

CHAP. II.

TRIESTE TO ZARA.

The coast of Istria. — Piráno. — Parenzo. — Pola. — The Quarnero. — Fiume. — The Islands of Veglia, and Arbe. — Story of the last Count of Veglia. — Zara.

THE voyage from Trieste to Zara is more than usually interesting, from the steamers passing within sight of the towns, on the coast of Istria. You perceive St. Andrea, Capo d'Istria, Isola, Piráno, Omágo, and others which have witnessed, and often suffered from, the wars of Venice, and have, in later times, been exposed to the attacks of the French, Austrians, and English, during the last and present centuries.

Capo d'Istria was formerly called Ægida, and afterwards, Justinopolis, from the uncle of Justinian; and a fabulous tradition has attributed its foundation to the people of Colchis. Charlemagne had once possession of it; after which, it came into the hands of the Patriarchs of Aquileia, and then,

in the tenth century, was taken by the Venetians; and though wrested from them by the Genoese, in the fourteenth century, it was restored, in 1478, to Venice, in whose hands it continued till Istria was ceded to the Austrians. It is less unhealthy than the other towns on this coast, and contains a population of about 5000 inhabitants. The square, though small, is a curious and quaint specimen of the Venetian style; but the town contains little worthy of notice. I ought, however, to except two knockers, which are the envy and admiration of the collectors of similar curiosities; and fortunately for their owners, the knocker-stealing folly has not yet penetrated to Capo d'Istria.

Piráno, on a projecting point of land, with its church, backed by the castle, and the adjoining heights, is beautiful, from whatever point it is seen; and after passing a promontory, you perceive Omágo, sitting on the water's edge; and the inland Buia beyond, with its church crowning the hill on which it stands. It was between Piráno and Parenzo that Ziani, in 1177, defeated the combined fleet of Pisa, Genoa, and Ancona, under the command of Otho, the son of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, who was made prisoner, and carried to Venice; and this victory is remarkable for having given rise to the ceremony performed by the Doges of wedding the Adriatic. For when the victorious fleet returned to the Lido, Pope Alexander III., then a fugitive at Venice, gave his

ring to Ziani, authorising him and his successors, annually, to proclaim their right to the sovereignty of the Adriatic, and subject it to the rule of Venice, "as a wife to that of her husband."

Parenzo, the successor of Parentium, is remarkable for a church, in the Byzantine style, founded by Bishop Eufrasius in 540, which is said to have a semicircular apse behind the altar, with the bishop's throne, and seats on either side for the clergy, instances of which are now so rarely met with. It was here that Pisani took refuge, after his defeat by the Genoese fleet, in 1379; and Parentium, like Ægida, was distinguished in old times as the abode of Roman citizens.*

Rovigno, with its lofty spire, and the headlands and islands to the southward, backed by the distant Monte Maggiore, is a pretty object from the sea; but Pola, lying in a deep bay, is not seen, and till lately no steamers touched there.

Pola, and its neighbourhood, are subject to a bad malaria fever, which begins in August. The port is excellent, landlocked, easily defended, and capable of holding a fleet of any size; and the Austrians, taking the hint from Napoleon, contemplate making it their great naval dépôt.

As you approach the town, the amphitheatre appears to stand on the shore; the exterior is so perfect, that it scarcely seems to deserve the name of a ruin; and it looks the same to you, as it did of

* Plin. iii. 19.

old to the Roman, as he stood in with his galley, 1500 years ago. It has a basement story, over which are two tiers of arches, with Tuscan half columns between them; and above these is the usual upper story, pierced with square windows. In this, and most respects, it resembles other amphitheatres, but differs from them in having four square towers, projecting from the exterior circle, at certain intervals, probably for the staircases; of which I remember no other instance, except, perhaps, in the small ruined amphitheatre of Treves. Though the outside is well preserved, nothing remains of the interior; and some have supposed the seats were of wood; yet it is evident that those on the hill side were cut in the rock, and many of the stone seats have been found, some bearing the names, or initials, of their owners. They measure 1 ft. $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. in width; and the total dimensions of the amphitheatre are about 430 feet in length, by 350 in breadth, and 80 in height.

Pola has been so fully described*, that I shall only notice it very briefly. According to Pliny and Pomponius Mela, the Colchians were the founders of Pola, as of many other places in the Adriatic; but the name given it by the Romans, during the empire, was Pietas Julia, from the daughter† of Augustus, at whose request it was

* See Cassas's Travels and Allason's Pola.

† Not as some think from Julia Domna, being mentioned by Pliny (iii. 19.).

restored, after its partial destruction by Julius Cæsar, in revenge for having favoured the cause of Pompey.

It was at Pola, that Crispus was put to death by his father, Constantine, through the false accusation of his step-mother, Fausta.

In 1148 the Doge, Dominico Morosini, rendered Pola tributary to Venice; and forty-four years afterwards it was seized by the Pisans; but being speedily recovered by Enrico Dandolo, it continued in quiet possession of the Venetians until 1228, when, having rebelled, it was nearly all destroyed by Giacomo Tiepolo. Towards the end of the fourteenth century Pola fell into the hands of the Genoese; whose fleet wintered there in 1378, previous to the capture of Chioggia; and after the defeat of the Genoese, it remained in the power of Venice, until the whole of Istria was ceded to the Austrians in 1815.

The temple of Rome and Augustus is in a very good state of preservation, and is now a Museum, containing the different objects found at Pola. It is a very graceful building; prostyle, and of the Corinthian order. In ancient times it stood on the forum, with its companion, which was dedicated to Diana, and which still occupies one end of the *place*. The front, however, is built over, and concealed, by the palace of the Venetian governor, and more than half the ancient forum is occupied by modern houses.

The arch, or gateway, called Porta Aurea, is

well preserved ; and, though it has the fault of being wanting in depth, is an elegant specimen of Roman triumphal arch. The inscription on the frieze says it was built by *Salvia Postuma*, at her own expense, to *Lucius Sergius Lepidus*, *Ædile*, and military tribune of the twenty-ninth Legion, whose statue stood on a pedestal, formed by the attic, over the centre. Other statues were at each corner, of two members of the same family, whose names are also inscribed below ; and on each side of the arch are two Corinthian half-columns.

The *Porta Gemina* is a double gate, with a composite half-column between each archway. It was also an entrance into the town ; and on the hill above is another Roman gate, lately discovered in making repairs to the citadel ; which appears to have been a postern, opening upon the street leading from the *Porta Gemina*. Though small, it is of good work.

The *Duomo*, or Cathedral, is curious from its early date, and the resemblance it bears to the old Basilicas. It is said to stand on the site of a Roman temple. At the altar end is an ascent of several steps ; the best specimen of which now remaining is in the *Duomo* of *Torcelli*, near *Venice*, where the bishop's throne and seats of the clergy are still in their original state.

Among other antiques preserved in this church are the font, which was an ancient piscina, ornamented with a recumbent figure of *Venus* (or a *Nymph*), and two *Cupids*, on two of its sides ; and

the capital of a column, formed of a basket with birds, instead of volutes, supporting the corners of the abacus.

There is a Greek church at Pola, to the left on entering from the amphitheatre, with some curious carved and painted screens. It is used by the people of Perôe, a Greek village, about seven miles from Pola, inhabited by Greek refugees, who retain their peculiar costume. At Pola itself there are only three families of the Greek church.

Much wood grows about Pola, as throughout Istria, where the hills differ very much in appearance from the barren rocky mountains of Dalmatia; and the country abounds in vines, olives, and grain. Pola, which Dante mentions, "near to the Quarnéro,"* is about ten miles from the promontory, where the Eastern entrance of Quarnéro begins; that gulf, so well known for its dangerous navigation, and the dread of sailors going up to Fiume. And so strong is the wind in this part, when the violent N. E., or Bora, (Boreas) blows, that even steamers are unable to make head against it.

In going to Fiume you pass the Isle of Cherso to the right. The soil is rocky; it has very little corn, but produces wine, honey, and abundance of

* "Sicome a Pola, presso del Quarnaro,
Che Italia chiude, e i suoi termini bagna."

DANTE, *Infer.* ix. 113.

cattle; and in the interior is a lake seven miles in circumference.

When under the Venetians it had about 5000 inhabitants, and the revenues of Cherso and the neighbouring Ossero were 1273 ducats, of which 630 were paid in duties to the Republic.

The hills to the left are clothed with wood, sometimes sloping gradually to the sea, sometimes presenting an abrupt face to the water.

Fiume is prettily placed at the end of the gulf; and its red-tiled houses, its white church towers, and the castle, on a wooded height above, have a picturesque effect. The castle, called Tersatto*, belongs to Count Nugent, who distinguished himself so greatly as an Austrian general, in the last war with France; when his co-operation with the British fleet had the gratifying effect of furthering the views of the allies, at the same time that it afforded him the satisfaction of displaying his military talents in the presence of his countrymen; for, though he has long been in the service of Austria, Count Nugent is an Irishman. His brilliant services are, indeed, too well known to require any comment, but personal obligation may excuse the mention of his courtesy, which I am happy to have an opportunity of acknowledging.

I have heard that the column put up at Marengo by the French is deposited there.

* From the old town of Tarsatica, mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy.

Fiume, in Slavonic *Riéka*, is the port of Hungary, and contains about 8000 or 9000 inhabitants. It stands on a small stream, called *Fiumera*; from which it derives its name, *Fiume* (or *Fiumera*), like the Slavonic *Riéka*, signifying "river." It has succeeded to *Vitopolis*, or the city of *St. Vito*, which, however, was not a town of ancient date, and no Roman town appears to have occupied the exact site of the modern *Fiume*. It was first given to Hungary by *Maria Theresa* in 1777, and was finally united to that kingdom in 1822.

In leaving *Fiume*, the Dalmatian steamer passes between the *Isle of Cherso* and *Veglia*.* *Veglia* has excellent harbours; and the valleys, if cultivated, might be productive as of old, when the island was rich in timber and pasture land, and produced abundance of grain, oil, and wine. The *Illyrian snails*, mentioned by *Pliny*, are very numerous in *Veglia*. They were considered great delicacies by the Romans, and *Fulvius Hirpinus* had preserves of them at his villa, where they were kept for the table.†

It was during a long period an independent state, until ceded to *Venice* by *Count Giovanni Frangipani*, in the fifteenth century; and as a very curious account is given by the Commissioner sent from *Venice* in 1481, to inquire into the state of the

* Or *Veggia*, the *Cyractica* of *Strabo*, vii. p. 315.

† *Plin.* ix. 56.

island, illustrating the manners of those times, I shall introduce some extracts from his reports:—

* * * * *

. . . “The ancient government of Veglia, as far as can be made out from its records, was a republic, composed of nobles and people. Three orders of magistrates were chosen from the nobles, and one from the people; and the count, who was the chief of the state, received his appointment for one year, as well as the viscount, judge, and officers; during which period, the count was absolute, and governed with the aid of his council. That the island was often a prey to corsairs is evident, from the circumstance that a grand feast is held every year, to this day, to commemorate its deliverance from piracy; and a certain ancient convention, made in 1133, proves that the people gladly placed themselves under the wings of the glorious Evangelist, and, by public consent, built and dedicated a church to St. Mark, in perpetual remembrance of the benefits they owed to Venice. . . .

“In 1260, when Messer Rainiero Zen was doge, your Serenity’s predecessors gave the island in fief to the two noble brothers Zuane Schinella, surnamed Frangipani, and their heirs male, on certain conditions, and also with the proviso that it was to revert to the Venetians. The year after their investiture, Bela, King of Hungary, flying from the Tartars, took

refuge in Veglia. The islanders, afraid that the Tartars might find their way after him from the main land, raised a large sum of money, with which Bela went back and reconquered Hungary; and in consideration of this gift, he bestowed on the counts the city of Segna, for which they did homage to the Hungarian kings, though, as lords of the island, they were the vassals of Venice. From their natural inclination to barbarous manners, they soon began to attach themselves to the Hungarian crown, and alienate themselves from the Venetian Republic, in return for which they were confirmed in the government of Segna, and obtained new privileges from Ladislas*, the successor of Bela.

“The Ban Nicolo Zuane left nine sons, amongst whom he divided his dominions; and these quarrelling with each other, and disregarding the condition by which they held Veglia, of maintaining inviolate the ancient customs and liberties of the people, began to consider themselves absolute lords of the soil. Count Zuane at last contrived to obtain entire possession of the island; and solemnly placing himself under the protection of St. Mark, he made a will, bequeathing his fief to the Republic in default of heirs male, as a safeguard against his brothers’ repeated attempts to deprive him of it.

“Having thus baffled their endeavours, he

* Vladislav.

began (according to the customs of his false and deceitful ancestors) to intrigue with the King of Hungary, and in 1460, proposed to help him in his war with the Emperor Frederic, by invading the neighbouring Imperial territory, on condition that he should govern such castles as he could take; and the more to ingratiate himself with the Hungarian king, he sent him his son Count Anzolo, who was killed during the campaign. The emperor forthwith complained to the Venetian government, and required the punishment of the offender; but the Republic interceded in his behalf, and obtained his pardon; notwithstanding which he secretly placed himself under the king's protection, and despatched a large body of troops to his aid; who not only made war on the emperor, but did not hesitate to massacre such of the subjects of Venice as came in their way.

“Incensed at this conduct, the Republic sent an ambassador to menace him with punishment; upon which he renewed his friendship with Hungary, and at the same time made court to Ferdinand of Naples, causing one of his sons to enter his service; to whom the Neapolitan king promised 300 ducats a-year, and a suitable establishment in marriage. Ferdinand soon afterwards made an alliance with Hungary; and Count Zuane persuaded him that he ought to try and obtain the city of Segna, hoping by that means to ingratiate himself with the Neapolitan king, and marry

Count Nicolo his son, to a daughter of the Duke of Urbino. But neither the king, nor her father, would consent to the match, for fear of displeasing the Republic; and finding himself thwarted in his hopes of a Neapolitan connexion, through his son, Zuane endeavoured to ally himself with the King of Hungary, through his daughter, by marrying her to a cousin of the king's; and having invited him to Veglia, offered as a condition of their union, to bequeath him the island after his death. This act, by which he disinherited his own son, was done under the pretence that he was unhealthy, and not likely to live,—but the real motive was because he thought him disposed to favour the Republic, in consequence of his mother being a Venetian. . . . Moreover, he sent a present of money to the Sangiac of Bosnia, and instigated him to do much harm to the emperor, and also to the Signory, peace not having yet been made between the Turks and the Republic. . . .

“About the same time, his brother Count Bartule died without children, and he contrived to procure royal letters patent of inheritance, to the prejudice of the other brothers his co-heirs; . . . and while he was contending for the possession of this property, Count Martino, another brother, fell sick, and Zuane, hearing that he was likely to die, hastened to make use of the royal letters, and seize on his estates also. He even took the castles of Novi, and Brebiera, before Count Martino had

ceased to live; when the dying man, incensed at his rapacity, made a will constituting the King of Hungary his heir.

“The moment Count Martino was dead, the king wrote to Zuane, requiring him to surrender the property to the royal authorities; but the Count, insolent with success, refused to do so, and tried to induce the Republic to support his usurpation. Whereon the king sent the *Magyar* Blasius*, who soon put the Count and his people to flight, and retook the castles with all their artillery and ammunition; so that his countship began to perceive that he had awakened the sleeping lion, and, trembling lest the Hungarians should cross over to the island, sent a humble entreaty to the Magyar Blasius, that he would pacify the royal indignation. . . . But there was only one argument of persuasion with the greedy captain, who reckoned on fingering a few thousand ducats; while the Count, equally greedy, thought to drive the bargain with a few hundreds. These two wolves could therefore by no means agree. . . .

“Meanwhile Zuane, having spent much treasure, without fruit and without honour, bethought himself of laying a tax on his people of 3500 ducats, to pay his expenses; which unlucky expedient exasperated men’s minds, and excited the whole island to conspire against him. . . . They de-

* This name of the “*Hungarian*” is curiously converted into “*Major Blas*.”

spatched messengers secretly to the Magyar Blasius, praying him to cross over to the island; where they looked out for him, as the Jews did for the Messiah. The veteran soldier instantly saw how easily he might obtain possession of the island; and, after communicating with the king, he applied to Marin Zunco, captain of Segna, for a sufficient number of vessels to convey his troops speedily to Veglia. . . . Zunco, for his own objects, eagerly seconded the project, and they instantly began their preparations. . . . Zuane, in great alarm, wrote to the Republic; and to excite the more pity, he sent to Venice the Lady Countess his wife, and afterwards Count Niccolo his son, saying that he had no means of providing for their safety in the island. . . . And your Highnesses having compassionately resolved on sending a secretary, to intercede with the Magyar Blasius, and avert the royal displeasure, it was my fate to be chosen for this undertaking. . . .

“On the 1st of February, 1480, I embarked for Segna; but was detained so long by contrary winds that, when I arrived, I found the Hungarians had crossed to the island, and were bombarding Castelmuccio. . . . Journeying thither, I proceeded to discuss the matter with the Magyar. . . . He showed me his troops, saying, ‘These, though scantily arrayed, and badly armed, are stout men and brave, and are greedy to ease you of some of your wealth;’ then pointing to the rock of Castelmuccio, which he was bombarding, ‘If you want,’

quoth he, 'to master a wild horse, you must first bridle him, then saddle him, and then mount him, — the head of the horse I want to ride is Castelmuccio, which I look to have in two days, and I shall then go to Veglia to girth on the saddle.' When I exhorted him to abandon such an unjust enterprise, he burst forth into invectives against the tyranny and wickedness of the Count, with bitter words full of wrath; and finally told me he dared not disobey his king's commands, but must continue the war. I clearly saw that he hoped to get possession of the island, before succour in good earnest arrived from Venice, therefore, leaving the Magyar Blasius, I returned to Veglia; and the Count, hearing my report, gave way to the most abject terror.

"The Provveditore, well acquainted with the science of defence, meanwhile, ordered the fortifications to be repaired; and behold! five days afterwards, the Hungarians, having taken Castelmuccio, encamped before the city, and bombarded it with two large, and several smaller, mortars; they then attacked the port, damaged three galleys, and sank the one belonging to the Provveditore; but his greatness was nowise intimidated, and maintained a brave defence. Two large cannon battered the walls incessantly, and a perpetual shower of balls was kept up on the streets and houses, which we returned as well as we could, without a single interval of rest; but the Hungarians were

6000 strong, well provided with ammunition, and elated at the capture of Castelmuccio. Moreover, they had the whole island with them, the inhabitants declaring that they would sooner die, sooner have the Turk for a master, than submit to the cruel tyranny of the Count Zuane.

“ In this situation we were exposed to two equal dangers, of the Hungarians taking the city by assault, and of the citizens rising in a body and cutting us to pieces. Whereupon, calling together the Provveditore and the Count, and the principal citizens, I said that, being so lately come from Venice, I could speak with certainty of the intentions of your Serenity ; that I knew all your resources would not be withheld, if necessary to prevent their falling into the hands of such a powerful neighbour ; and that I did not doubt of an active and sufficient succour ; although in consequence of the severity of the weather, and the continuance of contrary winds, it could not be as prompt and speedy as might be wished. But I confessed that a much greater cause of uneasiness weighed on my mind, which, despite my reluctance to refer to it, the urgent peril of our situation compelled me to lay before them : and this was the character of the Count himself, who, hated as he was by the whole population, would involve us in destruction along with him : that he had as many enemies within the walls as without, and that his immediate followers, in whom he placed such confidence, would be the

first to betray us to the Hungarians, being mostly subjects of their king, and having relations and property in his dominions : . . . that I could perceive one only remedy to ensure the public safety, namely, to represent to the people that they always were, and ought to remain, lieges of the Republic, and to induce the Count freely to renounce his seigneurie to St. Mark, rather than see his people fall a prey to the cruel and haughty Hungarians ; for that it was certain, if we could once persuade the people they were really and truly under the Venetian Government, we should have them on our side to a man, and thereby disconcert the Hungarians, who undertook the enterprise in the hope of being seconded by the populace.

“When I had spoken, the Provveditore and all the council highly applauded my words ; and the Count Zuane, having listened with great attention, replied, ‘I see what the secretary says is true ; do what you think fit : above all, delay is perilous.’ Immediately, the whole population being assembled before the palace, — the Provveditore, the nobles, courtiers, sailors, and townspeople, — the Count Zuane spoke in these words : — ‘My brothers, I am a son of the illustrious Signory of Venice, and my ancestors held this state from the Republic. Knowing that my forces are not sufficient to protect you from the peril of this invasion, sooner than you should fall a prey to Hungary, it is my will that you return to the allegiance of St. Mark. Before

you all, I renounce this domain to the serene Republic, I restore it to the hands of her Provveditore, and as my last command, I require you all, who now hear me, to become her subjects and vassals, to swear to her homage and fealty.' Whereupon all swore; and, even the courtiers, with great reluctance, were forced to submit. The Provveditore received the oaths in the name of your Serenity, encouraging the people to be of good cheer, now they were under the government of St. Mark, whose subjects none dared molest; and, moreover, proclaimed free grace and pardon to whomsoever, having revolted from Count Zuane, and gone over to the Hungarians, would return to the allegiance of your Serenity. The people having taken the oath of fealty, the shout of 'St. Mark!' 'St. Mark!' resounded from every side; the great standard of St. Mark was unfurled on the fortress; and Piero Corvachiavin, the Count's Castellan, was ordered by the Provveditore to surrender forthwith the command to Messer Andrea Querini, Captain of the great Galley.

"Tidings of this event soon spread among the Hungarian host, to their great consternation; for, having built all their hopes on the co-operation of the Veglians, they began to tremble for their own safe retreat from the island. The inhabitants, who at first had been willing to supply all their wants, not only deserted them and refused provisions, but began to attack and cut off their foraging parties,

well knowing they should enjoy far greater security under the glorious wings of St. Mark, than beneath the stern rule of Hungary.

“Whereupon, seeing that our resources increased as theirs diminished, from day to day, they raised the bombardment of St. Francesco in alarm, and fortified their camp at St. Lorenzo. . . .

“Thus under the benign government of St. Mark, the city began to breathe; and those who in Count Zuane’s time had concealed themselves, that they might not be called on to help his cause, now came forth from all sides, and even women, of every age and condition, eagerly assisted in the defence. At length, to the final discomfiture of the Hungarian host, four galleys sailed in, sent by the Captain-General Messer Antonio Loredano, for the relief of Veglia. The Magyar Blasius being thus besieged himself, where he sought to besiege others, and wanting provisions, especially wine, (without which it is notorious that this nation cannot exist,) he had recourse to cunning, but seeing that his intrigues were vain, the following morning he marched his whole host to Castelmuccio, and wrote to me for a safe-conduct to leave the island.

“It was accorded in full; upon condition, that he should take nothing out of the island but what he brought in; and that he should consign the fortress of Castelmuccio to the authorities of Veglia, when he should be free to quit with his army; and

boats and galleys should be at his service, to convey him to the main. He received the safe-conduct in a towering rage, and declared that his men would suffer any thing, and sooner eat one another, than bring such shame on their king, as to give up a fortress he had fairly conquered, and meant to keep with a garrison of two hundred, or three hundred, men for his Majesty. To this the Provveditore did not reply, leaving hunger to reason with him ; but while matters stood thus, Messer Vettor Soranzo, Captain-General of Venice in the Levant, appeared in the offing ; and the Magyar, perceiving his case hopeless, and his troops perishing from starvation, threw himself on his mercy, gave up Castelmuccio, and evacuated the island. . . .

“ No sooner did Count Zuane hear that the Hungarians had left the island, than, to prevent the notion of his having given up his dominions to the Republic gaining ground among the people, he sent round to the villages his rascally courtiers, to levy anew the contributions, which were the immediate cause of all his troubles ; with orders to plunder, and punish, those who had any way favoured the invaders ; so that the whole island was again in commotion, and for fear of their lives, many sought to depart with the Hungarians, leaving their lands and houses. To allay this ferment, the Provveditore caused proclamations to be distributed, in the Slavonic tongue, all over the country, promising free pardon and safety for person and

property, in the name of your Serenity, and soon after sailed with the fleet for the Levant.

“The illustrious General, when he had seen the last Hungarian quit the shore, returned to Veglia, where he was assailed with fresh complaints of the Count. He accordingly ordained, that each and all persons were at full liberty, without fear of punishment, to tear in pieces any of Count Zuane’s bravos who attempted to molest them; whereupon, the Count smothering his rage, ceased his persecutions, hoping to return to his prey as soon as his Magnificence had departed. But your Serenity’s far-seeing wisdom, taking into consideration the rapacity of this cruel noble, ordered the aforesaid illustrious General to despatch the Count to Venice, before he joined the army in the Levant; leaving me in Veglia to await further commands. And this was immediately done.

“On leaving Veglia, the Count regulated the administration of the island, deputing his authority to his lieutenant, assisted by three judges, tax-gatherers, and other officials; and no sooner was he on board Messer Polo da Canal’s galley, than all the people of Veglia began to rejoice, with feasting, and ringing of bells, and solemn prayers for his eternal exile from their country, and when, four or five days after his departure, his judges began to form their court, and administer laws to the community, the people rose like the sea in a storm, exclaiming that they had no lord

but your Serenity, and would obey none but the deputies of their beloved Republic. Whereat I, knowing how the whole island, from one end to the other, abhorred the very name of the Count, more than a man, bitten by a mad dog, hates water, perceived the necessity of calming the public mind, and to that end, associated myself with the judges, in the name of your Serenity, to administer justice.

“My next step raised the hopes of the nobles, — who had been the victims of the Count’s policy, in filling all offices of honour and emolument with his foreign mercenaries from the mainland, to the exclusion of the islanders, — by restoring them to the chief commands in their several districts ; when the robbers I had displaced wrote to their master, and, at the same time, maliciously spread reports that your Serenity was going to restore the Count forthwith to his fief ; upon which the excited populace thronged to my house, crying out in despair, that if the tyrant returned, they were ready to a man to quit house and home, and leave their beloved island a desert rock, or call in the Turk to their aid, if your Serenity refused to protect them. In spite of all I could say, I found it impossible to pacify them entirely ; and the deliberations of your Serenity at Venice being retarded, they came to me, begging permission to send two of the principal men of the island, as ambassadors for the rest to Venice, to present the earnest prayer of the afflicted people, to be protected from the oppres-

sions of their cruel lord, and recognised subjects of the glorious St. Mark.

“ At length the Prefect, Messer Luigi Lando, having, with powerful arguments, convinced the King of Hungary of the right of jurisdiction possessed by St. Mark over the island, returned from Budua, and touched at Veglia. The whole community flocked to meet him, with transports of joy, which I cannot attempt to describe; . . . and finally, constrained by sovereign justice, your Serenity, for the infringement of his oath as your vassal — for other innumerable offences — and for pity of his ill-used suffering people — decided on resuming the lordship of all the territory, formerly conceded to the ancestors of the Count Zuane — a decision equally opportune, necessary, and just. . . .

“ Moreover, with greater regard to clemency, than to the crimes and unworthiness of this tyrant, your Serenity provided that, on condition of his residing quietly in Venice, he should receive a yearly revenue of 1000 ducats, and for his daughter a dowry of 4000 ducats, out of the public purse. But despite this just and merciful sentence, the tyrant fled secretly with his followers, and all that he could carry off, to Duke Sigismund of Austria; being no more able to exist in a free city, where he could tyrannise over nobody, than night can abide the rising of the sun. . . . He left his wife, a lady of the house of Morosini, behind him; and the signory still allow her four hundred ducats

a year, besides a dowry for her daughter Caterina ; who married, first, a grandson of the Doge, Francesco Dandolo ; and, secondly, Andrea Foscolo ; but died without heirs.

“ And to the intent that the world may know, how your Serenity was not moved to deprive this Count of his lordship, on account of his breach of feud alone, but also that plain justice required a powerful and Christian state to interfere, for the prevention of such enormous iniquity, I will make a short summary of his innumerable crimes, which will astonish every man, and by which his flagitious life may be estimated. I will only slightly glance at his heretical opinions, such as his denying a future life, prohibiting the christening of his children, usurping the administration of spiritual affairs (saying that he was pope in his own dominions), and offering a licence to any priest, for four ducats, to keep a mistress,—by all which he brought ruin and desolation on the church.

. . . . “ In the time of Pope Calistus, a friar of St. Francis was sent into Croatia and Veglia, in the name of his Holiness, to preach a Crusade against the Turks ; and when he had collected to the amount of nearly 1000 ducats, besides jewels and rich vestments, Count Zuane caused him to be stopped, and stripped of the whole—a trick he often played to friars begging alms. He also encouraged his followers to commit piracy on the high seas ; and on one occasion, Messer Francesco

Bembo and Messer Andrea Contarini having come to Veglia, to complain of a robbery committed on Messer Zuan di Marco da Pago, and representing to the Count that he could not expect with impunity to violate the jurisdiction of your Serenity on the high sea, the Count haughtily asked, 'who has bestowed the sovereignty of the ocean on the Venetians?' and these Signori having energetically responded, 'His Holiness the Pope,' he immediately answered, 'the Pope could not give what was not his.'

..... "Another time he fixed his eyes on a merchant, called Carlo Gottesalati of Parma, who had arrived with jewels and pearls of great value, to sell at Veglia. At his departure, the Count sent after him his pirate galley, and seized on all he had, letting him barely escape with his life; and the stolen ornaments were afterwards publicly worn by his daughter, without any attempt at concealment.

.... "Count Radichio, brother of the late King of Bosnia, who had been taken and killed by the Turks, flying with his wife and family from the slaughter that desolated his native country, wandered in search of a new home, where he might live in melancholy privacy; and, hearing that Arbe was under the government of your Serenity, he determined to make it his retreat, hoping to find there a refuge for his afflicted family. He had rescued some gold and jewels from the ruin of his house, and a few retainers followed his desperate fortunes.

Count Zuane, forthwith, began to devise how he

might best entrap him; and sent his ambassador, the apostate Friar Matteo, to condole with him on his misfortunes, and invite him to come and reside at Veglia; observing, that his monotonous life at Arbe must be intolerable to one, who had been accustomed to courts and camps, and assuring his Bosnian Highness that, if he came, he should freely share the good fortune God had given the Lord of Veglia.

“The unfortunate man was easily persuaded to trust these kindly offers, and with his family and remaining property removed to Veglia. The Count received him hospitably, and for some time all went smoothly. But very soon, taking the tone of a friendly counsellor, Zuane began to insinuate that Radichio might retrieve his fortunes by pursuing his military career; and exhorted him to join the standard of the King of Hungary, who, he said, for the love and friendship he bore to him, would doubtless receive Radichio with all honour;—adding, that there was nothing to prevent his paying the King of Hungary a visit, as he could leave his family free of charge in a safe asylum.

“The hapless nobleman, completely blinded, set out accordingly; leaving, with many tears, his wife and children in Count Zuane’s custody. He had hardly passed the mountains ere he fell sick and died, by poison, as was universally believed; and what happened proved the truth of the report, since Count Zuane immediately laid hands on the treasure; imprisoning the wife and her children, on

whose wretched bodies every species of torture was employed, to make them confess the amount of their jewels and gold. Every day they were subjected to fresh cruelties. One day, Dianco, a Bosnian noble, expired under the agony, and they buried him like a dog, in the night, giving out that he had hung himself. The miserable lady, on whom God had bestowed great tenacity of life, was all maimed and disfigured, while her daughters were, after many torments, stripped to their under garments, and turned out to beg their bread.

“The diabolical Count then, having given their mother in charge to certain rich citizens, sent Fra Matteo to her, and proposed to set her at liberty, on condition that she would swear she had bribed her guardians with 200 ducats to let her escape. She replied, ‘that her soul was in the hands of God, and her shattered body dead to further suffering; and that far from being ready to cause the destruction of those, who were as innocent as herself, she dared him, a traitorous host and barbarous sovereign as he was, to do his worst, and send her welcome Death.’

“Fra Matteo returned to the Count with this reply, which did not save the citizens from being imprisoned and tortured, on this false pretence; but one of the noble lady’s servants, surviving the torture, entered the convent of the Osservanti at Veglia, whose office it was to minister to the prisoners; and, watching his opportunity, con-

trived her escape in the habit of a monk; and so she at last slipped through the tyrant's fingers.

"Furious at her flight, he wreaked his vengeance on the monastery, imprisoned the monks, and confiscated their revenues.

"One venerable father, in particular, who had been the lady's confessor, he tortured on the rack; till by means of a large sum of money, collected by begging through the island in fetters, he bought his liberty, and is now living a holy hermit at the shrine of St. Leonardo. . . .

"A relation of Count Radichio's, one Messer Paolo, who had followed him to Veglia, alarmed at these disastrous events, sought to flee speedily with his wife and daughter from the island; but he had hardly got out to sea, when he was discovered, and stopped by the Frangipaneschi corsairs, who stripped him of money, jewels, and wardrobe, leaving the ladies barely their shifts. Thus reduced to beggary, he went over in despair to the Turks, swearing that, some time or other, he would have his revenge; which kept Count Zuane always in alarm, whenever the Turks were on the opposite shore, lest he should persuade them to cross over to the island. . . .

"One year, a certain merchant having arrived from the mainland with corn, and applied to his lordship for a licence to sell the same, the Count referred him to the magistrate of the interior, who gave him the necessary permission; on which he

landed, but had no sooner begun to sell than he was clapped into prison, fined 25 ducats, and his corn seized and confiscated, on the pretext that his licence was irregular, having been issued by the magistrate instead of the Count. . . .

“There was a priest in Veglia, called Zuane, who was reputed very rich. The Count accordingly applied to him for the loan of 300 ducats; and on his trying to evade the request, upon the plea of not having the money by him, he was immediately thrown into prison, and all that he had was taken from him. After a long confinement he was released, and escaping from Veglia he fled to Fiume, where he died in great poverty. . . .

“One day, at Castelmuccio, the Count pretended to have forgotten to bring his purse over with him from Veglia, and sent into the village to borrow 8 or 10 ducats; which he said should be repaid, when he sent for his money to Veglia. A poor old woman who, with many years toil, had unluckily for herself scraped together 5 good Veglian ducats, fell into the trap, and in her loyalty and simplicity brought them to lend her lord; but this Nero, judging the poor old creature must have more besides, had her seized and put to the torture, to make her confess where she kept her hoard, so that she expired upon the rack, and was buried like a dog. . . .

“Pichiotto di Minchiolo, a citizen and merchant of Veglia, who had been many years in trade, was

accounted well to do, at least for those parts, and had no children, but a good many nephews and other relations. When he was on the point of death, the Count sent his creature, Fra Matteo, to search his house; when his avarice not being satisfied with 500 ducats in gold, which was all that could be found, he summoned all his relations, ten in number, saying, 'Pichiotto had much more money than appears, he must have given it in charge to you;' and so making them pay each 200 ducats a-piece, he reduced them all to poverty. . . .

"Another relation of this same Pichiotto, Stephen by name, was pointed out to the Count as a man of substance, whereupon he was seized, and 200 ducats found in his possession were taken, on the same plea of the money being Pichiotto's, left in his care. The poor man died of a broken heart; upon which his Lordship imprisoned his two daughters, one a nun, the other married to Gaudente Filinic, and had them beaten till they were half dead, and could not stand upright. But not being able to get out of them whether their father had left any more money, he confiscated their houses, cattle, and vineyards; so that the poor nun and her sister at this moment beg their bread from door to door. . . .

"There was also at Veglia a citizen called Minchiello, who had the reputation of being well off. The Count, according to custom, sent to borrow money of him; and as he tried to excuse

himself, on the plea of extreme poverty, the tyrant instantly had him lodged in a damp pestiferous dungeon, at the bottom of a tower, and put him to the most atrocious tortures, hanging him up by the feet, so that stretching himself to the utmost he could just touch the ground with his head, till he gladly paid 100 ducats to get out, and died shortly afterwards. The very night of his decease, Zuane, imagining that he must have left a good deal of money, sent his creature Matteo to search the house. The afflicted widow, with her young daughter, aged fourteen years, were dragged from their beds to the torture, and received so many stripes that they fainted, and were supposed to have expired. On their recovery, the miserable creatures, to obtain respite from torment, declared that the money was concealed at Cherso, and the Count immediately sent to fetch it. But when the search proved fruitless, his fury exceeded all bounds, and he caused them to be stripped, and stretched on the rack till every bone was broken, and blood streamed from every pore, so that it was a miracle how any breath remained in their wretched bodies; and not being susceptible of further torment by that means, the butcher invented new devilries by fire and lime, to the grief and horror of the whole island.

“ He was thus wreaking his barbarities on these innocent martyrs, when the war with the Hungarians began, and gave him something else to

think about. I do not speak from mere hearsay; I saw with my own eyes, and touched with my own hands, those bleeding wounds; for when the most worthy Provveditore Messer Jacopo Venier arrived, the people with one accord called on him to liberate these poor wretches. He opened the gates of their fetid dungeon, and caused these miserable corpses, most wonderful to relate, still breathing, to be conveyed to their own home; from whence their souls soon took flight to heaven, to implore justice at the throne of the Almighty, and invoke blessings on your gracious Serenity, who has mercifully condescended to liberate the island from the fangs of such an insatiable Dragon."

On the main-land, between Veglia and Arbe, is Segna, once belonging to the famous, or infamous, Uscocs, who infested the Adriatic during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Placed in a recess of the Bay of Quarnero, Segna was covered, at that time, on the land side, by a barrier of uncleared forests and mountains, traversed by rare and intricate defiles; and numerous winding channels, amidst reefs and islets, with a stormy shallow sea, rendered the port inaccessible, except to boats of light burthen. The dangers of the Quarnero, indeed, have always been proverbial, among the mariners of the Adriatic; and, in the time of the Uscocs, it was believed that, by lighting a fire in a certain cave, they had the power of raising an off-shore gale, under which no vessel could live.

The origin of the Uscocs * was the union of an independent body of men, resolved on resisting, and freeing themselves from, the tyranny of the Turks. Their name in Slavonic signifies one who "jumps away," and is applied to a *deserter*, or a *refugee*. Their numbers soon increased, and they obtained possession of Clissa, which continued to be their stronghold, until taken from them by the Turks in 1537; when the Archduke Ferdinand gave them the town of Segna, and other places on the coast, where they were joined by many of the Morlacchi of Dalmatia, and freebooters from other countries. Their attacks, which had been at first directed against the Turks, in process of time extended to all who traded in the Adriatic; till their piracies, and unheard-of barbarities, having at length drawn upon them the hostility of the Venetians, the Uscocs were removed from the coast, and a new abode was assigned to them in Croatia, principally about the city of Carlstadt.

Beyond Veglia are Arbe and Pago to the east, and Ossero to the west; rocky islands producing little but wine, thinly inhabited, and rendered doubly barren by the Bora, which sweeps over them violently in winter.

Lossin Grande and Lossin Piccolo are the principal harbours in the Isle of Ossero, and are often

* The History of the Uscocs (Uscocchi) has been written by Minuccio Minucci Archbishop of Zara, Fra Paolo, and others. See below, the History of Dalmatin, in Chapter IX.

visited by the Dalmatian steamers. Lossin Piccolo has an excellent port, formed by a deep bay, two miles and a half in length; at the extremity of which stands the town, partly on the shore, and partly on a height crowned by a church.

The place is thriving; and the inhabitants being good sailors, many ships in the Austrian navy, and merchant service, are manned from Lossino. I counted twenty square-rigged vessels, barques, and brigs, in harbour there, in December; and the total number belonging to the place are about thirty, far exceeding that of any other Dalmatian port. The town, which is well built, contains upwards of 2500 inhabitants. The productions are principally wine and oil, the island being destitute of grain; but it is surprising to find that, notwithstanding the cold winds of winter, the climate is sufficiently warm for date-trees.

A remarkable fact is stated by Lucio*, that the Isle of Arbe made an agreement with the doge, Otho Orseolo, in 1018, to furnish Venice with an annual tribute of ten pounds of silk, or in default to pay five pounds of pure gold; which has been supposed to prove that silk worms were reared at that early period in Dalmatia; though there appears more reason to believe the silk was introduced there by the Byzantine trade.†

* Lucio, lib. 2. c. viii. p. 80. See below, the History of Dalmatia.

† See Gibbon, c. 40.

Fortis mentions a curious custom in the Isle of Pago, which seems to have been invented as an inducement to wives to take care of their husbands. "The women of Pago," he says, "and particularly those who have been married but a short time, if their husbands happen to die, tear their hair out in good earnest, and scatter it on the coffin; and this ceremony is so much consecrated by custom, that no woman, even though she had notoriously hated her husband, would fail in performing it." The island is of very unusual shape, with a large inland bay, which is, however, far from being a safe harbour in winter.

Upon the main-land, on the other side of the Canal della Morlacca, is the town of Carlopago*, in a barren rocky district. It succeeded to Scrisa, a castle of the Counts of Corbavia, which, after their extinction, passed into the hands of the Uscocs, from whom it was taken by the Venetians in 1616; and Scrisa having been destroyed, Carlopago was afterwards built there, as a depôt for the commerce of Croatia. Fortis gives a melancholy account of the treatment of the people in this, the Lika, district of Croatia, by the Austrians. He states that "the passage from the Ottoman to the Austrian yoke reduced the inhabitants to the most miserable condition;" and that "the smallest complaint was called sedition, and punished with barbarous severity †;" but it may be doubted if they had any

* Or Carlobago.

† Fortis, p. 526.

reason to complain of the change, after what they had suffered under the Turks.

Nona, which is in a bay, at the projecting point of land to the south of Pago, was once celebrated under the Croatian kings, but now possesses no remains of its former consequence; nor are there any ruins of the old Roman city of *Ænona*. Inland to the eastward is the river *Zermagna*, whose precipitous banks are said to be particularly wild and picturesque; and the Castle of *Novigrad*, near this river, is remarkable for having been the scene of the imprisonment, and death, of Elizabeth Queen of Hungary.*

Of the numerous islands that lie off this coast, few are of any great use, except to render the navigation secure, as through a succession of lakes; and it was this security, and the cover afforded to small craft, that made them in former times the resort of pirates. *Cherso*, *Veglia*, and *Ossero* belong to *Istria*; *Pago* and *Arbe* to *Dalmatia*.

Uglian, the ancient *Lissa*, is noted for its marbles; and this, and some other islands, obtained a momentary importance during the wars of the Venetians.

Zara, the capital of *Dalmatia*, is better known from the famous siege it stood, against the combined forces of the Venetians and French, at the commencement of the fourth Crusade, than for its previous history; though it was † a place of importance in Roman times, and the capital of

* See below, the History of *Dalmatia*, in Chapter IX.

† See the History, in Chapter IX.

Liburnia, a country comprised between the two rivers Tedanius and Titius, the modern Zermagna and Kerka. It was then called Jadera, and in the middle ages Diadora, and was a Roman colony.

Little remains of the ancient city. The sea-gate, called Porta di San Chrysogono, is of Roman time; but report speaks of its having been brought to Zara, from the ruins of Ænona; and, from the word "emporium" in the inscription, it probably stood near some market-place. It was erected in compliance with the will of Melia Anniana, to the memory of her husband. The inscription is :

MELIA . ANNIANA . IN . MEMOR . Q . LAEPICI . Q . F . SERG . BASSI .
MARITI . SVI
IMPORIVM . STERNI . ET . ARCVm . FIERI . ET . STATVAS . SVPERPONI .
TEST . IVSS . EX . IIS DCDXXI . .

The gate is of a single arch, with a Corinthian pilaster at each side, supporting an entablature; and we learn from the inscription that, like the Porta Aurea at Pola, it was surmounted by statues.

Above it is another inscription, recording an event of great European celebrity, the victory of Lepanto; which no one can look upon, without partaking in some degree of the enthusiasm felt at the period, when this record was put up.

There are two Corinthian columns, one in the open space near the church of St. Simeone, and the other at the Piazza delle Erbe; both which were probably placed in their present position by the Venetians. On the latter are remains of the winged lion of St. Mark; and attached to the shaft are

chains, by which criminals were fastened in the time of the republic. Not far from this is the church of St. Donato, now a military storehouse; where an inscription is said by Farlati to have been found, dedicated "to Juno by Apuleia Quinta, the daughter of Marcus."

Another he gives* proves that the worship of Isis and Serapis was in vogue at Jadera—

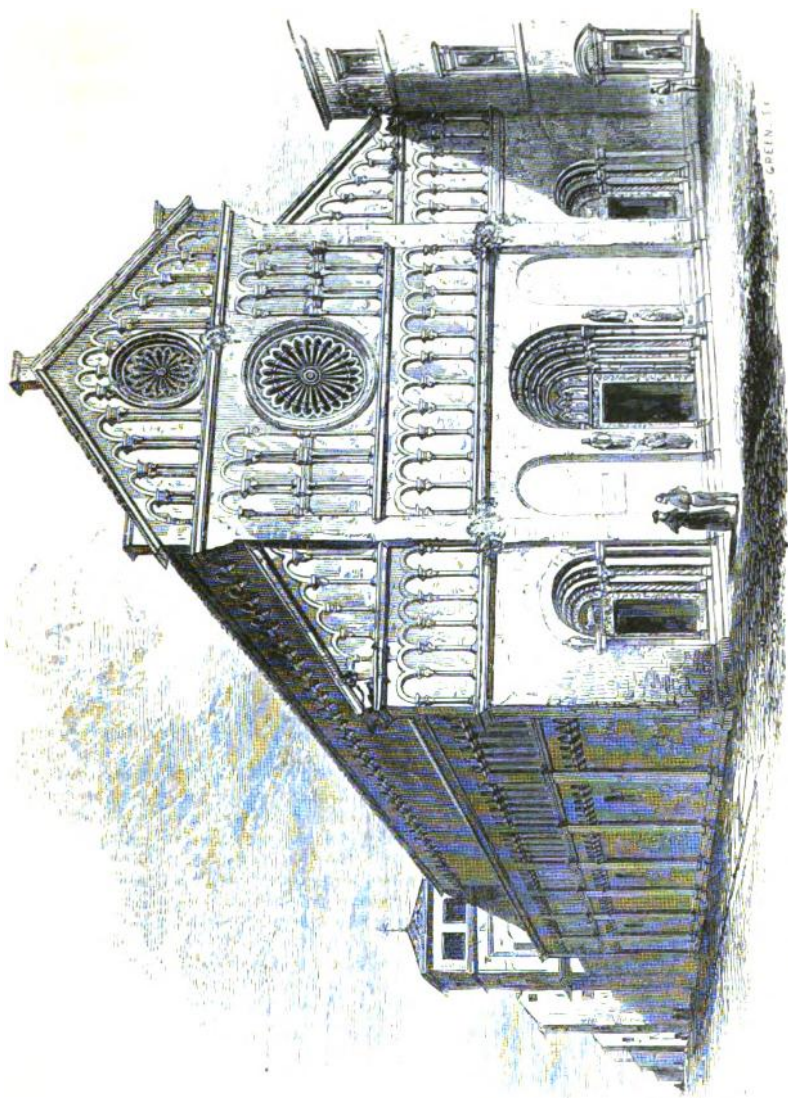
" Isidi Serapidi Liberi
Liberæ voto
Suscepto pro salute
Scapulæ filii sui
P. Quinctius Paris
s. l. m."

which has been thought to confirm the assertion "that when the Romans went into Illyria, they found that worship established there." But the existence of those rites at so early a period in Illyria may be doubted; and it is more probable that they were introduced there, after its conquest by the Romans.

He also shows from the expression "Parens coloniæ," applied to Augustus, in another inscription, that Jadera was indebted for its foundation to that emperor; who fortified it "with walls and towers," subsequently repaired by one "Titus Julius Optatus."

The mention of Publius Cornelius Dolabella, "legatus proprætor," or governor of the province, in the time of Tiberius, in two other inscriptions found at Zara and Ragusa Vecchia, has led to

* Farlati, vol. v. p. 3. See also Wheeler, p. 11.



ZARA CATHEDRA.

much discussion, even to the present day. But it is evident he was not the Dolabella, who married Tullia the daughter of Cicero, but the one mentioned by Paternulus, who governed Illyricum, about A.D. 14.

The Duomo, or Cathedral of Zara, is an interesting building of Lombard style, erected in the thirteenth century by Enrico Dandolo, after the city had been taken by the Venetian and French crusaders; doubtless with a view to deprecate the displeasure of Pope Innocent, who had severely censured the Venetians for their sacrilegious conduct, in pillaging the churches of Zara. The façade is ornamented with the small round-headed blank arches, common in Lombard and Norman monuments, which extend also along the exterior of the aisles and clerestory.

It is composed of three parts; the centre corresponds to, and terminates, the nave, and the sides the two aisles; each having its entrance by a doorway, ornamented with a succession of small columns, supporting the usual recessed semicircular arches, and a tympanum sculptured with the Lamb and sacred figures. The jambs and lintels are ornamented with arabesque patterns; and the columns, as well as the corresponding ovolos of the arches, have the cable moulding.

In the centre of the façade are two rosette windows, one over the other, the upper one opening on the clerestory, and introduced at a later time.

The interior has been altered, but the original parts are readily traced; and the raised portion at the east end, as well as the general form of the building, calls to mind the old basilica. The arches of the nave, which have single flat soffits, and a slight horse-shoe form, rest on plain round columns; over them is a spacious triforium; and at the top of the clerestory is a frightful segmental window, of late riding-school style. There are some carved wooden stalls; but the chief merit of this cathedral consists in the style of the architecture, in which respect it is one of the most remarkable buildings, of Christian time, in Dalmatia.

The church of Sta. Maria has round-headed arches; and attached to it is a Benedictine nunnery, founded in 1066, by the sister of Cresimir, king of Croatia. The old tower was built by Coloman, king of Hungary, in 1105, after his conquest of Dalmatia.

Petter speaks of a painting by Titian, in the church of Sta. Maria; and in that of S. Simeone is a sarcophagus, containing the bones of the saint, which is said to have been placed there by Elizabeth queen of Hungary.* The inventory of relics, in the different churches of Zara, given by Farlati†, might satisfy the most credulous, or the most devout. They amount at least to fifty or sixty; consisting of fingers, heads, and entire bodies of saints,

* Petter, p. 94.

† Farlati, vol. v. p. 9.

with pieces of the true cross ; and if we smile at the introduction of " *articulus ex digito S. Joannis Baptistæ*," or " *ex lacte B. V. in vasculo argenteo*," we may, in reading of " *reliquiæ S. Joannis B. et aliorum Divorum*," or " *plures Divorum reliquiæ*," feel surprise at the singular mention of saints, under the same title as the gods, and emperors of Rome.

St. Elia is the only Greek church at Zara. On the right side they show a chapel, which at the time of the French occupation was the only sanctuary possessed by the Greek Christians there ; and this being represented to the commandant, the whole church was ceded to them by his order, and has continued in their possession to the present day. The steeple is of late Venetian style.

Zara is well built, clean, and tolerably paved. The population amounts to 6860. It stands on a promontory, connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus, through which a ditch was cut by the Venetians, that carried the sea-water entirely round the works. It was often besieged and taken, during the wars between the Venetians and Hungarians ; the authority of the Doge was frequently assailed, and the governor expelled, by the disaffected inhabitants ; and even the Genoese had temporary possession of the city, during their struggles with Venice. But the importance of its position was too great for the Venetians to allow its remaining independent, or in the possession of

any other power; and the recovery of Zara was always one of their principal objects.

Long before the Turks advanced into Dalmatia, Zara was firmly held within the grasp of Venice, and its strong defences were a security against any attacks of those invaders; the dread of whose cruelties prevented all disaffection of the Zaratines against the Republic, and united the other maritime towns in a common cause with the Venetians.

The works are still kept up, and the winged lion, as usual in Venetian fortifications, figures in many conspicuous places; but they are no longer required, and some of the cisterns, or *pozze di Zara*, have been made out of the casemates.

The port is secure, and well defended by the works of the town, which are strong on the east side; where there is a large gateway, called *Porta di terra ferma*, ornamented with Doric columns and triglyphs, of the style common in works of the *renaissance*, and built by the celebrated San Michieli, or by his nephew Gian Girolamo.

This and the *Porta di Marina*, on the north side, are the only gates of Zara, the other two being merely sallyports.

The fosse before the eastern wall is used as a place of refuge for boats. Close to it is the public garden: on entering, you pass by a sort of hemicycle, or semicircular seat, with columns, in imitation of the antique; and beyond, in an alcove, are some inscriptions. Two of these were sent

from Vido, the ancient Naron, and another is in the Glagolitic character of Slavonic.

Zara possesses a small museum, a theatre, and a casino. There are also a lyceum, a central school of theology, and other places of public instruction; and a court of appeal, and another of *prima istanza*, as well as ordinary courts of judicature and police. Zara is the see of the metropolitan of Dalmatia; Spalato and Ragusa having no longer an archbishop; and the bishoprics of Dalmatia are Sebenico, Spalato, Lesina, Ragusa, and Cattaro.

The statutes of Zara are supposed to have been compiled in the beginning of the fourteenth century.*

The land has sunk very much, since the time of the Romans; and many ancient pavements have been found below the level of the sea.

The town is not well supplied with water; and in ancient times an aqueduct is supposed to have brought it from the small river Kakma, by Torrette, on the way to Zara Vecchia, remains of which are still seen in that direction; and Fortis says that an inscription was found at Zara, stating it to have been made by Trajan.

The district about Zara is called *Kotar*.

The land is far from fertile; and all the little soil they have is enclosed by the peasants within stone walls, as at Malta, to prevent the rains washing it off into the sea. They grow a very

* Catalinich, vol. iii. p. 54.

small quantity of corn; and the chief productions are wine and oil, which are considered good. The Maraschino of Zara is well known. It is made from the stone and kernel of the Marasca, or wild cherry.

The hills in the neighbourhood are low, but the lofty Villebich is seen in the distance, which is one of the highest ranges in Dalmatia. The climate is not considered healthy in summer, but Zara is not subject to the malaria that prevails in some other parts of Dalmatia.

Cavaliere Turzsky, who is the Governor of Dalmatia, resides at Zara. As I was the bearer of a letter to him from Count Nugent, he gave me every assistance during my stay in Dalmatia; which I have much pleasure in acknowledging, as well as the courtesy of Madame, who unites the most amiable manners to the natural goodness of the Germans. Cavaliere Turzsky is the General commanding the forces, as well as Civil Governor of the province; and he is assisted in his official civil duties by an aulic councillor, and five councillors of government.

The whole of Dalmatia is divided into the four *circoli*, or departments, of — 1. Zara; 2. Spalato; 3. Ragusa; and 4. Cattaro.* Each *circolo* is governed by a *Capo*, or *Capitano*, *Circolare*; who superintends the police, and all the civil adminis-

* See above, p. 37.

tration, and resides at the capital of the department.

The *circolo* is divided into *distretti* (districts), or *preture*; (that of Zara containing 8; Spalato, 10; Ragusa, 5; and Cattaro, 3;) in the chief town of which a *Pretore* resides, nominated by the Governor of Dalmatia. He is second to the *Capo Circolare*, and has the management of the police; and in the same town is the *Podestà*, who is *Capo Comunale*, and regulates all the affairs of the six, ten, or twelve *communes**, within his jurisdiction, assisted by a council, composed of four assessors, and twelve *consiglieri comunali*, who overlook the lighting of the town, night patrols, inns, public expenses, and all parish business. They hold the office for three years, and are appointed by the council, previous to its going out, but must be confirmed by the Governor of Dalmatia, as the *podestà* by the Emperor himself. The *pretore* is also appointed by the Emperor, at the recommendation of the Governor of Dalmatia. Under the *pretore* is the *sirdár*, who is lieutenant of the territorial force, or country police, called *pandouri*. These armed peasants serve without pay, doing duty by turns for a day or two each, according to their number.

Every *circolo* has also a colonel of the territorial force, who commands all the *sirdars*; and that of Zara has ten *sirdars* and fifteen vice-*sirdars*.

* Or *comunes*.

There are also a *sindaco*, and *vice-sindaco*; who live in some small town, and whose jurisdiction extends over several parishes.* The *sindaco* answers to *Capovilla*.

The population of all the *Circoli* of Dalmatia, in 1833, consisted of

Slavonians -	-	-	-	-	340,000
Italians, mostly from Venice	-	-	-	-	16,000
Albanians (of the Borgo Erizzo)	-	-	-	-	882
Jews (chiefly from Spain) at Spalato and Ragusa	-	-	-	-	510
					<hr/> 357,392

and in 1844 amounted to 403,421, of whom

323,271 were Roman Catholics.
664 United Greeks.
77,690 Greeks.
483 Jews.
27 Protestants.
1,286 Members of religious houses.
<hr/> 403,421

showing an increase, which Carrara states to be of 62,133 in 16 years, from 1828 to 1844.

The various posts in Dalmatia are not looked upon as very eligible; and few are either lucrative or desirable, except, perhaps, that of governor. Even this is far less agreeable than many others, held by men of the same rank; and the total isolation in which he lives, the want of society for his family, and the distance from Vienna, are great objections. Many of the other government officers,

* The *Sindacato* of Vergoraz extends over six parishes and sixteen villages, with a population of 7000 inhabitants.

not natives of Dalmatia, look upon an employment there as banishment ; and are only satisfied with it, from the idea that it may lead to something better ; and a very general remark is, that " Dalmatia is the Siberia of Austria." For the Italian regiments, it is perhaps a welcome post, from the similarity of manners and language in the large towns ; and the Austrians, finding that the isolated position of the country, and the quiet demeanour of the inhabitants, relieve them from the fear of political intrigues, do not scruple to employ those troops in Dalmatia.

The Dalmatians are indeed very quiet under the " paternal government ;" its policy throws no positive obstacles in the way of improvement, as did that of the Venetians ; and the fault is rather that it fails sufficiently to encourage, than that it directly opposes, beneficial measures.

But the effect of the general feeling, or the wishes of the *employés*, that their stay may be temporary, cannot be otherwise than injurious to the country ; and the natural consequence is, that few care to suggest any improvements ; and the little interest felt at Vienna, respecting Dalmatia, is no inducement to any one to propose them.

You often meet very agreeable persons in Dalmatia, both Austrians and natives ; and the former, whether military men or civilians, are disposed to be courteous and sociable ; but since that ill-advised political plot, concocted by the Italians at Corfu,

in 1844, the Austrian government does not encourage too intimate an intercourse with the English ; and officers of the "imperial-royal" navy are ordered to abstain from associating too much with them. In compliance therefore with these instructions, whenever a ship enters Malta, or other ports, the officers pay visits of ceremony to those of British men-of-war, but avoid all advances towards sociable intercourse ; which is the more to be regretted, as the Austrian officers, both of the navy and army, are agreeable and intelligent.

The feeling of the Austrian government towards its foreign subjects often leads many an employé to make a display of bitterness, in speaking of them, which is sometimes real, sometimes put on, to court the good will of the higher powers ; and I once witnessed a performance of this kind, in the presence of several Dalmatians.

The conversation turned upon an event that had recently occurred in a Dalmatian town ; where, in a quarrel between some soldiers and the people, two of the former had been killed. How many of the other party had been injured did not appear ; that was immaterial to the speaker, and he decided that, as the offenders were unknown, the whole of the population ought to be "decimated and shot," and the butchery of any number of Dalmatians was thought a fit way of remedying the incapacity of the police.

On hearing this recommendation given, and

welcomed by persons holding official stations, I could not help suggesting that we were living in the nineteenth century, and that I was surprised to find any European, of a state calling itself civilised, propose so atrocious a measure.

I was doubtless soon afterwards placed under the *surveillance* of the police ; but as I never interfered in politics, I cared little for their *espionnage* ; and if men laid themselves open to a reply, by the expression of sentiments worthy of barbarians, it was not my fault ; and so insulting was the remark considered by the Dalmatians present, that they afterwards thanked me for having checked a conversation, which they would have been compelled to listen to, without daring to object.

CHAP. III.

ZARA TO SPALATO.

Sebenico. — Spalato, Palace of Diocletian. — Salona. — Clissa. — I Castelli. — Träù. — Isles of Brazza and Solta.

THE voyage from Zara to Sebenico takes about six hours by the steamer.

About a mile to the south of Zara is the village of Borgo Erizzo (Eritzo), inhabited by Albanians, who settled there eighty years ago. They were brought to Dalmatia by the metropolitan of Zara, named Zmaievich, a Bocchese, or native of the Bocche di Cattaro, who had been archbishop of Antivari.

Zara Vecchia (in Illyric, *Stari-Zadar*) stands on the coast, about sixteen miles to the S. E. of the Dalmatian capital. It was formerly a considerable town, but is now reduced to a village, of between four and five hundred inhabitants. It is supposed to have stood on, or near, the site of the ancient Blandona, which was distant 20 M. P. from Jadera. In the low ages it was called Bielograd*, “the white city,” and was destroyed by the Venetians†, under Ordelafo Faliero, in 1115.

* See the history, in Chap. V.

† According to Lucio, Dandolo, and others; and not, as Palladio Fusco says, by the Zaratines, in Lucio, p. 453.

Vrana, which often figures in the history of Dalmatia*, is not the successor of any ancient town, but is remarkable as the residence of the Knights Templars, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries; its fortified monastery having been confirmed to them, in the twelfth century, by the king of Hungary.† At one time it fell into the hands of the Turks; but after its destruction, by the Venetians, it ceased to be inhabited, its walls fell to decay, and the ruins are still seen amidst the modern houses.

The sites of some old towns occur to the southward and eastward, but without remains of consequence. Nadin, or Nadino, on the road from Zara to Knin, marks the site of Nedinum, of which nothing now exists. It is said to have been destroyed by the Goths. The Venetians afterwards fortified it with a tower, on an elevated position, from which the approach of an enemy might be observed and signalised. It was twice taken by the Turks, and twice recovered by the Venetians; but on their evacuation, in 1684, the Turks so completely destroyed it, that all the works and buildings required to be entirely rebuilt.

The remains of Asseria, or Assessia‡, may be seen at Podgraje, where the circuit of the town is still visible. Fortis says the circumference mea-

* See the History in Chap. IX. A. D. 1186—1196.

† See the Knights Templars, in the History. Chap. IX.

‡ About twenty-seven miles from Zara to the East. See Fortis, p. 32.

sures 3600 Roman feet, and the space enclosed within the walls forms an oblong polygon. The thickness of these fortifications is about eight feet, but at the narrowest extremity, which falls towards the foot of the hill, they are eleven feet thick, and in some parts their height, in his time, reached "to near thirty feet." On the N.E. side are traces of a gate; the curve of whose arch was then visible, and some of the inhabitants remembered to have seen it entire. The walls are lined within, and without, with Dalmatian marble; and some of the stones measure ten feet in length. The city is mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy. The former speaks of the people as "the free Asseriates," who attended the *Conventus*, or Congress, of Scardona; and this people, who created their own magistrates, and were governed by their own municipal laws, were no doubt (as Fortis observes) more rich and powerful than any of their neighbours. The position of the place has led to its modern name; Podgraje, signifying "under the hill."

Sebenico stands on the inner side of a lake, or bay, the entrance to which is by a narrow and rather tortuous canal*, with steep rocky sides, easily defended, and difficult of access to sailing vessels without a leading wind. On a low tongue of land, at the south side of the entrance, is the fort of San Nicolo, built in 1546, by San Michieli, during the rule of the Venetians; and at the other

* Called of St. Antonio.

extremity of the passage, where it opens on the bay, the French constructed a small redoubt, now destroyed.

Near this canal, a tower formerly stood, which was occupied by the nobles of Sebenico, when in 1410 they were expelled from the city by the populace, for having sided with the Venetians, the people being warmly attached to the Hungarian rule. They vainly endeavoured to fight their way back; and the remonstrances of Sigismund, king of Hungary, were equally ineffectual to induce their opponents to receive them; till, out of patience with their obstinacy, Sigismund seized the leaders of the popular party, and punished them with death. The patricians then returned to their homes. But having thus alienated the affections of his adherents, Sigismund shortly afterwards lost the city, which entered into a treaty with the Venetians.

The port is very secure, and the water, both there and in the channel, is deep. Sebenico is commanded by the castle of St. Anna, built on a rocky eminence immediately above it. There are two other castles on higher ground behind this. The uppermost one, called S. Giovanni, is still kept in repair; and the lower one, which is dismantled, bears the name of Il Barone, in commemoration of the gallant defence it made under Barone di Degenfeld, in 1648, against the Turks.

When the Venetians were at war with the Turks,

and Sebenico was exposed to attacks from the land side, these forts were its principal protection, commanded as it was by the high ground to the eastward; but they are now of little use, except to prevent a *coup de main*; and the road, made from the interior over this pass, has taken much from their efficiency. By this road, most of the coal from the Dernis mines is conveyed in carts to Sebenico, a distance of about twenty-six miles.

In former times, and even before the construction of the two upper forts, the difficulty of ascending this hill was looked upon by the Venetians as the security of the place, and is mentioned in a report on Sebenico*, which says, "the Monte Giovanni commands the castle (of S. Anna), and would destroy it entirely, but the ascent of the hill is very rough, and cannon could, with difficulty, be brought up it; though, to render the city quite secure on the land side, it is necessary to erect a castle, however small, upon the hill." The suggestion was followed, and the two forts were made there, to complete the defences of Sebenico.

These hills are part of the range of Monte Tartari. The view from the heights above the town is very extensive, and gives a good idea of the general scenery of the coast of Dalmatia, with its numerous islands.

The principal object of interest in Sebenico is the Cathedral, or Duomo, commenced in 1415,

* Published by Solitro in his "Documenti Storici," p. 102.

and completed in 1555. Though of a mixed style of architecture, partaking of the Gothic and the Cinque-cento, it has some merits, and the effect of the interior is pleasing. The roof is remarkable, being entirely of stone slabs, forming a semi-cylindrical vault. The nave is separated from the aisles by five columns on either side, supporting pointed arches. The vertical line is continued from the columns up the wall of the clerestory, to the top of the building, by means of pilasters, from which a soffit, or flat groin, follows the curve of the roof to the opposite pilaster. The west end is light and graceful; and the combination of Gothic and Græco-Italian ornaments in the exterior of the apse is well managed; but the façade is heavy and graceless. It stands on the north side of the principal square, and faces the *Loggie*; which are now converted into a *Café*, and assembly rooms.

Though Sebenico is small, and its streets are irregular, many of the houses are handsome, and well built for a Dalmatian town; and it has a pretty appearance from the water. Near the western gate, leading from the bay, is a Latin inscription * of late time, containing the name of

*

VIRTVTI ET FELICI
TATI OMNES RETR°
PRINCIPES SVPER
CRESSO DN · FL · IVI
CONSTANTI VICTO
RI AC TRIVMFATORI
SEMPER AVG

H

Constans; but it does not belong to Sebenico, which cannot claim the honour of having succeeded to any city of Roman time; and Fortis says, "it was brought from the internal part of the territory called Campo di Sopra, where probably in ancient times Tariona stood." Fortis* mentions a curious ceremony at Sebenico, of electing a king for fifteen days, about Christmas; but this, like many other Dalmatian customs, has ceased to exist.

The costumes of the women, if not more singular, are more graceful at Sebenico, than in other parts of Dalmatia.† They wear a short cloth pelisse, generally red, green, or blue, fastened at the waist by a gold clasp; and their hair is bound round the head in two large plaits, interwoven with a red ribbon. The dress of the men differs little from that worn by the Morlacchi, in other places.

Some picturesque groups may often be seen on the quay, where the steamer is moored while taking in coal, and many an amusing scene occurs on that occasion. The coal is brought on board by women, who, as usual in Dalmatia, are the porters and wheelbarrows of the place, while the pigtailed men employ themselves in more agreeable occu-

FL · IVI · RVFINVS · SAR
MENTIVS · VC · PRAE
SIS PROV · DALMATI
AEDNMIIVS

* Fortis, pp. 134. 136. See other peculiarities mentioned by him.

† See the costumes in Carrara's *Dalmazia descritta*.

pations. The large blocks of coal have a promising appearance, and, from the quantity taken on board, any one might suppose it was a cargo for sale at some other port; but the speedy disappearance of the large stacks you stumble over on deck, in leaving Sebenico, shows how incapable it is of satisfying the moderate appetite of an Austrian steamer, even on the shortest voyage.

When the steamer arrives at a convenient hour, there is time to visit the falls of the Kerka, in a four-oared boat, and every facility for doing this is given by the obliging civility of the Austrian Lloyd's Company. The Austrian police is also indulgent enough not to require the *visat* of a passport, for that excursion; and all that is necessary is the permit from the board of health.

The population of Sebenico is 2767, of whom 229 are of the Greek Church; and the two suburbs contain 2374 Roman Catholics, and 220 Greeks. In 1298 it was made a Roman Catholic see; and in 1810 a Greek bishop was also established there, during the rule of the French, who has since been translated to Zara.

Sebenico is noted for two varieties of wine, one the *Vino Tartaro*, which is thought to resemble Madeira, white and strong; the other called, like the liqueur, *Maraschino*, which has a flavour of Malaga. Besides that liqueur, two others are made in Dalmatia; one from the *Susina*, a sort of damson, the other from the *Loto* fruit.

Dalmatia produces many wines, which are strong and full bodied ; but most of them have the fault of being sweet, owing to the grapes remaining too long upon the vines, before they are gathered for pressing. It is from this that they have received the name of *Prosecco*. Neglect, too, in choosing the fruit is another fault of the Dalmatians, in their process of making wine ; and there is no doubt that, if the grapes were properly selected, and pressed when less ripe, the wine would be much better, and might take its proper station among those of Europe.

The *Vugáva*, a white wine of the isle of Brazza, is sweet, and bears some resemblance to Frontignac ; but the white *Malvasia*, which is also much esteemed, is dry, with an aromatic flavour, and not sweet. The *Vin di Rosa*, or Rose wine of Almissa, has a very delicious flavour, and is called *Prosecco*, and *Muscato*. There are also the *Vino di Spiaggia*, from Lesina, of a sweet flavour, and considered one of the best common wines of the country ; the *Marzemino*, from Teodò, in the neighbourhood of Cattaro, and many others of less note. Dalmatia possesses no effervescing wine like the Rifòsco, made in the neighbourhood of Trieste, which deserves to be more known. It is very delicate, and seldom found good, even at Trieste. There are two kinds, red and white ; the former, which resembles a Mousseux claret, is the best.

Schiavone, who died in 1582, and Martin Rota,

the painter and engraver, were natives of Sebenico; the Veranzios, Difnico, and many other men distinguished in literature, were born there; and Fortis says, that, "in the sixteenth century, the arts and sciences flourished in Sebenico, more than in any other town of Dalmatia."

Lucio ascribes its foundation to the Croatians; but Giustiniani states that it was built by the Uscocs, who, living on the high wall where the castle now stands, as soon as they descried any vessel near the shore, went out in their boats to plunder it; and that having built some cottages, and surrounded them with pallisades, called *Sibue*, the town, which afterwards grew up there, received the name of "*Sibenico*." After the destruction of Scardona, the new city increased in size, and established a government of its own; but, being subsequently oppressed by the Hungarians, it gave itself up to the Venetians, on the 12th July, 1412.

Some have erroneously supposed it to be the Sicum of Pliny and Ptolemy, the Siclis of the Peutinger table; which was on the sea shore, several miles to the east of Tragurium (Träù), on the road to Salona.

Sebenico is noted for a rare species of fish, called *Dentali della Corona*, the *Sparus gibbosus**, so called from a crest upon its head. It is much esteemed, and said only to be found in Dalmatia, and at Constantinople. The *palamidi*, one of the

* See Petter, and Carrara's *Dalmazia descritta*, p. 85.

best fish on this coast, is also common at Sebenico. It resembles a large mackerel, and sometimes weighs about ten pounds. Mullet, and many other excellent fish, are caught at Sebenico ; but, as Fortis* observes, "the fishing is not practised in a better manner than agriculture," and the fishermen attend to little else, besides the daily provision required for the tables of Sebenico and Scardona.

The river Kerka runs into the bay, a little to the N.W. of the town, between rocky banks ; and, long before reaching Scardona, the water is perfectly fresh. The rocks, as throughout Dalmatia, are calcareous ; and the islands about Sebenico are famed for their coral, and for sponges. Coral is found in the greatest abundance off the isle of Bua, near Träù ; and the best sponges at Trapani, a rock near the isle of Zlarin.

The island of Zlarin, or Zlari, opposite the mouth of the canal, is said to have been called the Isle of "Gold," from its fertility†, producing as it does much wine and oil ; but, however it may deserve this title, the word "gold," in Illyric, is not *Zlari*, but *Zlato*. ‡

There is little to interest the traveller, in coasting from Sebenico to Spalato. In two hours and a half you come to a dangerous rock, just above the water's edge ; and soon after this is the promon-

* Fortis, p. 137.

† Wheeler says "from its pleasantness."

‡ Zlato "gold ;" serébro "silver."

tory of La Planca. A heavy surf often dashes over this low rocky shelf in bad weather, being exposed to the force of the open sea; which, to the northward and southward of it, is broken by intervening islands. On one occasion, when trying to pass this headland, the steamer I was in could not face the wind, and we were obliged to put back into the port of Rogósizza*, until the storm had abated; and such is the abundance of harbours and creeks along the whole Dalmatian coast, that no vessel need be at a loss for a place of refuge; as, in former times, no pirate was in want of a sheltered spot, in which to lie concealed, or wait for a prize. La Planca is the Promontorium Diomedis; and near it is the boundary line between the *circoli*, or departments, of Zara and Spalato.

On the gentle slope behind it is a small church, or chapel; in passing which a stranger will probably hear, from some one on board, the following story of an ass catching a wolf.

A man having left an ass, tied by a rope to the open door of the church, went down to the shore, and being absent some time, the ass, tired of standing exposed to the sun, walked as far as the rope would allow it into the church. A wolf passing by, attracted by the hope of food, went into the passage after it, upon which the terrified ass rushing out, pulled to the door, and left the wolf a prisoner within. When the man returned, he per-

* Rogósnitza. See below, the History of the Uscocs, Ch. IX.

ceived the alarm of the ass, and cautiously looking in saw the wolf, which, with assistance, was taken and killed.

On passing this promontory, the change in the climate is perceptible; some plants unknown to the north of it begin to appear there, and the Scirocco, or S.E. wind, becomes far more prevalent to the southward of La Planca. Of this I had a convincing proof on my return from Spalato. The wind was blowing from the S.E., but no sooner had we doubled this point, than we were met by a northerly breeze; though, in looking back, we found that all the boats still continued upon the same tack, and long afterwards we could see, from the appearance of the Biocovo mountain, the unchanged course of the Scirocco.

To give an idea of the winds, I have drawn up the accompanying table for the year 1844, taken from the observations made at Zara, which will show how much more prevalent the Scirocco is than any other wind, even in that part of Dalmatia; and there is no doubt that, at Spalato, it blows during more than 100 days in the 365, or between one fourth and one third of the whole year.

The observations* are taken twice a-day, about sunrise and 2 P.M.

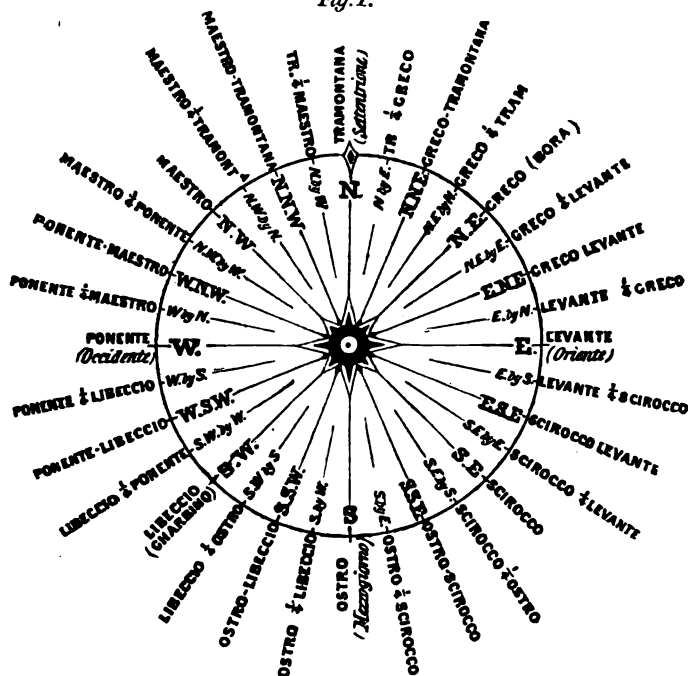
* Those for 27th and 28th of December, 1844, I have not been able to ascertain. The remaining number consists, therefore, of 728 observations for 364 days.

TABLE OF WINDS, WITH THE QUARTER THEY BLOW FROM,
DURING THE YEAR, AT ZARA.

1843-4.	Sirocco. S. E.	Levante. E.	Maestro. N. W.	Greco. N. E.	Greco-Levante. E. N. E.	Ostro. S.	Tramontana. N.	Ponente. W.	Libeccio. S. W.	Maestro- Tramontana. N. N. W.
Dec. 29 to 31 incl.	0	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
January, 1844...	12	14	9	15	4	2	6	0	0	0
Feb. (<i>leap year</i>)...	26	10	8	2	7	1	4	0	0	0
March	19	15	13	9	1	3	4	0	0	0
April.....	8	18	19	8	2	2	1	0	0	0
May	15	14	17	10	0	7	1	0	0	0
June	15	16	19	2	3	1	0	2	0	0
July	15	16	20	4	1	0	1	5	0	1
August	14	17	17	6	1	6	1	0	0	0
September.....	20	12	17	5	0	2	3	1	0	0
October.....	27	10	9	6	2	5	2	0	1	0
November.....	15	17	13	7	5	1	0	0	2	0
Dec. to 26 incl...	12	12	1	14	6	0	6	0	0	0
Total.....	198	175	163	88	32	31	29	8	3	1
In all - - 728 observations in 364 days.										

The above list contains the names of the principal winds; but the modern compass used in the Adriatic, and the greater part of the Mediterranean, is divided into thirty-two points*, like our own.

Fig. 1.



The relaxing nature of the Scirocco† is well known. Its name is taken from the Arabic Sherk, the "East;" as Gharbin, often applied by the sailors to the Libeccio or S. W., is from Gharb, the "West." The Greco or N. E. is called Bóra, principally on

* See Fig. 1.

† Corrupted into Scilocco.

the coast of Istria, where its extraordinary force is much dreaded in winter; and Bóra is evidently a corruption of the Boreas of the ancients, which was N. to the Greeks, and N. E. to the Italians.

Horace describes the *Notus* as the prevalent wind of the Adriatic*; and he also speaks of "Auster," as the wind which most influenced that sea, calling it "Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriæ;"† which does not appear to agree with the frequency of the Scirocco, or S. E.; for the *notus*, both of the Greeks and Romans, is always put for the south, and ΝΩΤΟΣ is marked as the name of that wind, on the south side of the tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes at Athens. *Auster* is also used for the south by the Romans; and it is remarkable that the word is still retained in the *Ostro* of the Italians, who give it to the south; while their *Libeccio* answers to the Latin *libs*.

It does not appear that the Romans always divided the quarter circle into our four parts of $22\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, or eight points of $11\frac{1}{4}$ ‡, but generally into two of 45° §; and even into three of 30° each, which

* He says,

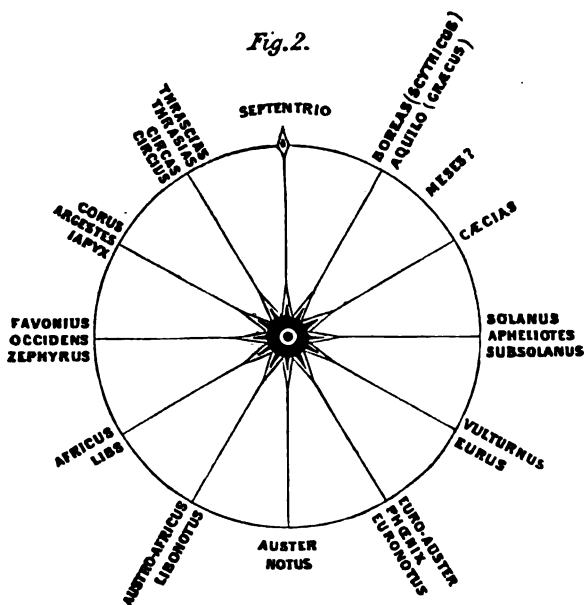
"Nec timuit præcipitem Africum
Decertantem Aquilonibus,
Nec tristes Hyadas, nec rabiem Noti,
Quo non arbiter Hadriæ
Major, tollere seu ponere vult freta." — I. Od. 3—14.

