

AN OFFICIAL TOUR  
THROUGH  
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

*WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES,  
AGRARIAN CONDITIONS, RELIGION, ETHNOLOGY,  
FOLK LORE, AND SOCIAL LIFE OF  
THE PEOPLE*

BY  
J. DE ASBOTH  
MEMBER OF THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT

AUTHORIZED ENGLISH EDITION



LONDON  
SWAN SONNENSCHN & CO.  
PATERNOSTER SQUARE

1890

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# BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

with historical data.







*W. James*

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## AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, where Western life and Western culture formerly flourished—first under Roman and afterwards under Italian and Hungarian influences—were severed by the Turkish Conquest, not only from Europe as a Continent, but from all European life.

Lacking those powers of attraction which Constantinople, Syria, and Egypt have always possessed as fields for European adventure, whether in times of peace or in times of war—and which not even the rule of Islam could diminish—Bosnia and Herzegovina, in spite of their proximity to Italy and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, have grown to be almost less known than the remotest districts under Mohammedan rule.

It is true that students from the Bosnian monasteries frequently went to Hungary for purposes of study, and that Bosnian damsons, famous throughout the world as "Turkish plums," found a market as distant even as America, but beyond this the only way in which the country has for centuries come into contact with the rest of Europe has been through the incessant border wars waged against their Christian neighbours, by the Begs and the Agas on their own account, even in times of profound peace.

These being the circumstances, Islam, with its peculiar spirit and peculiar customs, has here, so to speak, been preserved in greater and more unbroken purity even than in the very centre and focus of the Mohammedan world; on the other hand, however,



whilst effectually closing the country against all Western influence, it has, at the same time, preserved to it the manners and customs of the Middle Ages, with their society and social conditions in full activity, so that here is to be seen, on the one hand, a pure, unshaken Mohanmedanism, and on the other the life of the European Middle Ages, brought down to the present day and permeating one another.

In the meantime, as far as the rest of Europe was concerned, the land and its people had sunk into total oblivion, and in this oblivion was also involved the whole of its stirring historical past, at one time closely connected with the great European Reformation. Its very presence as a country was unrecognized except by a few obscure and isolated travellers' tales told now and again by some wanderer who had missed his way within its borders.

Not until our own day has European interest and the attention of the literary and scientific world been again directed to the country. Worthy men like Roskievitsh, Thömel, Blau, Strausz, Evans, and Laveley have striven to bring them into general notice; but the deep oblivion into which these provinces had sunk, the startling peculiarities of their life and development, the absence of all foreknowledge, and the natural difficulties attendant upon their exploration, all made it probable that much still remained to be explained—one might almost say, discovered; and the more deeply would-be inquirers have penetrated into the country and its circumstances the more rich and abundant has its wealth appeared, in the realms of the unknown, the astonishing, and the marvellous—equally precious, whether viewed from the standpoint of the historian, the ethnographer, the man of letters, or the politician.

The favourable circumstances under which I, at that time Counsel in the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office, learnt to know both land and people—I for four years accompanied Herr Benjamin de Kállay, General Minister of Finance, to whom was entrusted the government of Bosnia, on all his travels through the length and breadth of the land, and enjoyed opportunities of deriving my facts

direct from State documents—have encouraged me to make the present attempt to add something to the general knowledge of the country, and to throw light upon some points until now obscure.

Side by side with a description of the monuments and memorable events of the past, and the circumstances of the present, I have been tempted to offer a picture of that wealth of nature which in these two provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina presents such a striking contrast, and yet which is withal in both so absolutely fascinating in its limitless beauty.

The leading feature of the Dinarian Alps, the watershed of the Adriatic and the Pontus, separates the two provinces. That towards the north—Bosnia—is a thickly wooded country, rich in mines, and traversed by long, well watered valleys, and a mass of hills broken up into many ranges, finally sinking away towards the plains of the Unna and the Save; and which leaves an impression on the mind of the sometimes wild and romantic, sometimes more homely, beauty of Styria. Herzegovina slopes away in a south-westerly direction from the range of mountains, in a series of broad terraces, which stretch far away to the north-west and south-east, and which ultimately descend abruptly into the sea. The rocks of the Karst (limestone region), with their weird shapes, stand before us bare and desolate, but from the Karst there suddenly break waterfalls, springs—nay, even perfect streams—and wheresoever these flow there springs forth a luxuriant vegetation: fertile tobacco-fields flourish side by side with the fig-tree, the red blossoms of the pomegranate wave to and fro in the breeze, and the rice and the olive bear fruit. When lo! as suddenly the earth has again swallowed up the river, which now hastens along its subterranean course, far below, in the hollows of the mountains, and the enchanted waste of rocks lies once more spread out before us. The profound solitude, the virgin-like nature of the vast wilderness, are broken here and there by Oriental towns, mediæval castles and keeps, and widely scattered, picturesque villages, wherein dwell a dignified and proud people, of inflexible courage, ever ready for war or song; for never, until the advent

of the Austrian Occupation, has the clang of arms been silenced here between the Crescent and the Cross, between serfs and masters. Begs, Kapetans, Waywodes, Serdars, Glavares, have all fought here without let or hindrance, and the whole country still rings with songs whose burden is the prowess of ancestors, or the sweetness of love.

In England, the greatest power in the Mohammedan world, the past history and present development of these provinces, may without doubt count upon an intelligent interest.

THE AUTHOR.



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RAČKI . . . . .	Ocjena starijih izvora za hrvatsku i srpsku poviest srednjega veka . . . . .	Agram	1865
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DES HAYES . . . . .	Voyage de Levant, fait par le commande- ment du roy en l'année 1621 par le Sieur D. C. . . . .	Paris	1622

BROWN	Relation de plusieurs voyages, faits en Hongrie, Serbie, Bulgarie, etc.	Paris	1684
	Spicilegium observationum historico-geographicum de Bosniae Regno	Lugd. Bat.	1737
FARLATUS	Illyricum sacrum	Venetia	1769
ABBATE FORTIS	Viaggio in Dalmazia	Venezia	1774
LOUEICH	Osservazioni sopra diversi pezzi del Viaggio del signor Fortis	Venezia	1776
HADSCHI CHALFA	Rumeli und Bosna. Uebersetzt von Hammer	Wien	1812
ŠVEAR	Ogledalo Ilirije	Agram	1839-42
M. MAZURANIĆ	Pogled u Bosnu ili kratak put u onu kraju učinjen 1839-42 po jednom do moroden	Agram	1842
SELJAN	Zemljopis prokrajina ilirskih	Agram	1843
ROBERT	Les Slaves de Turquie	Paris	1844
GARDNER WILKINSON	Dalmatia and Montenegro	London	1848
AMI BOUÉ	La Turquie d'Europe	Paris	1848
JUKIĆ	Pregled turskog carstva v Evropi	Agram	1850
H. DEPREZ	Les peuples de l'Autriche et de la Turquie	Paris	1850
SLAVOLJUB BOSNJAC			
[Jukić]	Zemljopis i povjestnica Bosne	Agram	1851
L. G. KOHL	Reise nach Istrien, Dalmatien und Montenegro	Dresden	1851
AMI BOUÉ	Recueil d'Itinéraires	Vienne	1854
A. HILFERDING	Bosnija Gercegovina i Staraja Srbija	St. Petersburg	1856
A. HILFERDING	Les slaves occidentaux	Paris	1858
	Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff 1496-99 ed. Groot	Köln	1860
JUKIĆ	Bosanski Prijatelji	Agram	1850, 1853, 1861
PATON	Researches on the Danube and the Adriatic	Leipzig	1861
SESTAK UND LEHER	Militärische Beschreibung des Paschalik Herzegovina	Wien	1862
JAKIĆ	Jihoslované, obraz historicko-statistický. Schematismus almae missionariae provinciae Bosnae Argentinae.	Prag. Buda	1864
UBICINI	Les Serbes de Turquie, études historiques, statistiques et politiques sur la Principauté de Serbie, le Montenegro et les pays Serbes adjacents	Paris	1864
TOMA KOVAČEVIĆ	Opis Bosne i Hercegovine	Belgrad	1865
	Schematismus Dioecesis Rachusinae	—	1866
THÖMML	Beschreibung des Wilayet Bosnien und Herzegovina	Wien	1867
N. MAKUŠEV	Zadunajskie i Adriatičeskie Slavjane	St. Petersburg	1867
ROSKIJEVIĆ	Studien über Bosnien und die Herzegovina	Leipzig	1868
	Kratki zemljopis o Bosni	Sarajevo	1869
MAURER	Reise durch Bosnien	Berlin	1870
	Bosna Vilayetine Sal namesi: Turkish Official Yearbook of the year 1280 of the Hedschra	Sarajevo	1872
FRA PETRUS BAKULA	Schematismus topographico-historicus custodiae provincialis et vicariatus Apostolici in Hercegovina	Spalato, 1867; Mostar,	1873.

EVARYST DE SAINT-MARIE . . .	L'Herzégovine . . .	Paris	1875
J. CREAGH . . .	Over the borders of Christendom and Islamiah, a journey through Hungary, Slavonia, Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Montenegro, to the North of Albania in the summer of 1875	London	1875
G. THOMSON . . .	L'Herzégovine : géographie, histoire politique et militaire des populations révoltées, mœurs et légendes, insur- rection actuelle, la question d'Orient, la politique des puissances européennes	Paris	1875
G. CREGANI . . .	L'Erzegovina . . .	Venezia	1875
MATHONI . . .	Razgljoka i hipsometrija slavonskoga naroda . . .	Agram	1875
CERNY . . .	Herzegovina zema a lid . . .	Prag	1875
IRYARTE . . .	La Bosnie et L'Herzégovine pendant l'insurrection . . .	Paris	1875
DR. ELBINGER . . .	Studien über Bosnien und die Herze- govina . . .	Wien	1876
PROF. G. KINKEL . . .	Die christlichen Unterthanen der Türkei in Bosnien und der Herzegovina . . .	Basel	1876
W. FORSYTH . . .	The Slavonic Provinces south of the Danube . . .	London	1876
F. CROUSSE . . .	La Péninsule gréco-slave : son passé, son présent, et son avenir . . .	Bruxelles	1876
METLEM . . .	A travers l'Herzégovine . . .	Paris	1876
STERNECK . . .	Geogr. Verhältnisse, Communicationen und das Reisen in Bosnien, Herze- govina und Montenegro . . .	Wien	1877
A. J. EVANS . . .	Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot, during the Insurrection . . .	London	1877
MACKENZIE AND IRBY . . .	Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey . . .	London	1877
BLAU . . .	Reisen in Bosnien und der Herze- govina . . .	Berlin	1877
RUTENER . . .	Un viaggio a Maria Stella, convento dei Trappisti in Bosnia . . .	Venezia	1877
LUKSIC . . .	Neueste Beschreibung und vollständiges Ortslexikon von Bosnien und der Herzegovina . . .	Prag	1878
G. RUFFER . . .	Land und Leute von Bosnien und der Herzegovina . . .	Prag	1878
V. GAJ . . .	Balkan divau. Viesti, misli a probe o zemlji i narodu navlaste Bosni i Herze- govini . . .	Agram	1878
BUCHHEIM . . .	Bosnien und seine volkwirtschaftliche Bedeutung . . .	Wien	1879
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POSTIER . . .			
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GYURKOVICS . . .	Von Bosnien und die Nebeländer . . .	Wien	1879
RADICS . . .	Die Organisation der gr.-orient. Parti- cularkirchen . . .	Prag	1879

JIEŠČEK . . .	Handelsstraßen und Bergwerke in Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters	Prag	1879
—	Ortschafts-Bevölkerungs-Statistik von Bosnien und der Herzegowina	Sarajewo	1880
—	Erhebungen und Vorstudien über den Metallbergbau in Bosnien	Wien	1880
E. D. MARBEAU . .	La Bosnie depuis l'occupation austro-hongroise	Paris	1880
MOJŠISOVICS TIETZE u.	Grundlinien der Geologie von Bosnien und der Herzegowina	Wien	1880
BITTNER . . .	Bosnyák föld és népe	Budapest	1881
STRAUSZ . . .	Die wissenschaftliche Erforschung Bosniens.	Wien	1881
HOERNES . . .	Alterthümer der Herzegowina	Wien	1882
STRAUSZ . . .	Bosnien: Land und Leute	Wien	1882
DEHN . . .	Deutschland und der Orient	München	1884
KRAUSZ . . .	Das Muntchachtsrecht des Mannes über die Ehefrau bei den Slaven	Wien	1886
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## INSTITUTIONS, LEGAL CUSTOMS, COINS, ETC.

TOMEIO . . .	Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis familiae Marchiae vulgo Marnavitzae Nissensis	Romas	1632
WELTZEL . . .	Verzeichniß der Münzen- und Medaillen-sammlung	Wien	1844
PALMA . . .	Heraldicae regni Hung. specimen		
JAC. RUFF . . .	Numi Hungariae hactenus cogniti:		
	Periodus Arpadiana	Budae	1841
	Periodus mixta	Budae	1846
ÉRDY . . .	A boszna és szerb régi érmek	Pest	1858
BOGIŠIĆ . . .	Pravni običaji u Slovene	Agram	1867
—	Loi constitutive des Vilayets	Constantinople	1868
KÖRNE . . .	Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde	Berlin	1868
QUERY . . .	Droit Musulman	Paris	1871
NICOLAIDES . .	Legislation ottomane	Constantinople	1873
BOGIŠIĆ . . .	Zbornik sadašnjih pravnih običaja u južnih Slavena	Agram	1874
LUBIČ . . .	Opis Jugoslavanskih Novaca	Agram	1875
—	Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Herzegowina erlassenen Gesetze	Wien	1880
—	Zur Orientirung über den gegenwärtigen Stand der bosnischen Verwaltung	Wien	1881
—	Provisorisches Wahrgesetz für Bosnien	Wien	1881
—	Gesetzgebung für Bosnien und die Herzegowina	Wien	1883
—	Familienrecht und Erbrecht der Muhammedaner	Wien	1883
NYÁRY . . .	Heraldika	Budapest	1886

## LITERATURE, FOLK LORE, AND PHILOLOGY.

KAČIČ MIROSIČ	Razgonor ugodni naroda slovenskoga	Venezia	1756
RELKOVIČ	Satin ili divi šovik	Dresden	1761
RAJIĆ	Istorija raznik slavenskih narodov	Wien	1794
APPENDINI	Notizie storico critiche sulle antichità, storia e letteratura dei Ragusei	Ragusa	1802-3
DOBROVSKY	Glagolitica	Prag	1807
DOBROVSKY	Institutiones linguae Slavicae dialecti veteris	Wien	1822
MILUTINOVIČ	Sarajlija. Szerbijanka	Leipzig	1826
MILUTINOVIČ	Sarajlija. Zorica	Leipzig	1827
WILA	Serbische Volkslieder und Heldenmärchen	Leipzig	1828
KOPITAR	Glagolita Clozianus	Wien	1836
MILUTINOVIČ	Sarajlija Pevanija crnogorskoj hercegovacka	Wien 1833; Leipzig	1837
FR. V. MIKLOŠIČ	Radices linguae slovenicae veteris dialecti	Leipzig	1845
ŠAFAŘIK	Památky dřevního písmenictví Jiho-slovana	Prag	1831
FR. V. MIKLOŠIČ	Monumenta linguae palaeoslov. e codice Suprasliensi	Leipzig	1851
KAPPER	Gesänge der Serben	Leipzig	1852
ŠAFAŘIK	Památky blahoslávského písmenictví	Prag	1853
TALVJ	Volkslieder der Serben	Leipzig	1853
KUKULJEVIČ	Stari pjesnici hrvatski XV.-XVI. vieka	Agram	1856-8
FR. V. MIKLOŠIČ	Kleinere Schriften	Wien	1857
ŠAFAŘIK	Ueber den Ursprung und die Heimat des Glagolitismus	Prag	1858
BERČIČ	Chrestomathia linguae vetero-slovenicae caractere glagolitico	Prag	1859
MIKLOŠIČ	Zum Glagolita Clozianus	Wien	1860
DANIČIČ	Rjetshnik iz knjizevnih starina srpskih	Belgrad	1863-4
GRGO MARJIC	Osvetnici	Agram	1861, 1862, 1866
PETRAHOVIČ	Srpske narodne pjesme iz Hercegovine	Wien	1866
MAKOŠEV	Srpske narodne pjesme iz Bosne	Serajevo	1867
	Izšđovanija ob istoričeskih pamjatnikach i bytopisateljach Dubrovniku	St. Petersburg	1867
BOGIŠIČ	Slovenski Muzeum	Neusatz	1867
MIKLOŠIČ	Beiträge zur Kenntniss der slavischen Volkspoesie	Wien	1870
	Bosanske nar. pripoviedke	Niszek	1870
PAVIČ	Istorija dubrovatske drame	Agram	1871
KOSTA RISTIČ	Srpske narodne pjesme pakupljene po Bosni	Belgrad	1873
DANIČIČ	Istorija oblika srpskoga ili hrvatskoga jezika	Belgrad	1874
PAVIČ	Narodne pjesme o boju na Kosovu	Agram	1877
BOGIŠIČ	Narodne pjesme iz starijih najviše primorskih zapisa	Belgrad, Glasnik	1878
PYPINA I SPASOVIČ	Istorija slavjanskich Literatur	St. Petersburg	1879-80





## CHAPTER I.

### THE BOSNA RAILWAY.

Reception—The New Bosna Railway—Doboi, Maglai, Vranduk—From Zenitze to Serajevo—  
Travellers' Adventures—National Figures.

*June, 1882.*

THE nearer we approached the Save, the livelier grew the interest in the newly appointed Imperial Minister of Finance,\* who had been nominated to undertake the government of the provinces under Austro-Hungarian occupation; and as we advanced an interest at first lukewarm grew by rapid strides into a real enthusiasm. In Fünfkirchen we were greeted by only a few acquaintances; but by the time we had reached Esseg a vivacious little crowd was watching for the procession, and in Vinkovce we were welcomed by quite a concourse of people with the notabilities of the town at their head, all desirous of seeing Herr von Kállay.

When we arrived at Ungarisches-Brod, there was only one thing to be done: alight from our carriages, and return the greetings of the people. On reaching the further side of the Save, we found ourselves on Bosnian soil; and Field-Marshal Lieutenant Stranszky, as representative of the governor, stood at the head of the deputation sent to welcome us. Here in Bosna-Brod, however, which cannot number more than some two thousand souls, and which can boast of nothing worthy of notice, we remained only for a few minutes, and then passed on our way to the Bosna Railway. Instead of using the carriages until then running on this line, we entered new ones, which are not to be devoted to general traffic until the end of September (1882), when the line will have been completed as far as Serajevo.

Some blasting still remains to be done along the line by Brod-Zenitze

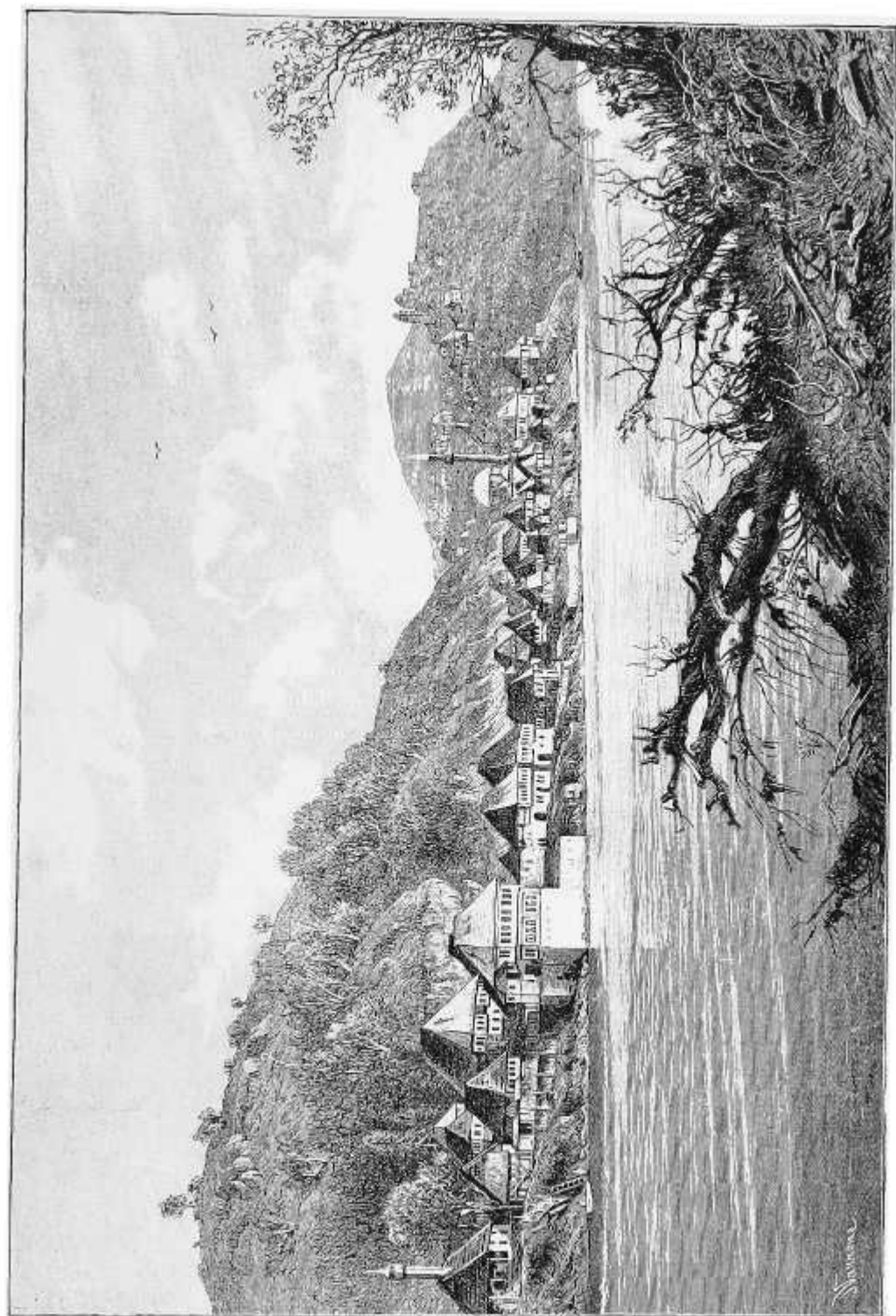
\* In addition to the Austrian and Hungarian Ministers of Finance there is an Imperial Minister of Finance, who also governs Bosnia and Herzegovina.

before these carriages can be adopted for general use, otherwise it would be dangerous for the guards as they pass along the plank whilst the train is in motion; the new carriages, although the gauge is little more than a metre in width, are very comfortable. It was formerly a three-and-a-half days' journey from Brod to Serajevo, along almost the identical road by the side of the Bosna now traversed by the railway, and even the road was not finished making until 1863-64. The construction of this railroad, which was only commenced after the Austro-Hungarian occupation, and which will eventually extend as far as Serajevo, a distance of two hundred and sixty-nine kilo-



Street in Brod.

metres, was completed as far as the station of Zenitze in the short period of nine months. From Brod, the railroad passes through the Ivansko-Polje, part of the Save Plains, and the valley of Ukrina, as far as Dervent, a village altogether Mohammedan in character, where we, for the first time, beheld the ruins of an ancient Bosnian fortress. From this point the line winds along between the central hills of the Vutshija-Brdo and the Krnin-Planina in a south-easterly direction, towards the course of the Bosna, which it touches at the unimportant village of Bukovatz, and then follows almost up to its very source. Doboi, the historical fortress, which lies just opposite



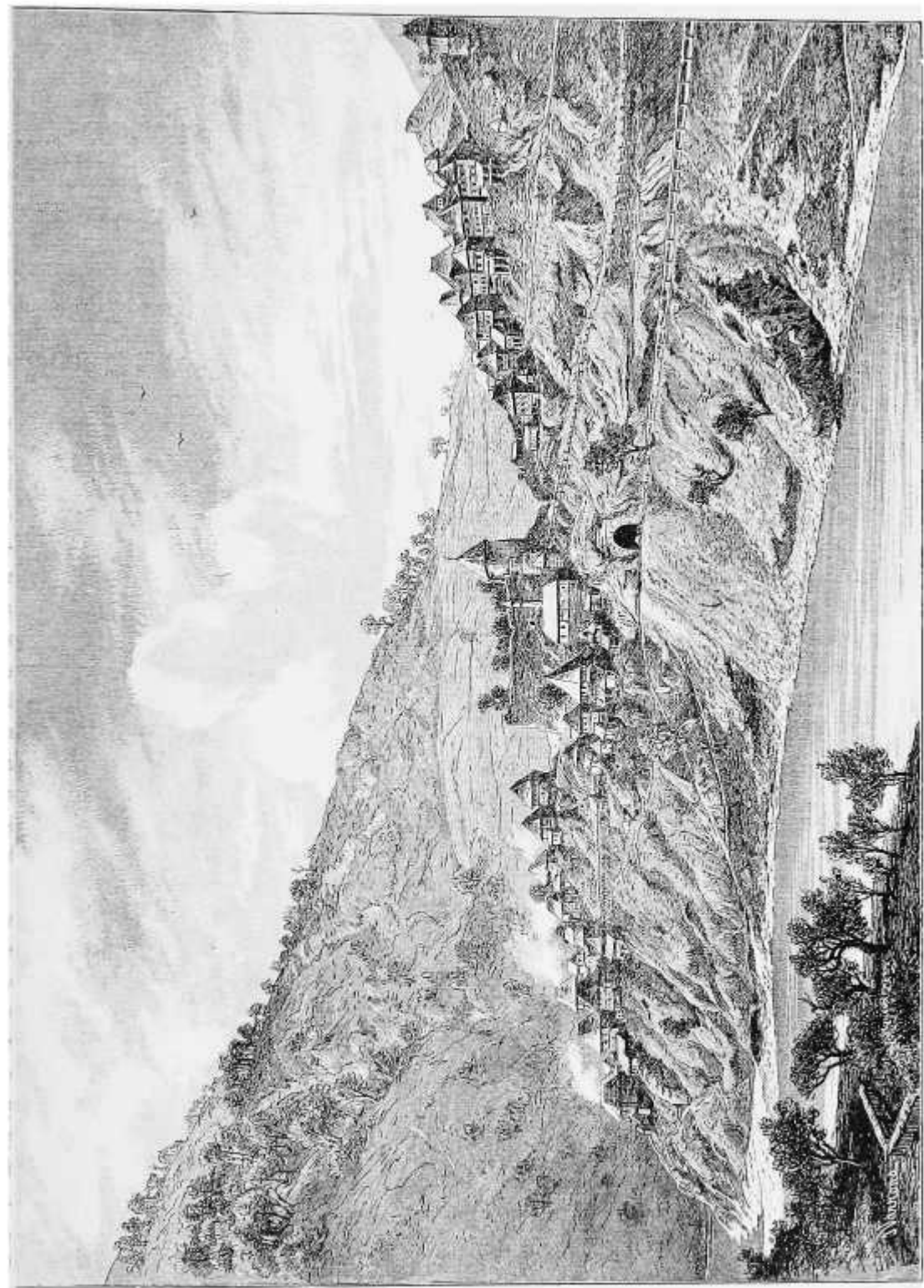
Maglaj.

the mouth of the Spressa, we on this occasion only caught sight of through the darkness of the night.

It was at Maglai, of bloody memory, that day first began to dawn, and at Vranduk that we first got a glimpse of the wild and romantic Bosnian scenery in all its splendour: the black timber houses, clinging to the rocks on the further side of the roaring Bosna, with their ground floors serving as stables, and their overhanging upper stories, even in their present ruined state, still serving as formidable bastions and bulwarks to the old Turkish fortress, the mouse-trap of this gorge, which winds along amidst huge, rugged boulders, and mighty arches in the rocks, Nature's handiwork,—a true coupe-gorge.

After the peace of Buda, in 1503, this mountain pass formed the boundary between Hungarian and Turkish Bosnia. The pass soon widens out, and under the shelter of crag and forest large fields of maize lie spread before us; but yet larger tracts of land remain awaiting the cultivator's hand. The ground is covered with brambles, and made desolate by devastated woodland. Thus, with only an occasional halt, did we pass on our rapid journey, through small and large villages, and romantic, wild scenery, where now and then a noisy mill, simple in construction as when first introduced by Roman emigrants, represents the industries, and where the amount of devastated forest land, and the preponderance of maize over all other kinds of agricultural produce, bears witness to the general condition of husbandry. Nevertheless, upon the heights vast forests may still be seen, and at many of the railway stations great piles of planks bear testimony to a newly awakened trade. Down in the valleys, however, only a few isolated trees, growing between the houses and huts, are visible, and on the site of the uprooted woodlands there is as yet scarcely a sign of any new activity.

Our delight was great as we left the narrow valley through which the railroad passes, and having arrived at Zenitze, gone through the formalities of the address of welcome, and eaten a light breakfast, we at once left the train, to the no small astonishment of the master of the ceremonies, who had been prepared for a lengthened stay, or, at the very least, for a short rest. From this point onwards, during the whole of our rapid canter, we were surrounded by a series of views of soul-stirring grandeur and sublimity and magnificent colour, until we reached "Golden" Serajevo, that already greeted us from afar, as it lay in the lap of its mighty hills, crowned with its citadels and bastions and a hundred minarets, amidst luxuriant gardens. From Zenitze onwards the scenery of the Bosna grows ever more romantic, as it rushes along amongst the weird forms of its crags and boulders. To



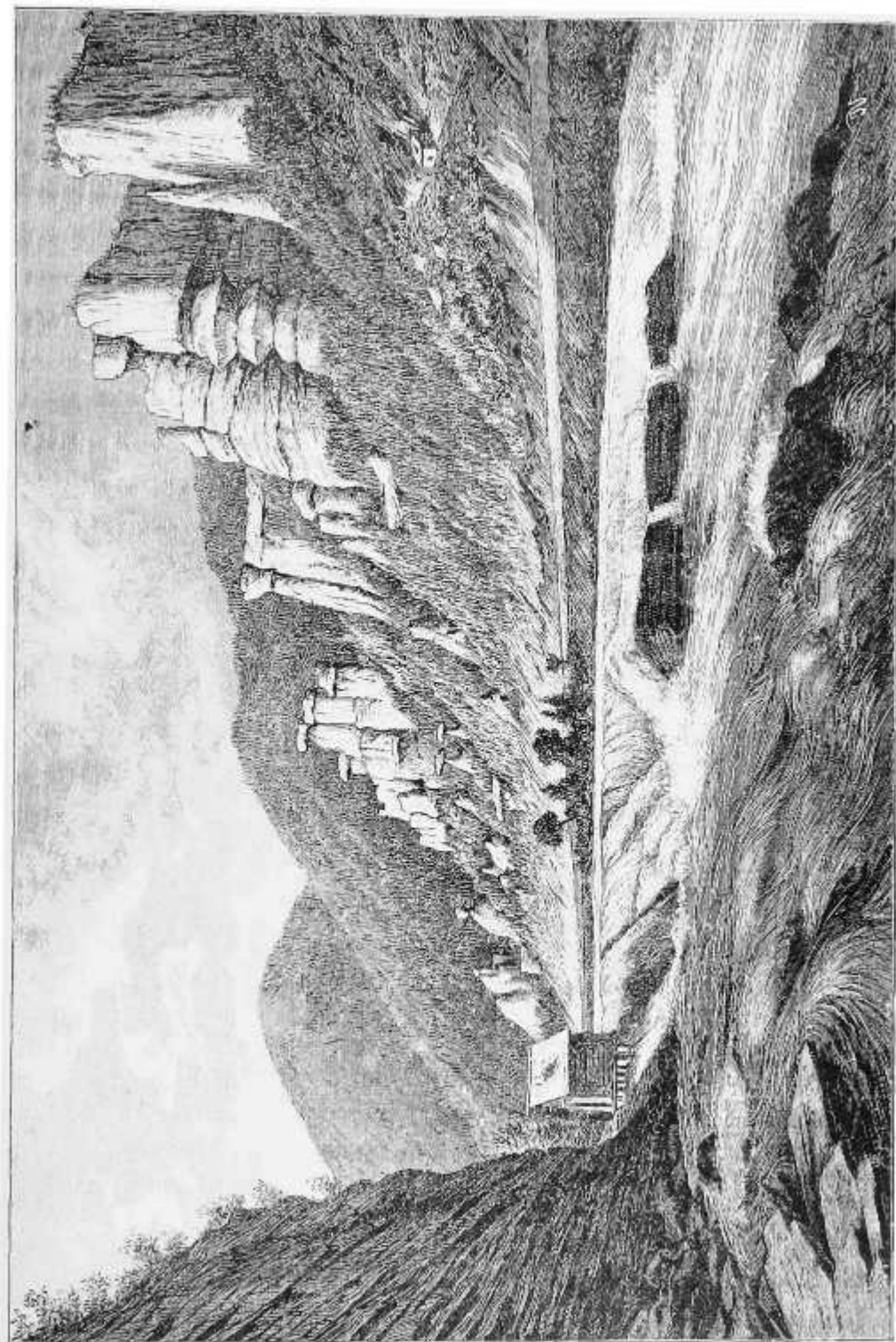
Yranduk.

the right and left of us, as the country opens up, it becomes more and more cultivated, and many groups of harvesters may be seen hard at work gathering in the corn, of which maize no longer forms the chief part. Here there is an abundance of rich soil, and many families will grow as wealthy as have those who, after the expulsion of the Turks, acquired estates in the Temese Banate.

In front of us, at our sides, behind us, from all the surrounding neighbourhood, there swarmed troops of horsemen ("banderiums"). They often vanished from our sight, to push forward along some steep, short cut, or mountain track, passable to a Bosnian horse, only to appear again to sight on the heights above and far ahead. Mingling in friendly fashion with these troops of riders were "pops" with their long black beards and robes, and their high cylindrical head-dresses, all bold horsemen, such as our own warlike bishops were of old; and grey-haired begs, with huge, wonderfully twisted turbans, snow-white or blood-red in hue; and Christians in light fez caps,—a host of keen-featured, warlike, bold, bearded faces, full of manly beauty and energy. All were mounted upon small steeds, of undeniable Arabian blood, with snorting nostrils; all raised their arms on high in their wide sleeves; and all rode with a light seat, in spite of the swinging motion of their arms and legs. The population of this neighbourhood is comparatively dense. After visiting the Busovatza, known for its iron springs, we went on to Kiseljak, where the mineral springs furnish a good acidulation to wine, and thence to Blažuj; between these two large posting stations, where, under primitive conditions, a distinct air of prosperity was noticeable, there is an almost uninterrupted succession of smaller villages, solitary homesteads, and hamlets, stretching right up the hillsides to the woods and peaks: hence there was no dearth of horsemen. I will spare the reader a description of the official receptions and speeches, and will instead tell of a few quite unexpected incidents which were certainly not included in the original programme.

On one occasion, the first carriage in the procession, containing Herr von Kállay and Baron Nicolics, the district governor's new Civil Adlatus, and in front of which only three hussars were riding, the first far ahead, and both the others at a considerable distance in advance, was suddenly surrounded by a great crowd of these warlike Bosnian horsemen; the second carriage, in which rode Field-Marshal Lieutenant Stranzky, had by reason of the clouds of dust kept a good way behind. These men, with that freedom from constraint—which is one of the greatest charms of the East and of Eastern life, though in the West it would be called disorder—were constantly coming and going, showing that nothing aggressive was intended. But





The Bosphorus near Zenitza.

still, the horsemen, who very possibly did not belong to the "banderins" at all, instead of shouting out the usual "Zevio" as they closed in around the carriage, cried, "We demand justice, or else we shall be ruined!" This was a Bosnian way of expressing confidence, which certainly had not been prearranged by the authorities. The minister inquired the names of the men, which were given by some without any hesitation; and after these had been taken down in writing, and it had been explained to the men that the minister would have their grievances inquired into, they quietly



Catholic Girls.

withdrew. The divisional magistrate was directed to hear their cases and to consider their complaints, but on no account to reproach them because they had enriched the programme of proceedings by adding a scene on their own account.

Another petitioner sued in a less noisy but not less Oriental fashion. Near Blažuj, close to a lonely, deserted house that still showed traces of having received a thick shower of bullets during the progress of the Austrian occupation, when twelve Turks defended themselves to the death in it, there stood a solitary Bosnian. He saw the approaching procession, the



galloping horsemen, the ministerial carriage; but yet stood motionless as a statue, and made no salutation. Who shall venture to be the first to greet great men? Yet Herr von Kállay noticed that the man's looks betrayed an eager attention, rather than the usual Eastern indifference or curiosity; he noticed, also, that in his hand he held a paper, though he did not wave it about, and concluded that he wanted something. The minister ordered the carriage to pull up, and beckoned to the man; not till then did he greet him and hand him his petition.



Orthodox Woman.



Mohammedan Youth.

In this neighbourhood, the number of military patrols which we had met all along the route—just as in time of war—was far larger than before. Presenting arms, they awaited us at regular intervals throughout our drive.

A few days previously a gang of banditti had shown itself, and an attempt had been made at robbery.

At Blažuj a Bosnian recruit had been told off to act as our coachman. These men are very good-looking, and give evidence of their warlike ancestry; but ours was not quite reliable, for, when, after the reception at Blažuj, we were to have resumed our journey, he did not fall in the procession

with sufficient promptness, and therefore suddenly, as if they had sprung out of the ground, we were upon all sides surrounded by an interminable row of vehicles, containing people who had come from Serajevo to meet the minister. Then, when one of the officials gave our coachman the order to drive ahead, he began to tear along at such a rate, that I remarked to my companion, "We shall soon have overtaken his Excellency, and be the first in the procession." I had scarcely put my thoughts into words before we had passed the Field-Marshal Lieutenant's carriage; and it was not without great difficulty that we at last reached the position assigned to us in the procession.

The country was now steadily opening out as we advanced; the *Serajevsko-Polje*—a rich, fruitful, highly cultivated plain—lay before us, surrounded by commanding heights, and watered by the *Bosna*, though close to its source. In the background, where these hills close in again like some giant amphitheatre, we caught our first glimpse of "Golden" Serajevo, one of the most beautifully situated towns in all the world.

Villages and homesteads followed closer and closer upon one another, and from the hot baths of *Hidshe* onwards there was a vast increase in the curiosity excited by the procession in the minds of the masses who crowded to meet it.

The people stood in front of the straggling military barracks, heavily laden mules, huge waggons driven by Polish Jews, light phaetons for single officers, here and there a mounted Jewish merchant, with big spurs and a revolver at his side,—all, as they passed along the high road, bore witness to the fact that we were approaching a large city. The pathway was fringed with people in all possible and impossible costumes; then even women appeared,—ladies in dresses which never have been in fashion, others in dresses which have long since been out of fashion.

In front of half-demolished, bullet-riddled public-houses stood the wives and daughters of Polish Jews. The native Spanish Jewesses did not always look much more cleanly, but were much more gay in their attire than the Polish, and amongst them were a few who were wealthy and refined, and who had donned their richest dresses, which in some cases were of real beauty.

The coquettish fez, the many-coloured dolman, the full, flowery trousers, which, with their countless folds, envelop the lower limbs, all lend a beauty and charm even to the less beautiful natives.

The Mohammedan women conceal everything under a shapeless black domino and a white handkerchief, and are, in addition to this, more closely veiled than any I have ever seen anywhere else in the East.

The Mohammedans of this country are far more strict than any others ; perhaps the result of the enthusiastic religious emotions of the Southern Slavonic races. They even rose once to defend the Koran against the Sultan. The Mohammedan woman of Bosnia strictly obeys the command of the Koran, and is so closely veiled, that she can only just draw her breath and see to guide her steps along the way ; her very eyes and eyelids are concealed ; and she hides even her hands under her mantle, and thus moves slipshod along the streets in her high-heeled wooden slippers.

We reached the Bosnian tobacco factory, and soon afterwards the first Bosnian tannery, founded by a Jew from Temesvár. Manifold were the Hungarian exclamations which struck upon our ears ; they emanated from Hungarian Jews, who still spoke nothing but Hungarian to one another, and who, in commerce and in the industries, have been the pioneers of European progress in the land.

At last we reached the town, and found ourselves in the very centre of the East. The number of newly built modern houses, and houses in the course of construction, has not been able as yet to rob Serajevo of its character of a Turkish capital. We drove through the long, well-macadamized Franz Josef Street, and then further on, up to the ministerial residence, through steep and winding and narrow ways, over small, pointed paving-stones, surrounded on all sides by the many-coloured, noisy, vivacious street-life of an Oriental city.





## CHAPTER II.

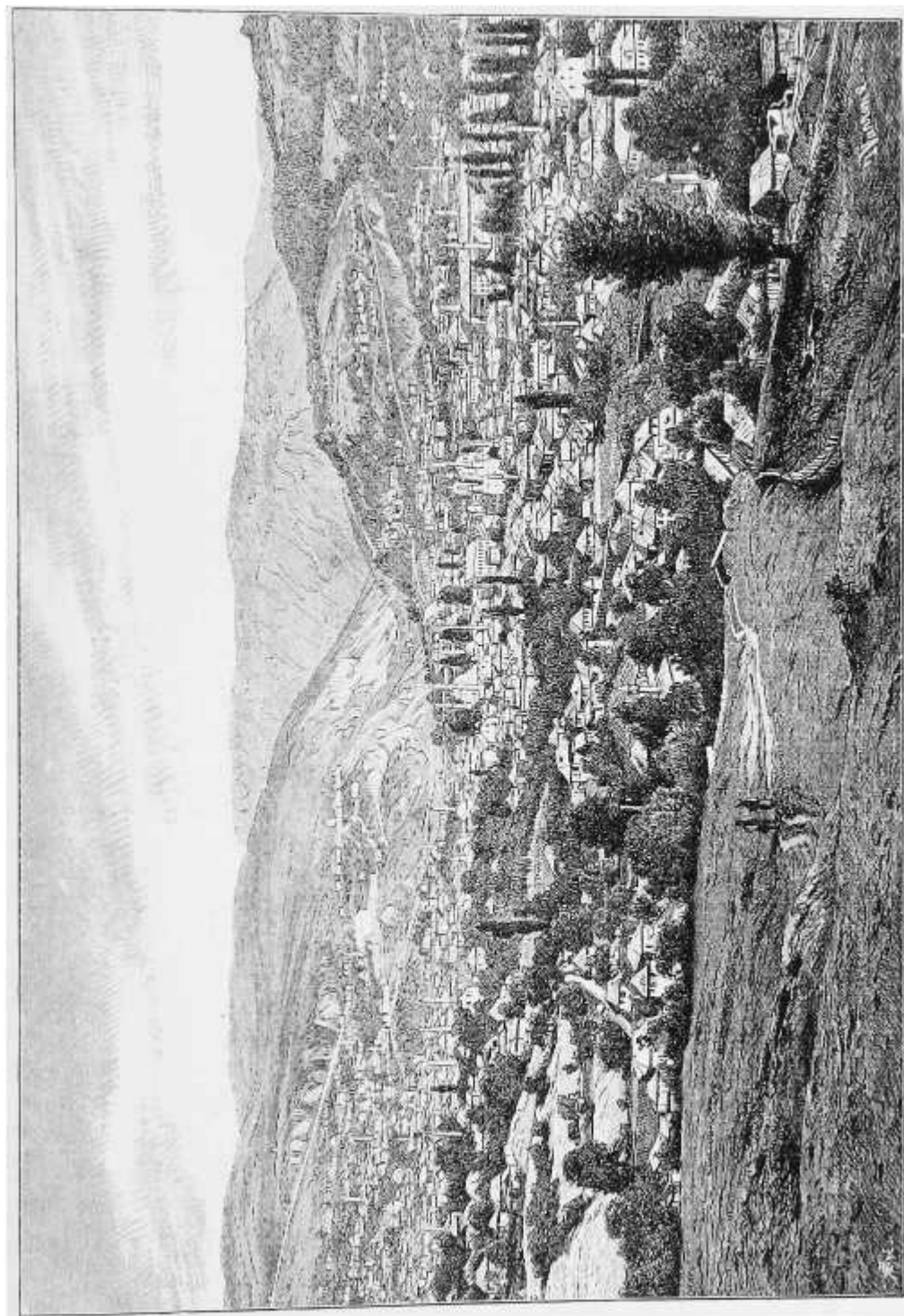
### *SERAJEVO.*

#### Evening Walks—Description of the Town.

**I**N the evening, after work was over, if a good long walk was not taken amongst the mountains to the Bosna's sixty springs, or to the wilderness of the Goat's Bridge, or even after some such refreshing ramble, the view from our windows over Serajevo was to us, by reason of its true poetry, an inexhaustible source of delight during the whole of our sojourn there. Whatever the point of view, whatever the time of day—in the brilliant sunshine, or in a cloudy, damp atmosphere—we always looked out upon a picture beautiful in colouring and in form.

Towards the east, the narrow valley in which the town is situated is closed in by a circle of rugged heights; bastions, citadels, fortifications of every description, crown this otherwise bare mountain road, and walls which wander up and down bind the four summits together. One can see that the fortress was built less as a protection to the town than as a protection against the town and its unquiet population, and gradually grew, so to speak, from one occasion to another—now through Turkish love of power, then through rebellious and powerful begs, who had driven away the governor; repaired here, and altered there, without any settled plan, just after the Oriental fashion, with something new begun here, there something old allowed to fall into decay. Upon one of the hills there rises from the midst of a venerable, ruinous bastion, a gigantic barrack already built by us. Unfortunately, architecture is only an ornament to a landscape after Nature has taken possession of it; and this is bran new.

Between the wild fissures and precipices of this background, the mountain torrent Miliaska ("the lovely") winds down in broad reaches to cut the whole town in two when it gains the valley, flowing then, indeed, at a more



Sarajevo.

moderate pace beneath the nine bridges of Serajevo close between, nay, even under the houses, a large number of which stand on piles.

The houses—mostly huts, it is true—in many places creep right up to the fortifications, and intermingle with the shady gardens and innumerable Turkish burial-grounds, for next to every mosque there always lies a graveyard. Again, in other places where the ascent is too steep for houses, they are left behind; and the battered, rain-washed, weather-worn cliffs and ravines, on which only here and there a dark green thicket marks the place of a former wood, tower bare above them.

The southern and northern ridges adjoin the fortified heights in the background, and with them form an amphitheatre open only to the west; towards the heights, and here, the town sends out her outposts of houses and huts; they may be seen everywhere, up and down, in irregular groups, sometimes clambering upwards, sometimes lingering behind in scattered battle array, now supported, and now repulsed by the manifold changes in the form of the land. Here and there a large, white building peeps out in the distance like an officer in command, and over them, on the side of the southern ridge, high above the lower town, there stands a true general, who has taken possession of an important position: upon one of the peaks, separated from the main body of the ridge, a white minaret rises from amidst the dark green foliage of the trees which entirely clothe the hills.

And yet the most beautiful view of all is from the provisional ministerial residence in Raghîb Effendi Tshurtshitsb's house. It is situated high up upon the slope of the northern ridge. It is true that the windows only look towards the south and west, so that nothing of the fortress is visible; but towards the south the town lies extended, showing her most beautiful quarter, that which contains the fewest modern houses, and the most gardens and tall poplar trees. The labyrinth of houses bends back in a gentle bow before us to the Miliaska, only to struggle forward again up the slope on its further shore up to the dense green forest, above which again tower rocky cliffs many thousands of feet in height. The great bulk of the houses here are not like those "in Europe," governed by circle and line, after the Western school; Oriental freedom reigns, intolerant of all monotony: everything is lively, and adds to the endless variety. On the near side of the water, to the right, the massive pile of the cathedral belonging to the Greek Church is seen; on the further, just facing us, that of the Konaks; but the real enchantment of the picture lies in the minarets, which rise white and slender in countless numbers. At the firing of the cannon, which announces the setting of the sun, the Muezzins everywhere appear, at a giddy height, in the

galleries of these minarets, and call the faithful to prayer, informing believers and unbelievers alike, in long-drawn-out, almost plaintive tones, that, "La illah' il Allaha, Muhammed rasul Allah!" The plaintive sounds blend into one strange chorus, to which new voices are constantly added. At last all is silent; but the galleries of the minarets—it is just the time of Ramazan—are suddenly lighted up, and in double or treble circlets of light they shine forth into the silent night.

The deepest silence reigns, for there is no clatter of wheels in an Oriental city; and that indefinite murmur which passes out from the living throng into space does not disturb the silence, it only makes it to be felt the more. Lights appear in the houses by thousands; coloured lanterns move to and fro in the winding alleys. The Mohammedans have fasted throughout the day, and now all are hurrying to the merry feast.

The twilight has not yet robbed the picture of its colouring, it has only deepened it. In the pure dustless air, the dark green of the trees, the white of the houses and mosques, stand clearly out; the heavens are dark blue; but the rocks and cliffs of the further hills are gradually beginning to sparkle in the trembling silver of the moon.

Towards the west, far away over the house tops, so various in shape and colour, the lofty outlines of the hills, which cut off the fruitful plain of the Serajevsko-Polje, thrust themselves before and behind one another like the wings of a theatre; and high above these fantastic shapes, which still loom in the distance in the most various tones, the lights gradually shine forth in the starry firmament.





## CHAPTER III.

### ROMAN STONES.

The Town as it is, and the Town as it once was—The Sources of the Bosna—"Ad Matricem"—The Primitive Illyrian Inhabitants—Delminium—P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica—The Roman Conquest—Tiberius and Germanicus—Roman Administration—Roman Roads—The Tower of Livno—Baths, Tombstones, Superscriptions, Mines—The Roman Town—The Tombstones at Ilidzha, Blažuj, Fatnitza, and Gostilj—Roman Art and Barbaric Influence.

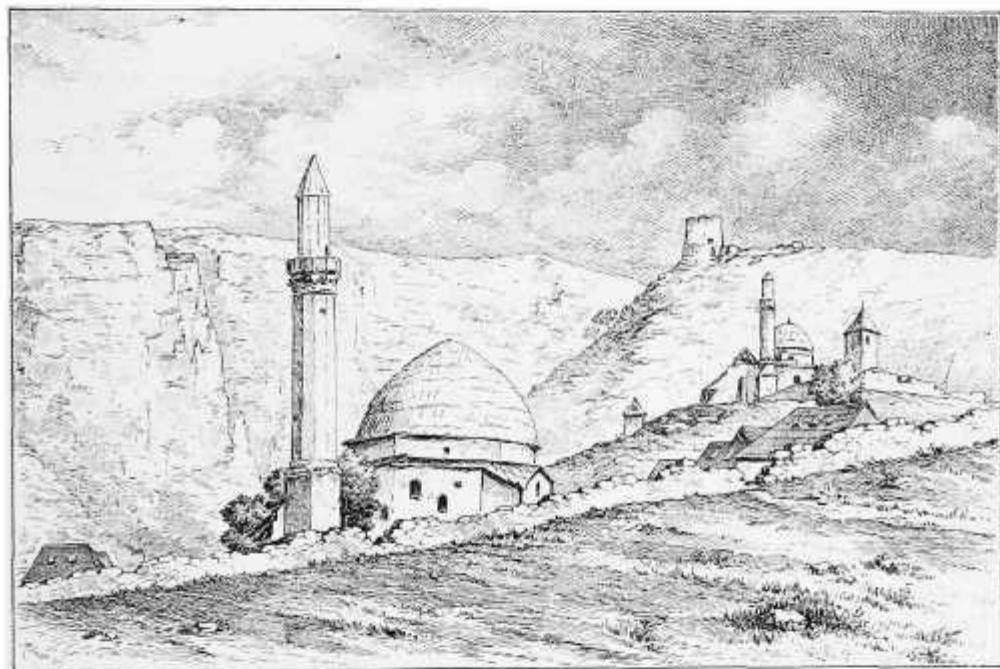
SERAJEVO, golden "Bosna Seraj," is, as its name implies, a creation of Turkish times. In the Bosnian Middle Ages, therefore, before the Turkish Conquest, there stood, on the site of the present citadel, only a fort. True it is, that here, at the natural centre of the country, where the high roads to the sea, to the Save plains, and to Byzantium meet, there was, even before Turkish days, a larger colony; though here, too—as is the case with most cities in this country—we find that the earlier town lay lower down in the open plain. These towns were, however, laid so waste during the bloody wars, and the general ruin with which the Turkish Conquest was accompanied, that at the present day their very sites can only be traced by means of squalid villages and meagre ruins. The Christian population, bled almost to death by the wars, was driven into slavery, and left the land in shoals; whilst the scanty residue sought a refuge in the impassable forests and mountains, and founded hidden, impoverished, far scattered villages of the Rajah, where they may still be met with, remote from all arteries of communication.

The Turkish conquerors did not nestle down in the open districts of the old towns, but in the fortresses and citadels, which they for the most part found in readiness, but partly also built for themselves, generally in strong military positions, on the heights commanding the narrow passes leading to the plains. Thus, under the protection of these fortresses, the present towns grew into existence: within the walls of the fortifications lay the aristocratic



city of the Mohammedans ; without the walls, in scattered groups, the Christian, peasant, and gypsy suburbs. Thus does Serajevo, too, slope down from the citadel, along the two banks of the Miliaska, to the plains below, between the hills on either hand.

On the further side of this defile stretches the Serajevsko-Polje; and just at its opposite western edge, at the foot of gloomy, densely wooded Igman, between Ilidshe and Blažuj, lay the former town, just opposite the present Serajevo. In the Middle Ages it was still the capital of the country,



Roman Tower at Livno.

and had already attained to an important position under the Romans, to whom it undoubtedly owed its foundation. Here, at the foot of Igman, the Bosna bursts forth from sixty springs, a large river from its very source. The shimmer of the water as it glints up from under the trees, the beautiful view over the fertile, villa-clad plains and picturesque town, make this spot the favourite resort of the inhabitants of Serajevo; and we, too, often sought refreshment here after the heat of the day. Scattered all around were small huts, but not a vestige of any large ancient town. The Romans themselves, however, have left behind sufficient remains, especially in the neighbour-

hood of this spot, from which to draw the certain conclusion, that one of the most important of the Roman towns stood here, at the meeting point of the Roman roads. It is probable that the station named "Ad Matricem" on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*\* was this town, as the name refers to the source of the Bosna.

The original inhabitants of Bosnia were Illyrians, of identically the same stock as the Albanians of to-day. Four hundred years B.C. began the invasion of the Celts. In the year 170, after the Romans had already become possessed of the coast lying to the south of the Narenta, the Illyrian and Celtic races who were settled to the north of this river concluded a powerful alliance against the Romans, and were called Delmatians, or Dalmatians, after Delminium, the central place belonging to this alliance. Delminium was most probably the place now known as Duvno, which during the Middle Ages was still mentioned as Dumno and Dimno. It is, however, possible, and Mommsen is of this opinion, that the original town lay nearer to the seacoast, and that the name only wandered inland subsequently, as has sometimes been the case. In the year 155, the town of Delminium was stormed by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. The wars which closed with the conquest of the whole of the present Bosnia and Herzegovina lasted until the year 78. But the inhabitants frequently rose against their conqueror; and the descriptions of their mode of battle often vividly remind one of the most recent insurrections. The mode of warfare obtaining under natural conditions in the territories of this wild hill country, seems, apart from alterations in the weapons used, to have remained unaltered for centuries.

The uprising in the year A.D. 6, which alarmed even a man so hardened to war as Augustus, is particularly worthy of record. For four years were fifteen Roman legions, under Tiberius and Germanicus, compelled to fight; but from that time forth the power of the inhabitants was broken.

Bosnia, with the exception of the Posavina Plains, which were at that time considered to be a part of Pannonia, belonged to the Roman province of Dalmatia, and accordingly it was not the river Save, but the plains which

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\* The *Tabula Peutingeriana* is the only Roman map of the imperial epoch which has come down to us. It takes its name from Conrad Peutinger of Augsburg (1465—1547), in whose possession it was in the sixteenth century. It consists of twelve folio sheets of parchment, originally forming one long strip; and its origin as a map goes back to at least the third century of the Christian era, i.e., to the time of Alexander Severus, though this actual copy, which is now deposited in the Imperial Library, Vienna, is not older than the thirteenth century.—[Tr.]

formed the natural boundary. Strabo knew the Narenta and the Save; Pliny knew also the rivers *Vaclusna* (Unna or Ukrina) and the *Urpunus* (Vrbas). From the station "*Ad Bassante*" at the mouth of the Bosna, on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, it is concluded that the river Bosna was, at the time of the Roman invasion, called Bassante, and this name is brought into connection with the Sanscrit word "Bhassura," signifying clean. Bosnia, as now constituted, belonged to the governmental district of Salona; Herzegovina to that of Narona. The Illyrian race was split up into families, and these again into centurions and decurions. Vestiges of the dominion of Rome have been preserved to us to the present day, in the remains of Roman military roads, in ruins, in the tower of Livno, the baths of Banialuka and Vishegrad, in tombstones, coins, and other antiquities, but chiefly in Roman mines and inscriptions. The latter, the collection and publication of which is largely due to Mommsen, were discovered chiefly in the neighbourhoods of Bihatsh, Brotschno, Liubushki, Serajevo, Rogatitza, Srebernitzka, Gorazda, Travnik, Livno, Glamotsh, and Kupresh. Near the Bosnian borders, but especially in Novi Bazar, at Plevlje and Prepolje, they were particularly numerous. From these remains, aided by the *Itinerarium Antonini*, which has come down to us, and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, we are enabled to indicate the direction and extent of the Roman roads with tolerable certainty.\*

Notwithstanding that under the Romans the large towns situated on the sea coast were the centres of power, there is no doubt that, with the constant development of trade and increased colonization, a powerful nucleus must also have been formed in the interior of the country. That this nucleus, even at that time, was in the vicinity of the present capital, but at the western end of the plain below the Bosna springs, is confirmed by numerous facts. The sketch, in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, of the distances between, and the positions of the several stations, is manifestly very mixed when contrasted with modern maps; but in the heart of the country we find the station *Ad Matricem* indicated by towers as a place of importance. The

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\* See accompanying historical map. The inscriptions in Mommsen's great work, *Corpus Inscriptionum*, vol. iii. For Roman topography, Tomaschek, *Mittheilungen der Wiener geograph. Gesellschaft*, vol. xxiii., parts xi. and xii. (1880). On the basis of researches for the remains of military roads supplied by Hoernes, *Arch. Epigr. Mitth. Wien*, 4th year, parts i. and ii. Roman antiquities first published by Neditsh in the *South Slavonic Archiv.*, iv. (1857), pp. 142—162, and by Blau in the *Berichte of the Berlin Academy*, Dec. 1866, Nov. 1867, and July 1870.

very name points to the source of a considerable river, and has, moreover, the same meaning as the name of the mediæval fortress of Vrchbosna. The tablet shows mountains to the south of the town, and upon their south-western descent the springs of the Narenta. This, as a matter of fact, indicates, as Hoernes rightly affirms, the topographical situation of the plains of Serajevo, of the Treskavitza Mountains, and of the Narenta.

The direct road from Naronā to Sirmium leads through the Ivan Pass, the lowest point in the water-shed, between the Pontus\* and the Adriatic over the plains of Serajevo; and, in spite of its not being indicated on the



Monument at Blažuj.



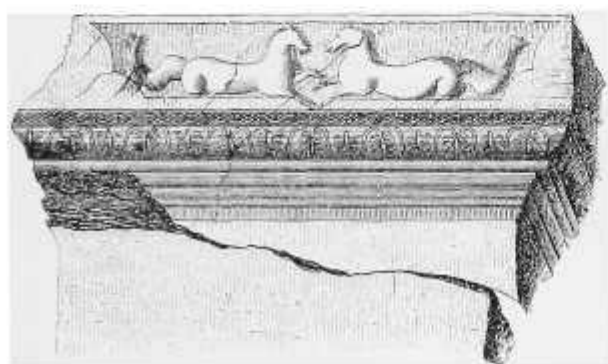
Monument at Ilišhe.

tablets, is marked the whole way, from Naronā to Serajevo, with Roman remains, at Mostar by ruins, at Passaritsh by carved tombstones. In addition to this Roman road, natural thoroughfares lead in all directions from the plains of Serajevo, as from their natural centre. The sources of the Bosna are at the point which lies nearest the waters of the Drina, Vrbas, and Narenta; here the roads meet which lead to Pannonia and Moesia, and on the way from Serajevo, through Rogatitza and Vishegrad to Plevlje, a town

\* *Pontus* (Black Sea).

rich in Roman antiquities, the old Roman military road is everywhere traceable by Roman remains. In the neighbourhood of Serajevo itself very few Roman antiquities have thus far been found.

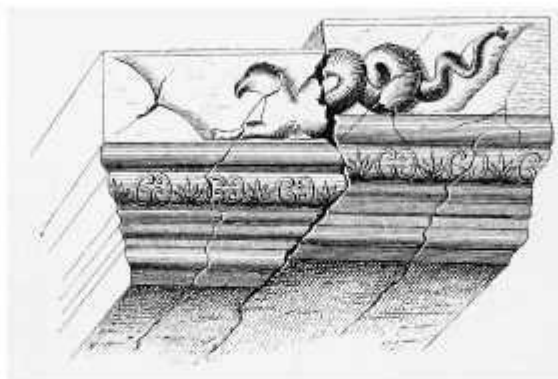
The immense pillar-head, to be seen in the court of the Begova Dz-amia, might possibly have been removed thither from its original place during the building of the court, when materials for the new edifice were being collected from ruins; but in two Roman sculptures the boundary stones of the Roman



Roman Sculptures at Gostilj.

town have also been preserved until now. One of these was discovered by Mr. Evans, forming part of the wall of an old cistern. There it stands, a monument of baffled genius, rough in workmanship, but noble in conception. The other was taken out of the water of the Bosna at Ilidshe, and inserted in the bridge by order of the well-known Bosnian poet, Fra Grga Martitsh. whilst still vicar of Serajevo (information furnished by Hoernes). This one gives evidence of a like but far more cultivated genius. Both are evidently tombstones. In their vicinity, near the Miliaska, a well-known votive-tablet

was found, which reached Serajevo in the possession of the French consul. Roman *genii*, from the times of the later Cæsars, are often found throughout the country, but especially in the neighbourhood of Serajevo and on the sea coast. All this being taken into consideration, it hardly seems doubtful that the Roman capital *Ad Matricem* lay below the sources of the Bosna between Blažuj and Ilidshe.



Roman Sculptures at Gostilj.

As a whole, Roman inscriptions—Mommson has published most of them—are far more common in Bosnia than sculptures such as these. At the village of Gostilj, near Vishegrad, however, the whole of the surrounding district is strewn with Roman stones. Side by side with finely carved cornices are human figures, far rougher than those at Serajevo, which clearly date from

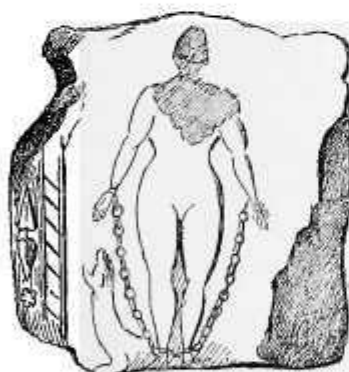
the times of the last Cæsars, when powerful barbaric influences were already at work. Some of these constitute the real link with mediæval Bosnian sculpture, specimens of which are found throughout the country upon tombstones dating from the national epoch. Below are the most interesting, for, to the best of my knowledge, they are as yet unknown.\*



Front.



Back.



Right.



Left.

The Gravestones at Tsherin.

The most cursory comparison will show clearly how much Roman art deteriorated, and barbaric influence gained ground, the further they wandered

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\* Hoernes, who was sent to Bosnia by the Austrian Minister of Education, for the investigation of Roman antiquities, and who, amongst other places, stayed at Vishegrad, does not mention these stones; they seem to have escaped his attention. Beyond the bridge, dating from Turkish times, and the older, certainly Roman baths, he only names



from the seashore and penetrated into the interior. How much nearer to antique art, for example, is that gravestone upon the plain of Brotshno—between Mostar and Liubuchki, near Tsherin, which shows the countenance and knightly figure of the dead—with the presentments of Andromeda and Perseus (published by Hoernes). Closely allied to this monument, is the tomb,



The Memorial Stone at Fatnitza.

in the churchyard of Humatz, of "Andamionius," a trooper of the first cohort of the Lucenses; he is represented on horseback with his buckler.\*

At Travnik, too, several Roman monuments were found, which we shall consider elsewhere.

A genius similar to those discovered at Serajevo has been found upon one side of a weather-beaten cube-shaped stone, which lies to the south of Fatnitza at Orachovitze. The other sides of this stone, of which a sketch is here given for the first time, were also ornamented with figures, which are now no longer recognizable. I also add a drawing of an urn for ashes, as they are often seen in the Roman graves, in company with small blue glass bottles.



the "Inscription" at Žljeb (*Publicationen der Wiener Akademie*, vol. xcix., part ii., *Alterth. d. Herz. u. d. Südl. Bosn.*), and these without having seen them. The adduced supposititious cuneiform writing is obviously nothing more than a group of masonic signs in an old stone quarry. When dealing with the monuments of the Middle Ages we shall return to these.

\* The inscription is published by Hoernes, *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.*, viii., 108.





## CHAPTER IV.

### THE BOGOMILES.

Invasion of the Slavs—Formation of States—The Žopans—The Masonic Signs at Žljeb—The Dervent Inscription—The Bogomile Graves—The Bogomiles and the Reformation—The Apocryphal and False Books—Pope Jeremiah—Bogomilian Writings of the Albigenses—Satan, the First-born of God, Creator of the World—The Bogomiles and the Development of the State—The Hungarian Protectorate—Banus Boris—Chlum, Comitatus Berec, Rama, Salenes, Usora—Duke Béla and his Ramase Coins—Banus Kulin—The Bosnian Heretical Pope—Crusades against the Bogomiles—Ninoslav—Hungarian Bans—Kotroman—Bosnian Coins—Stefan Kotromanitsh—The Policy of the Anjous—The Croatian Rebellion—The Wars against Czar Dushan—Tvrtko—The Monarchy—Tvrtko's Struggles for a South Slavonian Empire—Battle on the Kesseva-Polje—What Bosnia signified to the Hungarian State—Dabisha, Osteja—Hervoja—The Bogomiles turn, for the first time, to the Turks. The Founding of Serajevo—The First Turkish Invasion of Hungary due to Bosnia—Tvrtko II. Tvrtkovitsh—George Brankovitsh and Sandalj of Chlum purchase Bosnia from the Sultan—The Council of Basle and the Bogomiles—Hunyady's Victory—King Thomas—Stefan, Duke of St. Sava. The Persecuted Bogomiles again appeal to the Turks—Fresh Victories by Hunyady—Mathias Corvinus unites Servia to Bosnia—Stefan Tomashevitch—The Fall of the Bosnian Monarchy—The Bogomiles pass over to Islam—Last Traces of them.

ROMAN supremacy was in its turn swallowed up in the invasion of the Slavs, after the Goths, who since 493 had ruled in Pannonia and Dalmatia, had, in the middle of the sixth century, called in the aid\* of the leading Slavonic tribes against the Emperor of Byzantium; and the Byzantine Emperor, after the repulse of the Goths, introduced further tribes of Slavs into the land to fight against the Avars.

Only a few townships on the coast of Dalmatia, as it now is, preserved their Roman character, and, together with the other Roman towns, became, later on, Italian. With these exceptions, the Roman towns and roads rapidly

\* Procopius, *De bello Gothico*, lib. iii., c. 40.

disappeared, as did also the Illyrian aborigines, both Romanized and un-Romanized. The former have upheld themselves elsewhere to this day, as Kutzovlachs or Tzintzars; but within the district of Bosnia and Herzegovina, all traces of them were extinguished so rapidly and so completely that even their Slavonic name "Vlach," "Blach," lost its original meaning, and so early as in the old writings of the Bosnian era only signifies "Shepherd," and later on, during the Turkish era, simply stood for Christian peasant, a witness to the circumstances in which the invading Slavs found the down-trodden and Romanized Illyrian aborigines.

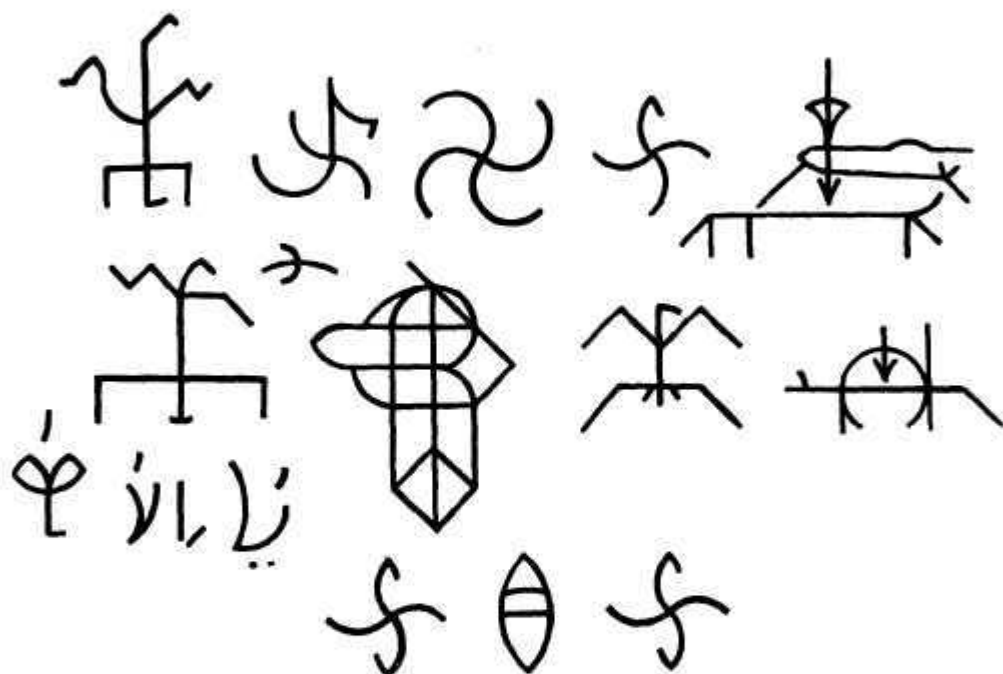
Nevertheless, in this district not a single memorial has been preserved from the first century of the Slavonic colonization. From the sixth century—that is to say, from the time when the Slavs had overrun the entire Balkan Peninsula, and, especially, had permanently conquered the present territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina—until the commencement of the formation of the Bosnian State, viz., the eleventh century, all we know is the names of a few Županates, towns, and perhaps fortresses, and that only from the paltry sketches of Byzantine writers, and particularly of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Of all these towns, however, scarcely a heap of stones has come down to us. In a land where the very rudiments of culture were lacking, where no state had been formed, and writing was unknown, there was nothing in the soil either to cling to or to preserve.

Not until the ninth century did Cyril and Method introduce the art of writing, simultaneously with Christianity, which was proclaimed by them when upon their long proselytising expedition; until then the notches, in vogue amongst the Slavs, had been exclusively used; the written language of these Apostles, still in use in the Church and known as "old Slavonic," became the common mother of the various literary languages of the Slavonic race, the writers of the different dialects having always sought to bring it into harmony with the modes of speech of their own people. The first impulse towards any national development, however—at any rate, in the district with which we have to deal—falls at a still later period than even the introduction of writing.

In the seventh century, in the eastern division of the Balkan Peninsula, fresh invaders—the Turanian Bulgarians—conquered the clan there established, and in the ninth century founded a state of their own. This State became Slavonic. This process of development often repeats itself, and especially is this the case with a wandering people. The conquerors sank their own nationality, but continued to rule as a privileged class.

Moreover, the name of the conqueror, with but slight alteration, is equivalent to "Master." The whole nation is called "Bulgar;" the ruler is called

"Bojar." Thus did the first Slavonic state, the first Slavonic empire, grow into existence. Yet not until later, in the tenth century, when this first South Slavonic state had collapsed under the revived power of Byzantium, and the heads of the tribes of other South Slavonic races, the Župans and the Kneses, who had until then lived under Byzantine over-lordship, began to clamour incessantly for their own personal supremacy—not till then did the Orthodox Servians on the one hand, and the Roman Catholic Croatian State on the other, rise up as nations from out of the turmoil, which was by this time—



Masonic Signs at Žljebo.

the age of the great schism in the Church—added to by religious differences. In their first elation and struggle, both sought to extend their power over Bosnia. The reaction, however, against these attempts, supported by a third great factor in the struggle, gave birth to the Bosnian State. The Bosnian Župans settled near the sources of the Bosna, founded the Bosnian Banate, which thenceforth always drew towards itself the whole of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, raised itself at a later period to the position of a peculiar kind of monarchy, always preserved its own peculiar national development as opposed to that of the neighbouring and allied Servian State, even when this was at the height of its power, but followed the example of the Croatians in their subordination

to the Hungarian crown, even whilst still owing allegiance to their own kings.

Of this period, thousands upon thousands of records exist of the utmost importance in the Ragusan and Venetian Archives, and also in those of the Vatican and of Hungary; and who shall say what may lay concealed in the jealously guarded bureaux of the Beks?

Beyond these, extremely few historical memorials of this period have come down to us.

Occasionally a mediæval tool or weapon, or—as a great rarity—the coin of some Bosnian king, is dug up. Near Vishegrad, at “Žejeb,” a group of strange signs imbedded in the rocks excite the wonder of the traveller. Many believe these signs to be cuneiform writing; to others, they appear to be inexplicable riddles. Those, however, who are acquainted with the masonic signs of the Middle Ages will have no doubt that they have to deal with something of the same nature here. A closer examination shows that the strictly geometrical figures exactly correspond to the “quarter” which was made use of in the masons’ marks, chiefly during the transition from the Roman to the Gothic style of architecture. In Roman, and later on in Turkish times, important buildings were erected in Vishegrad. These stonemasons’ signs are a proof that the building trade was not at a standstill here during the Middle Ages.

In a tower at Dervent, during the demolition of the old fortifications, a stone was found, whose superscription seems to be undecipherable.

Not far from Vishegrad, at Dobrunj, there stood the ruins of a mediæval chapel showing traces of frescoes. Now, owing to the munificence of the Baroness Fedor Nicolics, this building is restored to its full beauty, and in Yaitza, too, a beautiful tower of Roman design still stands.

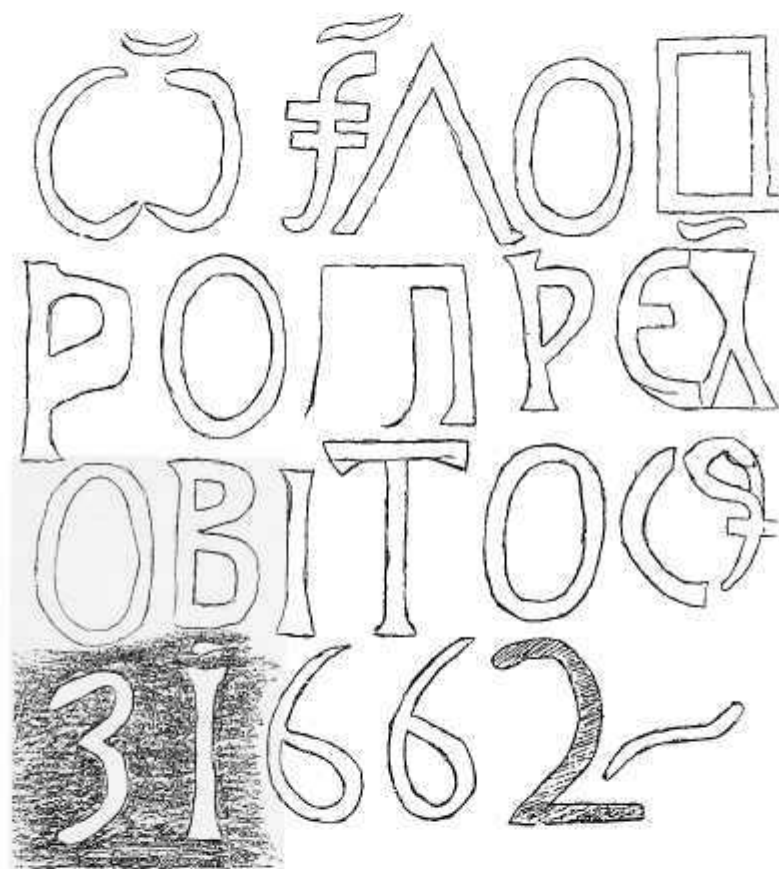
Old ruins of castles and monasteries may be seen everywhere; they are, however, possessed of hardly anything of artistic value belonging to that age, but show rather the traces of transition during the Turkish epoch.

Beyond these objects, nothing has been preserved to us from out this era of national life lasting several centuries except tombstones, which doubtless were originally connected with the traditions of ancient art, but which become more and more barbaric, and make ever greater efforts to replace artistic power by boundless size, the further they are divided from the sea coast and the Roman age.

The scarcer other monuments are, however, the more powerfully do these unique tombstones strike upon and inspire the imagination, and with them the whole country seems to be thickly strewn. Alike in impassable forests and upon the summits of pathless mountains, they are found. They might be

the graves of giants, so overpowering are they in their colossal size and simplicity.

Occasionally, and especially at points which lie near the coast, these tombs also show distinct artistic tendencies. They are, however, chiefly flat hewn stone blocks six feet in length, three feet in height, and three feet in width. Some of them rest upon still larger stone slabs, but more commonly merely



The Dervent Inscription.

upon the earth. Sometimes they are found with a primitive bas-relief, a sword, some kind of animal, stars, or a crescent by way of decoration, but more often than not they are quite smooth, without writing or sign : occasionally they stand alone, but most commonly in groups, always where there is a beautiful view, and often on the summit of the highest hill in the neighbourhood.

Everywhere—close to and far from inhabited districts, in the impenetrable

solitude of the primeval forests, in all quarters of the land—these tombs are seen, lying there in silence, and strongly appealing to the imagination.

They are called "Bogomilian graves;" and that they are the tombs of some peculiar sect can hardly be doubted, when it is realized that these gravestones as a whole show neither cross nor turban, hence no kind of symbol belonging to creeds then in existence, whose communicants, in this country of deep-rooted religious life, would most assuredly not have failed to add these signs of piety. The half-moon standing by itself means nothing, for it is a pre-Turkish symbol which the Turks themselves borrowed from Byzantium, and, bringing it thence, scattered over the whole of the Balkan Peninsula, and far beyond its borders. This absence of the symbolic signs of the then existing contemporary religions is all the more striking, because, in isolated groups of these imposing tombs, the Mohammedan Turban-Pillar occurs, and even here and there a stone cross: the cross is distinctly the more uncommon of the two, therefore so are Catholic or Orthodox graves, a sign that for some reason the Mohammedans had more in common with those who rest beneath these huge stones than the Christians had.

Who and what were these Bogomiles?

An interesting question. For it will be seen that the Bogomilian principle was, as it were, the principle of Bosnian history. This is the axis around which everything revolves; so much so is this the case, that everything not connected with it is limited to rivalry for personal power. This is true to such an extent, that it may be affirmed that the Bogomiles founded the Bosnian state, and also that it was through the Bogomiles that it was destroyed. The question is a weighty one. Of great importance with regard to Bosnia, inasmuch as the Bogomiles, and rightly, called their religion the Bosnian religion; of great importance with regard to the kingdom of Hungary, inasmuch as the Bogomilian age and the period of Hungarian supremacy are synonymous, and the sect plays a leading part in all the Bosnian enterprises of the Arpads, Anjous, and Hunyadys. Finally, the Roman Church and Hungary lost Bosnia, because they would not tolerate the Bogomiles.

Furthermore the question is a weighty one from the wider standpoint of European history. The assertion of Mr. A. J. Evans,\* an English traveller, that the Bogomiles were Protestants, and that Bosnia was a Protestant state long before the Reformation, is obviously an exaggeration, which openly serves the purpose of awakening an interest for these countries in Protestant

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\* Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot during the Insurrection*. (Sec. Ed. London: 1877.)

England. Especially would the spirit of that modern Protestantism itself—which regards free inquiry and criticism as its first principle, and which can in this matter appeal to the great writers of the Reformation: Hutten, Erasmus of Rotterdam, and Melancthon—be the most earnest in protesting against being classed with the blind faith of the Bogomilian camp, and to which the Church itself has displayed the very spirit of criticism. Certain it is, however, that just as between the earliest sects—and especially those in the first centuries of Christianity known as Manichæans—and the Bogomiles there existed an organic connection, so there also existed some between the Bogomiles and the Reformation in Western Europe; and there is no doubt that the Bogomile Church of Bosnia gave a powerful impetus to the Reformation in Western Europe. Even though not identical with it, yet in a certain sense it was the parent of it.

In history, as in nature, nothing has a sudden beginning—even that which appears to be the newest has had a long past; one needs to know only how to search for and follow it up. How little that is new, and how much that is old, does he who is conversant with the past find in the most recent events; as in nature so in history, nothing really new can be discovered; that which we call new is at most only a new combination of old elements. Countless agents were at work in Western Europe, which led up to the Reformation; but unquestionably, in the process of ripening, the fructifying, creative seed fell from the Bogomilian Church.

The Bogomiles are far removed from Erasmus and Melancthon, even from Calvin and Luther; in one word, from all which, in the Reformation, more or less represents criticism and free inquiry. On the other hand, they stand very near to the prophets, John of Leyden, the Albigenses, the Waldenses, the Hussites; in short, to those elements which in the Reformation form the reactionary party against the reigning Church, and who devoted themselves to a return to primitive Christianity, with its zealous faith and its simplicity. The Anabaptists, Albigenses, Savonarola, and Huss all appear equally as parts of the darkly groping movement of that Reformation which, later on, through the faith and energy of Calvin and Luther, through the knowledge of German and Dutch writers, and through the Swedish sword, attained to its full meaning. He who stands at a distance recognizes the differences best; he who stands near sees the connecting links. The Popes beheld the same religious and political opponents in the Bogomiles and Albigenses; Mathias Hunyady in the Bogomiles and Hussites.

The rise of the Bogomile sect under the Southern Slavs occurred simultaneously with the introduction of Christianity, and may be traced back

to three causes. The heathen traditions and the apocryphal books had called forth the inclination; Armenian Manichæans gave the inciting impulse; and the spread of the sect was promoted by the excrescences of the Byzantine Church itself and of its followers.

Pious stories and writings were in circulation side by side with the sacred books of the Old Testament even amongst the Jews, and similar stories rapidly arose amongst the early Christians side by side with the New Testament. The Church did not really recognize these, though she tolerated some as pious traditions or legends; the larger number she however sternly rejected, and declared to be apocryphal or condemned outright, because it was from just such disputed points as these in writings of like nature that the first differences of opinion and false teachings arose. These apocryphal, uncanonical books at once appeared in Hebrew and Arabic, and later on in Greek, gradually gathering to themselves a lot of myths and a great deal of poetry conceived in the spirit and language of the people, and were circulated amongst the people in Greek and Latin translations simultaneously with Christianity, in some cases even before the organized Church was in a position to oppose them.

Amongst other races, too, as soon as they accepted Christianity, other books were produced in addition to these, assimilating the old heathen traditions, and reflecting the national modes of thought, thus gaining great popularity. Just the same thing happened with the Southern Slavs, but principally with the Bulgarians, who were the first amongst the Slavs to attain to a higher spiritual life. The historians of Slavonic literature first became acquainted with these "apocryphal books" (*ložnja knigi*) from old Russian manuscripts, and it is upon them that the numerous sects of the Russian Church are founded. The South Slavonic origin of these Russian manuscripts is beyond question, as is also the fact that the Russians have received all their earliest ecclesiastical writings—nay, even the old Slavonic ecclesiastical language itself—from Bulgaria. Such Russian manuscripts as are known go back to the twelfth century; and the older they are, the more distinctly do they show the forms of the old Bulgarian literature. Moreover, upon this point the most recent investigations have put an end to all doubt, as the missing original manuscripts have been discovered amongst the Bulgarians and Servians, and additional documents are constantly being found.\* In Russia itself there are still traces of the origin of these books,

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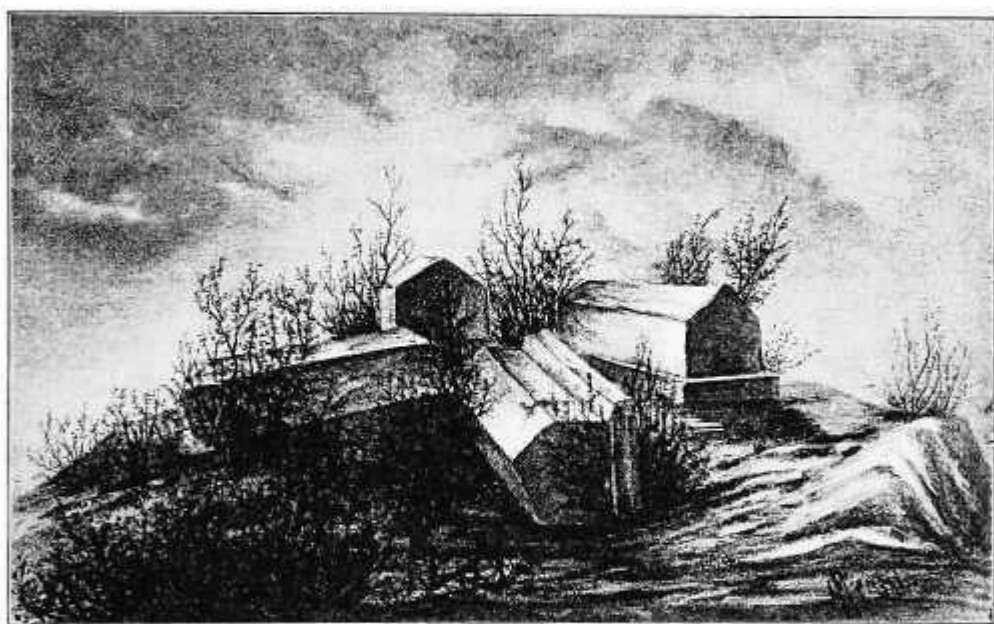
\* See Pypin and Spasovitch, on *Russian Work relating to Slavonic Literature*, vol. i., part ii.



for the Russians describe incredible things as "Bulgarian fables." The oldest known Index of the Russian Church, dating from the fourteenth century, directly names a Bulgarian pop as the author of a large part of these condemned writings.

It is a historical fact, that the Byzantine emperors in the eighth century stationed Armenian mercenaries in Thracia, who belonged to the Manichæan sect of the Paulicians, for the protection of the northern boundaries of the kingdom.

The Armenians who stood in intimate relations with the Bulgarians, and



Bogomilian Tombs at Travnik,

Czar Boris, soon after his conversion to Christianity, complained to the Pope that Armenians preached in the land. They, together with the "apocryphal books," could gain a hearing all the more readily from the fact that both had points in common with the old heathen traditions; but, apart from this, they were in closer sympathy with the national spirit than the Byzantine Church was, with her stiff parade and her barren divinity; they were exactly informed upon every point upon which the Church and her canons kept silence; they knew a cure for every evil; they took the imagination of the people captive, and gladly gave themselves up to astrology, magic charms, and spells against sickness and every ill of life.

The more energetically the power of the Church and of the State rose up against them, the more did they fall back upon the predilection of the people, making use of their complaints and discontents against those in power.

Thus did the Bulgarian heresy pave the way for ever increasing difficulties in the Orthodox Church. Finally, under Czar Peter, there appeared a priest named *Bogumil*, who was probably identical with the "Bulgarian priest Jeremias," and who gave his name to the whole movement and organization. He set up to be an apostle, preached with great effect, and soon Czar Samuel's son and daughter-in-law were both numbered amongst his followers.

The Byzantine ecclesiastical writers, as well as Kosmas, the Bulgarian presbyter and ecclesiastical writer, always mention this *Bogumil*, the Indices *Jeremias*. Only one Index of the sixteenth century mentions both. It is, however, difficult to believe that these names are intended to indicate two different persons, for ecclesiastical writers would certainly not have passed over *Jeremias* in silence, if he had not, in their opinion, been identical with *Bogumil*; an Index of 1608, moreover, refers to this identity, inasmuch as it says of *Jeremias* that he was "*Bogu ne mil*"—not beloved of God. Most probably *Jeremias* added to his own foreign-sounding name the characteristic Slavonian nickname of *Bogumil*, and under this name became popular with the Slavs.

In conclusion, we must mention that in 1873 *Jagitsh* discovered an old Bulgarian manuscript, which he believed to be one of *Jeremias*' spurious productions. This opinion was fully confirmed in 1875, when *Andrej Popov* discovered the same document under another title in a Novgorod Parchment Codex, in which *Jeremias* was expressly named as the author. The Russian Indices also call this *Jeremias* a great master of witchcraft, who dwelt in the lower regions, "*Na Verziulone Kolu*." This subterranean *Verziul*-cycle was an enigma to Russian scholars. *Jagitsh* explained it satisfactorily from the Servian legend, according to which the wizards, witches, and *grabanziashes* absolve twelve schools, and not until the thirteenth are taken up into the *Vrxino Kolo*.

The South Slavonic "*grabanziash*" is a corruption of the word "necromancy;" and the *Verziul Kolo* is the Vergilian (Virgilian) Cycle. The Middle Ages knew Virgil far better as a sorcerer than as a poet; even Dante looked upon him in this light.

But the writings of this *Jeremias Bogumil* are also known from another source in Western Europe, which at the same time supplies tangible evidence of the influence which the *Bogomiles* have exercised upon the Western Reformation.

In the Russian Indices there is, amongst others, a spurious book, *The Questions of the Theologian John, to Christ, on Mount Tabor*. A fourteenth-century manuscript of this exists. The Apostle John enjoyed especial honour amongst the Bogomiles, and the same apocryphal work was one of the most treasured writings of the Albigenses. The complete Latin text was first published in Paris, in the year 1691, by the Dominican Benoist, in his *Histoire des Albigeois*. The Latin manuscript bears the superscription: "*Hoc est secretum Hæreticorum de concorsio portatum de Bulgaria a Nazario, suo episcopo, plenum erroribus.*" This Latin text is far more complete than the Slavonic MS., and thus, in a curious way, the most perfect Bogomilian record has been transmitted through the Reformation of the West. The whole writing teaches the dualism between the good and bad principle which the Bogomiles had borrowed from the Manicheans.

The earth was not created by God, but by Satan, who before his fall was called Satanael, and to whom God had lent power for seven days. After the creation of the visible world, Satan formed a human figure, and commanded the angel of the third heaven to enter therein; then he created a female form, and ordered the angel of the second heaven to enter in "*et præcepit opus carnale facere in corporibus luteis,*" etc. It is on this account that the stricter Bogomiles held wedded life to be a distinct sin; and similar doctrines still prevail amongst the Russian Skoptzi.\* Furthermore, the whole of the Old Testament is a work of the devil, who befooled the patriarchs, inasmuch as he gave himself out to be God, until Christ came to free mankind from the dominion of the evil one.

We can form a fairly accurate estimate of the religious doctrines of the Bogomiles through the remains of their own writings, and that which their opponent Kosmas has written about them. Kosmas is the sole old-Bulgarian author whose writings have been preserved from the time of the Czar Samuel, and the Russian historian Hilferding has, in his works on Servia and Bulgaria, published copious extracts from them.

Thus, all evil, and above all, the whole visible world, has its origin in Satan, for from God can emanate nothing which is not good and perfect. But above this visible world there is an invisible and perfect one, and God is incessantly fighting with the devil to save mankind for this invisible world. Some were of opinion—for amongst the Bogomiles, too, there were various views, some strict, and others more lax—that Satanael was the first-

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\* A name signifying "eunucha," given to a Russian sect of the Bezpopostschin Dissenters, and derived from their practice of self-mutilation, which they supposed to be warranted by Scripture (Matt. xix. 12).—[Tr.]

born son of God Himself, Christ only his younger brother. Christ, too, did not walk the earth in human shape, but only as a phantom; Mary was an angel.

The worship of the Virgin Mary, the Old Testament, and Baptism were entirely rejected by many, and were regarded by all as secondary matters; baptism on the ground that the water too proceeds from the evil one. The solemn admission of the adults followed upon touching the Gospel of St. John. The cross was rejected by all. Wherefore should man honour that wherewith God had been dishonoured? They also rejected all pictures and images of the saints; and this fact is borne witness to by the severe simplicity of their tombstones. That in the reaction against the hollow pomp and formality of the Byzantine Church, the Bogomiles also rejected ecclesiastical ceremonies and the hierarchy, is a matter of course. They called the priests of the Church "blind Pharisees." At the Holy Communion, which they at most permitted to serve as a remembrance, they did not believe in the presence of the body of Christ, but only simple bread. The belief in the evil nature of matter with them, as with others, led to deep-seated asceticism. The strict purity of their lives, too, is acknowledged by their opponents, even though described as hypocrisy. Herein, however, lay their conquering power as opposed to the Church and the hierarchy, upon whose voluptuousness the poorer population looked askance.

The strict doctrinarians regarded, and consequently rejected, marriage and the enjoyment of wine and meat as a direct temptation of the devil. These austere believers were held in great respect by the others. In Bosnia they called themselves "*dobri Bosniani*" (good Bosnians), "*serziteli*" (elect), and it would seem that they replaced the priesthood amongst the Bogomiles. They preached, too, against bearing arms, and against war, which, however, did not hinder the Bogomiles from defending their faith with the sword, any more than the doctrine against marriage acted as a preventive further than that the Bogomile only took his wife conditionally, and could forsake her again if he did not find her to be God-fearing and virtuous. Their marriage consequently was, as the Popes complained, no indissoluble sacrament. Every Bogomile, however, strove, at least on his death-bed, to be admitted through some special act of consecration amongst the elect, who also abstained from marriage in order, as such, to gain heaven. The religious superiors were chosen from the ranks of the elect; the "elders" and the "teachers," who are also described here and there in writings which are not Bogomilian, as Bogomilian bishops and priests. Their houses of prayer had neither tower nor bell,—the latter they called the devil's trumpet; they despised all

ornament, and tolerated only a table covered with a white cloth, and the Gospel, in the house of God.

Finally, Kosmas brings the further charge against the Bogomiles: that they taught disobedience to authority, insulted the rich, hated the Fathers, dishonoured the aged, abused the Bojars, declared obedience to the Czar to be a sin, and forbade subordinates to serve their masters. Clearly Kosmas intended to represent the danger of these heretics emphatically.

He might easily have discovered the ground of all these complaints in the war against the power of the State and the Church to which the Bogomiles were forced; but certainly also in the communistic and democratic traditions of brotherhood and equality, which emanated from primitive Christianity, and also from the primeval days of the Slavonic people itself. In opposition to the demands of practical life the religious doctrines had, however, been everywhere, and at all periods, tolerant; and it is proved beyond doubt by the character of the Bosnian State, and by its whole history, that the Bogomiles themselves, whatever may have been the doctrines they accepted, were always prepared to acknowledge the State regulations and the hierarchy, together with the other demands of practical life, so soon as the State should rest upon them and should support them.

As already mentioned, in the tenth century the Croatians and Servians made the first transient attempts at founding states in those vast Southern Slavonic provinces, which at that time and later were in Venetian and Bagusan documents described only as Slavonia, and upon which, since the settlement of the Slavs, a few isolated, independent clans had dwelt without any State organization, nominally under the suzerainty of Byzantium, but as a matter of fact only under their chiefs the Župans. The Croatians and Servians now endeavoured to extend their power over those provinces lying between them, namely, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Servian State belonged to the Orthodox Greek Church; the Croatian to the Roman Catholic. The more the Bogomiles felt themselves to be either cramped or persecuted in the older kingdom of Bulgaria, and in the new and struggling political life of Serbia and Croatia, the more did they naturally turn to the races who retained their independence, amongst whom they felt more at home, not only on account of their more primitive conditions of society, but also because the Bogomile doctrines would spread with greater facility amongst the heathen usages and traditions prevalent there. It cannot, therefore, be a matter of surprise that the neighbouring conquerors here met with double resistance; political opposition, the tribal struggles for independence, and the Župans were all added to the resistance of the Bogomile creed. This

collective, closely allied opposition it was which proclaimed the Bosnian State, the valley of the Upper Bosna, from its central position in the middle of the whole province, serving as the point of consolidation.

It is in keeping with these circumstances, that up to the tenth century we have hardly any information relating to this province. Constantine Porphyrogenitus was the first to mention these *Županates* in his work *De Administrando Imperio*. According to him, little "Bosona" was a dependency of Servia, but yet a small detached country situated on the Upper Bosna, whose Roman name, "Basante," spoken with the Slavonic accent, had clearly been transferred to the race which had settled there, and to the whole district. He only knew of two fortresses which Ratschki and Shaffarik sought for in the vicinity of the present villages of Kotor and Teshanj; near the first the traces of old ruins have, in fact, been found. Just at the very time at which Bosnia is first mentioned, the Hungarians appeared there, and, moreover, as friends of the Bosnian race, for later on the Bosnian chieftain fled to Hungary. According to a chronicle not over trustworthy in other respects, believed by the Croatian historian Ratschki to have been compiled at Antivari by the Presbyter of Dioclea\* at the commencement of the twelfth century, a Hungarian "*princeps*" Kiis penetrated into Bosnia as far as the Drina with his fleet troopers. True it is, that the Hungarian leader fell; but the Servian prince Tsheslav, who pursued the Hungarians as far as Syrmium, lost his life here also, and after his death his land too was laid waste, so that Bosnia again became quite independent.

But, according to the same chronicle, the Croatian king Kreshimir pursued the Bosnian prince, whom the chronicles already call by the title of Ban, who took refuge with the Hungarians. The newly created Croatian State was, however, just as little able to maintain itself as the first Servian principality had been. Towards the close of the tenth century, Basil II. "Bulgaroktonos," Emperor of Byzantium, undertook to again restore the Byzantine dominion to the whole Balkan peninsula. His successors followed his example. A like danger threatened the Croatians from the Venetians. Both Byzantium, which always looked upon the Croatian princes as merely Byzantine consuls, as well as Venice, put forward claims to Dalmatia and Croatia, and repeatedly substantiated them by force of arms. The Croatians, incapable of maintaining their new kingdom, sought and found shelter under the crown of Hungary, and at "*Biograd primorski*," now known as *Zara Vecchia*, in the year 1102 crowned King Koloman of

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\* First published by Lucius: *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, lib. sex. (Amst.: 1676.)

Hungary as their king too. A document of the year 1135 is the first in which the Hungarian king Béla II. calls himself, "*Dei gracia Hungarie, Dalmatie, Croatie Rameque rex*;" since which Hungarian statesmen have always identified Rama with Bosnia. There is, however, nothing to show that the district through which the river Rama runs had at an earlier date than this formed part of the dominions of the Bosnian Bans, as was afterwards really the case.

The Hungarians may have won it from the Byzantines. Furthermore, it is probable that the Bosnian Župans did also on this occasion seek shelter from the Hungarian crown, as we have previously seen, and that the Hungarian kings put forward claims upon this protectorate also, for later on King Béla II. created his son Ladislaus Duke of Bosnia, although Bosnia was subsequently governed by native Bans. Ban Boris, who, as the Russian writer Vasiljevsky has recently shown,\* has by some historians been unjustly mistaken for King Koloman's illegitimate son, was the first of these Bans to be mentioned by name in contemporary historical records.†

As early as the year 1150, a Hungarian army advanced through Bosnia against the Byzantines. In a fresh campaign in 1154, Ban Boris followed the Hungarian king with his army against the Emperor Emanuel. In the War of Succession, which followed upon the death of Béla II. in the year 1161, Ban

\* From history of Byzantium. *Slavonic Collections*, St. Petersburg, ii. (1877), pp. 265—277.

† Klaitsh, the Croatian historian of Bosnia, who in his important work is the first to make use of the most recent discoveries, but who through his national partiality is often led into error, thinks that the Bosnian Župans take the title of Banus from the Croats, and from this concludes that Bosnia belonged to Croatia, because, as he says, amongst all the Southern Slavonians the Croats alone had Bans. But wherefore? The word "Ban" has no sort of connection with the Slavonic "Pan," and the Slavonic Philologists themselves do not believe it to be a Slavonic, but an Avaric word; and through the Avars it has probably been nationalized in the whole of the South, but only in the south of Hungary, where the Ban signifies the Hungarian "Marchio," and where amongst the Szeklers of Transylvania was the Rhabon-Ban, then in its geographical connection the Ban of Severin, of Lugos and Krasso, of Mascó, of Slavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, etc. It was probably first introduced into Croatia by the Hungarian rule, and then into Bosnia. The supplementary fables of the Presbyter of Dioclea must not weigh much. Ban Boris is also called by contemporary Greeks *Exarch*, and it is very doubtful whether any Župan of Vrbosna ever bore the title of Ban before him, even though all the Bosnian historians, down to the most recent, enumerate a whole series of Bans, and give their history. These histories of the Bans Zelimir, Kreshimir, Legeth (perhaps from the Gr. *Logothet*), and Vukmir rest exclusively upon the fables of the Presbyter of Dioclea, which have been enlarged upon by Orbini of Ragusa and others, according to their own fancies. All this can lay claim to no historical value, as not a single historical voucher can be discovered of these mythical Bans.

Boris is at first found amongst the followers of Ladislaus II., the sometime Duke of Bosnia, and after his death in the year 1163 amongst the followers of Stefan IV., and in the same year in Gran as one of the "Lords of the Standard."\* In this year, however, Stefan IV. suffered a defeat, and was forced to fly, and Stefan III. sent his general, Godfreed, against Boris, who, as Simon Kézai's chronicle states, was also defeated. His name does not appear again. This Boris was, as were most likely his predecessors, a Bogomile. At any rate, the Ragusan historians state that he quarrelled with Ragusa, on account of the persecution of the Bosnian Catholics.†

Boris was an energetic man, and under him Bosnia attained to nearly her present boundaries. Kynamos, the Emperor Emanuel's historiographer, and the Presbyter of Dioclea both indicate the Drina and the Borovaglava Mountains adjacent to what is now Livno as the eastern and western boundaries of Bosnia. Ragusan chroniclers relate that, during the dispute which had arisen between Boris and their town, he also waged war against the Grand-Župan of Rascia upon religious grounds, and took from him the province of "Hum." This province is now Herzegovina, and has from that time been in unbroken connection with Bosnia. Constantine Porphyrogenitus knew of it as an independent Županate, whose prince called himself "*Dux Chulmorum*," and whose territory reached from Ragusa to the mouth of the Narenta, but which inland extended as far as the Upper Narenta. Its inhabitants Constantine calls "*Zachlumoji*," which he rightly translates to mean "living at the back of the mountains. The country itself appears later on as *Zachlumije*, *Chlum*, *Chlumska Zemlja*; and according to still later developments of language as *Chum*, *Hum*, in Latin records as *Chelmo*, in Hungarian as "*Halom-földe*;" for the Latin *collis*, the French *colline*, the German *kulm*, the Slavonic *chlum*, and the Hungarian *halom*, is all one of the same word.

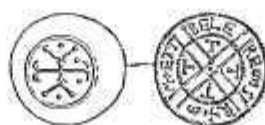
\* Tkaltschitz, *Mon. hist. episc. Zagrabensis*, i, p. 3.

† Ljubitch, *Opis jugoslavenskih novina*, 181.

‡ The Župan, just like the Knez, is in mediæval Latin records sometimes called *dux*, sometimes *princeps*, sometimes *comes*. The original meaning of both titles is chieftain, and the circle of powerful nobles who served them was a very mixed one. Even now a Russian prince is called Knez, like a Bosnian village judge; and a Wallachian village magistrate is called "Kinjez." It is the same with these titles as it is with the Turkish and Arabic; for the Bey, Bag, and Emir is sometimes a prince, sometimes only a man of good birth. Župans and Knez were chieftains; favourable circumstances sometimes made them dukes; unfavourable ones, village magistrates. From the Slavonic word Župan is derived the Hungarian designation *ispán*, manager; from *veliki župan*, grand-župan, the Hungarian word *főispán*, the German *Obergespan*, head of the county. The Hungarian *ispán* was a Comes too, and was sometimes a very great lord, yet sometimes only a simple steward.



Boris seized the Zupanate of Boratz, from the Servian province, whereby he reached the banks of the Drina. The fortress of Boratz stood on the site of what is now Vlasenitza, which the Turks still call Bertshe, that being also the present name of the plain in that place. The Hungarian name is Berecz, in the Hungarian State papers "comitatus Berecz." Boris may have received the province of Rama from the Hungarians, as a reward for his faithful military service; and it is probable that he received even more than this at their hands, namely, Usora and the Salt District. Usora forms a part of the Posavina, the district of the Lower Bosna, extending from Zeptshe to the Save. Its name is derived from the Usora river: Usora, Usura, Vxora, Voscora. In the Hungarian documents it appears under the name of Vozora. The Salt District is that situated on the banks of the Sprezza, between the Bosna and the Drina. Constantine mentions it as belonging to Servia under the name of Salenes, together with the large town of the same name. The town of Tuzla now stands



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here, and "Tuz" also in Turkish means salt. Any doubt upon this point is all the less tenable, from the fact that this district, from the Adriatic to the Pontus, is the only one where rock-salt is found. The Latin documents write, "*Soli*;" the Hungarian, "*Sou*," "*Som*."

Klaitsh believes that Banus Boris received Usora as well as the salt district as a gift from the Hungarian kings. It is a fact, that the Hungarians in the ninth century also wrenched the district lying on the further side of the Save from the Byzantians at the same time as they took Syrmia; that Usora and the Salt District were in the possession of the Bosnian Ban, then held by the successors to Ban Boris: that Boris's services had been of such a nature as to make such gifts appear to be just; and that the Hungarian kings eventually disposed of these comitats quite independently of the Bosnian Banus.

Shortly after the death of Ban Boris, and in consequence of the peace concluded with the Emperor Emanuel, all the provinces on the further side of the Save, together with Syrmia, passed over to Duke Béla, the younger brother of Stefan III., who lived at Constantinople under Emanuel's protection.

At this time the Emperor Emanuel styled himself: "*Manuel in Christo Deo fidelis Rex, Porphyrogenitus, Romanorum Imperator, Piissimus, Semper Sebastus, Augustus . . . Dalmaticus, Ungaricus, Bosthaicus, Servicus*." . . . Yet

he permitted Duke Béla to have coins stamped in Constantinople, as King of Rama.\*

The death of the great emperor in the year 1180 was the beginning of the end of this situation, and especially to the power of the Byzantine Empire.

The historical facts which are known show that the relations of Bosnia to the Hungarian crown since the accession of Béla II. had been cemented. In these relations, Bosnia sought and found in the Hungarian crown protection against the aggressions of Byzantium, Serbia and Ragusa; it followed the Hungarian king in times of war; it was represented at the Imperial Diet through its Bans; it gained in these relations the protection of its national independence and freedom in the exercise of its religion, and it thereby increased its domain. The Hungarian kings bore the title of King of Rama, and endowed their sons with the title of Duke of Bosnia; but the country itself they governed through native Bans. Apart from disputed successions, nothing occurred to ruffle these peaceful relations, and historical sources refer to no disturbances of any kind. Now, however, there follows a new era.

Whilst the Hungarian kings had thus far refrained from attacking the religious practices of the Bosnians, zealous kings now ascended the throne, who accepted their Apostolic vocation seriously, and who on political grounds, too, became ardent allies of the Roman Popes, whilst at the head of the Catholic Church there followed one another in long succession those great Popes who were filled with thoughts of a universal dominion. The persecution of the Bogomiles, and a long period of religious strife, with comparatively brief

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\* Kynamos mentions that the Emperor Emanuel in 1162, whilst Béla III. was in Constantinople, surrendered to him the right of succession to Bosnia, and that Béla at this time had coins stamped in Constantinople as King of Rama. And there exists an extremely rare coin with the superscription: "*Moneta Bele Regis R.*" Rupp (*Num. Hung.*, p. 79) describes them as follows: "*Moneta Bele Regis R. (litteris styli orient.) inter periferiam tenuioris granulatione, et similem circulum, in medio cruz e binis ac binis ocellularis in fine nodosis, et totam numi arcum occupantibus partibus composita, in cuius centro inter nodosa aequae partium segmenta globulus, in angulis vero crucis quatuor litterae T continentur. In aversa in circulo fasciato versus medium numi sito exhibetur species crucis sequilaterae, cuius stipes extremitates habet oblique bifariatas nodosque, brachia vero in folia gemina semicirculis sinuata producantur; sparsis in aera sex globulis.*" I have given a drawing of this coin taken from the only specimen in the National Museum at Pesth, as Erdi, Rupp, and Ljubitch are inclined to regard it as the Ramæse coin of Béla III., struck in Constantinople. The great rarity of the coin itself, the Oriental character of the writing, the letter R, all support this view. In opposition to this, it is urged in the Hungarian National Museum that the type of coin points rather to Béla IV. But, from the circumstance that it was stamped in Constantinople, it is clear that its type preceded the moneys struck in Hungary. Furthermore, the R after Regis might

interruptions, began, which was brought to a close only by the victory of Islam, gained through the support of the persecuted Bogomiles. Henceforth the sources of Bosnian history become more and more full; in the foremost place stands the correspondence between the Popes and the Hungarian kings.\*

After the death of the Emperor Emanuel, we find the Banus Kulin at the head of the State in Bosnia, Béla as King of Itama, and the Emperor may have publicly confirmed him in this position. It is possible that he was one of Boris's sons. He calls himself "*Fiduciarius Regni Hungariæ*," an indication to what a degree the relations with the Hungarian crown had been consolidated, in spite of all extraneous confusion.

After the death of the Emperor Emanuel, Stepan Nemanja resuscitated the Servian State, and left to his younger son ancient Dioclea on the banks of the Zetan (in the neighbourhood of Roman Dioclea, situated in modern Montenegro), where for the first time a Servian principality had arisen. This "King of Dioclea," Vuk, aspired to the Servian throne itself, which had fallen to his elder brother, Stepan Nemanjitch, and sought to attain this end through the help of the Pope and the King of Hungary. He, therefore, adopted the Catholic faith, and declared himself ready to recognize the suzerainty of the king. In the year 1199 he lodged a complaint against the Banus Kulin, that, in spite of the prohibition of Béla III., he, with his whole family and ten thousand subjects, had gone over to the Bogomilian faith. Innocent III. now, in a letter of 11th October, 1200, requested King Emerich, as Suzerain of Bosnia, to kindly urge the Banus Kulin to return to the fold

also denote something else—for instance, the royal character of the coin; but this is an assumption which, to say the least, is more far fetched than that the R stands for Rama. To denote the name of the country with only the initial letter was everywhere common; whereas in the Middle Ages, as money was very scarce, and people still unaccustomed to its use, more stress was laid upon emphasizing the fact that the particular coin was a piece of money, "*Moneta*." Especially, too, when the right of coinage was disputed, or a valuable concession, was the space utilized for the letter M, or the notification "*Moneta*," rather than for the whole name of the country. Of greater importance than these purely numismatic inquiries, the decision of which we may leave to specialists, is the political and weighty fact, that Béla III., during his sojourn in Constantinople as duke, bore the title of a King of Rama, and as such coined money.

\* Katona, *Hist. Crit.*; Fejér, *Codex dipl.*; Theiner, *Ungarische und südslavische Monumente*; Schwandtner, *Script. rer. Hung.*; Endlicher, *Mon. Arpad.*; The *Mon. Hung. Hist.* of the Hungarian Academy; Kukulievitch, *Cod. diplom.*; Jura Regni Croat.; Wenzel, *Cod. dipl. Arpad.*, *Tört. Tár*; Miklovcitch, *Monum. Serv.*; Ljubitch, *Südslav. Monum.*, *Mon. regumina*; Fraňkó, *Országgy. Emlek.*; Rácki, *Mon. Hist. Croat.*, *Bogomili & Patavini* (*Rad. jugosl. Akad.*, vii., viii.); the publications of the Academy of Agram; the Belgrade *Glasnik*, *Putshitch*, *Spomenik sbrsk*; Tkalcshitch, *Mon. episc. Zagrab.*; Jiretshek, *Handelsstrassen*, are the chief sources for this period.

of the Catholic Church ; but, if this should prove fruitless, to advance with an armed force. If the Banus Kulin should not banish the heretics and deprive them of their possessions, then Emerich was to banish the Banus and deprive him of his possessions wheresoever they might be within the king's territories. Kulin proved himself a pliant vassal, with the sly declaration that he had taken the Bogomiles to be right-thinking, pious men. He would send their leaders to the Pope, who would either confirm them in the truth or turn them from evil according as they might or might not be prepared to strictly follow the teachings of the Apostolic Chair.

In 1202, Kulin did actually send the Bishop of Ragusa and several Bogomiles to the Pope, whom he at the same time besought to send him a trustworthy person to adjust the affairs of the Church. The Pope appointed the Archbishop of Spalato and his own Court Chaplain, John of Casamaris, to this mission. On the 8th April, 1203, the Pope's envoys and the representatives of the Bogomiles assembled at Bielopolie (*Bolinopolis apud Bosnam juxta flumen*) in the court of the Banus Kulin. The latter published a document, in which they eulogized "the representatives (*priores*) of those men who, until then, had in Bosnia been called Christians, promised to obey the ordinances and commands of the Roman Church, and pledged themselves and their whole fortunes that neither they nor their dependents would relapse into heresy. An altar and a cross should be erected in all their places of worship ; they would not only read the books of the New, but also those of Old Testament ; they would have priests who should read the Mass, listen to confessions, and at least twice a year administer the sacrament ; they would observe the fasts and holy days of the Lord ; in so far as they differed from the laity, they should wear cowls, be called brothers, and should take their orders from the Pope regarding the confirmation of the prior elected by them. Whatsoever the Pope might give, whatsoever he might take away, they would receive with submission. And that all this," it says at the end, "shall always be in force, we have signed it with our own signatures."

Upon April 30th, Kulin's son, and the Bogomilian representatives Ljubitch and Dragota, appeared at Buda, "*in Insula regia* (now called the Isle of Margaret) *ad Christianissimum regem*," before the Archbishop of Kalocsa, the Bishop of Fünfkirchen, and other high dignitaries of the Church, to confirm their vows by an oath. Emerich impressed his royal seal upon the document, and through his son again exhorted the Banus Kulin, who had previously appeared before him, to strictly observe his oath. In Kulin's name his son undertook to pay a fine of a thousand marks, should heretics ever again be tolerated in Bosnia. This incredibly smooth outcome of the whole affair was doubtless a

sign of royal authority. Under the Banus Kulin no further discords arose, and his country was left to develop in perfect peace. Orbini the Ragusan tells how in his time, in the seventeenth century, the Bosnians still made use of the expression, if any good fortune befell them, "The age of the Banus Kulin is returning." Kulin was in popular folk-tales called "the friend of the fairies," and it is his time which is still referred to as "the good old days."

The above-named Papal legate described Bosnia as a kingdom, whose territories extended to a "ten days' journey." The Holy Chair calls the Banus Kulin "a noble and a mighty man," and "the great Bosnian Banus." Under his rule, Visoko (in the Ragusan records, Subnisochi) and Foinitza (Chojnica) grew into towns which carried on an active trade with Ragusa. The Bans' Castle of Brdo, the *Ban-Brdo* of to-day, was situated in the vicinity of the sources of the Bosna. Below Mount Igman in Vrutshi stood the Church of Saint Stephen. The "Saxon" miners\* brought from Hungary began to bring to the surface the treasures of the mountains, no Bosnian mine having been worked since the time of the Romans. The fact that the Popes began to be so much on the alert with regard to Bosnia, just at the time when Kulin flourished, is accounted for when one considers that heresy had already at that time spread into Lombardy, where the heretics, it is believed by some, were named Patarini† after the village of Pataria near Milan, though it was more probably from the expression "cathari," into Provence, where a crusade had already been undertaken against the Albigenses; along the lower Rhine, where, from the Greek word "catharos" (pure), the word "Ketzer" was formed; from Flanders heresy crossed over into England, where Henry II. caused the "Publicani"—a corruption of "Pauliciani"—to be branded with red-hot irons.

Raniero Sacconi, a contemporary of the Banus Kulin, and himself at one time a disciple of the new teaching, but who afterwards became an inquisitor, reckoned up thirteen Catharinic bishoprics, of which the most important was the Bosnian. The Popes complained that the Bosnians had corrupted the Albigenses, and the belief was everywhere spread that the whole movement was led by a heretical Pope in Bosnia. The conversion of the Banus Kulin had, in truth, only restored peace for a short time. Discord soon broke forth again in all its former magnitude, and lasted for centuries. The great, and those of gentle birth, it might be possible to

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\* In Hungary, mining was carried on by the "Saxons" of Zipser and Siebenburgen.

† Patarini (*Paterini*) an Italian name for the Paulicians or Manichæan heretics, who migrated from Bulgaria to Italy in the eleventh century.—[Tr.]

convert through royal behest; not so, however, the great mass of the people.

On December 3rd, 1221, Pope Honorius complained that Bosnia was the secret lair of heresy, and that she nourished it like a witch at her breast, and he commanded Andreas II. to undertake a crusade against it. The preceding discord, however, concerning the Golden Bull, and the stipulations of the rights of the nobility, had reduced Hungary to a state of collapse.

Andreas II. granted Bosnia, Usora, and the Salt District to the Archbishop of Kalocsa for ever, upon condition that he should undertake a crusade against the heretics. Duke John, who, after the Emperor of Byzantium, governed Syrmia in conjunction with Margaret, the king's sister, a widow, received two hundred marks towards the expenses of the crusade from Archbishop Ugolin. All these attempts, however, failed. The king had to look on feebly, whilst the Bosnians banished Kulin's son, the Banus Stefan, who remained true to the Church and his plighted word; and in 1232 they raised a Bogomile of the name of Matej Ninoslav to the dignity of Banus. It was only under the protection of Andreas II. that Stefan, and after him his son Zibislav, retained Usora. At last the king was obliged to interfere. In the year 1233, after the internal dissensions in Hungary had been settled, he sent his son Koloman, the Governor of Croatia and Dalmatia, to Bosnia with an armed force. Koloman conquered one Župan after another, and then Ninoslav appealed to the Papal legates. Jacob Bishop of Preneste was then Pope Gregory's legate in Hungary, and in 1233 he appeared in person in Bosnia. He not only found that the majority of the people had gone over to the Bogomilian faith, but that the Catholic bishop himself recognized its doctrines. His apology, it is true, was that he had only erred "*ex simplicitate*." After the Archbishop of Ragusa also began to quietly tolerate heresy, the legate separated the Bosnian bishopric from his jurisdiction, and placed it under that of the Archbishop of Kalocsa. The Pope learnt with satisfaction from the legates that Ninoslav was converted, and had even presented a gift to the Dominicans for the erection of a cathedral—whose ruins may still be seen at Blažuj—and had given considerable property to the Catholic bishopric. The Pope now took the Banus Ninoslav and his country "under the shelter of St. Peter," and the Banus, too, quickly sought to deserve this protection. He not only begged for the restitution of the conquered Županates, but also of Usora, which had remained in the possession of the ever faithful Zibislav. Duke Koloman had, however, scarcely left Bosnia before the country (in 1234) was Bogomilian once again. The Pope and the King of Hungary now commanded that there should be a crusade,

almost simultaneously with that undertaken in Southern France, against the Albigenses.

The king again granted Bosnia to Koloman, and the Pope now wrote to the latter: "*Concessionem de terra Bosne a prefato rege patre tuo liberaliter tibi factam, sicut legitima ac provide facta esse dinoscitur auctoritate apostolica confirmamus,*" and took him and his territory under the protection of St. Peter. Zibislav of Usora too, of whom the Pope wrote that he was "as a lily amongst thorns," decided to take part in this crusade.

In the year 1237 all resistance was crushed, and Koloman held possession, not only of Bosnia, but also of Bogomilian Chlum. Koloman now directed that the cathedral of St. Peter in the present village of Blažuj should be erected with the money given by Ninoslav, and again added considerably to the property of the Bosnian bishopric, amongst other things bestowing upon it the estates of Djakovar. The Archbishop of Kalocsa erected fortifications throughout the country "for the protection of the Roman Church and religion." All this proved useless, however. At the moment of Duke Koloman's leaving the country, Ninoslav again rose to the surface, and Bosnia again fell into his hands. Ninoslav now concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Ragusa.

Miklositsch gives the interesting document relating to this matter in his *Servian Memorials*. It commences with the words: "That since it was the will of our exalted Lord and God, Jesus Christ, and my good purpose, I, the Grand-Banus of Bosnia, Matej Ninoslav, repaired to Ragusa to my old friends the Patricians and to the citizens, and I went with my compeers, the Waywode Jurish, the Teptshija Radona, and his brother Simon, the cup-bearer Mirbona and others, . . . and when I met the Duke of Ragusa, Nicolaus Tonist, we, together with my above-named compeers, the duke and the citizens, swore perpetual peace and perpetual friendship."

The explanation of this sudden change is afforded by the Tartar campaign. The Hungarian army was defeated on the Sajó in 1241, Duke Koloman dying of his wounds. Béla IV. fled. It is true that the Tartars made incursions as far as Bosnia, but Ninoslav remained master of the situation; he even sealed an alliance against the king with the town of Spalato, which had revolted during the Tartar campaign, and with Count Andreas of Chlum. Béla IV. sent an army, under the command of the Banus Dionysius, against this alliance.

On 12th July, 1244, Spalato surrendered, and a peace was concluded, from which, however, Ninoslav, the Count of Chlum, and several Bosnian

nobles, "*qui sunt infideles regi*," were excluded. King Béla IV. now led an army against Ninoslav in person.

From a record of donations, which corroborates the accounts of the property of the Bosnian bishopric, it appears that Ninoslav, too, surrendered himself. Nevertheless, in the year 1246, at the time of the war between Béla and the Austrian duke Frederick II., the Bishop of Bosnia again complains of the spread of the Bogomile sect. Thus urged, the Pope repeated his commands to the Archbishop of Kalocsa to undertake a new crusade, and in 1247 the king did the same. In the meantime Ninoslav had hastened to pacify the Pope by the assurance that he had remained true to the Roman Church. The Pope thereupon withdrew his commands, and in the hope of turning the Bosnians from their Bogomilian faith, he even, on 29th March, 1248, granted to them the use of the glagolitic writing and the Slavonic language in their religious services. Ninoslav himself did, as a matter of fact, remain true to the Roman Church. In a document of the year 1249, through which he renewed the alliance with Ragusa—this time against the Servian king Stepan Uros—Ninoslav swears by "the Holy Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, and the life-giving and sacred Cross."

After the close of Ninoslav's reign, a new period commenced in Bosnia, which may be described as "the Era of the Hungarian Bana." The Hungarian kings, having learnt by experience, henceforth entrusted the country to trustworthy men, members of their own house or Hungarian magnates, and abandoned the violent persecution of the Bogomiles. For a century it was in vain that the Popes urged the renewal of the crusades, until then so common. This epoch of a hundred years' duration, which attained to the zenith of its glory when, by the side of Ludwig the Great, there sat on the throne of Hungary the daughter of the Banus of Bosnia, may be fitly called the period of Bosnia's greatest splendour.\*

Internal peace and prosperity, brilliant feats of arms, and an extension of territory as far as the furthest boundaries of Bosnia, added during this era to the growth of the country, whilst it formed a natural protection to Hungary against the Servian czars and the powerful Venetian Republic, as well as against the incessant seditious of the Croatian magnates, and constituted a most important pivot to the Hungarian Anjous for all their undertakings upon the Balkan Peninsula.

In 1263, King Béla entrusted the government of Bosnia, Usora, and the

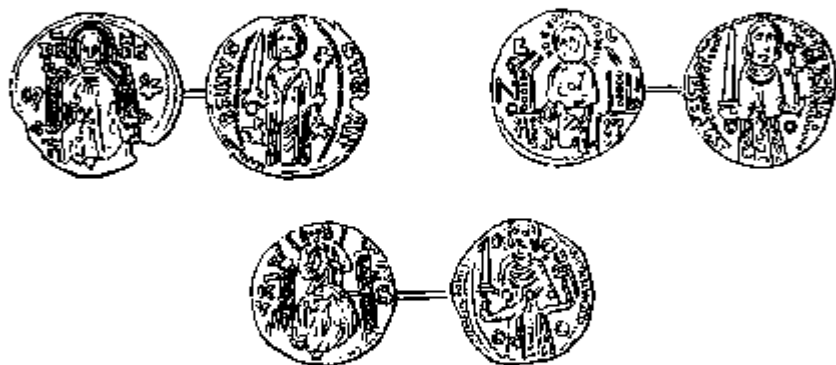
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\* Although by Croatian authors, such as Klaitsh, Ratschki, with a disregard of obvious facts, it is described as "the saddest."



Salt District to his daughter Agnes, the widow of Ratislav, Duke of Halitsch; and at the same time made subject to her the newly created Banate of Macsó lying between the Drina, Save, Danube, and Morava, which is still known in the Servia of to-day as "Matshva." Agnes was succeeded by her son Béla as "*dux de Machow et de Bosna*," under which title he appears in the peace concluded between Stefan V. and Ottokar II.

We have no reliable information respecting the close of Ninoslav's reign. It is not known whether he died whilst in power, or whether he was banished; it is, however, certain that towards the end of his reign discords broke out in Bosnia, for the pacification of which Bela IV. sent thither Stefan Kotroman. In connection with him, the records mention the Banus Prezde (Bryzda, Pryezda), to whom Bela IV. granted the whole Župan of Novak (now in Slavonia), as a reward for his faithful services. Again, in



Coins of the Banus Stefan Kotroman.

1290, in a Papal document, Stefan and Prezde are mentioned together as Bans of Bosnia. It is possible that Prezde held Usora and the Salt District. Radoslav the Župan of Chlum was also a vassal of Stefan's, and in a document (mentioned by Miklosics) of the year 1254 styles himself the "faithful subject of my master, the Hungarian king;" "*a ja Župan Radoslaw jesm vern klet venik gospodinu kralju ugrskomu*."

In 1273, Egydius was Banus of Macsó and Bosnia. Ladislaus of Kumania, after discord had under his weak government arisen in Bosnia and in other parts of the Hungarian Empire, in the year 1279 placed Ugrin, the Banus of Severin, at the head of the Banates of Macsó and Bosnia; in 1280 he, however, appointed his mother Elizabeth to the duchy of Macsó and Bosnia, and afterwards his brother-in-law Stepan Dragutin, who was at one time King of Servia, but was thrust from the throne by his younger brother Stepan II.

Uroš Milutin. After his conversion from the Byzantine Church to the Roman, Stepan Dragutin complained to the Pope, concerning the great number of heretics in the land, and begged of him to send missionaries for the conversion of the people to the true faith. But nothing was said about violent persecution of the heretics.

During the whole of this time, Stefan Kotroman, whom we have already mentioned, appears to have been Banus, at least in Bosnia proper, and in Dolnji-Kraj (in Hungarian documents, Olföld, Alföld, the district lying near Žajtze and Kijutsh, about which, at the time of the Croatian monarchy, a wearisome war was carried on between Croatia and Bosnia). If this was really the case, Egydius and Ugrin, as well as the Dukes of Macsó and Bosnia, had only exercised a suzerainty over these places. Some historians (Schimek) believe Kotroman to have been a German knight, perhaps because it appears from a Papal dispensation that he stood in close relationship to the Carinthian counts of Ortenburg. His name is, however, of South Slavonic origin; in Slavonia there still stands a ruined castle of Kostroman, and it is probable that he was a southern Hungarian gentleman of noble birth. Stepan Dragutin gave him his daughter Elizabeth as wife, and by her he had three sons. The eldest of these, Stefan Kotromanitch, was soon to play a great part.

Excepting the coins already named, which Béla II. had minted in Constantinople as King of Rama, those of this Banus Stefan Kotroman are the first Bosnian coins of which we have any knowledge. Commencing with him, we then possess some belonging to all his successors. These coins are of silver: dinars, half-dinars, and quarter-dinars, with the exception of the copper Catharinic coins of Tvrtko I. The Ban coins display on the one side the figure of Christ; on the reverse, that of the reigning Banus. From the time of the first king onwards the effigy of the king is generally omitted, and the crown, adopted as the coat of arms, appears on that side; beneath this there is, as a rule, an initial letter to indicate the name of the reigning sovereign. Instead of the figure of Christ the likeness of the patron saint was introduced: "Gregor Nazianenus," "Gregor Papa," "St. Trifonius Catharensi." Only upon the coins of Nikolaus Ujlaki the picture of the Virgin Mary in use in Hungary appears, and the Ujlaki arms. The letters of the superscription are always Latin; the text, too, is generally so: very seldom Slavonic. Upon some coins, only the sign IC-XC (Jesus Christ) appears in Cyrillic letters.

In the War of Succession, which followed upon the death of Ladislaus IV., Stefan Kotroman remained faithful to the last of the Arpáds, Andreas II.;

whilst the Croatian Banus Paul Shubitsh, Count of Brebir, attached himself to the cause of Charles of Naples. The Count of Brebir, in the wars which then broke out, seized upon a part of Bosnia with an armed force, and from 1299 onwards styled himself "Lord of Bosnia." His son Mladen in 1314 also conquered Usora and the Salt District, and thenceforth called himself "Banus of Croatia and all Bosnia." It became, however, more and more evident that the counts of Brebir supported the Anjous in this dispute, solely with a view to the increase of their own power, and the making of it independent. Charles Robert was, in fact, afterwards compelled to consider the disciplining of his own sometime followers. Before the expiration of the year 1314, he had established Stefan Kotromanitsh in his father's place, the father having in the meantime died, and in 1322, supported by Stefan Kotromanitsh and Stefan Babonitsh, Banus of Slavonia, set forth on a campaign against Mladen. After Mladen had been taken prisoner, Stefan Babonitsh was raised to be Banus of Croatia, as a reward for his faithful services, whilst Stefan Kotromanitsh was restored to the full possession of Bosnia, Usora, the Salt District, and Dolnji-Kraj.

Charles Robert was sagacious enough to understand how to punish those of his former followers, who had simply attached themselves to his cause from selfish motives, as a man by whom they might rise, and to reward those of his opponents whose opposition had only arisen from inalienable loyalty to the Hungarian throne. But the king knew how to bind Stefan Kotromanitsh even more closely to him.

The Banus Kotromanitsh was already, through his mother, related to the house of Arpad, and therefore also to the Anjous. The king drew this relationship closer by giving him in 1323 a relative, Elizabeth, daughter of the Polish Waywode Kasimir, as wife.

During the Wars of Succession, the Servians had succeeded in conquering Chlum. In the year 1325, Banus Stefan again took possession of this place. Moreover, he not only restored his country to its former boundaries, but even enlarged it. To the north of Chlum and the Narenta river, the Venetians owned territory in the Littorale, which reached as far as the river Cetina, the Kraina\* of those days. At one time it was inhabited by the Narentans mentioned by Constantine, a Slavonic race, which until the second half of the thirteenth

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\* It is interesting to realize how a portion of the South Slavonic countries was pushed northwards by the pressure of the Turkish conquest. Slavonia as it now exists is the territory of the past Hungarian Comitatus. Old Slavonia was situated where Croatia now lies. Part of Old Croatia is present Bosnian Kraina and Northern Dalmatia. Old Kraina is, on the other hand, divided between Dalmatia and Herzegovina. Thus, too, was the

century lived independently under its own Župan. The Narentans were celebrated pirates, and from the time of the introduction of Christianity, Bogomiles; to Venice and to the Hungarian king a double motive for renewed efforts at their subjugation. In the Crusade of 1276—1279, the Venetians at last succeeded in conquering them; but whilst the Venetians were utilising the revolt of the Croats for the conquest of a few coast-towns, Stefan seized upon these territories, and at once added Kraina, together with her capital, Makarska, to his Banate. Banus Stefan extended his domain still further. In 1326, Charles Robert was again compelled to despatch an army against the mutinous Croats. Banus Stefan joined his forces to those of Hungary, which were assembled in the valley of the Unna, under the command of the Slavonic Banus Mikitsch. They were led against the Houses of Nelipitsch and Kurjakovitsch, the Knez Babonitsch, the Waywode Mihovitsch, and the towns of Spalato, Tran, and others. The allied forces pressed on as far as Zara, and conquered the fortresses of the insurgents, in which they left garrisons; this they did also in the town of Bihatsh, which was at that time Croatian. Banus Stefan seized the Zupas of Dumno (now Duvno), Hlivno (now Divno), and Dlamotz (now Glamotsh) from the Croatian rebels, and these were incorporated by Charles Robert with Bosnia. Thus the whole coast from Ragusa nearly as far as Spalato, and the whole of the district lying behind, now formed part of the Bosnian Banate.

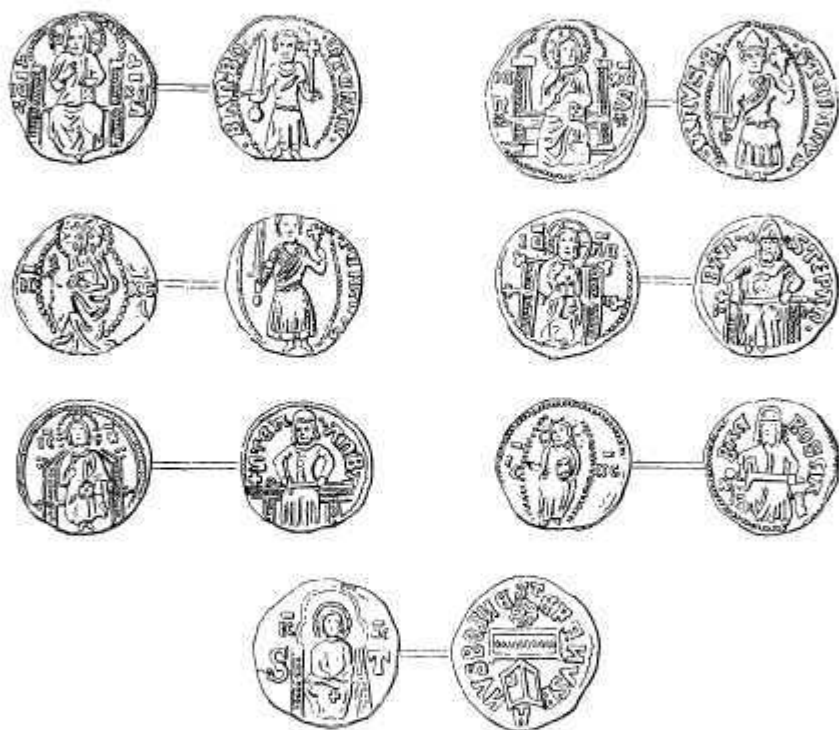
During the whole of this period, commencing in the middle of the previous century, hardly any action had been taken against the Bogomiles. It is true that the Popes had more than once demanded a crusade, but without effect. We hear of attempts at conversion, but nothing of persecution. The Bogomiles made use of this toleration, and Bosnia was almost entirely lost to the Church. Banus Stefan himself was a Bogomile. The Bosnian bishop found himself constrained to remove his permanent place of abode to Djakovar. Moreover, at this time arose the disputes which broke out everywhere between the Dominicans and Franciscans, which crippled the work of conversion in Bosnia, and attained to such a pitch that John XXII. had to summon the priors of both orders, from Bosnia to Avignon, to appear before his tribunal. The Pope complained that the Banus and his magnates themselves gave support to the heretics. The despair of the Pope is most apparent from the fact that, in a document of May 22nd, 1337, he, at the instigation of Knez

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centre of old Servia, with its capital Ras, originally in the present Sandjak of Novi-bazar, whence come the names "Rascia" and "Raitzen." Belgrade and the whole of Matshva formed the Banate of Macsó, as a part of Lesser Wallacia formed the Banate of Severin.

Nelipitsh, requested the insurgent Croatian chiefs that they would attack heretical Bosnia.

The wars, which had lasted uninterruptedly during the whole of this time between the Banus Stefan and the leaders of the Croatian insurrection, which had never been entirely suppressed, flared up with especial fury now on account of the Pope's call to a fresh attack. In 1338, under the leadership of the Zupan Osteja, a Bosnian army, composed almost entirely of Bogomiles, again invaded Croatia. The war had lasted into the year 1340,



Coins of the Banus Stefan Kotromanitch.

when not only Banus Stefan, but Charles Robert also, made preparations for leading an army in person against the rebellious Croatian barons. Venice, which now began to entertain fears for the possession of the Dalmatian towns, endeavoured through envoys to influence the Banus Stefan, whilst she at the same time secretly gave support, in the form of weapons and advice, to the Croatian army in its resistance to the king. Charles Robert, although he did not persecute the Bogomiles, was a faithful son of the Church, and, like all rulers in those days, had striven with all his might

against a conflict with the Pope. To realize that the Pope had carried on an intrigue with the Croatians must have affected him most painfully. He now made every effort to sever this alliance by giving satisfaction to his Holiness. He began to bring his royal authority and his family influence to bear upon Stefan, in order to induce him to accept the Catholic faith. At the king's desire, Stefan willingly received the Papal ambassador Gerhardus ; in the answer, however, with which he replied to his overtures, all the political insight and superiority of the Banus were made manifest.

The Bogomiles, he said, would call in the aid of the schismatics, if he proceeded against them. The Pope then seized the occasion for addressing a letter personally to the Banus, wherein he promised him, in this event, not only the support of the King of Hungary, but also of that of all Christian princes. Stefan, in his reply to this, reminds him of the alarming growth of the Servian power. In spite, however, of his anxieties he allowed himself to be persuaded, through the encouragement of the king and the Pope, to adopt the Catholic faith ; he established the Bosnian bishops in their places ; in the dispute which had broken out between the Bishop and the Franciscans concerning the tithes, he, in concert with the Papal Chair, decided in favour of the bishop ; he recalled the Bishop of Makarska, who had been expelled by the Bosnians, to his bishopric, and founded a third bishopric in Dumno.

By these means, an end was put, indeed, to the alliance betwixt the Pope and the Croatian leaders, but not to the Croatian rebellion. When Ludvig the Great ascended the throne, upon the death of Charles Robert (July 16th, 1342), the greater part of Croatia, including the fortresses of Knin, Brebir, Ostrovitza, Scardona, Olissa, and Almissa, had again fallen into the hands of the rebels. In 1344, the king deputed the Slavonian Banus Nikolaus to subdue the rebels. The Croatian barons surrendered ; but the Hungarian army had hardly withdrawn, when the rebellion, encouraged and supported with arms by Venice, broke out afresh. In 1345, King Ludvig himself, at the head of twenty thousand men, advanced against Croatia. At Bihatsh the Banus Stefan, with ten thousand Bosnians, joined the Hungarian army. But not a blow was struck ; the appearance of the mighty host so terrified Kunjakovitsh and Nelipitsh that they surrendered at discretion.

Freed from his Croatian anxieties, the king now despatched the Banus Stefan to the relief of *Zara*, for to this town the Venetians were laying siege.

When Stefan appeared before *Zara*, the Venetians begged for a provisional

truce. Stefan consented to this; but by the following year, at the expiration of the armistice, he again stood before Zara, this time side by side with King Ludvig. The engagement of July 1st, 1346, nevertheless, resulted in favour of the Venetians, as the Hungarian army, which consisted almost entirely of cavalry, was powerless against the Venetian foot soldiers, and especially against their galleons. In the meantime, Stefan was continually striving to mediate between King Ludvig and the Venetians. The Republic offered the king one hundred thousand ducats, and twenty thousand to the commanders of the Hungarian army, but would not relinquish Zara.\*

The Banus and Venice repeatedly sent envoys to one another, and the Banus constantly held himself in readiness to mediate.† In the September of 1346 the Banus's envoys proposed an alliance between the latter and Venice; and demanding that Venice, too, should try to exert some influence over the Croatian rebels, and also commend the Banus to the friendship of the Servian emperor, they on their side offering to mediate between the king and Zara.‡

At length, on August 8th, 1348, the Banus Stefan did actually bring about an eight years' truce between Hungary and the Republic of St. Mark.

The key to this policy of the Banus may be found in the request that Venice should commend him to the friendship of the Servian emperor. Already years ago he had, as we know, expressed the fear that the Bogomiles might invoke the aid of the schismatics. Stepan Dushan, as a matter of fact, after having murdered his father Uros III., had

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\* *Klasič*, who always believes the worst, not only of the Hungarians in general, but of all adherents of the Hungarian crown, sees, on the strength of the representations of an anonymous contemporary Zara chronicler, some treachery in the mediation of Banus Stefan, and maintains that he had been tampered with by the Venetians. It is well known how ready contemporary authors belonging to the vanquished party are to raise a charge of treachery. Stefan did certainly accept the presents brought to him by the Venetian envoys, as was then, and for hundreds of years later, the custom. But his was not a pettifogging policy. He saw that a fresh storm was gathering in the south-east, and on this account he wished for peace with Venice. The results justified his well-considered and statesmanlike insight; and prove that he in this way rendered good and faithful service to his king, to whom, in spite of his attempts at mediation, he on each occasion rendered military services. Furthermore, he himself complains directly to the Venetians, "that the Zaratse slandered him to the king," concerning which the Venetians expressed their commiseration (*Ljubitch Mon. Slav. Merid.*, ii., 406). If the Banus had, as a matter of fact, intrigued with the Venetians against the king, they would certainly not have conversed after this wise.

† *Ljubitch, Mon. Slav. Merid.*, ii. 318—338.

‡ *Ljubitch, Op. cit.*, 376—429.

raised Serbia to a threatening height. Even Uros had destroyed the feudal relation in which he had stood to Charles Robert, had assailed Bulgaria, and had stirred up other vassals of the Hungarian crown to revolt, namely, the princes of Wallachia. Stepan Dushan again conquered Bulgaria, in 1340, made himself master of a part of Macedonia and Albania, and in the year 1346 had himself crowned Emperor of the Servians, Greeks, and Albanians. The discontented Bogomiles now, in fact, turned to him for help, and summoned him to the country. As early as 1346, when Dushan had only just made his power secure towards the East, the Venetian ambassadors, of whom the Banus Stefan had begged that they would recommend him to the friendship of the Servian Czar, brought him the answer that, in order to please Venice, Dushan was prepared to live in peace with Stefan, but only on condition that the latter should restore Chlum, upon which the Servian emperor made claims. Should the Banus be unwilling to come to terms upon this matter, the emperor offered a provisional truce of from two to three years' duration.\*

But in the person of Banus Stefan the valorous energy which does not retreat before danger was united to that political foresight which is careful to avert it, if possible. He was not the sort of man to quietly await it in inaction. He answered the Servian emperor by fortifying Chlum and buying up arms in Venice, and when King Ludvig, too, considered that the moment had arrived for opposing the boundless ambition of the newly arisen Servian power, Banus Stefan was again the first to enter upon the arena. In the latter half of the year 1349, immediately after the expiration of the truce which had been proffered by Dushan, the Banus invaded the territory of the Servian emperor with fifty thousand horse and thirty thousand foot soldiers, and with a ruthless hand seized the principality of Travunje (now Trebinje). King Ludvig, engaged in the conquest of Naples, was compelled to leave his Banus unsupported, and he, being thereby left to stand alone in the suppressing of the Servian power, was in the greatest straits. Even this he endured with undaunted courage. In 1350, just as King Ludvig was entering upon his campaign against Naples, Dushan not only repulsed the Banus and drove him from off Servian soil, but also turned the tables upon him by forcing his way into Bosnia, and when here the Bogomiles joined him in great numbers. The Banus defended himself in his forests and rocky mountains, and in spite of his doubtful position would not hear of the mediation of the Venetians, which could only have led to the abandonment of Chlum.† He was more and more sorely pressed by Dushan, who was

\* Ljubitch, *Op. cit.*, ii. 408.

† *Ibid.*, iii. 190—199.



already laying close siege to the castle of Bobovatz,\* which held a precious treasure within its walls, *i.e.*, the Banus's beautiful daughter. Yet again did Dushan, through Venice and Ragusa, offer peace to the Banus, upon the condition that he should receive Stefan's daughter Elizabeth to wife, who might then receive Chlum as her marriage portion. But neither the Banus nor faithful Bobovatz would yield up the beautiful Banitza. Before the close of 1350, Dushan was again driven back as far as Chlum. In 1351, the indomitable Banus and his band of heroes drove him from that point too, and the campaign ended by Dushan, who, in addition to this, saw his kingdom again threatened in the east, entirely relinquishing the Chlum enterprise. Elizabeth, it is true, received Chlum as her dower; but the beautiful Banitza—"elegantis formæ femina," the Polish historian, Longinus, calls her—was not led home by Dushan, but by the King of Hungary, as his bride.

Kotromanitsh's strong and faithful hand had been able to avert the results of the suppression of the Bogomiles, but after his death they rapidly came to the surface, and made themselves felt beyond the borders of Bosnia in the other southern provinces of the Hungarian kingdom. The successor to the great Banus was Tvrtko, the son of his younger brother, Vladislav, and of Helena Shubitsh, who, when, in 1354, he came from Hungary with his mother and his younger brother Vuk, summoned a diet. Even upon this occasion serious difficulties were discernible amongst some of the magnates.† King Ludvig had handed over the Banate to Tvrtko and his brother Vuk, with instructions to persecute and extirpate the Bogomiles. Young Tvrtko's authority did not suffice for this task. Some of the magnates sought protection with Dushan, whilst others simply declined to obey. It was not enough that Chlum should be under the direct rule of Ludvig, in virtue of its being his wife's dowry, he was forced to also place certain Bosnian nobles under his own immediate control in order that he might keep them obedient. In spite of this a Bogomile insurrection broke out, so that the king, after the Pope, too, had urged him on to a crusade, set two armies in motion in 1363 towards Bosnia. The one was led by Nikolaus, Archbishop of Gran, and the Palatine Nikolaus Kont, towards Usora; the other, with the king at its head, advanced against Dolnji-Kraj. The first accomplished nothing, whilst the Archbishop of Gran succeeded in losing the great seal of the kingdom in this campaign.‡ The king on the other hand succeeded in re-establishing

\* The ruins of this castle still stand three miles above Sutiska, upon the summit of a lofty hill, at the junction of the rivulets Bukovitza and Borovitza.

† Wenzel, *Tvrt. Tár*, i., 14–16.

‡ This campaign is, by all historians from Katona to Klaitsh, erroneously laid in the

Tvrtko's authority sufficiently for Venice, in 1364, to include "the illustrious and magnificent Lord Tvrtko, by the grace of God, Banus of all Bosnia, as also his brother, the Count Vuk, and his mother, the Countess Helena," in the golden book of its nobility. However, the Bogomiles who had been defeated by the king rebelled again in 1365. This time, Vuk himself stood at their head. Tvrtko was compelled to fly to Hungary. It is true that in 1366 he won back a part of his Banate, with the help of an army received from the king, and that he now called himself: "By the grace of God, and of King Ludvig, Ban of Bosnia." But he himself complained to the Venetians: "The Barons of the Land, who had previously fallen away from God, were also unfaithful to Us; they have deposed Us, and have disgracefully driven Us and our Mother from our Banate. Through the mercy of God and the grace of the glorious Ruler his Majesty Ludvig King of Hungary we have, it is true, received justice, and have been again established in a part of our Banate. We do not, however, yet rule over the whole, and are not able to at once chastise the faithless barons and throw them into prison."

The chronicles at this time record a great "fire from heaven," which consumed forests and mountains, and in which the Bogomiles beheld the hand of God. This may have been the burning of a forest, or perhaps of a bed of coals, such as still occurs in the land. At last, however, the rising was suppressed. Vuk fled to Ragusa, whither in 1367 Tvrtko followed him, in order to urge his being delivered up to him. Ragusa, which at that time, together with the other Dalmatian towns, was under Hungarian suzerainty, decided to receive Tvrtko with all the tokens of respect which it was bound to show the Banus, "yet with due regard to the homage owing to our sovereign lord the Hungarian king." They also concluded an alliance with Tvrtko "for all time, yet with avoidance of all that was calculated to degrade his Majesty the Hungarian king." But they refused to deliver up Vuk by appealing to the right of asylum.

Tvrtko, now that he had, with the help of the king, checked them, strove to win the Bogomiles over to himself. Vuk at once accused his brother to the Pope of being a Bogomile. Thus much is certain, that Tvrtko, taught by experience the effect of suppressing the Bogomiles, was all the more intent on avoiding all internal discord, because he was beginning to cherish ambitious

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year 1360. Now, however, records with the old seal exist up to the year 1363, whilst the records repaired on account of the loss of the seal fall, on the contrary, in the year 1364, especially from February onwards. See Huber, *Ludwig I., und die ungarischen Vasallenkönige*. *Arch. für österr. Gesch.*, lvi. Bd., i. Th.

projects, for the realization of which the support of the powerful Bogomile element was indispensable. It will be seen that he forthwith made use of the Bogomiles against the Hungarian crown, and was freely supported by them, accustomed as they were to behold in the Hungarian kings their most jealous persecutors. Tvrtko, however, only succeeded in this gradually, and was especially aided by the dispute over the Hungarian throne, which followed upon Ludvig's death, and by the strengthening of his own power. To raise this, he was provisionally still constrained to follow the policy of Ludvig the Great.

King Ludvig had, in 1358, seized a part of the Servian territory, and that kingdom was threatened by a new danger when the conqueror, Sultan Murad I., in 1361 changed his place of abode to Europe, and made Adrianople his capital. Finally, upon the death of Dushan's son Uros IV., the last of the Nemanjas, on December 2nd, 1367—he was probably murdered—the powerful Knezes of Dushan the Great's kingdom tore it up into numerous small principalities.



The Coins of Banus Tvrtko.

Tvrtko, who desired to come forward as the heir of the Nemanjas, from whom he was, in fact, descended in the female line, as great-grandson of Stepan Dragutin, knew how to turn all these circumstances to account, and especially the attempts directed by Ludvig towards the destruction of the Servian Empire. He first formed an alliance with the Servian Knez Lazar Grebljanovitsh, who was also a vassal of the Hungarian crown,\* and attempted to unite the whole of Servia under his rule. They together seized upon the Župan Nikolaus Altamanovitsh, who ruled over a part of Rascia and over Travunje down to the sea, and upon Georg Balshitsh, the Prince of Zeta. After this enterprise, which was crowned with success, they divided the conquered territory between them, by which division Rascia, as far as Sienitz and the principality of Travunje, together with the coast land, fell to Tvrtko's share. He furthermore, in 1376, without the knowledge or desire of King Ludvig, or that of Knez Lazar, caused himself to be solemnly

\* Huber, in the essay quoted, p. 28.

crowned with two crowns at Mileshevo, where the two graves of Stefan Kotromanitsh and Saint Sabbas were. The crowns were the Bosnian, "which had belonged to him from all time," and the Servian, which he inherited from his "ancestors." He now signed himself "*Stepan Tvrtko v Hrista boga kralj Srbijem i Bosne i Primorja*," "Stefan Tvrtko, in God Christ, King of Servia, Bosnia, and the Coast land." In a record, he says: "And He (Christ) has invested me with two crowns, that I may rule over both lands; first over the land of Bosnia given me by God from of old, and then it pleased the Lord God to grant that I should succeed my ancestors, the lords of Servia, upon their throne, for those were my ancestors who ruled in the countries of the Servian kingdom, and who have now passed over to the heavenly kingdom. And as I beheld the land of my ancestors deserted and without shepherds, I went into the Servian land, with the endeavour and wish to make firm the throne of my ancestors; when, however, I arrived there, I was crowned in the kingdom of my ancestors with the crown given me by God, that I might be, in the true faith of the Lord Christ, the God-established King Stefan, King over Servia, Bosnia, the Coast land, and the Western land. And therefore did I begin, with God, to rule, and to make firm the throne of the Servian land, with the desire to raise the fallen and to set up that which was overthrown."\*

This act of Tvrtko's doubtless far transcended the policy of King Ludvig.

The king's aim had been to weaken the old Servian empire. Tvrtko, on the contrary, entered upon a path calculated to lead to its re-establishment. Later on, after Ludvig's death, he endeavoured to conquer Croatia and Dalmatia too, so as to found a great South Slavonic kingdom. He at first assumed a doubtful attitude, so as to be able to justify his deeds to King Ludvig, and to be able to turn aside the suspicion of open rebellion from him. He was, above all things, anxious, as Bosnian Banus, to preserve the appearance of fealty to the Hungarian crown; and when he, as a vassal of the crown, seized a part of Servian territory, he always contrived to make it appear as though he thereby wished to extend the power of the Hungarian throne and to heighten its splendour. The title, too, which he now assumed bore two meanings, though he outwardly only claimed the regal title as King of Rascia; and the Venetians, moreover, still called him, especially when they were upon good terms with the Hungarian kings, only King of Rascia, never King of Bosnia. There could not thus early have

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\* Miklosics, *Mon. serb.*, p. 187.

been any question of a Bosnian kingdom in a literal sense, as Tvrtko continued to rule Bosnia as Bosnian Banus; and only gradually in the course of time did the title of kingdom come into use for Bosnia, a circumstance which until now has not been sufficiently noticed in historical writings. This seems to offer a satisfactory explanation of the fact that Ludvig, who was at the time laying claim to Poland, could look on quietly as these events unfolded themselves.

It is clear that Tvrtko at this time indulged in visions of founding a great Slavonic kingdom.

He approached his goal, however, with the caution of a cat, in order that the Hungarian crown might not destroy his projects in the germ. Soon after his coronation, he led to the altar Dorothea, the daughter of Strashimir



King Tvrtko's Coins.

Alexandrovitsh, the younger brother of the last Bulgarian Czar Ivan Shishman, and thus secured to himself a fresh title to the leadership of the Southern Slavonians. He next directed his gaze upon Cattaro and Ragusa. To please the more yielding town of Cattaro he forbade the export of provisions to Ragusa. The complaints of the Ragusans, however, brought about the intervention of King Ludvig, by whom a limit was soon put to these attempts of Tvrtko. Not until after the death of the king could he again pick up the threads; but he did so then with greater effect. In order to create a rival to Ragusa, he caused a new fortress, the Castel Nuovo of to-day, to be built in the neighbourhood of Cattaro, and here he opened a market, in opposition to the existing treaty.

He, however, had to give up this enterprise too when Queen Maria protested against it. He now turned towards the Venetian Republic, as he saw that

a maritime power was indispensable to the development of his projects directed against Ragusa. In answer, he received three Venetian galleons and an admiral in the person of Nicola Baseio. The Venetians, however, hastened to give Queen Maria the assurance that Baseio would look upon and deal with the subjects of Hungary as though they were Venetians. None the less, Tvrtko very soon succeeded in laying hands upon at least Cattaro. Queen Maria sent the Palatine Nikolaus Gara to Bosnia to secure Tvrtko's support in the war against the Croatian malcontents, who had called upon Charles of Durazzo to be their king. On March 28th, 1385, too, Tvrtko issued a document from his castle of Sutiska, in which he vowed eternal fealty to the august women, his beloved sisters, Elizabeth and Maria of Hungary, and Hedvig of Poland. As a reward for this, he received the town of Cattaro, where he caused copper coins, with the effigy of the patron saint of the town, St. Trifonius, to be struck. Scarcely, however, did he find himself in possession of Cattaro before he broke his promise, and as the Croats took Elizabeth and Maria prisoners in the year 1386, he commenced openly to set on foot his projects directed against the Hungarian crown, for the founding of a great Southern Slavonic kingdom. Extraordinarily characteristic was the caution with which he sought even now to shield himself against all possibilities. He first inquired of Ragusa as to whether, in case of need, he could count upon the usual rights of asylum there. The faithful Ragusans tacked on to their favourable answer the limitation that, in the event of his being pursued by Queen Maria, entrance into the town would be denied him; should he, however, at the time of the pursuit be already in the town, he must then quit the same within a certain reasonable time. On the other hand, when he allied himself to the Croatian malcontents with a view to uniting Croatia and Dalmatia upon some future occasion to Bosnia, he appeared as an adherent, and in the name of the new pretender Ladislaus the son of Charles of Durazzo, who had in the meantime been murdered, that by this means he might preserve the appearance of loyalty to the Hungarian crown.

After Queen Maria had, on June 4th, 1387, by the help of the Venetians, been liberated from the prison of Novigrad, and her husband, King Sigismund, was threatening the rebels with an army, Tvrtko despatched troops to Macsó to the aid of John Horváth, whilst he himself hastened to Croatia to support the Prior of Vrana, John von Palizua. Tvrtko's troops at this time and afterwards also consisted almost exclusively of Bogomiles, whose persecution he had discontinued, and who doubtless gladly accorded him military service against the Hungarian throne, by whom they were constantly being persecuted.

Heavily did the Bogomilian persecutions of King Ludvig now avenge

themselves. After the conquest of Clissa, Tvrtko threatened Spalato. Glorious was the fidelity with which this town remained to the Hungarian crown. At first she offered to submit to the besieger, but only upon condition that the King of Hungary should continue to be, as before, her suzerain.

Meanwhile, whilst Tvrtko continued to capture one town and fortress after another, a petition was, through envoys, made in the beginning of the year 1388 to King Sigismund that he would not permit the town of Spalato to be destroyed. Its territory, so ran the petition, was being laid waste by the heretics, its citizens were being murdered, its women violated. At this time, besides Clissa, Vrana, Ostrovitza, and most probably Kuin, had also fallen into Tvrtko's hands, and he now appointed John von Palizna as his Banus of Croatia. As he could not succeed in conquering Spalato, he ordered that a navy should be formed at Cattaro for its siege. On June 10th, 1388,



The Cattarinic Copper Coins of King Tvrtko.

Spalato sent a fresh deputation to King Sigismund, with instructions to impress upon him the misery which existed: that the Bosnians had already burnt down everything up to the walls of the fortifications; that the prisoners, of whom the Bosnian Banate and Clissa were already over full, were allowed to perish from hunger and thirst, nay, that many of them were even mutilated, so that the poor victims died of their sufferings. The envoys were, therefore, in a humble but manful spirit to beg for speedy help; should, however, the king be, for weighty reasons, unable to grant the same, the envoys were to ask for a permit which should make it possible for the town of Spalato to help herself as best she could, without incurring the stain of high treason. If, however, this permit should also be denied, then they were to make a public protest before the magnates that it might not be counted against Spalato as a crime if some misadventure should befall them, as the town would only resolve upon such a course in the extremest need and despair. Should,

however, help be promised, they were to state that Spalato could not hold out longer than until the end of July without help.

Neither did this step bear any fruit; yet Spalato remained unconquerable, and even summoned the faithful Croatian barons and towns to an alliance against the rebellious vassals, who were desirous of deserting the holy Hungarian crown. This alliance was solemnly concluded.

On October 6th, 1388, Knez Nelipitch, the Captain of Skardona, the Counts of Brebir, Vid, and Gregor, and Nikolans's widow, as well as the towns of Spalato and Sebenico, bound themselves "to support one another in loyalty towards the holy Hungarian crown."

At the close of 1388, Croatia and a great part of Dalmatia found themselves in Tvrtko's hands. King Sigismund at last sent the Banus of Slavonia Ladislaus Losonczy against him, but on this occasion also with an insufficient force.

In the March of 1389 the Bosnian Waywode Vlatko Hranitch, with a fresh army, undertook the siege of Spalato, and at the same time commanded the town to send envoys to Tvrtko. The threatened town replied to this invitation, and despatched their delegates with the following message: "We are ready to serve your Serene Highness; but yet in such a manner, that our honour, as well as that of your Majesty, may remain free from the stain of treason. We will therefore send messengers to the King of Hungary to implore his aid, as we can no longer hold out. If he sends help, we shall remain true to him; if otherwise, we are yours. If, therefore, the King of Hungary does not aid us within a given time, and if the other Dalmatian towns place themselves under your power and your protection, then will we also submit ourselves." Tvrtko accepted this proposal, and fixed three periods for the surrender of the different towns; the last one was for Spalato, the 15th of June. Spalato, however, did not give herself up at the expiration of this term, but renewed her petition to Tvrtko to be allowed to delay the surrender until all the other towns had submitted themselves, so that Spalato might be the last, after which Tvrtko left the long-suffering city in peace, as he was engaged elsewhere upon great events.

Exactly on this 15th of June was fought the battle of Kossov-polje. The alliance between Tvrtko and the Servian prince Lazar continued unshaken, for both felt that they had need of one another. Knez Lazar had, with Bosnian aid, in 1389 defeated twenty thousand Turks at Plotshnik. Sultan Murad resolved to take a fearful revenge for this defeat; and it was against the invading Turkish army that the Bosnian king sent the Waywode Vlatko Hranitch at the head of his Dalmatian forces.



He was joined by John Horváth, the Croatian Ban appointed by Tvrtko, who had sought shelter in Bosnia from Ladislaus Losonezy. The battle on the Kossovo-polje began on the June 15th, 1389, and lasted for three days, and during this bloody battle the thunder of cannon was probably for the first time heard upon the Balkan Peninsula. Tvrtko had received a "falconus" from Venice as early as 1383. Turkish writers say that the angels in their terror forgot their songs. Murad and Lazar fell upon the field of battle. The Bosnian Waywode slew twenty pashas, and pressed the Turkish left wing, commanded by Jakub, one of the Sultan's sons, to the uttermost. The Sultan's other son, Bajazid, however, forced the Servians back, whereupon Vuk Brankovitsh deserted the battlefield, taking some of the Servians with him. Servian tradition ascribes their ruin to his treachery; for the battle on the Kossovo-polje gave the death-blow to the Servian kingdom, although both armies retreated after the engagement, and Tvrtko even celebrated a victory because the Sultan had fallen and the Turks had not invaded his dominions. He also announced his victory to the whole Christian world, so that even the King of France caused a *Te Deum* to be sung in the cathedral of Notre Dame to celebrate the supposititious defeat of the unbelievers; whilst the city of Florence saluted the lucky King of Bosnia as the Champion of Christ, who had won eternal salvation.

Tvrtko now entered Croatia and Dalmatia with a heightened authority, and therefore with all the more boldness and energy. He re-conquered Glissa, which had in the meantime been captured by Losonezy; and in April 1390 again called upon Spalato to surrender. The town could now offer no further resistance, and gave itself up. After the surrender of Spalato all Dalmatia—with the sole exception of Zara—including the islands, swore allegiance to Tvrtko, who now assumed the added title of "King of Croatia and Dalmatia," and at last cast aside the mask under which he had until then given out that he had only fought for the rights of Ladislaus of Naples. Tvrtko, who now ruled over a large part of Rascia, the entire province of Bosnia and Herzegovina as now constituted, Croatia, and Dalmatia, felt himself to be the equal of the greatest princes, and gave expression to this self-sufficiency by, after the death of his first wife, selecting a wife from the House of Habsburg, and suing for the hand of the daughter of the Austrian duke Albert III. These designs, like all his other projects, were frustrated by his death on May 23rd, 1391.

By bold aspirations and unconscionable falseness and treachery, Tvrtko had come near to the realization of his dream, the founding of a great South Slavonic monarchy.

The fall of Serbia under the heavy blow struck by the Turks, and the helplessness into which Hungary was cast by the disputes over the choice of a king, had favoured his designs. Himself at one time a Catholic, at another Orthodox, he laid hold of and gained the confidence of the Bogomiles. A skilled player, his success yet depended more upon circumstances than upon his own strength; a secure foundation was lacking, and thus only too speedily was his glory proved to be a nine days' wonder. At the same time, his unbridled efforts had led Bosnia into such a state of internal confusion and extreme exhaustion that a collapse must needs follow.

The results of Tvrtko's policy soon became apparent, and Bosnia rapidly declined, until it was ultimately ruined in the Turkish storm.

King Sigismund and his successors had, it is true, recognized the importance of this country; within the circlet of the Hungarian crown, Bosnia formed, like Transylvania upon the south-east, an advanced and mighty citadel commanding an unassailable offensive and defensive point of vantage upon the Balkan Peninsula. As soon, however, as Bosnia fell into strange hands, the position was at once changed to the great prejudice of the kingdom, and all its south-eastern provinces were in danger from the aspirations of the South Slavonians and from foreign conquerors. This fact was not unrecognized by King Sigismund and his successors; but constantly interrupted in their endeavours by undertakings in other quarters, they lacked the requisite perseverance and energy necessary to the security of Bosnia. On the other hand, too, they were constantly crossed and undone by the persecution of the Bogomiles, which was always being started again in the interests of the unity of Christendom.

Then, too, the Bosnian kings wanted to grasp more than they could hold; the violent South Slavonic tribes would not tolerate the supremacy of one state over the other; whilst the conflict with the Hungarian crown robbed Bosnia, not only of her most effective protector against the Turks, but also indirectly exhausted her strength, and destroyed the respect in which her princes were held, to such a degree that to outward weakness the most fearful internal discords were soon superadded, and whilst these were at their height the contending parties themselves, each unknown to one another, called in the enemy standing at their gates ready to swallow up the land.

According to the old Slavonic ideas of justice, Tvrtko's successor on the throne should not have been his son Tvrtko Tvrtkovitch, but the eldest member of the family, Dabisha, whom historians believe to have been a younger brother of Tvrtko's. As, however, in the official records relating to the first diet summoned by Tvrtko, only the unhappy Vuk is mentioned, it is more probable

that Dabisha was a son of Inoslav, Stefan Kotromanitch's third brother. The first opposition raised against Dabisha emanated from the Croatian grandees, who had not risen in rebellion against the Hungarian crown in order that they might be subjected to the Bosnian. Ladislaus of Naples, too, who had now arrived at the knowledge that Tvrtko had not wished to conquer Croatia and Dalmatia for him, but for himself, considered that the moment had arrived for the exercise of his regal rights. In the Croatian grandees he found for this purpose a natural support. In 1391 he preliminarily ratified the appointment of the Bosnian Waywode Hrvoja Vuktshtish as Banus of Croatia and Slavonia, but shortly afterwards appointed the former Banus of Macsó, Ivan Horváth, governor during his absence over all his kingdoms, and by means of numerous presents he endeavoured to win over partisans against Sigismund, as well as against Dabisha. Thus was the latter, for instance, compelled to take the fortresses belonging to the counts of Palizna by storm. He was, nevertheless, unable to raise any sufficient fighting power, as Bajazit in his war with Sigismund in the year 1392 had also sent an army against Bosnia.

Under existing circumstances it seemed to Dabisha that the most expedient policy was to be reconciled to Sigismund, to renounce Croatia and Slavonia, and also to again acknowledge the supremacy of the Hungarian crown. In the July of the year 1393 the two kings had an interview in Djakovar. According to the agreement come to then, the Bosnian crown was to go straight to Sigismund upon Dabisha's death; but the King of Hungary not only confirmed his new subject in his Rascian and Bosnian possessions, but above and beyond this appointed him governor of the Hungarian Comitatus Sümeg. On the occasion of this meeting the powerful Hrvoja Vuktshtish, "Waywode of the Bosnian Netherlands," also put forth a letter of submission, in which he "praised King Sigismund and Queen Maria," and declared that he would faithfully serve them against all, "saving only the glorious Bosnian King Dabisha," whom he would loyally serve, "only excepting if the King should rebel against His Hungarian Majesty the King, or against Her Hungarian Majesty the Queen," in which event he would undertake nothing against the Hungarian king. After Dabisha's death, however, he would serve none other than the Hungarian king. Similar proclamations were published by other Bosnian barons also.\* When, however, Ladislaus' partisans as they fled before Sigismund again offered Dabisha the prospect of owning Croatia, he speedily forgot his promises and directed Ivan Horváth to collect an army in the fortress of Dobor and to lead it to Slavonia. Instead of this, however, Sigismund

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\* Fajér, *Cod. dipl.*, x., 2.

in August 1394 entered Usora, laid siege to Dobor, and after the surrender of the fortress set off in pursuit of Ivan Horváth, who was taken. From Dobor, Sigismund despatched the Banus of Croatia, Nikolaus Gara, against Vuk Vuktshtsh, who was stationed before Knin with a Bosnian army. After Vuk, too, had been defeated, Dabisha again submitted himself to the treaty of Djakovar. Crushed by so many misfortunes, he died in the autumn of the following year. His widow, Queen Helena Gruba, continued to reign for three years in the name of her son; but when in 1398, after the unfortunate battle at Nikopolis, the Turks invaded Bosnia, perpetrating fearful ravages, the Bosnian magnates, who had already by that time acquired all the power, elected Stefan Ostoja as king.

The most powerful of the magnates were at this time Hrvoja Vuktshtsh and his brother-in-law Sandalj Hranitsh. The latter reigned as absolutely in Chlum as Hrvoja did in North-western Bosnia. Both were zealous Bogomiles. Stefan Ostoja, who was most likely an illegitimate son of Tvrtko's,\* and likewise a Bogomile, was openly elected as king on this account, so that the country might not fall to Sigismund in accordance with the treaty of Djakovar. Yet the real ruler of the country was Hrvoja, who now styled himself "Waywode in chief of the Bosnian kingdom, and governor-in-chief to their Most Gracious Majesties King Ladislaus and King Ostoja." Hrvoja again set up the flag of Ladislaus of Naples in opposition to Sigismund, and he also made preparations for the re-conquest of Croatia and Dalmatia. Sigismund, of course, wished to re-establish his own rule; but he saw himself forced to retreat, after he had, in 1398, advanced with his army as far as the fortress of Vrbas, on the river of that name, above the Banialuka of to-day. In 1401, in pursuance of a summons of Hrvoja's, the town of Zara, loyal until then, also deserted Sigismund, and became, moreover, the rallying point of Ladislaus' party.

Bosnia was at this time secure against an attack from the Turks. Indeed, it is during this period that the first alliance between the Bogomiles and the Turks seems to have fallen. Hrvoja would in that case have been the originator of such an alliance, an act which would, moreover, seem to be very characteristic of him. The fact is, that in the year 1400, Hrvoja set himself the task of releasing the Turkish envoys, who were taken prisoners near Ragusa; and, indeed, Sigismund accuses him of having had an understanding with the Turks.† It is also most probable that the Turks employed Bosnia against Sigismund to the uttermost. In 1402, Sebenico and Trau Hrvoja swore allegiance, and an effort was made to win

\* Ostoja's illegitimate son King Thomas Ostojitch calls Tvrtko II. "*Patruus nostre carissimus*."

† Ragusan records given by Putshitch. Lucius, *De Regno Dalma.*, p. 258.

over Ragusa too. At last Hrvoja brought matters to such a point that he was able to summon Ladislaus of Naples. In the July of 1403 there assembled in Zara, Hrvoja, as governor-in-chief of King Ladislaus, his father-in-law Ivan Nelipitsh, and numerous Bosnian nobles, "men of unusual size;" of Hungarian nobles there were present the Palatine Dietrich Bubek, the Archbishop of Gran Johann von Kanizsa, Johann, Archbishop of Kalocsa, and others, and on August 5th the crown was solemnly placed upon Ladislaus' brow, though not the crown of St. Stefan, but that supposed to have been Zvoimir's. Ostoja made use of this turn of affairs, for the realization of the old ambition of the Bosnian rulers, and laid Ragusa under a heavy siege. Whilst engaged upon this enterprise, however, bad news hastened towards him. Firstly, Sigismund had beaten his Hungarian foes and was pressing southwards; secondly, Hrvoja was prepared to renounce the Bogomile faith, should Ladislaus be willing to create him King of Bosnia.



Coins of King Ostoja.

Under such circumstances Ostoja decided that the most prudent thing for him to do was to speedily return to his allegiance to the Hungarian crown. Sigismund gladly accepted this change, and by September negotiations with Ostoja were being conducted through the king's envoy, John Maróthi, Bannus of Macsó, who effected a complete reconciliation between them.

This news, in itself, sufficed to put an end to Ladislaus. Whilst, however, Ladislaus hastened back to his native land, Hrvoja was not so ready to throw up the game, and strove to form an alliance with Ragusa against Ostoja. The allies wanted to raise the Bogomilian Knez Paul Radishitsh to the throne in Ostoja's place. The deed of covenant runs: "We, Lord Hrvoja, through the gracious favour of God, glorious Prince of Spalato and mighty Waywode of the Bosnian kingdom, etc., and we the Doge, patricians, and citizens of the town of Ragusa acceptable to God, all swear and pledge ourselves to be in all ways the

sworn enemies of King Ostoja, to drive him to ruin, to destruction, and to expulsion from his kingdom. And thus do we, Hrvoja, swear to raise our troops and lead them across the Neretva to Chlum, and to there proclaim and announce Paul Radishitch, in the name of Christ, King of Bosnia, and to maintain him and support him with our whole strength. And not less do we, the city of Ragusa, swear to raise up, in conjunction with Lord Hrvoja, all that we possibly can by water and by land in all our surrounding districts, with our own men and others, whom we may be able to move thereto, against King Ostoja, and for the said Lord Paul Radishitch. Finally, however, we will call upon the clemency of His Most Serene Majesty King Sigismund, and spare no efforts to re-establish Hrvoja in the aforementioned king's favour, seeing that King Ostoja can no longer be of any value or service to our Master."\*

Sigismund's authority was consequently established to such a degree, that all parties turned towards him. Ostoja fled from the fortress of Bobovatz, which was being seized by Hrvoja, straight to Buda, leaving his wife Kujeva, his children, and his crown behind him there. A superscription dating from this period has been preserved upon an old gravestone, according to which "it happened at that time that King Ostoja was at variance with the duke, and fled to Hungary." †

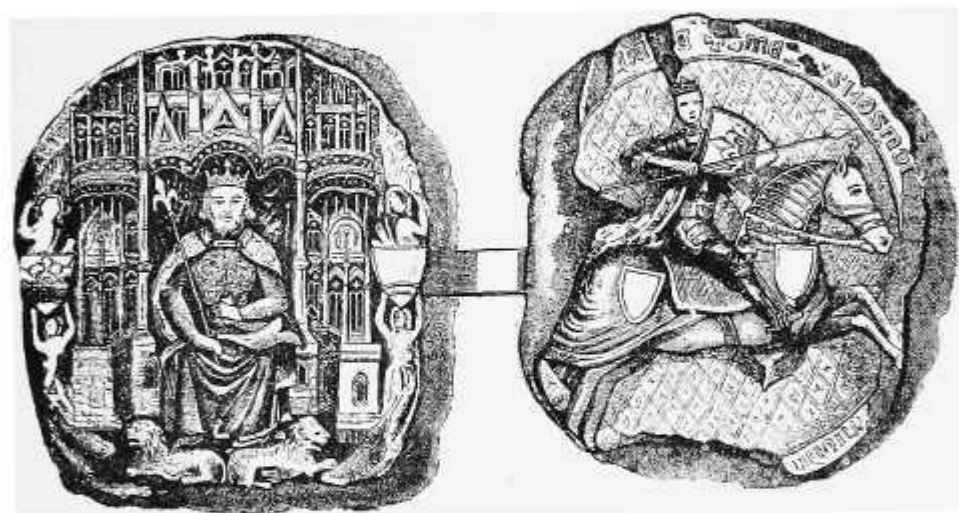
John Maróthi relieved the fortress of Bobovatz, where a Hungarian garrison was now stationed for several years. Hrvoja raised no further opposition to Ostoja, thus protected by Sigismund.

"We have understood"—thus it runs in a document of the Republic of Ragusa, of March 14th, 1404—"that which Thy Honour and Love writes to Us, that King Ostoja has been reconciled to Thee, that Thou hast accepted him as Thy Suzeraine, and that he has received Thee as his servant. And that Thy love writes, that we too should be reconciled to him, and that Thou wilt labour and exert Thyself towards this end, for which We thank

\* Miklosics, *Mon. serb.*, p. 252.

† This Bogomilian gravestone, which was discovered upon the field of Privlje, and is at the present time built into the wall in the Roman Catholic parsonage of Kotsheriu, gives in twenty-five lines the following superscription: "*Va ime oca i sina i sv. duha. Ovdje leži Viganj Miloševitch koji je služio banu Stjepanu i kralja Tvrtka i kralja Dabišu i kraljicu Grubu i kralja Ostoja. U to se vrijeme Ostoja svadi s Hercegom i Vidošom (?) podje na Ugro. Ostoja u to vrijeme namene Vignja dok dospjeh i legoh na svoju zemlju.*" ("In the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Here rests Viganj Miloshevitch, who served the Banus Stefan, King Tvrtko, King Dabisha, Queen Gruba, and King Ostoja. At this time King Ostoja was at variance with the Duke, and went with Vidosh to Hungary. Ostoja at that time took me, Viganj, to himself, until it overtook me my appointed time, and I laid myself in my earth.")

Thee exceedingly." The reconciliation, however, was not effected, as Ostoja declined to deliver up the conquered coast-land, and the Republic of Ragusa succeeded, moreover, in again winning over, not only Hrvoja, but also numerous other magnates hostile to Ostoja. On May 28th the allies held, most likely at Visoko, a meeting, and amongst those present were the Ragusan envoys with instructions to congratulate Hrvoja, since God had revenged him on Ostoja, and to follow Hrvoja's council. Should any one be chosen king, they were to petition him to confirm their privileges; should, however, no king be chosen, they were, with the consent of the Bogomiles, to approach the assembly with regard to this ratification. They were, however, to secretly



Ostoja's Seal of the Year 1400 (Records of the Hungarian Archives).

say to Hrvoja, "Who would be better fitted to be king than thou?" Should he not agree to this, the envoys were either to espouse the cause of a descendant of the Kotromanitsh (who had for long been rulers in the land), or else that of Paul (Radishitsh), who dwelt in Ragusa. Early in July, Tvrtko's son, Stefan Tvrtko II. Tvrtkovitsh, was proclaimed king. Ostoja fled to the shelter of the Hungarian garrison of Bobovatz. Even now, however, Hrvoja was the true ruler, and he now entered into a fresh alliance with Ladislaus of Naples, caused his own coins (with a picture of St. Doimus of Spalato) to be struck, and styled himself as follows: "*Excellens dominus Heruoya, dux Spulati,\* Dalmatiæ, Croatiæque regius*

\* A grant from Ladislaus.

*dicemgerens, ac Bosnæ summus vojvoda, nec non partium inferiorum comes."* Sigismund, however, calls him: "*Capitalem nostræ maiestatis emulus Hercogum,"*\* whilst the Ragusans for their part address him thus: "It is known to us, that everything will come to pass which Thou commandest."†

In spite of this, the storm did not tarry long. Sigismund burst in upon Bosnia with three armies. One was led by the Banus of Macsó, another by the Croatian Banus, the third by Peter Perényi. Venice refused Hrvoja the required galleons; but, on the other hand, Ladislaus despatched a fleet under the command of John of Lusignan. Hrvoja, however, withstood the storm. It is true that Paul Banus of Croatia conquered the fortress of Bihatsb, but he could not retain it. John Maróthi, however, departed from Usora, after leaving a garrison behind him in the town of Srebernük, under the command of Nikolaus of Gorazda and Ladislaus Szilágyi. Perényi did not once cross the borders. At the close of the year 1405 the campaign was ended, and Tvrtko II. sent a deputation in token of allegiance to Ladislaus as King of Hungary, whereupon Ladislaus, on August 26th, 1406, "confirmed his beloved relative in the ancient rights and boundaries of Bosnia,"‡ and awarded costly presents to the Bosnian magnates, and amongst them, the fortress of Zerin to Hrvoja.

After a long interval the Pope, too, reappeared in Bosnian affairs; he could not look idly on at such a triumph of the Bogomiles. He encouraged Sigismund, and promised him help against the Turks and the Bosnian "Manichæans and Arians," for whose extirpation he once more proclaimed a crusade "throughout the Christian world." Sigismund now, in 1408, led in person a mighty army of sixty thousand men, reinforced by Polish soldiers, against Bosnia. After sanguinary battles, especially near Srebernük and Branitsh, the Bosnian army was finally destroyed at Dobor (now Doboi), and Tvrtko Tvrtkovitsh, with many of his barons, fell into the king's hands. Sigismund now held a terrible court martial. He caused one hundred and twenty-six Bosnian magnates to be beheaded, and cast from the rocks of Dobor into the Bosna. Tvrtko Tvrtkovitsh he, however, took with him as a prisoner to Buda. The contemporary German chronicler, Windeck, writes thus: "Du solst wissen in dem Yare als man zalte von gotes gepurt tausent vier hundert und funff Yare, do zog König Sigmund in das Königreich zu Wossen mit grossem volck Sechzig tausent manne zog er in das Königreich, wenn sich der König wider In gestalt hatte, darumb log er in dem lande drey ganze Yare winter

\* Fejér, *Cod. dipl.*, x. 4, p. 397.

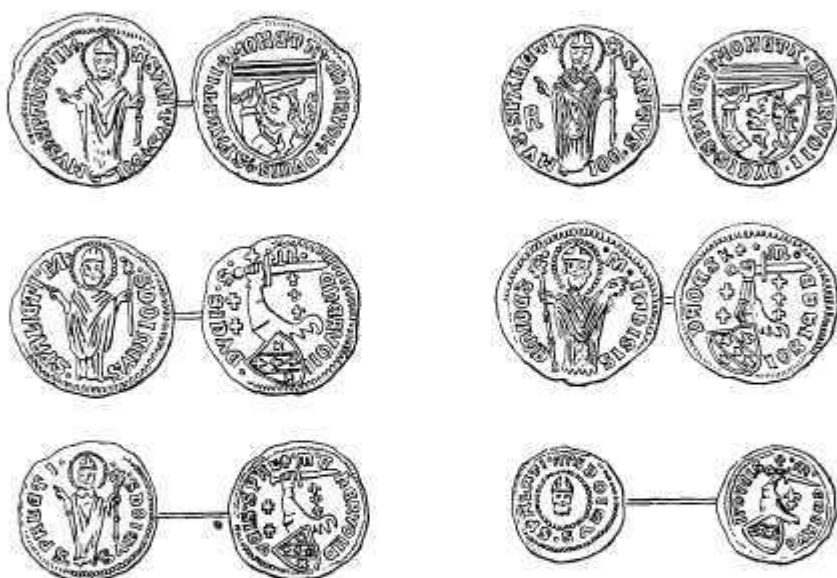
† Putalish, *Spom.*, i. 59.

‡ Lucius, *De regno Dalm.*, p. 261.



und summer, und betwangg das Konigreich und ving den Konig von Wossen und furt in gein Offen und liesz hundert seckz und zweinzig lantherrn die hanpter ablan und uber einen hohen Fels zu Tobra von dem slosse ab hin werffen in das Wasser."

Yet the leading magnates were not amongst those condemned. The two powerful Bogomile leaders, Hrvoja and his brother-in-law Sandalj Hranitski of Chlum, had either deserted Tvrtko before he went to meet his fate, or had fled from the battle in good time and squared matters with the conqueror. After mentioning that King Sigismund also went to Servia and Rascia, where



Coins of Hrvoja, Count of the Netherlands, Duke of Spalato.

he established the Despot ("Tishbot," Stepan Lazarevitch) under his protectorate in opposition to the Turkish power, the old chronicler proceeds as follows: "Also betwang er das Konigreich und pracht darzu das *Korby* und *Zendel* (*Hrvoja* und *Sandalj*), die grossten landherren und fursten in demselben Konigreich zu Jhm gein Offen riten und gaben sich in genade, da nam er sie gar gnedigliche auff."

Sigismund even bestowed Požega upon Hrvoja in addition to his old possessions, and then, too, invested him with the newly created order of the Dragon.\*

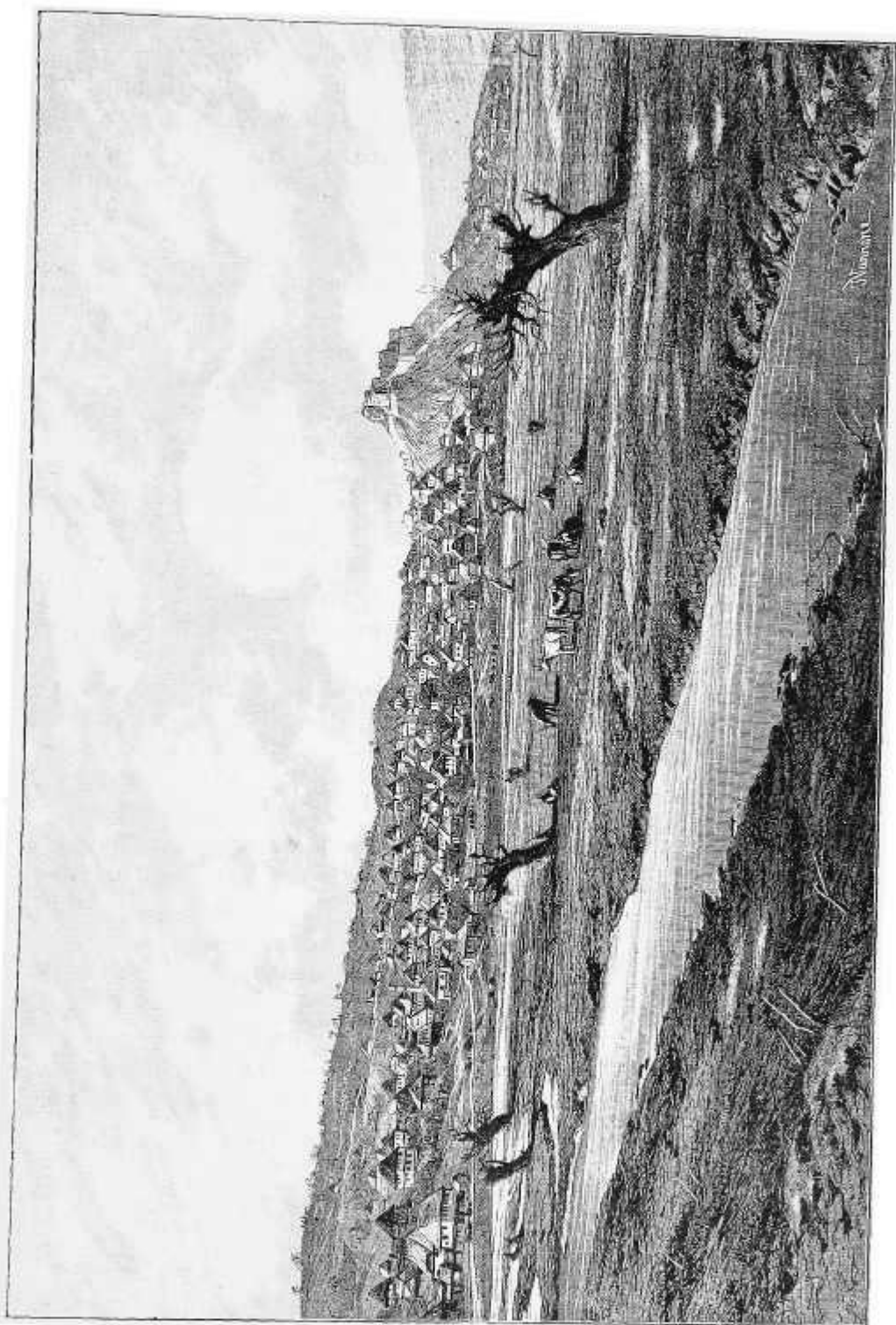
\* Lucius, *De regno*, p. 268.

The cause of this great favour lay doubtless in the fact that Ladislaus, in the overthrow of Hrvoja, had lost his last support.

As a matter of fact the whole of Croatia and Dalmatia now surrendered to King Sigismund, with the one exception of Zara, which Ladislaus in his hopelessness sold, together with all his claims upon Dalmatia, to the Venetian Republic for one hundred thousand ducats. But Hrvoja rendered Sigismund yet further services. Ostoja, who until then had lived under the protection of the Hungarian garrison in Bobovatz, thought that his turn had come round again, and amongst others won over Sandalj to his side. Sigismund put an end to these pretensions by a fresh campaign in 1410—1411, wherein he was loyally supported by the Despot Lazarevitsh and by Hrvoja.

The result of this campaign was that Bosnia was completely dismembered. The Netherlands fell to Hrvoja, Usora to John Gara, the Salt District to the Banus of Macsó, Srebernik to the Despot of Serbia, and only the upper valley of the Bosna remained in Ostoja's possession, for Sandalj remained master of Chlum, Travunje, and Podrinje. In 1412, absolute peace seems to have reigned. On June 2nd and 3rd of this year brilliant tournaments were held in Buda, at which the Bosnian knights were conspicuous for their strength, bravery, and powerful stature. The splendour which they there displayed is made evident from the fact that Hrvoja, whom the German chronicler now introduces as King of Bosnia, borrowed six thousand ducats for these festivities. Yet beneath the ashes the flame spread. Hrvoja could not forgive Sandalj for having sided with Ostoja, although a relative and old confederate of his own. The two Bogomile leaders became deadly enemies; and when Sandalj, in the following year, journeyed to Serbia, in order, at Sigismund's command, to aid the Despot against the Turks, Hrvoja fell upon his territories, ravaged them, and took possession of his fortresses. Whilst Sigismund was on his way to Rome, in order that he might be there crowned as emperor, Queen Barbara, upon the strength of charges made against him by Sandalj, John Gara, and the Banus of Slavonia, Paul Csapor, publicly proclaimed Hrvoja as traitor. Hrvoja, upon whom now, at the instigation of the queen, all his enemies fell upon every hand, defended himself adroitly by evasions, promises, and threats in a manifesto, which also merits attention for the reason that *here, for the first time, the Bogomiles openly threatened to coalesce with the Turks*. That would be no treason, says Hrvoja, if he revenged himself upon his enemies. Then he promises to pass over to Catholicism: "Do not permit, O Queen," he writes, "that I, in my old age, should die an unbelieving heathen, when I could scarcely expect to have the time, whilst faithfully serving my King,

Pöböl.



in which to pass over from heathenism to the Catholic Church." "Remember that the King and his Magnates have sworn to me an oath, and that I have a royal signature thereupon, with the seal of the King and his Magnates. Moreover, thou knowest that I am a Knight of the Order of the Dragon, and that only Members of that Order can judge me. Remember, for the sake of St. John, that I am Thy Godfather. For the sake of the love of God, remember the assurances and oaths given to me." "Should, however, all his promises, oaths, and obligations, and my earnest solicitations not suffice for the King, then he must not account it a crime if I inform all Christian princes of the promises and oaths pledged to me." "So far I have sought no other protection, as my sole refuge has been the King; but if matters remain as they are, I shall seek protection in that quarter where I shall find it, whether I thereby stand or fall. The Bosnians wish to hold out their hand to the Turks, and have already taken steps towards this. The Turks, however, will in any case equip themselves against Hungary." \*

But in his letter from Pulzano, dated August 1st, 1413, the king too proclaims Hrvoja as traitor, and his enemies now took possession of the whole of his estates, with the exception of the Bosnian Netherlands and his fortress of Almissa. And as Hrvoja now allied himself with Ostoja, Sigismund sent Tvrtko II., who had until then been kept in confinement, back to Bosnia. Hrvoja turned to Venice and to John of Naples for support, and, deserted by these, finally to the Turks, with whom he had, as we know, been allied in bygone days. Now it came to pass, for the first time, that the Bogomilian Bosnians coalesced with the Turks, and fought against Hungary. The decisive battle, the particulars of which are described by Thüroczy, and also by a Polish chronicler, was fought in August 1415 at Usora. The defeat of the Hungarians was complete; the booty of the Turks enormous. Their plundering raids extended as far as Cilli, in Styria; John Maróthy was taken prisoner by the Turks, and was not released until after the lapse of four years, and then only through a ransom of forty thousand golden guildens. John Gara and Paul Csopor fell into Hrvoja's hands, and he caused Csopor to be sewn into an ox's hide and then cast into the water, because he had once, in fun, welcomed Hrvoja's broad, low stature and deep voice with a noise like the bellowing of an ox at the Hungarian court. Gara after some years set himself free by flight. The Turks, however, did not again quit the land; but, on the contrary, mixed themselves

\* Lucius, *Mem.*, p. 392.

up in the incessant broils of the Knezes, now here and now there seizing upon spoils. Finally, in 1416, they conquered the fortress of Vrhbosna, and at the same time the whole of the Župa, hence the heart of Bosnia. Isak Pasha was in command here as Sandjak Beg, and that was how Turkish Serajevo came into being. By this time, too, Sandalj of Chlum was also governing, "by the grace of God, the great Emperor Muhammad, and General Isak."

In the same year death overtook Hrvoja, the immediate cause of all these events. Their more remote origin had, of course, long been active, and may be traced back to the first persecution of the Bogomiles. It was long before the Bogomiles resolved to call in the Turks. Henceforth events rapidly unfolded themselves, until the whole country at length became Turkish. Ostoja, the refugee, whom the Turks had driven from his last possessions, flattered himself with the hope that he might possibly again attain to power should he take Hrvoja's widow to wife. His own wife he had, after the Bogomilian fashion, dismissed some time before; and for this reason his son also had turned against him. The nobles summoned to the Diet by Muhammad decided, however, that Ostoja, the prime cause of all these troubles, should be cast into prison. Ostoja supported himself for two years more with a few partisans in the western part of the country, until in 1418 he died. Some of the nobility chose his son, Stefan Ostojitch, as king; but whilst Sandalj never recognized him at all, another party amongst the magnates in 1420 drew the sword in the cause of Tvrtko II. Tvrtkovitch, and with the following year there vanished every trace of Stefan Ostojitch.

Tvrtko II. Tvrtkovitch ultimately attained to the undisturbed possession of his kingdom. Isak Pasha, whom the chronicler Thüroczy at this time also denominates as King of Bosnia, issued from his Sandjak, and attacked the Banate of Temes. Thus the first Turkish invasion of Hungary may be attributed to Bosnia. Yet the pasha was defeated by Nikolaus Péterffy (Petrovitsh), and together with his array was ruined, so that Bosnia also was for a time freed from the Turks.

Nevertheless, in the year 1426, four thousand Turks, under the command of Knez Radivoj, an illegitimate son of Ostoja's, again invaded Bosnia. The disputes which ensued were long drawn out, and constantly broke out afresh. When the Council of Basle, which had been summoned by Pope Eugenius IV. (that it might put an end to heresy, and unite Christianity), in view of the danger which threatened from Turkey, turned in the year 1433 towards Ragusa, with the hope that it would, especially with regard to the Bogomiles, mediate between Rome and Bosnia, the Republic of

Ragusa replied to the envoys of the Council that nothing could then be done, as King Tvrtko was at war with the Turks, who wished to set up a magnate of the name of Radivoj as king. Radivoj did not indeed become king; but Tvrtko was nevertheless banished. For just in that year (1433) Sandalj of Chlum, in conjunction with the Servian Despot George Brankovitsh, bought Bosnia of the Sultan for a sum of money, and after having driven Tvrtko away they divided the land between them.

The Council of Basle were now more than ever taken up with the Bosnian "Manichæans."

In the transactions of September 3rd, 1434, in which a union with the Greek Church was proposed, the Bishop of Treviso\* drew the attention of the Council to the conversion of the Manichæan heretics in Bosnia. He felt himself, he said, all the more moved thereto in that one might indulge the hope that their conversion would be as successful as that of the Greeks. When he on one occasion appeared in person, with mitre and full vestments, amongst the Bosnians, he was received with such humility by them



Coins of Tvrtko II. Tvrtkovitsh.

that he was scarcely able to prevent their kissing his feet. And it would have been just, too, that the Council should be moved to pity for them, as they had in the previous year suffered terribly at the hands of the Turks. In consequence of this proposition the Papal legate called upon the orator to name some one to whom this mission could be entrusted, whereupon the bishop declared that he would undertake the task with pleasure, yea, that he was himself prepared to become a sacrifice to the same.†

In the February of 1435 the Roman Emperor (Sigismund, King of Hungary) informed the Council that the King of Bosnia had surrendered to him, and as he was desirous of returning to the arms of the Catholic Church, he (the Emperor) called upon the Council to be careful for the

\* "*Terbipolensis*" would certainly be more likely to be *Tercipolensis*, Treviso, than *Herbipolensis*, Würzburg. The Italian bishops very frequently went upon Papal missions to Bosnia, whilst a Würzburg bishop would hardly have ventured thither.

† Joannis de Segovia, *Historia gestorum generalis synodi Basiliensis*, i., lib. ix., c. v., p. 750 (*Monumenta concil. gen. seculi decimi quinti Conc. Bas. Scriptorum. Tom. Sec.*).

conversion of the Bosnian king and people. Then, under pressure from John of Ragusa, the Council in June passed a resolution by which the Papal legate and the Cardinal of Arelata, as Papal presidents, and the Viennese "Abbot of the Scots," besides the Bishop of Freisingen, were commissioned to superintend the Legation which was to be sent to Bosnia, together with the other necessary measures connected therewith.\*

On July 18th, 1435, in the presence of the Emperor and Duke Albert of Austria, there took place at Brünn the interview between the envoys of the Council and the Bohemians, Walnar, Kostka, Dinicius, and Roksanua, concerning the arrangement with the Hussites. The latter were prepared to comply if the words "*et sanctorum patrum instituta*" were crossed out in the final clause of the deed of unity. The envoys of the Council could not agree to this, but were prepared to add, if it would satisfy the Bohemians, "*ad quam quilibet bonus et fidelis ecclesiasticus tenetur*" (which is the duty of every good and true servant of the Church). And as the Bohemians insisted on the erasure, the envoys declared this to be impossible, upon the ground that the Greeks, Bosnians, Arians, and all those who call themselves Christians promised obedience to the laws of God, but not to the institutions of the holy Fathers; yet it was just in this that the good Christians differed from the others.†

On December 21st, 1435, the envoys of the Council deputed to convert the Bosnian king—that is, the Bishop of Constance, John Polomaris, *Martinus decanus Turonensis*, and Thomas von Haselbach, Vicar of Wolkenstein—were in Stuhlweissenburg, where they went to meet the Emperor Sigismund, with his consort, Duke Albert of Austria with his consort, several magnates, and the King of Bosnia, returning from the chase.‡ At this time an Italian monk "*de ordine minorum de observancia*," who had visited Bosnia, held daily services in Latin, in Stuhlweissenburg, which were interpreted by a Hungarian priest. Just on that 21st of December, as the King of Bosnia entered Stuhlweissenburg, this monk had said a great deal about him; had called him a Pseudo-Christian ("*erat fictus Christianus*"), who had not truly and honourably accepted baptism, had even impeded it; that the *fratres minores* who dwelt in his country had baptized those belonging to him.§ Upon this report Sigismund, in the presence of the envoys, earnestly requested

\* Joannis de Segovia, *Historia gestorum generalis synodi Basiliensis*, i., lib. ix., c. v., p. 750 (*Monumenta concil. gen. seculi decimi quinti Conc. Bas. Scriptorum. Tom. Sec.*).

† Joannes de Turonia, *Regestrum. Mon. . . . Scriptorum. Tom. i.*, 803.

‡ Thomas Ebendorfer's *Diarium Monach. . . . Script.*, i., 757.

§ Aegidius Carlerius, *Liber de Legationibus. Mon. . . . Script.*, i., 676.

the King of Bosnia to be careful that his people should be baptized within six months, and entreated the envoys to declare their views as to the nature and manner of bringing this to pass.\*

Sigismund received the third embassy from the Council in the presence of the King of Bosnia, as it happened, on March 19th, 1436, in Pressburg.† It was just in this year that Tvrtko, who had meantime been living in Hungary, at last settled down in his own country. But he found himself, nevertheless, in a melancholy plight. Usora and the Salt District were still in the hands of the Despot. In the high fortress of Vrhbosna was again ensconced the Turkish pasha, the Sandjak Beg Izam, to whom also Stefan Vuktshtish, nephew and successor to Sandalj of Chlum, who had died in 1435, owed obedience. Tvrtko found that the only means by which he could maintain himself in his kingdom was, to swear allegiance to the Sultan Murad II., to recognize his suzerainty, and to engage to pay a tribute of twenty-five thousand ducats. In 1442, Ragusa demanded and received of the Sultan the confirmation of its Bosnian privileges.

Under such circumstances it was obvious that the Council was debarred from in any way attaining its object in Bosnia. To be sure matters went so far that a Bogomilian deputation actually appeared in Basle. The negotiations, however, were as little fruitful of results as those with the Greeks, the Husaites, and others.

Yet Tvrtko spared no pains to alleviate the misery of the country. When, after the death of Albert II., in the year 1440, Wladislav the Pole had been elected King of Hungary, an embassy from Tvrtko appeared before him, which, appealing to the community of ancestry and language between the Poles and Bosnians, as well as to the "ancient, sacred" relations between Hungary and Bosnia, begged for help against the Turks. Tvrtko quite realized the dangers of this step. In 1441, he addressed a petition to Venice, that it would allow him to remove his treasure thither, and in case of necessity to flee thither himself. Nay, he even begged of the Venetian Republic, that it would either secretly or openly take over the government of his country; if it should, however, not be in a position to do this, then to send him arms and ammunition. In 1442, he sent still larger sums of money to Ragusa for security. At last, in this same year, there came the first news of Johann Hunyady's victories, and from this time forth as "*Janko Sibirjan*," *Janko von Hermannstadt*, he remained an honoured hero

\* Ægidius Carlerius, *Liber de Legationibus. Mon. . . . Script.*, i., 676.

† Joannis de Turonia, *Regestrum. Mon. . . . Script.*, i., 791.



amongst the Southern Slavs. One of the hills near Serajevo still bears the name of "Hunyadi-Brdo." Bosnian troops, too, now hastened to join Hunyady's army. In 1443, in the narrow pass of Kunovitz in Bulgaria, Hunyady knocked Murad II.'s army on the head, and in accordance with the peace concluded in 1444 the Turks once more retired from Bosnia. Tvrtko did not live to see this triumph; he had died in 1443. From the records of a Croatian chronicle it may be concluded that the Bogomiles preferred the Turkish suzerainty to the Hungarian, and that Stefan Vuktshtsh, at this time supported on the one side by the Turks, and on the other by the Bogomiles, had made Chlum absolutely independent of Bosnia.

A Bogomile king was selected as successor to Tvrtko II. Tvrtkovitsh. The House of Kotroman had died out. Only two illegitimate sons of Ostojja's, by a Bogomilian woman, Radivoj and Thomas Stefan, were living. The Bosnian nobles did not select the elder, Radivoj, who had given himself up completely to the Turks, but Thomas, who up till that time had lived in the most modest retirement with a Bogomilian family of low extraction. From this family, too, he had taken a wife, and that, too, after the Bogomilian manner, upon condition "that she should remain faithful and kind to him."

Thomas, although a Bogomile, never hid from himself the knowledge that the Bosnian kingdom had only Hungary to rest upon in face of the double danger which threatened him on the side of the now powerful oligarchy, and of the Turks. There exists a record dated June 3rd, 1444, in which Thomas expresses his thanks to John Hunyady the Commander-in-chief, who had already attained to universal fame, for his friendship and favour, promises him in recognition thereof three thousand ducats yearly, and all possible assistance, and invites him to Bosnia, where he would at all times be glad to see him.\* Thomas even went further. Pope Eugenius IV. did not relinquish his plans with reference to the unity of Christendom, and in connection herewith his first thoughts were of Bosnia, where the Bogomile faith had already almost grown to be the dominant religion, so



Seal of Tvrtko II. upon one of King Thomas's records.

\* The record upon which Thomas has impressed the seal of Tvrtko II. (*vide* illustration), having first reached Anspach with the Rakóczy-Archive, and thence, in 1785, having been placed with the Vienna Archive, has been traced thence in 1787 to the Hungarian Exchequer Archive.

that not only the people, and the leading magnates, but even the kings belonged to it, Tvrtko II. alone excepted. Tvrtko was entirely under the influence of Sigismund. The Pope consequently despatched Thomas Bishop of Lesina to Bosnia. In 1439, the bishop had attempted to win over Stefan Vuktshtish, the mainstay of the Bogomilian cause, to the Catholic Church.

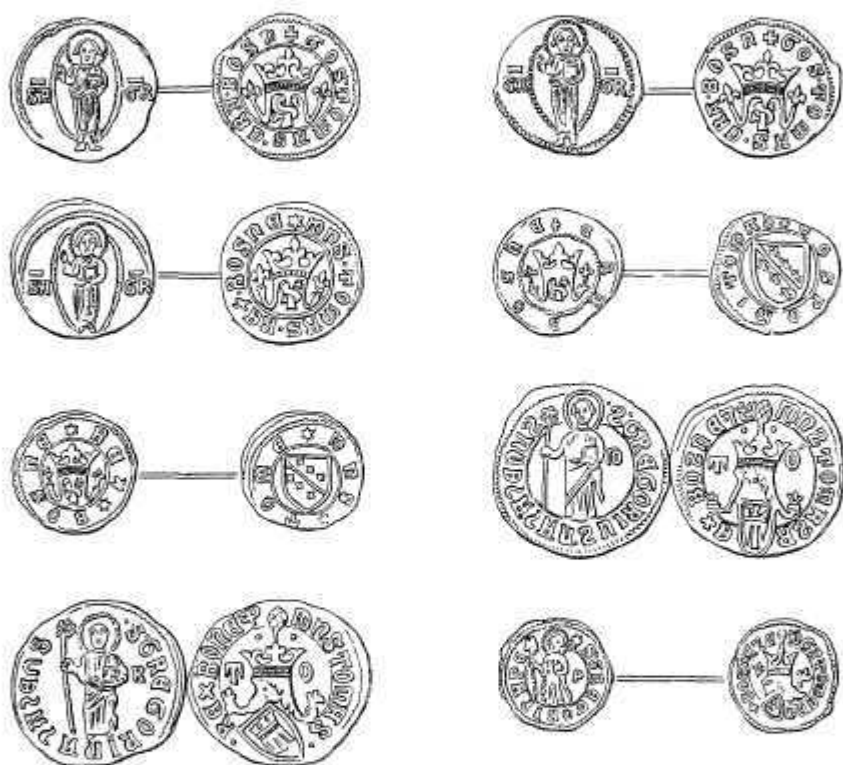
Repulsed by him, he turned to King Thomas, who had hitherto also been a zealous Bogomile, and who, moreover, dreaded lest the Bogomiles, should he forsake the national faith, would unite themselves with the Turks against him. On the other hand, however, he felt that the only effective support which he could find against the danger from Turkey lay in the west of Europe, a support which had been definitely promised to him on the part of the Papal legate. The result of the long, tedious negotiations, however, was, that the king declined the crown offered him by the Pope, and also the creation of the much-desired bishoprics; he justified his action on the ground that his influence upon the Bogomiles and the Orthodox, the latter of whom had also, even at this time, outnumbered the reduced number of Catholics, would not permit of his falling in with the wishes of the Pope. He himself, however, became Catholic, chiefly owing to the influence of John Hunyady. He at the same time petitioned the Pope to remove from him the stigma of illegitimacy, and to annul his marriage, on account of both of which he was sneered at by the Waywodes. The Pope consequently released him, by means of a document dated May 29th, 1445, both from the stain of his illegitimate birth, and from his marriage bond, which had, moreover, only been celebrated after the Bogomilian manner.

The king, who was now deliberating the reconciliation of the powerful Bogomiles, sued for and gained the hand of Stefan Vuktshtish's daughter Katharina.

The Grand Waywode of Chlum, who saw with pleasure his daughter ascend the royal throne, also gave his consent to Katharina being received into the arms of the Catholic Church. Encouraged by this example, the King Radivoj and other magnates also now accepted the Catholic faith. Not content with all this, however, the king went still further in the hushing up of the Bogomiles, giving, for instance, the Bogomilian magnates the assurance that all their lawsuits, even when it was a question of high treason, should be submitted to the judgment of the "Džed" (the head of the Bogomile Church), the Bosnian Church, and "good Bosnians." The monks complained of him to the Pope on account of this proceeding, and the king saw himself compelled to justify himself by the assertion that he was only favourable to the heretics in appearance, and for so long as they should continue to be

powerful and to be dreaded ; the honour which he accorded to their representatives was only common courtesy, and had nothing to do with that religious homage which might be offensive in the sight of God. So soon, however, as he should have the power, he would force the heretics to turn back into the true way, and would banish the refractory, or put them to death.

That the persecution of the Bogomiles now commenced is also proved by the resolutions in the Diet of the year 1446 ; they have been handed



Coins of King Thomas (partly with Slavonic circumscription, *Gospodin Tomas Kral Bosne*).

down to us through an interesting and in many respects exact record, which runs :

" We, Thomas Stefan, by the Grace of God, King of Bosnia, Servia, Illyria, and the Primorje, and of the Dalmatian and Coravian provinces, hereby publish and proclaim to all whom it may concern, that in the General Assembly (*in generali congregatione*), held in the town of Konjitz (in *pago nostro de Cogniz*), in the which our loyal subjects, the Princes of the Church, Barons, Waywodes, and representatives (*proceribus*), as well as the elected

nobles of the counties of Our Kingdom, gave counsel concerning the peace and well-being of the Realm, and amongst other useful ordinances humbly submitted the following Articles that we might be pleased to accept them :

" I. The Manichæans shall build no new Churches, nor shall be permitted to restore the old.

" II. The property granted to the Church of Rome shall never be taken from her.

" III. Murderers shall be arrested by command of the King ; the half of their property shall fall to the State Treasury, the other half to the heirs of the murdered man.

" IV. The councillors, secretaries, waywodes, and counts of Our royal throne (*sedis regię*) are bound to place an oath of fealty in the King's hand before taking up office.

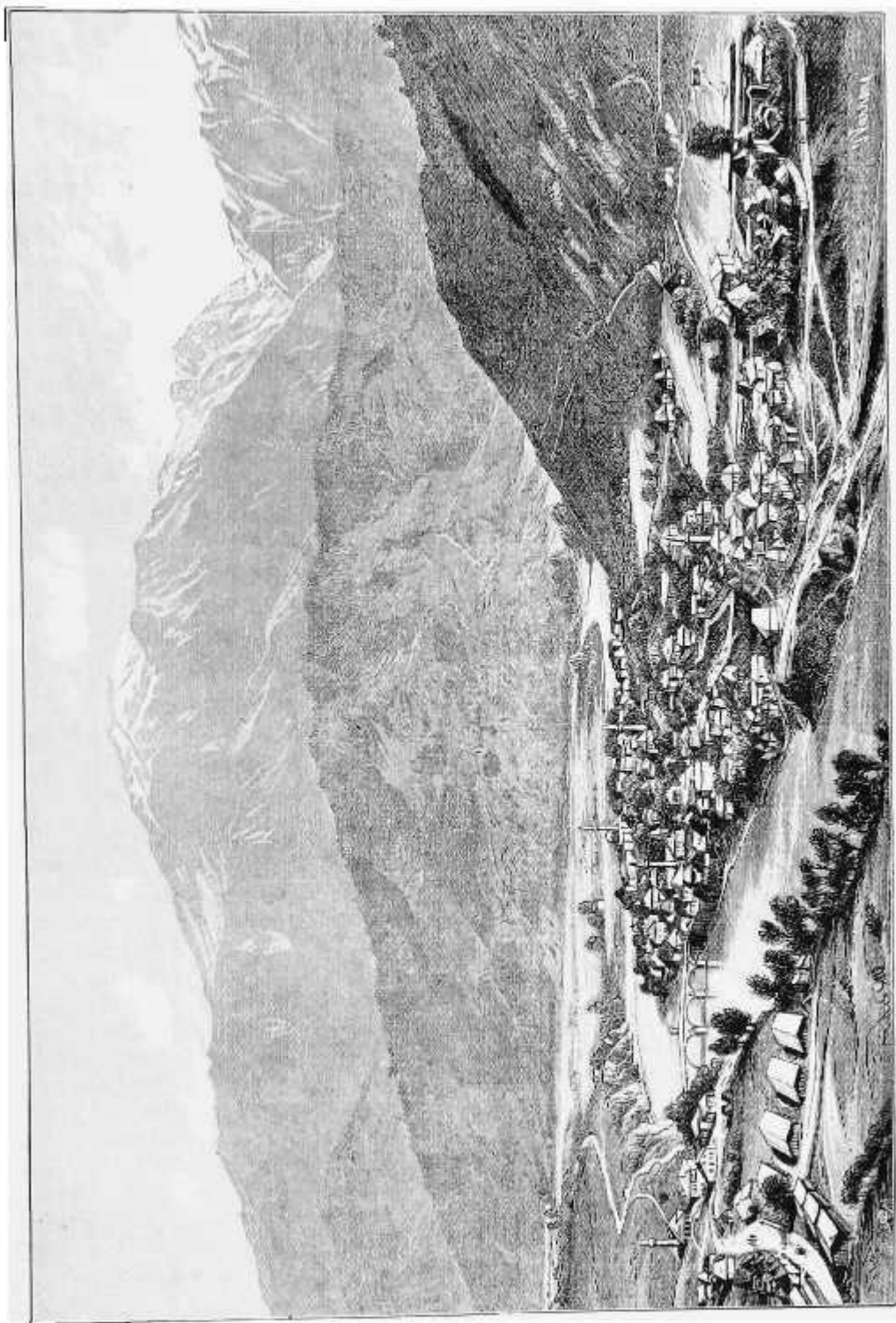
" V. The Duke of St. Sava (Herzegh Sancti Sablae) is only legally so if he has been appointed by the King of Bosnia, Rascia, Illyria, and if he has immediately upon his nomination placed an oath of fealty in the hands of his Royal Majesty. Otherwise, he shall be punished by the King.

" VI. The incestuous and corrupters of their kin shall always pay the penalty, therefore, with their lives.

" VII. Betrayers of fortified towns (*castræ*) and fortresses shall forfeit their lives ; so shall also the coiners of base money.

" For their eternal commemoration and strengthening do we sanction these Articles here written down, under our Great Seal, upon the advice, and with the co-operation of the dignitaries of the Church, magnates, waywodes, and representatives of our entire Kingdom.

" Given at Konjitz, and written by our dear and faithful father in Christ the Right Reverend Vladimir Vladimirovitsh, Bishop of the Greek Church at Kreshevo and the Narenta, Secretary to Our Court (*aulæ*), Doctor of Greek Literature and Laws, in the 1446th year of the Redeemer, the third of Our reign, on the day of St. Ivan, in the presence of the Right Reverend Thomas, Bishop of Lesina and Legate of the Holy Apostolic Chair ; of Theophanus, Bishop of Dioclea and Ipek, the Greek Patriarch of Our Rascian Kingdom ; the Servian Metropolitan Maximus ; Johann Metropolitan of Marna ; the right reverend fathers, in our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Order of the Minorites of St. Francis ; of the apostolic nuncios and delegate in Our Kingdom of Rascia, Eugenius Summo ; of the Grand Inquisitor of Bosnia and Episcopal Vicar, Michael of Zara ; also of the eminent and illustrious Stepan, Duke of St. Sava, and his sons ; of Our beloved brother Radivoj, Banus of Jaitze ; of Our *Judex Curię*, the Count Radivoj Vladimirovitsh ; of Our Judge Stefan Vlatkovitsh,



Konjitzu.

Banus of Usora; of the Waywode of the Dalmatian Provinces, John Kovatshitsh; of the Waywode of Glashinatz, Our Lord High Steward, Peter Pavlovitsh; of the Waywode of Zvornik, Our Lord High Cup-bearer, Pava Grubjetitsh; of the Waywode of Valeria, Prefect of Our Servian Kingdom, Nikola Altamanovitsh; of the Waywode and Prefect of Our Rascian Kingdom, Vladimir Jamorektovitsh, and other Waywodes of Our Kingdom." \*

If King Thomas had not up till now advanced with greater energy to the persecution of the Bogomiles, the cause must be sought in the danger from Turkey, which had in the meantime increased. Vladislav King of Hungary had fallen in the unhappy battle of Varna. George Brankovitsh, with whom Thomas, in view of the Turkish storm, had entered into such friendly relations, that amongst other things they caused common coins to be struck, had again sworn allegiance to the Turks, and had garrisoned Srebernitz, which, since Hunyady's great siege, had again belonged to Bosnia. In 1448, Brankovitsh took John Hunyady himself prisoner on his flight through Servia from the unfortunate battle on the Kossovo-polje; and in the same year Thomas directly petitioned the Pope for help against Brankovitsh. Finally, according to the peace of Semendria of 1449, at the drawing up of which Brankovitsh represented the Porte, and Ladislav Gara, Hungary, Bosnia again became bound to the payment of tribute to the Porte.

After the expiration of the seven years' treaty of peace, however, not only the Pope, but Hunyady also demanded the fulfilment of the promise regarding the extirpation of the heretics.

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\* The Jesuit, Farlato, who gives this record, received it nominally from the Vladimirovitsh family. I give the record, because it appears probable that it rests upon actual facts, and that it is founded upon a genuine document. In the form, however, in which it has been transmitted to us through Farlato, I consider it to be a forgery, in the same way as many other Bosnian records have been more or less tampered with for religious or private reasons. Amongst others, I have the following reasons for considering this record to be a forgery:

Of "Illyria," which is here mentioned in the king's title, nothing was at that time known in Bosnia; to the Middle Ages it was in general only known as a geographical idea come down from the time of the Romans; the name never appears in any reliable document, and is an invention of that Catholic-Croatian Propaganda which may be traced back to the times of the Jesuit Farlato, and which attempted to force the Illyrian province of antiquity, under the leadership of the Croatians, into national and religious unity; that Stefan Vukshitsh should already at that time have agreed to the contents of this record is not credible, neither was he created duke until later. The title of Banus of Jajtze given to Radivoj was not created till afterwards, during the kingship of Ujlaky. Altamanovitsh is in the record designated as "Prefect of Our Kingdom of Servia;" but the Servian Despotate was first granted at the Diet of Szegedin in 1458 by Matthias Hunyady to King Thomas's son; up to that time the Bosnian kings had neither possessed nor claimed Servia as distinguished from Rascia.

As the persecution of the Bogomiles began in about 1450, the Bogomilian priors, many magnates, and a large number of the people—some forty thousand in all—fled to Stefan Vuktshtish, to the Turks, and to Brankovitch, to solicit their aid against the king. The first to respond to this appeal was George Brankovitch, who had but recently come into possession of a part of Bosnia. But King Thomas soon had his difficulties with Stefan Vuktshtish too. The Great Waywode of Chlum, who had long aspired to the position of an independent prince, in 1448 still acknowledged the Emperor Frederick III., who laid claim to the Hungarian throne as his sovereign. From him, too, he received his title of Duke (Herzog) of St. Sava, after the Tomb of St. Sava, which stood upon Stefan's property in the monastery of Milieshevo. Thenceforward people began to call his country Herzegovina.

At just the time when the Bogomiles were beginning to fly to him for protection, the newly created duke repudiated his wife, for the sake of an Italian adventuress, who had come into the country in company with some Florentine merchants. The discarded wife and her son Knez Vladislav took refuge in Ragusa. The duke demanded their surrender, and as this demand met with a refusal he attacked the town with an armed host. The Republic turned to several European powers for aid, and naturally first of all to the King of Bosnia. Thomas had three weighty grounds of complaint to urge against Duke Stefan: to begin with, he had deliberately severed the bond which as a subject bound him to the king; secondly, he had with open arms received such of the Bogomiles as had fled to him; thirdly, he had ignominiously divorced his wife, and she was the queen's mother. The king therefore responded to the appeal from Ragusa, that he "would arise with all his power." But alas! when he summoned his waywodes and vassals to fight against Stefan Vuktshtish, most of them declined to proceed against the duke, so that the king found himself compelled to lead such forces as he had under his command against the rebellious magnates themselves.

In the meantime, Duke Stefan had called the Venetians to his aid, and they had seized the opportunity of themselves taking possession of the entire shore from the Cetina to the Narenta; he at the same time turned to the Turks for support, and his request for aid reached them just as they were nestling down in Fotsha, and installing a Sandjak-Beg,\* with the title, indeed, of Sandjak-Beg of Herzegovina. When Duke Stefan, in 1454, concluded peace with Ragusa, he already acknowledged himself to be a vassal of the Sultan's, and had undertaken never again to attack Ragusa, "excepting upon the command of

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\* Sangiacate, a division of a Turkish pashawlic.

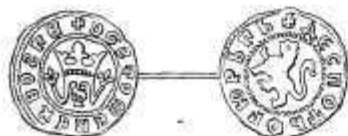


that Mighty Ruler, His Majesty Mehemed Bey, Sultan of Turkey." In a deed of 1459 he signs himself, "by the grace of God and that great sovereign, my Lord, the Emperor Emir Sultan Mehemed Bey, I, Stefan Duke of St. Sava."

Duke Stefan had scarcely made his peace with Ragusa, with his son, and with the magnates who had attached themselves to them, before he commenced to make preparations for attacking the King of Bosnia with a powerful army, in order to satisfy his own resentment and pride, and the claims of the Bogomiles.

By the side of these there was yet another motive power. The Croatian Ban Peter Talovatz, the greatest landowner on the Bosnian borders, had died in the year 1453. Thomas was now seeking the hand of the Ban's widow for his son Stefan, and with her hand he also hoped to obtain her possessions, in order to thus secure a further prop to the firm establishment of his own power.

Duke Stefan, however, had lately become a widower, and he, too, had cast his eye upon Banitza Hedwig and her property.



Common Coin of King Thomas and the Despot Djurdge (George Brankovitsh).

Into this contest there also stepped the new Croatian Ban Ulrich of Cilli, who was at any rate desirous of owning the estates of his predecessor. The battle to which this dispute led was fought upon the Croatian borders.

The campaign was not yet concluded when the Sultan, who had heretofore supported the Duke, and who was just then making preparations for a fresh expedition against Hungary, suddenly, in the beginning of the year 1456, demanded, in addition to the usual tribute, two thousand measures of grain, and the surrender of four fortresses, threatening, should his proposals be rejected, the total annihilation of Bosnia.

The evil effects of the last persecution of the Bogomiles gathered to a head with frightful rapidity, resulting in a tempest which threatened the very existence of Bosnia. King Thomas saw himself at one and the same time at war with the Bogomile magnates, and through them with the Despot of Servia, with Stefan Vuktshtish, and with the Turks, and in spite of everything the Bosnian kingdom yet once again—though for the last time—won fresh glory. It is of the very nature of political blunders that in their immediate results they only warn, then they menace, and finally, and not until after they have been oft-repeated and persevered in, wreak their revenge. Even after that, when all is really lost and undermined, history, like great dramatic poets, loves to revive the lost illusion, to let it seem to recover from the stunning crash, just as though it



might even yet take a favourable turn, and a rescue might yet prove possible. She only calls the illusion back to life, however, in order to show that after great sins, and mistakes long persisted in, no energy, no wisdom, can longer suffice to stave off the final verdict of the catastrophe. Disaster itself has no power over a healthy constitution ; but no run of luck can save the constitution that is undermined.

Muhammed II. had, on May 20th, 1453, to the terror of all Christendom, taken Constantinople by storm. Passing from triumph to triumph, he had within a year overthrown all the Grecian, Albanian, and Servian States, and in 1454 called upon George Brankovitch to surrender his entire country to him. The Despot saw no alternative but to hand over Servia without striking a blow for it, and to flee to Hungary and petition John Hunyady for help. The result of this was, that Muhammed's troops, who had until then proved irresistible, were in 1455 compelled by the Hungarians under Hunyady to retreat from Servia. Mad with rage, Muhammed, in 1456, advanced against Hungary with one hundred and fifty thousand men and three hundred cannon ; but was again, and this time completely, beaten by Hunyady and the Monk Capistran, under the walls of Belgrade, on the 21st and 22nd of July.

Possessed by the enthusiasm which this victory of the Hungarian arms called forth throughout Christendom, Thomas Ostojitch not only declined to surrender his fortresses, but also withheld the stipulated tribute from the Porte, and proclaimed a crusade against the Turks. The Pope instructed his legate to forward a third of the moneys collected for the crusade to the King of Bosnia (the remaining thirds were designed for the King of Hungary and George Castriota in Albania), and commanded Venice, and even Stefan Vukthitsh, to support Thomas in his enterprise. On July 20th, 1457, however, when the Pope learnt through the king's emissaries that he was already taking the field, he wrote to him : "Arise, champion of Christ ; war manfully against the barbarians, and thou shalt see that by the blessing of God thou shalt attain to a glorious victory."

As a matter of fact, King Thomas did in 1458 conquer a few of the districts lying on the borders of Bosnia and Servia ; but as the action of Hungary was crippled by the intervening death of John Hunyady and of King Ladislaus, and as King Thomas's emissaries, whom he sent to the Venetian Republic, to Milan, Burgundy, and Naples in succession, brought him no assurances of assistance, Thomas concluded a peace with Muhammed, and even renewed his promises of tribute.

King Thomas's position had meanwhile steadily improved. He had punished the Bogomilian barons ; he had made peace with Turkey ; the matters in dispute with Croatia were drawing to a close, whilst he relinquished

his ideas of a Croatian marriage; Duke Stefan kept quiet, if not exactly in obedience to a command from the Pope, yet under the impression produced by Hunyady's victory. Thomas had, however, gained most in Serbia. True, he was still at war with Brankovitch in 1455; but the Despot died in the course of the following year, and Thomas, in view of their common danger from Turkey, entered into such a close alliance with his son, that his own son Stefan Tomashevitch betrothed himself to Jelatsha, daughter of the Despot Lazar, and thereby not only succeeded to the reversion of the provinces that had been torn away from Bosnia, but also acquired land in the Servian Despotate. After the death of Lazar, at the Diet held at Szegedin in 1458, at which King Thomas and his son took part, the newly elected King of Hungary, Mathias Corvinus, confirmed Stefan Tomashevitch in the Servian Despotate, and the whole of the Despot's Hungarian possessions, although it was not until later, on April 1st, 1459, that Tomashevitch led his betrothed home as a bride.

Bosnia had, however, now attained to its highest point in this new ascent. So early as the 20th of June in this year, Semendria, the most important fortress on Servian-Hungarian borders, was wrenched from the weak hands of Stefan Tomashevitch by Muhammed II., hardly a blow having been struck for it; and by its fall the whole of Serbia fell into the hands of the Turks. The whole of Christendom and King Mathias himself accused Thomas and his son of treachery. The King of Bosnia sent in his own justification a deputation to the Pope, which was, however, tampered with by Mathias, as he believed that the Bosnian embassy had been sent to Rome to solicit a crown. "Beloved son," wrote the Pope to him, "we are not so inexperienced in these matters, and do not dispense our favours so lightly, that we should not realize what results might follow upon such a gift. We know also what King Thomas's crimes have been towards thee and the whole of Christendom. We know that many have petitioned for this crown, yet have never received it. And, moreover, if under any circumstances we should bestow it, we should not do so without first informing thee of the matter, for we know that thou hast a claim thereupon." Meanwhile, the Turks were pressing more and more heavily upon the King of Bosnia.

Whilst Mathias was carrying on a correspondence with the Pope, and was waging war with the German Emperor Frederick III., the Bosnian king was compelled to grant a passage through to Hungary to Hassan Pasha, who appeared at the head of a Turkish army. Thomas renewed his offer to Venice of the whole of his kingdom, if it would only send him aid; but in spite of this, Venice confined itself to expressing the hope that Thomas would, after the example of his ancestors, be himself in a position to maintain the integrity of his kingdom through his own wisdom and with the help of God.

Now, too, Stefan Vuktshitsh began to realize his own pressing peril, and exerted himself to at least secure for his own person and personal treasures a refuge to fly to in Venice in all emergencies.

Finally, in the year 1460, the new Croatian Ban Paul Sperantshitsh attacked the arraigned King of Bosnia, and in this war Thomas met with his death on July 10th, 1461. According to the Croatian chronicler he died by the hand of his own son, and of Knez Radivoj.

And now we come to the last king, and to the final catastrophe.

One of Stefan Tomashevitch's first acts as a ruler was the utterance of



Coins of Stefan Tomashevitch (some with the Slavonic inscription, *Stefan Kral*).

a cry of despair to the Pope. In the address read, at a solemn conclave in 1463, by his ambassador, the words ran thus :

"Holy Father! We, Stefan Tomashevitch, King of Bosnia, send to Thee this embassy, because the Turkish Emperor Muhammed will attack us in the coming year, and his army stands in readiness. We shall not be able to withstand such power, and have therefore called to our aid the Venetians, the Hungarians, and George of Albania, and to Thee do we make the same appeal." . . . "Thy predecessor offered our father the Crown. . . . Our father hesitated because he feared the Turks, and had not yet expelled the Manichæans from the country. . . . We do not fear, as our father did, and we therefore beg for the Crown and for holy Bishops, as a sign that Thou wilt not desert us."