† Hor. III. Od. 3—5.

‡ Beloe (Herodot. 7.) gives the names of the thirty-two winds.

§ See Fig. 3.

were determined from each cardinal point by the radius 60° .* The whole circle or compass, according to this last division, had twelve points, and there were then none to correspond exactly with our N. E., N. W., S. E., and S. W. Thus, between S. and E. were two, Euronotus, and Vulturinus †, of 30° each, which is the arrangement mentioned by Seneca. ‡



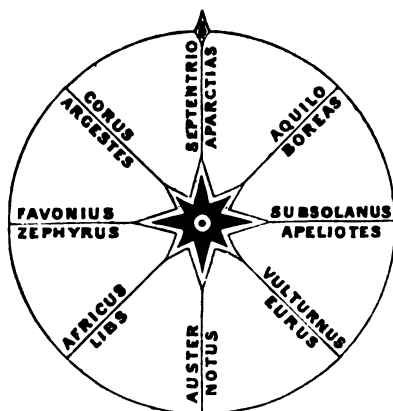
* See Fig. 2.

† The Scirocco is the Vulturinus of Pliny, (lib. ii. c. 47.) which, he says, was a warm wind.

‡ Seneca says, "Quidam illos duodecim faciunt. Quatuor enim cœli partes in ternas dividunt, singulis ventis binos suffectos dant," &c. Nat. Quæst. l. 5. c. 16. See Fig. 2.

Pliny gives one only between each cardinal point*, and says other *four* are sometimes added; which,

Fig. 3.



however, could not be done but by the division of 30 degrees each †; nor could his solstitial and winter risings and settings of the sun extend to 45 degrees.

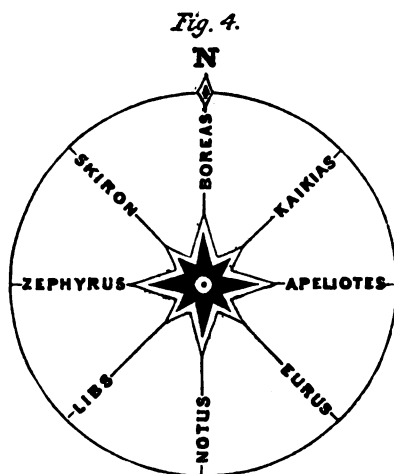
The Greek compass was divided into eight winds, the names of which, according to the Tower at Athens‡, were *Boreas*, N.; *Kaikias*, N. E.; *Apeliotes*, E.; *Eurus*, S. E.; *Notus*, S.; *Libs*, S. W.; *Zephyrus*, W.; and *Skirôn*, N. W.; and this agrees

* Columella uses the same division. De Re Rust. lib. xi. c. 2. 4. See Fig. 3.

† As in Fig. 2.

‡ Of this tower, or Horologium, of Cyrrhestes, see Varro, De Re Rust. 3. 5. 17., and Vitruvius, 1. 6.

nearly with their names and distribution given by Pliny.*



In the distance, to the S. or S.S.E. of La Planca, is seen the island of Lissa, memorable in modern times for the glorious victory, obtained by Sir William Hoste over the French squadron, in 1811.† It was formerly called Issa, and is said to have been colonised by the Syracusans, as early as the reign of Dionysius the Elder, and to have been itself the parent of Tragurium and Epetium (Träù and Stobretz). It was here that Teuta, the widow

* The Chinese divide each quarter of their compass into six points; *e. g.* two between N. and N.E. and two between N.E. and E.

† See the History.

of Agron, King of Illyria, put to death one of the Roman ambassadors, who had been sent to complain of the piracies of her subjects, while she was engaged in besieging Issa. And this, together with the desire to protect the islands, led to the first Illyric war, B. C. 229.* That Issa remained free for a long period is proved by its coins†, which also show that the island was noted for its wine, as in later times; bearing as they do an amphora on one side, and on the other a vine with leaves.

The Issans were famed for their maritime skill; and their beaked ships, called *Lembi Issiaci*, are mentioned by Livy and other authors.‡ They became allies of the Romans at a very early period, and on some occasions rendered them essential service, particularly in the war with Philip of Macedon, against whom they sent an auxiliary force of twenty ships. They were therefore protected by the Romans, until those conquerors, having obtained possession of Dalmatia, annexed the island to their all absorbing empire. Appian calls it Esson, and the Anonymus Ravennas Issia; it appears also to have been sometimes styled Isauria.

Lissa has frequently been confounded with Lis-

* See beginning of the History.

† Petter, p. 149.

‡ The vessels of Issa were included under the name of "Liburnian." Apollodorus Rhodius says, "The Liburnians inhabited these islands;" and Strabo calls "Issa the most noted of the Liburnian islands." Lib. vii.

sus, a town of Epirus, on the left bank of the Drilo, and with Lissa, an island now called San Michele, or Uglian, which forms the canal of Zara. It is high, and is seen at a considerable distance. It has two ports; the larger one on the N. E. side, with a town of the same name. The soil is barren; and the chief produce is wine, which, with the fisheries, paid, under the Venetians, about 8000 ducats a-year.*

In approaching the Isle of Búa, a distant glimpse is obtained of the town of Träü, with its lofty steeple. In the hills behind it are the quarries of S. Elia, from which the stone was taken for building the palace of Diocletian at Spalato.

During the wars between the Venetians and Turks, the latter extended their confines as far as this range of hills; often laying waste the lands below, and inflicting great injuries on the peasants, who were obliged to seek shelter in the fortified Castelli on the shore.†

The Isle of Búa is said to have derived its name from the bull of Phalaris; but how this happened does not appear. Others say it was so called from bearing some resemblance to a bull's hide in shape; though a more probable etymology is suggested in its pasture lands and the number of cattle, for which it was once noted. Little of that boasted fertility now remains, except towards the western

* In 1575.

† See the History, 1571.

extremity; and the rest consists principally of the barren grey limestone rock so common in Dalmatia. The asphaltum of the Isle of Búa has been described by Fortis*; and a new mine was discovered there in 1845, near Porto Mandolar. The island in ancient times bore the name of Boas†; and during the later periods of the Roman empire it was used as a place of exile. In the reign of Julian many state offenders were confined there; Jovian the heretic was banished to Boas by order of Theodosius; and it served for a long time as a place of banishment, for those condemned for heresy, and political offences.‡

It is connected with the main land at Träü by a bridge; whence it extends in a south-easterly direction nearly to Spalato, forming an inland bay; on the north side of which is the Riviera dei Castelli, and to the eastward the small stream of the Giadro, running into it at Salona.

After passing the Isle of Búa, and the hill called Monte Marglian§, known by its stone cross, you enter the port of Spalato.

* Fortis, p. 176. Petter is wrong in disbelieving its existence there.

† Also Babus, Babua, Bovo, Boa, Boæ, and Bubaria, corrupted into Barbaria.

‡ It was here that the religious society of “the *Fishermen*” was established in 1579, by Bishop Augustin Valerius, sent by Gregory XIII., as his apostolic visiter to Dalmatia.

§ Not Marian.

Like other towns, which have belonged to the Venetians, Spalato retains evident signs of the customs and government of that people, in the steeples, the windows, the stone balconies, the chimnies, and the winged Lion of St. Mark; and the language bears the stamp of the Venetian dialect, as in other seaport towns of Dalmatia. The port is small, and is now frequented by few vessels larger than *trabaccolos*, and other small craft; though the water is sufficiently deep for steamers and brigs.

On landing from the steamer, travellers have to go through the ordeal of a custom-house and passport office; though it must be confessed they are exposed to less vexation, and inconvenience, than in most seaports.

The Austrians, indeed, are very indulgent to strangers in Dalmatia, and any one may land, and visit the places, where the steamers stop, without molestation.

Spalato, in Illyric *Split*, is the chief town of the Circolo of the same name, the second city of Dalmatia, after Zara, and a Bishop's see. The greater part of it is built within the precincts of Diocletian's palace, which has given its name to Spalato*, corrupted from Palatium†; and the whole town is

* Porphyrogenitus says, "*Aspalathum* signifies *small* palace," but without explaining it; and Thomas the archdeacon derives it from "*Spatiosum* palatium," (c. 10. in Lucio, p. 319.)

† Probably from *Salonæ palatium*, or *S. Palatium*. The "*Salonæ palatium lætum* (or *latum*)" was the origin of the



Dr. C. W. Aet

Portals of China

computed to contain rather more than nine thousand inhabitants, of which the suburbs, or Borghi, have about five thousand eight hundred.

Near the south-east angle of the palace is the Lazaretto, on a projecting point of land, which forms the eastern side of the port. It was formerly used for goods, and persons performing quarantine, when the caravans came from Turkey to Spalato. But after the plague of 1816 had committed great ravages in the Borghi of Spalato, it was thought more prudent to abolish this Lazaretto, and, to the great detriment of the town, the caravans were no longer admitted*; though it is difficult to understand the wisdom of giving up a lucrative trade, because the plague once broke out there.† Since that time its extensive circuit has contained magazines, a theatre, prisons, a small Capucin convent, a custom-house, and artillery barracks.

The inhabitants of Spalato are nearly all Roman Catholics; but some are of the Greek church, and thirteen are Protestants.‡ There are also about

motto on the seal of Spalato, "*Palatium lætum Spalatum Salonæ quietum.*" It has also been called Spalathion, Aspalatum, Spaletum, Spalatium, or Speletium; and some have written it Spalatro. See Mic. Madio, in Lucio, p. 376.

* Petter says the Turks obtained the right of carrying goods to, and from, Spalato by the treaty of Passarovitz, in 1718.

† The caravans have been restored, and the salt trade with Turkey has been again permitted to Spalato, since I left it.

‡ Carrara's *Dalmazia descritta*. See Chapter VII.

three hundred and twenty Jews, many of whom wear the turban and oriental costume; and in no place could a better study for Shylock be found than at Spalato. They are mostly descendants of the Jews who were expelled from Spain, in 1493, and who established themselves in Smyrna, Salonica, and other places in Europe and Asia. One colony then settled at Spalato, notwithstanding the rigid restrictions imposed upon them by the Venetians *, who obliged them to live in a particular part of the town, as at Venice, called the *Ghetto*. The same name is applied to the Jews' quarter at Rome, to which they are confined even at the present day, as in the East; though the present enlightened Pope intends to remove the restriction. To the credit of the Austrians, it has long been abolished in Dalmatia, where the Jews enjoy the same privileges, as in the most civilised towns of Europe.

The streets are narrow, tortuous, and badly paved, mostly with small flat stones; and the houses have neither size, nor architectural beauty, to recommend them. They are, however, much cleaner within than many in Italy.

The people are civil to strangers, and take a pride in witnessing the admiration bestowed on the interesting palace of Diocletian, to which Spalato is indebted for its existence; and whose solid walls have so often protected it, from the attacks of pirates and other enemies.

* Catalinich, iv. p. 249.

The higher classes, however, keep very much to themselves, and see little or no society; not, I believe, from that pride of which they are accused by the Zaratines, but because their habits disincline them to it. The rich, too, live principally on their own estates, and there is no one to lead, or form, a fashionable world in Spalato; nor have they any great wish to amalgamate with the Austrians, and the most that will be done, by the present attempt to induce some degree of sociability, will probably be confined to the *Cassino*. A stranger is therefore left to his own resources; and no one interrupts his occupations, or his leisure hours, with calls or invitations; though this does not imply any want of civility on the part of individuals, and I was indebted for much kindness to Professor Carrara, to the Counts Grisogono and Dudan, the family of Bratanich, and others, as well as to the Marchese Gravisi, colonel of the rifle regiment there; who gave me every assistance during my stay at Spalato.

In early times, the town was confined within the limits of the palace; and it was not till it received the protection of the Hungarians and Venetians, that it extended beyond the precincts of that building. The arches in the external walls were filled up with masonry, as soon as the hostile irruption of barbarians obliged them to provide for defence: some of the gates and towers were repaired, and altered at various times; and the remains of Hun-

garian additions are still seen above the northern gate, or Porta Aurea, and in other parts of the walls. A castle was also built, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, by the Bosnian general, Harvoje; who had been created Duke of Spalato by Ladislav, the rival of the Hungarian King Sigismund; with the pretended object of protecting the city and the port, though in reality to repress all outbreaks of the people; and its large octagonal tower, which is still seen there, bears the name of "Torre d' Harvoje." On the sea shore, close to this tower, was afterwards erected "the castle of Spalato."

The Venetians, in 1645 and 1670, enclosed the town with regular curtains and bastions, down to the sea; and on a height to the eastward, about 1200 feet from the walls, they erected a fort commanding the town, called Grippi.

In a Venetian report on the state of Dalmatia, published by Solitro*, Spalato is represented as "incapable of resisting artillery, though it might have nothing to fear from a *coup de main*;" and its chief protection was then thought to be the distant "tower of Salona, and the fortress of Sasso, about three miles" to the eastward; both which belonged to it. But these two strongholds, "the eyes of the territory, were fraudulently and basely given into the hands of the enemy; who, after having taken possession of them, delivered up the traitors to

* Monumenti Storici, p. 102.

the Count of Spalato, who hanged them for their perfidy."

"The Venetian General Schulenburg, the gallant defender of Corfu (who died in 1745), having declared the works of Spalato to be indefensible, the inhabitants were allowed to erect private dwellings on the ramparts; and Marshal Marmont, in 1807—1809, ordered the castle to be pulled down, to make room for the Marina. Some of the walls were then cleared away, and Spalato has now become an open town."*

Portions of the Venetian fortifications still remain, on the east and north side; and on one of the curtains is the winged lion of St. Mark, with an inscription containing the names of Leonardo Lauredano and Dandolo, fixing the date of it in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The fort of Grippi is equally incapable of withstanding a siege; and the French in 1809, and in 1813, retired from it, on the approach of the Austrians, and shut themselves up in Clissa.

On the west side of Spalato, between the town and the Borgo Grande, Marmont began a public garden, which is still unfinished; and close to it is a spring of sulphureous water, running into the sea. The quality of the water is very similar to that of other sulphureous springs†, and it is used for baths.

* Petter, p. 112.

† Ten Venetian pounds contain 1340 grains muriate of soda, 54 muriate magnesia, 20 muriate lime; 390 sulphate of soda,

The origin of Spalato dates from the building of the palace of Diocletian in 303 A.D., and the subsequent destruction of Salona in the seventh century.

After a reign of twenty years, "Diocletian executed his memorable resolution of abdicating the empire," and acquired the glory of giving to the world the most remarkable, if not the first, example of a resignation*, which has not been very frequently imitated by succeeding monarchs. Withdrawing to Salona, he passed the last nine years of his life in seclusion, where the building of a palace in the neighbourhood, and the superintendence of his garden, occupied his leisure hours; and the satisfaction he derived from those pursuits is sufficiently proved by his well-known answer to Maximian, when urging him to re-assume the purple, "If I could show you the cabbages I have planted with my own hands at Salona, you would no longer urge me to relinquish the enjoyment of happiness for the pursuit of power."†

The building of the palace occupied twelve years. The stone was brought from the quarries of Tragurium, the modern Träù, which, as Gibbon justly

130 sulphate of magnesia, 46 carbonate of soda. The specific gravity is to distilled rain water as 1·025 to 1. Petter, p. 118.

* The first was Ptolemy Lagus, King of Egypt. Justin. xvi. 2.

† "Utinam Salonis olera nostris manibus insita invisere posses, de resumendo imperio non judicares." Gibbon, c. xiii.

observes, is a beautiful stone, "very little inferior to marble itself." *

The island of Brazza also claims the honour of having supplied a portion of the materials used in its construction; the record of which is said to be kept up, by the name of the village near the spot whence the stone was taken; which is called Splitska or "Spalatine," from the Illyric name of the town, *Split*.

Little is known of the palace, or its occupants, after the death of Diocletian. It is supposed then to have come into the possession of the magistrates of Salona, and part of it was still kept as a state palace, and part was occupied by the Gynæcium†, or manufactory. In the following century it was inhabited by Julius Nepos, who, having been deprived of the Imperial dignity, and driven from Ravenna by Orestes, the father of Augustulus, obtained permission from Glycerius, then bishop of Salona, to occupy the palace. This Glycerius had been previously dispossessed of the throne by Julius Nepos, and had been compelled by him to accept that ecclesiastical office; it was therefore with a true Christian feeling that he received the fugitive prince, and became the benefactor of his rival, A. D. 474. But the same palace, where he was so generously received by Glycerius, was soon afterwards the scene of the violent end of Julius Nepos; and Odiva, one of his murderers,

* Gibbon, c. xiii.

† See below, p. 130.

made himself master of Dalmatia, which he ruled for one year, until put to death by Odoacer, king of the Heruli, A. D. 481.

From that time, until the destruction of Salona in 639, nothing is recorded of the palace, except that when Totila obtained possession of Salona, towards the middle of the sixth century, he spared the building, contenting himself with the erasure of the imperial emblems and inscriptions; but, on the taking of Salona by the Avars, the palace assumed a marked post in the history of Dalmatia, which led to the foundation of a new city within its precincts. Some of the houseless Salonitans, who preferred a neighbouring place of shelter to a flight by sea, or who had not the means of reaching the islands, took refuge in it from the fury of the Avars; its strong walls, its rooms above, and its subterraneous chambers below, afforded them protection, and an abode; and no attempts were made by the invaders to molest them.

Soon afterwards, about the middle of the seventh century, many of the Salonitans, who had fled to the neighbouring islands, returned, at the instigation of one of the nobles, named Severus Magnus, to the Continent, and took up their abode in the palace; and having obtained permission from the Emperor of Constantinople to occupy it, and an order having been sent to the Serbs to abstain from molesting them, their numbers were soon increased by the arrival of others

of their compatriots. Spalato was, from that period, considered a Roman city; and "Asphalatum, Rausium, Tetrangurium, Diodora*, Vecla, and Opsora," are said by Porphyrogenitus to have been particularly reserved by the Romans, to the total exclusion of the Slavi. Spalato had also, in later times, the honour of being the city, where the kings of Dalmatia were crowned. †

Soon after the establishment of the Salonitan refugees at Spalato, Giovanni of Ravenna was despatched by the pope to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs of Dalmatia; and it being decided that the church of Spalato should succeed that of Salona, he was appointed to govern it, with the new title of Archbishop. ‡ This was about the year 650.

To further the views of the clergy, Severus ceded the portion of the palace allotted to him, consisting of the imperial apartments and the corner tower, to the Archbishop for his residence; and the temple of Jupiter, having been purified in proper form, was consecrated to the worship of the true God, and the Virgin Mary. § The body of St. Doimo, (Domnius), was soon after brought from Salona, and deposited within the new Cathedral, which was then dedicated to him, and has

* Ragusa, Träù, and Zara. Appendini, vol. i. p. 87.

† Antonio Proculiano, p. 40. Carrara's *Chiesa di Spalato*, p. 66.

‡ Salona had only been a bishopric.

§ Thomas Archidiaconus, c. x. xi. in Lucio, pp. 319, 320.

since borne the name of the Church of St. Doimo. He was the first bishop of Salona, and is *said* to have been sent into Dalmatia by St. Peter, and to have been put to death during the reign of Trajan, in 104 or 107 A. D. *

The palace is nearly a square, terminated at the four corners by a quadrangular tower. Its faces correspond nearly with the four points of the compass; and on the south it looks upon the port. This front measures 521 feet, or with the square tower at each extremity, 598 feet 8 inches; and the eastern and western sides are 705 feet 6 inches. † Its greatest diameter from north to south, without the tower, is 646 feet 3 inches; and from east to west 539 feet 4 inches, including the walls; which gives a superficial content of 348·175 square feet ‡, independent of the towers, or with them about 352·614, being little more than eight acres.

The entire building was composed of two principal sections, the southernmost of which contained the two temples, and the private apartments of the emperor. Two streets intersected each other at right angles, nearly in the centre of it. The principal one led from the *Porta Aurea*, the main en-

* Farlati, vol. i. pp. 305. 404. 430. 488. Thomas Archidiaconus, in Lucio, p. 320.

† Adams gives 592, and 698. I measured it several times; but if he used a chain, perhaps he is more correct.

‡ Adams gives 413·216, as he squares the *whole* dimensions, 698 by 592. But the towers are only projections.

trance on the north front, to a spacious court before the vestibule; the other ran in a direct line from the western to the eastern gate, and crossed the main street just below the court; and as I find the pavement of the street was two feet lower than the court, it is evident there was an ascent to it by two or three steps.

Little now remains to explain the distribution of the various parts of the interior, and we can only judge of this from the baths of the same emperor at Rome, and from the architectural instructions given by Vitruvius. It is from these that Adams, in his valuable work, has composed his ingenious restoration of the palace; and of the accuracy of his labours I can form a good estimate, from having myself made a plan of the ruins.

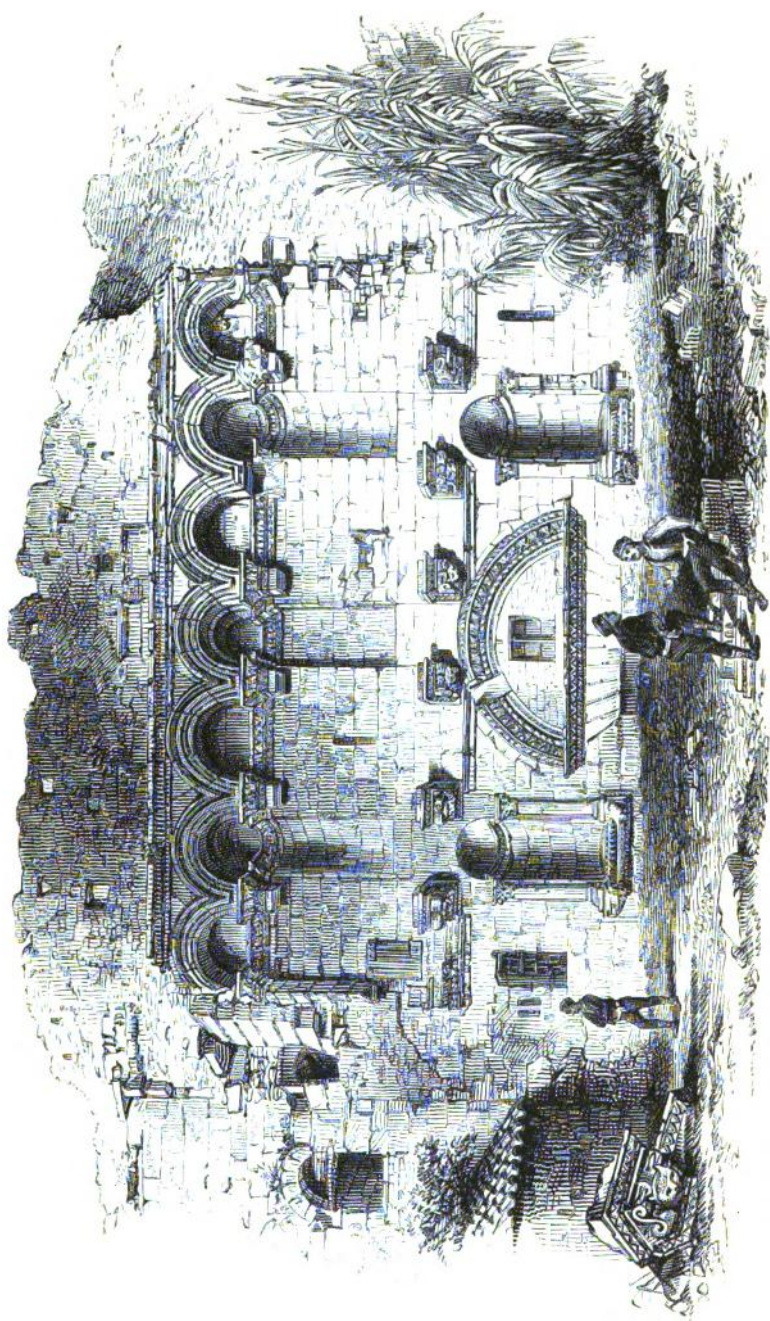
That he saw the remains in a better state than they are at present is evident, and many portions then visible are now concealed beneath the walls of houses. He was, however, led into an error respecting the street, that runs from the eastern to the western gate, where he lays down a succession of *arches* on *piers*, forming the covered corridor on each side; instead of which I find columns, supporting a flat architrave and cornice, as at Pompeii, Antinöe, and other Roman towns; and a similar corridor with columns probably extended on either side of the other street, from the Porta Aurea to the court of the vestibule. The outer walls are seven feet thick: they are nearly all perfect and

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exposed to view, except on the western side; and all the towers of the angles are standing, except that on the S. W. corner.

Ciccarelli states that, when the limits of the palace were found insufficient for the increasing population of Spalato, part of the western wall was pulled down, and a new circuit substituted; and he attributes the falling of the S. W. tower to an accident. On this occasion "a porphyry sarcophagus was discovered in a cavity, within the thickest part of its walls, bearing the single name of Diocletian in ancient characters. At each corner was a terra-cotta lamp of excellent workmanship, and in the middle of the sarcophagus an urn of Parian marble, containing the ashes." There was also a sort of medallion, representing a man wearing a helmet, and armour on his breast, with a beard; whom he conjectures to be the emperor; accounting for the unusual circumstance of the beard, by supposing that during his retirement he had adopted that custom of his native country.

The eastern gate, or *Porta Ænea*, is destroyed; but the principal, and most highly decorated, entrance, the *Porta Aurea*, "the Golden Gate," is nearly perfect. In the lower part is a gateway with rich mouldings, and above is a row of seven arches, once supported on porphyry columns resting on consols, which were taken away by the Venetians to adorn their city.



PORTA AUREA, DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE, SPALATO.

All the gates, except the *Porta Argentea*, were defended by two octagonal towers. One of these still remains on the north side of the western gate; and, though enclosed within part of a modern building, sufficient may be seen to ascertain its exact form and dimensions.

The soil has accumulated to a considerable height against the exterior of the northern wall; and the gateway of the *Porta Aurea* is buried nearly to its lintel; but on the inside, and throughout the streets, the original level remains almost the same; the houses having, in many instances, retained the same ground floor as when first occupied. Dwelling-houses are, or have been, attached to the interior of the walls in every part, in some places concealing them entirely; and they rise considerably above the summit of the southern façade, the basement story of which is encumbered with paltry shops.

The principal remains in the interior were about the court of the vestibule, which still forms the public square. On each side is a row of six large granite columns of the Corinthian order, supporting arches*, which have the peculiarity of springing immediately from the capitals, and are I believe the first instance of this style; which was

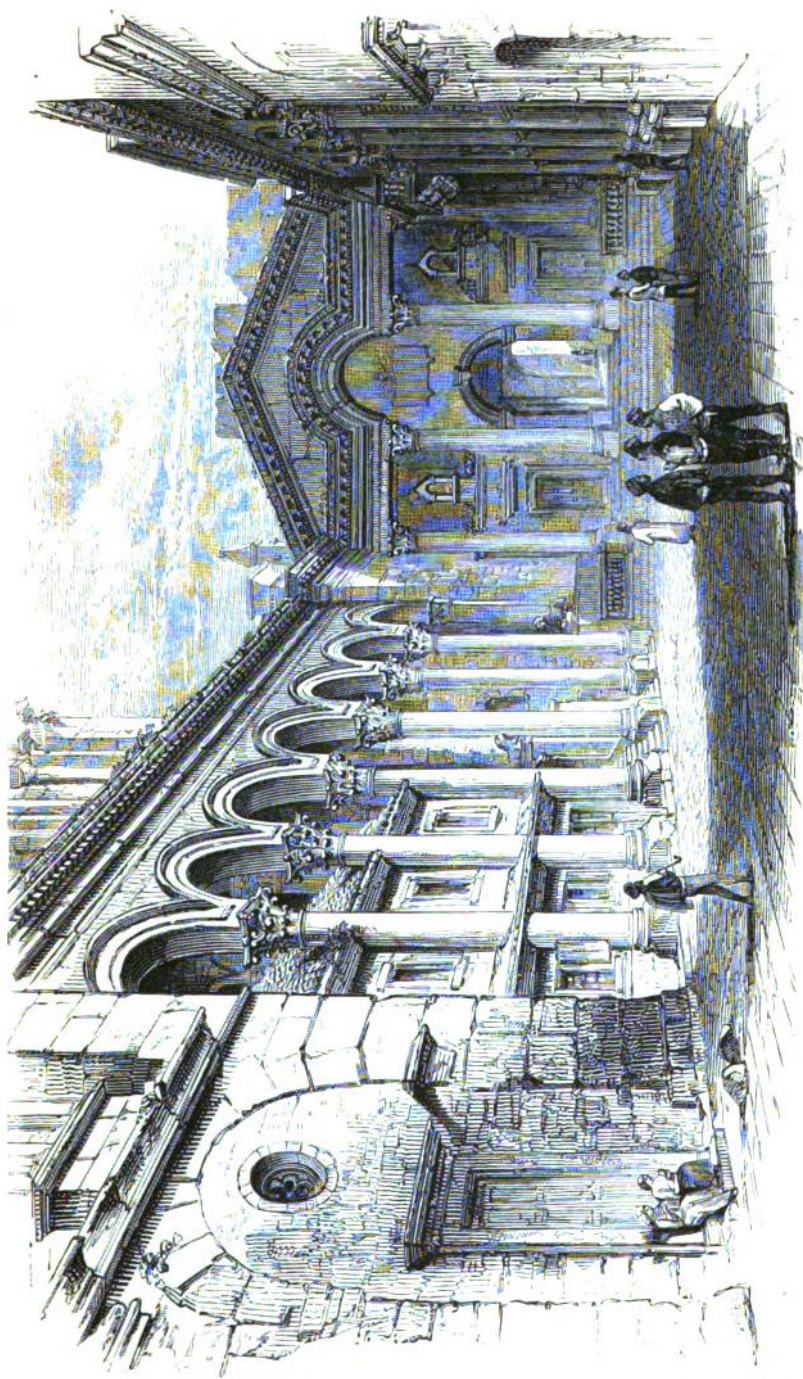
* The intercolumniations are not all the same: the three first measure 8 feet 9 inches; the fourth 8, $8\frac{2}{3}$; the fifth of the staircase to the temple 10, $4\frac{1}{2}$; the next 9, 10; and the last 9 feet 4 inches, causing a slight difference in the height of the arches.

imitated by the Saracens, and the architects of the low ages.

A flight of steps led to the portico of the vestibule, the façade of which occupies the whole breadth of this court, and consists of four columns supporting a triangular pediment. This also presents an architectural novelty, in an arch rising from the two central columns into the tympanum; and though not the earliest instance, it is one of the few that remain; and I do not remember to have seen any older than the one at Damascus, which appears to be of the age of the Antonines.

On the east of the court stands the Temple of Jupiter, now the *Duomo*, or Cathedral, of Spalato. Before its highly ornamented door was a portico, which was taken down when the *campanile*, or tower, was added in the fourteenth century; and at the same time were removed the two sphinxes, that stood on either side of the steps; one of which has since been placed on a wall to the left, as you approach the vestibule. Its conversion into a Christian church caused considerable alterations in the interior. The inner recess was opened into a choir, that on the north was enlarged into a chapel, and the niches on the eastern side were adapted to receive altars. Windows were also made in the walls, to admit more light; the only one that existed originally being an arched aperture over the door, which is now concealed by the organ loft.

The architecture offends against the rules of



COURT BEFORE THE VESTIBULE DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE, SPALATO.

good taste, having the imperfections of broken entablatures carried to an extreme, with heavy cornices, projecting to correspond with the position of the columns. The proportion, too, of the upper columns ill accords with that of the lower part of the edifice. These faults, however, evince a far less degraded taste, than the sculptures of the frieze, which runs round the building, under the upper cornice; representing Cupids riding, or in chariots; hunting boars, hares, lions, and stags; or supporting rude medallions.

Nevertheless, the general effect of this building is imposing, and its high state of preservation makes it a very interesting monument; for, with the exception of some of the capitals, and cornices, over the small columns, nearly the whole of the interior is original. The style too of the masonry, and its solidity, are undeniable merits; and above all, the admirable construction of the dome. This is of brick; the rest of the building of large blocks of Träù stone.

The brickwork of the dome consists of a succession of small arches, one standing on the other, in the form of scales, till they reach the upper, or centre, part; where they are succeeded by concentric circles, as in ordinary cupolas. The total height of the temple inside, from the pavement to the summit of the dome, is 78 feet 4 inches.

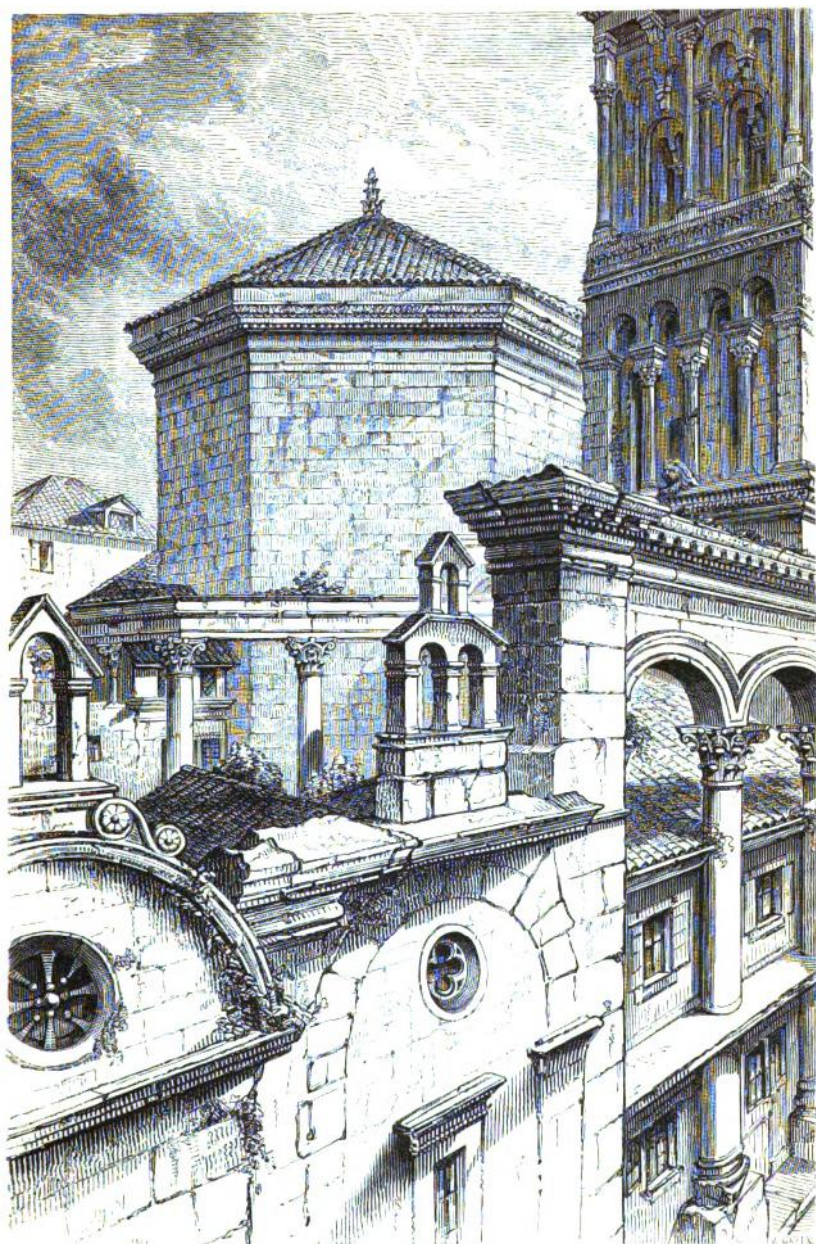
The outer walls of the building are plain, and that part above the peristyle has no other mould-

ings than the cornice. The roof, which is well proportioned, is covered with tiles; and at the apex is a sort of leaf and cone ornament, resting on the shoulders of animals.

From the subjects of the bas-reliefs, in the interior, it might be supposed that this temple had been dedicated to Diana, rather than to Jupiter. It is true that its name rests on no ancient authority; and Thomas the archdeacon, who died in the thirteenth century, is the first who calls it the "temple of Jupiter;" but the particular honours paid to that deity at Salona, and the assumption of the title of Jovius by Diocletian, are in favour of received tradition. The *Notitia* also mentions the "Procurator Gynæcii Jovensis Dalmatiæ Aspalato," among the government officers in the time of the younger Theodosius; which has been thought to connect the name of Jove with the building; though the epithet "Jovense," applied to the Gynæcium, was only taken from the title Jovius*, assumed by the emperor.

This Gynæcium was established, after the death of Diocletian, in his palace at Spalato. It was a manufactory for making cloths, particularly those which were annually distributed to the troops; and, as women alone were employed there, it received the name of *Gynæcium*. Several public establishments of this kind existed in various places, each superintended by a "Procurator" under the "Comes

* "His soldiers were also called "Joviani."



TEMPLE OF JUPITER. NOW THE CATHEDRAL OF SPALATO.

sacrarum largitionum," who resided at Salona, when that city was the capital of the province.

The cathedral contains nothing remarkable, of Christian time, except, perhaps, the angels supporting a "Holy of Holies" over the altar, which are an ingenious piece of mechanism, worthy of the great man who devised it, the celebrated De Dominis. The weight borne by those slight wooden figures is very great; but an iron bar strengthens them within, and the balance of the whole is kept up by a judicious counter-pressure. There is also the bishop's, or archbishop's, throne at the end of the choir, with steps leading up to it; which is rarely found in any church of the present day. It was placed there, in imitation of ancient usage, by De Dominis, after his elevation to the see of Spalato in 1602. But an objection was made to the throne being higher than the "Holy of Holies;" and it was in order to obviate this, that he contrived the curious piece of mechanism, by which the angels hold it above the level of the throne.

The lofty square *Campanile*, or tower, was the work of an architect, Nicolo Tuardoi or Twardi*; and Maria the wife of Carlo, and Elizabeth of Hungary, assisted the Spalatines in its completion. It is remarkable for the boldness of its construction, and were it amidst less interesting monuments would claim greater admiration. Its total height

* Catalinich says that it was begun by Maria, and finished by Elizabeth, wife of Louis of Hungary, about 1360.

is 173 feet (or 199 above the sea*), and it consists of six stories, including the cupola. According to tradition, the two upper stories were thrown down by lightning, and the small octagonal lantern, or cupola, was added after that accident. The lower story, which stands on the basement of the temple, is a compact mass of masonry, pierced by an archway covering the ascent to the door; the upper part is a hollow square, ornamented with detached columns between its round-headed arches. These columns are of various styles, principally brought from Salona; and several blocks of stone, used in its construction, came from the same ruins.

On some of these are remains of inscriptions, and sculpture; the most remarkable of which is at the S.W. angle of the western face, on the third story, bearing the representation of a sacrifice, probably to Juno, whose statue is seen behind the altar. On one side the priestess is pouring out a libation, and behind her are the figures of Mars, and Bellona (?), on the other Jupiter, Minerva, and Hercules.

Two of the inscriptions are of the time of Tiberius, but much defaced. Sufficient, however, remains to show the words "Colonia Salonitana;" and the other mentions "the road made from Salona to the Castellum Dæsitiatum†, distant‡ 156

* Measured by the sextant.

† Pliny places the Dæsitiates in Dalmatia, with the Ceraunii, Daorizi, and Diocleatæ, between the Naro and Drilo.

‡ About 143 English miles, which bring it very near Cattaro.

(Roman) miles," the position of which is unknown. Lucio gives another fragment, which relates to the opening of "the Gabinian way from Salona to Andetrium," by the same emperor.* In the other little can be read, beyond the title "Legatus Proprætor," borne by the governors of Dalmatia under the emperors.

Over the door of the cathedral is the tomb of Margaret, the daughter of Bela IV. of Hungary, who died at Clissa in 1241, a few months after her cousin William, the son of Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, to whom she was betrothed, had died at Träü.† Her sister Catharine is also buried in the same tomb.

The tower of the cathedral rising from an embattled castle, intended to signify, rather than represent, the palace, has been chosen for the arms of Spalato.

About 115 feet from the opposite side of the court, and facing the Temple of Jupiter, is that of Esculapius. It stands at the upper end of a *Temenos*, or sacred enclosure, 100 feet broad and 165 long. A similar *Temenos* enclosed the other Temple; and it is probable they were both planted with trees. The interior of the cella, though simple, is ornamented with a rich projecting cornice, and carved lacunaria in its vaulted stone ceiling, which continues in a perfect state of preservation, and is a curious specimen of an ancient roof. The cor-

* Lucio, p. 34., and Wheeler, p. 19.

† See the History.

nice and frieze, of the exterior, are also well preserved, particularly at the back. The bas-reliefs of the frieze represent Cupids plucking grapes, amidst trees and vases, and lions and leopards resting their paws on vases; from which this temple might seem rather to have belonged to Bacchus, than to the God of medicine. But, considering how much Esculapius was honoured in the country, it is not surprising that Diocletian should dedicate one of the temples to him. So esteemed, indeed, was this deity by the Romans, that, during the great plague (A.U.C. 462), they sent to Greece, and brought away his statue, in the form of a serpent, from Epidaurus, to stay the calamity.*

Two sarcophagi have been placed in the area before the door, which were brought from Salona; on one is represented a spirited boar hunt, the other is of no interest.

This temple, converted into a baptistry, has been dedicated to St. John; and it is to their consecration to religious purposes by the Christians, that both these ancient sanctuaries are indebted for their preservation. The steeple, that formerly disfigured the temple of Esculapius, has been taken down; and the removal of the houses, that conceal the back part, would be a still greater improvement.

It might be difficult to disencumber all the other remains, of the unsightly mass of modern buildings; but it is gratifying to find that the government has

* Valer. Max. lib. i. c. 8.

interfered, to prevent their further mutilation to suit private convenience : and though the stranger is shocked to see windows of houses cut through the arches of the court, intercolumniations filled up with petty shops, and the peristyle of the great temple masked by modern houses, it is satisfactory to know that these monuments are now secured against future vandalisms, or neglect.

It is true that the Austrians have long been indifferent to the valuable mine of antiquities, left unexplored at Salona ; but the reproach they have so long merited is in a fair way of removal, and the collection of Spalato may at length be rendered worthy of the name of a government museum ; and, though the annual allowance for excavation is limited to 800 florins (80*l.*), there is every reason to hope that, under the management of its present director, the Abbate Professor Carrara, this desirable result will soon be attained.

Spalato, which is distinguished for many learned men, eminent in science and literature, may be proud of the Abbate Francesco Carrara, who adds to profound erudition the most amiable qualities, and is equally an ornament to his profession and to society.

The black granite sphinx in the court, near the vestibule, is of Egyptian workmanship, and from its style is evidently of early Pharaonic time, probably of the eighteenth dynasty.* This is also

* Perhaps of Amunoph III.

shown by the figures, and names, of the captives sculptured round its base. There is a royal oval on a sort of vase, or altar, it holds between its hands, but too much defaced to be deciphered. Instead of paws, it has human hands; instances of which occur in Egyptian monuments, of very early time; though this has been supposed to argue against its being either ancient, or Egyptian, and the row of captives has been mistaken for a rude ornament of some ignorant sculptor. There is, however, no doubt of its genuineness; and it was brought from Egypt, perhaps for the express purpose of ornamenting the palace of Diocletian.*

A portion of another sphinx may be seen at the house of Count Cindro, in the street leading from the Porta Ferrea. It is of a hard white limestone, nearly resembling marble. It bears the name of Amunoph III. on the breast. The king is said to be "beloved of Amunre, Lord of the Regions, Lord of Heaven," which, with the style of the sculpture, proves that it came originally from Thebes.

The hieroglyphic legend of Amun has been altered on this, as on other monuments of the same period.† On the plinth are the name of Amunoph, and figures of the Phœnix in an attitude of prayer; and in the hieroglyphics, on one

* See above, p. 128.

† The restoration of the name of Amun took place in, or before, the reign of Osirei, the third successor of Amunoph III. See my *Modern Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 55., and *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv. p. 244.

side, mention is made of the God Ra, and on the other are the names of "Pthah," and (Thoth) "the Lord of Oshmoun."

The other portions of the palace that remain consist, principally, of arcades on square pillars; some of which, in the N. W. section, support an entablature with mouldings, showing that they extended round an open court. On many of the stones are characters, which, from their being found in various parts of the building, are evidently quarry marks, and not intended to direct the position of the blocks; though, as is reasonable to suppose, several with the same characters occur near each other.*

The Romans, it is true, were at no period remarkable for pure architectural taste, and had departed very far from the proportions and style of Greek models, long before the age of Diocletian; yet this palace may still be admired, for the solidity of its construction, and the application of those principles, for which the Roman architects deserve their share of praise. The pleasing effect of the arches in the exterior of this palace and in the court, the solid gateways, the masonry of the two temples, and above all the curiously-constructed dome †, cannot fail to excite admiration; and every one, who is curious about the transition of styles, may find much to interest him, in the peculiarities here

* PO, ΔO, E, ZII, HP, are among the most common.

† See above, p. 129.

exhibited. Of these the most remarkable are the arches in the court, springing from the capitals of columns, without any intervening member*; the columns resting on a projecting cornice over a lower set of columns, as in the interior of the great temple†; the arch in an architrave, which has been the origin‡ of the so-called Venetian window; the arch within a pediment§; the rope moulding; the cheveron, or zigzag, which occurs on all the brackets, and along the whole cornice of the great temple; and the lintel of the Porta Aurea, which is a flat arch, composed of several stones, with their sides indented and fitting into each other.¶ These may serve to show how directly the Saracens, and architects of the low ages, borrowed from Roman models many of the characteristics, which have been looked upon as the offspring of their taste. The rope and the cheveron mouldings, attributed to the Normans, were common in the later periods of Roman architecture; the indented stones of flat lintels, varied into numerous complicated shapes by Saracenic caprice, were from the same origin; and many other supposed inventions of those periods, doubtless, existed in the later monuments of the empire. One of these, indeed, to which Rickman gave the name of "long and short," I find to have been in

* See p. 127.

† See p. 129.

‡ See the façade in the general view of Spalato.

§ See p. 128., and woodcut, of the court of the vestibule.

¶ See woodcut of the Porta Aurea.

common use about the reign of Justinian ; and the *tapia* work in Saracenic walls is the same that was employed by Roman builders.

From what I have observed of Roman monuments, I am disposed to go even further, and to derive from them the vertical line itself, which has always been considered the peculiar mark of Gothic, or church, architecture, in contradistinction to the horizontal, which characterises the Greek style. No one, indeed, can fail to perceive that the vertical line is a marked feature of Roman buildings. In an arch of triumph, that line begins with the column, and its pedestal ; obliges the entablature to project, to correspond with it ; and then, continuing to the attic, terminates in a statue ; which carries the eye to the summit of the edifice. The same occurs in all Roman monuments, which are not mere imitations of Greek taste.

Another fact is also remarkable, that, though Gothic architecture never prevailed in Rome, the same vertical line may be found in all its churches ; where, besides the columns, projecting entablatures, attics, and statues, it extends up the sides of a cupola, runs in bands over the dome, and thence continuing to the top of the lantern, ends only in the cross that crowns the apex of the edifice.

But as these questions are not immediately connected with Dalmatia, I refrain from going more fully into them.

Spalato possesses a museum ; though, as I have

before observed, with the opportunities afforded by the rich treasures buried at Salona, a stranger is surprised to find it contains so little worthy of notice.

The most interesting object is a statue of Venus, found at Salona in 1840; the head of which is unfortunately wanting, as well as the arms, and the right leg. It measures 3 feet 11 inches, to the top of the shoulder. The style is good, but the Cupid at the side is of inferior workmanship. On the pedestal is the dedication VENERI VICTRICI. There are also a robed female figure, about 6 feet 6 inches high, with this inscription on the plinth, LOLLIÆ SECVNDÆ FILIÆ; a good head of Juno; and an inferior one of a goddess, found in the same spot as the Venus; a few statues of no merit; a fragment of Corinthian column, with its entablature; several glass vases, bottles, and cinerary urns; beads, wooden combs, glass pins, terra-cotta lamps, and other small objects. There is also a large sarcophagus, or stone coffin, found in 1844 by Professor Carrara, at Salona; which is interesting from its inscription, mentioning persons of the name of Albucius, who held the offices of Decurio and Ædile, at Salona and Issa.* In the

* C·ALBVCIΟ·C·F·TROM·MENIPPO·DEC·SALON·
ÆDIL·MARIT·ET·C·ALBVC·C·F·TR·PROCI-
LIANO·
DEC·SAL·ET·ISS·ÆDIL·DEF·ANN·XXX·ET·
C·ALB·C·F·SER·

court-yard is a *stela*, raised to the memory of a young man, Marcus Ulpius Veratius, by his parents; and many other inscriptions, one of which is a dedication to Esculapius.

In the walls of private houses are some inscriptions; and in one I observed an altar to the "DIS SYRIS," dedicated by one of the same Albucii, mentioned on the sarcophagus. There are also a dedication to Jupiter, and another to M. Aurelius Antoninus.* On the staircase of another house is a bas relief, representing a battle of Centaurs and Lapithæ, with other fragments; and the late director of the museum possesses various antiques, among which is the statue of a Roman emperor, of good style. The feet are lost as well as the head; but the statue is remarkable for this peculiarity, that the head has been movable, fitting into a hollow made purposely to receive it: showing that it changed, with the change of Cæsars; the body suiting equally well each succeeding emperor. This ingenious idea might be

MENIPP·DEC·ISS·DEF·ANN·XX·FIL'S·ET·C·
LIG·TITIAN·

DEF·ANN·XXX·FRATRI·LIGVRIA PROCILLA

QVEETAL

BVCIA·ET SIBI  VIVA·POS.

*
IMP·CAES·M·AVR·ANTO
NINO AVG·PONT·MAX·TRIB.
POT·XXIII·P·P·COH·DL
SVBCVRGRANI·FORTVNAT
TRIB·COH·EIVS DMVR·I·P
BCCC·IN HIS TVRRVNA·

conveniently adopted at the present day, and is worthy the attention of public institutions, sculptors, and dealers in portraits.* In the same collection are several Cippi, part of a small robed female statue, and many other objects of Roman work; and the ex-director is said to have a fine cabinet of coins and gems, which the public is not permitted to see.

In the walls of the archivescovato, or Archbishop's palace, are numerous inscriptions, many of which have been published by Farlati, and Muratori; others are built into the walls of a house in the northern suburb of Spalato, with a draped figure of a woman bearing a vase on her head; and some are in a private house, in that neighbourhood. The greater part have been found at Salona; and as the inscriptions are principally sepulchral, they throw little light on the public monuments, or the history, of that place; but one, a dedication to Jupiter and Claudius Cæsar, lately brought from thence, possesses more interest, and may possibly lead to the discovery of the building, to which it belonged.†

* In countries where the talent of artists is sacrificed to portraits, it would be highly beneficial to lay a very heavy tax on all those objects of vanity, and impediments to art.

† I · O · M ET
 DIVO CLAVDIO CAESAR ·
 AVG · GERMAN · TRIB · POT XIII ·
 P · ANTEIVS · PANTEL · SYNTROPHI · L
 HERMA · IIIII · VIR · ET · AVG ·
 PORTICVM · V · S · L · M · LOC · ACCEP · D · D ·

See below, on Salona.

The largest piece of sculpture is in the church of St. Francesco, in the Borgo Grande, at the foot of Mount Marglian. It is now the altar of that church. The subject is the passage of the Red Sea. The figures are in relief, but of a late period, as the subject and the execution suffice to show.

From the summit of the neighbouring Mount Marglian is a fine view of Spalato, which it entirely commands. In the distance, to the eastward, are the range of Mount Mossor, the elevated valley of the Poglizzan republic, and Mount Biócovo *; and in the horizon to the S. E. the pointed cone of Mount O'smina, near Vergoraz. To the E. N. E. is the fortress of Clissa, beyond Salona, with the lofty Prolog range behind it, already covered with snow in the early part of the winter; to the N. W. is Monte Caprario, once within the Turkish frontier; and to the westward extends the inland Bay of the Castelli, which terminates, on one side, at Träù, on the other, at Salona. Just below Mount Marglian is a promontory of the same name, where a temple of Diana once stood, succeeded in later times by the Church of Saint George; and this is the spot marked "ad Dianam" in the Peutinger table, the Dianion of the Anonymus Ravennas.†

The Archbishop's palace, which stands nearly behind the cathedral, is noted for having been the

* Biócovo is 5899 feet high, Mossor (Mosor) 4464.

† Periplus Maris Adriatici, lib. vii. No. 14.

abode of the “celebrated De Dominis *;” who added the upper part, as his study and observatory, while engaged in his important experiments on light and optics. They even show the window, whence he discovered the theory of the prismatic colours, by the falling drops of water; which was published in a work printed at Venice in 1611 †, describing the nature of the rainbow; and it is gratifying to find that Newton does that justice to his discoveries, which was very unfairly withheld by Descartes, though following his explanations.‡

Marc-Antonio de Dominis was descended from a noble family of Arbe, where he was born. Educated at the Illyrian College of the Jesuits, in Loretto, where he passed about twenty years of his life, he obtained through them the mathematical chair at Padua, and subsequently the professorship of philosophy at Brescia; after which, through the influence of the Emperor Rodolph II., he was appointed by Clement VIII. to the bishopric of Segna, vacant by the death of his uncle §, who was killed before Clissa, in a vain endeavour to relieve the garrison, when besieged by the Turks in that fortress, A.D. 1596.

His conduct during the difficult questions that

* Newton, *Optic. lib. i. part 2. Pr. ix.*

† *De Radiis Visûs ac Lucis*, written in 1590.

‡ Newton says, “*Porro eandem explicandi rationem persecutus est Cartesius in meteoris suis.*”

§ See the History in Chapter IX.

arose between the Austrians and Venetians, respecting the Uscocs, and his endeavours to check their piracies, obtained for him universal esteem; and he was translated in 1602 to the Archbishopric of Spalato. The same ardour for philosophical pursuits, which he had always felt, did not diminish, in consequence of this appointment; and there is little doubt, had his time been less occupied with official avocations, and unfortunately with vexations, to which he was exposed during a great part of his life, his talents would have had more opportunity of displaying themselves.

His character in private, his humane and disinterested kindness, while the terrible plague of 1607 raged at Spalato, and his general conduct in public*, do honour to his memory; though he cannot be absolved from the charge of great bitterness, to those who offended him; which is sufficiently proved by his letter to Andreuzzi, bishop of Träù, beginning, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" and by his subsequent excommunication of the bishop. Even his friends lamented his quarrel with Andreuzzi; and no excuse can be offered for the desertion of his province, and his subsequent fickle conduct in religion.

For no sooner had the Vatican interfered in the affair of Träù†, and an accusation been preferred

* Farlati, vol. iii. p. 483. Ciccarelli, ii. p. 38—52.

† Ciccarelli, p. 43., whose account is more reasonable than Farlati's.

against him to Paul V. by the Spalatines, than De Dominis left Dalmatia, and withdrawing to Venice, at the close of the year 1615, vacated his see in favour of his nephew Sforza Ponzoni. A warm dissension had at that time occurred, between the Pope and the Venetians; and De Dominis wrote in favour of the Republic. The Inquisition condemned his work; and, in his anger against the Court of Rome, he resolved on retiring to a Protestant country. He first went into Germany, where he visited Heidelberg* and other places; and at length accepted the invitation of Bedell, chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, the ambassador of James I. at Venice, to accompany him to England. There, having abjured Papacy, he wrote a work entitled "*Scoglio del Naufragio Christiano*," and another "*De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*," in which he assailed the authority of the Pope, and the doctrines of Rome.

Besides these unbecoming attacks on the head of that Church, in which he had held a distinguished post, the conduct of De Dominis is deserving of censure for breach of confidence, in publishing a manuscript History of the Council of Trent, *lent* him by its author, Fra Paolo Sarpi; whose indignation was justly roused by this act, and by finding that he had made several additions

* Where he published his *Reasons* for leaving his See, afterwards reprinted in London in 1617.

of his own, and had prefaced it with a dedication to James I., containing many sarcasms against the Pope. It is, however, only just to observe, that the change in his religious tenets did not arise, solely, from a feeling of animosity against the Vatican; he had been disposed to doubt the truth of those things taught by the Church of Rome*, while pursuing his theological studies; and had only abstained from noticing them, out of respect to the career he had adopted.

His reception in England was very cordial: he found a liberal patron in the King; and he was made Dean of Windsor. At length, his friend and relation, Gregory XV., alarmed at the defection of so eminent a man, solicited him, through Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, to return to the Roman Catholic communion; and, yielding to his persuasion, he went to Italy in 1622, and was received at Rome by Gregory, with all the forgiveness, and charity, that became a Christian pontiff.

But on the death of his protector, that toleration and forgiveness were withdrawn; and he was exposed to the vengeance of an offended hierarchy. They accused him of a correspondence with heretics; an offence highly improbable, and one of which no one, in his situation, would have been indiscreet enough, even if he had the wish, to be guilty: his fate was decreed; he was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, where, in 1625, his life was cut

* Farlati, iii. p. 481.

short, as some suppose, by poison; and his body was afterwards condemned to be burnt in the Campo dei Fiori *, together with his writings.

Having mentioned De Dominis, it may not be out of place to notice the names, at least, of other distinguished natives of Dalmatia; as the Emperors Claudius Gothicus and Diocletian, the Popes Caio and Giovanni IV., San Girolamo (St. Jerome), Francesco Patrizio, Ghetaldi, G. Boglivi, Boscovich, the Archdeacon Tommaso, Mica Madio, S. Agostino Casotti, Marco Marulo, Antonio Veranzio, Lodovico Cerca, Gian-Francesco Gondola, Coriolano Cippico, Bartolomeo Cassio, Giovanni Lucio, Farlati, Saraca, Tuberone, Bobali, Giov. Patrizio, Benedetto Stay, Giov. Domenico Stratico, Raimondo Cunich, Bernardo Zamagra, Simeone Statico, Faustino Gagliuffi, Nicolo Tommaséo, &c.; and though it may scarcely be right to admit a renegade, among those who have done honour to their country, the name of Goher †, the General of Moez, Caliph of Karawan, who founded Cairo, is too remarkable to be omitted.

The situation of Spalato is, by far, the most agreeable of all the cities of Dalmatia. The climate is healthy, the heat of summer moderate, and the cold of winter not severe. In all these respects Dalmatia is very preferable to Greece; and with the exception of the Narenta district, Salona,

* Where Mollio and other reformers were burnt.

† According to Luccari, in his History of Ragusa, from Giovanni Leone. See celebrated men of Ragusa, in Ch. V.

Knin, and a few other places in the interior, it is free from fevers.

The thermometer seldom ranges very much below the freezing point, and the maximum of heat is about 88° or 89° Fahr. in June and July, or rather more to the southward, about Ragusa and Cattaro. The winter is short, and snow rarely lies for any time, except on the hills. The high ranges of the Velebich *, Biočovo, and Prolog, are covered with snow towards the end of November, and, when the wind blows from the north, the cold is much felt at Spalato ; but it seldom lasts, and a scirocco, so disagreeable in summer, soon comes to remove the cold of the land wind. The succession of lofty mountains, in the interior, make it much colder in Herzegovina ; and the Bosnian winter sets in many weeks earlier than in Dalmatia, and with great severity.

Consumption and rheumatism are said to be common in Dalmatia, and even at Spalato, but probably not more so than in Italy ; and judging from the general productions, the oranges standing out all the year, and the appearance of palm-trees, which thrive there, the climate may be compared to that of Naples, or Calabria. This is consistent with the range of the thermometer, in different months throughout the year, and with what I observed during my stay, from August till January.

The drives and walks, in the neighbourhood of

* See above, p. 38.

Spalato, are particularly enjoyable; the scenery is pleasing; and the Riviera dei Castelli, on the north side of the Bay of Salona, is well worthy of a visit. Spalato is supposed to be the scene of Shakspeare's Twelfth Night, which he lays in "Illyria."

The Paludi is a short evening's walk, where there is a Franciscan Convent, standing near the water's edge, with a garden, and an extensive view over the bay reaching to Träü. The Friars are most hospitable; and any one, who is introduced by a friend, may be gratified by a sight of two curiously-illuminated books, the work of one of their order, the Frate Bernadini Rasmilovich, of Spalato, in 1675. They possess additional interest to a Dalmatian, from the colours having been extracted from plants of the country. In the garden, the most striking object, next to the delicious grapes, is an inscription built into the wall of the Convent. It has the appearance of one of those literary forgeries of the seventeenth century *; but even if it be so, it is a

* CORCHIVIO · AMEMPTO · DECVR ·
 ANN · XIIIX · ORCHIVIA · PHOEBE
 MATER · FECIT · SIBI ET · AMEMPTO
 DISP CONIVGI · ET · LIBERTIS · LIBERTABVSQ ·
 POSTERISQ ·
 SVIS · ET · EORVM · ET · RHODINO · AMEMPTI ·
 CAESARIS
 IN FRONTE · CVM · TABERNA · P · LII · IN · AGRO
 P · XIV · HOC MONVMENT ·
 SIVE · SEPVLCVRVM · EST · EXTRANIVM · HERE-
 DEM · NON · SEQVETVR ·

curiosity; and the expressions it contains are often adopted in tombstones of Roman times. The low marshy land, to the southward of the Convent, has given the name of I Paludi to this spot.

Returning to the high road, and following it to the northward, you have a fine view over the bay, the curious peninsula of Urania, now Vranizza (Vrag-nitza), and Salona. The extremity of this peninsula is occupied by a village of the same name, containing about thirty houses, with a church; which are said to stand, partly on the site of a large building, connected in former times with the trade of Salona; and partly on that of a villa of the archbishop of Spalato, destroyed by the Venetians about 1204. The inhabitants are fishermen and peasants.

A good carriage road leads from Spalato to Salona, a distance of about three miles and a half. On the way, the conduits that carried water to Spalato may be seen, by the road-side, and a short distance before you reach Salona, seven arches of the Roman aqueduct appear in the distance, to the eastward. The water came from the source of the Giadro, where the fountain of Diocletian is still shown; and the conduit which supplied the palace of Spalato, is said to have entered that building near the Porta Aurea.

Salona stood on the north side of the Jader, now Il Giadro. The road crosses the river at the same spot as of old, and one of the arches of the modern bridge is of Roman time. The city was

known to the Romans by the names of Salona and Salo, but most usually by that of Salonæ. Appendini * supposes the name to have been "Slauna in Illyric," which he derives from the Slavonic *slav*, and translates "glorious;" and he gives the same Slavonic origin to Alvona, Scardona, Sidrona, and Flanona, which he converts into Launa, Sgradna, Sridna, and Flauna. The mistake is obvious; when we recollect that the Slavonic tribes did not come into the country, for ages after those names were in common use, and their language was different from the ancient Illyric. But Appendini is not the only one, who has fallen into this error.

The position of Salona, described by Lucan,

"Qua maris Adriaci longas ferit unda Salonas,
Et tepidum in molles Zephyros excurrit Iader,"

agrees with its oblong form, traceable in the ruins, and with the course of the river. A little below the bridge, the Giadro opens into the long inland bay of Salona; and on crossing it, a road runs off to the left towards the Castelli, and to the right into the modern village, which occupies a very small portion of the south-east corner of the old city.

Though the public buildings and houses of ancient Salona have been destroyed, sufficient remains of the wall, to show the position, as well as the size, of the city; and the arch of the bridge proves that the course of the river is still un-

* Storia di Ragusa, vol. i. c. xi. p. 80. note.

changed. There is a portion of well-built masonry, in the form of a crescent, to the left of the bridge, on the modern Castelli road, which shows that in former times the bay extended to this spot, and that the bridge crossed the river at its mouth. This, indeed, agrees with the tradition of the place; and the continuation of the ancient sea-wall may be traced beyond it to the westward. This wall, therefore, formed one side of the port of Salona.

The city consisted of two parts, the eastern and western; and the latter stands on rather higher ground, though not on a hill, as Cæsar would lead us to suppose, when he describes Salona "in edito colle." The only rising ground consists of a slope on the north, along which the wall on that side is built; and it is difficult to account for Cæsar's remark, unless we suppose he confounded Salona with the neighbouring Anderium (Clissa).

But in order to render the description of Salona, and the state of its ruins, more intelligible, it is necessary to make some observations on the history of the city, and its destruction.

Of the origin of Salona no record exists; though in the absence of any thing certain, the uncertain position of a town, called Hyllenis by Apollonius Rhodius, has been forced * into an agreement with that of Salona; Farlati † has pressed the Argonauts

* Apollonius says, "A great number of islands in that part made the access through them difficult to sailors."

† The learned Farlati was the Montfaucon of Dalmatia.

to become its founders; and Mica Madio* finds that Salona existed in the time of the Trojan war, and sent seventy-two armed galleys to assist the Greeks against Priam. Little, indeed, is known of Salona before the time of Julius Cæsar. After the destruction of Delminium, it became the capital of Dalmatia, about 133 B.C.; and it was first taken by L. Cæcilius Metellus, in 117 B.C.† It was besieged a second time, and opened its gates to Cn. Cosconius, B.C. 78; and, during the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, it was twice attacked by M. Octavius, without success. Having espoused the cause of Brutus and Cassius, it was besieged by C. Asinius Pollio (B.C. 42), and, after its capture on that occasion, it remained in possession of Octavianus.

Nothing remarkable occurred after this conquest, except the siege it maintained against Bato, the Dalmatian general, during his wars with the Romans, (A.D. 6.) The Salonitan garrison defended itself valiantly against the enemy, and Bato being wounded by a stone from a balista, withdrew his army. Salona had been made a Roman colony at its second capture; it afterwards received the title of Colonia Martia Julia Salona, and of Colonia Claudia Augusta Pia Veteranorum; and, under Augustus, it was the chief town of a "Conventus

* Mich. Madii Histor. c. 15. in Lucio. He lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

† See the History.

Romanorum,"* to which it gave the name of "Salonitanus."

From the time it received a colony, it was looked upon as the great bulwark of the Roman conquests, on that side of the Adriatic; and when Gabinius was forced by the Dalmatians to take refuge within its walls, the Roman citizens who inhabited Salona were renowned for their courage and fidelity.†

It bore various titles, according to the changes that took place in the administration of the province; it was styled *Respublica*‡, *Conventus*, *Colonia*, *Metropolis*, *Præfectura*, and *Prætorium*; and in Christian times it was a bishop's see, founded by St. Doimo§, and was occupied by sixty-one bishops in succession.

Under the early emperors, it had been embellished with many public buildings; but their number and splendour were greatly increased by Diocletian, who, according to Porphyrogenitus, completely "rebuilt" the city.

No great change took place, during nearly two centuries, after the reign of that emperor.

* See the History.

† Hirtius B. Alexandr. c. 43. "Salonam . . . oppidum maritimum quod cives Romani fortissimi fidelissimique incolebant."

‡ Carrara's Chiesa di Spalato, p. 10., on the authority of an ancient inscription.

§ See above, p. 123.

It is unnecessary to enter into the discussion respecting the pretended invasion of Dalmatia, and the capture of Salona, by Attila, in the middle of the fifth century; but the fact noticed by Lucio, "that no writer has mentioned it among the deeds of that conqueror," and the distance Salona lay out of his way to Italy, argue greatly against it.

In 481, Salona was taken by Odoacer King of the Heruli*; and again by Totila, in the sixth century, after it had been recovered from the Goths, (A.D. 535) in the reign of Justinian.

Little is known of these later sieges, except that it was partly destroyed; and that, after Mundus, the general of Justinian, had rescued Salona from the Goths, in 535, they once more re-occupied it. That the walls were not then in a condition to withstand a siege, is evident from the Gothic general Grippa not venturing to await the attack of Constantianus within Salona; and Procopius† expressly speaks of the "many gaps in the ruined walls."

The first care of the Roman general, in obtaining possession of the city, was to repair them, and improve its defences by making a deep ditch; and having collected the troops from other garrisons, he awaited the approach of the combined forces of Asinarius and Ulesigalus, who

* See above, p. 122. and the History in Chapter IX.

† Procopius says, "*Mœnia magnâ parte hiantia ruinis,*" lib. i. p. 158.

had been sent by the Gothic King Vitiges to recover Salona, and re-conquer the whole of Dalmatia. The place was speedily invested by sea and land; Ulesigalus had been furnished with many long ships of peculiar construction expressly for the siege, as well as the usual engines of attack; and notwithstanding a vigorous sortie made by Constantianus on the sea-side, the Goths continued to press the siege with great obstinacy. They at length retired; and from that time Salona remained undisturbed, except by the momentary invasion of Totila, until its final destruction in the seventh century.

It soon recovered from these disasters, and it was from Salona that Belisarius, in 544, and Narses, in 552, set out, with a numerous army, to rescue Italy from Totila and the Goths.

Past calamities had not taught the Salonitans to prepare against future dangers: they had long enjoyed a fancied state of security; their whole thoughts were absorbed in luxury and dissipation; and the first approach of an enemy showed how incapable they were, of acting in defence of their city, and their homes. The Avars* invaded Dalmatia; and in 639, having obtained possession of Clissa, (as Porphyrogenitus states) by assuming

* The mistake of Porphyrogenitus, in supposing the Avars and Slavi the same people, probably arose from their having fought so long under the same banners.

the arms and dress of Roman soldiers*, they advanced to Salona. The terrified inhabitants thought only of saving their lives, and their property; and, after a short and ineffectual resistance, they fled to the coast, and took refuge in the islands. The town was pillaged and burnt, and from that time Salona has been deserted, and in ruins.†

With these historical facts before us, it is interesting to observe the present state of the place, which offers many illustrations of past events. The portions of its defences repaired at various periods may be traced: an inscription lately discovered by Professor Carrara, shows that the walls and towers were repaired by Valentinian II. and Theodosius; and the ditch of Constantianus is distinctly seen on the north side. Here and there, it has been filled up with earth, and cultivated, but its position cannot be mistaken, and in places its original breadth may be ascertained. A very small portion of the wall remains on the east side, and nearly all traces of it are lost towards the river; but the northern portion is well preserved, and the triangular front, or salient angle of many of its towers may be traced.

* An improbable story, or excuse for the garrison.

† Appendini (vol. i. p. 84.) thinks that Salona was not destroyed till 691, when the Serbs and Chrobatæ came into the country; but *their* animosity was directed against the Avars, and not, as he supposes, against the Romans, who invited them into Dalmatia.

Near the N. E. corner are some stones of large dimensions; and though much has been destroyed, and reconstructed in the barbaric style, the disposition of the numerous towers affords a curious illustration of the Roman system of fortification, and fully accounts for the praise given by Cæsar to the works of Salona. The general style of the masonry in the walls of the eastern division of the town is rude; they appear to have been repaired in haste; and some, which consist of alternate square and flat stones, are evidently of late time. Their direction is very irregular, probably to suit the ground; but their strength is shown by their numerous solid towers, some square, others fronted with one or two triangular projections, with a very short curtain between them; and at the upper part is a double parapet of great height, that might be called two walls, with an intermediate passage; instances of which I have seen, in other Roman fortresses.

In the western portion of the town are the theatre, and what is called the amphitheatre. Of the former some portion of the proscenium remains, as well as the solid piers of arches, built of square stone, with bevelled edges, about $6\frac{1}{4}$ feet diameter, and 10 feet apart. This seems to agree with a remark of Thomas the Archdeacon, that "the only edifice left standing, after the destruction of Salona, was the theatre, in the western part

of the city * ;” but it is possible that he may allude to the supposed amphitheatre, at the extreme corner to the N. W.

Much of that elliptical building still remains, and six arches of the outer circle are entire. The entrance, which was of good solid masonry, was on the E. side, and measured about 38 feet by 20·6 in breadth ; and near it I observed the key-stone of a large arch, that probably covered it. From its dimensions, this was evidently not an amphitheatre ; the whole length, with the entrance passage, being 324 feet, and the breadth, from the arches to the opposite side, about 191 feet ; which, deducting for the space occupied by the seats on both sides, leaves only about 118 feet for the breadth of the arena, or less than half its length.

The walls of the town either abutted against the sides, or barely enclosed it ; and it may once have stood outside them, and have been taken into the circuit in dangerous times. A portion of the wall to the south of it is evidently of early Roman date, though Ionic volutes and mouldings, on some of the stones, show they had belonged to older monuments ; and from this part another wall runs off, nearly at a right angle, which appears again by the road side, about 115 paces to the westward, and in a still more perfect state 30 paces further on.

It is of very large stones, with bevelled edges,

* Arcidiacono Tommaso, in Lucio, p. 319.

admirably put together, and of a style which resembles Greek masonry. Some of the blocks are 13 feet long, and 2 high. I traced it in the same direction to the distance of 573 paces, or about 1440 feet; and about 200 paces farther on, is a line of rock resembling masonry, which may have been used as a continuation of the defences of the city. On the north side of the wall the sarcophagus of the Albucii family was discovered, and other tombs are met with hereabouts.

This wall may have been used to protect the entrance to the river and the port, or may have belonged to the older city, before the Romans came into Dalmatia, when Salona was already a place of importance*; and the character of its masonry is the more remarkable, as it seems to point out a connection with the Greeks.

Some distance beyond the above-mentioned rock, to the right of the Träù road, is an ancient tomb, hewn in the limestone hill, now the chapel of St. Caio (Cajo), a native of Salona, who became Pope, and returned home in the form of a saint. He was put to death by Diocletian, A.D. 296, and was buried at Rome, in the Calisti cemetery, on the Appian Way. His brother St. Gabinius, and many others,

* Strabo (lib. vii. p. 315.) says: — *ἐπεῖτα . . . καὶ ἡ τῶν Δαλματίων παραλία, καὶ τὸ ἐπίνειον αὐτῶν Σάλων.* "Ἐστὶ δὲ τῶν πολὺν χρόνον πολεμησάντων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο, κατοικίας δ' ἔσχεν ἀξιολόγους εἰς πεντήκοντα, ὧν τινὰς καὶ πόλεις Σάλωνά τε καὶ Πιριάμωνα, καὶ Νινίαν, καὶ Σινώτιον, τό τε νέον καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν, ἃς ἐνέπρησεν ὁ Σεβαστός.

also from Salona, suffered martyrdom on that occasion; and Salona had the singular honour of giving an emperor, a pope, and a list of martyrs at the same period, and as some suppose from the same family.* The tomb is small, consisting of a cell with a sarcophagus, also cut out of the rock, which contained the body of its first possessor, who was probably a Greek. On the front of it are sculptures in relief, consisting of three compartments. In one, Hercules is represented bringing away Cerberus from Hades; in the next he leads by the hand a woman, who might be taken for Iole, but that she seems too much alarmed, and too reluctant; and in the third, he is shooting with a bow at the apples of the Hesperides, which are guarded by a snake.

Little is known of the public buildings of Salona from ancient writers; except that, besides the *Curia*, the *Quæstura*, the forum, temples, theatres, gymnasia, and other public edifices usual in Roman cities, it had a temple of Jupiter. The position of that temple has not been ascertained; but two inscriptions alluding to it have been found at Salona, one containing a dedication to Jupiter and the Emperor Claudius†, the other of the time of "L. Ælius Cæsar," about the year 137 A.D. Salona had also a manufactory of armour, a *baphium*, or dyeing works, a gynæcium, and a treasury.

* The Aurelia Valeria.

† See above, p. 142.

These four, which are mentioned in the "Notitia" of the empire, belonged to the state; and were superintended by officers, called "*Procuratores*," under the "*Comes sacrarum largitionum*."

At the *baphium*, woollen, and afterwards silken, stuffs were dyed purple, for the use of the emperor; which could only be done in these government establishments, according to a law, first issued in the reign of Nero; and the severity of later enactments made it a capital offence for any individual to infringe it. The gynæcium has been mentioned.* In the treasury, all the money of the tribute, the salaries of the magistrates, and the pay of the troops were deposited; and it is supposed that Salona also possessed a mint. But tradition has not been fortunate in the choice of its site; having fixed upon a ruined edifice, on the east of the town, which was built by the Archbishop of Spalato, in 1347, to keep off the depredations of the Servian garrison of Clissa.†

Salona also possessed a grand *navale*, or dock-yard; which seems, from Strabo's account ‡, to have been the only one, deserving that name, on the whole Dalmatian coast; and its harbour, capable of containing any number of ships, was sheltered from the effects of tempests, and was defended by strong castles on each side of the entrance.

* See page 130.

† See Catalinich, vol. iii. pp. 64, 65.

‡ Strabo, lib. 7.

Porphyrogenitus affirms that Salona was half the size of Constantinople; and, with the suburbs, it has been estimated at six miles in length; but these statements are exaggerated; and though its great extent from east to west justly obtained for it the title of "*longas Salonas*," it is certain that the length of six miles would exceed the truth, even if the whole distance to Clissa were included in it. Numerous inscriptions have been found at Salona, many of which have been carried to Spalato; but some are still seen there, generally built into the walls of houses. They are mostly funereal.*

The Giadro, or Iader †, which rises in, or issues from, the skirts of Mt. Mossor, between Mravinze ‡ and Clissa, and about two miles and a half from Salona, is a small river, sufficiently rapid to be used for turning mills. It is composed of several smaller streams, which unite in one, above the bridge of Salona, and a little below this it enters the sea. The Iader was always famed for its excellent trout; but lest it should be supposed that Diocletian abdicated his throne for their sake, the Abbate Fortis takes up the matter seriously, and

* Though I have copied the inscriptions of Dalmatia, they are not all of sufficient importance to be introduced here; and many have been given by Farlati (end of vol. ii.), by Spon, and others, and some in the Archæologia.

† Called also Ider, and Salonus.

‡ N.N.W. of Mravinze.

observes that "some author, who must have been a much better judge of good eating, than of the actions of great men, took occasion to write, that Diocletian (acting worse than Esau) renounced the pleasure of commanding almost all the then known earth, to eat quietly these fishes, in his magnificent retirement at Spalato I believe it must have been a delicious habitation, and to strengthen this belief, I imagine the neighbouring mountain to have been covered with ancient woods; but it is certain that a turn for philosophy, and perhaps a trait of wise policy, were the motives of Diocletian's retirement; and notwithstanding all the ill that Christian authors have written, one copying the other, of this Dalmatine Emperor, perhaps with greater piety than impartiality, or truth, it must be confessed that he was a man of extraordinary merit."*

Salona is famed for woodcocks; and the mouth of the river is frequented by the Ibis, and a great quantity of waterfowl, in the early part of the year; but the exhalations from their marshy resorts cause bad fevers in summer and autumn.

The birds of Dalmatia are numerous; "amounting to 326 species, out of the 514 which are natives of Europe."† Among them are several species of eagles, the *Pernopterus*, and other vultures; and the museum of Vienna has been enriched with a

* Fortis, p. 207.

† Carrara, p. 76. 79.

large collection from that country. The common and red-legged partridges are in great abundance, and sportsmen may find ample amusement in Dalmatia, either with the gun or rod.

A great fair is held every year at Salona, on the 8th of September, to which all the people of the neighbourhood look forward, with anticipations of feasting, business, and amusement.

It is a curious sight, and the concourse of people is very great. The costumes are numerous and varied; among which the most remarkable are those of the pretty Castellane women, of the townspeople and peasantry of Sign and Sebenico, and of the peasantry, and the *borghesi*, of Spalato. Many come from the Turkish frontier; and sometimes a few Turks from Herzegovina, whose dress differs not very much from that of the Morlacchi who wear the turban. The costumes of the women are the most numerous and remarkable, those of the men varying much less, in the different districts of Dalmatia; but the colours in both are striking, and admirably suited for a picture. Blue and red are the most predominant.

All Spalato is, of course, at the fair: and the road to Salona is thronged with carriages of every description, horsemen, and pedestrians. The mixture of the men's hats, red caps, and turbans, and the bonnets and Frank dresses of the Spalatine ladies, contrasted with the varied costumes of the country-women, present one of the most singular

sights to be seen in Europe ; and to a stranger the language adds in no small degree to its novelty.

Some business is done, as well as pleasure ; and a great number of cattle, sheep, and pigs are bought and sold, as well as various stuffs, trinkets, and the usual goods exhibited at fairs. Long before mid-day, the groups of peasants have thronged the road, not to say street, of Salona ; some attend the small church, picturesquely placed upon a green surrounded by the small streams of the Giadro, and shaded with trees ; while others rove about, seeking their friends, looking at, and looked at by, strangers as they pass ; and all are intent on the amusements of the day, and the prospect of a feast.

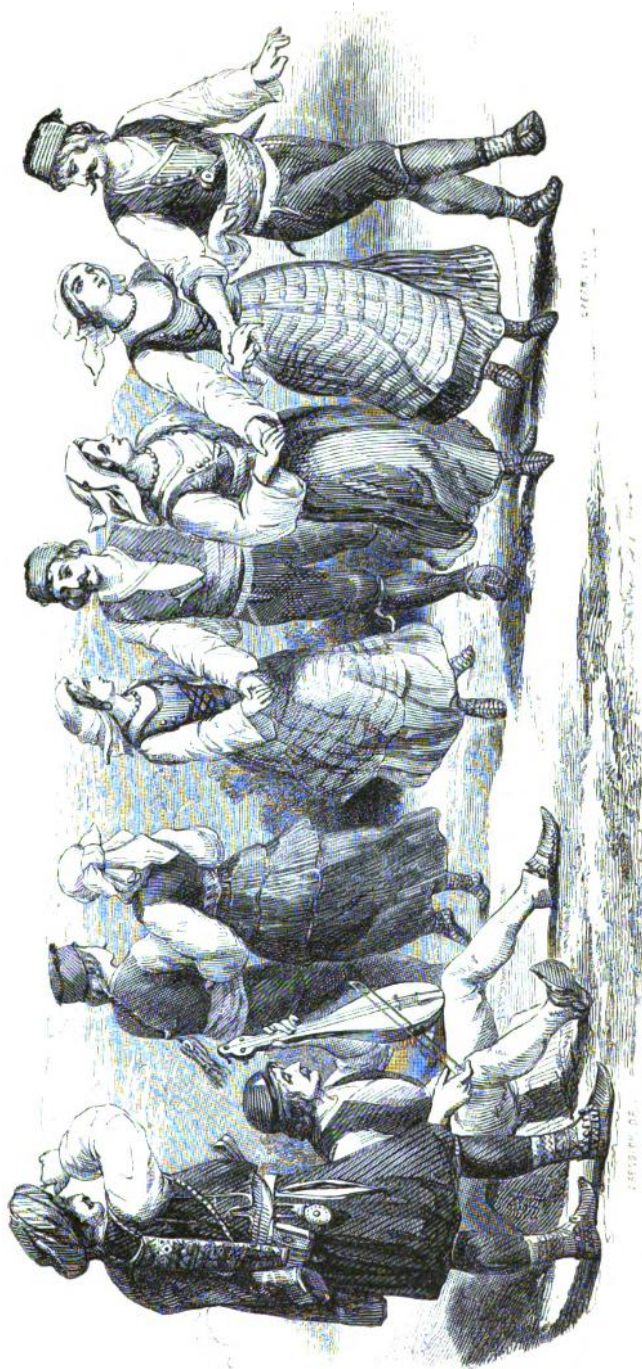
Eating and drinking soon begin. On all sides, sheep are seen roasting whole on wooden spits, in the open air ; and an entire flock is speedily converted into mutton. Small knots of hungry friends are formed in every direction : some seated on a bank under the trees, others in as many houses as will hold them, some on the grass by the road-side regardless of sun and dust, and a few quiet families have boats prepared for their reception.

In the meantime, the hat-wearing townspeople from Spalato and other places, as they pace up and down bowing to an occasional acquaintance, view with complacent pity the primitive recreations of the simple peasantry ; and arm-in-arm civilisation,

with its propriety and affectation, is here strangely contrasted with the hearty mirth of the unrefined Morlacchi. At the fête of Bubastis in Egypt, more wine was consumed than during all the rest of the year; and the same may, perhaps, be said of the fair of Salona; but some years ago the resemblance of the two fêtes was still more strikingly like, and the fights that "came off" were worthy of Bubastis, or of Donnybrook. This was "in the good old times" of Venetian rule, when any one was allowed to take the law into his own hands, and settle with his enemy, without troubling a magistrate. The Morlacco then waited for the fair of Salona, to pay off old scores of revenge, and on this day of retaliation many scenes of bloodshed took place.

The Austrian government has put a stop to the barbarous system; all now passes off with good-humoured conviviality; and if some *sirdárs*, or rural police officers, attend, with their armed *pandoórs*, to prevent irregularities, this is the only precaution taken on an occasion, which formerly required the presence of a military force. The dress of these *pandoórs* is the same as of the other Morlacchi, who are all armed; and their sole distinction is a small flat plume of brass feathers, worn in the turban.

The dance of the Morlacchi is the most interesting sight at the fair. It sometimes begins before dinner, but is kept up with greater spirit after-



KOLLO DANCE. AT SALONA.

wards. They call it *Collo* *, from being, like most of their national dances, in a *circle*. A man generally has one partner, sometimes two, but always at his right side. In dancing, he takes her right hand with his, while she supports herself by holding his girdle with her left; and when he has two partners, the one nearest him holds in her right hand that of her companion, who with her left takes the right hand of the man; and each set dances forward in a line, round the circle. The step is rude, as in most of the Slavonic dances, including the polka, and radovátschka; and the music, which is primitive, is confined to a three-stringed violin.

The distance that many have to go, and the early habits of the people, prevent the “festivities being kept up till a late hour;” which, with the regulations of a cautious police, ensure the quiet termination of this lively scene.

About two miles and a quarter † to the E. N. E. of Salona, is the fortress of Clissa ‡, famed from early times for its strong and advantageous position, on a rocky height between Monte Caprario and Mt. Mossor. The road that led to it from Salona was called Via Gabiniana; which, according to an

* Collo, or Kollo, signifies “Circle.” There is another *Collo*, danced by women at marriage fêtes, which I shall mention afterwards.

† By the road three miles.

‡ In Illyric, Klis, or Clis.

inscription found at Salona, appears to have been made by Tiberius.

Clissa was known to the Romans by the name of Andetrium * or Anderium, and (in later times) of Clausura †, the origin of the modern Clissa.

Perched on an isolated rocky eminence, inaccessible on three sides, and situated on the mountain pass from the interior, it was the outpost and key of Salona, and commanded the approach to it from the N.E. The importance of such a position was felt by every army that invaded, or held possession of, this part of Dalmatia; Clissa was therefore a point against which their attacks were always directed, and it has been remarkable for the many sieges it withstood. It was occupied at various periods by the Romans ‡, the Hungarians, and others §; it was besieged by the Tartars in 1241; and, in the wars between the Turks, Hunga-

* The inscriptions call it Andetrium; Strabo, Andretrium; Ptolemy, Andecrium; Dio Cassius, Anderion; Pliny, Mandetrium; the Peutinger table, Andretium; and Porphyrogenitus, Clausura.

† From its closing the pass.

‡ This inscription has been lately found there by Professor Carrara:

D O M
SACRVM
L · EGNATIVS · L · F ·
CN · NEP · CN · PRON
TROM · CLEMENS
DECVRIO · AVGV ·

§ See Catalinich, iii. p. 76., and above, pp. 3. and 163.

rians, and Venetians, it was several times taken and retaken. The Uscocs* took it by surprise from the Turks in 1596, and held possession of it for a few months; and it had previously been entrusted by Andrew II., King of Hungary, to the care of the Knights Templars, in 1217.†

In a ravine, on the S.E. of the fortress, the traces of a Roman camp are said to be still visible, as well as an inscription carved on the rock; both which are supposed to be contemporary with its siege under Tiberius.‡

It continues to be kept in a state of defence, and is garrisoned by Austrian troops. The works are irregular, constructed to suit the nature of the ground. The view from it, looking towards the sea, which is very beautiful, amply repays the ride from Spalato; and admission is easily obtained, through an order from the commandant.

The road from Sign to Spalato passes close to the fortress; and about a mile before reaching it, the tracks of wheels may be seen in the rock, which some suppose to be traces of the old Roman way, so advantageously supplanted by the modern carriage road from Sign. Others think them to be of more recent time, and that they mark the passage of the Turkish artillery to Clissa; but whatever their origin may be, the spot has received

* See the History, A. D. 1536, and 1596.

† See the History.

‡ See the History, A. D. 6.

the name of *Kočinobardo*, as a memorial of this old carriage road.*

On the heights about Clissa are several small towers, built by the Turks, when watching an opportunity for surprising the fortress.

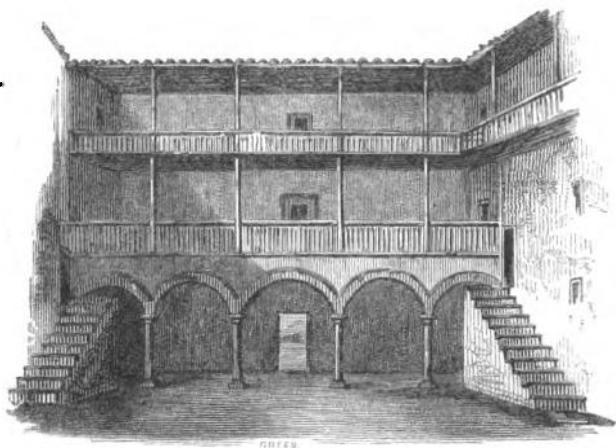
About thirteen miles and a half to the westward of Salona is Träù, at the opposite extremity of the bay. In going from Spalato to Träù, the shortest way is by water; the most independent of wind and weather, in a carriage round the bay by Salona. The drive is very agreeable, particularly in the spring; and the land about the Castelli is the most productive, and the best cultivated, that I have seen in Dalmatia. It is confined to a narrow strip, between the sea and the slope of the Cabani† mountains, called *Riviera dei Castelli*; where industry has not neglected the natural advantages of the soil; and it abounds in vines, olives, and other productions. The Spalatines consider it "the TEMPE of Dalmatia."

After leaving Salona, you pass in succession these Castelli, which are villages built in the neighbourhood of old castles, from which they derive their name. The castles themselves were constructed, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by certain nobles, to whom the land was

* Cocchio, Kocia, "a carriage" in Illyric. These words are borrowed from Italian.

† The hills of Träù, and the Monte Caprario, are part of this range; which extends to Mt. Mossor, on the S. of Clissa.

granted by the Venetians, on condition of their erecting places of refuge for the peasants, during the wars with the Turks. A body of armed men lived within them; and on the approach of danger, the flocks and herds were protected beneath the walls; and at harvest time the peasantry had a place of security for their crops, within range of the castle guns.



In form, they were all very much alike : a square, of two stories, with towers at the angles; and the interior consisted of an open court, with a corridor at the side opposite the entrance, over which were open galleries and staircases, communicating with the rooms. The entrance was on the north side, and the approach was by a drawbridge, over the moat, that surrounded it on three sides, the fourth

being washed by the sea *; on which side was a postern, securing a communication with the bay.

There were originally sixteen castles; half of which number only now remain; some belonging to Spalato, the others to Träù. Their names, beginning from the east, are, 1. Castel Suçuraz†, founded by the Archbishop of Spalato; 2. C. Abbadessa, which belonged to the Abbess of a nunnery; 3. C. Cámbio, still in the possession of a family of that name: which three belong to Spalato, and the rest to Träù: 4. C. Vettúri, still inhabited by that family; 5. C. Vecchio; 6. C. Novo; 7. C. Stafiléo; and 8. C. Papáli, the two last so called from families now extinct.

To these castles the villages have, in later times, been attached, which consist of well-built stone houses. The inhabitants are industrious and thriving, and the costume of the *Castellane* women is one of the most singular in Dalmatia. It would even be graceful were the waist less short, which is carried to an extreme, and too much tightened for comfort. These women have also the strange fancy of making themselves appear flat breasted; while the petticoat, condemned, as in other Dalmatian costumes, to sit in fixed plaits, is made very round and full, in order to set off a small waist, of which they are particularly proud. Their small white

* This description applies particularly to C. Vettúri.

† The ç is used in Dalmatia for our *ch*, or the Italian *c* before *e* and *i*.

head-dress is also singular, as well as their yellow stockings, and the large buckles of their black shoes; and they are remarkable for the massive silver chain holding their clasp-knife, and for the buttons of their boddice.*

When I went to Träù, in company with my friend, Professor Carrara, we passed the night, in going and returning, at the hospitable mansion of the Count Dudán, who shares with Count Cábmo the rights of *Seigneurie* at the Castel Cambio.†

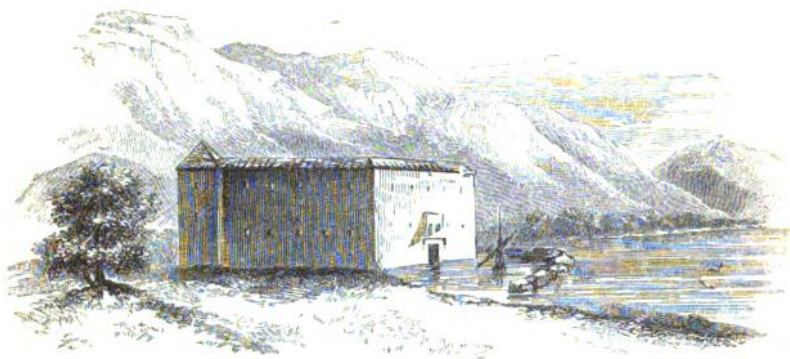
The old feudal rights are now nearly all abandoned. Among the few things still claimed by them are the head of every pig killed on the manor, and a hen, once a year, from every house with a fire-place, or from every family. Formerly the Lord of the Castle received one of every eleven measures of olives, as well as the tongue of every ox that was killed, he, in return, being obliged to provide a slaughtering-block, and, on receiving the tongue, to give a cake of bread: which he still does, as an acknowledgment for the pig's head. These rights are, I believe, only retained by the Counts Cábmo and Dudán.

On approaching Castel Vettúri, we turned off the road, to look at the old castle. It gives a very good idea of their general character, standing alone, close by the water's edge. Before the postern, in the sea front, is a small port, formed by

* See the Costumes in Carrara's *Dalmazia descritta*.

† This castle is about five miles and a half from Salona.

a low stone wall, which protects boats from the slight roll of this inland bay, in blowing weather.



Castel Vettúri was built in the sixteenth century. A little beyond the last houses, to the N. W. of the village, are vestiges of a Roman station, where a column, with a dedicatory inscription to M. Jul. Philippus, has been lately found, as well as much pottery, and Roman tiles. This was perhaps the site of Siclis*, mentioned in the Peutinger table, the Sicum of Pliny and Ptolemy, where Claudius is said to have quartered the veterans. † It is about seven miles from Salona, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ from Träù. ‡

By the road side, between this and Spalato, are numerous heaps of stones, cleared from off the land; which in a deserted country might easily pass for tumuli. No ancient remains are found at

* See above, p. 101.

† Plin. iii. 22.

‡ Some place it at the point of Tarze, a mile to the W. of C. Stafiléo.

any of the Castelli, but Roman coins and inscribed stones are said to be met with, occasionally, in the neighbourhood of Castel Suçuraz.

When they were gathering the olives, towards the middle of December, I went to see Sig^r. Danillo, who has an estate at the Castelli, in order to learn something respecting an insect, that commits great depredations in the olive trees, to which he has paid particular attention. It is the grub, or caterpillar, of the *Phalæna escula*. The egg having been deposited in the wood of an olive tree, the grub bores a broad round passage for itself in the length of the branch, beneath the bark. Nothing is seen outside, and an unpractised eye fails to detect even the original aperture; which is closed by a substance resembling the wood. On cutting open this part, a long cylindrical cavity is seen; and by following the direction of it, with a long wire, they destroy the insect, and prevent further injury to the tree. It appears that measures have only been taken of late to kill them, and these grubs have long been allowed to commit their depredations with impunity.

Castel Vecchio is separated from C. Novo by a small rivulet; and a little more than a mile from Träù the road passes by a copious spring, at a place called I Molini, from "the mills" it turns. So abundant is the water, that it forms a lake of great depth, at the very spot where it rises; and falling thence into the fields below, it runs into the

sea, which is only a few hundred feet from the source; being probably supplied by the water of some stream in the interior, which percolates through cavities of the limestone rocks.

The road to Träù is excellent. It was made by the French, as a branch of the great military way from the Narenta; and having been continued by the Austrians from Träù to Zara, it is there joined by another, that goes to Vienna through Croatia, crossing the great range of Mt. Velebich.

The approach to Träù is pretty; and the town, which is well placed, has a picturesque appearance, with its lofty steeple, and the hills, wood, and water, that surround it. Träù stands on a peninsula, washed on three sides by the sea, which has been converted into an island by a fosse on the north side. Its fortifications are now no longer kept up, and part of the wall has been pulled down; the aggressions of the Turks being dreaded no more by the Traurines; and the defences of Träù, like the Knights of Malta, are of by-gone utility.* They have also the disadvantage of being commanded by the Isle of Búa. Part of the town stands on that island; to which it is connected by a bridge, between three and four hundred feet long, having an opening in the centre, with a drawbridge for the passage of masted boats.

It has lately been proposed to widen this opening,

* Since the revival of the order of St. John has been proposed, the walls of Träù may still have hopes.

to enable steamers to pass, on their way to Spalato, which would be a great benefit to the town, and very agreeable to the passengers; but it seems that the government will not render any assistance, and the *commune* is not rich, or wise, enough to undertake it. The cost, however, would be trifling, and as the bridge will soon need repairs, it would only be necessary to add a small sum to the expenses already required.

Over the principal gate, on the land side, is the lion of St. Mark, and from the stones beneath it grows a stunted cypress, which is looked upon with more than usual respect, from its having sprung up, through the holy influence of St. Giovanni Ursini. He was bishop of Träü (in 1064-84), and in his capacity of patron and protector of the place, has, of course, wrought many miracles.* The recovery of his arm from the Venetians, who carried it away in 1171, was looked upon as an important event, in the history of Träü; and his body, now reposes in a marble sarcophagus at the altar. Though it is well known that the body was brought back from the sea-shore, where it had been left by the plunderers of the tomb; the credulous believe it to have been found near the well in the cathedral, on the right as you approach the choir; and to commemorate this event, the saint is said to have caused a bay-tree to grow

* Farlati, vol. iv. p. 310. 319. 331. See the History, A.D. 1171.

(*unseen*) in the well, as if for the very purpose of concealing it.* He has also a chapel, richly carved; which was built, and dedicated to him, in the seventeenth century.†

The Traurines are proud of their cathedral. It was commenced in 1213; the old one having been destroyed by the Saracens in 1120. The entrance, at the west end, is ornamented with a profusion of sculpture in stone, representing men as well as camels, bears, elephants, and other animals, with arabesques on the jambs and arches. At the side are large figures of Adam and Eve, of rude style; and the lions of those days are among the architectural ornaments, projecting on the right and left upon brackets. The whole has a rich effect; and though not of any very great merit, as a specimen of mediæval doorway, is worthy of notice in Dalmatia, which boasts not the rich churches found in other parts of Europe. The interior is heavy, particularly the massive pillars separating the nave from the aisles. It has some carved wooden stalls; and the two figures under the canopy of the altar are admired.

In this cathedral is the tomb of William, son of Baldwin, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople,

* A bucket once brought up a leaf, which was thought to account for its being heard to rustle among the branches when let down. The "*Dignus vindice nodus*," does not appear.

† The first chapel to him was built in 1348. Farlati, vol. ii. p. 380.

who died at Träü* in 1241-2; and it is noted, among the churches of Dalmatia, for the number and value of its sacred utensils, and silver ornaments.

There are some pictures of Palma Giovine, of stiff style, another of Matteini, a Venetian artist of late time, and in the sacristy a small one on slate, representing Jephtha's daughter.

The best picture in Träü is at the Dominican convent, said to be of Palma Vecchio; but it is badly preserved.

Attached to the cathedral is the baptistry, which has a richly sculptured frieze of angels, or Cupids. At the end is a bas-relief of St. Jerome, suffering his untempting temptation in a cavern; for which the sculptor has availed himself of a stone of two colours, brown and white; producing the singular effect of a gigantic cameo.

The tower of the cathedral is a fine structure, in the pointed style; and the windows of the first story, above the basement, have a little of the Moorish character, in the trellised panel above them.

In the public square are the remains of the *Loggie*, said to have been built by the Hungarians, and repaired by the Venetians, whose winged lion has been introduced, as usual; as if a presentiment of their downfall hinted the necessity of leaving this oft-repeated memorial of their greatness. The

* See page 133.

building is very small, open on two sides, with columns supporting the roof, and closed on the other two by solid walls. These *Loggie* were a sort of town-hall, where the affairs of the commune were transacted, and justice was administered; though, in the later days of the Republic, the courts of justice were generally held in the palace of the Count. "In early times, they were also used for certain public fêtes, where the principal ladies, in national costume, opened the ball with the dance called *Skóci-gori** and *tanczi*; and some iron instruments of punishment are still shown there, presenting the curious anomaly of a place destined to pleasure and pain." The stone seats of the judges still remain, as well as a large stone slab, or table; and "behind, on the wall, are sculptured the emblems of justice."†

Träù has a population of about 3500 inhabitants; of whom three are Protestants. It has several churches, but none containing any object of interest. The walls on the south side are curious; and near the N.W. extremity is an open space, where, on a projecting point of land, stands a picturesque ruined castle, called *Camerlengo*. It is said to have been built by the Venetians at the end of the fourteenth century, during the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibelins, and

* Literally "jumping up," which recalls the name of our Hop-sotch.

† Catalinich, vol. iv. p. 209.

received its name from being the residence of the *camerlengo*, or chamberlain. I was told that the Austrian government had intended to destroy it; but we may hope that mankind is now sufficiently enlightened to respect historical monuments, when they do not interfere with improvement, and that this interesting ruin will be suffered to remain, as well as its neighbour, a smaller castle, of Hungarian time.

Between these, but thrust into the sea, in order to justify the approach to it by a sort of bridge of steps, is another historical monument of French time. It is called "*La Gloriette*," and is a little round *templet**, or open lantern on columns, in style and name worthy of a tea-garden.

I observed some palm-trees, one bearing clusters of yellow dates. But they never ripen before the cold of winter sets in, and then, being exposed, fall off. The people pretend that this tree was planted in 1730, and began to fruit in 1820.

One of the best views about Träü is from the opposite Isle of Búa. The whole town is seen, backed by the hills of St. Elia, and the trees of the cultivated land, which has the appearance of a garden, and extends along the shore to Seghetto on the west, and to the Castelli on the east. Mount St. Elia is noted for its quarries, which gave rise to the expression "*Marmore notum*,"

* They call it *un tempietto*, a "templet," or "templing."

applied by Pliny to Tragurium*, the ancient Träù; and supplied the stone for the palace of Diocletian. The quarries are still worked; the stone is excellent, and is much used for the public buildings in this part of Dalmatia.

When on the high ground of the Isle of Búa†, you look down on the bay of Okrouk (or Ocruch) to the southward, a beautiful harbour, defended from every wind, and capable of containing the largest fleet. Another fine view is from the road to Sebenico, near the quarries of St. Elia.

Träù, in Illyric Troghir, in Latin Tragurium, was founded by a colony from Issa‡, at a very remote period. Porphyrogenitus calls it Tetragurium, and describes it as an island, or rather peninsula, joined by a narrow neck of land to the continent; a position that led Pliny§ and others to call it an island. The narrow neck of land was afterwards cut through, and the advantage of this defence was felt, in the attacks made in later times upon the city. In 1241, it was besieged by the Tartars||, in pursuit of Bela IV., who had fled before them to Träù; when the impediments offered by the ditch were the safety of the place; and the Tartars, detained before its walls, finding their food and forage exhausted, were obliged to retreat. The fidelity and courage of the inhabitants were also

* Plin. iii. 22.

† See above, p. 112.

‡ Strabo, vii. p. 315.

§ Plin. iii. 21. Strabo, vii. p. 315.

|| See the History.

conspicuous on this occasion, and neither bribes nor threats could induce them to abandon the Hungarian king, or to betray the place of his retirement, on a rock about two miles from the city, which still preserves the name of Kraglievaz.*

Träù was the birth-place of the celebrated historian of Dalmatia, Giovanni Lucio, who died in 1679. Lucio was of an ancient family, which claimed descent from the Romans. The Traurines, indeed, boast more Roman blood, than any other Dalmatians. Pliny speaks of Tragurium as being inhabited by Roman citizens†; in the time of Porphyrogenitus, it was one of those towns where the people were called Romans‡; and the names of the Cœlian, Lucian, Statilian, and many other families, are still retained among their descendants.

It was here that the fragment of Petronius Arbiter was discovered in 1665, by Dr. Pierre Petit, amongst the books of a learned Traurine, Dr. Statelius, “in which, among others, the Cœna Trimalchionis is very amply related.” § Wheeler saw it there in 1675, when the discussions were going on among the learned, respecting its authenticity, which did not cease until it found its way into the library of Paris.

* Or Kralievatz, the “King’s place,” *i. e.* “abode.”

† Plin. iii. 22.

‡ In contradistinction to the Slavi, settled in Dalmatia. See p. 123.

§ Wheeler. *Voyage from Venice to Constantinople*, p. 23.

Träù is also the place where the Peutinger table was found, which has been so useful in elucidating the ancient geography of the country.

During the unsettled state of Dalmatia, in the thirteenth century, Träù, Spalato, and Sebenico, were enabled to form themselves into three independent republics; when the contact of their territories necessarily led to frequent disputes; and the wars, between Träù and Spalato, not only disturbed the tranquillity of all that part of Dalmatia, but became a source of infinite trouble to the Hungarian king, and to the Bans of Bosnia and Slavonia. And it was not until danger threatened the whole territory, that they forgot their differences, and united in a common cause.

Opposite Spalato are the two islands of Brazza and Solta. The latter is famous for its honey, and not for its apples, as is generally supposed; Poglizza being the district where the famed Dalmatian apples are grown. They are excellent, and in flavour resemble golden pippins, but the number produced in Dalmatia is not great, and apples are brought to Spalato from Puglia.

Solta is a small island, containing about 1740 inhabitants; the soil is fertile; in the centre of it, is a rich valley abounding in vines, olives, almonds, and grain; and it supplies Spalato and Träù with firewood. If the inhabitants were industrious, the island would produce much more; and they might make the rosemary oil and aqua-regia, as at Lésina,

since the plant abounds there; and the honey of Solta is indebted for its flavour to the flower of the rosemary. The island was formerly called Olyntha*; and Solentium, or Solentum, according to the Peutinger table, and the Anonymus Ravennas.

Brazza, to the eastward of Solta, is the largest and most populous island of Dalmatia, with 15,495 inhabitants. It is thirty-two miles long, reaching from before Spalato nearly to Macarsca, but of unequal breadth, never exceeding nine miles. Though, from the rocky nature of the soil, it produces little grain, Brazza has always been famed for its honey, its cheese, and, above all, for the wine called *Vugáva*, the Frontignac of Dalmatia†; a name which no Spalatine can hear pronounced, without pleasing recollections of his country and the table. Pliny praises the excellence of its kids‡; and, “in fact,” says Fortis, “not only the kids, but also the lambs acquire a particular exquisiteness of taste, by the pasture of that island.”§ “The lentiscus grows there in great plenty,” as in the other islands of Dalmatia, “and the poor peasants make oil of the berries, when there is a scarcity of olives;” but it has a strong smell, and is therefore disagreeable, if used for cooking.

The principal town is Neresi; said to be so called from the reservoirs of *water* near it, though there

* Or Olyntha.

† See above, p. 100.

‡ “Capris laudata Brattia.” Plin. iii. 26.

§ Fortis, p. 342.

seems no reason for deriving its name from Greek.* Here the Count resided in the days of Venetian rule. During the French occupation of Dalmatia, Brazza was taken by the Russians; who destroyed the small battery erected by the French, to command the narrow channel between it and Solta; and the communication with Lesina being cut off, the French were blockaded in the port of Spalato; which shows the advantageous position of the island of Brazza, for all operations connected with this part of the coast, and explains the importance attached in former times to its possession.

On the northern shore of Brazza is the village of *Splitska*, which received this name, "*Spalatine*," from its quarries having supplied some of the stone used in building the palace of Diocletian.

The ancient name of Brazza, according to Pliny, Antoninus, and the Peutinger table, was Bractia, or Brattia; Polybius calls it Brechia; Scylax and Licophron, Cratia, or Crathis; and Porphyrogenitus, Bartzo.†

These are the principal places in the immediate vicinity of Spalato; and I shall have occasion to mention the islands of Lesina and Curzola, in continuing my journey to the southward.

* In ancient Greek, "water" was ὕδωρ, but the modern νεπο may be traced in νεαρος, and in the old names of Nereus, and the Nereids.

† By the Greeks it was called Elaphussa, and by some Britannis.

CHAP. IV.

EXCURSION INTO THE INTERIOR, FROM SPALATO BY
THE KERKA TO KNIN AND SIGN, AND RETURN TO
SPALATO, BY SALONA.

PROVIDED with letters, which are indispensable, for travelling in the interior of Dalmatia, I left Spalato (August 29.) by the steamer for Sebenico; and, after passing a few agreeable hours there, with Dr. Fontana, I hired a four-oared boat, and in two hours and a quarter reached Scardona. This, like other similar excursions, is subject to certain delays, as the boatmen are obliged to have their passes examined by the health-office, before they can go from, or pass by, Sebenico; and if the office is closed, the journey must be deferred to another day. That it is nothing more than a police regulation is sufficiently obvious: for, to conjure up any suspicion of plague on board a boat, which every one has seen all day lying at the quay of Sebenico, would be ludicrous in the extreme; but the passenger is thereby secure against any attempt, on the part of the boatmen, to rob or murder him; to which it is supposed there might be a temptation, were his departure, under their particular charge, not registered at the office.

Though, as Fortis observes, the people hereabouts do not pay much attention to agriculture, or their fisheries, they take advantage of every small hollow containing cultivable soil, for raising grapes; and some of the vineyards in the bay, and on the Kerka, are carefully placed amidst rocks, and supported by sloping walls, having a broad splay from within, to allow the branches to spread over them.

Soon after leaving Sebenico, at the N.W. extremity of the bay, where the Kerka runs into it, are the peculiar strata mentioned by Fortis*, and the *perforated rock* called *Supplia-stina*.

The course of the river here lies through rocks; and after ascending it for about three miles, you come to the lake of Scardona, or Proclian, which is considerably larger than that of Sebenico. Fortis says that "between the mouths of the two streams, Goducchia and Jujova, both which fall into the lake of Scardona, the Romans had a settlement. The vestiges are scarcely perceptible, and yet they merit attention, as they afford a manifest proof of the rise of the ordinary level of the lake, which ebbs and flows according to the tide. There is also a long wharf under water, which joins the point of the peninsula formed by the two rivers to the isolated rock of *Sustipanaz*. On this rock is a ruined church, which in other times was perhaps a temple of the Gentiles."†

* Fortis, p. 138.

† Ibid. p. 133.

Scardona has succeeded to the ancient Scardon, or Scardona, which was a place of considerable importance, as is evident from its having been one of the three CONVENTUS of Dalmatia, under the empire. But it does not occupy the site of the old city, which was probably further to the westward; though, from the position assigned to it by Ptolemy, some have imagined that it stood on the opposite, or eastern bank of the Kerka. This river is the Titius of the ancients, which was used in very early times, as the means of communication with the interior, "goods being transported by it to the towns of Scardon and Liburna, and to the inland Dalmatians."* It is of considerable breadth, but has no bridge at Scardona, and the only way of crossing it is by ferry-boats.

Scardona, in Illyric, Scardin, or Scradin, has about 1200 inhabitants. It succeeded to Belgrade†, in 1115, as a bishop's see; and afterwards became a stronghold of the counts of Bribir, from 1245 to 1353. On the rock above the town are the ruins of a castle, built or repaired by the Turks, who had possession of the place from 1522 till 1646. The water here is fresh, and the fish very abundant. To the eastward of the town is a marsh, which renders it unhealthy in summer, when tertian fevers are very prevalent. Many of the houses

* Strabo, vii. p. 315.

† Or Zara Vecchia. See the History, A.D. 1115.

of Scardona are good, for so small a town, consisting as it does of little more than one street; but the position is far from advantageous. About half the inhabitants are of the Greek church.

Scardona boasts an inn, with accommodation of a primitive kind; and having passed one night there, I went next morning to the falls, which are three-quarters of an hour off, and are called *Scardinski-slap**, or *Cascade della Kerka*. Some persons manage to see them, during the short stay of the steamer at Sebenico, by starting immediately, and returning the same evening; or by sleeping at Scardona, and going to the falls very early next morning, during the long days of summer. As I intended to ascend the river, above the falls, it was necessary to send to the monks of Vissoviz to provide me with a boat; and through the kindness of the Abbate Cilotti of Scardona, a message was despatched the night before, to make this request.

The falls are divided into two parts, one to the right, the other to the left, as you approach them, the latter containing the greatest quantity of water. When the river is full, the effect of these falls must be very striking, heightened by the trees that grow about them, and the yellow colour of the rocks. The hills, however, on either side are bare, and add little to the beauty of the scenery.

The height of the greatest single fall is said to

* Or "Falls of Scardona," answering to *Scardonicus lapsus*.

be twenty-five feet *, and the breadth of the whole space in that part is about 250 feet. There are also a few *Cascatelli*, beyond it, to the left. Below the falls are some mills; and when many boats with their white sails are seen amidst the trees, as you approach, the whole forms a very picturesque scene.

After a walk of ten minutes above the falls, I found the boat waiting for me; which the monks of Vissovaz † had sent to take me to their convent, a row of an hour and a half. The Kerka is here joined by the torrent Cicola, which, rising on the slope of Mount Sfilaja, passes close to Dernis; and widening considerably above the falls, varies in breadth to the convent, which stands upon an island in the middle of the stream. The hills on either bank are of the usual grey limestone, and mostly bare, though covered here and there with brushwood.

The Isle of Vissovaz is a very picturesque object, with the tower, and red-tiled roof, of the convent, appearing in the midst of trees. The monks are of the order of St. Francis. The original founders of the convent were Augustines; but in 1445 they were succeeded by the Franciscans, who have ever since retained possession of it. In former times it was called "*Pietra bianca*," and the "*Church of San Paolo*;" the name of Vissovaz ‡ signifying "place of

* The difference of the level of the Kerka, above and below the falls, has been reckoned 172 feet.

† Pronounced Vissovatz.

‡ From the neuter verb *vizziéti* "to hang."

hanging," having been given it from the execution of two priests, who were hanged on an elm tree, by the Turkish Governor of Scardona. The two districts of Scardona and Dernis had, at that time, their frontier of separation through the island, and the two governors happened to be sworn enemies. The convent itself stood within the jurisdiction of Scardona; and the monks having placed themselves under the protection of the Governor of Dernis, his rival of Scardona landed on the island, and finding two old priests in the convent, hung them, in token of his authority and his vengeance.

In 1645-48, the Turks were driven out of all that part of Dalmatia, by the Venetians; and on their retirement, being allowed to transfer their property to the Christians who lived there, the then Governor of Scardona left to the convent of Vissoviz the mills of Roncislap, which the monks possess to this day; the grant having been respected by the Venetians, as it still is by the Austrians. The convent has some land on the shore of the Kerka, laid out in an olive plantation and fields.

The weather was beginning to be cooler at the end of August, and when the Bora, or north-east wind, blew, it appeared cold. Such is the effect of this wind, that the change from heat to cold is immediate; and when it ceases, the previous heat is felt as before,—a sudden variation that often causes consumption in Dalmatia, though the real home of the Bora is in the neighbourhood of Trieste. The monks assured me the thermometer ranges as

high as 30° Reaum. ($99\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ Fahr.), but this is probably in a position of reflected heat.

After profiting by the hospitality of the Franciscan fathers, in the shape of as good a dinner as a fast-day would allow, I began to talk of departure; but I found I could not proceed on my journey as expeditiously as I had intended, my friends not being able to convey me any farther than the next falls. It was therefore necessary to write a letter to the Greek convent of St. Archangelo, to request those monks to send their boat to the other side of the falls of Roncislup, which are about an hour's row above the island of Vissovaz; for there are no carriages on the banks of the Kerka, and no boats for hire in these secluded regions.

When the letter came to be concocted, a grand consultation took place among the fathers, whether the archimandrite of that convent would attend to their request; and I began to have some misgivings, about the possibility of proceeding. It was remarked that they had not been in the habit of holding any communication with the Greek community, and it would be exceedingly unpleasant to lay themselves open to an affront.

"Did you ever go as far as the convent?" said an old father to a more restless and locomotive Franciscan; and a negative answer seemed to put an end to the incipient letter; when one of the party suggested that those Greeks had shown themselves very civil, on some occasion, and the writer of the

epistle once more resumed his spectacles and his pen. "They are," he observed, "after all, like ourselves; and must be glad to see a stranger who comes from afar; and besides, our letter may have the effect of commencing a friendly intercourse with them, which we may have no reason to regret." Another, the *padre* Girolamo Luigi Werdoliack, volunteered to accompany me, if a favourable answer was returned, and the letter was accordingly written, sealed, and sent; and I remained with the monks of Vissoviz till the next morning. They were all very obliging, particularly Padre Girolamo, who was my companion in every excursion I made from the convent, and afterwards gave me letters to his family at Imoschi.

An early answer arrived from the archimandrite, borne by one of the boatmen, who announced the welcome that awaited me at the Greek convent, and the arrival of the boat at the falls; and I left the hospitable Franciscans, with the good *padre*, for St. Archangelo.

The hills about Vissoviz are high, and the green banks of the Kerka are backed by trees and bushes, extending some distance up the ascents; and the river, which is of considerable breadth in this part, suddenly contracts, a little above the island, into a narrow channel; which appears to have forced its way through the lofty rocks, that overhang it on either side.

After continuing for some time through this

picturesque channel, we perceived at the extremity of a reach the cascades of Roncislav, falling amidst the thick bushes that clothe the rocks. The dense mass of wild figs and vines, rising above the yellow rocks, and the streams falling from among them, into the calm and spacious basin below, backed by grey craggy limestone hills, offer a very good subject for the pencil; and when the river is full the effect must be beautiful. These vines and fig-trees also extend along the base of the hills, by the water's edge, for some distance above and below the falls. Of the grapes they make wine, which is said to be good, and *mousseux* like champagne.

The water of the Kerka, as of many other Dalmatian streams, has a petrifying quality, and covers the rocks with a coarse stalagmitic deposit. Much rock has also been formed by it *under* the water, below the falls; and these newly-created ledges are seen projecting over great depths beneath them. Here, as above the lower falls, are water-lillies, rushes, and reeds, which make it very unhealthy in summer.

A company has established a dépôt for coal, a little below the falls, communicating by a road with the mines of Dernis, and has gone to a great and useless expense, without ascertaining the probability of success. Every thing is on a large scale, and the spacious barge moored at the shore looks like an emblem of their gigantic plans, and unemployed means. It has been suggested to make a canal, or

a railroad, from above these falls to the lake of Scardóna, for the transport of the coal, both which are very feasible; but it may be a question whether the coal is worth the expense, or deserving better carriage than the rude carts of the Morlacchi, which now take it to Sebenico. It is a variety of glanz coal, composed of very small distinct concretions, every grain of which has a perfect conchoidal fracture, with much lustre, and is very inferior in point of heating power.

The Austrian steam company, it is true, persist in using it, because it is cheap; but the wisdom of employing coal of bad quality may be doubted; and the quantity required to be taken on board, the constant necessity of putting on coals to keep up the fires, and the utter inability of their steamers to make way against a moderate breeze, are great objections to the coal of Dernis. It has also the effect of causing much smoke, and the large flakes of soot that fall from the chimney upon the awning actually burn holes in it, till it looks like a sail riddled with grape-shot; and I remember one day seeing the awning on fire, from one of these showers of soot; when the captain calmly ordered it to be put out, as if it was a common occurrence.

A Russian consul, who happened to be on board, and who was not much accustomed to the smoky doings of steamers, seemed to be deeply impressed with the inconvenience of the falling flakes of soot. His voice had rarely been heard during the voyage,

and he appeared to shun communication with his fellow passengers; when, one afternoon, the awning not being up, he burst forth into these startling remarks, uttered with a broad Slavonic accent: "Que ces baateaux à vaapeur sont sales! par suite de maaladie, il y a dix ans que je ne me zuis paas lavvé, mais maintenant j'ai zenti le bezoin de me lavver, et je me zuis lavvé." His general appearance was by no means at variance with this announcement; and if his distant behaviour towards the rest of the party arose from due consideration for their nerves, he deserved more credit for compassion, than for cleanliness; but though the soot may have excited his displeasure, and have so far overcome his hydrophobia as to induce him to submit to an ablution, it is but fair to state that the Austrian steamers offer no cause of complaint below decks; and, indeed, those that go to Constantinople, and other places in the Levant, are cleaner than any, except British men-of-war, in the Mediterranean.

At the falls are the mills bequeathed by the Turks to the monks of Vissoviz. The name *Ronci-slap*, or *Rohonsi-slap*, is supposed to be taken from some Hungarian; but they are sometimes styled *slap* only, or "the falls." Though inferior in size to those of Scardóna, they are not deficient in beauty, owing to the water falling from amidst green bushes; and the cascades of Roncislav have an advantage in the surrounding scenery. Across

the streams, that run between the densely clothed rocks above the falls, is a bridge, 390 paces (or about 980 feet) long, of sixty-three low arches. Its general height does not exceed twelve feet, and its breadth is between seven and eight. The Austrians, I am told, intend to enlarge it, in order that carts may cross the Kerka at this point, which will be a great advantage to the country. It is said to have been built by the Turks, who had the southern, while the Venetians occupied the northern bank; and the possession of the bridge was secured by a *tête de pont*.

After walking a quarter of a mile, we found the boat waiting to take us to the convent of St. Archangelo, which we reached in an hour and three-quarters. The river is again confined in this part to a narrow channel, between lofty precipitous rocks, and wild scenery. At the side and near the base of a hill, overlooking the plain through which the Kerka winds, stands the convent of St. Archangelo. The inmates are Greeks, governed by an archimandrite who resides there, and whose truly Slavonic name is Stefano Knezovich; a very gentlemanly man, with the manners of one educated in a European capital.

I found the convent remarkably clean; and the monks fortunately were not fasting, as at Vissoviz. There were five fathers in residence; and, judging from their treatment of strangers, it is evident they are not less worthy of being styled "the hospitable

calogeri of St. Archangelo," than when Fortis visited their convent. He mentions a tradition, that St. Paul celebrated *mass* there, in a little chapel contiguous to the convent, to which the Morlacchi of the Greek church flock with great devotion. He also speaks of many vestiges of ancient Roman habitations, on the road from Knin to this place, but of no importance. The convent lands are cultivated by peasants in its employ, and from these the revenues are principally derived. The superior has also 200 oxen, each let to the peasants for 100 quintals of grain a-year.

The ordinary portraits displayed in Dalmatian houses are, as might be expected, of the Emperor of Austria, and others of the reigning family; and in a monastery, a pope, a founder, or a few saints ornament the walls; but in the convent of St. Archangelo, the Emperor of Russia (who stands nearly in the same relative position to the Patriarch of Constantinople, as a Sultan to an obsolete Caliph), and some worthies of the Greek church, occupy the posts of honour, and Cyrillic inscriptions take the place of Latin and Italian. The same is the case in all the convents of non-united Greeks, in these Slavonic regions.

Many of the hills hereabouts are well wooded, and in the fields some Indian corn is cultivated. Fevers are not uncommon in July and August, though the situation is much more healthy than Scardona, or Knin.

On leaving the convent, the superior lent me his

horse, to take me to Kistagne, and sent my baggage by some of the peasants, who had come to the river from Kistagne to fetch water. The toil of carrying it up this hill is very great; it is therefore the occupation of women, who are here, as in Montenegro, the beasts of burden, and often transport very great weights for a long distance; so that my light baggage was a very welcome change, instead of their ordinary loads.

The reason of their having been employed, on this unusual duty, was a misunderstanding between the monks and the sirdár of Kistagne, which prevented my obtaining horses to take me from the convent. The archimandrite had written, on my arrival, to the sirdár, to request him to send horses the next morning, to convey me and my chattels to Kistagne; and as the letter was thought to be too much in the shape of a command, the man in authority would not obey, and on the principle of "*quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi*," I was left to find my way as I could. No horses came; and though the archimandrite was in high spirits, at the recent arrival of a decoration from St. Petersburg, his equanimity was a little ruffled by this marked disregard to his letter. He was, however, determined I should not feel the inconvenience, and he provided for my transport to Kistagne.

Arrived there, it was necessary to procure horses to continue my journey, and I called on the sirdár, not without some misgivings as to the agreeable-

ness of the interview. After numerous apologies, he explained that the imperious style of the letter, and the tone of importance so often assumed by the monks, made it necessary to give them a lesson, the consequences of which he regretted had fallen on me; and I must confess that he did all in his power to efface the impression of it, by his civility during my stay at Kistagne, and by furnishing me with letters, and other useful assistance, for my journey.

Kistagne, or rather the portion of that scattered village, called Quartiere, from the troops stationed there, is about half an hour's walk from the convent. The road, which was made by the monks, is good; and at the summit of the ascent is a carriage way. The stone of the hill is a white schistous limestone, breaking up readily into slabs of any size and thickness, and very convenient for building walls, or for roofing.

The Bóra blew all day (September 1.), and it was very cold, which, after the heat of Spalato, was not disagreeable; though it seemed to threaten a sudden change of season, and gave me a false alarm of the approach of winter.

Quartiere is the residence of a sirdár; an office answering to post-master. He is also captain of the territorial force, under the colonel who commands all the sirdárs of the district. The name is Turkish, as is that of the arambasha, who holds the next rank under him.

The sirdárs, being magistrates, may settle all questions of an amount not exceeding 10 florins*, and their authority is maintained by a force of territorial guards, called Pandoor, or Serrejan, armed peasants, who serve in rotation gratis, taking it by turns to do duty for one or two days, according to circumstances, and who may be called on in great numbers if required.

The territorial force was first established by the Venetians; and "every maritime district had its colonel, sirdár, and arambassé (arambasha). The maritime towns of Zara, Spalato, Träù, and Sebenico had a colonel and a captain; Almissa a colonel-superintendent; Macarsca a colonel; Narenta a superintendent, with the special prerogative of judging all civil and even criminal causes, except grave cases, which were referred to the Provveditor-general of Dalmatia. The castles of Träù, and the Isle of Solta, had a governor; but all the other islands were exempt from this military system, and the inhabitants were exclusively destined to the service of the navy. Besides the territorial troops, which could be called upon at any time by the state, the Venetians had eleven regiments of Dalmatian regular infantry paid by the government, and two of light cavalry, called mounted Croats (*Croati a cavallo*)."

† Of these,

* One pound English. The Sirdár's pay is fifty-five florins a month, about sixty-six pounds a year.

† Catalinich, vol. iii. p. 174. See above, p. 87.

the territorial Pandoors alone remain, all the garrison duty being now performed by Austrian infantry; and there are no cavalry in Dalmatia.

Kistagne consists of about 120 houses, scattered over the plain; and at Quartiere is an inn, established by the Convent of St. Archangelo. The people are mostly of the Greek Church, and in the ten villages of this neighbourhood there are only five Roman Catholic families. They are uncouth Morlacchi peasants. Their dress is a sort of compromise between Turkish and Hungarian, and they are all armed. They seem a quiet, well-disposed people; but I was told of some serious frays that happened the year before my visit, and required the interference of an armed force. Strangers, however, were even then quite safe; these hostilities being directed solely against each other, in consequence of some party, or family, feud.

The plain is extensive, and fertile, producing wheat, and Indian corn, as well as mulberries and other trees; and the soil, which is of a reddish colour, may be considered a fair specimen of the arable land of Dalmatia. It is reckoned six hours in length, and four in breadth, bounded on the east by the Turkish frontier of Bosnia, and on the north by Croatia. To the east is the district and mountain of Promina, and in the plain, looking towards Knin, is a tower: one of the many monuments of Turkish rule in this part of Dalmatia. About fourteen miles to the S. E. is Dernis,

formerly a large town, and now a village, known only for its coal. Dernis continued in the hands of the Turks until 1647. It has a ruined castle on an eminence, near the torrent Cicola; which runs here and there over a rocky bed, and is crossed by a stone bridge about three miles from the town.

The ancient Liburnian city of Promona is supposed by Fortis* to have stood near the road from Dernis to Knin, not far from the Monte Cavallo; and he even states that vestiges of the wall, fifty stadia in extent, built by Augustus †, while besieging the Dalmatians in Promona, may still be seen on the tops of the craggy hills in that direction. There is every reason to believe that Promona stood on the skirts of the mountain, which, with the neighbouring district, now bears the name of Promina; but as the Peutinger table places it on the road from Burnum to Salona, we should rather look for it on the S. W. side of that mountain, in the direction of Dernis, and consequently very far from the neighbourhood of Monte Cavallo.

The distance from Quartiere to Scardona is reckoned four hours; to Zara, eight in a carriage, or eleven on foot; to Knin four and a half hours to five, or three and a half in a carriage. The road from Knin to Zara passes by Kistagne, Ostrovizza, Bencovaz, and Nadin ‡, the site of the ancient

* Fortis, p. 99.

† See the History.

‡ Or Nadino, see p. 93.

Nedinum. Ostrovizza was remarkable for an incident, owing to which the Venetians lost the castle, during their wars with Sigismund, in the fifteenth century. The Venetian Prefect had married the daughter of a countryman, whose brother, a soldier in the Hungarian service, used frequently to come and visit her. She managed to procure him opportunities of examining the walls, and becoming acquainted with the weak points of the castle; and under cover of a dark night, the Hungarians scaled the rock, and took the fortress, making the garrison prisoners of war; a circumstance which gave rise to a law, prohibiting Venetian soldiers of the garrison of Sebenico from marrying peasant women.

A little to the right of the road in going to Knin, and nearly one hour and a half from Quartiere, are the Roman arches called *Soupiaia* *, or *gli archi Romani*, which point out the site of the ancient city of Burnum.

I left Quartiere a little after nine in the morning (Sept. 3.), and had scarcely reached a cross by the road side, about a quarter of a mile from the arches, when I was overtaken by the sirdár, who had followed me with the kind intention of showing me the ruins, and the cascade of the Kerka. Near the cross are some stones, which appear to have been taken from old Roman tombs; if, as I

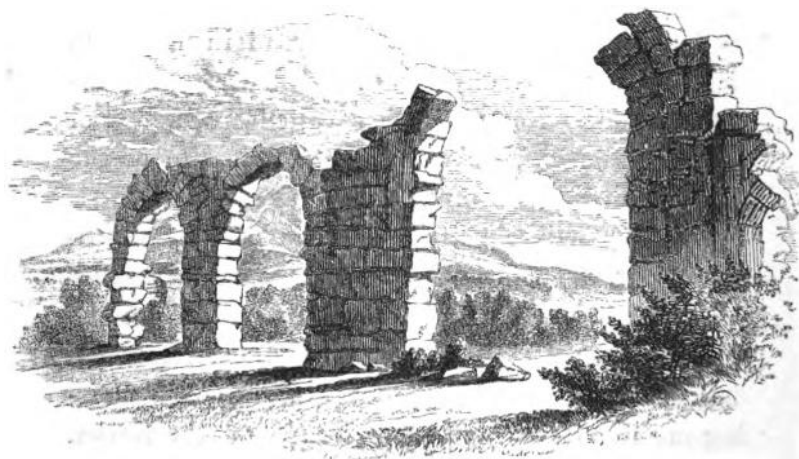
* Or *Supplia Zarkva*, the "perforated church."

was told, the following inscription was found on one of them, which is now removed to Knin.

DIS · MAN · SAC ·
AELONI · C · I
ELERN · DOMO
ARETIO · AN · LXX
TLONIVS · ERASTVS
PATRONO · P ·

I observed a fragment with P O N, in very large characters, seven inches long; and in the same spot several coins have been found, with some engraved stones.

The arches are evidently the remains of a large gateway, or triumphal entrance to the city; and



an inscription found there shows they were built by a decree of the Decuriones, in honour of Adrian. We searched in vain for this inscription, which I afterwards learnt had been concealed, to prevent

its destruction by the peasants, until an opportunity offered for removing it to Knin; and I am indebted for the following copy of it to Count Paulovich, who is preparing to publish his researches on Knin and its vicinity.

CAESAR · TRAIANI · PARTHIC · FILIO
DIVI NERVAE NEPOTI TRAIANO HADRIANO
PONTIFICI MAX · TRIB · POT · II · CONS II · P · PAT ·
DECRETO DECVRIONVM ·

Of the arches two only are now entire; the larger and loftier centre arch having fallen down, as well as the two at the western end: they stand nearly due east and west, and were doubtless one of the entrances to the city. Some suppose them to be the remains of an arch of triumph, erected by the Roman legions in honour of Trajan, on his return from Dacia; but I know of no authority to justify this conjecture, which is moreover disproved by the above inscription. The breadth of the centre arch is nine paces, with piers measuring five paces, by one and a quarter in thickness; the others are four and a half in span, on piers measuring three and a half paces in length.

The traces of mouldings may be seen, as well as the capital of a Corinthian pilaster, on the jamb of the centre arch; and Fortis conjectures, "from the mouldings and cornices being equal on both sides, that they were intended to stand isolated," and were "a triumphal monument of five arches."

When Fortis saw them, in 1774, the centre arch was still entire; but he mentions no inscription. He is correct in supposing them to mark the site of Burnum, the Liburna* of Strabo; which is confirmed by the position assigned to it in the Peutinger table, on the right bank of the Titius above Scardona, twenty-four miles from Nedinum. It was to this city that the Goths under Ulesigalus† retired, after having been defeated by the Romans at Scardona, in their attempt to regain possession of Dalmatia, during the reign of Justinian. Burnum was one of the principal cities of Liburnia; and under the Empire the inhabitants belonged to the conventus, or congress, of Scardona. It stood on the Titius; and Strabo says goods were taken up that river from the sea, to "Scardon and Liburna."

It is probable that the city stood on the south of the arches, and occupied the space between them and the river, which is distant about one-third of a mile. On its steep bank I observed the remains of Roman masonry, of small stones; and in the midst of this were two small tubes, apparently conduits for water, running into the rock to the northward, and nearly at the top of the bank.

The Kerka here falls over crags of considerable height, and a little above are other cascades amidst rocks and bushes; which, with the winding course of the river, offer a very picturesque scene, though

* Fortis, p. 103. Strabo vii. p. 315.

† A general of Vitiges, the Gothic king. See above, p. 157.

it is much narrower than at Roncislup, or at the falls of Scardona. To the north of the arches are three tombs, built of stones, and covered with a single slab, serving as a lid. They are said to be of ordinary style, and probably of late time. We could not find them, though the sirdar had been there before; and no other remains of Burnum are visible, except fragments of stones collected in heaps about this spot.

They cultivate some millet here, and the panizzo (*Panicum miliaceum*), which is a smaller grain, and is used for making bread, as well as the *Holcus Sorghum*. This last is much grown in Dalmatia.* From the arches to Knin is a ride of about three hours and a half. Half way from Kistagne to Knin is Baducich, and in the plain surrounding this village are numerous small oak bushes.

The position of the fortress of Knin is very imposing; and before the use of cannon it must have been impregnable. Though now commanded by a neighbouring height, it is still a place of great strength; and its importance as a military post, during the wars between the Turks and Venetians, was fully appreciated by those competitors for the dominion of Dalmatia. The convenience of its situation had already been well understood by the Counts

* This recalls the remark of Strabo respecting the Iapodes, who dwelt under Mount Albius, "living in their poor country chiefly on zea and millet."

and Kings of Croatia* ; as it afterwards was, in the fourteenth century, by the Hungarian Kings, who often held their court there ; and it was at Knin that Sigismund passed the winter of 1396, after the fatal battle of Nicopolis, when on his way from Ragusa into Hungary.

It subsequently fell into the hands of the Turks, having been wrested by them from the Hungarians, in 1522 ; and in their possession it remained 125 years ; when it was taken, in 1647, by the Venetian General Foscolo, and again by Cornaro about forty years afterwards† ; from which time it continued in the hands of the Venetians. Each of these added to its fortifications, which improved with the progress of military science. After the downfall of Venice it was occupied by the French, who also strengthened the works ; but in 1813 it passed into the hands of the Austrians, and since that time has been garrisoned by their troops.

Knin, in the public records styled Tnin, Tininium, or Tinninium, is supposed to be the Arduba of the ancients ; which was “ famous, not so much for the defence it made against Germanicus, as for the untameable courage of the women, who rather chose to throw themselves and children into the fire, or the river, than become slaves to the victorious Romans.” Fortis‡ is fully justified in

* See the History, in the eleventh century.

† See the History, A. D. 1687.

‡ Fortis, p. 96.

saying that "no place now found, on either of the rivers, Kerka or Cettina, agrees better than Knin with the description given by Dion Cassius of the castle of Arduba;" while he allows that "the historian mentions only one river, and not a confluence of two, and calls it rapid, which agrees not with the Kerka" in that part of its course. The position of the fortress, on a narrow neck of land, watered on two sides by the Kerka, and by its tributary the Butimschiza on the north, is certainly remarkable; and though Dion's expression, "almost entirely surrounded by a rapid river running at its base," does not exactly apply to Knin, still, allowance may be made for the vagueness of a general description; and it would be excusable in him to suppose the two streams branches of the same river. The position, indeed, is too advantageous to have been neglected; some fortified place must always have stood there, and no description corresponds so well with it as that of Arduba.

The road from Zara to Kistagne crosses the Butimschiza by a bridge, a little before it reaches Knin, and then enters the town on the east side.

The houses stand partly on the slope of the hill below the fortress, partly on the bank of the Kerka, which runs at the base of the rock on the south, and winding round it to the west, is joined by the Butimschiza* a short distance below the bridge. The town is small, and some of the houses near

* Another stream joins this, before it enters the Kerka.

the river are of wood, which gives to that part of Knin a Turkish character.

The plain, which lies on the S. and S. E. of Knin, is fertile, and produces abundance of Indian corn, *Sorghum*, and other grain; but the inundations during the winter and spring months, and the stagnant pools formed by the river in the neighbourhood, render the town very unhealthy in autumn. Indeed the Kerka, instead of running freely through the plain, is allowed to stagnate in a lake abounding in rushes, immediately below the town; and the Cossovizza, which runs into it from the southward nearly at a right angle, when swollen by the rains, impedes its course, and forces its waters over the lowlands. A further impediment is the narrowness of the channel, between the hill of Knin and Mount Verbnik; and the junction of the Butimschiza also tends to retard the course of the Kerka, by the quantity of gravel it brings into its bed.

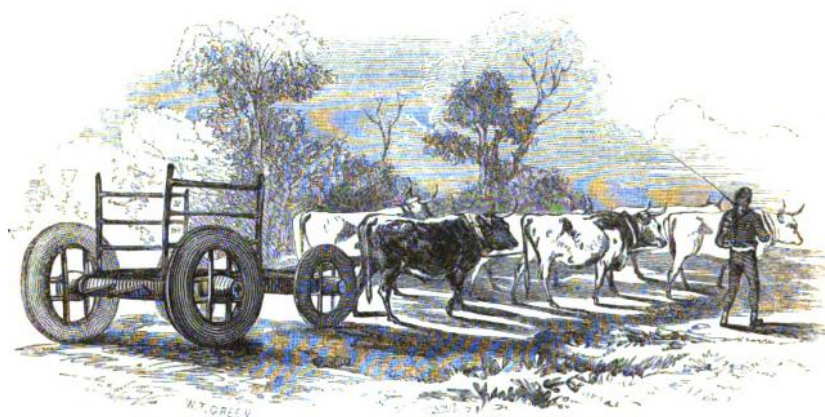
But these disadvantages, and the prevalence of fevers at Knin, are attributable to the neglect of man, rather than to its position; for, situated as that lake is above the falls of the Kerka, nothing can be more simple and obvious than the mode of regulating the flow of the stream; and by merely opening a larger passage at the falls, and the construction of an intermediate weir and sluices, the quantity of water in the upper part of its course might be adjusted with precision. The

overflowing of its banks would thus be prevented, and every stagnant pond be drained; all which might be done at a trifling expense, amply repaid by the advantages to agriculture, and what is of consequence to the people by the improvement of the climate. But the indifference to the drainage of the country, and the health of the inhabitants, is a crying evil in Dalmatia, which is still more apparent in the valley of the Narenta.

It is also to be regretted that the Austrians, with all their paternal care, do so little to better the condition, and advance the useful acquirements, of the Dalmatian peasantry, who are left in entire ignorance of any system of agriculture, and know as little about the advantages or improvement of land, as their ancestors in the days of mediæval darkness. For the encouragement of schools the Austrian government deserves credit, and, after the neglect of their Venetian rulers, the Dalmatians have reason to rejoice in a wiser and better system; but something more is wanting for the instruction of an agricultural population, whom a limited knowledge of reading will not teach skill in husbandry, nor the mode of improving land, nor the importance of new and useful productions.

Their implements of husbandry are on a par with those of the unenlightened inhabitants of Asia Minor, and the primitive waggon used in the neighbourhood of Knin called to mind those of

the plains about Mount Ida; the land is tilled 'as in the remote provinces of Turkey, and the ploughs



of the Morlacchi are often inferior to those of Herzegovina. Nor has Dalmatia any manufactures really deserving that name; and the quality and dye of the common cloth, called Rascia, used by the peasants, are of the worst description. Nor is the production of silk sufficiently encouraged, though the soil is well suited to the growth of the mulberry tree; and I have seen some of immense size, about Fort Opus, as well as near Perasto and Risano, in the Bocche di Cattaro. Hemp, and many other useful productions, might also be extensively cultivated in Dalmatia. But even the great fall of water in the rivers is unheeded, though so well suited to the establishment of mills; and there are none on the strong streams of this country, except those for grind-

ing corn, some of which were made by the Turks; and however incredible it may appear, all the wheat of the valley of the Narenta is sent to be ground in Herzegovina.*

Iron, too, though found in Dalmatia, is imported from Turkey; and the people appear to be indifferent to the productions, and capabilities of their country. Dalmatia, however, is not rich in metals; and Fortis thinks that the only mine is one of iron, not far from Sign†, though he heard of rich mines at Hotton, in the territory of Knin.

“There is no doubt,” he adds, “that Dalmatia, in ancient times, produced a great quantity of gold, as several writers testify. Pliny‡, among others, who had an opportunity of knowing it, says that under the Emperor Nero, fifty pounds of gold were taken daily from the mines of that province, and that it was found on the surface of the ground. Florus writes that Vibius, who was sent by Augustus to subdue the Dalmatians, obliged that fierce people to work in the mines, and to cleanse the gold. Martial likewise, writing to Macer, calls Dalmatia *terra aurifera*, and it seems to have been his opinion that the country about Salona particularly deserved that appellation.§ And it appears by a verse of

* See pages 194. 199., and below, on the Narenta, Chap. VII. and Imoschi, Chap. VIII.

† Fortis, p. 111.

‡ Plin. xxxiii. 4.

§ “Ibis litoreas, Macer, Salonas,

Felix auriferæ colone terræ.” — Martial. Fortis, p. 112.

Statius, in his *Epithalamium* of Stella, that the gold of Dalmatia was become a proverb:—

‘Robora Dalmatico fulgent satiata metallo,’

a passage that permits us not to doubt of either the existence, or abundance, of this precious metal.”

Fortis totally disbelieves the existence of “gold and silver mines in the mountains along the coast, properly called Dalmatia;” though he thinks that “the inland mountain of Promina may perhaps contain mines, as some Dalmatian writers affirm.” But the report that “the small river Hyader (at Salona) carries from its sources some little gold dust in its sand,” he found, on inquiry, to be “without the least foundation.” He also states that the reputed quicksilver mine* at Subidolaz, above Sebenico, does not exist, and from all he could observe, “it seems probable, that no valuable mines are to be found in the calcareous mountains adjacent to the sea, nor in the vallies watered by the Kerka, and the Cettina.” “The ancient mines were probably further up the country, when the confines of the province reached further inwards; and if it be true that gold dust is actually found in the sand of the river Travrick in Bosnia, perhaps the rich mine, of which Pliny speaks, is to be looked for along the course of that river, and about its sources.”†

The Dalmatians maintain the existence of gold

* There is one near Trigl.

† Fortis, p. 113.

mines in the country, in old times, and the ancient name of Mount Mossor, *mons aureus*, is said to have been given it from that mineral production; though they confess that gold is no longer brought down in the sand of the Giadro.* Farlati† and other writers mention the authorities quoted by Fortis in support of the fact; and add to that evidence an inscription on a coin of Hadrian, bearing the words *Met. Delm.* or *Metallum Delmaticum*. But from all I could learn on the subject, Dalmatia possesses no gold or silver mines; though on the east side of the Mount Gniath, which separates Herzegovina from the upper part of the valley of the Cettina, it is confidently asserted that the Turks possess a gold mine; and if little is known of its produce, or its position, this is owing to the difficulties thrown in the way of strangers visiting it; the Turks carefully concealing the valuable secret from their neighbours. If it really exists, there is great reason to suppose it to be the one mentioned by Pliny; that mountain being within the limits of ancient Dalmatia.

Tertian agues‡ are very prevalent at Knin in the autumn, particularly in August and September; when no one can venture to sleep out of doors, or with open windows. Indeed at all seasons, through-

* Or Iader, at Salona.

† Farlati, vol. i. p. 167.

‡ Verbenæ boiled in beef broth and strained, is used in Dalmatia for this fever. I know not with what effect.

out Dalmatia, a decided prejudice exists against sleeping with the windows open; and even at Spalato I was always told of the danger of this comfortable custom; from which, however, I never felt any bad effects.

Knin boasts no antiquities. Some inscriptions have been found in the neighbourhood, copies of which were given me by Count Paulovich, who entertained me very hospitably during my stay there; and one of them, discovered in a village near Knin, contains a dedication to Jupiter—

I · O · M · C ·
PAVLVS
ANDES
BARCINI
V · S · L · M ·

The other, from a place on the river, about one hour from Knin, where they suppose a bridge formerly stood, consists merely of initial letters :—

M · A · S ·
Q · B · R ·
F · N · V · S ·
V · L · S ·

the last line being probably the usual *votum libens solvit*. Near it were found the broken shafts of pillars, leaden tubes, and a spiral column.

At the house of the *Pretore* is a Roman tombstone, brought from Burnum, or some other place, which was erected in accordance with the will of the deceased by his freedman Pantagathus.

... DIV ...
 .. RD · LEG · XI · C ·
 F · DOMO · VERO
 NA · ANN · LXIII · STIP ·
 XXXXIII · T · F · IVSSIT
 PANTAGATHVS
 LIB · F · C ·

Fortis mentions many coins of Antoninus Pius, found at Knin; which are more common, throughout Dalmatia, than of any other emperor.

Three roads unite at Knin: one from Zara and Kistagne; another from Verlicca and Sign; and the third from Dernis, which enters the town on the west side by a bridge over the Kerka. A short distance to the south of Knin, on the road to Dernis, is a curious mass of rock on Mount Verbnik, which has been the subject of much controversy. Fortis says *, "half way up the hill, there is an irregular prominent mass of a friable inferior sort of granite, the breadth of which above ground is about 200 feet." It certainly appears to be a small-grained granite, or granitello; and, if so, it is singular in Dalmatia, which boasts no primitive rocks; but I observed that it was traversed by small filaments of a white substance, which, from its effervescing under sulphuric acid, proved to be calcareous. It dips towards the E. S. E. and appears to run under the Monte Cavallo.

* Fortis, p. 97, 98., who gives a detailed account of these hills. See also a recent work "Storia della Dalmazia, by the Consigliere Menis, publishing at Zara.

Among the other rocks in the neighbourhood are argillaceous schists, marl, sandstone, transition limestone, and some containing iron. The only indication of primitive formations, that I met with, in Dalmatia, were rolled granite pebbles in the bed of the Narenta; but these were brought from the upper part of its course, in the interior of Herzegovina, far above Mostar; all about and below that city being secondary, as throughout Dalmatia.

The Dernis road separates Mount Verbnik * from Monte Cavallo, below which the Cossovizza † runs into the Kerka.

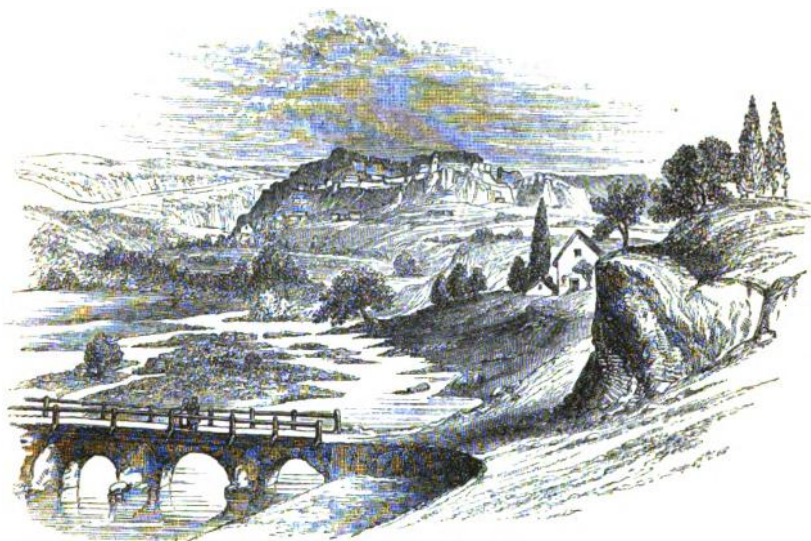
The road from Knin to Verlicca skirts the plain to the eastward, and crosses the Kerka by a bridge at Topóglie, a distance of three quarters of an hour from Knin. That town, with the citadel on its bluff rock, has a striking effect from Topóglie, and the plain is diversified by trees and the stream of the Kerka.

Topóglie is a small village, or hamlet, consisting of a few huts, with a mill close to the bridge. A short way above it, the river falls over a ridge of rocks, of the same height as the adjacent hills, that border and enclose the plain. When the river is full, this cascade must be very picturesque; but the upper part of the stream which forms it, being merely a torrent, is dry in summer. The falls

* From Verbna, "a willow."

† Or Cossovschiza, from Cossovo (Kosovo) "hay," or "cut grass," or "a blackbird."

then cease to exist, and the only source of the Kerka is from a cavern beneath those rocks ; for



the river has two sources, one in this cavern, close to Topóglie, the other a torrent from the mountain of Dinara. The rocks at the falls are furrowed into deep smooth channels; and their edges, overgrown by long grass and moss, serve to show the character of the cataract when in action. The water leaves the same stalactitic deposit as at Roncislup and Scardona ; and the strata in this part are remarkable for their peculiar form and position.

The cavern whence the Kerka issues extends to a great distance under the rocks. Fortis, with his

companion, Mr. Hervey *, tried to explore it in a boat ; but their lights being soon extinguished, by the water dropping from the roof of the underground passage, and having advanced to a spot where the river falls with great noise, they found their boat began to take in so much water that they were obliged to return.

Leaving Topóglie, we crossed the low hills, and then passed successively the villages of Polaça, Turich, and Chievo. At Turich are vestiges of ancient remains, with Roman bricks. In little more than two hours after leaving Topóglie, we descended to an undulating plain partially cultivated. To the right, distant about a mile and a half, was a peaked hill, called Kojak (or Kozsak); and the lofty Mount Dinara †, about three miles to the left; the range of Mount Gniath, half of which is in Dalmatia, and half in Herzegovina, lying beyond to the eastward. On the other side of this is the gold mine already mentioned, about which the Turks maintain so much secrecy. ‡ The Gniath range is separated from Mount Dinara by a valley; in which the Cettina § rises, at the foot of a low hill, similar to that above the cavern of the Kerka. Its four sources, after uniting at a place called Vrilo Cettina, form one stream, — the Tilurus of the ancients, and the modern Cettina, — which

* Afterwards Bishop of Londonderry. Fortis, p. 94.

† See above, p. 38.

‡ See above, p. 219.

§ Or Tsettina.

waters the plains of Sign and Trigl, and, after forming two fine cascades at Douaré, runs into the sea at Almissa.

Fortis is right in saying that no city, called Cettina, existed, either in ancient or modern times; but near the Sorgenti di Cettina many antiquities are found, and Latin inscriptions.

The sources are near the village of Jarebiza, and form small lakes abounding in trout and other fish. The rocks are clothed with the usual deposit from the water, and a cavern there is much spoken of in Dalmatia, for the beauty of its stalactites. The church of San Salvatore*, near these sources, is said to have belonged to the Knights Templars; and in the wall is an ancient Latin inscription, probably sepulchral. There are also numerous tombs, with stone slabs, frequently of great size. The tombs are without inscriptions; but, from the account given me of them, I conclude they are of old Christian time, like those at Ló-quich, on the road to Imoschi; which is confirmed by what Fortis says of the "arms in bas-relief" sculptured upon them. I was told of some remains, of uncertain date, at Lucovach, near the sources; and at Kossóie, half an hour from Ver-

* This is on the authority of a person I met at Verlicca; for being anxious to see the fair of Salona, I had no time to spare for a visit to the sources of the Cettina. Fortis speaks of a church called of the Ascension, and of old stones there, p. 224.

licca, is a ruin, probably of modern date, and once a place of refuge from the Turks.

At the point where the road from Knin descends towards Verlicca, is an extensive view over the valley of the Cettina, studded here and there with villages, and bounded on either side by hills. A great part of the valley, and the bases of the mountains, are here clothed with brushwood, mostly oaks, junipers, white thorns, and elms; all stunted bushes; from which I put up some Hoopoes* and wild pigeons; but I was surprised to find so few birds, during my journeys in the interior, considering the number that frequent the country.† Half an hour after the last descent, we passed some large stone slabs, probably tombs of the old Christian inhabitants. Near them was a well, at which several women were employed in drawing water, recalling very forcibly a scene in the east; where, indeed, the female part of the community is not condemned to greater drudgery, than among the Morlacchi of Dalmatia.

On a rocky eminence, a quarter of an hour farther, is part of the scattered village of Shtiko; which, like others in Dalmatia, extends over a large space; and so scattered are many of them, that it is often difficult to fix their exact position on a map, or to ascertain their distance from each other. The land hereabouts is badly cultivated and much neglected. Now and then the usual Dalmatian

* *Upupa Epops*.

† See above, p. 165.

threshing-floors are seen by the roadside; which consist of a round level space in the open air, paved with flat stones, and sometimes surrounded by a low stone wall; and there is little beauty in this part of the journey, until you come in sight of Verlicca, which is distant from Knin five hours and a half, or about sixteen miles.

Verlicca is remarkable for its castle on the point of an isolated rock, detached from the craggy cliff that terminates the Sfilaja range of hills, which calls to mind some of those on the Rhine and Moselle, and was built for the same kind of warfare. It was besieged and taken by the Turks; who, disregarding the conditions of its surrender, massacred all within it; a piece of treachery by no means unusual in Turkish history, and one which had the effect of inducing the Venetian garrison of Sign to maintain a desperate and effectual resistance, though attacked by a superior force.

As there are no inns in these Dalmatian towns, I had provided myself with letters; and being recommended to the Sindaco and the Sirdar, I had no difficulty in obtaining a comfortable lodging.

Verlicca (Verlikka) has three churches—one belonging to the Roman Catholics, one to the Greeks, and one to the united Greeks; the two former with steeples in the Venetian style, the other of the undecorated Methodist order, recently built at the southern extremity of the town. Near it is the path leading to the springs; which, though


containing much magnesia, supply the town with water; and none other is used by the inhabitants. Strangers however find its medicinal properties disagreeable*; and those, who prefer wine to magnesia, may find an agreeable substitute for this water in the Malvasia, a dry aromatic white wine, which, unlike the greater part of those in Dalmatia, is not sweet. Women are constantly employed carrying the water, in small kegs, on their backs, to the town, which is about one-eighth of a mile off.

The view of the town, with the church steeples, and the ruined castle on the craggy rock above, is very picturesque; and the country about Verlicca is pretty. It has no ancient remains; but the sirdar showed me some square stone cinerary urns, or coffins, with Latin inscriptions, brought from Stragine, near the village of Podosoie, on the road to Sign. One measured 17 inches in length by 13 in height, another 1 foot 7 inches by 1 foot 3 inches; and the hollow part in the centre, that contained the ashes, was about 1 foot square, and 5 inches deep. I copied the inscriptions from two of them:

D M	ZA OSIALISE O
SVRVS PANE	NI NEPOTI E SV
NTIMVTERIFE	E N NORVΛΛVIII
CVSIBI ET BVO	ET SIBI INREPA
NI COIVGI V · P	RABILE POSSVIT

* According to the analysis given by Petter, a pound contains 1·533 grains muriate of lime; 1·116 grains muriate of magnesia; 0·650 grains carbonate of lime; 0·316 grains carbonate of magnesia; and 0·550 grains silex (sciliceo), p. 128.

the other three being covered up, and inaccessible, from the number of things heaped upon them. Another, built into the wall of a house, on the road towards the springs, was found at Mátkovine, about one hour and a half from Verlicca, near Cogliane, on the way to Sign; where a few traces of ruins are still visible:

AVRELIO · MAXIMO
MIL · COH · I IT · ATPINIR
D ANN XXVII AVR 
TVNA · VXOR · POS ·

The upper part of this block is ornamented by two round arches beneath a pediment.

In the sandstone rocks to the S. of Verlicca several bodies have been found, but of what time my informant could not tell me. I also heard of a quantity of asbestos in the neighbourhood, but no one could point out its exact locality.

The climate of Verlicca is reckoned healthy, and fevers are rare at any season. The land is good, and is capable of improvement.

The general aspect of the country throughout the inland parts of Dalmatia differs very much from that of the coast, where the soil of the mountain slopes has been washed into the sea, while that from their inner face has been deposited in the valleys.

There is consequently more cultivation in the interior; wood is more abundant, both in the plains and on the mountain sides; poplars and other trees

thrive in the valleys; and there is much grass land.

The country has some cattle, mostly short-horned, sheep, pigs, and horses, though they are not numerous; and the Dalmatian horse, which is usually of a chesnut colour, is remarkably small.

My journey was performed with these ponies, the hire of which varies from thirty-one carantáni to one florin (about twelve pence to two shillings), a-day.

The road from Verlicca to Sign lies through the valley, on the right bank of the Cettina. At Cogliane Inferiore is a bridge of fifteen arches, which we crossed, in order to visit the convent of Dragovich, situated in a woody glen. The approach to it is by a narrow valley, at the side of a small stream. The convent, buried amidst trees, is not visible until close upon it; and the water, the overhanging trees, and the well-wooded rocks above, offer a picturesque scene as you approach it.

Being just one o'clock, the monks were at dinner when we arrived. I would not disturb them; so that I can say nothing of the interior; which, however, from what I could learn, contains no object of interest. It is a little out of the way, in going to Sign; but when the water is low, the detour is not great, as the river may be forded lower down, and you may then rejoin the road, without having to go back by the bridge of Cogliane. Over the stream, that runs from the glen of Dragovich, and falls into the Cettina, is a bridge of eleven arches.

We crossed it on leaving the convent; and soon afterwards forded the river. The convent is about seven miles from Verlicca; and the whole distance from that town to Sign is about twenty miles.

It rained nearly the whole way, and we halted at a small inn, or *Han* (*Khan*), by the road side, about two miles from the glen. Like many Mor-



lacchi houses, it consisted of a ground-floor and a loft, the ascent to which was by a ladder in the middle of the room. The fire was on a raised hearth on the floor, at one end; the horses and mules occupied another corner; and one part was partitioned off with wicker-work, covered over with plaster, to form a parlour, containing the counter of

the host, a table, and some of the ordinary wooden stools, or chairs, of the Morlacchi. Here passengers, who preferred eating apart from their four-footed companions, were accommodated : and the daughter of the host, wearing her dowry of coins, waited upon every new-comer, while her mother superintended the fire in the adjoining room.