He goes on to petition that the Pope will direct the Venetians to send

him arms, and also that he will use his influence with King Mathias, otherwise Bosnia must be ruined. "The Turks are already constructing fortresses in our Kingdom; they are friendly towards the peasantry, and promise them freedom." . . . "Neither can those Magnates, who are deserted by the peasants, maintain themselves in their castles." "If Muhammed would rest content with our Kingdom, and would not travel further, we might leave it to its fate, without disturbing the rest of Christendom on its account. His insatiable love of power, however, knows no bounds. After conquering us, he will grasp Hungary and the Dalmatian estates belonging to Venice, and then pass through Carniola and Istria into Italy, for this, too, he wishes to conquer, and he often talks of Rome, after the possession of which he lusteth. If, as the result of the indifference of Christendom, he conquers our land, it will then be possible to him, from this point, to carry his designs on to fruition. We shall be the first to fall a victim; but after us the same fate will speedily overtake the Hungarians, the Venetians, and other races. Thus thinks our enemy. We inform Thee of that which we know, in order that it may never be said that we never brought it to Thy knowledge, and in order that we may never be accused of Thoughtlessness. Our father forewarned Thy predecessor Nikolaus and the Venetians of the fall of Constantinople; and to the great hurt of Christendom has the city of the Emperors, the throne of the Patriarchs, the pillar of Greece, been destroyed. Now we tell Thee beforehand, if Thou wilt believe us, and wilt send succour, we shall be saved. Without this we are lost, and after us, the others. This doth Stefan foretell to Thee. Do Thou, Father of Christendom, advise and help!" \*

Clearly did the King of Bosnia foresee his fate.

It is true, that in November 1461 he was crowned by the hand of the Papal legate, a thing that had never happened before. The coronation took place at Jajza, Vindislans and Vlatko, the sons of the Duke of St. Sava, being present; and in this fortress Stefan took up his residence, as Bobovatz was no longer secure against the Turks. Stefan Vukitchsh himself, under pressure from the Turks, was compelled to pay forty thousand ducats to the Pasha of Servia, and this induced him to at last make his peace with the King of Bosnia, nay, even to acknowledge his suzerainty. The dispute, too, with King Mathias was adjusted by the Pope.

At all events, Mathias broke out into bitter complaints over the coronation which had been brought about through the agency of the Papal legate. "We

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\* Katona, *Hist. crit.*, xiv., p. 491—494.

entreat of Thy Holiness," wrote the King of Hungary to the Pope, "not to increase the arrogance of this person through too much compliance. And if Thy Holiness's Legates have acted against Thy orders, refute their action. Especially do Thou leave to us that which is ours by right. . . . Furthermore we will, whatever may have happened up to now, always listen to the advice of Thy Holiness; and we will receive the King again into our favour directly his emissaries shall ask our pardon, provided only that he in the future perform his duty, and rectify the past through obedience in the future." At the same time, Mathias instructed his messengers to draw the Pope's attention to the rights of Hungary, so that the Bosnian king might not be emboldened to dream of entire independence.\* By 1462, the King of Bosnia had already contributed considerable sums of money towards the redemption of the sacred crown of Hungary, which had remained in the possession of Frederick III.; had stationed Hungarian garrisons in several of his fortresses, and had undertaken to revoke the Turkish tribute.

But King Mathias, who had at that time already taken up arms against the Bohemian Hussites, then in alliance with the Bogomiles, and who was disputing the Bohemian crown with George Podiebrad, the Hussite, demanded also the strict persecution of the Bogomiles.

The Catholic world was at that time saturated with the conviction that, in face of the pressing danger menacing it from the Turks, unity in Christendom was then more necessary than ever before; whilst, as a matter of fact, the Bogomiles had already entered into close relations with the Turks. Of reconciliation, in the sense of mutual toleration, and other ideas of the nineteenth century, of course there could be no thought in the fifteenth, at the time when the Reformation, beginning to be felt all over Europe, had led to the clashing of strong convictions, until hatred and mutual condemnation had risen to the point of fanaticism.

All this, however, only hastened the catastrophe.

Numbers of Bosnian Bogomiles were already domiciled amongst the Turks, and such of the barons as had only embraced the Catholic faith under compulsion, but who had in secret remained faithful to the Bogomilian faith, lost no time in informing Muhammed of the preparations being made at the Bosnian court.

Muhammed now, in order to obtain an opinion of the situation at first hand, at once despatched a special messenger to Bosnia to gather in the tribute, and his envoy being abruptly dismissed, Muhammed began to prepare for war.

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\* Katona, *Hist. crit.*, xiv., p. 494—501.

We know of this expedition through several contemporary chronicles. The most important of these is that by the renegade Michael Constantinovitch of Ostrovitza, who himself took part in the expedition.\*

Of all the strange tales of these chronicles, the strangest is that which tells how Muhammed II. himself travelled through Bosnia in disguise; how he was recognized by the King in Bobovatz, but was liberated upon parole. Thus much appears certain, that King Stefan had been terrified by the Sultan's preparations for war, and that, seeing he must not count too much upon any friendly support, had petitioned for a longer truce, which, according to the chronicles, was to be of fifteen years' duration. The Ostrovitza renegade asserts that he himself warned the Bosnian envoy at Adrianople, where the Sultan's army was lying in readiness to take the field, that though Muhammed might grant the truce he would not himself observe it. As a matter of fact, the Sultan, immediately on the departure of the envoy, did press forward with one hundred and fifty thousand cavalry, and innumerable foot soldiers and auxiliaries. One portion of the army, under the command of Ali Beg Pasha of Servia, took the direct road towards Hungary, whereby the King of Bosnia was still deceived, and his fears to a certain extent allayed. But Mahomed Pasha fell, with a body of twenty thousand light cavalry, upon the Bosnian Drina territory, and the Sultan followed up this opening attack with the main army. Muhammed conquered the Podrinje, and caused the Waywode there to be beheaded; he then drew up before the walls of Bobovatz, and on the 19th of May commenced the siege of this stronghold. Bobovatz, which had survived so many sieges, would have proved defensible on this occasion too, had not the commandant, Knez Radak, been, in secret, a Bogomile, who had only embraced the Catholic faith under compulsion, and he surrendered the fortress on the third day of the siege. Muhammed rewarded him for his treachery by death; the people to this day point out the rock Radakovitza, lying between Sutiska and Borovitza, whereon the traitor is supposed to have been beheaded.

King Stefan, who had relied upon the resistance of Bobovatz, had intended to await the junction of his own forces with those urgently solicited from abroad, in Jajtza. But, after the terrible news of the fall of Bobovatz, together with the news that most of his magnates were offering no resistance whatever to the Sultan, he quitted Jajtza in haste with a very weak following, and endeavoured to escape to Hungary.

In the midst of his flight, just as he was going to make a brief halt at the fortress of Kljutsch, Mahomed Pasha's light horse overtook him, and

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\* Published by J. Safarik, *Olasnik arbak.*, xviii.

surrounded the town, thus cutting him off from all rescue. On the fourth day, Stefan Tomashevitch surrendered himself, after having received an undertaking in writing from Mahomed Pasha in which he swore, in the name of the Sultan, that the king should not be subjected to ill-treatment. With this ended all resistance to Muhammed. Within a single week the Sultan took seventy towns and fortresses: according to Kritobulos the Greek, it was close upon three hundred. Muhammed appointed the renegade Michael Constantinovitch as Captain of Jajza.

Having made himself master of Bosnia, Muhammed turned in the middle of June towards Herzegovina. Here he met with a determined resistance; and this difference in the defence of the two countries shows most distinctly that the real cause of the ruin of Bosnia lay in the persecution of the Bogomiles. Fiercely did the Bogomilian people defend their Bogomilian prince and his land. After Muhammed had laid fruitless siege to Blagaj, Duke Stefan's capital, and had become convinced that he would not meet with such an easy victory here as in Bosnia, where no one had stood to his arms, he turned his back on Herzegovina and returned to Constantinople. He condemned one hundred thousand prisoners to slavery, and thirty thousand youths he placed among the Janizaries.\* In spite of their letters of indemnity, he commanded that King Stefan Tomashevitch and Radivoj and his son should be beheaded. According to others, he ordered them to be flayed alive.† Queen Maria, many of the magnates, and a large number of the people—their descendants are still called "Dalmatians"—fled into Hungary.

The greater number of the magnates, however, who had formerly only left the Bogomilian faith under compulsion, now willingly abandoned the Catholic religion and went over to Mohammedanism, a change of belief which was to them all the easier from the fact that they could find in their new belief many points of resemblance to their old religious convictions, which had also rejected the cross, baptism, ecclesiastical pomp, ceremonial, the hierarchy, and the sacrament of marriage. The Queen-Dowager Katharina, stepmother to King Stefan, fled to Rome. She bequeathed the kingdom of Bosnia to the Pope, should her children not return to the arms of the Church; for these, too, had fallen into the hands of Muhammed, and had embraced the Mohammedan faith. The queen's tomb is in the church "*Ara Cæli*," and bears the following inscription: "*Catharina Regina Bosnensi, Stephani Ducis Santi Sabbæ Sorori, ex genere Helene et domo Principis Stephani nate,*

\* Turkish foot soldiers.

† Michael of Ostrovitz, Johannes Leonclavius, Leonicos, Gebelinus, Istrány and Bonfini differ from one another in these particulars.

*Thomas Regis Bosnæ uxori quantum vixit annorum LIIII et obdormivit Romæ Anno Domini MCCCCLXXVIII die XXV. Octobris. Monumentum ipsius scriptis positum.*"

King Mathias re-conquered a portion of the Bosnian Netherlands and Usora, and from them formed the Banate of Jajtza and Srebernîk. At the head of this Banate he placed Nikolaus Ujlaky, Waywode of Transylvania and Ban of Macsó, upon whom he also bestowed the title of King of Bosnia. Thus did the Hungarian arms hold at least the shadow of the old Bosnian kingdom erect. With the catastrophe of Mohács even this vanished. Yet more rapid was the downfall of Herzegovina.

Stefan Vuktshtish died on May 23rd, 1466, and his sons were not capable of holding their own against Sultan Bajazid. In 1483, the Begler-Beg of Bosnia subjugated Herzegovina. Vladislav and Vlatko fled to Ragusa; Stefan, the youngest brother, went over to Islam under the name of Ahmed Beg Herzegovitsh; and his son, of the same name, became one of the most



Coins of Nikolaus Ujlaky.

celebrated grand viziers of the Turkish Empire, and in this capacity fought at Lepanto. Do Bogomiles still exist?

Montalbano, who travelled in Bosnia towards the close of the sixteenth century, still writes in his work, *Rerum Turcarum Commentarius* (in the *Turci Imperii Status*, Elzevir, 1630): "*Est aliud eo in regno hominum genus Potur appellatum, qui neque Christiani sunt, neque Turcæ, circumcidantur tamen, pessimique habentur.*"

In another place he says of the inhabitants: "*Eos inter Calvinistæ Arianique multi.*" On the other hand, Farlato, so early as 1769, received the assurance from the Bosnian Minorites, that there was no trace of the Bogomiles left.

There can be no doubt but that the Bogomiles from the very first went over to Islam in numbers, whilst the residue seem to have gradually followed later. A large proportion of those who did this, in the early days at any rate, did so undoubtedly with the intention of returning to their old faith should a favourable moment offer. Constantly persecuted, they may have learnt to deny their faith for the time being. When, however, the





favourable moment never arrived, this intention must gradually have been lost sight of, and at length have been entirely forgotten by their descendants.

Speaking generally, however, traces of the Bogomilian faith have only been preserved amongst the Bosnian Mohammedans, in so far that there yet remain many customs, ceremonies, and superstitious actions which are due to Christian, and partly, perhaps, to especially Bogomilian reminiscences.

As the greater part of the population had joined the Bogomilian Church, the conclusion may be drawn, from the entire disappearance of this sect, that the larger part of the original population which did not emigrate passed over to Islam. The Catholics migrated by thousands to Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Baes; and, as time went on, whenever Austro-Hungarian troops invaded Bosnia—a thing of constant occurrence up to the time of the last century—they on each occasion passed over in numbers to these provinces.

The Orthodox\* population, on the other hand, has a much later origin; for the Orthodox element did not begin to play a part in Bosnian history until after Tvrtko I. had incorporated a part of Rascia.

One circumstance which points to this is, that even the Slavonic superscriptions on the Bosnian coins appeared in Latin letters, a thing which would have been impossible in an Orthodox country. But the Orthodox population was rapidly increased by fugitives, as the Turks, Servia, and Rascia were victorious, and the immigration may have lasted for some considerable time, so that such provinces as had been deserted by the Catholics became as a rule peopled by this element.

It may, therefore, be maintained that the Bogomiles became Mohammedans, that the Catholics for the most part emigrated into Austro-Hungarian territory; but that the Orthodox, who were just as antagonistic to Catholicism as to Mohammedanism, and who would neither give up their religion nor remove to a Catholic state, gradually, and through long-continued immigration and natural increase, populated those districts deserted by the Catholics.

It is true that the Ragusan correspondent of the *Times* wrote on October 19th, 1875, that the fugitives from Popovo, numbering two thousand one hundred and twenty-five in all, were, according to information he had received from a priest, for the most part Bogomiles, "remains of an ancient sect, once widely spread in Bosnia, and identical with the Albigenses;" this suggestion may, however, have only been made to the English corre-

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\* By Orthodox is here meant the Greek Church.

spondent in order to arouse the sympathies of Protestant England. Mr. Evans, too, who simply calls the Bogomiles Protestants, asserts that Bogomiles, and that by thousands, are still to be found in the land. I have, in the course of four years, travelled through nearly every district, and have mixed with all classes of the people, and I must still maintain that I have never met anybody who could give me the information at first hand that Bogomiles still existed.

As, however, such a splendid scholar as Jiretschek† also maintains that Bogomiles still exist in Bosnia, and as he, in confirmation of this statement, refers to Kosanovitsh, the learned ex-Metropolitan of Serajevo, who mentions the Bogomiles in one of his essays,‡ I, too, have referred to the latter gentleman, and have received the following answer, which, as it fully explains matters as they actually are, I have translated as literally as possible: "I have heard that above Kreshevo there are living a few families who, it is true, make the sign of the cross, and who attend the church, but amongst whom the father secretly hands down to the son the Bogomile confession of faith as an '*amanet*,'§ in the hope that his religion may yet some day be revived. The Minorites (brothers) have, in spite of all the pains they have taken, been unable to discover which families these are.

"In the year 1865 I heard from the lips of Fra Grgo Martics that, until the arrival in Bosnia of Omer Pasha, there were about sixteen families in the county of Neretva (Zsupa) who regarded themselves as belonging to a Patarinic sect, and would neither accept the belief of the Turks, that of the Orthodox Pops, nor that of the Brothers (Minorites).

"The former secretary to the French consulate in Serajevo, Evaryst de Saint-Marie,|| also informed me upon one occasion that, after the opening of the new street which runs by the side of the Neretva from Konjitz to Mostar, near Jablanitz,¶ at the point where the river Rama runs into the Neretva, he had discovered some genuine traces of the early Bogomilian religion.

\* *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina* (London: 1877).

† *Geschichte der Bulgaren*.

‡ *Glasnik*, xxix. (1871), 174.

§ Secret charm, confusion of word "amulet."

|| In his writings he does not mention this.

¶ This district is entirely Mohammedan to-day; but the women of the neighbourhood do not conceal their faces, which is all the more striking, because throughout this country the custom of the veiling of faces is much more strictly adhered to than anywhere else in the Mohammedan world.

"I must further add that, until 1868, Jablanitza and the surrounding neighbourhood were almost cut off, and practically unapproachable; that even the Turkish authorities hardly ever penetrated so far, and even when they did do so, it was by rocky paths over the Borak Mountains.

"On this account, I think it possible that the Patarinic sect may have been in existence in that district until quite recent times, and that the inhabitants may only lately have passed over to Mohammedanism."

All this agrees to perfection with what Peter Bakula's *Mostar Schematismus* says of this neighbourhood: "*In Dobačani familia Helež non multis retro annis Muhammedanismum amplexata est quæ fuerat postrema sequax deliriorum Bogumili.*"





## CHAPTER V.

### THE BOGOMILIAN BURIAL-GROUND IN THE FIELD OF THE UNBELIEVERS.

Bogomile Graves near Serajevo—The Graves of Paul Radinovitsh, Knez Radoje, Knez Batitsh, Gyaursko-Polje—Opinions of Travellers and Scholars—The Bogomile Character of the Graves—Crosses—Disturbance of the Christian Burial-grounds—Caves for Worship—Manipulation of the Stones—Royal Tombs—Scarcity of the Writing—The Various Categories—The Grave of Bukovitz—Religious Significance—The Representation of National Life—The Chase, Dances, Feats of Arms, and War—The Graves of Stolz—Mythical Animals—The Obelisk and the Sarcophagus at the Gyaursko-Polje.

OLD Bogomile graves may be found anywhere in the neighbourhood of Serajevo, besides the Serajevsko-Polje itself. Immediately above the fortress, on the road to Rogatitza, there is an immense group of these graves. At a league and a half distance from the town in a south-easterly direction, on the Pratscha Road, one of the largest of these old tombstones stands quite by itself on the Pavlovatz Hill, near the ruins of Kotorsko. This is a giant sarcophagus of white limestone, hewn out of one solid block, together with the yet larger flag upon which it rests; and at a distance it looks like a complete building. It is in all probability the tomb of the powerful chief Paul Radinovitsh, murdered in 1415 by King Ostoja and the Waywode Sandalj Hranitsh, or else the resting-place of a member of his family. It is possibly his name that is still borne by the hill situated upon the domain of the House of Radinovitsh, the ancient "Comitatus Berec," in the neighbourhood of which stands the castle built by Paul. These gravestones display neither emblem nor inscription. On the other hand it is just by their inscriptions that two stones in the neighbourhood of Serajevo attract attention. Upon one of these, near Lepenitza by Kiseljak, may be read the following: "*Ovaj je spomenik kneza Radoje velikoga kneza bosanskoga a vojvodu mu bi sin njegov Radjimir, s božijom pomoću i svojih vjernih i sinom Nikolom i inom*

*pomoću a ne sam. . .*” (“This is the memorial of Prince Radoje, Bosnian Grand Duke; his Waywode was his son Radjimir, with the help of God and his faithful servants, and with the help of his son Nikola and others, but not alone. . .”) The stone bears a lion between two vine leaves, three stars, and a comet.

The other monument, which is situated near Tshemernitza on the Tzrni-Potok, bears the following inscription: “*Va ime oca i sina i sv. duha amin. Ovdje laži knez Batić milosti Božijom i slavnoga gospodina kralja Tvrtka knez nad bosanskim Visokim. Na svome zemljištu plemenitomu razbolje se na Dubokom, i k njemu ljetnik dodje. Ovaj spomenik postavi gospodja Vukosava, koja mu živu služaše vjerno i mrtou mu posluži.*” (“In the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. Here rests Prince Batitsh, by the grace of God, and His Most Glorious Majesty King Tvrtko, Grand Duke of the Bosnian Visoko. He sickened on his noble estate of Duboko, and the physician came to him. This monument was erected by the Lady Vukosava, who served him faithfully during life and in death.”)

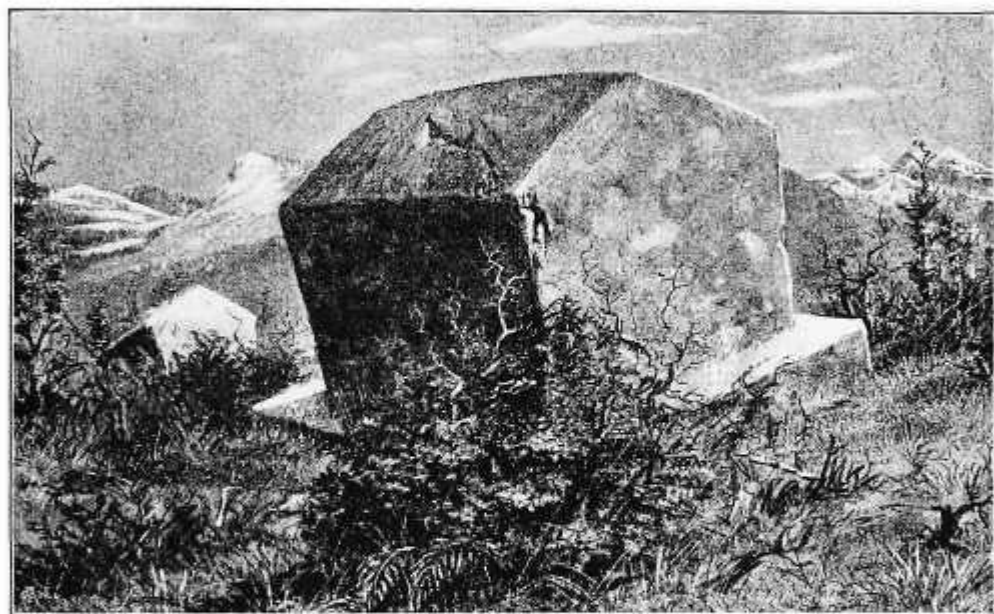
But in the whole neighbourhood, nay, in the whole country, there is no Bogomilian burial-ground so celebrated, even though it may not be the largest, as the Gyaursko-Polje, “the field of the unbelievers,” which lies between Kakanj-Doboi and Sutiska, three miles from the old capital of Sutiska, the favourite abode of the former rulers of the land, and six miles from the castle of Bobovatz, where the kings generally dwelt, and where the Bosnian crown was kept.

Before entering this primitive burial-ground, however, where the tombs amaze us by their colossal dimensions, and where our admiration is called forth by the richness and beauty of their masterly workmanship, a few preliminary remarks may not be out of place regarding Bogomilian graves in general.

These singular tombstones are met with wheresoever the power of the Bosnian State has extended, but beyond these boundaries, nowhere. They occasionally stand quite alone, and then again sometimes in groups of not less than three hundred. Their total number, I think I can, on the strength of my observations in all the various parts of the country, estimate at something like one hundred and fifty thousand. Popularly they are generally called “*Mramor*,” a designation which has its origin in the Roman marble tombstones. They are also called “*Stetsbak*” (that which stands); “*Bilek*” (Sign), and “*Gomile*,” which last especially denotes an ancient tomb, but in the narrower sense is applied to the prehistoric graves indicated by simple cairns. Popular tradition ascribes these tombs to the Grks (*i.e.* the Greeks), as, indeed, it does all that

is ancient, and the meaning of which has become obscure; this is a proof that the memory of the Byzantine suzerainty has lasted longer in the popular consciousness than the previous Roman rule. To the Grks are also attributed such Roman monuments and remains of Roman roads as still exist; but throughout the county one may also hear these tombs described as Bogomilian graves.

It is a widespread superstition that the dust scraped off these tombstones has peculiar healing properties, particularly that of bringing back mother's milk.



The Tombstone on Pavlovatz Hill.

The Bosnian Minorites, who first began to mention these tombstones in their writings of the last century, were not in a position to decipher the Glagolitic inscriptions on many of them, either because they did not understand them, or could not interpret them on account of their ancient character, their rough execution, and their weather-worn condition. They actually described them as Gothic, and distinguished these stones from those which showed the better known Old-Cyrillic characters.\* Without doubt this is the reason

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\* This is even the case in the *Schematismus of the Vicar of Mostar, Peter Bakula* (which appeared in 1867 at Spalato, and in 1873 at Mostar), which book further gives an accurate archaeological survey of the diocese.

why the German consul Blan, who at the suggestion of Mommsen was the first to study the antiquities of the country with any intelligent aim, also ascribes these tombstones to the transitory rule of the East-Goths.\*

Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, who also found similar graves on the borders of Dalmatia, simply calls them "unknown sepulchres," but by their sculpture connects them with the Bosnian State and the period between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries.†

The Englishman Mr. Evans, who travelled on foot from Brod to Metkovitch, when he for the first time beheld one of these groups of graves in North Bosnia (near Teshanj), where the stones only occasionally display either sculpture or inscription, was convinced that the astounding vision must be prehistoric.‡ As, however, he afterwards came across single examples, upon which sculpture existed, he hesitated between the two theories, that those tombs which bore neither Christian nor any other religious symbol were either mediæval Jewish sepulchres, the Spanish Jews even now using similar though much rougher stones in their burial-grounds in Serajevo and Mostar, or else Bogomilian graves; and he leans to the latter theory, when he hears that popular tradition also attributes them to the Bogomiles. A Viennese scholar (Sterneck) who travelled in the country before the time of the Austrian occupation described these sepulchres positively as prehistoric.§ The French consular secretary Evaryst de Saint Marie confines himself to the contribution of several drawings in the publications of the Paris Geographical Society.|| The regimental doctor, Dr. Luschan, described tombs in the neighbourhood of Bihatsh in a Viennese newspaper.¶ Councillor Thalloczy has contributed two drawings from the burial-ground at Stolatz, and has thereby established the Old Slavonic character of these tombs, and the fact that they date from the period between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries; but he declines to draw any general conclusion from what he has seen.\*\*

Hoernes, who was commissioned by the Austrian Government to study the Roman antiquities of Bosnia, also interested himself incidentally in the Bogomilian graves.

\* *Reisen in Bosnien und der Herzegowina* (Berlin: 1877), a. 25.

† *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, ii., 181.

‡ *Evans, Bosn. and Herzeg.* (London: 1878), p. 111.

§ *Geogr. Verh. in Bosnien, Herzeg., und Monteng.* (Wien: 1877), p. 45-6.

|| April, May, 1876.

¶ *Deutsche Zeitung*, September 14th, 1879.

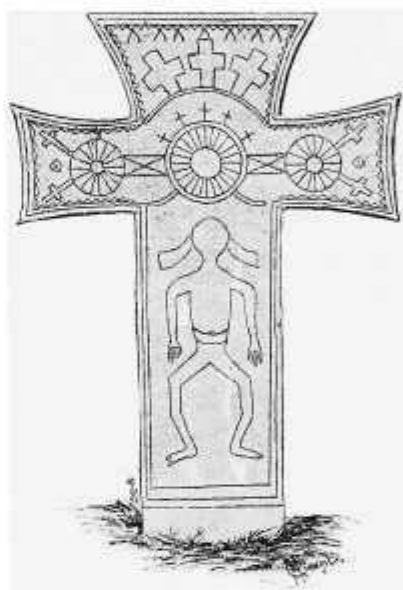
\*\* In the Budapesth "*Archæologiai Értesítő*" (1880), p. 503.



In his useful reports, he copied the archaeological section of Bakula's *Schematismus*; and in addition to those there given, he also gave drawings and descriptions of such tombstones as he met with on his own journey. He only saw a comparatively small portion of those that exist, and a still smaller portion of the most characteristic; and he therefore draws no general conclusions, but only proves, and that quite rightly, that these sepulchres date from the Bosnian Middle Ages. He attributes the scarcity of Christian symbols amongst these tombs simply to the complete absence of religious susceptibility and the absolute barbarism of the Bosnian



The Cross of Fojnitza.



The Cross of Ljeschkowatz.

people. To see that there was a deep-seated cause for this absence of Christian symbols, and that these graves are the remains, perhaps the only remains, which give evidence of an important and deeply interesting national culture, would have been hardly possible, considering how comparatively few of these graves he had seen, and their very secondary importance, in the absence of all historical light.\*

A few of the South Slavonic writers, too, have busied themselves with these Bogomilian tombs, and have drawn attention to them in the Agram, Ragusan, and other newspapers. They have for the most part, however,

\* *Sitzungsberichte der K. Akad.* (Vienna: 1880, p. 491, and 1881, p. 799). *Mitth. der Cent.-Comm. für Kunst-und Hist. Denkm.* (Vienna: 1882), p. 17.

confined themselves to an exact description of the respective tombstones, and an attempt to discover some allegorical meaning in the more or less enigmatical signs. They passed by the Bogomilian character of these graves in silence, in consequence of the strongly developed religious point of view obtaining amongst the Southern Slavs of to-day. Neither the Orthodox nor the Catholic like to confess that the Bosnian nation was heretical. The Orthodox counts Bosnia as part of Serbia, the Bosnians as Servians; whilst the Catholic looks upon Bosnia as part of Croatia, and her people as belonging to the Croatian nation. Everything which points to the existence of an independent Bosnian people and a peculiar Bosnian religion is abhorrent to both.

The most valuable contributions relating to this matter are supplied by the Bosnian authors themselves,—Bakula, in his *Schematismus*, the former Metropolitan of Serajevo, Sava Kosanowitsh in the Belgrade *Glasnik*, and in the Ragusan *Slavinac*, and by their side Raditsh, a Professor at the Naval Schools in Corzola, in his contribution to the Viennese Anthropological Society in 1884, where he published some observations on Hoernes' report.

That these sepulchres are closely connected with the Bogomilian sect, that they are, as a matter of fact, Bogomilian tombs, all the circumstances tend to show with convincing force.

They are to be found wheresoever the Bosnian State was permanently established, even in Montenegro and in some parts of Old Serbia. On the further side of these boundaries they suddenly cease; for, on the one hand, the Roman, on the other, the Greek Church, would not tolerate the spread of the Bogomilian creed.

In the country itself the Turkish invasion fixed the temporary boundary line of the Bogomilian graves. At the time when the Bogomiles passed over to Islam in masses the power of the Bogomilian faith had come to an end, and thenceforth the sect led, at the most, a secret, feeble, shadowy existence. If these tombstones had not been peculiarly Bogomilian, instead of a national Bosnian character, then, at least, those who had remained true to the Christian belief would have adhered to the old forms. We, however, find a distinct though rough continuation of the old traditions during each period, and down to the present time, only amongst the Jews of Serajevo and Mostar. Amongst the Christians nothing similar is discoverable, because the Catholics and Orthodox manifestly never possessed such gravestones. The Jews, on the contrary, yielded to the prevailing customs of the country, especially as they stood in opposition to the Christian Church, and carried them down into more recent times.

Later on we shall come across tombs dating from the first days of the

conversion to Islam ; and it will be seen that these form a genuine bridge between the Bogomilian tombstones and those still in use among Mohammedans.

The Bogomilian origin of the tombstones is most simply demonstrated by the striking absence of Christian symbols. The only circumstance which requires explanation is that, this notwithstanding, we do occasionally meet with crosses.

Even this phenomenon is, however, easily explained.

In those parts of Bosnia where crosses of undoubted antiquity are found, they do not stand amongst these tombs, but near ancient churches and monasteries in Catholic and Orthodox graveyards ; as, for example, the cross of Fojnitz, and the crosses of Ljeshkovatz, in the province of Glamotsh, whose decorations show that they date from the same period as the Bogomilian graves. When a cross rises in close proximity to Bogomile graves, it is generally easy to see that it has been erected at a later date, by pious souls, particularly where an old burial-ground has still served as a place of interment, so that Christian graves have come to lie amongst the Bogomilian ; and especially in Herzegovina does the phenomenon occur, that Mohammedans, after their conversion, have still kept to the old burial-places of their Bogomilian forefathers, and have there erected their turbaned pillars in the midst of the old sarcophagi and blocks of stone.

Where a cross is seen above an older grave, the contrast to the other tombs is striking.

The grave is only covered by a simple stone slab ; but the characteristic sarcophagus, square block, or reversed obelisk, is missing, and is just replaced by a standing cross at the head of the slab, as, for instance, is the case with some graves below the cordon-postline of Kovatshki-Krs in Herzegovina.

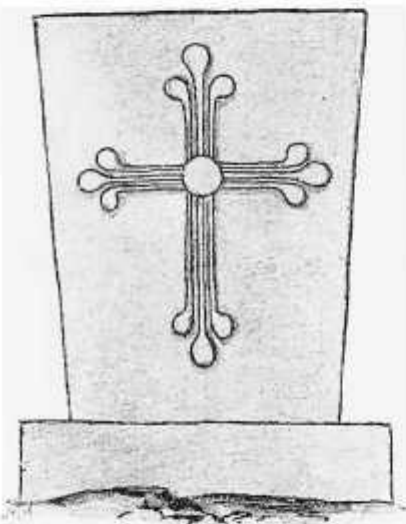
Finally, upon these ancient tombstones themselves, cruciform symbols do appear as very rare exceptions ; but this also only confirms the general fact of their Bogomilian character.



Cross near Kovatshki-Krs.

For, on the one hand, they never occur in the interior of the country, but only in the borderlands, where supervision was more direct, the pressure of Hungarian arms more restraining, as they constantly forced the Catholic religion upon the Bosnians; or in provinces which, like Srebrenik, were at one time under the government of the Servian Despot, or, like Travunje (the neighbourhood of Trebinje and Bilek), had fallen under the dominion of the Prince of Zeta, so that Orthodoxy could there exercise its authority.

Under such circumstances, the Bogomilian magnates were forced to yield, and they introduced upon their peculiar monuments, amongst other things, such signs as might be taken, if so desired, for a cross. As a matter of fact, however, most of these crosses are of such a form, as to make it doubtful whether they are really intended as Christian symbols, or only accidentally represent a cruciform decoration, as was occasionally the case in Egypt, Babylon, and Carthage.



Tombstone near Bilek (*Bobotov Dub*).

The avoidance of all Christian symbols upon the Bogomilian sepulchres was consequently intentional, and was in no wise due to a state of barbarism or to the absence of religious sensibility. History shows, on the contrary, that in Bosnia the religious spirit has, in every age and in all creeds, been most active; but, taking into consideration the space over which the graves are spread, and the period of their creation, just the absence of this symbol of the cross is such a clear proof of their Bogomilian character

that it is a complete answer to the question.

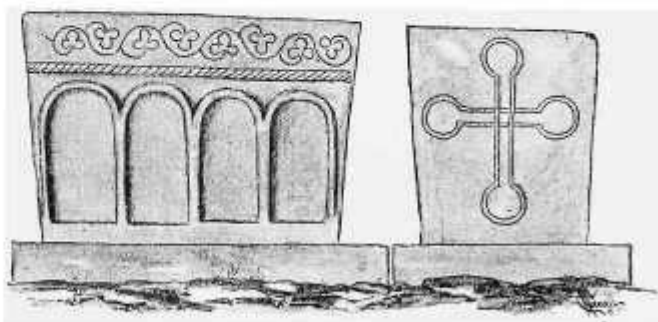
As to the question as to why we find so few traces of the ancient burial-grounds of the remaining creeds, if all these tombs are Bogomilian, the answer must be found in the durable material and the solid construction of these tombs—one block often containing fifteen thousand kilograms—which have been able to defy all the ravages of time.

On the other hand, it is very possible that the Mohammedans, at any rate in the early days after the invasion, would not tolerate the Christian graveyards adorned with crosses, and destroyed them. At Rakitno, upon the tableland of the same name, as well as on the tableland of Duvno, near Antshitshi,

there are two extensive excavations; the first is one hundred and sixty-four yards deep and nineteen yards wide. They are covered with inscriptions, and are still held in religious veneration by the Christian population. Possibly,



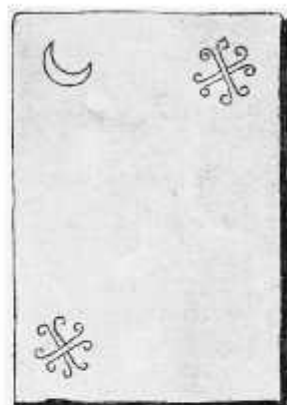
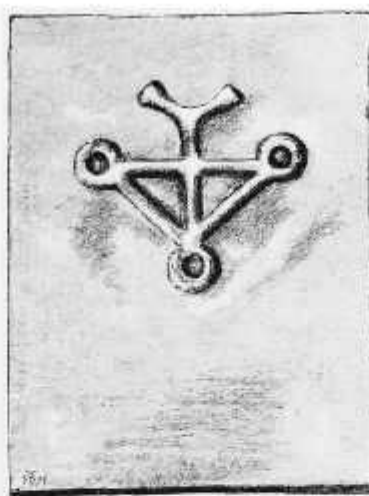
Cruciform Ornaments at  
Koratski-Krs.



Tomb with Cross at Radmilovitch below  
Bilek (two sides).

in the early days after the Turkish invasion, they served as places of devotion and interment.

Hoernes is probably right in affirming these sepulchres to be chiefly the



Cruciform Signs on Graves at Radmilovitch.

resting-places of the nobility. We know that nearly the whole of the Bosnian nobility acknowledged the Bogomilian faith. People without means could never have defrayed the cost of erection of such tombs. That they were,

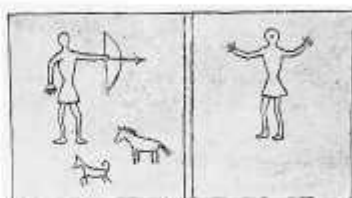
as many suppose, built where they now stand is incorrect, for they are often found at enormous distances from any stone quarries, especially in Bosnia; in Herzegovina there is never any scarcity of rocks. As to the manner in which these tombs were constructed, that is shown by a stone at Blatsha (Krstatz-Planina), which has been left in an unfinished state, only half hewn out of the living rock.

Hoernes is, however, not fully informed, when he asserts that such tombstones were only in use amongst the smaller nobility.

On the contrary, the symbols and inscriptions on many stones show that



Goat-hunt  
(Rashitz near Blatsha).



Tombstone below Priluka  
(length 1.80, breadth 0.80, height 1.00 metres).



Byzantine Cross (Bobotov Dub below Bilek).



The Unfinished Stone at Blatsha.

they cover the resting-places of the distinguished, nay, even the princely dead. In a few tombs, costly weapons, articles of ornament, and cloth of gold have been found, by Luschan, at Ravne Treshnje, and by Vid Vuletitch-Vukashovitsh at Gradatz in Herzegovina.\*

The rank in the nobility held by the dead is indeed clearly indicated by these stones. By far the greater number have neither sculpture nor inscription; the inscriptions are especially rare, either because, as Vuletitch supposes, time and the hand of man have obliterated all traces of them, as is evidently

\* *Viestnik Hrv. Archaol. Društva.*

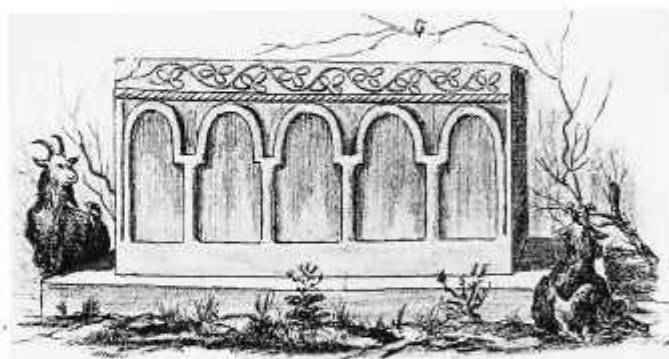


the case with a few, or because the art of writing was here, as everywhere else in the Middle Ages, a rare accomplishment. The circumstance that in most cases even, where the sculpture has been preserved complete and undamaged, not the slightest trace of any inscription can be discovered should, in my opinion, settle the question.

After by far the most numerous class of these stones, which, though without pictorial decoration and inscription, are withal carefully executed and of noble proportions, there follows a second. These are more or less profusely ornamented with figures, but with a total want of method or artistic arrangement; primitive and childish in design as well as execution, obviously the work of country stonemasons and amateurs, interesting rather upon ethnographical grounds than any other, and by the choice and treatment of the objects, which are nearly always the same human and animal forms,



The Obelisk at Blatsha.



Row of Columns connected by Arches at Dobovatz near Bilek.

weapons, and heavenly bodies, intermixed with perfectly enigmatical or incomprehensible figures, as they are conceived by the childish imagination. It would, however, be a mistake to infer a general state of barbarism from such strikingly barbaric designs. A poor man might find pleasure in the works of an unskilful workman, or might himself in an unpracticed and simple way strive after the artistically constructed tombs of the rich and powerful.

Everywhere amongst these primitive tombs we find those which, though they may be simple, are yet exact in their designs, and bear witness to a strong and correct decorative style, to artistic aspirations, and actively preserved traditions of art, and also occasionally those which attain to a truly artistic execution and rich beauty.

In addition to the almost universal form of these tombs, which are mostly

imitations of the late Roman sarcophagus, this striving after artistic decoration most plainly shows that the traditions of the late Roman art of masonry and building were still active. Those masters from whom the Bosnian stonemasons of the Middle Ages had learnt their art had been the authors of the Roman sepulchres. The figure of a cavalier on the Roman stone at Gostilje, already considerably under barbaric influence, shows clearly the transit from the antique to mediæval Bosnian art, and might adorn a Bogomilian grave just as it stands. We shall meet with similar examples elsewhere.

The peculiar obelisk, standing on its head, which forms a thoroughly original style of a Bosnian mediæval tombstone, and which, after the sarcophagi and simple rectangular block, occurs the most frequently, is nearly always adorned with rows of arched columns after the Roman manner; indeed, this is one of the most popular decorations. Roman taste may also be seen in the ornamentation of the framework surrounding the figures. Byzantine art has for the most part only filtered through on the Servian and Montenegrin borders, but is also seen here, though only on an occasional cross. Now and then Gothic subjects occur; but amongst the most beautiful monuments the influence of the Italian Renaissance is unmistakable, and this is also the case amongst the large monuments of the Gyaursko-Polje.

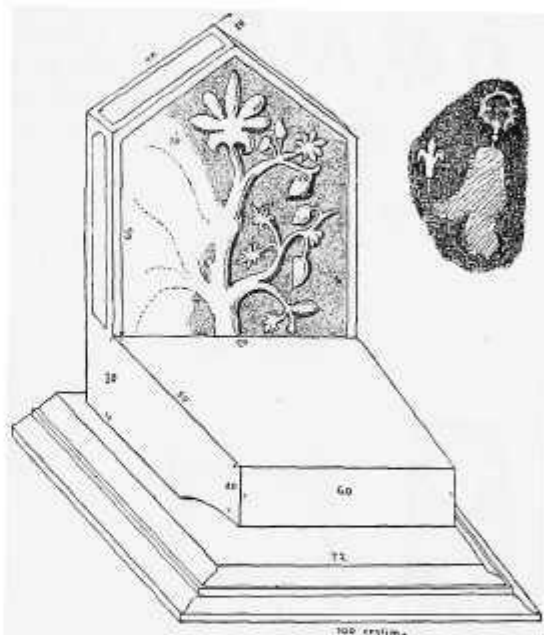
As a whole, decoration is more general and of a richer kind in the neighbourhood of the sea, where Roman traditions and, later on, Italian influence took stronger and more lasting hold. If Hoernes, however, asserts that the Bosnian monuments very rarely display any ornamentation, and where they do, that it is only of a decorative nature, and never a pictorial representation of living forms, and if he supports this theory by a few drawings, this is a blunder which can be easily explained by general inferences being drawn from a few examples. On the other hand, those monuments which are the most beautifully decorated by figures from life, as well as by the most correct examples of decorative art, happen to be found just in Bosnia. The latter is proved, for instance, by an obelisk upon the Krstatz-Planina at Blatsha, to the south of Konjitz. Here we have the lily of Anjou most beautifully carved; this, moreover, being one of the most popular ornaments, a phenomenon which is simply accounted for by the many relations existing between the Hungarian Anjous, their Neapolitan relatives, and Bosnia.

One of the most beautiful tombs, decorated with forms from the life like that in the Gyaursko-Polje, is also situated in Bosnia, and at the same time proves conclusively that the use of these tombs was not confined to the



smaller nobility. This grave stands in the midst of many others, in the neighbourhood of Bukovitz, to the north-east of Jablanitz on the Narenta. The memorial stone stands at the head of the slab. In front there is a blossoming tree; upon the right side, an armed man; upon the left, a crowned woman. The stone has a triangular top. On the right-hand slope, above the man, there is a helmet with an ornament, which merges into a lily, with a wheel-like crest (not a child, as the writer in the "*Slavinac*" supposes); on the left slope there is a Cyrillic inscription: "*Šije grob Pavloviča Ivana.*" This is the grave of Ivan Pavlovitch. The son of Paul Radinovitch probably rests here; the name of Paul's father (Radin Jablanitch) points to the neighbourhood of Jablanitz as that from which the family came.

If, however, all these stones give unmistakable evidence of their builders having been pupils of the late Roman stonemasons, and of their having copied them with more or less skill in their technicalities, partly in the shape of the monuments, and partly also in certain decorative "motives," and if also a certain amount of Byzantine taste may be detected, which had penetrated into the country through the influence of Greek dominion and the Greek Church; yet we



The Grave of Bukovitz.

must not ignore the fact that the mediæval stonemasons of Bosnia saturated all they learnt from strangers with a strong and original national spirit and an original national life. Thus do these mediæval tombs of Bosnia represent, in archaeology, a class until now quite unknown, and in art, a genuine æsthetic tendency; and herein lies her great significance in the history of culture. These, like the Egyptian monuments, faithfully reflect the whole life of the nation, and are of so much greater importance, the fewer the written memorials and dates which have been preserved to us from out these epochs are. They are monuments of a quite unique national art, which, though it has, like all culture, developed under foreign influences, is deeply rooted

in the national life and genius, and presents a faithful likeness of them. The manifestation of this national genius is all the more striking, the more unpractised the hand, and the more it confines itself with modesty and naïveté to that which it observes and finds to be of interest. But even where technical skill is already more developed, and the æsthetic sense has been purified, we still see the same national life faithfully portrayed. We shall meet with these monuments wherever we go. Here our object is to give a short account of

their characteristic attributes and of their typical forms.

The usual form, the sarcophagus, has come direct from the Romans; the peculiarity is that it always rests on a stone slab, with which it usually forms a single gigantic monolith. A quite original invention is the reversed, obtuse obelisk, narrowing toward the base, which also stands on a stone slab. According to usual custom, the form which ranks next to this is the cube, resting on a stone slab, or an oblong block without the slab, and lastly the stone slab alone. Amongst the rarer forms are the stelæ, which are erected at the head of the stone slab which covers the grave, sometimes upon one another, and generally terminate in a triangular top.

The effort to replace artistic excellence by gigantic proportions is everywhere visible, and thence comes the overpowering impression produced by these cemeteries, which might be the resting-places of giants. The medium size is two mètres



Parts of the Grave of Bukovitz.

long, one mètre wide, and one and a half mètres in height.

As with the Egyptians, so here, too, the effort was made to let the dead appear in the midst of his favourite employment and surroundings. In most of the groups living forms are represented, with more or less artistic skill and wealth of detail, in battle and hunting scenes. Such employments as were everywhere in mediæval Europe looked down upon as mean—as, for example, agriculture, trade, and authorship—did not seem worthy perpetuation.

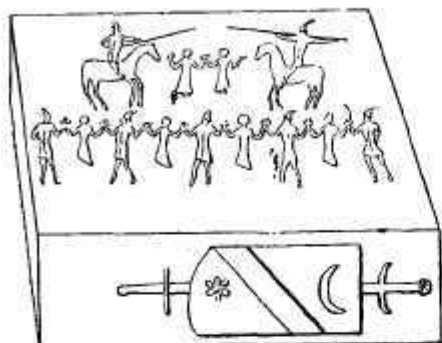
The chase was followed on foot and on horseback, with hounds, falcons, arrows, and spears, and the stag was the noblest game.

Such a stag-hunt is shown in a primitive fashion, but with great exactitude, on a tombstone at Tsherin (Brotshno-Polje, Herzegovina). The huntsman is here represented naked, a very unusual circumstance. A peculiar costume—pointed caps, narrow clinging coats and trousers, one figure wearing boots or stockings reaching to the knees—may be seen on a stone at Borje (Trebizat Valley, Herzegovina), the subject being a tournament of lances; the onlookers hold flowers in their hands, and surround the contending knights, dancing the kolo meanwhile; the women of the kolo-chain in the foreground are represented hopping (Hoernes).

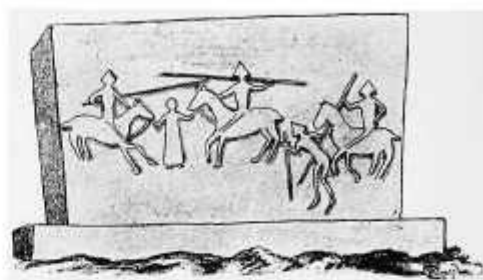
The kolo-dance especially supplies one of the most popular subjects, and explains the death-dance still mentioned in the folk-songs. Men and women alone and together, then changing to several men, and then several women, and so forth in all possible combinations. When South Slavonic writers, on the strength of a few stones, seek to discover much possible hidden meaning in these representations, and attribute a special meaning to the triple grouping of the figures, they advance a groundless assumption, as the kolo-figures on these stones appear in every possible number, every possible combination. Upon a stone at Fatnitsa (Herzegovina) there are four female figures between each two male figures. The women's dresses here cling more closely to the body; the men's dresses are shorter, and remind one of the Albanian Fustanella, which is distinctly recognizable on another stone in the same cemetery. The movements of the kolo are here very expressive. Upon a stone at Radmilovitch (Herzegovina) the kolo is being danced armed; and here also a naked kolo may be seen. The kolo also occurs in a strictly conventional form, as upon a stone at Tsherin, whose narrow end displays a sword and shield.

Even if commerce were not glorified upon these tombs, and the art of writing is seldom represented, though of historical importance through inscriptions, yet these stones by their mere existence bear witness to an already advanced state of the industry of stonemasonry, and give abundant evidence of commercial activity, not only as regards raiment, but also in relation to weapons, armour, etc. Even though Ragusa and Venice supplied Bosnia with arms, there is still no ground for doubting, with Hoernes, that such a warlike people, amongst whom an important iron-industry had always existed, and who even to the present day have always understood the manufacture of magnificent and beautiful weapons, even in the Middle Ages made the greater part of their arms themselves.

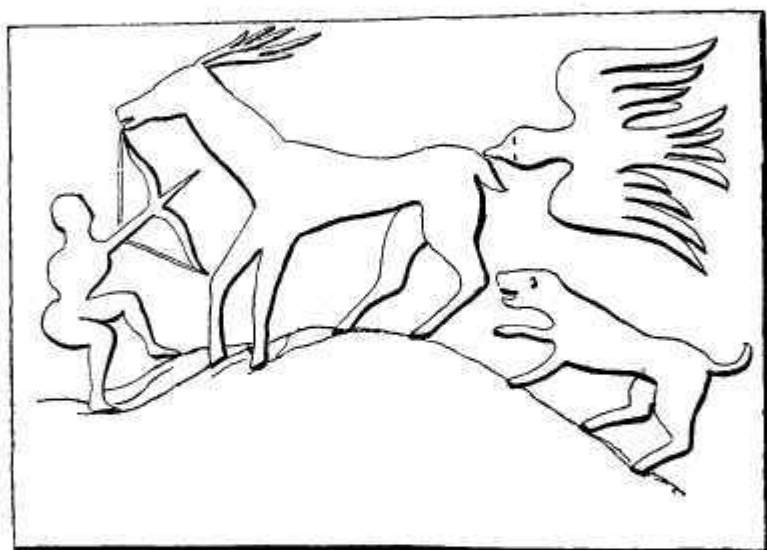
The absolute faithfulness of these memorials is shown by a comparison between the drawings on the gravestones and the antiquities found in the graves



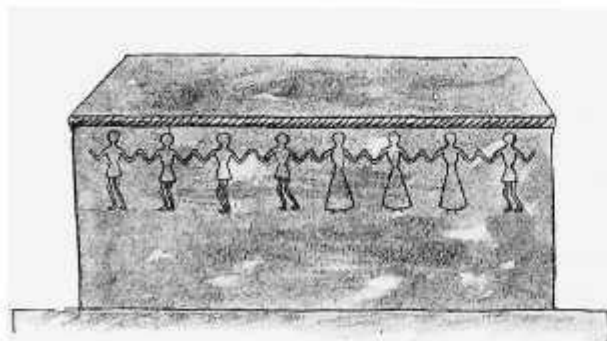
Tournament.



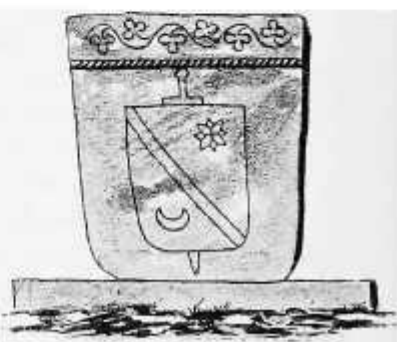
Battle Scene (Bobotov Dub at Bilek).



Hunt at Tsherin.



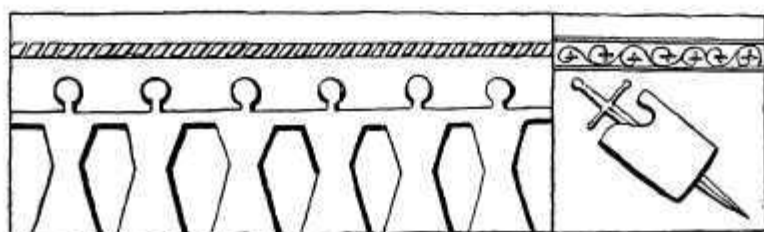
Koio at Fatnitza.



Shield at Mirutshi.

themselves. At Mostar three swords were dug up of one and a half mètres in length, of which one is in my possession. That this sword was in general use amongst the Bosnians of the Middle Ages may be concluded, as it is everywhere represented on the gravestones. This sword appears alone, or with a shield, which is never depicted as the merely symbolic coat of arms, which in later days served as an ornament, but always as the genuine old battle shield in its simple form and with its simple symbols. A beam, star, or crescent is the most usual device on these shields; on the coast, too, one occasionally meets with one of those mailed arms bearing a sword, in which many wish to discover the coat of arms of the Primorje.

Amongst other arms clubs also occur. Popular ornaments are also furnished by the crescent, the stars, the sun, and even comets, which have, however, been so commonly utilized from time immemorial, by all races, their interpretation is unnecessary. Their sublime beauty has attracted mankind in all ages.



Conventional Kolo.

That the moon with the star was the Bosnian coat of arms, as is often maintained, is a mistake; we shall see that Bosnia never had such armorial bearings. This widely used device also appears, for instance, on Theodorich's shield upon the mosaics at Ravenna, and a shield with this device may be seen on a gravestone at Mirutshi near Bilek.

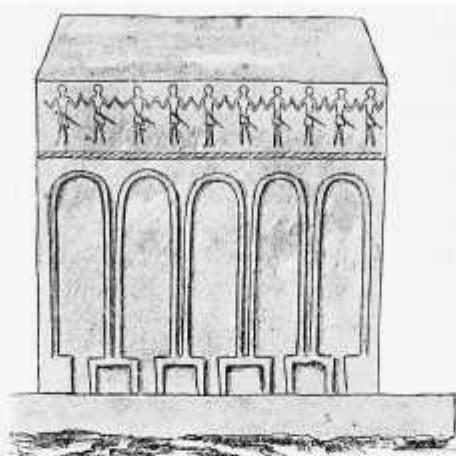
Mail-clad figures which without any doubt represent attempts to reproduce the features of the dead are very frequently met with in the Stolatz Cemetery (Herzegovina), which is moreover one of the largest and most interesting.

Amongst the numerous "reliefs" only two inscriptions are to be found, and these are illegible; but near the cemetery in the oak forest of Dubrava one lonely gravestone yet stands with the following interesting inscription: "*Ovdje leži knez Radoslav Vlatković. U to vrijeme najbolji muž u Dubravama bijah.*" ("Here rests Radoslav Vlatkovitch. I was at this time the best man in Dubrava.")

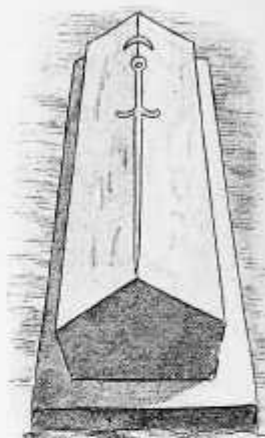
By the side of the straight sword which everywhere appears I have only twice found on Bogomilian graves the bent scimitar, one at Blatsha, the other at



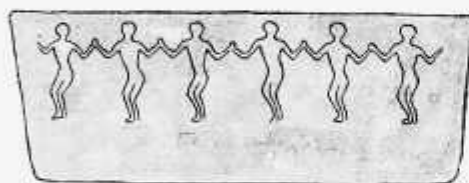
Shield with Sword  
(Radmilovitch).



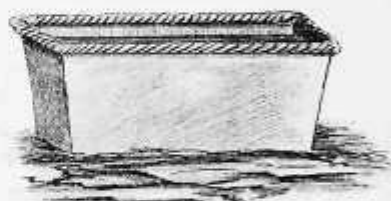
Kolo (Radmilovitch).



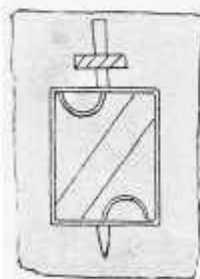
Sarcophagus with Sword  
(Bobotov Dab, Bilek)



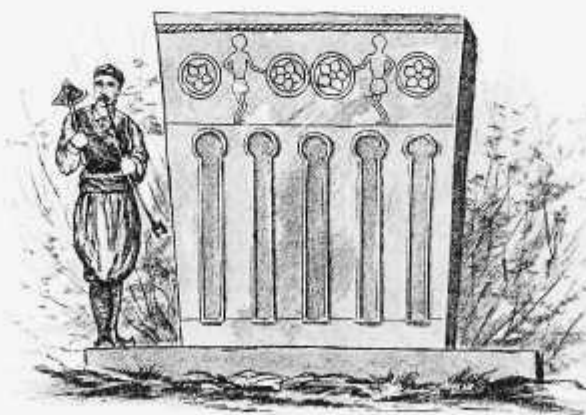
Kolo (Radmilovitch).



Sarcophagus of Piana.



Shield with Sword  
(Radmilovitch).



Stone at Fatnitza.



Slab with Sword  
(Piana).



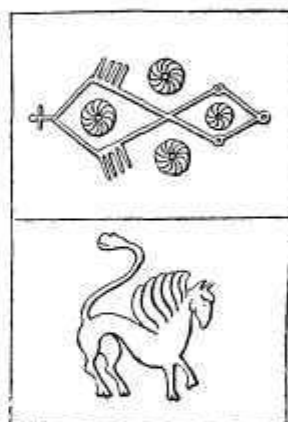
Srebernitza (Bosnia). The first tombstone also represents a wild goat hunt. The picture of this animal is very frequently met with on these monuments; as also the death bird of the folk-songs, the cuckoo.

Amongst mythical animals, the dragon in all its forms is very common. Not far from Oklaj, at Širokibrig in Herzegovina, there is a stone decorated with a real Pegasus; but one must not think of the Greek myth in connection with it, but of the flying horse of the South Slavonic folk-songs.

This pretty well exhausts the list of subjects usually represented. Upon the absolutely primitive gravestones it is true there are wholly unrecognizable, incomprehensible drawings. It would be a thankless task to seek for deep meanings behind all these tracings. To them might be applied the remark made by a French writer regarding the sculpture in ancient churches: "*La plupart de ces figures bizarres n'avaient aucune signification et n'étaient que des ornements créés par le caprice des sculpteurs.*" They are simply cut in the stone, whilst with the more artistically executed monuments even bas-relief sometimes occurs.

I must add that I know only of one case where the sarcophagus is hollowed out and without a cover (at Plana, Herzegovina), whilst it, as a rule, with the cover, and generally even the ground slab, forms a massive monolith. But this, too, is most likely of Roman origin, although found amongst the graves of the Middle Ages.

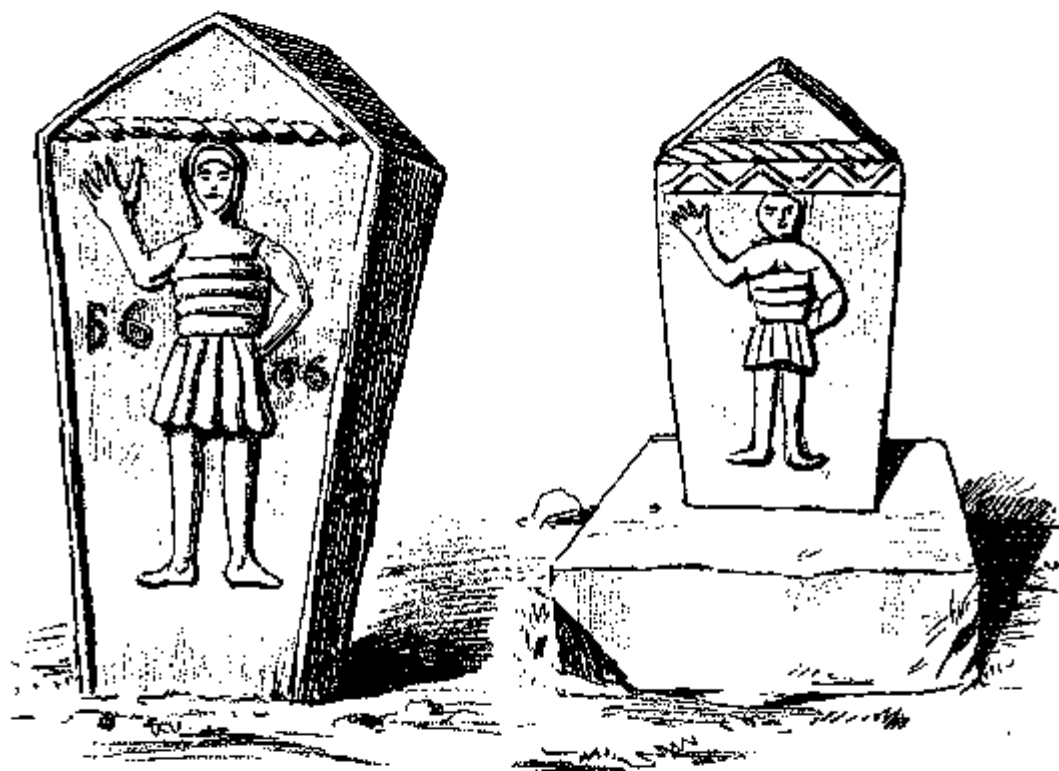
The most famous of these monuments, so artistically executed that it holds a place in the very first rank, stands in the burial-ground of "Gyaursko-Polje." Two kilometers from the right bank of the Bosna, between Kakanj-Doboi and Sutiska, which are situated on the left bank of the stream, and where the Bosnian kings frequently stayed, and six miles from the fortress of Bobovatz, which stood upon Red Mountain at the junction of the streams Bnkovitza and Borovitza, the usual royal residence, Gyaursko-Polje, lies near the village of Aljinitsh, on the right bank of the Sutjenska stream, "the field of the Unbelievers," doubtless so named by the Mohammedans on account of the necropolis there. Gigantic tombstones lie scattered about, some of them deep sunken into the earth. No sign, no writing tells us ought of the dead. The only exceptions are two sepulchres rich in decorations; one quadrangular column two and a quarter mètres in height, and a mighty sarcophagus already forced open.



Winged Horse.

It may here be remarked that the column bearing an illegible Cyrillic inscription must, on account of its form and decoration, and in its relation to similar ones which we shall meet with hereafter, and which clearly point to the first period of the Mohammedan conversion, be ranked amongst those monuments which mark the transition of the Bogomilian tombstones to the Turkish, as the latter were rapidly adopted by the new converts.

The sarcophagus is, on the other hand, much more ancient. It is three



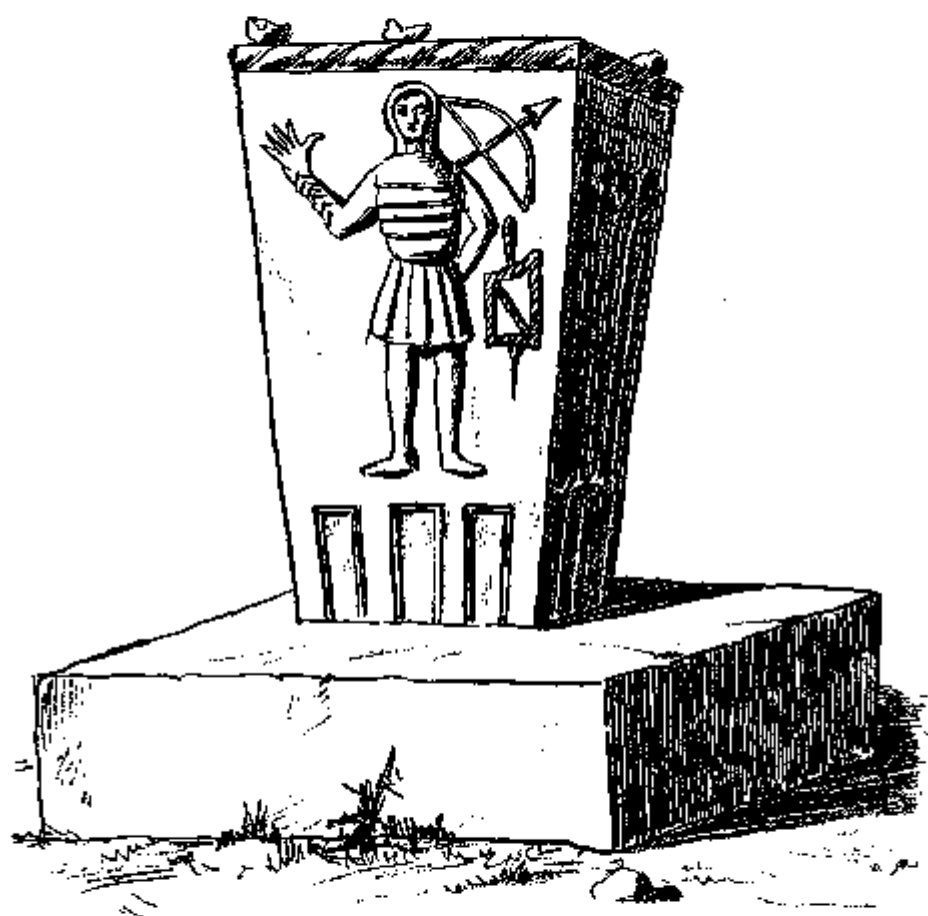
Stones from the Stolatz Burial-ground.

mètres in length, and one and a half mètres in height. The eastern side of the stone, which points from north to south, is divided lengthwise into two parts by a beautiful decoration of lilies. The upper field represents five mailed knights with spears adorned with flags, between them three stars adorned with lilies, and a fourth lily decoration. The lower field represents a hunt.

By a kind of pine tree there stands an archer, who is shooting at a stag pursued by hounds; under a plane tree a huntsman is killing a wild boar, also followed by hounds, with his spear; a tiger (also called hunting-cat) is

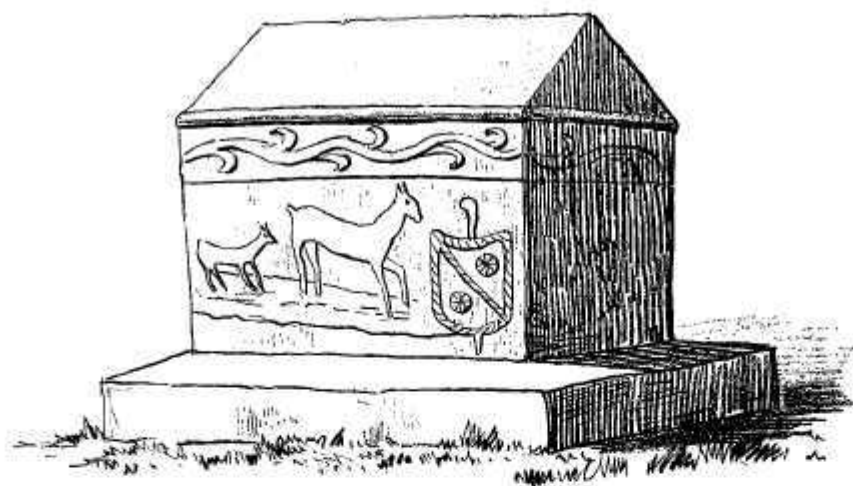


chained to an oak tree, as, during the Middle Ages, he was generally employed for sport in South-eastern Europe (at the present day this is only so in the far East); above this is seen a winged dragon. Here, too, between and below the trees, lilies are introduced. The border towards the south is ornamented with a simple leaf-pattern.

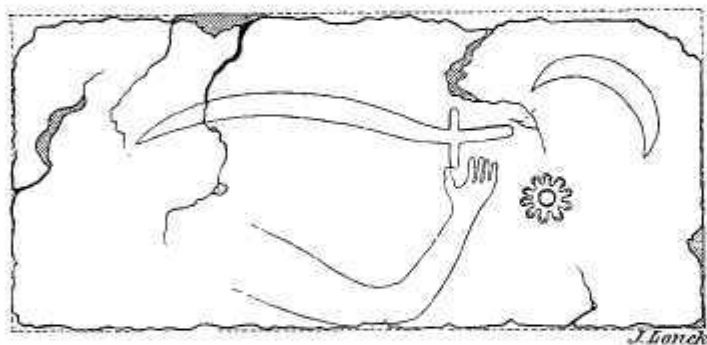


Stone from the Cemetery of Stolatz.

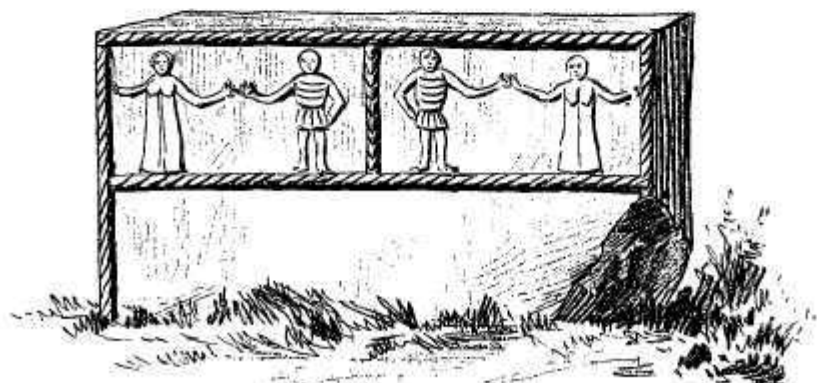
The western side is divided into ten fields, by rich leaf-patterns. Of the upper fields, four contain two circular ornaments, one above the other, under vaulted arches; the fifth contains a conventional tree with rosettes and lilies in the spaces between the figures. In the lower fields four knights are attacking a fifth; and here, too, each field is adorned with a rosette.



Stone from the Cemetery at Stolatz.



Tombstone at Srebernitz with bent scimitar,



Stone from the Cemetery of Stolatz.



Medieval  
Sword.

Upon the narrow northern side, quite at the top, there are five towers with windows and doorways, between them rosettes; on the western edge, an oak. Underneath this there is an ornament which may be taken to be steps or a palisade; it reminds one of the stalactite ornament which was introduced into Venice from Moorish architecture; the centre has been supposed to be a figure of Christ, but this is mere conjecture, the three central figures being unrecognizable; in the corners there are lilies. Hereupon follows a band of lilies, beneath two pages holding two saddle horses; in the intervening spaces rosettes. The two borders are composed of a leaf-pattern. The narrow southern end is divided into eight fields between borders crossing one another at right angles, these borders being formed

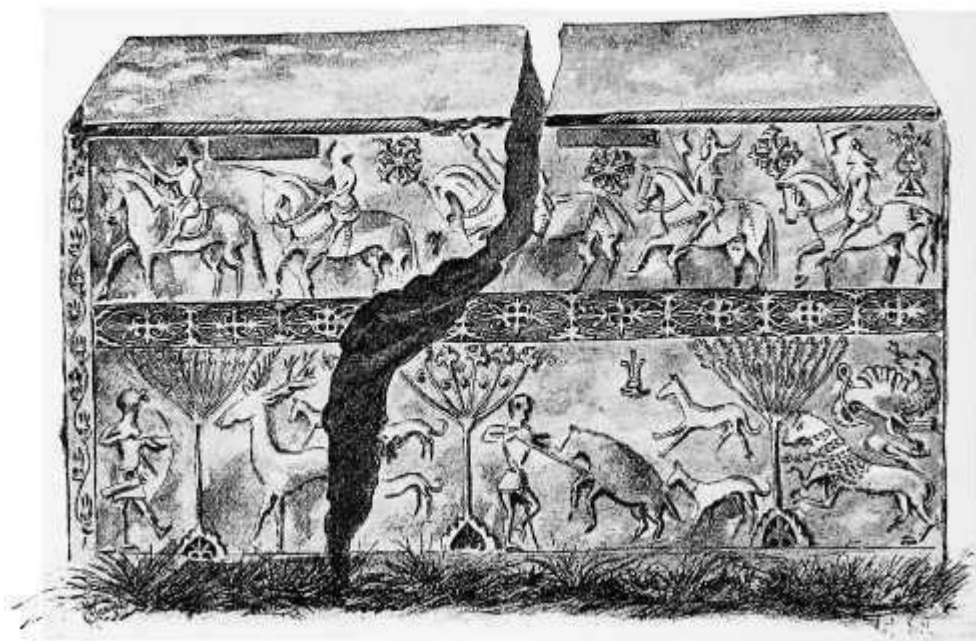


Stone at Blatsha.

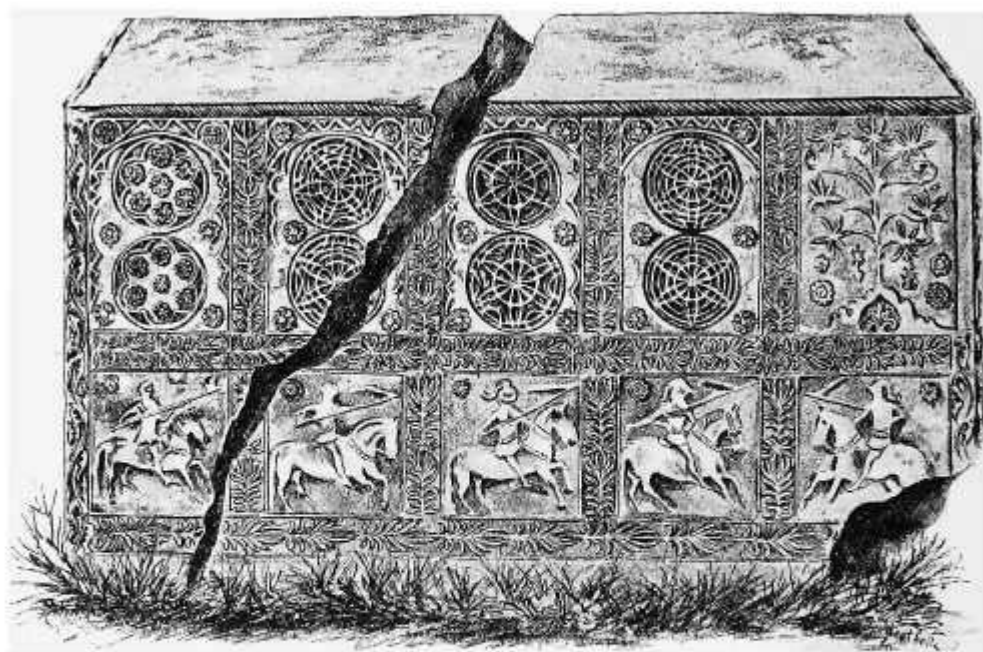
of two elaborate horizontal lily-patterns, and three simple vertical leaf-patterns. Each of the four upper fields contain two, each of the lower fields one, circular ornament, with rosettes in the corners. Hoernes claims a quite peculiar position for this tomb, and sees in it the creation of some foreign artist, who has simply made use of the usual national subjects.

I affirm that I can recognize neither the peculiar position nor the foreign hand. The *tout ensemble*, each separate point, conception, and movement, as well as the ornate ground work, are in such complete harmony with the tombstones to be seen throughout the country, and the artist makes use of the native subjects with such purity and with such exclusiveness, that it cannot be the work of a stranger. The high perfection of the work, and the interweaving of the stalactite decoration, taken together with the Romanesque style, which even here gives evidence of some Byzantine reminiscences, in conjunction with the otherwise exclusively national subjects, such as are everywhere met with upon the Bogomilian tombs, indicate at most that the artist had educated himself in foreign lands, perhaps in Venice, always closely connected with Bosnia, and where, just at this period, the Venetian school had emerged from out of the union of the Roman, Byzantine.

Column at  
Gyaursko-Polje.



East Side.



West Side.

and Saracen *motives*. True, the monks of Sutiska themselves always describe the tomb as a foreign one, and as the resting-place of a crusader, who died at this place when passing through here with a crusading army. Others, by reason of its lily ornaments, believe it to be the grave of a member of the House of Anjou; but there is no foundation for this explanation, as under the Anjous the lily became a common device throughout the land, and constantly occurs upon the old gravestones. Foreign crusaders doubtless traversed the land—especially French ones—and we shall meet with them, but they never passed through this particular neighbourhood. By a forced interpretation one might certainly explain the lily-stars to be crosses placed on the top of one another; but crusaders would have introduced the cruciform ornament in a much more prominent fashion. The ostensible figure of Christ, too, is only a groundless assumption; it is just the absence of all Christian symbols which points to the Bogomiles. Place, surroundings, form, decoration, all testify to the fact that we have before us the tomb of a Bosnian magnate of the Bogomilian faith.

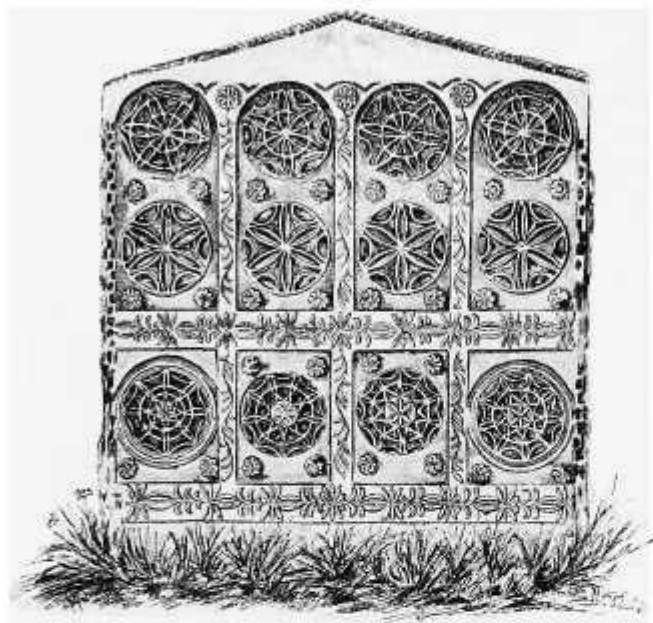


North Side.

No trace of any inscription is discoverable, although the two empty tablets upon the eastern side may have been intended for this purpose.

As we gaze upon the full, rich life of chivalry, preserved to us by these sculptures, we are no longer astonished when we read that the Bosnian knights were always honoured guests at the royal court of Buda, and that they distinguished themselves in the knightly games amongst Hungarians and foreigners, and their Polish, German, and French companions; for this mere physical strength would not have sufficed, but a distinct knightly training and prowess were necessary.

Taken as a whole, it must be acknowledged that these mediæval tombstones mirror Bosnian life in the Middle Ages fully and faithfully, and that



South Side.

they have preserved the traces of a culture which scarcely lagged behind that of Europe generally, and especially not behind that of Central Europe in the period between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries.

With Italy, which at this time stood far ahead of other nations at the summit of civilization, Bosnia then stood in intimate intellectual relationship, and had through her own religious ideas influenced Western Europe, and constituted an impor-

tant factor in giving an impetus to the Reformation.

These sepulchres are all the more worthy of attention because all this has sunk into oblivion, and, as it were, out of European consciousness, and excepting in a few ruins, and a few forgotten documents, only survives in these fantastic, wonder-exciting monuments.







## CHAPTER VI.

### *MEMORIALS OF TURKISH TIMES.*

The Mohammedan Character of Serajevo—Uproar about the Erection of the Orthodox Cathedral—The “Shehidler” Cemetery—The Founding of Serajevo—The Different Quarters of the Town—The Begova and the Czareva-Džamia—The Kosina Tshupria—The Aristocracy of Serajevo—The Turkish Conquest and the Renegade Nobility—Organization of the Turkish Army—The Spahis—The Part played by the Renegade Nobles in the Conquest of Hungary—Bosnian Grand-Viziers—Herzegovitsh Sokolovitsh—The Bosnian Viziers and the Valis of Hungary—Victory of the Imperial and Hungarian Arms—The Attitude of the Nobles of Bosnian Descent—The Sanjak-Begs and the Kapetans—Begs and Agas—The Begs and Janizaries against the Viziers—The Bosna-Begs rise against the Gyaour-Sultan in Defence of Islam—Hussein Aga Berberli—Omer Pasha.

ONE can still see at a glance that Serajevo is an important Mohammedan town, the outcome of Turkish supremacy. Nowhere in the country have so few traces been left of the Bosnian Middle Ages. At the time of the Turkish invasion there existed nothing here beyond a few fortifications, which soon became the centre of the new hamlet, which speedily absorbed the older settlement lying lower down on the plains, and reduced it to insignificance. It is true that the residence of the viziers was constantly pushed forward by the victorious advance of arms of Islam; but, nevertheless, Serajevo never afterwards resigned her central, dominant position. As a matter of fact, from this time forth until quite recent days the town was not ruled by the Sultan’s governing vizier, but just as previously by the old aristocracy of the country, which had indeed embraced the faith of Islam, but had not renounced its old, warlike, indomitable, proud, imperious traditions, a true aristocracy that did not serve, but ruled.

Serajevo now contains a large independent and well-to-do Christian population, and naturally the Austro-Hungarian element is the most

powerful here at the seat of government. European buildings are constantly being erected, amongst them several splendid public edifices. The railway line runs into the town, and brings the heavily laden waggons from the railway station right into its centre. But in spite of all this, "golden" Serajevo is, from the full trousers worn even by the Christian women to the one hundred and eighteen mosques which rear their minarets to heaven, essentially a Mohammedan town, "the Damascus of the north," "Islam's second town" in Europe. The splendid new Roman Catholic Cathedral is only just rising above its foundations. The Metropolitan Church of the considerable Orthodox population, visible from afar, and whose phanariotic modern Byzantine style of architecture stands out so prominently in this Mohammedan town, has hardly been standing for fifteen years, and when it was built it was seen how really Mohammedan Serajevo was.

The minister who is now in residence here, organizing the country, happened to be just then in Serajevo. At that time consul-general at Belgrade, he was travelling on horseback through Bosnia, in order to make himself master of the state of affairs there. The Orthodox community of Serajevo wanted to exercise the right which had been granted them through the exertions of the Hatt Humayun at the Paris Congress, of building a Metropolitan Church of grand proportions. The cost of construction amounted to one hundred and thirty thousand gulden without the interior fittings, which were the gift of the Emperor of Russia.

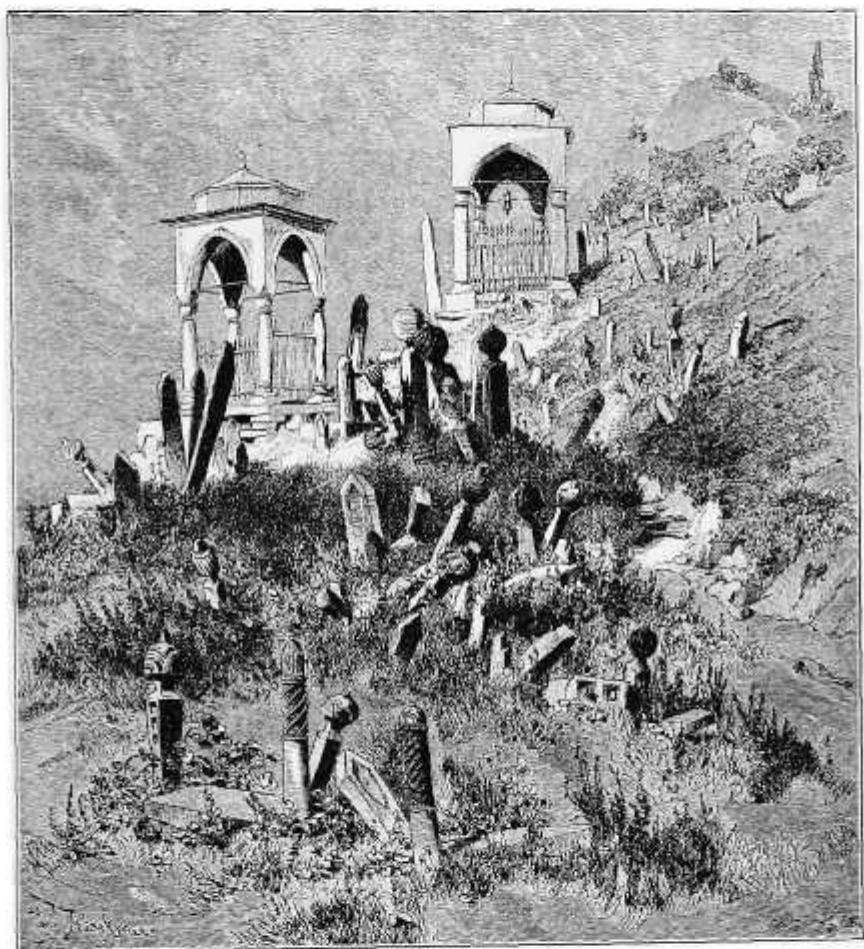
Higher and higher rose the edifice: the Christians, so long suppressed in their most ardent wishes, beheld in it the satisfaction of their desires; but the Mohammedan inhabitants saw it with ever-increasing bitterness, as the church reared its head ever higher above the mosques, until she finally looked proudly down upon the "Czareva-Džamie," the Sultan's mosque. It seemed to the Mohammedans that studied insult could go no further, when immense bells were drawn up into the steeples, that they might, by their insufferable clamour, disturb the pious true believers in their quiet meditations, and overpower the call of the Muezzin. As a matter of fact, there at that time existed scarcely a church in the land to which the faithful were summoned by any other means than the Toka, a wooden slab with a wooden hammer, which since the time of the Turks has also been in use in all the villages of Southern Hungary.

Excited crowds collected in the principal street, where the church stands. Hadži Loja placed himself at their head,—he who afterwards organized the opposition to the Austrian occupation, and who after a long detention died a short time since in exile in Mecca. As he crossed over to



the Austro-Hungarian consul-general at Belgrade, who was watching the commotion as a simple tourist, he fixed his eyes with lowering fanaticism upon him, and hissed forth a half-audible "Gyaur," full of detestation.

A Bosnian St. Bartholomew's night was generally feared. Finally, the



The Shehidler Cemetery.

consuls intervened. The governing pasha ordered the removal of a few agitators from the town, and, making the leading Mohammedans personally responsible for the peace, commanded that the town should be put into a state of siege, called out the troops—the public buildings he had had closed three days before—stationed a trumpeter at every street corner, that he might

at once give notice of any breach of the peace, and prohibited the ringing of the bells ; and thus the church was consecrated on Easter Sunday, after all.

Serajevo's most ancient Turkish monument is undoubtedly the "Shehidler," the martyrs' burial-ground. It lies above the wild ravine, which yawns to the south of the fortress, and through which the Miliaska flows towards the town, on the farther side of the Kosina-Tshupria, on the right bank of the river. It is a primitive Turkish graveyard, where the monuments do not stand as usual on the earth, but upon the stone slabs which cover the graves. According to tradition, here rest those Turkish warriors who fell at the siege of Starigrad, whose ruins may still be seen on the further bank of the river. Not until after the capture of this stronghold could the Turks conquer the fortress of Vrhbosna, which stood on the ground now covered by the fortress of Serajevo.

The first Turkish colony may have settled here as early as the time of Isaac Beg, the first Pasha of Vrhbosna, who fell at Temesvar. The town itself began to develop when the Turks, in 1463, took secure hold for the second and final time of the fortress of Vrhbosna. Tradition has preserved the names of the two first Bosnian magnates, Sokolovitsh and Zlatarovitsh, who went over to Islam, and placed themselves under the protection of the Turkish arms ; and to them tradition also attributes the founding of Serajevo. Chosref Pasha, the first Bosnian vizier, may indeed be regarded as the veritable founder of Serajevo ; he surrounded the present upper town, which spread beneath the old citadel, with a wall, and built himself a magnificent seraglio there. Hence "*Bosna Seraj*," the name of Serajevo. The so-called old citadel which rises above the upper town, upon the northern peak of the hill on which the fortifications stand, was presumably the former fortress of Vrhbosna ; the new citadel, to the south of the upper town, lying directly above the fissure in the rocks, was certainly built by the Turks. The whole is enclosed by a wall ten feet high and six feet and a half deep, to a certain extent still formed by a portion of Chosref's wall, for the repairing of which numbers of Turkish tombstones were afterwards employed. The upper, or Turkish town, consists of about two hundred dilapidated houses. From the midst of these old-world, solemn walls a glaring new barrack, built by us, now rises. Not a trace can be discovered of the former seraglio. Three tarred gateways open towards the town, and one, on the opposite eastern side towards the wilderness of the Romanja-Planina. To the north are several small exits. The whole forms the present fortress or old town, which is still inhabited entirely by Mohammedans. In the lower town, too, the Mohammedans prefer the two hillsides, where, in their

gardens, far from the turmoil of trade, they can live in dignified peace. They resign the banks of the Miliaska to the noise of trade and commerce, to the Christians, and to the large public buildings. Here, on the left bank, stand the Government buildings, the prominent Konak recently restored in wood, and the great barrack; on the right bank the bazaars and baths. Here, too, stand the two largest mosques. On the right bank the Begova-Džamia, which according to tradition was also erected by Chosref-Beg, and by whose mighty cupolas the Byzantine character of the most ancient of



The Begova-Džamia.

Turkish mosques is easily recognized. In the court of the mosque, under a majestic lime tree, stands a fountain of noble design, destined for the purposes of religious ablution; at the entrance are two brown marble monoliths, evidently taken from the ruins of some Christian church; a chapel inside the mosque shelters the tomb of its founder and his wife. On the left bank towers the Czareva-Džamia, the emperor's mosque, which is attributed to Sultan Mahomet, the conqueror of Bosnia himself, and upon which, in accordance with the terms of the convention concluded by Count Andrassy, the red flag of the Sultan was still hoisted on holidays, during

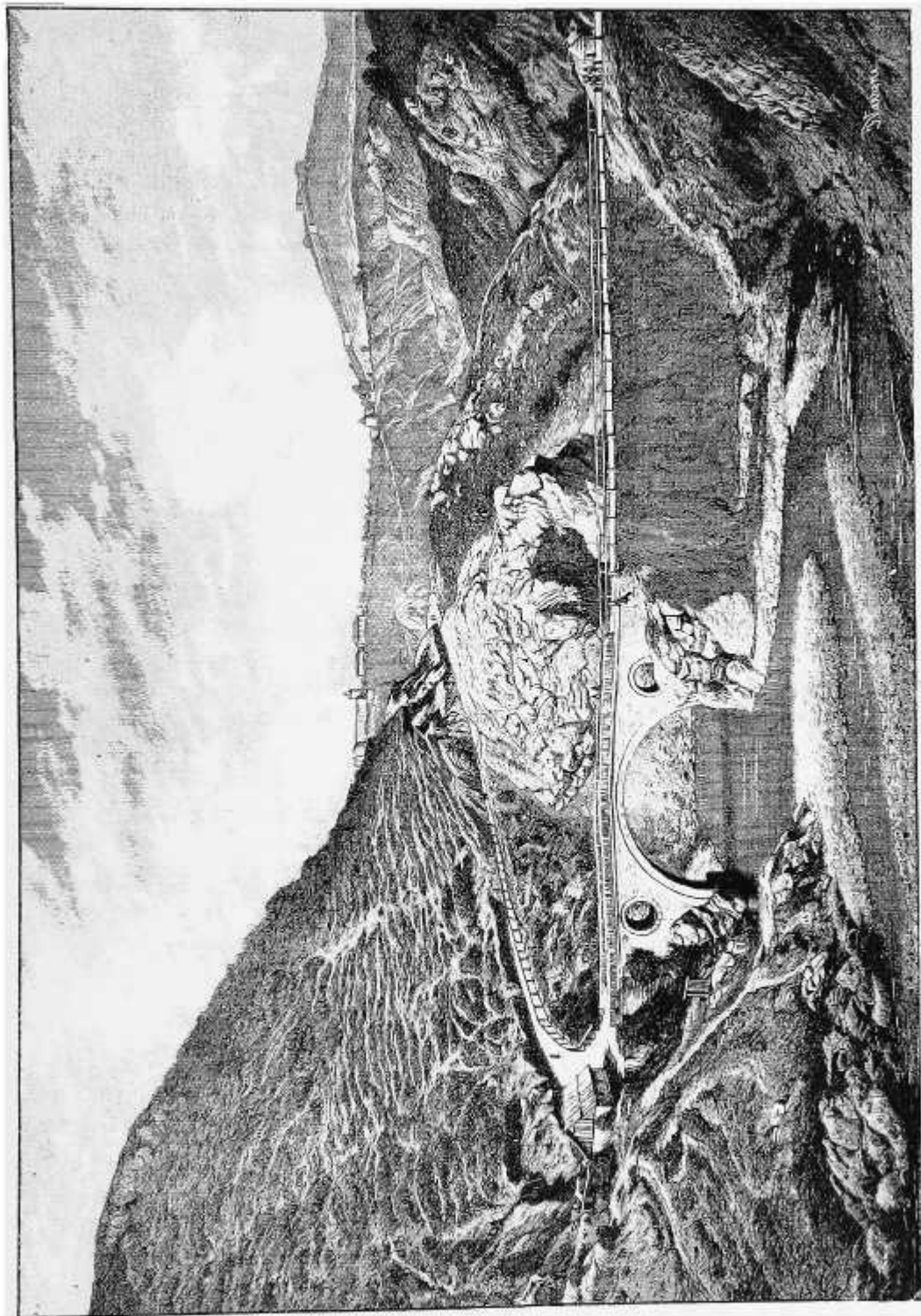
the first years of the Austrian occupation; in recent times, however, the Mohammedans have voluntarily allowed this custom to drop, and now only hoist the green flag of the prophet. The *Ozareva-Džamija* is just as large, but architecturally less interesting than the *Begova-Džamija*. Both mosques are filled at least three times daily with the faithful, who flock towards them from all directions. At such times one may see the religious ablutions proceeding, not only at the mosque fountains, but also all along the banks of the *Miliaska*. Without doubt, both mosques date from the earliest days of the Turkish conquest, although they are not the most ancient in the country, for the first mosques were erected in *Fotcha*, also the first seat of Turkish *Sanjak-Begs*.

One of the oldest Turkish monuments is the "*Kosina-Tshupria*," the goat bridge which spans the main road to *Novi Bazar* in one single, bold arch over the rocky ravine of the *Miliaska*, two thousand yards below the fortress. It was customary to receive the governing viziers arriving from *Stamboul* in state at this bridge. This bridge dates from the fifteenth century, and like the other masterpieces of bridge building in the country—at *Mostar*, *Vishegrad*, *Trebinje*, etc., to all of whom it displays a striking likeness—was built during the reigns of the first Sultans. All these bridges are in some way or other attributed to the Romans.

But by far the most interesting relic of Turkish *Serajevo* is her aristocracy, by race and speech Slavonic, by belief Mohammedan, and in its institutions purely mediæval-fendal. Throughout the Turkish epoch this aristocracy only tolerated, sometimes even declined to tolerate the Sultan's governing vizier, and governed the land like an almost independent oligarchical Republic down to our own times.

It is as though the Turkish administration had here preserved a slice of the European Middle Ages in spirits of wine, down to the nineteenth century, in a way that still preserved its life; as though Bosnia, at the moment of passing under the dominion of the Sultanate, sank into a charmed sleep, still living on, motionless, in the circumstances then existing. Only Islam stepped into the place before occupied by the Bogomilian faith; Turkish costumes and a certain etiquette peculiar to *Stamboul* dispersed the dresses and outward forms of the age of chivalry, without penetrating into its real life, without altering the arbitrary powers of the great barons or the constant disorder reigning amongst the small ones, the precarious condition of state authority, the insignificance of the citizens, or the harsh suppression of the people.

We see the fendal system: a chivalrous noble, always prepared for battle, living partly in the capital, where he tolerates no outside authority, no, not even



Koson-Tshupria.

that of the governing vizier, beside him ; partly in his castle, always fortified against attack, and where he exercises an undisputed regal authority, and divides his life between war, the chase, and carousing, the songs of troubadours, old and glorious memories, fanatical piety, lofty impulses, and rough brutality, unsusceptible to aught else ; whilst the *miseræ contribuens plebs* battle against life's miseries in dull subjection. But now and again a bloody war rages through the land ; a struggle between the nobles and their rulers, or a revolt of the people against the nobles. Every narrow defile echoes with the din of battle, sometimes for years together, until at length hundreds of heads empaled on spears proclaim from the bastions and towers that peace has returned and that all is as it was before.

These circumstances, for which no remedy was discovered until the advent of the Austrian occupation, are made clear as the history of the country unfolds itself.

The Osmanic nation, in which no trace of difference of birth is to be found, saving in the hereditary rights of the reigning house, has nevertheless invariably left the aristocratic institutions untouched, wherever in its conquests it has met with such, provided always that the respective aristocracies have accepted the Mohammedan faith.

Thus it came to pass that the aristocracy of the Arabian chieftains and of the Bosnian Bogomilian barons, who had gone over to Islam, were maintained intact and unharmed. Ceaseless conquests kept the Sultans too fully occupied for it to be possible for them to pay much attention to internal organization.

Accordingly they, like the Romans, accepted the institutions which they found in force in the subjugated countries, provided that, and for as long as, they agreed to their plans of a world-wide conquest, or at any rate did not interfere with them. The central government was thus relieved of all local trouble, and the struggle for the sovereignty of the world thereby made easier. In this way the rapid extension of the Osmanic power was made possible ; but, then, it also was the cause of its rapid downfall.

The Turkish power spread like a flood, but quickly as a flood did it subside ; and as it vanished, all that it had submerged rose again unchanged save by the damage done by the water.

After the fall of Jajiza, the great families who owed allegiance to the Hungarian crown—the Keglevics, Jelasics, Festetics, Gorazda, and others—left the country. With them fled a great part of the population, especially the Catholics, to Croatia, Slavonia, and Bacs (Shokazes and Dalmatians), and also, under the protection of Ragusa and Venice, to Dalmatia, and, under that of Austria, to Styria and Krain. The first, together with Hungary, were unable at a later

date to escape from the Turkish yoke. Against the last, the notorious Uskoks, the Anstrian authorities were soon obliged to undertake a war of extermination, so intolerable did their wild manners prove to be. The Uskoks who settled at Zengg engaged to such an extent in piracy that Venice proceeded to a regular naval battle with them, and their bold enterprises exercised such a universal fascination over all adventurous spirits that nine Englishmen were discovered amongst the Corsairs who were hanged on August 14th, 1618, when the Viennese Government found itself compelled to hold a court martial upon them, in spite of the splendid services they had rendered against the Turks.

That part of the population which had not fled was partly destroyed in the wars, partly dragged into slavery; the boys were led away in troops to be retained as eunuchs and janizaries; the residue, however, with those who remained true to their Christian faith, were rapidly overtaken by the fate of the rajah, and, deprived of all their goods and chattels, rapidly sank into the poverty-stricken ranks of the serfs. The Bogomiles, however, with the old Bogomilian aristocracy at their head, who had previously formed an alliance with the Turks, and had introduced the Turkish power into the country, went over to Islam in a body, and were received with open arms by the new rulers.

Both the higher and lower grades of the nobility who had passed over to Islam not only held their ground, but added somewhat to their prerogatives, their possessions, and their power in proportion to the ease with which they were able to be merged into the Turkish military organization, and the more they proved themselves helpful instruments in the subjugation of Hungary.

The Turkish military organization rested, first, upon the standing army of foot soldiers, the janizaries; secondly, upon the mustering of the spahis.\*

All conquered ground was at once portioned out according to schinitars and standards. The new holder of the land was not only himself bound to render mounted military service to the Sultan, but for every five thousand aspers which his income might yield in excess of three thousand he was also bound to take a trooper with him.

The Grand-Vizier gave his orders to the Begler-Beg of Rumilia and Anatolia, these passed them on to the lords of the standard or Sanjak-Begs, and thus did fifty thousand Asian and eighty thousand European horsemen ride into the field. A grant of this sort—a Timar—was not hereditary. The son of a Sanjak-Beg, who had the control of an income of seven hundred thousand aspers, could, for example, only lay claim to a timar of five thousand aspers.

The son of a simple spahi was obliged to inherit the new grant by merit;

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\* Part of the Turkish cavalry.—[Tr.]



though it became more and more the custom for only the sons of timarli to receive the grant of a timar.

Thus both trooper and landlord were comprehended in one spahi. Hence the people of Southern Hungary still call the landowners spahia.

The renegade noblemen of Bosnia, accustomed as they had always been to the Hungarian system of mustering the nobility, easily adapted themselves to the kindred Turkish military organization, and now, in common with the new Turkish landlords, composed the levy of the Bosnian spahis.

But, on the strength of their old hereditary traditions and the warlike qualities picked up in camps, chiefly, however, by the valuable services which from their position they were peculiarly qualified to render towards the security of Bosnia and the subjugation of Hungary, they from the very first saw their way to winning for themselves such a position in this new organization that they very soon played the leading rôle in Bosnia, as heretofore, and shortly afterwards a very prominent one in Hungary also.

We have seen that the grandson of the first—and also last—Duke of Herzegovina, Ahmed-Beg Herzegovitsh, rose to be Grand-Vizier to the Sultan shortly after the fall of Herzegovina, and he it was who also played a prominent part in the battle at Lepanto. Following his example, a long succession of the descendants of Bosnian renegades sought their fortunes under the crescent. These gentlemen—at one time Bogomiles, who had grown up in the traditions of perpetual wars, born to command, natives of the soil, acquainted with the state of Hungary and the Hungarians, and filled with fanatical hatred against the Roman Catholic Church—were called upon to play a leading part in the campaigns against Hungary; and what could be more natural than that they should in the shortest possible time become Kapetans, Sanjak-Begs, Viziers, nay, even Grand-Viziers, the Sultan's aim being directed chiefly towards Hungary?

The possession of Bosnia had given Hungary the leading position upon the Balkan Peninsula; now, in the subjugation of Hungary, Bosnia served as the fulcrum in the Asiatic invasion.

As early as the year 1470, we see a Pasha, Bosnian by birth, Sinanbeg of Tshajnitza, at the head of the newly conquered country. To him is ascribed the building of the ancient mosque in Tshajnitza. In the year 1501, Zara was conquered by the Sanjak-Beg of Herzegovina. In 1526, he followed the great Soliman to Hungary.

In 1530, Murad, Sanjak-Beg of Herzegovina, laid waste the southern division of Hungary. In 1541, Chosref, the first Bosnian vizier, at this time Begler-Beg of Rumilia, took a prominent place at the head of Bosnian troops in the battle below Pesth, in which General Roggendorf—who died from the

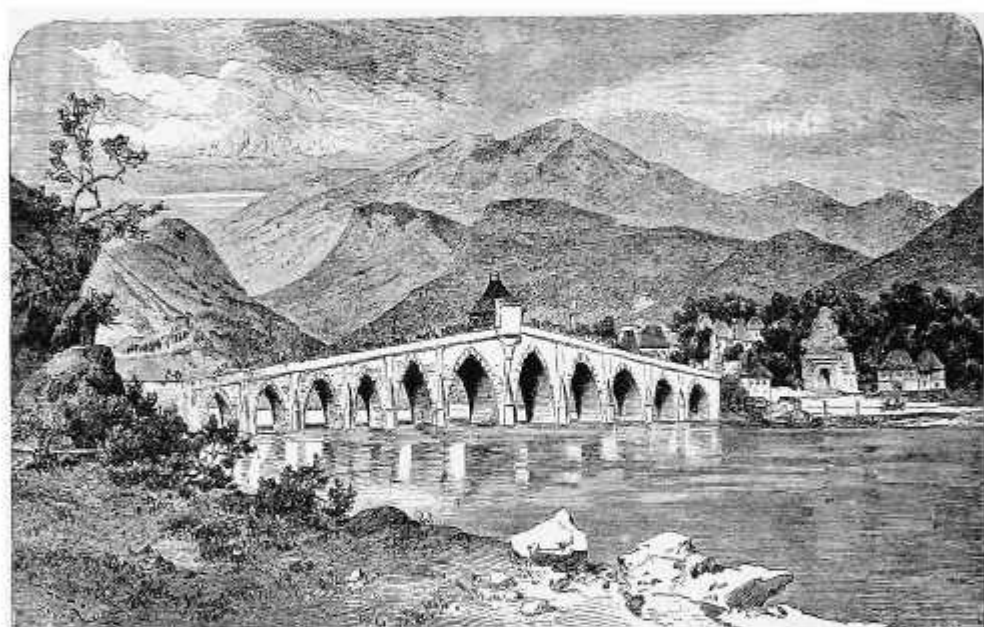


effects of a wound received there—was defeated by the Grand-Vizier Mohammed. In the year 1543 the same troops were engaged in the capture of Stuhlweissenburg, in 1544 in the capture of Waitzen and Vishegrad. In 1543, Halukogly Pasha lead the Herzegovinian troops towards Soliman's army, which had been raised to fight against Hungary; in 1556, before the storming of Sziget, he laid siege to Kostainitza and Krupa, which were relieved by Niklas Zrinyi. In 1570, Ali Pasha, a native Herzegovinian renegade, rose to be Grand-Vizier. His successor in this post of honour was one of the greatest statesmen and generals in the Turkish Empire, Mehemmet-Beg Sokolovitch, who was also a Bosnian renegade, and according to tradition one of the founders of Serajevo.

In the village of Sokolovitch, near Vishegrad, the tombstone which he erected in memory of his mother, who died in the Christian faith, is still shown. He built the great seraglio of Vishegrad, the ruins of which are yet visible, and at the same place the celebrated bridge, still proverbial in Bosnia for strength. The main building, one hundred and seventy metres in length and six metres in width, is carried by eleven pointed arches, which ascend towards the centre of the stream. In the middle of the bridge stands the town gate. The inscription on one of the piers states that the bridge was built in the year 985 of the Hedschra (1577) by the Grand-Vizier Sokolovitch. His kinsman and contemporary Mustafa-Beg Sokolovitch commanded in Asia Minor and Syria, and the memorial buildings erected by him at Erzerum, Damascus, and Jerusalem still exist. At this time (1576) Chosref's successor, Ferhat Pasha, laid Croatia waste, and amongst others caused the captive Vice-Banus Herbert Auersperg to be beheaded. From the time of Ferhat Pasha, who afterwards became Pasha of Buda and Governor of Hungary, the Bosnian viziers resided at Banialuka, for the residential town was pushed forward simultaneously with the advancing conquest. Nevertheless, Serajevo did not thereby cease to be the centre of the native-born Mohammedan aristocracy. Hassan Pasha, Ferhat's successor, in the Bosnian Vizierate, and the Bosnian Begs, never abstained from disturbing Croatia, in spite of the conclusion of peace. When, in 1591, the Grand-Vizier Sinan Pasha was repulsed by Stefan Kaprouczay and Michael Székely, after the destruction of Agram, he demanded war upon the ground that should the Porte forfeit Bosnia, she would not only lose her prestige amongst the powers, but would also lose those heroes whom she had to thank for so many brilliant victories. Hassan Pasha now, at the command of the Sultan, again led his Bosnian troops against Croatia, and took possession of Bihatsh, which was defended by Christopher Lamberg, but fell before Sissek,

where his army was defeated by the Croatian Banus Erdödy. However, his successor Kutshuk Hassan Pasha conquered Sissek, and the vizier who followed him, Apardli Pasha—in whose name may be recognized that of a Hungarian renegade, Arpád—despatched the greater part of the Bosnian army to the defence of Buda. After the conclusion of peace at Zsitvatorok, the Bosnians advanced against Persia; but in 1629 invaded Hungary in order to support George Rákóczy. But luck was beginning to desert the Bosnian arms. Erdödy, Keglevics, and Ielasics repulsed the invaders.

A like fate befell them in several smaller enterprises. During the peace



The Bridge of Vishegrad.

concluded between the Sultan and the Emperor, in 1643, the Bosnians were fighting without cessation against Venice. It is in this war that the name of Tshengitsh, which thenceforth held an honourable position in Herzegovina, first occurs. Ali-Beg Tshengitsh led the Herzegovinians against Zara and Makarska. At the siege of Vienna the Bosnian troops again appeared, and were quartered at Döbling, and their last and equally fruitless feat of arms was the defence of Vishegrad in 1684 against the victorious imperial army. After the capture of Buda, the cast of the dice was reversed; the Bosnian troops no longer fought on Hungarian ground, but were, on the contrary,

obliged to wield the sword within the boundaries of their own country, against Hungarian and German soldiers.

After the battle at Mohács, the new dynasty of the Hapsburgs, which had been called to fill the Hungarian throne, undertook the difficult task of restoring Hungary to her former size and greatness, though at that time she only reached in a narrow line along the borders of Styria, Austria, and Moravia, all else having fallen under the direct control of the Sultan, or at any rate under his overlordship. With unyielding perseverance, never swerving under misfortune, and never faltering before difficulties, firmly and victoriously did it fulfil its mission, and whilst re-conquering the ground won for itself the trust of the nation, which had indeed by misfortune been split up into parties. But when the more circumscribed territory of Hungary proper was set free, she turned her eyes towards the re-conquest of her lost provinces.

Only two years after the relief of Buda, the imperial and royal troops entered Bosnia; on September 15th, 1688, the Margrave Ludvig of Baden stormed the fortress of Zvornik, and threatened Banialuka with a like fate. The Bosnian viziers now shifted their place of abode from Banialuka, which had become so unsafe, to Travnik. But as a sign that the Sultan did not renounce Hungary, and still held part of the Hungarian possessions in Bosnia, the proud title of "Vali of Hungary" was given to the Bosnian viziers in Travnik.

In the year 1690, General Pertshulija penetrated as far as Tuzla, the old Salt District, whence he brought back three thousand Catholics; the Croatian Ban Draskovitch defeated fifty thousand Turks at Kostainitza, and in 1693 the Croatian Banus Adam Batthyany conquered the fortresses of Vranogratz, Novo-Todorovo, and Velika Kladusha, and re-captured the whole of the province as far as the Unna. In 1697, after the battle of Zenta, Eugene of Savoy captured the fortresses of Doboi, Maglai, Zeptshe, and Vranduk, with only four thousand cavalry and two thousand foot soldiers, and on October 22nd appeared before Serajevo; as he could not capture the fortress, he burnt down the town, and returned with forty thousand liberated Christians, all within the space of twenty days.

In 1717, General Petras pushed on as far as Zvornik, whilst Draskovitch was laying siege to Novi. Both, however, were defeated; the first by the Bosnian Vizier Nuuman Pasha Tshuprilitsh, the second by Alaj-Beg Tsheritsh, Kapetan of Dolnje-Yakuf. This notwithstanding, at the conclusion of the peace of Passarovitz, the whole of Northern Bosnia remained in the hands of the Emperor Charles.

In the campaign of 1737, General Raunach besieged the fortresses of Kulin-Vakuf and Ostrovitza, and Prince Hildburghausen, Banialuka; but, being utterly routed by Vizier Ali Pasha Etshimovitch, the imperial forces withdrew to Slavonia, and in the peace of Belgrade, Save and Unna were again named as the boundaries. True, in 1790, General Landon took possession of a portion of Northern Bosnia; but with the peace of Sistovo everything was restored to its former position, until, nearly a hundred years later, the campaign of "Occupation" decided the fate of the land.

In the meantime quite peculiar conditions had unfolded themselves.

If the native nobility which had gone over to Islam at first remained at heart faithful to its Bogomilian faith, and only conformed to Islam outwardly, as, under pressure from Magyar weapons, it had already often enough cast itself into the Roman Church; if even the great Sokolovitch had raised a Christian monument to his mother, and if the descendants of Christians occasionally summoned a Christian priest in order that they might offer up prayers for their Christian forebears; even if secret Bogomilian traditions were kept up until quite recent times, and secret Bogomiles were, without question, still to be found amongst the Bosnian Mohammedans in our century; and if these still ascribed a sort of magic power to certain Christian ceremonies,—yet, taken all in all, the governing classes had, through centuries of Turkish rule, and through constant wars, fruitful in renown and booty, undertaken in behalf of the Koran, become absolutely Mohammedan, and deeply impregnated with that pride of the Islamitic worship which gazes down with contempt upon Christians, and prays to the prophet Issa, after Allah, aye, and even to a white pigeon, as second and third God.

Yet in spite of all this, the nobility remained true to its heirloom of national and family traditions, as to its speech; and in local importance not only took precedence of the Turkish strangers who had settled in their midst, were these never so equipped with absolute power and riches—for country folk universally prize the old lord, even when ruined, far above the new upstart—but with the peculiar strength of the national aristocracy it forthwith even assimilated the Turkish families who were permanently settling there.

Their religious and warlike ardour, combined with their inherited importance, at last so completely won the confidence and favour of the Porte, that those belonging to these classes were not only able to hand down their possessions and privileges from father to son, but they also attained to the highest honours in the state, from that of Sanjak-Beg to that of Grand-Vizier; and when the land ceased to be divided into Sanjaks, and was placed under the control of forty-eight kapetans under a governing vizier, these kapetanate

became, if not *de jure* at least *de facto* hereditary in the most important and richest families of the native nobility, whose position became so assured that a foreign kapetan would not have ventured to assert himself in face of their open or secret opposition, and that even certain misadventures and defeats did not suffice to permanently shake the hereditary importance and power of these families.

It follows, as a matter of course, that these warlike kapetans, dwelling in their ancestral castles in their own provinces, troubled themselves little about the vizier, who was perfectly satisfied in his turn if he received the taxes in times of peace, and the contingent of soldiers in times of war, and who was not in the least concerned if his kapetans carried on feuds amongst themselves. The Porte did best for herself if she selected the vizier also from amongst these native kapetans, for a vizier from this class was possessed of greater influence than a stranger, even though the others jealously protected their own power in opposition to his. With the exception of religion, and the habits of life affected by it, Turkish costume and certain customs of society emanating from the Sultan's palace—everything, practically, except the hereditary titles—returned to their old routine. Dukes and counts, waywodes and knezes, were no more, the two last titles being transferred to the leader of the Christian rajahs; those chieftains of the Christian clans who were still fighting for their independence in the Black Mountains called themselves Waywodes, and the petty judges in the Christian districts Knezes; but the old aristocracy assumed new titles; every descendant of a Sanjak-Beg or Pasha took the title of Beg, the others the more modest title of Aga.