After refreshing the horses, and getting rid of as much rain water as possible, we left the *Han*, and re-entered the unceasing storm. There is little cultivation in this part ; the hills are covered with bushes, which do as well for the traveller, and far better if he delights in wild scenery, but are not very profitable to the peasant or the revenue. Four miles and a half beyond the small village of Ribarich, we came to a descent, with the river on our left, and a fine view in front ; and at this moment the rain seemed most indulgently to cease, which enabled us to enjoy it. Before us the lofty Mount Mossor was conspicuous ; to the left the range of Mount Prolog, on the skirts of which, perched on a rock, might be seen the castle of Dovicich* ; and the undulating plain, between us and Sign, was diversified with fields, woods, and villages. One of these, Ervaz (Ervatz), we reached in little more than half an hour.

It stands on an elevated knoll ; and its small white church crowning the summit, its scattered houses amidst trees, and the distant view over the

* Or Odovicich.

plain bounded by mountains, form a beautiful landscape. Most of the houses are thatched.

In half an hour more we came to Chitluk, the ancient Æquum or Ecuum, lying about half a mile to the east of the road. The remains are few; consisting merely of a wall and some tombs, now scarcely visible.

The country is here very pretty, from the wooded knolls and varied aspect of the broken ground, and the same kind of scenery extends to Sign. The first view of that town is striking, as the road descends from the high ground to the valley. On the left is the church; in front, the clock tower upon a rock rising in the midst of the houses, and immediately above the town to the right stands the castle, on an isolated craggy height.

Beyond is a ravine, separating it from an elevated plateau, which is backed by a lofty mountain,—part of the range that extends to the neighbourhood of Clissa.

Sign contains about 2000 inhabitants. It was long the bulwark of the Venetians against the Turks, whose frontier is now seven miles off. A bazaar or market is held twice a week, on Monday and Thursday, at a place called Han, about five miles from Sign, within the Dalmatian territory. Ever since the plague of 1815, Han has been appointed for the reception of the Turkish caravans, which, according to the treaty of Passarovitz, had until then the privilege of going to Spalato.

The caravans are escorted by soldiers from Billibrig, on the confines, to Han, and are taken back in the same manner; in order to prevent smuggling, or an infringement of the quarantine regulations. Another bazaar is held about four hours from Sign, on Wednesdays and Fridays; and there is another, distant about six hours. Formerly, these points of intercourse with Turkey were more numerous than at present: the trade has now passed into other channels; and the Turks find it more profitable to send the greater proportion of their exports at once to Zara, than to supply the limited consumption of the small towns, in the interior of the country.

Salt, and a few other productions of Dalmatia, are sought by the Turks at the bazaar of Unka, near Metcovich; and Imoschi, and a few other places, are still frequented by them; but the principal trade is with Zara; which has succeeded to most of the advantages once enjoyed by Spalato, in the visits of the caravans.*

To afford some idea of the exports and imports, between Dalmatia and Turkey, I shall give the published report of five Turkish caravans, that came from Bosnia and Herzegovina in September, 1844. "They were from Saraivo, Mostar, Popovo, Guscò, Stolat, Taslegia, Foccia, and Trebigne, and

* The bazaar, and the right of selling salt, have been now restored to Spalato. See above, p. 115.; and below, Chap. VIII., on Imoschi.

consisted of 272 persons, with 621 horses. They brought 234 horseloads of wool; 4 of hareskins; 2 of butter; 1 of wax; 67 of wood and charcoal;— and exported 52,031 *funti** of salt; 30,858 fti. of coffee and sugar; 14,688 fti. of cotton, manufactured and in thread; 7286 fti. of rice; 2163 fti. of paper; 2421 fti. of raw steel; 1000 fti. of tin in rods; 766 fti. of wrought copper; 2170 fti. of balls and shot; 857 fti. of chemical preparations; 622 fti. of colours; 3338 fti. of soap; 6434 fti. of dried fruits; 4188 fti. of olive oil; 432 fti. of rum; and 1912 fti. of earthenware, cloths, furs, glass, *rubbia*, and French beans.”

A cattle fair is held at Sign every Saturday, which is attended by very few Turks, owing to the impediments of quarantine.

Nothing is known of the origin of Sign; but the castle is said to have been built by the Turks, either towards the close of the sixteenth, or the beginning of the seventeenth century. It had a triple wall of circuit, and was supplied with water by two wells; but it is now a ruin.

It was taken by the Venetians under Cornaro, in 1686, and confirmed to them by the treaty of Carlovitz in 1698: and they continued in undisputed possession of it until 1715, when the Pasha of Bosnia endeavoured to recover it, and invested the place with 40,000 men.† Undismayed at the

* One funto is fourteen ounces.

† See the History in Chap. IX., A. D. 1715.

approach of this overwhelming force, the brave Balbi, with his small but courageous garrison, refused to surrender the castle, and repulsed all the assaults of the Turks, who were at length forced to retire; and in commemoration of this glorious defence, an annual tilting fête (*giostra*) was instituted, which is continued to the present day. It is celebrated with all the pomp of olden times; but, *instead* of the anniversary of the siege, it is transferred to the 19th of April, the fête-day of the Emperor.

“The privilege of tilting is confined to natives of Sign and its territory. Every one is required to appear dressed in the ancient national costume, with the Tartar cap, called *Kalpak*, surmounted by a white heron’s plume, or with flowers interlaced in it. He is to wear a sword, to carry a lance, and to be mounted on a good horse richly caparisoned.

“In tilting, each cavalier, with his lance couched, rides at full speed, and tries to strike an iron ring suspended by a string.” The ring is about seven inches in diameter, of thick wire, in three concentric circles, sufficiently far apart to admit the point of a lance. The circles count one, two, and three; and every one is allowed to tilt at this ring three times. “Three umpires decide, and proclaim the victor. If the cavalier loses a spur, or his plume, if any thing falls from him, or if his horse throws a shoe, the point he may make by striking the ring, during that course, does not count.

“ The opening of the *giostra* is in this manner :— The *foot-men*, richly dressed and armed, advance two by two before the cavaliers. In the usual annual exhibitions, each cavalier has one *foot-man*; and, on extraordinary occasions, besides the *foot-man*, he has a *padrino* (godfather), well mounted and equipped. After the *foot-men*, come three persons in line, one carrying a shield, and the other two by his side bearing a sort of ancient club; then a fine *manège* horse, led by the hand, with large housings, and complete trappings richly ornamented, followed by two cavaliers, one the adjutant, the other the ensign-bearer. Next comes the *Maestro di Campo*, accompanied by the two senior *justers*, and followed by all the others, marching two by two. The rear of the procession is brought up by the *Chiauss**, who rides alone, and whose duty is to maintain order during the ceremony.

“ Under the Venetians, the Republic granted an annual prize of 500 Dalmatian *lire*, about 50 florins†; and its representative at Sign gave a grand entertainment. The territorial colonel also provided a prize, consisting of some ells of scarlet; and the adjutant of the Kraina, and the sirdars, presented a little cloth to the victor. These prizes were subjected to certain alterations under the Austrians, till 1818, when the emperor, Francis I., having been

* Ciaos, or chówes, a Turkish title for beadle, or sergeant.

† Five pounds English.

present at the ceremony, established a prize of 100 florins; and the fortunate victor on that occasion received a diamond ring from the emperor."*

There are no remains of antiquity at Sign, nor does it appear to occupy the site of any ancient town. Many coins are found in the district, particularly at Ottok, about five miles off, on the other side of the Cettina, and at Ditymo, about two hours from Sign; and Sig. Antonio Bullian has a collection at Sign, consisting chiefly of Consular coins, and those of the empire.

The appearance of Sign, with the castle rising above it, is scarcely less striking from the Spalato road, than on the approach from the southward; and its situation in a part of the rich valley of the Cettina, diversified with hills and undulating ground, bounded by mountains on the right and left, is superior to most of the inland towns. There is also much cultivation in the neighbourhood.

Strolling out of Sign, along the Spalato road, I crossed a bridge of one arch over a small torrent bed, dry in summer and boasting very little water in winter; and about two miles farther on came to the branch road; that goes to Trigl and Vergoraz, and thence to the south of the province, under the name of "Strada Napoleone."

Trigl stands on the Cettina; and on a height, near that river, is Gardun, the successor of an

* Catalinich, vol. iv. p. 154—156. note.

ancient Roman town, of which some vestiges may still be traced ; and in the neighbourhood of Trigl is a quicksilver mine.

Meeting numbers of country people on their way to Sign, and thinking that the town promised more amusing scenes than my walk in search of the picturesque, I retraced my steps, and found Sign full of life and costumes. In the streets was a market, in the outskirts a large cattle fair ; and a concourse of speculators from different towns, and blue-legged Morlacchi from the country, thronged the place. Here and there groups of intimate friends, or intimate enemies, were discussing their purchases ; many adjourned to settle their accounts over the bottle ; and now and then a stray ox, breaking through the crowd, was seen to interrupt a serious bargain, as he rushed up a side street to escape his rightful owner. One old man had only just time to vociferate "*bógati*," when he was precipitated headlong into a basket of tomatas, to the great discomfiture of his pistols and yatagan ; which the Morlacco, like the Turk, carries in an appendage projecting from his girdle, like the gallery of a building. Some benevolent bystanders appeased his rage, and the clamours of the women, whose vegetables had been the principal sufferers ; and the Morlacco's arms having been properly arranged in front, and his sack and pigtail behind, he disappeared in the crowd.

A Turk soon afterwards passed down the street

on horseback, with all the dignity of a man conscious of his contempt for *giaours*; he noticed no one; and, as far as I could see him, he seemed to be conveyed through the mass of living beings, like an apparition, holding no converse with earthly creatures. He had performed his quarantine, and no one had any further right to molest him; he therefore displayed the pride he felt; and his attitude of affected dignity varied between those of a bully and Don Giovanni.

The costumes on all these occasions, in Dalmatia, are very interesting to a stranger, and the combination of their colours is always good. The female dress of the Sign peasantry is neat, and less overloaded with ornaments than in most parts of the country; and the lace kerchief, or fillet, worn over the red cap of the girls, is tasteful, as is their mode of arranging the hair in two large plaits. Married women have a round white head-dress, which has neither form nor colour to recommend it; the rest of the costume is much the same for women and girls, and consists of a long blue cloth *Jubbeh* or pelisse, a red apron, and red Turkish shoes, with stockings worked in patterns of various colours. The dress of the men resembles that of many other *Morlacchi*. The towns-women of Sign wear a costume more like an ordinary European dress, which is not inelegant; and the hair, interwoven at the back of the head with a coloured silk band, secured by large silver pins, is tastefully arranged.

Women in mourning have the same kind of costume in black; as is the custom throughout Dalmatia.

In the midst of all the bustle and business going on at Sign, I found some difficulty in obtaining horses to take me to Spálato; but a letter to the sirdár removed every impediment; and after a few hours' delay, the animals being brought out, I prepared to start from the not very splendid inn. "Can you ride *in* that?" asked the ostler, pointing to a huge Turkish saddle, that nearly concealed the whole animal, with stirrups that might pass for a pair of coal-scuttles; and finding that I was accustomed to the use, as well as sight, of that un-European horse-furniture, he seemed well satisfied; observing, at the same time, that it was fortunate, as there was no other to be had.

It was certainly not in very good preservation: it might be called an antique, and was a mixture of gaudy patch-work and decayed finery; but I was glad to take what I could get, and my only question in return was whether the horse could trot; which being settled, I posted off, leaving my guide and baggage to come after me; for, thanks to the Austrian police, there is no fear of robbers appropriating a portmanteau in Dalmatia; the interesting days of adventure, and Haiduk banditti, have passed; and the Morlacchi have ceased to covet, or, at least to take, other men's goods.

The only objects of interest, between Sign and

Spálato, are the fortress of Clissa*, and the ruins of Salona†; and the first view of Clissa, backed by the sea and the Isle of Brazza, is very imposing. The road is good, and about one mile before reaching Clissa, the marks of ruts cut deep in the rock may be traced, which some suppose to be the tracks of chariot wheels, on the old Gabinian way.‡

Descending these mountains by a winding road, you come in three quarters of an hour to Salona, and then, in about the same time, to Spálato; the total distance from Sign being twenty-one miles.

A few relics of Roman time are met with in this part of the country, principally at the villages of Much Inferiore, and Superiore, about eight miles to the westward of Sign, where some remains and coins are found; and report speaks of the ruins of an ancient town, called by the people Trajanskigrad (Trajan's City), though this title is given to many other sites of Roman towns in Dalmatia.§

* See above, p. 169.

† See above, p. 153. to 163.

‡ See, p. 169. 171.

§ Petter, p. 107.

CHAP. V.

LESINA. — CURZOLA. — RAGUSA. — HISTORY OF RAGUSA.
— GOVERNMENT. — COMMERCE. — LITERATURE. —
CASTEL-NUOVO. — CATTARO. — RETURN TO SPALATO.

THE voyage by the steamer * from Spálato to Lesina occupies about three hours; from Lesina to Cúrzola five and a half, to six; and from Cúrzola to Ragusa six and a half, to seven hours.

Long before reaching the port of Lésina, Fort San Nicolo, on a height to the N.E. of the town, is seen over an intervening headland. In front of the port is an island, which appears to be placed there as a natural breakwater; though it is not a sufficient defence against the *Scirocco*, and vessels are far from being secure during the storms of winter. It does however afford protection against the S.W.; and the Isole Spalmadore are an additional security on that side. A fort has been built on the island, which, with a battery on the shore to the S.E. and another on the opposite side, commands the entrance. Immediately above the town is the Fort Spagnuolo, and the more distant San Nicolo on the hill behind. Fort Spagnuolo was built by Charles V. when the Spaniards had joined the Venetians

* The fare of the first class to Ragusa is seven florins and a half; or to Cattaro ten florins, equal to one pound English.

against the Turks; and, with a small battery at the port, was the sole defence of the place, until the French erected that of San Nicolo; which stands on a hill 800 feet above the level of the sea, a short way inland. In front of some of these forts aloes have been planted, as a sort of chevaux-de-frise; and though they seem to thrive in that capacity, vegetation is by no means luxuriant in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, which produces only a few caruba* trees, one or two palms, fig trees, and some bushes that grow amidst the rocks. The Isle of Lésina is famed for its figs. They are dried, and put up in small drums, or kegs, which are sold at 20 carantáni each †; and though inferior in size to ordinary figs, they are very sweet and good.

Lésina is more noted for its rosemary oil, called *Oleum anthos*, or *quintessenza*, much used in the composition of fine soap. The rosemary water, or *Aqua regia*, is also made there ‡; as well as a wine called *Vino di Spiaggia*, one of the most esteemed in Dalmatia.§

The island abounds in corn, oil, saffron, honey, and other productions. Under the Venetians it was very flourishing and populous; wool, sheep, and cheese, were among the exports; and it derived considerable profit from the sale of salt fish, which the Venetian government might have

* *Ceratonia Siliqua*.

† About eight-pence English.

‡ And in the I. of Brazza.

§ See above, p. 100.

improved, to the benefit of the state, had they understood the principles of political economy, and relieved the island from injudicious duties on salt. The same remark applies to the present system of the Austrians, whose revenue would be greatly increased by abandoning, or reducing, that impost. The Dalmatians justly complain that they are prevented from following a lucrative trade by the artificial dearness of salt, in a country where the coasts abound in fish, and where the occupation would be beneficial to the people and the government. For not only would the revenue increase, and trade be encouraged, but a good school would be established for the navy, which the Austrians are anxious to improve; and the gradual decay of Dalmatian trade might, in some degree, be stopped by this, and a few other alterations in their fiscal system.

The town of Lésina is well placed on the curve of a small bay, backed by hills; and presents many good pictures, in its Venetian architecture, and the rich yellow colour of the houses.

On the left, as you enter the port, is a tower, ornamented with three tiers of round-headed arches, which belonged to a church destroyed some years ago by lightning. Near the centre of the quay, or *Marina*, are the *Loggie*, built by the celebrated Veronese architect San Michieli, and bearing the winged lion of St. Mark. The building is small, fronted with seven open round arches on columns, and has a

light elegant appearance. Attached to it is a clock tower. Unfortunately, during the attempts of the Russians to dislodge the French from Lésina, in 1807, this edifice was much damaged by the fire of their ships, and the battery they had erected on the island *; and it is probable that if the French had not retired into the fort Spagnuolo, the *Loggie* would have suffered more serious injuries. The marks of the shot, still seen upon it, serve as a memorial of this fruitless attempt of the Russians†, and of the gallant defence made by the French.

The *Loggie*‡, in the time of the Venetians, was a sort of Town Hall, in which justice, or at least punishment, was administered; and the room is still shown where criminals were subjected to the torture. In the open space before this building is a flag staff, with the date of 1735, which once bore the banner of the Republic.

The church to the eastward, at some distance from the port, is the cathedral of the Bishop of Lésina and Lissa. It contains nothing of interest; and the carved wooden stalls are not worth visiting.

To the S.E. of the town, on the point of land near the sea, is the convent of Franciscans, said to contain a picture representing the marriage in Cana, attributed by some to Titian.

During the wars between the Venetians and the

* Or rock, called Galesnik.

† See Catalinich, vol. iv. p. 105., and the History.

‡ See above, p. 181.

Sultan, in the sixteenth century, the town of Lésina was partly burnt by the Turks, under Uluz Ali, who landed on the island. It was at that time a place of great importance ; and being on the way from the Levant, and from Puglia, to Venice, most vessels going to, and from, that city touched at Lésina. It also derived considerable profit from the fisheries of Lissa ; the duties on *sardelle* alone being then let for 4000 ducats a year.*

The Isle of Lésina is very long and narrow, being forty-two miles in length, and two and a half in breadth, or from six to seven in the broadest part ; and the resemblance it is supposed to bear to a “ shoemaker’s awl ” is said to be the origin of its name. The population is reckoned at 12,539 † ; and it contains 54,291 *jugeri*, or acres ; of which 1107 are uncultivated ; 29,285 are covered with trees or bushes, and 9042 with vines.

Lésina was the ancient Pharos Insula.‡ According to Scimnus§ and Strabo||, it was colonised from the Isle of Paros by Greek settlers, from whom it was called Paros, and afterwards Pharos and Pharia ; and Diodorus says the Parians settled

* Solitro’s Documenti Storici, p. 90.

† In 1575 it contained 3034 inhabitants.

‡ By Scylax and Agathemerus it is called Pharos, as well as by Diodorus (xv. 13.) and Polybius (iii. 18.) ; by Ptolemy and Pliny, Pharia ; and by Stephanus of Byzantium, Pharon.

§ See Farlati, i. p. 197. ; Fortis, p. 328.

|| Strabo (vii.) says, “ Pharos, formerly Paros, a colony of the Parians.”

in this island, in consequence of the command of an oracle, ordering them to send a colony into the Adriatic. Here they founded a small republic, of which a coin is still extant.* Pliny and Ptolemy speak of the island and city, under the same name, Pharia; and Polybius says the latter was strongly fortified. That city, the ancient capital, stood at *Stari Grad* or "Citta Vecchia," a long way from the present Lésina, towards the north side of the island†; a situation perhaps preferable in those days; though, for the purposes of modern commerce, the present Lésina has greatly the advantage over the more sheltered port of Citta Vecchia, or its neighbour Verbosa.

In ancient times, the Isle of Pharos yielded only to Lissa in celebrity; and the people continued to enjoy their liberty until conquered by Agron, king of Illyria; whose widow afterwards became so remarkable in the history of her country, and whose murder of a Roman ambassador brought the first consular fleet and army into this part of the Adriatic.

Pharos was the birth-place of Demetrius, surnamed Pharius; who having been made governor of this island, as well as of Corcyra, Apollonia, and other places, by Agron, basely deserted his widow, Queen Teuta, and betrayed them into the hands

* Fortis, p. 328.

† Nearly eight miles due east of Lésina.

of the Romans. As a reward for his treachery, he received the government of Pharos, and some cities on the coast; till, about nine years afterwards, having excited the Illyrians to acts of aggression against the Romans, he brought the vengeance of that republic upon them, and upon his native city; which was besieged by the consul, L. Æmilius Paulus, by sea and land, B. C. 219. Demetrius, having escaped into Macedonia, left the city to suffer for his crimes, and Pharos was destroyed.

The island was noted as a place of refuge from persecution, and the burial-ground of many Christian martyrs, on which account it received the title of "sacred."* It is also supposed that the "Africa," mentioned in the history of St. Athanasius, was the Isle of Pharia, and that the name was a corruption of Apharia.†

At the decline of the empire, Lésina often changed masters, and continued a long time in the hands of the Narentines; it afterwards had particular lords, the last of whom, Aliota Capenna, ceded it to the Republic of Venice, in 1424.‡

Its Slavonic name is *Hvar*, a corruption of the ancient Pharos; and in Italian it is called Lésina, or Liesina. It contains some marbles, one of which is

* Farlati (i. 470.) mentions catacombs of early Christians at Lissa.

† See Farlati, vol. i. p. 28. 44. 197. 469, 470. 733.

‡ Fortis, p. 329.

the so-called *Rosso di Cattaro*, of a dark red colour*; and Fortis mentions some slate rocks at Zukova and Verbagn, containing "the skeletons of fishes." He also speaks of a hill on the road from Verbosca to Gelsa "of a fluviatic concretion, left there by some ancient river now lost," and he describes the breccia of Gelsa† as a beautiful stone, taking a polish equal to "that of the finest breccia at Rome."

During the wars with the Turks, Lésina was the rendezvous of the Venetian fleet, on its way to and from Corfu; and after the war had ceased, it continued to be the principal outpost for the protection of commerce in the Adriatic. An arsenal was also established there, supplied with every requisite for refitting a fleet; the walls of which still attest the solidity of its construction. But in 1776 Curzola took its place, as the maritime station of the Venetians, being found more conveniently situated for watching the southern part of Dalmatia, and possessing a safer and more commodious harbour.

Some distance to the eastward is the monastery of Sta. Domenica, built in a fissure of the precipitous cliff, a short way from the shore. It is seen from the sea, and the solitary cypress that grows there is also said to be visible, by men of

* It takes its name from Cattaro, where it is most abundant. See Fortis, p. 330.

† Gelso is a "mulberry tree."

long sight and imagination. It was suppressed by the French, and is now unoccupied.

The eastern extremity of the Isle of Lésina runs into the gulf, or canal, of the Narenta; between which and Curzola projects the peninsula of Sabioncello, a high point of land, in appearance very like one of the islands of this coast. It is long and narrow, and united to the mainland by a small neck near Slano, not more than one mile across; its total length being about forty miles, and general breadth four. A narrow channel separates it from the Isle of Curzola, extending from near the picturesque village of Racischie to the town of Curzola.

Racischie stands on a small cove backed by wooded heights; and, as in former times, supplies Venice and other places with firewood.

The Isle of Curzola abounds in trees and brushwood, which grow down to the water's edge, particularly on the south side; offering a striking contrast to the opposite shores of Lésina, and the Dalmatian coast; and the pines in the interior are of great size. It supplied the Venetian arsenal with timber; and the proportion of land covered with wood is still 43,471 acres, out of a total of 57,130. There are also 5336 acres of vineyards, 4607 of arable land, 2885 of pastures, 128 of gardens, 615 uncultivated, and 82 occupied by buildings. In no other island, or department of Dalmatia, does the proportion of woodland reach half the total number of acres, except Lésina, Sa-

bioncello, and Imoschi, where it is respectively 29,285 to 54,291 ; 23,418 to 45,419 ; and 65,039 to 111,526.

The people of Curzola have always been skilled in ship-building, which is still their most profitable employment. Vessels of from 400 to 550 tons are built there; and the boats, frequently sent to Trieste on speculation, or to order, are very good.

The town of Curzola has 1846, the whole commune 4268, inhabitants; a population very far short of that under the Venetians*, when eight, and even ten, square-rigged vessels were seen on the stocks at the same time. The chief exports consist of wine, oil, *sardelle*, stone, timber, ships, boats, and firewood.

It stands at the end of a projecting promontory, which the Venetians separated from the mainland by a ditch; and the walls, strengthened with towers, were partly washed by the sea. It had been walled round, before it fell into the hands of the Venetians; who, though they added considerably to the works, failed to complete its defences, and left it commanded † on the land side; an oversight, which was not remedied until the French built the fort on the hill to the southward, when they had possession of it during the late

* They pretend that it contained 7000, and that the seventh part of the houses are now uninhabited. In 1575 the population was rated at 1084.

† This is not omitted in the report of the Venetian Commissioners in 1575, given by Solitro, p. 87.

war. And this was not before they had found the disadvantage of leaving so convenient a lodgment for an enemy.

The fort, with its round tower *, commands the approach to the two ports, and, with the guns of the town, completely defends the channel between it and the Peninsula of Sabioncello.

These ports, separated by the tongue of land occupied by the town and its suburb, or *borgo*, are safe in certain winds ; but another small bay, beyond the eastern port, is found to answer better in winter, and is an excellent harbour. It was in this that the Venetian fleet, consisting of thirty gallies, was stationed ; and its security, together with the position of the island, induced the Republic to transfer the place of rendezvous from Lésina to Curzola. It has the strange name of *Porto Pedocchio*, from a rock towards the middle of it, where the galley slaves were accustomed to cleanse their clothes. The steamers anchor there in winter, and a carriage road has been made to it from the town, communicating also with the interior of the island.

The view of Curzola from that side is very good ; standing, as it does, on a projecting point of land, washed on three sides by the sea, and backed by the lofty Monte Vipero on the opposite coast of Sabioncello ; and the houses, built on a knoll, rise

* The French began it, the English added the round tower, and the Austrians completed it.

one above the other, and are crowned by the cathedral, which occupies the summit.



This part is called the *Città*, in contradistinction to the *Borgo*, or suburb, which stands on the inner part of the same neck of land, and which has lately been much increased ; for though begun 150 years ago, under the rule of the Venetians, it was only in later times, when all fear of Turkish aggression had subsided, that any one could with safety live outside the walls.

When Curzola was under the Venetians, its condition was most flourishing, and the increasing population made it necessary to add this suburb, principally for the accommodation of shipwrights; while the wealthier inhabitants had their villas about two miles "out of town," at Cernova*, which has now grown into a village.

Owing to the confined limits of the town, the houses stand very close together, the streets are very narrow, sometimes with steps as at Malta, and it has no open spaces of any size. There is a small square, as you enter the gate from the suburbs, which is interesting from the style of its buildings; and at the upper part of the street leading from it is the cathedral.† The west front is ornamented with a rosette window, and a foiled corbel table running up the gable, under which is a bust, absurdly supposed to be of "Diocletian's Empress;"‡ and the doorway has twisted columns, supporting a pointed arch within a semicircular hood. The tower was probably added at a later time to the original building; and no part appears older than the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The Greek Church, now dedicated to "*Tutti Santi*," is appropriated by the Roman Catholics; there being only two Greek families remaining in the town.

Curzola boasts an inn. It is in the *Borgo*, and

* Zernova, or Tzernova. The Venetian *ce* answers to *tze*.

† Curzola is no longer a bishop's see. See above, p. 85.

‡ Farlati (vi. 568.) thinks of Maria, the wife of Bela IV.

though small, is cleaner and more comfortable than many in larger towns, of *reputed* civilised countries; and the people, as throughout Dalmatia, are remarkably civil. The wealth of Curzola was formerly very great, and the inhabitants boast that it had as many as thirty-two jewellers established there; but what is more remarkable, the statutes of the city reach as far back as the year 1214; and there is reason to believe them to be more ancient than of any town in this province. The appearance of the houses fully testifies to the truth of its flourishing condition, under the Venetians; and though small, (owing to the confined limits of the town,) it is evident they were frequently richly ornamented. Their style is Venetian; and the arts and rule of Venice are recognised by their massive stone balconies, chimnies, and doorways; as well as by the winged lion, in various attitudes, on the city walls, and by the arms of the Doges, who built or repaired them.

The Isle of Curzola is called in Illyric Korçula, or Karkar; and its ancient name, *Corcyra nigra*, is supposed to have been derived from the dark colour of the pine trees and brushwood covering the hills, particularly on the south side; which gave that appearance to the island, when approached from the open sea.*

Of the early colonisation of Corcyra nothing is

* Farlati, vol. i. p. 198. He mentions a Phœnician inscription there, vol. vi. p. 363.

known; some attribute it to the Phœnicians; and Strabo says the city was founded by the Cnidians. It was probably at one time in the possession of the Liburnians; and was afterwards subject to the different powers that ruled the Adriatic; until its capture by the Venetians, under the Doge Pietro Urseolo II., at the close of the tenth century.*

In 1298, a naval battle was fought there, between the Venetians and Genoese, in which the latter were victorious, and the Provveditore Andrea Dandolo was taken prisoner. Exulting in their success, the Genoese loaded their illustrious captive with chains, and exposed him to the gaze of the whole fleet; but before they reached home, Dandolo deprived them of this barbarous triumph: for leaping from the bench of the galley, he dashed his head against the side, and was borne on shore a corpse.

The celebrated traveller, Marco Polo, who commanded a galley in this action, was also wounded and taken prisoner; and to this misfortune we are indebted for the written history of his travels; since, to beguile the tediousness of four years' captivity, he committed his adventures to paper; and, owing to the surprise and admiration they excited, even among the Genoese, he obtained his freedom.

Curzola was made a bishop's see, under the Archbishop of Ragusa, in the fourteenth century; but in 1420 it fell again into the hands of the Venetians,

* See the History in Chapter IX.

and was incorporated into the province of Venetian Dalmatia. Its capture is said to have been owing to "a pleasant stratagem," thus related by Wheeler.* "The Venetians had a little island, called Saint Mark, so near to Ragusa, that it commanded the town, and yet nearer a little rock, that had no more plain ground on the top, than would be sufficient to lay the foundation of a little house. Hither the Venetians, upon some high disgust, sent men one night, who built a fort of paste-board, painted of the colour of earth, which made it look like a strong rampart, and thereon planted wooden cannons, to the great amazement of the townspeople next morning; which in effect put them into such a fright, that they sent presently to parley, and were glad to come off for the island of Curzola, in exchange of that pitiful rock. They stood for the Scoglio of Saint Mark also; but the Venetians would not part with that; and so they lost Curzola."

In 1485, Frederic of Arragon endeavoured to obtain possession of it, in the name of Ferdinand, King of Naples, who pretended to certain rights in Dalmatia; but the bravery of the inhabitants repelled all his attempts, and they defended the city with the same success, as on a previous occasion against the Saracens.

Curzola was again celebrated for its resistance to the Turks, in the summer of 1571; and that not

* Wheeler, p. 26.

through the strength or valour of the garrison, but through the courage of the women. The famous Algerine corsair, Uluz-Ali *, having taken Dulcigno, Antivari, and Budua, appeared with a considerable fleet before Curzola. Alarmed at the force of the Turks, the name of Uluz-Ali, and the state of the works, commanded as they were on the land side, the Governor Antonio Balbi, unlike his namesake of Sign †, abandoned the place, with the garrison, and a large portion of the inhabitants. The Turks seeing no signs of opposition, were preparing to land; when, on a sudden, the women having put on morions, and whatever armour they could obtain, appeared on the ramparts; and the Turks, supposing the garrison to be on the alert, continued their voyage to Lésina.‡

This preservation of Curzola was the more remarkable, as the same fleet, joined by another Turkish corsair, Kara-kooch, so alarmed the Venetians, that they had serious thoughts of fortifying the Lido.

But the advance of the Turks to Venice was merely a bravado. The fear lest the combined fleets should blockade them in the Gulph, induced them to retire to the Morea: where, in the following October, Uluz-Ali performed so distinguished a part in the battle of Lepanto, and saved the only remnant of the Turkish fleet.

* He was a Calabrian renegade.

† Georgio Balbi, in 1715. See p. 236.

‡ Solitro's Documenti Storici, p. 87. note.

In 1806 the Russians twice obtained possession of Curzola. The first time, having put into it too small a garrison, they were speedily dislodged by the French, from the opposite shore of Sabioncello; but their fleet returning with an additional force of 600 Montenegrins, the French were again obliged to evacuate the town, the Russians having taken up a commanding position on the heights of San Biagio. The Island was restored to France in 1807, at the treaty of Tilsit; but in 1813, it fell into the hands of the English, who retained possession of it till July 15. 1815; when it was ceded with Lissa, Lagosta, and Mezzo, to the Austrians; and the occupation of Curzola by the English is commemorated by a Latin inscription, at the entrance to the row of semicircular seats*, outside the town, on the road to Porto Pedocchio.†

* These stone seats, in imitation of a *hemicyclion* outside ancient Greek towns, are met with in other parts of Dalmatia.

†
 PETRO LOWEN
 CUJUS FELICIB' AUSP'
 HOC CIVIB' SOLATIUM
 VIAQ·HÆC CURIB' APTA
 INCOLIS OMNIBUS
 COMODO ET UTILITATI
 CONSTRUCTA
 LIBERTATE FERVENS
 HOC GRATI ANIMI
 TESTIMONIUM
 COMITAS CURZOLENSIS
 POSTERIS TRADENDUM
 DESSIGNAVIT
 MDCCCXV.

This island, by a singular series of events, has once more come under the provincial jurisdiction of Ragusa, and is now included in that *Circolo*.*

I observed a tree at Curzola, which I afterwards met with very frequently in other places, particularly in Herzegovina. It bears many names, as well as fruit. In English it is called the nettle-tree; in Italian, *Loto*; in Illyric, *Coschila* † or *Còstila*; and by botanists, *Celtis Australis*. In Istria it has the name of *Lodónia*, and at Imoschi of *Pelegirino*. In appearance it is like a cherry-tree, in growth, in the leaves, and even in its fruit; and it has sometimes been mistaken for the Marasca, which gives the well-known Dalmatian Maraschino.

The low hills about the Porto Pedocchio, as in many other parts of the island, are covered with brushwood, consisting principally of *Lentiscus*, myrtle, *arbutus*, *cistus*, and heath; and a short distance beyond is an avenue of cypresses, leading up a hill to the small church (not convent) of St. Antony. The ascent is by steps; and from the summit is a fine view of Curzola, on one side, and of the coast, towards the mountains of Montenegro, on the other.

Just below the island, and between two and three miles S. E. of the town of Curzola ‡, is seen

* See the History of Ragusa, in this chapter, and above, p. 37.

† By some *Coschella* or *Coshella*. See below, Chapter VII.

‡ It has been said that the people of Curzola and Sa-

the rock of Verbnik, with a village of the same name. It is also called Scoglio di Petrara, and is famed for its stone, which is exported to Trieste, Venice, and even to Turkey. The houses of Curzola, and many at Venice, are built of it, and Turkish tombstones are made at Verbnik, for exportation to the East. It is a hard white even-grained limestone; and has the recommendation of being very durable. The quarries were first opened by the Romans.

The same stratum is found in a small rock to the northward, between Verbnik and the Isle of Badia.

There are other quarries in the Isle of Curzola; but the stone is not of the same quality as that of Verbnik, which is superior for building purposes to any in Dalmatia, excepting that of St. Elia, near Träù.

The convent of Badia (or Abadia) is the only building on that island, which lies to the eastward of Curzola; and it has no other inmates than the superior, and one monk, with the servants belonging to the convent. Its secluded position is well adapted for meditation; but it unfortunately induced some robbers to meditate an attack upon it; and availing themselves of the solitude of the place, and the peaceable habits of the fathers, they pillaged

bioncello are in the habit of keeping tame jackals; but though they abound in the island, particularly about Blatta, neither jackals nor wolves are kept, except, as in other countries, from curiosity. They are also found in the Isle of Giupan.

the convent. This happened about twelve years ago; but it happened only once: the well-regulated Austrian police has prevented a repetition of so unpleasant a visit, and the monks have ever since remained unmolested.

Another calamity, however, befel them a few years ago, when the steeple and great altar were destroyed by lightning; and that portion is of recent construction. The Convent is said to have been founded in the fourteenth century; and over the door leading to the cloisters, which were added at a later time, is the date 1477. These cloisters have pointed arches, on light columns extending round a small court. The Church is large, for the size of the Convent; and in a side chapel is an altar, of much higher pretensions than might be expected in this secluded place; being ornamented, like those of Italy, with marble columns, and built entirely of stone.

The costumes seen in the town of Curzola, on market-days and *festas*, are curious; particularly those of Lombarda and Blatta, and the boorish dresses of Cérnova, Ciara, Smóëviza, and Popnáta. Many women also cross over from Sabioncello, whose costume is one of the most singular in Dalmatia. Blatta is, next to Curzola, the most important place in the island, containing 2600 inhabitants*; and it was probably the successor of an ancient town, as Greek coins of very early time are

* The whole commune has 5135 inhabitants.

found there.* The Isle of Lagosta has also its peculiar costume; and indeed the variety† in Dalmatia is greater than any country, not excepting Switzerland.

Lagosta lies nine miles to the south of Curzola. Its name is Lastovo in Illyric; and in ancient times it was called Ladesta.‡ It produces vines, olives, and other fruit trees; and exports some wine, fish, and coral. Theopompus reckons it among the possessions of the Liburnians; whose authority probably extended, at one period, over all the islands of Dalmatia; and Appendini gives an inscription of the time of Vespasian, which shows that it was a Roman colony, and that some of the Lagostines had distinguished themselves in the fleet of Ravenna, and obtained the rights of Roman citizenship.§ Dandolo also bears witness to the courage of the inhabitants, in resisting the Venetians under the Doge Urseolo; who, with difficulty, reduced the island in 997; till which time it had belonged to the Dukes of Chelmo. It afterwards came into the possession of Ragusa, being sold to that Republic by Stephen, king of Rascia, surnamed Krapalo.||

In 1309 Stephen Ourosh (Orosio), king of Servia,

* Petter, p. 180.

† See many of them in Carrara's *Dalmazia descritta*.

‡ And Iastodon; the Lastobon of Porphyrogenitus, and the Ladestris of the Peutinger table.

§ In the Palazzo Barberini at Rome, given by Gruter and others. Appendini, vol. i. p. 47. and 285.

|| Krapavaz, or Krastavaz, in Slavonic, "the leper."

perceiving the unsettled state of Lagosta, and the desire of the inhabitants to give themselves up to Venice, endeavoured to obtain possession of it; but the prudence of the Ragusan senate thwarted his plans; and a second attempt of the Lagostines to rid the island of the Ragusans, in 1602, was frustrated by the timely discovery of the plot, and the courage of the Count* Serafino Zamagna.

When the French were in possession of Dalmatia, they fortified this island; it was however taken from them, in 1813, by the English, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, who assisted in starving the garrison into a surrender.

There is nothing worthy of remark, on the voyage between Curzola and Ragusa, except the Isle of Meleda, which lies about halfway. It is a long narrow island, and hilly like the others on this coast, with several good harbours, though in other respects of no importance, producing little more than vines and fruit trees. Its ancient name was Melita or Meleta; so called, like its namesake Melita or Malta, from the excellence of its honey†: and some‡ have claimed for it the honour of being the island where St. Paul was shipwrecked. The advocates of that opinion

* The usual title of the Governors, under the Ragusan and Venetian Republics.

† Some suppose it to be the Melita famed for its dogs, mentioned by Pliny; though Malta is evidently that island, and the breed still exists there. See Lucio, p. 456.

‡ Even Porphyrogenitus. Farlati, vol. i. p. 199.

may be shown the very place where he landed, with the same certainty as at Malta ; but another better authenticated lion in Meleda is the site of the palace of Agesilaus, vestiges of which still remain*, at a spot called Palazzo, and which was built by the father of the poet Oppian, Agesilaus of Cilicia, when banished to the island in the reign of Septimius Severus.

Meleda belonged to Ragusa as early as 1142; and in 1572 it suffered from the depredations of the Turks under Uluz Ali. It was once famed for a convent of Benedictines. The chief town is Babinopoglic, on the south side of the island, containing about 600 inhabitants.

In modern times Meleda has only been known for a singular phenomenon, which in 1812, and the two following years, and again in 1823, gave the scientific world a subject for discussion. It had the effect of loud thunder; whence it received the name of "Detonazioni di Meleda†"; and the cause was attributed to subterraneous agency.

Between Meleda and Ragusa are the islands of Giupan, Mezzo, and Calamotta, which were given, or sold‡, to Ragusa, in 1080, by Silvester, king of

* Farlati, vol. i. p. 300., and Appendini, i. p. 263. note.

† Petter, p. 184. and Carrara Dalm. Desc. p. 44. This is perhaps similar to the phenomenon in South America, mentioned by Humboldt.

‡ Appendini says, "given," Luccari, "sold," which is more probable.

Dalmatia. They are well cultivated; and, producing abundance of excellent wine and oil, are considered the most valuable part of the Ragusan territory. Near them are some smaller islands; and the whole cluster was formerly called *Elaphites Insulæ**, from their supposed resemblance to a stag; of which Giupan formed the head, the small Ruda the neck, Mezzo the body, and Calamotta the haunches; the tail being completed by the rock of Grebeni, or Pettini.

Giupan has been supposed to be the Cerossus† of Apollonius Rhodius; and the Tauris mentioned by Hirtius; though from his account of the retreat of Octavius from that island to Issa, after his defeat by Vatinius, its position might be looked for nearer Issa; and some have thought "the port, and narrow sea" where they fought, to have been at Curzola. Those who suppose Giupan to be Tauris fix the port at San Luca.

The account of Hirtius is that Octavius, who was a partizan of Pompey, having been obliged by Vatinius to raise the siege of Epidaurus, retired with his fleet to Tauris; and perceiving that his adversary was following him unprepared, and ignorant of his position, Octavius advanced from the port to attack him. They fought in a narrow sea; and Vatinius, being the victor, entered the same port from which Octavius had just before

* Plin. iii. c. 26.

† From κέρας, "the horn" it was thought to resemble.

sailed out to give him battle; and, after three days, pursued him to Issa, where he supposed him to have taken refuge.

Giupan, which is the largest of these islands, is exceedingly fertile, and the inhabitants are noted for their skill in cultivating the olive. Like Curzola it abounds in jackals.

Mezzo, in Illyric *Lopud*, is not inferior to Giupan in fertility, which has made it the theme of several Ragusan poets. On the west side is an excellent harbour, protected by a fort. The scenery about it is very beautiful. In the church is a memorial of Charles V., and a group of the Virgin and the twelve Apostles, of a single piece of wood, which is said to have come "from the Royal Chapel in London."*

This island was taken by the English in 1813, and continued in our possession until July 1815.†

Calamotta, or Calafodia, in Illyric *Collocep*, is equally famed for its culture of the olive; but the produce and population‡ of these islands have been greatly diminished by the decrease of commerce, which in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was very thriving. Luccari pretends that Calamotta was Homer's Island of Calypso; though the real site of Ogygia, or the Isle of Calypso, is supposed to have been close to Italy, off Lacinium, a promontory of the Bruttii.

* Appendini, i. p. 260. note.

† See above, p. 260.

‡ See below, in the History of Ragusa, the story of 400 widows of the name of Vincenza, in the Isle of Mezzo.

When there is a prospect of bad weather, the steamers go to the more secure, and almost land-locked, bay of Gravósa, in preference to that of Ragusa, which is exposed, particularly to the S. E. Indeed, it is evident that the city ought to have been built on this bay ; and nothing but attachment to their native town, and that reluctance to abandon a place hallowed by early associations, which are common to all countries and ages, can account for the inhabitants not quitting Ragusa for this spot ; particularly after the city had been destroyed by earthquakes, and had become insecure on the introduction of gunpowder and artillery.

The port of Gravósa has also the name of Santa Croce ; and it was called Gravósa from the ancient Agravonitæ, who are mentioned by Livy as the inhabitants of this coast.

At Gravósa the rich Ragusans had their villas, and the gardens, in which they took so much delight ; and when Ragusa was in its days of prosperity, the wealth of its nobles and merchants was immense.

Opening on this bay is the Valley of Ombla (Val d'Ombla), one of the most beautiful spots in Dalmatia. For though the Ragusans pride themselves on their own name, and abhor that of Dalmatians, we may be allowed to include Ragusa and its neighbourhood under that general term ; and now that the Venetian Republic no longer

exists, they may not regret being part of that province.

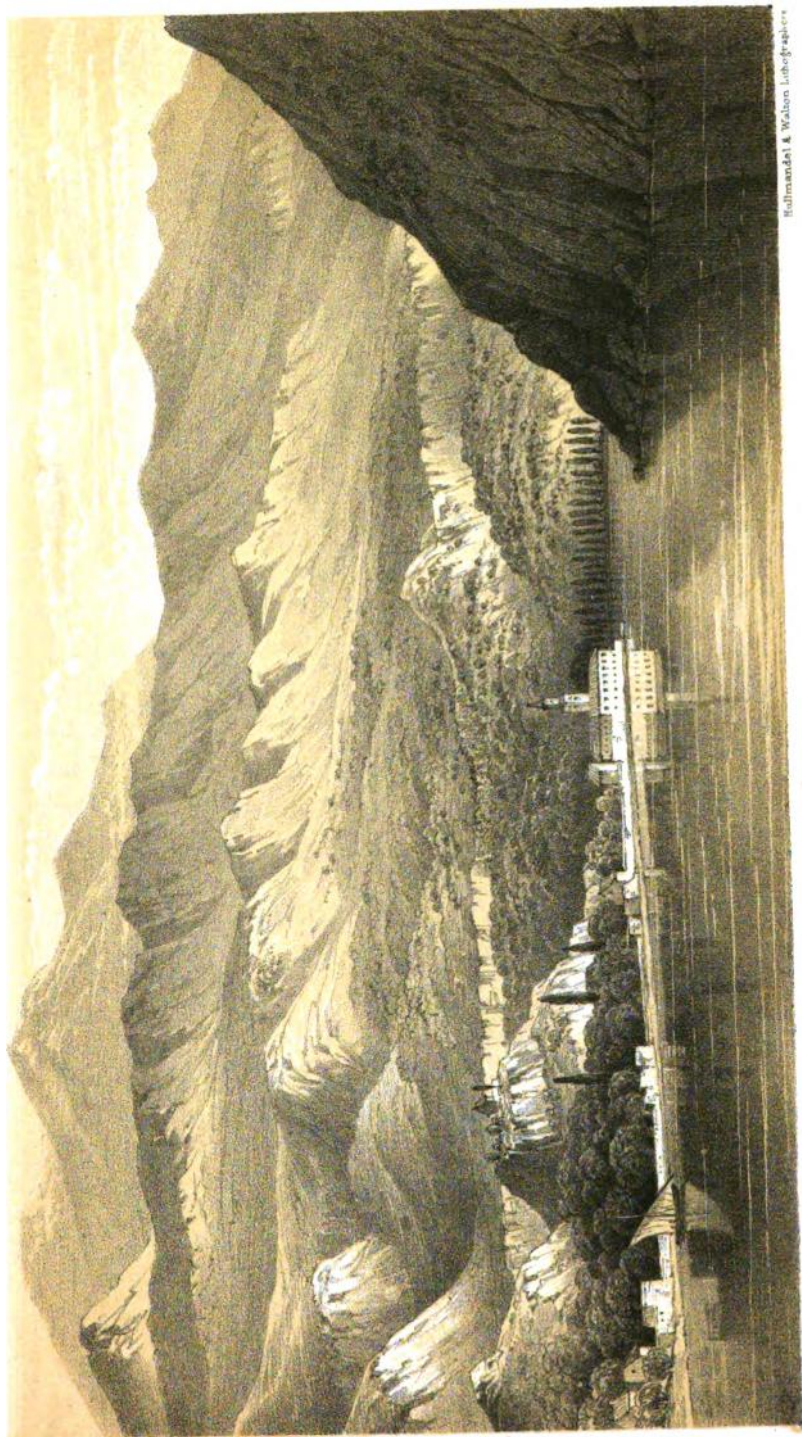
The entrance of the Val d'Ombla is a short way to the N.W. of Gravosa ; and an hour's row brings you to the end of that picturesque valley. At the first village, on entering it, is a sulphureous spring, very similar to that of Spalato. Advancing up the estuary, or *loch*, the beauty of the scenery increases; and, as its course is winding, a diversity of views present themselves. The lower part of the hills is covered with a variety of foliage; amidst which the dark green of the cypress contrasts well with the grey olive, that thrives here, and bears much fruit; and rock and wood, hamlet and villa, mingled together and reflected in the water, with the circle of mountains above, form a succession of beautiful pictures; a principal feature of which is the Church of the Franciscan Convent, standing on a point of land, near the end of the valley; where the river expands into the loch.*

This river is the ancient Ario, or Arion.

The Val d'Ombla is not the only lion in the neighbourhood of Ragusa: Canosa, about seven miles to the N.W. of Gravosa, is famed for some very large plane trees, and for the peculiar care

* The size of this sheet of water, and the short distance from which the river comes, before it expands into this great breadth, are alluded to in the verses of Elio Cervino :

“ Danubio, et Nilo non vilior Ombla fuisset,
Si modo progressus posset habere suos.”



Sir G.W. Dal'

VAL TO'OMIELLA NIEAR R.A.G.O.S.A.

London: J. Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1904.

Hallman & Watson Lithographers

with which the peasants there cultivate the olive : and about half a mile to the S.E. of Ragusa is the grotto, or Spila, Betina, in a garden belonging to the Saracca family. It is on the coast, at the foot of Mount Bergáto, opposite the Isle of Lacro-ma, and is remarkable for having been the place of retirement of the celebrated mathematician and philosopher, Marino Ghetaldi ; from whose sur-name, “Bété,” given him by the common people, this grotto was called “*Betina*.”

Ghetaldi is said to have made many of those experiments and calculations, during his stay here *, which have rendered his name so celebrated ; and the knowledge of magic, attributed to him by the sailors of the Adriatic, was owing to his having verified the experiment of Archimedes, by burning a boat with lenses. † Marino Ghetaldi was born in 1566, and died in 1627. ‡

From Gravosa to Ragusa is rather more than a mile. The road is good ; but as there is nothing to run upon it, one feels inclined to think it of no very great use to the public ; and this very forcibly strikes those who, in walking to and from Ragusa, in heavy rain, find themselves and baggage well soaked. And however excusable it may be to employ the peasants to carry burdens, in those wild

* See Appendini Storia di Ragusa, vol. ii. p. 46.

† Buffon has, unjustly, the merit of being the first to test the experiment.

‡ See below, on the celebrated men of Ragusa.

parts of Dalmatia, where no roads exist, there is no reason for making them beasts of burden, where they could find a better and more suitable occupation, and where a commodious road is open for a more convenient kind of conveyance.

Another vexation is, that if a stranger arrives at the city gates in the middle of the day, when the Custom House is closed, and the *employés* are dining, or asleep, he must wait, even though wet through, till three o'clock, when the dinner and the *siesta* are over ; which, to say the least of it, is disagreeable. He has also a difficulty in comprehending why any Custom House should exist at these ports, for goods or persons coming from other parts of Dalmatia, or from Trieste ; and he is surprised to find an Austrian province placed on the same footing as a foreign country. The first inconvenience ought to be removed, by the Austrian Lloyd's Company providing conveyances of some kind from Gravosa to Ragusa ; and the abolition of the second by the Austrian government would only be an act of justice to the Dalmatians.

The views on the road are good, both on looking back over the bay of Gravosa, and on approaching Ragusa. The bay, backed by mountains, the gardens and sides of the hills about the village of Gravosa, the mouth of the Val d'Ombra, the dark cypresses contrasting in colour and form with the other trees, and the rapid descent of the ground, form a beautiful picture ; and at a turn of the

road, about half way to the town, is a spot furnished with seats, called *La Vista*, which is frequented by the Ragusans in their evening walks. The descent to Ragusa, passing between the gardens of a suburb, filled with oleanders, vines, aloes, and fruit trees, also offers other beautiful views: here and there you catch glimpses of parts of the city, standing on a height in front; on the right is a rock rising from the sea, crowned by a fort; and high above Ragusa, on a hill to the left, is Fort "Imperiale," built by the French, which commands the whole place, and the approach to it by land and sea.

Ragusa, the capital of one of the four *Circoli*, or departments of Dalmatia, is a highly interesting city, both from its history and its appearance. The houses have much the character of Venetian buildings; and there is an air of former wealth about it, which inspires a feeling of regret for its bygone greatness. The effects of the earthquakes, visible at every turn, — the melancholy records of the past, — recal the dreadful sufferings endured by the Ragusans: and the streets, paved with fragments of stone, bearing imperfect inscriptions and family arms, seem intended to show the inhabitants the possibility of a recurrence of similar misfortunes.

Here, for the first time, the winged lion of St. Mark ceases to appear; and the absence of this emblem of Venetian subjugation, the boast of the Ragusans, cannot fail to inspire every one with

respect for a people, who preserved their country from the all-absorbing power of Venice.

But before I mention the events of a late period, or describe the city and its institutions, it will be necessary to take a cursory view of the history of Ragusa*, and examine the steps that led to its independence and prosperity.

Of the foundation of Ragusa nothing certain is known. Luccari says that it took place in 265 A.D., when Epidaurus was destroyed by the Goths; and that when the Sarmatians scoured Illyria, in the reign of Probus (A.D. 283), the Epidaurians, who had taken up their abode in the castles of Breno, abandoned them, and fled to Ragusa. He also states that it was walled in, and increased, by refugees from Salona, in the seventh century.

Appendini, and others, date the final destruction of Epidaurus much later; and Porphyrogenitus †, who ascribed the building of Rausium to refugees from Epidaurus, says this city "was destroyed by the Slavi." The name of Rausium he derives from the rocks or precipices, where they established their new abode; and Rausium, or Rausia ‡, in process of time, was altered into Ragusa.

* Every one acquainted with Appendini's *Storia di Ragusa* will perceive that the following account is principally derived from that work.

† He wrote in 949 A.D.

‡ It had the names of Rausia, Lavusa, Labusa, Raugia, Rachusa, and at last Ragusa.

It is, however, probable that Rausium (or Ragusa) was founded long before Epidaurus was finally destroyed, and that the various irruptions of barbarians, in the third and succeeding centuries, had led to the original establishment of this place of refuge. The size of the new town thus increased, gradually, by different accessions of emigrants, during those troubled times *; till at length, after the destruction of Epidaurus and Salona, it acquired the population and importance of a city.

Ragusa was therefore justly looked upon as the successor of Epidaurus; and in after times, by a strange transfer of name, the village that grew up on the site of Epidaurus obtained the appellation of "Old Ragusa." †

Rausium is mentioned by Porphyrogenitus as one of the Roman cities of Dalmatia, with Asphalatum, Tetrangurium, Diodora, Vecla, and Opsora ‡, whose inhabitants in his time were called Romans, while the towns of the interior were possessed by the Slavi.

I will not enter into the oft-discussed question respecting the claims of Ragusa to the rank of metropolitan see of Dalmatia, on the destruction of Salona, in 639: which have been so fully dis-

* The origin of all places established under similar circumstances is gradual, like that of Venice; and this will account for the various dates assigned to the foundation of Ragusa.

† *Ragusa Vecchia*; in Illyric *Zaptal*.

‡ Spalato, Träù, Zara, Veglia, and Ossora.

proved by the Spalatines. Judging from the evidence on both sides, and the authorities they quote, it does appear that, though many Salonitans fled to Ragusa, and to the islands of Solta, Brazza, Lesina, Lissa, and Curzola, the principal part of the population united at Spalato; and though both had archbishops, the claims of Spalato to the metropolitan rights of Salona were fully established, by the decision of Giovanni di Ravenna, the Legate Apostolic, who was sent to Dalmatia by Pope Giovanni IV.*, in the seventh century, and who was made Archbishop of Spalato by Pope Martin I. "On the nomination of this prelate, permission was granted that Spalato should enjoy the privileges of the entire dignity, previously enjoyed by Salona;"† and the title of Bishop, till that time given to the Diocesans of Salona, was changed to Archbishop.

Indeed the very statement of Porphyrogenitus, who says that certain individuals‡ went to Ragusa, though quoted by Appendini to support the claims of this city, argues rather in favour of Spalato, and tends to show that the main portion of the Salonitans did not settle at Ragusa.

* Giovanni, a Dalmatian, was Pope for one year and nine months, A.D. 640; Theodorus I. for seven years and five months; and these were succeeded by Martin I. in 649.

† Thomas Archid., Ch. XI. See above, p. 123. 155.

‡ He gives their names. See Appendini, vol. i. p. 85. Carrara's Chiesa di Spalato, p. 26.

Though the accession of the Salonitan emigrants was a benefit to the infant city, Ragusa was long in a state of alarm from the hostile Slavonians at Trebigne, and only owed its safety to its inaccessible position. The population, however, increased; and the rock on which it was first built, and from which it derived the name of Rausium*, soon proved to be too confined a space for its increasing numbers. Four times, its limits were extended before the year 949; and in the thirteenth century part of the Monte Sergio was cleared of wood, and enclosed within the walls; and it is to this that Ragusa has been indebted for its Slavonic name, *Dubrovnik*, (taken from *Dubrava*, "an oak wood;")† which, by a strange perversion, the Turks have corrupted into *Dobro-Venedik*, "good Venice."

The security of this position was the reason of their selecting a spot so unfavourable to its future development; and this alone can account for Ragusa not having been built on the Bay of Gravosa, or on one of the many natural harbours that abound along the coast.

The events that occurred during the infancy of Ragusa are not less uncertain, than the era of its foundation. Some attribute the aggrandisement of the new city to the friendship of Paulimir, the

* Appendini says that till after 1100 A.D., the sea passed over the site of modern Ragusa. If so, it could only have been over a small part of it.

† From *Dub*, "oak."

grandson of the unfortunate Radoslav, who was driven from the throne of Croatia by his son Ciaslav. Paulimir, recalled by his subjects from Rome, on the death of his uncle, was hospitably received at Ragusa, and is said, during his stay there, to have established the senate and aristocracy of that state. But neither his visit, nor the exact period when he lived, are known for certain; and all that can be ascertained is, that the Ragusans had even before his time frequent contests with the Slavonians of Trebigne; and about the end of the eighth century they defeated the Saracen pirate Spucento.

A.D. 788.

This victory was attributed, by the credulous, to Orlando; and his statue, placed over the gate of the arsenal, recorded the death of the Corsair. But Orlando*, to this part of the world, is what Antar is to the East; the amphitheatre of Pola is called "The house of Orlando;" and his name is given to the statue of a man in complete *plate* armour, which once stood in the Piazza of Ragusa.†

The next event of importance was a victory gained over the people of Tribunia‡ and Zacul-

* Very aptly called "*Materies illustris fabularum, quæ hâc ætate vigerunt.*" Brietius.

† Now lying in the court of the palace. I shall mention it hereafter. See Appendini, vol. i. p. 96.

‡ Tribunia, or Terbunia, a province belonging to the King of Servia, beginning about Cattaro, and extending northwards to Ragusa, and into part of Herzegóvina. Trebigne was its capital.

mia *; and a treaty made with the Ban of Tribunia, in 831, conferred important advantages on the Ragusans. Some years after this, the Saracens, having pillaged and burnt Budua, Risano, and Cattaro, attacked Ragusa; when the place was gallantly defended for fifteen months; and the Greek emperor, Basilius, having sent 100 ships to assist the besieged, the Saracens retired to Bari, on the Italian coast. With a view to avenge this affront, and to rid Italy of those strangers, a powerful expedition was set on foot by the Greek emperor, with the assistance of the Pope, and the King of France; the allied forces assembled at Ragusa; and the Slavonians, provided by the Republic with ships, sailed with the rest of the fleet to the coast of Puglia.† Bari was captured after a four years' siege ‡; and Dalmatia was freed from further fear of the Saracens.§

The Narentines, a Serb-Slavonic race, who possessed the country lying between the Cettina and Narenta, had at this time acquired considerable

* Zaclumia was one of the four Jupas (or Giupas) belonging to the King of Servia, in Eastern Dalmatia. It extended from Ragusa to the river Narenta. See Appendini, vol. i. p. 148. It is also put for Chelmo, or Chulmia, and for Herzegóvina. See Farlati, vol. iv. p. 190.

† See the History in Chapter IX.

‡ Bari was again taken from the Saracens, in the eleventh century, by the Normans.

§ See Gibbon, c. 56.

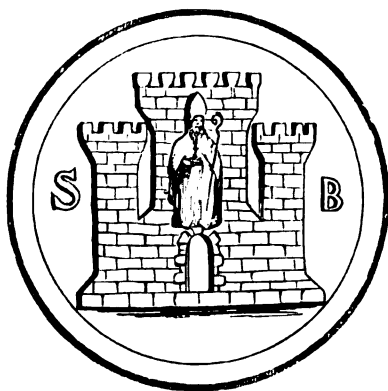
power. Defying the authority of the Greek emperors, they levied contributions on the maritime towns of Dalmatia; they became the dread of all the neighbouring Slavonian princes; and Venice, for more than a century and a half, was forced to purchase the safety of her commerce, by the payment of an annual tribute. The Ragusans already perceiving the ambitious views of Venice upon Dalmatia, gladly united with them in thwarting her schemes; and Vito Bobali, a man of great talent and courage, left his native city, with many other Ragusans, to offer his services to Muiis, Prince of the Narentines.

Sensible of the disgrace of paying tribute to these marauders, and alarmed at the friendly intercourse subsisting between them and the Ragusans, the Venetian Republic resolved on making an effort to prevent this confederacy, and weaken the power of the Narentines. A fleet was therefore sent from Venice, with the ostensible object of a voyage to the Levant; which, with every demonstration of peaceable intentions, visited Ragusa.

One division anchored in the bay of Gravósa, the other under the rocky island of Lacroma. The admiral landed and paid a visit to the authorities of the city, and expressed his intention of continuing his voyage, as soon as he had taken in water and provisions. The suspicions of the Ragusans were, however, awakened by intelligence, received from a priest, that the Venetians had

hostile intentions against them; and on the advance of their fleet from Lacroma towards the city, and of their troops on the side of ^{A.D. 971.} Gravósa, the citizens were on the alert, and thwarted their intentions.

Such is the account given by the Ragusans; and their legend states that the knowledge of the designs of the Venetians was imparted to the priest by St. Biagio, in a dream; in consequence of which the Ragusans chose that saint to be the patron of their city*; and have ever since represented him in the arms of Ragusa; which are a castle, with three towers, and the saint, in the dress of a Bishop, over the door.



Warned by the danger they had escaped, the

* St. Sergio and *St. Bacco* had been the patrons of Ragusa, until this time; to whom Paulimir erected a church in 691. Appendini, i. p. 239. 244.

Ragusans increased their fortifications; and these precautions enabled them to resist the attacks of

A.D. 976. Samuel King of the Bulgarians; who, soon afterwards, laid waste a great part of Dal-

matia. The influence of Ragusa was also increased, at this time, by the friendship of Otho II. and the Greek Emperor. For, the growing jealousy of the Greeks, against the rising power and pretensions of Venice, readily inclined them to an alliance with

A.D. 983. the enemies of that Republic; and Michele

Monaco was sent from Constantinople, to conclude a treaty of commerce and friendship with Ragusa.

Informed of this event, the Venetian senate despatched two envoys to Ragusa, to propose an advantageous treaty of commerce, to offer to restore a valuable merchant ship that had been seized by their gallies, and to apologise for the affront offered that city by their admiral; who, they declared, had acted without orders, and had received the censures of the Republic. In reply, the Ragusans observed, that the agreement entered into with the Greek Emperor prevented their making other arrangements; they "felt persuaded the Venetian senate could never be guilty of an act of treachery or injustice, and they only regretted that its admirals were not actuated by the same honourable feelings." They also expressed their wishes, for the future good understanding between the Republic of Venice and Ragusa.

In the meantime, open hostilities had commenced between the Byzantine Emperor and the Venetians; and the Greek fleet, which had ^{A. D. 983.} according to treaty been provided with pilots at Ragusa, sailed for the coast of Istria. It had scarcely reached Pola, when the Venetians sent envoys to propose terms of peace; and a treaty was made, by which they agreed to restore all the possessions of the Greek Emperor in the Archipelago, to pay 500,000 ducats for the expenses of the war, to send twelve nobles, and among them Maurizio, the son of the Doge Memmo, as hostages, and to indemnify the Ragusans for their losses with the sum of 250,000 ducats. Of these 120,000 were paid; but on the departure of the Byzantine admiral, the remittance of the remainder was postponed; and the hint thrown out by the Venetians, that the Greek fleet had been brought into the Adriatic by the Ragusans, showed that Venice only awaited an opportunity of injuring Ragusa.

The continual piracies of the Narentines having at length raised against them the animosity of many of the Slavonian princes, as well ^{A. D. 996.} as of the free towns of Dalmatia, and of the Greek Emperor, the Venetians gladly seized the opportunity for crushing this formidable enemy of their commerce. A powerful fleet was equipped, and the Doge Pietro Orseolo II. set sail from Venice in the spring of 997, for the coast ^{A. D. 997.} of Dalmatia.

Welcomed by the towns of Istria with every demonstration of friendship*, the Doge proceeded to Zara; where he found the sympathies of all Dalmatia enlisted in favour of Venice; and as the alliance of Ragusa with the Greek Emperor had secured the neutrality of that city, the moment was most opportune for attacking the Narentines; who, destitute of allies, and already weakened by a war with Samuel King of Bulgaria, and Otho II., were not in a condition to offer an effectual resistance; and the capture of forty of their principal merchants, who had taken a passage from Puglia in a Ragusan vessel, tended greatly to dishearten them. Traù, Spalato, and other free cities swore allegiance to Venice, as well as the I. of Lenigrad, or Mortar, and other islands and towns, belonging to the Croats†; and the Doge, having subdued Curzola and Lagosta, obliged the Narentines to sue for peace. The right of tribute was abolished; all acts of piracy were to discontinue for ever; and six hostages were given up to the Venetians, for the fulfilment of their engagements.‡

These successes, Dandolo and other Venetian writers affirm, induced the Ragusans to send a deputation to the Doge§, headed by their archbishop||,

* See the history in Chapter IX. † And other Slavonians.

‡ See the history in Chap. IX.

§ While still at Lagosta.

|| A bishop according to Dandolo; Appendini says an archbishop and three nobles.

offering to put themselves under the rule and protection of Venice ; but Michele Salonitano, Appendini, and the Ragusan annalists deny* that any submission was tendered, and maintain that the object of this mission was to obtain compensation for the vessel, that had been seized off Curzola, having on board the Narentine merchants ; when their demands were rejected ; and the Doge soon afterwards returned to Venice.

Fourteen years later, a treaty of commerce was made (according to the same annalists) between Venice and Ragusa, on the basis ^{A.D. 1001.} of mutual advantages to the two states ; which, with other documents, proves that Ragusa had not submitted to the authority of Venice ; and another attempt of the Venetians, under the Doge Domenico Contarini, in 1050 †, after the reduction of Zara, to obtain possession of Ragusa, confirms this assertion. It is also proved by the fact of Stephen, King of Dalmatia and Croatia, having previously

* It may appear strange that, with the recollection of past grievances, the Venetians should not attack Ragusa, after they had defeated the Narentines, and that the Ragusans should not join their friends, and try to humble the power of Venice. On the other hand, if Ragusa had surrendered to the Doge, how is it we hear nothing of Venetian rule there ? The alliance of the Ragusans with the Greeks had obliged them to desert the Narentines, and there could be no pretext for hostilities against Ragusa. See Appendini, i. p. 163.

† Appendini says in 1038 ; but Contarini was not made Doge till 1041, and this rebellion of Zara was in favour of Peter Cresimir, King of Croatia. See Farlati, vol. i. p. 223.

given to Ragusa a territory twenty-five miles in length, extending from Epidaurus to Valdinoce, including the valleys of Breno, and Ombla, Gravosa, and Malfi ; which he would not have done had the country been subject to Venice ; this cession of territory being made in token of gratitude, for the recovery of his health, when he visited the church of St. Stefano, in Ragusa. He also founded a church in each of those towns* ; and such was the confidence placed in the friendship of the Ragusans, that when he died his Queen, Margarita, retired to Ragusa.

These marks of favour shown to the Ragusans were highly displeasing to Bogoslav†, King of Dalmatia ; he demanded that Margarita and her wealth should be given up to him ; and, on the rejection of his claims, he besieged Ragusa with 10,000 men. But though the suburbs and the country were laid waste with fire and sword, before he was compelled to retire, and his unjust hostilities had inflicted serious injuries on the Republic, the Ragusans did not allow their resentment to interfere with that generosity, for which they were always so remarkable ; and when, at the death of Bogoslav, popular tumults obliged his widow Siva and her son Silvester to fly their country, they found an asylum at Ragusa. Nor did Silvester prove himself un-

* Appendini, vol. i. p. 252.

† Son of Prelimir, and cousin of Stephen and Margarita. He is also called Boleslav, and son of Plerimir, Lucio, p. 448.

worthy of their friendship ; and being at length restored, through the intercession of the Ragusans, he acknowledged their hospitality by ceding * to them the islands of Calamotta, Mezzo, and Giupan.†

The Ragusans shortly afterwards entered into a treaty with Robert Guiscard, King of Puglia and Calabria, against the Emperor Alexius ^{A.D. 1080.} Comnenus and the Doge Domenico Silvio ; but the benefits they expected from this alliance were prevented by the death of the Norman king.

While Venice was using every endeavour to recover her influence in Northern Dalmatia, Bodino, who had usurped the throne of Servia from his uncle Radoslav, obtained possession of the Southern part of the country ; and his siege of Ragusa may be considered the first event of importance, in the history of that Republic.

His career commenced, as ruler of Bulgaria ; to the government of which he had been appointed by his father, King Mikaglia ‡ ; when, having assumed the title of Emperor, he was attacked by the Byzantine forces, made prisoner, and banished to Antioch.

His uncle, Radoslav, found means secretly to procure his release, and treated him like his own son ; when requiting his kindness with ingratitude, he

* Luccari says he sold them, which is more probable.

† The ancient *Elaphites insulæ*, not from the stags that abounded there, but from their appearance. See Appendini, p. 255. note, and above, p. 267. Giupan, Jupan, or Joopan, from Jupa "province," and Pan or Ban "Governor."

‡ Who married the widow of Dobroslav.

intrigued with the people against him, and usurped the throne. The unfortunate Radoslav was forced to fly, with his wife Giuliana, and his son Branislav, to Trebigne; and having bestowed certain lands on the monks of Lacroma, with the church of St. Pietro in Breno, sought, in his last days, consolation in religion and charitable deeds, for the sufferings he had endured.

Bodino then made himself master of Rascia, and Bosnia; and, on the death of Robert Guiscard, having obtained possession of Durazzo, established a friendly intercourse with the Greek emperor, and restored him that city which had been taken from him by the Normans. But so long as the sons of Radoslav were at liberty, Bodino felt his throne insecure. He therefore induced Branislav to attend a fête at Scutari; when, on pretence of his being engaged in a conspiracy, he loaded him with chains, and threw him into prison, with his brother Gradislav, and his son Predika.

Hearing of this treachery, all the other relations of Branislav fled to Ragusa; and Bodino, enraged at their reception, sent to tell the senate, "that the relations of his uncle Radoslav being guilty of high treason against his crown, he required them to be instantly delivered up; and if this was refused, the conqueror of the Rascians and the Bosnians would fly his eagle, to the destruction of Ragusa." "In the conviction," replied the senate, "that our mediation ought to

reconcile you with your cousins, we have received them among us, and have treated them as their rank and merits deserve. It being, moreover, the custom of our city not to deny an asylum to any ; but to protect every one who comes to us in adversity ; we hope it will not displease you that they remain with us, until you are fully convinced of their innocence. They recognise you for the sovereign of all the states you possess, and pray you to liberate their relations, and permit them to enjoy the few lands which the King Radoslav left them : we, in the meanwhile, trust in God's grace, that He will grant us the same success in this cause, which we had in those of Siva, of Silvester, and of Dobroslav ; whom we finally reconciled with their relations."

Bodino, finding that neither entreaties, nor threats, could prevail on the Senate to deliver them up to him, vowed to destroy the city ; and ^{A. D. 1089.} having raised a formidable army, encamped on the skirts of Mount Bergato.

The siege lasted seven years. During that period, many gallant deeds of arms were performed by the Ragusans, and by the partisans of Branislav, who had fled from Trebigne. Cocciapar, a brother of Branislav, distinguished himself above all others ; and one night, having made a sortie at the head of a resolute band, penetrated under cover of the darkness to the tent of Chosarre, the brother of Bodino's wife Jaquinta, and killed him with a

spear. The infuriated queen immediately persuaded her husband to put Branislav to death, with his brother, and the young Predika, on the tomb of Chosarre; and Bodino, yielding to her instigations, caused them to be beheaded, in the sight of the whole city.

The effect of this barbarous act was very different from the intentions of Bodino: it deprived him of every chance of success, and freed Ragusa from his presence; for the cruel death of Branislav, who was beloved by the Servians, roused their indignation; and Bodino was obliged to raise the siege of Ragusa, and return to appease the tumult at home. He did not, however, abandon all hopes of recommencing the siege; and a strong garrison was left in a castle, he had built, on the spot now occupied by the church of St. Nicolò.

Shortly before his departure, an incident occurred which is curiously illustrative of the manners of those times. The Archbishop of Ragusa, accompanied by the Abbot of Lacroma, repaired to the camp of Bodino, and boldly reproving him for the murder of his relations, exhorted him to repentance; when, moved by this forcible appeal to his conscience, Bodino ordered a monument to be raised to their memory, in the Isle of Lacroma*; and at the close of his life †, with a view of expiating his

* Called sometimes Isle of Croma; and Isola La Croma.

† He is said to have been buried at Ragusa, or in Lacroma; but no inscription was found to record this fact, at the destruction of the town, in 1667.

crimes, "he bestowed on the monks of Lacroma * the valley of Gionchetto; which is separated from that of Breno by Mount Bergato."

Ragusa once more enjoyed tranquillity; while the rest of Dalmatia was disturbed by the inroads of the Normans, under Count Roger; ^{A.D. 1099.} and so great was the dread of their name, that the Venetians and Hungarians, laying aside their jealousies, united for some time against the common enemy.

On the death of Bodino, the Ragusans resolved to reduce the Servian castle; which, ^{A.D. 1100-02.} after eleven years, was accomplished by the aid of some mariners of Antivari, who found their intercourse with the port of Ragusa greatly impeded by the garrison. ^{A.D. 1111.} Having brought a large cargo of wine, which they sold at a very low price, they easily persuaded the Servian soldiers to purchase it; at the same time that the two commanders of the castle, having been bribed by the Ragusans, granted permission to the greater portion of the garrison to leave the fortress, and enjoy the festivities of Easter. With these preconcerted measures, there was little difficulty in surprising the guards; those who resisted were killed; and quarter was given to all who surrendered, on condition of not carrying arms against Ragusa.

* The convent of Lacroma was founded in 1023, and given to the monks of St. Benedetto.

To record this joyful event, the castle was replaced by the church of St. Nicolò ; the bridge, that reached from the arch, called Lonciariza, to what is now the custom-house, was destroyed ; and the ancient walls, which, from the centre of the present city, looked towards Mount Sergio, were taken down. The channel of the sea, which ran on that side, was then filled up, and made into the present Piazza ; and the part of the town, called Prieki, was enclosed by a wall. The Isle of Melleda was also ceded to Ragusa by Dessan, Duke of Chelmo, the son of Ourosh I., who, though he usurped the crown of Servia, is celebrated for having made that country independent of the Byzantine court.

A religious schism shortly afterwards happened, in which the neighbouring princes took
A.D. 1154. part. A synod convoked by order of Anastasius IV. was found to be unable to suppress it, and nearly all the Slavonian bishops refused obedience to the primate of Ragusa. The result was, that many of the orthodox Catholic laymen withdrew to Ragusa, where they were received with marked favour, and several were admitted to the rank of nobles.

Barich, Ban of Bosnia, alarmed at the number of emigrations from his country, wrote to the Senate, threatening, if any more Bosnians were admitted into Ragusa, to make war upon the Republic. The reply of the Ragusans was firm and

dignified. They denied any wish to harbour malcontents; but at the same time reminded the Ban of the agreement, existing between him and Ragusa, which granted to the subjects of both the right of domicile in their respective dominions; and they depended on the justness of their own cause, in the event of his proceeding to hostilities.

Barich was not long in entering the Ragusan territory; and, at the head of 10,000 A.D. 1159. men ravaged the district of Breno.

The following year, he returned with a larger force; but being defeated, while on his march, near Trebigne, by the Ragusans under Mi-A.D. 1160.chele Bobali, he was obliged to conclude a peace; by which he agreed to indemnify the Republic for the expenses of the war, and to send every year to the Senate two greyhounds and two white horses. Permission was also granted to the subjects of Bosnia and Ragusa to enter either state, without hinderance, or the payment of any impost.

The dissensions of the Church still continued; and the same defiance was shown to the authority of the primate of Ragusa. But the Republic obtained an accession of territory, despite the ill-will of her Slavonian neighbours, without having recourse to arms. A noble, named Decusio, had received from the emperor Manuel Comnenus the plain of the Canali, or Sciarnoviza, and, on the marriage of his daughter with Miccaccio, a citizen of Ragusa, this district was given as her dowry.

Dessan, now King of Servia, from a friend, became the enemy of Ragusa. The sons ^{A.D. 1171.} of Gradikna *, whose kingdom he and his father had usurped, having prevailed on the Emperor Manuel to espouse their cause, Dessan was compelled to do homage to him for his crown, and to promise obedience to the mandates of Constantinople. But no sooner had the Greek forces been withdrawn, than Dessan forgot his promises, and obliged Radoslav and his brothers to fly from Montenegro, the only part of their father's dominions which remained in their possession; and, enraged at their obtaining an asylum at Ragusa, Dessan declared war upon that Republic.

The fear of invasion obliged the Ragusans, for several years, to keep a strong force upon the frontier, which entailed a considerable expense upon them; but though the inconvenience was felt at the time, it ultimately proved highly conducive to the safety of the city, by enabling it to resist the attacks of the Venetians.

About the same period, a rupture occurred between the Emperor Manuel and the Venetians; Ragusa sided with the Greeks; and the free cities of Dalmatia, offended at the conduct of Venice in making their church subject to the Patriarch of Grado, threw off their allegiance, and admitted the Byzantine troops.

Spalato, after a vigorous resistance, was taken by

* They succeeded George and Archirizi, the sons of Bodino. See the Servian Kings in Appendix C.

the Greeks; and all the towns of Dalmatia, except Zara, fell into their hands. In vain the Doge Vitale*, with a fleet of thirty sail†, endeavoured to recal them to their allegiance, and expel the Imperial garrisons; and on his taking five gallies belonging to Ancona, under the pretext that they would join the Greeks against the Republic, Manuel seized all the Venetian merchants at Constantinople, and confiscated their property.

Great was the indignation excited at Venice, by this infringement of the law of nations. A formidable fleet, of twenty ships and 100 gallies, was immediately equipped, and the Doge set sail, determined to take signal vengeance on the revolted towns of Dalmatia, and punish the perfidy of the Greeks. The authority of Venice was speedily restored throughout Istria, and at Träù; and Ragusa was vigorously attacked. But the strength of the place, the courage of the garrison, and the large force then in their pay, enabled the Ragusans to repel every assault; and Vitale, impatient of delay, and anxious to accomplish the principal object of the expedition, continued his voyage to the Archipelago.

The disastrous termination of that expedition, the calamities it brought on Venice by the introduction

* Michieli, or Micheli, Vitale II. See the History in Chapter IX.

† Appendini, i. 267., who quotes Bonfinius, and other authorities.

of the plague, and the tragical death of the Doge, are well known; but the account of the attack on Ragusa, related by Dandolo and others, differs greatly from that given by the Ragusan annalists.

Dandolo, who is followed by Muratori and others, says the Venetians, on their way to Negropont, obtained possession of Ragusa, which had rebelled, and given itself up to the Greek Emperor. Appendini, however, shows that other authors omit all mention of its capture, and maintains that documents exist, to prove it was always free from the Venetians, before the year 1204. It was also independent of Constantinople, though under the protection of the eastern empire.

Moreover, he adds, in 1172, the year following the attack of Vitale, Ragusa, in order not to become a party to the quarrel between the Greeks and Venetians, placed itself under the protection of William II., the Norman King of Sicily, who engaged to defend the Republic against foreign aggression. This treaty is still in existence; and the fact of the Normans being, at that time, on terms of friendship with the Doge, shows that the Venetians had no claims on Ragusa, and did not consider the Norman protection an interference with their rights over that city.

Religious dissension increased in Dalmatia.

Nemagna, the son of Dessan, who was
A.D. 1177.

King of Servia, and *Grand-Jupan* of Rascia, took part with the recusant bishops, laid waste the plain of Breno, and besieged Ragusa. The place

defied all his attacks, and he retired into his own dominions, contenting himself, for the present, in forbidding the Slavonian bishops * to obey the Archbishop of Ragusa. He afterwards equipped a large fleet, intending to block-^{A.D. 1184.}ade Ragusa by sea and land: but the fleet was defeated by Michele Bobali, off Pali or Poglizza, in Albania, which, in commemoration of this victory, received the name of Porto di Ragusa; and another squadron under the command of Strascimir, a brother of Nemagna, which was blockading the Isles of Curzola and Lissa, also fell into the hands of the Ragusan admiral.

Ragusa was soon afterwards besieged, a second time, by Nemagna, with an army of 20,000 horse, and 30,000 foot. But the want of^{A.D. 1185.} provisions caused so much confusion in the camp, that in six days he withdrew his forces; and, finding that no advantages could be gained by continuing hostilities, he made a treaty with the Republic.

The peace with the King of Servia induced the other Slavonian princes to seek the friendship of Ragusa; and Nemagna proposed that the bishops in his states, who had been excommunicated by Pope Alexander III., should be reconciled to, and acknowledge, the Metropolitan of Ragusa. But the mode of adjusting the question, which required the Senate to pay 1000 sequins, being considered

* Bishops of Budua, Cattaro, Dolcigno, Svacia, Scodra, Durazzo, Drivasto, Polato, Sorbia, Bosnia, Trebigné, and Zaculmia.

inconsistent with religion, his offers were declined; and his envoy was dismissed, with a courteous refusal.

The ill success of the war, between Nemagna and the Byzantine Emperor, Isaac
A.D. 1190. Angelus Comnenus, induced the former to send to inquire if an asylum would be granted to him and his family, in case events should compel them to leave their country; and, though persecuted by the House of Nemagna for thirty years, the Republic, true to its maxim of assisting the unfortunate, promised them the protection they desired. Nor was this generous conduct lost upon the neighbouring Slavonic princes. They saw in the Ragusans an independent people, who, disregarding their own advantage, boldly maintained the promises they made, without fearing the displeasure of the most powerful states; and they admired their courage, in offering to shelter the Nemagna family, at a moment when the Greeks were victorious, and had already reason to be offended with Ragusa. Even the Counts Barich, Berislav, and Draghimir, Lords of Zaculmia, repaired to Ragusa to proffer their friendship; and they engaged to prevent the Kacich and Almissans molesting the Ragusan traders.

The death of William II. of Sicily, in 1189, and the difficulties that beset his successor
A.D. 1192. Tancred, having left the Ragusans without protection, and exposed to the ancient hatred of

Venice, they once more claimed the friendship of the Byzantine court; and the same year was marked by a singular event, which rendered it remarkable in the annals of Ragusa; and which is of more than ordinary interest, as it relates to the adventures of Richard Cœur de Lion, and shows the exact place of his first landing, which has hitherto been uncertain.

Richard, on his return from Palestine, having been overtaken by a severe storm, after leaving Corfu made a vow that he would build a church to the Holy Virgin, on whatever spot he might first land; and having reached the Isle of Lacroma, proceeded to make the necessary preparations for the fulfilment of his promise. In this island was a celebrated convent of Benedictines*; and Richard having destined 100,000 marks for the building of the church, commissioned the monks to superintend its erection.

As soon as the Rettore, and the other authorities of Ragusa, heard of his arrival, they invited him to visit their city; where he was received with every demonstration of respect, and with all the hospitable attention due to so distinguished a guest†;

* See above, p. 291.

† Richard had not *then* any need of disguise; nor could he have concealed his name, as Hoveden states, arriving as he did in a vessel, every sailor on board of which knew who he was. Moreover, the character of Hugh the merchant, if really assumed by him, was only necessary on his *second* landing "near Aquileia."

and having urged him to alter his vow, and found the church in Ragusa, they promised to obtain for him a dispensation from Rome, and also to erect another in Lacroma at the expense of the Republic.* Richard consented, on condition that the Abbot of Lacroma, assisted by the monks of his order, should there celebrate mass every year, on the feast of the Purification; and “the good king having *borrowed* a large sum of money for the purpose,” which was increased by donations from the inhabitants, built the Cathedral of Ragusa, “which, for regularity of design and beauty of ornament, was unequalled in Illyria.”† It was unfortunately destroyed by the great earthquake of 1667; and with its destruction terminated the privileges of the abbot and monks of Lacroma. But the fact of their having been, till then, maintained, sufficiently proves the truth of the Ragusan account of Richard’s landing at their city; and the Emperor Henry, when he stated, in his letter to Philip of France, that Richard had been wrecked “near Istria, between Aquileia and Venice,” was evidently misled by a vague report; which confounded his landing there, *after* his departure from Ragusa, with his previous escape from shipwreck.‡ And this is further confirmed by public documents of Ragusa.

* Appendini. Luccari, lib. i., and Farlati, vol. vi. p. 89, 90.

† Appendini, vol. i. p. 272. Farlati, (vi. 90.), and Von Engel (Hist. Ragusa, p. 87.) say it was the cathedral.

‡ Farlati, vi. p. 90.

The account of his arrival at the Isle of Lacroina is highly satisfactory, as it clears up a disputed point, and explains the statement of Hoveden, who calls the place of his landing "*Gazere apud Raguse.*" The notion of the place being Zara was derived from the resemblance of part of the name *Gazere* to that of the Dalmatian capital; though there is little doubt that the word is Arabic, meaning "*island*," and that it had been adopted, like many others, by the Crusaders.*

After the death of Nemagna, his son Tehomil reigned one year, and was succeeded by his brother Simeon, who left the kingdom A.D. 1196-7. to his three sons, Stephen, Velkan†, and Rasko.

Stephen retained the titles of King, and Grand-Jupan, of Servia; Velkan styled himself King of Dioclea and the maritime cities of Albania, residing

* "*Infra vero Quadragesimam, rex Angliæ firmavit Blanchward et Galatiam et Gazere. Et in die Paschæ, tenuit ibi commune festum extra villam in tentoriis.*"

"*Venit itaque rex Angliæ ad Cayphas, et ægrotavit ibi, et perrexit inde Accon, et ibi intravit busciam magnam, post festum S. Michaelis, octavo idus Octobris, feria quinta, et infra mensem post diem illum applicuit in insula de Cuuerfu, et intravit naviculam, et navigavit usque ad tres galeas quas vidit ex opposito in Romania, et conduxit eas usque ad Raguse pro 200 marcis argenti, et postea rediit ad busciam suam, et prædictæ galeæ cum eo, et ipse paravit eas, et assumpsit secum Baldwinum advocatum Bithyniæ, et alios viginte socios, et intravit unam de prædictis galeis; et cum applicuisset prope Gazere apud Raguse, noluit indicare quod esset rex Angliæ, sed peregrini essent.*" — Roger de Hoveden, *Annal.*, pp. 716, 717.

† Or Volkan Nemagna. Von Engel (p. 89.) says he was Grand-Jupan of Chelmo.

sometimes at Scutari, and sometimes at Antivari; and Rasko, under the name of Saba, having retired to the convent of Monte-Santo, became Abbot, and afterwards Archbishop of Servia. His exemplary life obtained for him the title of Saint, among the Servians and Greeks*, and the Duchy of Santo Saba received its name from his tomb.

The friendship of Stephen for the Ragusans did not influence Velkan, who renewed the old disputes between the Bishop of Antivari, and Bernardo, the Primate of Ragusa; and he even proceeded to hostilities against the Republic, and obtained from Innocent III. the title of Metropolitan for the see of Antivari.†

Though this terminated the discussions between the two churches, which had led
A. D. 1199-1203. to so much animosity and strife, intrigue and party-feeling had been carried too far, to admit of reconciliation; and Bernardo no longer considered it safe to remain at Ragusa. He therefore requested, and obtained permission from the Pope, to vacate his province; and having been nominated to other ecclesiastical dignities in England, he came to this country, furnished with a letter from Innocent III. to King John; recommending him to his royal protection, and “conferring upon him the

* Also acknowledged by the Latins, but not in their calendar, nor in their catalogue of saints.

† Kulin was Ban of Bosnia at this time. See the Paterenes in Chap. VII.

bishopric of Carlisle;”* a copy of which letter is contained in that written by John to Golfred, Archbishop of York †, in whose diocese Bernardo received his new appointment.

“To the venerable father in Christ, our very dear Golfred, by the grace of God, Archbishop of York, John, by the like grace, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, health.

“We have received the letters of our Lord the Pope, in these words:—

“‘Innocent, bishop and servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son John, the illustrious King of England, health and our apostolic benediction.

“‘At the urgent entreaty of our venerable brother, the archbishop of Ragusa, we have thought right to relieve him from the care and duties, with which he was charged over the church of Ragusa, because he was unable to remain there in safety, and ran a risk of his life if he ventured to return thither. But lest the said archbishop, to the discredit of our ministry, should suffer a loss of temporalities; we, out of the benignity of the apostolic see, grant to him the bishopric of Carlisle, and the church of Melebum, with all thereunto appertaining, graciously

* Farlati, vi. p. 39.; who censures Richardson for speaking of Bernardo, as a “certain anonymous Slavonian bishop,” and giving the date 1201, instead of 1204.

† Or Geoffrey, son of Henry II. and the Fair Rosamond.

conferred on him through your beneficence and liberality, and by the concession of our venerable brother Golfred, archbishop of York, in order to relieve his wants; and claiming the attention of your royal Serenity, we exhort you, as touching the aforesaid archbishop, to consider him recommended to you by the urgency of our prayers, and by your regard for the pontifical office. May you commiserate his necessities, succour his distress, and increase these present benefits, by your illustrious munificence; and in so doing you will show your regard for the King of kings, who is the High Priest for ever, since that which is spent on his ministers may be considered as bestowed on Him.

“‘Given to the bearer, on the sixth year of our Pontificate *, on the ides of May.’

“We therefore, in compliance with the request received from our Lord the Pope, have, out of our munificence and liberality, conceded to the Ragusan archbishop the aforesaid bishopric of Carlisle; charging you to treat him, in every respect, as your pastor and bishop. — Witness the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, at Merleb, on the tenth day of January.”

New dissensions soon afterwards broke out at Ragusa. Damiano Juda, who had filled
A.D. 1203. the office of first magistrate, under the title of Count, or President, refused, at the expiration of

* That is, A.D. 1203.

the year, to relinquish his authority; and having ingratiated himself into the favour of the people, and bribed a numerous body of troops, he forbade the meeting of the Great Council, and assumed to himself absolute power. In answer to the objections of the nobles, he pretended to justify his conduct, by representing the bad effects of dissension in the state; and by urging the necessity of taking measures for protecting the city, against foreign aggression; the danger of which had become doubly imminent, in consequence of the capture of Constantinople by the Venetians. To ensure this object, he contended, that unlimited authority was required; and he concluded by assuring them, that he was ready to relinquish it, as soon as the necessary measures had been adopted for the safety of the state.

The family of Bobali, full of patriotic feeling, and confident in the esteem of all classes, openly denounced his ambitious designs; but his power was too firmly fixed to be overthrown by their efforts. Damiano ordered them to be arrested, and they were obliged to fly into Bosnia.

Damiano had ruled two years, when Pirro Benessa, his son-in-law, indignant at his tyranny, and seeing that every attempt to deprive him of power would be attended with danger to the state, supported as he was by the popular voice and by a strong guard, secretly convoked a meeting of the nobles, and recommended an appeal to some foreign power.

The only one at that time capable of aiding them was Venice; and they determined to request the Doge to release them from the tyranny of Damiano; on condition that nothing should be attempted against the liberties of Ragusa. Michele and Vito Bobali in vain endeavoured to impress upon their countrymen, that the Venetians would never render that assistance, without substituting one of their own nobles in the room of Damiano; who, with the support of a foreign power, would be far more dangerous to their liberty than an ambitious citizen: these prudent councils were overruled; and Benessa was secretly sent to Venice, as envoy from the nobles of Ragusa.

The Venetians gladly consented to undertake their cause; on condition that the Ragusans should receive a Venetian governor; when Benessa, foreseeing the danger of a refusal, after the Venetians had become acquainted with the state of the city, was forced to comply with those terms. But, in order to avoid open violence, they had recourse to artifice. The Patriarch Morosini happened, at the time, to be setting off for Constantinople; and the Venetian senate, under pretence of sending rich presents to the new emperor, appointed two ambassadors, with a large suite, to accompany him, escorted by two well-equipped gallies; with directions, that they should follow the instructions of Benessa.

On reaching Ragusa, Benessa announced to

Damiano the arrival of the Patriarch and the ambassadors, "who had turned out of their way, to offer him their salutations." They were therefore invited to dine at the palace; and, on leaving the table, they induced Damiano to accompany them to the ship, "that he might see the presents destined for the emperor." He had scarcely stepped on board, when he found himself a prisoner; and upbraiding the Venetians for their treachery, and accusing his son-in-law of parricide, he dashed his head against the bulwarks of the ship, and fell dead upon the deck.

The Venetian Count, Lorenzo Quirini, was, according to agreement, received as Count of the Republic*; but the Ragusans soon began ^{A. D. 1204.} to be sensible of the yoke they had imposed on themselves; and in order to neutralise his influence, they made a treaty with the Cattarines, by which each agreed to assist the other, and establish a friendly and commercial intercourse: and though the treaty was highly ^{A. D. 1214.}

* This calls to mind the conduct of the Italian Republics, who chose foreign governors, in order to check the factions, to which they were exposed from ambitious citizens; the first example, as Muratori states, being set by Verona, which chose for its governor Azzo, Marquis of Este, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The same was done by the Florentines, who in 1303 were governed by a Lucchese, and in 1342 placed the Duke of Athens at the head of their Republic; and the history of Siena, Pisa, Rimini, Ferrara, and other cities offer similar examples.

displeasing to Giovanni Dandolo, the successor * of Lorenzo, having been made without his consent, it tended to uphold the hopes of the Ragusans, and showed that the Senate (as agreed upon with Venice) was independent of his authority. Dandolo, however, still retained his office, to the great dissatisfaction of the Ragusans; and nothing worthy of notice occurred at this time, except the arrival of St. Francis, in 1219, on his way to the Holy Land.†

At length an event took place, which, for a time, enabled the Ragusans to rid their
A.D. 1230. city of the Venetian Count. The Greek emperor, John Vataces, united with the Genoese, was making every effort to check the power of Venice, by sea, and prevent their attack on Candia: the Ragusans therefore, dexterously ingratiating themselves with those enemies of Venice, induced them to appear with their combined fleet before Ragusa; when, feigning alarm, the Senate represented to Dandolo the danger to which he exposed his person and the city, and persuaded him to withdraw to Venice, in a Ragusan vessel. Two years
A.D. 1232. after this, fear of the ill-will of the Venetians, and dissensions in the city, induced

* Some suppose there were two counts, before Dandolo, who ruled ten years, and Dandolo sixteen, till 1230. Farlati (vi.109.) calls him Marco Dandolo, and says Orbinus thinks these events happened much later, in 1261; but Morosini was made Patriarch in 1204. See Gibbon, c. 61.

† See the History of Dalmatia, in Chapter IX. A.D. 1219

the Senate to solicit the return of the Venetian Count; and Dandolo was reappointed for two years. At the same time a treaty was made to regulate the commerce of Ragusa; which engaged to aid the Venetians with two gallies, in the suppression of piracy; and the Count was to be changed every two years.*

The equipment of these gallies was of more immediate service to the Ragusans, than they anticipated; for, the Almissans having plun- ^{A. D. 1238.} dered some of their merchants, they were enabled thereby effectually to resent the injury; and their appearance at the mouth of the Cettina had not only the effect of recovering the captured goods, but the Count of Almissa entered into an engagement, to abstain from all acts of piracy on Ragusan vessels; and even if ordered by his master, the King of Hungary, to aid in any war against Ragusa, he promised to supply the smallest contingent.

The hostility of Stephen Ourosh †, the Servian king, who had succeeded his father ^{A. D. 1259—1261.} Stephen ‡, and the unwillingness of the Venetian Count to interpose the influence of the Venetian name, induced the Ragusans to seek the alliance of the Emperor Michael, and of Radoslav, Jupan of Chelmo. The attempts of Ourosh were therefore limited to a descent on the plain of Breno, and the demand that the Ragusans should

* See this treaty in Appendini, vol. i. p. 279.

† Surnamed Milutin.

‡ Also called Ourosh.

accept a Servian instead of a Venetian governor; but finding that this proposition was treated with contempt, and that the Ragusans were well prepared to resist his pretensions, he thought the moment unfavourable for his views against the Republic; and arrangements having been entered into, for an amicable adjustment of their differences, no further hostilities were attempted by the Servians till his death, which happened in 1283.

It was about this time, in 1272, that the statutes of Ragusa were framed, which afterwards underwent various modifications, until 1358; when the laws of that Republic were revised, and received considerable additions.*

Stephen Ourosh was succeeded by his natural son, of the same name; whose first transaction with the Ragusans was an attempt to defraud them of a large sum of money, entrusted to their custody by the Jupan Dessan, the nephew of the late King of Servia; in which he was successful, through the agency of certain deputies from Cattaro, who appeared as witnesses to a forged document. On the discovery of the fraud, envoys were sent to reclaim the money; and as no redress could be obtained, war was declared by the Republic against the Cattarines. This, as might be expected, brought on hostilities with Ourosh; who, having sided with Cattaro, invaded the Ragusan territory,

A.D. 1288.

* Catalinich, iii. p. 55.

plundered the suburbs, and obliged the inhabitants to take refuge within the city; which was then afflicted by a violent epidemic. Nor was this the only calamity that befel Ragusa: a dreadful fire broke out, which consumed all the dwelling-houses; and such was the despair of the people, that serious thoughts were entertained of quitting the city, and flying to Sicily, Puglia, or some town on the Dalmatian coast. The prudence of one of the patricians, Vincenzo Vukassovich, alone calmed their despair; subscriptions were raised to assist the needy; and the Senate adopted measures for rebuilding the houses. And profiting by this melancholy accident, the city was improved, by giving to the streets a more convenient, and regular, distribution.

A.D. 1296-7.

Another calamity speedily followed, though attended with less serious results than at first expected. The Venetians, engaged in a formidable struggle with the Genoese, required from Ragusa the aid of four gallies, which were immediately to join their fleet. The demand, at such a moment, was embarrassing; the losses so lately sustained by the Ragusans increased the difficulty of complying with it; and their galleys were wanted for the protection of their own interests; but regard for the treaty urged them to make every sacrifice, and the galleys were sent. The hostile fleets met off Curzola; the Venetians were defeated; and the Provveditore, Andrea Dan-

A.D. 1298.

dolo, was taken prisoner.* Fortune, however, favoured the Ragusans, who by an unexpected accident saved their gallies; and this enabled them soon after to defeat the Cattarines.

The battle of Curzola had so crippled the Venetians, that they were incapable for some
A.D. 1301. time of keeping the sea; and Ourosh, profit-

ing by the opportunity, endeavoured to obtain possession of Lagosta, which the Ragusans

A.D. 1308. had bought of Stephen, King of Rascia †, and which had rebelled, with a view of giving itself up to the Venetians. But the prudence of the Senate induced the islanders to return to their alle-

giance; and the hostile intentions of Ourosh were also thwarted by the politic conduct of the Ragusans. For hearing that Ourosh was about

A.D. 1316. to marry the daughter of Philip, Prince of Tarento, they sent to offer him a galley to bring over his bride; and, pacified by this act of courtesy, he accepted the offer, and in return ceded to Ragusa the lands above Breno, called Deceni.

The Venetian and Ragusan fleet once more united, against the Genoese and the Emperor
A.D. 1324. Andronicus; and the Venetians, having gained over Träù, Sebenico, and Spalato, from the Hungarians, proceeded to punish the Almissan

* See the History of Dalmatia; and above, p. 257.

† Of the family of Nemagna, and surnamed Krapalo, or Krapavaz, the "leper." See above, p. 261. Appendini, i. 283. 286.; and Farlati, vi. p. 113. 123.

pirates, who had carried off the Abbot of Lacroma. A fresh succession of quarrels and accommodations followed, between the Ragusans and Ourosh, until the death of that prince; when his son and successor, Stephen Dushan, made an alliance with the Republic, granted it permission to send consuls into Rascia, Servia, and Bosnia, to superintend ^{A. D.} the trade with those countries, and ceded to it the peninsula of Punta.

The affairs of Venice, Hungary, and Slavonia, now began to assume a new character; and the attention of all was fixed on the rising ^{A. D. 1345.} power of Louis of Hungary.* Venice, though victorious, agreed to a truce with him for ^{A. D.} eight years; and Stephen Cotroman, Ban ^{1347—1351.} of Bosnia, promised him his daughter Elizabeth in marriage; despite the threats of Stephen Dushan; who, in order to intimidate the Ban, and oblige him to accept the hand of his son Ourosh, pillaged Bosnia. The violent conduct of Stephen was unavailing; Cotroman, with his daughter, took refuge in the fortress of Bobovaz; and Elizabeth was married to Louis. Her father was, shortly after, succeeded by his nephew Tuartko, the son of Vladislav, who, as a vassal of Hungary, was promoted to the rank of king.

Foreseeing the future power of Louis, the Ragusans, as early as 1345, had entered into secret

* Lodovico, or Ludwig, generally known as Louis of Hungary. See the History in Chapter IX., A. D. 1342. and 1346.

intelligence with the Hungarian king. Elias Saraca, archbishop of Ragusa, having been sent by Clement VI. as nuncio to Stephen Dushan, in order to induce him to return, with the other Slavonic princes, to the bosom of the Catholic church, and to direct his arms against the Turks, visited the court of Hungary, according to instructions from Ragusa; and expressed the wish of his countrymen, to place themselves under the protection of Louis. As soon, therefore, as the truce between the Hungarians and the Doge had expired, the Ragusans prepared to break off all connexion with Venice; (which, though it always rigidly exacted their co-operation, whenever it was required, made no efforts to protect them in the hour of need;) and when the Venetians demanded the assistance of the four Ragusan gallies, one only was sent; while, to lull suspicion, the Senate gave permission to all the citizens to enter the Venetian service against Louis, well knowing that none would avail themselves of it. Friendly communications also continued to be kept up with the Servian Emperor, Stephen Dushan, who visited Ragusa, in 1354.

The Venetians, at the same time, sought to take advantage of the hold they possessed over Ragusa; and anxious to secure a position, from which they might again advance into Dalmatia, they sent two Procuratori of St. Mark to repair the works of Ragusa and Stagno; and with a view of strengthening the bonds of friendship

between the two republics, granted several commercial privileges to the Ragusans. They, on their side, received the Procuratori with every mark of distinction ; and at their departure, wrote letters of condolence to the Doge, on the loss of Zara ; and thus, by mutual demonstrations of good will, each party endeavoured to conceal their real motives.

Meanwhile, all Dalmatia had fallen into the hands of Louis ; and, on arranging the preliminaries of peace, the Venetians proposed to cede to the Hungarians the whole of the country from ^{A.D. 1358.} Istria to Durazzo, and to include Ragusa. But the agreement made with the Hungarian Diet, by the archbishop Saraca, guaranteed the independence of the Republic, and disproved the claims of Venice to sovereign rights over Ragusa ; and nothing resulted from that treaty, injurious to its interests, or its liberty.

The following year, a change took place in the government of Ragusa, by the removal of the Venetian count *, and the appointment ^{A.D. 1359.} of three native Patricians to supply his place, and superintend the affairs of the Republic, with the title of Rettori ; and though this measure effectually put an end to the authority of Venice over Ragusa, it was done with so much courtesy and circumspection, that an open rupture was avoided ; and the Venetians were satisfied with the

* Marco Superanzio.

prospect of recovering their position there, at a more convenient moment. The external and internal state of affairs continued nearly on the same footing; and if the hostility of the Lords of Chelmo and the Cattarines, for a time, disturbed the tranquillity of Ragusa, peace was soon restored; and the friendship of the Hungarians augured well for the future security of the Republic.

The whole of Slavonia was now a prey to disorder. In Bosnia the barons were for some time in rebellion against Tuartko *; and on the death of Ourosh V., the last of the house of Nemagna, Vukashin, one of the first barons of the realm,
A.D. 1368. obtained possession of the crown of Servia.

The Ragusans, perceiving the rising power of the Turks, (who had been invited † by Sigismund, the son of the usurper Alexander, King of Bulgaria, to assist him against his brothers,) sent an embassy to Brusa, to claim the friendship and protection of the Emir Orcan.‡ This request, made by a distant state, was readily acceded to; and on the annual

* The Ban Tuartko was made King of Bosnia, by Louis, and afterwards obtained possession of Rascia and Santo Saba. See the History in Chapter IX.

† The Turks were first invited into Europe by Cantacuzene in 1341. See Gibbon, chap. 64.

‡ Appendini styles him Sultan; but that title was not adopted till the reign of Bajazet, the son of Amurath I., the son of Orcan. Gibbon, c. 64. The treaty with Orcan was still preserved at Ragusa in 1801, with his name sealed in ink, according to the eastern custom. Orcan died in 1360.

payment of 500 sequins, Orcan granted all the privileges regarding commerce, and all the promises of protection, which were required.

The enmity of the Cattarines, who had deserted the cause of Hungary for that of the Venetians, at length led to an open rupture ^{A.D. 1371.} between Venice and Ragusa; and when the Genoese, for the fourth time, entered the Adriatic, they were joined by the Ragusans.

United with Louis, Charles of Durazzo, Francesco di Carrara, and the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Genoese had wrested Istria from the Doge; ^{A.D. 1378.} and the triumphant Doria having taken Chioggia, and threatened Venice, no notice could be taken of the open hostility of Ragusa; but on the defeat of the Genoese, the Venetian fleet scoured the coast of Dalmatia, and inflicted severe injuries on the commerce of the Ragusans. The maritime towns, from Punta to Valdinoce, were sacked; the trade with the Narenta was intercepted; and it was not until a treaty had been concluded between the Doge and the allied powers, that ^{A.D. 1381.} Ragusa was relieved from the vengeance of the Venetians.

On the death of Louis, King of Hungary, Venice hoped to regain a footing in Dalmatia; but the union of the cities, assisted by Tuartko, ^{A.D. 1382.} and the nominal protection of Hungary, still prevented those designs. “The misfortunes of Charles,

who was crowned King of Hungary only to lose his life, the imprisonment of the Queen Maria, A. D. 1386. the tragical death of Elizabeth*, and the dissensions of the Slavonian princes, (who, instead of joining Sigismund to oppose the Turks, fought among themselves, and invited them to be arbiters of their quarrels,) tended to consolidate that union, and confer advantages on the Ragusans†;” and, secured by her friendly relations with the Turks from the general destruction, that soon after befel the neighbouring states, Ragusa maintained an independent position; which enabled her to become an asylum for those who were driven from their country, on the advance of the Ottoman conquerors.

The terror caused by the victory of Bajazet at Nicopolis, and the flight of Sigismund, A. D. 1396. paved the way for the fall of the Slavonian princes; many of whom, to retain possession of their states, became tributary to the Sultan; and this led to the direct interference of the Turks.

The kind reception given by the Ragusans to Sigismund, after his defeat‡, induced him A. D. 1396-8. to promote their views, in the purchase of

* See the History in Chapter IX.

† Appendini, vol. i. p. 297.

‡ According to Gibbon, (c. lxiv.) Sigismund fled to Constantinople by the Danube and Black Sea; and Froissart (c. lxxxii.) says he found a small vessel belonging to the Grand-master of Rhodes, in which he went down the river. This accounts for his return by Ragusa. Appendini, p. 297.

the district of Primorie, or Terrenuove*, from Ostoya, the young King of Bosnia; and his intention of preparing another expedition against the Turks was seconded by the prayers, and donations, of the Ragusan clergy. Domestic troubles prevented his design. Nor did the Turks pursue their successes against the Hungarians: the attention of Bajazet was called to another quarter; his defeat by Tamerlane, in 1402, ended in his captivity and death; and his successors made no advances against the Slavonians, until invited into Bosnia by the disputes of Tuartko II. and Ostoya, about thirteen years afterwards.†

Sigismund, on leaving Ragusa, passed the winter of 1396 at Knin, when he returned to Hungary; and some time after this, the French nobles, who had been made prisoners by Bajazet, at the battle of Nicopolis, touched at Ragusa on their way home, having been ransomed from captivity.‡

The joy caused in Ragusa, by the cession of the district of Primorie, was disturbed by the state of Hungary, at the death of Maria, the ^{A.D. 1401.} wife of Sigismund. A strong party had arisen in

* It extends from Valdinooce to Stagno.

† See the History, Chapter IX.

‡ Froissart, c. 90. On leaving Rhodes, they touched at Modon, Colefo (Corfu?), the Isle of Garre (Zante?), the Isle of Chifolignie (Cephalonia), Ragusa, Clarence (Chiarenza?), and Parense (Parenzo?), and thence went to Venice. Some of these are evidently out of their proper order.

favour of Ladislas (Vladislav) of Sicily, the son of Charles; Sigismund was made prisoner, and all the cities of Dalmatia fell into the hands of his rival. The endeavours of Ragusa to remain neuter in this struggle were useless; and on its declaring in favour of Sigismund, Ostoya, in concert with Ladislas, invaded the Ragusan territory. But Sigismund, once more free, was enabled to protect the Republic; and Harvoye, Duke of Spalato, who had rendered signal service to Ladislas previous to his arrival in Dalmatia, was induced by bribery to desert him, and join the cause of Sigismund.

The result of these changes was the defeat of Ostoya, and the expulsion of Ladislas from Dalmatia. Zara, which was still held by a Neapolitan garrison, was sold by him to the Venetians, together with Novigrad, the Isle of Pago, and all other places over which he claimed jurisdiction, for 100,000 ducats; and the Venetians pretended that Ragusa was included in this agreement. But the alliance of Sigismund secured it against their pretensions; and though the loss of Sebenico and other places, together with the treachery of Harvoye, weakened his cause in Dalmatia, he was still in a condition to uphold the rights of that Republic.

Harvoye, accustomed to the indulgence of his arbitrary will, had offended the court of Hungary, and was denounced to Sigismund; when, foreseeing

his loss of influence with the King, he entered into a secret correspondence with the Sultan Mahomet; which being discovered by the Spalatines, he was deprived of his dukedom, and declared a rebel. These events induced Sigismund to make a treaty, for five years, with the Venetians; though ^{A. D. 1413.} it did not affect the condition of Ragusa, which still continued under the protection of Hungary; and her independence was at length acknowledged by the Venetians.

The district of the Canali was bought in 1427, by the Ragusans, for 24,000 sequins, from the Voivoda Radoslav Paulovich; ^{A. D. 1419—1427.} their commerce was extended in Asia and Africa; and this was considered one of the most flourishing periods of the Republic.

Peace was soon afterwards definitively arranged, between Sigismund and the Venetians, who foresaw with anxiety the approach of a new ^{A. D. 1433.} and formidable rival. It was evident that the affairs of the Slavonic states were becoming, every day, more and more critical; their downfall promised to advance the growing power of the Turks; and the various interests of several little princes, far less versed in the arts of politics and war than the Osmanlis, to whom they were already tributary, prevented their uniting in a common cause, for their own safety.

“For nearly twenty years the Turks, profiting by their imprudence, had taken part in all their

disputes, and always turned them to their own advantage; while the King of Bosnia, as Lord paramount, either took provinces from one chieftain, to bestow them on another, or usurped them for himself. Stephen Vukovich, despot of Servia, having given one daughter in marriage to the nephew of the Empress Barbara, and another to Sultan Amurath, thought himself firmly settled on his throne; and felt little interest in the welfare of the other Slavonic princes; Sigismund, a good artless man, born rather for peace than war, and always unfortunate, had lost his influence in Dalmatia and Slavonia; and the Sultan only waited, until the two rival candidates for Herzegovina, Radoslav Paulovich and Stephen Cosaccia, should weaken themselves and invite him to settle their dispute." *

The Turk at length, master of the whole of Bosnia, sought to include Ragusa amongst
A. D. 1437. his tributary states; but the treaty previously made with Orcan saved her from this ignominy, and she was enabled to preserve her independence. By rejecting the advantageous offers of Paulovich to sell Trebigne to her, and of the Queen of Hungary, to put her in possession of the Kraina and Almissa, she avoided giving offence to the Sultan, to Venice, and to Cosaccia; and, by strict neutrality, preserved the friendship both of the Hungarians and Turks.

* Appendini, i. p. 303.

But it was difficult long to prevent a subject of dispute; and the reception of George, King of Servia, who had fled from An-^{A.D. 1440.} tivari to Ragusa, with immense wealth, so enraged Amurath, that he threatened to destroy the city, unless the fugitive was given into his hands. The Ragusans, true to their maxim of respecting the rights of hospitality, ensured his safety, by sending him in a galley to Scardona, whence he fled to Buda; and the Sultan, admiring their generous conduct, allowed his anger to be appeased by a present of money, as an acknowledgment of his power.

The conduct of the Ragusans might have been expected to secure the friendship of every Slavonic prince: but the mere^{A.D. 1442—1445.} question respecting the sale of salt sufficed to rouse the anger of Stephen Cosaccia, and he invaded the Ragusan territory. A battle was fought on the plain of Canali, in which the Ragusans were defeated; and Cosaccia, after ravaging the whole country to Breno and Gravosa, laid siege to Ragusa. The Senate, finding that the Venetians were in league with their enemy, sent an envoy^{A.D. 1451.} to Pope Nicholas V.; who persuaded them to withdraw from the alliance of a schismatic, against a Catholic state; and an offer was made to Cosaccia to terminate the war, by paying him the sum of 10,000 sequins. And perceiving, soon afterwards, that he was threatened by the Hungarians and

Turks, Cosaccia accepted the offer, and continued until his death on terms of real, or pretended, friendship with Ragusa. He even attended the Council of State, as his uncle Sandagl Hranich, Duke of Chelmo, had before done in 1434, and gave his vote as a Ragusan noble,—a privilege, to which he was by birth entitled; and on quitting the city, he left his son Stephen to be educated there; who afterwards turned out a monster of treachery and deceit.

After some years, Stephen and the other Slavonic princes, hemmed in on all sides by the
A.D. 1459. Turks, who had already invaded Herzegovina, began to perceive that their ruin was inevitable. Ragusa also felt her danger. But this did not prevent her giving an asylum to the inhabitants of Popovo and Trebigne; she received the noble Tribuniote families, when driven from their estates by the Turks, and even supplied the Ban of Croatia with arms, at the request of the King of Hungary; until, at length, the anger of Sultan Mahomet being roused against the Republic, (which was excited still more, on hearing that one of its generals commanded a corps of Hungarians against him,) he seized all the Ragusan merchants in his dominions, and confiscated their property.

Constantinople having fallen in 1453, and the whole of Thrace, Servia, and Bosnia, with part of Hungary, being in his power, Mahomet resolved on the conquest of the maritime cities of Dalmatia;

and concentrating his forces at Sutieska in Bosnia, he advanced upon Ragusa. Destitute of allies, or of the means of effectual resistance, the terrified inhabitants fled to the churches, to deprecate the calamity that threatened them; and the people, joining in the procession of Corpus Domini, united their lamentations with the prayers of the clergy. In the midst of this scene of despair, a courier arrived from the Pasha of Roumelia, exhorting the Ragusans to send ambassadors to the Sultan, who had gone back to Thrace; and the Senate having acted on this suggestion received for answer, that peace should be granted, on condition of the whole country being ceded to the Ottoman rule, with the exception of the city of Ragusa.

The consternation caused by this announcement was scarcely less, than if the city had been lost. All was indecision in the Senate; A.D. 1460. until Nicolò Serafino, who had been admitted to their deliberations, suggested this reply: "That the whole country should be ceded to him, according to his wish, and that the Ragusans would give up their city to the King of Hungary." His ingenuity saved the Republic: Mahomet ordered the siege to be abandoned, and renounced all intention of molesting the Ragusans. A popular tradition, however, ascribed their deliverance to St. Biagio; and pretended that Mahomet, having asked the ambassador to show him a portrait of their Patron Saint, declared that an old man of similar countenance

had appeared, and frightened his horse, as he rode on his way to Ragusa, and threatened him with death, unless he changed his projects.

The departure of the Turks did not make the Senate neglectful of precautions for the future. New fortifications were added; and to remove all cover for an enemy near the works, the houses, and even the chapels of the suburbs, were destroyed. Application was also made to several Christian princes for assistance; and Pius II., from whom the works of the Rivellino received the name of Fortezza Pia, seconded their request. Other calamities soon befel Ragusa. A fire broke out in the palace; which, with the exception of the treasury and archives, was entirely destroyed; many were killed by the explosion of a powder magazine in the cellars; and this was followed by the plague, which in three years carried off 2000 people. The neighbouring states were also a source of anxiety to Ragusa. Bosnia had already become a Turkish province, divided into several *Sangiakates**; and the half of Herzegovina was overrun by the Osmanlis.

“ Anna, wife of Lazarus, despot of Servia †, with her children, the queens of Thomas and Stephen, Kings of Bosnia, the family of the Herzog and of his sons, those of Vladkovich and George Count of

* Or Beyliks, districts governed by a Bey (Bek), or Sangiak.

† Appendini, i. 307. But *Helena* was his wife, and *she* succeeded George. See Chapter IX.; and the Kings of Servia, in Appendix C.

Blagai, with several others, took refuge in the city, or territory, of Ragusa. Many also of the Imperial families of the Lascaris, the Comneni *, and the Palæologi, with other distinguished persons, fled from Greece, and found an asylum there."

The death of the Herzog, Stephen Cosaccia, who by his will nominated the Ragusan Senate his executors, brought fresh troubles on the Republic, owing to the dissensions among his heirs; who on every disputed point had recourse either to the Hungarians, or the Turks, to support their extravagant claims; till at length Essi Bek, Sangiak of Triconesi, marched through Herzegovina with a large force; and taking possession of Trebigne, Popovo, Castel Nuovo, Risano, and a portion of the Ragusan territory, appointed a governor over that part of the country, and expelled Vladislav and Vladko, the younger sons of the Herzog† Stephen. Thus terminated, after seven centuries, the tumultuous and unsettled rule of the Slavonians.

All hopes of extending their territory were now taken from the Ragusans, hemmed in by the Turks, whose religious scruples forbade their relinquishing a country they had once occupied, unless driven

* Appendini, i. 307. Gibbon says, "David, and the whole Comnenian race, were sacrificed to the jealousy or avarice of the Conqueror." Chap. lxxviii. A. D. 1461.

† From this title of Herzog, or "Duke," the Duchy of Santo Saba received the name of Herzegovina.

from it by force; and they were obliged to adopt a new course of policy. They therefore sought to propitiate the Sultan, and the most influential members of the divan, and established friendly intercourse with the pashas of neighbouring provinces; and having obtained permission from the Pope to trade with the infidels, their port soon became the emporium of Eastern commerce. The advantages Ragusa thus enjoyed soon increased public and private wealth; and it was to her flourishing condition that she was indebted, for the advances made in literature and the arts of refinement.

An event afterwards happened which brought the Ragusans once more in contact with the
A. D. 1484. Venetians. Some Ragusan ships having been forced by Cardinal Ippolito to take part in the war of Alfonso Duke of Ferrara, and the Venetian fleet being defeated, the Doge published a manifesto, condemning every Ragusan vessel that entered a Venetian port to pay 100 gold ducats as anchorage dues, and 20 per cent. on all merchandise, in addition to other imposts. This, which amounted to a prohibition to trade in Venetian harbours, induced the Ragusans to turn their attentions toward the Levant and the ocean; and large vessels were built to trade with Egypt, France, Spain, and England; while smaller ones were engaged in the traffic with Sicily, Puglia, and other parts of Italy.*

* Appendini, i. p. 214.

The manufacture of cloth was then established for the Italian and Turkish markets; and the very impediments raised by the ^{A.D. 1489, 1490.} Venetians were the means of promoting the commerce of Ragusa; which, under the protection of the Porte, was enabled to compete with Venice. A new treaty concluded with Alfonso King of Naples, and afterwards continued by his successors, also opened new outlets, entirely independent of the Venetians.

But an unexpected enemy at the Turkish court threatened the interests of Ragusa. The ^{A.D. 1493.} eldest son of Stephen Cosaccia, who had been educated at Ragusa, and was afterwards given up by his father as a hostage to Mahomet II., had abjured his faith, and had been raised to the rank of Pasha, under the name of Ahmet.* And thinking to intimidate the Ragusans, he put forward claims upon his father's property, and threatened them with the hostility of the Porte, if not immediately satisfied. In vain the Senate produced a written proof, signed by his own hand, of his having received all he was entitled to; in vain they appealed to the Emperor Frederic, and to Pope Alexander; Bajazet, though disposed to befriend the Ragusans, maintained the claims of his son-in-law; and no reasoning could satisfy him, until 100,000 sequins had been paid, to compromise the dispute.

The difficulties they had encountered tended to

* See the History in Chapter IX.

call forth the energies of the Ragusans; nor was this last quarrel with the Sultan without beneficial effects, as it secured to them still farther the protection of the Porte.

The Venetians, driven to extremities by the famous league of Cambray, revoked
A.D. 1500-1509. their edict of 1484 against the Ragusans, and granted them many commercial privileges; amply, and seasonably, compensating for the loss of five ships, which, with all other Christian vessels in the port of Alexandria, had been sequestered by "Aboonusr Gaur, Sultan of Egypt *," in retaliation for three taken from him by the knights of Rhodes." The plague afterwards broke

A.D. 1526. out at Ragusa, having been brought from Ancona in some woollen stuffs. Vainly the people vented their anger on the unfortunate merchant, who was carried through the city on a cart, and tortured: the contagion increased; and the Senate with all the inhabitants fled to Gravosa; leaving only 200 soldiers, and six of the nobles, in the works, and two galleys to guard the port. At length, after six months, and the death of 20,000 souls, it ceased most opportunely; enabling the survivors to prepare for the defence of their city against the Moors, who, with a fleet of twenty-four sail, entered the Adriatic, in the hope of surprising Ragusa; when meeting with a vigorous,

* This must have been Sultan El Ghóree, or perhaps Kaitbay, called El Ashraf Aboo'l Nusr e'Zaheree.

and unexpected, resistance, they gave up the attack, and retired from the Adriatic.

The advantages enjoyed by the Ragusans, in their trade with Spain, was now interrupted by the sudden displeasure of ^{A. D. 1531-1535.} Charles V.; in consequence of their having refused to comply with certain demands, made upon them by his brother, the Emperor Ferdinand. At Fiume and Segna, in Sicily, and throughout the kingdom of Naples, their ships and goods were sequestered; and it was not until great efforts had been made for a reconciliation, and their ships were required for his intended expedition against Tunis, that Charles recalled his manifesto, and restored to the Ragusans their former privileges.

It may be questioned whether the enmity, or the friendship, of the Spanish monarch was most injurious to Ragusa. During the several years that their vessels were in the service of Charles V. and his successors, more than 300 were sacrificed in the Spanish wars*; eighteen galleons were lost in the expedition against Tunis†; six only, out of

* Banduri gives a list of 178 ships lost in 70 years, from 1584 to 1654; besides the squadron under Martolossi and Mascibradi, lost in the war against the French and Dutch. Appendini, i. p. 216. note.

† So great was the number of men lost by the Ragusans in the storm, that it gave rise to the saying "three hundred Vincenzas widowed" "Trista Vizaa udovizaa;" and 300 women of that name, in the island of Mezzo, are said to have lost their husbands on that occasion. Though exaggerated, this

fourteen, were saved from the disastrous attempt upon Algiers, in the time of the famous Hassan Barbarossa *; and six others were lost, in a third expedition against Tripoli, under Duke Giovanni della Cerda.

The relations of the Republic with the Porte were, at this period, most favourable.

A.D. 1538.

Sultan Suleyman even condescended to inform the Senate of his victories over the Persians, and announced his benevolent disposition towards the Christians.† The friendship, however, of the Turks brought down upon Ragusa the ill-will of Ferdinand of Hungary, and other princes: Paul III. forbade the sale of arms and all military stores to the Ragusans; and, at the instigation of the Venetians, his legate requested them to unite against the Porte, and furnish five galleys, with 10,000 sequins for the expenses of the war.

Astonished at this request, the Senate promised to send an ambassador to Rome, and Clemente Ragnina, a man of great ability, was selected for the mission. The event fully justified their choice; the Pope engaged to pacify the Venetians and Hungarians; and Ragusa was freed from the hostile menaces of the Turks; who were preparing an army in Bosnia, to counteract the suspected indecision of the Senate.

Though Ragusa was now on friendly terms with shows how large must have been the population of that island, and how great the injury it sustained.

* He was a Sardinian renegade.

† Appendini, p. 312., *says* he founded a church, and convent.

Charles V. and the Pope, it was not without anxiety that she beheld the arrival of their fleet at Ragusa Vecchia; and the depredations, committed by a detached squadron on the Isle of Mezzo, justified their apprehensions. The Patriarch of Aquileia, who was commander-in-chief, made every excuse for the insult, and requited the inhabitants for the losses they had sustained; but on the return of the unsuccessful expedition of the allies from Prevesa to the Gulf of Cattaro, the Ragusan territory was again seriously threatened; and the Venetians advised an attack upon Ragusa as the ally of the Turks. This was opposed by Doria the admiral, and by Gonzaga, Viceroy of Naples; who maintained that the Pope and the Emperor wished hostilities to be directed solely against the Infidels, and not against a Christian state; and it was finally resolved that they should attack Castel Nuovo.

Thirteen thousand infantry were accordingly landed, with twenty-two pieces of cannon; and thirty Spaniards were put on board each Venetian ship, at the suggestion of Doria and of Gonzaga, who attributed to the Venetians the failure of their late expedition. The town was besieged by land and sea; breaches were speedily made in the walls; and the Turkish commandant fled in the night, with 200 horse, to the hills, leaving the city with 1800 people to the mercy of the Christians.

On hearing of this event, the Ragusans sent ambassadors to request the admiral to respect their

territory. They were received with courtesy; and being informed by Doria that Vincenzo Capello, and Marco Grimani had designs against their liberty, intelligence was despatched to Ragusa; where preparations were immediately made, for resisting any attempts against the city. All the buildings of the suburbs, from St. Giacomo to the three churches, were pulled down, and the trees and gardens were destroyed. They also took another effectual precaution. Doria was requested by the Senate, to allow his engineer to build the fortress called Mincetta, to strengthen the Rivellino, and to alter the eastern gate.

No sooner had the fleet sailed from Castel Nuovo, than the Spanish garrison pillaged the
A.D. 1539. territory of the Canali, carried off the inhabitants, and committed far greater excesses than the Turks, or the Slavonians; and in addition to these, and other misfortunes, which then befel the Ragusans, was the capture of several vessels at Ragusa Vecchia by the Venetians. But the refusal of Sultan Suleyman to listen to any overtures of peace from the Doge, until the Ragusan ships had been restored, and the re-capture of Castel Nuovo by the redoubtable Barbarossa, relieved the Ragusans from their difficulties, and from the presence of troublesome neighbours.

Peace was at length settled between Suleyman and the Venetians, and Ragusa seemed to
A.D. 1545. be free from all cause of anxiety; when

the French, in their hostility to the Spaniards, prevailed on the Sultan to invade Sicily and the kingdom of Naples; and the Turkish fleet returned into the Adriatic under the famous Dragut, and soon afterwards entered the waters of Ragusa. Anxious to court the good will of the Ottoman admiral, the Ragusans loaded him with presents; and he promised, in return, to respect their flag; but, while ravaging the coasts of Puglia and Calabria, he seized several Ragusan ships, and having taken out their cargoes turned them adrift. In vain the Senate appealed to the Sultan; Dragut was master of the fleet; and the Ragusans, in order to avoid him, sought other outlets for their trade, in the Mediterranean, and the A. D. 1555. ocean. They then joined the king of Spain, in an attack on Tripoli and Gerbi; and found, too late, that it would have been better to expose themselves, in the Adriatic, and the Archipelago, to Turkish corsairs, or Venetian cruisers.

Uluz-Ali having soon afterwards occupied the Isle of Chio, by order of Suleyman, entered the Adriatic with 134 sail, and inflicted A. D. 1566. dreadful ravages on the islands and coast of Dalmatia, carrying off men and women into captivity. On this occasion, the Senate of Ragusa gave a noble proof of humanity; and succeeded, partly by entreaty, and partly by money, in rescuing the Dalmatians from slavery, and restoring them to their country: those, too, who chose to remain at Ragusa

found an asylum there, and the orphans, who had lost their parents and their homes, were maintained at the expense of the state. It was at this period that the towers were erected on the islands and the sea coast, which are still seen in various parts of the country.

While Sultan Selim was preparing to attack the kingdom of Cyprus, the Turkish fleet
A.D. 1570. re-entered the Adriatic, and pillaged the coast of Dalmatia. The Ragusans were again alarmed; and their fears were increased by the displeasure of Selim, at their friendship for Philip II. They succeeded, however, by presents and negotiation, in regaining the good will of the Sultan; and the Turkish fleet shortly after sailed for the Archipelago.

These frequent alarms induced the Ragusans to make further additions to the defences of their city: the fort of Sta. Margarita was erected on the south side; and while the other works were in progress, Giovanni Flori was despatched to Philip II., to beg him to receive the Republic under his protection. Their cause, warmly advocated by Pope Pius V., received a still further recommendation, in their conduct to Marc' Antonio Colonna, the admiral of the Papal and Spanish fleets, and to Sforza Pallavicini, the Venetian general, whom they saved from shipwreck: and they were yet more remarkable for their generosity, in the protection given to the Venetian captain, Francesco Trono,

when pursued by the redoubtable Karakooch *; for not only did they prefer exposing their coast to the resentment of the Turks, rather than refuse a stranger the protection of a neutral port, but they even paid a ransom for his safety.

On the conclusion of the league between the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Venetians, the Ragusan Senate, recollecting ^{A.D. 1571.} the injuries inflicted by the allies in the time of Paul III., commissioned their envoy Gondola, to solicit the Pope and the other princes, to respect the Ragusan territory, and prevent any acts of aggression, during the voyage of the combined fleets. A clause was therefore introduced into the treaty, "that no hostility should be committed against the Republic of Ragusa, or its territory, without positive orders from the Pope, for some great reason."

The welcome reception given to the allied fleet, at Ragusa, after their victory of Lepanto, once more excited the animosity of the ^{A.D. 1572.} Osmanlis; the country was invaded by large bodies of troops from Bosnia, and some Turkish corsairs pillaged the Isle of Meleda. But the good understanding between the Ragusans and the Sultan was soon restored; and that city was selected by him as the place, where, after the Spaniards had lost Tunis and Goletta, an

* Karakooch, "the eagle," literally "the black bird." Karagios, the Turkish "punch," signifies "the black eye."

interchange of prisoners should be made. More than sixty Christians of distinction, and
A. D. 1573. an equal number of Turks, among whom were several *Sangiaks*, arrived at Ragusa; and, being introduced into the chamber of the Grand Council, received from the Rettore the announcement of their liberation.

The religious movement in Germany began to find some partisans in Ragusa, at this period, particularly among the literati, whom Appendini considers "always the first to favour such changes;" when the prompt measures of the Senate suppressed the growing spirit of innovation, and the Ragusan clergy congratulated themselves on being relieved from the fear of religious schism.

The attachment of the Ragusans to the interests of Spain again doomed them to severe
A. D. 1580. losses; and forty of their largest ships, sent to aid in the conquest of Portugal, were wrecked in a violent storm off the port of Lisbon. Ragusa was also subject, about this time, to another vexation. The *Uscocs**, who originally combined together for the purpose of attacking the Osmanlis, during the wars against Suleyman and Selim, and who, afterwards, under the protection of the House of Austria assailed both Christians and Turks, had established the most artful and vexatious system of piracy throughout the Adriatic. The Ragusans, as early as 1535, had been obliged to

* See the end of the History in Chapter IX.

arm several gallies and gun-boats, in the Gulf of Narenta, and had built a small fort at Stagno Piccolo, with a view to check their depredations, and rid the sea of their presence; and whenever any one of them was taken prisoner he was put to death. In one of these encounters, the father of a certain Giorge Danizzich, one of the voivodas of Segna, was killed; and all the Uscocs united to avenge his death. The Senate therefore sent two captains to Punta in 1577, and armed the whole peninsula; till at length, the losses in life and property becoming serious, they appealed to Gregory XIII.; who, finding that persuasion was useless with these lawless marauders, sent for Danizzich to Rome, and assigning him a pension, prevailed on the Uscocs to desist from piracy against the Ragusan flag.

No sooner was this settled, than the Lagostans, under pretence that their privileges were infringed, rebelled, and resolved on giving ^{A. D. 1602.} themselves up to the Venetians; but Serafino Zama, count, or governor, of the island, apprised of their intentions by some fishermen of Gravosa, with timely address secured the castle, and overawed the people. A strong force was also sent from Ragusa; and the Venetian fleet perceiving, from the standard of St. Biagio on the castle, that their partisans were discovered, retired to Curzola; and when complaints were made to the Provveditore of this breach of faith, he denied any sinister inten-

tions on the part of the Venetians, and pretended that the presence of the fleet was only to prevent any disorders, of which the Uscocs might take advantage.

It was not long before the inroads of those pirates again became a subject of anxiety
A. D. 1612. to the Ragusans. Landing in the Valley of the Ombla, they had made forays as far as Cattaro, pillaged Trebigne, and retired with their booty to the Narenta; eluding the pursuit of the soldiers sent to intercept their return; when the Turks, holding the Ragusans responsible for the violation of their territory, threatened to take possession of the plain of Canali. The Senate did all in its power to deprecate the anger of the Porte, and, at the same time that it offered every excuse and explanation, sent envoys to Fiume, requesting the interference of the Imperial authority, to prevent the recurrence of similar outrages. But this representation met no better success than that of the Pope, and of the Venetians; and when the war broke out between the Duke of Savoy and Venice on one side, and Philip III. and Ferdinand on the other, the Uscocs were taken into pay to act against the Venetians.

The Ragusans, on that occasion, declared in favour of Spain. Little, however, occurred worthy of note during the war. The Duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, sent a fleet into the Adriatic; and Venice made great preparations

against Austria and Spain; but the mediation of France adjusted the differences between Philip and the Duke of Savoy, and a reconciliation being effected between Austria and Venice, peace was signed in 1617; by which it was agreed that the piracies of the Uscocs should be suppressed, and Ferdinand was obliged to remove this horde of miscreants from Segna, into the interior of Croatia.*

The friendship of the Turks was still maintained towards Ragusa; and the momentary displeasure of Abbas Pasha of Bosnia was A.D. 1621. speedily converted into good-will to the Republic. The advantages of Turkish protection were indeed often felt by the Ragusans; and though humiliating to a Christian state, which was obliged to send a deputation, headed by a noble, to congratulate every new Pasha of Bosnia on his accession, the benefits their commerce derived from it compensated for the degradation. The external relations of the Republic with other powers were equally satisfactory; trade flourished, and the Ragusans were enjoying all the blessings of peace and industry; when, in the morning of the 6th of April, 1667, a calamity happened, by which their city was nearly all destroyed.

The calm stillness of the atmosphere was little suspected to be an indication of approaching danger; and the terrors of an earth- A.D. 1667.

* See the History, A.D. 1596, and the end of Chapter IX.

quake were only announced by the effects of the sudden shock itself, which destroyed every building except the fortresses, the lazaretto, and some edifices of solid construction. The sun had scarcely risen two hours; the inhabitants were mostly in their houses, or at prayers in the churches; and 5000 individuals were in an instant buried beneath the ruins. The crash of falling walls, the rocking of the earth, the groans of the dying, and the tears of those who had escaped, presented a scene of horror and dismay.* The ships in the port were dashed against each other, the sea rose to an unusual height, the wells were dried up, and a dense cloud of sand filled the air. No one felt secure; the dread of a second shock appalled the boldest; and fear only subsided, to give place to grief, for the death or sufferings of relatives and friends. All had to lament the loss of some one who was dear to them; and the deaths of the Rettore Ghetaldi and other distinguished citizens were felt to be a public misfortune. Nine tenths of the clergy were killed; and a whole school of boys, who some days afterwards were heard to cry for water, beneath the fallen walls, perished miserably, without the means of rescue. Smaller shocks continued at intervals; many persons fled to Gravósa; and so great was the fear of approaching the

* This calamity has been described by Giacomo Palmotta, of Ragusa, in an Illyric poem, which is much esteemed. See Appendini, vol. ii. p. 268.

ruins and tottering walls, that none thought of extinguishing the fires, that had been kindled among the fallen rafters of the houses, and the public ovens. A strong wind springing up spread the flames in every direction; and no sooner had the fire ceased, than a band of Morlacchi, who had come to the market, began to pillage whatever the fire had spared; while the inhabitants, intent upon their own safety, or engaged in assisting their friends, were unable to interfere; and those who ventured to oppose them were murdered, for defending the property they had saved.

The Senate, in the mean time, neglected no duty of humanity required at such a moment; and every effort was made to check disorder, and repair the calamity. The gates were shut, to exclude other bands of Morlacchi, who were coming from the hills; and measures were immediately taken, to rescue the wounded from the ruins.

Confidence was at length restored; and the people, encouraged by the advice and example of the nobles, having overcome the first impulse of fear, which had suggested the abandonment of their city, made every effort to rebuild their habitations. Four families only followed the example of the archbishop; who, with some monks, and numerous nuns, fled to Ancona.

It may, however, be doubted whether the rebuilding of the city in the same spot, which had been the scene of this and other similar catastrophes,

was a prudent step. The city had been before visited by a violent earthquake, in 1520, which continued during twenty months; another happened in 1639; and this, of 1667, occurring after so short an interval, might be thought to justify any apprehensions for the future; and it is certain that the country about Gravósa offered many more eligible sites for a city; having hitherto been secure from the effects of earthquakes, and being far better suited for defence, since the invention of artillery, than the commanded position of Ragusa.

The sympathies of all the neighbouring states were enlisted in favour of the Ragusans, at this critical moment; and Clement IX. used all his influence to protect and assist them. Kara Mustafa alone, the savage conqueror of Cyprus, insensible to their sufferings, threatened, under the pretext of imaginary claims, to attack the rising city. In vain were four of the most distinguished citizens* of Ragusa sent to Silistria and Constantinople, to plead for their compatriots: they were treated with the insolence habitual to a barbarian despot; and were detained in prison for several months. Kara Mustapha then, on his departure for the siege of Vienna, repeated his threats, which he promised to fulfil after the capture of the Austrian capital; but his opportune death freed Ragusa from these apprehensions, and a prospect seemed to

A.D. 1683.

* Nicolo Bona, and Marino Gozze to Silistria, and Marino Caboza and Vladislav Buchia to Constantinople.

open for the enjoyment of her previous tranquillity ; when the league between the Emperor Leopold, the King of Poland, and Venice, under the auspices of Innocent XI., once more disquieted the Senate.

The presence of a fleet, cruising in the neighbouring sea, and of a land force at Castel Nuovo, Subzi, and Zarina, garrisoned by Haiduks, were serious obstacles to the commerce of Ragusa, and to the safety of her territory. At length, the treaty of Carlovitz in 1699, and of Passarovitz in 1718, restored the amicable relations of the Republics of Venice and Ragusa ; and it was stipulated in a separate article * that, “ in order not to impede the intercourse between the dominions of the Grand Signor and the state of Ragusa, the Venetians should evacuate Popovo, Zarina, Subzi, and other places in the vicinity, and a free communication should be left between the territories of the Porte and of Ragusa, on the side of Risano.”

From this time the history of Ragusa offers little of interest † ; few events interrupted its career ; and the condition of its existence having been settled between the Venetians and Turks, the previous causes of quarrel were removed ; and Ragusa was left to enjoy its liberty, and its commerce, without molestation.

But at the beginning of the present century its

* In the ninth article ; and the same was less clearly inserted in the second article of the treaty of Carlovitz.

† See Von Engel's History of Ragusa, pp. 262. 266. 269. 277. 280.

liberty, and its very existence as a state, were destined to be overthrown, by a people whose interference distance might have rendered improbable, and whose efforts to establish free institutions might have been supposed to proclaim them the friends, rather than the enemies, of liberty in other countries.

The territory of Ragusa was entered in 1806 by the French, the city was occupied by their army, and though the Ragusans had refused admission to the Russians, the enemies of France, and had abstained from every act that could be construed into hostility to her, their independence and liberty were disregarded, and their republic was suppressed.

This was not their only misfortune.

The inability of the French to protect the state, they had thus "annexed," brought grievous calamities on the Ragusans, whose country was exposed to the horrors of war, and was left a prey to the desolating inroads of the worst of enemies, the relentless Montenegrins; and it was not till the property of this prosperous and industrious people had been sacrificed by land and sea, that they were fully aware of the consequences of a nominal "protection," or sensible of the wise and patriotic advice of their illustrious countryman, Count Caboga.

These events, and the operations consequent upon the retreat of the Russians and Montenegrins from the Ragusan territory, belong more properly

to the general history of Dalmatia* ; but one circumstance relating particularly to Ragusa happened in the beginning of 1814, when the city was taken from the French, by the united arms of the English and the Austrians.

This was done without loss ; and though the French kept up a heavy fire from all the works, they no sooner found that the English guns had been dragged up the mountain, and placed in battery against Fort Imperial, than they surrendered by capitulation ; and Ragusa from that time has formed part of the Austrian province of Dalmatia.

The form of Government † at Ragusa was an aristocratic republic ; which, after the year 1204, when first governed by a Venetian Count, was assimilated to that of Venice ; the state consisting of three councils, and the inhabitants being divided into three classes, the nobles or patricians, the commons, and the artisans ; which last had no share in the government. The commons, or citizens, consisted of the two fraternities, of St. Antonio, and St. Lazzaro ; and the members were eligible to various public offices, on the nomination of the Senate.

The *Great, or General, Council*, included all the nobles, above the age of eighteen, and had the privilege of appointing the *Rettore*, or Chief of the

* See the History.

† Appendini, vol. i. p. 185—190.

Republic, who was nominated to his post on the 25th of every month, as well as of electing the new, and of confirming the old, members of the Senate. Annually, on the 15th of December, it selected the magistrates for the city, and the districts; and it confirmed the laws, condemned to death, and performed other duties of government.

The second council, called the *Pregati*, or the *Senate*, was composed of forty-five members, or senators. Its authority was of such importance that no appeal was allowed from its decisions: it imposed taxes and duties, consulted on all the most important affairs of the state, received appeals in civil cases, appointed ambassadors, made peace and war, sent commissioners every three years to the districts, proclaimed new laws, and regulated every thing connected with political and fiscal matters. It met four times every week, and two at a later period, and also whenever any peculiar emergency required.

The *select*, or *lesser*, *Council*, composed of seven senators and the *Rettore*, held not only the executive power over the ordinary, and extraordinary, branches of public administration, which were fixed by the Great Council and the *Pregati*, but decided civil and political, as well as minor criminal, cases. Its office was to execute the laws of the senate, to manage the correspondence with foreign powers, and the governors of the state; affixing to them the public seal, and signing them with the name

of "*the Rettore and Councillors of the Republic of Ragusa.*" It also gave audiences to foreign ambassadors, to the archbishop, and the ministers of religion, as well as to foreigners of distinction ; it received appeals, and petitions for the other councils, superintended the good order of the state, and brought before the Senate all those questions, over which its authority did not extend. It continued in office one year ; and its functions may be said to correspond to those of a sovereign.

The chief of the Republic, who was at first called *Priore*, then *Count*, and afterwards *Rettore*, continued in office one month, during which time he resided in the palace, and only appeared in public on particular occasions. In his charge were the keys of the city, and all the public documents : and his duty was to convoke the Great Council, and that of the *Pregati*, and to propose subjects for their discussion ; though he was only entitled to one vote, like every other senator.

Among the chief magistrates, the three *Provveditori* of the Republic held a very exalted position ; and their office continued for one year. Superior to all others, except the Great Council and that of the *Pregati*, they had the power of suspending the laws, or their execution, until a cause had been re-examined by the Senate ; and their duty was to prevent any thing being done contrary to the Constitution.

Criminal cases were decided by a tribunal com-

posed of four members ; with the right of appeal to the three Provveditori, who, after examining the evidence, submitted it to the Senate ; and when the affair was complicated, the judges themselves often referred it to the Pregati. Civil causes were judged by a tribunal composed of four members, called "*Consoli delle cause civili*."

The public treasury was administered by three persons, styled "*Tesorieri di Sta. Maria* ;" and the Mint, the health office, and other departments had their respective boards : the members of which were only chosen from the Senators.

Of the offices of second rank, the most important was that called "*delle Cinque Ragioni*," the duty of which was to check public accounts.

There were also many more of the first and second class, connected with the custom-house and excise, weights and measures, the supply of water, police, public safety, and other matters : but all persons employed in the various departments were chosen by votes of the Senate ; so that not only was the government aristocratic, but every employment was dependent on the Patricians, and those they nominated. But the abuses that crept into the Venetian Republic were happily unknown in Ragusa ; the patriotic conduct of the nobles prevented that discord, arising from the clashing interests of the aristocracy and people, which occasioned such incessant feuds in other Republics ; and with the exception of the attempted usurpation

of Damiano Juda, and a dispute between the old and new *noblesse*, in 1763, nothing occurred to disturb the general harmony of all classes at Ragusa. The position, however, of this state, exposed it to constant alarms ; surrounded as it was by troublesome neighbours, and subject alternately to the intrigues and ambition of Venice, the unsettled and discordant projects of the Slavonian princes, the unstable friendship of the Hungarians, the selfish views of the Spaniards, and the capricious insolence of the Turks, to the ignominy of whose protection the hostility of Venice obliged it to submit ; and the whole career of the Ragusan Republic was a struggle for self-preservation, and the maintenance of its independence in the midst of constant danger.

But by her judicious policy, Ragusa succeeded in securing her own liberty, and even afforded at all times an asylum to the unfortunate, with a noble disregard for the menaces of an offended and powerful neighbour ; and for two centuries she was the medium of communication between the states of Christian Europe and the Turks.

Commerce.—Ragusa was noted, from a very early time, for its *commerce*. Its position, the limited extent of the lands fit for cultivation, and the consequent necessity of supplying the various wants of the inhabitants from abroad, made it dependent on trade ; and Porphyrogenitus shows that, as early as 868, its vessels were sufficiently numerous to

transport the Slavonians and other troops, in the expedition against Bari, from Dalmatia to the coast of Italy.

In 980, a Ragusan ship was captured by the Venetians, having a cargo worth 25,000 ducats; and, in 997, another of about half that value; which shows the state of its trade at that time, and the early rivalry of those two republics. In 1080 the Ragusans assisted Guiscard with two armed gallies, when he defeated the forces of Alexius Comnenus and the Doge Domenico Silvio near Durazzo; and in 1240 a treaty was made with the Almissans, which proves that the Ragusan commerce already extended to the eastern, and western, shores of the Mediterranean.

From that time their trade continued to increase: and, in the fifteenth century, it assumed an imposing character; which was promoted by the permission, from the Holy See, to trade with the Infidels.

The friendly relations, existing between the Ragusans and the Porte, enabled them to enjoy an undisturbed traffic, when other flags were exposed to the depredations of the Moslems; much of the carrying trade fell into their hands; and the privilege they obtained by treaty, to receive into their port ships of states at war with the Porte, conferred a great benefit on the commerce of Ragusa.

With Spain their trade was on a very great scale; and from the number of ships lost when in alliance with that country, some idea may be

formed of the extent of the mercantile navy of Ragusa ; more than 300 captains, with their vessels, having been at various periods in the service of Charles V. and his successors.

They also traded with the English, and Dutch ; and some of their ships went to India, and the American coast. With the Dutch they had intimate commercial relations ; and the advantages they enjoyed in England are shown by a letter written to the Senate by Cromwell, who granted them numerous commercial privileges in every English port. There are also some interesting letters of Archbishop Beccatello to Cardinal Pole, published by Cardinal Quirini, in which he recommends to his friendly offices the Ragusan merchants settled in England.

Many of their ships were of great size, and the name Argosies, or Ragosies*, was derived from the large merchant ships of Ragusa. But the increasing trade of the Dutch and English inflicted great injuries on that of Ragusa ; and, after the great earthquake of 1667, its marine consisted of little more than *trabaccoli*, and small craft. Soon after this, it revived, for a short period ; and during the siege of Gibraltar great profit was made by the Ragusans ; since which time it has undergone various changes ; and Ragusa, unable to compete with a port that enjoys so many privileges as Trieste, has

* Appendini, vol. i. p. 214. who quotes Ricaut.

now not more than seven brigs, and the whole *circolo* has scarcely forty vessels, of sufficient size to trade with the Levant, and other distant countries. The manufactures too of Ragusa no longer flourish; and they are confined to silk handkerchiefs, and a few unimportant articles.

The *land trade* of Ragusa, with its eastern neighbours, was not less prosperous than its maritime commerce. The fickleness of the Slavonic princes, though at first a disadvantage, was ultimately a benefit to the Ragusans, as it led them to look for commercial intercourse with the Levant; but when the Turks were settled in Bosnia, the trade with the interior received a fresh impulse; and this was increased by Ragusa becoming the point of contact between Egypt, Syria, Barbary, and the Western Turks. Caravans visited the city to receive from, and pour into, it numerous exports and imports; among which were hides, wax, wool, silks, and stuffs of various kinds; and it derived a great profit from its cloth, and other woollen fabrics established at Ragusa* in 1490, as well as from the silk looms, introduced from Tuscany in 1530, and from oil, coral, glass, salt, shoes, and various manufactures.

Such was the flourishing condition of the city that it contained, with the suburbs, 40,000 inhabitants†; and its importance, as a place of commerce,

* See above, p. 329., and Appendini, i. pp. 210. 226.

† The whole *commune* has now only 6318 inhabitants.

is fully proved by the well-known wealth of its merchants, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by the number of its trading ships and other vessels, and by the sums expended by the state at various periods.

Education. — The care bestowed on *education* in Ragusa rendered the people greatly superior to the Dalmatians under Venetian rule; who were purposely kept in ignorance, by the narrow policy of that government; and in order to enable their sons to enjoy all the benefits of the best instruction, it was customary for parents to send them to the universities of Italy. The consequences of this intercourse with Italy were, that the Ragusans spoke better Italian than any other people in Dalmatia, were more refined in manners, and more distinguished in literary and scientific pursuits.

Of their character, Watkins, an unbiassed authority, gives a very favourable picture. He lauds the conduct of the nobles, and upper classes; to whom he attributes all the qualities that result from a love of virtue, and a refined education, unalloyed by the vices and deceit, common to people in immediate contact with foreigners. And distinguished for learning without ostentation, and for great politeness and hospitality without envy, they appeared to him to have so few defects, that he scrupled not to pronounce them the best and happiest community, with which he was acquainted.

In literature and science, the Ragusans have indeed held a very conspicuous position: as the names of the mathematicians Ghetaldi, Boscovich, and Gradi, and of the historians Tuberone, Cerva, and Banduri fully testify. Bona, Benessa, Saraca, Giorgio, the Cabogas, Luccari, Stay, and many more, were remarkable for their talents; the Bobalis, Giorgi, Bune, and others, were celebrated in the armies and fleets of the Republic; and Ragusa boasts several poets, whose names and works are still popular in the country. Of these the most distinguished was Gian-Francesco-Gondola*, author of the *Osmanide*, a Slavonic (or Illyric) poem in twenty cantos, describing the wars of the Turks and Poles, in 1622. He is looked upon as the Homer of their language; and was greatly superior to Giorgi, Palmotta, or any other who followed, or preceded, him.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the men of talent, whose names are celebrated by their countrymen; but I must not omit to mention that Ragusa also produced some women, distinguished in the world of letters; the most noted of whom was Floria Zuzzeri. She was born about 1555, and in 1577 married an Italian noble, Bartolomeo Pescioni, of Florence; where, as at Ragusa, she

* Gondola died in 1638, at the age of fifty. See Appendini, ii. pp. 233. 262. A work is now publishing at Ragusa of all the distinguished natives of that city, with portraits.

established her reputation for poetry, and the taste of a highly cultivated mind.

The celebrated Ghetaldi, and Boscovich deserve more particular notice, having held so distinguished a place among the mathematicians and philosophers of Europe.

Marino Ghetaldi was born at Ragusa in 1566, of a noble family, originally from Tarentum. At an early age he was sent to Rome, and then to Paris, where he continued his studies under François Vieta. He afterwards travelled, in order to become acquainted with the learned men of his time, visiting Germany, Belgium, France, and England; in which last country he remained two years.

Among his principal friends were Clavio, Cardinal Olivario, Pinelli, and Fra Paolo Sarpi. Of a most estimable disposition, he had all the virtues that adorn a private individual, and all the talents required for a public man; and his maxim, "*malim scire quam nosci, discere quam docere*," shows the unpretending modesty of his character. His principal works are Promotus Archimedes, on the Gravity of Bodies: 2. Some Propositions on the Parabola, first discovered and published in 1603: 3. Apollonius Redivivus: 4. Supplementum Apollonii Galli: 5. A Collection of various Problems: and, 6. De Resolutione et Compositione Mathematicâ (lib. 8.), a posthumous work published at Rome in 1630, seven years before the Algebra of Descartes. It is this which gives him so high a

position, as a mathematician. "Descartes is always considered to have been the first to introduce the application of algebra to geometry, and he was doubtless the first to apply the analyses to curves, and to demonstrate their properties, constructing equations above the second degree with the intersection of the same curves; but it is equally certain, that the first step* was made by Ghetaldi†, in the construction of equations of the first and second degrees."‡

Ghetaldi is said also to have been preparing, at the time of his death, two other works, on the Burning Glass, and the Rays of Vision, and Light, and the Rainbow.

It was from the experiments he made, to verify the use of burning glasses by Archimedes, that his fame has been preserved among the common people of Ragusa; who, recording the tradition of his having burnt a boat by those means, speak of him as the Magician Bété; and the cave on the shore, near Ragusa, to which he often retired, has hence received the name of Spilla Betina.§ He died in 1624, at the age of fifty-eight.

Ruggiero Guiseppe Boscovich, one of the most eminent mathematicians and philosophers of Europe, was born at Ragusa in 1711. He was the

* This was also due to François Vieta, who wrote in 1600.

† They also ascribe to him the invention of the telescope.

‡ Appendini, vol. ii. p. 47.

§ See above, p. 271.

son of Nicolo Boscovich and Paola Betera, both citizens of Ragusa.

His parents, preferring the old rigorous mode of education, consigned him to the care of the Jesuits; and after completing his studies at Rome, his learning became so well known, that John V. of Portugal applied to him to survey a portion of Brazil, and to measure a degree of the Meridian, in order to combine with that of Quito, determined by the French academicians. But Cardinal Gonzaga, unwilling that he should quit Rome, employed him on the same service, in the Pontifical states; where he was also consulted, respecting the best means of remedying some deficiencies in the support of the dome of St. Peter's; and was made a member of the commission, appointed to devise the best plan for draining the Pontine marshes.

He afterwards visited Vienna and Paris; and in 1759 came to England, on a mission from Ragusa.

The English, suspecting that the Ragusans had permitted some French ships to be fitted out in their port, had made representations against this supposed infringement of their neutrality; and Boscovich was commissioned by the Senate, to assure the British government that their apprehensions were groundless, and to convince them of the good faith of the Republic. After he had fulfilled these duties, he remained here three years; during which time he became acquainted with Dr. Johnson; by whom his talents do not appear to have

been so well understood, or appreciated, as by the Royal Society. Received by the President (Lord Macclesfield) and the Council, with the greatest distinction, he was elected a Fellow of the Society*; and he was afterwards invited to accompany the scientific party, sent to California in 1769, to observe the transit of Venus over the sun's disk. To his extreme regret, he was obliged to decline the invitation, as all Jesuits had been forbidden the Spanish dominions, and as his mission required him to go back to Ragusa; and his attempt to reach Constantinople, in time for the same observation, was also unsuccessful.

Preferring the land journey to a voyage by sea, he returned, with the British ambassador, through the provinces of the ancient Illyricum; and in 1764 revisited Italy, where he accepted the chair of Mathematics, in the University of Pavia; and, four years afterwards, held, for a short time, the post of Professor of Optics and Astronomy, at Milan.

On the final suppression of the Jesuits, in 1773, Boscovich resolved on going to Paris, at the invitation of the Comte de Vergennes, minister of foreign affairs, whom he had known at Constantinople; and he became one of the directors of optics, in the service of the French navy, with a salary of 8000 livres; till, being offended at Bouguer's obtaining the merit of inventing his method

* He dedicated a *Poem* on Eclipses to the Royal Society.

for calculating the orbits of comets, he left that city in 1783; and four years afterwards died at Milan, on the 13th of February 1787, at the age of seventy-six.

The writings of Boscovich, on mechanics, hydrodynamics, physics, optics, astronomy, and different philosophical and mathematical subjects, are surprising for their variety, and the great knowledge they display; and he was one of the first who adopted the Newtonian system on the Continent, which he introduced at Rome in 1743. His dissertation (published in 1736) *de Maculis Solaribus* is also much esteemed; in which is given, for the first time, the geometrical solution of the astronomical problem of the Equator and rotation of the sun; determined by three observations of a spot.

His Latin poetry was remarkable for great elegance and force; and he had the singular talent of giving the details of positive science and calculation, in his verse compositions; but the work, for which he has acquired the greatest celebrity, is his "new system of natural philosophy, which has occupied much of the attention of the learned, and which alone will render his name immortal." *

Reflecting on the past history of Ragusa, every one who visits it must be impressed with the

* A long notice of this work, and of his life, is given in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Nearly all the above is extracted from Appendini, who also gives a full account of his life and writings. Vol. ii. pp. 50—64.

melancholy state, to which it is now reduced. So great is the decrease in the number of its inhabitants, that they do not exceed 6318* in the whole commune; and the quantity of shipping, that once visited its port, is diminished in a similar ratio. The streets look deserted; grass grows between the stones; and the absence of that activity, which indicates a flourishing trade, sadly contrasts with the evident signs of its ancient prosperity, in the style of its buildings.

Notwithstanding the fallen condition of the city, the people bear the mark of their former superiority; but whatever may be its present, or future, fate, the hospitable protection given by Ragusa to the unfortunate must ever be, for an *Englishman*, a high claim to respect; and that Republic may justly be proud of a history, marked by generous and noble actions, and a career unsullied, to the last, by the corruptions of a declining state. Their language, though gradually falling into the Venetianisms of the other Dalmatian towns, still retains some of that pure Italian idiom, for which it was always noted; they have still a taste for literature; and the libraries of Ragusa are supplied with good, and even rare, works.

The main street, called the Corso, is about 1000 feet in length, extending in a straight line through

* Of these only 279 are Greeks, and 146 Jews. According to Carrara, there are only nineteen more Greeks, in the whole *circolo* of Ragusa.

the town, from the western, to the sea, gate. It is of proportionate width, with a commodious side pavement, and the houses are regular and good, though of unpretending architecture. At the west end are the Church of the Redeemer, the Franciscan Convent, and a public fountain; and at the other extremity are the Clock-tower, the Custom-house, and a small *place* between them and the Cathedral. Another spacious street meets this at right angles, and extends from the Cathedral to the Palace.