Nevertheless, these circumstances gave rise to no disorder or considerable friction so long as the Porte was able to lead all these kapetans, begs, and agas by victorious campaigns to brilliant careers and rich spoil. But when these sources of fame and wealth were suddenly closed, and the kapetans were even compelled to defend their patrimonies against the conquest of strangers, the authority of the Porte and the viziers faded perceptibly, and the insolence of the kapetans grew beyond all bounds.

Yet another circumstance hastened the crisis.

The standing corps of janizaries, upon which the Sultan's military ascendancy depended, and with whom, in the Europe of that day, only Hunyady's black troop and the Swiss mercenaries could be compared for organization, was kept up by a singular method of recruiting. The best of the rajahs' sons were from time to time carried off as human tithe,—not, however, like the recruits of to-day—in manhood—but commencing at their seventh year. This was done directly possession was taken of a newly conquered province.

The best of these already picked boys were then destined for the Palace Guard. From these proceeded the greatest of the Sultan's statesmen and generals; the Christian boys who had been carried off into slavery ruled the empire and made it great. Most of the others were brought up by the peasantry of Asia Minor, until they were ripe for the corps of janizaries. These children, from their earliest years, knew of no family; their lord and father was the Sultan; neither might they themselves found a family; kept under strictest discipline, their life in time of peace was perhaps harder than in time of war.

As early, however, as in the time of Soliman, the janizaries began to marry. Under Selim II. they enforced the claim that their own children should be admitted into their own ranks. On the other hand, Murad III. compelled them, in spite of their strict regulations, to admit the children of Turks, who had been brought up in the family circle; for with the constant spreading of the more humane European spirit, the cruel custom of infant-recruiting grew less and less common.

Under Ahmet, the janizaries stationed far from Stamboul, in castles and on the borders, began to turn their attention to the small trades and industries. At length it became proverbial that the janizary only had his sharp eyes that he might be quick to note the vacillation of the spahis, and his good feet that he might be first in flight. But, like every privileged class, they retained their pride, together with their pay and their privileges, when they had long since lost those characteristics which had justified them. Instead of being a protection, they came to be a danger to the empire.\*

As in Bosnia the Viziers, when at war with the Kapetans, wished to support themselves by the janizaries, they became even more presumptuous.

Isolated members of the corps began to gradually acquire small estates, and as they were small they settled in the villages and oppressed the rajabs even more unscrupulously than the more prosperous old landlords had done, who lived in their castles and in the towns which had risen around them. On the other hand, the descendants of the poorer families crowded more and more into the ranks of the janizaries on account of the pay, in proportion as the spoils of war grow less. The Bosnian janizaries, too, were Turks only in their religion, and they saw in the Turks who came from the Porte only the unwelcome, detested foreigner. Thus arose the mutual benefit society of the begs and janizaries, as opposed to the vizier, having its chief seat in Serajevo, where the most powerful families were firmly established, though the janizaries defended the fortress and already made up a sixth part of

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\* See Ranke, *Die Osmanen*, 4th ed., p. 45.

the population. After the manner of the primitive Slavonic *Zadruga* still existing in Bosnia, and the family commune only just abandoned on the Hungarian military frontier, the aristocracy of the towns was led by an hereditary *Starešina*, the corporations formed of janizaries and merchants by a *Staroste* similar to the city patricians of the Middle Ages, and jealously independent in their opposition to the central government of the vizier, who was sinking more and more into obscurity. The vizier who came from Constantinople was accorded an honourable reception, entertained for a day and night at the public expense, and then expedited on his way to Travnik, and, further than this, was not tolerated in the town. The Porte appointed the *kadi*, the judge the *raja*, the *mussalim* and the *aga* the janizaries; through the latter, however, the *begs* connected with the janizaries had the power to dismiss the other two, and even the vizier, every time they did not like them.\*

Mahmud II., the reforming Sultan, was anxious, at the commencement of the present century, to introduce order into Bosnia. After he had, by concessions, quieted Serbia, he sent an energetic man to Bosnia, with instructions to crush all resistance. *Dshelaleddin Pasha*, of the ascetic order of the *Bektashi-Dervishes*, could find no other means for accomplishing this, than to ally himself to one section of the dynastic families in opposition to the others. Principally through the aid of the powerful tribe of the *Tshengitshs* †—to whom, through the Sultan, he transferred the entire *Zagorje*, together with all state revenues, for life—he, in 1821, captured *Mostar* and *Srebernitz* by storm, and ordered the *Kapetans* of *Dervent*, *Banialuka*, and *Fotsha* to be beheaded, as well as the most distinguished *begs* of *Serajevo*. It was in vain that the town of *Serajevo* remonstrated to the Sultan through the *Stamboul Janizary Aga* at Constantinople; in vain that they accused the vizier, who mixed in disguise amongst the *rajahs*, and even visited the Christian churches; the Sultan promised, indeed, to recall him, but *Dshelaleddin* continued to be vizier until the war of 1821. Now the old state of things was re-established. When Mahmud gave orders for the massacre of the Constantinople janizaries, and published the *firman* of *Silkade* 11th, 1241 (June 18th, 1826), by which the janizaries were abolished and general recruiting was introduced, the Bosnians drove away the Vizier *Hadshi Mustafa* who proclaimed the reform. When the new uniforms, cut after the European fashion, with musket-belts crossed upon the breast, were to be introduced, they said, "If we are to accept the cross, we will not accept it from the Sultan, but from the Viennese emperor."

\* Ranke, *Serbien und die Türken*, p. 294.

† According to Ranke, *Dshindshafish*.

The new vizier, Abdurrahman, was forced to storm Serajevo, after which he held a court martial, and caused the beheading of seven leaders, amongst them the janizary Aga Rustshuklia.

Aldurrahman attempted to remain in Serajevo, in accordance with the old custom; but he, too, was in July 1828, after a street fight which lasted for four days, driven out by the inhabitants, who had for this purpose formed an alliance with the troops, who were just passing through the town for reasons connected with the Russian war. Not until 1830, after the conclusion of peace with Russia, could the Sultan again give serious attention to the carrying out of reforms. The new vizier, who had again taken up his residence at Travnik, Ali Pasha Morajja, was, however, hardly able to take the first steps towards paving the way for them. Hussein-Aga-Berberli, Kapetan of Brebir, unfurled the flag of the prophet, and summoned the "famous, proud, and the lion-hearted sons of Bosnia" to the holy war, "for the protection of the ancestors of our faith," and, at the head of forty thousand men, marched on Constantinople and "against the Gyanr-Sultan" for "the restoration of the true Islam." It was not the arms of the Grand-Vizier, but only the want of unity and the jealousy of the Bosnian begs, which caused this bold enterprise to miscarry; the Sultan's victory resulted in his being forced to surrender the whole of Herzegovina to the Kapetan of Stolatz, Ali-Beg Rizvanbegovitch, who, in common with the Tshengitshs, aided in the overthrow of Hussein. In 1837, the hereditary kapetanates were at length abolished. The Hatti-Sherif of Gülhane, proclaimed by Abdul Medshid on November 2nd, 1839, which granted to the Christians certain equality before the law, excited a new insurrection, which was quelled by Velidshid Pasha under the walls of Serajevo. The complaints and threats of the Bosnian begs that they would go over to Christianity were, however, successful in causing the recall of the energetic vizier, and the disabling of the entire Hatti-Sherif. When at last, in 1850, the Sultan, after long hesitation, sent Omer Pasha to Bosnia in order to carry through the reforms, and to quiet the fermentation going on amongst the rajahs, Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovitch, who was living as an independent ruler in Herzegovina, unfurled the banner of armed revolt. Omer Pasha quelled this insurrection; but the reforms could only be upheld by his strong arm. Under his successors they soon fell into oblivion; the Effendis sent by the Sultan were mere puppets in the hands of the powerful begs, and since the year 1856, when Luka Vukalovitch placed himself at the head of the mutinous rajahs, one Christian insurrection followed upon the heels of another, under Montenegrin protection, until the advent of the Austrian occupation.

This arrangement was the first to ensure order and peace in the land.





## CHAPTER VII.

### *RELIGION AND EDUCATION.*

The Religious Spirit in the East—The Ecclesiastical Policy of the Government—The Bosnian Minorities—Regulations of the Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical Affairs—Transactions of the Orthodox Church—The Mohammedans—The Vakuf—The Question of Confiscation—The Regulations—The Mollah—The Reis-el-Ulema—The Vakuf Commission—The Budget for Public Worship—Mohammedan Erudition—Views of the Learned Kadi upon European Learning—Mohammedan Education—The Denominational and Communal Schools.

THE whole of Bosnian history is made up of the insurrections of suppressed creeds. The persecuted Bogomiles summoned the Turks to the country. The suppressed Christians called in the intervention of Europe. Turkish dominion, naturally, only intensified the old religious spirit of the Bosnians. Those nations who fell under the dominion of the Porte at once had the religious ideal pointed out to them which they must follow if they wished to hold fast to their individuality. In those cases where the native land was, as a matter of fact, crushed, and where the new ruling element strove to obtain uniformity by means of all kinds of rewards and punishments, where the mass of opponents was quickly forced down to the depths of material and spiritual impotency, the national ideal would not have been able alone to preserve itself for centuries against all the allurements of vanity, luxury, and ambition, and the pressure of circumstances. This superhuman strength could only have been given to the masses, sunk in material and spiritual poverty, by a superhuman religious idea. To renounce all things, to endure all things, to take up arms without hope of victory, only for the sake of opposition, and to do this for centuries: strength such as this can only be lent to the masses by ideals which are not of this world. On that account do we everywhere see in the Turkish Empire religion carried

to the height of fanaticism; and the Mohammedan is still the most unaffected, the most tolerant, and the most magnanimous of men, because he feels himself to be superior to others. Under the rule of a Mohammedan the Christian subject can at least always find a *modus vivendi*; whilst the rajah who has attained to power extirpates the Mohammedan in the strictest sense of the word, or hunts him from land and possessions. Under the dominion of great Christian powers, Mohammedan populations may live in peace; but they vanished from Roumania, Servia, Greece, and Bulgaria as soon as these States became independent; nay, all these emancipated people also cherished a strong repugnance to the Christians of other creeds. Religion, however, preserved the greatest power over the minds of the people, not only amongst the oppressed, but also amongst the governing classes, in spite of their relative tolerance.

When the begs rushed to arms against the Sultan for their hereditary privileges and national autonomy, they called the people together for the protection of the "true Islam."

With such a past, and with such temperaments upon one soil where three creeds of equal importance exist side by side, it is self-evident that any Government that favoured one creed above the others, would have the majority of the people for its bitter opponents, ever ready for war.

Those leaders, therefore, of the Bosnian Roman Catholics, who anticipated from the Austrian occupation the realization of the dream that had been nurtured for centuries of a revival of the old policy of the Hungarian kings—that is to say, who expected nothing less than that the country would once again become Roman Catholic—were very speedily disenchanted.

The Government, on the contrary, made the most scrupulous impartiality its aim. And even though there were zealous Catholics in as well as outside of Bosnia, who by this policy felt that they had been painfully deceived, yet those at least who are best qualified to exercise legal control over the Catholic people have without difficulty contrived that the most trifling deviation from the policy laid down by the Government should at once re-act, not only on the pacification of the country, but also upon those interests which must lie nearest the hearts of the Roman Catholic people. Serious questions respecting the Roman Catholics arose in other directions.

Under Turkish rule, Bosnia and Herzegovina, like the Holy Land, had been entrusted by the Holy See to the Minorites of the Order of the Franciscans.

The Bosnian Minorites constantly added to their Order from the native population, and thereby preserved a distinctly national type, which gradually

manifested itself also in their outward appearance. Unlike the Catholic priests who laboured in the East, these did not wear a beard, but only allowed their moustache to grow; in other details, too, they held fast to their old traditions, and endeavoured to acquire their theological culture mainly upon Hungarian soil. Amongst their co-religionists they won unequalled respect and trust, and at the same time contrived to secure to themselves a certain authority and affection amongst the dominant Mohammedans, although it has happened more than once—especially in recent times—that one or another of these popular monks has placed himself at the head of his brothers in faith when they have risen against the Mohammedan rulers. These monks not only held in their hands all the parishes, but also all the bishoprics and the Apostolic Vicariate. They enjoyed the constant protection of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and in return supported its interests upon all possible occasions. Their crowning service was, of course, that which they rendered when, after the dominion of the Porte had come to an end, they in part renounced their, until then, leading position, and the advantages connected therewith. Whilst the Papal Chair, now that Turkish rule had ceased, was anxious to abandon the missionary character of the Church government, the administration of the Church being under normal conditions, entrusted to secular priests, on the other hand it also had to be admitted that if these Bosnian monks had, whilst under Oriental conditions, been unable to dispense with a certain Oriental spiritual bias, in order that their difficult task might prosper, yet it had become necessary, now that the land had been won back, so to speak, to European currents of thought, to raise the Catholic priesthood too to the European level. The monks were therefore to withdraw into the life of the cloister. The problem to be solved was how to satisfy these several necessities, having due regard for the Order whose services and deserts could not be disregarded. The outcome of the transactions, begun as early as the year 1880, between the Pontifical Chair and the Viennese Government, was the Papal Bull of July 1881, according to which Bosnia and Herzegovina form an independent ecclesiastical province with an Archbishop resident in Serajevo, to whom the Bishops of Banialuka, Mostar, and Trebinje are subject, whilst a seminary is to be erected for the training up of the secular priests required for the sixty-six parishes. A secular priest, who had distinguished himself alike by his strict priestly course of life and his learning—Dr. Josef Stadler—was at that time called to the Archiepiscopal Chair, and he unselfishly exchanged his theological chair for this exceptionally distinguished position, which meanwhile demanded, in the difficulties attending

all new departures, as much self-abnegation as tact. The archbishop lives for the present in a simple hired house, and the Archiepiscopal Metropolitan Church is so small that it is scarcely able to hold the faithful, who generally, in the Oriental manner, kneel upon small carpets which they bring with them, and listen to the Mass with upraised palms turned towards the altar. But, thanks to the collections set on foot through the zeal of the new archbishop and the support of the Government, the foundations of the new Metropolitan Church are already visible. Those who, outside



A Bosnian Franciscan amongst his Parishioners.

Bosnia, are interested in the Bosnian Catholics, will doubtless seize this opportunity for sharing their interest, especially when they hear that by way of example a leading Mohammedan of Trebinje has contributed five thousand florins towards the building of the Catholic Church in that town. In consideration of old traditions, Bosnian Franciscan monks were nominated as Bishop of Mostar and as Bishop's Vicar at Banialuka. The bishopric of Trebinje remained for a time in the hands of the Bishop of Ragusa, who

has thus far administered it. According to the arrangement come to between the archbishop and the General of the Order of Franciscans, thirty-five parishes may be supplied with priests by the archbishop, whilst the remainder still belong to the Order. But for lack of secular priests nearly all the parishes remain provisionally in the hands of Bosnian monks. From the training college established in Travnik, however, five or six secular priests will issue annually.

With regard to the Orthodox Church, an arrangement had to be arrived at with the Patriarch of Constantinople. According to this arrangement the bishops are nominated by his Majesty, and their names communicated to the Patriarch in order that he may be able to complete the necessary canonical formalities. The stipend allotted by the bishops to the Phanars is fixed at the sum of six thousand florins annually, and paid to the Patriarch by the Government. The customary prayers for the Patriarch are duly continued, and furthermore the consecrated oil is supplied by him.

The Bosnian Orthodox, with whom the Greek bishops, sent from the Phanar, and unfamiliar with the language, had never been popular, joyfully welcomed this change, by which they, as early as the commencement of 1881, received a Metropolitan of Bosnian birth in the person of Sava Kosanovitch. The satisfaction which they experienced was even greater when Herr von Kállay, directly he had the opportunity during his first visit to Serajevo, introduced the reform that the "Vladikarina," a heavy tax frequently levied with little consideration, and which the Orthodox had to pay to the bishops, should be remitted, and that the Orthodox bishops, like the Catholic, should in future receive their income from the State. For the Orthodox, as well as for the Catholics, a seminary was erected for the training of the clergy, and both Churches also enjoyed further aid.

Similar pecuniary State assistance was not needed in the interest of the Mohammedan Church, as this was richly endowed in the Vakuf. Voices were raised, it is true, who, after the armed occupation, and the insurrection of 1881-82, considered that a just Government was entitled to simply confiscate their Vakuf, and even the private property of the begs. According to their notions such a sweeping measure would have materially lightened the sacrifice made inevitable by the occupation, and would at the same time have furnished a basis for a simple solution of the agrarian question. But the Government could not listen to such advice. For, in the first place, it is not possible, in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, to confiscate Church property or religious institutions; in the second place, order and the protection of rights were the chief advantages which the monarchy had to offer to the provinces; it was

out of the question, therefore, that she should commence her work by the violation of property and rights. Finally, such a measure would have been tantamount to the extirpation of an entire class—the lauded proprietors—and of an entire sect, a thing which did not enter into the policy of the ruling dynasty.

A nobler result than the confiscation of this property would have yielded, was seen to have been secured when to a pamphlet, written in Croatia and published in Germany, which, amongst other things, demanded the expulsion of the Bosnian Mohammedans, one of the most respected begs replied in the following words, which, in the Serajevo newspapers, met with a number of glad declarations of acquiescence and letters of thanks from members of his own class in all quarters of the land: "Would it not be a sin and a shame if the earliest inhabitants of Bosnia, who have dwelt and supported themselves in the land ever since the days of the Bosnian Kings, should now depart from it? If we did not separate from one another and leave the country when Sultan Mehmed conquered it, with what justice should we leave it now? Thanks be to God, no one has banished us, and our fate is a hundredfold better than we could have imagined or foreseen. No one has exiled us from the sanctity of our own possessions, and at the most the author himself wishes that we should depart into Asia Minor. As the Bosnian Beks faithfully served the Sultan, so will we too remain true to our august king Franz Josef I., whom may the Lord God preserve to us for years to come."

In one single case only, to my knowledge, the measure relating to confiscation of property was questioned, and even then not in relation to the Vakuf.

Upon the occasion of his first journey in 1882, his Majesty's newly appointed minister took with him, besides a draft of the radical reforms contemplated in the administration and laws, a general amnesty for all such as had in the lately suppressed insurrection presumably fled on purely political grounds, and who had not left on account of any common offence.

"After you have acknowledged my power, it is my desire that you should also learn to acknowledge my mercy."

Whether this manifesto of pardon from his Majesty should or should not close with the clause that the property of such as should hesitate to avail themselves of this clemency, and turn back, should be confiscated? That was the question.

At the council held in Mostar, the minister decided, after listening to the various views upon the subject, that since punishment by confiscation of

property was unknown to the institutions of the monarchy, so neither would he propose such a relentless measure to his Majesty with regard to Bosnia.

But, if the Government desired to maintain the integrity of the Vakuf, it must also have a care that neither should others be in a position to injure it. The religious affairs of the Mohammedans had, through the change of circumstances, and as a result of the insurrection, become to a certain extent disorganized. Nothing had been done for their adjustment from the time of the Austrian occupation to 1882. In the management of the Vakuf, especially, abuses had crept in, even before that time.



Catholic Church at Kiseljak.

In these endeavours the minister did not meet the smallest difficulty, but rather with the most friendly offers of loyal support on the part of the Mohammedan authorities. It was characteristic of their frame of mind that on the festival of his Majesty's birth the Imam of Czareva-Dzamia, Mehmed Zahitsch Effendi, spontaneously and quite unexpectedly introduced the name of his Majesty into the *Chutbe prayer*, which is proper to the Sultan, and attaches to him, moreover, not in his capacity of ruler, but of kalif. The concerns of the Mohammedan religion could be arranged with the Bosnian

Mohammedans without any foreign influence, and with all the greater ease because the Mohammedan religion really knows nothing of a Church, a hierarchy, and a closed priesthood.

Each one of the faithful, who has a thorough legal knowledge, and is of spotless life, is entitled to conduct Divine worship, to give instruction, and to exercise the functions of a judge; there are numerous fully qualified mollahs who devote themselves exclusively to some civil calling; their nomination to public religious service is merely a question of confidence and personal inclination, and the Ruler, even though he be Christ, must on that account exercise some influence upon it, because religious and certain judicial functions are closely bound together. The Bosnian Mohammedan notabilities were required to submit their proposals, and upon the basis of these an arrangement was come to.

Mustafa Hilmy Effendi, who, in the calling of a life dedicated to God, was held in high respect far beyond the boundaries of his own country, as Mufti of Serajevo and Imam of the Begova-Džamija, was, by the end of the year 1882, raised by his Majesty to the dignity of Reis-el-Ulema, by which he entered upon the duties of the Sheih-ni-Islam for both Bosnia and Herzegovina. At Budapest he took the oath of allegiance to his Majesty. Four ulemas were appointed as his assistants, chiefly for the examination of candidates for legal appointments. In each circuit there was also appointed a kadi nominated by the Government, but a Mohammedan Senate was organized in connection with the superior court of justice in Serajevo, and these act in the first and second instance as Sherist-judges and Court in the matters of Mohammedan marriage, heredity, and trusteeship, and in affairs connected with the Vakuf, if no Christians are involved, and if the parties themselves do not wish to have recourse to the proper State tribunals.

A special commission was appointed for the control of the Vakuf, with the Burgomaster of Serajevo, Mustafa-Beg Fadil-Pasbitsh, as its president. He is not only one of the largest landowners, but also "Edirneh-Mollahssi," i.e. Mollah of Adrianople; for the mollah, whether active or no, bears his title and rank according to the precedence of the great towns of Stamboul, Mecca, Adrianople, Brussa, Damascus, Cairo, etc. Ibrahim-Beg Bashajitsh is, as Mufetish, entrusted with the financial administration. Three hundred and sixty-eight Vakufs are summoned for the purpose of administering a yearly income of one hundred and sixty-seven thousand florins, so that, except the salaries of the functionaries appointed by the State, the Mohammedan sect can only, in exceptional cases, be in need of State support. With these funds of the Vakufs, the Bosnian Mohammedans support their mosques and schools.



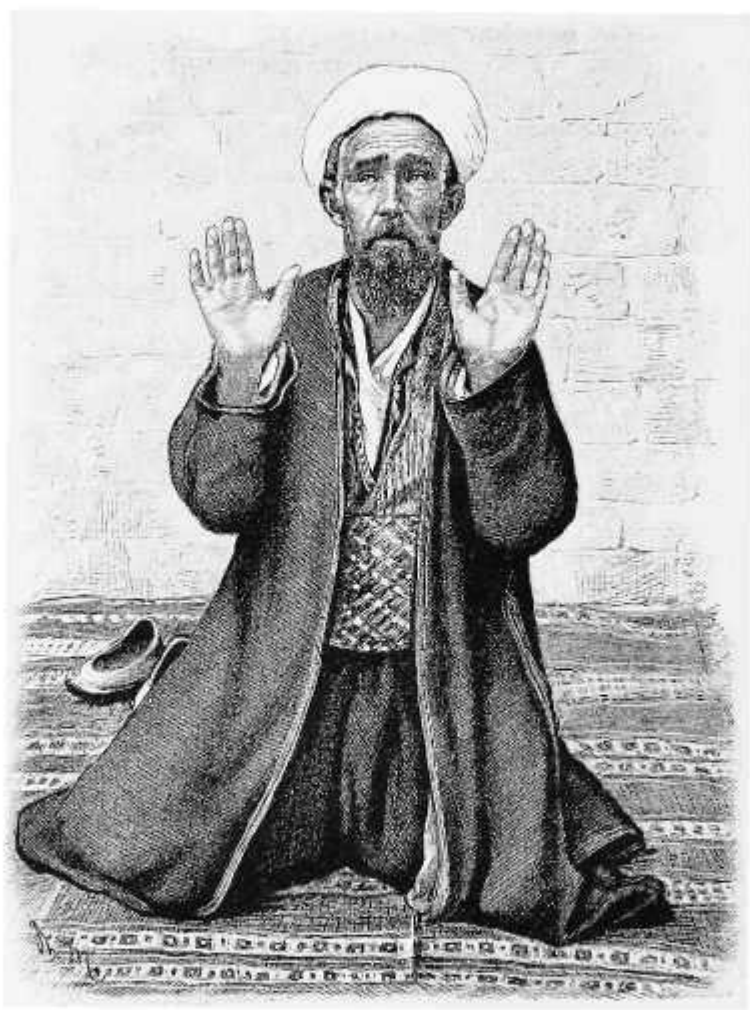
They have recently restored the Begova-Džamia magnificently, and as they are the friends of all progress, they have introduced into it electric lighting. That they might be able to train kadis and ulemas, free from all foreign influence, they have quite lately built an upper school in Serajevo, in which fifty pupils have the privilege of being educated and entirely provided for at the expense of the Vakuf. Through the Vakuf, too, conveniences of a nature to benefit all, without distinction of creed, are provided, such as aqueducts, fountains, bridges, and a hospital, which was also founded by Ghasi Chosref-Beg, the first vizier, and which is by the Vakuf maintained at the height of modern science, and to which Christians and Jews, as well as Mohammedans, are admitted.

In the budget of 1886, money for the purposes of public worship was raised as follows: Stipend of the Catholic Archbishop, 8,000 fl.; Residence, 1,500 fl.; Secretary, 1,000 fl.; four Prebendaries, 8,000 fl.; Catholic Bishop of Mostar, 6,000 fl.; Apostolic Administrator at Banialuka, 3,000 fl.; Orthodox Metropolitan at Serajevo, 8,300 fl.; Secretary and Chancery Clerk, 1,000 fl.; Second Chancery Clerk, Beadle, and Chancery expenses, 1,500 fl.; four Counsellors of the Consistory, 8,000 fl.; Metropolitan Bishop of Tuzla, 5,800 fl.; Metropolitan Bishop of Mostar, 4,500 fl.; his Secretary, 1,000 fl.; Reis-el-Ulema, 8,000 fl.; his Secretary, 1,000 fl.; four Members of the Medshlis-el-Ulema, 8,000 fl.; eight Muftis, 5,500 fl.; Catholic Training College, 23,330 fl.; Orthodox Training College, 32,800 fl.; objects connected with Public Worship, 6,500 fl.; in addition to this, in the way of exceptional support, 50,000 fl. In these figures, too, the equal protection, the equally divided support, extended to all, combined with constant care, are expressive of the system whereby the Government seeks to secure that peace between the creeds which this country has perhaps never before enjoyed; whilst the interests of the Churches, being secure from all interference from without, and from all friction, are free to develop themselves through their own vitality.

Education is even more closely connected with denominational matters in this country than in others; and for the reason that up to the time of the Austrian occupation it was entirely handed over to the various Churches.

In the then condition of the Christian Church it may easily be imagined, that even their schools were of a most primitive type. During Omer Pasha's rule, from about 1850-60, much was attempted for the raising of the standard of Mohammedan schools. But, speaking generally, the state of Mohammedan education now stands upon the same level upon which European education stood at the time of the scholastic age. Very often amongst the lights of Mohammedan learning one meets with altogether surprising knowledge, and examples of sub-

lime or subtle ways of thought ; but the whole of this learning, with the exception of a knowledge of Arabic, which is necessary to the understanding of the Koran, confines itself exclusively to transcendental things and to the religious duties of mankind, and it really is not easy to answer a learned Mohammedan when he



Imam.

says that to him who believes in a God and in a future life all earthly things must necessarily, by the side of these weighty and sublime matters, seem mere vanity.

Hence, by the side of his knowledge, modern European knowledge only

merits contempt ; and to divert the spirit from the sublime, through such vanities, is sinful and foolish. Thus writes a very learned kadi to an English antiquarian : "Oh, renowned friend, the joy of the living ! that which thou askest is harmful and useless. Although I have passed all my days in this land, it has never occurred to me to count the houses and their inhabitants. As to what concerns the past of this town, God knows best by how many errors its inhabitants have been encompassed before the light of Islam rose for them. For us to know this would be dangerous. Oh, my lamb, seek not that which does not concern thee. Look upon that star which revolves round that other one, and upon that which drags its long tail behind : for years it will be travelling thither ; after long years it will return again. Leave it alone, my son ; He who created it, will also order it. Thou mayest reply : 'Withdraw, for I am more learned than thou, and have seen that which thou sawest not.' Farewell, then, if thou thinkest that thou hast grown better thereby. That which thou hast seen I despise. Does thy knowledge make for thee a new stomach, or does thy all-observant eye, mayhap, gaze upon Paradise ? Oh, my lamb ! if thou wouldst be happy, then speak, 'There is no God, but God,' and forsake evil, so that thou mayst fear neither men, nor death ; thy hour too will overtake thee."

But though, as a matter of fact, distinctly uncommon mental gifts and a whole life's industry are demanded for the higher grades of Islamitic learning, at the medrezeh attached to the mosques, the usual school curriculum is limited to the pupil being able to read, and repeat parts of the Koran in Arabic without his understanding it.

Since the occupation, as we have seen above, all denominations, including the Mohammedans, have begun to erect schools of a higher class, and to raise the standard of the primary schools. The wealthy Orthodox population has in this matter made considerable sacrifices, and, as regards the girls' schools especially, the nuns settled in the country have been very successful. But if the Government desired to make the raising of school life in Bosnia to a European level more practicable, and especially, also, to draw the Mohammedan youth within the circle of European ideas, then, in addition to stimulation and support, example also was necessary ; State and communal schools must also be erected. With these, as a matter of fact, the Mohammedans, too, have been associated, since each pupil receives his religious instruction in these establishments from a teacher of his own persuasion. The amount of care required in the construction of these schools may be gathered from such incidents as the following : The Orthodox took the intention of introducing the exclusive use of the Latin characters into these schools to be an attempt upon their religion and a Catholic attack, so that to retain the Cyrillic letters for the Orthodox became

a condition of their pacification. Previous to the occupation, the number of the Mohammedan schools was 400 mektebs (lower) and 18 medrezens (higher schools), in which 600 hodshas gave instruction to 15,948 boys and 9,360 girls. The Orthodox supported 56, and the Catholic 54 primary schools, with a total of about 6,000 scholars. In addition to these, the Orthodox had at that time already started upper boys' and girls' schools in Serajevo and Mostar, and in Serajevo had even established a gymnasium. The Franciscans gave their pupils destined for the priesthood instruction in the Latin tongue in the gymnasia. In 1883, 1,761 hodshas, in 631 mektebs and 42 medrezens, taught 27,557 scholars ;



Hodsha.

and, in addition to this, the Mohammedans of Tuzla had erected the first Mohammedan primary school upon European principles. The Orthodox supported 56, the Catholic 36, the Jews in Serajevo 1, denominational primary school. Besides these, however, 42 undenominational primary schools had already been opened, supported partly by the State, partly by the communities. Of this total of 136 primary schools, 21 fell within the district of Serajevo (in the capital itself there were 5 denominational, 2 undenominational), 18 in the district of Mostar, 21 in Banialuka, 9 in Bihatsh, 22 in Travnik ; in Tuzla, the most advanced district of all, 45. In the undenominational schools there were 51 male teachers (the majority of them with a salary of 600 fl. and free residence)

and 8 female teachers. In the denominational schools there were 96 male and 31 female teachers ; amongst them 17 Franciscan and 2 Trappist monks, 15 Sisters of Mercy, 4 "Daughters of Divine love" and "Sisters of the Holy Blood of Nazareth." The number of pupils in the primary schools (exclusive of the mektebs and medrezens) amounted to 6,240 boys and 1,874 girls ; according to denominations, 4,459 Orthodox pupils, 2,877 Catholics, 443 Mohammedans, 295 Jews, 10 Protestants. Since then the number of these schools and their pupils have been increasing rapidly from year to year, so that, whilst in 1883 the Government expended only 26,330 fl. upon them, the budget of 1886 amounted to the considerable sum of 47,000 fl. for the primary schools collectively. The educa-

tional budget for 1886 was as follows: Upper Gymnasium, 28,008 fl.; boys' military school, 8,000 fl.; commercial schools, 15,000 fl.; teachers' training course, 3,950 fl.; primary schools, 47,000 fl. (without the contributions of the communities); grant to the denominational schools, 8,000 fl.; teaching apparatus, 4,000 fl.; salaries, 18,000 fl.; publication of school books, 9,000 fl.; building fund grant, 6,000 fl.: total, 147,000 fl.

The public schools are now 200 in number; that is, 121 general and 79 denominational schools, the latter being divided into 55 Orthodox, 23 Catholic, and 1 Jewish. Besides the 13 State middle schools—that is, the Upper Gymnasium in Serajevo, the Catholic Seminary, with an Upper Gymnasium at Travnik, the Orthodox Seminary at Reljevo, the Kadi schools and the Teachers' Training Establishment in Serajevo, and eight commercial schools—there are also the Catholic Female Teachers' Training Institute of the "Congregation of the Daughters of Divine love," in Serajevo, and, finally, a Technical School in the same place.

In the primary schools education is free and obligatory according to circumstances. It is worth mentioning, as characteristic of the intellectual movement now apparent, that two Bosnian, one Turkish, and a German newspaper regularly appear at Serajevo, and that a Museums Association has been started, which has already begun to erect a National Museum.





## CHAPTER VIII.

### *AGRARIAN CONDITIONS AND LAND LAWS.*

The Complications of the various Legal Regulations—The Turkish System of Feudal Tenure—The Law of the Koran—Mulk and Mirieh—The Forests—The Vakuf—Christian Church Property—The Law of Lords and Vassals—The Right of Pre-emption—Humane Spirit and Unjust Administration of Institutions—The Position of the Vassals—Reform—Register of Landed Property and Revenues—Land Credit—Extension of the Streets—Production—Cattle Breeding—Forests—Imports.

THE native Slavonic Zadruga, the Bosnian mediæval laws of masters and bondsmen, which developed under the influences of Italian and Hungarian institutions, has, like the Mohammedan laws founded on the Koran, and the fendal tenure peculiar to Turkey, so permeated the conditions of property in Bosnia that many inquirers have started back in alarm and confusion from this apparently inextricable jumble, from this apparently unclassified and arbitrary haphazard accumulation of principles, contrasts, exceptions, and specialities; those, however, who wished in spite of this to obtain and reproduce a picture of the situation retained either a superficial and one-sided impression, or else gave currency to a directly false one.

All these different legal systems, originally so unlike one another, must be just studied on the spot if one is even to understand how it is that they can exist side by side, how one has broken through the other, how it has been possible for them to commingle, and how they now together form a complete and distinct whole, in which both force and neglect have in truth been the cause of considerable disorder, but in which, nevertheless, all is theoretically regulated with the greatest exactitude down to the minutest details.

These conditions of property are not unlike a geological problem, for the right understanding of the present grouping of which it is needful to explain clearly when and how the various strata of the several epochs, which were

not annihilated, but only commingled, in the mighty convulsions, have been arranged by the side of one another.

The predominant stratum is that of the last eruption, namely, the law of the Koran; and that, according to the Shiftic doctrine: into this were fitted the primary strata.

The specially Turkish national feudal law, which had come into force contemporaneously with the law of the Koran at the time of the Turkish conquest, and formed the basis of their national system of defence, and was conceived exclusively in that interest, may be at once eliminated. Firstly, because with the termination of the old military system it had itself ceased to exist, so that at the present day but few remnants of it survive; and secondly, because the actual proprietary conditions have remained the same as they were before. Here, where this system of feudal tenure interests us from the point of view of the conditions of property, should be the proper place in which to correct the error, everywhere promulgated in Europe and in literature, that this feudal system had been based upon the possession of the soil itself, and had regulated the conditions relating to the holding of property. The timar granted to the spahi conferred upon the timarli, not the land itself, but only certain sovereign rights over it, and gave him the land-tax, that is, the tithe of the products; and, furthermore, it gave him the right to confer upon the new owner for the time being, by means of the so-called *tapia*, in return for certain taxes, the so-called *Mirieh*-estates, to hold them in lieu of the State authorities, no matter whether he had come into their possession by purchase or by inheritance. Such *mirieh*, not by the statutes of this Turkish national feudal and military system, but by virtue of the principles of the shiftic Mohammedan laws, formed, contrary to the entirely free individual possession, *Mulk*-land, a kind of communal property, in so far as it could only become individual property by means of a *tapia*; they were, it is true, alienable, but could not be bequeathed by will, and if the rightful owner died without any legal descendants, they again reverted to the community, and were re-allotted by means of the *tapia*. Only in this case was the timarli entitled to allot this property to himself, just as, by bringing land hitherto fallow under cultivation, he could take possession of the property, because the *tapia* upon the same always belongs to the first cultivator.

In consequence of the abolition of the whole military system, the Porte had abolished the entire system of the timar by the Hatti-Sherif of 1839, but had undertaken to redeem the rights of the existing spahis.

When one reflects that these timars were sometimes granted over entire

districts—Dervish-Beg Tshengitsb, for instance, held a timar over the whole Bosnian Zagorje, in exchange for the undertaking to protect this district against the inroads of the Montenegrins—it is obvious that the revenues of the timarli might have been very considerable; and if he had no other or only some very limited source of income besides, then the redemption money must have been of the greatest importance to him. Now there are in Bosnia certain former spahis who have urgently claimed of the Turkish Government their redemption dues, calculated from 1839 to the time of the Austrian occupation, but in vain; either because the Porte doubted their claims, or considered the indemnification claimed too high, or simply because the amount already awarded had lapsed. These claims, insisted on to the present day, constitute the last remnants of the Osmanic national feudal system in Bosnia. As the timar cannot, at least legally, be disposed of by will, the timarli naturally gradually diminish in number of themselves.

As we can accordingly simply ignore the Turkish feudal system, we will now proceed to consider the legal principles derived from the Koran more closely; for by them all the conditions relating to property are regulated in all beneficent Mohammedan States, and they came into use in all the conquered provinces, and into their framework all those relics of the legal system in existence before the Conquest had to be incorporated, provided they would permit of this, and were thus able to remain valid.

Upon these legal principles was based the land-law promulgated by the Porte in 1858 (Ramazan 7th, 1274), which, as regards the conditions of property in Bosnia, is still in force. We have already touched upon the meaning of the *Mulk* and *Mirieh*.

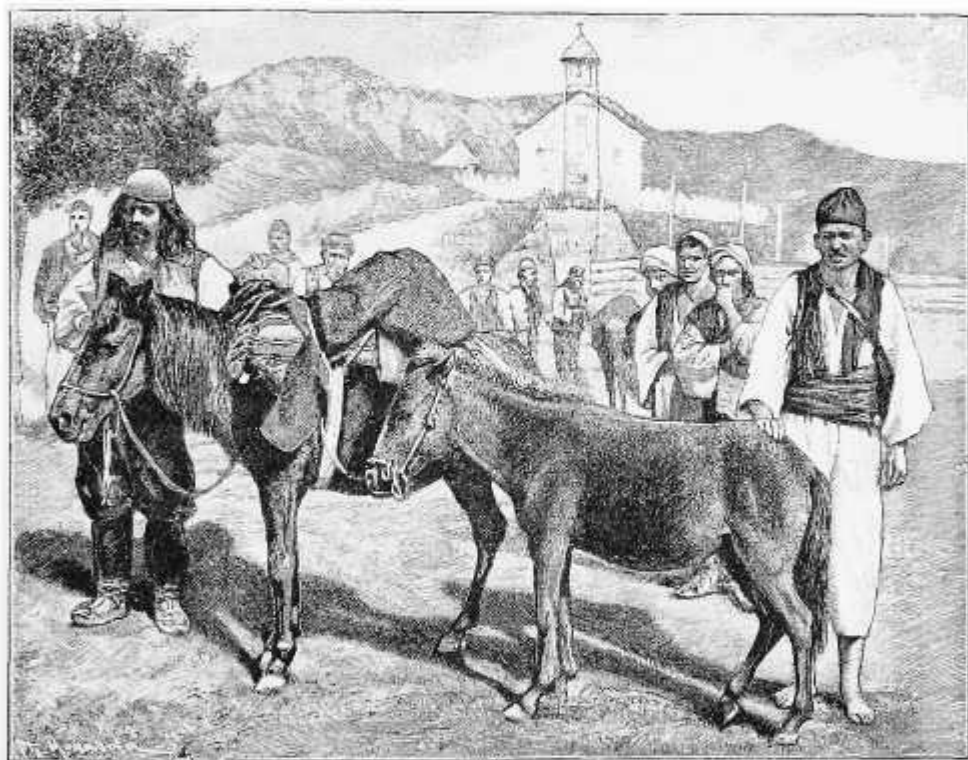
*Mulk* is an entirely free, real property. It is in some respects even freer than our freehold, because it is not even charged with tithes, that is, the usual Government land-tax. To this class belong, as a rule,—for we shall meet with exceptions,—the intravillan land of closed towns and villages together with the house thereon; but where, as in Bosnia, there are for the most part no closed villages, it is comprised of the house belonging to the community with its courtyard and garden, to the extent of half a *dunum*. A *dunum* equals one thousand two hundred square yards. Besides these, to this class belong such pieces of ground as have in consequence of certain legal decisions changed from *mirieh*-land into *mulk*, i.e., become entirely freehold.

In the land-law mention is also made of the *Uesherieh*-lands, which in conquered countries were granted to the conquerors or to Mohammedan converts, as *mulk*, indeed, but subject to tithes; and the *Haratshieh*-lands, which were granted to the Christian owners found upon them, in



exchange for the Haratsh, that is, a tax for exemption from military service.

Mirieh generally means land subject to tithes, which is not really private property as it serves public ends, inasmuch as it is given up by the caliphs for cultivation, in exchange for tithes. This is, therefore, generally the cultivated soil. The land-law calls it State property, although it is not State property in the European acceptance of the term. The



Kmets.

Conquest, as a rule, left the former owner in possession; but the caliph reserved to himself the tithes, the appointment of the successor, and the traffic, as well as the disposal thereof, so that the estate should not be left uncultivated, and should always yield tithes. The mirieh-estates can be granted or transferred only by means of duty-charged "tapias," and sold only with the consent of the State; cannot be subject to any testamentary disposal, and are hereditary only in direct descent, or to the second degree in the collateral line; after this they become "Malhul," that is, they revert

to the State. The State, however, never appropriates them to its own exclusive use; but in the event of its reversion or lapse re-allots it with the *tapia* and liability to tithes.

State property in land, in the European sense, first arose out of the forest-laws in 1850, by which the Porte declared all forests to be by principle the immediate property of the State, and only acknowledged as local rights the privileges of wood-cutting and pasturage. In opposition to this law, however, numerous owners to this day endeavour to enforce their rights in forest property, which they think they are able to demand as *mulk* or *mirieh*. It will not always be fair to pass by claims of this nature. The *Vakuf*—that is, the estates of Mohammedan religious endowments, mosques, schools, hospitals, baths, and wells—may come within the category of the *mulk*, as well as in that of the *mirieh*. In the first case it constitutes real (*zahihe*), in the latter unreal (*tahzizat*) *vakuf*. With regard to this, however, various peculiar circumstances arise. The *vakuf* which has proceeded from the *mulk* may be of such a kind that the founder and the successors appointed by him may remain in possession of it, certain obligations only being required of them, such as the maintenance of one lamp, or the gift of a single taper. The object of these small endowments was generally only that the estate might by its sacred character be protected against deeds of violence, arbitrariness, and confiscation. Or the *vakuf* itself stepped into the property, administered it itself, or granted it upon lease for a definite period (simple rent *vakuf*), or as an hereditary lease of such a kind, that each heir had to pay a certain duty on taking possession over and above the current rent (double rent *vakuf*). Finally, there is also the *Mukata*, which consists of the founder's bestowing a *mulk*-estate upon private persons with free testatory rights and power of sale, but still in exchange for a fixed undertaking to pay rent to the *vakuf*. The most populated part of Serajevo, the *Tsharshia*, and a part of Franz Josef Street, is held in this manner, by virtue of an endowment of Chosref-Beg's "*pod mukatem*." Here, therefore, is a case in point, where the *intravillanum* is *mulk* indeed, yet not free, but liable to ground-rent.

It sometimes occurs that the *vakuf*, proceeding from the *mirieh*—*mirieh* being of the nature of public property—only comes into existence with the sanction of the caliph, *i.e.*, the State authorities. The *vakuf* may be a simple *mirieh*-owner, and in this case it has to discharge the tithes; or the State transfers to it the tithes together with the property; or, finally, like the earlier *spahis*, the *vakuf* may only possess rights with respect to the transfer and *tapia*-duties on leasehold principles. In both the latter cases we have to deal with the relics of the feudal system previously existing; and the *vakuf* here appears in the character of the endowed *spahi* of earlier

times. By virtue of its sanctified character, it has retained its rights in spite of the abolition of the feudal system.

Outside the mulk and mirieh-lands is the Mevat, uncultivated soil, which through cultivation becomes mirieh-land, and by grant a mirieh-estate; and the Metruke-land, which serves as the exclusive usufruct of one or more villages, our public property, streets, and squares on the one hand; on the other, our communal property, forests, and pasturage, which, however, here are not the property of the communities—for, according to the forest-laws, the forests are always purely State property—but are reserved for communal purposes; for they can neither be withdrawn by the State, nor by the community, nor by their individual inhabitants, and therefore stand *extra commercium*.

Finally, it must be observed, that a case may also occur where the land itself may be mirieh-land, whilst the houses and trees standing upon it are mulk, and that in that case the mirieh-land may be owned by one, the mulk-trees by another proprietor. The house, namely, is, as a rule, the freehold property of the man who built it; the fruit trees that of the man who planted and cultivated them. The plum tree especially in this respect plays a similar part in Bosnia to that played by the palm in North Africa. These are the chief features of the old Mohammedan laws of property which the valid land-law, as a rule, maintains, and also regulates in all its complicated details, without being able to exhaust all conceivable combinations. And as the Mohammedan law can recognize no Christian Church property, but has, however, from of old at least tolerated it, and later on, legally suffered it to exist, the land-law provides, in a special section relating to the lands belonging to the convents and churches, that if these have from of old been in the possession of the religious bodies free of *tapu* they cannot be diverted from their purpose. If Christian bodies are found to possess mirieh-lands, then these must continue as mirieh-lands. They cannot, however, acquire fresh mirieh-land. As a result of this last decree, the churches and convents long since took the precaution of acquiring new mirieh property in the name of their representatives. Since no mirieh property can be bequeathed by wills, such property under the dominion of the Porte could naturally only remain in the possession of churches or convents by the toleration of an abuse.

These arrangements are naturally no longer of practical importance.

Such evidence bearing upon the relation of master and bondsman as has come down to us from pre-Turkish times, refers in the main only to mirieh-lands, but to all descriptions of such land enumerated by us hitherto, because by far the largest portion of the pastures and arable lands are mirieh.

The land-law does not apply to these conditions, neither do they stand in any sort of connection with the past Turkish feudal and military system. Found there by the Conquest, they were preserved through the influence of the nobility, which had gone over in a body to Islam, and were only re-organized by the law of the year 1859 (Sefer 14th, 1276), in order to deal with the abuses which had crept in, without its statutes, especially the preparation of written contracts, ever having been carried out.

The house, courtyard, and garden of the Kmet (vassal) stand, as a rule, upon the land belonging to the landlord, and have to be kept in repair by



Peasant women (Orthodox).

him. After the tithes have been first deducted, a certain proportion of the products are due to the landlord. This proportion varies between one-fifth and one-half, according to the different products and districts. The harsh lord of the manor screwed it up, the good-natured, or intimidated, reduced his share; and as neither written laws nor written contracts existed, but everything rested only upon ancient usage and actual facts, every alteration in the once established *modus operandi* was difficult to bring about. Generally, however, a third was due to the landlord.

The custom, too, differs as to who has to provide the seed and to collect the landlord's share. The actual cultivation always falls upon

the kmet. He can at any time sever the relations; but can only be evicted by a legal decree if he fails to cultivate the soil, or does not hand over his share to the landlord. If the master sells the land, the kmet can claim the right of pre-emption. The new landlord, upon taking possession of the estate, steps into all the privileges of his predecessor in relation to the kmet. The right of the kmet may be hereditary, but can neither be sold nor transferred. The kmet-land (*tshiftluk*) which has become tenantless may be either re-allotted by the owner or retained for immediate cultivation. Such a "*begluk*," retained by the owner for his own use, is found upon all the larger estates.

The extension of the kmet-land finds its natural limitation in the fact that the kmet loses the land which he continues to neglect. Individual kmets are, however, in a position to continuously cultivate considerable tracts of land, if they hold the position of head of several families living in household communities, a custom having its origin in the old Slavonic Zadruga. Thus does the Zadruga, the household, and estate community, of several related families under the patriarchal control of a chosen chief, play a part in the conditions of Bosnian property. This arrangement is very common in peasant families, especially as, for want of farm labourers, they are driven to it as a substitute. The same arrangement is, however, also found amongst rich landed families, who live together in communities, or at any rate voluntarily remain under the authority of one common family head.

These arrangements which control the relations of property are materially supplemented by the right of pre-emption. The right of a neighbour (*schuf'a*) to acquire the land at the selling price in the event of a sale refers exclusively to mulk, a right which attaches to him, not only with respect to the time of the sale itself, but which remains valid for a certain period afterwards. Far more important from a social economical point of view is the right of pre-emption attaching to *mirieh* which was regulated by the laws of Ramazan 7th, 1274, and Muharem 7th, 1293.

The right of pre-emption is vested, according to the former law, in the living co-owners of common real estate, and is valid for five years; to the owner of mulk (freehold) buildings and trees which stand upon *mirieh* (leasehold) soil, and is valid for five years; to the inhabitant of one village as opposed to the inhabitant of another, and is valid for one year. In the event of death, the chosen heir of the mulk has a claim on the *tapia* for the *mirieh*, even before the legal *mirieh* heir, for the space of ten years; the co-owner, in default of a legal *mirieh* heir—that is to say, if the *mirieh*-land would otherwise have fallen in, had become "*malhul*"—for the space of five years; finally, the inhabitants of the village requiring land, when a piece of *mirieh*-land has become *malhul*, for the space of one year. In addition to this, the kmet has, according to the law of Muharem 7th, 1293, in the event of sale or exposure for sale, the right of pre-emption upon the land cultivated by him for the space of one year.

It remains to be stated that every tract of land, as soon as it becomes free of any claim on the part of a kmet, is also leaseable; and that beyond the cultivation of his soil, and the debt of labour due to the State (*Robot*\*).

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\* *Robot*, as it exists in Bosnia and Hungary, has not the same meaning as the French *corvées*, services rendered to the feudal lord on his own estate, but only some days' labour

no other service can be imposed upon him. The kmet-lands are generally comprised of about twenty hectares; the holdings of some of the powerful begs amount to as much as twenty thousand hectares. On the other hand, there are small agas, three of whom jointly own only a single undivided piece of kmet-land.

Although these institutions may not harmonize with our ideas, standing directly in the way, as they do, with their complication of multitudinous laws

and claims, of commerce and development generally, and although they in this respect urgently demand reform, we are none the less bound to acknowledge the spirit of humanity, the protection and encouragement to labour which they imply.

If the lot of the rajah was insufferable, the cause lay not so much in the institutions themselves, but rather in the manner in which they were carried out, in the abuses and outrages which had arisen. Their abolition, the impartial and practical protection of the law, was the first and most important reform introduced by the Austrian occupation. With a just administration of these institutions, the lot of the peasant is now more happy than in many more advanced European States; and this much is certain, that in



A Catholic couple.

Bosnia, where cattle-breeding yields the chief part of the agriculturalist's income, and which, with their almost unlimited rights of pasturage, practically costs him nothing, the peasant, as a rule, enjoys more meat than in Germany, Italy, or France. It is true that he knows next to no wants beyond the actual necessities of life; in his rooms there is scarcely any furniture; and should he be in a

a year for public road-making. Landowners and tenants are all obliged to render this service, but may substitute the payment of a small tax.

position, after having provided for his daily needs, to put by money, he always dedicates it in the first place to velvet, golden-corded, holiday clothes, and to finery for the women. But under existing conditions the possibility is offered him of raising himself by labour and thrift to the position of a freeholder, and as a matter of fact the number of those *kmets* who either release their tracts of land or acquire freehold land by purchase is daily on the increase. The position of the *kmet* is assuredly hard indeed, if judged from the standpoint that manorial rights are simply usurpations, that the *kmet* is the rightful owner of the soil, and that the inherited or honestly purchased proprietary rights of the landlord should simply be abolished. Such reforms, meanwhile, can only be effected by a revolution. Public law can only be reformed through the observance of the law. Sensible reforms will, however, seek to protect, not only the laws, but also public interests, and their foundation—private interest. Yet each abrupt revolution in agricultural conditions, even when all due regard is paid to existing rights, throws, not only the individual, but also the entire agricultural fabric into serious crises.

Even if it were possible with a stroke of the pen to convert the Mohammedan and mediæval property laws into modern European ones, the transition would involve the country in a period of temporary ruin. Nothing seems more simple than to raise a big loan, and to hand over the soil to the *kmets*, and the money to the *agas*; but general ruin would follow the brief intoxication due to superfluity of money and needlessness of effort. For a reform of the existing property laws a secure foundation had first of all to be made.

In the year 1882, the construction of Ordnance maps by triangulation was already begun, according to lots and crops. They were to have been completed within seven years (1880-86), at an estimated cost of only 2,854,063 fl. (£285,406 6s.). The "Land Registers" introduced since then are now in full swing. Not until the proper ownership of land has been established by this means can agrarian reform be even thought of. Meantime, the improvement of agricultural conditions is not by any means neglected.

Pending the completion of the land registers, the *Serajevo* branch of the Union Bank at Vienna, aided by the Government, gives credit on the security of land—a matter of the first importance for purposes of investment.

Schools, colonies, and agricultural associations promote the cultivation of the soil; the breed of cattle is being constantly improved, and efforts on the part of the *kmets* to acquire freeholds are encouraged by the authorities.

It may readily be understood how beneficially the rapid extension of road-making must act upon commerce, when we reflect that before the occupation all goods had to be carried by sumpter horses in Bosnia.

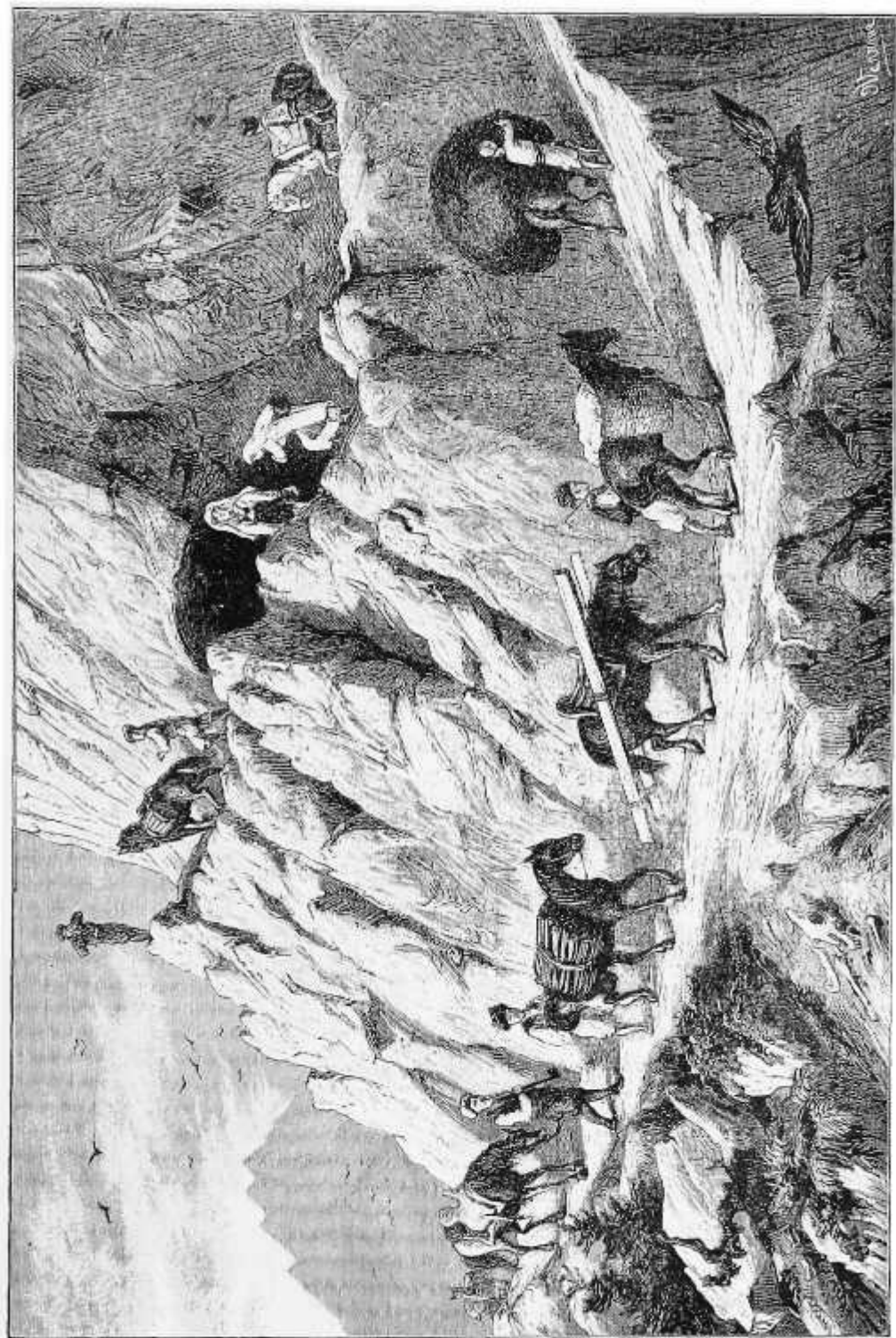
How much yet remains to be done, more particularly as regards the encouragement of industry and cultivation of the soil, may be seen at a glance from the statistics, which show what capacities for development this country possesses.

Of the Bosnian and Herzegovinan territory, which contains 5,410,200 hectares (20,880 sq. miles), 1,811,300 hectares (6,990 sq. miles) are under cultivation. The yield of the land, without being able to supply absolutely trustworthy returns upon these points, was at that time estimated at 500 million kilogrammes (1,100 million lbs.), as follows: 100 million kilogrammes (220 million lbs.) of maize, 49 m. k. (107½ m. lbs.) of wheat, 38 m. k. (83½ m. lbs.) of barley, 46 m. k. (101½ m. lbs.) of oats, 10 m. k. (22 m. lbs.) of beans, the rest of rye, millet, buckwheat, guinea-corn, rape-seed, potatoes, turnips, onions, etc., etc.

In spite of the apparently favourable conditions for the cultivation of oats, the oats for the cavalry have to be brought from Hungary, and the large towns likewise order Hungarian meal, which is imported annually to the amount of half a million gulden. Owing to deficient cultivation but little wheat is grown, and that of a poor quality. Bosnia, however, always attains to the first rank in the cultivation of plums. Even here, however, for some time before the occupation she was almost surpassed by Serbia, chiefly on account of a better drying process. Now, however, she has successfully striven to regain her former superiority in this respect, quite apart from the superior quality of its fruit. The export of this commodity, which extends even as far as America, amounts in favourable years to as much as 60,000 tons.

In Herzegovina, where successful experiments have already been made with rice, olives, and orange trees, where the pomegranate flourishes in the open air, and where in certain districts excellent red wine, similar to the Dalmatian, is grown, tobacco plays the same important agricultural part that the plum plays in Bosnia. Whilst in Bosnia 636 kilogrammes (1,400 lbs.) of a value of 150 to 200 fl. (£15 to £20) may be calculated per hectar, in Herzegovina about 3,000 kilogrammes (6,600 lbs.) of a value of 2,000 fl. (£200) are produced per hectar. Since the introduction of this monopoly, the extension and improvement of production has rapidly developed, and new sources of industry have been thrown open by the factories. In 1886, 700,000 fl. (£70,000) was estimated as the amount to be paid for tobacco to the growers. The income from the Government crops was 1,750,000 fl. (£175,000) for 160,000 kilogr. (352,000 lbs.) of raw tobacco, sold for exportation and to the Government in Austria, and in Hungary 160,000 fl. (£16,000); from the factories of the Austro-Hungary Governments (at the price) 250,000 fl. (£25,000): total expense, 1,457,870 fl. (£145,787); total income, 2,382,000 fl. (£238,200); net profit, 824,130 fl. (£82,413). The number of licenses granted for tobacco plantations for private use amounted to about 10,000.





Bosnian traffic.

For the purposes of domestic industry the cultivation of hemp, and in Herzegovina of silk, is very general.

Cattle-breeding has a great future before it in Bosnia. No reliable statistics as to its condition as yet exist. With a people not yet accustomed to State interference in everything, whose susceptibilities are easily aroused, even necessary arrangements can only follow one another in proportion to their importance and urgency. According to the approximate valuation of the year 1879 there were: 158,034 horses, 3,134 mules, 782,077 horned cattle, 839,988 sheep, 430,334 goats, 430,354 swine. Poultry and bees are found in almost every house. Though unfavourable when calculated according to the acreage, this state of things is unusually favourable in view of the number of the population. And this too, as well as the quality, improves from year to year in consequence of the new arrangements. The export of horses and cattle has constantly been on the increase. Especially does the improvement in the breed of horses and of swine, similar to wild pigs, give promise of important results.

All these animals were heretofore left to grow up almost as best they could, without care or protection, wild upon far-stretching pasture lands, and in forests where they had to seek their own food, so that their keep cost hardly anything. The forest-law, indeed, declared the forests to be the property of the State, but yet put scarcely any restrictions at all upon the people's rights of pasturage. The goats, especially, caused terrible havoc in the woods. In spite of this the forest statistics show that in the 1,667,500 hectares (6,435 sq. miles) of foliage trees, and the 1,059,700 hectares (4,090 sq. miles) of pine woods, which are placed under protection with due regard to the interests of the population, there are 24,946,000 cubic metres (82,680,000 cubic yards) of building, and 114,025,000 cubic metres (149,370,000 cubic yards) of firewood. This enormous treasure will only be valued at its proper worth with the development of intercourse. In 1880, the net profits amounted to 116,007 fl. (£11,600 14s.); 1884, to 200,000 fl. (£20,000); the net profits for 1886 were farmed out for 350,000 fl. (£35,000). A comparison of contemporary conditions with those of the abnormal epochs which preceded the insurrection shows that in the year 1865 the revenue of the country amounted to 5·5 million gulden (£550,000); whilst it was farmed out for 8·5 millions (£850,000) for 1886. In the year 1865, with one million inhabitants, an average taxation of 5·5 gulden (11s.) fell to every person; in the year 1886, with a round 13 million of inhabitants, 6·5 fl. (13s.). A comparison of the taxes gives the following result:—

	1865.	1886.
Tithes . . . . .	1,250,000 fl. (£125,000)	2,410,000 fl. (£241,000)
Income Tax . . . . .	1,584,200 fl. (£158,420)	640,000 fl. (£64,000)

	1865.	1886.
Public and Spirit Licenses . . . . .	200,000 fl. (£20,000)	40,000 fl. (£4,000)
Harateh . . . . .	750,000 fl. (£75,000)	
Stamp Duties . . . . .	150,000 fl. (£15,000)	470,000 fl. (£47,000)
Excise . . . . .	200,000 fl. (£20,000)	54,000 fl. (£5,400)
Tax on Sheep . . . . .	220,000 fl. (£22,000)	342,300 fl. (£34,230)
Customs . . . . .	403,900 fl. (£40,390)	726,000 fl. (£72,600)
Church Rate . . . . .	120,000 fl. (£12,000)	
Trade, Marriage, Door, and Window Tax	150,000 fl. (£15,000)	
Tapia . . . . .		10,300 fl. (£1,030)
Coffee Monopoly . . . . .	45,000 fl. (£4,500)	
Duty on Tobacco (Monopoly) . . . . .	300,000 fl. (£30,000)	2,282,000 fl. (£228,200)
Salt Tax . . . . .	40,000 fl. (£4,000)	952,864 fl. (£95,286 8s.)
Bridges and Road Tolls, Gunpowder . . . . .		30,800 fl. (£3,080)
<b>Totals . . . . .</b>	<b>5,413,100 fl. (£541,310)</b>	<b>7,958,254 fl. (£795,825 8s.)</b>

To this must be added the net profits of the State property (forests and mines): in the year 1865 they yielded 70,000 fl. (£7,000); in the year 1886, 500,000 fl. (£50,000). The tax has risen 60 kr. (£1 2s. 4d.) per head; but owing to their more rational distribution, and to the abuses of the former tax-collectors and their organs, is relatively essentially lessened, since the profits on the crops have been everywhere doubled.

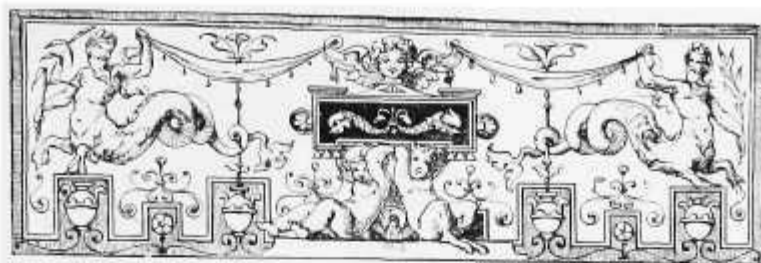
At the meeting of the delegates (1887) explanations were given by the minister regarding the introduction of a new arrangement, that is, Bureaux for the support of agriculture, which are also to promote agricultural development.

The formation of a fund for this purpose was in Gacko started by the people themselves, which declared itself prepared to pay a sum of 5,000 fl. (£500) within five years in instalments of 1,000 fl. (£100), a suggestion which the minister seized upon with pleasure, giving an assurance in the name of the Government that they on their part would add double the amount to that voluntarily subscribed in the district. Upon this assurance the district at once succeeded in raising the 5,000 fl. (£500), and did not allow the minister to delay in making the 10,000 fl. current (£1,000) in accordance with his promise, so that this first Support Fund was set in motion last year, and with a capital of 15,000 fl. (£1,500) commenced its operations. The management of this Support Fund is in the hands of the representatives of the district, with the assistance of two men chosen and trusted by the people themselves to represent their interests. The Inland Revenue Department undertakes the book-keeping, and distributes the moneys free of charge; in fact, the management is all done for nothing.

From these funds two classes of loans are given: the first serves to provide

the necessary stock *fundus instructus* of implements, cattle, seed, etc.—this class advances the money at 4 per cent. interest; the second class is for such land-owners as possess the necessary means for the purchase of stock, but who wish to undertake enterprises upon their estates involving investment and extension. These combined loans are charged at an interest of 6 per cent., which under the conditions now existing in the country, where the raising of a capital is hardly possible even at an interest of from 60 to 100 per cent., makes the beneficial effect of this institution self-evident. The capital of the Gacko Support Fund is nearly invested. An imitation of this society was started in the district of Nevensinje by its magistrate, but was last year rejected by the people. This year, now that they have seen the beneficial results of the fund established in Gacko, the people have themselves come forward with a petition to be supported in a similar effort, and they have not hesitated to urge the minister to meet their wishes. In an exactly similar way as in Gacko a support fund of 17,000 fl. (£1,700) was collected in September of this year, and two hundred and seventy-four applicants for loans have come forward. The hope may indeed be expressed that similar institutions, so important for the agricultural population, may be founded in other districts.

The Bosnian loves nothing so much as the land and soil upon which he has grown up. Hence there is a natural desire amongst the *knets* to acquire land and soil as soon as possible. In order, therefore, to make this more easy to him, and at the same time to clear the way to the solution of the Agrarian question, the Government has hit upon the device that those *knets* who wish to acquire possession of the soil tilled by them, and are in a position to contribute something, even though only a small sum, towards the necessary capital, shall receive it upon loan at 6 per cent. interest to be redeemed over a period of from five to fifteen years. The difficulty in carrying this plan into effect lay in the want of land registers. The Government, therefore, for the sake of carrying through similar arrangements, caused provisional land registers to be prepared, which should clearly set forth the condition of each individual applicant for the loan. In this manner 141,000 fl. (£14,100) in specie have been advanced, and thus far none of the capital has been lost. To the *agas*, too, loans are granted on similar terms, yet only upon the understanding that they shall be applied to the improvement of their landed property.



## CHAPTER IX.

### *LIFE AND CUSTOMS OF SERAJEVO.*

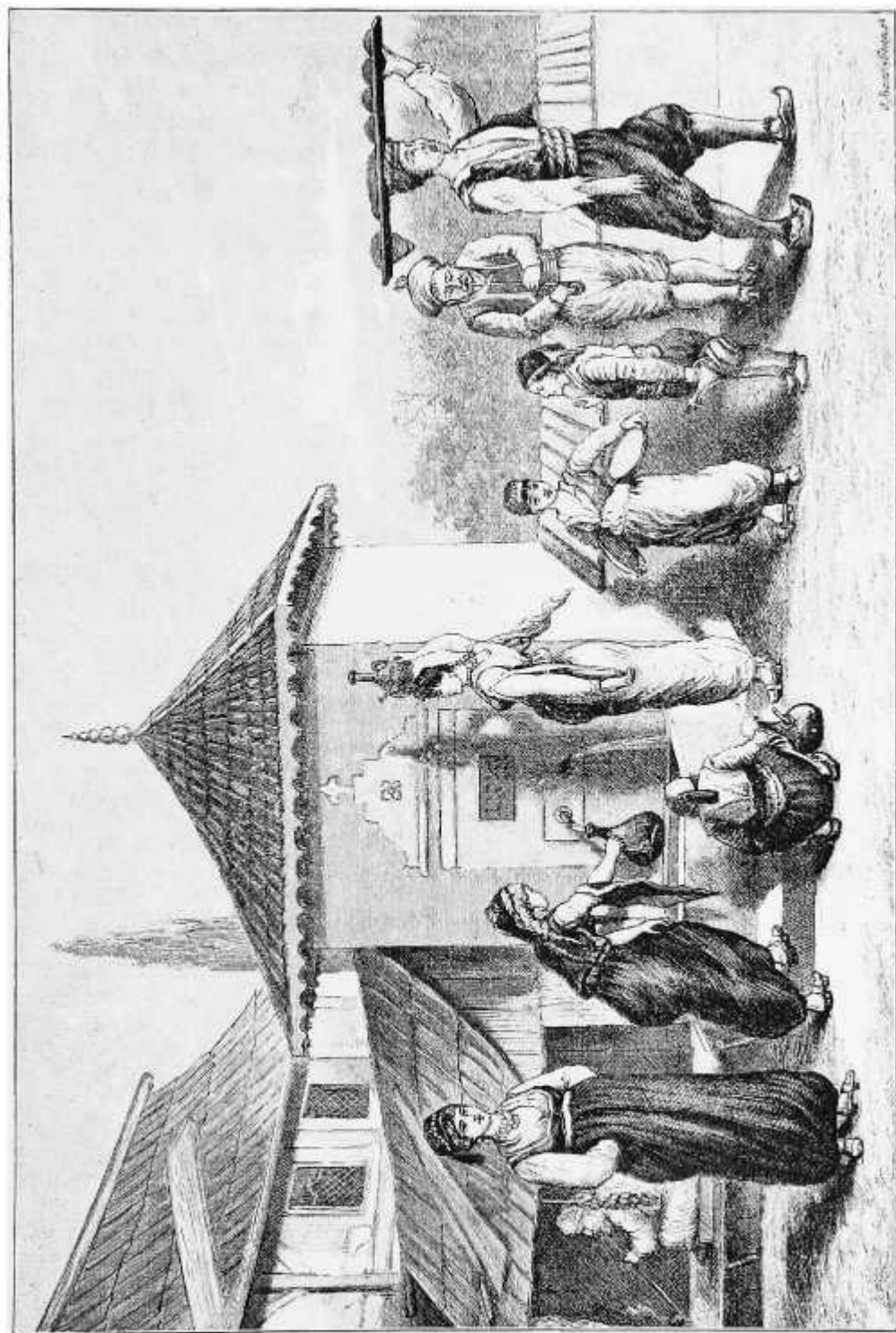
The European Street—The Bezestan—The Tsharshia—The Caravansary—Political Speeches—Street Beggars—The Mahdi—Guilds—Art Industries—Textile Industries—Superstitions—The Mecca Pilgrims—Commercial Life—The Beledja—Representative Institutions—Bosnian soldiery—Popular Coffee-Taverns—The Fast of Ramazan—Dinner with the Mufti—Bosnian Troubadours—Visits—Love and Marriage—Folk Songs—Howling Dervishes—Bend Bashi—The Song of Gusinje.

**F**RANZ JOSEF STREET, which leads along the right bank of the Miliaska, right into the heart of the town, grows daily more European in character. At its very commencement stands the imposing building of the officers' club, between an abandoned old Turkish churchyard and the club garden, which slopes down to the river, and presents a most charming view. This is soon succeeded by the Orthodox Cathedral, and further along the large new hotel, which can favourably compare with the best provincial hotels of the monarchy. Between these there stands a row of substantial buildings, European in style, and answering to European requirements : whilst the large public buildings on the farther side of the "Latinski Most" (Catholic Bridge), at the end of Franz Josef Street, are grouped around the Czareva-Džamia, that is, the Konak, the large cavalry barracks, and the Government offices are still, after the native fashion, built of wood and clay. For the imposing new Government buildings which stand out at the beginning of the town, before you reach Franz Josef Street, between the tobacco factory and the military school for boys, were only roofed in in 1886.

In Franz Josef Street, too, are situated the remaining inns of a better class, and of European arrangement, the European bath, and the most European shops, in which, in good sooth, only the worst Viennese and Pesth goods, mere lumber, may be had at fancy prices. Here, amongst a few other good

businesses, is Königsberger's bookshop, with its splendid Bosnian photographs. The Mohammedan tombstones and fountains, with here and there some ancient ruin, and the lively traffic, alone remind one of the East.

At the end of this "European" street, however, to the left, within old and massive walls, there yawns the dark cavity of a low-vaulted arch; and as soon as we pass under this, it is all up with Europe. This is the Bezeestan, the long, narrow bazaar building, with niches on either side, in which the salesmen squat by the side of their heaped-up, many-coloured wares. True, the merchandise is here, too, mostly of Bohemian, Moravian, and Viennese origin; but it is of that class which is expressly intended for the Eastern market and for Eastern taste: fezzes, slippers, nargilehs, tshibuks (Turkish pipes), sham jewellery, worthless silver and gold embroideries, coloured calico, and bad silk stuffs; by their side, however, lie the beautiful and superior textures of Bosnian home manufacture, and, at least occasionally, also single small specimens of home art manufacture. Purely Oriental, however, are the merchants and their ways. An overpowering majority of these shop-people are Spanish Jews, whose principal quarter this is. The number of Mohammedans is small. Although the difference in costume is insignificant, and is chiefly observable in the darker colours and European shoes worn by Jews, the difference of physiognomy, and still more of manners, strikes one at once. Whilst the Mohammedan awaits the customer with reserve, even listlessness, serves him with a certain quiet politeness, and only commences to bargain with difficulty, and most readily when he has thawed over cigarettes, coffee, and a friendly chat, the Jew is lively, humble, pressing, whilst he recommends all his goods and offers them for sale, constantly calling his customer back, until at last he tenders the wares at a third of the price he at first asked for them. It is noticeable, however, that it is only the small tradesmen amongst the Spanish Jews who carry on their business here. The colony of Spanish Jews in Serajevo already enjoys some standing on account of its wealth. Previous to the Austrian occupation they were the sole bankers of the country, and are still its principal usurers. This branch of their activity has naturally greatly diminished since Vienna and Pesth have opened branch banks in Serajevo. They speak the language of the country purely; but yet, amongst themselves, still make use of the old Castilian idioms, which their exiled forefathers brought with them from Spain. Gladly do they recall those happy days, and with Spanish pride scorn to mix with the German Jews, who have swarmed into the country since the occupation. Amongst their aged men patriarchal figures may be seen, and amongst their daughters luxuriant beauties; the dark red fez, adorned with small ducats,



Outdoor life in Sarajevo.

tends to heighten the provoking loveliness of the latter. The matrons are, on the other hand, disfigured by a cap, which entirely conceals the hair, and which has a flat red crown and broad dark rim, beneath which also small gold coins fall down upon the forehead.

The Hahambashi, the chief rabbi of Serajevo, who likewise has an imposing presence, arranges all their concerns, in conjunction with a few fellow members of the community, so that even their matters under dispute only come before the judges upon the very rarest occasions. They take care to avoid any conflict with the laws; no charges are ever brought against them for murder, theft, or deeds of violence. They provide for their poor themselves, so that these are not tempted to beg; and even though their schools are upon a quite Oriental level, yet each one of their scholars can at least write in Hebrew characters and manipulate figures.

If we leave the Bezestan, upon the opposite side there rise the leaden cupolas of a great Turkish bath. It belongs to the Vakuf of the Begova-Džamia, and is likewise one of Chosref-Beg's foundations. It is far cleaner and more pleasant than the European bath in Franz Josef Street. The ceaseless care and tenderness with which the Mohammedan bath attendants pour cold and warm, clean and soapy water over the bather, chafe him, and finally envelop him in towels, so that he may, whilst he enjoys his coffee and cigarettes, rest himself and get perfectly cool, is in itself a distinct enjoyment. The company, it is true, is a little mixed, and their cleanliness not always beyond all question. One can, however, easily bathe alone at mid-day by giving previous notice.

We cross a narrow, steep street, which leads along the outer wall of the Bezestan, towards the hillside. Here meat, vegetables, and other provisions are sold. In all directions hang lambs, salmon, crabs, turkeys, and game, besides native vegetables quite unknown to us. The baker here bakes his bread in the streets; here he pushes out from long tin cylinders the endless thin strings of vermicelli, which, when baked upon a tin-pan smeared with ham fat and soaked in honey, forms the greatest pride of a Bosnian kitchen. The bake-houses are here, and a fiendish din fills the narrow street; for each one of the vendors breaks out into a wild clamour from time to time, so as to draw attention to his goods and their price.

After crossing this street, we come out opposite to the Begova-Džamia. A holy silence reigns here, even when the crowd of the devout troops to prayer. We then reach the Tsharshija, an entire section of the town consisting of timber huts, amongst which only natives can find their way; this is the city of Serajevo. As in London, so here too, only business is attended to in



this quarter. The dwelling-houses lie between the gardens on the hillsides ; for the Mohammedan—even though only a shoemaker—is always a gentleman, and will dwell in his own house and garden far from the din of trade, and as far as possible from the clatter of vehicles in the European thoroughfares. The Tsharshija belongs exclusively to the Mohammedan business world. There are no dwelling-houses here, beyond the old Caravansary, whither the droves from the market still turn in. This consists of a gigantic courtyard surrounded by a strong but dilapidated wall, stabling on the ground floor, the rooms on the first floor, cell upon cell, all mean, and all furnished alike with only a bad piece of carpet and innumerable bugs. These cells are the quarters of the gentlemen ; the poor peasant camps in the yard. Thanks to the Caravansary, the Tsharshija is not only the centre of the city, but also of all the country gossip. It is the forum, the exchange, and also occupies the position of the press. European politics are arranged in the coffee-houses of the Tsharshija. It is here that old spectacled Hadshi-Ahmed-Aga explains—a Turkish newspaper held upside down in his hand the while—to his astonished audience what the six kings are doing : the white Czar of Moscow, the German Czar in Vienna, the King of England, the King of France, and the King of Spain, and finally that poor sixth, who shivers in the far North in eternal gloom and cold. How they went to Stamboul to beseech the Sultan to permit them to make short work of the Russian Czar, as he would no longer pay the tribute ; for of course he is not worthy that the Sultan should deal personally with him. In vain, however, did the other kings petition : the Sultan would force even the Muscovite to unite. It was thus that the Conference of Constantinople was restrained, and thus a great war arose ; only to the Viennese Czar, because he is such an excellent man, the Sultan entrusted the office of bringing order into Bosnia, where the rajah were constantly revolting, for they were really not worthy to have the Sultan negotiate with them in person. The Muscovite was foolhardy enough to march as far as Constantinople ; he was, however, at last obliged to retire ignominiously if he did not wish to be entirely crushed. He certainly relied too much upon the long-suffering of the Sultan, for perhaps he had not even yet paid over the tribute-money. But the Sultan would yet settle matters with him when his patience was exhausted. In the meantime he could wait all the more easily, because he had even now hardly room in his cellars for his piles of gold.

To the Viennese Czar, however, whom the Sultan greatly loved, he resigned Bosnia for a further period, for he understood how to maintain order better

than the former viziers had done. The audience now understood that it was a great mistake to rise against the Viennese Czar; but for that Montenegrin lies had been alone to blame. . . .

The Tsharshija is a favourite resort of street beggars, as also of the Madhi, who has come into existence in Serajevo; he goes from time to time the round of the offices to explain how the Occupation was foretold in the Koran and arranged by Allah. Whereupon he asks for a few coppers.

The Tsharshija is, however, before all things the place of hard work.



Seller of Citron Water.

The wares in the stalls are for the most part finished off before the eyes of the surging crowd; and even though the booths are closed, not only on Friday, the Mohammedan fast day, but also on Saturday, through courtesy towards the Jews, and on Sunday out of consideration for the Christians, many artisans might still take example from the persevering zeal with which the Bosnian tradespeople labour on the remaining days, from early morn until late at eve.

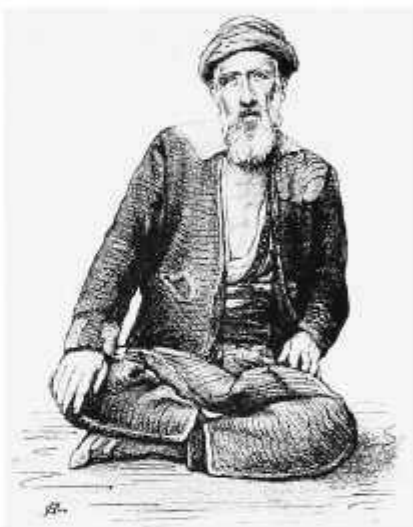
The life of the Guilds, from which European culture has quite broken away, although we in Austro-Hungary are beginning to revert to it again, still rules here in unbroken strength. The artisan, proud of his skill, who works upon the same lines as his forefathers, rejects every suggestion which does not emanate from a "Majstor;" he believes

everything to be good just as it is; and founded upon this spirit of conservation, which is predominant throughout Mohammedanism, the guilds continue their existence, without its ever having occurred to any one that the industries, too, might be organized upon a free basis. As the guilds, like nearly all mediæval institutions and usages, are of Arabic origin—even the German word "zunft" comes from the Arabic "sinf"—they, in a certain measure, passed over to the Turks with the religion with which, amongst the Mohammedans, they are still in many respects allied. At the head of each Bosnian guild there stands next to the senior ("pir"), also a sheik, who is,

as it were, the chaplain of the guild. He is followed by the "nakib" (overseer), the "kjajah" (sub-overseer), the master ("aga"), the old associates ("jigit bashileri"), and the associates ("tshautsh"). Each guild has its own patron saint, as was also the case in Christian Europe. Adam was the first husbandman, Enoch the first tailor and scribe, Noah the first carpenter, Abraham, the builder of the Kaaba,\* the first bricklayer, Ishmael the first hunter, Isaac the first shepherd, Jacob the first dervish, Joseph the first clockmaker, for in the gloom of the Egyptian dungeon he invented the hour-glass that he might fix the time of prayer. Daud (David) constructed shirts of mail, Suleiman (Solomon) baskets, Jeremiah was a healer of wounds, Sammel a soothsayer, Jonas a fisherman, Isza (Jesus) a traveller, and Mohammed a merchant. The patron saint of the sugar refiners is Omar Halvaj; in him the "halva" prepared from honey and almonds originated, and they are still known under the name of "halavitschka" in the towns of Southern Hungary. Omar ben Omran Berberi, a pupil of the prophet, baked the first "zemid" and "guladshian," from which the German semmeln (rolls) and the kolatschen (fancy bread) are the outcome. Hish is the patron saint of the silk-weavers, because the first silk threads came from the worms which devoured his body. The founding of the guilds is traced back to Mohammed himself. He wore an apron of green silk, a gift of the archangel Gabriel. It served afterwards as the prophet's banner.

Some branches of trade occupy whole streets in the Tsharshija; but it also sometimes happens that three different trades are carried on in one and the same booth.

One of the most important and distinguished of the trades is that of brazier; the very shapes of the common utensils intended for domestic use give evidence of refined taste.



Street Beggar.

\* The Kaaba is a square-shaped building in Mecca, a national sanctuary of the Arabians, by Mohammed made the "Kibla," or universal place of prayer for Islam. The most important object in the Kaaba is the great black stone brought from heaven by the angel Gabriel, and presented to Abraham. It is built into the eastern wall.—[Tr.]

The pitchers, boxes, bowls, and smoking-vessels, coffee-cups, and coffee-pots are genuine masterpieces of chased work. As a rule they are only tinned; but when plated or gilded, or kept in their original deep copper colour, are worthy to serve as ornaments to the proudest State apartments. Byzantine and Venetian models obtain as much here as in the silver-filigree work, which, in all the larger Bosnian towns, is manufactured by native artists. At the head of this art industry stands the town of Fotcha. An industry peculiar to Bosnia is that of black wood inlaid with silver wire: Livno is the place of its origin, and it is also called Livnoese ware; but there are masters of this craft in Serajevo also. The manufacture of ornamental weapons and knives stands in close relationship to this art industry.

Although both the armourers and the armoury trade have suffered great loss from the discontinuance of the general habit of bearing arms, in the Tsharshija and in the Oriental quarters in the town, ornamental weapons, scimitars, pistols, guns, and battle-axes are still always to be met with. The hilt and the scabbard are generally of chased silver or in tasteful filigree designs, the exquisite blades and the barrels bearing at least the name of their designers, but being also generally inlaid with complete sentences or decorations in silver or golden Arabic letters. The masters in the art are mostly Macedo- or Kuzo-Wallachians, so-called Tzintzars, who in the trade and industries of the European East play an important part, and who in the monarchy also are represented by wealthy families: as, for instance, by the Dumbas in Vienna, and the Mocsonyis in Hungary. They travel as journeymen architects and skilled joiners throughout the Balkan Peninsula, and the artistic wooden ceilings in the houses of some of the begs are the work of their skilful hands.

Knives and scissors are manufactured from splendid steel in numerous stalls in the Tsharshija, damaskeened, with inlaid blades, and bone handles of different colours. The scissors are the long, narrow, mediæval scissors with the finger-holes on springs, and concave blades, such as are now only in use in the East and in Norway. To the art industries must further be added, at any rate as regards beauty of form, the potteries.

There is a rich supply of embroideries upon dresses, cloths, and leathern articles. The workshops of the tailors and shoemakers occupy from two to three streets; both work with their feet as well as with their hands; the tailors iron with them, and the shoemakers fix the thread on to the great toe. In one street nothing but horseshoes are manufactured: the round iron plates, with a hole in the centre, universal in the East. The locksmiths make elegant Arabian locks for gates, doors, and boxes, and for those pretty carved chests

which are displayed in Konitza. The furriers are represented in great numbers. During the long winter and the frequent wet weather the Bosnian loves fur and the bordered kaftan; and the number of furred animals killed during the year is estimated at from fifty to sixty thousand. All these branches of trade are organized into guilds, and are almost exclusively carried on by Mohammedans. The carpet, and especially the textile trades, exist entirely as a home industry, and constitute the winter occupation of the women. Carpets,



Art Industries.

therefore, seldom appear for sale, and only very exceptionally in the warehouses of the Tsharshija; they have to be ordered, though in Zenitza and Petrovatz very beautiful ones are made, which bear comparison with the Rumilian. The price varies from four to eight florins per kilogram, for they are sold according to weight.

The apothecary, too, belongs to the Tsharshija; ours may, in the Middle Ages, have been of like appearance. Of earnest mien, and with a long beard, the old Spanish Jew sits in the midst of his jars. For every ailment there is

a herb, which he himself prescribes. A great rôle is played by the pulverized mummy, which is, it is true, expensive, but which is of value against many illnesses. For him who has money, it is well to buy the amulet brought from India, inlaid with cornelian arrow-heads; it is a preventive against all skin diseases. Other amulets may be had against the evil eye, which, to some extent at least, clearly date from ancient classic times and old Byzantium,—birds' claws, the horns of the stag-beetle, chopped-up animals, etc. The superstition is common to all religions, and spread amongst all classes; and the Christian buys the magic signet ring with verses from the Koran and cabalistic signs just as the Mohammedan buys the little tickets printed in Agram and Zara with verses from the Scriptures, which are given and sold by the monks.

He who understands the matter will write one of these magic tickets for himself, and they play their part in the folk-songs.

The rejected lover writes four magic letters:

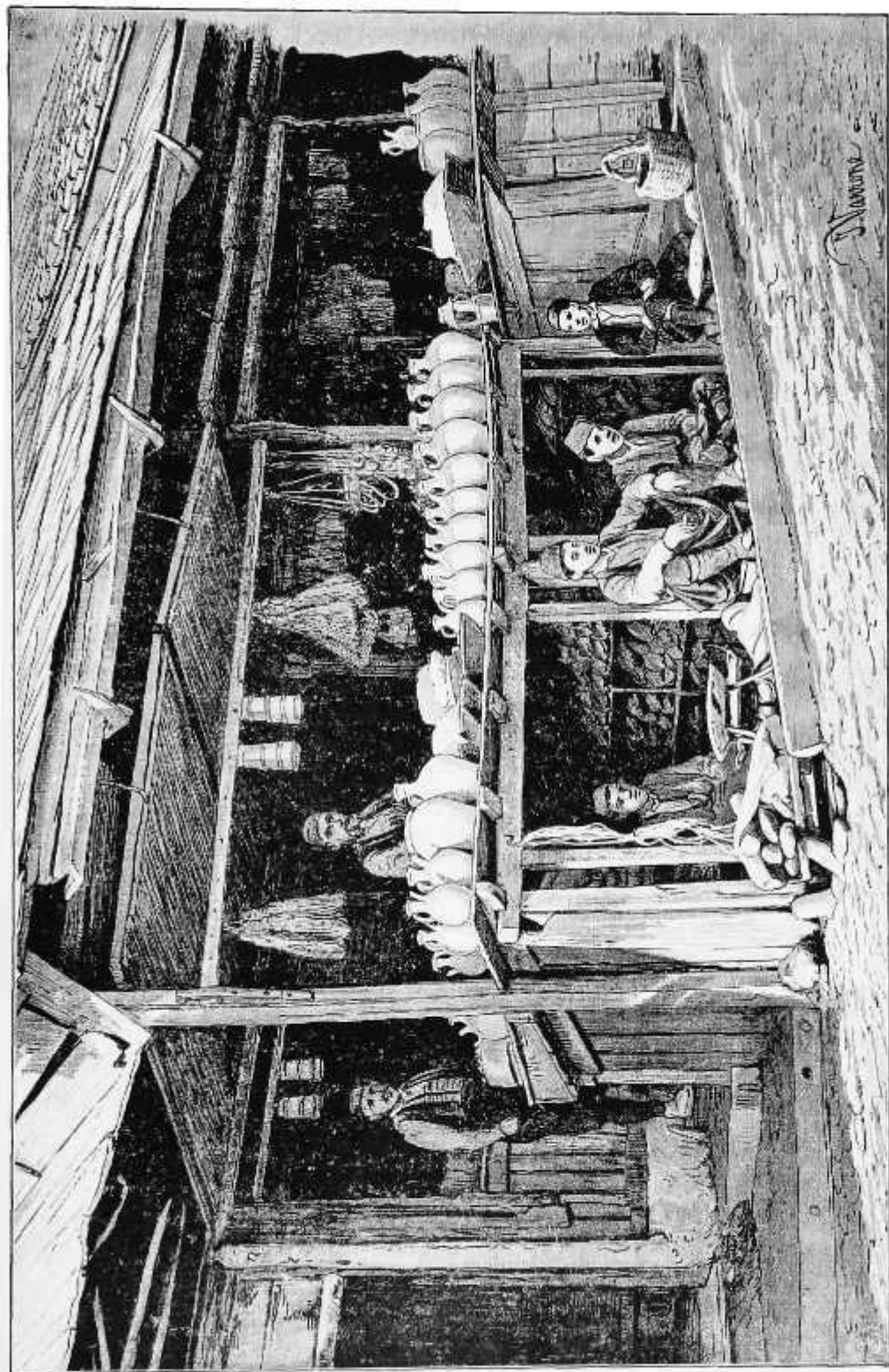
#### " LOVE CHARM.

" See! he now indicts four magic letters.  
 One he writes and casts into the flames:  
 ' Burn thou not, oh, letter! burn not, leaflet!  
 Burn thou Ivan's sister's understanding!'  
 Writes another, casts it in the water:  
 ' Water, do not kidnap note or leaflet,  
 Kidnap Ivan's sister's understanding!'  
 Writes a third, and casts it to the wild winds:  
 ' Winds, oh do not kidnap note or leaflet,  
 Kidnap Ivan's sister's understanding!'  
 Lays the fourth beneath his head at night-time:  
 ' Do not thou lie here, nor note nor leaflet!  
 Lie thou here instead, oh, Ivan's sister!'

Sure enough Ivan's sister comes in the course of the night and begs for admittance; for such magic, which of course the girl can also apply, is difficult to withstand.

The copper cups, upon which leaden tablets inscribed with sayings from the Koran hang, also enjoy great popularity. Each of these tablets produces a different effect, if thrown into the water drunk out of the cup. All these treasures are sold in the Tehrahija; and here, too, one meets the Arabs from Mecca, who wander throughout the Mohammedan world, in gangs, in search of well-paid commissions to perform the pilgrimage to the shrine at Mecca for those who cannot go thither themselves. When they have collected a nice number of these commissions and a sufficiency of gold, they retrace their steps





Boat, Pottery, and Grocery Stall.

homewards, and daily perform the pilgrimage for one or another of their customers from their dwelling to the shrine.

The complaint is frequently heard that the city—that is to say, the trade and merchant class—is becoming poor. Every rapid advance towards civilization claims its victims. Some branches of industry and certain artifices are unable to compete with the European manufactures and manufacturers which have streamed in from the monarchy. The poorer population of Bosnian towns were, as a body, engaged in retail trade, and had strong predilections for it, for it demands neither capital nor any especial trouble or exertion. Retail trade, however, can naturally not maintain itself in the face of European competition. Some of those branches of the Bosnian home industries, which are not only worthy preservation, but are also capable of development, may with justice claim State protection and encouragement, so that they may resist the crisis without succumbing or without damage to their individuality.

Certainly much damage was done by those doubtful elements which necessarily follow in the footsteps of every European occupation, and which have here, too, made fraudulent bankruptcies possible.

Along with this, commerce has made great progress, and numerous sources of trade have been opened up; and even if certain towns, like Serajevo and Banialuka, have suffered, others are developing, like Dervent, Doboi, Tuzla, and Behatsh, Rogatitza, Fotcha, and Tshajnitza, in which scarcely any commercial life had previously existed. The Orthodox tradespeople, in whose hands especially rest the corn, plum, and export trades, have gained immensely by the rapid extension of good roads and means of communication.

The military supplies, which are to a large extent in the hands of the Mohammedans, distinguished for their reliability, have called new and large trades into being. Certain Mohammedans—as, for example, Ahmed-Beg Tsheritsh of Novi, successor to Muj Aga Theritsh, Kapetan of Dolnje-Vakuf, who in 1717 defeated Count Draskovitsh near Novi—have already successfully applied for the post of railway contractors. Numerous are the complaints about the postal, telegraph, and railway tariffs, which are considerably higher here than in the monarchy; but they have undeniably facilitated and lessened the cost of traffic even at their present provisional tariffs.

A great change has taken place since the Occupation in imports. According to the returns of the English consulate of 1886, England has lost five million florins annually, the importation of its cloth and woollen stuffs and copper having quite ceased, and she now only imports tin to the value of about one hundred thousand florins.

France estimates her loss in Bosnian imports at nearly two million



florins, the French silk and sugar manufactures being the most heavily hit, the latter having at one time exported fifty thousand *meterzentner*\* of sugar at thirty florins, via Trieste, to Bosnia.

Belgian glass, of which formerly thirty thousand florins' worth was imported, has been entirely driven out of the field by Austria.

Austria now supplies all the manufactures, Switzerland alone, on account of low prices, being able to compete with her in the matter of silk and woollen stuffs.

Other important Austro-Hungarian articles of import to Bosnia are : meal (for 500,000 fl.), wines (600,000 fl.), spirits and gin (600,000 fl.), beer (600,000 fl.), bacon (100,000 fl.), leather (150,000 fl.), honey (50,000 fl.), etc.

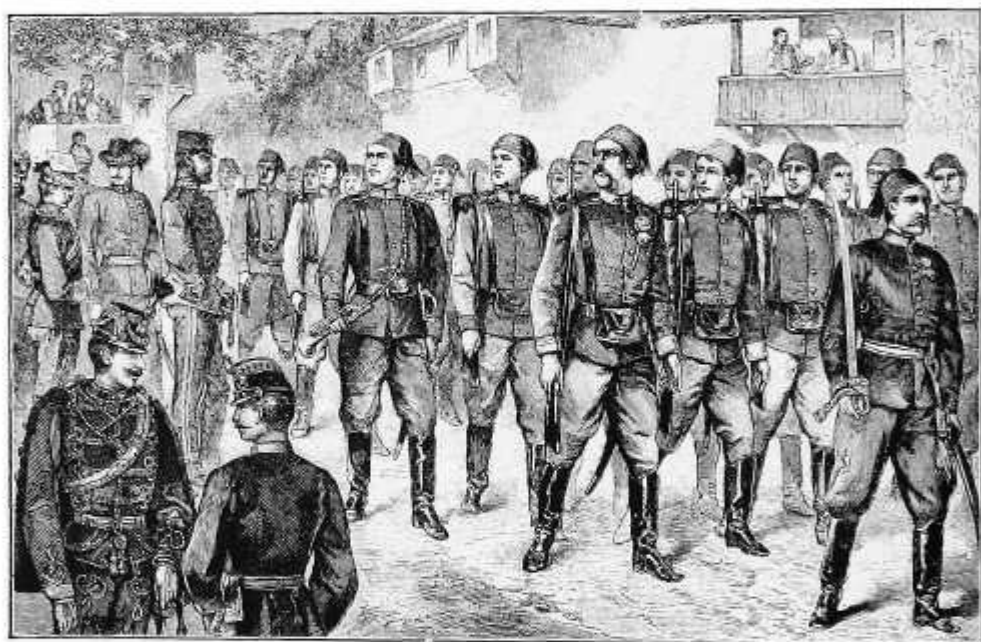
This is the interest on the sums expended upon Bosnia on the part of the monarchy.

If we turn out of the crooked little street of booths of the Tsharshija, through still more crooked streets down the nearest way to the Miliaska, we reach the official quarter on crossing the bridge. In the very first street, which consists of a row of houses supported upon piles on the Miliaska, we find the Beledia, the Senate House. Here, in the black talar and white turban of the Mollah, Mustafa-Beg Fadil Pashitch exercises his threefold rôle of born aristocrat, religious dignitary, and chief burgomaster. He is, in spite of his white beard, a vigorous man, and has an own brother who is only six years old. His father, lately deceased, Fadil Pasha, was also more powerful in Bosnia, as a private gentleman, than the vizier, and during the last days before the Austrian occupation shared this influence with his son. The chief burgomaster is assisted by a Government commissioner; but the control of the town already rests actually upon a representative and autonomic basis. On the Ides of March 1884, according to the spirit of the statute published on December 10th, 1883, the first election took place. Of eleven hundred and six voters there voted in four electorates eight hundred and thirty-nine, and the result of the voting was in no case disputed. The affairs of the community and the control of the communal property have by this means been transferred into the hands of a board of managers, which is composed of men trusted by the people, and which, like the organization in force in the monarchy, is divided into the magistracy, and the representation, with similar powers of jurisdiction as those exercised in Hungary in such towns as have a regular magistracy. The executive officials of the chief burgomaster in the separate circuits

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\* Meterzentner = 100 kilogrammes.

are the district Mukhtars. The Government commissioner is the controlling Government officer. The chief and vice burgomasters are nominated. A third of the representatives are nominated, two-thirds elected; there are twenty-four members, and, in accordance with the numerical ratio of the creeds, these numbers are made up of twelve Mohammedans, six Orthodox, three Catholics, and three Jews. The election is triennial. Every Bosnian or Austro-Hungarian who has been settled in Serajevo for a stated period, and who pays two florins on real estate, nine florins income-tax, or twenty-five florins for public-house license, has the right to vote; the right to be



Bosnian soldiery.

elected demands all three of these qualifications. Five hundred persons are qualified. The learned exercise the right of voting without these qualifications. The religious bodies do not elect *inter se*, but each individual voter can vote for all who are eligible according to the fixed numerical ratio.

But all voters did not exercise their full rights; so that, whilst the highest vote given to one candidate, the chief burgomaster, was seven hundred and nineteen, the lowest vote was fifty-three. An absolute majority is, however, not necessary.

This first attempt at the introduction of representative institutions will

be gradually extended to the other towns. A further experiment was made in Jurisdiction, and with the like favourable results.

Petty courts of justice were introduced, comprised of the district magistrate and elected advisers of the different creeds, who from time to time meet in each separate community for the purpose of adjudicating upon disputes under fifty florins in value. In most cases, however, they effect a happy agreement. In this wise the training of the people in the management of its own affairs has been begun.

In this part of the town, whose centre is the *Czareva-Džamija*, stands, as



People's Coffee-house.

already stated, the *konak*, which, although only built of wood and clay bricks, gives, with its lofty stories, the impression of an imposing palace. Here dwells the governor and military commander, Baron Appel, General of Cavalry. Above the *konak*, on the slope of the hill, his civil adjutant, Baron Nikolics, has, out of several ordinary Bosnian houses, constructed a lordly mansion of Oriental splendour. He is the leader of the Civil Government, whose three chief divisions—the political administration; the department of justice, in which the codification also is being rapidly proceeded with; and the financial department—likewise remain quartered in separate houses around the *konak*, until such time as the large general Government buildings shall

have been completed. Here, therefore, uniforms swarm; amongst all the known military uniforms of the monarchy there are others too: the hussar-like uniforms of the civil officers and the neat get-up of the Bosnian soldier, a short tabard of pale blue cloth, trousers loose to the knee, but fitting close to the calf, with the fez for the Mohammedans, that they may order their prayers in the prescribed manner, touching the ground with their foreheads with covered head.

The men's forms are stately and warlike, even when they, in the friendly Bosnian fashion, go about two and two, with their little fingers intertwined, the expression of the closest friendship.

In the year 1882 the first four companies were established in Serajevo, Mostar, Banialuka, and Dolnja-Tuzla respectively; and in 1883 four more. At first, even in military circles there were some misgivings as to the experiment; for had not the introduction of military service constituted, not only in the Bocche di Cattaro, but also in 1881 in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, one of the inducements to disturb the peace? The conduct of the recruits summoned to serve under the flags, however, proved that the agitation had only made use of the recruiting as a pretext, and that the opposition was only founded upon misleading statements skilfully propagated. Amongst those who were the first to be rejected, the officers and teachers, who had been selected for this difficult duty with especial care, met with the greatest mistrust; but, perfect masters of the native language of the recruits, and adapted, both as soldiers and as men, for the handling of suspicious and spiteful elements, they speedily overcame suspicion, and thenceforth all difficulties were surmounted, for the Bosnian is born for war, loves the profession of a soldier, and bears its hardships with ease; with his penurious habits of life, accustomed as he is to privation, the military regimen even offers him a certain opulence, and his character is earnest and well adapted to military discipline. After they had passed through their first training, the new soldiers were employed as sentinels upon important military undertakings, such as powder-towers, bridges, and even fortifications, and on all points justified the trust reposed in them. Military service gains each year in popularity: the recruits which are called up come up to the full number, and the institution develops from year to year, a matter not only of military, but also of political and cultural importance. Many announce themselves voluntarily, and some who have already attained to the rank of officers are the pride of their relatives and their neighbourhood.

If we walk further down the left bank of the Miliaska, from the centre of official and military life, we gradually, through long and fashionable

Theresa Street, approach the end of the town, where public gardens, in the European style, are being laid out, and are gradually abolishing the old popular coffee-taverns, with their rough wooden benches under the trees on the river's bank, upon which the guests squatted for hours and hours together. More and more frequently do we meet strange figures, for we are in the immediate neighbourhood of the gypsy suburb. Mohammedan women, who, as a result of their manner of life, may not, according to Turkish custom, wear a veil, pass along with challenging glances, and at night-time others probably glide through these streets still unknown to the *agent des mœurs*, and on whom, therefore, it has not yet been possible to enforce the stigmatising procedure of lifting off the veil.

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Our first visit to Serajevo fell just at the time of Ramazan; and there can be no question as to this being the time of greatest interest in the Bosnian capital, like the time of the Carnival in Italian towns.

Ramazan, it is true, is, properly speaking, the Mohammedan Lent, but might also to a certain extent be called the Mohammedan Carnival. As with us the merry world sleeps and rests through the day, that it may night after night take its pleasure, so it is with the Mohammedan—that is, for him who can do it,—he endeavours during the day to sleep through the rigorous fast and to rest, that he may during the night give himself up to enjoyment with all the greater zest.

Harder, indeed, is the lot of those who are forced to daily accomplish their more or less arduous work during Ramazan. These also enjoy themselves at night according as their means will allow; but so long as the sun is above the horizon, they must perform their labour in hunger and thirst, in the fields, in the warehouses, in the shops; and the strict conscientiousness with which they, without an exception, submit themselves to this inexorable demand is astonishing; so is the way in which they bear the privation, and in spite of the privation, the labour of even the heaviest kind. This strictness in their fasting is the chief explanation of the fact, that in all Mohammedan countries the Protestant, being an unbeliever who never fasts at all, enjoys the least respect.

During the daytime the Turkish quarter of the town is like a city of the dead. If work does not drive the Turk from his house, he stays at home and sleeps, or at least groaningly waits upon rest. In the streets only a few exhausted figures crawl along. The centre of traffic and commercial life, the Tsharsbija, it is true, preserves its liveliness even now; but here, too, the Mohammedans are faint, exhausted beings, even though they may not neglect their work.

Eating and drinking, inhaling scents, kissing women, smoking, everything is forbidden. The strict believer does not once swallow even his own saliva, and flies into a rage if an unbeliever passes him smoking, as the smoke might touch his nostril. It is not advisable at this time to walk in the Tsharshijs whilst smoking; the action will, in any case, call down angry looks, if not many reproaches, upon the smoker's head. As the set of the sun approaches, however, all, a cigarette in the one hand and a glowing coal in the other, await the going off of the cannon, which proclaims that it is twelve o'clock and that the fast is at an end. According to the Mohammedan time it is always twelve o'clock at sundown, at sunrise twenty-four o'clock. If a watch does not agree with the changing position of the sun, why, that is the fault of the "gyaur." The first thing to follow upon the report of the cannon is a few whiffs of a cigarette; upon that follows a glass of water, and not till then do all hasten to dinner; this generally consists of a big meal with some friend or other.

Hilmy Effendi the Mufti invited us to a meal of this nature, whereat courtesy requires the most punctual attendance, for the Mohammedan guests can hardly wait for their dinner. As soon as the cannon roars, small refreshments are handed round; then, in a neighbouring room, ornamental basins and jugs are held in readiness by the servants, for the Mohammedans, like the English, prepare for dinner by washing their hands, a good habit where every one dips his fingers into a common dish. In the dining-room the visitors take their places in a narrow circle round two tables; for the dining-table is a round tin dish of only one or one and a half metres in diameter, which rests upon a low pedestal, and the guests are many—the heads of the official and Mohammedan world. Amongst the latter are two interesting figures: Sunullah Effendi Sokolovitch and Ali Pasha Tshengitsch. The first is an old broken-down man, but with the proud nose and glance of the eagle, who, before the Austrian occupation, jointly with Fadil Pasha and later on with Fadil's son, the present burgomaster, was the leader of the begs. Ali Pasha Tshengitsch has never been in office; neither has he ever played any specific part; but is, in his rich costume and youthful strength, one of the handsomest of men. He owes his title to his dead father's services, that heroic Smail Aga Tshengitsch, of whom the well-known South Slavonic heroic song tells. His title is, however, one of the proudest, Begler-Beg of Rumilia, a title which had in the past only been borne by the leader of the combined European armies of Turkey, but which to-day is borne as a purely honorary title by several eminent persons at the same time. The title seems all the more pompous, if one takes the full and literal meaning of the words. The Turkish

conquerors beheld in Byzantium, the eastern Roman Empire, generally the Roman Empire—Rumilia. "Rumili" is, accordingly, the Roman Empire, the Begler-Beg of Rumilia originally and properly the "Prince of the Princes of Rome." This prince of the princes of Rome lives, for the rest, upon his large country estate between Serajevo and Ildshe, amongst his wives and a host of servants, in quiet retirement, and the whole of his public services consist, as beseems a real grand *seigneur*, in heightening, by his imposing appearance, the brilliancy of the entertainments at Baron Nikolics' and a few fashionable dinners. The task of making the political influence of the race of Tshengitsh felt he leaves to Dervish-Beg Tshengitsh, who lives in his castle in the Zagorje.



Gypsies.

The tin dish is covered with a table-cloth, and around the edge are small rolls and wooden spoons of mediæval shape for each guest. The towel used at the washing of hands, which is richly embroidered at each end, completes this simple dinner service.

In an inner circle there are small plates with sweetmeats, olives, cheese, etc., to which each guest helps himself, between the single courses, with his fingers, according to taste. The viands are placed in the inner circle upon large dishes, a long string of them in rapid succession, so that at the table at which Mohammedans are seated twelve dishes are despatched in half an hour. We clumsy Christians, indeed, get on more slowly. The dishes are

handed round by a numerous body of servants under the silent direction of the "vizier," their head. The younger relations and offshoots of the house stand at the doors and watch that nothing passes any of the guests untasted. Should one of us awkward men burn our fingers whilst endeavouring to tear off a piece of mutton, which is served uncut, one or another of them hastens towards us, tears off a tender, easily detached piece of muscle, and perhaps even pokes it into our mouths, a service which indeed any of our neighbours would gladly have rendered us. As it is not really correct to talk during the meal, and the servants are barefoot, a solemn stillness reigns. Forks, knives, and glasses do not clatter, for they are absent. In the East it has been a rule from primitive times that no one shall drink whilst eating.

Here is the *menu*: *tshorba sharrija*, meal soup; *zlatka*, small tit-bits and shir-cheese, massive olives, *ružitshe* rose leaves, acid cherries, common cherries; *narandže*, orange peel; *janje*, a lamb roasted whole, stuffed with rice and spices; *sukburct*, meat stir-about; *jalani dalma*, cold stuffed vegetables, cooked in oil; *ekmek kadaif*, the vermicelli already mentioned with cream, *borovitza* raspberries; *sel-kadaif*, the same vermicelli with honey; *sutlja*, rice flour with sugar, boiled in milk and served cold; *sarma*, chopped meat in vine leaves; *saks kabagi*, boiled pumpkin with onions; *pilafi kisela mlijeko*, boiled rice with curds and whey. The viands are only taken with the right hand; the left has other offices to perform, and the Mohammedan sense of cleanliness is very strict as to this point. An occasional long hiccough of satisfied appetite is a sign of acknowledgment due to the master of the house. After dinner the washing of hands and of mouths is repeated; but this time with soap. With bitter black coffee and cigarettes, cigars, and Turkish pipes conversation becomes lively, and now jokes, even daring ones, are the correct thing.

The highly venerable host, who, for the rest, is, in spite of his high position in the ministry, his learning, and his claim to sanctity, an ever friendly, smiling, well-beloved gentleman, goes so far in his confidences as to tell us with a roguish smile that he has two wives, of which one, however, always has to remain in the country, because, when together, one always wants what the other has.

After dinners of this description, tambourine players, as a rule, endeavour to enliven the guests with songs. A violinist, a player on the lute (with a one-sided bulging mandolin), and a drummer accompany the singing and repeat the refrain. It was on such an occasion as this that we heard the Plevna hymn in the Turkish language, and in more warlike tones than those of the South Slavonic melodies.



"Fearful panic rules in Plevna,  
See! the foe! the foe is come!  
Is the end come, Osman Pasha?  
We must die for Allah! Allah!  
Hei! hei! for Allah.  
Advancing Russians enter Plevna,  
Allah! aid us, make them fly!  
Osman Ghazi, woe is on us!  
Islam claims that we should die.  
The Russ has felled our Danube bridges,  
Presses on to sacred Stamboul;  
God! our fate is now upon us!  
We must die; to death! hei! hei!

"For the people we will die.  
Aloft the smoke mounts up from Plevna,  
Deprives our spotless lambs of breath;  
For Islam's sake, at Allah's bidding,  
We will die the martyr's death.  
Graves were dug, deep graves in Plevna,  
Martyrs' graves in countless numbers;  
Plevna's thinned by Allah's hand,  
Hei! hei! we die for fatherland.  
Seize your guns and boldly fight on—  
Plevna falls, the fort of honour!  
Deepest night, dread death and ruin!  
Plevna falls—ah! Plevna's fall'n."

After dinner, contrary to the usual custom, people begin to pay visits; for, excepting on the days of Ramazan, the Mohammedan is fond of spending his evenings at home in the circle of his own family. Now, however, men and women hurry along the streets in detached groups, paying visits. In advance of each group walks a servant, with a coloured paper lantern. The town presents a truly carnival spectacle; circlets of lights swing upon the tops of the minarets; and masked women, the genuine originals of our Domino-Masks, glide silently through the streets, their very hands concealed. Whilst they go from one harem to another, the men seek him whom they desire to honour in his selamlık. Amongst the upper classes the harem is quite detached from the residence of the master of the house, having a different courtyard, a different garden, a different building. The servants await the guests at the gate; the sons, the younger brothers, and relatives of the host, in the note-room.