The rest of the streets are narrow, and some have steps, as at Curzola; but they are not less clean and well paved, and some of them present very picturesque vistas. No indifference to cleanliness, so often observable in the south of Europe, shocks the stranger; no half-clothed beggar insists on charity by importunate demands, or forces compassion by an unsightly appearance of distress; and the decline of prosperity has not been allowed to induce, or permit, a display of poverty. The houses are strongly built, and of excellent stone; many have the handsome balconies, with treble windows, common in Venetian towns; and the general character of Ragusa is that of a neat and clean town. Before some of the smaller houses, in the back streets, are vines, trained over lattice work, which give them a cheerful appearance, and offer a melancholy contrast to the ruined walls of those destroyed by the great earthquake; several of them

having been left in the state to which they were then reduced, as if to record the entire destruction, or impoverishment, of the families, to whom they belonged.

No place offers more gloomy reminiscences of the effects of an earthquake than Ragusa; its very streets are paved with sad mementos of 1667; and the destruction of the town brought with it the downfall of its prosperity. Once every twenty years these awful visits are repeated; though none have occurred with the same fatal violence as in 1667; and the last, which happened on September 14. 1843*, followed by several small shocks, was not sufficient to injure any of the houses. But this frequent return of earthquakes shows the danger, to which Ragusa is always exposed; and the folly of not having removed to a safer and better spot is proved by the fact, that no shocks have, on any occasion, been felt either at Gravosa, or in the suburbs of the city. The principal buildings at Ragusa are the Palace, Custom-house, Cathedral, Franciscan Convent, the Jesuits, afterwards the *Schuole Pie*, and many other churches and convents, which are so numerous that they occupy a very large portion of the whole city. In no place indeed is the profusion of sacred buildings greater than at Ragusa; and when it is re-

* At 5 P.M. the atmosphere serene, a few small clouds, wind E.N.E. and N.W., barometer $28\cdot5\frac{1}{2}$, thermometer 19° Rr. $74\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ Fah^t.

membered that every noble family had its own chapel, we cease to wonder at the number, or at the merit claimed by the Ragusans, of being "the supporters of religion, and the authority of the clergy."

The Palace, which is in the Florentine style, is interesting from its associations; having existed during the most flourishing days of the Republic. It was the residence of the chief of the state, called at different times Priore, Conte, and Rettore; and is now occupied by the Capo Circolare, or Governor of the district, of Ragusa.

The original building was nearly all destroyed by the great fires, which happened in 1023*, 1296†, and 1459; so that it does not date previous to the fifteenth century, no portion of it having been saved from the last fire, except the treasury and archives. It withstood the earthquake of 1667, which only destroyed the roof and first floor; but some even of the lower part seems to be as late as the sixteenth century; to which time I should ascribe the columns, supporting the arched corridor of the entrance front; in opposition to the popular belief that "they were brought from Epidaurus,

* Luccari says on the 21st of March, the feast of St. Benedetto, when nearly all the city was destroyed. The church and convent of that saint were vowed at that time, and afterwards built on the Isle of Diomeda, now Tremidi; but according to Appendini, the architect was brought from Tremidi, to build the church on the Isle of Lacroma.

† Farlati says 1297, and mentions the plague, in 1456.

where they belonged to the temple of Esculapius." Some go so far as to point out the Greek deity, on



one of the capitals, who is no other than a mortal alchemist, holding a book in one hand, and resting the other on a shelf, surrounded by bottles and various appurtenances of his craft, among which is an alembic, in the very act of distilling.* The other capitals ornamented with Cupids, or angels, and mouldings imitative of Greek style, sufficiently show the age to which they belong.

The court within is open in the centre, and sur-

* The art of distilling was introduced into Europe in 1150, by the Moors of Spain. A *still* in Arabic is called *dist* or *dust*. Alembic is also Arabic.

rounded by a corridor on arches. It has a handsome staircase on one side; and round the upper part runs another corridor; the whole very similar to some of the palaces of Italy. In this court is a bust of Michael Prazato (or Prazetz), of the Isle of Lopud*, who bequeathed a large sum of money to the Republic. It bears the date 1638.

Near it is a square kind of pillar, once used for supporting the flag-staff of the standard of St. Biagio, in the time of the Republic; and afterwards applied to a similar purpose by the Austrians, until January 6. 1824, when it was blown down by a storm. At the back is a groove for fastening the staff; at the sides are represented two Gothic windows, one over the other; and in front is the figure of a knight in *plate* armour, who is said to represent Roland, or Orlando. It formerly stood on the square, or *place*, before the custom-house and cathedral, near the sea gate†; and round it a small space was railed off, between four columns, where public edicts were proclaimed. The Ragusans say that it indicated the right of judgment, or of holding courts, and was a token of the supreme jurisdiction enjoyed by the city, as the capital of the province; a meaning attached to similar figures in Germany, which were also intended to denote the supreme civil authority, and the right of inflicting capital punishment; and were, in like manner, distinguished

* Or Isola di Mezzo.

† See Appendini, vol. i. p. 96—98.

by the name of Roland.* This peculiar symbol of civil jurisdiction is curious; but it is still more remarkable, that the favourite hero of German, French, and Italian romance, should have obtained the same traditional honours in Dalmatia.

The custom of hoisting the standard, on certain days, and occasions of public rejoicing, was common, not only in Ragusa, but at Venice and other towns; and the spot was generally a public square †, or an open space near the port.

The custom-house stands at the eastern extremity of the main street, close to the Porta Plocce, or seagate. It is built in the Venetian style, with a triple window in the centre, and single side windows, on the first floor; and before the entrance is a covered corridor on arches. The interior consists of an open court, with arches on columns on two sides, leading to several magazines, each of which is dedicated to a particular saint, whose name is written over the door. The office of the original custom-house is dedicated to "St. Michael the Archangel," with the motto "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's;" and over the arch at the upper end of the court, where all the goods were

* Appendini (p. 96.) quotes Grifiandr. Tract. de Weichbildis Saxonie. c. 73. "Idem fere statuis urbium Saxoniarum contigit, quæ cum primo Weichbildi dicerentur, ac jurisdictionem, sive territorium civitatis denotarent, factum est, ut imperita plebs videns colossos istos . . . Rulandos vulgo cognominaret."

† At Venice on the Piazza of St. Mark.

weighed, is a Latin inscription, relating to just weights, and ending "pondero cum merces ponderat ipse Deus."

Besides the custom-house, this building formerly contained the mint, which occupied the eastern side. The place is shown where the dies were fixed, at the end of a long room; and in an adjoining chamber they melted the metal. The whole is of very solid construction, the stones fastened together with lead; and it is one of the few buildings that survived the great earthquake of 1667. The cathedral is dedicated to St. Biagio, who seems to have succeeded St. Sergius, and St. Bacchus, as protector of Ragusa.* It is in the Italian style, not remarkable for its architecture; but rather for the numerous relics it contains.

The church and convent of the Franciscans are spacious, and the cloisters are handsome. I was indebted for much kindness to the superior, Padre Sebastiano Francovich, during my stay at Ragusa; and in the library of one of the monks was shown a collection of curious and rare books. The church adjoining it, called Chiesa del Redentore †, was founded in compliance with a vow, made by the nobles of Ragusa, during the earthquake of 1520.

* See above, p. 281. Farlati says this did not happen till about 1026; when the head of St. Biagio, or Blasius, was brought from Armenia, or from Cappadocia.

† Appendini says the Church of the Ascension was founded at that time by a vow of the nobles. Vol. i. p. 324. note.

In style it bears some resemblance, externally, to the Cathedral of Sebenico, though it is much smaller. Before it is a fountain, supplied by an aqueduct from Gionchetto, (a village distant about two miles and a half,) having the date 1438.

The approach to the church and convent of the Jesuits is by a flight of steps, which looks like a humble imitation of the ascent to the Trinità at Rome. This church is considered the finest building in Ragusa. It is of the seventeenth century, in the Greco-Italian style of that period; and contains the tomb of the celebrated Boscovich, who died at Milan in 1787. After the order of Jesuits was suppressed in 1773, this building was given to the Padri Scolopi*, to whom the church still belongs, the convent being converted into a military hospital. Near it is the Piazza delle Erbe; which, on market days, is crowded with peasants in various costumes.

The building, which would have offered the greatest interest to an Englishman, from having been founded by Richard Cœur de Lion, on his return from the Holy Land†, was the old cathedral; but this was unfortunately destroyed in 1667; and nothing now remains of those early times.

Ragusa boasts a small inn, the Corona d'Unghe-ria; and there is no difficulty in hiring rooms in the town.

The city lies in a hollow, with an ascent on either

* A strange corruption of *Delle Scuole Pie*.

† See above, p. 299.

side; and from its position, backed by dry rocky hills, is very hot in summer. Near the N.E. corner of the walls is a tower, called Mincetto; and, on the east, the fort of Rivellino, or Fortezza Pia. The fort San Lorenzo stands on a rock in the sea, to the west, which is seen as you approach the town from Gravosa, through the suburb of Pille. The walls, with projecting towers as at Curzola, resemble those of the middle ages, and are little adapted to resist the modern improvements in military science. On the summit of Monte Sergio, 1443 feet above the level of the sea, stands the Forte Imperiale, erected by the French during their occupation of Dalmatia; to which a zigzag road leads from the town.

The port which is on the east side of Ragusa is very small, scarcely large enough for half-a-dozen square-rigged vessels; and, indeed, all ships, including the steamers, prefer the spacious and secure bay of Gravosa, particularly in winter, when the roadstead of Ragusa is far from safe.

The custom-house and other parts of the town bear marks of the attack of the Russians * in 1806, as the country still shows the effect of the ruthless pillage of the Montenegrins; and some of the ruined houses of the Borgo Pille attest the destruction of the western suburb, which was nearly all burnt on that occasion.

Ragusa has two suburbs, one on the east, called

* See the History.

Borgo Plocce, the other on the west, called Borgo Pille, corresponding to the two gates of the same name. Outside the Porta Plocce, or sea-gate, is the Lazaretto; and near it is a large space, surrounded by a wall, where the *bazaar* is held, three times a week.* The Turkish caravan meets at Bergato, near the confines of Herzegovina, about three miles from Ragusa, and is escorted by a guard to the bazaar; whence it is reconducted, in the same manner, in the evening. Ragusa has neither carriages, nor draught horses, every thing being carried by porters; and the sedan chairs, employed in former times by the nobles, are now nearly out of use.

Ragusa has no longer an archbishop, but is merely a bishop's see; and the metropolitan of all Dalmatia is the archbishop of Zara, the capital of the province.

The costumes of the men in the city, and its vicinity, have more of the Turkish character, than those of the Morlacchi. That of Breno is the most remarkable; though the dress of the Brenese women is neither peculiar nor elegant, and might be pronounced Italian. The women of Canali wear a singular costume, and often adopt the *opanche*, or sandals of the mountaineers; and this is the one most frequently seen in the town, on market days.

In going from Ragusa by land to Cattaro, or to

* Petter, p. 171.

the Narenta, it is necessary to be accompanied by a *guardiano*, or health officer, as the road passes through the Turkish territory ; which extends down to the sea, at Klek to the north, and at Suttorina to the south ; though the road itself belongs to Austria. This singular arrangement is owing to a religious prejudice of the Turks, forbidding them to sell, or *voluntarily* to cede, any possessions to Christians ; and these two slips of land, which they occupied, in order to separate the Ragusan from the Venetian states, are still retained by the Porte, and leave the territory of Ragusa isolated from the rest of Dalmatia. In return for this selfish policy, the Austrians prevent their using the sea in that part, for military purposes, and no Turkish troops are allowed to land on the coast.

To the S.E. of the port is the island of Larcroma, so often mentioned in the History of Ragusa ; lying on the right, as you leave it for Cattaro ; the voyage to which, by the steamer, takes six hours. You pass in sight of Ragusa Vecchia, the ancient Epidaurus, which is in a small bay, about seven miles from Ragusa. It is called in Illyric *Zaptal*.

Epidaurus was founded, B.C. 689, by a Greek colony, as some suppose from Epidaurus in Laconia. As in the two cities of the same name, in Peloponnesus, Esculapius was the principal deity of the Illyrian Epidaurus. His temple was celebrated, and tradition speaks of a cavern, the abode

of the serpent consecrated to him, which is still shown near the town. But Ragusa Vecchia no longer contains any remains of Epidaurus; and all memorials of its site are confined to inscriptions, fragments of walls, coins, and other things found by excavation.

It had a small port, which was much frequented in early times, and under the Romans it became a colony*, with the name of Colonia Epidaurus, or Colonia Asclepitana Epidaurensis. It passed into their hands in 168 B.C.; but no notice occurs of it until the civil war of Pompey and Cæsar, when having declared in favour of the latter it was besieged by Octavius. The opportune arrival of Vatinius relieved it; and nothing more occurred, until a revolt of the Epidaurians, against the Romans, called for the interference of the Proconsul C. Asinius Pollio; who reduced them to obedience, and obtained, as we are told by his friend Horace, the honour of a "Dalmatian triumph."†

From that time Epidaurus preserved its fidelity to Rome; in the long war of Augustus and Tiberius against the Illyrians, it remained firm to

* Or Epidaurum. See Plin. iii. c. 22., and the inscriptions found there.

† Hor. lib. ii. od. 1.:—

..... "Pollio, . . .
Cui laurus æternos honores
Dalmatico peperit triumpho."

He is supposed also to have taken Salona.

the Roman cause; and it continued to be a useful colony, until its destruction in the third century.*

The modern town of Ragusa Vecchia is now so much reduced, that the commune has only 521 houses, with a population of 3102 souls.

Near it is the supposed site of the rocks of Cadmus and Harmonia, or Hermione; where a tomb, or temple, was raised to their honour. The position, however, of that monument seems as doubtful as the history of those celebrated individuals; and the abode and tomb of Cadmus, placed by ancient writers in different parts of the country, seem rather to have been within the confines of modern Albania.†

On entering the Bocche di Cattaro, the “mouths,” or Gulf, of Cattaro, you pass, on the left, the narrow point of land belonging to Turkey, which separates the districts of Ragusa and Cattaro; and in front is Castel Nuovo, which looks as if placed to watch the entrance of this splendid harbour.

Castel Nuovo was founded by Stephen Tuartko I.‡, King of Bosnia, in 1373, and the fort above the suburbs, to the N.W., by the Spaniards in the reign of Charles V., which was afterwards enlarged by the Venetians. The walls have been much injured, by

* See above, p. 274. Farlati says it was recaptured in 1538.

† The Enchelei were at war with the Illyrians at his arrival; but Pliny (iii. 21.) ascribes the “Encheleæ” to Liburnia, and Lucio thinks the old name of Illyria was Enchelia.

‡ See the History.

the numerous sieges it has sustained, and by the effect of earthquakes; and Castel Nuovo, Budua, and Cattaro, all suffered from that of 1667.

The country about the Gulf of Cattaro belonged, in the fourteenth century, to the Hungarians; but the possession of the strong fortress of Castel Nuovo, which he had built while enjoying the friendship of Louis, induced Tuartko to extend his dominions; and, forgetting the gratitude he owed to his benefactor, he no sooner found the affairs of Hungary in disorder, than he wrested all the neighbouring country from his daughter Maria, and expelled the Hungarians.

In the beginning of the following century, it was retaken from his son, Tuartko II.; after which, in 1483, it fell into the hands of the Turks, who kept possession of it till 1538, when it was taken from them by the Spaniards and Venetians.* It was recaptured, the following year, by the famous Barbarossa, who put the garrison to the sword; but, in 1687, it was again besieged by the Venetians and Maltese, under Cornaro†; when the Pasha of Bosnia, coming to its relief with 4000 men, was defeated; and from that time it remained in the power of Venice, until the

* See above, p. 333. Farlati says it was recaptured in 1538.

† See the History. A vain attempt had been made by them in 1572, when, however, the Turkish fort of Varbagna, three miles from it, was destroyed, and the blockade of Cattaro removed. — Solitro.

fall of the Republic, at the close of the eighteenth century.

In 1806, the Russians held possession of Castel Nuovo, together with all the Bocche di Cattaro, until given up to France by the treaty of Tilsit, in 1807; in October 1813 it was captured by the English; and in 1814 was occupied by the Austrians, in whose possession it has since remained.

Over one of the gates, the Porta-terra, is an inscription recording its possession by the Turks.

Castel Nuovo is the largest town, though not the capital, of the Circolo of Cattaro; and the commune contains 7019 inhabitants, of whom 6447 are of the Greek church.

Near Castel Nuovo is the burying-ground of the Spanish Jews; and not far from the town is the fountain of Mili, celebrated for the death of two rival lovers; from which circumstance its name Mili, "pleasant," was changed to Nemili, "the cruel."*

The country about Castel Nuovo is very beautiful: and here begins that grand scenery, which has made the Gulf of Cattaro so celebrated. The forms of the mountains are bold and rugged; the sides are clothed with trees, studded with houses;

* Whence the Epigram of the Portuguese Poet, Flavio Eborensis: —

"Gratus eram prius, et vicina commodus urbi,
Nunc vocor indigno nomine Nemylius.

Causa mali notus est: discordia tristis amantum
Illa nocet. Liquidæ quid meruistis aquæ?"

and, here and there, are a church steeple perched on a height, and a village below seeming to rise from the edge of the water, in which it is reflected. As you proceed onwards, a succession of different views present themselves; and the mountains, rising on either side, with a majestic sweep, from the water, sometimes scarcely leaving room for a village on the shore, give this winding Gulf the appearance of an inland lake. At one time you are in a bay, half a mile across, which expands to a breadth of three miles; you then pass through narrow channels, to a succession of land-locked bays; and so great is the area of water, that the fleets of all Europe would occupy but a small portion of this splendid harbour, whose depth would allow them to anchor close to the shore.

During my first voyage from Spalato, the Capo Circolare of Cattaro was on board the steamer; and on entering the Gulf, the whole shore was lined with people, and resounded with *vivas*, and the report of fire-arms; showing the estimation in which Signior Ivatich is held, by those under his jurisdiction. That he is worthy of this popular demonstration is universally allowed; and in private life, both at Cattaro, and in his native town, Spalato, his amiable manners have gained for him the esteem of all classes.

From the entrance of the Bocche to Cattaro, the steamer takes about two hours; and near Combur, three miles beyond Castel Nuovo, is a narrow part,

which may be called the third mouth, *Bocca**, of the Gulf of Cattaro; and, six miles farther up, is another still narrower mouth, leading from the inner bay of Castel Nuovo to those of Risano and Cattaro. It is not more than 1140 feet broad, and is called *Le Catene*, from the *chains*, that once closed the passage: for, being at that time considered the entrance to the port of Cattaro, chains were placed across it by Louis King of Hungary, in 1381, in order to exclude the Venetians.

After passing through this channel, the scenery becomes more wild, than on the fertile territory of Castel Nuovo. On the right are the wooded heights of Stolivo, with the village of Upper Stolivo nestled among trees; on the left the craggy mountains extend, in a curve, to the bay of Risano; and in front is the town of Perasto, with its lofty steeple, on a point of land separating the bay of Risano from that of Cattaro; where it stands at the base of a rocky mountain, which barely leaves room for the town by the water's edge. On the slope, immediately above the houses, is the fort of Santa-Croce, built by the inhabitants, at the time that the Turks had possession of the neighbouring coast. The walls are in the style of those days.

* They reckon six *Bocche*, "mouths," or narrow straits, in succession: first, the entrance between the Point of Ostro and the Rock of Zaniza; second, between the Point of Cobilla and Lustiza; third, at Combur; fourth, that of Sta. Domenica; fifth, of Le Catene; and the sixth, of Perzagno.

In the open space, before Perasto, are the small islands of St. Giorgio, and La Madonna. The church of La Madonna is looked upon with great veneration, and is decorated with numerous votive offerings, and pictures, one of which is *attributed* to St. Luke.

It represents the Virgin, here called la Madonna dello Scalpello; to whose picture a miraculous legend is attached, not less pleasing to credulity, than that of the Holy House of Loreto; which also reposed for a time in Dalmatia, previous to its flight to Italy. Tradition states that the picture was transported, in 1452, by an unknown hand, from Negropont to this rock; and being seen amidst lighted candles, by some fishermen, it was removed to the church of Perasto. The next night it returned to the island; and the same having been repeated three times, it was presumed that the picture preferred remaining there. A suitable abode was therefore prepared for it; but the church which now stands there was not founded till 1630.*

The arrival of the picture in the island is celebrated with great rejoicings, every year, on the 12th of July; and, on the Sundays of May and June, it is taken with great solemnity to Perasto; where it is exhibited to the devout, in commemoration of a victory obtained over the Turks, in 1654, by the interposition of the Madonna dello

* Petter, p. 194.

Scalpello ; when the infidels, having come in great numbers from Risano and Castel Nuovo, to destroy Perasto, were frightened from their purpose by her appearance, under the form of an old woman. A grand festival is also kept, on the 15th of August, the day of the Assumption ; when a national ball is given, remarkable for the variety of the costumes.

Risano stands on rising ground, at the extremity of a beautiful bay, that runs up to the northward from Perasto. It is the successor of the ancient Rhisinum, or Rhizinium*, a Roman colony, and once the most important town in this part of the country ; which gave the name Rhizonicus Sinus to the whole Gulf, since known as that of Cattaro.

The whole commune of Risano now contains only 3916 inhabitants, who, with the exception of 18, are of the Greek Church. In the town are some remains of the Roman Rhizinium†, and between three or four hundred feet from the parish church is a mosaic pavement.‡ Coins are also found there. About a quarter of an hour's walk from Risano is a cavern, seventy or eighty feet above the level of

* Plin. iii. 22. "A town of Roman citizens," as well as Ascrivium, Butua, and Olchinium.

† This was not the place, to which Queen Teuta fled, as many have supposed ; and Polybius expressly says that Rizona was at a distance from the sea, on the river Rhizon. It was between Doclea (Dioclea) and Scodra.

‡ Petter, p. 196.

the sea; from which a torrent runs in winter, and falls into the bay.*

At Risano the costume is very remarkable. The men wear a green frock-coat, open in front, and confined by a sash round the waist, in which handsomely-wrought pistols, and a *yatagan* or knife, are carried. Over this is a jacket of the same colour, ornamented with gold clasps and braiding; and on the head is a red Fez cap, with a gold tassel. A pair of full black trousers, reaching to the knee, fall over red cloth leggins (*tusluk*) richly embroidered; and the whole dress is curiously terminated with white stockings, and black shoes. A pipe, and a gun inlaid with mother-of-pearl, are also necessary appendages.

The general costume of the inhabitants of the Bocche di Cattaro, or *Bocchesi*, is far from being graceful, or becoming; its black colour gives it a gloomy character, scarcely relieved by the silver buttons that ornament it; or by their silver-handled pistols, dagger, and sword. Nor do a black round hat and black cravat make it less unbecoming. The full black trousers, bound at the waist by a red sash, and falling at the knee over a pair of boots, or over black stockings and shoes, look very bad; and this mixture of European and Eastern attire has a somewhat ludicrous appearance. It is said to be originally Spanish; but

* Petter. It is uncertain where the cavern was, mentioned by Pliny, ii. 45.

the trousers bear a greater resemblance to those of the Greek boatmen, in form, if not in colour; and the costume of the *Podestà*, or head of the commune, may be a compromise between the Bocchese and the Hungarian. The townspeople of Cattaro wear the usual European dress, as in all the large sea ports of Dalmatia.

Out of 13,848, the whole population of the Bocche, 7050 are of the Greek Church; and 9 are Jews, living in Cattaro. They are an industrious and energetic people; who have given frequent proof of their courage, during the wars with the Turks, and when our fleet was engaged on their coast in 1814.

They have still frequent calls upon their warlike propensities, in defending their property from the Montenegrins; whose predatory visits, particularly during the long winter nights, keep them in constant alarm: and as a great many of the men are absent, on board their trading vessels, the duty of protecting their property devolves on a very small number, and is even sometimes left to the women alone. The Austrians, however, aid in keeping off these troublesome visitors, by a cordon of riflemen.

The habits of the Bocchesi are peculiar*; and though they possess a narrow strip of land, confined between the mountains and the sea, their industry has made them the richest people of Dalmatia. The great object, of every one, is to

* Petter, p. 201, 202.

secure a comfortable livelihood by commercial speculation. They are therefore principally engaged in foreign trade ; and when a Bocchese, after a number of voyages, has accumulated sufficient wealth to retire from business, he returns to his native country ; and his children, following the example of their father, continue the same routine, until they are, in like manner, enabled to realise a fortune. Their houses are clean and well built, with a great appearance of comfort ; and many are prettily placed in the midst of gardens.

But the Bocchese loves retirement, and leads the same solitary life, to which he was accustomed on board his ship ; and the marriages of his children are mostly among the people of his district, so that the different families are generally related to each other.*

The climate of the Bocche is healthy, and the dryness of the soil prevents fevers ; which, with so much reflected heat, would, in a damp situation, be very prevalent ; and though the summer is oppressive, the weather in autumn is very enjoyable. The cold is more severe there, than in many more northernly parts of the Dalmatian coast, owing to the immediate vicinity of mountains ; which also cause a greater quantity of rain.

A succession of beautiful views present themselves, between Perasto and Cattaro ; and on approaching the end of the Gulf, the peak of Mount Lovcen ap-

* Petter, p. 202.

pears above the rugged hill of Cattaro. On the left, you pass the picturesque village of Dóbróta *, with its church on a projecting point of land, backed by neat houses and gardens; above which rise the range of mountains, that separate this valley from Montenegro. Near it was the site of a Roman town; which is shown by fragments of mosaic work, conduits, and other remains.

The inhabitants of Dóbróta, who are all Roman Catholics, are a very wealthy people; they possess a great number of ships, and have much capital embarked in trade. The appearance of their dwellings, and the air of comfort they show, sufficiently prove the prosperity of their possessors; and the people of Dóbróta are in more easy circumstances, than any other of the Bocchesi.

Their houses, which are of stone, well built, and roofed with red tiles, are frequently surrounded by high walls, to protect them from the nocturnal depredations of the Montenegrin robbers. For though this part of the valley seems to be effectually guarded, by a barrier of precipitous rocks, on the side of Montenegro, those wild people find no difficulty in coming down, even by night; and whenever they find the men absent, they scruple not to enter a house by force. Nor is the protection of a few German soldiers sufficient to check their robberies; and it seems extraordinary that

* From Dobro, "good."

the Austrians, who are so strict about the passports of harmless and inoffensive strangers, should be so indifferent to the visits of these people, who really inflict injuries on the industrious community.

Every other individual is condemned to have his passport signed, countersigned, examined, registered, and suspected, if not rejected, from whatever country he may come; while the same Montenegrins, who are known at night to commit robberies, whenever an opportunity offers, are permitted to roam about all day unimpeded; and if any check is imposed on them it is by a passport given to a *party* of several individuals, so that no single one is responsible for it. I am little inclined to defend the custom of calling for passports at every turn, *in the interior* of a country, convinced as I am of its being vexatious and unjust, and unnecessary for the detection of the bad: and if a police is effective, it will arrest criminals, without suspecting, or molesting the innocent. But if honest people are to be visited by this infliction, surely the dishonest might at least be subjected to it; and it should be used for police, not for political, purposes.

It is perhaps from the conviction of its inutility that the system is relaxed towards the Montenegrins; though the objection to it on that score is not greater in this, than in all other cases. For it is very certain, that criminals are as easily detected, in countries where there are no passports, as in those where the system is most rigorous; and a

passport is frequently the very means by which escape is ensured. The man who wishes to evade the police always takes care to have his passport *en règle*; it is his duty to himself: many have therefore passed through a whole country, at a time when every police officer was on the look-out for them, by having false passports, quite *en règle*; and thus the supposed means of detection have proved the means of escape.

The vexation of the system falls principally on the innocent man, who is tormented with impediments to his honest calling; who, if sent for, on a sudden, to visit a dying friend, or his nearest relation, is obliged to wait for hours, or till the following day, to have his passport signed; and who, if he omits to show it, and present himself, as he passes through a town, to the police, may be arrested as a criminal, and obliged to retrace his steps for miles, as if he had committed some great offence against society.

But not only is the system inadequate, for the purposes of detection; it is even injurious to the interests of society; and a knave is often enabled to practise his deceptions, under cover of his fictitious passport. A remarkable proof of this occurred a few years ago, when a band of swindlers defrauded some of the principal bankers of Europe, and were actually aided (unintentionally) by the police: who, when applied to by the mercantile houses, reported their passports to be *en règle*, and thus stopped further inquiry, by vouching for the

honesty of the rogues. Of what advantage then is this system? Why is the community taxed to pay a number of useless *employés*? and really, if the police takes upon itself to be the insurance office of society, it ought, in a case like the above, to be held responsible for the money, obtained through its agency.

There is a regulation in the Austrian States, which was mentioned to me by a high functionary under that government, as one not to be neglected; and which shows how necessary it is to have a passport made out for *every part* of Europe, before visiting the Imperial dominions. According to this, if a passport is *visé* (for instance) at Zara "for Cattaro," and the traveller wishes, on his arrival there, to go to Montenegro, he cannot do so, unless he returns the whole way to Zara, and obtains a fresh *visat* for that country; "because the police of Zara *may* have had some reasons, for giving him permission to go *only* to Cattaro." And thus the unsuspecting individual presents himself every where, with a stigma attached to him, of being, if not a guilty, at least a suspected, person. That every country should have a right to admit, or reject, any one at the frontier, not provided with proper guarantees, is only just; but that he should afterwards be subjected to constant vexation, and suspicion, amounting frequently to a positive condemnation, is insulting, and degrading; and we are surprised to find that, in the nineteenth century, Europe can tolerate the maxim

thus inculcated, that "every one is guilty, until he proves himself innocent;" which is the principle of the silly, and vexatious, system of passports.

About a mile and a half beyond Dóbróta is Cattaro, in Illyric Cottor, the capital of the Circolo of the same name. It is surrounded by a wall with towers; and, on the north side, is defended by a solid rampart, and ditch. Immediately above it, on a rugged rock, isolated at the upper part from the rest of the mountain, is a castle, connected with the town by a zigzag wall, pierced with abundant loopholes, and here and there with embrasures for cannon.

The Austrians keep one battalion of *Cacciatori* in, and about, Cattaro; who, when I visited it, were Italians from Lombardy. There is very little arable, or cultivable, land near the town; and the Cattarines, like the other Bocchesi, are mostly engaged in trade.

The whole commune of Cattaro contains 3550 inhabitants; of whom 2384 are Roman Catholics, 1157 of the Greek Church, and 9 Jews; and out of 34,326, the population of the whole Circolo, only 9819 are Roman Catholics, and 24,498 are Greeks. In the town are two Greek churches, one of which resembles those of Athens, in its style and architecture, though it is much less interesting.

The town contains nothing remarkable; the streets are narrow; and the houses are much the same, as in other places under the Venetians, whose

rule is, as usual, recorded by the winged lion. It has three gates, two of which are closed at sun-set; but that on the sea-side remains open till eleven; and, when the steamer is there, till midnight. Outside the eastern gate is the *bazaar*, or market, which calls to mind the *agora* of the old Greek towns, placed, as that originally was, without the walls. It is held every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, and is frequented by the Montenegrins, who supply Cattaro with provisions of various kinds, and on this score may be considered very useful neighbours. For though some people may try to persuade themselves, or others, that the permission to attend the bazaar is a *privilege* to the Montenegrins, it is very well known that Cattaro is far more benefited by them, than they are by Cattaro; which, indeed, is dependent upon them for many of the most important necessities of life. And if the spacious road, constructed up the mountain pass, to the frontier of Montenegro, facilitates the communication with that country, the advantage is on the side of the Austrians; and every improvement made by the Vládika *, in the portion belonging to him, tends to the insecurity of his territory.

No one, indeed, can believe that a military road is required for those mountaineers to come to market, who still prefer making short cuts, in going up and

* The Bishop who governs Montenegro.

down, to following its long zigzags; and it is evidently more adapted for the transport of artillery and troops towards Tzetinie, than for the conveyance of eggs and potatoes to Cattaro.

The Montenegrin women, who attend the market, are allowed to go into the town; but the number of the men admitted is limited, and they are obliged to leave their arms at the guard-house. An impost is levied on all the goods sold at the bazaar, when they enter Cattaro; or, if intended to pass through the country, they only pay a moderate transit duty; but when the plague is known to be in Turkey, the same sanitary restrictions are adopted towards Montenegro, as towards that country; the people are excluded from Cattaro, and men and goods are condemned to the usual process of imprisonment and fumigation. The costumes of the Montenegrins, both men and women, are very picturesque; and the groups sitting among the trees, or under the sheds, that protect them during the deluges of rain which not unfrequently fall at Cattaro, are good studies for an artist; and a stranger may find much to interest him, in the appearance, and independent bearing, of these primitive mountaineers.

Here some *perianiki*, the Vladika's guards, who have come to make purchases at Cattaro, display their rich dress, and silver-hilted arms; there a distinguished warrior, with the usual *strucca* over his shoulder, perhaps trailing on the ground as he

walks, proclaims, by a medal on his breast, that he has taken many Turkish heads, as trophies, to Tzetinie; women examine each others' kerchiefs, or trinkets, they have just bought in the town; and a knot of young men, with all the airs common to dandies, stand, with their caps on one side, and a natty stick under the arm, discussing the trifles of Montenegrin chitchat. A few Austrian soldiers are present, to prevent irregularities; and speculators from Cattaro, whose sombre dresses contrast with the varied colours of the Montenegrin costumes, make bargains with the women, as they sit by their baskets, or buy sheep, fire-wood, or vegetables, of some poor mountaineer, with the complacent smile that denotes the profit they contemplate from the purchase.

The imports into Cattaro far exceed the exports to Montenegro, both in quantity and quality; fire-wood, potatoes, and many other articles are exclusively supplied from that country; and the town is dependent upon it for nearly all the provisions consumed there; which could not be obtained so conveniently, or at so reasonable a price, from any other quarter. The duties levied at the custom-house of Cattaro, on goods from Montenegro, are said to amount, annually, to from 27,500 to 29,800 florins.* The principle articles are *Scoranza* (dry fish, resembling sardines), smoke-dried meat, sheep,

* £2750 to £2980 English.

oxen, pigs, pork, cheese, potatoes, butter, cabbages, and other vegetables, wax, honey, fish, tallow, hides (woollen and hair), wool, tortoise shells, fowls, Indian corn, ice, fruit, Turkish, and common Montenegrin, tobacco, charcoal, &c. ; as well as the leaves and wood of the *Scottano**, the former for tanning, the latter for its yellow dye. These, as well as the *Scoranza*, and the *Castradina*, or mut-ton hams, are principally for re-exportation to Venice and other places ; and, with a few more, pass through the transit office.

On entering Cattaro from the sea, the same scrutiny is used by the custom-house, as in other Dalmatian ports, whether the goods are from abroad, or from any other part of the province ; and so stringent are the regulations against tobacco, that the introduction of any quantity subjects the offender to the loss of it, and a fine of sixteen florins the *funto*.† This is intended as a protection to the *appallatori*, or farmers of the duties on that article. Notwithstanding this severity, contraband Turkish tobacco is used by every one on the frontier ; that of the *appalto* being very indifferent ; and the facility of obtaining smuggled tobacco is, as usual, in the direct ratio of the penalty. Indeed, a very good quality of this most profitable crop might be grown in Dalmatia, but this is not permitted ; and the government neglects an oppor-

• *Rhus Cotinus*

† $\frac{1}{12}$ of a Chilogramme.

tunity of benefiting the revenue, by admitting the best kinds on the payment of a higher duty.

There is certainly no reason why people should be condemned to use what is bad, when a good article is to be obtained ; the prohibition is a direct encouragement to smuggling ; and, in the mean time, the Dalmatians, who *buy* a little licensed tobacco, (in order to have it in their bags for show), contrive to *smoke* the contraband Turkish ; all which is done, in their quiet way, without any of the *Tobacco-machia* now going on in Milan, between the Italians and the authorities.

Cattaro stands on the site of the Roman city of Ascrivium.* Porphyrogenitus calls it Decatera ; a name given, as he supposes, from its position on the narrow gulf ; and some derive Cattaro from the quantity of rain that falls there† ; but etymology is conveniently elastic ; and the same word, in which some see rain and Catarrhs, has suggested to others the idea of its *pure* air.

The Moors, or Saracens, of Sicily, took “ Butua, Rosa, and the *lower* town of Decatera ‡,” in 867 A.D. ; after which the inhabitants returned, with those of Rhizinium, and fortified the rock of the present citadel ; though some ascribe the origin of the modern Cattaro to refugees, from a city of the same name in Bosnia, destroyed by the Hungarians, in

* Plin. iii. 26.

† From *καρappeiv*.

‡ Porphyrogenitus says, “ Butuam, et Rosam, et inferiora Decatera.”

889. Cattaro afterwards enjoyed its liberty and republican form of government, under the protection of the kings of Servia, until 1178; during which period money was coined there called *trifoni*, from the figure, stamped on one side, of St. Trifone, the patron of the city.* It subsequently passed under the dominion of the Greek Emperors; and in 1197 again returned to the protection of Servia.†

The Knights Templars ‡ also had possession of Cattaro, for a short time, as well as of Clissa, Knin, Novigrad, and Vrana; and some of these continued to be their last strongholds, in Dalmatia, until their order was suppressed, in 1312.

On the death of Stephen Ouros, the son of the Emperor Dushan, in 1367, the Cattarines seeing the inability of the Servians to defend them, put themselves under the protection of Louis, King of Hungary; and this they enjoyed, until the town was taken by the Venetians, in 1378 §; who, at the peace of 1381, restored it once more to Hungary. After the death of Louis, in 1382, Tuartko I., King of Bosnia, obtained possession of Cattaro; and it continued in the hands of the Bosnians, until the reign of Ostoya Christich; when it regained its liberty. During that period it was at constant war with Ragusa, and the princes

* Petter, p. 187.

† Farlati, vi. 435.

‡ See the History in Chapter IX., A. D. 1190.

§ Appendini (i. 296.) says the Cattarines rebelled from Louis, in 1371, and (for a time) joined the Venetians.

of Zenta; but, in 1419, finding the Ragusans too formidable, and fearing the increasing power of the Turks, the Cattarines gave themselves up to the Venetian admiral, Peter Loredano, on condition of preserving their laws, magistrates, and various privileges.

Cattaro does not boast statutes, of the same early date as some Dalmatian towns. Like Nona, Sebenico, Lesina, and Brazza, it was a Slavonian city, and was late in adopting those of the neighbouring communities; it continued a long time without written laws; and its statutes are supposed to have been copied from those of the Roman cities, which had preserved their ancient institutions, after the invasion of the Avars. *

It suffered much from various causes, even after the end of the fifteenth century. It was besieged by the Turks in 1538 †, and 1657; and great injury was done to the town and the inhabitants, by the earthquakes of 1563 and 1667, and by the plague of 1572. On the downfall of the Venetian Republic, in 1797, it passed into the hands of Austria; and in 1806, when Dalmatia was ceded to the French, Cattaro was seized by the Russians, who held it, till the treaty of Tilsit obliged them to evacuate the country. At the close of 1813 it was taken by the English under Hoste; to whose ex-

* Catalinich, iii. p. 55.

† After the recapture of Castel Nuovo by Barbarossa, which Appendini places in 1539. See Farlati, vi. 488.

traordinary skill, in carrying heavy guns up the craggy mountains that command it, the highest compliment was paid by the French Commandant, whose decided opinion had pronounced the impossibility of making a battery there. The place, however, was taken in ten days, with the loss of one man; and General Gauthier, and all the garrison, surrendered prisoners of war.

During the attack on the French in Cattaro, and the neighbourhood, the Bocchesi made great professions of friendship and assistance; but no sooner did they see the guns of the fortress of St. George removed on board the *Bacchante*, than the communes of Perasto began to manifest displeasure; which led the English to suppose that their friendship was rather owing to a dread of the Montenegrins, than to the desire of liberating their country.

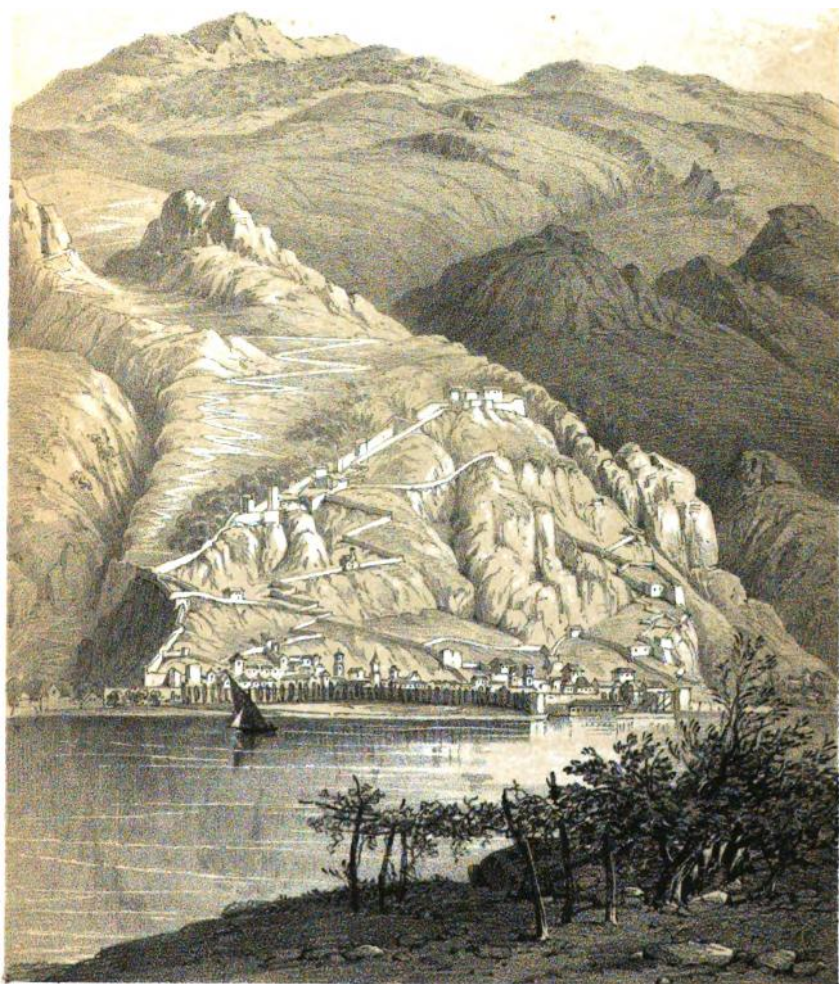
The co-operation of the Vladika, or Bishop, of Montenegro, was more cordial, and the Montenegrins assisted in blockading Cattaro, as sworn enemies of the French; when, unfortunately, the Austrians excited their ill-will, by putting forth claims to sovereignty over their free country; which was perhaps increased, by a secret wish, on their part, to obtain possession of Cattaro for themselves. The consequence was their refusal to allow the Austrian troops to pass through the country, from Castel Nuovo to Cattaro; which caused considerable embarrassment to all parties, and provoked the displeasure of the British Government; General

Metutenovich * withdrew his troops; and Cattaro, being left in the hands of the civil magistrates, was occupied by the Montenegrins till the 14th of June, 1814; when it was ceded to Austria: and the Vladika withdrew to Tzetinie.

Cattaro is inconveniently placed, under an arid rock; and during the hot season is a perfect oven, until September; when the weather begins to be cooler, and the evenings are very enjoyable. Though the thermometer does not range in summer above 22°, or 26° Rr.† in the shade, the confined position of the town makes the heat very oppressive; and though, in winter, the thermometer seldom falls below the freezing point, and ice lasts only a few days, the cold is much felt; violent storms are of frequent occurrence; and the town is exposed to gusts of piercing wind, rushing down from the lofty Lovcen, or Mount Sella, which rises immediately behind the citadel, and is then covered with snow. Rain falls in great quantities, during the winter months, often lasting for several days, after it has once set in; and as the change generally begins about the end of September, those who wish to visit Montenegro should not leave Cattaro later than the beginning, or middle, of September.

The position of the town has also the disadvantage of being subject to dense fogs at that season, and, lying under the western face of one of

* Probably Milutinovich. † 81½° and 90½° Fahr.



Sir G. W. del^t

Hulmandel & Walton Lithographers.

CATTARO.

London. J. Murray, Albemarle St April 1848.

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the highest mountains in Dalmatia, it is deprived of more than an hour's sun every morning; while the hills, on the opposite side, shut out the light very early in the evening. The climate, however, is healthy.

To say the port is good and safe is little praise to one of the finest in the world; and the whole gulf, or canal, offers a succession of excellent harbours. On the level ground at the extremity of the bay is the public walk, which goes round, by the water's edge, towards the village of Mulla; but the custom of closing the gates of Cattaro at an early hour takes away from the pleasure of this excursion, at the very time it is most enjoyable.

While at Cattaro, I went to see a marriage at the village of Dóbróta. The ceremonies were very similar to those practised by the Morlacchi, on the same occasion.* Twelve or thirteen women, friends of the family, in gala dresses, danced in a circle†, singing a slow and rather plaintive song, near the house of the bridegroom, while waiting for the bride. After some time, she arrived in a boat; and having landed, walked to the church, under a large umbrella, decorated with gold tassels and handkerchiefs, evidently an imitation of the *canopy* in the marriage processions of the East. In the

* See the marriage ceremonies of the Morlacchi, in Chapter VIII.

† The kollo, or circle, is the figure of all their dances, though the steps differ. This circle was open at one end.

meantime, the men, having assembled, walked in procession to the court before the church door, and danced in a circle; a performance which, with their silver-mounted arms, and black Bocchese dress, had a very singular effect. The women then came up, two by two, to the church; and the whole party having gone in, the bride and bridegroom knelt at the altar, supported on either side by the *compari*.* The marriage service was then read by a priest, and they all repaired to the house of the bride's father, to enjoy the festivities usual on the occasion. The costume worn by the women was similar to that of Mulla, and the other villages at this end of the gulf; the most remarkable part of which was the short embroidered jacket, and the headdress, composed of a swarm of large gold-headed pins, covering the whole of the back part of the head, and flowing coloured ribands. The women of Dóbróta, who are pretty, pride themselves on their delicate complexions; but the jealousy of their neighbours declares that they bleed themselves in the foot, in order to keep up the paleness they affect.

At the end of the bay of Cattaro a valley opens between the mountains, through which the road leads to Budua, distant about eleven or twelve miles. It is the last town of consequence in Dalmatia, or, as this part was formerly called, Venetian Albania.

* Bridegroom's men.

Budua, the Butua of Pliny, was one of the Roman cities of Dalmatia. In the ninth century it was destroyed by the Saracens; and in 1571 was taken and nearly all burnt by the Turks, who again besieged it in 1687 with an army of 10,000 men, under the Pasha of Scutari; on which occasion it was gallantly defended by the Venetian General Cornaro.

It is fortified in the old style, with simple walls and towers, and on the south is a castle on a rock. The territory about it is very limited, being confined to a narrow strip of land between the mountains and the sea; and the whole commune contains only 937 inhabitants.

CHAP. VI.

VISIT TO MONTENEGRO.

Population. — Customs. — Government, and State of the Country. — The Vladika. — History. — Cattaro to Tzetinie. — Journey to Ostrok, and Return by Rieka to Tzetinie. — Hospitality of the Vladika. — Return to Cattaro, and to Spalato. — Jews.

AFTER a short stay at Cattaro, I made preparations for a journey to Montenegro; and having been furnished with a letter to the Vladika from Signor Ivatic, the Governor of the Circolo of Cattaro, I promised myself all the satisfaction from my visit to that country, which I afterwards enjoyed.

Of the courtesy and hospitality of the Vladika, indeed, I cannot speak too highly; and the friendly feelings he entertains towards strangers, who are interested in his country, contribute greatly to the pleasure of a visit to Montenegro.

I shall first mention the state of the country, its government, and history.

The name of Montenegro *, or the “black mountain,” is supposed to be taken from the dark ap-

* Properly Montenero, but in the Venetian dialect Montenegro, and the people are called Montenegrini.

pearance of its wooded hills, which in former times were more thickly clothed with trees and bushes, than at present. By the Turks it is called Kara-dagh, and by the Montenegrins themselves, Tzernogóra *, both which have the same meaning; and the name of the people is, in their own language, Tzernogórki.

The country formed the S.W. corner of the old kingdom of Servia; which, under Stephen Dushan, towards the middle of the fourteenth century, was bounded by the Adriatic, the Black Sea, the Archipelago, and the Danube.

The position of Montenegro is between $42^{\circ} 10'$, and $42^{\circ} 56'$ N. latitude, and $18^{\circ} 41'$ and $20^{\circ} 22'$ E. longitude, including the Kûchi, or Kutska†, district, which is the most easterly, but which has recently separated itself from Montenegro. The country is bounded on the west by the Circolo of Cattaro, on the north by the Turkish province of Herzegóvina and part of Bosnia, and on the east and south by Albania. The superficial extent is reckoned at 80, or 90, geographical square leagues; or by some at 300 Italian square miles, and the circuit at about $70\frac{1}{2}$; and the whole country is

* Cernogora, or Tzernogora. The Russian Czerno, and the Southern Slavonian Tzerno, signify "black." The Venetians too pronounce *ce* as *Tse*, which explains its being written by them "Cernogora."

† Koochee, Kootchka, or Koochka.

‡ Petter, p. 209.

divided into eight departments, or *Náhia* *, each composed of several *communes*. They are, 1. Ka-tún-ska *Náhia*, with nine communes; 2. Riékska †, with five; 3. Lieschanska, with three; 4. Tzer-nitska, with seven; 5. Bielopavlichi, with three; 6. Piperi, with three; 7. Moratska ‡, with three; and 8. Kutska, with five communes. The four last *Náhias* are called the first, second, third, and fourth *Berda*, and give an additional title to the Bishop, who is styled "Vladika of Montenegro and *Berda*." Each commune (*plemena*) is superintended by a *Kniesz* §, and a *bérakdár* ||; and the *Náhia* is governed by a *Sirdár* ¶, and a *Voivoda* **, which offices are confined to certain families, and descend from father to son.

The Kutska *Náhia* was originally independent of Montenegro, but, about 1835–36, the people put themselves under the authority of the Vladika, sent a senator to Tzetinie ††, and enjoyed the privileges

* This word has been adopted from the Turks. It is originally Arabic, and means "portion," "direction," &c.

† The Slavonic termination *ski, ska*, is like the Latin *icus, ica*; as Praski, Persicus; Sabalskanski, Transbalcanicus.

‡ Or Rovatska-Moratska.

§ Or *Kniaz*, "count."

|| A Turkish word, signifying "flag-bearer," like the Italian *Alfiere*.

¶ A Turkish title also.

** Or *Voyevoda*, "leader in war," like *Dux*, or *Herzog*. See above, p. 26.

†† Or Tzetinye; by the Venetians written Cettigne. In giving so many Slavonic names, it may be as well to observe that the accent is generally on the last syllable but one.

of the other departments; until taking umbrage at the imposition of taxes, they seceded in 1843 from their allegiance, and are now the bitterest enemies of Montenegro. Another great reason of this animosity was their being the only Roman Catholics in the country, which prevented their uniting cordially with the other subjects of the Vladika; for neither party is behindhand in sectarian prejudice; and the hatred of a rival sect seems quite as natural to the Montenegrins of the Greek church, as to their religious opponents, whom they charitably stigmatise by the name of *Piessivira* *, “dogs’ faith,” an epithet they liberally bestowed upon the French, and upon the Ragusans in 1806, while they were plundering the Ragusan territory. The Kûchi live at the extreme east of Montenegro, on the confines of Albania; next to them are the Piperi, the great champions of Montenegrin liberty on that side, who are the most warlike and active enemies of the Turks, and are able to bring upwards of 4000 muskets into the field.

The population of the whole country is estimated at from 80,000 to 107,000 souls; some reckon 21,000 families, or 105,000 inhabitants; but from the best authority obtained in the country, the nearest computation is “about 100,000.” The number of fighting men amounts to 20,000; and in

* From Piess “dog.” Viella oddly enough calls one of the *Náhias* “Piessiwaska,” vol. i. p. 83.

case of need many old men, still capable of bearing arms, may be called out for the defence of the country. This proportion of fighting men is remarkable; but though it far exceeds that allowed by Montesquieu, it must be remembered that he had in view the population in civilised communities, and the proportion given by some others does not differ very widely from that in Montenegro.

Of the eight *Náhias*, or departments, the Katun-ska has 24,000 inhabitants; the Tzernitska 12,000; the Rietska 11,300; the Lieschanska 4800; the Bielopavlichi 14,000; the Piperi 8500; the Rovatska-Moratska 9100; and the Kutska 16,300; on the supposition that the total, in Montenegro and the Berdas amount to 100,000; which is an approximate calculation, no exact census having been made of the population of the country.

Montenegro contains few towns. It may indeed be doubted whether any deserve that name; for a town there would be a village in any other country, and the largest does not contain a population of 1200 souls. None of them are walled, and few can be said to have any streets; the houses are frequently detached, and in some so scattered, and distant from each other, that they appear rather to be farm-houses, or cottages, than the component parts of one village. Those, however, which stand close together, have only a common wall between them, as in towns in other countries; and they are generally better built, than when detached in the scattered villages; where, in some of the most

mountainous, and secluded, parts of the country, they are of the rudest construction.

The total number of towns, and villages, in the country is between two and three hundred. They are principally situated in hollows, and on the slopes of mountains, but none on the points of hills difficult of access, as in the neighbouring provinces of Turkey; plainly indicating the fearless independence of the Montenegrin, who feels secure in the natural strength of his country, and requires no measures of defence beyond his own courage. This is most remarkable in the province of Bielopavlich, where the distance from Albania to Herzégóvina is not more than twelve miles, and where nearly the whole space is occupied by the Valley of the Zetta.* And no one can visit that part of the country, without the strongest admiration for the valour of this people; who are, at least, deserving of respect for the preservation of their independence, in defiance of all the efforts of the Turks.

It is not in going from Cattaro to Tzétinie, a distance of five hours' march, that any one can judge of Montenegro, or the Montenegrins, or of the manner in which their country is flanked and indented by the Turkish territory; and in order to form an opinion of their character, and the difficulty of their position, a visit should be made to the two frontiers towards Niksich and Spuss. This

* Tzetta, or Zeta, was the old name of Montenegro, when it belonged to Servia in the fourteenth century.

would sufficiently refute many erroneous notions common at Cattaro, where some of the Bocchesi, and even of the Austrians, refuse to the Montenegrins the credit of courage; and Petter not only declares, that in personal valour they are inferior to the Bocchesi, but that the only merit they possess is in defending their homes, or in fighting behind walls. He adds that in their encounters with the French, in 1806-7, when out of their own country, they gave no proofs of bravery, and showed themselves greatly afraid of artillery.* But without stopping to canvass so unfair a statement, it is sufficient to observe that their independence, their wars with the Turks, and their whole history, abundantly establish their character for courage; and Vialla, and others, who have had opportunities of judging from their own experience, bear ample testimony to it.

Many anecdotes are related of the bravery of both men and women. During the war with the Turks in 1796, Giuro Lottocich was confined to his bed by a broken leg, but hearing of the battle in which Kara Mahmood (Bushatlia) was defeated and slain, he insisted upon being carried out to a rock, from whence he could fire on the enemy; which, in spite of every remonstrance, he continued to do, supported against a rock, for three whole hours; and when they told him of the victory, he

* Petter, p. 231.

exclaimed, "It is time, indeed, for I have no more cartridges, and I should have died of rage, if I had been forced to surrender."

Vialla relates another, which occurred some years ago, in the Cevo district. Four Montenegrins, and their sister, aged twenty-one, going on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Basilio, were waylaid by seven Turks, in a rocky defile, so narrow that they could only thread it one by one; and hardly had they entered, between the precipices that bordered it on either side, when an unexpected discharge of fire-arms killed one brother, and desperately wounded another. To retrace their steps was impossible, without meeting certain and shameful death, since to turn their backs would give their enemy the opportunity of destroying them at pleasure.

The two who were unhurt therefore advanced, and returned the fire, killing two Turks, — while the wounded one, supporting himself against a rock, fired also, and mortally injured two others, but was killed himself in the act. His sister taking his gun, loaded and fired again simultaneously with her two brothers, but at the same instant one of them dropped down dead. The two surviving Turks then rushed furiously at the only remaining Montenegrin, who, however, laid open the skull of one of them with his *yatagan*, before receiving his own death-blow. The hapless sister, who had all the time kept up a constant fire, stood for an in-

stant irresolute ; when suddenly assuming an air of terror and supplication, she entreated for mercy, but the Turk, enraged at the death of his companions, was brutal enough to take advantage of the unhappy girl's seeming agony, and only promised her life at the price of her honour. Hesitating at first, she pretended to listen to the villain's proposal, but no sooner did she see him thrown off his guard, than she buried in his body the knife she carried at her girdle. Although mortally wounded, the Turk endeavoured to make the most of his failing strength, and plucking the dagger from his side, staggered towards the courageous girl ; who, driven to despair, threw herself on her relentless foe, and with superhuman energy, hurled him down the neighbouring precipice, at the very moment, when some shepherds, attracted by the continued firing, arrived just too late for the rescue.*

It is the knowledge of his own power, to protect his family and his home, which makes the Montenegrin live without dread of his many neighbouring enemies ; the rugged barriers of rocky mountains, that surround his village, are his sentinels to prevent a surprise ; and never did the Turks make an inroad upon Montenegro, whether in large or small numbers, without paying dearly for the injuries they inflicted.

Of the Montenegrin villages, not more than

* Vialla, i. pp. 90. and 150.

twenty-five or thirty are on the banks of rivers *; for vallies, properly so called, are rare in the country, and the only † streams that water those rocky districts are the Zetta ‡ of Bielopavlich, the Moraça, the Riéka-Tzernovichi §, and the Tzernitza. ||

These all run into the lake of Scutari; the Zetta joins the Moraça, a little to the north of Podgóritza, and enters the lake near Zsabliak ¶, close to the Riéka-Tzernovichi; and the mouth of the Tzernitza lies about four miles farther to the south. There are also some small rivulets, as the Orochovka, Sagavatz, Sitnitza, and other tributaries of the Zetta; but none of them are more than eight miles in length, and the largest river, the Zetta, has only a course of seventeen miles, before its junction with the Moraça.**

The general aspect of Montenegro is that of a succession of elevated ridges, diversified here and there by a lofty mountain peak, and, in some parts, looking like a sea of immense waves turned into

* The villages are not "generally in vallies on banks of rivers," as has been stated.

† The Ribnitza is in the Kúchi, or Kutska Náhia, and therefore no longer a river of Montenegro.

‡ The Zetta, or Ceta, pronounced Tzetta.

§ Riéka signifies "river."

|| Or Tzernizza, pronounced Tzernitza, or Tzernitsa.

¶ Or Xabliak, sometimes written Zabliak. The Slavonic *x*, or *zs*, is pronounced like the French *j*.

** Moracha, Moratsa, or Moraksa, which separates the Piperi from the Kúchi.

stone. Trees and bushes grow amidst the crags; and, in the rugged district of Oevo, the fissures in the rocks are like a glacier, which no horse could pass over without breaking its legs. The mountains are all limestone, as in Dalmatia; but in no part of that country do they appear to be tossed about, as in Montenegro; where a circuitous track, barely indicated by some large loose stones, calling itself a road, enables a man on foot with difficulty to pass from the crest of one ascent to another. And some idea of the rugged character of the country may be formed, from the impression of the people themselves, who say that "when God was in the act of distributing stones over the earth, the bag that held them burst, and let them all fall upon Montenegro."*

The principal mountains are Lóvcen, or Monte Sella; Schtirovnik; Stavor; Garach, or Garacs; Pusti-Lisätz, in the Katunska-Náhia; Doberschtik, in the Riekska; and Sutorman, in the Tzernitska; the lofty Kom†, between the Kutska-Náhia and Albania, being now no longer a mountain of Montenegro.

The most common trees of the country are, oaks and ilex, ash, beech, firs, walnuts, hazel,

* See an excellent article by Krasinski on "Montenegro," in the British and Foreign Quarterly Review for July, 1840.

† The Turkish name for "mountain," from the Arabic *Kom*, "mount," answering to the Latin *cumulus*. It is given to several mountains in European Turkey, generally isolated peaks.

wild pears, poplars, willows, and alders; vines, peaches, pomegranates, olives, mulberry, and other fruit trees are also cultivated there; but the most valuable wood is the *Scottano**, chiefly grown in the Cevo district, which is exported, even to France. The wood gives a yellow dye, and the leaves† are used for tanning leather.

The underwood on the hills consists principally of arbutus, juniper, rosemary, myrtle, blackberry, and other brambles, as well as the common bushes found in Dalmatia; and some parts of the country are said‡ to produce larches, cypresses, pines, yews, chesnuts, planes, and limes.

The chief productions cultivated there are Indian corn, and potatoes; cabbages, cauliflowers, and tobacco are also grown in great quantities; and vegetables are among the principal exports of Montenegro. Potatoes indeed have been a most profitable acquisition to the poor mountaineers, as well for home consumption as for exportation; and they are indebted for them to the late Vladika, who introduced them, in 1786, on his return from Russia.

In the department of Tzernitza, between the Lake of Scutari and Dalmatia, the variety of productions is much greater than in any part of the country, and the wine made there is considered, if not better, more wholesome, than that of Dalmatia.

* The *Rhus Cotinus*.

† The leaves are called Sumák.

‡ Vialla, ii. p. 98.

The Valley of Bielopavlich has also some excellent land for grain, and the Indian corn grows there luxuriantly, some, that I passed through, being as high as a man on horseback; but the soil of Tzernitza is far more fertile; and it abounds in vines, olives, *carubas*, almonds, figs, apples, excellent quinces, walnuts, pomegranates, and other fruits, as well as honey, and the usual productions of the country. The people of Tzernitza are consequently the most wealthy of the Montenegrins; and that is the only part of the country, where they have made any advancement in agriculture.

From what has been said, it will be very evident, that Montenegro is not a country for horses; which are very rare, and were only introduced a few years ago, by the present Vladika. No one is mounted, except the chiefs, and the *Perianik* Guards, whose knowledge of riding has been derived from an Italian instructor, employed by the Vladika. Greece, which was always remarkable for the small proportion of level vale to the mountains, had its plains of Argolis, Attica, and other districts, but Montenegro has scarcely one deserving of that name, and justly merits the exclusive appellation of "the Black Mountain." Wherever a plain of any extent is seen, it belongs to the Turks; and the rocky Montenegro seems to be cast upon the level space, that should have continued from Albania to Herzegóvina. There is, however, no deficiency of cattle in the country; and sheep, goats, and pigs, are very numerous.

One of the most important productions of Montenegro are fish, which are abundant, and of excellent quality. The Scoranze (a species of *Cyprinus**), of the Riéka, and Lake Scutari, are a great article of commerce; they are dried and salted, and exported to Trieste, Venice, and other places; and they produce an annual revenue of from 14,000 to 16,000 florins.† In size and flavour they resemble *Sardines*, and are excellent, whether salted or fresh. The trout of Montenegro are also celebrated; and some are of immense size. I saw two kinds, during my visit to Ostrok‡, one of which, of a light salmon colour, was most excellent. The eels§, are also highly esteemed; and the *Carpione*||, *Cevolo*¶, and others of less note, abound in the rivers, and in the Lake of Scútari.**

Game is not very abundant, though red-legged partridges frequent the hills; and there are many hares; but birds are not seen there in any great numbers, and I seldom met with any but Royston crows, and magpies, except in the neighbourhood of the Lake.

The houses are of stone, generally with thatched roofs; but many are covered partly, or entirely,

* It has been called *Alburnus Scoranza*, by Professor Carrara.

† £1400 to £1600. See above, p. 392.

‡ See below, on the Convents of Ostrok.

§ Called bizetti, or bisatti, in the Venetian dialect.

|| *Cyprinus Carpio*. Linn.

¶ *Mugil Cephalus*. Linn.

** See the fish, in Carrara's *Dalmazia* descr., p. 83.

with wooden shingles *, a mode of roofing very common in Slavonic countries. Some of the better kinds are roofed with tiles, on which large stones, the primitive nails of Montenegro, are ranged in squares, to keep them from being torn off by the wind. Each house generally contains one or two rooms on the ground-floor, with a loft above, occupying the space between the gables ; where they keep their Indian corn, and other stores. The ascent to it is by a ladder, applied to a square hole in its floor, calling itself a door ; and this floor, which performs the part of ceiling to the lower room, is frequently of wicker work, laid on rafters running from wall to wall.

The lower room is at once the parlour, sleeping room, and kitchen ; but in the small villages the houses have no loft ; and their style of building is very primitive ; the walls being merely of rude stones without cement, and the roof the coarsest thatch. In the better kind of houses is a bedstead, standing in one corner of the room, which is a fixture, as in those of the rich Morlacchi. It may be styled a large bench, and generally consists of planks resting on a simple frame, having the head and one side to the wall ; and a foot-board, with a post running up to the ceiling, completes the whole wood work. Those, who can afford it, have a large mattress and quilt, or blankets, but no Montenegrin bed is encumbered with curtains, or sheets ; and the

* Called *gont* by the Poles.

only extras seen upon it are intended for warmth; in which the *Strucche* * perform an essential part. Native visitors are satisfied to roll themselves up in their *Strucche*, and lie on the floor, which is the bare earth; and the poorer people, who cannot afford bedsteads, do the same at their own homes: though this is no great hardship to the Montenegrin, who is accustomed, as long as the season will allow him, to sleep out of doors, upon the ground, or on a bench made of stones and mud. But whether in or out of the house, in a bed or on the ground, the Montenegrin always keeps on his clothes; his arms are close to his side; and when roused by any alarm, or by the approach of morning, he is up at the shortest notice; and no toilette intervenes, on ordinary occasions, between his rising and his pipe.

The embers of the fire, which had been covered up with ashes the night before, are then scraped up, and the usual habits of the day begin; unless, as often happens, the male part of the family has been on a nocturnal foray into Turkey; when the women, left alone, are looking out for the return of the men, laden with the pillage of their neighbours. The fire-place, which is in another corner of the room, is a raised hearth on the floor, with a cauldron suspended from a ring above; it also

* Pronounced Stróoké. They are like the Spanish *Manta*, and are worn also in parts of Dalmatia, to the south of the Narenta.

serves as an oven, the Montenegrin bread being merely dough baked in the ashes, as by the Arabs now, and by the Patriarchs of old, and without leaven. Chimneys are an unknown luxury in most Montenegrin houses, and the smoke escapes as it can.

The furniture is not abundant, consisting of a bench, a few wooden stools, and a simple table; and the only brilliant-looking objects in the house are the arms, and dresses, of the inmates. Clocks, or watches, are also luxuries unknown to Montenegro, except at Tzetinie and the convents; and the only mode of ascertaining time is by watching the sun, or by common hour-glasses, and an occasional sun-dial.*

In some of the wildest parts of the mountain districts, the houses, or huts, are inferior even to the cabins of Ireland, made of rough stones piled one on the other, or of mere wicker work, and covered with the rudest thatch, the whole building being merely a few feet high. The poverty of this people, their pig, and their potatoes, are also points of resemblance with the Irish: and I regret to find, that, since I visited the country, they have in like manner been suffering from the failure of the potato crop, upon which they depend so much for their subsistence.

* They have not improved much since Vialla's time. See Vialla, vol. i. p. 157.

Few houses in Montenegro have an upper story, except at Tzétinie, Riéka, and some other places; where they are better built than in the generality of the villages, of solid stone, and roofed with tiles. Warm houses are indeed very requisite there in winter, when it is very cold; the level of the whole country being considerably above the sea, amidst lofty peaks covered with snow during many months, and subject to stormy winds, that blow over a long range of bleak mountains. The climate, however, is healthy, and these hardy people are remarkable for longevity. Colonel Vialla de Sommières * mentions a family he saw, in the village of Schiéclich, near Négosh, which reckoned six generations. The great-grandfather was 117 years old, his son 100, his grandson 82, and great-grandson 60, and the son of this last, who was 43, had a son aged 21, whose child was 2 years old; according well with the reputation, enjoyed by the people of these countries, in old times, when Dando, the Illyrian, was *reputed* to have reached the age of 500 years.†

Life was not subject, among the “*prisca gens mortalium*,” to the common-place reality of a parish register; and the Montenegrins are probably not particular, even now, to a few decads; but however much truth might deduct from the veteran of 117,

* He was governor of the circolo of Cattaro, when in the possession of the French, vol. i. p. 123.

† Plin. vii. 48.

certain it is that they frequently reach a good, and hale, old age.

Both men and women are very robust ; and they are known to carry as much as 200 *funti*, (about 175 pounds,) on their shoulders, over the steepest and most rugged rocks. All appear muscular, strong, and hardy, in Montenegro ; and the knotted trees, as they grow amidst the crags, seem to be emblematical of their country, and in character with the tough sinewy fibre of the inhabitants.

But though able, the men are seldom inclined, to carry any thing, or take any trouble they can transfer to the women, who are the beasts of burden in Montenegro ; and I have seen women toiling up the steepest hills, under loads which men seldom carry in other countries. They are, therefore, very muscular and strong ; and the beauty they frequently possess, is soon lost by the hard and coarse complexions they acquire ; their youth being generally exhausted by laborious, and unfeminine, occupations. The sheaves of Indian corn, the bundles of wood, and every thing required for the house, or the granary, are carried by women ; and the men are supposed to be too much interested about the nobler pursuits of war, or *pillage*, to have time to attend to meaner labours.

As soon as the tillage of the lands is performed, they think they have done all the duties incumbent upon men ; the inferior drudgery is the province of

the women ; and the Montenegrin toils only when his inclination demands the effort. The men, therefore, (as is often the case in that state of society,) whenever active and exciting pursuits are wanting, instead of returning to participate in, or lighten, the toils necessity had imposed on the women, are contented to smoke the pipe of idleness, or indulge in desultory talk ; imagining that they maintain the dignity of their sex, by reducing women to the condition of slaves. The Montenegrin woman not only kisses the hand of her husband, as in the East, but also of strangers ; and a traveller, as he passes through the country, is surprised to receive this strange token of welcome, at the house where he lodges, and even on the road. It must however be remembered, that he is thus honoured as the guest, whose visit is sanctioned by the Vladika, and his hospitable reception depends on his being accompanied by some attendant from the capital.

In Turkey, and in Montenegro, man is equally “ a despot, and woman a slave ;” but the difference in the two countries is, that in one she is an object of caprice, and part of the establishment, as a horse is a member of its master’s stud ; in the other, she is the working beast of burthen, and his substitute in all laborious tasks. But the Montenegrin woman has the advantage of being in a Christian community ; and however arduous her duties, she is the helpmate of her husband, and is not degraded to the condition of a mere component part

of the harem. She is still his companion, his only partner, the only mother of his children ; and she sees not the reproach of her position in the splendour of her dress, or the show of kindness lavished upon her by her lord and master, from motives of self-gratification. At the same time, however degraded the condition of women in the East, they have one great consolation, in the affection of their children ; who are far more attached to their mothers, than in many more civilised communities ; and no oriental youth is deluded, by a false idea of manliness, into disrespect towards either of his parents.*

The Montenegrin has the same custom, that prevails in the East, and among the Morlacchi, of avoiding all mention of his wife before a stranger ; and, whenever he is obliged to speak of her, he makes an apology, by saying, "*Da prostitute moja xena*," "begging your pardon, my wife † ;" "saving your presence," or something of the kind ; as if his dignity would be insulted by the mention of a woman. She, however, does not see any degradation in this mode of treatment ; custom has reconciled her to it ; and she displays the same humility of manner to the stranger, that she is in the habit of showing to the men of her family.

* The very terms of abuse in the East, which are directed against the parents, imply the strong attachment borne to them ; it being more offensive to abuse them than the individual himself.

† Petter, p. 233.

But at the same time, as might be expected, that strong attachment, which a better treatment would ensure, is often wanting: and her services are performed, as a duty, rather than from motives of affection.

The marriage ceremonies are very like those of the Morlacchi, and are celebrated with great signs of rejoicing. Eating and drinking form a principal part of the festivity, with the noisy discharge of guns and pistols: and the duration of the entertainment depends on the condition of the parties. "When a young man resolves on marrying, he expresses his wish to the oldest and nearest relation of his family, who repairs to the house of the girl, and asks her parents to consent to the match. This is seldom refused; but if the girl objects to the suitor, he induces some of his friends to join him and carry her off: which done, he obtains the blessing of a priest, and the matter is then arranged with the parents. The bride only receives her clothes, and some cattle, for her dowry." *

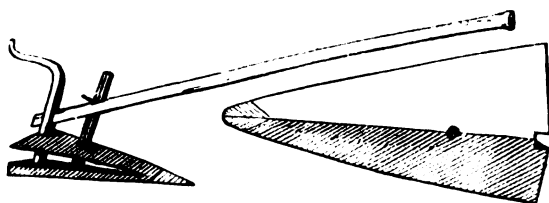
In some parts, principally on the eastern side of Montenegro, a few mules and asses are employed to share the labours of the women; but carts are unknown, and nearly all the goods, brought to the market of Cattaro, are carried by men, or women.

The cultivation of the lands is principally entrusted to the men, who sometimes also tend the

* Petter, p. 233.

sheep ; but from long established habit, and the constant prospect of an attack from the Turks, they never lay aside their arms ; and the Montenegrin has as warlike an aspect in these peaceful occupations, as on the enemy's frontier. The office of shepherd is generally delegated to children, who often beguile the time by playing a simple and plaintive air, upon a primitive pipe, perched on a rock, or reposing in the classic shade of a "spreading beech-tree."

Agriculture is in a very primitive state, and except in the valley of Bielopavlich, and a few other parts of the country, the land is all cultivated with the spade. The plough is very simple, consisting



of a wooden share, with long sloping slides, or cheeks, reaching to the holder, and placed at a very acute angle with the horizontal foot. It has only one handle, or holder, like that used in Greece, about Nauplia and Argos ; which is equally simple,

though the position of the few parts it is composed of varies a little; and both are drawn by two oxen, yoked to the pole.

No cultivable soil is neglected; every piece of land, a few feet square capable of tillage, is planted with Indian-corn, potatoes, or some other useful produce; and no means are left untried by the Montenegrins, to obtain a livelihood by labour, and augment the exports of their country.

Notwithstanding all their efforts to multiply its productions, the means of obtaining a sufficiency of food does not keep pace with the increase of population; and though they export provisions to foreign markets, many, who are poor, find themselves destitute of the necessaries of life. Frequent migrations, therefore, take place, especially after years of scarcity; and now that the Vladika has put a stop to their former unlimited system of robbery, those who hold the rank of poor, in that poor country, are forced to seek a livelihood, and a home, in more productive regions. They mostly go into Servia, which may be called the parent of Montenegro*; but those who have been distinguished in war are retained by their compatriots, and subscriptions are raised to furnish them with the means of subsistence.

Indeed, their feelings of attachment to Servia seem never to have been forgotten; and in 1809,

* See above, p. 294. and p. 403.

when Tzerni George was successfully opposing the power of the Porte, many Montenegrins joined his standard; and the late Vladika, in a poem composed on the occasion, shows how ready they were to second the views of the Servian hero, for driving the Turks out of Bosnia and Herzegóvina.* The rising of the Christians in those countries, in fact, actually began; and the Montenegrins still talk of the expulsion of the Turks, with the most sanguine hopes; which they say the countenance of the European powers would speedily enable them to realise.

The principal market for the produce of Montenegro is Cattaro; some is also sold at Budua, and Fortenuovo, near Castel-Lastua, as well as in the towns of Turkey, during the casual truces with that country; but dried fish, and a few other articles, are sent to more distant places.

Though so near the sea, that a stone might almost be thrown into it, from the mountains overhanging Cattaro, the Montenegrins have no port; nor does their territory, in any part, come down to the shore; and they are dependent on the Austrians for permission to pass all goods intended for exportation, or received from abroad, by the Adriatic. This is a great disadvantage to the Montenegrins; and it would certainly be highly conducive to their prosperity, and to their progress in civilisation, if

* See Ranke's *Servia*, p. 226.; and "La Serbie," by Bystronowski.

their territory reached to the sea, and enabled them to enjoy the advantages of direct commercial communication with other people. It would not, however, be desirable, either for themselves or others, that they should have possession of any stronghold, like Cattaro, which they once greatly coveted; and nothing would be required, but a port for the purposes of trade. A road for civilisation would thus be opened into the interior, which might tend to a peaceable, and commercial, intercourse with the Turks of Bosnia and Herzégovina, and bid fair to improve the condition of those who profited by it; and, while we admit the impracticability of giving a port to Montenegro, we may hope that the Austrians will take advantage of the opportunity they have, of conferring, and deriving, the benefits likely to arise, from a more intimate communication with all those countries.

The promotion of civilisation there may, some day, be of importance, and be attended by very desirable results; far more than could be hoped for from an intercourse with the adjoining province of Albania, which has not the same prospect of coming in contact with other nations, as the Slavonic race. It would indeed be difficult to civilise, or improve, the Albanians; whose savage habits are so little suited for the encouragement of industry, and who frequently outrage the common feelings of humanity; and few hopes

can, as yet, be entertained of a country, where excesses are committed, similar to those that happened four years ago; when some Moslems, having attacked a Christian village, were not satisfied with the murder of the men, but actually obliged the women to roast their own children at the fires, kindled from their burning houses.

The numerous sheep and goats reared by the Montenegrins afford them a very profitable supply of wool, and cheese, for exportation; their smoke-dried mutton (called *Castradina*) pays an annual duty at Cattaro, of from 2000 to 2600 florins; and the mutton hams of Montenegro are highly esteemed, and are sold for exportation to Istria, Venice, and Ancona.

The Exports * of Montenegro are: smoked mutton (*Castradina*) salt fish (*Scoranza*), wax, honey, hides, tallow, cheese, butter, *Scottano* wood and leaves (for yellow dye and tanning), fire-wood, charcoal, cattle, sheep, pigs, and pork, fowls, (a few horses, and tobacco, brought from Turkey,) wool, ice, tortoise-shells, quinces, figs, olives, walnuts, and various fruits, Indian corn, potatoes, cabbages, cauliflowers, and other vegetables, silk (to Turkey), common tobacco grown in Montenegro, &c.

The Imports are cattle, and some horses, as well as tobacco, from Turkey, and meat, for exportation;

* For the duties paid at the custom-house of Cattaro, see above, p. 392. ; and as the exports are nearly all to that place, the above are much the same as those already mentioned.

salt, copper, iron, oil, *baccalà*, salt fish, wax candles, wine, brandy, coffee, sugar, arms, gunpowder, lead, flints, glass, shoes, *opanche* sandals, cloth, linen and cotton stuffs, handkerchiefs, Fez caps, rice, grain, (sometimes, when the harvest is bad,) leather, &c.

Taxes.—The taxes are levied on each hearth, or family. The custom has been to divide them into three classes, which paid one, two, and three florins a-year for every house, or family; and the total now amounts to about 28,000 or 30,000 florins a-year. There is also an *appalto* of tobacco, which brings in annually about 200 florins.

The revenue amounts to from 76,450 to 78,450 florins*, including the 10,000 sequins, about 47,000 florins, given by Russia, for the government expenses; Montenegro being under the protection of the Czar.

	Florins.	
The family, or house, tax - - -	28,000 to 30,000	
Duty on salt - - - - -	200	200
Duty on fish - - - - -	250	250
Duty on dry meat - - - - -	200	200
Land of different convents let by the Vladika		
to peasants - - - - -	600	600
<i>Appalto</i> of tobacco - - - - -	200	200
	<u>29,450</u>	<u>31,450</u>
Given by Russia - - - - -	47,000	47,000
	<u>76,450</u>	<u>or 78,450</u>

* £7645 to £7845 English.

The price of a sheep is about four *zwanzigers*, or 2s. 8d. English; and the daily wages of a man in Montenegro are twenty *carantáni*.^{*} They coin no money; all that is current there being dollars, *zwanzigers* †, and other Austrian coins, as well as Turkish *paras*; though these last are generally used as female ornaments.

The manufactures of Montenegro, if they can be so called, are confined to some of their household furniture, and wearing apparel; and may be on a par with the manufactures of the Bedouins, or Arabs of the desert. The principal are the *strucche* ‡, woollen stuffs, answering the same purpose as the Scotch plaid, and the Spanish *Manta*, and performing the office of cloak and blanket, to men and women. The coarse woollen coloured aprons of the women, some of the sandals, the socks, and other parts of their dress, are made by members of the family: the women also embroider with the needle; and the shirt sleeves, and borders of their cloth dresses are neatly worked in silk, and patterns of coloured cloth.

There are few Montenegrins who exercise any trade; though some perform the offices of blacksmiths, farriers, or whatever else the immediate wants of a village may require; and their principal occupation, next to agriculture, is fishing, which

* Or one *zwanziger*, eight-pence English.

† Pieces of 20 *carantáni*, the third part of a florin.

‡ Or *stróoké*, see p. 417.

they find very profitable; particularly in the Lake of Scutari. Guns, and other arms are of foreign manufacture; and the skill of the Montenegrin is confined to mending them, when slightly injured. He also contrives to make some gunpowder, when unable to purchase it at a foreign market; and the charcoal he uses is from hazelwood, which abounds in the country. A very great number of his weapons have been taken from the Turks, and many a Montenegrin is seen clad in the entire dress of some Turkish adversary he has slain; but I did not see, in any house, those trophies of war, "the skulls of enemies, killed by the master," which is probably owing to the slayer of a Turk being rewarded by the Vladika for the presentation of his head. For such is the savage warfare of this people, that the heads* of the slain are exposed as trophies, and medals are given to those who have taken a stated number.

The arms of the Montenegrins consist of guns, pistols, and yatagans†, or long knives for cut and thrust, worn in their girdles; and the Vladika has lately introduced some rifles, and a few cannon. Their guns are very long, and carry to a great distance; the slender stocks are often inlaid with mother-of-pearl, or steel ornaments; and the locks are flint and steel. They have no match-locks.

* I shall have occasion to mention this again.

† Sometimes called *Hanjar*, or *Khangiar*; a name taken from the Turkish, as well as *Yatagan*, or more properly *Yatakan*.

They are very good marksmen, and their unerring shot is quickly followed by the use of the yatagan, when they can close with their enemy. Their mode of fighting is generally from behind rocks, when their foes are numerous; and the nature of their country enables them to adopt this mode of warfare, to great advantage. The Turks have more than once overrun Montenegro with large armies, ravaged the vallies, and burnt the villages and crops; but the mountain fastnesses have always been intact, and the invader has paid dearly for his advance, in the losses that accompanied his retreat.

But in order to give a just view of their customs in war, and their mode of fighting, I shall borrow from the account of an eye-witness, M. Broniewski.* He says: "A Montenegrin is always armed, and carries about, during his most peaceful occupation, a rifle† (a gun), pistols, a yatagan, and a cartouch-box. The Montenegrins spend their leisure time in firing at a target, and are accustomed to this exercise from their boyish years. Being inured to hardships and privations, they perform without fatigue, and in high spirits, very long and forced marches; . . . they climb the steepest rocks,

* Given in the *British and Foreign Review*, p. 136. He was an officer in the Russian fleet, under Admiral Siniavin, and travelled in Montenegro.

† They are not rifles, but smooth-barrelled guns, of great length.

with great facility, and bear with the greatest patience hunger, thirst, and every kind of privation. When the enemy is defeated and retiring, they pursue him with such rapidity, that they supply the want of cavalry, which it is impossible to employ in their mountainous country.

“Inhabiting mountains which present, at every step, passes, where a handful of brave men may arrest the progress of an army, they are not afraid of a surprise, particularly as they have on their frontier a constant guard; and the whole of their force may be collected, within twenty-four hours, upon the threatened point. When the enemy is in great force, they burn their villages, devastate their fields, and, after having enticed him into the mountains, they surround him, and attack him in a most desperate manner. When the country is in danger, the Montenegrins forget all personal feelings of private advantage and enmity: they obey the orders of their chief, and, like gallant republicans, they consider it a happiness, and a grace of God, to die in battle. It is in such a case that they appear as real warriors: but, beyond the limits of their country, they are savage barbarians, who destroy every thing with fire and sword.

“Their ideas about war are entirely different from those adopted by civilized nations. They cut off the heads of those enemies whom they take with arms in their hands, and spare only those who surrender before the battle. The property they take

from the enemy is considered by them as their own, and as a reward of courage. They literally defend themselves to the last extremity: a Montenegrin never craves for mercy; and whenever one of them is severely wounded, and it is impossible to save him from the enemy, his own comrades cut off his head. When, at the attack of Clobuk, a little detachment of our troops was obliged to retreat, an officer of stout-make, and no longer young, fell on the ground from exhaustion. A Montenegrin perceiving it, ran immediately to him, and, having drawn his yatagan, said, '*You are very brave, and must wish that I should cut off your head: say a prayer, and make the sign of the cross.*' The officer, horrified at the proposition, made an effort to rise, and rejoined his comrades with the assistance of the friendly Montenegrin. They consider all those taken by the enemy as killed. They carry out of the battle their wounded comrades on their shoulders; and be it said to their honour, they acted in the same manner by our officers and soldiers.

"Like the Circassians, they are constantly making forays in small parties, for the plunder of cattle, and consider such expeditions as feats of chivalry. . . . Being safe in their habitations, where nobody dares to molest them, they continue their depredations with impunity, disregarding the threats of the Divan, and the hatred of their neighbours. . . . Arms, a small loaf of bread, a cheese, some garlic,

a little brandy, an old garment, and two pair of sandals made of raw hide, form all the equipage of the Montenegrins. On their march they do not seek any shelter from rain or cold. In rainy weather the Montenegrin wraps his head with the *strooka*, lies down on the ground and sleeps very comfortably. Three or four hours of repose are quite sufficient for his rest, and the remainder of his time is occupied in constant exertion.

“It is impossible to retain them in the reserve; and it seems they cannot calmly bear the view of the enemy. When they have expended all their cartouches, they humbly request every officer they meet with to give them some; and as soon as they have received them, they run headlong into the further line. When there is no enemy in sight they sing and dance, and go on pillaging; in which we must give them the credit of being perfect masters; although they are not acquainted with the high-sounding names of *contribution*, *requisition*, *forced loans*, &c. They call pillage simply ‘pillage,’ and have no hesitation in confessing it.

“Their usual manner of fighting is as follows:—If they are in great force they conceal themselves in ravines, and send out only a small number of shooters, who, by retreating, lead the enemy into the ambush; here, after having surrounded him, they attack him, usually preferring on such occasions swords to fire-arms; because they rely on

their personal strength and bravery, in which they generally have the advantage over their enemies. When their numbers are inferior, they choose some advantageous position on high rocks; where, pronouncing every kind of abuse against their enemies, they challenge them to combat. Their attacks are mostly made during the night, because their principal system is surprise.

“However small their force may be, they always try to wear out the enemy, by constantly harassing him. The best French *voltigeurs*, on the advanced posts, were always destroyed by them; and the enemy’s generals found it more advantageous to remain under the cover of their cannon, of which the Montenegrins were not at all fond. However, they soon became accustomed to them, and supported by our rifles they bravely mounted the batteries.

“The tactics of the Montenegrins are confined to being skilful marksmen. A stone, a hole, a tree, offer them a cover from the enemy. Firing usually in a prostrate position on the ground, they are not easily hit, whilst their rapid and sure shots carry destruction into the closed ranks of a regular army. They have, besides, a very practised eye for judging of distance; they thoroughly understand how to take advantage of the ground; and as they usually fight retreating, the French, who took it for a sign of fear, constantly fell into their ambushes; as for themselves, they are so cautious,

that the most skilful manœuvres cannot deceive them.

“ Their extraordinary boldness frequently triumphed over the skill of the experienced bands of the French. Attacking the columns of the enemy in front and flank, and acting separately, without any other system than the inspirations of personal courage, they were not afraid of the terrible battalion fire of the French infantry.

“ The Montenegrins cannot withstand regular troops beyond their mountains; because, destroying every thing with fire and sword, they cannot long keep the field; and the advantage of their courage in assisting our troops, and the fruits of victory, were lost by their want of order. During the siege of Ragusa, it was never possible to know how many of them were actually under arms, because they were constantly going to their homes with spoil, whilst others joined the army in their places, and after a few days of indefatigable exertion, returned to the mountains, to carry away some insignificant trifle.

“ It is impossible to undertake any distant expedition, and consequently to accomplish any thing of importance with them. In one respect they have a great advantage over regular troops, by their great skill in mountain warfare, although they are completely ignorant of the military art. In the first place they are very lightly dressed, are exceedingly good marksmen, and reload with

much more rapidity than regular soldiers. The Montenegrins dispersed, and deliberately firing from a lying position on the closed rank of the enemy, are not afraid to attack columns composed of 1000 men, with numbers not exceeding 100 or 150. In a pitched battle their movements can be ascertained only by the direction of their standards. They have certain signal-cries, which are uttered when they are to join in a compact body, for attacking the weaker points of the enemy. As soon as such a signal is given, they rush furiously onwards, break into the squares, and, at all events, create a great deal of disorder in the enemy's ranks. It was a terrible spectacle to see the Montenegrins rushing forwards, with heads of slaughtered enemies suspended from their necks and shoulders, and uttering savage yells. They can be employed by a regular army with great advantage, for fighting on the advanced posts, for seizing the enemy's convoys, destroying his magazines, &c. &c.

“The Russian commander-in-chief had much difficulty in persuading them not to cut off the heads of their prisoners. He finally succeeded, not only in this (chiefly by paying them a ducat for every prisoner), but, what was more difficult, in persuading them, with the assistance of the Vladika, to embark for an expedition on board ship; a thing which they had never done before. Notwithstanding that they were treated with the greatest kindness, they proved very troublesome

guests. Whenever the captain invited their chiefs to breakfast, they all entered the cabin ; and having observed that more dishes were served to officers, than to common sailors, they wanted to have a similar fare. When the fortress of Curzola was taken, and the feast of Easter was approaching, they gave the captain no repose, entreating him to accelerate his return to Cattaro ; but when it was explained to them, that the vessel could not advance against the wind, they fell into great despondency. When at last the ship approached the entrance of Bocca di Cattaro, and they caught a sight of their own black mountains, they uttered joyous acclamations, and began to sing and dance. On taking leave, they affectionately embraced the captain and the officers, and invited those to whom they had taken a liking to pay them a visit. But when the sailors told them they could not leave the ship, without the permission of their superiors, they were much astonished, and said, ‘If you like to do a thing, what right has another to forbid you?’”*

The foregoing statement is perfectly borne out by what I learnt in the country, either by my own personal observation, or from the reports of others. The armed guard watching the movements of the enemy is stationed on the Turkish frontier of Herzégóvina, as an outpost to Ostrok ; the decapitation

* British and Foreign Review, p. 139, 140.

of their prisoners, their frugal mode of living, and their skill as marksmen, are confirmed by all who visit Montenegro; and their mode of warfare is represented, by all who have witnessed it, to be precisely as described by M. Broniewski.

As in the heroic times, they taunt their enemies, and provoke them to battle; they spoil the fallen foe; all their best-dressed warriors are clad in the dresses of the slain; and many a reproachful speech, made at the siege of Troy, might be adopted by a modern poet, in describing the contests of the Montenegrins and the Turks.

Their artful mode of fighting, their capability of bearing hunger, thirst, and other privations, their way of living, and various habits, forcibly call to mind the description, given by Procopius*, of the ancient Slavonians; and the use of the *Cithara* † is still retained in their favourite *gûsla*. ‡

This instrument is remarkable from having only one string §, which is stretched over a long neck, and a wooden body covered with parchment; its general shape being rather like a guitar. It is played with a bow. The sound is plaintive, and monotonous; and it is principally used as an

* See above, p. 35.

† The origin of the name *chitarra* (guitar), and pronounced, as the accent on *κῑθάρα* shows, in the same way.

‡ Pronounced *gûssla*, or *goosla*.

§ The ancient *Monochordium* was an Arab invention; (see J. Pollux, iv. 9.) and the modern *Raháb* of Cairo has one string.

accompaniment to the voice ; the performer singing the glorious wars of Montenegrin, and Servian, heroes ; of Tzerni George, and Milosh Obrenovich ; of Tzernoievich, and Milosh Obilich ; or of the far-famed Scander-beg, under whom their ancestors fought against the Turks.

It is interesting to see a custom of old times still retained, while the deeds it celebrates are of daily occurrence ; in other countries the bards, and the subjects of their songs, belong only to history and tradition, but in Montenegro they are both realities of the present day. There is not, however, any class of people, who can properly be styled bards ; the sturdiest warrior is in the habit of accompanying the *gŭsla* ; and the effect of the song is increased by the well-known character of the performer.

In character and disposition the Montenegrins are, like most mountaineers, hospitable, and courteous to strangers ; and have a friendly feeling towards those, who sympathise with their high notions of independence, and devotion to their country. They are cheerful in manner ; and, though uncivilised, by no means uncouth. Their hatred of the Turks is excessive ; they detest, and execrate them ; and the brilliant victories they have obtained over them excite the Montenegrins to a belief, that the mere supply of bread, powder, and ball, with the countenance of European powers, would enable them to overrun the greater part of Herzegóvina and Albania.

In their enthusiasm, they forget that their successes have been mainly owing to the nature of the country they have to defend; and neither their courage, nor their mode of fighting, would give them the same advantage against the numbers, or the cavalry, of their enemies in the open field, on Turkish ground; much less would they succeed in the attack of fortified towns, without the aid of artillery.

It is, nevertheless, a noble spirit that suggests this belief; it is the feeling of a brave people, and not the result of blind prejudice, or vanity; for the Montenegrin never withholds from the Turk the merit of great valour, and, like a brave man, has the generosity to acknowledge a virtue in his enemy, which he thinks it his duty, and believes it his habit, to surpass. It is not the courage, but the cruelty, of the Turks, which inspires him with hatred; and the sufferings inflicted upon his country, by their inroads, makes him look upon them with feelings of ferocious vengeance.

These savage sentiments are kept alive by the barbarous custom, adopted by both parties, of cutting off the heads of the wounded, and the dead; the consequences of which are destructive of all the conditions of fair warfare, and preclude the possibility of peace. The bitter remembrance of the past is constantly revived by the horrors of the present; and the love of revenge, which strongly marks the character of the Montenegrin,

makes him insensible to reason, or justice, and places the Turks, in his opinion, out of the pale of human beings. He dreams only of vengeance; he cares little for the means employed; and the man, who should make any excuse for not persecuting those enemies of his country and his faith, would be treated with ignominy and contempt. Even the sanctity of a truce is not always sufficient to restrain him; and hatred of the Turk is paramount to all ordinary considerations of honour or humanity.

The injuries they have constantly received from the Turks, the habits they have acquired by pillaging them, and the credit attached to a successful foray, have sanctioned among them the custom of robbery, which their poverty tends to keep up: and the poor Montenegrin sees no reason why he should not help himself to the goods of his neighbours. But unfortunately, the robbing propensity has not been confined to his enemy's property; and the Dalmatians have suffered from his depredations, which have obtained for him an unenviable notoriety. He does not, however, extend it to strangers travelling in his country; and the moment that, having entered his country, they obtain his protection, their persons and their goods enjoy the same kind of security, that is given by the bread and salt of the Arab.

The reception of strangers in Montenegro is somewhat embarrassing to an Englishman, un-

accustomed to be kissed by every man of a family he visits. Men kiss each other in other countries; but I never saw people so lavish of their salutes; and what is worse, upon the mouth. They are indefatigable in the distribution of these friendly tokens, however great the number of persons they have to encounter. When doomed to undergo this ordeal, and all chance of escape was cut off, I always contrived to make a straight lunge with my head, over my adversary's, I should say my friend's, shoulder; and only withdrew it when his kind intentions had time to subside; and then immediately opened the snuff-box of politeness, or found some subject of complimentary conversation, to prevent his pondering over my strange behaviour. The women only kiss a stranger's hand*; and on no occasion does one feel how advantageously the two sexes might change places, as when welcomed to a Montenegrin house.

An Englishman must also be much struck, both in Montenegro and Dalmatia, with the use of the word "*yes* †," as their affirmative. In Dalmatia it is more usually pronounced, as written, "*yest*;" but the Montenegrins frequently soften it into "*yes*;" and the negative "*ne*" or "*nay*" is not less English in sound. But "*yest*" is the third

* See above, p. 421.

† Our old affirmatives were *yea* and *ay*. The ancient Saxon is *yise*.

person of the Slavonic verb *to be*: the present of which is —

<i>yessum</i> *	I am,	<i>yesmo</i>	we are,
<i>yessi</i>	thou art,	<i>yesti</i>	ye are,
<i>yest</i>	he is,	<i>yessoo</i>	they are;

where we readily trace the resemblance to the *sum*, *es*, *est*, of the Latin, derived from the same common origin as the Slavonic.

Another custom of the Montenegrins on receiving visitors, has a claim to the literal meaning of *striking*; inasmuch as it endangers the person of the individual it is intended to honour. For while the innocent stranger approaches the place, where his presence is expected, he is received with a salute of muskets, which pointed downwards, and fired with ball among the rocks, through which he is slowly pursuing a winding path, may, by the glance of a bullet, as easily be his death-warrant for the next world, as a sign of welcome in this.

Like the Turks, they think a loud report adds to the honour done to their guest, and to the satisfaction of the firer; and the unremoved tail of the ball heightens the charm, by the peculiar twang it gives, on passing through the air. Trouble is also

• In the Slavonic of
the Bible it is

<i>Yesm</i>	<i>Yesmy</i>
<i>Yesi</i>	<i>Yeste</i>
<i>Yest</i>	<i>Sut,</i>

and
in Sanscrit,

<i>Asmi</i>	<i>Smas</i>
<i>Asi</i>	<i>Stha</i>
<i>Asti</i>	<i>Santi.</i>

saved by leaving it; the cartridge is more easily fastened on, and it has the cruel merit of inflicting a more lacerating wound upon an enemy. Like the Turks, again, they are persuaded every thing is written; that no one can be killed, or hurt, unless fate has so ordained it; and if fated, an event must happen, in spite of all precautions to prevent it. They, therefore, take none, in such cases; though they do shield themselves behind rocks to attack, or *avoid*, an enemy; which is one of many similar paradoxes of human credulity, and an instance of the difference between theory and practice.

Their mode of living is very hardy and primitive, and their food simple; consisting of coarse unleavened bread, made of Indian corn, *polenta*, cheese, milk, and vegetables. Meat and fish are rarely eaten, except on great occasions, or when a stranger is welcomed. They are fond of wine, but few can afford to drink it, except on certain festivals; when they consume a great quantity, especially at the fête of St. Elias, which is celebrated with great pomp.* Brandy and all spirituous liquors have great charms for the Montenegrins; but the use of them is very limited, and few have the opportunity, or the means, of obtaining them, except those who visit Cattaro.

The *habits* of the people in the interior are very simple, and their poverty generally prevents their indulging in excesses. But when they can afford

* Petter.

it, the bowl of conviviality passes freely, and they think that no guest is properly honoured, nor enjoys his reception, without a great consumption of wine.

They have a few games: the principal ones I saw were bowls, and a sort of quoits; and they perform various feats of agility and strength. They are also celebrated for their skill in leaping. Of this I had often heard, before my visit to the country; and when at Tzetinie, the Vladika kindly proposed to give me an opportunity of witnessing it. Some boys were first called, who made a very fair display of agility; but the men jumped twenty feet, in a level space, on turf, with a short run.

The Montenegrins are superstitious, and as they pass a church, cross themselves over and over again, for which they are ridiculed by the Catinines; who, when they see them make this extravagant show of religion, hint that their respect for crosses is consistent with their readiness to add to their number by the road side. For in this part of the world, as in Italy, and other Roman Catholic countries, a cross is always put up, by the road-side, to mark the spot of a murder. It must, however, be observed, that the Morlacchi are not much behind the Montenegrins in those external signs of devotion, whenever they pass a church, a cross, or some traditional relic. The notion about evil spirits, and the injury they do to man, is equally prevalent among the Montenegrins, and the Mor-

lacchi *, who ascribe all misfortunes to the agency of demons ; and the custom of howling at funerals, and many other peculiarities, are common to both people.

I always imagined that the habit of using the name of God, on every trivial occasion, was most prevalent in the East ; but the Montenegrins may compete with any Oriental in this respect ; and every expression they use is accompanied by “ Bógami,” “ Bógati †,” and that too, even by priests ; which the Dalmatians very justly consider both irreligious, and vulgar.

In *religion* the Montenegrins are all of the Greek Church, now that the Kûtska department has detached itself from Montenegro ; which adds to the influence exercised in the country by Russia, the Czar being the head of the Church, and the Vladika being invested with the episcopal office at St. Petersburg.

The principal convents are those of Tzetinie, Ostrok, and St. Stefano, which last was founded by King Velkan Nemagna ‡, in the *Moratska náhia*, or department of Morača.

* See the customs of the Morlacchi, in Chapter VIII.

† “ My God,” “ thy God,” from Boga, “ God,” a name which, by a strange perversion, like the Daimôn (Dæmon) of the Greeks, has received with us a very different, and absurd meaning.

‡ See above, p. 301. Appendini is wrong in calling his father Simeon “ brother” of Stephen, or Tehomil ; they were the *same*. See list of Servian Kings in Appendix C.

There was another at Stanievich *, in the commune of Budua, which had been given to the Montenegrins by the Venetian government, but which was ceded by the Vladika, a few years ago, to the Austrians, on receiving a certain compensation in money; no foreign state being allowed to possess a convent, within the Imperial territory.

They have no knowledge of *medicine*, but prejudice does not prevent their applying to foreigners, who possess it; and not only the Vladika, but other persons of rank in the country, gladly avail themselves of medical advice at Cattaro. The climate, however, their frugal mode of living, and their active habits render illness very unusual; and few cripples are seen in the country. Their healthy condition also enables them to recover speedily from wounds, and other severe accidents; which in a more civilised state would often be fatal; and they have the usual skill of all wild people, in curing external injuries; like the Arabs, and others who lead an unartificial life. Much is, of course, left to nature, and the simplest remedies are sufficient.

Education is still in embryo, and many even of the priests know not how to read or write. The Vladika has lately † established two schools; one at Tzetinie, for thirty boys, the other at Dobroskosélo, for twenty-four. There are several

* Stagnievich, or Stanovich.

† In 1841.

classes at each; and they learn writing, reading, and Slavonic grammar, arithmetic, Servian history, geography, and the catechism. Tzetinie also boasts a printing press; and it is a remarkable fact, that works in the Cyrillic character were printed in Montenegro, as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century.*

The *language* of Montenegro is a dialect of the Slavonic, and is considered very pure; not being corrupted by the admission of foreign words. The Montenegrins themselves call it a Servian dialect; which is perhaps a proper distinction, as they were an offset of Servia, and once formed part of that kingdom†; and Krasinski says "it is considered the nearest of all the Slavonian dialects to the original Slavonic tongue; *i. e.* that into which the Scriptures were translated by St. Cyril and Methodius, in the ninth century, and which continues still to be the sacred tongue, of all the Slavonian nations who follow the Eastern Church."‡

They have therefore some reason to distinguish it from the Illyric, which it so nearly resembles, but which is corrupted by the introduction of many Italian words; as the Bosnian, and other Slavonic dialects in Turkey, are by Turkish expressions.

The Montenegrins are not deficient in intellect,

* See below, the History of Montenegro.

† See above, p. 30., and p. 403.; and below, the History of Montenegro.

‡ British and Foreign Review, No. xxi. p. 112.

which only requires to be properly cultivated ; and the Cattarines even allow that they are capable of considerable mental acquirements. They have generally good foreheads ; but the face is not well shaped, being rather square (which is particularly observable in the women), with rather high cheek-bones, and the lower jaw projecting a little at the side. Many are, nevertheless, very handsome. Their eyes are rather near, than far apart, mostly hazel, and some few light blue. The hair is brown, sometimes dark, but rarely black.

The profile of the men has generally a decided outline, with a moderate aquiline, or a straight, nose ; but neither of the extravagant dimensions found in the Turkish face, nor of the *retroussé* shape sometimes seen in Northern Europe. Their eyes are very animated, though without the fierce expression of the Turks, except when excited by anger. In stature they are much above middle height ; some are very tall ; and they are well proportioned. Their voices are powerful, and I have often heard them carrying on a conversation at a distance, not by shouts, but with a clear, distinct pronunciation ; which can only be the result of experience, and the habit of communicating with each other from mountain to mountain. I observed the same among the Morlacchi, of the interior of Dalmatia.

Vialla * says they keep up long conversations, at the distance of half a league ; and the writer of " A

* Vialla, vol. i. p. 181.

Ramble in Montenegro" thus bears testimony to the strength of their lungs :—" We passed a village at a small distance, and lay on our oars to hear the news : most of the people were absent ; but one, a great man, was seated on the hut-top, with a few idlers round him. This was the chief president of the Senate,—the speaker of the house in short ; and undoubtedly, if stentorian lungs are of any use for that office in a Montenegrin parliament, he was most amply qualified. For twenty minutes this eminent man conversed with us—the distance at first being about a quarter of a mile, and probably it might be three miles, or more, before he was finally out of hearing." * These feats recall the fifty-voice power of Stentor, and the performance of the Egyptian, in the army of Darius (employed to vociferate distant commands), when he gave instructions to Histiaëus across the Ister. †

The *dress* of the men bears some resemblance to the Albanian ; but they have no *fostán*, and their white shirt falls over a pair of full blue trousers, which extend a little below the knee. They wear a white, or yellow, cloth frock, reaching almost to the knee, secured by a sash round the waist : under it is a red cloth vest, and over it a red, or green, jacket without sleeves, both richly embroidered ; and the whole is covered with a jacket, bordered with fur.

* Blackwood's Magazine, January, 1835, p. 42.

† Herodot. iv. 141.

On the head they wear a red Fez cap, and a turban, generally white, or red; below which projects, at the back of the neck, a long lock of hair. In this they also resemble the Albanians, as in the absence of beards. The fore part of the head is shaved, as far as the line of the ear, behind which the hair is allowed to grow to a great length; but they never have the long pigtail of the Morlacchi. Though all wear mustaches, none have beards, except the monks, and those priests who are intended for the offices of Bishop, and Archimandrite, and who properly belong to the monastic order. Besides the sash, they have a leather girdle, for holding pistols and yatagan, like the Albanians, Turks, and Morlacchi; and pouches, with various useful and ornamental bags, are fastened to a strap below the sash. Men and women carry the *struccha* over one shoulder. That of the women is varied in colour; the other generally brown.

The female dress consists of a frock, or pelisse, of white cloth, without sleeves, and open in front, like that of the men*, but much longer, reaching nearly to the ankles, and trimmed with various devices, in braiding, or coloured cloth, and tassels; and in front are several gold ornaments. Around the neck are numerous chains, gold coins, and collars; they wear earrings, and pendants fastened to their plaited locks of hair: and the red cap of the girls is

* See woodcut, representing the interior of a Montenegrin house.

covered, in front, with a mass of small silver Turkish coins, mostly *paras*, arranged like scales; over which is an embroidered veil, falling upon the shoulders. The red cap of the married women, instead of the *paras*, has a black silk border, and on gala days a bandeau of gold ornaments, generally half covered by a coloured veil, fastened on the top of the head by a gold-headed pin. The shirt has its front, and its long loose open sleeves, worked with silk of various colours and patterns, or gold thread; it frequently reaches to the ankles, but sometimes only to the waist, and the apron then supplies the place of the lower part. This apron is of coloured worsted, or cloth, with a deep fringe along the bottom; and the girdle is studded with three or four rows of real, or false, red cornelians.* Short socks, worked in coloured worsted, are drawn over the feet of their coarse white stockings; and men and women wear *opanche* (sandals), like those of the Morlacchi. With these *opanche* they run over the most rugged, and slippery, rocks, with the greatest agility; and the comfort to the foot, when accustomed to them, is said to be greater than in any other sandal. The sole is made of untanned ox hide, with the hair taken off, and that side outwards.

The *government* of Montenegro may be called republican, all affairs relating to the public good

* An imitation, in composition, is bought, and used, by the poorer people.

being settled in the general assembly. The same privilege of discussion is enjoyed by the people, as in other Slavonic communities, of ancient, and modern, times; and if the government is not democratic, as among the early Slavonians (mentioned by Procopius), respect for the popular rights is duly maintained, and every village, or department, has the right of electing its own chiefs. And though the reforms, made by the present Vladika, have made a considerable change in the mode of government, in the enactment, and administration, of laws, and in the establishment of a Senate, the voice of the people has still its weight, in all matters relating to the common interests of the country. Indeed, the ruler of Montenegro ought to be appointed to his office by the popular voice, and the general diet has the right of his election. But the supreme power, as in some other Slavonic countries, has long since been confined to one family; and unless a good reason could be assigned, has always been given to the immediate heir; so that the elective principle, in the appointment of the chief magistrate, has not for many years been really carried out.

The voice, too, of the Vladika has always had far greater weight, in the deliberative assembly, than is consistent with independent votes; and if he was formerly unable to punish crimes, this was rather owing to the want of laws, than to any inclination to resist his authority. His influence has latterly become stronger; it has assumed the character of legal

right, and the republican principle in Montenegro is nearly confined to external form. He has also united in his person all the temporal, as well as spiritual power; he is the sole ruler of the country; and the appointment of a Vladika now depends on the Emperor of Russia; the choice being confined to the single family of Petrovich.

In a semicircular recess, formed by the rocks on one side of the plain of Tzetinie, and about half a mile to the southward of the town, is a level piece of grass land, with a thicket of low poplar trees. Here the diet is held, from which the spot has received the name of *mali sbor* *, "the small assembly." When any matter is to be discussed, the people meet in this their *Runimede*, or "meadow of council;" and partly on the level space, partly on the rocks, receive from the Vladika notice of the question proposed. The duration of the discussion is limited to a certain time; at the expiration of which, the assembly is expected to come to a decision; and when "the monastery's bell orders silence, notwithstanding the most animated discussion, it is instantly restored. The Metropolitan asks again what is their decision, and whether they agree to his proposal, or not? The answer is always the same, '*Budi po tv oyemu, Vladika*,'—'Let it be as thou wishest, Vladika.'" †

Until the late reforms, the power of the Vladika

* Sborit "to assemble."

† Krasinski, *British and Foreign Review*, p. 112.

was much more limited, being rather a moral influence, than an actual jurisdiction. He had no right to punish any one for the greatest crimes; and though he might interpose his episcopal authority, and threaten with excommunication, his commands might be defied; and he was obeyed rather out of respect for his holy office, for his superior understanding, and from a belief that he acted from just and wise motives. In the absence of laws, every one defended his own cause by force; none were amenable to justice; and none were deterred by fear of punishment, which none had the right to inflict. Blood was avenged by blood, and the *lex talionis* was carried out, much in the same way as among other people in a primitive state of society. If "the murderer had left the country, this vengeance fell on his nearest relation. He in turn found new avengers, and sometimes whole villages made war in this way, so that neither governor, nor Vladika, could stop the effusion of blood." Families were obliged to avenge the violent deaths, that happened in their villages; and villages, or even whole districts, to "take the part of their inhabitants, against those of another village, or district. Truces were sometimes established between the hostile parties, as, for instance, when they had common, or adjoining, fields to cultivate. In cases where one party stood more in need of the truce than the opposite one, it must pay for it; and the attack of a foreign

enemy alone established a general truce for all private hostilities."

Like the Arabs, they frequently settle grave questions by arbitration, when not brought before a legal tribunal; though there is nothing corresponding to the tents of refuge among the Bedouins, or the cities of refuge among the Israelites of old. In Montenegro, when the case is to be amicably adjusted, each side chooses "an equal number of arbiters, amounting from ten to forty. These arbiters, called *Kmeti*, receive the complaints of both parties, minutely examine all the circumstances of the case, and estimate a gun-shot wound, or a yatagan* cut, not according to the injury inflicted, but according to that which might have been done: and after mature deliberation, they give a verdict, from which there is no appeal. The guilty party is condemned to pay a fine, one wound being generally taxed at 10, two at 20, and a murder at 120, ducats." † "In cases of homicide, the guilty person is obliged to beg pardon publicly, with the following ceremonies:—The judges and spectators form a large circle, in the midst of which the culprit, having suspended from his neck a gun, or a poniard, must creep on his knees to the feet of the offended party, who, taking the weapon from his

* I substitute this for "sabre," the latter not being a weapon of the country.

† British and Foreign Review, p. 114.

neck, raises him, and embraces him, saying, 'God pardon you!' The spectators congratulate, with joyous acclamation, the reconciled enemies; who not only forgive their mutual injuries, but often become sincere friends. This ceremony, which is called the '*circle of blood*,' is concluded by a feast, given at the expense of the guilty party, of which all the spectators partake." *

"Theft is mulcted by paying the sevenfold value of the stolen object:" which is a more severe law than with the Arabs, who, like the Israelites, "restore fourfold." The Montenegrins "have a curious manner of recovering this, without exposing the guilty person. The individual, who has been despoiled, publicly announces the thing stolen, together with the sum which he will give for its restoration. If any one happens to know the author of the theft, he does not denounce him, but sends him word, by an intermediate person, that his crime is detected, and that he should not delay to reconcile himself to the injured party, by the restoration of the stolen object. When the thief perceives that he is known, he restores, by means of these goers-between, the stolen thing to its owner, who remains ignorant of his name."

These imperfect, and primitive, customs are now beginning to give place to the authority of established laws; and the Vladika, with great firmness and wisdom, has commenced a system of

* See some other customs in the same article, p. 115.

administration, likely to be highly beneficial to his country : the effects of which are already sensibly perceived.

Besides his offices of high priest, judge, legislator, and civil governor, the Vladika is commander-in-chief of the army ; and he is the only remaining instance of the military bishops, who played so distinguished a part in the wars of the middle ages. Nor is he inferior to those of former days, in courage, or warlike prowess ; and no man in the country can point a cannon, or a rifle, with more precision than the Vladika ; for which he is principally indebted to his early education ; having intended to follow the military profession, until circumstances required him to enter the church, and become the Prince-Bishop of his country.

He has the privilege of ordaining priests. Each pays thirty dollars for admission to holy orders ; and when a batch is ordained, as recently of fifty individuals, the fees give a little addition to the revenue of the state.

At one period the offices of bishop and governor of Montenegro were distinct ; and the civil authority was in the hands of a prince of the family of Tzerńoievich *, until the year 1516 ; but, from that time, the spiritual and temporal power have been generally vested in the Vladikas. The family of Radonich, however, enjoyed, for a long period, the post of governors ; and though the office was

* See below, the History of Montenegro.

properly elective, and depended on the choice of the chiefs, or sometimes of the whole nation, it had been made hereditary in that family.

Under the late Vladika, the authority of the governor became merely nominal, and at length, in 1832, it was entirely suppressed; in consequence of the then governor making an attempt to get all the power into his hands, or, as some say, intending to betray the country to the Austrians. He was expelled with his whole family, and retired into the Austrian states; since which time the sole authority, civil and military, as well as spiritual, has been vested in the Vladika alone.

The title of Vladika signifies "Prince," or "Ruler*;" and the office is hereditary in the house of Petrovich; but as every Vladika is consecrated bishop, and cannot marry, the succession always falls to a nephew, or some other of the family. This fact, of the episcopal office being hereditary, is singular, considering the doctrines of Christians, in regard to Apostolic succession; though it is true that each member of the family, who succeeds to the office, is duly ordained, according to the rites of the Greek Church.

The Vladika is president of the Senate, which is composed of twelve members, with a vice-president, one of their body; an office now held by the cousin of the Vladika, George Petrovich, who,

* Written Władyka. Vladainstevo signifies "government," "authority," or, more properly, "command."

in right of his seniority, and being the son of an elder brother of the late Vladika, would have succeeded to the government of the country, had he not preferred the profession of arms to that of the church. He was long in Russia, and held a high military rank in the service of the Czar.

In spiritual matters, the Archimandrite, who resides at the convent of Ostrok, is the second person after the Vladika. He has also power of life and death, though all complicated cases are referred to the Vladika himself. The other persons in authority are the *Segretario referente* ; the *Cancelliere*, called also *Segretario della Commissione* ; the Captain of *Perianiki* ; and forty Captains or *Pretors*, who are provincial judges. Thirty *Perianiki* * compose the body-guard of the Vladika, who are selected from the principal families in the country, and who, on condition of doing duty, properly armed, dressed, and mounted, receive ten dollars a year, for the keep of a horse. There are also 800 national guards, distributed in the different provinces, where they have the power of deciding respecting affairs of minor importance, and rendering summary justice, in their capacity of police officers.

The secretary of the Vladika is Signor Milekovich, a man of considerable talent, born and educated in Russia, whose family, originally from Herzegóvina, has been for some years settled at

* *Perianik* is perhaps from *Pero*, a "feather."

Ragusa. There are also at Tzetinie some refugees from Austria, who have been taken into the service of the Vladika, but who occupy no post connected with the government of the country, and are only there on sufferance.

The first reforms, in the government and institutions of Montenegro, were introduced by the late Vladika, whose influence paved the way for the authority now possessed by his successor. The respect paid to him, and the fear of his anathema, have passed down to the present ruler of the country; and the name of Pietro Petrovich possesses a charm in the minds of the Montenegrins. For, like some other dignitaries of the church, the Bishop of Montenegro may choose his name, when consecrated to that office, and the present Vladika has taken the same as his uncle and predecessor, Pietro.

Besides the beneficial changes, introduced during his rule, the late Vladika may be said to have bequeathed certain ameliorations, in the advice and suggestions he gave his countrymen before his death; the formation of the Senate*, and the harmony established among the Montenegrins, were owing to his fatherly care; and he not only recommended them "to maintain concord, and

* "A judicial tribunal called (by the Turkish name) Kuluk, which consisted of sixty chieftains," with fixed salaries, had been established before by the Emperor Paul, "but as nobody would submit to their authority, the tribunal was abolished, after a year's duration."—British and Foreign Review, p. 128.

establish a legal order in the country," but, "repeating the same injunction in his will, he conjured them to swear over his coffin, to preserve a general truce amongst districts, villages, families, and individuals, for the space of six months, in order that this time might be employed for the organization of a new mode of government."* His death happened on the 30th October †, 1830.

His nephew, whom he had recommended as his successor, was then admitted to holy orders; but, being only fifteen years of age, and too young to take the reins of government, or receive the episcopal dignity, a *locum tenens* was appointed, and S^r. Ivanovich ‡ was sent from Russia to govern the country, until the consecration of the new Vladika. This took place at St. Petersburg on the 18th of August§, 1833. The youthful Bishop then returned to his own country; and the order of St. Anne, of the first class, was afterwards conferred upon him.

That the present Vladika is worthy to succeed his talented predecessor is fully shown by many acts of his administration; and neither the opposition he has met with, from some of his intractable subjects, nor the difficulties of his isolated position, have prevented his carrying out his projects with firmness and discretion. "Our neighbours," he

* British and Foreign Review, p. 146.

† The 18th October, old style.

‡ Or Vacovich.

§ 6th August, old style.

observed to me, "have stigmatised the Montenegrins as robbers and assassins *; but I am determined that they shall not be so, and will show that they are as capable of improvement, and civilisation, as any other people." In his endeavours to improve their condition, he has already done wonders: the security and good order he has established throughout the country, are highly creditable to his justice and ability; and were it not for their extreme poverty, and the privations to which they are so frequently exposed, he would have been able to carry out his intentions of suppressing robbery, even across the frontier. Already are the people less uncouth in their manners; more disposed to welcome strangers, more cordial and frank in their demeanour, and less averse to improvements and innovation; and appreciating the advantages of wise laws, they have learnt to respect them, and to abandon the dangerous habit of maintaining their own cause by force.

To overcome this has been one of the Vladika's greatest difficulties; and an apparently insufferable objection stood in the way of carrying into execution any laws, which condemned an offender to death. For such was the inflexible character that marked their custom of retaliation, that no one could be found to undertake the office of executioner: his own life was certain to be sacrificed to the vengeance of the culprit's family; no plea of

* Brockhaus says, "a free community of assassins."

justice would satisfy them : and the punishment of a capital crime defied the authority of the Vladika himself.

To defeat the course of revenge, and to place the executioner beyond its reach, the following expedient has been adopted. Whenever a culprit is condemned to die, a number of persons are appointed to fire upon him at a given sign, and as no one can be fixed upon as the author of his death, the relations no longer consider themselves bound to revenge it ; and thus the abolition of a barbarous custom has been effected, which formerly entailed on whole families interminable feuds, and presented a bar to every attempt at civilisation, or improvement.

The moral power of the Vladika, and the fear of excommunication, have done much to bring about his reforms ; and far greater difficulties would have been experienced by any governor, whose authority was not backed by the influence of religion ; for, notwithstanding, some of his first measures met with much opposition ; particularly in those cases where it was found necessary to pronounce existing blood feuds to be at an end, “without the usual compensation in money, and the ceremony of the culprit’s humiliation * ;” “many villages and other communities refusing to surrender criminals belonging to them, and considering it a disgrace

* British and Foreign Review, p. 148.

to permit them to be sought for, and taken in the midst of them."

"The following manner of proceeding against murderers has been adopted by the present Government. Though the communities refuse to seize or deliver up the culprits, or to permit the Senate to pursue, and imprison them, the Government has at last succeeded in effecting so much, that the communities shall no longer oppose the burning down the house of the murderer, and the confiscation of his cattle (generally the sole property of the Montenegrins), by which his family become free from the vengeance of blood; the murderer himself is outlawed; and the confiscated cattle divided amongst those who executed the sentence against him. Although, on account of this share in the confiscated property, many chiefs of villages, as well as other persons, present themselves to assist at the above mentioned executions, there is always a long hesitation amongst them as to who shall take the lead. It happened once at Cettigne (Tzetinie), that an execution was delayed from day to day during a whole week; and generally, nobody is willing to act, until compelled by the authority of the Vladika.

"The murderer being thus deprived of house and property, generally takes refuge in some remote cavern, where he leads a robber's life; many emigrate into Turkey, whither they are sometimes followed by their families. In other cases the

unfortunate family of a murderer finds an asylum in the house of some relation. Barbarous and cruel as this mode of proceeding is, it is perhaps the only possible means of replacing by a legal order the state of society, which still exists in Montenegro. Whenever there is a possibility of catching the culprit, and of inflicting on him the merited punishment, the property of his family remains untouched." *

Fines are now established for every offence, and whoever wounds another in a quarrel is arrested ; and his arms, being taken from him, are kept as a deposit, until the fine is paid. Half the sum goes to the Vladika, the rest is divided between the senators, and the officers of government. And in order to show that the Vladika and the laws are in earnest, a prison has been set up at Tzetinie ; where culprits are immured, without the advantages of being fed at the government expense ; and every one depends, during his confinement, for his bread and water, on his family or friends.

The poverty of the Montenegrins is certainly a great bar to their civilisation ; but notwithstanding this, they are neither mercenary, nor selfish ; and while I was travelling in the interior of the country, poor people often ran out of their cottages to give me fruit, or whatever they had ; and when on one occasion I offered them money, their reply was, " this is to welcome you ; we are at home, you are

* British and Foreign Review, p. 147.

a stranger; and had we known you would offer to pay us, we would not have brought it."

The Vladika has constructed roads in various parts of the country, which, though an improvement on the old mountain paths, are very primitive, being paved with large irregular stones, and fit only for mules and mountain horses; but every thing is by comparison, and after passing from the old tracks, they have at least the appearance of being made by human hands. The means of communication are certainly of great advantage to the people; but at the same time it may be dangerous to render them too convenient for their neighbours: the strength of Montenegro has always been the inaccessible character of its mountains; and the improvement of roads, and the introduction of too many innovations, may interfere with the security of the country.

The Montenegrins have lately suffered some losses of territory, independent of the defection of the Kutska department, which have increased their embarrassments and their poverty; and they have not escaped the failure of the crops, which now afflicts many parts of Europe. But this last calamity has afforded the generous Vladika an opportunity of proving his sincere, and devoted, love for his country; and he has sold his jewels, and whatever valuables he possessed, to purchase food for his people.

In 1843, the Montenegrins were obliged to cede

to Herzegóvina a portion of territory, at Gráhovo, on the northern frontier, with the "condition" that the religion of the inhabitants should be respected, that they should continue under the jurisdiction of the Vladika in all spiritual matters, and that nothing more than the payment of tribute should be exacted from them. This, however, can scarcely be called a condition, as it is the usual fate of a province conquered by the Moslems; who exact tribute from all their *rayah* subjects, while they allow the patriarchs, or spiritual chiefs, to use their privileges in matters of religion; and the moral effect of the cession, both in Turkey and Montenegro, has been highly prejudicial to the Montenegrins.

But a still more severe blow has been inflicted, by the capture of Vranina, and Lessandro, by the Albanians. Standing at the northern extremity of the Lake of Scútari, these islands command the mouth of the Riéka-Tzernovichi, and interfere with the fisheries; which are a great source of revenue to the country; and so great an injury has been thereby inflicted on the neighbouring department of Tzer-nitza, that fears have been entertained, lest the people of that Náhia should secede from Montenegro, and thus deprive the country of its most fertile districts.

This would be a grievous calamity: there is also another event, which, for the interests of the country, and of humanity, it is to be hoped will never occur, the retirement of the Vladika from Mon-

tenegro. It has been said, that he may be driven to this sad resolution by the many difficulties, and disappointments, he has to encounter, and the little sympathy shown by other states towards his people, in their struggles with the Turks, together with the discontent of some districts at his innovations. It is also reasonable to suppose that his solitary position, among the illiterate and unrefined Montenegrins, must be exceedingly irksome to a man of education, accustomed to associate with civilised individuals; and it certainly requires great self-denial, and a devoted love for his country, to reconcile him to his arduous duties.

After all the admirable measures he has adopted, for the benefit of the people he governs, his loss would be severely felt; and if he has found a difficulty in overcoming the prejudices, and preventing the excesses, in which they had always been accustomed to indulge, few others would have the energy, or the talent to continue his reforms; and his departure from the country would be the signal for a return to all the irregularities of former times.

Besides his talents as a governor, the Vladika has the merit of being a distinguished Servian, or Slavonian, poet; and he unites all the qualities of a good soldier, and an able diplomatist. He is also a member of several learned societies of Europe; and having been educated partly at Castel Nuovo in Dalmatia, and partly in Russia, and

having visited the courts of Vienna, and St. Petersburg, he has enjoyed the advantages of European society; and his mode of living sufficiently shows that he appreciates the comforts, and elegances, of refinement. He was born in 1815, at Erakovich, one of the villages in the commune of Négosh*, from which he derives the affix to his name Petrovich-*Negosh*; he is styled "Monsignore" and "Eminenza;" and in the address "Illustr. e Reverend° Monsignor Pietro Petrovich-Negosh, Vladika di Montenegro e *Berda*," he bears a title taken from the Eastern† division of the country. He is also styled, in official documents, Metropolitan of Skenderia, or Scútari.

With a people like the Montenegrins, the merit of excelling in military exercises is a great recommendation in their chief; and though, in these days, it may appear a singular accomplishment for a bishop, to hit with a rifle a lemon, thrown into the air by one of his attendants, this feat of the Vladika adds to the confidence he enjoys amongst his troops. His appearance too is not a little in his favour; and his majestic height, of about six feet eight inches, may well command the respect of a primitive and warlike race. He is also handsome, and well proportioned to his height. He has a small beard, and his long dark hair flows over the back of his neck, his head being covered with a red

* Niegosh, or Gnegosh.

† See above, p. 404.

Fez cap. His eyebrow is arched; and the expression of his countenance is mild and amiable.



His general costume is military, like that of the country, though richer, and covered with a scarlet pelisse, bordered with fur. He wears the full short blue trousers of the Montenegrins, with white stockings, and black shoes; and two rather singular additions to his dress are a black silk cravat, and black kid gloves.

His pontifical robes are very different ; but these he seldom wears. They consist of a long robe open



in front, over another of the same length, girded by a sash round the waist ; and his head is covered with the black round upright cap, usually worn by Greek priests ; from which a black veil falls over his shoulders.

His manners are particularly prepossessing, and his conversation is sensible, and agreeable. His observations on history, and politics, and on the many subjects he delights in discussing, show great discernment, and an excellent memory ; and his enthusiasm for his country cannot fail to command admiration and esteem. Kind, hospitable, and courteous, he takes a pleasure in the visits of foreigners, and is particularly desirous that the English should.

feel an interest in the welfare of his country ; which, from the vicinity of Corfu, and from the fact of the Montenegrins having co-operated with us, in our attacks against the French in the Bocche di Cattaro, he thinks has some claim upon our friendly notice. This he repeated more than once, during my frequent conversations with him ; but I could not of course explain that, though their co-operation was accepted by our fleet, the British government was greatly averse to it, and even expressed a regret, in the despatches sent to Captain Hoste, that he had made common cause with a people, whose mode of warfare was so little consistent with the customs of civilised nations. The direct interposition of Russia in favour of Montenegro, and the subsidies received from that power, are also an impediment to any direct show of friendship on our part ; which would not be very agreeable to Austria, and not quite fair to Turkey, with whom we are at peace.

During my interview with the Vladika, I had an opportunity of adverting to the barbarous custom, adopted by his people and the Turks, of cutting off the heads of their enemies, and exposing them on stakes, as trophies of victory, and revenge ; and I was delighted to find him fully alive to the evil results of this practice, and desirous of its discontinuance. "But," he added, "you, who have long known the Turks, will understand how impossible it is for us to be the first to abandon it,

or to propose that it should be abolished ; they would inevitably attribute our humane intentions to fear, and, in their usual way, requite us with increased vexations. Our making any propositions of the kind would almost be tantamount to an invitation to invade our territory ; and I must continue to regret, what I cannot venture, for our own security, to discontinue."

I could not but confess that he was perfectly right in his estimation of the Turkish character, which long and painful experience has taught his countrymen to understand ; I acknowledged the impossibility of doing this, unaided by some intermediate advocate ; and I determined within myself, if I ever went into any of the neighbouring Osmanli provinces, to leave no means untried, to make the Turks sensible of the injurious tendency of this odious practice. My wishes were gratified about two months later, on going into Herzegovina ; and I shall have occasion to mention the result of my interview with the Vizir, in describing my visit to Mostar.*

History of Montenegro. — In early times, Montenegro formed part of ancient Illyricum, and belonged to the district of the Labeates, of which Scodra, now *Scútari*, was the capital. As the history of the country, at those remote periods, is not connected with the modern inhabitants, it

* See below, Chapter VII.

is sufficient to say that the present Montenegro was a district of Servia, when that country was ruled by its own kings.* “Montenegro was then called Zeta †, and was governed by a prince, dependent on the Servian monarch.” About the period of the arrival of the Turks in Europe, that kingdom had attained a certain degree of consequence, especially in the reign of Stephen Dushan, whose sway (from 1333 to 1356) extended from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, and from the Archipelago to the Danube. “But the victory gained by the army of Sultan Amurath ‡ I., (Murad) A.D. 1389, in the plain of Kosovo §, where the Servian King Lazarus lost his throne and his life, made the kingdom of Servia tributary to the Porte,” which appointed a king, or despot, over the country in 1390; and sixty-nine years afterwards, Servia became a province of Turkey.||

“On the death of King Lazarus ¶, Zeta secured

* See above, p. 294.

† Or Zenta, which was divided into Upper and Lower Zenta, the latter extending to the Lake of Scútari, hence called Lake of Zenta. Farlati considers Zenta distinct from Montenegro. See vol. i. 161. and vi. 463.

‡ Some of the names of Turkish and Arab sultans have been strangely perverted. We call Murad Amurath, but still Murad Bey is not Amurath Bey.

§ Cosovo, or Kósóvo-Pólé.

|| See the History in Chap. IX.; and Kings of Servia, Appendix, C.

¶ For the greater part of this summary of Montenegrin History (marked in inverted commas), I am indebted to the

its independence, under the rule of Prince George Balsha*, who had married the *Despina*, a daughter of the Servian monarch. Stratzimir, their son, being called from his dark complexion *Tzernoie* ('black'), gave his name to the family of Tzer-noievich †; for, as with the Atridæ, and others in Greek history, the family names of the Slavonians are frequently borrowed from some early patronymic; "and Stephen Tzer-noievich, the son of Stratzimir, was the first to adopt the name of 'Son of Tzer-noie.' " ‡ "Stephen was a contemporary of the famous Albanian, George Castriot, better known as Scander-beg; whose courageous efforts against the Turks he seconded, by sending him a corps of hardy mountaineers, under the command of his second son Bozsidar." §

"Stephen left three sons; Ivan, Bozsidar, and Andrew, surnamed the valiant Arnaút (Albanian), the first of whom succeeded his father as prince of Zeta; but on the death of Scander-beg, in 1467, the Turks, having overrun Albania, and soon afterwards obtained possession of Herzegóvina, turned their

kindness of the Vladika, at whose request it was drawn up for me by his secretary.

* See Appendini, i. p. 294., and Farlati, vi. 422. 452.

† Or Chernojevich, "son of Chernoje," or Tzer-noie. In Russian and Polish, *Cz* is used for *Tz* of some other Slavonic dialects; Tzer-no is Czerno, or Czarno (pronounced Cerno, or Charno), and Tzar is written Czar.

‡ See Farlati, vi. 463. 946.

§ Bojidar, or Boxidar, "divine gift."

arms against this independent country ; and Ivan, finding himself threatened by the formidable arms of the Porte, applied to Venice for assistance. Failing in his appeal to the Republic, he was thrown upon his own resources ; and when, after a valiant resistance, he saw the utter impossibility of withstanding his powerful enemy, he abandoned the town of Zsabliak, which had been the residence of himself and his predecessors, and retired to a more secure and mountainous part of the country. He there founded the Convent of Tzetinie, and transferred the metropolitan see to the new capital. This took place in 1485 ;" and Zsabliak has since that time continued to be a frontier town of Albania.

"George Tzernoievich, who succeeded his father Ivan, was the last secular ruler of Montenegro. He had married a Venetian lady of the family of Mocenigo, and some years afterwards, having no children, she prevailed upon him to quit his country, and retire with her to her native city. He therefore, with the consent of the people, transferred the government of Montenegro to the hands of the spiritual chiefs, and withdrew to Venice in 1516.* The Metropolitan German then assumed

* Luccari gives the following rather confused account of the Tzernoievich family. "In the time of Stefano, despot of Servia, the people brought from Puglia Stefano Zernogoraz (by some called Mavro Monte), cousin of Balsa, late Signor of Zenta, who obtained possession of Dolcigno, Smohoviza, and

the supreme direction of affairs; and from that time the theocratic form of government dates its commencement in Montenegro." *

"During the period of his rule, George Tzerneovich had not been neglectful of the interests of his people; and previous to his abdication, he established many useful institutions in the country; the most remarkable of which was a printing press, where many books of the Church Service were printed, some of which are the oldest specimens of works in the Cyrillic character, dating as early as the year 1494."

"During a whole century the Turks managed to obtain an influence in Montenegro, not so much by

Zernogora (Montenegro), on the extreme parts of Slavonia, a little way from Cape Pali, celebrated by Posidonius, under the name of *Nymphæum Promontorium*. He retired into Zernogora, and drew a curtain of thick walls round Xabliak, on the river Moracsa. In 1423 he fortified Smohoviza, and allowed the Ragusans to trade with Zernogora, which produces honey, grain, horses, and cattle. From this Stefano came the family of Zernoevichi, who ruled Montenegro till 1515." (Lib. iii. p. 285.) "In the reign of Sultan Selim, Ivan Zernoevich, Signor of Montenegro, being drawn to a conference in the plain of Cimouschi, in Zenta, was killed, and his young son Peter being sent to the Porte, embraced Islamism, and was named Iscander. But being sent in 1512 by Sultan Suleyman with an army, he conquered his native country for the Turks, and drove out Stefano; who, on the death of Ivan Zernoevich, had been left in Zernogora by his brother Gregory, so that the government which began with Stefano I. in 1433, ended with the fourth of that name, the seventh of the Signors of Zernogora, in 1516."

* See above, p. 460.

force of arms as by a wily policy;" many of the people, having embraced Islamism, entered the service of the Porte; and Montenegro was looked upon as a portion of the pashalic of Scútari.

"The Turks found, at length, that all their hopes of obtaining permanent possession of the country were fruitless;" they suffered great losses, during the various inroads they made into the country; and the Montenegrins were always ready to co-operate with the Venetians, in their wars against the Porte. And though 30,000 men traversed, and laid waste, the valley of Bielopavlich, and other exposed parts of the country, those hardy mountaineers successfully harassed their formidable armies, and plainly showed them that Montenegro was not worth the risk and trouble of a conquest.

Disappointment, however, did not allay the resentment of the Turks; "and in 1623 Suleyman, Pasha of Scútari, advanced with a powerful army from Albania, to attack the intractable Montenegrins. Overcoming all opposition, he penetrated to Tzetinie, where he destroyed the convent, and inflicted serious injuries on the surrounding district; but he was soon obliged to abandon the country, and retire into Albania, after sustaining severe losses, with the disgrace of being unable to subdue the Montenegrins."

"Towards the close of the seventeenth century, Daniele Petrovich-Negosh was elected Vladika.

From that time the Episcopal dignity has continued in the Petrovich family, and the successors of Daniele were Basilio, Pietro, Savo, Pietro the late, and Pietro the present, Vladika.

“In the year 1706, the Turks of Herzegóvina attacked Montenegro; but this expedition met with a total defeat; and 157 Turks, who were taken prisoners, suffered the ignominy of being ransomed for the same number of pigs.” The Montenegrins, soon afterwards, sought the protection of Russia, and for this purpose declared themselves subjects of Peter the Great. They took the oath of allegiance to the Czar, who in return promised them protection, while they engaged to co-operate with the Russians, in their wars against the Porte. “In compliance, therefore, with the order of Peter the Great, the Montenegrins in 1711 took up arms, and made several incursions into the Turkish territory.

“Incensed at this affront, the Porte ordered the Sarasker, Ahmet Pasha, to march an army of 60,000 men into Montenegro, the following year; and one of the most obstinate battles was fought, that had hitherto taken place between the Montenegrins and the Turks. Of the former 318 were left dead on the field, and the Vladika Daniele was wounded; they had, however, the satisfaction of gaining a complete victory, and the glory of taking eighty-six standards from the enemy.”

“Another, and more formidable, expedition, was sent in 1714, under the Grand Vizir, Duman

Pasha Kiuprili *, who, at the head of 120,000 men, invaded Montenegro, in concert with the Pashas of Bosnia and Herzegóvina." Before their army entered the country, the Turks were guilty of an act of treachery, which may fully account for, though it does not excuse, the disregard of international rights felt by the Montenegrins, in their dealings with the Osmanlis; and shows the odious conduct of the Turk, towards those he thinks he can deceive with impunity. Terms of peace were proposed to the Montenegrins, and they were requested to send commissioners into the Turkish territory, to settle its conditions. A safe conduct having been granted, thirty-seven Montenegrin chiefs repaired to the Vizir's camp; but no sooner had they arrived, than they were treacherously seized; and this was the signal for the army to cross the frontier.

Indignation, added to their natural courage, urged the Montenegrins to a desperate resistance; until, overwhelmed by numbers, and defeated at Zûrnik, they found themselves unable to check the advance of the Turks; "who again penetrated to to Tzetinie, burnt the convent, which had been rebuilt by the Vladika Daniele, pillaged and destroyed the villages, and laid waste the country with fire and sword." The inhabitants fled to the mountains; while those of the western districts,

* The Montenegrins call him Duman Kjuprilich; Von Hammer Nauman Cupragli; others Kiuperli, and Kuprili.

who were cut off, by the advance of the Turkish army, from the secure fastnesses of the interior, took refuge in the Dalmatian territory; whither they were followed by the Turks, who butchered them without regard to age or sex, and carried away upwards of 2000 into captivity.*

The Vladika himself found an asylum in Cattaro; the governor of which generously refused to deliver him to the demands of the Turks; and though the Venetian force, stationed on the coast, was unable to afford assistance to the other refugees, or prevent the violation of their territory, nothing that sympathy could do was wanting to alleviate their sufferings. This was afterwards put forth by the Osmanlis, as one of the grievances, in their declaration of war against the Republic.

That the Montenegrins had a strong claim on the sympathies of Venice, from having so long, and so often, co-operated with her, in the wars against the Porte, is undoubted; but it is equally certain that the Venetians did afford them all the protection in their power, on this occasion; and the assertion of the Montenegrins, that they had connived at the cruelties inflicted by the Turks, is proved to be unjust, by the complaint put forth in the manifesto of the Porte.

The war that followed, between the Turks and Venetians, was the means of saving Montenegro

* British and Foreign Review, p. 123.

from further calamities ; the country was abandoned by the invaders ; and the same army afterwards marched southwards, to attack the Venetians in the Morea.

On the departure of the Turks, the fugitive Montenegrins returned from their places of concealment, re-established themselves once more in the vallies, and rebuilt their ruined villages ; and they soon afterwards, in 1718, sought to revenge themselves on the Turks, by acting as allies of the Venetians. During all this period, the Montenegrins continued to be subsidised by Russia ; and it was only a short time before the invasion of Duman Pasha, that the Vladika received 35,000 ducats from the court of St. Petersburg, for the expenses of his government.

“ Many gallant deeds of arms are recorded by the Montenegrins, during their wars against the Turks ; one of the most noted of which was in 1750, when Nikatz Tomanovich, with forty valiant companions, penetrated through a Turkish army of 20,000 men, killed the Kéhia Pasha, and succeeded, though desperately wounded, in cutting his way back with a few surviving comrades, and effecting his escape.”

“ In 1767 an adventurer arrived in Montenegro, named Stiepan Mali, (little Stefano, or Stephen,) passing himself off as the Russian Emperor, Peter III. ;” who had been strangled by order of

Catherine*, in 1762.† Though proclaimed an impostor by the Vladika, he gained over many individuals in the country; and succeeded in obtaining several adherents, among the Greek population of the Bocche di Cattaro, particularly at Risano; and such was the enthusiasm excited in his favour throughout Montenegro, that the Russian court thought it prudent to send Prince Dolgorouki to Tzetinie, to undeceive the Montenegrins, and expose his pretensions. This proved to be of no use; and even though the chiefs, convened to the presence of the Vladika, heard the declaration of Prince Dolgorouki, and were assured that Peter III. was dead, little effect was produced by the announcement; and Stephen continued to command the respect, and impose on the credulity, of the greater part of the population. And when the Vladika had succeeded, by an artifice, in securing his person, and had confined him in an upper room of the convent, he had the address to persuade the people,

* It has been shown, in the present "century of *invention*," that the long-received opinion of the Empress Catherine's character is erroneous; our Mary has also been proved a gentle and humane queen; every stigma has been removed from Richard III.; the Turks are no longer the cruel people we have been taught to believe; and we only now want panegyrists of Nero, and some other Roman Emperors, to give the charm of novelty to the dulness of authentic history.

† Six other impostors arose about this time, the last of whom, the Cossak Pugatschef, maintained himself in Russia against the forces of Catherine, from 1773 to 1775; when he was taken, and put to death.

that this event only tended to prove the truth of his assertions; "for," said he, "you see yourselves that Prince Dolgorouki acknowledges me to be the emperor, because otherwise he would not have placed me above himself, but under himself."

The Montenegrins were, therefore, only the more convinced of the truth of his story; Prince Dolgorouki left the country, without effecting the object of his mission; and Stephen Mali continued to enjoy his influence over the Montenegrins, for nearly four years.

During the war of 1768, he seems to have excited the enthusiasm of these mountaineers, to make great efforts against the Turks, by whom he was looked upon as an agent of Russia; but his own personal courage not being such as could command the respect of the Montenegrins, who looked for extraordinary proofs of heroism, in a man called to be their leader, he soon forfeited in war the popularity he had obtained in peace; and having lost his sight, by the springing of a mine, he retired to the convent of Stanievich; where he was murdered by a Greek, at the instigation of the Pasha of Scútari.* Many, however, who forget the particulars of his history, still talk of him with respect in Montenegro; and his successful efforts in suppressing theft have doubtless contributed, in some degree, to the reforms introduced at a later period.

* This account of Stephen Mali is principally taken from the British and Foreign Review, pp. 124—127.

“It was during this war, of 1768, that the Porte, at the persuasion of the Venetians, gave orders to three Vizirs to invade Montenegro; and an army of 180,000 Turks entered the country, pillaged and burnt the villages, and at length reduced the people to the greatest straits. The principal cause of their difficulties was the dearness of ammunition, in consequence of a proclamation of the Republic, prohibiting any Venetian subject, under pain of death, to sell ammunition to the Montenegrins; and a single cartridge cost a sequin. But though nearly deprived of the means of defence, these mountaineers resisted every attempt of the Turks to subjugate their country; and, despite their sufferings, maintained their independence in the unequal conflict.”

“During the Russo-Austrian war against the Turks, in 1787—1791, the Montenegrins, with 400 Austrian soldiers, under Major Vukassovich, made incursions into Albania, pillaged several villages, and defied the Turks within their own territories. At length, in 1796, the Pasha of Scútari raised a formidable army, and invaded Montenegro.” In the mean time, the peace of Sistovo had taken place in 1791; when the two powers, which had profited so much by the co-operation of the Montenegrins, forgetting their services, and omitting to stipulate for the recognition of their independence, the Montenegrins were left to their own resources. And nobly indeed did they maintain

their freedom, against the overwhelming power of the Porte; after having resisted every attempt, to induce them to acknowledge its authority over their country.

“The battle which was fought with the Pasha of Scútari was the most glorious and decisive, of all that ever took place between the Montenegrins and the Turks;” it established the independence of Montenegro; and the moral effect, both in that country, and in Turkey, has continued to the present day. The Montenegrins were commanded by their late Vladika, Pietro Petrovich.

Having chosen a favourable spot for opposing the enemy, he posted 5000 men in a difficult pass, with orders to distribute their red Fez caps over the rocks*, to light numerous fires at night, and to do every thing to make the Turks believe the whole army was before them, whilst he led the main body, by a forced march, to their rear. Next morning the Turks advanced to force the pass; but the difficult nature of the ground, the narrowness of the way that led up the steep ascent, and the firmness of those who defended it, made superiority of numbers of no avail; and the front and flanking fire of 5000 good marksmen kept the whole force of the enemy at bay, until noon; when the Vladika, attacking them in the rear, decided the fate of the battle. The Turks, now no longer assailants, were

* This is frequently done by the Turks in fighting behind walls, to mislead the enemy's fire.

obliged to defend themselves between their two foes; and after an obstinate fight of three days and nights, were nearly all cut to pieces: 30,000 Turks were killed, and "among them the Pasha of Albania, Kara Mahmood Bushatlia, whose head was cut off," and is still kept at Tzetinie, as a trophy of the victory. The effect of this defeat has never been forgotten by the Turks; no similar expedition has since been sent against Montenegro; and the interest frequently made, to obtain the head of the Pasha, shows how sensitive they are to their disgrace.

At the close of the last, and beginning of the present, century, the Montenegrins were actively employed in aiding the Russians against the French*; and it was during that period that they assisted them, in the attack on Ragusa, and the capture of Curzola. The Russians too, in their turn, seconded the attacks of the Montenegrins on the fortresses of Clobuk† and Niksich.

The influence previously acquired by Russia, among the Montenegrins, was then greatly increased; and it is still kept up, by the interest she takes in their behalf. Their attachment to the Czar, the dependence they feel upon his aid, their undisguised hatred of other nations, and the spirit of Panslavism that pervades Montenegro, abun-

* For an interesting account of these events, see the *British and Foreign Review*, pp. 128—146.

† See p. 434.

dantly prove the use that will be made of these mountaineers, if ever the objects of Russia require their co-operation, together with others of the same race in the Ottoman Empire; whose heterogeneous composition is partly made up of Slavonic ingredients.

Hemmed in, as the Montenegrins are, by their enemies, the Turks, it was natural that they should seek the good will, and even the protection, of some powerful state; and it must be confessed, as Colonel Vialla * observes, that they could scarcely doubt whether to apply "to Austria, or Russia. The similarity of religious doctrines sufficed to make them decide in favour of the latter. If the Vladika had preferred serving the interests of Austria, he would soon have been tormented by the high ecclesiastical authorities of Vienna, who would have tried to subject him to their formidable supremacy, and perhaps to oblige him by degrees to conform to the Roman rites; or at least to draw over many of the priesthood, allured by the favours of a jealous Court. Besides, the immediate vicinity of the Austrian troops was more dangerous to the independence of Montenegro, than the remote position of Russia; . . . all which considerations could only induce the Vladika to take the measures he has adopted."

Russia, at the same time that she tries to crush

* Vialla, vol. i. p. 385.

the liberty of Circassia, encourages for her own purposes the independence of Montenegro; and it is curious to hear the same advocates of a crusade against freedom, expressing their admiration of the independent Montenegrin. But the motive is obvious; and it is not impossible, that the security of the Turkish Empire may depend, greatly, on the conduct of the Slavonic tribes. There appears, however, little reason to believe, that Russian influence is likely to spread into Dalmatia; and the Dalmatians are probably premature in supposing, that "Russia has already employed its agents, to discover whether they are beginning to be susceptible of the knout."

At the general peace of 1815, Montenegro was allowed to remain in its previous state of independence, neither Turkey nor Austria having been thought to have those claims upon the country, which some have vainly set up for them; for though it may have been found convenient for Leopold II., and the Turks (in the treaty of Sistovo, concluded between them in 1791), to proclaim Montenegro to belong to Turkey, the country was unconquered, and belonged to neither of the "high contracting" parties. Moreover, though the Venetians may previously, in 1718, have pretended to cede to Turkey, what they never possessed; and though some may call "Montenegro a portion of the Pashalic of Scútari," its independence is as well established as that of any other state; and the

protection of Russia is an additional guarantee against all claims of Turkish sovereignty.

Since the peace of 1815, the Montenegrins have been constantly at war with the Porte; sometimes invading the enemy's territory, sometimes repelling inroads of the Turks; in one of which the convent of Morača * was gallantly defended by Ivan Knezovich †, with 200 men, against a large army ‡ of Turks.

But without stopping to notice in detail all these conflicts, it may suffice to mention the following, which are more particularly spoken of in the country; and which, being derived from a manuscript account, given me by an eye-witness, who kept a diary of all the occurrences at the time, serve to give a good notion of the affrays between the Montenegrins and Turks, and the character of their warfare.

“ *Cettigne (Tzetinie)*, June 8. 1839. — “ The first hostilities, this year, between the Montenegrins and the Turks, began at a village named Gerbangi, consisting of about forty families of the Greek church, near Podgóritza, in the Ottoman territory; which had revolted, nine years before, from Montenegro. A small troop of Montenegrins, being de-

* See above, p. 448. Morača, or Moracha, called St. Stefano.

† Or Knezovich. I shall mention him, in speaking of the convent at Ostrok.

‡ They say 20,000. They count the Turks in round numbers.

tached from the village of Lestiani, burned all their houses, killed four, mortally wounded eight, and succeeded in cutting off the head of one, which was carried to Cettigne; they also captured forty muskets, besides repossessing themselves of the lands. Thus the unfortunate people of Gerbangi, driven off by the Turks on the other side, found themselves and their families roofless on these desolate mountains, and equally abandoned by both Montenegrins and Turks."

"*Bielopavlich, June 16. 1839.* — At about an hour's journey from the village of Chinvilaz, are a score of huts, inhabited by Montenegrin shepherds. The Turks of Spûss made a sortie, and, going round three miles, set fire to them in two places, at three o'clock A.M. The unfortunate shepherds defended themselves as well as they could, until the people of Chinvilaz, seeing the fire, came to their assistance, 100 strong. In this first encounter, the Montenegrins lost — eight killed, and forty-six wounded; but the Turks only succeeded in carrying away one head. It was impossible to ascertain the Turkish loss, as they fought on the banks of the river Zetta, which divides theirs from the Montenegrin territory. The Montenegrins then valorously attacked a body of 3000 men, with their small band, and sent nineteen Turkish heads to Cettigne (Tzétinie), and forty-nine guns ornamented with silver. The same morning the Turks made another attack, on the opposite side of the

river; when the Montenegrins, in number about 100, scarcely fired their guns, but fought hand to hand with their yatagans, and routed the Turks on every side. This battle lasted three hours, and the Montenegrins took no less than thirty-six heads, three standards, three beautiful horses with their equipments in silver, three sabres silver-mounted, more than seventy fire-arms, large and small, and nine yatagans, all mounted in silver."

" *Cettigne, June 17.* — Monsignore immediately sent to Bielopavlich, to order the captain to bring the Turkish heads, and the arms, banners, and horses, to Cettigne; which command was immediately executed.

"They entered Cettigne, each man bearing in triumph the heads of the Turks, he had vanquished, with shouting and firing of guns.

"The same day, after dinner, the Vladika ordered that every one should bring his heads to the plain of Cettigne, and, forming a great circle, Monsignore placed himself in the midst, with the President, and all the Senate; called out the warriors one by one; and embracing each, hung round his neck a silver medal by a red cord, in the name of our holy religion, our country, and our Emperor*, Nicolai Paulovich; and this honour he bestowed, to the intent that they might know how to defend themselves bravely against the rascally Turks."

* This may be a mistake of the writer; but the Czar is looked up to by the Montenegrins at least as their protector.

“ On the 22d of June, a messenger arrived from the captain of Zagoraz to Monsignore, with tidings that they had found eighteen dead bodies of Turks in the Zetta; and the Agha, commanding at Spûss, wrote to a friend, complaining of the number of dead, and wounded, at Spûss. Altogether, the Turks lost 103 killed, and 300 wounded. Among the slain were the son of the brother of the former Vizir of Scútari, now at Constantinople; the son of the Vizir now in command, and the son of the *Capitan* of Bar (Antivari). The Montenegrin loss was seventeen killed, and forty-two wounded.”

“ It is said the Vizir intends to attack Montenegro with 32,000 men, as soon as possible.”

This formidable invasion, however, never took place; and the Montenegrins have only had to repel the occasional attacks of small bodies of Turks, whom they have always defeated, except in the campaign of Grahovo, and when the Isle of Vranina was taken by surprise, during a truce, by the Albanians.

Another gallant action took place in 1840, “ when seventy Montenegrins, in the open field, withstood the attack of several thousand * Turks, and having made breastworks with the bodies of their fallen foes, maintained the unequal conflict till night; when forty, who survived, forced their way through the hostile army, and escaped with their lives.”

* My informant said “ about 10,000.”

Again, "on the 21st September of the same year, at break of day, about 6000 Albanians came to Salkovina, and attacked a house, defended by Milosh Bérakdár*, with twenty-six valiant comrades. But neither the numbers, nor the boldness, of the enemy could shake their courage; and though the Albanians succeeded in setting fire to some hay within the house, and approached so close, that they seized and bent some of the barrels of the Montenegrin guns, as they protruded from the loopholes, the place was successfully defended, with the loss of only ten men; and the enemy retired in the night, carrying with them their wounded and their dead." In memory of this gallant action, the Vladika has preserved the guns, in a room of his palace at Tzetinie; and their distorted barrels, as they hang against the wall, record the valour of the Bérakdár and his companions.†

Journey from Cattaro to Tzetinie. — All things being prepared for my departure from Cattaro, and having secured the services of a guide, in the person of a Corfiote, known by the distinguished name of Cesare Petrarca ‡, I found myself well

* Or Bayrakdar; a Turkish word signifying "standard-bearer."

† The two last actions were related to me by the Vladika's secretary.

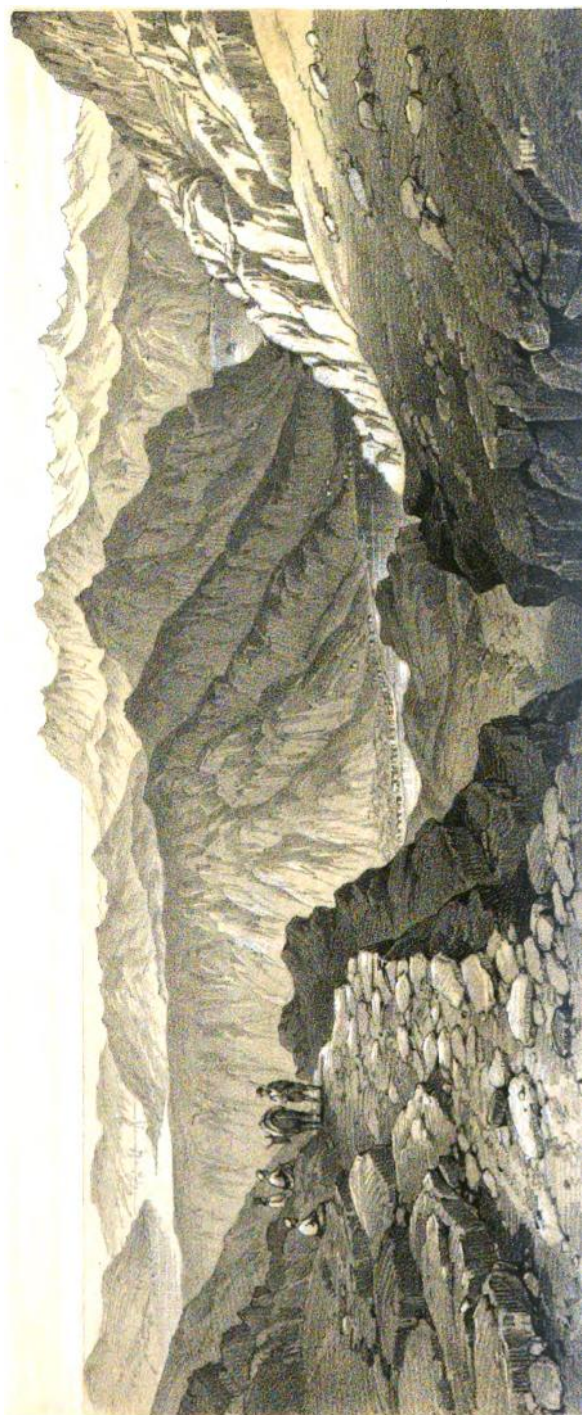
‡ The same described by the author of a "Ramble in Montenegro," as performing the various duties of "hairdresser, auctioneer and appraiser, ex-courier, formerly chef de cuisine to the Vladika, interpreter, and gunner."

provided for the journey. And so it proved; for Cesar, or Petrarch, was a civil and excellent guide, and had accompanied nearly all the few travellers who have visited Tzetinie, where he was well known. And though he had never before penetrated to Cervo and Ostrok, in the interior, I found that his good humour always gained friends there also, the moment he had an opportunity of making a few pretty speeches to our hosts.

Horses were engaged from a Montenegrin, who rejoiced in the very common name of Spiro. We found him waiting for us at the bazaar, outside the gate of Cattaro; and my light baggage being speedily packed, we proceeded up the zigzag road to the Montenegrin frontier.

The view that opened over the canal of Cattaro, as we wound up the ascent, was beautiful; every turn seemed to present a finer prospect of its indented shores, studded with villages, reflected in the deep still water below; and the craggy grey mountains towering on all sides above the bays and headlands, rose one behind the other, like an immense model.

This road has only been made a few years. It is very well constructed, and has a very easy ascent; but it has this fault, that the apertures for the passage of the water courses are scarcely large enough, which may endanger its solidity during very heavy rains. The loopholes of the citadel of Cattaro rake the road, as it winds up the mountain



side, and across the shallow ravine immediately beneath them ; and on coming to a level with the top of that fortress, you catch a glimpse of the Budua road, and the small fort commanding it, which combines the line of defence with Cattaro.

Amidst the rocks, immediately below the walls of the citadel, is the small Morlacco hamlet of Spigliari, consisting of nine houses ; a number to which it has always been limited, from the belief that some calamity is sure to happen the moment it is exceeded. The inhabitants are constantly exposed to the robberies of the Montenegrins, by whom their houses have frequently been plundered ; but such is the force of habit, that they prefer it to any other spot ; and no offer of a more secure place of abode can induce them to leave it. These nine families are very industrious, and the women are remarkable for their beauty.