The different shades in their manners of greeting are innumerable, according to the relations in which the host and the guest stand to one another, and according to their rank and position. Their most common expression is, in the silent touching of the breast, mouth, and forehead, an ancient Oriental custom, with which the Christian custom of making the sign of the cross is connected.

The highest in rank is always the first to salute; the one saluted hastens to "catch up" the salute: whilst he puts down his hand more quickly and lower, before raising it to his breast, the more reverential he wishes to show himself. The left corner of the wall opposite the door, the most luxuriously cushioned seat of the surrounding divans, belongs to the most distinguished guest. On his left sits the master of the house; the other visitors arrange themselves according to their rank; a great gap often ensues, if the difference in rank is great between those who follow upon one another. In such cases, he that is of most gentle birth beckons to the more humble man, who approaches

him with low bows and incessant bendings down of the hand. The nephews and serving-men, standing in the doorway in rank and file, watch with intense care to see to which of the guests cigarettes, Turkish pipes, raspberry or citron water, coffee or sweetmeats, should be offered. The conversation drags



Mohammedan Woman.

solemnly along. It consists, substantially, of repeated inquiries as to health, which are addressed by the host and the more distinguished of the guests to one or another of those introduced, whilst neighbours talk in whispers. During the long pauses in the conversation, each, with legs tucked up under him, resigns himself to comfort, and enjoys the cool evening air, which blows

in at the open windows, the beautiful view, the tobacco, and the sweetmeats. The guests come and go, the changing of places is endless, and the salutations are constantly repeated.

\* \* \* \* \*

Meanwhile, from the gardens on the hillsides a monotonous singing, in sharp nasal and head notes, rings through the town. In spite of strict harems and veils, the girls know how to attract the attention of the youths. Those out for a walk never weary of lauding a beautiful voice in proportion to the penetrating shrillness of its tones. The enchanted youth follows the sounds, and creeps up to the garden fence, and thus do most of the Bosnian marriages begin. The lad may perhaps have known the songstress from childhood up, when she as yet wore no veil, but only a great cloth over her head. He mayhap caught sight of a full-blown maiden during the last days before she took the veil. If it is the right young man, the coy doe allows herself, after a few such hedge visits, to be drawn into conversation; after a week, perhaps she raises her veil. Should he be able once to grasp her hand through the fence or through a chink in the gate, it is a sign of agreement; and then, provided that the youth meet with the approval of the parents, nothing further stands in the way of their happiness. Besides, under the mother's watchful eye, matters can hardly go so far, if the parents do not approve of the young man. There are scamps who will thus play with several girls in succession; but they soon become notorious, and the mothers warn their daughters against them.

Of such an one the song says:

"BLUE EYES AVENGED.

"Come hither, oh, Uma! approach, oh, my soul!  
 Oh! gaze on me, Uma, thou maid with black eyes!  
 The serpent bit Uma, and led her astray,  
 Upon him she gazes, a maid with blue eyes.  
 When Mujo now saw that her eyes they were blue,  
 He said unto Uma, 'Release me, oh, maid!  
 Release me, oh, Uma; nor wait thou for me!'  
 Replied Uma to him: 'Begone, faithless swain!  
 To-day a green dolman enwraps Mujo round,  
 To-morrow or next day 'twill be the green sward;  
 To-day a silk garment enwraps Mujo round,  
 To-morrow or next day 'twill be a white shroud.  
 To-day a rich cap finely covers thy head,  
 To-morrow or next day, lo! thou wilt be dead.'  
 As Uma did speak, it did truly befall,  
 He died, the boy Mujo—oh, woe to his mother!"

Should the lovers encounter the opposition of the parents, it frequently results in an elopement; if this is successful, there follows here, as elsewhere, sooner or later, the compulsory consent of the parents. Amongst families of position, marriages—as is universally the case—are formed with reference to family interests, and in such cases it generally happens that the husband sees his wife for the first time after the wedding. Those who have been deceived can, by polygamy and by separation, hold themselves unharmed, though amongst the Bosnian Mohammedans both these things occur only in very rare and exceptional cases. Amongst the lower and middle classes, at least, the poetry of love before marriage is certainly not excluded; and, as a rule,



Mohammedan Girl at Home.

the wooer can meet the girl at least once, and behold her face to face, before he finally decides. When those who have brought about the marriage, either professionally or from inclination, have sufficiently extolled the merits and the means of the candidates for marriage, and the consent of all concerned has been gained, the young man pays a visit to the parental house, and on this occasion the girl herself, unveiled, brings up the sweetmeats which Orientals are always careful to offer to visitors.

The Bosnian woman's dress displays her charms more openly than that of the European. In a few days the young man sends a ring, upon which his name is engraved. The wedding festivities, with music and ceaseless revels, last for eight days. At their close the bride is led in solemn procession, with

music and gun shots, to the bridegroom's house. The bride, clothed in fine linen, once more casts herself on the floor in the circle of her friends and female relations, to pray, with her forehead touching the ground. All gradually withdraw; and when the young wife, still in prayer, is left alone, her husband enters. The Bosnian woman of all denominations and classes is, as a rule, virtuous, and illicit adventures are rare. Especially as regards the Mohammedan woman, an European lady, who has had frequent opportunities of intercourse with her, has published opinions in a Serajevo newspaper very different from those generally current in the West.

In her, this lady by no means beholds the down-trodden, mindless, and unprincipled slave of the harem, that the Mohammedan woman is in Europe estimated to be. Healthily nurtured in unrestrained naturalness, she generally follows only the chosen of her heart, and becomes a faithful wife and good mother.

Our authority could not sufficiently praise the exemplary life which she met with everywhere. Faithlessness is almost unheard of, and when it does occur, it stirs up the general moral consciousness to such a degree, that the guilty person is for ever expelled from the family circle and from respectable society, and the indulgence so often vouchsafed to such circumstances in European society would be absolutely unexampled here. The faithful wife, the exemplary mother, is at the same time the most conscientious, the most economical, and the most unpretending of housewives, and for that for which a foreigner may set little store by her, her husband prizes her all the more. She knows of nothing but her house and her family: praise at which doubtless many an European husband heaves a sigh, whilst he thinks of his brilliant wife, who, with her civilized pretensions, destroys his property and his peace. Side by side with the "brilliant" ladies of European society walks the *demi-monde*, the prostitute, the female proletariat, the throng of old maids; all these are almost unknown in the East, especially where the European invasion has not yet penetrated. It is true that the Bosnian woman does not enjoy the school education that ours receives; but from the arms of its mother a strong and healthy human being proceeds, by the side of whose natural understanding our over-educated intellects often enough cut but a poor figure; and the needlework of our schoolgirls, in taste as well as in artistic execution, lags far behind the embroidery of the Mohammedan women, even though one throws in the "*Cloches du Monastère*" and "*The Maiden's Prayer*."

It will require great care if the intellectual level of the Bosnian woman is to be raised without the sacrifice of her priceless virtues. The honour in which the women are held, and that for which they are prized; is shown in the

women's names : Shefika, the merciful ; Aina, sparkling eyes ; Shemza, the sun ; Vashfia, she who beareth witness ; Habiba, the lovable ; Fatma, the good ; Ashida, the quick-witted ; Zlatka, the golden ; Dervisha, the holy liver ; Nuria, the god enlightened ; Sherifa, the noble ; Hasna, the beautiful ; Meira, Mary.

We can get to know Bosnian heart-lore through the love-songs of the maidens. Here is a small anthology :

“UNDER THE ALMOND TREE.

“Grew a lovely almond tree  
Slenderly aloft,  
’Neath it slumbers Mehmed Aga  
With his dearly loved.  
Pillowed by the cold black earth  
And the dewy sward,  
Hidden from him, are the heav’ns  
Studded o’er with stars :  
Locked in one another’s arms,  
They tenderly embrace.”

“HUSBANDLIEK.

“All’aga’s bride, how fair is she !  
Such beauty’s rare in Bosnia,  
In Bosnia and Herz’govine !  
In vain, alas ! her beauty blooms,  
All’aga, fool, regards her not ;  
’Tis Omer’s gold alone he loves,  
A bride enclosed in iron cage,  
Unshone upon by moon or sun.”

“GOOD ADVICE.

“O Laser, my son, O hear, and believe,  
When seeking a maiden, when choosing a mate,  
Look not at her garment, her seam, or her sleeve ;  
Scan rather her glances and gait.”

“TO AN ANGRY MAIDEN.

“Dearest Rosy, banish anger,  
Think if I were angry too,  
Bosnia could not reconcile us,  
Neither she nor Herz’govina.”



Christian Wedding in Herzegovina.

## "WIDOW AND MAIDEN.

"A falcon flies o'er Serajevo,  
 Seeking shade himself to cool.  
 He finds a fir in Serajevo,  
 And beneath a limpid pool,  
 By which sat Widow Hyacinth,  
 And the Virgin, Garden-rose.  
 Thought the falcon, pond'ring deeply,  
 Should he kiss the full-blown widow,  
 Or the spotless Garden-rose?—  
 Steeled his heart against the maiden,  
 Whispering softly to himself,  
 'Gold, though tarnished, is more precious  
 Than is brightest silver pelf.'  
 And he kissed the buxom widow.  
 Frowning, spake the slighted maiden,  
 'Serajevo, ill befall thee!  
 Thou hast started evil customs;  
 For the young men love the widows,  
 And the grey-beards pretty damsels.'"

## "THE FIRE-DRAGON'S WIFE.

"From the sea the dragon flies t'wards Danube,  
 Bearing 'neath his wing a slender maiden,  
 'Neath one wing a very lovely maiden,  
 Th' other bears the raiment of the maiden.  
 Parching thirst o'ercomes the fiery dragon;  
 So he setteth down the lovely maid,  
 Bids her fetch him water from the glade.

"Three young men are sitting by the spring,  
 Quoth the first: 'Most beautiful of women!'  
 Quoth the next: 'Come, let us greet each other!'  
 Quoth the third: 'Come, let us kiss each other!'  
 But the lovely maid gave answer to them:  
 'Hence! begone! ye three audacious youths!  
 I'm the daughter of the noble Czar,  
 I'm the sister of the Bosnian Pasha,  
 I'm the fire-dragon's faithful mate.'

Thus she spake, and, fleeing o'er the plain  
 Like a shooting star, was never seen again."



## "TO MY BELOVED.

"Oh, my beloved, my Vizier of Budim!  
 Wand'rest thou yet like a doe in the forest!  
 Oh that a well-equipped huntaman would catch thee!  
 Oh that he'd give thee to me, thy poor lover!"

## "PRIDE.

"You tiny violet, which I plucked so gladly!  
 Alas! there's none to wear me next his heart!  
 I could not ever offer thee to Ali,  
 For high and proud Beg-Ali bears his head.  
 Of such a modest flower he could not think:  
 He only looks at full-blown rose or pink."

## "A WEARY MAIDEN AM I NOW.

"Oh, ye courts, I would that ye would fall!  
 Oh, ye halls, I would that ye would burn!  
 Weary am I now, a maiden,  
 Thus to sleep alone amongst the pillows,  
 Thus to turn from right hand to the left,  
 Finding no one sleeping at my side.  
 Weary of thus lying 'twixt the cold sheets,  
 Weary of my heart-ache and my grief!  
 Yet, in sooth, I'll not remain thus lonely!  
 Should I have to sell my very clothes,  
 Wherewith to buy a falcon and a palfry,  
 I'll ride into the city, into Stamboul;  
 Nine long years I'll serve the Sultan;  
 For myself I'll earn nine agalukes,  
 And become Pasha in Serajevo.  
 Marvels then I'll order without stinting:  
 A boy shall cost a groschen coin only,  
 A handful of tobacco pay a widow;  
 But a maiden—she shall cost a thousand ducats."

## "JANJA LIGHTED IT.

"Ei! what clouds hang there o'er Travnik?  
 Is't a fire, or plague, that rages there?  
 Or is it Janja's eyes—her black eyes—  
 That lighted it, and set the clouds in motion?"

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This peculiar title is derived from the high position which the Viziers of Buda (Slavonic, *Budin*) at one time held, even over Bosnia.

*"TENDER AMULETS FOR THE MAIDENS.*

"Oh sweet the breath of my belov'd,  
And white the hand and black the ink  
Which write sweet charms for love-sick maids.  
One charm runs thus which he hath writ :  
    'May he who does not love thee well  
    Ne'er hold thee in his arms ;  
    May he who loveth ardently  
    Ne'er be denied thy charms !' "

*"To FATA.*

"Charming Fata ! Turkish gold,  
Lovely type of Ohristendom !  
Wherefore hast thou fall'n in love  
With the youthful husbandman ?  
All the day he guides the plough,  
All the night he sleeps like death ;  
Sleeps and knows of Fata nought.  
Wherefore lovest not Effendi,  
All day long he writes and reads,  
All night long would Fata kiss ! "

*"THE VIRTUOUS MAIDEN.*

"Do not touch me now, my friend !  
People are so mischievous ;  
They must talk of everything,  
In particular of us,  
That we kiss each other, we !  
Yet we ne'er did such a thing  
Till to-day and yestere'en.  
  
"Come this evening to me, friend !  
Come before my father's eyes,  
And before thy sister's eyes ! "

*"LAST WISHES.*

"Do not ask, oh, mother,  
I must die, oh, mother !  
Never more recover !  
On my death, oh, mother,  
Summon, oh ! my mother,  
All my playmates to me !  
All who ever loved me  
Shall inherit something !

" Only lovely Mujo  
Must, oh ! still, my mother,  
Still be mine in death ! "

" YOUNG ALI'S STANDARD-BEARER.

" In the days when young Ali was Beg,  
'Twas a maiden who bore his green standard ;  
Bore the standard before him in day-time ;  
Slept at night in the tent by his side.  
Then the men spake to Ali-Beg thus :  
' Either thou must renounce her at once,  
Or we shall desert thee instead ' '  
Thereupon Ali answered the men :  
' Ne'er will Ali forsake this true maid,  
Though ye all should desert from my side ;  
Our Bosnia holds heroes enough,  
Yet surely but one such brave maid ! ' "

" THE BANESS OF ERDEJ.

" She plants a pine tree, does the Baness Erdelj ;  
She plants the pine, and then she thus addresses it :  
' Oh, tiny pine tree, sprout and grow t'wards heaven's blue,  
And bend your branches, bend them low upon the ground,  
That ever when I climb thy topmost bough  
I still may gaze upon white Budim † from afar,  
And still in Budim's Castle see the boy Ivo !  
And see if he be clad the same as heretofore !  
And see if still upon his cap a feather gleams,  
And if his steed still bears his head as high ! "

" And as she thus did speak, and think that no one heard,  
The Ban of Erdelj was listening to each word.  
He heard, and thus did question her :  
' May God forgive the wife of Erdelj's proud Ban !  
Is Budim then to thee more lovely than my Erdelj ?  
Ivo of Budim more to thee than I ? '  
The Baness then to him did thus reply :  
' No, Budim is no better than thy Erdelj ;  
Ivo, no better than art thou, oh, Ban !  
Ivo, he is, however, my first love ;  
And first love it is like a jar of flowers ;  
The second like unto a cup of wine ;  
The third is like a pitcher full of bane ! ' "

\* Transylvania.

† Buda.

*"THE BOY DECOYS THE DELICATE GIRL."*

"The boy decoys the gentle girl,  
Decoys her with green apples,  
Decoys her to the balcony,  
Unbuttons then her stiff corset,  
Her chemisette he gladly frees,  
And tears in twain her string of pearls!  
Then bitter tears the poor child sheds.  
The boy essays to soothe her fears:  
'Oh, shed not tears, thou gentle soul!  
For all will soon again be well!  
My brother (he a tailor is)  
Will make thee soon a smart corset!  
My sister, the embroiderer,  
Shall broder thee a chemisette!  
The pearls we will together thread,  
Thus standing hand in hand.'"

*"OF THE LOVELY FATIMA."*

"Suitors twain had Fatima;  
One the young boy Alil was,  
One the aged Jemin-Aga.  
To her daughter spake the mother:  
'Daughter, take, come, take old Jemin!  
Jemin's apple\* sure will hold  
More than Alil's worldly wealth!'

"Fata answered not a word,  
And to Jemin was she given.  
But, alas! the aged Jemin  
Alil to the wedding bade.

"As they led the young bride home,  
And the women rode beside,  
Fata from her high steed stooped,  
Asked of those who rode beside:  
'Tell me, Alil, which is he?  
Which the vet'ran Jemin-Aga?'

"Whereupon they answered her:  
'That one is the young boy Alil,  
He who wears the shabby clothes,  
Playing with the brazen club!

---

\* Wedding present.



Mohammedan Wedding in Herzegovina.

Happy she who gave him birth,  
 Happy wife who him will kiss !  
 That one there is Jemin-Aga,  
 He who wears green velvet clothes,  
 Grey beard flowing to his waist,  
 Whom the best man rides beside !'

" Not a single word spake Fata,  
 Silent tears streamed down her face.

" When they reached old Jemin's court,  
 Spake his sisters kindly to her.  
 One bore corn, the other honey :  
 ' Here is corn for fruitfulness,  
 Honey that thou may'st be sweet !'

" Then at last spake Fatima :  
 ' Leave me, Jemin's sisters dear !  
 Give me neither corn nor honey !  
 Lead me to the silent halls !  
 Make me there a quiet bed ;  
 There I shall not languish long !  
 Should my mother ask for me,  
 Fatima, her daughter, answers :  
 " Jemin's riches were my death ;  
 I pined for Alil's poverty." "'

The most frequent meetings of the dervishes also fall during the time of Ramazan : one Friday we witnessed the ceremonies of the Howling dervishes. Towards ten o'clock in the evening we started for Sinan-Thekia, which is situated tolerably high up upon the hillside on the right bank of the Miliaska. This Thekia—Dervish monastery—takes its name from its founder, the celebrated Bosnian Dervish Sheik, who was held in great respect, and was even credited with being a sorcerer. We found a quiet, deserted place, a building in ruins. We were cautioned to mount the wooden stairs with care, and to take our places quietly in the broad wooden gallery ; not only because the ceremonies had already commenced, but also that the rotten timbers might not give way. The broad, dome-covered hall was only dimly lighted by a few tapers. Opposite to us there stood, in front of the Kibla (the niche for prayer), which faced towards Mecca, a haggard old man, with a white beard and gloomy visage, in a pale, faded caftan, and the green turban of the sheiks. Before him stood a circle of about twenty men in the dress usually worn by the

Mohammedan middle classes in Serajevo; respectable water-carriers, merchants, and artisans. For just as Islam knows no ecclesiastical hierarchy, so the dervishes form no particular order, as our monks do, for example, even though they, like them, rely upon mysticism and asceticism. Where the entire education of whole groups of nations consists exclusively in the study of and commenting upon one book, the Koran—where, moreover, the conditions of existence of the race which stands at the head of the whole of this movement, the physical conditions of life in a desert—all tend to fantastical extravagances, hair-splitting refinements, to fanaticism, and to asceticism, mysticism, too, must perforce also soon develop. As it was in Christendom, so it was in Islam, and that, too, partly upon the same grounds and under like circumstances—the stream branched off into two directions. Mystical refinements, the passages in the writings difficult of interpretation, or directly contradictory, led to ever more elaborate explanations, until at last the allegorical significations took precedence of the positive articles of faith, and in Islam, just as elsewhere, arrived at last at Pantheism and Rationalism. In this process there frequently arose, on the one hand sects, which were persecuted with blood; on the other, secret lessons, genuine mysteries, into which the pupils were only gradually initiated, but whose teachers and followers, whether out of fear of those in power or because they really did regard their dogmas as unsuited to the masses, concealed their dangerous, and frequently quite irreligious, views behind a strict observance of religious forms. Then, again, there were Mystics, who in their belief remained Orthodox, but who, nevertheless, carried the austerities of their religion to the extreme, and especially the dominant conception, contained in the Koran and in all religions of Semitic origin, that this earthly existence is a worthless fraud, and at its very best only a probation full of heavy trials. The doctrine of a stern God, the very fear of God, heightened these pessimistic views of life. All efforts were directed towards despising earthly life and its pleasure, and the killing and mortification of the flesh, by which means they, like the Christian hermits and monks, hoped to attain to a direct, intuitive, ecstatic knowledge of God, and to the winning of celestial life. Before they could be finally free from earthly fetters they desired to attain to at least a temporary oneness with God by ridding themselves momentarily of them.

Leading spirits, like Hafiz the poet, fostered this aim, which in Islam led to regular societies, and by the twelfth century to the formation of numerous orders of dervishes. Later on, the original spirit died out, and there was nothing left, so to speak, whereby men could attain to ecstasy

but mechanical means; even under these conditions, however, and although the learned ulemas set little store by them, the dervishes still retain the deep respect of the people.

Admission to the order is for the most part simple and easy; it is effected by prayer, after previous notification to the dervish sheik, and it neither interferes with the new member's family life, with his life as a citizen, nor with his occupations. Beyond doubt that "fakir" is held in even higher respect who renounces women and all sources of worldly gain, and only denies himself these, that he may at burials and upon other solemn occasions discharge his "Dziki," and await the charitable gifts of pious souls, without returning thanks for them, because the good God will in any case repay them. In Egypt, Syria, and Arabia there still live to-day, just as in the time of Christ, many hermits, who go forth into the wilderness, and there, like John the Baptist and the Prophets, with no covering but a skin and armed with a cudgel, wander about, and only on rare occasions show themselves amongst the habitations of men. The insane enjoy the greatest reverence, because they have already succeeded in lastingly uniting their spirit to God. Abdul Latif and Dervish Sulejman were Bosnian sheiks of wide reputation, as well as Sinan Sheik, already named.

Of those now living the most notable are, Sheik Latif Effendi, in Oglovak, near Kiseljak; he and his Thekia (monastery) enjoy the reputation of great holiness; Sheik Dervish Beshir Vrago, in the Skender-Pasha-Thekia at Serajevo; and Dervish Edhem Evantshikovitch, who now stood before us.

The "Dziki" commenced. The sheik sung with a penetrating, tremulous voice the same declaration of faith which the Muezzin proclaims from the top of the minaret: "*Allah akbar!*" he called three times ("God is the greatest!"); and twice: "*Ashhadu anna: la illah ill Allah, Ashhadu anna,—Muhammed rasulu 'llah.*" ("I bear witness that there is no God but God; I bear witness that Muhammed is God's messenger.")

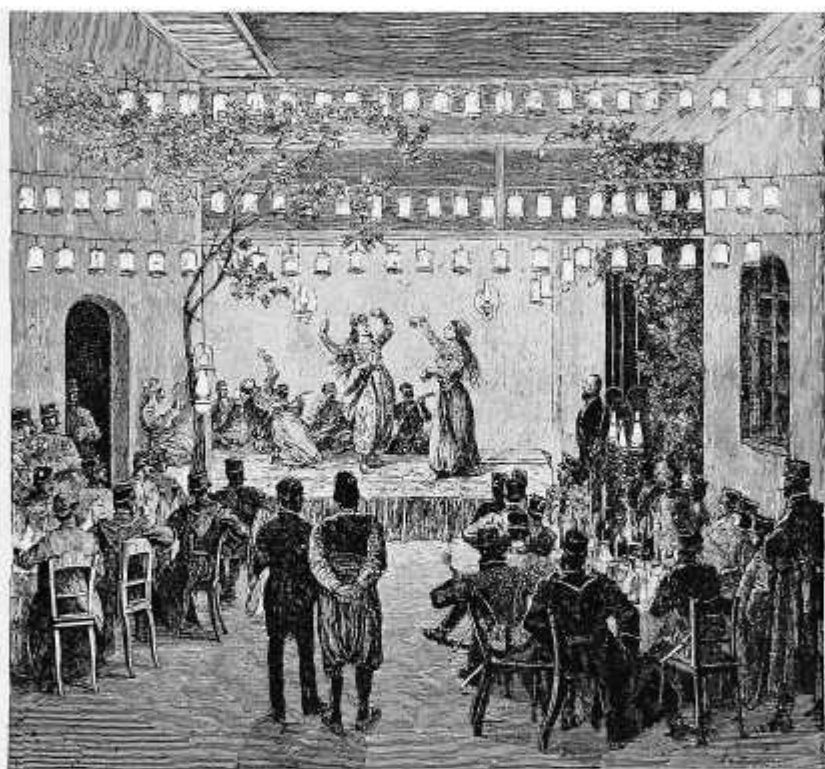
In the meantime the dervishes began to sway their heads slowly and shortly, whilst they accompanied every bend with a deep drawn breath. "*Hajja allah salah!*" ("Come to prayer!"), the old man called out twice. "*Hajja allah fallah!*" ("Come to the worship of God!") "*Allahu akbar*" — "*la illah ill Allah!*"

By the time the last sentences had been repeated, the dervishes had had time to gradually attain to a quicker motion, deeper, more rapidly beat the heads, which by that time were followed by the whole upper part of the body, and the breathing grew ever louder and louder, and the movements



ever more violent, and then the breathing into panting. Both occurred at the same moment, and by all together in unison.

The suspended arms already touched the ground, the panting grew to a loud "Hu," equivalent to "He," God. The ecstasy had begun. Some of the fezzes and turbans flew off, and the long hair or the tuft left on the shaven scalp was thrown backwards and forwards over their heads. In the unison of "Hu" in the chorus, which had now grown to a roar, was



The Bend-Bashi Garden.

blended the ecstatic "Allaha" of one or the other enthusiast. The perspiration was streaming down their faces, many were foaming at the mouth, one was as red as a brick, another as white as a corpse. Then a lad bounded into the centre of the half-circle and began to twist himself round with outstretched arms, like a spindle, ever quicker and yet more quickly. The half-circle interrupted its genuflexions; for a moment they recovered their breath, and then turned first the head, then the whole of the upper part

of the body, in jerks, to the left and right alternately. They performed this movement with increasing rapidity, led by wild cries of "Hu, Hu!" whilst the youth, with gaze directed heavenwards, and with outstretched arms, turned unceasingly. He grew paler and paler, and was soon as pale as death. His eyes closed. He had already been spinning for half an hour, and now at the rate of sixty evolutions per minute. Each moment one thought he must collapse. Again rose the monotonous song of the old man, the roar ceased simultaneously with the movement, some of the dervishes fell to the ground—the "Dzîkr" was over.

As a whole the ceremony differs little from that which I have seen in the heart of the Mohammedan world. But a closing scene followed, which I had nowhere beheld before, and which in its affecting solemnity is unequalled. Whilst one of the dervishes commenced to put out the lights in rotation, the others, one after another, with signs of the deepest reverence, approached the ancient sheik, still standing before the Kibla, and bent low before him; after the salutation each was twice embraced by him, and whilst he who had bidden farewell withdrew in silence, the next advanced to the sheik. The simple naturalness, the deep affection, which was manifested in this silent scene, is quite indescribable. Upon the stage at the close of an act it would make one of the most effective of closing scenes. Yet where would one find so many actors who would, in the constant repetition of the same action, understand how to combine such free, dignified bearing with such reverent awe; the earnest dignity of the sheik with his fatherly affection? One light after the other had been extinguished, one dervish after the other had withdrawn, and ever gloomier did it grow in the dome-covered hall, darker the picture, more vague the dignified form of the sheik, until at last he stood there alone, hardly visible now, by the glimmer of the one remaining taper. My companions had already departed; but I could hardly tear myself away from the scene in which such deep, such true and noble sentiments had been displayed.

\* \* \* \* \*

As at about eleven o'clock at night we strolled along through the still noisy town, we heard lively music and the sound of movement proceeding from a garden on the right bank of the Miliaska. Here, in the centre of the town, gardens are rare, and this one too would no longer exist were it not the most celebrated place of entertainment in Serajevo, the Bend-Bashi Coffee-house. Lately Serajevo has at times had as many as two companies of play actors, one German and one national, quartered there, and even an opera; but what were these to the Bend-Bashi!

The garden, gaily lighted up with coloured lanterns, was crowded with visitors of all classes. Here sat, in friendly dignity, Mustafa-Beg Fadil Pashitsh, and clustered around him, upon European chairs under an awning, was a group of officers and officials. Behind them rushed the Miliaska beneath the shadow of gigantic trees, through whose branches the moonlight broke. How pleasant to be in this cool breeze after the heat of the day. . . . In impressive silence the circle of light suspended on high from the minarets shone across from the opposite shore.

All the more noisy seemed the life around us. Whilst in every shady nook there stood a trim Christian maiden, with coquettish fez on head, sipping sweet rose-water, and listening to the whispers of her swain, and the women wandered arm in arm up and down among the trees, the Spanish Jewesses chattering with all the vivacity of their sex and race; in the middle of the garden a dense mass of men pressed round the space occupied by the lively, exciting music. This clear space was surrounded with broad wooden benches with backs. Upon one of these benches squatted the gypsies, one with a fiddle, and three or four with tambourines. Upon the remaining benches, with legs tucked up under them, sat the Mohammedan audience, with Turkish pipes or cigarettes between their lips, and coffee-cups in hand, silent and immovable as wax figures. Their eyes were directed towards the middle of the circle, in which boys, dressed in girls' clothes, were dancing with all the exaggerated sensuality peculiar to the East. Here again we had met with the Mohammedan carnival.

Songs put an end to the dances,—heroic songs, sometimes interminably span out. Amongst ancient ones there occurred also those which dealt with recent events, and furnished an extremely interesting insight into the popular views upon political events, and of the manner and way in which politics are dealt with in this part of the world. Both interesting and characteristic is the polite objectiveness with which the Mohammedan heroic songs deal with their Christian opponents, in contrast to the hatred and contempt of the Turks expressed in the Christian songs. The "Song of Gusinje," which tells of the warlike deeds of the present Prince of Montenegro, is a Mohammedan heroic song of this class.

"Tshnagortzes brave, carousing sat  
In Petrovitch's billiard-room within.  
Much that noble Knez did speak,  
Ending with the Arnauts' land :  
'Why' not seize upon Albania,  
And thus increase our own fair land ?"

“ Him answered thirty kapetans :  
 ‘ Then list, thou noble Petrovitch !  
 If thou wilt list to our advice,  
 Thou’lt write forthwith to Gusinje,  
 And ask if the Pasha will fight, or e’en submit ! ’ ”

They then write the letter :

“ Ali Pasha ! Turkish Pasha !  
 See, here comes a motley letter :  
 ‘ Wilt submit thyself to us,  
 And deliver up the key ;  
 Or wilt thou e’en cross swords with us ! ’ ”

They encourage the frightened messenger :

“ ‘ May a serpent bite thee !  
 Never do they harm an envoy,  
 Never do they kill an envoy,  
 Take therefore the motley writing,  
 Take and bear it to Gusinje ! ’  
 Satisfied, the Tshrnagorts now  
 Swiftly buckles on his shoes,  
 Fastens on his storage-bag,  
 Throws thereon his rough struka,\*  
 Adds thereto his breech-loader ;  
 Travels thus through Monteneg’,  
 Always with his stick in hand,  
 Hidden in its cleft the letter ;  
 Bears it safely to Gusinje.  
 Standard-bearers, six-and-thirty,  
 Stand around by Ali Pasha ;  
 Brightly do their orders glitter.  
 Step aside those gentlemen,  
 Making for the envoy way :  
 On the Turkish Pasha’s knee  
 Lays the envoy down the letter.  
 ‘ Rustem ! hark, my standard-bearer,  
 Take care of the messenger ;  
 Give him both to eat and drink  
 Amply to his heart’s content.’  
 Ali Pasha reads the letter,  
 Gaily laughing reads the letter,  
 And thereto this answer gives :

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\* Cloak.

" ' List to me, Petrovitch Nik'la,  
 Not even just one span of earth !  
 What dost venture ? poor misguided man !  
 Gather then thy men together,  
 Lead them here to Gusinje ;  
 Let us see who here is master,  
 In the town and in the land.  
 Send thou here two kapetans ;  
 On the word of the Arnauts  
 We will do no harm to them.  
 Them my army I would show,  
 That shown by me they too may pause,  
 That thou mayst never be deceived.' "

The messenger returns to his master, having received a present of forty ducats.

The kapetans cast their eyes to the ground when their lord asks which of them will go to the Pasha.

" Lazo Soshitza looked not down,  
 Boldly he met the Knez's eye :  
 ' As companion give me Iltz,  
 To the Pasha then I'll go.' "

The Kapetans Soshitza and Iltz depart for Gusinje. The Pasha sends thirty Arnauts to meet them, by whom they are entertained with *oldjedije* (rare delicacies) and refreshments ; they remain for eight days in Gusinje, and explain that their Prince has sworn upon the Cross and the *indjil* (Gospels) to string up the Pasha.

Ali Pasha presents them with two pairs of *ledenitze*, silver Albanian pistols :

" ' Go ! and luck go with you, friends ;  
 Greet your lord, Petrovitch Knez, from me.' "

The ensigns, Rustem and Ilias, escort them to the border.

" ' Tell me, Ilias, tell me, Turk,  
 Wherefore is the ground by Gusinje  
 Dug up so, and all ploughed o'er ?'  
 ' Ploughed up, no ; but dug up, yes ;  
 Turkish graves have here been dug.'  
 ' Fighting whom, may they have fallen ?'  
 ' Fighting Nik'las Petrovitch they fell.'  
 ' Fell in fighting 'gainst the Russian arms !' "

" ' Nay,—slain by Nik'las Petrovitch.  
 ' What the number of these graves? '  
 ' Olose upon three thousand graves.'  
 ' Rustem, listen! Listen, Turk!  
 All these graves are standing open,  
 But no corpses lie within.'  
 ' For these graves do wait for ye!  
 For three thousand of th' Albanians  
 Will, as they have sternly vowed,  
 Sternly, by their steadfast faith,  
 Once draw trigger, then draw sword,  
 Rush upon ye with bare blades,  
 Fighting grimly, bring it luck or  
 Bring it woe.'  
 Thus they led them to the frontier,  
 Kissed them there, and then went home."

The kapetans tell the Prince :

" ' Gather now thy troops together,  
 Ali Pasha long has yearned,  
 This the message sent to thee,  
 Yearned for the Teferitshe.' "  
 Seven letters writes Nikola,  
 Sends them to the seven hills;  
 Two of these to Moratscha,  
 Two to townships of this name,  
 One the clan Ashane receives,  
 One is for the Lavretshanes,  
 Sends another to the Kutje,  
 One he sends to Vasajevitch,  
 Dobrnjik receives a missive,  
 Kap'tan Milan gets the last,  
 In the fort of Nikshitah ling'ring.  
 After two weeks thers assemble  
 Fifty thousand Tahrnagortzas;  
 Wrathful are they as the serpent;  
 They can hew, and they can run,  
 Glance with piercing eye upon the foe,  
 Bravely scorn his heaviest blow,  
 Bravely stand the fallen by.  
 Vukotitch, good brother-in-law,  
 Fifty thousand men stand here,

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\* Country pleasure party.

Two-and-thirty guns,  
 Bombs for every fortress too.  
 Bring to me Ali Pasha!  
 Hither bring Ali alive;  
 Conquer the entire land,  
 All the Arnauts' soil,  
 Far as their town Salonica!  
 'My good lord, Petrovitah Knez!  
 Heroes are these Albanians;  
 Them to conquer is no easy task.'

"At the head of all his troops,  
 Stefan Vukotitch now o'erruns  
 Fair Gusinje's fields and plains.  
 'Pasha, cower not in thy room!  
 Black hills, thy sons approach!  
 Standard-bearers, come, look out  
 From the castle windows there!  
 And the Pasha looks around him.  
 Do then his commanders pale?  
 Scornfully the leaders gaze,  
 Laughing at the coming peril.  
 Up sprang Ali Pasha then,  
 Slipping on his slippers quickly,  
 Forth he rode to Taharshija.  
 Then he summoned all the pops,  
 And the people of the rajah.  
 'Hearst thou, Rajah of Gusinje!  
 Petrovitah has sent his army  
 Here that it may conquer me.  
 Are ye inclined to turn to him?  
 Then go over, join his forces too!  
 Point your rifles at me now;  
 I will find the powder, go.'  
 Deep obeisance made the rajah.  
 'Lord and Pasha! in all faith do we  
 Dedicate to thee our lives.  
 Thou wast ever good to us;  
 We will by thee stand or fall.'  
 'Thy aid do I not require,  
 My poor rajah! If in battle  
 Thou didst pay the penalty,  
 I should earn a mother's curse.  
 Stay thou here in the Taharshija,  
 Stay thou here, thou faithful rajah,  
 Ali Pasha will remain thy father.'

"Telal\* cries through all the streets :  
' Whoso flees from Gusinje  
Wives and children too will lose,  
They must die the death by fire !'  
Roaring now the cannon calls  
Arnauts to the fight. With  
Turbans white upon their heads,  
Fustaneels their bodies on, and  
Clad in white their legs,  
Breech-loaders in their hands,  
Three thousand Arnauts pause,  
Fire once, then their sabres draw,  
Firm resolved, in face of all  
That destiny might bring."

The Pasha rides, clothed in silver and gold, and fully equipped, along the lines of the Turkish troops, the Arnauts following him. They draw up before the mosque for prayer. The mothers call after their sons :

" ' Oh, ye sons ! May ill befall ye !  
Woe and infamy o'ertake ye,  
Should ye disgrace your native land.' "

The battle commences, after the invitation to surrender has been rejected by both sides. The Pasha rushes with drawn sword upon the Tshruagortzes, under a shower of bullets ; he is followed by the slender ensigns, with pointed scimitars, and then follow the Arnauts.

" Fire once, their sabres draw,  
Quickly draw their flashing knives,  
Rush upon the Tshruagortzes,  
Grip them firm around the throat.  
Shot of rifle hears one nowhere,  
Only hears the clash and clang of swords,  
Sullen thunder of the cannonade.  
Wilt thou burst, oh, thou black earth ?  
Wilt be rent in twain, blue heaven ?  
Look ! the stars themselves do fall,  
And the field is covered o'er with dead.  
One laments : ' Oh, my poor mother !'  
' Naught avails thee that,' replies another.  
' Sharp sword and sharper scimitar,  
On the field are father, mother.'  
Turks have forced the enemies' lines ;  
Cast o'er Lim's waters is a bridge.

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\* Town-crier.



"Gaze upon the ruddy waters,  
Ruddy with the blood of Arnauts.  
Mightily the cannon roar,  
Mightier still the voice of Ali:  
Fear ye naught, ye valiant heroes!  
Succour comes, four thousand men from  
Peteratz and Kolashin.'  
Once again the cannon roar,  
Cannon on the Turkish side.  
Look! the pop! and look, the rajah  
They are bringing from the castle,  
Thus to aid our gunner-men.  
Whither are the Lim's clear waters  
And the stream of Zeta fled?  
Tehragortzes' corpses fill  
Grimly now the river's bed.  
Lim and Zeta here have mingled  
Ever heretofore their waters  
Now dammed up by heaps of dead;  
They can now not onward flow,  
Overflowing field and meadow,  
They must now the dead disgorge.  
Ali Pasha gazes round him:  
'Oh, the bold clan of the Vlashi  
Enters now into Gusinje!'  
But a valiant Albanian  
Drives them back, all soiled with gore.  
'Only hold Lim river's bank,  
Sweetest Pasha, Ali Pasha!  
'Eustem, too, the standard-bearer?'  
'He destroys a bridge o'er Zeta,  
Bridge belonging to the foe;  
So that this he cannot cross.'  
Forward springs on charger white  
Arnaut with his sabre bared,  
Bared sabre in his hand,  
Deeply wounded through the heart.  
'Only hold Lim river's bank,  
Sweetest Pasha, Ali Pasha!  
Ilias the standard-bearer,  
With three thousand Albanians,  
Conquered has the cannon there,  
First-class, princely cannon there,  
And has slain the gunners.'  
Ali Pasha, hero Pasha!  
Now look on the further shore;

Wonders over there he sees,  
 Frantic fly the Tahrnagortzes !  
 ' Stay, oh stay, Stefan Vukotitch !  
 Stay, thou valiant one !'  
 ' For a moment stay, I pray thee !'  
 ' Stern Pasha, I must withdraw ;  
 These my troops by you are beaten,  
 Many thousands of them slain !'  
 ' Valiant Vukotitch, yet one word I crave ;  
 Take this scimitar to wear,  
 Take this missive to thy master,  
 Petrovitch Knez, for he shall know  
 How thou hast fought right bravely here,  
 As a hero should before his foe.  
 Blame shall ne'er attach to thee ;  
 Witness this, my seal,  
 Set upon this document.'  
 Swims across the river Lim  
 With the writ and scimitar,  
 Djas the standard-bearer brave.  
 Comes back with three hundred florins  
 Given him by Vukotitch.  
 With them, too, this message brings :  
 ' Valiant ensign ! Kiss for me  
 The hand of the Pasha.'  
 In Gusinje feasting sits  
 Ali Pasha, hero Pasha.  
 In Tshettlinje weeping sits  
 Petrovitch, Knez Nikola ;  
 Having lost so many heroes,  
 Thirty valiant kapetans."

\*     \*     \*     \*     \*

At one o'clock another cannon goes off. The entertainment closes. All go to their homes ; and when at two o'clock the last cannon is let off, the whole town is dark and silent. The strict fast has again entered upon its rights.



## CHAPTER X.

### *FROM SERAJEVO TO GORAZDA.*

Out of Serajevo into the Wilderness—Street Types—Masked Ladies—Pratza—Ranjen Karaula—The Sea of Rocks—Gorazda—Ferhad-Beg Herendia, the Rebel Leader.

*August, 1882.*

SERAJEVO was still in that half-finished morning toilet, which gives to larger cities a quite peculiar look. A town begins to awaken piecemeal from its night's rest; half sleepily, half hurriedly do the men emerge from their houses and go to their morning labours. Sleep and fresh life intermingle. Everything is unprepared, everything is being got ready. The Muezzin has already awakened the faithful with his far-sounding, mournful song. Many of them are already giving themselves their customary wash at the public fountains before going to their prayers. In the narrow and steep bazaar street, here and there the shutters, which close the recess-like stalls at night, have been taken down, and the merchant has taken his customary place, peacefully smoking his tshibuk\* the while; at the next shop the locks are just in the act of being unfastened; for the rest, all is still in its nightly condition. The heated activity of the day is lacking; but that of the freshness of the morning is everywhere visible. Idlers are nowhere to be seen; they are still asleep. Of Europeans are visible—not the most elegant, perhaps, but the most industrious—small groups of Hungarian Jews and Carniola workmen. There are as yet no dense crowds; but there are, for all that, enough people about to admire the brilliant and well-knit hussars which surround the carriages in which the minister and his train are starting off on their journey, having for its first object a visit to that district where remains of the insurrection are still discernible.

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\* Turkish pipe.—[Tr.]

Our road lay below the walls, which at first stretch along past the citadel and the bare heights, directly towards the rising sun, right through that fearful rocky gorge which here constitutes the only outlet from the amphitheatre of hills which on three sides surround the town. The rich plain which stretches away to the west we leave behind us, and behind us lay the hundred minarets. The road, blasted through the rocks, rises rapidly; below foam the green waters of the Miliaska in its yellowish-red bed of rocks; on the further side of the water the ragged cliffs rise boldly like colossal galleries and towers, taking ever and again some new fantastic shape at every turn; and anon we reach the goat bridge, a small gem of Turkish bridge-building; in one single bold arch it spans the abyss to the opposite bank of the river, and, scarcely a mile and a half from the populous town, we are in such a solitary, silent wilderness, that the road constructed by Austrian soldiers is the only thing to remind us of human civilization and human intercourse. Nothing is visible saving the stream, the rocks, and low, creeping underwood. We advance slowly by a rapid succession of turnings in the road.

Near the dark huts of Ljnbogosta, the road crosses the Miliaska for the second time. We leave the rivulet, which falls down almost perpendicularly from the western slope of the wild Romanja-Planina. The road now turns southwards, and the underwood gradually changes into lofty, shady, cool woods, for the two great enemies of trees—man, who fells them, and the goats, who prevent their growth—have as yet not made this their home. The landscape expands, and from time to time solitary timber houses, belonging to villages which extend over miles of country, peep out from amidst woody valleys, and here and there a small maize or millet field can be seen. To the right, the lowering peak of the Trebevitsh looks down upon us; to the left, the white rocky bastions of the southern side of the Romanja-Planina, which tower high above dense forests.

Neither is the scenery here lacking in life. The Bosnian drovers furnish first-rate living subjects for wild landscapes, with their red turbans and their small horses laden with jars, boxes, planks, or beams, as they walk along in long rows at a leisurely pace. They may be seen wherever their almost impassable paths cross the main roads; these they do not frequent, neither do they need them, for waggons are here unknown. The little Bosnian horses carry everything on their backs, and the bridle-paths, though perhaps steeper, are shadier, and, what is of chief importance, shorter than the military road.

More home-like in our eyes than these figures—who were yesterday, perhaps, still robbers, and might turn into robbers again to-morrow—were our

own soldiers, as we met them with ever-increasing frequency. We are in the centre of a genuine camp life; it is easy to see that we are in a country disturbed by war. Pickets along the road and outposts on the neighbouring heights are met by us everywhere; but from nearly all the side-roads, even from out of every thicket, our foot soldiers are hurrying forward, returning to their native land on furlough. Even though all traces of the insurrection have not yet vanished—nay, just in this district organized banditti are still causing disorder—money must be spared, the number of troops reduced to the uttermost.

It is not, however, only such warlike scenes as these that are to be met with; we come across quite ideal ones as well. Yonder there is a little group, low down by the brook; a travelling Mohammedan lady is watering her horse; she herself is seated, like a man, in her saddle, quite enveloped in her snow-white mantle; by her side stands her attendant. As soon as she sees us she raises her travelling-mask to her face; during the wearying journey strict veiling, customary in this country, would be all too uncomfortable and oppressive. As a substitute, a woman on a journey has a mask ready at hand, which she holds before her face the moment she meets strangers, just as the Venetian signoras did of old.

At length we reach our mid-day station, Pratz. Whilst our horses are being changed, we refresh ourselves in front of the military barracks with a simple meal of eggs and preserves.

In a narrow valley, some seven hundred and six mètres up, on the waters of the Pratz, there now stands a small cluster of fifteen houses, inhabited and enlarged by a small military encampment. At one time, however, according to tradition, a large town of sixty thousand inhabitants stood here. Be that as it may, the place is an old one, for it is mentioned as the seat of a bishop in a document of the thirteenth century. In the courtyard of the tumble-down mosque of Pratz a sarcophagus is preserved which is perhaps of Roman origin, for the Bosnian tombs of the Middle Ages are, unlike this, always massive, and have, moreover, no inner space scooped out in the sarcophagus itself. The whole neighbourhood is thickly strewn with tombstones of mediæval origin such as this. They are more striking on account of their dimensions than on account of their decorations, and were, to a large extent, used in the construction of the new road. The largest, however, still exist, one and a half kilomètres distant from Pratz in a south-easterly direction, on the castle hill of Pavlovatz, below which the road leads through a rocky pass. The reader is already acquainted with the largest of these sepulchres, which tradition points out as that of the Prince

Paul Radinovitsh. At any rate, he it was who built the castle of Pavlovatz, whose ruins still stand on the mound below the rocky cliff of Vlashka Stjena on the left bank of the Pratz. The castle of Pavlovatz was at one time a capital of "Comitatus Berec," in the domain of Prince Radinovitsh; to which also belonged Vlasanitza, Olova, Pratz, Dobrunj, Ustikolina on the Drina, and, for a time, even the fortress of Vrbosna. The envoys from Ragusa, who in 1423 visited Radoslav Pavlovitsh, Paul's son, called it "Novi in Pratz."

In 1550, the fortress already lay in ruins. The name of Pavlovatz, and the circumstance that under Paul's son the castle was still called "New Fort," offer a sufficient foundation for regarding Paul as its builder.

We now continued our way for a time along by the water's side, down amongst plots of fruitful land; but we then left the Pratz, which cleaves its way directly east between colossal blocks of rock and thick woods. Our road bends sharp off towards the south and rises rapidly, its surroundings growing ever lonelier and wilder as we approach the watershed by steep windings in the road, and see nothing more of either men or houses until we reach the top of the pass at Ranjen Karaula.

Ranjen Karaula, the "Watchhouse of the Wounded," bears its name with justice, for every foot of this ground is saturated with human blood.

The great military road from Serajevo to Novi Bazar leads through this narrow gate of the high mountain wilderness. From immemorial times robbers and Junaks have lain in ambush here. One of the preludes to the last insurrection, even, was enacted at this place. A mule transport under military protection was coming up from Gorazda. Hardly had it entered the narrow gateway to the pass before it was received by a cross fire from the densely overgrown hillocks which form the side walls of the gateway. Ever since this, a strong guard has been stationed here, which had many a hard battle to fight in the course of last winter. Only a few days ago, on the 8th of August, a portion of the garrison, which, whilst patrolling for robbers, had scarcely ventured a few leagues from here, had to engage in a small battle.

To the south of the Ranjen Karaula saddle one of the most magnificent views imaginable opened out before us, and yet it is more easily imagined than described. A new world lay spread before us as soon as we had crossed the top of the pass. Our eyes swept over a sea of mountains across Montenegro into Albania.

Truly the mighty undulations of the woody outlines of the hills rose beneath us like an ocean upheaved in a storm, the rocks representing the white crests of the waves. The ground falls rapidly and steeply down from one terrace to another; and right at the bottom the silver band of a broad,

silent river, bright as a mirror, winds along in the wide valley, between villages and verdant fields. It is the Drina, which, taking its rise in the confluence of the Tara and the Piva on the Montenegrin borders, enters this country from the very outset as a large river. On the farther side of this river there rise above and behind one another the bold, wild outlines of eight separate mountain ranges, each in a different colouring and light, according to their distance, sombre, deep green woods, masses of sun-burnt rocks, blue mists, and far away, more distant and more lofty than all, a range rising only here and there above those lying in front of it, so indistinct that it is hard to distinguish whether it is bare rocks or snow that just looms whitely out of the distant mist. This last range stands upon the borders of Albania. The Montenegrin mountains, however, which rear their threatening black summits immediately in front of them, appear to be the most imposing; below these, directly to the right, there is a genuine four-cornered gateway in the ridge of the mountains; it is here that the Sutjeska, hurrying to the Drina, forces its way through; behind it, seventy kilometres as straight as the crow flies, from our point of observation, the Durmitor rises to an altitude of nine thousand feet; this is the prince of Montenegrin mountains, and upon it the ibex still makes its home.

Sitting upon the benches in front of the watchhouse, sipping black coffee meanwhile, we admired the prospect; whilst a reformed robber, then in the service of the garrison, tried to make himself agreeable. We were surrounded on all sides by the most lovely scenery. A narrow path led over soft turf and amongst limpid springs up the hill into the midst of the scrub. One could have fancied oneself in an English park had one not known that it was a robber's road.

After a short halt we again started on our journey. We drove in a wide curve right along the mountain's ridge, and then descended by long serpentine bends. Not until we reached the last turn in the road, after an eleven hours' journey, did we behold Gorazda on the green waters of the Drina. The town extends along the high left bank of the river, under a steep hill. This once important place has now sunk down to a population of eight hundred and odd souls. It attained to the height of its prosperity in the fifteenth century, when the counts of Chlum made the adjacent castle of Samobor, the ruins of which may still be seen, thirteen kilometres from the town, near the confluence of the Janina and the Drina, their summer residence. A mile and a half further on, in the same direction, the ruins of St. George's Church are still shown, the building of which is ascribed by tradition to Duke Stephan, the founder of Herzegovina.

From 1529 to 1531 there still existed a printing press in the town, and from it a few of the Cyrillic Church books, still in existence, proceeded.

In 1568, Mustapha, Pasha of Buda, caused a stone bridge to be built across the river, one hundred and fifty feet in width. The piers, two square ones, are still standing on the river's banks, four heptangular ones in the water, and upon these rests the present wooden bridge. A Cyrillic epitaph is built into the second pier, and may be taken as a sign that even in those days the old tombstones were turned to account in building. From the same period also dates the large edifice, with an arched gateway, opposite the bridge, which was at one time a caravansary, but is now used as a stable. Two fireplaces are still visible by the side of the gateway, and seven opposite to it, in the outer walls, which are even now in a state of good preservation. Until 1880 there stood, not far from this spot, two Roman sarcophagi, which have since disappeared.

Gorazda is now a small, poor place, with its very mosques constructed out of wood; and it boasts a certain amount of importance only by reason of its large military barracks.

But even though Gorazda offers no points of interest on its own account, yet one of the most interesting episodes of our journey occurred here.

The official reception was hardly over, and the audiences had only just commenced, when the news arrived that Ferhad-Beg Herendia, the well-known rebel leader, was waiting outside the village, and had sent in his son to beg for a free escort for himself, as he was desirous of an interview with the minister.

Ferhad-Beg duly received his *salvus conductus*, and as we were seated in the officers' barrack discussing a first-rate dinner, his arrival was announced. The minister went to the *konak*, by which only a common Turkish timber-house, with three small rooms on the first floor, is to be understood.

Here, then, we—the minister, the chief of the district of Serajevo, the magistrate of the circuit of Tshajnitza, and my humble self—awaited Ferhad-Beg.

Abd' Aga, a straightforward Mohammedan Bosnian, who acted as magistrate in Gorazda, led him in. Ferhad-Beg Herendia had, as politeness required, taken off his boots and entered barefoot; a tall, elastic figure, with turban above the dark brown face and dark eyes, the aristocratic nose and long moustache, with the Order of Medshidieh on his blue dolman, and a medal for valour, which he had won as Turkish Jäsbashi in the wars against the Montenegrins. Nearly all the natives, with the exception of a few of the higher begs and kadis, tremble when they stand in the presence of the



minister, afraid to speak ; not so this man. He advanced neither defiantly, humbly, nor with fear. Upon the minister's inquiry as to what he wanted, he recounted with self-possession how the Montenegrins had led him astray with all sorts of misrepresentations ; but he now knew that he had only been serving the hereditary enemy of his race, therefore he had come to submit himself, and if he was received with clemency he would pledge himself to become the most faithful subject of the Emperor Franz Josef.

The minister now appealed to his Mohammedan heart ; he explained to him that in this country it was just the Mohammedans who would have grown to be an impossibility if we had not come, and in conclusion assured him that, provided he was charged with no common crime, his Majesty, "whose power you by this time know, and whose clemency you shall also learn to know," would pardon him. But he must honourably swear allegiance upon his faith and give his hand upon it, for should he ever again undertake anything against his Majesty he could not again be forgiven.

And Ferhad-Beg advanced towards the minister, raised his head, raised his right hand slowly on high, and with a peculiar rapid movement gave his hand upon it, and swore, loudly and clearly, "upon his most steadfast faith," that he would be faithful and obedient to his Majesty and his officials. "Živio, živio, živio !"

Hereupon the minister called upon him to deliver up his arms.

Ferhad-Beg withdrew, and soon afterwards returned with his own and his son's arms tied together with a cloth—a Winchester and a Snyder rifle, a scimitar, and two pairs of pistols—to my room, where we were awaiting him with the district magistrate and Abd' Aga. But he at once submitted the request that his arms might be spared to him. "For," said he, "I was indeed good friends with Kovatshevitch and Tungus ; but it is now possible that they may attack me when I am at home." He expressed himself satisfied with the district magistrate's explanation that he must provisionally resign his arms here ; and that should he, later on, need them for self-defence, he should then receive them again. And we then smoked the cigarettes of peace.



## CHAPTER XL.

### FOTCHA.

On the Banks of the Drina—Insurgents and Robbers—Pandours—The Tshengitsh Family—Telephone—Fotcha—Historical Monuments—Art Industries—Emigrants, and Homeward Bound—A Bosnian House—Avd' Aga's Dinner.

A WILD, defiant cry startled me out of my sleep. It was still pitch dark. The cry was so wild, so warlike, and so directly from the heart, and so near me, that for the moment I did not know what to make of it. Then I understood it: "*Hajja, Allah Fallah!*" It was not insurgents; it was only the harmless Muezzin calling pious souls to their morning prayer. But the wooden minaret of the little village mosque of Gorazda is so low, and was situated so near to the konak, which is also of wood, and the said Muezzin blent such defiant and energetic tones with his chromatic, soft nasal twang, that the well-known sounds seemed quite strange to me.

An hour later we were on horseback. There is as yet no carriage road to Fotcha. It is only now in course of being constructed by the soldiers, on the left bank of the Drina, and we were at times on this account so pushed to the edge of the precipice, that horses and men could only advance in single file. It was, as a matter of fact, a wild and romantic journey, for these epithets apply to the neighbourhood, the situation, and the surroundings. Hussars led the van of the long procession. A division of the Szekler regiment, with green facings to their uniforms, brought up the rear, and, according to all the rules of military service, we civilians were in the centre. Thus we moved along high above the bed of the Drina; in many places on the edge of a veritable precipice, betwixt rocks and underwood, which only occasionally changed to large groups of trees. The steep mountain

ridge on the right was thickly overgrown; to the left, the sudden declivity below us was almost bare; the trees, which once stood here, were either already lying on the ground, or, as they bent forwards, could hardly support themselves with their widely branching roots. Fantastically notched ferns grew between them, and upon the bare places the tall yellow heads of the crown imperial stood in solitary grandeur. Far below quietly flowed the Drina, but not as she would flow along a soft, smooth bed; her bed is not made of clay, nor sand, nor of rubble stones; it is entirely of rock. At the water's edge one can see the washed, scooped-out, ragged crags shining, which by their colour, form, and depth lend the most varied tints to the water; the river, too, as it rushes along its banks, throws up white foam. But the rocks, as they shelve off deeper and deeper down from the banks, are soon almost invisible, and at last vanish altogether from the view, and here, in its broad, central bed, the stream is clear, green, and bright as an emerald; for even though its bed is a rocky one, it is deep, and deep waters are still.

On the further side of the river the scenery changes. The ground rises more gradually, and all along by the river's bank there is space enough for well-tended and fenced-in maize and wheat fields; it is on the further side of these that the wooded heights rise, parted from one another by deep ravines and mountain torrents. Upon that further side, too, a division of infantry was marching along to the protection of the field telegraphs, we were told; but perhaps it was for our own security.

In this neighbourhood the rebellion is not yet suppressed; last August they were still fighting here, and attacks are made by robbers at the present time. The authorities know of from five to six bands, half robbers, half rebels; and if the protection under which we travelled was to be a serious one, why, then the opposite shore had to be covered too; if any one had shot across from there, neither pursuit nor dislodgment would have been possible on our part.

In the fresh morning air everything was sparkling with dew and sunshine, and our Szeklers sang Hungarian songs. Where the ground widened out a little we come across occasional houses, or even groups of houses; or, in default of anything larger, a ruined inn; where even this was lacking, we found at least a coffee-house of the kind common in this country; that is to say, a green arbour in the wilderness, in which the kaffedshi from the main road knows how to prepare his refreshing beverage rapidly over a few embers. Such a brisk trade had not been done for many a day; each of them took a few florins. All these coffee-stations were turned to account by beggars

and petitioners, in order to procure an audience without any difficulty. It was a curiously motley crew ; no one, however, was more parti-coloured than the so-called pandours whom we occasionally met. These are armed natives, who, under the leadership of a few soldiers or gendarmes, also take part in the defensive service. They are armed like soldiers ; but their dress is that common to the people. Many have stuck the old badge of the Pasha—a tin wing—on the side of their turbans. Part of the rebel leaders were drawn from these pandours. It is, however, a sign of returning peace that the natives are again entering the defensive service.

The group of horsemen who, having dismounted, awaited us at the spot where the waters of the Ochanitza Rjeka pour themselves into the Drina through a narrow fissure in the rocks, bore a very different appearance. We recognized Dervish-Beg Tshengitsh from afar ; in spite of his advanced years he is a stalwart man, still elastic in his movements, with a sharply cut eagle nose, deep-set, earnest eyes, full of fire, a long falling moustache which may never grow grey. One could not wish for a more beautiful type. He had already paid a visit to the minister at Serajevo, and each had been candidly pleased with the other. "I require nothing of thee ; but have come to tell thee, that this and that must be done : for then it will be well. If, however, it is not done, it will not be well." He then spoke of his family, which dates back five hundred years, which came from Tshengeri in Asia Minor, and which in the course of ages had produced thirty pashas and viziers. In conclusion, however, he gave expression to his pleasure that the emperor had at last sent a man who knew how to speak the language of the people, and to whom the people could speak with candour.

Dervish-Beg Tshengitsh is, it is true, not the chief of his house, for that is a far more aged gentleman, who never stirs from his lonely castle. He is, however, the moving spirit in his family ; and he therefore here, too, awaited the minister, together with nine others of his race. For this province, and especially the Zagorje, is the nest of the Tshengitsh family. One hundred of them are now dwelling here, and almost all the landed property is in their hands. All of them bore the stamp of the gentleman, and it was plain that this reception had not been officially organized. After cordial greetings the Tshengitsh, with their retinue, placed themselves at the head of our procession, and thus, towards eleven o'clock, we entered Ustikolina, whose white mosque had been visible from afar.

Whilst the ferry boat was carrying all the horses across the water we were the guests of the garrison, and in the cool summer-house enjoyed the good breakfast which had been provided ; then we, too, crossed the Drina.

On the right bank a division of soldiers was camped out in tents. Our military authorities have here carried their watchfulness to such a point that they have established telephonic communication with Fotcha.

The sun was shining fiercely, and I was weary of a walking pace, so put spurs to my horse, and rode off at a brisker rate alone, along the slope, between well-tilled fields and under the shade of huge fruit trees and beeches. Half-way along I met General Obadich, who, with his officers, was riding to meet the minister. Natives were working in their fields upon separate plots of ground, and inquisitive eyes, from amidst wild hair and beards, watched me shyly from lonely wattled huts. It was about one o'clock as I entered Fotcha, where the Government officials and the authorities, and the schoolmaster with his scholars were already drawn up, and the inhabitants were camping out in motley groups under the plum trees watching for the minister.

Fotcha is surrounded on all sides by woody heights, and can boast of one of the most beautiful of positions. Here the fresh waters of the sparkling Tshebotina joins the Drina; there is therefore no dearth of water—the chief element in the poetry of landscape. Two wooden bridges lead to the left bank of the Tshebotina, where is situated the principal part of the town, though a few detached houses and blocks straggle up the hill on the right bank. The most ancient mosques in all the country are here, and as they date from the most glorious epoch of Osmanic power, they also surpass the others in beauty. It is not their outward decoration, but the division of the blocks, the massive walls of hewn stone, the imposing domes, whose leaden roofs glitter like silver, especially by moonlight, and the dimensions of the lofty minarets, which lend to many of these ancient sacred edifices a real fascination.

Of mediæval monuments here, too, only Bogomilian graves have been preserved. One of these, ornamented with a row of dancers, stands in the neighbourhood of Bitorg. Beneath it rests "Prince Branislav Brnil, the valorous hero." Perhaps it is due to the influence of these beautiful buildings that Oriental taste in art has been preserved unharmed here longer than elsewhere. Fotcha is the seat of an important art industry worthy of the most careful protection. When the country is once thrown open to general traffic, this industry, in other places crushed by the manufactured articles turned out by the gross, may prove to be a source of wealth. In the afternoon I paid a visit to the bazaar. The silver-filigree industry is allied to that which flourished centuries ago in Transylvania. The Fotcha scimitars are renowned throughout the East; and amongst other

trifles knives too are made here, whose coloured bone handles, inlaid with brass, are real works of art.

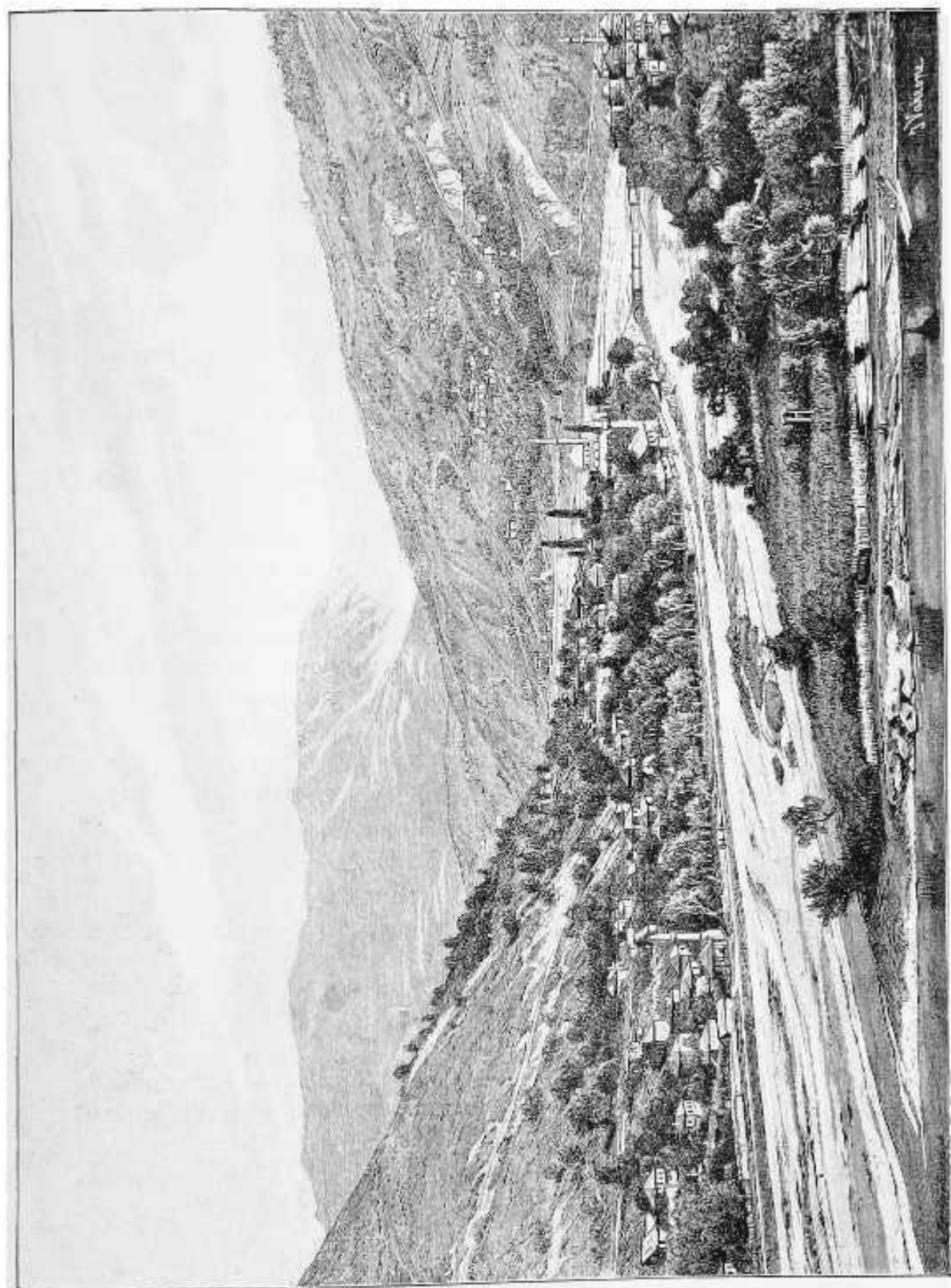
The district of Fotcha is wedged in between the Sandjak of Novi Bazar and Montenegro. The border wars here were almost uninterrupted, and if not carried on by the countries and governments, they were carried on by the begs and waywodes upon their own account, and this is therefore naturally the scene of many folk-songs and ballads. Our small garrison here, hardly two hundred strong, and taken by surprise, had at the beginning of the rebellion to go through some severe fighting, when at times the watch-fires of the rebels were blazing upon all the hill-tops in the neighbourhood. This district has remained to the present time the most dangerous; exactly on the day of our arrival, cattle to the value of several thousand florins were driven off by outlaws.

It was these warlike habits of the natives which kept the local manufactories for arms and knives in such constant prosperity. It is to be hoped that this industry may not vanish with the warlike habits which are now to cease.

Upon his arrival the minister at once granted audiences, here as elsewhere; and here as elsewhere, too, the people pressed in vast crowds to the "mushir," who listened to each one of them with untiring patience.

Of course all wishes could not be satisfied. One young man asked, with a sullen, averted face, for a passport. "My father and my grandfather and all my forefathers for three hundred years have been honourable men. They walked upon the highways, and not in bypaths. Give me a passport, for I, too, will walk upon the highways, and not flee along secret ways. But in this country I will no longer remain." The minister informed himself as to his circumstances. He had a mother and five brothers and sisters, and wished to desert them all; for," said he, "my law does not permit me to remain." "But the greatest hodshas and muftis remain, and they surely understand the law better than thou dost; wherefore, then, canst not thou remain?" Arguments were of no avail. "I shall not remain; I shall go." As he was still of an age liable for military service, permission to emigrate could not be accorded him. Others, who had come with a like request, the minister was able to persuade not to desert their native land. Side by side with these instances, however, must be also mentioned the numerous applications for permission to return, and also that of four hundred fugitives who had returned from Montenegro just at the time of the minister's arrival.

Amongst those who wished to come back were many of the most



Fotcha.

influential men, and not only quondam rebels, but even more of those who had fled, just before the insurrection, after having warned the authorities that the rebellion would break out, and who had at the same time sought military protection. As they could not obtain this, they became fugitives, so as not to be forced to take part in the revolt.

In Fotcha there is a beautiful Orthodox school, built of stone, which the minister also visited; and to our other interesting experiences here must be added the mid-day meal, to which we were invited by Avd' Aga, the burgomaster.

Even the most pretentious of Bosnian houses are built of wood and clay tiles; but even in the poorest the Oriental sense of beauty and the influence of Oriental fancy cannot be mistaken. It is for this reason that all these Bosnian towns are so picturesque. However decayed, too, these houses may appear when seen close at hand, from a distance they all give, more or less, the impression of elegant villas. Even the smallest houses are one story high, and the better rooms (generally, it is true, only two in number) are in the upper story. Either the centre or the two wings of this upper story project considerably beyond the ground floor.

This custom has its origin in the harem. They want to give to the women, who may not crane their heads out of the closely barred windows, a view up the street, through the side windows of the projecting part, for this is one of their chief amusements. The side overlooking the court always has a wooden balcony on the first floor, commanding a wide and generally a picturesque view. One side of the room is always partitioned off by a slight wooden wall, which forms cupboards to the right and left, and sometimes has a little vapour bath arrangement; whilst from out of the centre opening in this wooden wall a great Dutch-tiled oven looks forth, a square, white, or yellow obelisk with green glazed, plate-like indentations. This wooden wall, and indeed all wooden portions of the house, are more or less richly carved upon the exterior as well as the interior; roughly it may be, but in good Oriental taste. The windows are bowed, the openings on to the balcony shut off by pointed arches. The very worst of the houses are at least picturesque, especially if the wooden parts have already been blackened by the hand of time. The houses, however, which are well kept and clean, like that of Avd' Aga, are not only picturesque, but also comfortable, with their *Menderliks*\* arranged all along the walls and passages, and lots of many-coloured carpets, amongst which, as is

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\* Turkish sofa.



everywhere the case in the East, some genuine examples of beauty occur. In the principal houses the inner walls are not whitened; but the side walls are painted with white, the ceiling with blue or green varnish or oil colours, so that they look almost like marble.

Avd' Aga had summoned many guests, amongst them Dervish-Beg and five other Tshengitshes. All of these, however, surrounded us, standing and serving, only we European visitors sitting round the low, round table; I had had just the same experience once at an Arabian friend's with whom I dined in Upper Egypt. He who enjoys mutton will not only pronounce the better-class Turkish cookery to be good, but will discover in it some real delicacies; vegetables unknown in Europe, first-rate roast meat, and excellent puddings. The thing most to be regretted, though it is very healthy, is, that everything is served up lukewarm. At Avd' Aga's table, the *pièce de résistance* was a beautifully roasted lamb, which came to table whole, stuffed with rice, chopped meat, and all kinds of spices and raisins. At the conclusion of the meal the native gentlemen seated themselves upon carpets, which were spread upon the ground, and, drinking splendid Turkish coffee and smoking Turkish pipes the while, conversation, which after dinner, even amongst Orientals, always grows lively, became general. After the banquet—which, according to Oriental custom, began at sundown and went on for hours—I continued to sit for a long time out of doors upon the terrace of our house, gazing upon the still waters of the Drina and the silent loaden domes of the mosques as they glittered in the light of the half-moon.





## CHAPTER XII.

### *ROGATITZA AND THE ROMANJA-PLANIN.*

Abd' Aga—A Robber's Den—The Valley of the Pratzá—Street Scenes—The Stamp Tax—Rogatitza—Roman and Mediæval Tombs—The First Mohammedan Brankovitch—The Romanja-Planina and her Outlaws—The Legendary Cycle of Novak—Another Den of Robbers.

HAVING left Fotcha early in the morning, we reached Gorazda again after a seven hours' ride, and here Abd' Aga, the native magistrate, was awaiting us with a Turkish repast. He played the part of host with great politeness and deepest reverence, even though he never addressed the minister otherwise than as "Servus excellentia." He had picked up from our officers that "Servus" was the European form of address.

After dinner we proceeded on our way, so as to reach Rogatitza after another six or seven hours' journey. For a time we ascended the same serpentine road that we had previously descended from the Ranjen Karaula. For a long time a little village, seemingly quite near to us, kept in sight; but it was long ere we could reach it, for we had to make a circuit round the broad mountain ridge. This village is a robbers' den of old repute, Karovitsh by name. As we found ourselves immediately above it, we got a good view into the beg's feudal castle. Mighty bastions and lofty walls, with narrow gateways, surround the steep-roofed buildings. On the further side of the Drina valley, now lying far below us, rises the terribly wild and awe-inspiring panorama of the Montenegrin mountains. The road, which continues to wind up the same broad mountain ridge, at last branches off from that which leads to the Ranjen Karaula. The sun's rays were falling fiercely, reflected by the rocks through which the road is cut, when suddenly, in an

instant, all was changed. We had reached the ridge, the road made a sharp bend; we had begun the descent.

The Montenegrin panorama had vanished, so had the fruitful valley of the Drina, and the oppressive heat. A fresh breeze and the mysterious rustlings of a forest hovered around us; we were in the deep shadows of tall beeches.

And then there came yet another change of scene. A hundred operas might draw their inspiration from the ever-varying, ever-enchancing landscapes of this province.

If these countries should ever be opened up to civilization, and to the stream of tourists, this alone would be a source of prosperity; for, excepting in Switzerland and the Pyrenees, there are no more beautiful landscapes in Europe. As the dense woods receded, we gazed down into deep valleys. Between the clusters of beech trees rest huge boulders of rock, many of them as large as four-storied buildings. The waters of the Pratzza rush down between these scattered boulders with a gurgling sound, as they dash down from the mountain heights into the lap of the Drina; and there, where the waters wash the rocks, and in the shadow of the mighty beeches, soft mosses and lovely ferns grow peacefully.

Here, too, there stands a watchhouse in the wilderness. The little settlement was eagerly awaiting our procession. It is a rare event for them to behold a human being, and even when they do see one it is more often than not only a robber, who fires upon them, and then rapidly vanishes again amidst this labyrinth of rocks. Some officers and officials, who had come from Rogatitza to meet the minister, put spurs to their horses and surrounded our carriages, so that from here onwards we travelled encompassed by a brilliant and warlike escort, in which all sorts of uniforms and Oriental and Western costumes were intermingled with those of our Hussars.

The descent in the road was steep. Far below, a large wooden bridge led us across the Pratzza, now grown less turbulent; and on the further side the Kaffedshi was waiting for us in his hut, with his refreshing beverage and fresh trout, which were offered for sale at ten kreuzers apiece. Further on we met a few groups of the inhabitants of Rogatitza, who were for the most part petitioners. Every minute the carriage and the whole procession was brought to a standstill; the minister accepted the petitions, and directed the petitioner to attend at the konak. In this way we drew up before a fez-wearing gypsy, who handed in his petition to the minister with the deepest humility. We had hardly made a fresh start when a halt was again called. The petition was unfolded and looked at in front and behind; but with the

exception of two Government stamps in one corner, there was absolutely nothing to be seen beyond a blank, empty sheet of paper; not one single letter, not even the name of the petitioner; this one at least must be inquired into. The Bosnians are, apparently at any rate, deeply impressed with the stamp-law. What can the gypsy have intended by it? "To what purpose should I plague myself with writing, especially as I cannot write? The *mushir* ranks first after the emperor; he will know better than I can what it is I need. But the stamp I must not forget, for without a stamp one cannot speak to the Swabian." Or he may, perhaps, have thought: "I will arrange my affairs by word of mouth; but there must be a stamp upon the paper." After the arrival of the minister those who had dealings with the people had received instructions to discharge all business by word of mouth, or by means of a short protocol where possible, and not to trouble themselves or the people with much writing or stamping.

At last the friendly plains of Rogatitza lay stretched before us, surrounded by hills, a bright picture of prosperous life, made golden by the last rays of the setting sun. The Rakitnitza Rjeka, the crawfish river, waters its fertile gardens, meadows, and cornfields. The fruit had been already piled up into immense stacks, and the long green leaves of the Indian corn waved in the air. The town itself, with its white houses, is a smiling picture of prosperity. Many wealthy families of begs are settled here, amongst them the still powerful one of Sokolovitsh, which gave to the Osman kingdom one of its most renowned grand-viziers. The town, with its two thousand inhabitants, is not, however, only pleasant and rich; it is also a sacred city of ancient renown, and the numerous minarets which we see from afar off are not without their significance.

Rogatitza—in Turkish, *Tshelebi Bazar*—bears a great name in Islam. The present mufti—one of the first, for that matter, to pay his respects to the minister, and a man of really high calibre—is a light of sacred lore. But he is quite aware of who and what he is; and as he, with his white turban embroidered in gold, his light blue kaftan with its golden collar, stood in the presence of the minister, his whole being seemed to say: "You are the minister, a powerful vizier; but I am the Mufti of Rogatitza, and that, too, is something." The former Sheikh-ul-Islam was also a native of Rogatitza.

The begs of Rogatitza have the reputation of being fanatical and very intolerant; what we saw in no wise confirmed this reputation. As the minister was going to resume his journey to Serajevo early on the following day, he directly after supper, which was partaken of in the hospitable officers' quarters, gave audience, first to the authorities, and then, as everywhere else, to all such

as wished to speak to him. The distinguished Mohammedans appeared at the same time as the representatives of the Orthodox community. After the former had received and given thanks for the gift, which had, in his Majesty's name, been dedicated to the purposes of their religion, the minister handed over to the representatives of the Greek Church a similar sum towards the completion of their church; and for this, not only the recipients expressed their thanks, but after them a young and very aristocratic-looking beg rose from his seat, stepped up to the minister, and offered his thanks, too, in well-chosen words, in the name of the Mohammedans, for the gift bestowed upon the Christian Church. There was certainly something in this act of thanks as though he, their lord, judged it fitting that he, on his side, too, should express his thanks for the benefits bestowed upon his people.

Rogatitza and its neighbourhood is a veritable museum of antiquities. The fragmentary superscription of one of the innumerable Roman stones is known from Mommsen's collection.\* It was discovered by Blau, and lies upon the Visbograd road, near Abid-Beg's house. Hoernes has given three other superscriptions.† A sarcophagus, together with its lid, is situated upon the road to Ladjevitze; and a Roman Genius, not mentioned by Hoernes, is built into the new Servian Church. Nearly the whole of the town is plastered with mediæval gravestones, and the parapet of one of the two bridges was constructed out of them. One of these stones shows an uplifted arm; another, which serves as a bridge over the brook in front of the principal mosque, represents two scimitars. Higher up, a stone is introduced, in a similar fashion, upon which a straight sword is visible. Blau erroneously described these stones as Roman. The whole neighbourhood is unusually rich in such mediæval relics. At Vladjevine, distant six kilometres from the town, they extend along the road in great groups for half a league. The officers of the 78th Regiment of Infantry, whilst digging amongst these stones, found a golden ring set with a large amethyst, and some remains of cloth of gold. Some of these stones merit attention, on account of the superscriptions, which are so seldom met with elsewhere. One of these, surprising to relate, has to be read from right to left:

*"Va ime oca i sina i sv. duha. Ovdje leži Vlatko Vladjevitsh koji neimaše oca, ni mater, ni sina, ni brata niti i jednog čovjeka, osim greha (?) Obidje mnoge zemlje a kod kuće pogibe. I na njega usiješe kamen njegov vojvoda Mitoš i družina s Božijom pomoću i Kneza Pavla milošću, koji*

\* C. I. L. ii. 2766.

† Arch. Epigr. Mittb. aus. Oesterreich (1880), 45—46.

*pokrani Vlatka, spomenik Boga.*" ("In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Here rests Vlatko Vladjevitsh. He had neither father, nor mother, nor son, nor brothers and sisters, nor any one else, only his sins. (Perhaps, according to the Bogomilian bond, his wife.) He travelled through many lands, and died at home. This stone has been erected over him by his Waywode Miotosh and his followers (*his allies*), with the help of God and the grace of Prince Paul, who buried Vlatko, invoking God.")

Upon another stone we find:

*"Va ime oca i sina sv. duha. Ovdje leži vojvoda Mitoš sa svojim sinom Stjepkom, svome gospodinu Vlatku Vladjeviču, kod nogu koji mu posluži žicu i mrtva pobilježi Dožijom pomoću i Knezu Pavla milošću. Ai pokopavajte se ovdje na plemenu tome i na pravi vojvodu Mitoš koliko oćete. Od moje ruke na zemlji čija je ona, od mene niko ne bio mrtav nikris ubit."* ("In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Here rests the Waywode Miotosh with his son called Stjepko, at the feet of his master Vlatko Vladjevitsh, whom he in life served faithfully. After his death he had a grave, with the help of God and the grace of Prince Paul. And ye, the successors of this race, may bury yourselves as much as ye like to the right of the Waywode Miotosh. Upon this ground no one has died by my hand or been brought to his end in strife, to whomsoever he may have belonged.")\*

Six miles from the town, in an easternly direction, on the Visegrad Road, the name of Miotosh occurs yet once again:

*"Ovdje leži Grubaša vojvode Mitoša poštena i u to. . ."* ("Here rests Grubatscha, the Waywode Miotosh's faithful [wife(?)], and here. . .")

Close by, upon a small memorial stone, there is a woman standing with upraised hands upon a crescent. Upon the upper edge of another stone the long straight sword again occurs. A considerable proportion of the monuments, which are here, too, very numerous, are constructed out of a particular kind of marble limestone not met with anywhere in the neighbourhood.†

Of superscriptions, so far unknown, one near Rogatitza refers to the family of Obrenovitsh:

*"Va ime oca i sina i sv. duha. Ovdje leži dobri vojvoda od dobroga doma Obrenovića sin. U to doba nebijah se omrazio zlu ni dobru i kogod"*

\* These two superscriptions, difficult to read, and still more difficult to understand, are given by Hoernes, but not in their entirety. *Ber. d. Akad. d. Wiss., Philol. Hist., cl. xcix.,* bd. ii., h. 657.

† Hoernes mentions this group also, upon information received from Captain Baron Löffelholz. Some of the graves were used in constructing the roads.

*me poznavaše svako me žaljase. Htjedoh biti dobar junak, ali mi smrt to prekrati. Otidoh od oća veoma pečalna i podjoh inoj družini običnim mojim novim putem. Rano odoh na onaj svet.*" ("In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Here lies the good waywode, a son of the good House of Obrenovitsh. At this age I have not yet made myself to be hated, neither by the good, nor yet by the bad. Those who have known me have pitied me. I desired to be a brave hero, but death has cut me short in this. I have left my very mournful father, and have gone to a new alliance upon my new and lonely journey. Early have I crossed to the other side.")

Well worthy of notice, and, as far as I can tell, also so far unknown, is one of the gravestones which stands near Rogatitza, close to the village of Brankovitsh. Like Vladjevina (Vladjevitsh), the name of this place, too, is derived from a powerful family, as is, moreover, frequently the case in this country. The tombstone merits attention, because it forms a bridge from the mediæval to the Mohammedan graves. Its decoration, its superscription, its old Cyrillic letters and periods, are still the old national ones. In shape, however, it is like the Mohammedan monumental columns, though still without a turban. The analogy with the solitary monumental column amongst the Bogomilian graves at Kakanj-Doboi is striking; and it is clear that that, too, dates from the days of the first conversion to Islam, and not from the same period as those near it, as has been supposed by those who have until now described it. It is possible that the grave is that of the first Mohammedan Brankovitsh:



Grave of  
Mahmut Brankovitsh.

"... i pogibe na bitkama despotovim, a ovaj biljeg Mahmuta Brankovitsha na svojoj baštini na Petrovu-polju nebi osobena ruka, koja ga snese i napisa." ("... And he fell in the wars of the Despot. But this monument of Mahmut Brankovitsh, upon his own estate, upon the field of Petrovo, it was not his own hand which brought it hither and inscribed it.")

An exactly similar stone stands near the neighbouring village of Oprashitsh, with the following superscription:

"A oro je biljeg poštenoga viteza vojvode Radivoja Ovodaica. Dok sam bio, pošteno sam i glasovito živio, a legoh na tuđoj zemlji i biljeg mi je taj na baštini." ("But this is the monument of the brave hero Waywode Radivoj Ovodaish. So long as I existed, I lived uprightly and with renown.

I have laid myself in foreign soil, and this my monument upon my estate.")

Upon the Vishegrad road one meets an almost uninterrupted succession of groups of mediæval graves, which, as far as the Semetsh-Planina at a height of fourteen hundred mètres, alternate with pre-historic graves, consisting of simple cairns. Thence a side road leads to the Vratar, situated on the waters of the Zepa. Something like a dozen Turkish houses stand high above the water on the steep rocky slope, whose summit is covered with ruined castles, numerous sarcophagi, and square-shaped tombstones, without either superscriptions or symbols. Upon the highest point may be seen two reclining-chairs in the form of thrones, which have been cut in the living rock. Royal men may from this spot have enjoyed the glorious view, or, perchance, have sat in judgment here.

Upon the road leading from Rogatitza to Serajevo, too, we are constantly accompanied by fields of graves, which are only interrupted by the wilderness of rocks of the Romanja-Planina. We come across pre-historic cairns, Bogomilian sarcophagi and blocks, Turkish graves of older or more recent date, and even, in the neighbourhood of Rogatitza, the remains of larger vaults: a proof that here lay one of the most populated and crowded of the highways. Ivan-Polje especially, and the neighbouring table-land of Glasinatz, as well as the Koshutitza-Polje, which stretches northwards from this neighbourhood towards Vlasenitza, are, in the true sense of the word, sown with graves; a circumstance which stands in peculiar contrast to the fact that now, for a vast distance, there is scarcely a dwelling-house visible. For the rest, the graves are of the simplest; they are devoid of all ornament or superscription, and it is only upon a few that a straight sword, or some equally simple device, is to be seen.

The other day we travelled here from early morn until late at eve, through a veritable wilderness. Hardly a trace of man or of human civilization could we see during the whole distance over which the road from Rogatitza to Serajevo has been constructed by our soldiers upon purely military grounds and for reasons of safety. In the plains, as you leave Rogatitza, the way still lies between clusters of houses and fertile gardens; but after that we commenced to climb up the north-western mountain ridge at Kovitsh, throwing a parting glance across the plains stretching out five hundred mètres beneath us, and then on up to the Ivan-Polje, a melancholy table-land about a thousand mètres above the level of the sea, a treeless, poor, Alpine pasture-land strewn with stones and pieces of rock. After an hour or so, at Han Romanja the ground rose again. We reached a plateau



lying still higher ; but this, even though more wild, was not so desolate as the Ivan-Polje. A few dreary-looking pine trees were trying to exist upon the rocky plateau. Anon they clustered together in groups, and, growing ever loftier and loftier, soon whole forests of pines rose before us ; but above them there stretched a high, deep wall of white rock, which, like a fearful saw, pointed its teeth towards heaven. We were upon the notorious tableland of the Romanja-Planina. At the present time a band of outlaws makes this region its home, and only yesterday warning was given in Rogatitza of a considerable attack by robbers.

The wilds of the Romanja have always been the chief rendezvous of the robber-world opposed to the ruling powers. Countless heroic songs sing of the fears of the Junaks, free hajduks (outlaws), who, whether from love of adventure, upon political grounds, or as ordinary robbers, have cast themselves amidst these mountains. Here, too, is laid the scene of the legendary Cycle of Novak, a complete set of robber songs.

In the very first song we at once see how the legend mixes up different epochs and events. Old Novak, carousing the while at Knez Bogasov's, tells him in this song how it was he came to be a hajduk (outlaw). Jerina (Irena, Paul Brankovitch, the Servian Despot's wife) engaged him, during the building of the castle of Semendria, to work as a day labourer, but never paid him any wages. She then levied a tax for the gilding of the towers ; three litra—that is, three hundred ducats—were to be paid by each household.

Novak could not pay the tax ; he therefore took his axe, crossed the Drina, and fled to the Romanja-Planina. A travelling Turk, in whose way he stood, whipped him. Novak slew the Turk, and, in accordance with the custom of the country in respect to duels, took possession of the three bags of ducats found upon him (one bag = ten Hungarian ducats), his arms, and his horse. Thenceforth, he says :

“ The Planina was my all,  
My country, and my worldly means ;  
It gives me and my robber friends  
Our food, and clothes, and all we need.  
For precious booty do I capture,  
And skilfully I flee my foe ;  
I shrink from nothing, dare the worst,  
Our Creator, God, alone I fear.”

When wine and tobacco came to an end one day, Novak and his companion Radivoj decided to sell Grujo, Novak's son. He could then trust

to his wits to set himself free again. Dressed as merchants they take him to Serajevo market. A young Turkish maiden offers two *tavares* (horse-loads) of merchandize for the youth, whom the maidens themselves cannot equal in beauty, but a widow buys him for three *tavares*. The maiden curses her :

"Take the slave, accursed Begess,  
Him thou wilt not long enjoy,—  
One night only, then thy love will pine away."

The Begess has Grujo washed and supplied with a supper, and then lies down with him in a soft bed. On the morning of the following day she, with her own hands, clothes him in beautiful garments, and gives him shining armour; the clasp alone is worth a thousand ducats. Three of the Sultan's castles would not pay for the sword hilt.

"Why art thou so sad, my precious slave?" asks the Begess.

Grujo longs for the chase.

The Begess lets him follow the chase, but gives him a guard of thirty men. In the forest of the Romanja he fells the leader of the guard and his horse in twain at one blow, and flies back to his father.

As Novak begins to grow old, Radivoj and his thirty companions desert him; he remains alone with his sons Grujo and Tatomir. But Mehmed the Moor and thirty of his men slay Radivoj's companions, and take him, himself, prisoner.

Novak sees the Turks approaching; by the side of Mehmed rides Radivoj in chains, and a Christian head is stuck upon each Turkish lance. Novak shoots the Moor from his horse, sets Radivoj free, and they four hew down all the thirty Turks.

"Tell me, brother Radivoj,  
Cannot I, the aged Novak,  
Yet outdo e'en thirty heroes!"

In another song the Moor Mehmed meets with a different end. The Moor kidnaps Christian brides, keeps them a week, and then sells them. Grujo is clad as a bride, and together with his companions rides past the Moor's house. The Moor rides after them, seizes Grujo's horse, and embraces Grujo. The Moor asks in astonishment :

"Have they bestowed thee, maid, so young then  
That thou lackest any bosom?"

But Grujo draws forth his sword from beneath his long veil, and cuts off the Moor's head.

Once Beshir Pasha Tshengitsh of the Zagorje bade the Knez of Grahovo, by letter, prepare thirty rooms with thirty maidens in them; but to prepare apartments for the Pasha himself in the white tower, in the bed-chamber of which he was to leave his daughter Ikonia. Grujo Novakovitsh and his thirty companions thereupon clad themselves as maidens, and awaited the Pasha and his retinue, who were all slain in the course of the night.

But against the Greek veteran, Manoilo of Sophia, even Novak cannot prevail.

Manoilo has already wounded Radivoj, Tatomir, and Grujo. He now drives Novak before him, and his sword is broken against the terrible Greek's coat of mail. Thereupon the Vila, the fairy of the Romanja-Planina, who has entered into an alliance with Novak, appears upon the scene, and in the form of a beautiful maiden beguiles the Greek; then Novak hurls his club after him, and kills him. Grujo now secures Manoilo's bride, the daughter of the Pladin (Palatine), for himself.

This union, however, ends badly. The beautiful Maximia betrays the sleeping Grujo to three Turks. But when the three Turks and Maximia are all sound asleep, Grujo's little son cuts his father's fetters in twain, and Grujo slays the three Turks, buries Maximia in earth up to her breasts, smears her all over with pitch, sulphur, and gunpowder, pours brandy all over her, and sets her on fire. In vain does the woman plead to the quietly carousing Grujo to spare her black hair which he has so often stroked, her black eyes which he has so often kissed, her fair face whose equal he could never find again upon the earth; not until the fire reaches her breasts, and Grujo's little son beseeches his father to spare the white bosom which has given him nourishment, does Grujo quench the fire and bury his wife.

The road leads directly towards the seemingly impassable wall of rock, which forms the boundary of the Planina. Thanks to a masterpiece of engineering we pass between its teeth.

Upon the summit of the pass stands the Franz Josef Karaula, fourteen hundred metres above the level of the sea, defended by a strong garrison of soldiers, which during the rebellion passed many a hard day here. From this point the descent is rapid and steep, by serpentine windings amongst rocks, and giant beeches and oaks, right down to Mokro, which lies far below us, and is famed for its charming situation, and notorious for its occupation. Robbery is the industry of its inhabitants, and this is the recruiting-ground for the heroes of the Planina.

Now a strong garrison is stationed in Mokro, with a mountain battery whose guns we could distinguish from a great distance.

On the further side of Mokro we again ascended, and reaching the mountains of Serajevo and passing along an elevated and boldly constructed Turkish aqueduct, we at length, after a twelve hours' journey, in pouring rain, reached the citadel of the metropolis.





## CHAPTER XIII.

### *THE NARENTA.*

Tartshin—The Tombstone of Pasaritsah—The Watershed of the Adriatic and the Pontus—Konitz—Rama—Jablanitz—The Limestone Region—Another Race of Men—Tropical Flora.

*August, 1882.*

AT Blažuj, the road to Mostar branches off from that which leads from Serajevo to Zenitza and Brood. Passing an inn, which belongs to Blažuj, we turn to the left into the valley of the Žujevina.

The little stream comes from the south-west, and flows towards the Serajevsko-Polje, where it forms a junction with the Bosna. The valley extends between woody hills to a breadth of a mile and a half. We soon reach, to the right of the road, the scattered parish of Malatina; whilst to the left, on the further side of the road and water, a solitary kula, the picturesque castle of the Uzinitsh family, is visible.

In addition to our own military escort we frequently met detached sentinels. The neighbourhood of Mostar had only recently been again disturbed by considerable bands of rebels and robbers. At the deserted tshardake\* Hadžitsh we crossed from the left to the right bank of the Žujevina, and continued upon the latter bank as far as Dubovatz. At one time an important industry in gun-making flourished here; but the Winchester and Snyder rifles had destroyed this long before the time of the Austrian occupation.

Upon the other side of Dubovatz, the valley begins to rise rapidly and to contract until it nearly forms a pass, bordered on the left by the Dubova Mountains; on the right, by the Gradatz; the latter a bold, rocky mountain of Herzegovinian type, with a wealth of caves and jagged cliffs. The township of the same name is pressed into a narrow angle to the right of the road. After a mile and a half, the valley widens again; another rivulet, the Krupatz, coming

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\* Turkish watchhouse.

from the south-east, flows into the Žnjevina; and, after a short bend, the basin of Pasaritsh lies before us, surrounded by picturesque hills, and upon whose western border the township of Pasaritsh itself stands, in the midst of agricultural fields. At the military station here a Roman tombstone has been preserved, which is about two mètres high and four wide; a bust of the dead in a toga, between Corinthian pillars, which support a triangular gable decorated with the head of a ram and a dolphin. Between similar pillars, below the portrait, is an inscription already entirely obliterated.

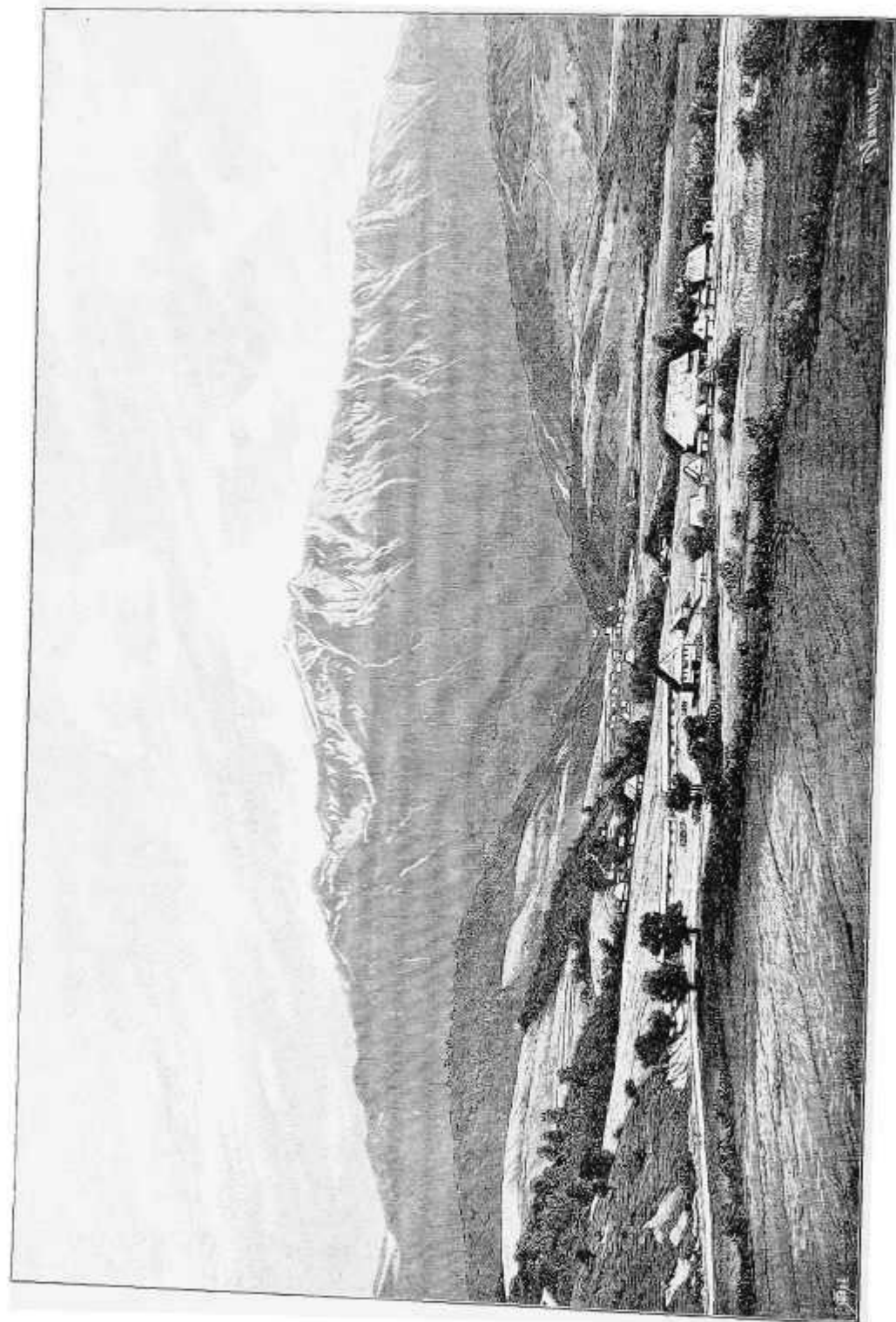
The bare mass of the Hranitzava-Planina rises menacingly in the background six thousand two hundred mètres above the level of the sea, a mountain celebrated from its magnificent appearance. The valley is shut in by the mountain ridge of Vilovatz; and, leaving the Žnjevina, our way now lay over this ridge, and down the other side to Tartshin, where we changed horses for the first time. A beautiful sylvan idyl. At Tartshin we crossed a smaller brook, which flows from the south directly northwards. Upon the left, we constantly saw the Hranitzava-Planina. Our road lay to the south-west, towards the Ivan-Planina.

The innumerable springs of this tableland were, for a long time, the cause of great difficulties in the construction of this road, and even after the Porte had, at great cost, had the road taken across Tartshin by English engineers, it had to be constantly re-laid; our soldiers were the first to repair it in such a way as to be capable of defying all contingencies.

At Bradina, which consists of one inn and about twenty houses, we reach, by a Turkish watchhouse, the pass which forms the watershed between the districts of the Save and the Narenta, the Adriatic and the Pontus. On the further side of Bradina we come to a mountain stream, which dashes far down the abyss, and, joining a second coming from the left, forms the Tershanitzá river. On the right and left are immense forests of oak, beech, and lime trees. High up, on the edge of the precipice, and following all its windings, the road descends. The landscape becomes ever more and more magnificent. On the left are the cleft limestone masses of Bjelashtitza, which rise behind the lower wooded hills, with their immense steep bastions, and round turret-like formations, like a gigantic fortress of rocks. To the right there is a second fortress of rocks, across whose feet the road has been blasted, suffused in the most wonderful sheen of brown, orange, and rose, sometimes really glittering in the bright rays of the sun. Thus we pursued our way for two hours towards the valley of the Narenta, which by the time we had covered half of our ground lay before us in all the splendour of its marvellous natural beauties, a true amphitheatre of titanic

mountains. Enormous chestnut trees above the white limestone rocks showed us that we were coming to a different, more Southern vegetation. Below on the Tershanitza river small spoon mills clattered. We crossed the stream again twice, and after we had passed over to a ruin situated upon a steep rock, Gyaurski Grad, "Christian Fort," below which lie numerous but deviceless Bogomilian graves, we reached the town of Konitza, built on both banks of the Narenta. The Narenta—or Neretva, as the people call it in Slavonic—rises in South-eastern Herzegovina at the foot of the Tshemerno Mountains, flows towards the north-west in a narrow rocky bed to Konitza, and here turns abruptly westwards, afterwards flowing due south to above Mostar, until at last, having turned to the south-west near Metkovitsh, which is upon Dalmatian ground, it pours itself into the Adriatic. A wild mountain stream as far as Konitza, it first becomes navigable here, though only for flat-bottomed boats; even here, however, it is still dangerous, because its eddies are strong enough to drag even the largest tree trunks into the lime caverns under the river's bed. Man or beast, once caught in such an eddy, is lost. The right-hand quarter of the town, that which we first reached, also bears the name of Neretva. A beautiful old stone bridge leads to the quarter on the left hand, Konitza proper; this bridge too, like all the others in the country, is one of the most beautiful and picturesque objects in the town. Romans and legendary Slavonic kings are mentioned as its builders; but it may, in spite of this, be assumed that the existing structure at any rate is the work of the first Turkish Sultan, the great bridge-builder. Upon one pier the Arabic date 1093 is visible; according to Mohammedan tradition it was built by Ahmed Sokolovitsh, the celebrated vizier of Bosnian descent.

For the rest, Konitza is in any case an ancient historical place. The military road of the Romans from Dalmatia to Pannonia passed through here, and some assume that the Roman town of Brindia stood here. In 1446, the National Diet was convened here by the Bosnian king Stefan Tomashevitsh. The town was celebrated even earlier than this, from the great Franciscan Monastery, which was in 1534 destroyed by the Turks. A few decades ago Konitza still enjoyed a considerable trade; now it only carries its horse-cloths and splendid fruit in its flat boats down to Mostar. Its population, too, has melted down to about fifteen hundred souls, mostly Turks, and hardly fifty Catholics; and in the buildings, too, one can see this decay, especially upon the left bank, in what is really the Turkish quarter of the town. There are iron and coal pits in the neighbourhood; and even silver and gold are supposed to exist in adjacent Zlatar, as, moreover, the name implies: Zlato, Slatina, Zalatlina, all signifying "gold." All this is, however, entirely a thing of the past. But



Tartshin.



neither time nor unfavourable circumstances could rob the town of its picturesque hills; and even in its decay it presents a lovely sight, with the broad river in its rocky bed, the antique bridge, the host of minarets and domes, and the luxuriant, almost Southern vegetation at the foot of the bare mountains of rock. Perhaps the town may revive again, if the railroad from Serajevo to Mostar and down to the sea should pass through it.

The new highway now keeps for a time to the left bank of the Narenta, in the narrow, rocky valley of the stream, and, together with this, leads westwards. The rocky pass, in whose depths the emerald green waters of the river flow, grows ever whiter and more confined, and the sun grows hotter and hotter. The wooden houses have vanished; the farmsteads, not unlike towers and fortresses to look at, are built of white stone. Tshelbitsh is two and a quarter miles off, and a lonely Greek church, with the Mohammedan village of Lisishbitsh opposite to it, is three miles further along the road; then comes Ostrashetz, and at last Paprashka, nine miles from Konitza.

Here the Narenta has to skirt the Prenj Mountains, in order to flow southwards, after a bend to the right. The mountains encroach in such a way upon the river that the road cannot follow the stream, but has to pass over the neighbouring heights. On the further side of this, another broad chasm descends upon the left of the road, as it traverses vineyards, so that it has to cross the Narenta by the new iron bridge. Above the bridge the historically memorable river Rama pours into the Narenta; it is after this river that the country was at one time in Hungary officially called "the kingdom of Rama." But it is not only remarkable because the Hungarian power first set a firm foot on this land upon its shores, but also because of its wild, romantically beautiful scenery.

In the year 1885, a few years after this, our first journey, we took, as we were coming from Mostar, the road through the valley of the Rama to Prozor, a place famous for the beautiful carpets manufactured there, and travelled to Serajevo through the forest mountains which lie between Vakuf and Fojnitza. As the mosques of Prozor appear to view, and above them the three sparkling waterfalls, which flow into one another, as a background to the wooded rocky valley of the Rama, one enjoys a captivating, indescribably beautiful scene. After crossing the Narenta bridge, close to which Goruja (Upper) Jablanitza is situated, we soon reach Dolnja (Lower) Jablanitza, the first purely and entirely Herzegovinan town.

We are in the midst of the Karst (limestone region).\* Tree and forest

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\* Karst, in the narrower sense, is a limestone plateau eighty-four kilometres by twenty-four kilometres, from four to five hundred metres high, extending north of Istria, in a south-easterly

have vanished; the world of rocks which surrounds us is almost desert-like. Even the steep sloping banks of the Narenta are only overgrown by a low underwood; beyond this the fruitful soil is confined to isolated hollows in this region of rocks, where it cannot be washed away by water; and only here does vegetation flourish, though then luxuriantly. Whilst in Bosnia the very walls are constructed of wood, here the buildings contain hardly any, and at any rate it is confined to the most necessary parts. The houses of Jablanitzza are, to a large extent, built of black and white scorified lava, and roofed in with slabs of the clay-shale slate, which, next to jurassic limestone, forms in this rocky region the predominating stone, and, with its fantastic forms and strata, almost makes the narrow defile, through which deep down below the Narenta rushes, appear as though it had been artistically formed by human, or rather superhuman, hands.

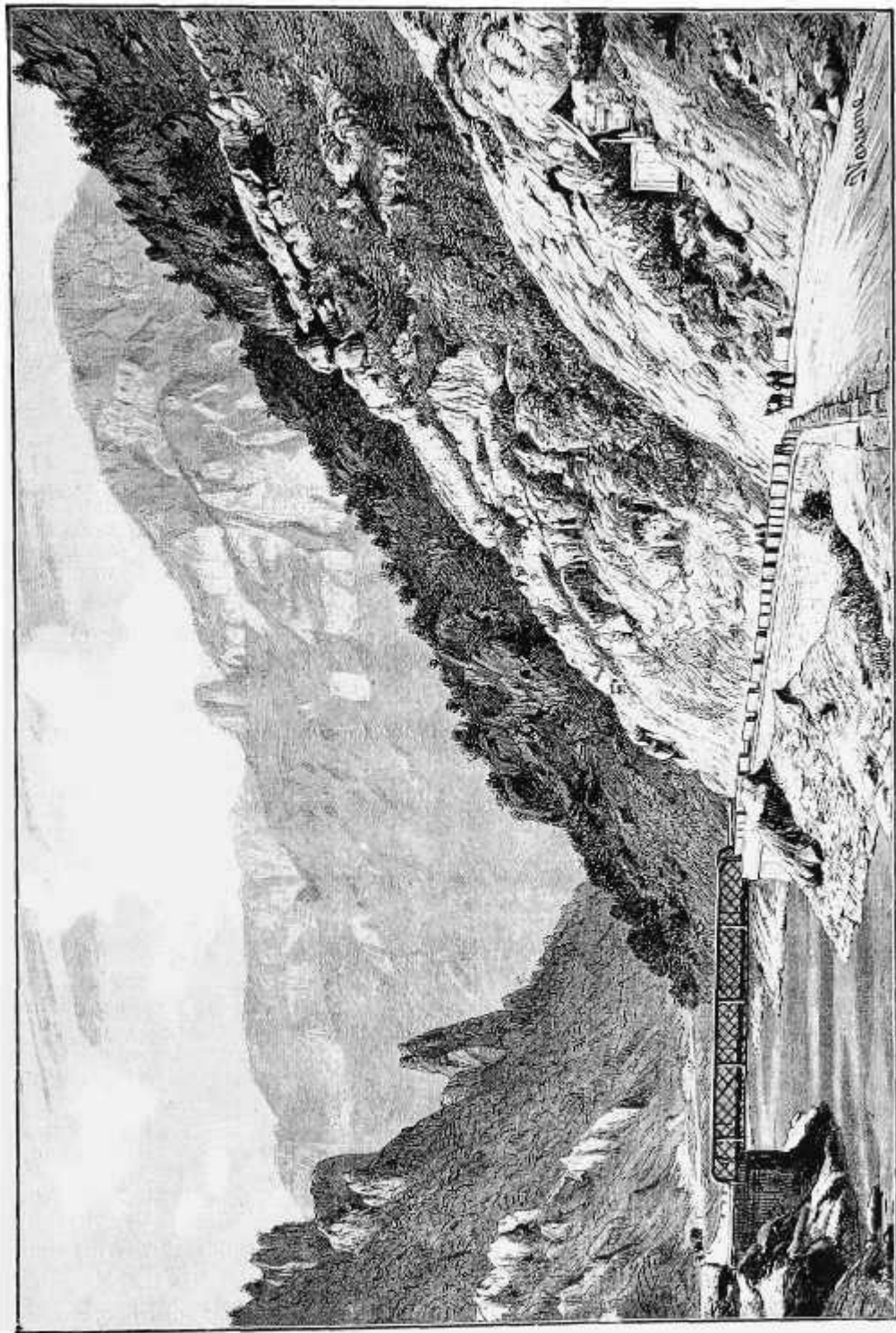
All this, with the heavy, substantial, almost fortress-like houses, as well as the country itself, lends a defiant, threatening character to the whole region, which applies also to its inhabitants: defiant, proud, powerful men, with distinctly Southern features, and nearly all dark-complexioned; whilst in Bosnia there is plenty of fair hair to be seen. The national costume here more nearly approaches the Montenegrin than the Turkish, which in Bosnia predominates. The women, too, surpass those of Bosnia in height; neither do they in any way lack beauty; indeed, though in Bosnia one meets with a striking number of noble figures and faces, most of the women there are flat-chested, whilst those here are powerfully developed.

Whether in consequence of the robust, independent character of the natives, or in consequence of the striking beauty of their women, or as a result of both circumstances, the women here, although the whole of Jablanitzza has been converted to Mohammedanism, have never assumed the veil; and whilst it is more strictly worn in adjacent Bosnia than anywhere else in the East, the women and girls here walk about in the streets and fields with uncovered faces. Some endeavour to trace back this rejection of the veil to adherence to secret Bogomilian traditions. The ancient monuments in the district, which have already been mentioned, show that this neighbourhood was one of the centres of this sect, and in this wilderness it may have held its ground longer than elsewhere.

On the further side of Jablanitzza begins one of the most magnificent

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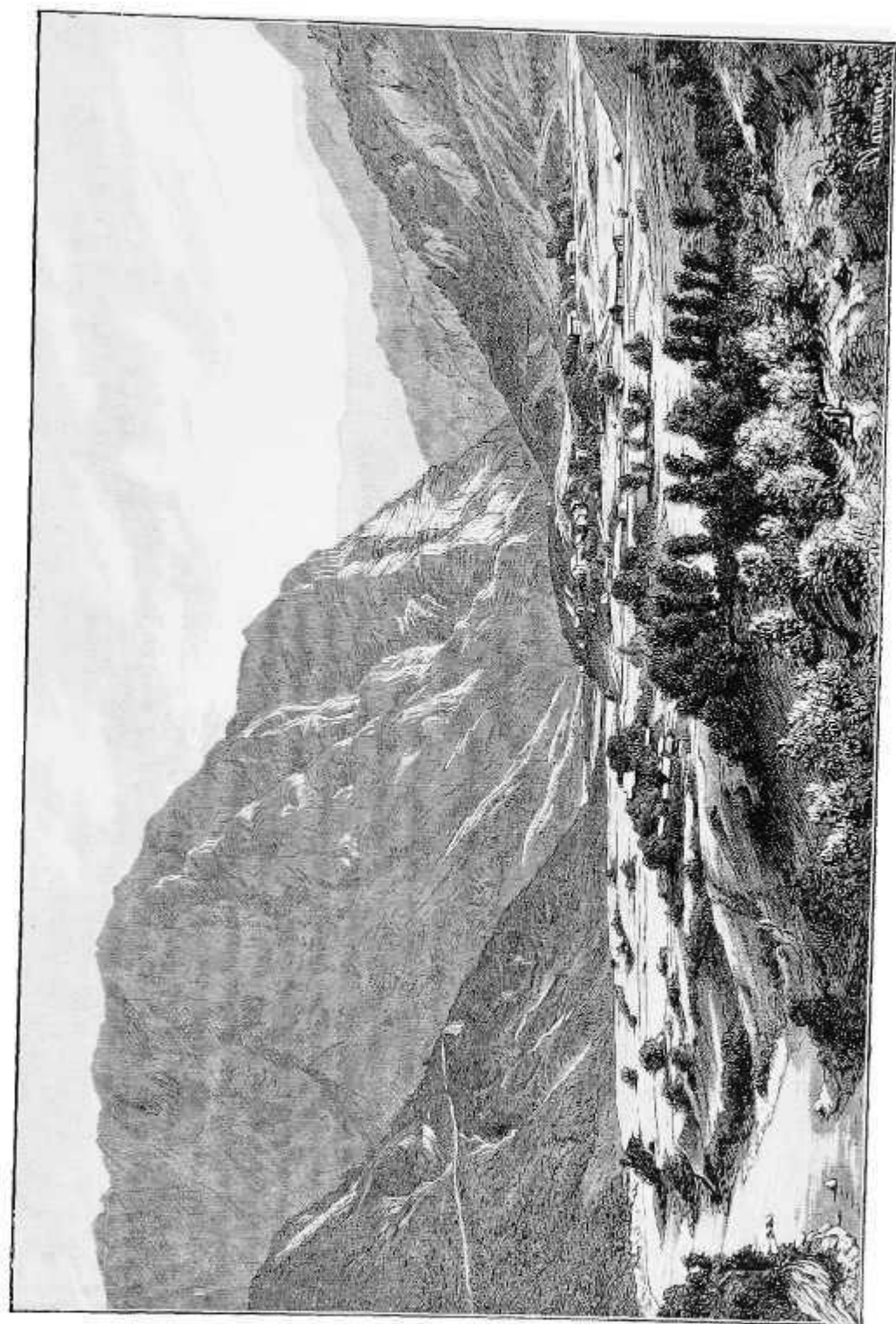
direction from the Isonzo as far as the Gulph of Quarnero, through the Austrian Litoral. It is separated from the Julian Alps by the valley of the Wisabach, and from the tableland of the Wendic Mark by the Poik and the Recca. Towards the Gulph of Trieste it makes a steep descent from a height of four hundred metres. This limestone abounds in caves, etc.—[Tr.]



Narenta Bridge near Jablanitz.

mountain passes in the world. Immediately at the end of the township the country widens out again like an amphitheatre, to make room for fruitful agricultural land. All around it looks like an imposing colosseum of the Titans. The river makes a turn at the mouth of the Rama, and flows due south almost parallel with its upper division, which from its source to Konitza had forced its way through the mountains in a northerly direction. To this peculiar rupture of the Narenta river through the mighty world of mountain and rock at Jablanitza, where the valley extends into a circle, we owe an unusual and surprising scene. Immense peaks, separated by deep rents, tower up side by side and behind one another all round the circle. The different heights and distances of the steep, fantastic points of rock, the snow sparkling like crystals, which covers most of them, the violet blue twilight of the deep shadows, the brilliancy of the white, grey, and topaz-coloured surfaces of rock, the green of the distant beeches, and the chestnut woods and vineyards close at hand, and below, in wonderful contrast to this wilderness, the lovely idyl of clusters of houses comfortably dotted about by the side of the quiet, winding river, fruitful fields, mighty foliage trees,—all help to produce a never-ending variety of colour and effect. As soon as we had left this enchanting arena the valley closed in again, and the Narenta was cramped in on the left by the Prenj-Planina, on the right by the lime and slate rocks of the Plasa-Planina, and forced its way deep down below through the cliffs. The road runs along high up on the right cliff, one of the most remarkable causeways in Europe, commenced in 1870 by the Turkish Government. In the fissures of the rocks there grows a Southern vegetation; and there is a succession of waterfalls of varying size. About a mile and a half from Jablanitza a dark, black mass of water breaks from out of the wall of rock right across the road, and roars down into the Narenta. A bridge leads over this waterfall. By a solitary watchhouse the road soon crosses the stream; a pretty iron bridge leads to the left bank, but the landscape remains unchanged. Mountain torrents and waterfalls dash out of all the rifts in the rocky walls, and in front of the little parish of Sjenitze the road itself passes through the rock by a short tunnel.

This defile in the rocky mountains, two thousand mètres high, continues for twelve miles, and in the constant changes of the marl stone assumes the shapes of real Gothic and Romanesque ruins, long stratified walls, round towers, wide bastions, projections, and terraces. Then on the further side of the Bjela stream, near the Roman ruins, the valley suddenly expands and forms the plain of Bjelo-Polje, with the Narenta river to the right, to the left the gigantic heights of the wild Porin-Planina. Almost at its centre this plain narrows



Dolina Jablanica

again, encroached upon by a projecting mountain thrust forward by the Veles-Planina towards the river. The whole mountain range, and especially this pyramid shaped, isolated height, is nearly ash-grey, and in its colour, as well as form and nakedness, reminds one of an extinct, desolate, lava and ash-covered volcano. In the plains, however, stony, unfruitful spots are succeeded by rich oases with a verdant Southern vegetation. Finally, at the point where the Veles-Planina again approaches the river, and the road again changes to a defile, a camp and powder-tower come into view, with a strong military fort, all held in readiness for war; and at last, at the point where the Veles and the opposite Hum again compress the Nerenta, our carriages roll into the main street of Mostar, and with an astonished glance we behold the almost Italian edifices of the town, with their gardens full of fig and pomegranate trees.





## CHAPTER XIV.

### *MOSTAR.*

The Warlike Character of the Town—The Narenta Bridge—Historical Monuments—  
The Inhabitants.

HALF Oriental, half Italian, and altogether Herzegovinian, picturesque and monumental. Every stone declares war and fighting. No city in the world proclaims so loudly as this one does that she owes herself, her origin, her very being, to battle, war, fortifications, and mighty aggression.

For many a mile, rushing and gurgling, struggling and foaming, in their deep bed of rocks, do the waters of the Narenta flow, first northwards, then towards the west, finally southwards, making an enormous bend through Herzegovina's rocky wilderness. It is everywhere encroached upon and cramped by the rocky mountains, which dash their foaming torrents down upon its waters. First, before reaching Mostar, there opens to the left of the river a longer, and, at any rate, proportionally broader plain. The ashy-grey promontories of the rough wildernesses of Porim and Veles recede from the river almost as though they would respectfully yield the position to the chief city of the land, but on the further bank the lime and slate cliffs even here come straight down. A luxuriant, Southern vegetation and blossoming tobacco fields cover the narrow plain, but vainly does the eye seek the town; nothing beyond a few powder-towers are in sight, and, since the advent of our soldiers, a few barracks. Why was not the town built here? Why did its founders scorn this open and attractive position? Not until we reach the point where the plain ends, and Podveles again presses close up to the Narenta, and almost touches the pyramidal

mountain of Hum on the opposite shore, not until then do we reach Mostar by one long, narrow street. Wherefore? For this reason: because the Herzegovinians were always soldiers, even when they were not yet Herzegovinians, and heaven only knows which races inhabited this soil in pre-historic times, and laid the first stone of a human habitation. They were soldiers, great tacticians, and strategists, who did not settle down in the plains, but took possession of the narrow pass, just like the founders and inhabitants of little Vranduk in the Bosna valley, only that a far more important point was taken possession of here. Every one must pass through this hollow street who wishes to travel inland from the sea; he would otherwise wander amongst impassable rocky ways; for the merchant laden with his merchandise, the conqueror with his weapons in his hand, could force no other passage for himself. This gateway of rocks, between Podveles and Hum, through which the Neretva tears, is the only gateway into the country on the coast side, and on that account the capital arose here, upon this spot, for both offensive and defensive reasons. But of course it cannot extend itself with any comfort. For a long distance there is only one single street between Podveles and the Neretva. One row of houses follows the outline of the rocks, which rise perpendicularly out of the water; the other row leans back on to the mountain. The houses, as is everywhere the case in Herzegovina where wood is scarce, are built entirely of stone, and covered with slate slabs. Hardly any windows look out upon the streets from the ground floor, and in the upper stories only a few small narrow ones. The object of this is that it may be easier to shoot out than to shoot in, or even to force a way in. But the flat roofs, the spaciousness, the decoration of a projection here, a window or a door there, point to Italian taste, and show that the counts of Chlum, just as, later on, the Turkish Sultans, were in the habit of summoning Italian builders hither from the shores of the Adriatic. Further along, where Podveles is less steep, other streets join the main one, and the houses climb up the ridge of the hill until they reach the point where the heavy, almost fortress-like piles of the Orthodox Church now tower up amongst the foliage of lofty trees. Down below, close to the water, ancient towers and bastions stand upon the rocky foundations of the river's bank, that they may here by force supply what the narrow path loses, from the fact that here the valley is broader, the mountain ridge more passable. From here onwards the country continues to open out until it again forms a small plain, which reaches down to the waters of the Buna; but here, too, the town comes to an end. In those towers and bastions there once dwelt the Turkish pashas, and in their day, perchance, also the counts and



dukes of Chlum. The bold, bare ruins of Stepanograd, their still more ancient castle, stand at the point where the second plain terminates, near the sources of the Buna. In about the centre of the town, where the bastions with their strong, primitive walls, and their subterranean passages hewn out of the living rocks, as they rise out of the Narenta, there, in one single mighty arch, the widely famed bridge of Mostar spans the waters, to unite the city with the smaller and poorer Catholic part of the town which lies at the foot of Hum. The rocks, indeed, towards the more northern quarter of the town, where we entered, rise so much higher and in such numbers from the bed of the river, that when the waters are low the river can be crossed by stepping and springing from rock to rock, although, even then, the water is of considerable depth between the boulders. A connection of this kind can, however, of course neither serve the purposes of regular traffic nor of military transport; as, on account of the natural conformation of the ground, communication with the sea had, until the time of modern road-making, been, from Mostar onwards, diverted to the opposite bank. The Romans had doubtless already built a bridge here, for their road to Pannonia led this way, and they had for a long time to sustain severe encounters in this part of Illyria, which belonged to Roman Dalmatia, not only during the Conquest, but also later on. The original inhabitants of what is now Herzegovina, with their incessant revolts, caused them as much confusion and embarrassment as their successors have done to more recent conquerors; indeed, according to Roman accounts the character of the insurrections, and their mode of warfare, were almost the same as those still pursued. Many consider the bridge of Mostar to be of Roman workmanship. It is possible that certain parts, the foundations, are of Roman origin; but the present bridge dates without doubt from the Turkish era, and is the work of Dalmatic-Italian architects. Neither on the bridge itself nor in its neighbourhood is there a trace of a Roman inscription or of Roman sculpture; and the only signs of any writing, which are cut into two stones near to the water line, are unquestionably Turkish, even though difficult to decipher. Arabic figures point to the tenth century of the Hedshra, and as not only the Drin bridge of Pristrend, as well as the Kosina-Tshupria over the Miliaska, although decidedly smaller, are otherwise built in exactly the same style, and as the date mentioned agrees with the time in which, in 1483, the Begler-Beg of Bosnia, Mustapha-Beg Jurevitch, in the reign of Sultan Bajazid II., conquered Herzegovina, it may be reasonably assumed that this bridge, too, was built at the command of the Sultan, even though by the hands of Dalmatian and Italian stonemasons. Hadshi Halfa,

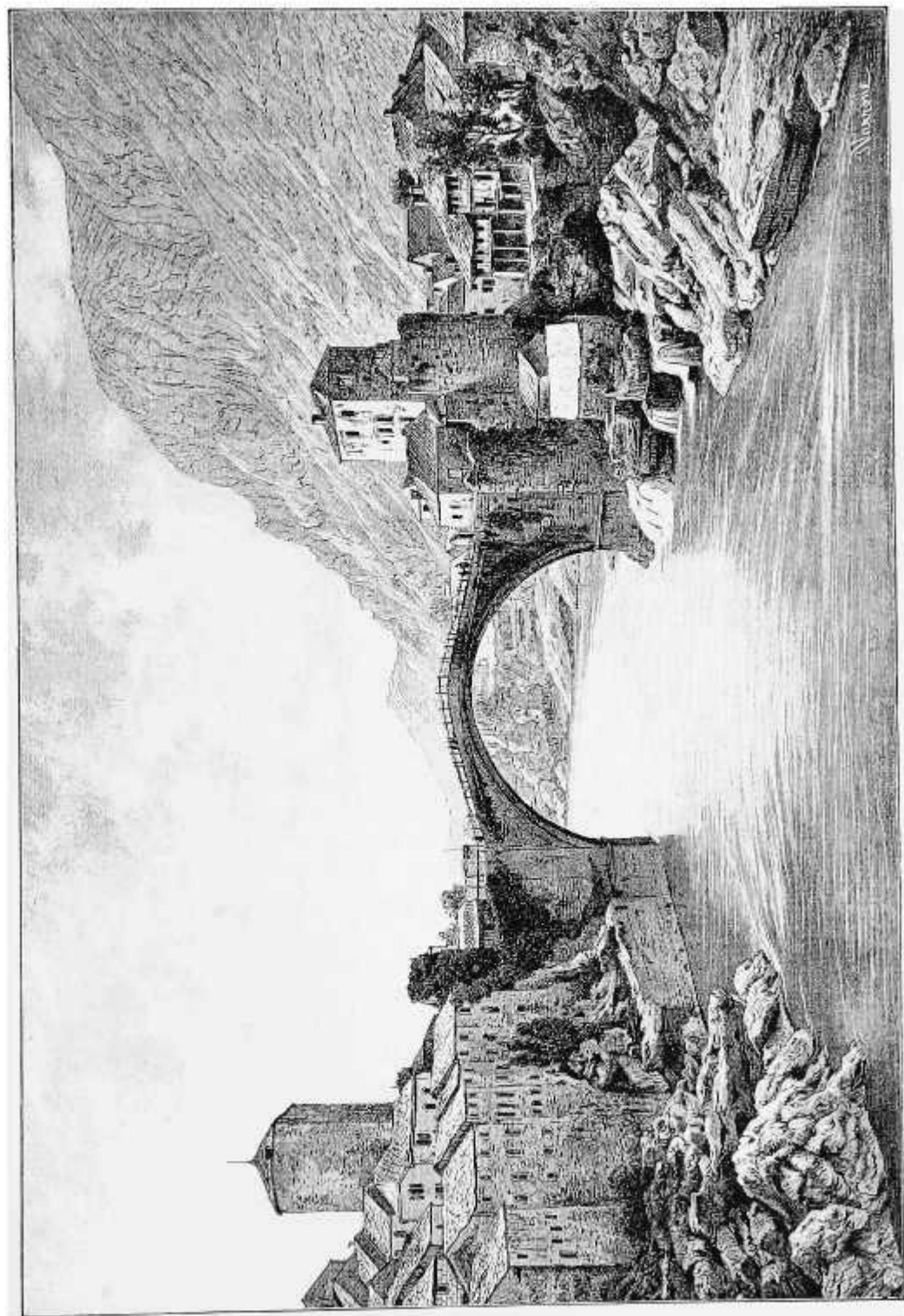
the Arabic author, who, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, also wrote concerning Rumilia and Bosnia, describes this bridge, which, according to him, was built in 974 Hedshra:—

“As most of the gardens lie upon the further side of the river (on the Radobolje stream, which runs into the Narenta just by the bridge), a bridge suspended from chains led across to them; but as the pillars shrank, it swayed to such an extent that people feared for their lives in crossing it.

“After the Conquest, Sultan Sulejman, at the request of the inhabitants, sent Siuan, the architect, with instructions to build a stone bridge. But this man, after he had seen the place, declared the task to be an impossible one. Later on, however, a carpenter, who was himself living there, declared himself willing to take the responsibility of the attempt, and the bridge became an accomplished fact.” (In Bosnia, to this day, the selfsame man will undertake the duties of a cabinet-maker, carpenter, and stonemason.) “The bridge is a masterpiece, which puts to shame all the architects in the world.”

The following tradition still exists amongst the Mostar Mohammedans. The Christians say that the architect Rade, who had been sent into slavery, regained his freedom from the Turks by means of this bridge. The bridge always fell in again, until, upon the advice of the Vila, the fairy of the mountain forest, he walled up a pair of lovers in the foundations.

One frequently meets with similar traditions: that the corpses of children have been walled up in the foundations of larger buildings is at any rate true of even our own age; as, for example, at the building of the bridge at Trebinje in the beginning of 1870. The bridge itself forms a single high, flat, pointed arch, stretching across from one bank to the other, and in its picturesque surroundings, with the warm ochre tints of its old stone, looks very imposing. The inner height of the arch is 17·85 metres, including the parapet 19 metres, the full breadth from one span to the other 27·34 metres, the width of the bed 38·50 metres, the breadth of the bridge 4·56 metres; and it is these proportions which lend to the colossal structure its graceful lightness. When one stands upon the apex of the bridge, pictures of marvellous beauty are unfolded to view wheresoever one directs one's gaze; and as the traffic is a lively one, and as the Oriental is moreover of opinion that haste comes from the devil, patience from the All-good, and as he loves deliberation more than speed, and is also a great admirer of nature, there is here never any lack of many-coloured figures—men in Herzegovinian and Turkish costume, women in coquettish fez and many-folded trousers, or else wrapped up in veils and ample cloaks, who are



Mostar Bridge.

lost in dreams whilst they contemplate their surroundings. Beneath us the Narenta twists and winds between the boulders, so that it is compelled, especially at its banks, to force its foaming waters through veritable labyrinths of rocks. To the left, the bastions and large stone buildings which follow the curves of the rocks seem to rise directly from the waters; whilst the cathedral pile and the bare head of Podveles gaze down upon them from on high. On the right bank, to a certain extent upon the very rocks which rise from the river's bed, are mills, huts, and rubbish heaps of ruined houses, all huddled up together in a narrow space in incredible, indescribable, romantic shapes and conditions, only possible in the East; and in their midst pomegranate and fig trees wave their Southern foliage, and the rivulet of Radobolje pours itself into the Narenta between the huts at the foot of the ashy-grey pyramid of Hum. Twenty primitive stone bridges lead across this stream. A single building of larger size stands upon this shore, but at a greater distance from the bank. It is the Catholic Church, a very beautiful and large structure with a spacious churchyard; and in the interior it is decorated, amongst other things, with the double eagle of Austria and the Hungarian coat-of-arms.

If this part of Mostar is poorer in buildings, the eye is richly recompensed by the luxuriant vegetation, the gardens full of flowers, the vineyards and fruit trees—a refreshing sight at the foot of the bare and desolate mountains.

The period at which Mostar was founded, and what its name was in antiquity, is still a mystery. There are many who seek ancient Andetrium and Bistunæ in this city; but recent research has placed these ancient cities of antiquity further to the west. Others connect its name with the Slavonic "*most*" (bridge), and the town itself with *pons vetus*. In old Italian documents it is mentioned as *Umore id est Mosaro*, and as *Mosarum*. Umore has some connection with the county of Chlum.

In contrast to the south-eastern division of Herzegovina, old Zachlumia, whose name is still preserved intact in the old castle of Zahlumpalanka, and where the Slavonic "*za*" signifies "at the back of," the western division of the country in the Middle Ages is simply called Chlum or Chelm, in Latin documents Ochlumia, terra Cholim. Chlum, Hlum, and Hum, still the name of the Mostar Mountain, are, however, all identical.

At the close of 1870 the town contained 2,200 Mohammedan, 500 Orthodox, 400 Roman Catholic, 100 Gypsy, and 20 Jewish families. Taken altogether, from fourteen to fifteen thousand inhabitants, thirty mosques, two Greek and one Catholic school. Both the Orthodox Metropolitan, as well as the Catholic Bishop, who reside in Mostar, have beautiful churches.

One could hardly obtain a more favourable, more lively impression of the town than did we as, after a long carriage drive, on a beautiful September afternoon, the minister made his entry into the city.

At Jablanitz, on the border of his district, we were received by the montesarif, Captain Sauerwald, before Mostar by the Metropolitan, Ignatios, the Catholic bishop, and the general officers of the army.

Our advent was signalled from a long way off upon the heights, and announced by mortars; neither was there any dearth of triumphal arches; but the vivacious crowd—which not only occupied the principal street, but also the flat roofs of the houses—was of greatest interest. From the suburbs—"Mahala," "Palanka"—all who could crowded into the town—"Varosh"—and the country people of the neighbourhood increased the mass of variegated colour.

The same tall, elastic, stalwart forms as in Bosnia, the same weather-beaten faces, full of manly beauty, the same conscious worth, even in the most tattered clothes. And yet an immense difference strikes the eye. The people have a more Southern look; their dreamy eyes, their thick glossy black hair, their rounded forms and movements, all tell of the South. The

Mohammedan population, both men and women, do not differ in their costume from those in Bosnia; only the women's faces are, if possible, still more concealed; the shade which covers even the eyes is not made here of the same soft material as the veil, but is a firm shield, frequently covered with velvet.

Amongst the Christians, however, and especially amongst the Orthodox, the costume is far more like the Montenegrin, so that even outwardly the



Mohammedan Woman of Mostar.

close connection with the Tsbernagora is striking. And there is a still more striking difference. The Bosnian women are beautiful, with their slim, lithe figures, their handsome chiselled features; but if the masculine form should be sharp and angular, the feminine undulating, then the women of Herzegovina distinctly surpass those of Bosnia, for with them rounded development leaves nothing to be desired; indeed, they can satisfy the most exigent demands.

And there is yet another difference. In Mostar we meet with European civilization. Our host and his charming Italian wife entertained us with European comfort and brilliancy in their beautiful two-storied house, so that after the many privations of our journey it seemed to us like a small paradise. Beneath our windows a military band played, and long did the gay crowd linger in the sweet breezes wafted across from the sea by a gentle sirocco.

Upon the flat roof of the adjacent house, which leant towards the courtyard, there lounged some inquisitive girls, half concealing themselves in Oriental fashion, half exposing themselves like Southerners, and enjoying the illuminations, the flags, and the music, and above all the life.

In the midst of all this the news fell like a bombshell amongst us, that the camp before the town had been attacked by the insurgents.

It was, however, only idle noise. It is true insurgents had come, men of warlike mien and powerful stature, but only to lay down their arms and procure their pardon.





## CHAPTER XV.

### *THE SOURCES OF THE BUNA.*

#### Herzegovinan Idyls.

AS there are people who have been ill-starred in their parentage, so have the sources of the Buna been most distinctly unfortunate in the place of their origin.

In Switzerland, in the Pyrenees, in short, wherever those lovers of nature who wish to enjoy her sweet air and her charms in safety and without effort travel by hundreds and thousands, there the sources of the Buna would have become one of the most celebrated spots; they would have been constantly described in innumerable books of travel, have been photographed and lithographed by the thousand, and would always have been on view in all art exhibitions, like the Grotto of Capri, which in their bluish twilight and profound stillness, moreover, they closely resemble, with this difference, indeed, that instead of standing in the middle of the sea of Naples, they stand amidst the still more powerfully upheaved ocean of rocks of Herzegovina. No other river offers such a plenitude of wild romance as the Narenta does from Konitza to Mostar. At Mostar Bridge one thinks one has attained to the summit of all its beauties; but as though nature and history had entered into an alliance to offer us all these charms again combined and heightened, the union of frowning majesty and sweetest grace, the gigantic hall of rocks of Blagaj unfolds to us its yawning gulfs with that motionless and bright mirror of water, from which flows the fresh and sparkling stream of the Buna, which is cold even in the hottest summer. And there are people who have been to Mostar without ever having even heard of this wonder of the world. Incredible enough, but still more incredible that people should not go to see it when they have heard of it. Some day,

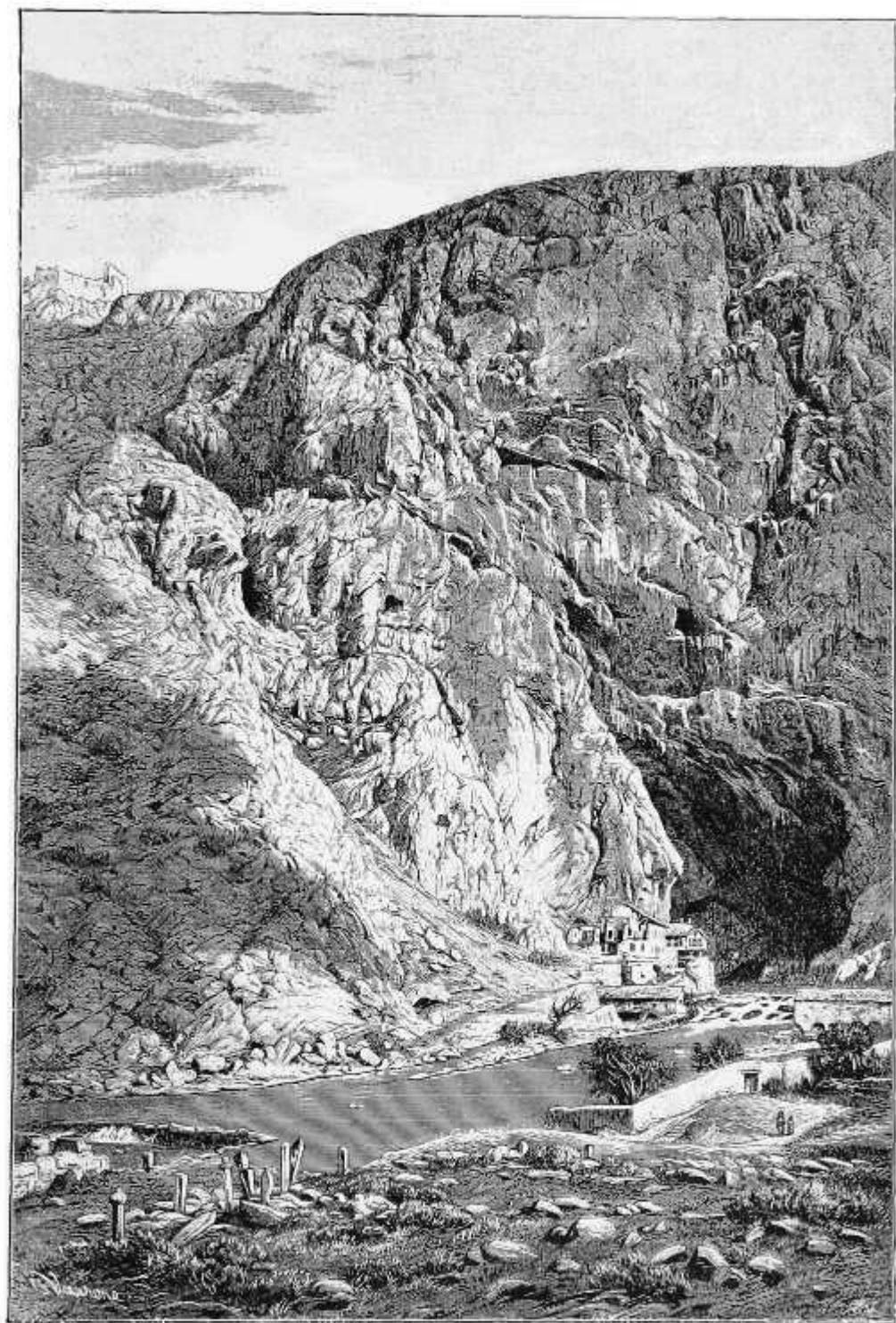
when wild Herzegovina has been tamed, and a railway leads from the sea to Mostar,\* this spot will very likely become a place of pilgrimage to all lovers of Nature.

Just as immediately before reaching the Herzegovinan capital, so also on the further side of Mostar, the rocky pass of the Narenta widens out for a space. Podveles, which forces the houses in the town close on to the Narenta, turns off towards the left away from the last houses, and whilst the stream rushes on due south, the bare mountain, with its white walls growing ever more rugged, turns more and more in an easterly direction, until it reaches the small village of Blagaj. From this point another wall of rocks, the promontories of the Dubrava-Planina, runs in an almost straight line as far as the village of Buna on the Narenta, and along this second wall there flows, bursting forth from the cavities in the rocks of Blagaj, the river Buna, until it reaches its mouth in the Narenta under a bridge of fourteen arches. There is, therefore, amidst this sea of rocks, a small three-cornered plain, covered with clusters of houses, isolated buildings, and verdant tobacco fields, visible to the naked eye from all points. Its northern corner is Mostar, its eastern Blagaj, its western Buna. One side is formed by the rushing Narenta, the other two by the steep, rugged, greyish-white walls of Podveles and the Dubrava-Planina. From Mostar the high road keeps close to the Narenta as far as Metkovitch and to the sea. Midway between Mostar and Buna, something like six kilometres from the town, a second road branches off towards Blagaj and the angle between the two walls of rock, and this road leads across this angle and between these walls of rock through to Nevesinje. As soon as we reach the point where the roads branch off, we see the scattered houses of Blagaj; and far above this wall of rocks, which rises some eight hundred feet, we can discern the last peak of Podveles, the ruins of Stepanograd, an extensive, many-towered royal castle, built many centuries ago, at the time when the counts of Chlum or Chelm, who ruled this land, were at the height of their glory. Built from the stone found upon the spot, and long since transferred,—nay, centuries ago, from the hands of men into those of Nature, this vast mountain fortress has, in form and colouring, grown so much like its rocky foundations that from below it is hard to distinguish where the handiwork of man begins and ends. The solid rock looks like bastion and tower, the ruined watch-tower and bold walls like a heap of stones and cliff. Rough and desolate and dead does the fortress seem, though once so gay with princely glory, like the sunburnt, torn, bare peak itself, which it crowns; like the mountain, it stands there, however, even

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\* This railway now exists.





Sources of the Buna.

in its decay, in massive grandeur, proudly and defiantly upon its unapproachable, dizzy heights.

From this fortress the mountain-side falls sheer down at a sharp angle with those which meet it here. From the perpendicular sides huge blocks project and threaten to crush any who shall dare to roam here. And that their threat is no empty one is amply proved by the fragments, blocks, and moraines which cover the ground far and wide, and constantly force the rushing torrent into new and tortuous channels. And to this the solitary mosque built into the narrow angle, and now lying dashed to pieces by falling masses of rock, also testifies. Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovitch built it, and destiny crushed his work as it crushed him himself. That ancient and smaller building at the back of the ruins is all that remains; it conceals the grave of a Turkish saint, and is a favourite place of pilgrimage of the Mohammedan population. A sword and war-club are painted on the outer wall; in the interior, in the dark vault, there rest in two simple, carpet-covered wooden coffins the saint and his faithful servant. Upon the wall hang the sword and club themselves.

This saint was a hero, who fell fighting for Islam; these were his weapons. The watchman who dwells near the vault each evening places a water-jug and a towel within, for the dead saint still nightly performs his religious ablutions. Morning after morning the towel is damp, and the water in the jug has diminished. Amongst these projecting, moss-grown crags eagles build their nests, and fly about high overhead, the sentinels of Stepanograd; and from the jutting rocks, long points of fantastic drop-stone hang down, genuine stalactite ornaments, just like those in a Moorish building.

Close by the shattered mosque an enormous cavern opens into the wall of rock. It is richly covered both outside and inside with these stalactites; and as we gaze into the cavern from a wooden balcony belonging to the mosque, a mystic, fairy-like, bluish light glimmers within; the bottom, however, which is large enough for a ballroom, is like a deep, quiet mirror of glass, bright, blue, and motionless as steel. From out of this still mirror of water springs the restless Buna stream, full of red and silver trout; and if one casts a stone into the cavern, whole armies of pigeons fly up, fluttering in fear before the eagles who are circling above.

Is not all this like the fairy tale of the enchanted castle? As in deep silence, and in the society of a monosyllabic Mussulman, one thus gazes down from the balcony, cannot one believe that even now the ashy-grey rocks may blossom into green, that the eagles of Stepanograd, suddenly transformed into armed knights, may set forth from the ancient fortress restored to its

pristine glory, that the timorous doves may turn to beautiful fairy-like maidens, and that from out of the house of God, which rises again from amidst its ruins, sacred songs may rise to heaven? . . . Nay, nay, . . . the counts of Chelm will never more arise; their very graves were disturbed in the long wars of the centuries; the wind has long since blown away their ashes. Not even the "most mighty Stepan, Duke of St. Sava," as he is called in the decrees of the Diet of Konitz, not even he will ever more appear, the builder of this proud castle, who five and a half centuries ago, with daring and adroitness, made use of and outwitted the King of Bosnia, the Pope, the King of Hungary, the Sultan, and the Roman Emperor Frederick, all alike, and raised himself to be duke, and the county of Chelm to be an almost independent Herzegovina. . . . The short-lived splendour was soon, however, succeeded by the long adversity. His own sons cast him from the throne; and by 1483, scarcely forty years after the founding of the dukedom, twenty years after Stefan Tomashevitch, King of Bosnia, had been taken prisoner and flayed alive, they fled, seeking aid in Hungary and Ragusa; whilst Mustapha, Begler-Beg of Bosnia, razed their castle of Stepanograd to the ground.

Yet again, beneath the shades of these ruins there arose an almost independent principality. Ali-Beg Rizvanbegovitch, the head of one of the most powerful of the renegade families, declared himself on the Sultan's side, when in 1831 the begs revolted against their suzerain. After the suppression of the insurrection he reigned in Herzegovina in the Sultan's name, free from almost all control. Thousands of stakes bearing decapitated heads all round the konak proclaimed his power. But in 1850 he placed himself at the head of a new insurrection, and in 1851 was taken prisoner and shot by Omer Pasha in his summer-palace at Buna.

Some time since, other members of the Rizvanbegovitch's family fell at the storming of Stolatz, fighting in the name of the Sultan.

It does not seem incredible, after so many deeds of blood, when we are told by the people that upon this accursed spot, in the cavern of the Buna Springs, not only trout and doves, but also occasionally headless corpses appear. Thrown into the water somewhere near Nevesinje, they vanish in the hollows of the limestone to re-appear with the water miles away.

No enchantment, but only patient, laborious care and labour will suffice to break the curse of those centuries of bloodshed, and to restore the gentle smile of prosperity to this blood-drenched wilderness; then, in the midst of this prosperity, in the midst of the pleasures of peaceful toil, this picture of the Buna Springs, with all the horrors of its beauty, will only serve to call to mind a distant past.



## CHAPTER XVI.

### *FROM MOSTAR TO THE SEA.*

Ancient Bona and Modern Buna — Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovitsh — The "Zaton" and the "Mostarsko Blato" — Zitomishl and the Counts Miloradovitsh — The Desert of Dubrava and the Oasis of Domanovitsh — Potshitelj — The Delta of the Narenta — The Rival of Venice — Neum and the Harbour of Klek.

*August, 1882.*

SINCE the summer of 1885, Mostar has been connected by a railway with Metkovitsh, to which place small sea-going vessels even can go up the mouth of the Narenta. On the right bank of the stream, where the steam-engine now passes, at the time of our first journey in 1882 there was only a dangerous bridle-path over the rocky cliffs. The carriage way on the left bank, too, by which we left the country, had only been completed a few years previously. This road leads straight along the river's bank as far as the village of Buna, which lies at the mouth of the river of the same name, not far from where the road branches off to Blagaj, at the lower point of the little plain which stretches away in a southerly direction from Mostar.

The Emperor Constantine mentions the fortress of Bona, which, according to his statement, was situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the fortress of Chlum, both presumably upon the same mountain. This Bona cannot, however, be the present village of this name, to which no tradition points, and near which there are no traces of any ruins, but is manifestly Blagaj, which lies opposite, in the other angle of the three-cornered plain, with the springs of the Buna and the ruins of Stepanograd above it. "Blag" is old Slavonic for bonus. Here, too, until the fifteenth century, as a matter of fact, was situated the chief town in the whole province. The castle of "Chlum," mentioned by Constantine, which gave its name to the whole country, was most likely situated above present Mostar, just as "Vrhbosna" lay above

Serajevo. The remains of considerable enclosures are still visible on the mountain of Hum. In a manuscript dated 1452 it says: "*Do castelli al ponte de Neretca.*" Are these intended for Chlum and Bona, or did another castle stand opposite to the castle of Chlum, at the foot of Podveles, as is conjectured from the small ruins which exist there too, and from the pillars which are still preserved? This much is certain, that Mostar, like many other towns, emanated from the old fortress in the mountain pass, and first sprang into existence during the Turkish supremacy, absorbing the mediæval town situated in the plain.

Buna as it now exists, upon which the river has devolved the forgotten name of its predecessor, is of modern origin. Its most ancient monument is the bridge, which dates from the later Turkish era, and which in nine arches spans the mouth of the Buna. According to some, it was first erected by Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovitch, who, when at the height of his power, loved to linger in his summer-palace, which may yet be seen as it stands on the further side of the bridge, in the midst of its once carefully tended but now neglected gardens, itself a ruined emblem of the transitory nature of all earthly power.

It was in this very same country house that the Serdar-Ekrem, Omer Pasha, caused the mighty rebel to be taken prisoner of whom each Herzegovinan beg still proudly tells, as he points out to the traveller his former castles and villas, and his most beautiful monuments—the olive and rice plantations introduced by him.

The lofty, defiant stone castle of Stolatz was the place of his birth, and he was himself the hereditary Kapetan of Stolatz. He and Smail Aga Tshengitch of Gatzko were the only great vassals who remained faithful when Hussein Aga Berbeli, in 1831, led the Bosnians, who had risen to withstand reforms, against Constantinople and the "Gyaur Sultan." They laboured together in the overthrow of the rebels and in the re-establishment of the authority of the Porte. Ali-Beg's reward was the governorship over Herzegovina, made independent of the Vizier of Bosnia. Under the uncontrolled rule of the new pasha, the days of the founder of Herzegovina, Duke Stefan, seemed to return, and under his sanguinary but energetic and wise government the province seemed to rise more and more to the position of an independent country. When the rebellious Christians of the Gatzko district, supported by the Tshrnagorzes, on August 29th, 1840, slew Smail Aga Tshengitch in his camp, Ali Pasha fought against the Vladika Peter Petrovitch for two consecutive years. But in the year 1842 the two opponents met in Ragusa, and not only concluded a truce, but also, it is supposed, a secret

alliance against the Porte, whose suzerainty the Bishop of Tshetinje, as well as the Pasha of Herzegovina, wished to shake off.

Up to the year 1848 no pretext was offered for an encounter, as this suzerainty had so far been only nominal; but in these disturbed years Christian insurrections broke out in Bosnia on the one hand, and on the other refractoriness on the part of the begs towards the reforms introduced by the Porte, and which the Vizier Tahir Pasha had energetically carried out.

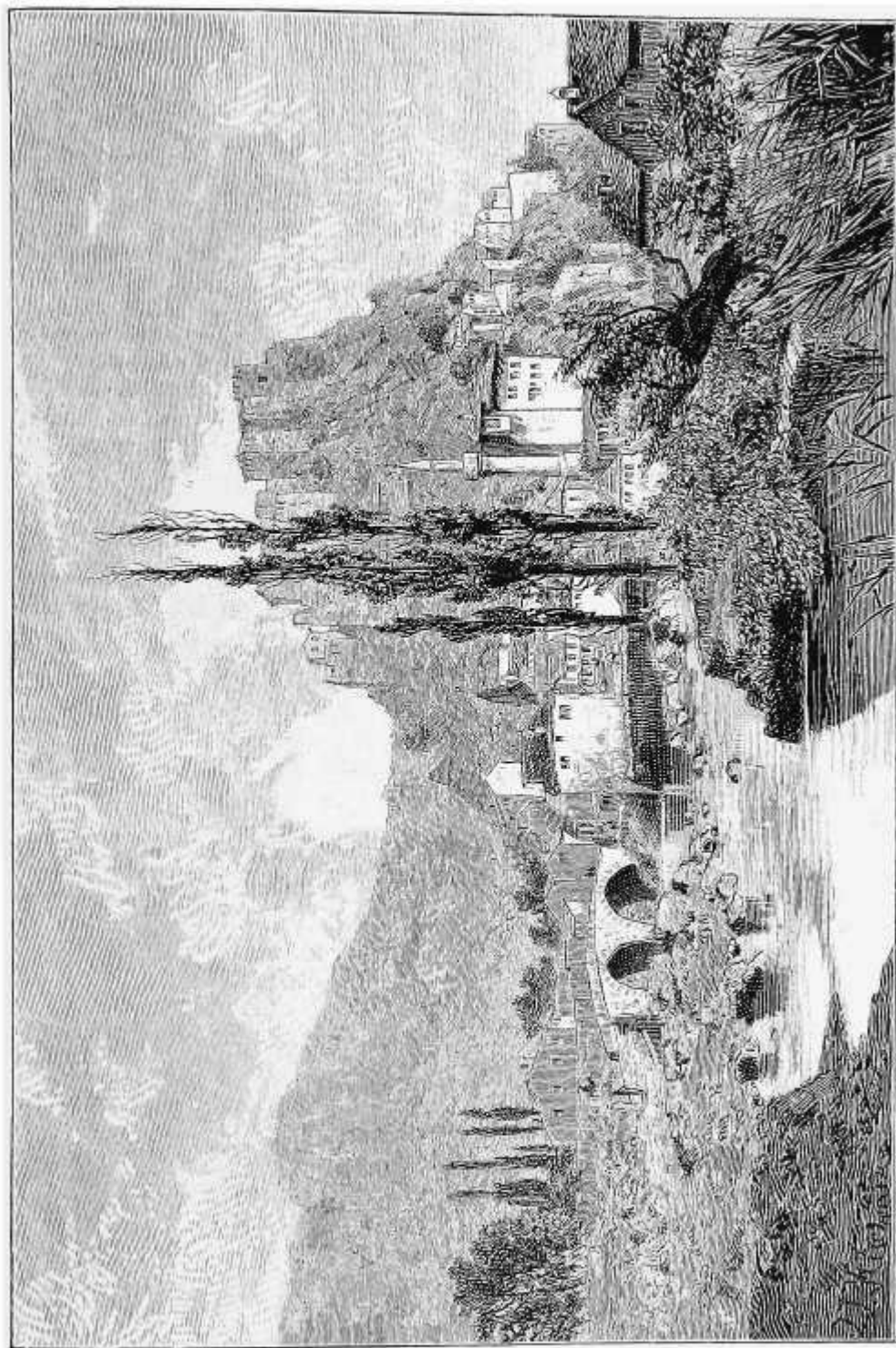
Ali Pasha advanced against the Christians with the full weight of his power, and spears adorned with decapitated heads were stuck up round his castles and forts. But he gave his support to the begs, for upon them he wished to found his daring project of independence.

In 1850, however, the storm approached in the guise of Omer Pasha with fifteen thousand men and thirty cannon. Whilst Omer Pasha was pacifying Bosnia, Ielinski, the Pole—according to his Mohammedan name, Iskender-Beg—advanced with a division of the Ottoman army against the suspected man, Ali Pasha. The latter knew full well that his dreams of independence would be at an end should Omer Pasha gain the upper hand. He, therefore, supported the insubordination of the begs with all his might; but, fox-like, he wished to keep a back door open for his own retreat.

He did not, therefore, place himself at the head of the movement, but devolved the leadership upon his chief executioner, whilst he himself awaited the result of the contest in his castle of Stolatz. The chief executioner, at the head of the insurgent begs, strengthened by a division of Ali Pasha's troops, advanced against the attacking force all along the line, which, over the Porim-Planina, Zimje-Polje, Lipeto-Planina, and across the Borke Plains and the Vrabatz Mountains, cuts off the long, blind alley formed by the bend in the Narenta, in a straight line from Konitza to Mostar. This was, indeed, the old road to Mostar, only a bridle-path over the hills, before the carriage-road along the Narenta was completed. Ielinski rapidly drove back the advanced guard from Vrabatz; after an hour's cannonade took possession of the plains of Borke, and drove the insurgents over the Porim, from whose heights he caused the rebels, as they retreated over Bjelo-Polje towards Mostar, to be fired at, so that only a small portion, with their leader, escaped to Austrian territory. A few days later Omer Pasha entered Mostar.

Ali Pashu, upon learning the result of the battle, left the castle of Stolatz under strong cover, and hurried, with a portion of his troops, to Buna, in order that he might await, in his country seat, whatever he had to expect from Omer Pasha, should he be treated as a rebel, or offered a friendly settlement.

But Omer Pasha was no less sly than he. With a great show of respect,



Castle of Stolatz, belonging to Ali Pasha.



he sought the governor of Herzegovina in his country house at Buna, and in person invited him to a banquet at Mostar, whither he accompanied him. Whilst the banquet was proceeding the imperial troops advanced on Buna and Stolatz, with the announcement that the governor had been deposed, and was a prisoner of the Serdar-Ekrem.

Two native historians have published Ali Pasha's biography; one appeared in Vienna, the other in St. Petersburg.\* The latter describes his end as follows:—

"They dragged old Ali Pasha, who from the infirmities of age could hardly walk, to the Narenta bridge, and there placed him upon a donkey, and thus did Omer Pasha take him with him to the Kraina, whither he was proceeding against the insurgents. Ali Pasha, embittered by this disgrace, burst out against the Serdar-Ekrem: 'Why dost thou trouble me? thou, too, art a Wallach, the son of a Wallachian.† . . . Whence dost thou arrogate to thyself the power to treat me thus? Even had I taken up arms against the Sultan himself, thou wouldst not be worthy to associate with me, as though thou hadst taken me captive in battle, even if thou wert the Serdar-Ekrem three times over. Oh, thou unclean Wallachian, send me rather before the Padishah, that he may pass judgment upon me, and do not thou insult me in mine old age.' Omer Pasha now began to be alarmed, for Ali Pasha had many and powerful friends at the Padishah, to whom he had always been careful to send enormous sums of money from Herzegovina. So Omer Pasha turned the matter over in his mind, until he discovered that it would be better if Ali Pasha were to die, and so at two o'clock in the night a shot was heard, and the news was brought to Omer Pasha that a gun had accidentally gone off, and that the bullet had passed through Ali Pasha's head. Thus died Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovitch, on March 20th, 1851."

Up above Buna, the Narenta, which is thus far accompanied on both sides by the plain known as Bishtshe, passes out between high precipices. Upon the east the mountain of Gubavitza, on the west that of Trtre, form the pass, six miles in length, which goes by the name of "Zaton." The legend, as the name implies, considers it to have been a bank of rock, which was pierced through by human hands to give an outlet to the waters, which had previously formed a permanent lake in the flats of Bjelo-Polje and Bishtshe. In the surrounding hills the marks of the old water-line are still pointed out, and iron rings are

\* *Herzegovina za 19 godinah razvojañah Ali-Pasi. U. Bècu 1863*—"Gime Ali-Pasi Rizvanbegovica."

† The renowned Omer Pasha was at one time sub-officer in the Austrian service, which he deserted. His name was Michael Lotis.



even mentioned, to which the dwellers on the shores of the lake fastened their boats. It is a fact that the plain which stretches for many miles from Mostar to the north-west of the mountain of Hum, to Shirokibrig, and is watered by the combined rivers of the Ugrovatza and the Lishtitza, during the greater part of the year stands under water, and is never absolutely dry, although it lies higher than the plains which surround Mostar. It is called, too, "Mostarsko Blato," the lake, or marsh, of Mostar. Its waters run off through "Ponors" underground. The Government is now contemplating its drainage. In the steep cliffs, to the right of this "Zaton," the railroad had to be blasted. The left side is just as steep, and at one point only does a narrow valley slope down to the river, in whose lap, amidst luxuriant vegetation and centurarian trees, lies the ancient Orthodox monastery of Zitomishl, reputed to have been built in 1585 by the family of Miloradovitsh. The two Russian generals, the Counts Miloradovitsh, of whom one is known through the Napoleonic campaign, and the other through the last Eastern war, are descended from this Herzegovinian family. The latter visited this monastery many years ago.

The carriage way avoids the monastery, which can only be reached on foot or on horseback or by means of boats from the opposite shore; it mounts up behind Buna to the desolate tableland of the Dubrava Planina, where it winds through the rocky pass for about twelve miles, parted from the river, until it at last rejoins it near romantic Potshitelj. The declivity which we ascended is formed of marl and broken stones, and gives evidence of a former lake.

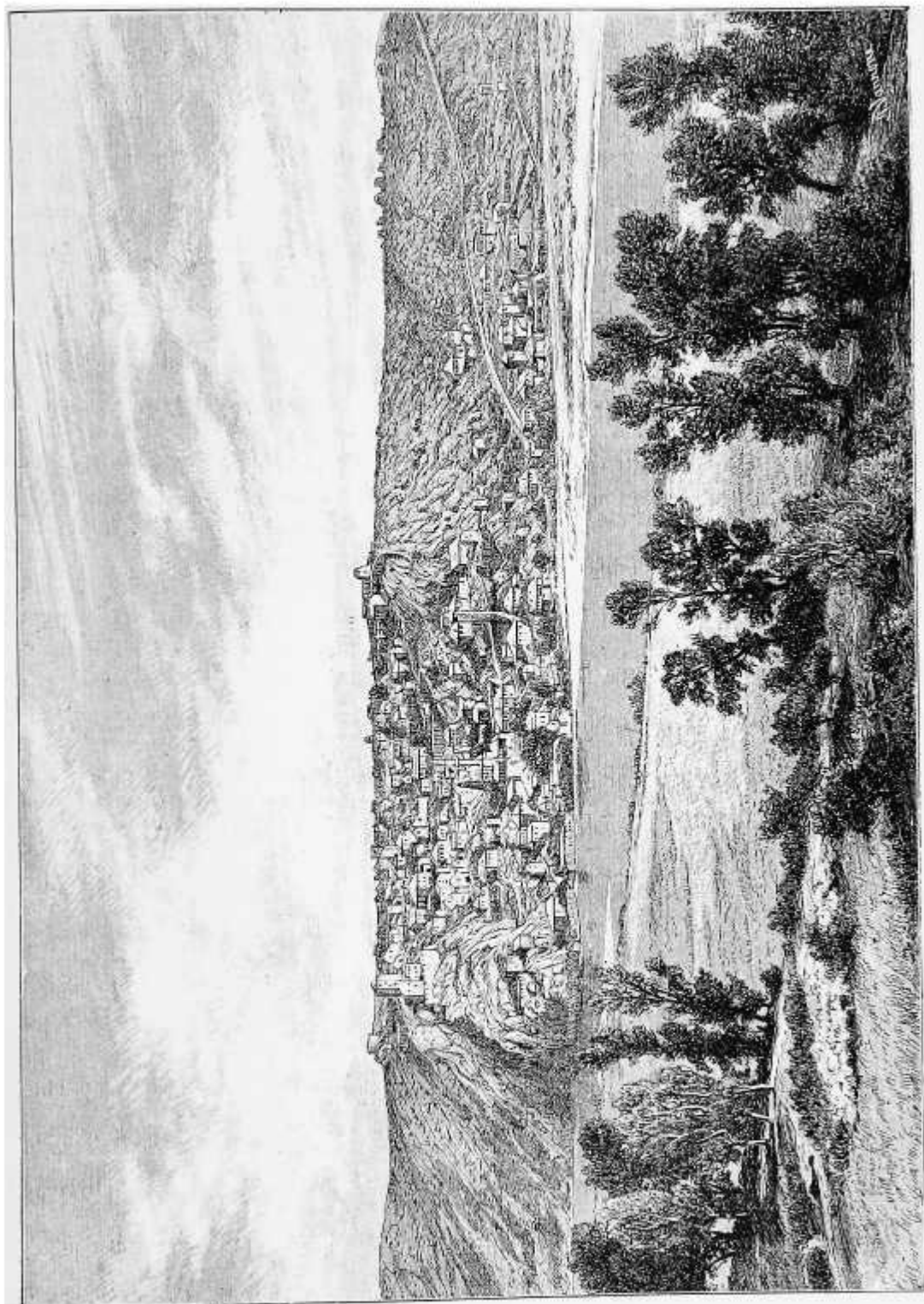
Attaining the summit, we found ourselves upon a tableland broken up by many deep rifts in the rock, where occasional oaks point to that wood, in the past, to which it owes its name. At long intervals, and in the far distance, solitary houses may be distinguished in this waterless waste of rocks; but not until we are six miles from Buna do we come to a poorish inn with a cistern, where water is to be had, and, therefore, also coffee. With this exception our eyes rest on nothing but cliffs and boulders, and between the stones venomous snakes and scorpions, long lizards, the carcasses of dead animals, and the stumps and roots of fallen trees. The sky is of a transparent pale azure, the rocks ashy-grey, here and there changing into sand colour or rusty brown, the sparse vegetation being of a melancholy greyish-green. The whole, a Southern solitude, almost a desert, inhospitable and bare; and yet withal beautiful. For so it is with nature; when colour vanishes from the earth, the wonderful atmospheric effects of light strike the traveller all the more, and under these effects, especially in the early morning hour at which we

reached the summit, the distant cliffs sparkled in brilliant saffron, and tender peachlike tints; and in the clear light, the like of which I have only seen in Africa, the grotesque outlines were visible in sharp distinctness even at the farthest distance.

At Domonovitsh, at the end of the Planina, we suddenly reached the one verdant oasis in this wilderness; a tiny brooklet, which quickly vanishes into a subterranean passage, produces a bright green vegetation under the shadow of immense groups of trees. Here the road to Stolatz branches off to the east. This important point is protected by fortified barracks, in which we rested for a short time, whilst the horses were being changed. This little colony of officers only have to take a short walk in order to shoot snipe, chamois, and bears. The road now winds rapidly down to the Narenta, which we reached at the village of Tazovtshitsh. As we entered the village we could just make out a few old castle towers belonging to romantic Potshitelj, which we skirted.

The whole place rests on the precipice, which rises almost perpendicularly from the Narenta, one of the most peculiar sights from the further bank, as we saw a few years afterwards from the railway. Between the irregular walls of the fortifications and round towers stood small stone houses, all of the ashy-grey of the natural rock, without a trace of vegetation; but down below the beautiful emerald green of the river. The fort was built by King Tvrtko in 1383.

At Tazovtshitsh, in whose picturesque burial-ground, in peaceful repose, stand the turban-headed columns of the Mohammedana side by side with the carved crosses of the Catholics and the gigantic primitive Bogomilian stones, commences a swampy plain, which stretches along between the mountains to the east of the Narenta. On the further side, the verdant valley of the Trebizat reaches down from Ljubushki. Above the mouth of the Trebizat, which branches off in three directions, near a lonely tower, lies the village of Tshapljina, which has since been given a railway station, from which a ferry-boat now plies to this shore. We, too, made use of this, when later on (in 1885) we crossed Dalmatia and Ljubushki to Stolatz. In the delta of the Trebizat luxuriant rice fields appear. Up beyond Tazovtshitsh we had to cross the wild Bregova, which comes down from Stolatz, and on the other—southern—border of the narrow plain, the waters of the Krupa in front of the little hamlet of Dratshevo, where we once more met with Bogomilian graves. On the further side of the Narenta, which here has already broadened out and split up into many branches, Gabella rises in the middle of swamps, surrounded by dilapidated walls and towers; this was at one time the Venetian, later on the Turkish frontier fortress. Over there,



Potshirelj.

on the banks of the Neret streamlet, upon Dalmatian soil, lie the ruins of Roman Narona. Upon our shore we are still upon the slope of the hill; but opposite to us the marshes extend farther than eye can reach, marshes in which herds of buffaloes are moving about. Soon after this we cross the Dalmatian frontier, and mount up to the town of Metkovich, before which we already distinguish the smaller sea-going craft which have penetrated thus far up the delta of the Neretva. Damp, sultry air oppressed us, and weighed like a band of iron upon our foreheads. The heavens clouded over rapidly, and before we could reach the town it began to pour with rain. Water everywhere.

Beyond Metkovich the marshes spread ever further and further along both banks of the Neretva, and were partly covered with luxuriant crops, partly with stagnant water. We did not dismount at all in this little Dalmatian town, although the magistrate of the district, surrounded by an inquisitive crowd, and unmindful of the pouring rain, received the minister in full state. The emaciated, yellow faces showed that it was not advisable to linger here, for the dangerous marsh fever, which may attack healthy new-comers and cause their death within six hours, is always rampant in this place. Were it not for this, the delta of the Neretva would be one of the most fruitful tracts of land in the world. In certain firmer parts, maize grows into real forests, the vine flourishes luxuriantly untended, and the mulberry tree grows to such a size that four men can hardly clasp it round. The fevers, however, which each summer attack every single inhabitant, destroy the people, and the marshes of the Neretva the soil. For a long time efforts have been made to drain it; but the undertaking is a colossal one, and the outlay still to be met, enormous.

And yet it was not always thus, for here stood the flourishing Roman town of Narona; and after the Avars and Slavs had destroyed this in the year 639, a pirate town sprang up, which was for centuries the terror of the entire Adriatic. Where Narona had once stood there arose the town bearing the name of the heathen god Viddo, now an unimportant village. In the year 873, Niketas, the Byzantine Emperor Basilus's admiral, forced the population to accept Christianity; but the Emperor Constantine still mentions the country of the "Narentani" as *Paganica*. In the year 827 the inhabitants declined to pay their tribute to Byzantium, and in the following century they nearly succeeded in nipping the rising glory of Venice in the bud. Venice was compelled to purchase the freedom of her commerce from them by payment of tribute. Not until 997 did the Doge Pietro II. Orseolo succeed in breaking the power of the Narentines, and in making them stoop

beneath the Venetian suzerainty. Upon this was founded the world-wide power of Venice; but for a course of a century it was quite a question whether the ancestors of these sailing inhabitants of the marshes would not suppress proud Venice.

Although we only changed horses, and hastened onwards without further delay, we were forced to breathe the poisonous air of these marshes for something like an hour and a half. The road leads, between swamps and lagunes, along the southern end of the Narenta delta to the lake of Kutji, where it again climbs up to the steep, desolate rocks which constantly accompanied us on our left. We mounted laboriously by long serpentine windings, constantly gazing back upon the marshes darkened now by the pouring rain, through which fort Opus dimly emerged between the two branches of the Narenta. On the mountain ridge we were again upon old Herzegovinan territory, upon that narrow tongue of land by which Herzegovina forces its way through Dalmatian territory to the sea, and reaches it at the one time Turkish Gulf of Klek. The road, however, along which we were travelling was always an Austrian military road. By the time we had reached the summit, the heavy rain had turned to a frightful thunderstorm.

Thunder and lightning followed one another with scarcely any intermission, and in this plight we reached the old Turkish military road from Stolatz, which, crossing the Austrian road, leads down to Neum: a public-house on the steep and barren mountain-side, a custom-house, and three or four huts on the seashore: that was all. In vain did our eyes seek the man-of-war which was to have been in waiting for us here. In vain did we telegraph to Zara, Triest, and Vienna: the only answer we received was, that the vessel had weighed anchor several days ago, and should have been at Neum long ere this. It was plain that the storm delayed her arrival. We began to debate whether we should not retrace our steps. At last in the darkness of the night there appeared at the end of the long Gulf of Klek a glimmering light. Soon afterwards rockets went up in the air: a man-of-war. It was in fact the *Andreas Hofer*, the corvette which stands at the disposal of the governor of Dalmatia, and upon her we put to sea, at midnight, for Triest.





## CHAPTER XVII.

### *THE POSAVINA.*

The Save—The Posavina—Large Estates—Bretahka—Bosnian Plums—Boat Journey—Bjelina—Agricultural Improvements—Adventures with Robbers—Zvornik—The Bosnian Semiramide.

*June, 1883.*

THE waters of the Save were running high as we drew up before Brod in the darkness of night and in boisterous weather. The floods which covered wide tracts of land, and the rain which was pouring down like a water-spout, threatened the railway embankments, upon which the train could only move forwards with great caution, constantly coming to a standstill. We rejoiced when at last, and without having suffered any harm, we drew up at the railway station, whence we immediately went on board the ship; for on this occasion our journey was principally in connection with the eastern parts of Bosnia, that is to say, with the district of Tuzla. As the storm abated, we gazed into the distance from the deck of the ship as it silently glided over the dark waters towards all that we could at this hour distinguish of the broad, extensive Posavina. The entire picture consisted of the outline of the low shore, along which at regular intervals rose the telegraph posts, with here and there some low bushes and a few clusters of trees. Ever and again we also saw, in addition to this bare, ever-recurring straight line, the outlines of dark masses of wood. I have since travelled along this river by daylight, but even then the view was much the same, the only difference being, that in the place of the black outline of the shore, the black trees, bushes, and clouds, there had appeared a yellow, loamy soil, a bright green vegetation, and a bright warm sky, and very occasionally, too, a broken-down building, a herd of cattle, and once even a troop of pelicans came in sight—a sign that

we were on the borders of another world. The opposite Slavonian shore presents a picture hardly less monotonous. But behind these bare straight lines, on both sides of the Save, there stretch broad and fruitful plains, and the Bosnian Posavina is in no degree less valuable than the rich soil of Slavonia, to whose productiveness her virgin soil will under modern management, and a change in the system of agriculture, soon attain, if not surpass. Moreover, the people and their habits, at any rate in the vicinity of the river, are more advanced than anywhere else in the country, and may, as they are scarcely behind those of the opposite shore, to a certain extent serve as a proof that a river is not such a dividing frontier as a mountain range, nay, that as a natural highway it rather serves to bind the people together. Neither did the Romans regard it as a frontier. On the further side of the Save the whole of Posavina up to the mountains belonged to Pannonia, and Roman Dalmatia only commenced at the foot of the chain of hills. In the Middle Ages, too, the Posavina was still divided between the banates of Uzora and Matsho; but these were in closer connection with Hungary proper than was the rest of Bosnia; indeed, as they were never reckoned in with Bosnia, they were only entrusted to the government of the Bosnian Ban in an exceptional manner. Not until the Turkish conquest had made fast its hold on the banks of the Save was this rich plain absolutely joined to the Bosnian Vilajet.

The Oriental institutions, the insecure government, and uncertainty of the course of justice, the religious difficulties, and the laws of property, in the meantime prevented agricultural development in the Posavina too, even though it is by nature one of the most favoured spots in Europe. Some of the begs possess gigantic estates here; but in spite of all the favourable natural conditions their income is small. It is said that the Bogomaster of Serajevo, Mustapha-Beg Fadil Pashitsb, who is, apart from this, one of the largest landowners in the country, possesses in the province of Bjelina alone forty thousand measures of land (joch), which yield him on an average fifty kr. The same conditions exist in the Posavina to-day which existed in the banate of Temesh after its re-conquest. And here too, doubtless, will be repeated that fabulous development of wealth, which at the end of the last and beginning of this century has taken place there. Enterprising capitalists will acquire tracts of land at ridiculously low prices, which will at first yield next to nothing, but will in fifty years grow into an immense fortune. And how small the means required for such an undertaking are is shown by some who migrated here on account of the Austrian occupation, such as Jewish publicans and tradesmen without capital, and who now own from two thousand

to three thousand measures of land. Most probably the Jews will here play the part of the Armenian and Rascian pig-dealers, who in the banate of Temesh too, have been the chief founders of large landed estates; for there is no one who will compete with these speculators, no one will take up the cudgels under the agrarian conditions now in force with the risk of conditions now only in the course of being formulated.

And yet one can see at a glance that circumstances are rapidly improving and promise a rich reward.

We landed at five o'clock in the morning at the town of Brtsška, where we left the ship, which continued its way to Belgrade. We had left Samatsh, the only other port of any importance in this part of the Posavina, behind us in the darkness of the night. The minister had finished his official receptions and audiences and the inspection of the public institutions by dinner-time, so that we might be free to proceed on our way to Bjelina directly after dinner.

Brtsška is a comparatively rich town, which in its arrangement gives the impression of being Slavonian rather than Bosnian. Its inhabitants, numbering some three thousand souls, carry on an active trade. About two thousand Mohammedans live on the left bank of the Brtsška brook, the Christians on the right bank. The town is situated upon a tableland which slopes down several mètres into the Save, and which to the west with its sharply defined boundaries reaches down to the waters of the Tinja, but on the south joins on to the last promontories of the wild mountain range of the Majevitza-Planina, so that it really represents a headland which separates the former banate of Matsbo, beginning beyond it to the east, from the other parts of the Posavina. The banate of Matsbo, which extended along both banks of the Drina, and along the left bank of the Save, through Belgrade as far as Semendria, has preserved the name of "Matshva" in its Bosnian as well as in its Servian division. Owing to its higher situation, Brtsška is not so subject to floods as the other townships in the Posavina, which for the most part consist of lightly built houses resting upon piles.

The whole neighbourhood of Brtsška is, with the exception of a few more or less wooded spots, covered with well-tended plum orchards and arable fields, upon which maize grows ten or twelve feet high, with green fields and meadows, with hedges, and wattled or wooden fences, so that there are distinct signs of agricultural advancement and prosperity. But then, nearly the whole agricultural trade of the Posavina is concentrated here. The dried plums of Bosnia, which are sent off from here via Buda-Pesth to Germany, Russia, and America, in favourable seasons amount to



an export of twelve million kilogrammes (26,455,000 lbs.), and the corn trade, too, is considerable.

After dinner we proceeded on our journey in the most natural, easy, pleasant, and yet now unusual manner. We rowed down the Save in boats to Brzovo-Polje. The Bosnians—that is to say, those who live near rivers—are all skilled boatmen, and are able to take a living beast, standing, across a swollen river in a punt constructed from the hollowed-out trunks of trees. We floated down the stream in broad, comfortable boats, shaded by leaves, and covered with carpets, followed by a regular little flotilla full of picturesque Eastern figures.

All along, at about a rifle shot from the shore, we could see the old Turkish dyke, which protects it from Brzovo-Polje to Vidovitz, above Brtska, and which was then the only highway always available. Upon all the other roads people could only get about in dry weather; indeed, the Christian peasantry were very careful to avoid any visible lines of communication between their residences, for only when far away from these did they feel themselves to be in safety. Even here on the plains the only means of communication was to go on foot or on horseback. Since the Austrian occupation the high-roads have been added to in all directions; through the initiative of the people themselves the collateral lines are being extended, and with them, vehicles, which were first introduced from Slavonia, but are now seen everywhere, and built of an equally good quality, in Brtska and in Bjelina.

Brzovo-Polje, with the Mohammedan name of Azizli, after the Sultan Abdul-Aziz, is a purely Mohammedan colony, which sprang up in 1864; at that time the Turks who had been driven out of Belgrade settled here. Of these, however, it was only the most helpless who remained; whilst the more prosperous quickly removed into the towns, so that the new colony fell rapidly into decay.

From Brzovo-Polje the promontories of the Majevitza-Planina rapidly recede from the banks of the Save; and, taking our way to the south-east, we, after a rapid journey in carriages, in a few hours reached Bjelina, as it lies in the midst of broad plains and plum orchards.

Whilst we were at supper, old Omar-Beg told us how, in the Turkish-Servian war, Bjelina defended itself against General Alimpitch's Servian troops. His long beard was of a snowy whiteness; but his eyes flashed with youthful fire, as he told us how he was still ready to take up arms against the Servians. Bjelina, lying in the angle between the Save and the Drina, is an important town about twelve miles from the former river, and only six from the latter, and is situated upon the Orlova-Polje (plain of the eagle). It numbers six

thousand five hundred inhabitants, which, excepting a large colony of Spanish Jews, are almost all Mohammedans, and enjoys a flourishing cattle and corn trade. This town, too, is almost entirely built of bricks.

What struck us most of all in passing through the Posavina was how it was rapidly progressing towards a higher economical development. Excellent arable land is still very cheap there, so that the best is sold at an average of eighteen florins, medium at five florins per measure (joch). This is partly due to the circumstance that there is still a great deal of uncultivated soil here, many tenants having, at their disposal, more fields than they have either the power or desire to cultivate. With their small ambitions, their natural indolence, and the existing agrarian conditions they only too often content themselves with that which will cover their necessities, and, indeed, let the remaining land lie fallow, with a certain amount of mischievous joy that they will thereby lessen their landlord's income.

The low price of land also explains the high rate of interest. The banks and loan offices were formerly exclusively in the hands of Spanish-Jewish usurers. As a result of the beneficial influence of the Austrian Government, and chiefly of the just administration of the laws, which increasingly lessen the friction between the landlords and tenants, more ground and soil is, as a whole, being brought under cultivation each year.

The number of agrarian actions at law is rapidly on the decrease, and they, for the most part, end in a friendly compromise. The virgin soil brings a rich return, and spurs men on to work, though naturally the transition state causes much inconvenience. The great bags, even though burdened by usurious debts, own such vast tracts of land, and are masters of so many vassals upon them, that they can but benefit by the advancement of culture and order. The small landowners, who now no longer grind down the vassals, and who can only lay claim to their legal third part, are no longer in a position to lord it over them to the same extent as of yore. If, for example, two landlords together only own one knet plot, they find themselves in a worse position than the knet himself. However, at any rate, in the rich Posavina, small landlords rise more easily than elsewhere, if they only attend to their work; many of them become carriers, tradesmen, small innkeepers, and skilled mechanics. But, of course, he who will not work naturally comes to grief, and then blames the bad times, and at times he emigrates; on the other hand, there are most propitious signs of the development of a free peasantry.

The number of knets who free themselves and their land from the age or beg is ever on the increase. Frequent are the complaints about the diminution of free pasturage and woods in the formerly unprotected, despoiled

forests, and still more over the slaughter of the cattle attacked by disease. But all this really shows a great and beneficial progress. At first, too, complaints were many over compulsory labour in the construction of roads; but the surprising increase in the number of carts in use is the best proof that the people understand the advantages of well-constructed highways; and now they voluntarily form connections between their settlements by roads. And, finally, even though the usurers are dissatisfied with the land-credit established through the intervention of the Government, yet landholders will speedily experience the blessings of cheap capital. The disadvantage experienced in other parts of the country, and which is inseparable from all rapid advancement in civilization, that the ancient handicrafts cannot compete with the advanced industries of the monarchy, and with the Austrian artizans who have migrated thither, is hardly experienced in the Posavina, which deals principally in agriculture, and which also stands in closer relations with the other side of the Save. The growing prosperity has been chiefly noticeable in the rapid development of the shipping on the Save, and especially in the increase of export; the re-establishment of public safety, and the erection of good primary schools in every district also, cannot but add to the increase of prosperity. The local organization, which formerly hardly existed between the scattered groups of houses, but which has now been nearly everywhere introduced, guarantees a safe foundation for every improvement. Neither is there any lack of a general recognition of these services; the minister is everywhere received with straightforward heartiness, and in every place people turn to him with confidence.

After delaying for one day we proceeded on our way from Bjelina to Zvornik.

To the south of Bjelina, the last hilly promontories of the Majevitza-Planina approach ever nearer and nearer to the Drina. With these hills on our right, and the fertile plain on our left, we, in about an hour and a half, reach Janina. The jagged chain of the Planina looked blue in the background; this is a not inhospitable range of mountains, but difficult of approach, lying between the Drina, Spreca, the Bosna valley, and the plains of the Posavina, full of old castle ruins and mediæval graves. My travelling companion—a captain of the gendarmes—entertained me with descriptions of his adventures with robbers, the scenes of these adventures being the Planina and the Drina. The robbers have now been completely ousted from this part of the country, only one (Milan Nikolitch) remaining, who, when pursued by the authorities of this or that country, fled across the Drina, now to Bosnian, then to Servian ground. We, too, had heard of his exploits, and not until the year 1885 was he shot, by a native, upon one of the islands of the Drina.

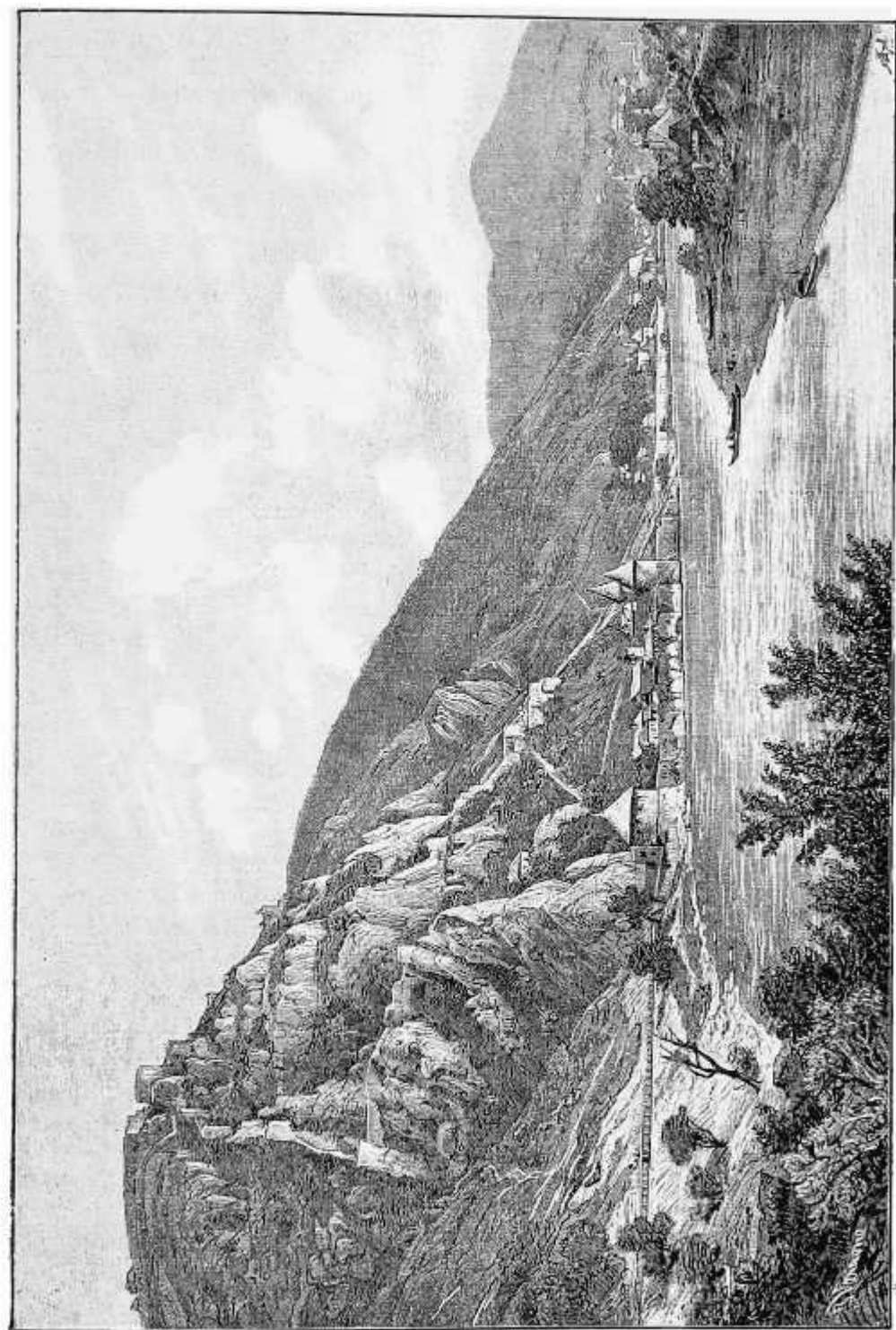
Jania is a large Christian village on the stream of the same name, whose scattered houses, surrounded by wattled fences, are grouped around the chief square. The Jania-Bjeka flows into the Drina, in the vicinity of the village. The headlands of the Majevitza grow ever steeper, and force the road ever nearer to the river, until, at the village of Shepak, three miles from Jania, it comes close up to it. Our road led straight along by the foot of lofty mountains to Zvornik.

Yet more steeply do the rugged mountains rise immediately out of the river on the opposite, Servian, shore, whilst the Drina flows along this narrow valley, in a broad, rapid, unchecked stream, between its many bare islets of varying size. The Bosnian bank is fairly well inhabited. After Shepak the road soon leads past the Mohammedan and Christian village of Skoshitsh; above it, upon the mountain of Klieseatz, we can see the ruined castle of Kostur; and, further on, in an ever-changing and varied succession, we pass underwood, arable land, and groups of houses. Upon the lonely and deserted Servian bank hardly a village is to be seen; whilst further down we had passed towns, Leshnitza opposite to Jania, Losnitza opposite to Shepak.

After some distance—about fifteen miles—the narrow strip of flat land by the side of the Bosnian bank also terminates; the mountains on either side compress the stream into its centre, and in this narrow pass is situated the fortress of Zvornik.

The town numbers about eight thousand inhabitants, mostly Mohammedans, but partly Orthodox; its situation, confined, but stretching for a long distance between the steep mountains and the greenish waters of the Drina, is magnificent; the actual fortress stands at the south end of the town, and entirely shuts off the passage, which is by towers and ramparts connected with the citadel, which towers almost perpendicularly above it upon one of the peaks of the Veluvnik. This point, six hundred and sixty feet high, must be climbed if we wish to enjoy the situation of Zvornik in all its poetry. Behind us, bare mountains, across which lies the road to Tuzla; in front, the eye sweeps over the walls of the fortification which descend almost perpendicularly, and passes on to the fort which really closes the passage, whence the town stretches away again in a long line down the river. Before us lies the silver band of the Drina; over there, at the foot of the dark Servian Mountains, is the village of Mali-Zvornik, whence the Turks were not driven until the close of 1860. The defences of Zvornik are now considered to be of no value, but are well preserved in their mediæval state, and present an interesting example of the art of defence of those days.

Zvornik was formerly the key to the whole of this part of the country,



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and after the Turkish conquest was repeatedly besieged by the imperial armies. Being captured in 1688 by Ludvig, Margrave of Baden, it was re-conquered by the Turks in 1689. In the year 1717, General Petras suffered a severe defeat here; more than one thousand men fell, three hundred were taken prisoners; and Osman Pasha Tshuprilitsh caused even these to be put to the sword. In the fort of Zvornik an imperial cannon of this period has been preserved up to the present day, evidently a companion piece to the one preserved at Mostar.

In the wars of the Bosnian oligarchy against the Porte, the occupants of this castle—the captains of Zvornik—played an important part.

An old legend, too, is attached to the fortress, as was bound to be the case in Bosnia, which everywhere echoes with legends of heroes.

A red marble slab, let into the castle wall, is shown, upon which are the figure of a woman and an old Slavonic inscription which has become illegible.

"*Proklata Jelena*": it is the picture of the accursed Jelena, who, before primeval times, even before there was such a thing as a kingdom of Bosnia at all, commanded the fortress of Zvornik. This Bosnian Semiramade was famed far and near for her beauty and her maidenly reserve, which repelled every suitor. Three of the noble Vuk Jugovitsh's brothers were already wandering abroad in sorrow in search of adventures on account of their hopeless love, and Vuk Jugovitsh himself lingered whole nights through upon the opposite bank of the Drina, throwing languishing glances over to the queen's gardens, which, surrounded by strong walls, extended along the rocks which descend perpendicularly into the river. The queen lingered for whole days and whole nights in these gardens; but Mûley, the Moorish giant, who guarded the gate of the castle garden, allowed no one to enter save the queen. Vuk Jugovitsh's falcon eye detected, high overhead in the precipice above the Drina, another gateway, thickly covered by wild roses; but who would dare to scale it? Had that unhappy man attempted it whose corpse Vuk once had seen at daybreak floating down the stream with a rosebud between his fingers?

At a banquet given by the queen, when she left her hero-guests to their merry-making over the wine beakers, that she might retire alone into the cool gardens, Vuk Jugovitsh, who had been seated next to her, and who could no longer control his feelings, stole out after her. In vain did he storm Jelena with his ardent love. As she, at the garden gate, for the last time commanded him to withdraw, Vuk pleaded in heartrending tones to be at least allowed to enter the garden. "Do not desire it, Vuk Jugovitsh," said the queen with a rigid face; "for so soon as thou enterest thou art mine,

and canst never more forsake me so long as thou livest." But as Vuk did not cease to assail her with passionate requests, and declared that he desired nothing more ardently, she promised, with a deep sigh and saddened countenance, to grant his petition, but said he must first return to his companions and explain to them that he, like his brothers, was going forth into the wide world in search of adventures.

Vuk was indescribably happy in the magically beautiful garden, for here Jelena was no longer cold or proud, but returned his passionate love with feverish fervour; but after the first few weeks she came to him less and less often, and for shorter and shorter periods, and Vuk waxed ever paler and more sorrowful in his solitary confinement. When, after many months, he in a dark night again, as oft before, begged the queen to restore to him his freedom, the noise and din of arms penetrated from the castle into the garden, and, full of horror, Muley the Moor informed Jelena that Vuk Jugovitch's faithful esquire, seized by the thought that he was being kept a prisoner by the queen, was seeking his master in all parts of the palace, at the head of a troop of insurgents. Jelena sent for her sword, in order that she might herself advance against the mutineers. She declined Vuk's aid, because her honour forbade that her lover should be found with her. She even desired Vuk's flight. "Leave through this door!" said the queen, moving a mighty block of rock away from the garden gate. A fearful cry of terror was heard; the invading insurgents had slain Muley, and at the same moment a vivid flash of lightning illumined the dark night, and Vuk, already standing at the gate, beheld the Drina many hundred feet below him.

"Jelena! am I the first who has passed through this gate? Jelena, didst thou murder my brothers?"

"Yes, Vuk Jugovitch, because I had enjoyed their love till I loathed it like that of the others, and thine."

"Jelena, fervently loved, now art thou a child of death,—be accursed!"

Vuk seized the queen with the power of a giant; but Jelena would not die alone, and the invading soldiers arrived upon the scene of the fearful struggle at the very moment when both fell over into the Drina together.

Zvornik figures besides in innumerable legends and heroic poems. Marko Kraljevitsh, the hero of the Servian national epic, also causes his favourite horse to jump over the river at Zvornik, at the spot where the Drina flows along through a regular pass between jutting cliffs and mighty pyramids.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

### *TUZLA AND THE VALLEY OF THE SPRESSA.*

*Tuzla and its Salt Springs—The Spressa—Gratshanitz.*

FROM Zvornik, where the minister had devoted a day to intercourse with the inhabitants of the surrounding neighbourhood, and where consequently the people came in crowds from far distant places, even from the woody and rocky wildernesses of the Upper Drina, we, on the following day, having taken leave of the beautiful Drina, mounted the comparatively narrow bulwark of the Majevitza-Planina, which here forms on the one hand the watershed between the Drina and the Spressa, which flows into the Bosna, and on the other the junction of the Majevitza with the mountains of Vlasenitz and Srebernitz, which stretch far away, in all their grandeur to Serajevo and Gatzko, and are separated from the masses of hills of the Majevitza-Planina by the long, broad valley of the Spressa. In about two hours we, by dint of many turnings, reached the summit of the pass, and near to it the lonely inn of Sapardi, which recalls General Ladislaus Szápáry to mind; and then, constantly descending westwards, we reach the valley of the Spressa, which is at first narrow, but afterwards expands to a regular plain. The road continues along the northern border of this fruitful plain, still at the foot of the Majevitza-Planina, whilst the Spressa, well fed by subsidiary streams, and rapidly increasing, flows along towards the southerly chain of hills.

Our road, however, soon left the broad valley of the Spressa, which stretches away to the west, and which we did not meet again until we were past Tuzla,—Tuzla itself, with its ancient and famous Salt Springs, lying amongst the mountains. Our road turned northwards, so as to cross the pass of the Tshaklavitz-Planina, and then led at once in a westerly direction through the narrow, woody, and monotonous valley of the Jalla, as far as



Dolnja-Tuzla, which with two changes of horses we reached after a journey of something like ten hours.

The importance of this place was at once evident by the reception accorded us. The town, which numbers some eight thousand souls, and whose population consists almost entirely of Mohammedans, is the seat of the district authorities and an Orthodox bishop, and is one of the few towns which have played any marked part since the first existence of Bosnia. It is first mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus as "Salenes." Its Roman name was *Ad Salinas*. The Slavonians still call it *Soli*, and "Tuz" in Turkish also signifies salt.

In the Hungarian records of the Middle Ages it appears under the name of "Sou," "Sow," capital of the "Salt District," or "Salt Banate." From the Adriatic to the Pontus this is the only place where salt is found, and hence its early fame.

Tuzla is beautifully situated on the northern, or right bank of the Jalla, which, about sixty yards in width, flows between parallel chains of mountains. White houses are scattered at wide distances round the centre of the town, so that they still form part of it at a distance of three or four miles, and brighten up the whole landscape. The citadel standing in the centre is now almost a ruin, and will shortly be pulled down, its stones being even now constantly employed in new buildings. On the river's bank some remains of the old city walls are still standing. In the year 1690, the city was threatened by a severe siege, after the imperialists under General Pertshinlia had won a great victory over the Turks in the neighbourhood of Gornje-Tuzla. Pertshinlia, however, contented himself with transferring something like three thousand Catholics together with the Franciscans to Slavonia.

The *Konak*, a solid stone building with spacious halls, in the neighbourhood of the citadel, is one of the most beautiful in all the country. At the illuminations provided in our honour on the evening of our arrival, the arrangements of which on this occasion also showed that Orientals have a great gift for such displays, which afford themselves great pleasure, lent to the town a really fairy-like appearance. The banks of the river, the two bridges, the citadel, the fortifications, and the mosques, even the outlines of the distant hills were illuminated, and the people wandered up and down with their coloured lanterns until far into the night. From amongst the lively crowd the beautiful gypsy girls must be especially named as a speciality of the place. As is everywhere else the case in the East, the wandering gypsies, dwelling in tents, are very numerous in Bosnia; but in Tuzla there is a permanent colony of gypsies, which inhabits a portion of the outlying streets.

Since the town is overpoweringly Mohammedan, these too are, as a matter of course, Mohammedan, and that with great ostentation, although they are by way of example not tolerated in the mosques. The men are musicians, tinkers, horse dealers, etc., just as with us. The old women earn their bread by card tricks, and fortune-telling; the girls live as public singers and dancers, and descend even lower in their means of obtaining a livelihood. Though their morals may not be altogether above suspicion, it is, however, a characteristic trait, that towards Christians, and especially towards strangers who have settled there, they are just as unapproachable as every other Mohammedan woman, even though they do not follow the severe discipline of the harem, and do not even wear a veil.

In Tuzla the minister's chief attention was naturally directed to the Salt Springs. In the primitive manner in which these had been until then worked, the springs of Dolnja-Tuzla and Gornja-Tuzla had together yielded supplies to the value of about thirty thousand florins; the latter place is about six miles distant from the former, and is situated in the Majevitza-Planina. The existing springs were not, moreover, of sufficient importance for the establishment of a modern salt-boiler. Yet, after geological testing had shown that deeper borings would open up more productive springs, these borings were made with brilliant results. The establishment of a great salt-boiler was at once taken into consideration, and in addition further researches for rock salt have been prosecuted.

The coal mines in the neighbourhood secure the necessary materials for heating purposes. The income for 1886 has already been estimated at 294,000 florins, which, as the investigations were still in course of progress, must be placed against an expenditure of 92,241 florins (£9,224).

Tuzla not only trades in salt, but also carries on a brisk trade in corn, cattle, swine, and horses.

During our one day's stay in Tuzla, travellers arrived, who had been attacked by Milan Nikolitsh upon the same road over which we had travelled on the previous day. He had threatened to shoot a clerk who was in their company, "because he belonged to those who persecute humanity." But when his companions interceded for him, stating that he was only a poor chancery clerk, and the father, moreover, of children, the robber contented himself with plundering the whole party.

After our visit to Tuzla, which was devoted to the development of the salt trade, we took the road leading down by the Jalla, and afterwards by the Sjressa.

The Jalla, which cuts off the mountain ridge of the Ravna-Tresna from

the masses of the Majevitza, in a few hours led us, as it flowed between the two, westwards, over Han Pirkovatz, and the far-famed acidulated springs of Kiseljak, down into the valley of the Spressa again; only this valley is here no longer as broad as we found it at its commencement; from the high, broad, and fertile plain, hemmed in by wooded mountains, into which we had descended from Zvornik, and which we had again left by the pass of Tshaklavitza so as to reach Tuzla and the Jalla valley, the Spressa again entered the mountains, just where the Jalla flows into it, and where the oak-grown ridge of the Ravna-Tresna comes to a sudden stop in precipitous, rocky declivities in the sharp angle of the two rivers. From this point onwards, the Spressa forms a narrow valley a day's journey in length, which leads in a north-westerly direction, between the Majevitza-Planina and the Vrana-Planina, as far as Doboï, where the river at last flows into the Bosna. Although the valley is narrow in proportion to its length, it yet gives space enough for the free use of the rich arable land, to which the wooded mountain ridge supplies not alone water, but also quantities of vegetable mould. In this loose earth the Spressa hollows out its narrow but deep bed in long windings, always keeping to the left of the road, which goes straight along at the foot of Majevitza. To the right and left innumerable little mountain torrents water the fields on their way to the Spressa. And as the fields in this long valley are almost without exception owned by small agas and free peasants, who cultivate them themselves, no neglected land is to be met with here. Nearly every piece is fenced in with the most various trees, self-sown fruit trees, limes, beeches, maples, and hazel-nut, saved at the time of the grubbing, so that the choice in foliage trees makes it very park-like in aspect. In this rich variety of form and foliage lies the peculiar charm of this valley, which opened up charmingly in its beautiful freshness as the morning mists dispersed, and gave place to golden vapours under the power of the rising sun, as it mounted above the dark and lofty hills. Ozren rose ever higher and higher from amongst the mountains on our left; and as we drew near to Gratschanitza, its richly wooded ridge, four thousand feet in height, stood before us in all its grandeur. Gratschanitza itself is the seat of a divisional magistrate, and has about three thousand five hundred inhabitants, and is the only place of any size in the whole valley. But like the innumerable small villages scattered to the right and left, Gratschanitza lies with its mosques and celebrated hot baths, not in the valley itself, but a mile and a half from the Spressa, in a kind of ravine on the slope of the hill, on either side of the river which bears the same name.

Placing human habitations thus on one side was a peculiarity of the

place, and had wrapped the whole valley and our entire journey in an almost magic silence. But now this enchantment is broken, for civilization has penetrated into this inarticulate valley with all its tumultuous sounds. Hungarian enterprise has peopled it with thousands of Hungarian workpeople, for modest Gratshanitz has become the centre of a brisk timber trade, and Tuzla, too, is growing lively, and by the time this book appears, steam engines will be running from Doboi to Tuzla through the entire length of the Spressa and Jalla valleys.

We reached Doboi in the afternoon, after leaving by the entrance to the Spressa valley which is still popularly called "*Magyarska vrata*" (Hungarian gate); perhaps, after some victory gained at Doboi, the Hungarian troops pressed forward in this direction to the Salt Districts. From Doboi we reached the capital late in the evening by the Bosna railway, which has now been completed as far as Serajevo.





## CHAPTER XIX.

### *THE ZAGORJE.*

The Character of the Zagorje—Journey on Horseback—The Panorama of Treskavitz—Insurgents—Banditti—The Way in which Bosnians have to be dealt with—Council of War—The Pass of Sutjeska and its Horrible Legend—Wild Goats—The Wilderness of Krbjina—Tshengitsh Castle—The Bosnian Count, Dervish-Beg Tshengitsh—The Glagolitic Writing—Beshir Pasha Tshengitsh—Ballads—A Brilliant Feat of Arms—The Camp of Kalinovik—Tactics of the Robbers and Insurgents—Guerilla-Gendarmes.

OUR journey took us from Serajevo to the frontier of Montenegro, almost directly south through the notorious Zagorje,—a rocky tableland, with a poor vegetation, in the midst of the rugged snow hills, which surround the large district lying between Serajevo, Fotcha, Gatzko, Nevesinje, Mostar, and Konitza.

This, which is next to the inhospitable Planinas—the most wild, deserted, and backward position in Bosnia—is geographically and ethnographically connected with Herzegovina, to which, until the recent division, it belonged both historically and politically. The Zagorje was the centre of the rebellion of 1881, and has always been the first to be overrun by the invading hordes from Montenegro, just as it has ever been the warlike defence of Mohammedan Bosnia against that province. The protection of this territory, its wars, and even its government, together with all revenues, the Porte had always left entirely to the native begs, amongst whom the Tshengitsh especially had risen to the position of a regular feudal dynasty, who, over and above this, instead of themselves paying tribute money as vassals, drew subsidies themselves, so little did the Porte deem it worth the trouble, and so impossible did it seem to it, to rule this part of the country, from out of whose few and unimportant villages the strong feudal castles of the begs rose threateningly.

When robbers appear in the land, or a murder is committed, it is generally in this province.

There is no question of vehicular traffic and carriage roads. The only representatives of civilization are the fortified camps of our troops lying at a day's march from one another. The whole of life, and therefore also all means of travelling, are here still mediæval. We rode for five consecutive days, and were sometimes eleven hours in the saddle; and happy he who, like me, had a Hungarian charger to manage. It is, indeed, not so sure-footed in mountain climbing as the small Bosnian animal; and to fall



Zagorje-Beg.

too is dangerous—and we passed one point where all, without exception, who took part in the long cavalcade fell with their horses—but those, on the other hand, to whose share a safe, but restless, skipping Bosnian horse had fallen arrived at the end of their five days' ride in a semi-exhausted state. The first day was the worst, not because of the unaccustomed whole day's ride, but on account of the pouring rain, by which we were drenched within two or three hours so entirely to the skin that all precaution ceased, and the whole company plodded doggedly along in a long row behind one another—silent, almost speechless, dripping wet all over, like the landscape itself. Swollen to roughness, and covered with heavy mists, the

Zeležnitza stream flowed through the long ravine between the dark green hill-sides, amongst whose woody pastures a black hut now and again became visible in the distance. Only here and there did the mist lift and suddenly afford us a magnificent, broad, grand view towards the jagged snow peaks of the Bjelashnitza, and then of the Treskavitza-Planina, which, however, disappeared again as rapidly behind fresh veils of mist.

It was still dark as we assembled in front of Baron Nicolic's house, and the rain was already coming down in torrents when we mounted our horses. We rode out of the town, along and down the left bank of the Miliaska, below the stone tombstones of the old Jewish graveyard, past the slope of the peak

of Trebevitch, and then turned round, leaving the Miliaska on the left, southwards, following the direction of the road which skirts Trebevitch, at whose base we continued to ride across the torrents which dashed down from its ridge. At the first of these our company was diminished, for the representatives of the authorities, who had escorted the minister thus far out of the town, turned back; but even then we, with the officers and officials, who were to accompany us upon our journey, still made up a considerable cavalcade. On the right hand, to which the streams came hurrying down, lies the flat plain of Serajevsko-Polje, a flourishing plain in spite of fog and rain, traversed by the silver band of the Bosna, and studded with villas, gardens, and villages, shut in in the background by the dark wall of Igman. Near the timber houses of Kobilu, and crossing the Kobilu-Voda, which flows down Trebevitch, we now turned our backs on the mountain, after having skirted it in nearly a half-circle, crossed the threshold of Kobilu-Brdu, which reaches down to the plain; and, at the guard-house of "Tzrveni Klanatz," "red pass," reached the ravine of Železnitza, not far from the village of Voikovitch, at the point where the waters of the Železnitza enter the plain. Thence we passed upwards, along the right bank of the Železnitza, over the slope which belongs to Gala-Jaborina, and descends from the summit of the Tzerni-Vrh, eighteen hundred mètres high; far below rushes the torrent, and above it one wooded mountain ridge rises above another up to the snow-covered chain of the Bjelashnitza-Planina to an altitude of two thousand one hundred mètres. The ravine gets steeper and steeper, and after a turn our road too rises up to the Tzerni-Vrh.

After we had mounted some two hundred or three hundred mètres above Serajevo, to the cluster of houses known as Jlovitch, the mists for a few moments vouchsafed to us a clear view, and there stood suddenly before us in all its grandeur the Treskovitza-Planina, which joins on to the Bjelashnitza. At the back of the steep, beech-covered mountain-tops, a mighty pine forest reared its head; above this, Alpine meadows stretch far away, and we could see the region of rocks, a triple mural crown, with sparkling fields of snow shining between its peaks. Nature in all her virgin beauty, an unpeopled wilderness! The precipitous declivities from the peaks, which are eighteen hundred to two thousand one hundred mètres in height, make the whole of this district uninhabitable for miles round, and this wilderness continues to the west towards the Narenta valley and Konitza in similar, though less lofty mountains—in Vishotshitza, which is thirteen hundred mètres high; Zovnitza, fourteen hundred mètres high; and in the Jelitza-Planina, which is sixteen hundred mètres high; whilst its eastern branch—Veliku-Koza, sixteen hundred and seventy-eight mètres high, and in which, too, the Železnitza has its

origin—forms the threshold of the Zagorje, a tableland which lay straight in our path, and, at the same time, led across to the mountain regions of Fotcha.

After Jlovitsh, where the Železnitza has absorbed considerable streams like the Intshidol and the Tzrna, both from the northern side of the Treskavitza and from the mountains of Gala-Jahorina—that is to say, from both right and left—the height of the water in the river is perceptibly diminished; and the steep ravine, too, as soon as the peak of Tzerni-Vrh is behind us, grows gradually broader and more level, and ere long much-desired Trnovo lies before us, at the foot of the wooded Veliku-Koza, between fertile Alpine meadows and wide tracts of stone; whilst, to the right, the imposing view of Treskavitza still remains.

To the left of the small collection of low wooden houses, with their steep, high shingle roofs, a place of shelter greets us—spacious barracks, where we find a friendly offer of supper and shelter for the night.

Here we also met a number of distinguished begs of the Zagorje, and at their head our old acquaintance Dervish-Beg Tshengitsh, now bearing the Star of the Order of Franz Josef on his proud breast.

It was a really remarkable official escort, under the protection of which we, on the following day, continued our journey over the saddles of the Rogoj and the Krbljina.

It was quite within the bounds of possibility that these officers and begs with their retainers, who now in peaceful concord constituted our escort, had but shortly before borne arms against one another. Dervish-Beg Tshengitsh, indeed, whose whole life has been a succession of deeds of valour wrought against the Montenegrins, was not to be persuaded in his old age to ally himself with the agitators of that country. He proved himself to be just as loyal towards his present czar, as he had previously been loyal in his service to the Sultan, and even made considerable personal sacrifices for the new order of things. More than one member of his numerous and widely scattered house, however, took an active part in the rising of 1881-82. Kadri-Beg Tshengitsh played a leading part in it, and now found himself amongst us, like his companions in arms, Ibrahim-Beg Kutalja, Ramo Tsbemo, and others of more or less importance in the Zagorje, and leaders of the last insurrection, and of their retainers, who yielded their feudal lords equally obedient service in the present peaceful demonstration as they had done a short time ago in war. They have all been partakers of his Majesty's mercy, inasmuch as he granted a pardon to all the insurgents who were not guilty of any ordinary crime, provided that they laid down their arms, surrendered themselves voluntarily, renounced the lives of brigands, and swore sincere fealty "by their firm belief."



They were all stalwart, frank-looking men, and certainly it was not ignoble motives, but rather mistaken conceptions of duty, and doubtless also a blundering policy on the part of the Government then in power, that had induced them to revolt. Their conduct has justified the leniency shown to them. Many of their number have since rendered important service in the preservation of order and the soothing of unquiet spirits. Ibrahim-Beg Kutalja afterwards emigrated. He could not feel at his ease in the silence and quiet of undisturbed peace—he who had been mixed up almost incessantly in warlike adventures, now against, now with, the Montenegrins. About a year after this journey of ours, upon which he loyally escorted us, he sold his estates and went to the Sandjak. Not long ago we heard that the poor man had come to grief, and that the proud beg, who could not tolerate any regular control, now tills soil belonging to another, for he has become a needy kmet. He had honourably announced that he should not remain long in his own country; he emigrated, and kept his promise faithfully, never to take any further part in insurrections and revolutions.

Of course all these men require a special treatment suited to their character.

An understanding capable of dealing with small Oriental craftiness, and a firm hand, alone impresses them; but this, when joined to an open, hearty manner and goodwill, conquers them irresistibly, and may be counted upon absolutely. Much depends upon such officials as Mr. Vojvoditch, the "Commander of Fotcha;" for thus do the begs of the Zagorje call their divisional chief. Those who have felt his hand the most heavily are now his best friends; under their escort he feels himself the most secure, and in them he finds his best allies when Montenegrin outlaws and vagabonds trouble the land.

On this occasion, too, he came here to welcome the minister, with them as his only escort, by lonely, deserted mountain paths, from Fotcha, across Susjezno and Mrežitza, and along the northern slopes of the Bistritza and Dobropolska torrents, over the saddle of Rogoj.

In Trnovo we held a grand council of war as to the direction in which we should continue our journey. Whether along the direct road towards the south, through the tablelands of the Zagorje to the fortified camp of Kalinovik, and thence straight across the Upper Narenta, and after crossing this, near the fortress of Ulok, on through the Alpine wilderness of the Morinje to Gatzko; or in the opposite direction, cutting across the tablelands of the Zagorje in a south-easterly direction to Borja, where Dervish-Beg's castle is situated, and thence directly east, down the little

river Krupitza to where it joins the Govza, which flows northwards between the Lelja and the Dumosh-Planinas, then along the Govza to the point where it joins the Dubropolsku river, coming down from the Rogoj in a south-easterly direction, where Kadri-Beg Tshengitsh's castle is situated, and hence, further to the east, along the river Bistritza, which is formed out of both these rivulets, until it flows into the Drina, near Brod, which lies above Fotcha; from there southwards along the Drina as far as the Sutjeska Ravine, and up this in a south-westerly direction over the saddle of the Tshemerno down to Gatzko.

These two roads form respectively the western and eastern bends of that circle whose centre is made impassable by the mountains of the Lelja and Dumosh-Planinas some two thousand mètres in height. Between these and the Treskovatz-Planina, which lies to the east of them, and which also comes within this district, there is indeed a track over the saddle (eighteen hundred mètres high) of the Tshatova-Bara which connects these two groups of mountains, and then over the mountain of Živan, which conceals the sources of the Narenta, from Kalinovik in an almost direct line southwards to the Tshemerno Saddle and to Gatzko; but, as a matter of fact, this single track in this uninhabited, waterless Alpine wilderness of rocks is used by none save the banditti passing to and fro between Montenegro and the Zagorje.

The unequalled beauty of the landscape spoke in favour of the Eastern tour.

First there are the offensive and defensive castles of the deserted Zagorje, the rocky, oak-wooded banks of the Drina; but, above all, the celebrated Sutjeska Pass, whom none, who have overcome the terrors of this ravine, tire of praising.

Not far distant from that point of the Montenegrin frontier where the junction of the Tara and Piva, flowing down on either side of the Durmitor, form the Drina, the river Sutjeska dashes down from the south-west, through an incomparably magnificent defile of rocks, which leads up to the saddle of the Tshemerno. Its northern walls are formed by the bare, jagged lime peaks of the Treskovatz-Planina, which at first tower above wooded slopes, then fall sheer down into the river's bed. Upon the southern side the Vutshevo-Brdo and the Zuhra-Gora look like snow-clad teeth, and the whole side is covered with fantastic dolomite formations up to the highest ridge, which rises from five to six thousand feet above the level of the valley. Thus the road passes up and down the sides of the narrow ravine, now through struggling beech woods, now across bare walls of rock, winding along the giddy path between grey and whitish dolomite pyramids, amongst which the horse picks its way carefully, with the yawning abyss below.



The Sutjeska Ravine.

He who is not proof against giddiness has to resign himself to being carried along by his horse with closed eyes and slackened rein. Three times do the rocks compel the traveller to cross the Sutjeska, which now, it is true, is nothing more than a mountain stream of clear greenish water, as it hurries along over its deep bed. White crags of dolomite, between which pine trees straggle up, project for three thousand to four thousand feet across the river's bed; and now suddenly the ravine changes into a regular caldron, whose width, of about sixty feet, entirely covered by water, lies between the perpendicular limestone walls, which rise from eight hundred to one thousand feet above it. Above the lower wall, on the right bank, stand the ruins of the mediæval castle of Pirlitor.

A horrible legend is told of this castle. Vukashin, King of Rascia, fell in love with Vidosava, Momtshillo's wife, the lord of this Herzegovinan castle. She let him know that her husband was going out hunting on the following morning. He was, indeed, possessed of a winged steed and an indomitable sword. But the faithless woman would burn the horse's wings, and would fix the sword into its sheath with pitch, then should Vukashin waylay her husband with his horsemen. He could conquer Momtshillo. And thus it came to pass. The fugitive Momtshillo reached his castle with difficulty and in distress, to find it closed against him. His sister threw him down a rope, but Vidosava cut it in twain, and Momtshillo was lost. But Vukashin, full of horror at so much treachery, caused Vidosava to be tied to the tail of a wild horse, and married Euphrosina, Momtshillo's sister. She it was who gave birth to the legendary hero, Marko, the king's son, the exact likeness of brave Momtshillo.

On the further side of the ruins, the road is so closed by pyramids and columns of dolomite that one is forced to push along through the water itself or through the rocks. As a matter of fact, the last plan is resorted to; for a road is cut, for a certain distance in the northern wall, of just sufficient height and width to enable a horse to pass along with the masses of rocks above its head, and the precipices, falling sheer down into the waters, at its feet. The antiquity of this road is visible throughout, for it has not been produced by blasting, but has been hammered and chiselled out of the rocks. With a constant variety of magnificent and enthralling scenery does the ravine lead up to the saddle of Tshemerno, whose characteristic name "Bitter" bears witness to the countless bitter engagements which have been fought upon this mountain.

The saddle of the Tshemerno is thirteen hundred and seventy-three mètres high, and whilst its north-western slopes stretch away towards

the Dumosh-Planina, its southern sides are formed by the ridges of the Lebershnik and Volujak, which tower upwards to a height of two thousand two hundred mètres; over the latter the Montenegrins of the Piva district strove to make roads into the Zagorje, and not infrequently did they encounter the arms of the watchful begs upon the small plateau of the Tshemerno Saddle. From this point three other roads lay open before them when in search of adventures: to the north over the Živan Mountain, between the deserts of the Dumosh and Treskovatz-Planinas to the Zagorje, through the Sutjeska Ravine to Fotcha, or westwards down to Gatzko.

However alluring the romantic beauty of this road might be, our experienced leaders, who knew its difficulties from so many warlike excursions, were distinctly against our selecting this route after the rainfall of the previous day, during which the water had come down in torrents, as even under the most favourable circumstances this road was not without its dangers, and with the exception of at a few poverty-stricken inns and four Turkish watchhouses there was no shelter to be had for the night. It was therefore resolved to visit Dervish-Beg in his Kula at Borja, and, after this digression, to proceed on the road to Gatzko past the military encampments of Kalinovik and Ulak.

In Trnovo before our departure we took a look at the Bogomilian sepulchre near that town, which interested me, inasmuch as I here saw the figure of a wild goat, for the first time, upon a tombstone of this kind, though, as we approached the Montenegrin frontier, this was of frequent occurrence. Dervish-Beg stated emphatically that he himself had seen this animal, which is becoming extinct in Europe, in this country; and, moreover, that it still existed there, and it is quite possible that solitary specimens of this scarce animal may still be found in the wilderness of the Durmitor.

Our road at first still led by the right bank of the Železnitza, past woody declivities, along a narrow, but capital, stoneless and almost level bridle-path, beneath the shadow of enormous beech trees, so that, after the exertions of the previous day, we seemed to be riding in a park.

We soon reached the saddle of the Rogoj, twelve hundred and fifteen mètres in height, since then the scene of a sad event; for here it was that, just a year later, Lieutenant Tshulinovitch was shot at almost the same time as Dervish-Beg's brother, travelling from Borja to Fotcha, fell by a murderer's hand, instead of the beg himself, it is said, who was saved by having remained behind. The Rogoj is one of the watersheds between the Bosna and the Drina. We had left the Železnitza behind, and soon, after we had passed over the saddle near the village of Dobro Polje, we crossed the Dobropolsku

stream, as it hurried along to the Drina, in order to climb up the saddle of the Krbljina, which is fourteen hundred and seventy-six metres high.

It is singularly moving when one meets with any sign of tender sentiment amidst these magnificent, remote deserts, which are for ever and ever being saturated with human blood; such, for instance, is the inscription engraved here upon a huge wall of rock: "Wilhelmina's Valley." One of our soldiers, stationed in this wilderness, had been able, during a pause vouchsafed to him in the performance of his hard duties against the robbers, thus to give expression to the feelings of a loyal heart.

As soon as we left Dobro-Polje, a sudden change in the landscape took place. Just like our escort from the Zagorje, the begs here, mounted upon their small horses, which caracolled incessantly, and their retainers on foot, sometimes even barefoot, but leaping from stone to stone, with a light and noble carriage, were distinguished from the Bosnians by their more powerful, more elastic, more sinewy, slender, and swarthy forms. The green woods and soft lawns, too, were left behind, and the hard, sharp, but still beautifully formed limestone region (Karst), with its sun-burnt, warm, ochre tints, held sway.

After a hard climb, between rocks and groups of fir trees, we reached the well-fortified little military station of the Krbljina, after a three and a half hours' ride from Trnovo, where the guard has its quarters, summer and winter, far away from all human intercourse, if one or another of the Zagorje begs does not happen to be travelling this way to Serajevo. Comfort and luxury are not to be found here, not even so much as in a Bosnian village; but of true soldierly hospitality there is no lack. And here, too, we have a panorama, which in Switzerland would most assuredly have conjured up a splendid hotel. Before us lay the entire tableland of the stony Zagorje, only occasionally broken by green spots, surrounded by mountain above mountain—gigantic bulwarks of rocks, with snow-capped peaks; to the west, close to us, rising immediately in front, the Treskavitzaa; far to the south the Lelja-Planina, the Volujak, and, in the further distance, the group of the Montenegrin Durmitor; to the east the mountains of Novi-Bazar, and the hazy outlines of the Albania mountain chains.

From the heights of the Krbljina we, after a short rest, rapidly descended into the undulating tableland of the Zagorje, where we found the only sources of profit offered by nature,—the poverty-stricken pastures—inhabited by sheep and goats—which lie between the stony wastes, watered by lazily creeping rills. We turn off to the south-east, from the road to Kalinovik, which runs directly south along the western edge of the tableland, and cut across a

considerable piece of this plain, from the group of houses, known as Sivolje—and its Bogomilian graves lying upon hillocks, colossal in size, but almost entirely undecorated—to Borja, which is situated at the southern end of the table-land, about nine miles from the Krbijina, without coming across a single human habitation or a human being. Borja itself, too, consists of nothing but a few houses; but far away in the distance we can distinguish a mighty "Kula."

The whole of the Zagorje is strewn with these "Kulas." Wherever we stand they appear within our range of sight. A lofty tower of four simple rough but strong stone walls, full of small windows, which really serve as chinks through which to shoot. These openings are introduced in five or six stories above one another; in each story, and upon each pair of sides, one window is alternated with two, so that the windows are arranged like the spots upon the playing card—five. The whole is covered by a pointed shingle roof. Human habitations are only found under the protection and at the foot of these "Kulas," in which the inhabitants take refuge in times of danger, so that in case of need they may sustain a siege. In places where one or another of the begs resides, the "Kula" is, in addition to this, surrounded by strong side walls and moats, and within their boundaries dwell the lords in apartments one story high—of course a particular building is set apart for the harem—and altogether they form a picturesque group; for all Bosnian houses, and especially the better class, are ornamented with projections, bow verandahs, and ornamental arcades. All around lies poor arable land alternating with stony pastures.

The subjects and relatives of Dervish-Beg Tshengitsb were awaiting their lord and his guests in groups before the castle in Borja. The expression of natural dignity, which is possessed by every inhabitant of the Zagorje, and the obliging readiness to serve shown by the host's nearest relatives to distinguished visitors, made it difficult to distinguish who was master and who was servant. Only Dervish-Beg himself was conspicuous as host by his imposing appearance, his brief orders, and his personal care of the minister. The court was rapidly filled with pawing horses and busy men hurrying to and fro, whilst mysterious forms were visible behind the bars of the harem. We entered the Selamluk up some narrow wooden stairs, and tshibuks and coffee were soon set before us. Above the entrance to the Selamluk was inscribed in large letters: "Dervish-Beg Tshengitsb, Bosnian Gróf" (count). One of our sub-officers had probably thereby sought to please the master of the house. The low Selamluk, with its settees and carpets, only differs from others in that, besides the usual furniture, weapons are hung upon the walls; for loyal or distinguished begs have, especially if they dwell

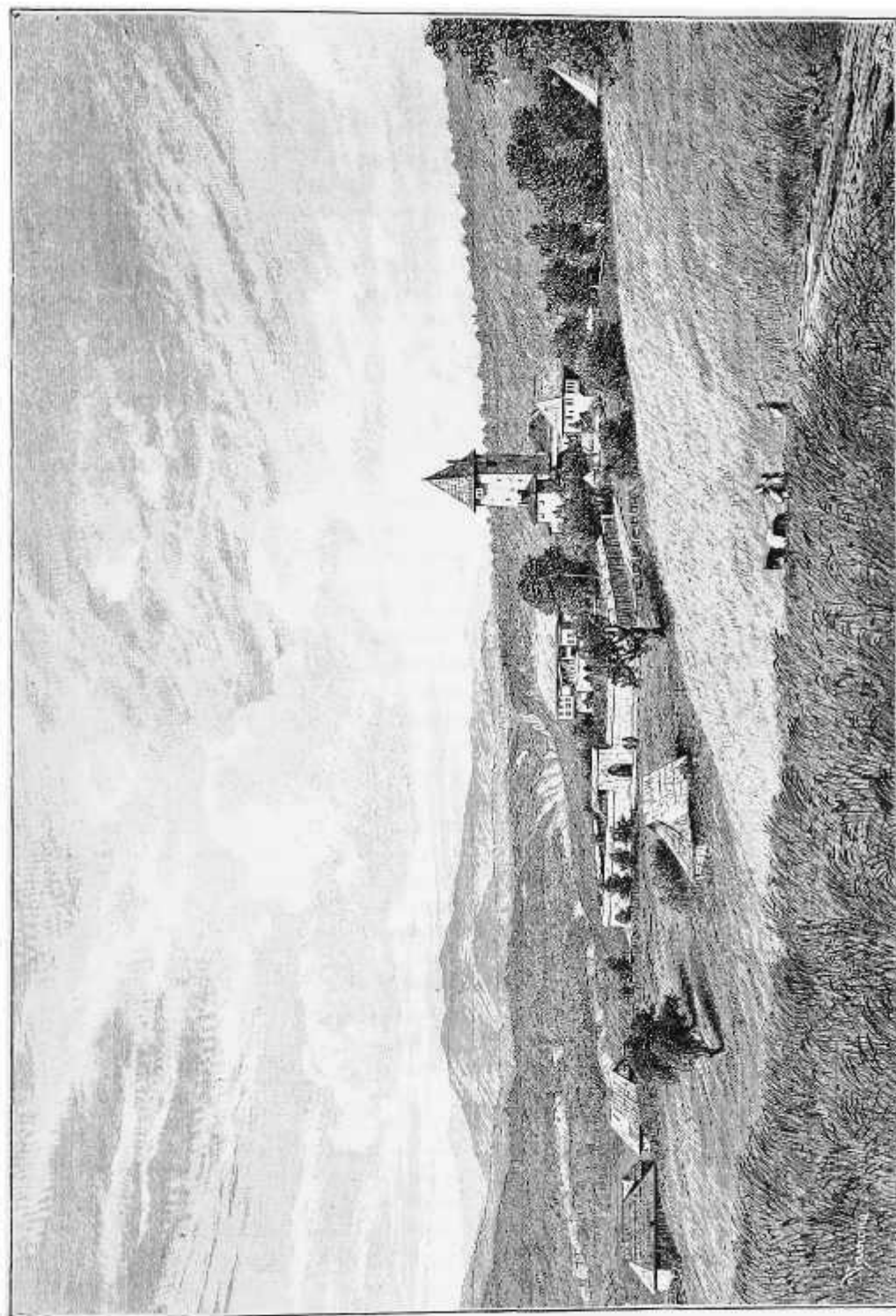
in exposed neighbourhoods, the privilege of bearing arms, and this constitutes their greatest pride. Hanging between the weapons we saw documents framed and glazed, amongst them those which announce the investiture of Dervish-Beg with the Star of the Order of Franz Josef, and with the Order of Medshidieh, and, in a prominent place, the Sultan's "Irade," which consigns the whole of the Zagorje, together with all State revenues, to the control and protection of Dervish-Beg.