The road extends some distance beyond the level of the citadel, to the frontier ; where it is joined by another, the work of the Vladika, of very inferior construction, which continues to the summit of the pass, and thence to Négosh, and Tzetinie. The Montenegrins have marked its direction at intervals by stones, placed as a guide to passengers in the winter's snow ; which often lies in very deep drifts, particularly in the steep and narrow part of the pass, where many persons have been lost, in attempting to cross the mountain in the depth of winter.

This pass is very strong, and might be easily defended by a few resolute marksmen. The Austrians had intended, when I was there in 1844, to erect a fort immediately on the frontier, which is a considerable distance above the citadel of Cattaro; but this was objected to by the Vladika, and no good reason being assigned for such a work, on the score of *defence*, it was abandoned.

Part of the mountain, on this side, was ceded to the Austrians by the Vladika a few years ago, on the payment of a sum of money, by which the frontier has been extended higher than formerly, up its rugged slope; and the constant theme of conversation at Cattaro seemed to be the possibility of the imperial troops marching to Tzetinie; plainly showing the wish, if not the hope, of their obtaining possession of that country.

But to conquer those brave independent people would require a far greater sacrifice of men and money, than Austria might feel disposed to make; and no advantage could accrue to her from the conquest, to compensate for the injustice. An army might march through the vallies, and destroy the villages, as the Turks have done, but the people would still be unconquered; and it would take a long time to subdue the mountain fastnesses. Nor would the Austrian project of sending Tyrolese, and other mountaineers, be available, in a difficult and unknown country, entirely destitute of the means of obtaining food; and the attack of such

mountains would require far greater precaution, and force, than the defence.

Twenty thousand fighting men, besides the old and young, capable of bearing arms in case of need, would be a formidable enemy on their own soil ; and an attack on Montenegro might entail other embarrassments, from its being under the protection of Russia.

Indeed the Austrians had a little specimen of Montenegrin fighting, in 1840 ; when, in endeavouring to take forcible possession of some disputed territory, near Budua, they were defeated ; and that, too, not in the mountain fastnesses of Montenegro. The contest was for a piece of land, which the Austrians had occupied, in the neighbourhood of Kopatz, to the N.E. of Castel Lastua ; and the battle took place at Pastovicchio near the frontier of Tzernitza. The matter was afterwards settled amicably, and the Vladika ceded the disputed territory, on the receipt of an equivalent in money. But, to prevent any disputes for the future, the three forts of Mt. Kopatz, St. Spiridion, and Pressik, were erected ; and in order to exclude the Montenegrins entirely from Dalmatia, the Austrians purchased from them the Greek convent of Stanievich, which had been given to Montenegro by the Venetians.

That the Austrians should have a prejudice against the Montenegrins is very natural. They are troublesome neighbours ; and their robberies

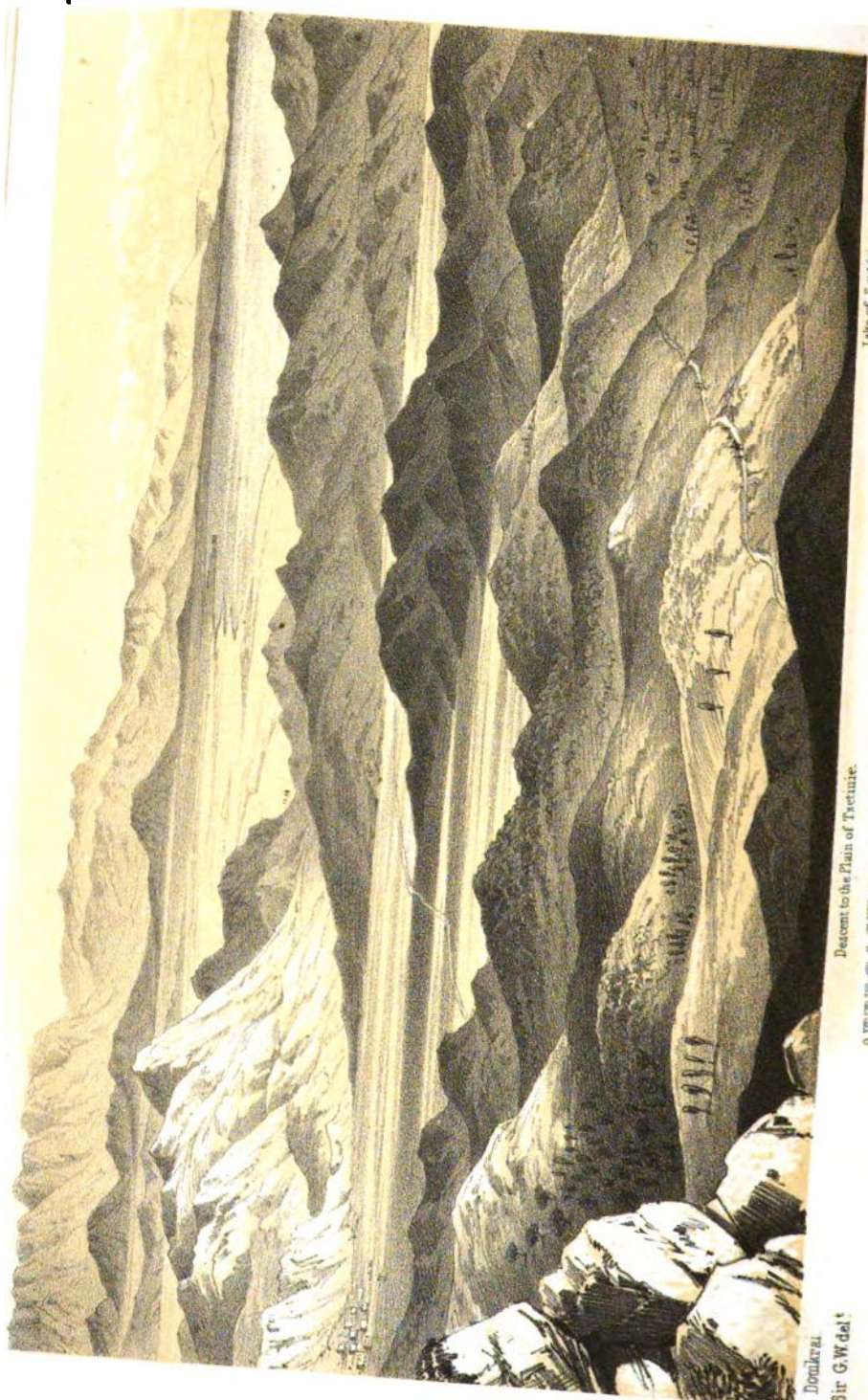
give just cause of complaint. Besides, their wild and savage habits render them disagreeable, both as friends and foes; and during the encounter with the Austrians in 1840, that quiet, well-behaved, people were justly shocked at their barbarous enemies treating them like Turks, and decapitating every soldier who fell into their hands.

An anecdote was told me, of a scene which occurred on that occasion. Two Austrian riflemen, finding themselves hard pressed by some of the advancing Montenegrins, and despairing of escape, threw themselves down on the ground, pretending to be dead. The Montenegrins immediately ran up to the nearest one, and supposing him to be killed, cut off his head; when the other, seeing it was of *no use to be dead*, started up, and rushed headlong down precipices; thinking it better to have any number of bruises, than fall into the hands of so relentless an enemy.

Vialla speaks of the same mode of treating the French * they killed, or captured. General Delgorgues, when taken in an ambuscade outside the walls of Ragusa, was instantly decapitated; and during the siege of Castel Nuovo, "four Montenegrins amused themselves by playing at bowls with the heads of four Frenchmen, exclaiming every now and then: 'See, how capitally these French heads roll!' a cruel piece of irony," says Vialla, "in allusion to the *légèreté* attributed to us."†

* See above, p. 438.

† Vialla, vol. i. p. 145.



Descent to the Plain of Tectine.

APPROACH TO THE TECTINE & LAKE OF SCUTARI.

Sir G.W. Dalrymple

Lake of Scutari

Engraved by W. & A. Nichol & Co. Glasgow.

London: J. Murray, Aldermanbury, 54, April, 1844.

On arriving at the top of the pass, the lofty peak of Lovcen rises immediately above to the right, and an undulating broken plain continues thence to Négosh.* This is a small district, with a plain about half a mile in length, surrounded by hills; and consists of several villages, Erakovich the birth-place of the present Vladika, Raichevich, Velikral, and Kopito. The houses are of stone, partly thatched, and partly covered with wooden shingles, a common mode of roofing in Slavonic countries. The principal productions are potatoes, with some Indian corn; and the tops of the surrounding hills are clothed with low wood.

From the summit of the pass to the Négosh district is about a mile and a half; and the journey thence to Tzetinie occupies three hours and a quarter. The total from Cattaro to Tzetinie may be reckoned at six hours, and the return to Cattaro at five.

There is nothing remarkable on the road; the mountains are wild and rugged; but about half way from Négosh is a fine view, over the districts of Tzernitza and Riéka, the Lake of Scútari †, and the distant mountains of Albania; and the same appears again, at the beginning of the descent to the valley of Tzetinie.‡ This valley is about two miles and a quarter in length, and from one quarter to one third in breadth. It is a perfectly level plain, partly cul-

* Niegosh or Gniegosh.

† Or Lake of Zenta.

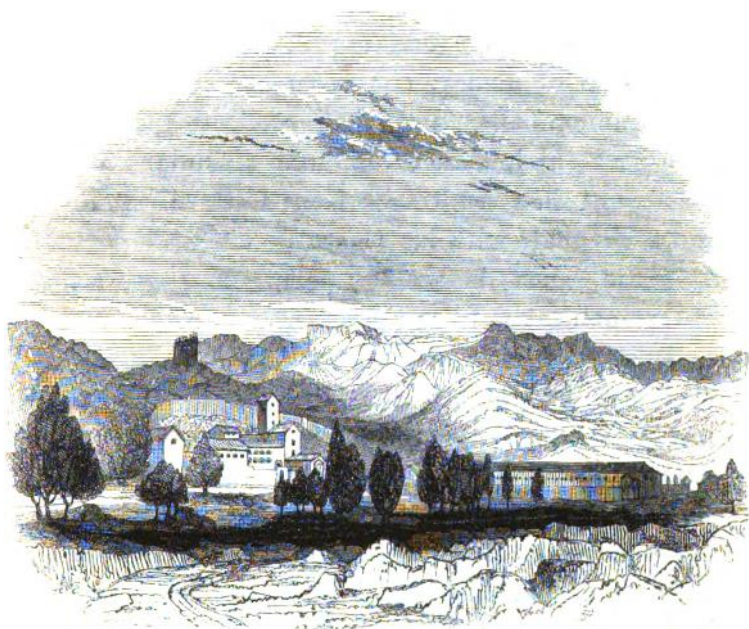
‡ See Plate.

tivated, partly grass-land. On the foot of the hills that surround it, are the villages of Baitse, Ponzi, and Donikrai; the houses of which are scattered amongst the rocks; of rude construction, and mostly thatched.

The valley takes a sharp bend about the centre, from S. E. to S. S. W.; and here, behind a projecting ridge of rocks, is the town of Tzetinie, consisting of nineteen or twenty houses, the palace of the Vladika, and the convent. The houses are tiled, and are better built than the generality in Montenegro; but among them I little expected to find two inns. One is kept by a Cattarine, and his wife, and, though small, possesses the advantage of a clean bed-room, which in Montenegro is an agreeable novelty.

The palace is a long white-washed building, of a single story over the ground floor, rather like a barrack, with an open court before and behind it, and surrounded by a wall, flanked at each corner by a small round tower. The rooms all open on a long corridor; at the upper end of which are the apartments of the Vladika himself. The principal one is the billiard-room, which serves as audience-chamber, dining-room, and ordinary parlour; and adjoining it is a smaller apartment, called the library, containing a few books, and many pipes, and furnished rather for winter than summer. The walls of the billiard-room are ornamented with rifles, and other arms; and on one side are several

distorted guns, kept as a memento of Montenegrin bravery.*



The Vladika is very fond, if not of playing, at least of seeing others play, billiards; and some of his guards, or his aide-de-camp, are frequently engaged in amusing him with their skill. Smoking is the habit of every one in Montenegro; and the Vladika indulges in segars and cheroots, as well as the Turkish pipe. His segars are allowed by the Austrians to pass through the custom-house of Cattaro, like other goods intended for transit; and the Vladika receives journals,

* See above, p. 497.

books, and money, without impediment. He does not always appear to be fortunate in his agents; who sometimes send a wrong parcel. One of them, a few years ago, on receiving a packet containing a large sum of money, converted the contents into two cannon-balls, and forwarded them to the Vladika*; and, while I was there, a similar *mistake* was made, in a remittance from Cattaro.† He is more fortunate with his segars.

In the court, before the palace door, are some old cannon taken from the Turks.

At table, the Vladika has adopted European customs; but I was surprised to find breakfast laid out exactly as in an English house; and among other unexpected luxuries was fresh butter, which I had not met with in any part of Dalmatia. He sometimes dines alone; but his cousin Giorgio Petrovich, and his aide-de-camp, are frequently invited; and they were always of the party at the palace, when I dined there.

The language he prefers speaking to strangers is French, though he understands Italian, and German; but few of the Montenegrins know any other than Slavonic.

A few weeks previously, Lord Clarence Paget had taken his ship, the "L'Aigle," up the Gulf of Cattaro, and had made a visit to Tzetinie; where

* Ramble in Montenegro, p. 36. note.

† The Cattarines call the Montenegrins "robbers;" what the Montenegrins call these mistakes I did not hear.

he appears to have received a better welcome than at the Austrian port. For on firing a salute, no notice was taken of it; the officer in command at Cattaro not considering that he was authorised in putting his government to the expense of powder; and it was not till another officer took upon himself to be responsible for its value, that (after a delay of an hour) the salute was returned.

The Vladika seemed much pleased with that visit; and expressed a hope that Prince George of Cambridge, who was then at Corfu, would go to Montenegro; from the idea, that the visit of persons holding official situations might be beneficial to his countrymen, and raise them in the estimation of their neighbours. He also hoped that this occasional intercourse might interest us in behalf of the Montenegrins, and perhaps induce us to use our influence, to restrain the Albanians from molesting them, and even establish a peace.

The loss of the Isle of Vranina was a subject of deep regret, as well as the treachery of the Albanians in seizing that island, during a truce; and this led the Vladika to mention a visit he had received from an English lady and her husband, while he was engaged in an attempt to retake it, in the autumn of 1843.

“Are all English women,” he asked, “as courageous as Mrs. L———? One day, while in our position, firing upon the Turks, I was told that an Englishman and his wife had been to Tzetinie, and

finding that I was with the army, were coming to me there. I was not without alarm for their safety, as I knew they had to pass a spot exposed to the enemy's fire; but in the meantime on they came, and arrived in the evening at our camp.*

"While at dinner, the Turks opened a fire upon our redoubt, and their shot passed over us frequently; but she seemed rather to enjoy the novelty, and was amused at my question, 'Bien, Madame, comment trouvez-vous cette musique?' I was much struck with her courage, as were all present; and many a man would have found the spot much less enjoyable."

"I have sent," he continued, "to Constantinople, and have applied to the Russian court to intercede, and enable us to recover our island†, promising for the present to wait, in the hope that justice will be done us. In the meantime I have bought some cannon, and plenty of round-shot, with which we intend making another attempt to retake it, if we cannot succeed by negotiation; and though we failed last year, we are now better provided with the means of attack, and the Montenegrins have plenty of courage to attempt the assault."

I found the Vladika fully aware of the comparative power, and resources, of the different European

* See a very amusing account of a "*Ramble in Montenegro*," in Blackwood, January, 1845.

† See above, p. 470., and below, on my return from Ostrok to Riéka.

states; and he has great facility in recollecting the minute details of their statistics. His mode of viewing the questions of their external policy reminded me, very much, of the conversations I have often had with Russians, on the same subject; and this is readily accounted for, by the frequent intercourse he has with that people, and the bias he received during his sojourn at St. Petersburg.

Just above the palace stands the convent, on the slope of the rocky hills at the west side of the valley. The original convent was in the plain below, a short distance from the palace front, vestiges of which may still be seen. It was founded by Ivan Tzer-noievich in 1485, and was destroyed by the Turks in 1623, and again in 1714*, when the present site was chosen, for greater security.

In the convent are kept the treasure, the splendid pontifical robes and mitres, of the Vladika and his predecessor; deposited in large trunks, with some handsome chalices, croziers, and other priestly articles. The dresses are of rich brocade; and the mitres of the present and late Vladika, both gifts from Emperors of Russia, are ornamented with precious stones.

I observed that the arms of Montenegro are an oval shield, with three bends sinister, on an imperial eagle, crowned; above is a sort of ducal coronet,

* See above, pp. 479. 481. 483.

with a cross* passed through it, and below the eagle is a lion passant.

The most remarkable object in the convent is the coffin of St. Pietro, the late Vladika; who has been canonised by his successor, and whose embalmed body is shown to the devout, clad in pontifical robes, and is looked upon with feelings of great veneration.

He died in October, 1830. He was much esteemed by his people, whom he ruled fifty-three years; his anathema, or his blessing, was thought to be the cause of good or evil; and such was the respect felt for him, that the Montenegrins swore by his name.†

Profiting by this feeling, his successor admitted him at once into the Host of Saints: his body was taken from the obscure tomb, and put up in the church; and a plate was laid on his coffin, to invite the donations of pious visitors. A certain sum is thus collected annually from these contributions, and many votive offerings attest the miraculous cures effected through his intercession.

The reverence shown by the Montenegrins to his remains is very great; and I saw one person prostrate himself on the ground, and creep towards the coffin, in this humiliating attitude. But he was

* With the lower limb longer than the other two, like the Latin cross.

† This, and his elevation to sainthood, remind us of

“Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras.”

Hor. Ep. i. lib. 2. 16.

not a native; he had been obliged to fly from the Austrian territories for forgery, and was seeking to establish a new reputation by a display of religious zeal.

As yet a proper sanctuary has not been made for St. Pietro; but the canonisation seems to answer well, though he was so lately on earth, within the recollection of many individuals.

The Russian Synod, and the Czar himself, are said not to be quite pleased at this premature measure *; but as the Montenegrins are satisfied, and freely contribute their donations, it may now be thought impolitic, to check the current of their belief and their liberality.

The convent, like all these establishments in Montenegro, contains very few monks, and is little more than an appendage to the church, and a repository of the public chest, and holy objects. Stanievich was, in like manner, a fortified post against the Turks; the Morača convent is the same; and Ostrok is the stronghold of Montenegro.

On a rock, immediately above the convent, is a round tower, pierced with embrasures, but without cannon; on which I counted the heads of twenty Turks, fixed upon stakes, round the parapet, the trophies of Montenegrin victory; and below, scattered upon the rock, were the fragments of other skulls, which had fallen to pieces by time; a strange spectacle in a Christian country, in Europe, and in

* "Scire velim, pretium *sanctis* quotus arroget annus."

the immediate vicinity of a convent and a bishop's palace. It would be in vain to expect that, in such



a condition, the features could be well preserved, or to look for the Turkish physiognomy, in these heads, many of which have been exposed for years in this position, but the face of one young man was remarkable; and the contraction of the upper lip, exposing a row of white teeth, conveyed an expression of horror, which seemed to show that he had suffered much, either from fright or pain, at the moment of death.

The plain of Tzetinie is mostly grass land, and

the portion which is cultivated produces very small crops of stunted Indian corn, some potatoes, and cabbages. Nor is the grass, which is much mixed with fern, in sufficient abundance to furnish hay for the winter; and the keep of a horse is consequently very expensive. Petter is therefore wrong, in stating that this valley "is considered the most fertile in the country," and no one who has visited the district of Bielopavlich, or of Tzernitza, would pay this compliment to the neighbourhood of Tzetinie.

After a stay of two days, at this the smallest capital of Europe, or probably of the world, I prepared to start for the interior of Montenegro; and had reason to be grateful to the Vladika, for the assistance I received from him, in the prosecution of my journey; in addition to which, finding, during our conversation on the previous evening, that I took an interest in the struggles of the Montenegrins against the Turks, he promised that his secretary should draw up an outline of the principal occurrences in their history, and some statistical details, by the time I returned from Ostrok; which has been the groundwork, of what I have introduced on those subjects.*

The Montenegrins have a prejudice against the European dress, particularly the hat, or indeed against any other covering to the head, than the turban, or the Fez. "Have you a red cap?"

* See above, p. 476.

inquired the Vladika; and on my answering in the negative, he sent for one, which he begged me to wear on the journey; "not," he continued, "that the people would make any remarks about your dress, but they like the Fez, and it is just as well to wear it, if equally convenient to you."

There is often great difficulty in hiring a horse*, or any other animal in Montenegro; and all that could be found was one mule. After some time, a young man volunteered to carry my luggage, and such is the strength and activity of these mountaineers, that my portmanteau was more easily, and safely, taken up and down the hills, than if entrusted to the most sure-footed quadruped.

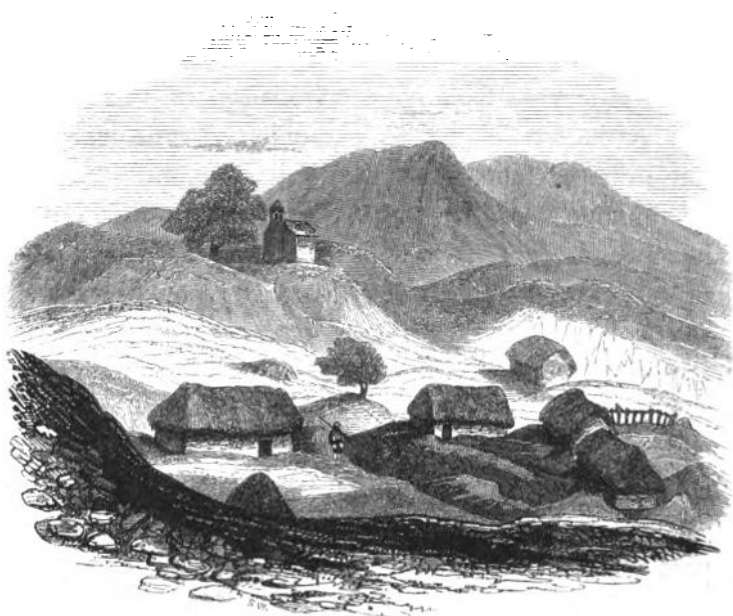
Leaving Tzetinie, I took the road by the singularly wild mountain district of Cevo; accompanied by one of the mounted *Perianiki*, the *Guardia nobile* of Montenegro; and the Vladika very kindly sent with me the tutor of his nephews, a Croatian named Giacovich.

Our road lay by the village of Donikrai, where the Vladika has built a fountain, or reservoir, for rain water; a very useful work, and one which might be made in many other parts of the country, to great advantage. Here we began to ascend the hills, bordering the plain of Tzetinie on that side, and soon afterwards found ourselves going up and down, over the tops of mountain ridges, resembling the waves of an immense petrified sea. The road

* They charge three florins, or six shillings, a day for a horse.

continued, all the rest of the day, over the rugged crests of these barren rocky heights; and no sooner had we ascended one, than we descended to climb another, that rose before us. Here and there were small oak bushes, striving for a difficult existence in the clefts of rocks; which, as throughout Montenegro, are all limestone. There was no riding; it was fortunate the animals escaped with unbroken legs, and no one would willingly risk his neck, by remaining in the saddle; even if he were unaccustomed to mountain walking.

After a slow march, of little more than one hour, we came to the small village of Petrovdo, consisting



of a few thatched cottages, or huts, and a church on the bank above. It is surrounded by barren rocks, and the people are very poor. On our right was the lofty peak of Mount Stavor; and about three quarters of a mile off, under a pointed mountain, was Miliavich, in a hollow basin surrounded by hills.

Another hour brought us to Podbûkovo, a name signifying "under the beech tree." In this straggling village we stopped to lunch, at the house of a *reverend* captain of the Guards; for, like other military chiefs of Montenegro, he was a priest, and united, as of old, the two offices of killing bodies, and saving souls. He was a most hospitable individual; and did justice to the two professions, by the convivial freedom, with which he passed, and delighted in, the bottle.

Here the road from Négosh joins that of Tzetinie; and paths branch off to Voikovich, distant about one mile, and to Koucista, about two miles from Podbûkovo. On the neighbouring mountains much hazelwood grows, which is used for the charcoal of gunpowder; there are also many poplar trees, called *Yessik* *, which have a strong resinous scent, like those at Mali-sbor, in the plain of Tzetinie. The sheep about Podbûkovo are much larger, and finer, than at Tzetinie, and are a great resource to the inhabitants of this wild district.

We left the military priest's house at a quarter past eleven, our road continuing to cross the

* It resembles the black Italian poplar.

same kind of mountain ridges as before ; above which, in our rear, we perceived the lofty peak of Mount Lovcen. While passing through this lonely region, nothing is seen but an endless repetition of rock. In the apparent solitude, you are startled by the bark of a dog ; you see no man, no village ; but, looking to the right or left, you perceive a hut, perched behind a rock, and below, a piece of land, in a hollow a few feet square, planted with potatoes or Indian corn, which is equivalent to a small estate, in these barren districts.

The road was made by the Vladika about two years ago, and is much frequented on market days. Here and there it is tolerable ; but a tolerable road in Montenegro is very rough, and in some parts of the country surpasses in rudeness any thing of the kind, even in Syria ; where, in the mountain districts, if a wall has fallen down by the wayside, it is difficult to say which is the wall, and which the road ; I was therefore far from being consoled, on learning that, bad as it was, the part we were to traverse next day was infinitely worse.

With these gloomy anticipations, we thought it as well to spare the horse of the Perianik, and my mule, as much as possible, beforehand ; and we halted for an hour, at half-past twelve, about a mile to the south of the village of Doub, and about the same distance beyond the church of St. Elia, which we had passed to our left.

The mountains hereabouts have a greater num-

ber of peaks, than are usual in limestone regions ; the district is called Biritza ; and in the centre of it is the village of Risna, where a large well has lately been made by the Vladika, to catch the rain-water, cased with stones, and very like those in many parts of Dalmatia.

The people of Risna were very civil ; but wondered what a stranger, in a Frank dress, could possibly want in these secluded regions, and how he could take the trouble of traversing so dreary and rocky a country, for no ostensible object. It was in vain to attribute it to curiosity, or any other motive, known or unknown to them ; and they could only conclude that, if Montenegro was not the only mountainous country in the world, it must, at all events, have some other great merits, to bring a foreigner so far over such a stony tract.

The oaks here are all trimmed, in order to make them grow upright. The other trees are principally wild pears, alders, and ash. The strata dip to the W. N. W., at an angle of twenty degrees.

After a march of seven hours, from Tzetinie, we reached Mishke, the principal village of the Cevo district, surrounded by hills. It stands close to another village called Voinitze, in a small plain, with some arable soil and grass land. Here were fought several fierce battles with the Turks ; and Mishke is memorable for a great victory over them, and for the death of Mustai Pasha ; the skin of whose head is still kept at Tzetinie, and has been

in vain demanded, as a favour, by his family from the conquerors.

The men of Cevo are reputed great warriors, and are always making forays into the Turkish territory; and though at the time I was there, a truce subsisted between them and Herzegóvina, they were planning a plundering excursion into that country.

We went to the house of the son of the principal senator of the province, and were received with every token of hospitality, out of respect to the Vladika, with whose recommendation we were travelling. Our host, Pietro Mukotich, was about two-and-twenty years of age, a fine-looking mountaineer, with a young and pretty wife, named Helena; and, as I found them both very ready to oblige, I ventured to inquire if I might be allowed to sketch their rich costumes, on which I bestowed a proper degree of admiration.

The proposal was very graciously received, and every one present seemed to enjoy the novelty of the idea; being the first time they had witnessed such a proceeding. Helena was the first to stand for her portrait, not so much from any lady's privilege of priority, as because she was doomed to encounter the first stare of curiosity; but great was the difficulty to keep her in the same position, long enough to finish one half of the outline; and it required much persuasion, and many pretty speeches, to prevail on her to remain. However, when all was over, the sight of the coloured

drawing, and the satisfaction of the party, reconciled her to this disagreeable trial of patience ; and I endeavoured to show my sense of the favour she had conferred, by an opportune present, and apologies for the trouble I had given her.



In the mean time, her husband decked himself in his gala dress ; and the numerous cloth coats, and jackets, fur pelisse, arms, and turban he wore, almost made him faint under the operation ; so that, like birds shot for their plumage, this innocent and obliging couple paid dearly for their finery.

As it ended in affording them both amusement, all went off very well, and our evening passed most cheerfully; the party being increased by a visit from some strangers of the village; dusky mountaineers, well known for warlike deeds; who, sitting down on wooden stools, began to talk of "a foray across the border."

The little I understood of the language sufficed to explain the subject of the conversation; and, on inquiry, I found the expedition was to take place immediately. "Is there not," I asked, "a truce, at this moment, between you and the Turks of Herzégovina?" They laughed, and seemed much amused at my scruples. "We don't mind that," said a stern swarthy man, taking his pipe from his mouth, and shaking his head to and fro, "they are Turks:" and all agreed that the Turks were fair game. "Besides," they said, "it is only to be a plundering excursion;" and they evidently considered, that any one refusing to join in a marauding expedition into Turkey at any time, or in an open attack during a war, would be unworthy the name of a brave man. They seemed to treat the matter, like boys, in "the good old times," who robbed orchards; the courage it showed being in proportion to the risk; and scruples of conscience were laughed at, as a want of spirit.

To the credit of the Vladika, however, it must be allowed, that he does all in his power to prevent these robberies; and time will doubtless work a

change in the opinions of the Montenegrins, and define the actual difference between *meum* and *tuum*, even towards their enemies.

Passing immediately from the civilised communities of Europe, and witnessing the habits and opinions of men, not yet emerged from a state of barbarism, whose ideas of right and wrong are, if at all, obscurely defined, a stranger is forcibly struck with the contrast, and finds himself introduced into a state of society, which he would fain persuade himself existed only in by-gone times. So long have the advantages of civilisation been known in Europe, so long have we been accustomed to look with horror upon every deviation from the established rules of justice and humanity, that we almost forget the existence of a period, when men were regardless of them. We censure the still uncivilised state, as if we could find no parallel in our own history, when we were in a similar condition; and this remark recalls to my recollection the observations of a German, I met in Dalmatia, while conversing with him about the habits of the Montenegrins.

After he had mentioned several occurrences of English and Scotch history, with which he appeared well acquainted, "what think you," he observed, "of the state of society, in those times? Were the border forays of the English and Scotch more excusable than those of the Montenegrins? And how much more natural is the unforgiving

hatred of the Montenegrins against the Turks, the enemies of their country and their faith, than the relentless strife of Highland clans, with those of their own race and religion! Has not many an old castle, in other parts of Europe, witnessed scenes as bad as any enacted by these people? I do not wish to exculpate the Montenegrins; but theirs is still a dark age, and some allowance may be made for their uncivilised condition."

Our dinner at Mishke consisted of the favourite dish in Montenegro, Dalmatia, and Turkey, a sheep roasted whole, and a few accessories; after which pipes and coffee having been discussed, in Oriental style, all parties retired to rest. The house, which was unusually large, consisted of two rooms; one of them, with the large family bed in the corner, was set apart for my use, and the fire being smothered in its ashes, and all the doors and unglazed windows closed up, the defence of this dwelling, as of the whole village, was committed to those practical *penates*, the dogs; who watched on the outside. I could not but congratulate myself, on going to rest, that I was not on the other side of the border; where Montenegrin habits might have the effect of interfering materially with sleep; and as long as I did not imprudently venture out of doors, where the dogs, inexperienced in what we consider a true Christian dress, would have pulled me to pieces for a Turk, I had nothing to fear either from enemies or friends.

Early in the morning I awoke, with a consciousness of the difficult journey we had to encounter, over roads, which we were told were bad, even for Montenegro; and unencumbered with breakfast, we ascended the steep mountain slope, that shades Mishke from the morning sun. Arrived at the summit, we descended again, only to climb a still higher range; and passing the hamlet of Láspe, we scaled two other craggy heights, covered with oak and ash. From this point we had a more than usually extended view, over rocky mountains clothed with trees, so abrupt and pointed, and of such varied shapes, as to look more like granite than limestone; the road still continuing over similarly rugged ascents and descents, amidst mountain crests; and if the bag of stones burst over Montenegro, it was certainly in this part, that the greatest fall took place; which might even have been thought, in olden times, to be the battle field of the Gods and Titans. I did not meet with any traces of the Roman road, said by Colonel Vialla to cross the country "between Cevo and Rettichi," which "went from Risano to Constantinople."

After a march of two hours and a half we halted for an hour, under some beech trees. The view was characteristic of Montenegro. It promised us no improvement in the road, and the same kind of rocky ridges presented themselves in succession before us. A precipitous isolated hill with a flat summit,

looking like an acropolis, was pointed out as the direction of our route ; with the range of Gárach * beyond it, about six miles in a line from our halt. That lofty mountain overlooks the valley of Bielopavlich, and is one of the highest in Montenegro. The trees, near which we sat, in the full enjoyment of some dry bread, were all stunted in growth ; and knotted, gnarled, and twisted, they seemed to bear a nearer resemblance to the distorted shape of the cork, than to the usual character of the spreading beech tree. Briars and blackberries † also grew there, as in many parts of Dalmatia, with some hazel, starting from the crevices of the rock.

In another hour and a half the small, but beautiful, vale of Oranido opened suddenly upon us ; the approach to which is through a wood of luxuriant beeches, differing from those we passed before, as much as the rich verdure, beneath them, from the barren crags we had just traversed. It is about three quarters of a mile long, and about 1000 feet broad ; and the sweep of the mountain sides, that enclose it, is particularly graceful. On descending, the view is very pretty, looking towards the mountain range above Ostrok, with the bright green sward in the immediate foreground. Above, to the south, is the citadel-like rock seen from our halt ; and amidst the beech trees, near the centre of the valley, is a well or reservoir of water ; which,

* Or Garacs.

† Called "*Mora*."

when we arrived, was surrounded by picturesque groups of men tending their flocks.

From the summit of the pass at the other end, is an extensive prospect, looking down to the valley of Bielopavlich, backed by the Ostrok mountains; on the right is the long slope of Mount Gárach, covered with brushwood, and in the distance the Turkish town of Spâss*, with an isolated fortified rock above it, worthy to be the site of an ancient Greek acropolis. It has a population of about 900 souls, and stands in the plain, close to the river Zetta, beyond the lowlands of Bielopavlich.

And plainly does this view disclose the secret of Montenegrin liberty; depending as it does on the inaccessible nature of the country. There, is seen the limit, beyond which Turkish conquest cannot extend; and their possession of the champaign country illustrates the usual custom of the Turks, in seizing all the most productive lands. This has ever been their aim; and that plundering horde has appropriated some of the richest portions of the Roman Empire, which its blighting influence has often reduced below the level of far less fertile regions.

The pass from Oranido has been the scene of many a desperate contest between the Montenegrins and Turks, whose frontier formerly extended much further into Montenegro, towards Mishke, than at pre-

* Pronounced Spooss.

sent. From that spot to Ostrok, the distance, in a direct line, is about six or seven miles; but the path winds considerably, both in going down to, and ascending from, the valley, so that it took us four hours * to reach the convent; and though it was a relief, after the long confinement amidst rocks, to have an open view before us, there was little reason to congratulate ourselves on a better road. On the way, I observed several trees called *Drennina*, bearing a small juicy fruit, of a sweet flavour, rather like a plum.† The tree grows to the height of our ordinary fruit trees, and is without thorns. I believe it to be the *Cornus mascula*, or Cornel tree.

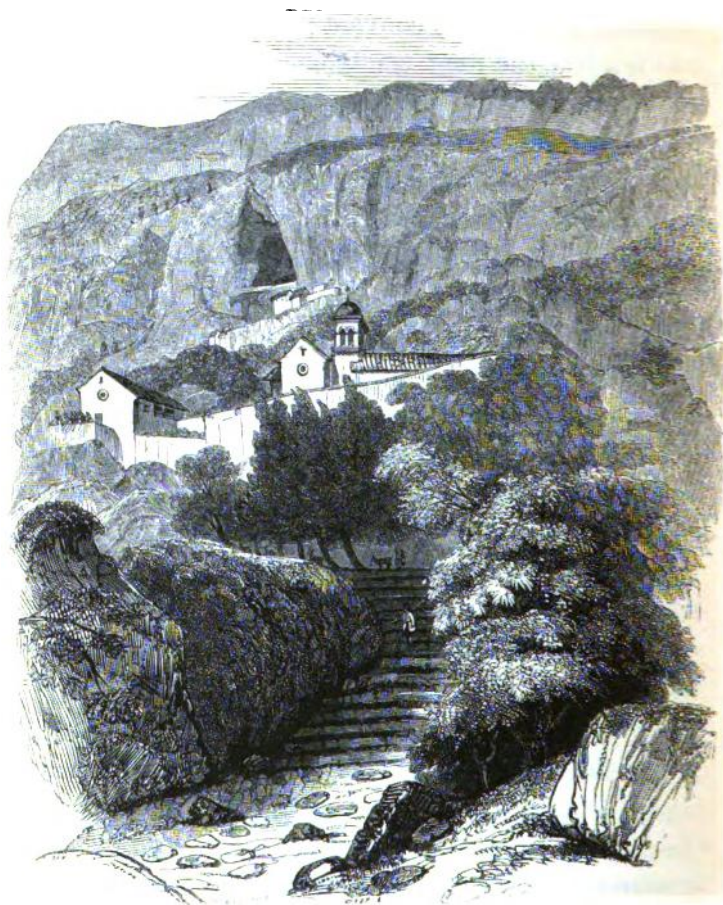
In descending, we passed through a wood of ash and oak, which covers the undulating rocky ground; and in about two hours, came to Dren-ôvstítza, in the hollow between two hills. In another half hour we reached the banks of the Zetta, or Boiana, which we forded. The stream is small, very clear and rapid, even at this season (about the middle of September), and is famous for its trout. It runs through the valley of Bielopavlich, and after passing Spûss, joins the Moraça ‡, which falls into the Lake of Scutari.

* From Mishke to Ostrok takes eight hours and a half.

† The tree is called *Drennina*, and the fruit *drin*, or *dren*. It seems to be the same as the Russian *deren*, the Bohemian and Bosnian *drin*, and the Croatian *drenck*. The fruit is red, and of an oblong shape, flattened a little at each end, about five-eighths of an inch long, and three-eighths broad.

‡ Moracha, or Moraksa. The ç is pronounced as ch.

The valley here is half a mile broad, and is principally sown with Indian corn. We soon crossed the fields, and ascended the opposite hills to Rostzi,



a village with a small church, from which a paved road leads to Ostrok.

A letter had been despatched the day before from Mishke, to announce our intended visit ; and we were received by a discharge of muskets, as we wound up the road towards the convent. A dozen guards, who constantly keep watch at this important position, had been ordered by the superior to welcome us with a volley ; and the whistling balls, fired downwards amidst the rocks, seemed as if they were intended to hurry us towards the hospitable place of shelter. The prospect of a stray ball, glancing from a stone, was certainly enough to prevent any loitering by the way ; and though accustomed to an *Allah-Kerim*-exposure to random shots, while living in the East, I was not sorry when we were no longer below the level of their muskets.

On reaching the court of the convent, another ordeal awaited me ; and I plainly saw I was to undergo the osculation of two large priests, who were already engaged in conveying tokens of welcome to all they could encounter, with feelings of Christian brotherhood. After this epidemic of affection had subsided, and every person in the convent had communicated it to all my companions, I was welcomed to Ostrok by the Archimandrite. He is the superior of the convent, and the next in rank after the Vladika ; of whose enlarged views he is an able seconder. He is about forty years of age ; and, though not of the same gigantic stature as the Metropolitan, is much above the ordinary

height. Like all the other priestly chiefs of Montenegro, he is highly distinguished in war; and the energy and talent, he has often displayed, fit him for the command of this important post, in the immediate vicinity of the Turkish frontier.

During the absence of any interpreter, I was obliged to keep up a precarious conversation with him in Slavonic, as no one in these out of the way regions knows any other language. My attempts amused him very much; we became at once great friends; and in this I found another of the many proofs, I have so often had, of the advantage, not so much of knowing a language, as, of showing a readiness to converse with others, and abandoning that forbidding reserve, which has frequently made the English disliked by foreigners.

In the mean time an elderly priest came in, a man of quiet demeanour, who asked me various questions, some of which I in vain attempted to understand. While I was answering "No" where I ought to have said "Yes," (for it is much easier to make remarks, than reply to queries,) I was fortunately relieved from my embarrassment by the arrival of Signor Giacovich, who performed for me the office of interpreter. He also gave me to understand that the reverend priest Pópé Yovan, or Ivan Knezovich*, was the most renowned and gallant warrior of Montenegro, and the same who, twenty years ago, had defended the convent of Morača with 200 men,

* Or Kniezovich, i. e. "Fitz-count."

against 20,000 Albanians.* “He lives,” he added, “in the very midst of the Turks, in the neighbourhood of Spûss; and he has fought, and defeated them, in many battles, without ever having been wounded; though balls have struck his pistols, and his dress, and numbers have fallen at his side.”

As this account interested me, I could not help asking Pópé Yovan about his exploits against the Turks, and the nature of their wars. “They are very courageous,” he replied, “and though we hate them, we admire their valour. They advance gallantly to the charge, and often have I been sorry to see some of their brave leaders fall by our fire. But their mode of fighting does not suit our country; their cavalry is of little use out of the plain; their power depends on numbers; and, when their masses cannot act, they are only in each other’s way. Besides, they are better in a sudden attack, than in a long-continued fight, and in close combat they cannot stand against us for a moment, unless vastly superior in numbers. With regard to myself, I have been very fortunate: Providence has been pleased to spare me, and I am now old, without ever having been hurt in battle; but I have lost my two sons, which is a great bereavement to me. However, they fell fighting for their country, and I must not repine.”

It was pleasing to see the mild, unassuming manner of the old warrior, so consistent with real

* Mentioned in the History. See above, p. 493.

courage; and when, on my return to Tzetinie, I told the Vladika of my meeting him at Ostrok, his expressions of regard for him showed the high estimation, in which he is held throughout the country.

“What is your Christian name?” he asked, and on finding it was the same as his own, he rose from his seat, and embraced me, saying, “As we are namesakes, we must look upon each other as brothers.”

On the return of the Archimandrite, who had left us to superintend some arrangements in the interior of the convent, dinner was announced, and we sat down to the most delicious trout, made doubly acceptable after our hard day’s journey.

There are two kinds, one white, the other of a salmon colour, both caught in the Zetta; but they have always a small supply for the table, kept in a reservoir in the upper convent. The white trout is called *Skila*, the other *Liepien**, which is of a far better flavour; but the former grows to a larger size, and some have been caught weighing twenty *okas*, or sixty pounds. There was no lack of wine; of which the Montenegrins are very fond. “You must do justice to our wine,” said the superior: “I hope you think it good.” I gave it the praise it merited, and observed that “whenever I had visited a convent, I always found the monks *had* excellent water, but that they took care to *drink* good wine;”

* Or Leepien, perhaps from *liépo*, “fine,” or “beautiful.”

at which he was much entertained, and laughingly said, that it was the "most malicious remark" he had "ever heard against monks."

On my regretting that the warrior priest was not of our party, he told me he was fasting, and had gone to attend vespers in the church, but would come and pass the evening with us. After dinner, it was proposed that I should hear their *gŭsla*, or Slavonic violin*, and some of the songs of their bards; which, on a frontier constantly resounding with the din of arms, are hailed with delight by every Montenegrin. < Independent of the gratification of my curiosity, > I was glad to have the opportunity of witnessing the stirring effect produced by these songs. < The subjects related to their contests with their enemies, the vain hopes of the Turks to subdue their country, and the glorious victories obtained over them, both by themselves, and the heroes of Servia†; in some of which the armed bard may have had his share of glory. For like Taillefer, the minstrel of William the Conqueror, these men are warriors; and no one would venture to sing of deeds he could not emulate. The sounds of the *gŭsla* were not according to European taste, and the tune was only varied by the intonation of the voice; but the enthusiasm of the performer compensated for the monotony of the one-stringed instrument.

* Rather than Guitar, as it is usually called, see pp. 35. 440.

† See above, p. 441.

Pópé Yovan, or, as some called him, "the old General," returned during the performance; probably in time to hear some of his own exploits, recorded in the national songs of his countrymen. The evening passed most agreeably, and the cheerful manners of this old warrior, together with the friendly hospitality of the Archimandrite, banished all recollection of the day's fatigue, and we sat up half the night. All I regretted was knowing so little of the language; for however good an interpreter may be, he is a poor substitute for direct communication.

Pópé Yovan, in speaking of Bielopavlich, stated that the inhabitants of that department were originally descended from one Paul (Pavlo) the son of Dukagin Lecca, governor of a province of Servia, under King Lazarus*, who in 1389 fled from the fatal field of Kosovo, and established himself there.† Lecca was of the town of Druegína, and his son Paolo being remarkable for the light colour of his hair, was called "*Bielo*" "white," and gave the name to this *Náhia*.‡

From him, according to the tradition of the country, 3000 fighting men now derive their descent; one of whom is Ivan Knezovich himself, the twelfth descendant of Bielo Pavlo.

* See above, p. 477.

† The River Zetta, or Zeta, has the same name that was given in those times to Montenegro. See p. 477.

‡ Bielo Pavlo-vich shortened into Bielopavlich, "the sons of white Paul." It is singular that there should have been, at the other side of Montenegro, the family of *Tzeruoievich*.

In some parts of Montenegro the people are descended from Christian emigrants from Herzégóvina, others are from Podgóritza, and some originally from the neighbourhood of Spûss, and Zsabliak; to which places the dominion of Montenegro formerly extended.*

The priests in Montenegro are not allowed to marry more than once, as is the rule in the Greek, Coptic, and some other churches; following, to the letter, the injunction, "Let the deacons be the husbands of one wife:" though they disregard the same command to the bishops†; who are obliged to remain single. Nor is any one permitted to wear a beard, unless he is a *Kaloiero* (Caloyer), or aspires to the office of Bishop, or of Archimandrite.

There are two convents at Ostrok, one of which occupies a cavern in the side of a perpendicular limestone mountain, and is the great stronghold of Montenegro. The other is on the slope of the mountain below it, and is also an advantageous position, owing to the broken nature of the ground, and the trees that surround it. There is no town at Ostrok, but merely buildings attached to the convent. It stands at the northern extremity of the country, about three or four miles from the frontier of Herzégóvina; and behind its mountain range to the eastward, are the Piperi and Moratska departments.

Next morning I proposed a visit to the Turkish

* See above, p. 479.

† 1 Tim. iii. 2. 12.

frontier, which is a little more than an hour's walk from Ostrok. The proposition seemed to give great satisfaction, and the Archimandrite mounted me on his favourite charger. Our course lay over the broken high ground, overlooking the valley of Zetta, beneath the line of perpendicular cliffs of the upper convent; which continued to skirt our road, nearly the whole way, to the right.

In three quarters of an hour we came to a hollow ravine, where the year before, in August, 1843, a Turkish deputation returning from Ostrok was attacked by the Montenegrins; for which disgraceful act they try to excuse themselves, by affirming that, according to the intelligence they had received, the Turks intended to assassinate the Vladika, who was then at Ostrok. One account states that the Vizir of Herzegóvina proposed to the Vladika to meet at Slíva, each with a retinue of 400 armed followers, who were to be left at a distance during the conference. The Vladika therefore repaired to Ostrok; but while awaiting the announcement of the Vizir's approach to Slíva, he was surprised by the arrival at the convent of a deputation of twenty-two Turks, headed by the Governor of Niksich. They came with a message, requesting the Vladika to repair to the place of rendezvous, where the son of the Vizir would join him from Niksich, his father being too old to ride so far.

This change in the arrangements excited some suspicions; the Vladika refused to see the depu-

tation, and ordered them immediately to quit the country. And having heard, from a Turkish informant, that they intended to attack him, if he went to Slíva, with a body of concealed troops, he gave orders that the embassy should be accompanied to the frontier by an armed guard, to protect them from the anger excited among the Montenegrins by this report. The precaution was of no avail. They were attacked on their arrival at this ravine, a little before the summit of the pass, and nine out of twenty-two were killed; among whom was the governor of Niksich. The rest escaped; with the exception of four Christians, who accompanied the embassy, but who, being of the same religion as the Montenegrins, were allowed to depart with their lives, after having been stripped of their clothes, and whatever else they had.

It was fortunate for the son of the Vizir, that he did not go himself to Ostrok, which, I afterwards learnt in Herzegóvina, had been his intention; but whether true or not, I will not pretend to determine; nor can I give any opinion respecting the statement of the Montenegrins, and the suspected treachery of the Turks. Both parties accuse each other of "treachery;" and the Montenegrins, accustomed to Turkish duplicity, may have magnified a report, and acted on impulse, without much inquiry; but, be this as it may, there is no excuse for attacking a flag of truce, and the fact, of the Turks having done the same to them before, in no way removes the

stigma of this atrocious act. Had it not occurred, a good understanding might have been satisfactorily brought about, between the Montenegrins and the Turks; and this, as I shall have occasion to show, defeated all hopes of a reconciliation between them.

From the ravine we ascended the pass, whence there is an extensive view over the valley of Bielopavlich, and the distant lake of Scútari; and below, at some distance to the left, are the sources of the Zetta. The mountain cliffs, that skirted our road to the right, soon afterwards terminated, turning off abruptly to the eastward. They are called in this part Planinitza *, “the small mountain.” We then came to Slíva, on the brow of the descent towards Herzegóvina; from which to the Turkish frontier is about three quarters of a mile. Niksich, at the opposite end of a level plain, is about four miles off; and on the edge of the same plain you see the Turkish villages of Trebbes, Touriache, and Ozrinich, with the hamlet of Clichevo.†

Niksich is the capital of a *Jupa* ‡, or district of the same name, and contains about 6000 inhabitants. It stands at the foot of some low hills, and with its minarets and cypresses, has all the character of a Turkish town. Through the plain winds the shallow river, or rather torrent, Ponor; which, in the summer, is without water. It is the

* The diminutive of Planina “mountain.”

† Or Touriace, Ozrinitch, and Clicevo.

‡ Written variously, Jupa, Giupa, Xupa, and Zsupa.

boundary line, at this part, between Montenegro and Herzegóvina; and, between it and the foot of the Slíva hills, is a small piece of cultivated land, a quarter of a mile broad, belonging to the Montenegrins, which is generally sown with Indian corn.

At Slíva * are some miserable huts, or man-styes, worthy of the ancient Slavonians †, with low walls of rough stones, or wicker work, covered with imperfect thatch, perched among rocks, with a few patches of cultivated land about them; the produce of which is frequently destroyed by the Turks, before it is ripe.

The contrast of the barren rocky Montenegro, and the fine Turkish plain, is here as striking as on the Albanian side; and in these rocks you see the habits, and the liberty, of the Montenegrins.

On going down to the Ponor, I found a body of armed mountaineers, who, with the guards sent to accompany me from the convent, formed a very picturesque group. They were richly clad, mostly in the silver-fronted dresses of the Turks they had spoiled in battle, and were armed to the very chin. The appearance of the Archimandrite's white charger sufficed to ensure me a good reception, and, as I afterwards understood, the fact of a stranger going down to the Turkish frontier was an additional recommendation. The quiet docile horse, which had picked its way, with gentle and

* Slíva signifies a "plum-tree."

† See above, p. 34.

cautious steps, over our stony path, was no sooner on this level spot, than he showed all the fire of the war-horse; and as I had learnt the Memlook exercise in Egypt, I put him through the evolutions of the *Gereet*, but without knowing how much this amusement was gaining for me the good-will of these mountaineers.

A guard is always stationed in this spot, to prevent, or give notice of, any inroad of the Turks; and so scrupulously do they resent any approach towards their frontier, that no Turk can come within musket-shot, without being fired at; though his innocent intentions might not aspire to any thing, beyond a visit to his own fields. The consequence is, that those near the frontier are tilled by Christians, who are not amenable to powder and ball; and the appearance of a Turk is considered, by the Montenegrins, a sure indication of intended hostility.

Returning to Ostrok, we met some Christians of Herzegóvina, who had been "to adore" St. Basilio, in the convent. They were remarkably fine men, much taller, and more muscular, even than the Montenegrins, who are far above the average size. One party had their women with them. As they passed, they all saluted us, with a strange inclination of the head sideways towards us, as if presenting it to be cut off; a singular sign of submissive respect I never met with, even in the East.

On inquiring about the Montenegrin truces with

the Turks, I was told that they are made until a particular fête; when they are renewed or not, according to circumstances. They even express a hope of settling a peace by commission; but the difficulty, according to the Montenegrins, arises from an unwillingness, on the part of the Turks, to treat with them on an equality; and the sad event of last year has been an additional impediment. The Vizir, they allow, is very courteous, in his intercourse with the Vladika; and when the latter sent a sum of money, to purchase a horse in Herzegóvina, the Turk returned it; and selecting one from his own stud, begged him to accept it, as a mark of friendship. On the other hand, they complain that the Turks always pretend to consider them an inferior, or a conquered, race; who are not deserving to be treated like an independent people; which is certainly true; for when the question of a reconciliation with Montenegro was mooted at Constantinople, the Porte affected to have a right of jurisdiction over the country, and put forth a claim of vassalage to the Sultan.

In the afternoon, I went, with the Archimandrite, to visit the upper convent of Ostrok. The paved road winds through a thicket of trees, and the ascent occupies half an hour. The view is very extensive, looking over the valley of Bielopávlich, with the Albanian mountains in the distance; and in front is Mount Gárach *, with the Zetta flowing below. The

* Or Gáratz.

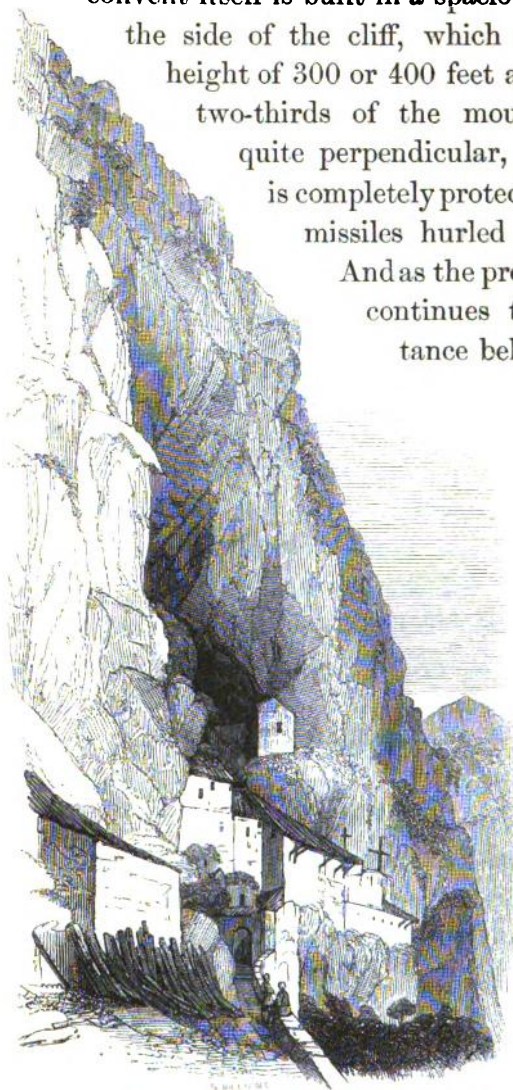
convent itself is built in a spacious cavern, at the side of the cliff, which rises to the height of 300 or 400 feet above it; and two-thirds of the mountain being quite perpendicular, the building is completely protected from any missiles hurled from above.

And as the precipitous part continues to some distance below, the only

access to it is by the steep narrow road, which might be easily defended by a few men, against any number of assailants.

It is therefore not surprising that the Turks

have always failed, before this impregnable position;



and no force has, during their repeated attacks, been able to make any impression on it.

About seventy years ago *, it was besieged by 30,000 Turks, for several months ; when every effort was made to set fire to, and destroy, the buildings, by lighted brands, and stones, hurled from above ; but all glanced off into the depths below ; and though defended only by thirty men, the enemy was obliged to retire with immense loss. The Turks had laid waste every thing in the neighbourhood, with fire and sword ; they had burnt the lower convent, which had already been destroyed nine times before ; and they had advanced to a ledge of rocks, a short distance to the south of the cavern ; where, stopped by an impassable precipice, they were all picked off by those within, and this last effort was the signal for their retreat.

The position of this convent calls to mind that of Megaspelion, in the Morea, which withstood so long the attacks of Ibrahim Pasha ; but the whole of the ground before it being precipitous, except the road, it is even stronger than the Greek convent. Within it are the principal powder magazine of Montenegro, and plenty of provisions for a long siege, with a large reservoir of water, containing some trout ; which, however, are more connected with the luxury of the table, than the wants of a garrison. Among other curiosities they show a vine, trained over trellis-work, which

* Probably in 1768. See above, p. 488.

is a pleasant relief to the bareness of this rocky retreat. As in Turkey, few precautions are taken against the explosion of the gunpowder, which would suffice to blow up the whole cavern, and put an end to both the convents at once: I believe no one of our party went into the room, where it is kept, with his lighted pipe; but that was the extent of their caution; and the two convents, as well as ourselves, were in much less danger, when the door had been closed, between us and the powder barrels, and uncovered cartridges.

In the convent is the tomb of San Basilio. He was a Bishop of Herzegóvina, who, in the latter part of his life, became a hermit, and retired to this cavern. His death happened about 170 years ago; and his embalmed body, deposited in a coffin, still claims the veneration of the Greek Christians of Montenegro, and the neighbouring countries. A plate is always ready for the votive offerings of devout pilgrims to his tomb, and the sums obtained by these donations add considerably to the revenues of the convent. The eight Christians we met, on their return to Herzegóvina, gave ten dollars each, and one of the party fifty; the Bosnians frequently make very large presents, and one of them was known to give 100 sequins. A certain quantity of money is always left in the plate, like the honey in a bee-hive, to encourage the continuance of these contributions; while the surplus is applied to practical purposes.

Even Turks have sometimes visited his tomb, during a peace, to ask a blessing from the saint; and to the credit of the Moslems be it said, that they look upon a holy man with veneration, even though belonging to another religion; and I have seen them enter a church, with a respect which might well take the place of that offensive curiosity, with which travellers so often visit a place of worship, dedicated to the same God they serve, because it belongs to members of a different sect.

Though the ascent, from the lower to the upper convent, is sufficiently steep for those on foot, some pilgrims have been known to go the whole way on their knees, probably when their wealth was not equal to their piety; this act of devotion serving as a substitute for a large donation.

A hermit now lives here, who has come from Turkey, to pass the rest of his days in this holy retreat, and acquire by self-denial the title of saint, after his death. He has been made guardian of the convent, and is the only inmate of the place. That he is sincere I have no doubt, and no fears need be entertained of his fidelity; but it seems a dangerous risk to confide this stronghold to the custody of a single man, who might easily be murdered by a pretended pilgrim, bribed by the Turks to visit the convent on a plea of devotion. But it is the nature of a free, and brave, people to confide in their own security, and even sometimes to be improvident; no country takes fewer precautions,

against the aggressions of an enemy, than England and America ; and (unlike some others, which are devoid of the innate feelings of liberty,) they make no extraordinary preparations for war, against those with whom they are at peace.

On returning to the lower convent, I was surprised to find that my *gereet* evolutions, and my visit to the frontier had gained me much good-will. " Our people," said the Archimandrite, " were much gratified by your having gone down to the Turkish border ; no stranger has ever done this before, and they thought it a compliment. They were also pleased with your *Memlook* riding ; and you must allow me to offer you the use of my horse, for your return to Tzetinie." With many thanks for his kindness, I begged him to spare it the fatiguing journey ; but his offer was sincere, and he really wished me to accept it ; which I did, with many expressions of gratitude for this, as well as all other acts of courtesy and hospitality, during my stay at Ostrok.

Next morning I left the convent ; and it was not without regret that I bid adieu to the Archimandrite, and the brave Pópé Ivan. Of their friendly reception I cannot speak in too high terms ; indeed, I never met with greater kindness than in Montenegro ; and I feel sure, that all who visit the country will have reason to praise the hospitality of these wild mountaineers.

On leaving Ostrok, we descended by the village

of Rostzi, beneath the ledge of rocks on which the convent stands ; and in an hour reached the plain of the Zetta. The soil of the surrounding hills is fertile, and their cultivated sides are mostly divided into fields ; which, with the valley of the Zetta, constitute the principal part of the Bielopavlichi department ; and here the Indian corn grows to the height of five and six feet, and, in places, as high as a man on horseback. A few small rivulets run from the mountains to the river, which, in size and appearance, is like one of our Welsh streams ; widening as it proceeds in its course : the banks are productive, and bordered with willows ; and here and there are small islands, covered with Indian corn. In about three quarters of an hour, we reached a very pretty ford ; the hilly bank, on the opposite side, being covered with trees, overhanging the Zetta, which is here, at this season, about three feet deep. Twenty-five minutes brought us to the village of Kouiaava, on a low hill to our left, about one mile and a half from the ford, and in forty more we arrived at Fruttak ; where we were received by a wealthy landowner, the father of our host's wife at Mishke. A profusion of fruit was placed before us ; grapes, pomegranates, walnuts, and peaches, with bread, and an abundant supply of wine ; and Signor Giacovich had so much to talk about, that we remained there for more than two hours. Having been so recently at Mishke, we were doubly welcome, from the good

tidings we brought with us; and the mother of Helena Mukotich, being resolved that I should not depart without a memento of herself, presented me with some of her own handy-work; consisting of a pair of Montenegrin socks, intended for the particular use of her spouse.

The narrow portion of the valley is here scarcely half a mile in breadth, and runs from S. to S.S.E. One mile and a half from Fruttak is the village of Oriolûka-Boscovich, and the same distance beyond it is Glavitza, opposite the southern extremity of Mount Gârach. In little more than an hour, we began to ascend the low hills to the westward, leaving the fine cultivated plain of Bielopavlich to our left, which is here about seven miles in breadth; and which, though it might appear to invite the Turks to overrun it, is protected and flanked, on the E. and W., by the mountainous parts of Montenegro. The view from the summit of these hills is very extensive, looking down to Spûss and Podgôritz*, backed by the Piperi, Kutska, and Albanian mountains. In another three quarters of an hour, we reached one of the villages of Zagarach†, in a hollow, on the other side of the hills; where we halted for the night.

Zagarach is the collective name of the district;

* Properly written Podgôrizza, signifying "under the hill," and so called from its position.

† Names ending in *ch*, as Garach, Zagarach, &c. are pronounced Garatch, Zagaratch, &c.

and the village, like others in Montenegro, is scattered over a considerable space, partly in the valley, partly on the slope of the hills. It is five hours and a half, or about fifteen miles from Ostrok.

The people of the house, where we took up our quarters, were very civil, and did all they could to welcome us hospitably. A sheep was instantly caught up, to be converted into roast mutton, and every thing our hosts could afford was offered for our use. But the abode was far from comfortable, and we were doomed to associate with the pigs, who were unwilling to leave their wonted haunts, for the sake of any intrusive travellers. Taking little pleasure in their society, I proposed a walk into the fields, while dinner was preparing; and here we met some men from the neighbouring cottages, with whom we entered into conversation. But they seemed far less civil, or sociable, than any I had met with; and I afterwards learnt that they have the character of being more rude, and inhospitable, than any of the Montenegrins. Throwing off, therefore, the dust of their fields, we returned to the pigs; and with the assistance of sticks and stones, were enabled to get through our dinner, without any direct assault on the dishes, or ourselves, either from those animals, or from the hungry dogs which crowded about us, with looks of mingled longing and displeasure.

At length night came, and I retired to what appeared a clean, comfortable, bed of straw. But I

soon found that sleep was out of the question ; the whole place seemed to be alive : even Egypt could scarcely compete with Zagarach for its plague of fleas ; which gave a practical contradiction to the notion, of night being “ the season when all nature is at rest.” I was not sorry to see the daylight through the open tiles ; and leaving Zagarach without any regrets, about six o'clock we ascended the hills to the S.W., where we found a number of people weeping, and singing a doleful dirge, for the departure of their friends, whom poverty had obliged to emigrate into Servia.*

Below, to our left, were the sources of a small stream, called Sagavatz ; and an hour's march from Zagarach brought us to the summit of the hills ; whence, after scrambling, for about two hours, over a rocky road, we descended to a small valley, and the scattered village of Buronia. In forty minutes more we reached Gradatz †, on the slope of a hill, from which is a commanding view, over the Lake of Scútari, and the Riéka. Above it is a pointed mountain, crowned by a church, distant about three quarters of a mile. Much tobacco is grown here, but of a quality very inferior to that of Bosnia, which is so highly esteemed throughout Turkey.

In three quarters of an hour, we came to Perza,

* See above, p. 425.

† A name signifying “ old town.”

which, as well as Gradatz, is in the Lieschanska Náhia.

Here another fine prospect opened towards the Islands of Vránina, and Lessandro, at the north end of the Scútari lake; and, while in sight of them, we perceived the Turks trying the range of a gun, for the erection of a new battery, to strengthen their defences against the Montenegrins. Vránina originally belonged to Turkey, but being inhabited by Christians, was given up by them, a few years ago, to the Montenegrins, in whose hands it remained till 1843; when the Albanians, finding the Vladika fully engaged in a war with Herzegóvina, and unprepared for their hostility during a truce, took possession of it. In vain did the Montenegrins object to their treachery; the Turks fortified it; and, when attacked by the Vladika, in the autumn of the same year*, it was found to be too strong for a *coup de main*, and it still continues in the hands of the Albanians.

We soon afterwards came to a paved road, lately made by the Vladika, which, though a relief after the rocky tracks we had just passed, was very rough. Here we met with several *Loto*, or nettle-trees, called *Coschella*.† In its general character, this tree bears some resemblance to the cherry, and the dry sweet fruit is not unlike the wild *gean*, in appearance, with a flavour more like the

* See above, pp. 470. 507.

† See above, p. 261.

Caruba. Its botanical name is *Celtis Australis*; but it is not, as some have imagined, the Marasca, or wild cherry, which has given its name to the Maraschino of Dalmatia; though a liqueur is also made from the pounded fruit and kernels of the loto, which resembles *Kirsche-Wasser*.

Forty minutes brought us to Piperi; a village of the same name as the *Náhia*, on the other side of Spûss. It is the first place in the Riéka district.

We here met a man wearing a silver medal attached to a riband, which he had received as a reward for his valour, in cutting off numerous heads of Turks.

In another half hour, we came to the village of Meterees, under a rocky eminence, where I had another instance of the disinterested hospitality of the Montenegrins I had so often witnessed. Some of the cottagers brought us wine, and a quantity of fruit; and though money is so great an object to these poor people, nothing would induce them to receive any return for their presents; and they were even offended at the offer. From this place, to the steep descent of the Riéka valley, is about a mile. The valley is very narrow, and is confined between precipitous hills, mostly overgrown with brushwood. In the centre winds the river Tzer-novichi, and the level space on either side of it is nearly all marsh, which, from the *malaria* it generates, causes fevers in the hot season. From the road, as it descends the hill, are seen the Isle

of Vranina, with its double summit, the small Lesendria, and several rocks scattered about the



northern extremity of the lake; on the shore are some villages, of the Tzernitska Náhia; and, in the distance beyond, the mountains above Antivári. The town of Zsabliak lies a short way from the mouth of the Moraça, which also runs into the lake, very near the Tzernovichi, but is screened from view, by a projecting point of the hills on the left.

In another hour we reached the village, or town, of Riéka, the capital of this department; having passed on the way the village of Nasinjong. Riéka stands on the bank of the Tzernovichi, from which

it has received its name; Riéka signifying "the river," whence the Italians have called the town "La Fuiméra." It is surrounded by hills, in a picturesque position, with a most unhealthy climate. Here we stopped to rest ourselves, and our jaded animals; but all endeavours to find a blacksmith, to shoe the Archimandrite's horse, were unavailing, perhaps from being a fête-day; and I was under the necessity of taking it on to Tzetinie, with the loss of two of its shoes. Though I dismounted, and walked the greater part of the way, to and from Riéka, to spare it as much as possible, I found, to my great regret, that it suffered from the journey; and, notwithstanding all I could say, the groom, who had charge of it, left Tzetinie the same night, on his return to Ostrok; though I had exacted from him a promise, that he would remain there till the following day.

We stopped two hours at Riéka; and while refreshing ourselves with coffee, the most reviving beverage after a hard walk, dinner was prepared at the small inn; to which I was glad to retire from the gaze of the inquisitive population, who crowded into the café, to examine, and inquire about, the stranger.

We had some of the fish, caught in the river, and the Lake of Scútari, called *Scoranza* *, which resemble *Sardines* in size and flavour. They

* See above, p. 393. 415.

are excellent, whether fresh or salted; and a long walk over Montenegrin roads did not diminish their merits. The quantity caught is very great, and they are a source of wealth to the people of the Riéka valley, and the borders of the lake; who dry and export them to Cattaro, Venice, and other places. The scoranza is only found in fresh water. The fishery employs many people; it produces annually about 16,000 florins*, and there is a village consisting of eighty houses, inhabited only during the season, by those employed in drying fish.

There are also very large trout in the Lake of Scútari; and one was sent to Zara, and thence to Vienna, as a curiosity, which is *said* to have weighed eighty okas.†

The inn at Riéka is kept by the widow of a servant of the Vladika, who was hanged for having engaged to poison his master, on the promise of a bribe from the Turks. They seem, on more than one occasion, to have made similar attempts to compass his death; and the following story of the Priest Stevo (or Stefano) is curiously illustrative of the cunning of the Osmanli.

Having fled from Herzegóvina, to escape the resentment of the Vizir, Pópe Stevo took refuge in Montenegro, where he soon obtained a situation in the service of the Vladika; upon which, finding he

* £1600 English. The *duty* on fish paid to the government is 250 florins.

† 120 pounds English!

was no longer within his reach, the Vizir devised this stratagem to satisfy his revenge. He entered into a negotiation with him, promising to pay him a large sum, if he would consent to poison the Vladika. The priest, as was expected, wrote a reply, and inquired what the amount of the reward would be; and no sooner had he thus committed himself on paper, than the Vizir sent the proofs of his guilt to the Vladika; who ordered him to be hanged; and thus the revenge of the Vizir was gratified, at the same time that he had the credit of conferring a favour on the Vladika, by denouncing a traitor.

The houses of Riéka are better than in most villages of Montenegro, being built of stone, and roofed with tiles. It is a very flourishing place, and many of the inhabitants are refugees from Podgóritza, in Albania; which is a large town, containing from ten to eleven thousand inhabitants, founded in Christian times before the Turkish conquest; and fortified, as well as Zsabliak, by Tugemir * in the tenth century.

The Albanians on the confines of Montenegro, and Dalmatia, are mostly Christians; and in Scútari, which contains about 60,000 inhabitants, there are 20,000 Roman Catholics, who are very numerous in all parts of that Pashalic. The Pasha of

* Luccari's History of Ragusa, i. 22. He was the third predecessor of St. Vladimir, and a contemporary of the Emperor Samuel, of Bulgaria. Lucio, p. 294. Catalinich, ii. p. 234.

Scútari is under the Vizir of Roumelia, who lives at Novi Bazar, and is called *Roumeli-Valesi*, Albania having no hereditary Vizir, but merely a Pasha appointed by the Porte. Nor have the Governors of the other western provinces any longer the title of Vizir; much less is the office hereditary; and the Vizir of Herzegóvina only enjoys it, from having been appointed before the new regulations.

On leaving Riéka for Tzetinie, the road runs through the valley of the Tzernovichi, where we passed some people, dressed in gala costume, playing at bowls; a game very common in Montenegro, as well as in Dalmatia among the Morlacchi. We continued, for the distance of a mile, on the left bank of the river, which there makes a sharp bend, coming from between some rugged cliffs; and at this spot is a steep ascent of the hills, half a mile in length, or to the very summit rather more than three quarters. It is a pass, that might be easily defended by a body of resolute men; and with the river, and the descent at the other end of the valley, it contributes greatly to the security of Riéka.

In three quarters of an hour we descended to a vale, well cultivated, and prettily situated among the hills. On the opposite side is a pointed mountain peak, and on the slope of the hills stands the village of Dobroskosélo*, where the Vladika has established one of his schools.† From Riéka to this place is about three miles, and from Do-

* "The good Village."

† See above, p. 449.

broskosélo to Tzetinie two and three quarters, which we reached at nine in the evening; the time occupied in the journey from Zagarach to Riéka being seven hours and a quarter.

The Vladika received me with his usual kindness of manner; and, with the feelings natural to one, who was conscious of having done so much to improve and civilise his people, asked me many questions, respecting the impressions conveyed by the appearance of the country. "You have seen," he observed, "the greater part of Montenegro. What do you think of the people? do they appear to you to be the assassins and barbarians, some people pretend to consider them? I hope you found them all well-behaved and civil; they are poor, but that does not prevent their being hospitable and generous."

Acknowledging the favourable impressions I had received, in all the districts I had visited, I particularly noticed the kindness of the Archimandrite, and Pópe Ivan Knezovich, whom by mistake I called "the general." — "Why," said the Vladika, "did you not bring him with you? he would have been delighted to come, had you proposed it; he is a great favourite with us all, and is highly, and justly, respected throughout Montenegro. I am glad you met him; and that you were pleased altogether with your journey; some of the roads are bad, but we are gradually improving them, and, in some places, they are in a very fair condition. They tell me of your

Memlook riding at Ostrok; I should like to see it, and after dinner, if you please, we will have the horses, and take a ride together in the plain. You shall have a grey, which was given me by the Pasha." Accordingly, after dinner the horses came. The Vladika mounted a small chesnut Arabian, which, for his size and weight, was very small; the grey was a larger animal, also a great favourite, which is in the habit of following him like a dog, on the grassy plain of Tzetinie, where he frequently walks to and fro, listening to applications on public business.

After I had made some of the usual evolutions, the Vladika put his Arabian at full speed, and I do not know whether I was most surprised at his activity, or at the facility with which his horse carried him.

I had afterwards a specimen of the skill of the Montenegrins in leaping; and then walked with the Vladika, up and down his favourite promenade upon the turf, until our return to the palace.

Some persons came in, upon various questions of business; and as soon as they had retired, the Vladika's aide-de-camp, and one of the Perianiks, withdrawing their pistols and yatagan from their girdles, began a game of billiards, while pipes and coffee were introduced, in Oriental style. Our conversation mostly turned upon the resources, and various populations of Europe; and the policy of some countries towards Montenegro; when I had an opportunity of mentioning the fact of the

Turks increasing their fortifications of Vranina, and their trying the range of cannon, which I had seen on my way to Riéka.

"I must wait a little longer," he said, "the matter is pending in Constantinople; but we shall take it, in spite of their preparations, if we once begin, and I have stated my determination to do so, if they do not arrange the matter speedily."

On inquiring about the best written accounts of Montenegro, he seemed to think that few had seen sufficient of the country to be able to describe it; those who visit it being generally contented with the short journey to Tzétinie; and he regretted much that no good map had been made of the country. "But I have sent for instruments," he added, "and intend to entrust its execution to my aide-de-camp, Signor Vucovich, who has engaged to undertake it."

There is a map, by Colonel Karaçai, which gives a general view of the country and its divisions, and is the best that has yet been made, without pretending to be an accurate survey of Montenegro; and I regret exceedingly that I had no instruments with me, to enable me to make even a general outline of it, and fix the principal points; I can therefore only give a very imperfect one of my own, based upon that of Colonel Karaçai; in which the alterations are introduced by the eye, and by measured distances.

If I have spoken highly of the kindness and

hospitality of the Vladika, it is from a sense of the obligation I feel to him, and the propriety of paying a just tribute to that benevolence, which induces him to welcome strangers with courtesy; and I am the more anxious to do this, as certain persons, Germans, after having met with far more attention than they appear to have deserved, thought fit to make very unjust statements respecting the Vladika, and their reception in Montenegro. But, though much displeased, the Vladika has not allowed this to influence his conduct to other strangers: and his hospitality is not less conspicuous in the treatment of those refugees, whom misfortune obliges to fly from the neighbouring states.

I have endeavoured to give an unprejudiced account of Montenegro, and the Montenegrins: I have censured them for their robberies, their disregard of truces, and their attack on the embassy to Ostrok; but I have also shown that the noble defence of their liberty, against the overwhelming power of Turkey, deserves the highest admiration and respect; and taking into consideration the rude and lawless state, in which they have so long been accustomed to live, and the character of their wars with the Turks, it is not difficult to account for their ignorance of civilised customs. On the wise endeavours of the Vladika to introduce laws and civilisation, sufficient praise cannot be bestowed; every friend of humanity must wish to see his benevolent intentions realized; and

his merit is sufficiently evident, from the improved state of the people, since his accession to the Vladikate.

I have also much pleasure in adding, that I have since heard the Vladika has instituted a military order, called of Milosh Obilich, the Servian hero, who killed Sultan Amurath in his own camp, before the battle of Kosovo-Pólé, in 1389; which customary European mode of rewarding valour may, it is reasonable to hope, be the prelude to a more civilised warfare.

On my return to Dalmatia, I was accompanied by a *Perianik*, who was decorated with a medal, for his prowess in relieving Turks of their heads; and I returned to the inn at Cattaro, kept by very obliging people, who made up by civility for want of luxuries or comfort; though it was by no means inferior to the generality of those in Dalmatia. As usual, the rooms were supposed to be ornamented by French coloured prints; and in one was a picture of St. Antony, of Padua; which, if dedicated ("by permission") to all the animals, would scarcely have been thought worthy of its patrons.

Among the *on dits* of Cattaro was a story, which told badly for the honour of an Austrian officer, who, after having abused the confidence of a girl he had promised to marry, excused himself from performing his engagements, on the convenient plea of his parents refusing their consent. But it is not in an Austrian garrisoned town alone that leave of absence, and the pretended interference of a father, are known to relieve gallant lovers from trouble-

some promises; the same is occasionally resorted to by other men of chivalry; and I remember a case in the Mediterranean, where the father, on being applied to by the friends of the lady, denied either having refused, or having been consulted in the matter; and the escape of the faithless one was only owing to his being accidentally ordered to a distant station.

From Cattaro I returned by the steamer to Spalato, and arrived there on the 28th of September. The following day the Jews began their feast of Tabernacles. The balconies, within the courts of their houses, were fitted up with awnings, to represent tents, under which they took their meals; being forbidden to eat within the house, during that festival.

While on the subject of the Jews, I may mention a circumstance, which I have long since remarked, and which is deserving of inquiry. While in Egypt, I observed, that the Jews were readily distinguished from other Orientals, by their very light pale complexions, their small features, light hazel, and often blue, eyes, and, in many instances, by red hair; and on going into Syria, I was determined to ascertain whether these peculiarities were the same there, or whether they had the large noses, and strongly marked features, of our European Jews. I examined their faces in various towns; and when at Jerusalem, I went for this purpose into the Jews' quarter, and (taking care to converse in Arabic with those I met, in order to be sure they had not come from other countries,) I found that their features had not the character met

with in the West ; that the nose was nearly straight ; the eyes hazel *, sometimes blue ; the hair often light, and even red ; the complexion † that of a Northern race, white and pink ; and that the children had the fresh colour of Europeans. I also observed, that the contour of the face was very like that given by the old masters to our Saviour, and the features far more soft, and beautiful, than those of the European Jews. I will not now offer any theory on this subject ; and will only add one more fact, that while the Eastern differ so much from the Western Jews, they are also unlike the other Syrians, many of whom have the large features we see in the Jews of Europe.

I will mention another remark relating to the Jews, which is at variance with received opinion. The modern square Hebrew character is generally supposed to have been brought back by them from Babylon, after the captivity ; but this is obviously an error, repeated without inquiry, as the letters used by the Babylonians had the arrow-headed form, and none are found in that country at all resembling the Hebrew. It is true the Samaritan was the Jewish character, before that captivity ; but it by no means follows that the other was derived from Babylon ; the Jews would scarcely adopt it from those hated Gentiles ; and *they* might as easily *invent* it, as any other people.

* Called "honey colour" in the East.

† Comp. 1 Samuel, xvii. 42.



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