Dervish-Beg renounced this high and lucrative position—similar to that of the old Sandjak-Begs—voluntarily; but, in spite of this, he naturally did not cease to be proud of it, and justly so, because he had won it by a whole series of brilliant exploits against the Montenegrins. Whilst explaining this diploma, he told us his whole family history, producing other documents between whiles—laudatory epistles, for the most part—in the now hardly known Glagolitic characters, whose use is now only preserved by means of the Bosnian begs; for in Bosnia the separation of sects is so complete, that each uses different characters in which to write the same language, and to these they adhere with a certain amount of fanaticism. The Roman Catholics use the Latin, the Orthodox the Cyrillic, the Mohammedans write Bosnian—indeed, with Arabic letters, but more frequently in the Glagolitic, which they also use in the place of the difficult Arabic alphabet, for Turkish text. In the Glagolitic they—the successors of the old Bosnian aristocracy—preserve one of the national traditions of ancient Bosnia. The origin of the Glagolitic writing is thus far shrouded in darkness. According to writers of the Orthodox Church it was invented by the Roman Church, that it might render the people of the Oriental Church more easy to convert. The Glagolitic writing stands, in fact, between the Cyrillic and the Latin; but one might as easily affirm that the Cyrillic writing was a strongly Grecized Glagolitic. In the present day, Glagolitic is only used by the Bosnian begs, the successors of the Bogomiles, who also thereby show how conservative and unchanged they have remained in the midst of all the changes of the world.

The Tshengitsh are not, however, descended from the original aristocracy of the country. Their family came with the Osmanlis from Asia Minor, since which time, however, it has been inseparably connected with the history of the country, many having stood at its head as viziers.

Dervish-Beg named to us all the innumerable Pashas and Miralajes descended from his family. The famous heroic song, which rests upon an historical basis, of Beshir Pasha Tshengitsh, one of the most beautiful of the Southern Slavonic folk-songs, is celebrated in the Zagorje and far beyond its borders.





Telengitab Castle.

## "BESHIR PASHA TSHENGITSE.

" Flew two black-winged ravens up from  
 Osia, just below Moskva,  
 Steeped in blood up to their wings,  
 With their beaks red to their eyes,  
 Flew for three or four days through  
 Karawachia and Karabogdania,\*  
 Skenderia† and Urumelia,  
 In the land of Herz'govina,  
 To the plains of Zagonje,  
 To and fro, for hours flew,  
 Settling down in no man's court,  
 Save in Beshir Pasha Tshengitsh's

" Cawing loud, with downward swoop they  
 Bend their wings above the walls,  
 Dropping thus a bloody feather;  
 And the wind doth lift it up, and  
 Bear it through the open casement  
 To the chamber of the begess.  
 When the begess sees the owen,  
 To the courtyard goeth she;  
 Looking t'wards the battlements,  
 Both the black-winged ravens sees,  
 Forthwith thus addresseth them:  
 'Black-winged ravens, mine allies!  
 Bloody to your very wings,  
 And your beaks red to the eyes!  
 Whose blood is it ye have drunken?  
 Whence, oh, ravens, have ye come?  
 Come ye not from there above  
 Osia, from below Moskva!  
 Saw ye not there Turkish hosts?  
 Saw ye not my own Beshir?  
 Nay, and Hassan-Beg, his brother,  
 Osman-Beg, my well-loved son,  
 Sal'-Small Aga, nephew mine,  
 Aged Arnda, standard-bearer,  
 And the other Turkish leaders all?  
 Are the armies well, and in good heart?  
 Are the chargers and the soldiers drilled?  
 Do the standards gaily float before them?  
 Do the Turks e'en rage like wolves!

\* Bulgaria.

† Albania.

“Is my Pasha still commander?  
Sends he scouts across the plains?  
Do they bring him many slaves?  
Has he Christians under chains?  
Tender captive maidens, too, enough?  
Has he something won for me?  
Brings he slaves from Muscovy?  
Have they yet their booty shared?  
Did the Pasha get the best?  
When returneth he to me?  
Prepared for him I then would be.”

“To her thus the ravens twain reply :  
‘Our ally, and Beshir Pasha’s wife!  
Gladly would we bring good news,  
Yet of that we saw but little ;  
What we saw we tell to thee !  
At Moskva were we then of late, and  
Saw, oh, woman, all thou askest after.  
Soldiers well, their spirits good,  
Horses caracolled with men,  
The standards waving on before, and  
Just like wolves the Turks did rage ;  
Thy Pasha, still as commander,  
Sent the scouts towards the plains,  
Many slaves they brought him back,  
Many Christians lay in chains,  
And fair captives lacked he not.

“‘Whilst in chains the Christians mourn,  
Christian women have to dance before him,  
Dance with grace, though not with heart.  
Seven are with thy Pasha ;  
Osman-Beg, thy son, hath some—  
Three of these the very fairest :  
All the Turkish leaders, too, have some ;  
One has two, another four !’

“Thereto answered Beshir Pasha’s wife :  
‘My allies good, ye ravens black,  
Truly ye have earned a gift !’  
Speaks, and starts to fetch the gift.

“But the ravens then replied :  
‘Wait! for other news we have to add!  
Victory had crowned the Pasha’s arms :

“ But the devil would not let him pause to think ;  
Ever nearer to Moskva he did approach.  
Seeing this the Moskva queen,  
Jelisava \* is her name,  
Caused a mine in secret to be dug,  
Then enticed across the Turkish host,  
Then set fire to the mine, so  
That t’wards heaven the soldiers flew,  
Nor till the third day fell they down !  
Hearing this, the wife of Beshir Pasha cried :  
\* Woe, oh, ravens ! Fearful is this evil news !

“ But the ravens still had more to add :  
‘ Yet, oh, begess, yet is this not all !  
Not till now of sorrow do we speak !  
’Gainst the army that survived  
Moskva’s queen now next did send—  
Send six hundred thousand men,  
Horsemen all, wild daring men.  
On Osia did they force the Pasha ; and  
Here, oh, begess, was the army slain :  
Twelve mighty viziers met their end.  
Countless small horsetail pashas too,  
With eighty Bosnian begs !  
Wailing, cries the wife of Beshir Pasha :  
‘ Woe ! oh, woe ! most dreadful is this woe !

“ But the ravens still had more to add :  
‘ Yet, oh, begess, yet is this not all,  
And thy sorrow hast thou yet to learn !  
Living took they thy Pasha,  
With him, Osman-Beg, thy much-loved son :  
Led them both to Christian camp.  
Beshir here a friend did meet,  
A friend from Herz’govina,  
Of the name of Zernojewitch Sava.  
Glad at this was Beshir-Pasha ;  
Sava then began to speak :  
“ Unchaste Beshir-Pasha, despoiler of our homes !  
Slain hast thou my brothers five,  
Heavy woe brought to my heart !  
Taken from me home and land—  
All my land in Herz’govina !

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\* Empress Elizabeth.

"Tell me, where is now my land and soil !  
 Where the kine that nourished me ?  
 Where my steeds, my fiery war-horses ?  
 Where my thousand sheep—my care !  
 Where my brothers—where are they ?  
 Fool, to this hast thou brought me,  
 For my own life laid in wait,  
 Scarcely could I flee to Moskva !"  
 When to justify himself the Pasha tried,  
 Sava would not let him speak ; but  
 Raised his sword, and from the trunk his head did cut.  
 Thy Osman, too, he fain would kill :  
 But Moskva's empress interfered :  
 " Stay, oh brother Zernojewitch Sava !  
 Still a child, and inexperienced is he,  
 And may yet our Scriptures learn !"  
 Osman, then, they did baptize ;  
 Taught to him the Muscovite books,  
 Made of him a Kaludjer !"  
 Hearing this the wife of Beshir-Pasha,  
 Broken-hearted, sank to earth ;  
 Sank down : never more to rise."

Far better known than this beautiful old song is the heroic poem of Ismail Aga Tshengitsh, an episode from the wars with the Montenegrins at the beginning of this century, which was translated into several languages after the edition published by the Croatian Banns Mazuranitsh.

Dervish-Beg himself, too, played an important part in Omer Pasha's campaign of 1861, and his brilliant feat of arms is well known : of how he defended the Piva Pass against the Montenegrins and the insurgent Christian Herzegovinans for two whole days with only seven hundred men. Surrounded on all sides, he even then proudly rejected the proffer of an honourable capitulation ; the Montenegrins fought all the more obstinately because they were convinced that the Serdar-Ekrem himself was amongst the little band of soldiers. By the second evening Dervish-Beg had one hundred and ten dead and wounded, when, in the darkness of the night, one of his faithful followers stole through the enemy's camp, and in the morning of the following day brought unexpected help from Gatzko.

The relieving force only consisted of five hundred men, but of so many drums and trumpets, that the enemy took fright at the expected cross-firing, and Dervish-Beg's troops were rescued.

Our host presented his little son Hajdar-Beg, ten years of age, to us, who, with great gravity, showed us, with the aid of his wooden gun, the exercises in use in our army. His elder brother, Omer-Beg, is placed with the arrondissement authorities at Fotcha.

After an hour's rest we took leave of Borja, but not of its lord, who accompanied us further, to Kalinovik. From Borja we turned directly to the west, towards the "kula" of Iazitshi on the road to Kalinovik, and soon reached that encampment, which is situated in the south-western angle of the Zagorje tableland near the outer southern promontories of the Treskavitzza, between the heights of the Gradina and Veratsh, which tower above the whole of that neighbourhood. As the usual highways—only bridle-paths after all—on the one hand from Serajevo to Gatzko, on the other from Mostar to Fotcha, led between these two heights, a solitary inn had stood here. But since the last insurrection this point has been fortified by an entrenched camp, whilst watchhouses stand upon the rocky yellow-grey heights.

The brook which flows down the slopes of the Gradina, and which forms a beautiful waterfall over the rocks, fertilizes the neighbourhood of the encampment, and our soldiers here in this wilderness, as elsewhere, zealously tend their vegetable garden, to which they are devoted. That we are, nevertheless, regardless of the trees and bushes skirting the brook, and in spite of the green gardens and seeds, standing upon Herzegovinan soil is apparent, not only by the limestone heights, but also by the fact that at a short distance from the encampment the entire brook, which is moreover rapid and drives a mill, is suddenly swallowed up by the earth. It no longer exists, it has vanished.

In the camp of Kalinovik, genuine soldierly friendliness and good temper reign; the evening slipped by with a good game of skittles, an interminable meal, and the clinking of glasses, until we at last recollected that we were to be in our saddles again by four o'clock the next morning. Those who had accompanied us thus far took their leave, amongst them Dervish-Beg and his followers, and we received a new and not less interesting escort.

For the subjugation of such robber bands as still remained after the insurrection of 1881-2, and of the frequently repeated incursions from the farther side of the frontier, an institution was founded, which not only maintained itself brilliantly, but also, like everything which commands the admiration of the masses, even elicited a certain amount of popularity amongst the people.

These bands of outlaws, especially at first, when they could through intimidation reckon upon the support of the people, where they led the lonely

lives of shepherds upon wide stretches of land, could easily extricate themselves from the snares set for them by our regular troops, for even when information was given it was only done so as to mislead the pursuers.

The regular soldiers, hampered by all their equipments and precautionary measures, and lacking all knowledge of the peculiarities of the country and its inhabitants, were naturally much more clumsy than those they were pursuing, who in cases of emergency simply stepped over the borders, where they could no longer be followed although they often kept just beyond shooting range, so as to scoff at their pursuers.

Apparently harmless signals were given by pan-pipes, songs, and shouts from hill to hill by shepherd boys who seemed equally harmless.

Keen observers of these primeval practices, which have for centuries been in vogue amongst the political and non-political banditti under Turkish rule, knew that they could only be defeated by their own weapons. So the Bosnian skirmishing corps (*Streifcorps*) was formed, which under the name of the "*Strafuni*" has grown to be one of the most dreaded, and yet the most popular, forces in the occupied Provinces.

Made up of gendarmes, of natives, and soldiers, who have voluntarily joined the corps, and of pardoned insurgents who have entered the service of the authorities as pandours, each retains his own costume, and only divulges his personality, in cases of necessity, by wearing a black and yellow band on the left arm. Like the robbers, they carry nothing with them save their rifle and a small bread bag.

Such daily necessities as the robber supplied by force they buy with ready money, wherewith they are provided according to their requirements. They have a standing supply of saddles, blankets, and laced boots, scattered in depots all over the country, the most important being near the guard-houses in the wilderness. They thus nightly break up into larger or smaller parties, of from two to a hundred men, conceal themselves, unknown to any one sometimes, where necessary, for days together, in the depths of the forests, or in caves amongst the rocks; walk barefooted, silently, wandering through the suspected places, without waiting for any indications of robbers having appeared here or there. Constantly dwelling in the wilderness and amongst the people, they know the secrets of both, and all their tricks and stratagems, put two and two together, awaken in the people not only respect but feelings of trust and confidence, and mislead the robbers, just as these formerly misled our soldiers; the shepherd boy now makes his signal in their service—if in no other way, why then under the influence of a rifle muzzle, pointed at him from the place of concealment; it sometimes comes to pass that the outlaw coming over

the border, and thinking himself secure in the darkness of the night and upon the impassable rocky paths, runs straight into the arms of the strafuni; but where larger bands of outlaws exist, the single posts concentrate themselves, and prepare rapidly for open fight. In short, with the native element at their centre, they waylay the cunning of the robber and defeat him by his own tactics.

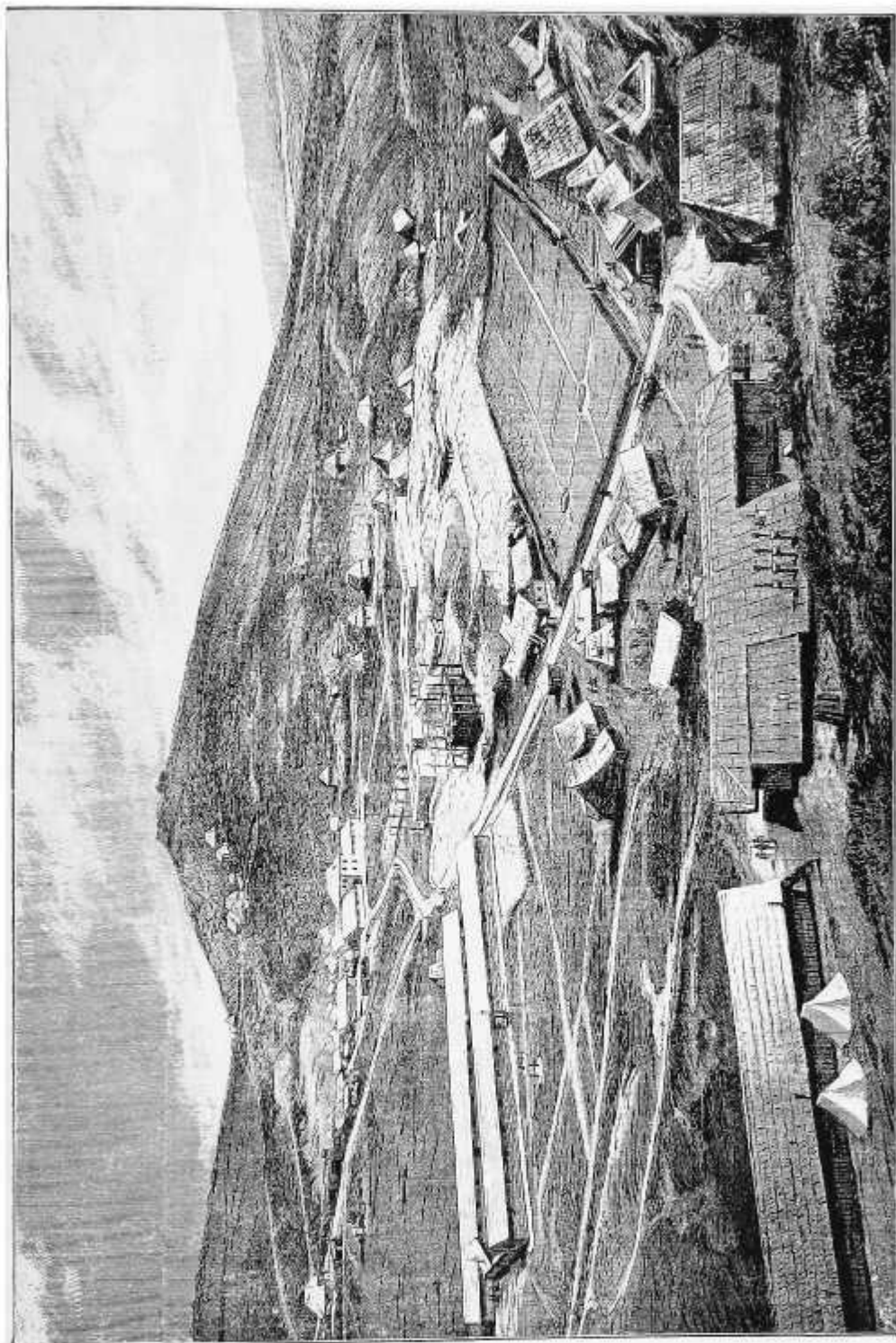
The strafuni, aided by the rule that, in every case where undetected secrecy has given assistance to the robbers, the whole community *in solidum* shall be punished by a fine in money, has made the robber's life, formerly so prosperous, now a thankless one; and so far impossible that, even if one of our good friends, Lazo Šošitza for instance, the celebrated "commander" of the Montenegrin province of Piva, the almost independent lord of the mountains of Durmitor, who causes the snow to be trodden down by a hundred oxen, when travelling to Tshettinje, sometimes sends a band across the borders—a thing of not infrequent occurrence upon occasions of public rejoicing, a journey of the minister's, or during the recruiting—it comes to a speedy termination in fright.

A cavalcade of these strafuni now formed our escort, and with them came Captain Svetitschanin, the martial commandant of the entire skirmishing corps.

From Kalinovik, the tableland of the Zagorje bends to the south-west for a time like a narrow strip between the outrunners of the Treskavitza and the Lelja-Planina—of which the first forms its western, the latter its southern wall, as far as the group of houses known as Krajiselitshi. Here the mountain streams of the Vrhovina, which is part of the Treskavitza, and the Vutshje-Brdo, Wolf Mountain, which joins the Lelja-Planina, flow into one another, and form the river Krajiselitza-Rjeka, which now hurries along the steeply inclined country, always close at the feet of the steep and woody Vutshje-Brdo, to the south-west, into the Upper Narenta, as that river flows from the south-east. We continued on our way, above this stream on the slope of the Vutshje-Brdo, at first upon stony ground, this continuing as far as the group of houses known as Obalj. Here we rested, and then passed into a dense, luxuriant, silent beech forest, which covered the Wolf Mountain to its very summit; and then we suddenly beheld the peculiar greenish-white water of the Narenta far below us. Even here it was broad enough, but did not as yet flow between the rocks by which it is recognizable later on, but was shut in on either side by steep wooded mountain ridges.

We now rode up the Narenta, directly south, still high above the river, on the slope of the Vutshje-Brdo, which we had skirted in a long bend, from Kalinovik, to the point where the now southern walls of the





Kalinovik.

mountain descend into the valley by mighty terraces, which take the name of "Bjela Vodu" from the innumerable rills of water which rush down them. In front of this bend we descend down to the Narenta by steep sloping, tortuous windings, most of the company on foot leading their horses; the banks are a little wider here, and a long wooden bridge leads across the river, whilst on the farther side stand the ruins of a lonely mosque, all that remains of the Ulok of former days, after the insurrection of 1881-2, the central point of which was here. We had now descended from Kalinovik, which lies at an altitude of one thousand and ninety-seven metres, to a height of six hundred and seventy-eight metres; but on the opposite bank we had to ride along a road just as steep as that by which we had descended on the other side, up a hill seven hundred and four metres high, and still more bare, that we might reach New Ulok, which consists of a small fortress built since the insurrection, and which is situated nearer to the village of Obernja than to Old Ulok.

The officers dwelling in the deserted solitude of this settlement awaited us in front of the strong bulwarks and gateways of their fortress, built upon the summit of the hill. Between the cold, newly built walls, through whose shooting chinks the wind whistled into the best rooms, we passed a frosty night upon straw pillows, and beneath rugs, for even the comforts of barracks had ceased here, and taking leave at four o'clock in the morning of our hosts, on whom the duties of a soldier's life constantly enjoin such hardships, we were again seated in our saddles, so as to reach the plains of Gatzko in good time, through the Alpine pastures of the Morinje.





## CHAPTER XX.

### *THE MORINJE AND GATZKO-POLJE.*

Tzervanj-Klanatz and his Castle of Rocks—The Morinje and its Dangers—The Vanished Bridal Party—Montenegrin Colony—Groups of Herzegovinan Horsemen—The Plains of Gatzko.

ABOUT a thousand paces to the south of Ulok there towers a seemingly insurmountable bulwark of rugged rocks about four thousand paces in length, and thirteen hundred and twenty-eight mètres in height, the threshold of the "Tzervanj-Klanatz." If we cross this, we see on the western end the Gvozđ, on the eastern the Somina heights, stuck on like cocked hats. Somewhat more in the foreground, between the two, is the ridge of rocky Panos,—a regular system of natural bulwarks of gigantic dimensions, and strengthened by art, for the peaks of the Somina are surmounted by five kulas. Heavy blows have been struck more than once upon this rocky mountain; the last time in February 1882 between our troops, advancing from Nevesinje and Gatzko, and the insurgents concentrated at Ulok from the neighbourhood of the Upper Narenta, and the Zagorje, at whose head stood the celebrated leaders: Commanders Ibrahim-Beg Tshengitsh and Salih Aga Forta, the Serdars Vasho-Buva, Stojan Kovatshevitsh, and others.

Several of these had just escorted us through the Zagorje. Others, like Salih Aga Forta, and Stojan Kovatshevitsh, who were ordinary robbers, live in Montenegro and in the Sandjak.

Looking down from the rocky bastions of the castle of rocks, the Tzervanj-Klanatz, we see the Tzervanj-Planina on the west, and on the east the peaks of the Dumosh-Planina, which are more than eighteen hundred mètres in height, but just before us lies a landscape unique in its melancholy monotony—the Morinje.

Up to the furthest bounds of the southern horizon there extends a

slightly undulating, bright green piece of ground, across which low, whitish ridges of rock are here and there drawn, and dark lime-pits gape. The whole tableland is of rocky soil, of an average height of thirteen hundred mètres, and closely overgrown with short grasses, between which the gentian here and there raises its blue head. No tree, no bush, not a sign of any human hand or labour upon the whole plain, which extends for many miles in all directions. Its only spring, past which our road leads, is that of Pashina-Livada. Montenegrin shepherds tried to establish a colony here, but this, too, came rapidly to grief, and now scarcely any traces of it are discoverable. They could not withstand the fearful snowstorms, which, excepting in the months of July and August, rage throughout the year in the Morinje, coming up unexpectedly, and laying everything waste.

On account of these snowstorms, as well as of the hungry wolves which break out from the Tzervanj-Planina, the Morinje is considered to be so dangerous during the winter, that it is only traversed by caravans, consisting of at least from forty to fifty people.

Not far from the Pashina-Livada there is one other point, which in this monotonous, uniform, Alpine desert has at least a name—the Svatovske-Greblje, “wedding tombs,” a large group of tombstones lying between rocks and lime-pits. A hundred years ago, so runs the legend, Omar-Beg Ljubovitsh was conducting his bride from Ulok to Nevesinje through the desert. At this spot they were overtaken by a snowstorm driven across the Dumosh-Planina from far-distant Volujak, and all—the bridegroom and all his wedding guests, more than one hundred and sixty heroes, were destroyed—the bride alone saved herself in a marvellous manner, upon her splendid Turkish steed, and succeeded in reaching the plains of Nevesinje across the mountain ridge of the Tzervanj-Planina: a mournful bride—the messenger of death.

According to another legend two courting processions, who were going in search of one and the same bride, met here. In the fight which broke out between them, those taking part in one of them all fell victims. Doubtless more recent variations of legends centuries old, for the tombs, although no sign is any longer visible upon them, date from pre-Turkish times, and are identical with the Bogomilian tombs, which exist in other parts of the Morinje as well.

As a town can hardly have ever stood in this neighbourhood, it is probable that these tombs cover warriors who have fallen here. In Bosnia very light work is made of a hundred years: every old man and every old thing counts equally as a century!

In July and August the Morinje is lively, and sheep are driven up from the plains of Gatzko and Nevesinje, and even from Montenegro, to pass their summer here, the shepherd choosing one of the many caves as his habitation.

For many hours we wandered southwards between the green undulations of the Morinje. Low elevations concealed the horizon in such a way that hardly anywhere could we see more than one or two hundred paces ahead, and after walking for hours it still seemed as though we were still in the same place.

Up and down, up and down, always between the same earth mounds, at the foot of the same rocks, between the same yawning pits, above us the white firmament, all around us nothing but grassy waves.

There is hardly a trace of any beaten track. As upon the sea, and in the desert, so here, too, the position of the stars and the practised instinct of the natives point the way.

After a ride of four or five hours we began to turn from the south more towards the east, and reached the margin at last, where the Morinje begins to descend in long, broad shelves towards the south-east. At the foot of the first terrace the rain-water, as it flows together, forms a little brook, and upon its bank there stand a few huts and plum trees; people collected together as we wound down the long steep road; they were the inhabitants of the little hamlet of Slivlje, also a Montenegrin colony. Splendid, noble figures of southern type, with luxuriant black hair, it is a pity that their calling does not correspond to the impression made by their appearance, for they are nominally shepherds, but really sheep-stealers. Whilst we were resting on the edge of the brook, below the village, in a neighbourhood which, after the desolate Morinje, seemed to be quite picturesque, and the head of the little community—the Glavar—was interviewing the minister, one of the inhabitants sang heroic songs to the guzla for our entertainment, and all gladly partook of our wine and cold viands.

After we had, near Slivlje, reached the second ledge of the sloping south-eastern margin of the Morinje, which is already called the Javor-Planina, we rode farther along it by the side of the Slivlje brook, again southwards upon exactly similar ground as that of the upper part of the Morinje. After this broad ledge the ground again falls suddenly, and still more steeply to the bottom of the valley, which separates the Javor-Planina from the tableland of the Ponikve-Planina, stretching away towards Gatzko, by a deep, narrow, steep, sharply-descending ravine, in which lies the stony bed of the Zupanj brook, which runs parallel with the Slivlje brook to the

south-west. But in comparison to the stagnant waters of the Slivlje the Zupanj is an unbridled, foaming mountain torrent, moving and carrying away stones and heaps of sand in its wake.

Riding along upon this lower terrace of the Planina, between both streams, we at last reach its southernmost point. Far below us the waters of the Zupanj unite with those of the Bashtitza stream, whose narrow valley, lying between the above-named Ponikve-Planina and the opposite Bjelashitza-Planina, leads south-eastwards to the plains of Gatzko. The combined streams under the name of Zahlumska-Rjeka flow between the southern declivity of the Morinje and the Umatz Mountain which towers up before us; and this valley, a continuation of the former one, leads southwards out into the plains of Nevesinje, which lie between the Tzervanj-Planina, the western wall of the Morinje, and the Velez-Planina which extends above Mostar.

We stood upon the heights as though upon the ledge of a bastion, that went straight down on either side, into a moat; to the left the foaming, rushing Zupanj; before us the silent, winding, silver ribbon of the Zahlumska. We cautiously descended the short, slippery grass by long zigzags. Below, where the streams meet, in front of the village of Fojnitza, a whole body of horsemen awaited us: the deputation from Nevesinje.

After we had crossed the Zahlumska by the long wooden bridge immediately below where the waters of the Zupanj discharged themselves we rode at the head of the Nevesinje deputation, for a short distance further, along the left bank of the river, which now bore the name of Bashtitza, up to Fojnitza, where a no less brilliant and motley troop of horsemen was awaiting us from Gatzko. Beneath pavilions woven out of leaves, in front of which the sheep were being turned upon spits at the camp fire, we partook of a heavy meal. One of the officials of the Gatzko arrondissement, a Montenegrin by birth, carved the animal, roasted to a reddish brown, with one sharp stroke of his scimitar. After our long ride the rest did us double good amidst these picturesque surroundings, to which not only the pavilion and the camp fire, but the figures and soldiers, and the members of the deputation clad in gay holiday attire, all lent a warlike appearance. It was an indescribable, but memorable, sight when we had again mounted our horses and continued our journey through the narrow rocky valley of the Bashtitza into the plains of the Gatzko-Polje. The horsemen crowded through the narrow valley behind us for as far as the eye could reach, and when they had passed through into the plains, they covered it entirely. Letting go the bridles of their fiery steeds, they rested in many coloured groups,

with wild cries, shouts, beating of drums, swaying of flags, singing heroic songs, and embracing one another on horseback. These noises gave most distinct evidence that we were amongst a different people, and beneath a different sky, from the Bosnian; this was also impressed upon us by the chivalrous self-consciousness with which even the Christians here approached us, Christians who, under Montenegrin influence, and supported by Montenegro, had never bowed before Mohammedan masters, and who had either openly or in secret carried on incessant war. And this aristocratic self-consciousness finds expression not only in their stately figures and in their dignified bearing, but also in their brilliant, gorgeous costumes, sparkling with gold and silver, amongst which one frequently sees the small round, flat, Montenegrin cap with a black brim and embroidered red crown, the white smock-frock something like the Albanian *Fustanella* passed underneath the girdle, and the white woollen gaiters fastening tight round the calves below the full blue trousers. The *Waywodes*, *Serdares*, and *Glavares*, who have for the most part earned their titles in the wars as leaders of companies, wear the sleeveless many-coloured dolman, from which the broad shirt-sleeves hang, like regular glittering armour, for it is entirely covered with plaits of chased silver. Their cartridge-cases of beaten silver hang by straps ornamented with silver studs. Those who have the right to do so, proudly carry their ornamental pistols and scimitars in a heavy girdle, or else a gilt circular sword at their side. Those who do not possess this privilege stick at least a few knives in their belt.

Here we saw Bogdan Simunitsh, with his long white beard and Montenegrin cap, but in the black habit of the priesthood; he was a pop, who, in the campaigns of 1861 and 1875, was a celebrated leader. In spite of his hoary beard he was one of the most zealous of the singers.

Only the begs with the long tasselled fez or turban, in green or red silk kaftans, stitched in gold, preserved here, too, their dignified repose. Thus we proceeded across the Gatzko-Polje, between its morasses, in widely scattered groups, nearly four hundred horsemen in all, amongst them scarcely one in the dress of a civilian with a white sun helmet; officers and officials in uniform, but the great mass in fantastic Oriental garments, a procession the like of which I have never seen before nor since.

Maxim Tshernojivitch's wedding procession may have offered a similar picture, when it set forth across the sea to bring home the daughter of the Doge of Venice.

"Silk and velvet deck the heroes,  
Scarlet red are all their dresses,

Redder were they from the blood,  
From the sun a rosy colour.  
Loosely hang around their shoulders  
Richest cloaks of violet,  
On their heads the gayest caps,  
Round their breasts bright silver mail.  
Thus did glitter all our youth,  
Pearl and crown of the procession.  
Never was their equal seen  
Serbs or Latins e'er among.  
Latins they have everything :  
Gold and silver work they deftly,  
Finish well the scarlet cloaks ;  
But the highest thing they lack :  
Troops as princely, bold and proud,  
Fresh and gay as these."

The Gatzko-Polje is a basin surrounded by high, sparsely wooded, rocky mountains which at its north-western extremity, where we entered it, extends to a length of about fifteen kilometres and a width of five kilometres to the south-east, towards the Montenegrin province of Dobrujak, and leads through a narrow pass into this province. The north-eastern slope of this basin at first rises like a plateau, upon which may still be seen between the thick labyrinths of low fences of dry masonry, some solitary groups of trees and gardens, but after that it rises suddenly in jagged, gigantic walls of rock right up to the saddle of the Tshemerno, and the heights of the Lebershnik and the Kuk-Planina. The south-western margin is formed by low but steep hills with some vegetation, behind whose chain, however, the woody Bjelashitza-Planina rises just as suddenly ; and to the south rises the rocky waste of Korito. The plain of the basin is still some nine hundred metres above the level of the sea. There is no enclosed place or town of the name of Gatzko ; the name applies to the whole hollow, whose margins, especially in the ravines of the northern plateau, are covered with small clusters of houses.

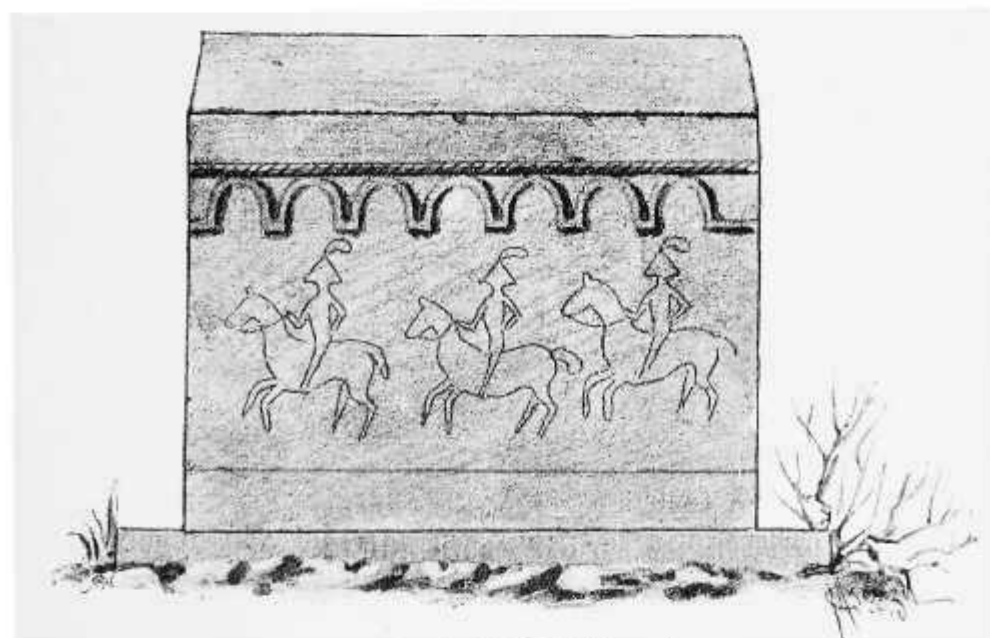
All these houses are built after the Herzegovinian plan, with a windowless ground floor, which serves as a stable, and one upper story with narrow windows, built of solid stone and roofed in with stone slabs.

The number of buildings when taken together might mount up to a thousand ; each family and circle of relatives lives apart, and inhabits one, two, even six houses, in one group, according to its numbers, in close proximity to its arable land. One chief cause of this separation may lie in the fact



that Christians and Mohammedans cannot tolerate one another; but there are also the ancient warlike customs—amongst them the hereditary *vendetta*, against which the detachment of the several circles of relatives offers more security. And then, too, the near neighbourhood of Montenegro, where each town, Nikshitsh and even Tshetinje, is built in these groups, may account somewhat for this circumstance. It may, however, have originated in the fact that the separate divisions of the population have only settled singly and gradually upon the ground which they now occupy.

The most extended group of houses on the northernmost margin, to



From the Gatzko Burial-ground.

which formerly the name of Gatzko was more especially given, and which was also the seat of the Turkish authorities, is that of Metochia; this Greek name points to the institution of a parish. Gatzko, too, formerly Gretzko, bears reference to the settlement of some Greek monastery or other. The new Government buildings have been built a little beyond Metochia, and now people begin more and more to apply the name of Gatzko to this central point. So long as the famous Ismail-Beg Tshengitsh, the hero of the well-known folk-epic, held sway in the Gatzko-Polje, the name of Gatzko clung to his kula, which rose opposite to Avtovatz, at the foot of the hills on the opposite margin. It is not standing now.

The place where the chief of the older settlements stood is shown by the mediæval burial-ground, which lies not far from Metochia, to the right of the road which leads to Avtovatz.

About two hundred tombstones cover a gently rising meadow near the present Christian churchyard, but a large number of the stones were used in the construction of the road. In opposition to the belief which ascribes the decorated stones chiefly to Herzegovina, and those without any symbols to Bosnia, those found here are, as a rule, only simple slabs. Several, however, display more important ornamentation. Amongst leaf-borders, kolo-dances, and stag-hunts, occurs a group of horsemen with headgear ornamented with feathers, etc., etc. The foundation walls of a vault, in the middle of the cemetery, merits attention; they are twelve mètres long and four mètres wide, and constructed out of square stones similar to those of the single tombs, and indeed even a few decorated stones have been made use of. Not far from the burial-ground there stands a high, rough stone cross.

Further on towards Avtovatz there is upon an isolated low hill another much smaller but more beautiful group of these graves. The single stones are taller than a man, and generally display beautiful ornamental and columnal decorations. But only one single stone is covered with figures from the life, i.e. two fighting stags. A sarcophagus bears an inscription which has become illegible.

The Gatzko-Polje itself, surrounded on all sides by rising ground, was, beyond doubt, at one time the basin of a lake, whose waters flowed into the plains of Nevesinje through the Fojnitza valley. The water in course of time worked its way through the limestone (Karst) just as the Mushița in like manner rises from the springs of the Tshernemo and Lebershuik and winds along the whole length of the basin, penetrating through subterranean passages into the interior of the earth at the end of the chain of hills in front of the Bjelashitza mountains, together with the stream flowing from its other side, and those from the north, at once to the entrance to the Gatzko-Polje, near the brooks of Tshajnitza and Gratahanitza, which flow down by the group of houses known as Gratahanitza, and which the Mushița picks up in its course. Thus swallowed up by the earth it cannot reach the vale of Fojnitza, through which the Bashtitza flows into the Nevesinje-Polje. The Mushița, which has vanished into the caverns or Ponors, they say, does not reappear until it reaches Trebinje, far away. But if the snow melts (snow covers the Gatzko-Polje from the beginning of November till June), and countless streams come tearing down the mountains, the subterranean caverns are not able to receive the concourse of waters, and hence a large part of the basin

annually becomes a lake again, whose waters slowly flow off in opposite directions, and leave behind nothing but wide swamps. These are rapidly dried up by the heat of the sun, and until the middle of September grain is grown upon it, which with cattle-breeding and a few vegetable products constitute the only articles of cultivation. In spite of its southern situation, the average heat of the sun is very low, partly as a result of its altitude, partly on account of the snowy mountains lying to the north-east and of the south-western chain of hills which shut off the effects of the sea.

Therefore the maiden in the folk-song says to her suitor from Gatzko :

“ Stories many I have heard  
Of the country all round Gatzko,  
Dreary desert all around,  
Tablelands and mountains high,  
And between naught else save rocks.  
Snow lies there perpetually,  
No sun's rays can melt it ever—  
Thither follow I no lover.”





## CHAPTER XXI.

### *THE ROCKY DESERT OF KORITO, AND THE NECROPOLIS OF THE VARDAR.*

The Castle of Kljutsh—The Grotto Lake—Legend of King Sandalj—The Historical Sandalj—The Saddle of the Kobila-Glava (Mare's Head)—Prehistoric Tombs—The Rocky Desert of Korito—Agriculture between the Rocks—The Cordon—The Vardar and the Necropolis—God's Oak—The Bogomilian Burial-ground of Radmilovitsh—Cisterns made out of Tombstones.

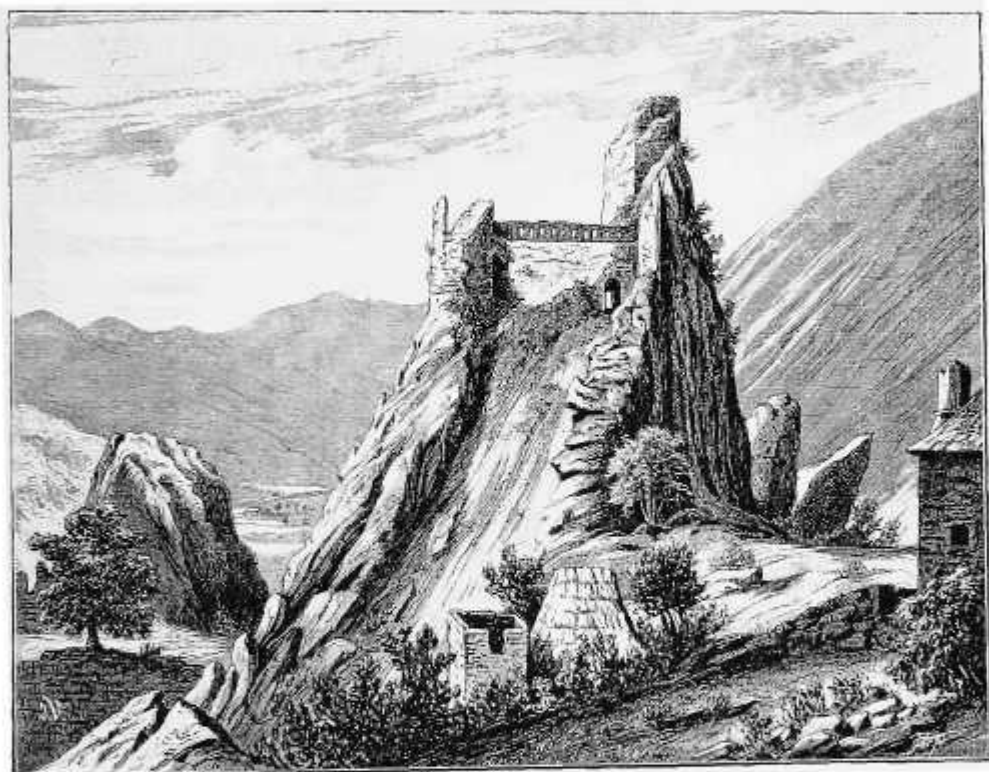
A ROCKY desert, replete with heroic memories, in which a whole city of primeval tombstones lies—such is the road from Gatzko to Trebinje, where we suddenly and unexpectedly entered a regular paradise: sparkling waters wind along beneath picturesque mountains and amongst luxuriant tobacco fields, above which wave the grape, the fig, the olive, and the crimson blossoms of the pomegranate.

From the court-house—which, whilst we remained there, was continuously surrounded by many-coloured groups of begs, serdars, glavares, pops, country folk, shepherds, and beggars, who all wished to speak to the minister—we mounted the hill which shuts off the basin of Gatzko to the south-east, riding between Avtovatz and the ruins of Ismail-Beg's kula; and after we had also passed the hamlets of Mjedulitsh and Dohanitsh, which are built amongst the boulders, we suddenly found ourselves in a world of rocks, the like of which I have only seen in the desert of Judah—power, unity, character in the highest degree, all tending to the same effect, and nothing disturbing this unity. The soil itself, like its history, is full of destructive forces and horrors; but also full of power, full of mighty, elevating tendencies.

One feels that those who cling to this soil are born for battle. This stony and burnt-up country, whose bold, vigorous form, in spite of its desolate character, perhaps even on that very account, excites the fancy powerfully,

must perforce bring forth proud spirits and fiery hearts, with small needs, but with their feelings and wills all the more strongly developed on that account.

Ashy grey or glaring ochre coloured stones of all sizes, from entire mountain masses, enormous blocks, and lofty pointed pyramids, down to small boulders, which everywhere cover the ground, and especially where ravines and fissures slope down into the chief valley, and where there are



Kljutsh (Herzegovina).

passes leading across the Saddle. Then comes a cleft amphitheatre, between whose stones and closely packed boulders the alert shy lizard can only just find a place for concealment, and the horses' feet are constantly caught. Vegetation is almost entirely lacking, as is also water. Very seldom does a spring show itself, and then rapidly vanishes again amidst the chinks in the rocks, after having created a small oasis of green.

And farther on, beneath the lofty Vardar, in a wide circle, there is a city of

stone tombs in the rocky waste, which shows us that here, where now only a desert and miserable huts exist, once, in primeval times, a numerous, flourishing, powerful race must have dwelt, which passed its days, not only in fighting, but also in merry, knightly games : in dancing and in hunting, as may be seen by the pictorial representations which decorate these gigantic gravestones, side by side with other more enigmatical, undecipherable symbols and figures,—a race which was not alone warlike and proud, but also cultured, indeed possessed of even artistic attainment, since it could immortalize its dead by such indestructible monuments.

The warlike scenes and sketches on these graves, the old broken-down castle ruins, which stand in the waste of rocks ; the heroic songs with which it re-echoes, and which embrace centuries of history, a complete chain of wars and adventures down to the present day ; and finally the fortifications constructed out of stone and blocks of rock, whose remains may still be seen on mountain and valley ; the military posts beneath which our road lay, and the bulwarks of a like nature along or behind which our soldiers now keep guard on the frontier against Montenegro,—all these amply prove that war has never been extinguished here, since the Counts of Uhlum disputed with the Balshas of Zeta as to who should be rulers in the principality of Travunje.

Besides, the very nature of the soil itself, with its stern conditions of life, makes warriors of its inhabitants. Only a powerful constitution can survive its rigours, but those who do grow up, become strong in body and in spirit, full of independence and opposition against all that is likely to disturb them in their own pursuits, full of strong contempt for foreign effeminate manners and usages and the demands of civilization, but armed with an intellect which controls its conditions, with ability and boldness, conversant with all the peculiarities and artifices of their native land, inured to difficulties and privation, practised in arms, formidable enemies amidst their native rocks, from whose concealment they burst out unexpectedly, and with foolhardiness, to rush down upon their astonished foe with a terrifying howl and flashing sabres, but within whose walls and trenches too they can vanquish an enemy far outnumbering themselves with wonderful tenacity of purpose, if they only know their retreat to be secure ; for they will not fall dead in their enemies' hands, for more than death they fear the mutilation which in this country is always practised upon prisoners and frequently on the fallen.

Upon such a soil, and amongst such a people, those wild songs, which are yet permeated by a noble spirit, germinate, whose effect is all the more taking, the more simply and truly they reflect life.

Such an one is :

"THE DUEL.

"*Beg Ljubovitch wrote a letter  
In the village of Nevessinja,  
Wrote and sent it off to Stony Piva,  
On the Pivanian Bajo's knee :  
'Hear me, thou Pivanian fool !  
Thou didst wound me to the heart,  
When my brother thou didst kill.  
Meet me now in single combat !  
Place of meeting give I choice of three :  
Firstly, the Korito Rocks I name,  
Second, the Trussin mountain forest,  
In the midst of the Nevissinja Plain ;  
Third, where'er we chance to meet !  
Dar'st thou not to meet me thus,  
I'll send thee an embroidery frame and spindle,  
With the spindle some Egyptian flax,  
A spool made from the beech tree wood,  
That upon the spindle and the frame  
Thou may'st work me shirt and braces !'*

"*Bajo received the angry letter.  
When he saw what it contained,  
Forthwith took he pen in hand,  
And in answer wrote these words :  
'Oh, Beg Ljubovitch, hearken to me !  
Pity were it that thou should'st fall through me,  
I should sorrow too to die through thee.  
Come, and let's be reconciled !  
If I slew indeed thy brother  
In my rash, misguided youth,  
Long have I that act berued :  
Come, and let's be reconciled !  
See, I send thee here a goodly apple,  
Inside it a hundred golden coins !'*

"*When this letter reached Ljubovitch,  
And he read what Bajo wrote,  
Wrote he to Bajo once again :  
'Bajo !' cried he, 'thou Pivanian bastard !  
Ne'er will I to thee be reconciled,  
E'en gav'st thou me a thousand coins,  
Till to my white court thou hast come,  
Kissed my greyhound on the eyes,  
On his hoofs my Arab steed,*

Humbly then my hem and hands,  
Than the black earth at my feet!'

"When the angry letter came  
And he read what it contained,  
Bajo tossed his head and ground his teeth,  
And then wrote in a different tone:  
'Beg Ljubovitch fool, now list to me!  
Greyhound of thine on eyes I ne'er will kiss,  
Neither will I kiss thy horse's hoofs.  
Nay! and should it cost me e'en my life  
Would rather face thee in a duel.  
Wait for me on Trussin Hill,  
High up on the Nevessinja Plain,  
Facing the village of that name,  
And the lady, thy true wife.'

"Pivanian Bajo sent this letter,  
And summoned his confederate,  
Confederate Njegoshovitsh Mato:  
'Companion mine, Njegoshovitsh Mato,  
Challenge Beg Ljubovitch to a duel.  
Equip thyself, dear friend, at all points.  
We will ride to Trussin Hill;  
See if I do fall, oh, brother,  
Or if I do kill the Beg.'

"Armed himself then the Pivanian,  
Clad himself in silk and velvet,  
Girded on his two green swords,  
Forged by one armourer.  
Equipped himself too Njegoshovitsh Mato,  
And the two confederates rode from  
Stony Piva, rich in honour,  
Towards Nevessinja's level plain,  
To the forest mountain of Trussin.  
At the appointed spot the Turk was waiting,  
Having pitched a white tent there; he sat  
Drinking wine there and carousing,  
Served by his servant Shaban Aga.  
Pivanian Bajo now approaching,  
Approaching thus, stepped in the tent;  
Having entered, sat upon the ground,  
Sitting there, made greeting thus:  
'Good-day, God greet thee, Beg Ljubovitch!  
Should the day to thee or me prove hurtful?'



"Then ungirt the two green swords,  
Threw them across his enemy's lap :  
'See, oh, Beg, the two green swords :  
Forged by one armourer,  
Choose whichever you like best,  
Take the better, leave the worst for me,  
That thou canst not say thou wast betrayed !'

"Beg Ljubovitch, hearing this,  
Lightly sprang upon his feet,  
Quickly grasping his wrought scimitar :  
'Bajo !' cried he, 'thou Pivanian bastard !  
What should I do with a Christian sword ?  
I have here my Damascene blade !'

"Up stood Bajo on his feet ;  
Both went out into the open,  
Went, and then they parted, did these two.  
Bajo sent Njegoshvitch Mato to  
Beg Ljubovitch that he might search  
If that he wore a shirt of mail.  
Mato went to feel the Beg ;  
Found, as he was searching him,  
Shirts of mail had he three,  
Three shirts of mail one o'er the other.  
Beg Ljubovitch now did perceive  
Bajo this would soon be told ;  
Fell upon Njegoshvitch's neck,  
Kissed him on his white visage :  
'Brother in God,' he pleaded, 'Mato !  
Tell not thou the Pivanian  
That I wear these shirts of mail !  
See, if luck and God me speed,  
And I slay him in the duel,  
Bajo's clothes I thee will give,  
All his weapons give to thee,  
All the money too I find upon him.  
High in honour will I hold thee after ;  
Build for thee a white court in the  
Pretty village Neveasinja,  
Standing next to my white court,  
In addition give a thousand golden coins !

"Mato shared in the deception.  
Oh, the traitor ! may a serpent kill him !

And he went back to his friend,  
Lying said to the Pivanian  
That the Beg a fine shirt wore,  
But naught else upon his body ;  
Over this fine shirt some silk and velvet.  
Ljubovitch now, he sent his servant,  
Bajo too to overhaul.  
Then he came and searched Bajo,  
Turned round and told the Beg,  
That he wore no shirt of mail,  
Naught but one fine linen shirt,  
Over this fine shirt some silk and velvet.

“ To the place of battle then they walked :  
Bajo held his green sword in his hand,  
Held the Turk his Damascene blade.  
Backward stepped the seconds then,  
And the foes began to fight.  
Pivanian Bajo struck a blow,  
Struck a blow upon the Turk ;  
Through and through he cut the silk and velvet,  
Living fire sprang forth from silk.  
Beg Ljubovitch, too, he struck a blow,  
Struck a blow upon Pivanian Bajo ;  
Through and through he cut the silk and velvet,  
Black streams of blood gushed forth from silk,  
Bits of flesh fell from the wound,  
Sorely Bajo he was hurt,  
Sorely in his right arm wounded.  
Now as the Pivanian Bajo saw  
How through treason he was hurt,  
Cast his sword upon the green ground,  
Boldly rushing on the Turkish sabre,  
With his right arm clutching at it,  
With the right arm at his sabre,  
With the left one at his throat,  
Pulled him down upon the greensward,  
Him tears to pieces with his teeth.  
As Njegoshvitch beheld this,  
Styly fled he o’er the level plain.  
Thus, too, did the Turkish servant Shaban Aga,  
After them the fleet Pivanian :  
‘ Stop, O brother Njegoshvitch Mato !  
Didst thou yesterday flee my sword,  
To-day in running I’ll o’ertake thee ! ’

" And upon the plain o'ertook him,  
Felled him with his sword's hilt there,  
From his trunk his head he cut.  
Then he called upon the Turk :  
'Shaban Aga, turn thou back !  
And undress Njegoshévitch Mato !  
On my faith thou'lt not be hurt !'

" Turned the servant Shaban Aga  
And undressed Njegoshévitch Mato,  
Then went to Nevessinja village.  
Bajo he went to the Turk,  
Then removed his dress and arms ;  
Found upon him three big bags of gold,  
All quite full of golden ducats.  
Ungirding them from him, he girds them on ;  
To the brave and fiery steed then went,  
To the steed with star on foot ;  
Rode towards the Latin coastland,  
There his right arm to get healed."

Right at the beginning of this blood-saturated desert its romantic movements begin. As soon as we reach Tzrnitza—which consists of a few stone huts, but which to the inhabitants of this wilderness seems like paradise, because it owns a genuine spring and a certain amount of vegetation surrounding it—in front of us to the south there rises the bare saddle of the Kobilja-Glava ; but to the right hand, in the west, there opens up a gigantic amphitheatre formed of the ridge of the Baba-Pianina and the Koritnik, to which a narrow rocky valley turning in a north-westerly direction forms an exit. In the centre of this naked and desolate amphitheatre, made beautiful by the fantastic forms of the rocks, and in front of the entrance to this same narrow valley, above a few scrubby brown bushes, thin trees, and low huts, there rise in the midst of other rocks a few regular pyramids, and the highest of these is crowned by tumble-down boundary walls, and the ruins of towers broken off at the top, which seem to be growing out of the projecting rocks, so that with the deep ochre tint of the rocks added to this it is difficult to distinguish where one leaves off and the other begins. The amphitheatre lying some forty mètres below the plains of Gatzko, together with the valley, bears the name of Golinjév-Dol. Throughout one portion of the year it is watered by the Tzrnitza stream, which vanishes here and there soon to re-appear upon the surface of the rock, until, after a run of about four and a half miles, it gradually and entirely sinks into the ground. The ruin which

keeps watch beneath the perpendicular walls of Baba, close to the narrow valley, is Fort Kljntsh, or the castle of "Kral Sandalj," of King Sandalj, as it is popularly called. It stands like an eagle's eyrie between the huts of the inhabitants of Kljntsh, which cling to the rocks like swallows' nests, upon the summit of the cliff. Its narrow gateway can only be reached upon one side of the rock, and then only with difficulty by experienced climbers, and with danger by the inexperienced. The walls, provided with chinks through which to shoot, are in many parts formed by the natural rock, and are still strong and capable of resistance. The courtyard is filled by crumbling walls and boulders, thickly overgrown with weeds: these quite close the entrance to both the towers which protect the castle on the only side of the approach. Remains of walls indicate the separate parts and chambers of the castle.

To the west of the fort three high walls of rock extend at a thickness of from two to three metres, which end suddenly in rugged precipices. Betwixt these natural ramparts lay, according to popular report, the stables and gardens. At the foot of the precipice there flows a larger streamlet, whose waters break suddenly forth from the perpendicular cliffs of Baba, and after a short course of six hundred paces vanish upon the further side of the valley, in a lime cave (Karst). Before issuing from the interior of the Baba Mountain, the waters collect in a deep and spacious cavern. The entrance to this cave is situated about ten metres above the surface of the valley. When the waters are low the stream gurgles forth from between the clefts and holes in the rocky wall; but when the snow is melting, or after a heavy rainfall, the cave fills, and then the waters rush forth from its mouth in a mighty, rapid torrent, which forms waterfalls that it would be difficult to match, and which only burst forth in equal strength from limestone rocks (Karst).

When the waters are low and the waterfall has vanished, and the water only trickles out of the rocks as it might out of a sponge, an expert climber can clamber up the gigantic stone slab of the smooth, slippery incline down which the water falls and which forms the entrance to the cave. But no one has at present penetrated any further in. Far below there yawns the deep, black gulf with the quiet water at the bottom. Swallows and swarms of doves flutter about within the mighty dome of rocks, and marvellous is the wealth of colour with which nature has decorated its walls.

The mosses and the dampness combine to form genuine frescoes in the contrasts they present, and in the shades of bright green, yellow, and orange, of delicate silver-green and pink, down to the intense darkness of some parts, and the surface of the waters which reflect the broken sunlight as it touches them.

How far the cavern reaches and where it ends can hardly be even guessed at, for the background is enveloped in darkness, and to enter is impossible. It may be that the waters which collect in this cave are connected with the plains of Gatzko. It is just as uncertain whither the water flows after it has vanished upon the other side of the valley. The popular mind always seeks the continuation of the waters at all those points where human heads and bloody corpses, which have been thrown into them, are



A Cairn (Gomila).

supposed to have re-appeared. These fables, however, tell just as much of the Trebintshitza river, which suddenly appears near Bilek, as of the Opatshitza, which, flowing towards Stolatz, comes up suddenly in the Dabar-Polje on the further side of the saddles of Koritnik and Liznik.

Thus much is certain, that high up in the inner wall of this cave there yawns a second mouth. The opinion is held amongst the people, that behind this, in the depths of the mountains of the Baba-Planina, there extends

a considerable lake. As a matter of fact, when a stone is cast inside with a powerful fling the echo sounds as though the stone had fallen into deep water. It may be that when they are high the waters flow through this chasm into the first cave, whilst it, as a rule, only trickles through the rocks.

Amongst the Mohammedan inhabitants of Kljutsch there exists a regular legend about this castle and one of its former lords; and King Sandalj's throne is still pointed out, a simple block of stone, upon which he sat in judgment, as the Prince of Montenegro still does before his Konak. King Sandalj was a mighty lord, the terror of his enemies; and he knew how to assert himself against the conqueror of the world—the Emperor of Turkey. When the Turkish army had conquered all the surrounding country, King Sandalj barricaded the subterranean passage, into which the stream flowed as it issued from the cavern, with blocks of rock, pitch, and flax, so that the rising water gradually covered the whole of Golinjev-Dol, the entire Gatzko-Polje, and the outlying country far beyond. Fort Kljutsch alone, upon its lofty summit, towered above the level of the waters, and thus did King Sandalj defy all attacks, keeping communication open with the distant shores by means of innumerable ships and boats. And when the waters at last forced an outlet for themselves and flowed away, the castle withstood a three years' siege, and did not fall until after King Sandalj's death. Just as in the case of the Mostarsko-Blato, so in this, the people maintain that in the high cliffs of the Baba iron rings may still be found, to which ships were fastened, and they also show the water line of the lake. The cliffs of the Baba, light green everywhere else, are, as a matter of fact, up to a certain height, which is sharply defined in a straight horizontal line, darker and moss-grown. The natural explanation of this manifestation lies in the moisture which from time to time oozes out from the interior of the mountain; but there is no doubt that most of these limestone valleys and basins, like the Gatzko-Polje and the Mostarsko-Blato, did at one time form lakes. Even at the present day numerous permanent mountain lakes exist amongst these hills, and there are still more which are full during a part of the year, but which dry up in the summer.

The Sandalj legend, however, in the form in which it still descends from father to son amongst the inhabitants of Kljutsch, is no mere empty fable, nor offspring of the popular imagination. Public records, on the contrary, seem to show that it is genuine history, simplified and enlarged, as people do simplify and enlarge historical events when looked at through the perspective of past centuries. Indeed, the fidelity with which the oral traditions of local history in their simple, broad features have been preserved amongst

this world-forgotten, poor Mohammedan population, where no historical teaching, nay, no teaching of any kind, is provided, is surprising and worthy of admiration. And these traditions relate to facts upon which the most recent historians have hardly touched, and what is still more remarkable is, that this should be so in spite of their connection with the past having been almost entirely severed. The nation and country are extinct; religion, and with it the intellectual horizon, the consciousness of unity, has suffered radical changes; and yet this needy people, which since its subjection to Islam has learnt nothing beyond how to till its own poor soil, to watch its goats, to wield the sabre amongst its rocks, and to repeat a few Arabic prayers, has managed to preserve memories of the heroes of its past and their deeds.

By this is made evident the great historical value of legendary lore, and to what an extent it may replace the absence of a literature; but in this phenomenon that strong, unshakable conservatism appears, which has its chief strength first in the propagation of Mohammedan faith; religion changes under pressure of the great events of the century,—it is Catholic, Bogomile, finally, Mohammedan, but national consciousness still lives on, inextinguishable amidst all the changes; and whilst the great Servian agitation may find a place amongst the Orthodox, and the Croatian under the Catholics, the Mohammedan Bosnian remains the immovable guardian of Bosnian national traditions.

The castle of Kljutsch is historically remarkable. In 1426 and thenceforward it is frequently mentioned, and at the conclusion of the Hungarian-Turkish peace in 1514 it is specified by name. Sandalj himself is well known to us from the history of the Bosnian Bogomilian wars, and the Wars of Succession; and that he resided in the castle of Kljutsch is confirmed by documents. He was one of the greatest of the Bogomilian leaders, and in his day the most powerful magnate in the land. Though not a king, he yet exercised a regal power, and might even have come to be a king had not death unexpectedly cut short his career.

He was a nephew of that Vlatko Hranitsh who conquered Croatia at the head of a Bogomilian army for Tvrtko I., and who later on at the memorable battle of the Kossovo-Polje, in which Servia was crushed, commanded the Bosnian relieving army with relative success.

Sandalj Hranitsh of the race of the Kozatoba was one of those magnates who, under Jelena Gruba's weak government, took all the power into their own hands, and for a long time reduced the authority of the crown to a mere shadow. They held courts of their own, they dispensed favours, treated with foreign powers, and even carried on wars against them, and amongst one another. The

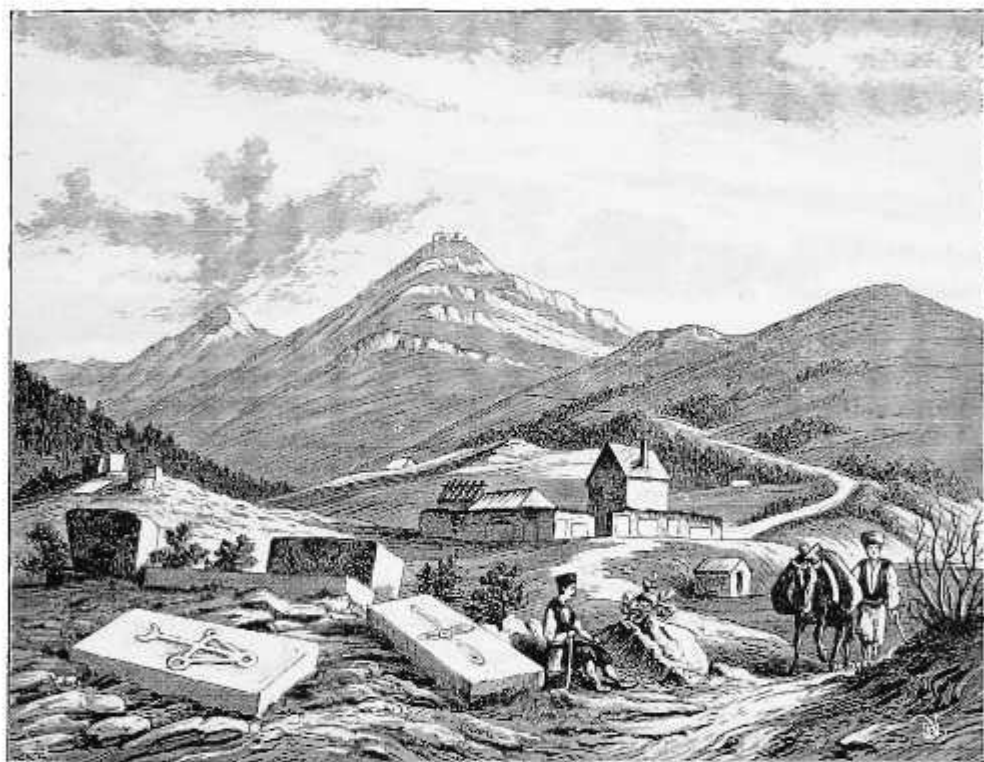
Waywode Sandalj Hranitsh, in 1341, at that time still only a simple Bosnian landowner, carried on a war of this description, at the head of several of his friends and allies, against the powerful family of the Sankovitshs, who at that time ruled in the county of Chlum. After the conquest of the Sankovitshs Sandalj Hranitsh ruled as much over the present Herzegovina as Hrvoja Vuktshtish, who dwelt in the other Kljutsh near Jaitze, and whose brother-in-law he afterwards became, ruled over the Bosnian Netherlands and especially over North-western Bosnia. In the year 1404, at the congregation held by the Bosnian nobles at Visoko, at which Ostoja was banished and Tvrtko II. Tvrtkovitsh was proclaimed king, Sandalj Hranitsh was, with Hrvoja and the Dshed (Bishop) of the Bogomiles, one of the leaders.

When in 1405 the Emperor Sigismund attempted to reinstate Ostoja by force of arms, Sandalj was a leading agent in forming the alliance with Ladislans of Naples, who, on the other hand, in the year 1406 contrived to arrange in Venice that the fortresses of Dulcigno, Antivari, and Budua, or at any rate the latter, which the Republic had taken away from the Balshas of Zeta, should be again delivered up to Sandalj, from whom the Balshas themselves had taken it whilst Sandalj had taken the field against Ostoja and Sigismund. Thus even at that early date do we find the incessant border wars going on between the countries now known as Herzegovina and Montenegro. Venice itself calls Sandalj "*Dominus in partibus Albanie*," as later on, until 1815, the whole district around Cattaro was called "Venetian Albania." On December 25th, 1407, the Venetian Senate itself offered Fort Budua (Bude, Budva) to Sandalj, should he succeed at the head of their combined forces in entirely subjugating Zeta, which by the spring of the following year had passed over from the Venetian protectorate to that of the Turks. But by the autumn of 1407, Pope Gregory XII. had summoned Christendom to a general crusade against the Bosnian Bogomiles, and by the summer of 1408 the Hungarians had again entered Bosnia, and Sigismund gained a complete victory over Tvrtko at Dobor. Sandalj fled with Hrvoja from the battle, and whilst Sigismund caused the one hundred and twenty-six Bosnian magnates, who had been taken prisoners at Dobor, to be beheaded, he received the two fugitive generals with joy when they went to Buda to swear fealty to him. But as Sigismund wished to get Bosnia under his own immediate control, Sandalj sided with Ostoja's party. In 1410 the Emperor Sigismund again saw himself compelled to send an army to Bosnia, and again conquered a large portion of the country and dismembered it: Hrvoja received the Netherlands, John Gara Usora, John Murothi the Salt District, the Banus of Macsó the silver mines of Srebernitza, Stephan Lazarevitsh, Servia; but still, in the Upper Bosnian Valley, as well as in his own domains, in Chlum, Travunja, and Podrinje, Sandalj



upheld Ostoja's kingdom, whilst he sold the fortress of Ostrovitza in Croatia, which his wife had received as her marriage dower, for five thousand ducats to Venice, so that it should not pass into Sigismund's possession. The document is dated from Kljutsh.

Sigismund endeavoured to win what he could not seize by force. After repeated invitations, Sandalj in the year 1412 again went to Buda, so as to be present at the festivities held in honour of the Polish King Ladislaus ; in these



Vrbitza on the Vardar.

thirteen princes, twenty-one counts, twenty-six barons, fifteen hundred knights of foreign nationality, Greeks, Italians, Frenchmen, Poles, Bohemians, Russians, Austrians, Lithuanians, Servians, and Bulgarians, took part. In the games of chivalry Sandalj's Bosnian knights carried off the palm, and Sandalj himself was especially singled out for distinction and won over to such an extent that he accepted the commission to defend the Servian Despotate against the Turks, which mission he, moreover, brought to a successful conclusion in the

following year. "*Dum pridem magnificus Zundalius regni nostri Boznæ Way-noda fidelis noster dilectus una cum aliis eiusdem regni nostri Boznæ . . . fidelibus in regno Rasciæ apud illustrem principem Dexpotum . . . in nostris servitiis fuisset constitutus. . .*" writes Sigismund.

This royal patronage, however, awakened Hrvoja's jealousy, who unexpectedly saw himself, in spite of his services, superseded by Sandalj. In the year 1412, moreover, the brotherhood which had bound these oligarchs together became extinguished, for after the death of Katharine, who was a niece of Hrvoja's, Sandalj took George Stratimirovitsh, the Prince of Zeta's, widow, Helena, to wife. As Sandalj had once done to the Sankovitshs, Hrvoja now did to him, and broke loose upon him, or rather his possessions, whilst he was fighting in Servia. Sandalj hastened to Buda and called down such a storm upon Hrvoja's head, that he was compelled, upon command of the king, to desist and to renounce a large number of the towns which belonged to him in favour of Sandalj. As, however, Hrvoja had already in 1415 sought protection in Turkish support, the Turkish army in 1416 for the second time invaded Bosnia, and this time for the express purpose of fighting Sandalj.

Sandalj had, in pursuance of an understanding with King Ostoja, caused the assassination of the Knez Paul Radinovitsh, who was, next to himself, the most powerful man in Chlum, and his old ally. It was Radinovitsh's sons who now, for the second time, introduced the Turks. These soon swarmed over not only the Podrinje, but the whole of Chlum and Travunja, as far as Ragusa. It must have been then that Sandalj in his castle of Kljutsh sustained the long and severe siege of which the legend tells, and during which possibly the waters which in the spring fill some of the Herzegovinan basins may have come to his aid. The campaign concluded with the result that the Turkish power for the first time nestled permanently down in the fortress of Vrhbosna, whence the Sandjak-Beg Isak now issued his commands, and that Sandalj himself, in spite of his successful resistance, was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sultan, as he henceforth, according to later records, held his possessions "by the favour and gift of God, and of the great Emperor Mahomet-Beg, Sultan."

Sandalj made use of this circumstance to make himself quite independent of the control of the Bosnian crown. In 1418 he stayed away from Stephan Ostovitsh's coronation; he did not look upon the king as his master, but as his equal, and with the help of Isak-Beg extended his possessions at his (the king's) expense. Not until after Isak-Beg, who led the first Turkish army from Bosnia to Hungary, had fallen in the year 1420 at Temesvár, and Tvrtko II. had, with Hungarian aid, begun to re-establish his authority in Bosnia, did Sandalj again take the oath of fealty to the Bosnian king, and he also appeared at Tvrtko's coronation. The

authority which he later on retained may be estimated by the circumstance that the council of Basel, when, in face of the danger threatening from Turkey, it endeavoured to re-establish unity amongst the Christian Churches, and especially directing its gaze upon the Bosnian Bogomiles, addressed itself in 1433, through the intervention of Ragusa, not only to king Tvrtko, but also to Sandalj. The powerful Bogomilian leader answered in the negative, urging as a pretext that the civil war then raging had been brought about by the Knez Radivoj, Ostoja's son, with Turkish aid.

And he turned this civil war to account.

Even though he did swear allegiance to Tvrtko, he did not do it without a fresh extension of his power. He subjected all the waywodes and knezes of Chlum to his rule. Those who offered any resistance, like the family of Radinovitch, were banished and their possessions pillaged. The power of his arm reached far towards Zeta, into what is now Montenegro, and on the other side to Croatia. In 1423, Knez Ivan Nelipitch, the Croatian Banus, was already trembling before his power, and in 1424 he did, as a matter of fact, conquer the Croatian Poljiza, situated on the further side of the Cetina. Finally the civil war, fanned into a flame by Radivoj, matured in him the determination to raise the House of Kozatsha to the Bosnian throne, in place of the House of Kotroman. When, in 1433, Tvrtko carried on a war, first with the Servian Despot George Brankovitsh, and then with Radivoj, Sandalj in conjunction with the Despot, to whom he stood in the position of brother-in-law, through both his wives, bought Bosnia of the Sultan. The Despot took possession of Zvornik and Usora, everything else, after Tvrtko was driven out, falling under Sandalj's dominion.

Sandalj governed with regal power in Bosnia, though without the title of king. Single magnates, like the Waywode Juraj Voislitch, one of Hrvoja's cousins, and his successor in the Netherlands, opposed him, but especially in the province now known as Herzegovina he ruled as absolute sovereign. Here his power reached from the mouth of the Narenta to beyond the Lim. During the summer he resided in his castles on the Drina, in Fort Samobor, near Gorazda, in Kozman, near Foteba, or in the castle of Sokol, which stands at the junction of the Piva and the Tara, in Kukunj near Plevlje, and in Kljutsh, where he had in former days found shelter against the Turks. The royal monastery at Mileshevo, with Saint Sava's tomb, where the kings of Bosnia were crowned, was under his power, as was also Fort Onogost, now Nikshitch. During the winter he took up his residence on the Lower Narenta, and beneath the mild skies of the Gulf of Cattaro. The whole county of Chlum belonged to him with its capital of Blagaj, near present Mostar and

the towns of Konitza, Vrabatz, and Nevesinje. Near Cattaro, which he had to resign in favour of the Venetians, he owned the royal castles of Novi and Risano. Paul Pavlovitch, the son of Paul Radinovitsh, who had been assassinated, was the only man in a position to maintain his independence in the neighbourhood of Trebinje.\*

This was approximately the amount of territory which fell to his nephew Stefan Vuktschitsh upon Sandalj's death in 1415, when at the height of his power, and soon afterwards Sigismund's army again re-established Tvrtko II. in Bosnia proper. It was really Sandalj Hranitsh Kozatsha who created the Herzegovina of to-day, out of the small county of Chlumi, although the name itself only arose later, after his successor Stefan Vuktschitsh had through the Emperor Frederick III. been recognized as the Duke of St. Sava of the holy Roman Empire. The rocky fortress of Kljutsch was therefore in a certain sense the chief point of support in the founding of Herzegovina, and hence it is with justice that the legend attributes such a great part to it.

To-day, excepting for a few shepherds' huts, all life, all fame, has departed from it; but it itself continues to tower aloft in its strength in the valley of rocks, like an exclamation point in history, at which the traveller again and again turns round to gaze.

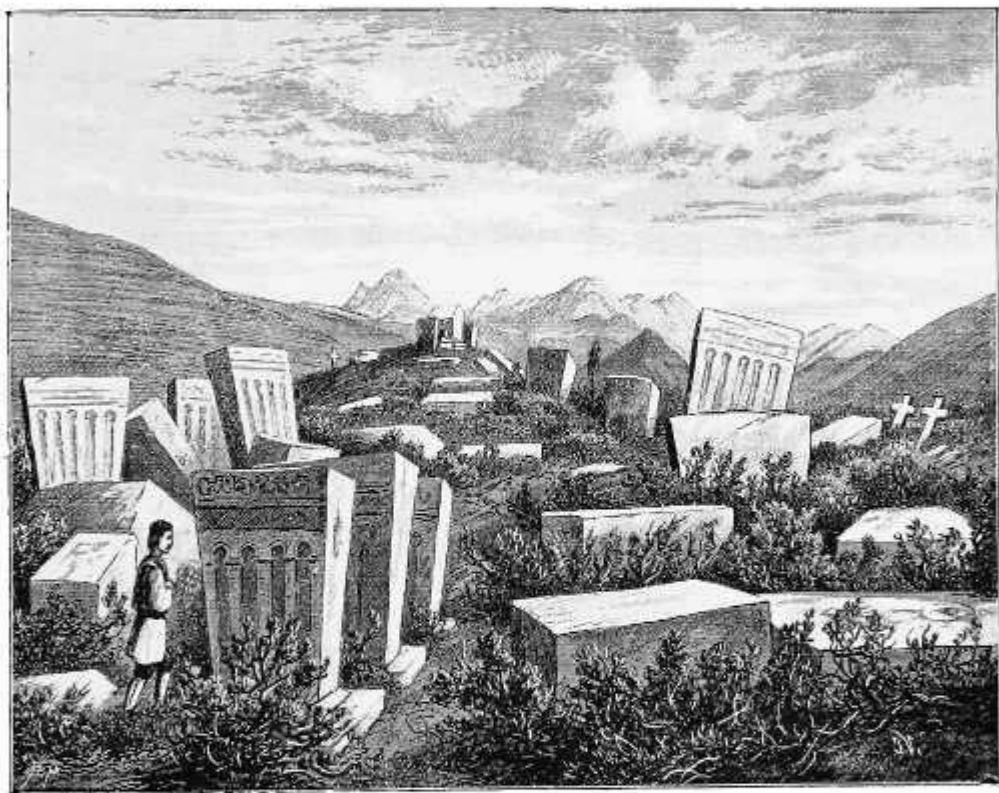
Between Kljutsch and Tzrnitza, below the northern slope of the mountain, lies an old Bogomilian burial-ground. The number and splendour of some of the enormous tombstones—one with a knight and falcon and some fantastic animals, others with the traces of superscriptions which have become illegible—point to a dense and wealthy population. Tzrnitza was, in fact, at one time a place of importance, which flourished principally in the fifteenth century, doubtless under the protection of the fortress of Kljutsch. Ragnsan records mention it as a customs station, and a trading centre from 1380 downwards. Probably the inhabitants of the fortress of Kljutsch were also buried in this cemetery; at any rate the foundation walls of a chapel-like vault, twenty feet long by ten feet wide, and having an apse, built of the gravestones of similar monoliths, point to the grave of some great nobleman. The stone slabs which cover the vault have been broken, most likely by treasure-seekers.

Not far from this burial-ground the bridle-path ascends the saddle of the Kobila-Glava, over which we had to pass. The small ravine up which the road winds is hollowed out of the mountain-side like a regular corridor. The sharp boulders of the crumbled limestone collect from either side on the floor of this passage, and cracked like glass under our horses' hoofs. Here

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\* Jiretschek, *Handelsstrassen*, 140.

and there we had to ride over large slabs of stone, smoothly polished by the action of the boulders when set in motion by the downpour of rain. The horses, even the most practised Bosnian pack-horses, advanced in fear, and the riders held themselves in readiness for a fall, and as a matter of fact there was not one amongst the dozen riders who with his horse did not fall at least once before we had reached the summit of the Saddle. Fortunately neither

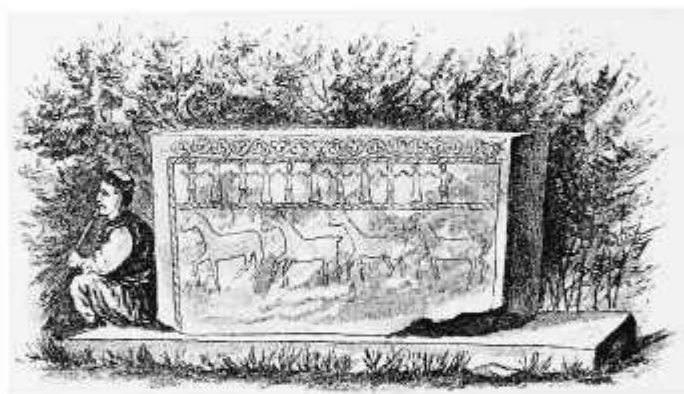


The Cemetery of Radmilovitch.

man nor beast was hurt. From the top of the Saddle, which we reached in about two hours, a similar road descends.

Viewed from this point, the nature of the country is very apparent. The bare limestone (Karst) forms deeper and deeper grooves, which descend downwards like steps to the south-west towards the sea. Only immediately in front of this the ridge of the mountain of Orien, nineteen hundred mètres high, rises up again in broken masses, and shuts off the horizon, depriving us of a view of the Adriatic. A few broader, deep basins lie spread out amongst

these mountain recesses, parallel with the mountains. The Gatzko-Polje was one such basin; and now follow the Dabar-Polje, through which runs the road from Bilek to Stolatz across Plana, the Ljubomir valley which leads across Trebinje to Ljubinje, and finally the long and narrow Popovo-Polje, watered by the Trebintshitza, which runs along from Trebinje to the north-west, and forms the last broad groove before reaching the coast. These fertile basins are concealed from our eyes by the rising ground between, by bare, rocky tablelands and ridges, the latter generally descending in slopes to the north-east, and in perpendicular cliffs to the south-west. With the exception of these few fertile basins, in the whole district we only find in the dolines (small caldron-like hollows formed by the falling in of subterranean caverns, wherein the rain-water which elsewhere washes everything away from the lime-



From the Dubovatz Cemetery.

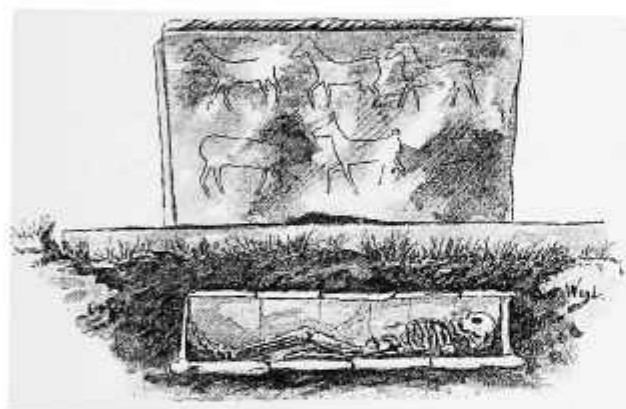
stone does not prevent the formation of vegetable mould) isolated, unimportant patches of ground, capable of cultivation, and which, protected by stone fences, are always industriously tended, although they are many miles distant from human habitations, and are frequently hardly more than three or four square yards in size. Soil capable of cultivation is just as rare a treasure here as water, which the sieve-like, perforated, rocky ground quickly absorbs. A few of the mountain ridges are covered with underwood, whose growth into woods is prevented by the goats. But these spots would not be capable of any other cultivation, for wherever the wood and the bushes have been destroyed, the rain has soon washed all the earth away, and nothing has been left but the bare yellowish-green rocks of which the whole district consists.

The Kobila-Glava (colt's head) itself, which is one thousand three

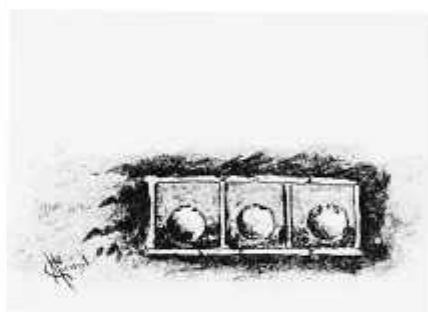
hundred and twenty-three metres high, and upon which we were standing, appears to be plastered over with gigantic stones, and the more distant heights show the naked strata of stone in sharp lines.

Near the passage of the Kobila-Glava there stands one of the largest of the far-scattered cairns (*gomila*), which the traveller frequently comes across in this rocky waste, the Djurdjevo-Gomila. These cairns or *gomilas* were doubtless originally graves, immense heaps of stone collected together by human hands, and of far greater antiquity than the Bogomilian graves. Bronze objects, spiral ornaments, even bronze weapons, are found in them, side by side with skeletons. But some may also have been erected as simple memorials, or boundary marks, for such articles are not found in all.

The whole neighbourhood, as far as the eye can reach, is inhospitable



Lengthwise.



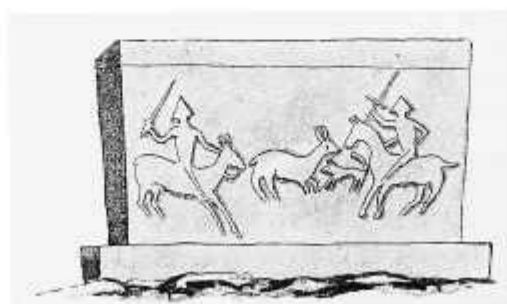
Crosswise.

Grave in Dubovatz.

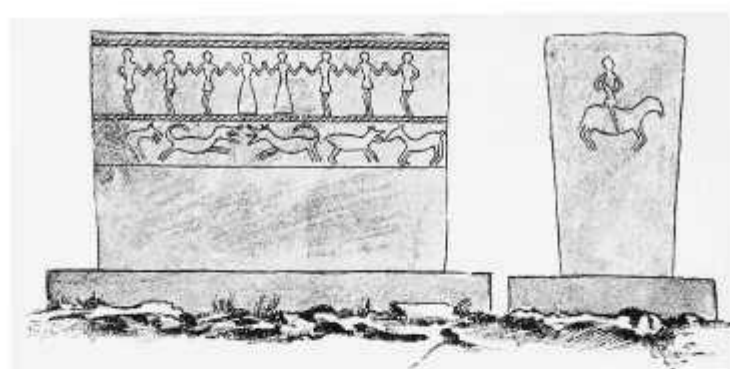
and bare,—cliffs and fissures, crumbling stones and boulders, rocky elevations with a sparse, poverty-stricken vegetation, deep lime-pits, generally quite bare, fissures and ravines, here and there meagre dolines. Nine miles along the road to Tzrnitza we reached a “*Palanka*,” an old Turkish guardhouse, and after another mile and a half we reached Korito. A poverty-stricken place! A bare, steep mountain ridge stretches along the Montenegrin frontier; a crater-like trough is visible upon the hillside. In this hollow there lie, around the lofty *kula* and the poor mosque, a few rough, bare stone houses, huddled together, with small windows in the upper stories only. Behind the town, upon the summit of the *Orlova*, and farther off on the still more lofty *Traglova*, there stand in melancholy isolation solitary watch-houses belonging to the military cordon. Behind the ridge of the *Traglova*, Montenegro commences.



Korito, whose name signifies "caldron," like other towns, is surrounded by gardens. But these gardens give the impression that nothing but stones grow out of the yellowish-red earth; its vegetation is extremely sparse; each garden is surrounded by a fence one or two feet in height, built up of the larger stones, picked up within its area. We have to step over some of these loose stone walls in order to enter the town. The fencing serves more to shut in the domestic animals, horses, goats, etc., than the gardens, which are, moreover, generally bare, and at most contain a few carnations,



From the Bogutov Dub.

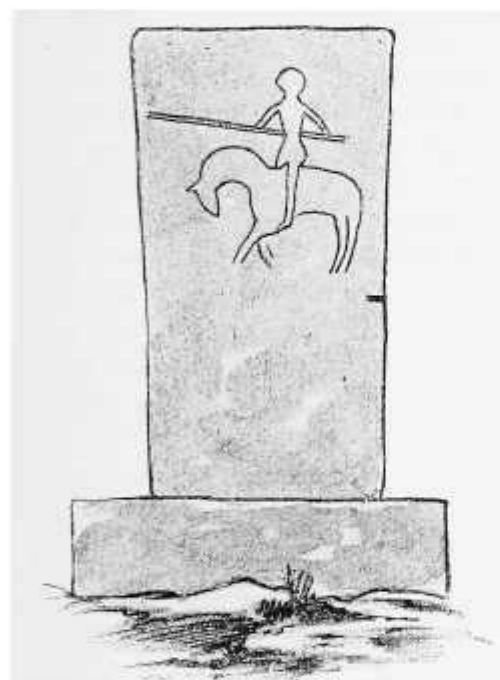


Stone near Radmilovitch (two sides).

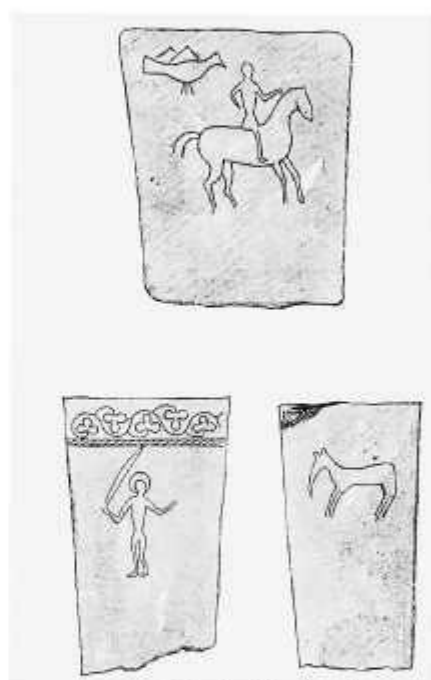
which the Bosnian Mohammedan cannot do without, even in this wilderness of rocks. And the walls also serve one other purpose. They constitute the ramparts of the houses, which are built to resist a siege. Lying upon the ground behind these walls, the inhabitants take their aim at the stealthily advancing foe. One can imagine how many battles this little Mohammedan town, situated hard by the Montenegrin frontier, and otherwise isolated, in the midst of a Christian population, has had to endure. Is it not a wonderful thing, this clinging to the native soil, in spite of these conditions, for a town



to exist whose only soil capable of cultivation lies in dolines miles away, scattered and in patches, each plot only a few square yards in extent, and only reached after troublesome climbing, and made productive after stones have been grubbed up by spade and hoe? This town, too, has not even water, for from Tzrnitza to Plana no springs are to be found for miles round Korito, and the nearest reservoir is two miles and a quarter away. The water fetched from here in dry years gets an unsound, unhealthy taste, and at last the supply ceases altogether. It has then to be brought in small jars from distant places upon the backs of beasts of burden. It is curious that this



Stone near Radmilovitch (third side).



From the Radmilovitch Cemetery.

neighbourhood is, in all the more ancient documents, described as woody and fertile. The destruction of the forests has here, too, caused the disappearance of the fertile soil, and the drying up of the springs.

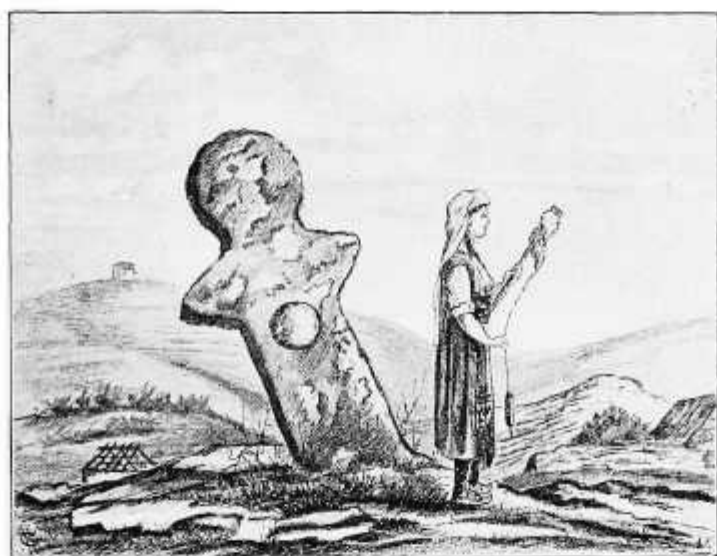
In Korito we were welcomed by a frugal breakfast, which, after our six hours' ride, suited us exactly, and which was flavoured by stories told by the Korito Mohammedans of their campaigns against their hereditary Montenegrin foes. Great was their joy when the minister arranged that the mosque, which had until then served as a military magazine, should be restored to the purposes of public worship.

After a short rest we again climbed down the hill, that we might continue our journey, as before, through a bare, rocky country dotted over with solitary ancient tombstones, directly southwards, towards Bilek. Near the above-named reservoir, where a "Palanka" (guardhouse) also stands, we saw two solitary horsemen descending the heights which form the Montenegrin frontier. It was the commander of the Bilek garrison with one of his adjutants, General de Galgóczy, a native Székler, who, amongst other things, has the habit of himself inspecting every single station along the frontier cordon every day and night, either alone or with a single companion. Even now, in coming to meet the minister, he was making use of the opportunity to inspect the cordon. We now struck into the road, along which he had come, and leaving the bridle-path which leads by a shorter cut to the carriage road of Plana-Bilek, we, by making a circuit on the mountain-side, passed along by the military outposts, which the minister was also anxious to inspect. We thus continued to advance on a bare, rocky soil, whilst the path lying to our right, which we had left, would, in about an hour, have led us out from amongst the boulders and at times have passed between green bushes, which gradually change into extensive low woods that soon hide the road leading over the Saddle. From the midst of this underwood rise the bare heights, upon which stand the solitary guardhouses of the cordon, as a rule only protected by low, dry walls, made of stones placed upon one another without mortar, and then covered in a primitive fashion with branches and planks, and surrounded by small earthworks. Only when they are placed at more distant points are these watchhouses more solid and more secure against attack; even these are not palaces of comfort and luxury, but they at least offer protection from the glaring sun, the pouring rain, snowstorms, and attacks. Indeed, most of them are obliged to defy all these contingencies by day and by night.

The cordon, commencing on the Orien, which is nineteen hundred mètres high at the point where the Krivoshtshie, Montenegro, and Herzegovina meet, runs along the borders of the two last-named countries, as far as the junction of the Tara and the Piva, a six or eight days' journey over hill and dale, an almost impassable wilderness throughout. If anything unusual is noticed in the vicinity of any of these watchhouses, the intelligence flies forthwith from post to post, right to the end of the line. Where there is no electric telegraph, a telephone is substituted—the most advanced science in the midst of the most primitive manner of life; and where the telephone, too, is wanting, the military optical telegraph comes into play. So the news travels from neighbour to neighbour: "Watchhouse X attacked by twenty robbers;"

"A suspicious-looking gang has crossed the borders;" "General G. is making his rounds." Now and then, should such a thing happen, "Female performers upon a starring tour," information which, however, remains a strict State secret between the immediate neighbours. Such an incident does at times occur. As a rule, however, the pleasures of life at the cordon are the exceptions, and it is cause for satisfaction if, during the snowy season, the regular supply of forage does not run short. Military neatness and etiquette fall into the background; but of all the greater importance is the ever-alert eye and ear, and the ever-ready rifle and revolver.

About six miles from Korito we crossed a track which leads from Plana



The Radmilovitch Cross.

to Montenegro. The ground for about a mile and a half slopes down to a woody valley, and beyond it the lofty, bare Vardar rises boldly up before us; this mountain is celebrated on account of its Bogomilian tombs, which, like a veritable giant necropolis, covered all over with bushes and trees, almost entirely surrounds the foot of the mountain in a wide bow.

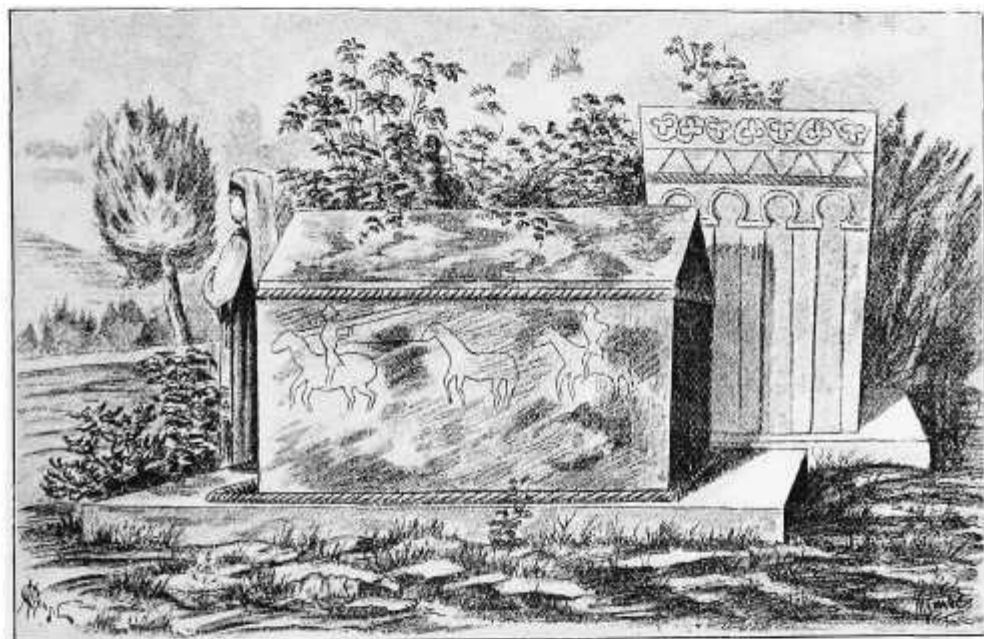
From amidst the layers of stone at its base, which seems to consist of artificial steps, towers the summit of the bare rocky masses of the Vardar, one of the most important points in the military chain. It is crowned by solid fortification, which commands a wide view towards Montenegro and into Herzegovina. Our troops erected the present fortress in

1883-84. The importance of this commanding position had, however, been recognized before. The remains of primitive walls show that a citadel has stood here in the past. Whilst the new building was in course of construction, Greek and Macedonian coins, two thousand years old, were found; but the ancient tombs, surrounding the foot of the Vardar, ornamented with representations of knightly sports and family arms, and others of more simple design, in which one tombstone covers several bodies, show that here there once dwelt a powerful, brilliant, and warlike race, which had withstood more than one siege and had fought more than one battle in defence of its heritage. Possibly, the powerful race of Radinovitch, whose chief was assassinated by Sandalj Hranitch in conjunction with King Ostoja, may have dwelt here, and that, even after that, it could not bring itself to bow down, having itself attained to almost regal power. Perhaps it is the name of this family, which the village of Radmilovitch has preserved to the present day, and which lies at the southern foot of the Vardar, just where these proud and ancient sepulchres are the most imposing.

The first group in this necropolis of Vardar, which we reach in our descent through the woody valley, lies near one of the watchhouses of the cordon, close to the gendarme station of Vrbitzza on the northern foot of the Vardar. Unfortunately the inexorable demands of war used a large number of these tombstones, when the 20th Battalion of Rangers built this station, upon the occasion of the last insurrection. Almost the whole of the strong stone fencing is formed of these enormous blocks and squares, which were so near and so easy to get, whilst building materials would otherwise have only been attainable by great expenditure of labour, time, and money. Beneath those gravestones which were taken, three skeletons were, as a rule, found, an unquestionable proof that they covered warriors who had fallen at the same time, for that these colossal stones should be again and again removed for the burial of those who died later is a theory which cannot be accepted. The small amount of decoration displayed by these tombstones shows that simple men rest beneath them. Many of the figures, even though they are not exactly crosses, remind one of the cruciform, a thing which occurs but seldom elsewhere. One represents a triangle with a ring at each corner, which rests upon the upper end of a staff rising from a reversed half-moon. There is no other like it, except in the cemetery of Radmilovitch.

Continuing on our way from the graves at Vrbitzza, directly at the foot of Mount Vardar, westwards, towards the village of Trnovitza, we found beneath the "Bogutov dub," the "Divine oak," five large groups of tombs, all placed a hundred feet apart from one another. This group of oak trees is the last

remains of a forest which was, doubtless, stripped for Ragusan masts. The detached groups of graves may be the tombs of separate families, or perhaps of different generations. Their rich ornamentation is skilfully executed, and the subjects chosen testify to the important position of those who lie beneath them. Upon one is represented a roe pursued by huntsmen on horseback; upon the other, a woman is walking between several knights, who are fighting with spears, close to whom a man, holding a sword, is being stabbed by a third knight armed with a spear. Upon the upper edge of one of the



Tombs near Bilek.

sarcophagi is represented the same long, broad sword, which has sometimes been found in similar graves. Another stone represents the same sword lying below a shield, which is adorned with a simple coat of arms; a square beam from right to left, in the left field an armed arm above the crescent. Amongst the ornamental decorations cruciform ones occur here also, sometimes in connection with half-moons and birds in Byzantine style. The tombs round Trnovitza are perhaps the most ancient of all, their decoration being hardly recognizable.

Allied to these are the tombs found below the mountain of Dubovatz, of which some are ornamented with groups of horses, others with kolo-dances.

Amongst them, differing from all the other tombstones, broken, but still recognizable, there stands a real stone cross. Here, too, three bodies generally rest beneath one stone.

If we skirt the Vardar further from Trnovitza, towards its southern declivity, we find, near Radmilovitsh, up and down the hill, a regular, dense forest of these ancient sepulchres, standing amongst bushes and separate trees; strikingly strong are those of a reversed, broad, obelisk shape, which rest upon a peculiar stone slab, and which grow broader and broader until they attain to a height of six feet. Here and there stands a stone cross or two of more recent date, like a foreign guest amidst the ghastly, impressive picture, which reminds one of a graveyard of giants, behind which the rugged Montenegrin Mountains, bare and rough, close the horizon, and the Vardar gloomily raises its coronet of walls.

Some of the graves have sunk into the ground, some of the tombstones have fallen; but, as a whole, they have withstood the ravages of time—although history passed over these regions in an almost unbroken succession of storms—telling their later descendants, by a proud tenacity, of a hard, unyielding, mighty race.

Upon the Radmilovitsh stones the inscriptions are strikingly numerous. But upon hardly any of them is more than the name decipherable.

If we search the separate tombstones we find swords here too, and shields with coats of arms lying upon swords, lancers in armour, merry kolo-dances, monstrosities, beasts of prey recalling dragons and antediluvian figures, etc., all amongst the more frequent purely ornamental designs. Cruciform emblems, with the exception of a few graves of undoubtedly more recent date, upon which small crosses are represented, scarcely exist here, a sign that those buried here maintained their Bogomilian faith, which rejected the cross firmly, strictly, and immovably. This, too, tells of a powerful race never yielding to the changes or tendencies and influences coming from without.

The proportionate frequency, too, of the generally scarce inscriptions points to men of greater importance.

As is commonly the case with these Bogomilian graves, the bas-relief form of ornament is very rare here, and only found upon the more important tombs, as they for the most part consist of outlines simply hollowed out of the stone. These decorations have, as a matter of course, suffered much from mosses, and the effects of storm and rain upon the limestone.

In the graves that are opened the skeletons are found exactly as the people still bury their dead; that is to say, at a depth of from two to three

feet, without a coffin, and only surrounded by stones similar to those used for the roofing in of the houses.

The whole tract of ground from Bilek to Stolatz, over the Dabar-Polje, is like this from Gatzko to Bilek, full of ancient tombstones. A whole cistern is built of them between Plana and Fatnitza. To the south of Fatnitza a group appears, also remarkable for its decorative splendour; but it is behind Stolatz upon the road to Mostar that we first come to a burial-ground which exhibits any likeness to that of Radmilovitch. The Gyaursko-Polje does not, indeed, surpass it in extent, but it does by its still more remarkable decorations.

From Radmilovitch we reach Bilek in half an hour, crossing a small tableland on the way, lying to the north of the town, upon which, between numerous cairns, there also stand a few solitary Bogomilian graves.





## CHAPTER XXII.

### *BILEK AND TREBINJE.*

The Tableland of Bilek—The Radinovitsh Dynasty—The Town of Bilek—The Sources of the Trebintshitza—Fortified Monasteries and Warlike Monks—Prehistoric and Mediæval Graves—Trebinje—The Crusade of Count Raymond of Toulouse—Old Travunja—Arslan-Agitsh—Most, Vrm, and Klobuk—Epitaph from the time of King Tvrtko—The Shuma and its Fortifications—Marshal Marmont—Ragusa.

**B**ILEK, like Gatzko, was originally not the name of a place, but of the whole tableland, which stretches at a height of four hundred and eighty mètres, a mile and a half across, and three miles long, from the foot of Vardar to the Trebintshitza springs, hard by the Montenegrin frontier.

About fifteen hundred souls, mostly of the Orthodox faith, live scattered upon this fruitful tableland. "Bilechia" is in the Middle Ages mentioned especially as the ancestral seat of the Radinovitsh dynasty. On this account, too, the assumption is strengthened that the castle of Vardar above Radmilovitsh and the plains of Bilek, was the ancestral seat of the Radinovitsh family; but this in no way points to the existence of a town, of which, moreover, there are no remains.

As regards the present town it may be boldly asserted that it has to thank General Galgóczy for its existence. Where the Turks had erected a couple of military buildings on the southern edge of the plains to protect the borders, and where a few huts were afterwards built, General Galgóczy has, as it were, within a few years created a complete little township out of nothing and without money, by using the wealth of building materials lying so ready to hand, his soldiers, and the goodwill of the people. The town reminds one of a South Hungarian township as one looks down from the graceful mosque, built for the Mohammedans, in compensation for the old mosque destroyed by the Montenegrins, the ruins of which stand outside the present town. Bilek



receives a peculiar character, from the fact that all its surrounding heights are fortified.

From Bilek an excellent carriage road leads all the way across Trebinje to Ragusa. After an uninterrupted ride of five days, therefore, we could from here onwards continue our journey in carriages.

A kilometer from the present town to the left of the road there is also a fortified camp. The ground falls away steeply from the camp and the road which leads up to it, and at the bottom of the ravine, far below, the Trebintshitza bursts suddenly from a limestone cavern, a complete river from its very outset, so that after four or five hundred feet it already flows at a depth of from three to five mètres.

High above the rocky bed of the Trebintshitza the road leads us to the mouth of the Tzepelitza stream. On the further side of the bridge leading over this stream, where a small fort keeps guard, the road branches off to the south away from the Trebintshitza; the river bends towards the Montenegrin border, and flows along it until it suddenly turns in a right angle back towards the west, so as to cross Trebinje, and to reach the wide plains of the Popovo-Polje to the north-west, where it then vanishes as suddenly and completely as it first burst forth from the rocks below Bilek.

Whether it afterwards re-appears in the waters of the Ombla or in those of the Krupa, near Ragusa, or near Metkovitch, who can say?

At about the middle of the line, along which the river marks the boundary, there stand two celebrated monasteries opposite to one another. In the midst of the desolate wilderness of limestone (Karst), in whose ravines and caves the Trebintshitza at places attains to unfathomable depths, there suddenly appears an oasis of green pastures and shady woods, through which the river flows along between high banks of rock. Upon the Herzegovinan bank, on the slopes of "Grad," which at last falls perpendicularly into the river, stands the monastery of Dobritshevo. Its fortifications show that here we are still in the depths of the Middle Ages. These bulwarks were first raised against the Mohammedans, and now offer shelter to a guard-house belonging to the military cordon. I have never seen a monastery thus fortified except amongst the Bedouins, the fortified monastery of Mar-Saba, in the desert of Judah; and mediæval, too, is the condition of the monks. Although they seem to read their songs out of the original Mass-book, it is only their chief who really understands the art. Politically they are, however, all the better informed. The great antiquity of the monastery is also proved by its old seal, upon which the words, "Seal of the monastery," and "Trebin," are still decipherable. It was probably originally Catholic, and perhaps founded by the bishops of

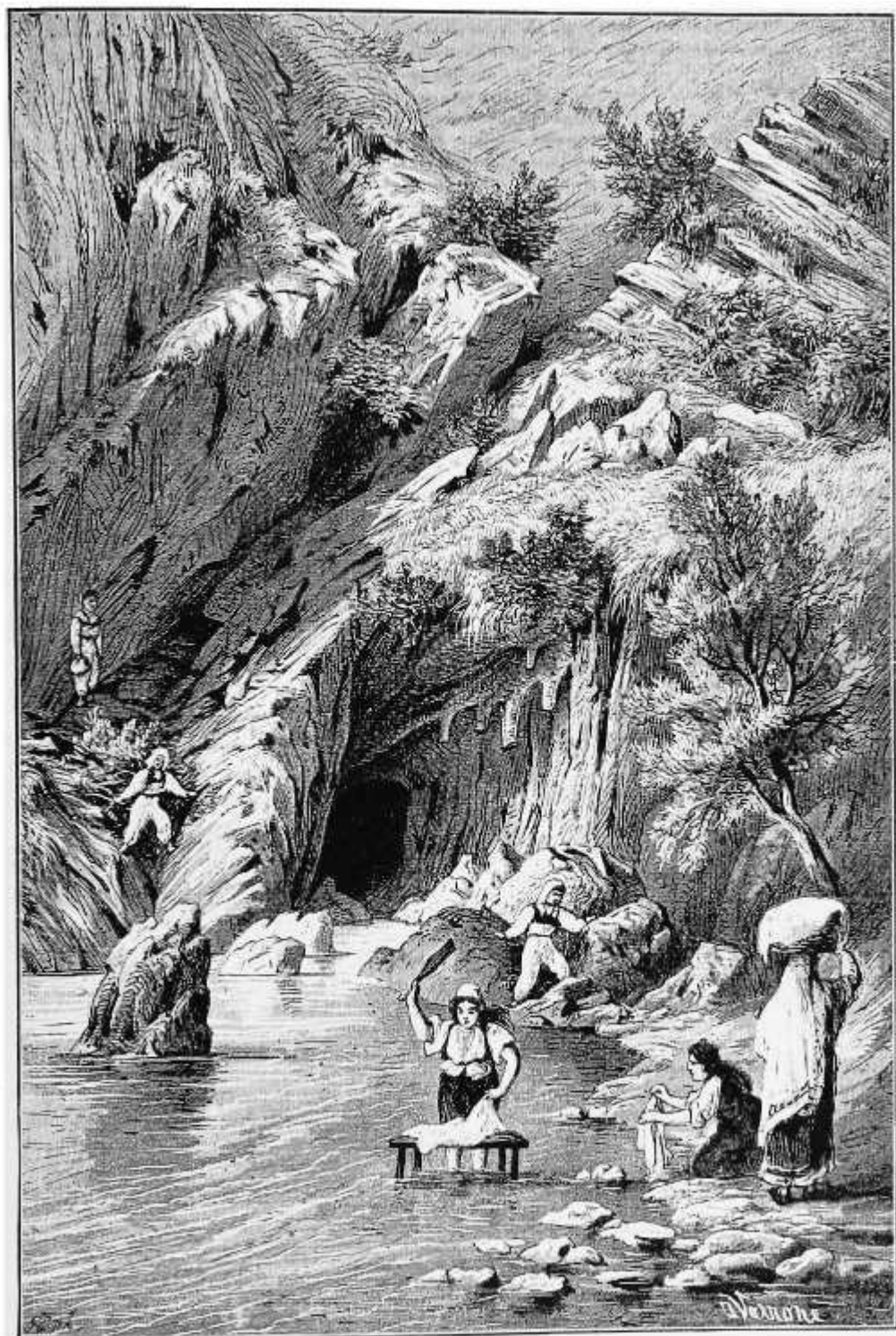
Trebinje. Opposite to it, upon Montenegrin territory, stands the smaller monastery of Krasjerevo.

The high road to Trebinje itself leads from the Tzepelitzza Bridge through country which grows ever more dreary and elevated, through the village of Panik to Moshko, which lies at a height of six hundred and four mètres. The huts of the latter place are all situated upon a wide tableland, which offers very little ground capable of cultivation, and is nearly covered with pre-historic graves (*gomilas*). Beyond the plateau of Moshko, there reaches, far to the north-west towards Ljubinje, the still larger plain of Ljubomir, which lies much lower down, so that it rejoices in a luxuriant fertility, and is enlivened by twelve villages, which together number more than one thousand souls. That it was a wealthy neighbourhood in the Middle Ages also, is shown by the ornamented tombstones which are to be found in numbers at all points upon these plains.

Not far from Moshko, near the huts of Borilovitch, we descend from the dreary tableland into the valley of Jazen, where the road leads close by a cistern built of mighty slabs of stone, past clusters of trees and pastures, and reach Trebinje in an hour and a half after leaving the village of Jazen. The landscape, which, after so much desolation, suddenly and without any transition spreads out before the traveller, is indescribably charming as soon as he has crossed the threshold of the Gliva-Planina, which is wedged in between Jazen and Trebinje.

The plains of Trebinje lie spread out like a paradise, deep down below the rocky mountain-side, and surrounded in a wide circle by other bare but still bolder mountains, and watered by the Trebintshitza, which, after having turned away from the Montenegrin borders in a right angle, issues out of the mountain pass in front of Trebinje, and, split up into four branches, sparkles in its countless windings all over the fertile neighbourhood of the town and between the detached blocks of houses. I can only place the celebrated view from Grenoble on the same level with this. There, too, as soon as one emerges from the mountain wilderness of the Grande-Chartreuse, the plains lie spread out before us as by magic, encompassed by boldly formed snow-capped peaks, from which the waters issue, and are sucked up on all sides by the plains; there, too, lies a town of ancient date between far-scattered fortifications, and surrounded by verdant fields.

The influence of the Mediterranean Sea is felt in Trebinje lying only three hundred and three mètres high, and the vegetation common to its shores works its spell here too. Between the broad windings of the sparkling streams luxuriant tobacco fields extend, the thick foliage of the fig tree flourishes, and the pomegranate waves its red blossoms in the breeze. The peaks of the surrounding hills are crowned by forts, some old, some new, and the city itself clusters round



The Sources of the Trebintshitza.

an old citadel. One side of this citadel faces towards the river; the others are protected all round by moats and bastions, upon which rise embattled walls three hundred mètres in length. Inside the bastions, close to the river's bank upon a levelled hill, a round powder-tower stands, as well as a broad four-cornered barbican, the clock-tower so called. About twelve hundred feet to the east of the citadel, upon a height which commands the town, the still strong watch-tower stands in solitude.

As General Galgóczy has created modern Bilek, so has General Babics at least restored desolate, deserted Trebinje. The dilapidated and dirty, unwholesome, Oriental town mentioned by travellers has under his hands grown into a smart European one, without having thereby entirely lost its Oriental and mediæval charm. The number and prosperity of the Catholic, Orthodox, and Mohammedan population, numbering some four thousand souls, is rapidly on the increase, by

means of its commercial relations with Ragusa, through the industry of the local retail tradesmen, and especially through the cultivation of tobacco, an art which is better understood each year; by these means the town is gradually regaining its ancient importance.

For Trebinje is one of the most ancient, and historically one of the most important towns in the country.

Even the Emperor Constantine, Porphyrogenitus, mentions both the country and town of "Trebania," amongst the Slav principalities. It is possible that the town was



Seal of the Dobritshevo Monastery.

built by the immigrating Slavs from the ruins of an older colony like Budna, after it had been laid waste in the year 840 by the Saracens, who invaded this part of the country situated, as it is, so near the coast of the Adriatic.

It cannot be doubted but that at the time of the Romans a more or less important township must have been in existence upon a flourishing plain lying thus near to the old Epidaurus, from the ashes of which Ragusa arose.

Many believe that in Stari-Slano, situated immediately below Trebinje, they see the Roman town of Salnut.

Thus much is certain, that in Constantine's days a Slavonian prince already held his seat at the castle of Terbania, whose power extended to the borders of Dioclea in the south, upon the west from Cattaro to Ragusa, and in the north across the Popovo-Polje and Ljubomir as far as Gatzko, whilst the eastern boundaries of his kingdom lay between Bilek and Piva.

These were, with slight variations, during the whole of the Middle Ages, the boundaries of the territory which is called in Servian records Travunje, afterwards Trebinje, in Ragusan records Tribunia and Trebigne.

Constantine mentions five castles in the country, namely, Terbunia (Trebinje), Hormos (the Servian Vrm, afterwards Klobuk),\* Rissena (Risano), Lukobete, and Zetlebe. The chronicle of the Presbyter of Dioclea, too, enumerates the separate Županates: Libomir (Ljubomir), Vetanitz, Rudina (to the east of Bilek and still Rudine), Krushevitza (between Canale, Grahovo, and the Krivoshtshie, still bearing the same name), Urmo (Vrm), Ressen (Risano), Dratshevitza (in the Middle Ages still the name of the Sutorina, in which a village of this name still exists), Canale (the present Canale, Slavonic Konavle, which Constantine also mentions as a dependency of Travunje), Tzrnovitza (between Ragusa and the old Epidaurus [Ragusa-Vechia], still possessing a township of this name, in Italian and upon maps called Mollivi, Tzrnov Millatone). To the Trebinje Županate belongs Lug lying below it, and the territory of the Zubtshi race, inhabited by colliers and shepherds, which, as stated in Ragusan documents, "from poverty" also lived by theft.†

Trebinje was the first station upon the highway, so important in the Middle Ages, which led from Ragusa to Nish in fifteen days, and in thirty days to Constantinople, and which, especially from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, was regularly used by French embassies.‡ The crusaders of Raymond, Count of Toulouse, most likely passed through this fortress in the year 1096, and through "Slavonia," Scutari, and Macedonia to Constantinople.§

Upon the founding of the Servian State, Travunje, too, fell under its dominion; but as, upon the death of Czar Dushan (1355), this State broke up under the dominion of innumerable oligarchical families, Vojslav Vojknovitsh, Count of Chlum, took possession of Travunje, and this country, although always under half independent lords, remained with short interludes in permanent connection with Bosnia. A nephew and successor of Vojslav's, Nikola Altmanitsh, was in 1371 compelled to protect his provinces against the alliance of Vukashin, King of Rascia, with Balshitsh, who had attained to the dominion of Zeta. In the year 1373 he resigned Travunje to Djuro Balshitsh, upon condition that he should support Vojslav against the Bosnian Ban Tvrtko, whose overlordship he declined to recognize. But Tvrtko, in alliance with the Servian Kuez, Lazar of Krushevatsh,

\* Ragusan records of the fifteenth century cite: *La contrada Verma con lo castello de Clobuck*.

† See Jiretshek, *Handelsstrassen*, 23—25.

‡ *Loc. cit.*, 74.

§ *Loc. cit.*, 84.

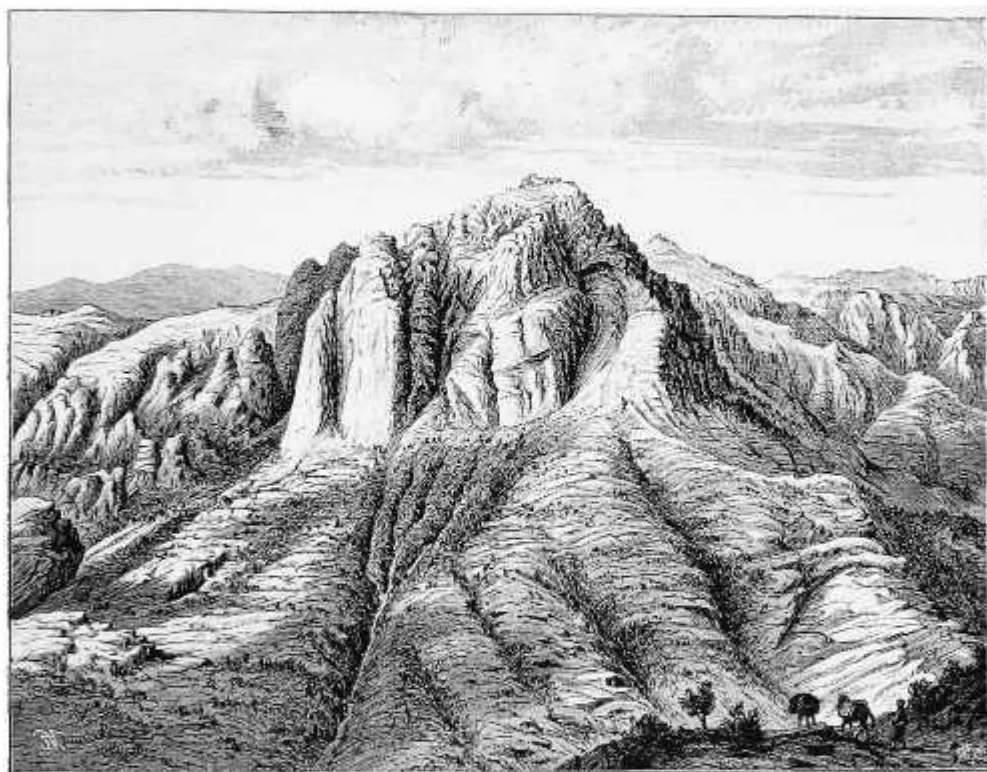
re-captured Travunje in 1376, reserving it, together with Chlum and a good part of Rascia—conquered at the same time—to himself, and thenceforth called himself King of Rascia, Bosnia, and the Primorje (the coastland). Under Tvrtko the family of Sankovitch forced itself into a position of great importance in Chlum and Trevunje, and these provinces were torn from them in 1392, whilst the royal authority was on the wane, by Paul Radinovitsh and Sandalj Hranitsh. The family of Sankovitch retained Bilek, Trebinje, Klobuk, and Canale, and after his assassination by Sandalj, his sons continued to govern, at any rate in Bilek and Trebinje. Next in importance to theirs are the parts played by the Nikolitshes of Popovo and the Ljubibratitshes of Trebinje. At first Sandalj's successor, Stepan Vukhtshitsh, the founder of Herzegovina, conquered Bilek and Trebinje too, and forced the Radinovitsh back upon the Bosnian possessions of Boratz and Olovo. From this point onwards the principality of Travunje shared the fate of Herzegovina.

More than one monument of this changeeful, historical past may still be seen to-day even outside the town itself. About seven thousand feet above the town a primitive bridge leads across the Trebintchitza, the Arslan-Agitsh-Most, renowned throughout Herzegovina as a worthy rival and contemporary of the bridge of Mostar. This name is also borne by the Mohammedan village, consisting of some twenty-five houses, standing in the midst of this inhospitable wilderness of rocks, in front of which the bridge spans the river as it flows between its steep and rocky banks. With a length of ninety-two mètres and a width of only three, the bridge is formed of two enormous central arches and two lower shore arches, and above each of the latter a viaduct; upon the southern bank the bridge is carried on by three quite small arches; on the northern it abuts upon a steep mountain of rock, beneath which the old road continues to the right, until, skirting the mountain, it turns northwards towards Jazen; to the south the old road, which may still be traced by ruined towers, leads to Cattaro. This important connection was accordingly preserved by this bridge, the only ancient and only stone bridge across the Trebintshitza. It, however, also intercepts the connection, for there still at the present day stands in the middle of the bridge the Kula provided with shooting gaps, which lends it a warlike appearance. The ruins of a peculiar fortification stand, five hundred yards off, under the northern bank of the bridge; whilst the northern foot of the bridge still covers an open redoubt.

Regarding the age of the bridge we have no data, but that Arslan-Agitsh-Most is a very ancient settlement is shown by the Roman coins so frequently found here, and by the numerous cairns. That traffic has from ancient times been directed to the spot it is very easy to see. The plain below the town

is an ancient lake-basin, still sufficiently flooded by the river, which below the bridge splits up into four branches, to be impassable. There is a superstition current amongst the people, that it would be impossible to permanently bridge over the river below the town. Ten years ago, in fact, an attempt of this kind came to nought, although a child's corpse was built up in its foundations for the propitiation of evil spirits.

Continuing along the southern bank of the river towards the east, we



Klobuk.

soon reached the territory of the ancient Županate of Vrm. The name is still preserved by the little township of Vrono and the Župa valley, an hour's distance from the bridge, in which forty-five Mohammedan houses straggle about. From this valley there towers up, boldly and defiantly, hard by the Montenegrin borders, a huge mass of rocks, high above the jagged, cleft, mountain ridge, covered with small pyramids of rock and occasional oak trees, and crowned by the ruins of ancient Klobuk mentioned by Constantine



Porphrogenitus. The fort which commands the neighbourhood up to the farthest gunshot range, and is only approachable on foot by a narrow ridge of rock, has remained strong and undamaged to the present day. In 1694, the Venetians were only able to capture it by cutting off all supplies of food. In 1806, the Russians laid siege to it in vain. In 1878, it was stormed for two entire days by our troops, when the solid walls, partly hewn out of the natural rock, offered a long resistance to guns of nine centimètre bores. It was only with difficulty that the outer walls were destroyed and the gate tower blown up. The people had until then believed the fort to be impregnable. Now the newly erected cordon fortress looks down upon its ruins from a neighbouring height.

Between Klobuk and Nikshitch, upon territory which is now Montenegrin, but which once belonged to Travunje, there are still numerous Bogomilian graves; but in the Popovo-Polje, near to the town of Velitchanji, there is a stone which commemorates Tvrtko's reign. Its superscription runs:

*"Va ime oca i sina i sv. Duha. Ovdje leži službenica božija Polykranja a imenom svetskim gospodja Radoča žena Podjavenca Čibodica . . . a nevjesto župana Zorathka i sluga . . . a kći župana Draživojevića, kaznacu satniku sestra; piše ovaj spomenik njezin sin Dabiživ s božijom pomoću . . . svojim Gudinom, a u dane gospodina kralja Tvrtka."* ("In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Here rests God's servant Polykrania, whose worldly name was Lady Radotsha, the wife of Podjavenatz Tshiboditch, . . . the bride of Zvratko, a Župan and servant, and daughter of the Župan Draživojevitsh. This monument was written by her son Dabiživ with the help of God . . . of his people, and in the days of the lord King Tvrtko.")

Trebinje itself is surrounded by ruins of varying size, which heighten the romantic nature of its aspect. The wars between the Venetians and Turks and the Herzegovinan insurrections have raged here more than anywhere else. The fortress-like character of the buildings, even of the ordinary dwelling-houses, adds to the difficulty of distinguishing between the historical and the more modern ruins. Besides the remains of watch-towers of greater or less antiquity, the ruins of two old monasteries are also shown. One of these, whose founder the Apostle Peter is said to have been, lies to the south of Trebinje, near Tzrunatsh, which consists of only three houses; the second is situated near Tirdoshi, which is made up of nine houses, upon the right bank of the river, where the Bishop of Chlum, who had fled from the Turks, for a while resided. Being disturbed in 1693 by the Turks, it was rebuilt upon the further bank of the river, and to-day still stands upon this spot near Dužina, a hamlet of six houses. Since 1777 the bishops have, however, resided at Mostar.



From Trebinje we drove fifteen miles across the stony desert of "Shuma," along a road where nothing was visible save smaller or larger peaks of rock, with goats upon the smaller ones, and fortresses and watch-towers upon the larger, built by the Venetians, Turks, French, and our own troops.

The Turks built one-and-twenty kulas between Trebinje and Ragusa. The watch-tower of Tzarina which stands upon the Dalmatian borders is ancient Ledenitze, restored by the Venetians, and "Fort Imperial" which rises above Ragusa is the work of Marmont and the French. As soon as we had passed through this, the yellow-grey desert of stones came to a sudden end, the never-ending blue of the Adriatic appeared, and the water-washed walls and towers of the old free town of Ragusa lay spread out beneath us amidst palms and laurels.





## CHAPTER XXIII.

### *THE KRAIN.*

Kostainitza—The Perpetual Border Wars—Turkish Railroads—The Baptism of Fire of the Hungarian Militia—The Railway Regiment—Novi—The Unna—Bosnian Mills—Public Discussion upon the Agrarian Question—The Misfortunes of the Small Agas—Tzazin and his Songs—Popular Songs of the Occupation—Bihatsh—The Fortress of Béla IV.—Economical Conditions—Agricultural Societies—Horse-Races—Medieval Bosnian Swords—Falconry—A Vanished Town.

*July, 1884.*

UPON our third journey, in coming from Agram we crossed the Bosnian borders at Kostainitza. The traveller sees at a glance that the Unna, as it hurries along between two hilly banks, divides two different worlds. There is no transition ; one plunges suddenly into the East. Croatian Kostainitza, on the left bank of the river, is a small town quite in the character of the townships upon the military frontier ; Bosnian Kostainitza, on the opposite shore, is purely Mohammedan ; it first began to exist in the seventh decade of this century at the time when the small agas, who had migrated from Servia, settled here. But the contrast does not strike one only as regards the exterior. In spite of commerce, which was briskly carried on even in former days at this place between the inhabitants of the two frontiers, in spite of the railroad, which has closely united the two since the Austrian occupation, the hatred between the Croats and the Bosnians is nowhere stronger, and the collisions between them are nowhere more frequent than here, and especially from Kostainitza to Bihatsh along the whole line of the sometime Croatian military frontier and the Krain, "Turkish-Croatia" as it is called. It may be boldly asserted that, in spite of all treaties of peace, the wars between the borderers of the Lika and the Mohammedans of the Krain never ceased, and would still be carried on with mutual raids and cattle stealing if the Bosnian Administration did not take care to maintain order upon its own borders, and

prevent all such adventures on the part of its own subjects. Their power does not of course extend beyond the borders, and unhappily the raids into Bosnian territory, which the former warlike border warders of the Lika conducted in person from time to time, have not even now ceased. In opposition to them it is still necessary that the people and the authorities should be ever on their guard.

The last incursion of the Krainian Mohammedans took place at the time of the Occupation. They had declared that as soon as our troops should march over the borders they, too, would cross them; and they kept their word, so that the royal Hungarian militia stood upon this occasion for the first time under fire. Whilst Bihatz was subjected to a several days' siege by the regular troops, the Honveds under Colonel Muzulin protected our own territory against the agas of the Krain, who were determined to give tit for tat.

The small fort, which with its romantic old walls and towers stands between the two towns upon an island in the Unna, seems to keep watch over the hatred on either hand. Its outworks consist of three massive towers facing Croatia, and round bastions facing Bosnia, built upon limestone foundations thickly overgrown with ivy. It was built during the days of Eugene of Savoy, and still belongs to Croatia. Upon the same island are also the old custom-house, and the so-called "Rastell," a piece of level ground surrounded by walls, where upon a certain day in the week business was transacted between the borderers and the Turkish population.

At the first station upon Bosnian ground, at Doberlin, the representatives of the Bosnian authorities awaited the minister. Here commences the old Turkish railway, which is under the excellent management and control of the Imperial Royal Railroad Regiment. This line is a small portion of the network of railways projected by the Porte in 1860, and which was then only carried out piecemeal, so to speak, at the terminal points, where its construction seemed to be cheap and easy, by the Belgian contractor—known in Austria too—Langrand-Dumonceau, and after his bankruptcy, by Hirsch, and thus it was that the hundred and three kilometres from Doberlin to Banialuka of that grandly conceived project, which was to unite the Adriatic with Salonica across Novi-Bazar, came to exist. The other terminus of this line was also only completed from Salonica to Mitrovitz on the Kossovo-Polje. Since the Austrian occupation the war department has taken over this first Bosnian railway, and in a very short time formed a junction between it and the monarchical railway system. After the establishment of the Railroad Regiment the line was transferred to their management.

The railway as far as Novi goes straight along the right bank of the Unna. This river, as it flows between tall mountains, along a fruitful though narrow valley, for the whole length of the way to, and even a little distance beyond, Novi, forms the frontier between Bosnia and Croatia. At first we only travelled as far as Novi, the next station. Here we passed the night so that we might the next day continue our journey to Bihać, the chief town of Krain, by road.

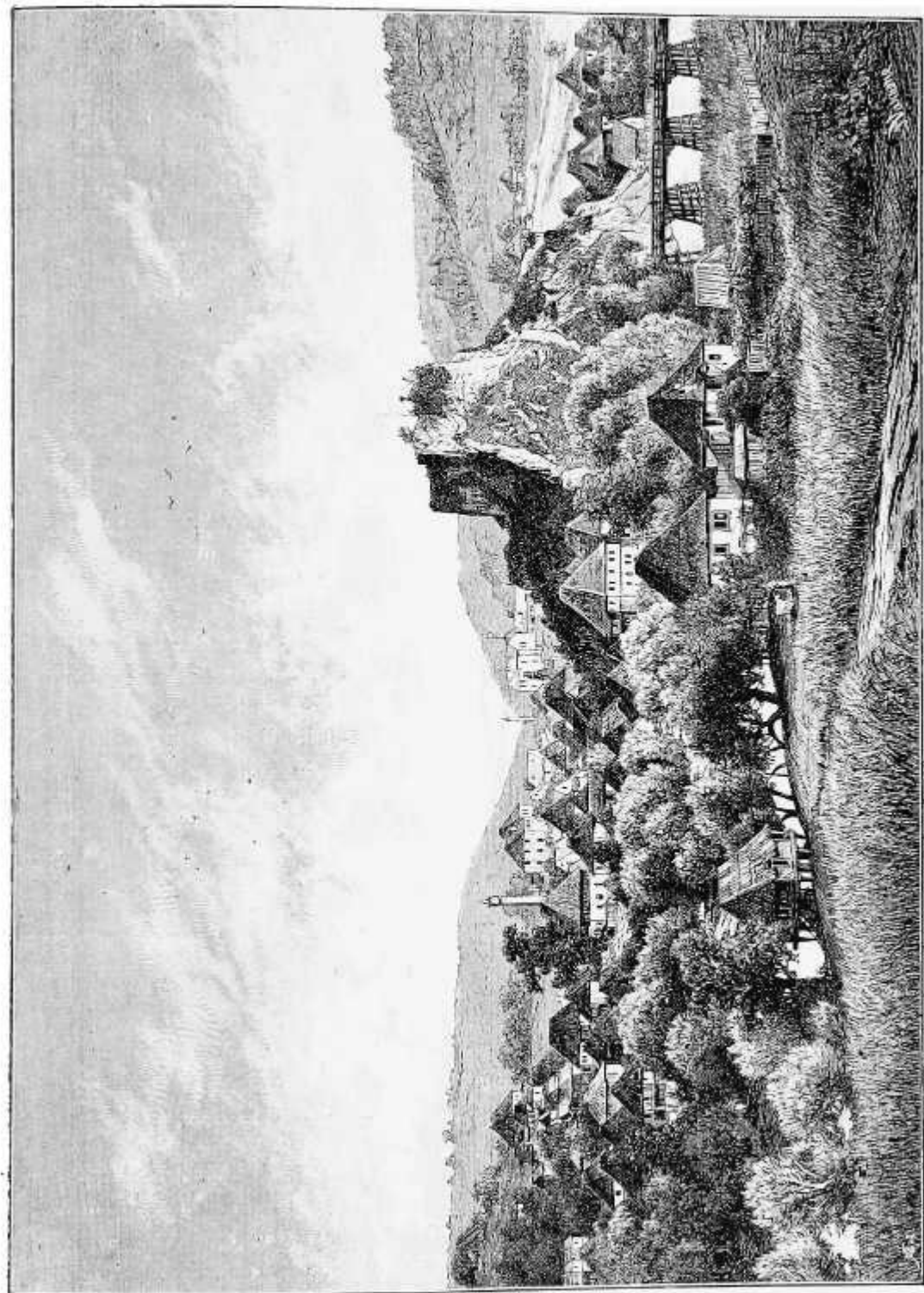
Novi itself is a small, rather poor town, but is picturesque, as it is built in three blocks connected by bridges, at the meeting-point of the two branches of the Unna and of the river Sana as it flows from the east. The old bulwarks, which were captured by Field-Marshal London in 1789 after a heavy siege, but before which the imperial troops suffered a heavy loss of eight thousand men in 1717, now lie in ruins. In spite of its ruins, however, and of its poverty-stricken appearance, the town, which numbers some two thousand inhabitants, enjoys a certain commercial importance, and has become through the meeting of the rivers, the fruitful and populated valley of the Sana, and the railroad, the trading centre of the Krain.

Since its connection, too, with the railway system of the monarchy, the town has markedly improved, and a brisk trade is carried on in its bazaar.

After the minister had, on the evening of our arrival, visited the mosques, churches, and schools of the various sects, and had invited the most important of the inhabitants to dinner, we early upon the following morning entered our carriages, and, accompanied by a part of the inhabitants on horseback, took our way up the Unna, on the right or Bosnian bank, to Ottok. But from here onwards we drove along the left bank to Krupa, after the frontier line, turning to the north-west, had left the river which we had followed up stream in a south-westerly direction. At Krupa we left the Unna to turn north-westwards amongst the mountains, towards Tuzla.

The wild Unna, with whose foaming waters so much blood has been blent during the ever-recurrent battles over the possession of Bosnia, is owing to its natural conditions one of the most interesting of rivers, and exactly in harmony with the wild and romantic Krain, where one ancient castle ruin after another appears, where the verdant mountains still re-echo with songs of heroes, and the people are still like a warlike race from the age of chivalry, as they come dashing up with stately mien, and in gorgeous costumes, from one town after another, in order to join our procession.

It is the natural weirs formed of rock which give to the Upper Unna its quite unique aspect; these follow one another in close succession, stretching across



Креп.

the whole width of the river, so that the waters flow through their narrow valley closed in by woody mountains in a series of cataracts. This is of course an insurmountable obstacle to vessels, however much it may increase the beauty of the landscape; but without there being any traffic the river is yet lively. One sees mill upon mill on this wild river, often submerged up to the roof at high tide, for all these mills are built firmly upon piles, or anchored to sunken stones, so as to be able to resist the violence of the floods. These mills are very primitive, such as might have existed in the days of the Romans, and all the more have they grown up with and become a part of the surrounding nature.

Opposite to Krupa, just where the principal street again passes along the right bank, first into the town of Krupa, and then from this seat of the divisional court, on to the capital of the district, we left the high road, after the minister had briefly returned the greetings of the inhabitants of Krupa, and promised to visit the town on his return. Our journey to Bihatsh now led up mountain paths and byways through Tzazin, in order that the minister might be enabled to visit this out-of-the-way arrondissement and its chief town.

At Tzazin the reception assumed the dimensions of an imposing demonstration on the part of the entire population of the arrondissement, under the leadership of the Burgomaster Hadshi Ahmed Aga Pozderatz and the Knezes of the few Christian communities. Whilst the minister moved about for a long time amongst the assembled crowd that he might hear all who might have a complaint or petition to bring forward, a lively dramatic scene was enacted, whilst several knezes and kmets began to discuss the existing agrarian conditions. Only those who know the East can conceive what a high degree of trust was evinced, when those belonging to a class once so oppressed, could enter into such an open, nay, public discussion with the representative of the highest power in the State.

Lively colouring and loud demands were not wanting when two or three of the talkers, crowding round the minister, proclaimed their views; one with exaggerated Oriental humility, another in an excited, dictatorial tone. It is true that the condition of the Christian peasantry in the Krain had perhaps been more burdensome than anywhere else in the land. The population consisted mostly of Mohammedans, and the uninterrupted feud with the borderers of the Lika kept the fanaticism of the opposing parties always at its height; on the other hand, there is hardly one large landowner here, and the small agas were only able to maintain their position as gentlemen by means of the most wanton oppression. The peasantry were more imposed upon here than anywhere else, and abuses were more frequently met with.

All the more sanguine, consequently, were the hopes attached by the Christians to the Austrian occupation. The Catholics especially, which constitute the majority of the Christians of the Krain, had never ceased to glance over the borders, whence their hoped-for emancipation was to come. In their simplicity they thought that, in the natural course of events, after the entrance of our troops the Mohammedan element would be exterminated, and that the whole country would be distributed amongst Christians and become Catholic. Just at this time, moreover, there were not wanting indications of a certain skilful agitation coming from without. These circumstances explain how it was that some, already accustomed to the fact that the kmets, now protected against former abuses, need no longer fear their master's wrath, but, on the other hand, disappointed in their expectations, now that they heard that a man was coming to them to whom each could freely make known his wrongs, besieged the minister energetically, some with profound humility, others impetuously and dictatorially, like people who are absolute novices in the use of free speech. One demanded the abolition of tithes. Upon the simple remark that the tithes were the emperor's, and that taxes must be levied in every country, on the further side of the border even, for example, where nothing had been grown, but here only of that which the land yielded, and in proportion to that which had been grown, a whole group of people began angrily to protest against the first speaker's proposition. Not for the world! We will gladly give to the emperor that which is his, but wherefore should we also pay the landlord? Finally, however, they expressed themselves satisfied that the Government was bound and willing to protect all, and that one could not exactly take away from the landlord that which was his.

Tzazin has also, like newly all the larger and numerous smaller townships of the Krain, a citadel of its own. A new mosque was in course of erection within the walls of the citadel, in place of that destroyed during the insurrection. We visited this, and the model medreze (mosque school) connected with it; and then pursued our journey, after partaking of luncheon in the house of the magistrate of the arrondissement. The remote mountain region of Tzazin, between Buzin, Petshi, and Bibatsch, from century to century the scene of sanguinary battles, is celebrated as the birth-place of a host of ballads and songs. Like every people which dwells in a romantic neighbourhood and lays store by warlike traditions, the people of the Krain expresses its emotions in ballads, and celebrates its heroes in song. Tzazin is the central point of this world of song, and its singers and poets are the Mohammedans who live there. The songs and ballads of Southern Slavonia are, as a whole, sufficiently well known, but the Southern

Slavonic collectors have naturally given less attention to just the Mohammedan folk-songs. The folk-songs of this neighbourhood, however, are the songs of Mohammedan Bosnians, and, on this account, I have considered them worthy of being represented. The following all derive their origin from the neighbourhood of Tzazin :

## I.

“ ‘Dost thou see this soft red hair?  
Art thou angry when I stroke it?’  
‘Nay, then go! for were I angry  
I would never have it stroked.’

“ ‘Dost thou see this visage pale?  
Art thou angry when I kiss it?’  
‘Nay, then go! for were I angry  
I would never have it kissed.’

“ ‘Dost thou see this bosom white?  
Art thou wroth when I caress it?’  
‘Nay, then go! for were I angry  
I would never let you do it.’

“ ‘Dost thou see thy white foot there?  
Art thou angry when I lift it?’  
‘Were I angry I would never,  
Never let you lift it up.’”

## II.

“ Three little birds together met  
In a mead, upon a twig;  
The first it was a sumbul bird,  
The second was a bulbul bird,  
The third it was a swallow.  
Of these which is it sings the best?  
In this wise spake the sumbul bird:  
‘Not one doth sing so well as I,  
For when I sit upon the church,  
The pilgrim, captivated, lets  
His rosary fall down.’  
In this wise spake the bulbul bird:  
‘Whene’er I sing upon the medrez  
The very Sottas, pious men,  
That they may hearken to my song,  
E’en throw aside the Alkoran.



"Then spake the third, the swallow bird;  
 'When as I sing beside the inn  
 The very drunkards cessa to drink,  
 And set aside their tankards so  
 That they may listen to my song.'"

The following old heroic song, too, is of interest on account of its geographical details:

"With weeping eyes  
 Beg Osman gazad across the plain,  
 And as he gazed, gazed far away,  
 A horseman did his eyes espy,  
 Approaching at a gallop quick.  
 In finest gold was he equipped,  
 From coat of mail to his feet.  
 Beg Osman now him recognized,  
 For it is Silitch, Nusret's son,  
 His own dear brother's son,  
 From fort Dundjur, near Požaga.  
 'Say, art thou well and happy, nephew?'  
 'Yes, I am well, but happy, no:  
 I see that thou art weeping, cousin.'  
 And Osman to him thus replied:  
 'Oh, listen, son, wherefore I weep,  
 Look over there t'wards Ogaravitch!  
 For once it counted close upon  
 Six hundred stone and well-built houses.  
 Of these, too, many were my own,  
 Not counting any of the huts.  
 But then the emperor's general  
 (The punishment of Allah meet him!)  
 Inhumanly burnt everything,  
 Of both my daughters robbed me,  
 When as I was away in Stamboul.  
 When home returned I saw my grief,  
 With both my daughters torn from me!  
 Since then three years their course have run,  
 And I shall never see them more.'  
 'Oh! let me kiss thy hand, good cousin.  
 Upon the best of all my steeds  
 I traversed all the emperor's land;  
 And far around it I did ride,  
 Yet never came across the maids.  
 I wandered far as Klausenburg,  
 And many strangers saw I there,

Who thither came to barter wares,  
 From Malta's distant island, too;  
 But of the maidens no one knew."

Osman-Beg at last receives a letter from his daughters. They tell him that they are kept prisoners in Prozor, by the imperialist general. Osman-Beg raises a regiment, and sets his daughters free. The general is slain in the fight. This song is descended from the last century, and the close connection between Transylvania and the East is echoed in it. Of the numerous songs, composed upon the Occupation, the following rendering is sung in the Krain, to the *Guzla* :

"Look, a rainbow high in heaven  
 Sees destruction fall on Bosnia.  
 Kostajnitza and Gradiska  
 Already lie in Swabian hands.  
 God! oh, curse Commander Ajnan,  
 Commander General Ajuan,  
 Who has taken prisoner  
 Our valiant Aga Feim,  
 And three Kapetanovitches,  
 Ismi, Dervish, and the Mustaj,  
 Mustaj-Beg the youngest of them,  
 Clouds move o'er the azure heavens,  
 Mists descend upon the earth,  
 From the mist a horseman dashes,  
 Hassan-Beg the gloomy rider,  
 At his back the men of Krain.  
 They lay siege to Banialuka  
 Till the heat of summer's noon,  
 Soon falls Krupitch with Beg Ali,  
 All the standard-bearers fall.  
 Hassan-Beg receives a missive  
 From the white stone fortress, Bihatah:  
 'May God bless you, Hassan-Beg!  
 We have here attacked been  
 By two mighty generals,  
 Czak and Rajneder called,  
 On the Unna they are storming  
 Bihatah our own white fort.'  
 Hardly had these words been read,  
 It was followed by a second  
 From the fort of Brishka, far away,  
 That the town and fort of Brishka  
 Had been captured by the Swabian.

" Yet, when he had learned all this,  
 Came the Mufti of Tashlidza,  
 Brother to Omer Effendi,  
 And the men of Herz'govina,  
 They came with him, travelling thus  
 Through the whole of Herzegovina,  
 Marching on to Serajevo ;  
 Meeting there some thousand men,  
 Met with soldiers from the Krain,  
 With the soldiers of the Sultan  
 Having just come from the fight,  
 From the fight by Wisoko.  
 Abbas Pasha then collected,  
 Collected all his leading men :  
 ' Harken, men of Serajevo,  
 Harken to the Sultan's law,  
 None may shoot at any Swabians.'  
 Spake the Mufti : ' Abbas Pasha !  
 If thou hast the Sultan's firman,  
 Here I have my heroes true !  
 Outside must the Swabian stay !'  
 Great the uproar ! Weapons clang,  
 Abbas trembles for his life ;  
 Soon he quitted Serajevo,  
 With him, too, then went two thousand  
 Anatolian soldiers too.  
 To the men spake Hadshi Loja,  
 Calling out with thundering voice :  
 ' Brothers ! fly to arms, revolt !  
 Soldiers need I, thousands six,  
 Dresses, arms, will marchants lend,  
 That this town we may defend.'  
 Then in council men assemble,  
 But a letter comes from Travnik :  
 ' Sorely pressed is Jaitze fortress  
 With the Swabian laying siege.'  
 Hadshi Loja calls together  
 Now the bravest of the men,  
 Marching with them upon Travnik.  
 Travnik's fort stands void—deserted,  
 All have marched away to Jaitze.  
 Vainly had they issued forth,  
 On the next day they returned,  
 From the tumult of the battle,  
 From the white stone fort of Jaitze  
 Where were met the Bibatshians,

Mustaj-Beg and Rustem-Beg,  
By two death-shots from the cannon  
By the German Emperor sent.  
Hadshi Loja leads again  
His faithful men to Serajevo,  
Camps them all near Ilidze,  
Sends to Gasinat a letter  
To the Mufti of Tashlidza.  
But he had already left  
For the level Posavina,  
Came in contact at Preslitza  
With the whole of Swabia's army.  
Thirty thousand of the Swabians,  
Of the Mufti only eight,  
Cannon, too, 'gainst the splendid  
Emperor's princely cannon,  
Takes he with him 'gainst the foe.  
Dark it was and midnight when the  
Mufti thus addressed his men :  
'Has,' he said, 'that hero e'er been  
Born of woman who will  
Venture to creep up  
Into the hostile Swabian camp,  
Confusion, unrest, there to found,  
Then to shoot and slash around,  
That the Swabians startled thus  
One upon another fall,  
Murthering one another thus ?'  
Twenty heroes promptly came,  
Uttering no parting word,  
Doing e'en as they were bid.  
Mighty fear possessed the Swabians,  
One upon the other rushed,  
Stabbing, hewing one another dead  
Until the rising of the sun.  
Then when dawned the daybreak pale  
In upon them rushed the Mufti,  
Fighting till the night came on.  
From the field of battle turned he  
Back to Herzegovina bare.  
Hearing of this Hadshi Loja  
Wisely drew his men together  
Serajevo to defend  
'Gainst an attack from Filipovitch ;  
Serajevo is surrounded  
By the General Filipovitch.

"Bravely Hadshi then protects it,  
 Spitting forth his fire and flame,  
 Right and left the Swabians fall.  
 Valiant Hadshi Loja then  
 By swift bullet loses  
 Both his feet from off his body.  
 Sarajevo ! Sarajevo !  
 Thou didst fall to Filipovitch."

In this neighbourhood the following song is also sung. It has come down to us from the times before Glamotsh had fallen into Turkish hands.

"OUT OF THE FORTRESS OF GLAMOTSH.

"Wailing hear we in the fort of Glamotsh '  
 Is't the Vila, is't the angry serpent ?  
 Vila it is not, no, not the angry serpent ;  
 Emina the maiden is't who waileth,  
 Waileth, for she is in trouble !  
 By the Ban is Emina imprisoned,  
 For he says that she shall be baptized.  
 But she will not be baptized,  
 Off the white tower rather would she leap.  
 "Then the unbelieving Ban she thus misled :  
 'Only tarry, unbelieving Ban, a little,  
 Whilst I go up, upon the upper floor !'  
 Emka\* went up to the upper floor,  
 And she from the white tower gazed ;  
 Saw afar the courtyard of her father's house ;  
 Saw close by her former schoolhouse white :  
 'Lo ! I see my father's house, oh, sorrow !  
 See my school too, once my greatest dread !  
 Thou didst frighten me enough  
 When thy writing I was set to learn !'  
 Then her white dress drew she round her,  
 But forgot her braided hair ;  
 And thus sprang she off the tower.  
 But her hair caught on the window,  
 And thus hung Emina the maiden.  
 There for one whole week she hung  
 Till her hair was perished quite,  
 Then upon the greensward fell.  
 Up then sprang the Christian Ban and hastened ;  
 Oft and oft he kissed poor Emka, dead,  
 Then he buried Emina the maiden,

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\* Emka is the diminutive of Emina.

“And a chapel built above her grave,  
The top adorned with a golden apple  
Yet, before a week had passed away,  
On Emka's grave there fell a spark,  
A spark which burnt her at her head,  
A spark which burnt her at her feet.  
This her aged mother saw,  
Took a knife, unloos'd it from its chain,  
Plunged into her deepest heart the knife,  
Sank and died.—Alas, poor mother!”

After the luncheon of which we had partaken at the house of the magistrate of the *arrondissement*, we started on our journey directly south. At *Ostrozatz* we again reached the *Unna*, and at five o'clock in the afternoon *Bihatsh*, the old, historical, interesting capital of the *Krain*. Since the castle of *Bihatsh* was built by *Béla IV.*, King of Hungary, it has never ceased to play a part in the Hungarian-Croatian-Bosnian-Turkish feuds. Even before the Turkish period, Hungarian warders of the border were frequently garrisoned here. The first more important battle against the Turks was fought here in 1592. In the attempts at re-conquest in the years 1692 and 1697 the castle was unsuccessfully besieged: on the last occasion with twelve thousand men and thirty-two cannon. In the years 1717 and 1739 the imperial troops again fought the Turks beneath its walls. The town, with a population of some five thousand souls, the half of whom are *Mohammedans*, is picturesquely situated in the plain of *Bishtshe*. *Bishtshe*, or *Bitshe*, in Turkish *Bebke*, is also the name of the town itself, which, with its suburbs lying amidst gardens, extend along both banks of the *Unna*, and upon the islands formed by the many branches of the river at this point. To the south of the town, upon the left bank of the *Unna*, rises the peak of the *Debeljatska*, five hundred and sixty-nine metres high, and from here there extends down stream the broad fertile plain, which is bounded on the west by bastion-like and far-extended heights, running parallel with the *Unna*, the last promontory of the *Pljeshavitza-Planina*, which at the same time constitutes the frontier towards Croatia.

The inhabitants were assembled before the town, and at their head the *Burgomaster* *Mehammed-Beg Alibegovitsh*, and the president of the *Agricultural Society*, *Hassan-Beg Ibrahimbegovitsh*, received the minister. Whilst the deputations and those to whom audiences were granted were assembling in front of the district magistrate's *kouak*, we took a rapid survey of the town and its public institutions. The inner town or fort, on the left bank of the *Unna*, is formed by a hexagonal building protected by double walls, and with watch-towers at four of its corners. The side towards the *Unna* especially, with its

old walls, which partly date from the time of their first founder King Béla IV., present a threatening warlike appearance. In the centre of this side one gateway leads out on to the wooden bridge, which connects the two broad branches of the Unna and one of their islands with the opposite shore, whence the forked road leads across one of the suburbs to the east to Krupa, to the south to Petrovatz. Another road leads through the southern gateway and ruined citadels in the direction of the Croatian Zavalje, straight to the Rastell of Zavalje, whilst the third and northern gateway leads to Jzashitsb.

Upon the southern, western, and northern sides, which are not protected by the Unna, the battlements are surrounded by broad moats.

The whole of Krain had, so to speak, attended the audience. Deputations were there from Petrovatz, Kulen-Vakuf, and Unatz, the latter under the leadership of the Pop Ilija Bilbia, who had, as captain of the Tshetas,\* fought on the side of our troops against the insurgents.

Amidst the numerous private matters which were brought before him, the minister especially directed his attention to the material interests of the district, and from the Agricultural Society to the religious establishments, all found support and encouragement in matters concerning the common good, and, where necessary, even material aid.

The Bihatsh district is generally looked upon as the least advanced and the poorest in all Bosnia. We had ample opportunity for convincing ourselves that at any rate the conditions for development were not wanting here either, and that even now a certain amount of progress is perceptible.

It is certainly true that the Krain had lagged behind. The eternal conflicts between the borderers of the Lika and the Mohammedans of the Krain, which did not cease even in times of profoundest peace, and amongst whom the conditions of war remained permanent, at least as regards the mutual cattle raids, formed a heavy drawback to agricultural progress. Neither can it be denied that the Krain is a limestone district; whilst the favoured Posavina has garden soil equal to early banate ground, and the other parts of Bosnia also attain to the level of Styria. The limestone nature of the ground has not, however, reached such a point here as in many places in Herzegovina. The high mountains are still covered by mighty woods, amongst them oak forests, which, as soon as they are opened up to commerce, will form one of the sources of wealth in the Krain. Upon the lower declivities, where inaccessibility has not protected the woods from destruction, nature herself has saved the layers of vegetable mould which everywhere envelop the limestone region. Densely growing ferns cover these slopes

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\* Native Volunteers.

for miles, and with their roots hold the soil firmly together, that it may not be washed away by the torrents of rain. True it is that this contest could not endure for long, if cultivation did not come to the rescue. But these heights, when situated in the vicinity of human habitations, are interspersed with luxuriant wheat, the culture of which is constantly on the increase, and the broad valleys of the shining rivers of the Unna, the Sana, and the Unnatz, which wind all about this neighbourhood, making everything verdant and fresh, wherever they flow form fertile country which is not only fruitful, but also industriously tended, and well cultivated. In few districts of the country is so much wheat grown as here, and its cultivation has increased from year to year, until now when it has developed into an article of export. The neighbourhood of Novi, and Sauski-Most, too, is occupied with the production of iron, though certainly as a peculiar, primitive domestic industry. The Kmet manufactures the metal extracted from his ground and soil, of which a tenth belongs to the State and a third to the ground landlord, into rough bars of iron, a method by which some 40 per cent. of the iron is wasted with the slack. Grain and iron are forwarded on the Unna and the Save as far as Belgrade; the vessels capable of carrying eighty thousand kilogrammes are generally towed back by men up stream laden with earthenware. The mills stand in almost unbroken rows along the rivers, and the natural weirs are very cleverly utilized for them. The most hopeful sign, however, is the lively interest taken by people in trade and agricultural progress. Small begs and agas hold the soil here side by side with the free peasantry, who are so scarce in other parts of the country, but so common here. It is perhaps on this account that this district is accounted the poorest. On the other hand, however, it shows itself, pressed as it is by want, just on that very account more ready to welcome progress than other neighbourhoods having great begs and large estates.

For some small agas, who here and there owned one single kmet-holding in common, the new era has been fatal. They formerly lived at the expense of the unhappy kmet; for one half of the year he had to provide this master, for the other half that master, with all his needs as though he were his guest. Such abuses have now come to an end, and some agas have emigrated from their estates; but most of them adapted themselves to the new order of things, and the small agas now support themselves honestly as carriers—the favourite occupation of those compelled to work—or as tradesmen and shopkeepers, in greater comfort than heretofore; thus the desire for emigration which showed itself chiefly amongst the small agas of this district has ceased; indeed, even those who emigrated are beginning to return, and amongst others one of these who had just returned from Smyrna introduced himself to the minister at Bihatz, and



could not sufficiently complain of the fact that where he had been they did not even understand Bosnian. Profoundest peace now reigns in this district, where every span of ground is drenched in blood. Numbers of fine streets, the rapidly increasing vehicular traffic, the visibly flourishing towns of Bihatsch, Novi, and Krupa, which are rising to a commercial pinnacle, all show the result of peaceful labour. It was in this district, too, that the first agricultural society was founded.

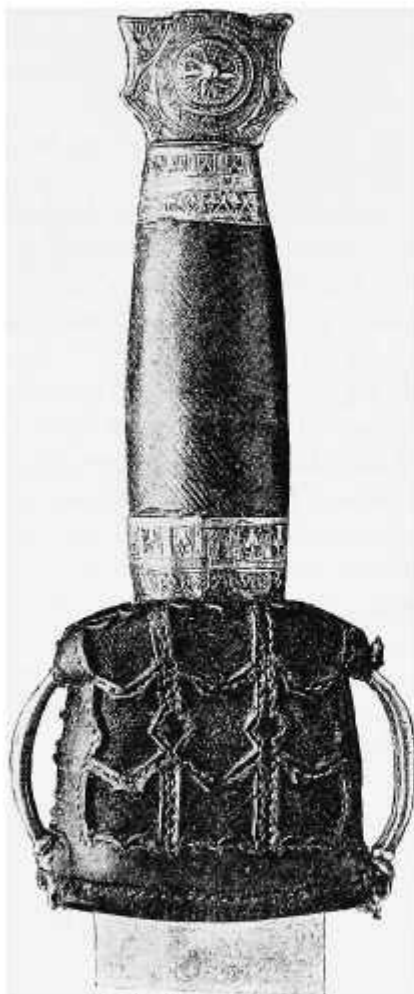
The Government, which is inclined to support every effort at advancement even though it may be with only small sums, helped this society too, but the largest part of its capital was found by the people themselves. Latterly, too, horse-races have been again introduced: formerly these were warmly supported by the people, but had ceased to be held during the struggles of these bloody years. The Krainian Mohammedan considers himself to be the best mounted soldier there is, and the population is, although dwelling amongst mountains, as a matter of fact a population of horsemen, as was proved, moreover, by the numerous troops of horsemen which appeared from every valley and hillside and caracolled around our carriages.

The Agricultural Society purchases animals for breeding, establishes experimental stations, and has commenced the cultivation of hops with great success. Several deputations petitioned for a railway, and for making the Unna navigable; but the people know also that intellectual progress is one of the conditions of material advancement. Numerous communal schools have been erected, and the town of Bihatsch itself has built a beautiful one-storied schoolhouse of freestone, and thus prosperity is advancing in every direction through the personal efforts of the people. After the audiences there followed a banquet given by the town to the minister, and after that a torchlight procession. On the following day we travelled back to Novi by the direct road to Krupa on the right bank of the Unna. In Krupa we took our mid-day rest, as far as a couple of hours could count as rest which, after a rapidly swallowed meal, were dedicated to the inspection of the offices, and to granting audiences. At the house of the magistrate of the arrondissement, a son of the brave General Baron Mollinary, we found a small ethnographical and archaeological collection, whose chief pride is three swords, which are amongst its most rare and most valuable articles. Baron Mollinary found all three of them himself in old graves near Mostar. They are all alike, three feet long, with two-edged blades, three fingers wide, across, and with short straight hilts, separated from the blades by brass ferules, upon which the remains of coverings made of leather and red cloth are still preserved. The swords point to mailed knights, and that similar ones were found in three graves indicates their general use. They are long, heavy, straight swords; but as no bearers of such weapons have invaded the neighbourhood of the Narenta since

the Turkish conquest, they evidently date from the time of the Bosnian monarchy ; and this it is which makes them so valuable, for all that has up till now been discovered belonging to this era amounts to very little. Except a few ruins of churches and castles and a couple of coins, hardly anything besides the Bogomilian graves, which are scattered all over the country, have come down to us

from this epoch. Fortunately, in the bas-reliefs of these tombstones, the past life of the dead is portrayed, as in Egypt, and especially all that appertains to war and the chase, and these same swords are really represented innumerable times upon these tombs, whereby it is amply proven that these swords were those used by the Bosnian knights of the Middle Ages.

From Novi we travelled the following day, over the old Turkish railway direct to Banialuka. It hardly needs stating that this railroad, since it has been under the management of the Imperial Royal Railroad Regiment, has not suffered from a single one of those peculiarities, by which Turkish railways may generally be recognized. Formerly there was only a train on every alternate day, and this started empty at horse speed. Now there is a regular service from Doberlin to Banialuka. We reached Priedor by the left bank of the Sana, through a country in every respect like the upper valley of the Unna, though the landscape is, it is true, more lively, for beyond the grey willows we could see ships upon the river, which flows more quietly than the Unna. The Sana is navigable from Priedor onwards, and the craft in use there (which remind one of the Dahabiahs of the



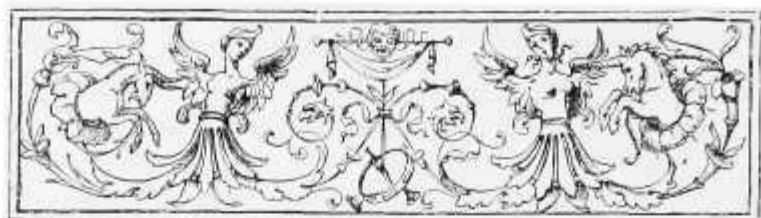
Medieval Bosnian Sword.

Nile), about one hundred in number, go as far as Semlin, indeed even to Budapesth, and occasionally on to the Lower Danube. Their regular traffic, however, only reaches to Jasenovatz, where the Unna flows into the Save. Their cargo consists of wheat, oats, and maize.

Priedor itself is a small town on the right bank of the Sana, with three thousand five hundred inhabitants of various creeds. It is situated just at the point where the valley issues forth from amongst masses of rocks into an inviting, fertile plain. In the crevices of the rocks which tower aloft above the town hundreds of falcons build their nests, and from here the begs of the neighbourhood of Banialuka take their young falcons. For amongst many other traditions of the old nobility, long since extinct in the rest of Europe, the wealthy begs who dwell here still faithfully encourage the noble sport of falconry. As each spring comes round the young birds are taken away and trained until August; then the begs ride away in gay bands, and, flying after the falcons in the stubble fields, they with their aid catch the wild pigeons.

After Priedor, when we had left the Sana valley which turns towards the south, the road led through an altogether more open and really verdant neighbourhood, watered by countless streamlets, with a mill upon nearly every one. It was four miles and a half from Novi to Priedor, and after about another three miles and a quarter we passed from the hill country into the Vrbas valley, in the plain of Banialuka, which extending in a northerly direction passes through into the Posavina. Near Trn we reached the river Vrbas; the railroad turns from the east directly southwards, up the left bank of the river, and in about a quarter of an hour runs into the Banialuka railway station. In Trn there are but few houses now, scattered along both banks of the Vrbas; yet here the old town is supposed to have once stood, and not until after its destruction did the more modern Banialuka come into existence, about three miles from Trn, higher up, quite at the mouth of the defile. Tradition agrees in this with the general rule, that before the Turkish invasion, the larger towns all stood in the open plains, but then drew themselves up in front of defiles, beneath forts and hills; or rather under their protection new Mohammedan towns grew up, like Serajevo, Mostar, Travnik, and Banialuka; whilst the old Christian towns either sank into places of insignificance, like Ban-Brdo before Serajevo and Blagaj before Mostar, or were entirely blotted out, like Lashva before Travnik, and Trn.





## CHAPTER XXIV.

### BANIALUKA.

A Monk-Bishop—Banialuka—The Fortress—The Roman Baths—Hussein Aga Berberli and the War against the Gyaour-Sultan—The Trappists—The German and Southern Tyrolese Colonies—The Agricultural Society of Banialuka.

THE sun was already setting when our train drew up at Banialuka. The railway station, where nearly the whole of the town had assembled, is about a mile and a half from the town, and in the hurry of the arrival I got into a carriage in which two ecclesiastics were also seated. At first I think we were all three astonished, until it became clear, after we had introduced ourselves to one another, that I had been placed in the bishop's carriage by mistake. The Bishop of Banialuka is still a young man, and—like all the bishops in this country formerly—belongs to the Order of Franciscans, and I have to thank this accident for a winning, lovable acquaintance.

Banialuka, too, like most of the larger towns in this country, is situated on the borders of a plain, in front of the entrance to a narrow defile.

Upon the east Ponir, upon the west the Laush Mountains, again, and for the last time, narrowly confine the roaring waters of the Vrbas. At the point where the river issues from the narrow rocky defile of these wooded hills the town commences. Ponir bending off to the east, Laush towards the west, make room for a long narrow plain across which the Vrbas still flows for some time, close up to Ponir, until it has picked up the Vrbanja stream which dashes down the north-eastern slope of the mountain, after which it runs out at Old Gradiska into the great plain of Posavina. Whilst the Vrbas is still flowing along below Ponir, the Tzrkvina stream runs into it from the slope of the Laush, which bends towards the west, just where the plain grows considerably wider. On the further side of this stream, between its

own right bank and the left bank of the Vrbas, in the angle formed by the two rivers, and resting upon the Laush, there is situated the ancient town, with its citadel commanding an extensive view, and the great mosque. Opposite, on the other shore, regularly wedged in between Ponir and the Vrbas, small huts and modest mosques with green gardens extend in a narrow row far into the mountain pass: a poor suburb which, about three miles off, has its continuation in some solitary hamlets. On the left side of the Tzrkvina, between it and the left shore of the Vrbas, where, owing to the eastward bend of the Vrbas which comes from the south, the plain really begins to widen, is situated the Christian quarter of the town, which merges into gypsy huts at the river's bank. Entirely separated from this quarter of the town, further back on the plain, upon the high road to Gradiska, there is a more modern block of houses consisting of better buildings, which is only connected with the rest of Banialuka by a long row of trees and a Turkish cemetery. Behind these there is yet another isolated, countryfied group of houses in the plain lying below the Laush,—Nova-Varosh, the New Town. Detached houses lie scattered around in the fertile plain, so full of life, and isolated hamlets peep forth from amidst the dark green of the mountain-sides. Outside the gypsy town, but a good deal further down on the Vrbas—which, after having made a bend so as to afford space for the widening of the plain, now again flows northwards—there stands solitarily between two larger islands, a spacious barrack. A little distance further down the river the Vrbanja stream dashes from the right hand into the Vrbas, and upon the same bank, but again considerably further down, stands the Trappist Monastery; opposite to this, far beyond the river and across the plain, amongst the hills, the Franciscan Monastery is situated. The plain widens more and more after Banialuka, until at last it passes up into the great Posavina Plain. The position of Banialuka is at once visible from the railway station, which, separated from the Vrbas by groups of trees, lies almost opposite to the mouth of the Vrbanja. It is one of the most beautiful situations that can be imagined: rivers, mountains, rocks, woods, gardens, and arable land in endless variety, full of fresh and luxuriant life. But it is not alone the position of the town which is favourable. Banialuka is, speaking generally, one of the most advanced towns, which has only quite recently been outstripped by Serajevo itself, through the latter's being the centre of an European Government, and, as a result of this, having founded many educational institutions. Banialuka was the first of the larger towns to have a railway, even during Turkish days, and as the terminus of this railway it grew to be the focus of traffic, which was also increased by the excellent high road leading through Old Gradiska

to the Save. Hence, even before the Austrian occupation, Banialuka numbered over twenty thousand inhabitants, of whom about sixteen thousand were Mohammedans, two thousand five hundred Orthodox, and one thousand five hundred Catholics. Even since then the town has made sufficient progress. Its trade in cattle and home produce is considerable. These favourable conditions also tell in the outward appearance of the town. In no other town in the country are there so many ordinary dwelling-houses, built after the solid European manner, as here. It preserves its Oriental impress chiefly through its forty-five mosques. We drew up immediately upon our entrance into the town at the end of the above-named avenue, in front of a large, beautiful, and comfortable hotel, on its right hand, which is in itself a guarantee for the progress and European pretensions of the town. In the open space before the hotel were drawn up the pupils of the various educational establishments to welcome the minister in rotation with speeches for the occasion. The Orthodox, Catholic, and Mohammedan schools, the girls' educational establishment belonging to the Sisters of the Holy Blood of Nazareth, and the Communal Schools, were all represented here. The large number of assembled scholars, their healthy looks, and the frank and intelligent appearance of the children gave evidence of the thorough progressive spirit of the town.

After the luncheon, in which the notabilities of the town took part, we adjourned to the chief square of the inner town, in front of the Konak, at the invitation of the town council. The road to Old Gradiska leads direct to this quarter, between gardens and churchyards, through the Christian suburb and over the Tzrkvina bridge; it then turns to the left, so that we walked down to the citadel along by the houses of the inner town, and the bazaar on the right bank of the Tzrkvina. The citadel is built in the angle between this stream and the Vrbas in such a manner that its shorter side, some two hundred feet long, leans towards the Tzrkvina, and its longer side, measuring about five hundred feet, towards the Vrbas. The two other sides, which are not protected by the rivers, are separated by moats five mètres wide and two mètres deep from the large open space which lies between the castle and the other buildings in the old town. Behind the moats rise bastions from six to eight mètres high, which are supported at their corners by solid towers. The chief gateway is situated in the centre of the long side looking towards the old town, to which a wooden bridge leads over the moat. It is true that the walls of the fortress have been repaired, but as a whole it offers little security, because one can see into the citadel from three sides of the half-circle of mountains which rise behind Banialuka. This, however, does not prevent it, with its

antique warlike appearance, from lending a romantic character to the whole neighbourhood. Between the longer side of the fortress and the houses, most of which form part of the bazaar, but which also afford a peep into the narrow streets of the old town as they wind up and down hill, there lies a well-tended promenade ornamented with trees and rose bushes, along which the surging crowd was already moving. At the end of this promenade we again found more important buildings, which serve as an ornament to the place. Opposite to the fortifications stands the largest mosque in the town, and one of the most beautiful in the country, the domed Ferhadia-Dshamia, which was really built at the expense of the Austrian family of Auersperg. The Bosnian Vizier Ferhad Pasha, when he in 1576 slew General Eberhard Auersperg at Radonja, in Croatia, had also, amongst others, taken his son Engelbert prisoner. According to tradition the Ferhadia-Dshamia was built out of the money paid for his ransom. Opposite to the shorter side of the fortress, and also leaning towards the Vrbas, stands the Konak, a spacious, lofty, but uninteresting building, which is only ornamented with gaily-coloured trellis-work. Here we seated ourselves in the shade on the river's bank and enjoyed a splendid view. Behind us surged the multitude in the square belonging to the mosque, down to the water's edge; below us foamed the Vrbas in a deep bed of rocks; the outline of the shore and the bridge thrown across from the castle, framed in thousands of small shining lamps. These lamps are very ingeniously made: they are military jam pots, filled with sand saturated with petroleum. Small timber-houses, enveloped in vines, looked across from amongst nut trees and plum trees, beneath the dark masses of Mount Popir, upon which there blazed enormous beacons. And now resounded the military music, and the general rejoicing reached its highest point. We sat there until late at night, that we might gaze our fill at the picturesque sight, enjoying cigarettes and Turkish coffee the while.

Banialuka is an old town. It is most likely identical with the point "Castra," situated on the river Urbannus, of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*; and there can be no doubt that the road passing from Salona through Dalmatia to Pannonia, past this place, "*Ad Fines*" to "*Servitium*," is the present Brebir on the Save, which was already upon Pannonian soil. This was the road taken by the Avars when they invaded the Roman empire. One of the Roman monuments in Banialuka is still preserved—the Roman baths, from which the name "Lucas-Bath," borne by the town, is clearly derived. We inspected the public buildings and visited these baths at our leisure. They are situated on the right bank of the Vrbas, a good way up stream in that quarter of the town, which, reaching about three miles up the mountain pass, begins almost opposite to the

fortress. The whole of this quarter of the town lies shut in between the river and Ponir. The mountain at first rises one hundred feet above the river, then three hundred feet, and in many places descends into it down a steep cliff. The bed of the river is quite rocky, its current is naturally strong, and is made still more rapid by the weirs constructed for the sake of the countless mills. Although the water is shallow, it is from two to three hundred feet wide; on the further shore the orchard-covered hills of the other mountain range begin to rise. The snake-like, tortuous mountain pass, with its rows of houses, which sometimes vanish, then re-appear, with here and there a mosque nestled among the gardens and cliffs, and made lively by the roaring Vrbas and the clatter of the mills, is one of the most beautiful idyls. In the midst of this idyl the baths, still known as the "Roman baths," lie in two groups. The one, in the vicinity of a bridge, is now nothing more than a ruin, from which there bubbles up a warm spring. Here, in 1870, six hundred Roman coins were found. A little further on, up the stream, stands the bath, still in use, a massive domed building, which must have been built in the sixth century, and beside it is another, in ruins. In their neighbourhood there are three more springs, not yet used.

Banialuka, like Serajevo and Mostar, certainly first developed into a town of some importance under the Turks, under whose government the old centres of life fell into decay or were laid waste; whilst, on the other hand, new ones came into being, to whose simultaneous origin their similar positions in front of important defiles, and their outward character, point. In the Bosnian-Hungarian period Jaitze on the one hand, and Brebir on the other, were far too important for the development of a town situated between them to have been possible. Between strong Brebir and fortified Jaitze there moved almost uninterruptedly for centuries, Bosnian, Croatian, Hungarian, and Turkish armies, and that alone would prevent the existence of a town which could only rise to importance as the centre of peaceful commerce. But when the Turkish dominion was rendered secure by the fall of Jaitze, Banialuka advanced rapidly to the front, for now, as in early days at Jaitze, encounters take place before Banialuka. In the years 1527, 1688, and 1737 the Austro-Hungarian army here fought against the Turks. Since the Duke of Hildburghausen was, on August 4th, 1737, defeated by the Bosnian Vizier Ali Pasha Etshimovitch, who was of Bosnian birth, the town has developed rapidly and undisturbed, and in the first half of the present century it already formed the political centre of the whole neighbourhood for far around, and as such plays a very prominent part. As a matter of fact, perhaps the most remarkable and most characteristic movement which Turkish Bosnia can show amongst



so many and such vast insurrections, emanated from Banialuka. From here started that astounding campaign set on foot by the Bosnian begs and agas, in order to unfurl the banner of the prophet against the "unbelieving Gyaour-Sultan," so that they might reinstate the true Islam in Stamboul.

And it was only by a hair's breadth that Hüssein Aga Berberli, the "Dragon of Bosnia," did not, after having already conquered Old Servia and the whole of Bulgaria, enter the residence of the Caliphs as conqueror at the head of the Bosnians who had entered the field against the Turks for the salvation of Islam.

A large portion of the Bosnian people, and almost the entire Bosnian nobility, had thrown themselves into the arms of the Turks and Mohammedanism, not from cowardly weakness, but after bloody persecutions and battles, from hatred of the oppression of the Latin Church and the Hungarian arms. The conversion in a body of the Bosnian Bogomiles to Mohammedanism was at first, doubtless, only in appearance: they submitted themselves to the Turkish yoke, which for converts was not particularly heavy, that they might free themselves of the old one, and wreak their vengeance on their persecutors, but, secretly hoping for a happier future, they preserved the Bogomilian traditions. These, however, after one or two generations had passed away, may have fallen into oblivion all the more easily the more inward and outward points of accord came to exist between the Bogomilian and Mohammedan creeds, the more the Turkish dominion was confirmed, and the more abundant became the opportunities offered the new convert for the achievement of a brilliant material and political position. In the wars against Hungary, and later on, against Austria, these renegades were the precursors of the Turks, and they remained the actual masters of the country, equipped with all the privileges of a military oligarchy, heightened by boundless arbitrariness.

No wonder then that they merged into Mohammedanism, nay, even transferred to their new religion all that fanaticism which they had inherited from their Bogomilian ancestors, and which in all ages and amongst all creeds has, especially in this country, played so great a part. As the Osman kingdom had long since ceased to battle for the spread of Islam, and had already sunk into that peaceful lethargy from which it was only roused from time to time by the necessity for self-defence, war was still ceaselessly prosecuted by the Bosnian Mohammedans, or rather, by the Mohammedan Bosniaks, mostly at their own expense, by raids across our military borders, by attacks upon the Montenegrins, and by fighting their own Christian subjects or the insurgent serfs. Christian, or at least European, ideas began more and more to take some effect upon the Osman kingdom now at peace with the Christian world,

and especially was this the case in the capital and the centres of commerce. The Mohammedan Bosnians, far removed from the centres of European traffic, from all intercourse with Europe, and engaged in uninterrupted wars with the Christians, preserved their self-contained religion, "the belief of the Lords," in all its purity, with their hereditary fanaticism, and in the proud consciousness of its superiority.

When Mahmud II., in face of the Servian revolt and the victorious Russian invasion, contemplated the regeneration of his kingdom, he entertained great ideas of reform, and abolished the janizaries, in whose ranks the Bosnians played a leading part, which stood in the way of every change, and which had ceased to be of military importance. As he not only recognized the Servian autonomy won at the point of the sword, but also granted to the Christians the free practice of their religion, and in addition threatened the unlimited powers of the Bosnian begs and agas, who had until then only played with the governors of the Porte, with centralizing reforms, it was natural that the violated and threatened interests should unfurl the banner of violated Islam: for man is so constituted that he generally endeavours to fight for his material interests with some ideal interest as his watchword.

The Bosnian begs, ever ready for war, fought enthusiastically on behalf of the Porte against the Kargeorgevitsh Servian revolt. But the news had hardly been announced that the Sultan was going to liberate the Servian rajahs, and had even entered into negotiations with the insurgents, before the Bosnian janizaries, under the command of Ali-Beg Vidaitsh, Kapetan of Zvornik, took up arms against the innovations. Not until 1821 did the energetic Dzel-al-Edin Pasha, who in one night caused thirty Bosnian noblemen to be beheaded, quell the movement.

But when, in 1826, the begs heard that all the janizaries were being massacred in Stamboul, Ali-Beg Vidaitsh again unfurled the flag of rebellion, and the Vizier Hadži Mustapha Pasha, when he was going to announce to them the Imperial Firman abolishing the janizaries, was obliged to escape from Travnik. His energetic successor, Abdurrahman, formerly Pasha in Belgrade, was only able to suppress this second rebellion after much bloodshed and many executions. Thus far had opposition thriven, when, after the Russian war of 1828 and 1829, Mahmud II. and his Grand-Vizier, Reshid Pasha, proceeded earnestly towards the carrying out of the long contemplated reforms. The Bosnian nobles now felt that not only their rights, but also their religious feelings, were being violated. Ali-Beg Vidaitsh's son, true to the traditions inherited from his father, again called them to arms. But the real centre of the movement this time was Banialuka, and from here in the

year 1831 what was to the Sultan the most dangerous of all the Bosnian revolutions, the celebrated campaign of the Bosnian begs, took its departure for the gates of Stamboul. It was the Kapetan of Old Gradiska, Hussein Aga Berberli, who stirred up the whole of the Mohammedan population in his neighbourhood, and started off with them. The small agas of the Krain joined him in troops, and the insurgents assembled and sent in their adhesion to the cause at Banialuka. Their leader possessed every attribute calculated to work upon the masses. Of youthful, brilliant appearance, wealthy, respected, heroic, he was also a captivating speaker, and so firm in faith, that amongst his followers, when in the cowl of a dervish he summoned them to war, he was taken for a saint. Indescribable enthusiasm spread throughout Bosnia upon the news that he had unfurled the green flag in the name of the prophet, in a holy war against the Gyaour-Sultan. Many beheld in him a new prophet or the long-expected Mahdi.

Hussein Aga Berberli, who called himself "*Zmaj Bosanski*," "the Dragon of Bosnia," first of all advanced against the residence of the vizier at Travnik. Here he took the Vizier Ali Pasha Moralja prisoner, caused his Nizam uniform of European cut to be taken off in public, had him washed as unclean, ordered him to repeat penitentiary prayers, poked him into the old Turkish costume, and then dragged him along with him. After his triumphal entry into Serajevo all Turkish officials were dismissed throughout the country, some of them were executed, and everything was destroyed which in any way recalled the Turkish rule. The captured vizier succeeded during Ramazan in making his escape to Stolatz, whence with the aid of the Herzegovinian noble, Ali-Beg Rizvanbegovitch, who had remained faithful to the Porte, he fled across the Austrian border.

Hussein Aga Berberli advanced with twenty thousand men to the Kosovo-Polje, which had already witnessed so many decisive battles, and wherein the year 1389 the Bosnians had for the first time fought against the Turks. Here twenty thousand men, under Mustapha Pasha, Albanians who had likewise revolted, joined him. Within a short time Hussein conquered the towns of Prizrend, Ipek, Sofia, Nish, and the whole of Bulgaria, Reshid Pasha, the Grand-Vizier, leading the Nizam regiments against him, a thing which had become possible owing to peace having been concluded with Russia, but he placed more reliance on his diplomacy than on his arms. He knew that personal contentions and jealousy had broken out between the two rebel leaders.

He therefore entered into separate, confidential negotiations with each of them, and as he promised the governorship of Bosnia to Hussein Aga, the latter separated himself from Mustapha Pasha, as he knew full well that he also was negotiating with the Grand-Vizier.

Reshid Pasha now turned towards the Albanians, defeated them in a bloody engagement at Prilipe, and after a three months' siege took Mustapha Pasha, who had fled to the walls of Scutari, prisoner. Between whiles he continued his negotiations with Hussein Aga, who was ruling as independent governor in Bosnia, which had been set free from all Turkish influence, although his own companion in arms, Mahmud Pasha, Kapetan of Tuzla, as also Ali-Beg Rizvanbegovitsh, Kapetan of Stolatz, who had remained faithful to the Porte, and the Kapetan of Gatzko, Ismail Aga Tshengitsh, obstinately refused to acknowledge his authority. Moreover, Austrian troops under the Generals Rukavina and Novak had occupied the entire Krain, because the agas of that district, released from all discipline, incessantly disturbed the military frontier, without the Porte having been able under existing circumstances to render satisfactory restitution. The Porte made use of these circumstances, after it had settled the Albanians, in order to conclude matters with Hussein Aga. Kara Mahmud Pasha commanded the Turkish army.

Attacked upon all sides, deserted, betrayed, the "Bosnian Dragon" was, after a desperate defence, compelled to leave the country. He fled to Hungarian soil, to Esseg; here, surrounded by his followers, and a body-guard of a hundred men, he for some time held a brilliant court. But he could not for long endure banishment and foreign soil. He petitioned the Sultan for pardon, whom he had only a short time before sought to lead back to the "true Islam" by violence. At the close of the year 1832 the Firman of the grand-signior reached Semlin. In the presence of the Royal Imperial Court of Officers, in the midst of a brilliant retinue, and supported upon the arm of his faithful companion in arms, the younger Vidaitsh, Hussein Aga Berberli listened with tears in his eyes to the Firman, which robbed him of all his possessions, titles, and honours, and named the distant province of Trapezunt as his place of abode. Piteously did he bemoan the lot which did not permit him to end his days on his native soil; he then humbly bowed his head and submitted to the banishment, which had at any rate vouchsafed to him to live and die upon Mohammedan ground.

This was the end of the young and wealthy and noble, heroic and high-minded Hussein Aga Berberli, who advanced to battle "for freedom and his ancestors" against the Gyanr-Sultan, as the people of Banialuka still sing to the melancholy Gnzla. The exile broke his heart before he had reached Trapezunt. His powerful enemy, the Kapetan of Stolatz, Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovitsh, now ruled, as Governor of the Upper Porte, like a little independent king in Herzegovina, until hardly twenty years later he also unfurled the

banner of revolt ; but he at least died in his beloved fatherland, for Omer Pasba caused the prisoner to be shot.

We dedicated one day during our sojourn in Banialuka to excursions to view the religious establishments in the neighbourhood of the town and the more modern settlements. These lie in a long line in the plain which stretches in an ever broader expanse along the Vrbas towards the north. We next visited the educational establishments for girls, which are managed by two sisterhoods. The most interesting of the monasteries, however, is that of the Trappists. Driven from the Rhine in 1868, the monks tried in vain to form a colony in one of the Christian States. At last the Sultan granted them a haven of refuge in the neighbourhood of Banialuka, where they purchased building land on the right bank of the Vrbas, and built their monastery. In this monastery the inflexible discipline of the Order is in full force ; it is perhaps just this strictness which so impresses the people that the respect in which the Trappists are held by all sects is, so to speak, unbounded. The deep religiousness of the Bosnians, which causes so much superabundant hatred and so many bloody conflicts, honours strict piety even in those of other creeds, and if any one professes a holy life, the members of other sects turn to him full of reverence and trust. But even the strictest of the Dervishes do not lead such a stern life as the Trappists do. Catholics, Orthodox, and Mohammedans heard and convinced themselves that these men live in small cells where there is only just room for a sack of straw ; that after a short night's rest, during which they do not lay aside their white cowls, they begin their daily prayers and their useful labours at two o'clock in the morning ; that they have even denied themselves that which bestows pleasure and comfort upon the most miserable of the sons of earth, and pass their days in unbroken silence, so as not to be disturbed in their celestial contemplations by worldly thoughts. They only speak by special permission, during the performance of their duties, and even such sins as they might in thought commit in their self-denying, stern manner of life, they are at the pains of themselves punishing on each saint's day by cruel flagellation, the scourge and the straw sack together constituting their entire furniture. This manner of life and these practices were bound to make a deep impression upon a people so inclined to sentiment as the Bosnians, and not only Catholics, but Orthodox and Mohammedans as well, meet the white monks with marked regard whenever the unusual opportunity of seeing them offers. We could see this at once, upon the minister's entry into the town, in which the prior with a few monks took part—a peculiar, one might say Biblical, group of bare-headed men with full grey beards, in white cowls, on horseback. Their strict life perhaps more

than their useful labours has won for the Trappists the goodwill of the inhabitants ; but their activity paved the way, so that the monastery soon raised itself to be a focus of civilization. The monks not only by their example promote progress in the cultivation of the soil by cultivating their own ground with the help of steam engines, etc., but they also encourage the industries.

Amongst the hundred or so of dwellers in the monastery, there are shoemakers, tailors, weavers, smiths, potters, etc. They manufacture everything which they need for their own use and much also for sale. Every single monk is compelled to have some regular occupation. In addition to this they keep a school where free instruction is given. They adopt orphans, and freely exercise every kind of well doing.

A good distance from this interesting colony, at about a two hours' journey down the road from Gradiska, are situated some very different but not less interesting settlements.

Here, near the town of Maglaj on the Vrbas, are the homesteads of the German and Southern Tyrolese colonists. The Government settled fifty-eight families, numbering three hundred and eighteen persons in all, from Southern Tyrol, dividing three thousand and fifteen donums (1 donum = 1,000 square metres) of entirely uncultivated arable land amongst them. These colonists came without any means, and therefore can naturally only make very slow progress, but they do progress and gradually bring one donum after another under cultivation ; instead of the huts made of boughs thrown together on their first arrival, most of them now possess respectable dwelling-houses. This colony is the largest ; the one next in size is near Konitza, but about sixteen thousand colonists are scattered about in different parts of the country. No kind of political importance can possibly be attributed to this figure on account of its insignificance ; agriculturally, however, it is of great importance, for all these emigrants through their own practical example advocate, in a greater or lesser degree, an advanced style of husbandry, and that is of more value than any theoretical teaching and any amount of talking. The question of colonization has not yet been regulated by any particular law, as this would be premature under existing agricultural conditions ; but wherever colonization has been effected, and can be effected, the following conditions are enforced : each family receives a certain piece of workable Government land, in proportion to its working power, and this allotment, as a rule, consists of uncultivated grubbed land for buildings, arable land, meadow land, and pasturage ; communities emigrating receive a common pasture.

The paying off by instalments of the value of the property, which is fixed at the time of the transfer, begins after a certain number of years,

fixed according to circumstances ; the custom of the cession of ground, free of cost, does not exist because the value of uncultivated plots is in any case very small, and the discharge of the debt does not begin for years, and then only in very small instalments. The largest plot is in the colony of the Southern Tyrolese at Maglaj, which (allotted to a family of fourteen members) consisted of one hundred and five domuns, the smallest (allotted to a family of three) of twenty-five domuns ; besides this, the necessary timber for building is delivered free of charge as well as to entire communities for schools and churches. Land and buildings enjoy a ten years' immunity from taxation, if the land in question has not been previously taxed. In the event of the colonist being liable to income-tax for some additional employment or on some other grounds, three hundred goldens of his income still remain free of taxation for the space of ten years ; freedom from taxation ceases as soon as the land is transferred to some purchaser dwelling out of the country. Colonists without any means are granted certain emigration advantages by the Government, and Austrian and Hungarian subjects can retain their national privileges intact ; of foreigners, those enjoy a preference who have been released from their own national privileges. Lastly, the State accords those who have become colonists on private and not on State grounds moral support and protection, especially against their falling victims to unscrupulous usurers.

After we had in the Maglaj Colony of the Southern Tyrolese also seen the remunerative, indeed, but hard struggles of the poor emigrants for a livelihood, another and very different picture was presented to us in the colony of the Hanoverians and Rhinelanders, which by its prosperity as well as its intelligence occupies a quite peculiar position amongst the colonies of the country. This settlement gives the impression of being a flourishing community, whose origin is indicated by its name of "Windhorst." It is made up of politically discontented emigrants, who have realized their property, and, having selected a piece of ground for their colony, which, in comparison to the land of their birth, is at least half a wilderness, have here founded for themselves a new home answering to their civilized requirements, for now their substantial buildings and their well-cultivated soil might compare well with those of the most civilized countries ; and thus in the neighbourhood of lucky Banialuka all is to be found which can give an impulse to progress.

One of the colonists writes in the number of the *Bosnian Post* for May 4th, 1886, amongst other things, the following :

"We live here on the borders of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy amongst a quiet, virtuous people, rejoice in public security to the same extent as in our old fatherland, and have gained the conviction that here every one who brings with

him industry, integrity, and some energy may become the fashioner of his fortune. The justice of this view is sufficiently proved by the prosperity of our colony. Hindrances may be found in insufficient agricultural knowledge, in an all too little capital, and a too large family, which hamper many of our brave companions in their efforts. As a whole we are satisfied, and little remains to be desired. . . . We hope the best for the success of the whole, as well as for each separate colonist; we anticipate light hearts in the future, as our trouble seldom lacks its reward, and desire success, above all, in order that thus new emigrants may come to enlarge our settlement. The Government affords us all possible support, and we will in gratitude for this be faithful and useful subjects of the State, with the watchword, 'Labour and concord.'

Small wonder that, with such conditions and elements, the cultivation of the soil marches happily forward year by year in the locality of Banialuka, and that this neighbourhood was one of the first in which an Agricultural Society came into existence.

The Agricultural Union of Banialuka was founded on May 1st, 1884, as a result of the efforts of the governor of the district, Kukulejvitsh, and of the Burgomaster Smail-Beg Ibrahimbegovitsh. Its constitution, in harmony with the circumstances, unites simplicity with utility. Original members pay twenty-five florins once for all, ordinary subscribers three florins annually. Not only did the more important inhabitants of the town announce themselves as taking part in the enterprise, but fifty Mohammedan landowners of distant places at once joined the Union. The first thing to be done was to erect a station for experiments, the grounds of which lie between the railway station and the Vrbas. At the very commencement of proceedings, the general interest was manifested to such a degree that the peasants from the neighbouring villages appeared voluntarily with forty ploughs and one hundred and thirty labourers.

This interest proves that this intelligent race only needs to be shaken out of its lethargy for it to tread in the paths of progress with all eagerness. Upon this occasion it was at once seen that the most various kinds of ploughs were in use in the same village. Amongst some better ones were some which had remained unaltered since the time of the Romans, nay, even rough wooden ploughs. The peasants are invited to watch all the undertakings going on at the experimental station, and separate undertakings are joined to popular illustrations. The secretary of the union also works as a travelling teacher. Seeds and graftings are supplied to the members free of charge, as also beehives, sheep, swine, and cows, upon condition that the first yield shall belong to the Union, which then distributes them farther. Finally, an exhibition is to be held every three years, at which prizes are to be distributed. The example of the Banialuka Union has already encouraged several other towns to make a like attempt.





## CHAPTER XXV.

### *THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF THE VRBAS-BOSNIAN MINING.*

The Valley of the Vrbas—Roman and Turkish Highways—The Family of Filipovitch—Bosnian Breed of Horses—Kljutsh—Ancient Civilization in the Desert—Vartzar-Vakuf—The Kislar Aga of Vartzar—Majdan and its Copper Mines—Bosnian Mines—The *Procurator Metallorum*—Mediæval Mining Industry, the Miners of Transylvania—Turkish Mining—New Works.

THE Vrbas valley would be the most natural as well as the most beautiful road to take from Banialuka to Jaitze, for it leads by the side of the wild, romantic river, amongst rocks and cool forests, and beneath old castle ruins. A bridle-path runs along the valley, it is true, but it is a most difficult one. The usual highway along which carriages pass—though with difficulty, as we found to our cost—leaves the Vrbas immediately behind Banialuka, climbs up the side of the inhospitable tableland of the Dobrinja-Planina, westwards from the river, and does not again join it until it has passed up and down wearisome hills, and through swampy hollows in a long, broad half-circle to Jaitze. The Turks, like the Romans, did not carry their roads along the natural lines through the valleys, and both for the selfsame reasons. Apart from the fact that they held that to artificially widen the valleys where they became narrow, and to remove the rocks, was a task disproportionate to the gain, nay, indeed, an insurmountable difficulty, they also constantly beheld the valleys themselves threatened by the floods. The Turks as well as the Romans constructed their roads, not for vehicular traffic, and certainly not for peaceful commerce and intercourse, but primarily for purposes of war; military objects alone seemed to them worth the outlay and labour of constructing roads.

If the roads by chance also served peaceful travellers and merchants, these were only incidental purposes. To the army it made very little difference whether the road avoided steep ascents or not, whether it kept its level or

not; it was of the utmost importance that it should not lead through narrow valleys, hemmed in between hills, but should, on the contrary, lead across mountain ridges and tablelands which commanded the whole neighbourhood and offered safety to the army. On this account it is that the Turkish, like the Roman roads, do not follow the natural lines of passage, but, on the contrary, pass up and down mountains and valleys. So it is with the road from Banialuka to Jaitze, which from Banialuka to Sitaitza is clearly to a large extent the remains of a Roman highway from Dalmatia to Pannonia.

We left Banialuka not far from the Roman bath, at one of its most picturesque points, and long were we impelled to look back again and again at the charming situation of the town, as though it only lay there to make us the more conscious afterwards of the desolation of the Dobrinja-Planina. At first the road winds along the Vrbas' left bank, forced by the rushing stream against the walls of the mountain which it skirts. Along the stream, amidst rocks and bushes, clatter the mills, and on the opposite shore the villages of Dolnji-Seher and Stari-Varosh, with their houses and gardens modestly hidden away in the ravines of Ponir, come in sight, as the town itself vanishes round the corner.

But we soon left the banks of the Vrbas, and our horses had for a long time to struggle up the steep mountain-side, which surrounds Banialuka in the form of a horse-shoe, upon the west. The road leads past the small hots of Gornji-Seher, and we again saw the Vrbas at our feet, with the village of Novoselje; from the "Jaitze rocks" (Jajatzhka-Stjena), about four and a half miles off, we threw a last parting glance at the plains of Banialuka, and at the town, so full of life, and then we reached the summit of the Dobrinja-Planina at Malbutsh. From this point we travelled along the tableland whose eastern boundaries are formed by the mountain chain of the Kerkavitzza-Planina, with the towering summits of the Krupa and the Magnitza. At first we were only parted by these from the romantic vale of the Vrbas; but a second mountain chain, the Lizina-Planina, soon presses in between the two. And the further we turn in the road which bends out towards the south-west, and leads away from the river, the more inhospitable becomes the scenery. Between Kula and Shlivana there are still a few tall beech trees left standing amongst the low underwood; but, after that, the uneven flats of the bare tableland stretch away in a half-circle for three miles and a half, watered by lazy, stagnant pools, nauseous to the very animals. It is only at the inn of Pavitsh that drinkable water exists. A few houses have recently been again built upon this spot, where a whole village is supposed to have once stood; a ruinous watch-tower, looking across

from out the foliage of a neighbouring hill, tells of this past time. By the inn the road is crossed by several paths, which lead from the Vrbas across the Dobrinje- and the Beremaginitz-Planinas in the district of the Sana, to Brontsheni-Majdan and Sanski-Most, so this spot at least enjoys a comparative amount of liveliness. After this we passed into the profoundest solitude, the oppressiveness of which was enhanced by the memorials of a buried past. We came across the "Bunari," walled-in fountains, covered with slabs of stone, partly fallen in, partly protected by planks of wood,



The Mosque of Vartzar-Vakuf.

perhaps, too, relics of Roman times. Not far from this traces of Roman pavements are found. In front of the fountain are Bogomile graves, behind it clumsy stone crosses, dating possibly from the earliest days of Bosnian Christendom; but, having now attained its greatest altitude, the desert, too, here comes to an end. The nearer we got to Sitniza the livelier did our surroundings grow. Sitniza itself, situated upon fresh green turf, and surrounded by pines, offered us a pleasant rest, after our slow, monotonous carriage drive. The landscape, too, was enlivened by the Mohammedan deputation from Vartzar-Vakuf, which was already awaiting us here, and wherein

Mohammedans predominated. To these the lord of the manor had attached himself, with his family and his tenantry. Sitnitza belongs to the ancient family of Filipovitch, whose castle is situated here. According to the family traditions there lived, at the time of the Turkish conquest, three brothers of this house: one was condemned to slavery, a second fled to Hungary, and became the ancestor of the Dalmatian and Croatian Filipovitch, and the third became a renegade and the confidential agent of the Vizier of Travnik, who granted to the family its present estates. Sitnitza was at one time famous for its ancient breed of horses of purest Bosnian blood. This too, however, like much else, has been destroyed during the constant warfare of the last decades, and can only look for fresh life by means of the new regulations for the improvement of the breed of horses.

From Sitnitza the road leads through a woody defile down into a second undulating plain, Podrasnitza by name, watered by the Tshadeljavitz stream, which issues from the mountains lying behind Vartzar-Vakuf, and, after having run along the whole of the Podrasnitza from south to north, is suddenly swallowed up by the earth. Between this point and the Tshadeljavitz Inn another road branches off from ours, which now turns directly southwards, that is to say, back to the Vrba; this new road goes directly westwards, through a second defile to Kljutsh, the old historically memorable road, where the Turks took the last of the Bosnian kings prisoner, when on his flight from Jaitze to Hungary. From Kljutsh this road leads across Petrovatz to Bihatz. The pavement, however, which may be traced as far as Kljutsh and thence to Glamotsh, after which the road is still called "Kalderim" or "Top-Jal" (pavement or Canon Street), shows that it is part of the Roman road which led from Dalmatia, and especially from Salona to Pannonia. Thus, in this deserted, desolate wilderness, where, with the exception of the bad road, no trace of human civilization is to be found, do we everywhere come across the memorials of an ancient civilization and a mighty past.

After we had descended several hundred feet from Sitnitza into the plains of Podrasnitza, we had again to climb up as high in order to pass over the saddle of the Rogolje in order to reach Vartzar-Vakuf. The road now runs along the western side of the Kragjevatza-Planina, which, steep and full of clefts, and covered with bushes and woods, rises from the arable land lying at its feet. The broad Saddle, with fields and young woods, connects this steep, woody mountain-side to a hilly mountain ridge, which rises between the road and the upper part of the Tshadeljavitz stream. Upon one of the hills of this ridge stands the kula of the family of Kulenovitch. The Saddle mounts, by two steep breaks, as it were, to its summit (851 metres

= 2790 feet), where a few scattered timber-houses form the village of Rogolje. When upon the second our carriage, together with the horses, rolled into the ditch. Passing down as steep a descent on the other side we soon found ourselves in Vartzar-Vakuf, the most important place upon the whole route. It consists of some three hundred houses, mostly Mohammedan; a beautiful mosque, which, together with the corresponding Vakuf estate, was founded by a pious man, a native of the place, who in Stamboul attained to the dignity of a Kiskar Aga (captain of eunuchs), constitutes the pride of the town. In spite of this we did not stop here, but continued our journey for three miles further through the woody pass to the miserable village of Majdan, where we found nothing in the way of a night's shelter, saving one knocked together out of boards, whence, however, our intention was to make an excursion early on the following morning to the newly-opened copper mines.

Majdan, whose name, which in Turkish signifies blast-furnace, points to mining operations, consists of a few huts built in the hollow of a narrow woody valley, where a shanty has already been erected by the new mining company "Bosnia." Here the director of the company, Mr. Walter, was expecting us. After supper, which was remarkable for an abundant supply of trout, we allowed ourselves a short night's rest, and by four o'clock in the morning were in our saddles again, so as to ride up to the new mine, which is situated upon one of the heights belonging to the Lezina-Planina, in the neighbourhood of the group of houses known by the name of Sinjakova. After a heavy climb of an hour our horses bore us across some mountain streams and through verdant young woods to the spot. The inhabitants of Majdan have from time immemorial dug up and manipulated the iron ore of this district. That this ore also contains copper was proved by the Government experiments in 1883. The copper mines opened by the "Bosnia" through the employment of eighty labourers yielded five thousand eight hundred and six *metricentner* (5,715 tons) of copper ore, which contained 10 to 22 per cent. of copper. It will depend upon further experiments whether efforts will have to be confined to the simple acquirement of the ore and its exportation, or whether it will pay to make larger investments for its manufacture.

As far as the old Majdans are concerned it grows more and more difficult for them to keep ahead of the cheap importations in iron from the monarchy; so that they can now only produce certain kinds of iron, destined for particular purposes, with a minimum of profit. Modern mining will doubtless absorb this primitive trade; but the old native mining classes will find in this modern

industry a rich source of wealth, and on the other hand the modern industry will find useful labourers in the native miners. In Majdan, as in all other recently opened mines, one finds that native labour gets more and more employed, side by side with imported labour.

After having inspected the mines we returned on foot down the steep mountain-side, whose luxuriant vegetation was still damp from dew and morning mist. I walked most of the time by the side of the chief director of the mines, and we talked about the future of Bosnian mining. Bosnian mining had at one time a world-wide fame, and gives a good promise of again coming to the front, from out of complete oblivion. Space may here be found for a few statistics from both the past and the present, which bespeak for it a prosperous future. Bosnian mining reaches far back into Roman times, nay, even the Roman mining operations here may only have been a continuation of the primitive gold-washing of the original Illyrian inhabitants. The most renowned mines of Roman Dalmatia stood upon the territory of present Bosnia, and amongst them in the first rank stood the gold mines of the district of the Vrbas Springs. Traces of gold-mining in the Roman age are still to be seen near Gornji-Vakuf, as indeed the name of "Zlatna-Guvna," like many other names of places in Bosnia, implies. It was most likely here, as stated by Pliny the Elder, that in Nero's time pure gold was found upon the earth (*in summa tellure protinus*) in such quantities that fifty pounds' weight were frequently collected in one day. Side by side with the traces of Roman mining Roman coins are also found here in great quantities, which perpetuate the memory of the ancient Roman miners.\* This gold-mining was, moreover, carried on afterwards throughout the Middle Ages. The Banus Stefan in the year 1339 assures the town of Trau that the merchants there "*sicuri cum omnibus, auri, argenti, cupri et cujuslibet metalli*," and King Tvrtko II. Tvrtkovitch in 1422 granted to the Venetians the export of the "*oro, argento*," etc.† Negri, a geographical writer of the fifteenth century, mentions that the waters of the Vrbas carried down gold, and the dwellers on this river, as well as those on the Lashva at Travnik, employ themselves to this day in washing gold.

That the Romans found silver as well as gold in what is now Bosnia may at least be concluded from the circumstance that the "Argentaria" of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* is situated on Bosnian territory.

It was most probably the name of what we now know as Srebernitza,

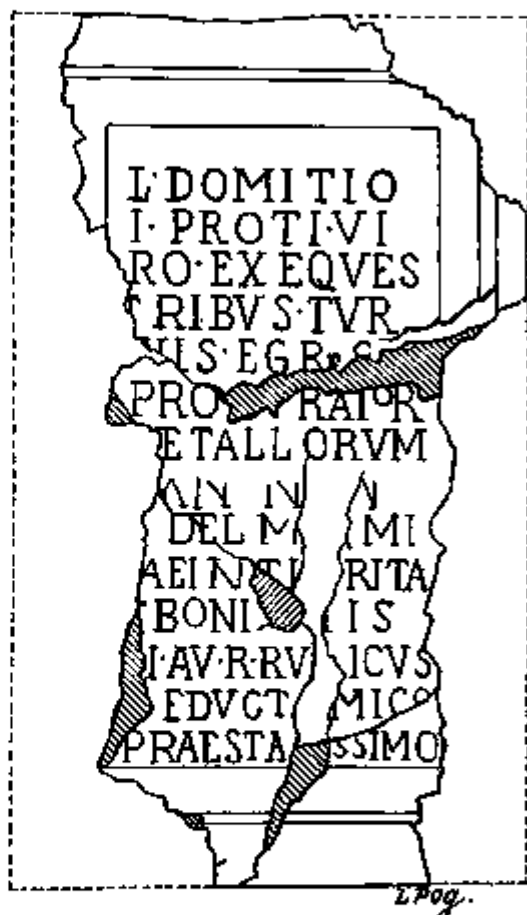
\* Conrad, *Bosnien in Beziehung auf Mineralreichthum: Geogr. Mittheil* (Vienna, 1870).

† Lucius, *Mem. di Trau*, 224.—*Acta archiepiscopi veneti*, ii., 118.

for Srebernitza is a simple Slavonic translation of the Roman *Argentaria*. The silver mines of this town were famous in the Middle Ages. Austrian miners who have been employed since the Occupation upon researches at this spot have discovered not only mediæval, but also Roman remains in great numbers. Besides miners' tools and lamps, Roman tombstones are also found, for example, of which one is especially worthy of notice. It becomes clear from this stone that the whole of the Pannonian and Dalmatian mining had its centre here. The tombstone is 1·14 mètres (1 yard 9 in.) high, 0·60 mètres (27 inches) broad, 0·45 mètres (17½ inches) thick. It is provided with holes at the top and bottom, by which it was probably joined to an upper and under part. Its superscription reads as follows :

"*L. Domitio (. . . E) roti viro ex eques(t)ribus turmis egregio, procuratori (m)etallorum (Pa)nn(o)n(iorum) (et) Delm(a)-t(iorum) mi(r)æ intel(g)ritatis (et) boni(ta)tis (M)Aur. Ru(st)icus c. e. duce(n)arius) (a)mico presta(n)ti-ssimo.*" (See *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.*, viii, 243.)

After the disappearance of the Romans, Bosnian mining made a fresh start in the thirteenth century, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries enjoyed world-wide reputation. This fresh impulse was clearly the work of the Hungarian kings, for this much is certain, that the work was performed by miners who came from the Hungarian mining towns.\* It was most likely Vladislaus who introduced them into the country. The miners in Bosnia were universally called "Sassi,"



The Tombstone of the *Procurator Metallorum*.

\* Schwandtner, *Script. rer. Hung.*, i. 369.

Saxons, after the nationality of the miners brought from Hungary. In Upper Hungary and Transylvania the mining was carried on by the Saxons of Zips and Transylvania. The first Bosnian coins date from the fourteenth century.

The Ragusans play a great part in the mediæval mining of Bosnia, to whom, as one of their chronicles states,\* Banus Kulin is said to have granted a lease of the Bosnian mines. The contractors, gold-workers, and coiners were mostly Ragusans.

All mining towns had fortified castles, in elevated situations (Grad, Cittade, Castello), which constituted the seat of the authorities, and whither the entire population fled in times of war; whilst the market, the lower town (*trg, burgus, mercatum*), consisting for the most part of wooden houses only, clustering around the chief square (*platea publica*) was frequently entirely destroyed, whilst the mining population, in the meantime, united with the garrison in the defence of the castle. The Ragusans, and with them the speculators and merchants coming from Spalato, Zara, and other Dalmatian border towns, as well as those who came from Hungary, gave a strong "Latin"—i.e., Catholic—character, to the place, as opposed to the native Orthodox and Bogomilian elements of the mining towns, in which, moreover, the first Roman Catholic monastic cloisters sprang into existence. The highest magisterial personage, the waywode, was generally a Bosnian nobleman, the foreman of the "*Conte de Purgari*," frequently a Ragusan.

Taxes, duties, and mints, were administered by the *dohaneri, gabelotti*, and *carinici* (*Daluna, Dogana, Gabella*, in Italian, *Trarina*, in Slavonic *Zoll*), who were nearly always farmers from Ragusa or Cattaro; indeed, the very treasurers of the county (*Protovestuari*) were generally burghers of these towns. In the fifteenth century all the silver which was carried out of the country had to bear the impress of the royal seal (*arebro bolano*), and the kings were also anxious to regulate the price of silver. The ores when secured were, however, generally not cleansed and refined (especially silver and copper) until they reached Ragusa.

Silver was the most important product after it had been blended in various ways. In addition to all this, lead was taken in great quantities to Ragusa, Venice, nay, even to Sicily, sometimes as many as three hundred horses suddenly arriving in Ragusa with Bosnian lead. Bosnian copper, too, travelled as far as Italy, whilst the Bosnian armourers in the service of Ragusa bear testimony to the importance of the Bosnian iron industry.

In an inventory of a Ragusan merchant living in Zvornik, of the year



1424, three hundred and seventy-two pounds' weight of tin and quicksilver are also entered.

In the Middle Ages, Fojnitzza and Kreshevo, which to-day only merit attention on account of their monasteries, constituted the central point of the metal trade. Of the once flourishing mining industry only the subordinate effects have, so to speak, remained, namely, the Catholic character of the places concerned. Fojnitzza still ranks first amongst Bosnian monasteries of native monks, but she has only retained a very unimportant iron trade.

The ore is extracted from the strata lying near the surface, melted in simple furnaces, and forged in the mills which are driven by the streams of the Kreshevka, Fojnitzka, and Željeznitzza (Željezno = iron), and in the towns and villages manufactured into weapons, horseshoes, and locks. From the mountain of Zetz alone, which rises above Fojnitzza, the watershed of the Adriatic and the Black Sea, did the inhabitants obtain copper, but the remains of old silver mines are visible here, and in the neighbourhood of Kreshevo we come across abandoned copper, silver, and quicksilver, as well as tin mines. In the Middle Ages silver was the chief thing obtained throughout this district. Fojnitzza (Chvojnitzza, Pinebrook, in Latin documents *Quoynitzza*, *Choynicz*, *Chuoynitzza*, *Coynitzza*) had to thank its mining trade for the fact that during the last centuries of the Bosnian kingdom it surpassed Visoko itself, the oldest emporium, established by the Ragusans, as a commercial centre. At this period, too, the kings resided in their high castles at Fojnitzza and Kreshevo; whilst in Desevitze, close by, there dwelt a mountain earl, and in Ostraznitza there was a custom-house.\* The most famous of the lead works were situated in the vicinity of Olovo, near the Krivaja spring, where only a few huts now stand amidst a wealth of ruins, and where mining, too, has entirely ceased. In Latin records it is mentioned under the name of Plumbum, in Italian as *Piombo*.†

Its lead mines were still in active use in the sixteenth century, and, together with the celebrated monastery, were not disturbed until later. Another lead mine, that of Kamenitzza, was utterly destroyed: it was probably situated in the neighbourhood of Olovo. Fifteen miles from Olovo, near the iron works, of what is now known as Varesh the people point out the ruins of an ancient town, Dubovshitzza, which at one time formed the centre of the mining world there.‡

The largest of the mining towns of the late Middle Ages, which eventually

\* Jireček, *Handelsstrassen*, 49.

† Jireček, 50.

‡ Jireček, 50; Blau, 209.

surpassed even Fojnitza in importance, was Srebernitza, with its celebrated silver mines, which were the cause of endless feuds between the Bosnian and Servian rulers. Srebernitza may possibly be identical with the town of Argentaria, of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*; quite recently a silver coin of Gallus and a copper denier of Constantine were found in the old mines there, and are now preserved in the Museum of Antiquities at Vienna. Srebro also signifies silver. In school books and upon maps a chain of hills of the name of "Monte Argentaro" still figure, which nominally connects the Alps with the Balkans. It first appears in the year 1376 under the name of Srebernitza, and was even then a colony of Ragusan speculators. From the year 1417 it had a mint. Lead was obtained as well as its chief product, silver, and privileges were granted to the town by Tvrtko, Dabisha, Sigmund, and George Brankovitch. Here, too, stood the chief monastery, from which the diocese received the name of Bosna-Argentina, in Turkish times. The monastery was disturbed in 1686, the mining so early as at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Silver mines also existed in Zvornik, a district still believed by the people to be rich in silver, gold, and lead. Now what can have caused the decay of this once flourishing, wealthy, nay, world-famous mining industry?

The length of the period during which the Turkish-Hungarian wars raged was doubtless the primary cause of this decline; the second being the prohibition later on by the Porte of the export of metal, a mistaken economical measure which, intended to secure the prosperity of the metal industry by artificial means, rendered any fresh impulse impossible, nay, entirely destroyed that which existed, and which had already suffered some harm. The Porte, indeed, endeavoured to continue the working of the nobler metals by means of artificial, arbitrary measures and compulsory labour; nay, it even went so far as to force a few wealthy subjects, mostly Greek merchants, to rent Bosnian mines. All these mistaken acts naturally resulted only in the scaring away of the miners and speculators of the better sort.

Frequent attempts have been made in more recent times to revive Bosnian mining; but these efforts have, for the most part, been confined to causing information to be furnished to the Porte by competent foreign judges. The Bosnian vizier, Chosrev Pasha, pushed matters so far that he, in 1841, caused gold, silver, and lead mines to be opened in Borovitza; but even this attempt ceased with his administration.

Hence, the only mining found in active operation in Bosnia at the time of the Austrian occupation was the primitive salt mine at Tuzla, beyond a few iron mines of a mediæval kind. The most important of these was carried on in

the neighbourhood of Varesb. This mining town is situated at the entrance of the Stubnja valley, amongst wild and romantic mountains, and numbers some four hundred and thirty-seven houses, with two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven inhabitants. The Stubnja torrent plunges in cascades from one rock to another, and about thirty primitive "Majdans" utilize its falls. Just below the town the valley of the Vareshatz opens into the Stubnja valley, and on the left bank of the former the ironstone bed begins and continues up the Stubnja. The ore is mostly red ironstone mixed with some brown, and strata of slate alternate with layers of ironstone. The slaty strata are the purer and richer, but still they generally remain behind, for the Majdan, with its weak bellows and its small height, is not able to smelt the closer-grained ore, so that the former remains behind in the slack, nussmelted. The owners of these Majdans, who are without exception inhabitants of the place, therefore generally buy only the veins of iron-ore of the miners, which, containing less iron, are more porous and calcareous, and hence more easily smelted. Charcoal is bought by the horseload; one horseload ("Tovar") of red ironstone costs, at the mouth of the pit, from 9 to 15 kr. (2·1 to 3·6 pence), forwarding it to the Majdan—by horses—5 kr. (1·2 pence). One tovar (40 Oka) of pine coals at the Majdan, 18 to 20 kr. (4·3 to 4·8 pence); beech coals, 60 oka, 30 kr. (7·2 pence). In the winter the coals cost 5 kr. (1·2 pence) more per horseload: one hundred and twenty parts of beech coal, and two hundred and forty parts of pine coal, are required for the production of one hundred and eighty parts by weight of wrought iron. Six smeltings on an average take place in each Majdan per month, eighty tovars of ore per one hundred and twenty kilogrammes—that is, nine thousand six hundred kilogrammes—go to one smelting, hence the result being 13 per cent.; consequently in six smeltings seven thousand four hundred and eighty-eight kilogrammes, making a total of 1,048 florins (1 shilling and 1·2 pence), calculating the kilogramme at 14 kr. A Majdan makes an annual net profit of from 150 to 200 florins (£15 to £20). The capital required amounts to from 1,200 to 1,500 florins (£120 to £150). Besides those at Varesb there existed some one hundred majdans in the country, and the annual yield was estimated at four thousand three hundred tons.

Thus low had the once world-renowned Bosnian mining industry sunk.

After the Occupation the Government at once proceeded to investigate the conditions of the mining industry, and as a result the mining company, "Bosnia," was formed with the co-operation of the leading financial powers in the monarchy in the beginning of the year 1881: the Government at first took up a fifth, then a fourth of the stock. This company stepped into the possession of all the mines made up to that date by the Government,

with the exception of that at Kresbevo; whilst the Government entered into a contract with the Vienna "Stone Coal Industry Company" with regard to the output of the coal basin at Zenitza, so as to cover the coal supply of the Brod-Zenitza Railway. The new mining laws came into operation on November 1st, 1881.

The first mine opened by the "Bosnia" was the Chrome Mine near Dnboshitza. The ore here is of the first quality, and can compete with the best Turkish and Asiatic chrome ore. In 1883, forty-eight miners raised 7,285 metercentners (717 tons) of ore; but it is hoped, when all the preparations are complete, that 30,000 metercentners (2,960 tons) annually will be obtained. Chrome ores were also seen in serpentine stone in other places, but these have for the time being been left unworked.

In addition to chrome, manganese ore was found in considerable quantities, the most important finds being in the district of the Ozren-Planina, to the north of Serajevo, especially near Tshevljanovitsh. This ore is chiefly Psilomelan (barytiferous oxide of manganese), which occurs in triassic chalk, its thickness varying between a tenth of a metre and several metres, its quality of the first class, the metal contained in it being 58-59 per cent. In the year 1883, 12,807 metercentners (1,260 tons) of manganese were obtained by fifty-two miners. Up to the present time 800,000 metercentners of ore have been opened up; but it has now been proved that the metal district covers a far wider area than this.

A second manganese mine was opened near Vranjkovtza; here immense layers of manganese ore were, curiously enough, found in diluvial clay containing iron. In the year 1883, twenty labourers produced 5,395 metercentners (530 tons). Bosnian manganese ores already enjoy an active export to Austria, Italy, France, and England, owing to their excellent quality.

In the once famous silver district of Fojuitzza no silver has thus far been found in sufficient quantities to be worth the labour of extraction, but, instead of silver, antimony has been discovered, especially near the village of Tshemernitza, containing a little silver, which had clearly been left intentionally. In the year 1883 forty-eight workmen obtained 5,516 metercentners (543 tons) of antimony; but in 1884 a smelting-house was built, as so many veins of ore are now being worked that the smelting of metals seems to be assured for several years to come.

As a matter of course, the old Srebernitzza mines were submitted to a thorough test.

First of all, they hit upon the old, extensive, rejected layers of slack, which still contained from 11 to 13 per cent. of lead and 0.013 to 0.025 per

cent. of silver. It was further proved that the veins of lead ore contain silver wherever they appear in the trachyte, but take up antimony directly they pass into clay slate. This is very important, too, to Tsbemernitza, for there, next to the clay slate, containing antimony, trachyte also occurs. So far the investigations made have given a sound foundation for the hope that the silver mines here may be again successfully worked. It remains to be mentioned, that near Serajevo and Kreshevo quicksilver has recently been found, and that from 1860-9, 3,617 pounds of meerschaum were obtained within two years, near Dervent; since then this industry, like the trade in chalk at Sergovatz, marble at Vishegrad, and slate at Kakanj, has entirely disappeared.

After we had inspected the Bogomilian tombs of the old cemetery, we resumed our journey to Jaitze.





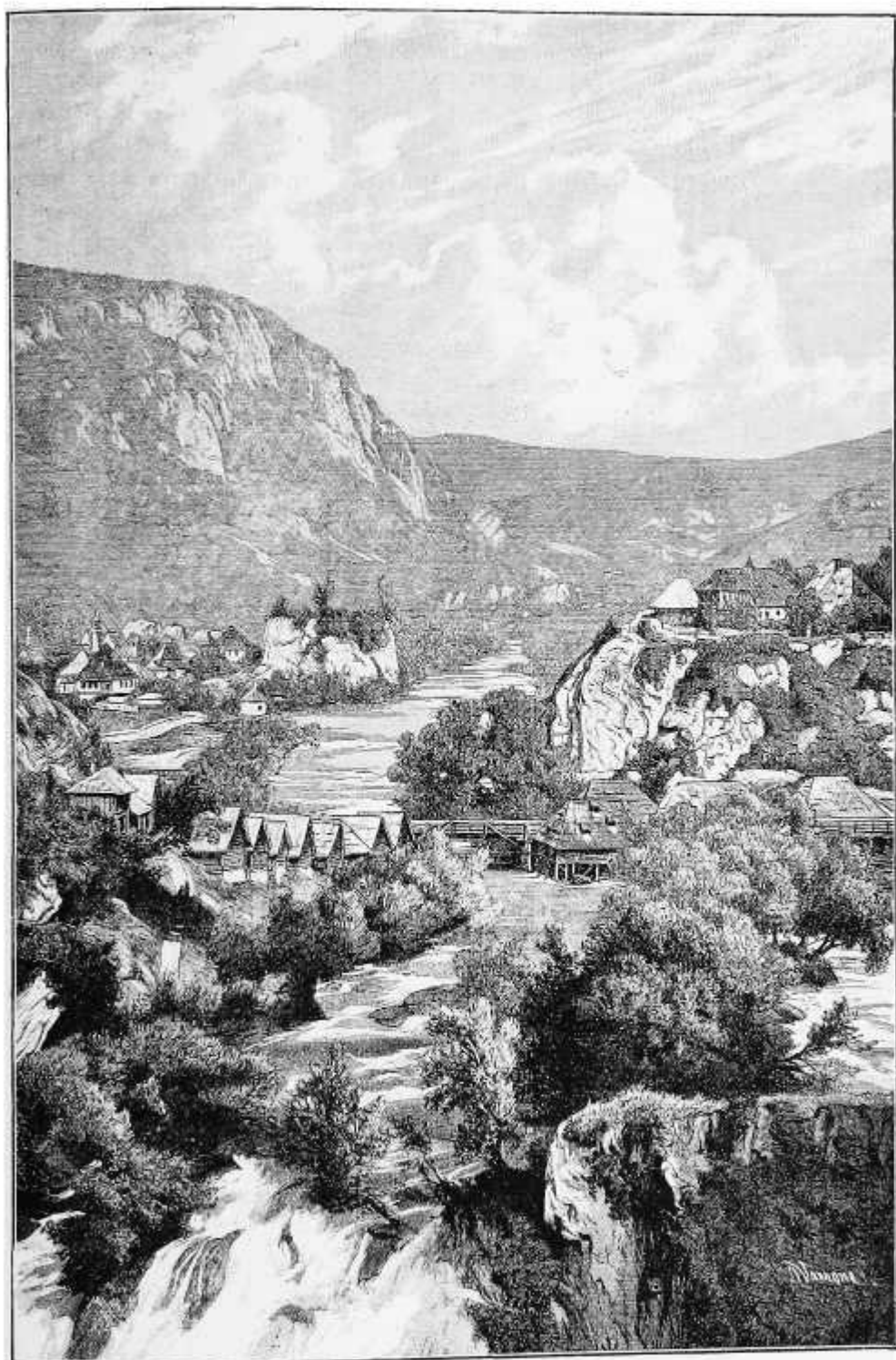
## CHAPTER XXVI.

### *JAITZE.*

The Pliva Valley—The Lake Fortress—The Lakes of Pliva—The Pyramidal Hill of Jaitze—The Royal Tomb—The Banate of Jaitze—Nikolaus Ujlaki—Peter Keglevich—Legend of the Jaitze Maiden—The Fortress—Art Monuments—The Bear Tower—The Church of St. Lucas—The Royal Arms—The Catacombs—Pilgrimage to the Miraculous Church—The Legend of the Castle of Komotin—The Pliva Waterfall.

*June, 1884.*

IT was still early in the morning when we again reached our miserable night's lodging from the high-lying copper mines of Majdan. The carriages were waiting in readiness, and we at once proceeded on our way to Jaitze. The scattered wooden huts of the village of Majdan, and the cemetery still strewn with Bogomilian graves, gradually disappeared in the dense, hilly woods. The road, which goes up hill, soon reaches the stream of Majdanska-Rjeka, at the point where, coming from the east, it bends suddenly to the south-east, and following the smooth river-bed flows sometimes along one, sometimes the other bank. The valley, which thus far had been shut in between the lofty, beech-grown mountains, gradually widened, and in the more extended view appear, one after another, solitary hills detached from the heavy masses of the more distant mountain chains; genuine pyramids, covered with dense forests, stand like guardians of the ever-widening valley. Near one of the clusters of houses belonging to a neighbouring village a picturesque crowd of people—the deputation from the neighbourhood of Jaitze—was awaiting our procession of carriages, accompanied by a squadron of hussars. We could see that we were approaching a stronghold of Mohammedanism. Primitive, Oriental figures, upright kadis and muftis, powerful begs, stood in long rows patiently awaiting their visitors, with serious dignity; but neither were there wanting grave pops and cheery Franciscans, to whom the Christian



The Pliva Valley.

peasantry, enveloped in a kind of coarse, dirty-white smock frocks, and bare-headed, attached themselves. At the back of the long procession stood the restless, pawing horses. When the members of the deputation became aware of our presence, they all mounted their horses, and, bearing the green and red Mohammedan banner, adorned with the star and crescent, and the two or three Christian flags, ornamented with a shining cross, before, the picturesque group dashed towards us, surrounded us, and tore about, in and out, sometimes hurrying on in advance, sometimes lingering behind, up and down the slopes.

The Majdanska-Rjeka now kept to the left, and following its south-eastern course, we approached a larger piece of water, which, rushing towards us from the south-west, from amidst rocky, wooded mountains, tumbled down in cascades: it was the Pliva river. About six miles from Majdan we reached the junction of the two rivers, near the village of Jezero. We dismounted before reaching the village, and walked along the bank of the Pliva up to an island—a charming idyl in this wilderness. The fresh water gurgled along in small streamlets amidst the luxuriant thickets on the island. The busy wheel of a primitive mill was clattering at the water's edge; in the centre lay the ruins of an old Turkish fort, Djol-Hissar, the "Lake Fort." A memorial to the war, too, stands at the entrance of the village; it is the monument to our soldiers who fell in the last insurrection,—a simple obelisk.

The "lake fort" and Jezero, which also signifies lake, do not possess these names without good reason. As soon as we issued from the village of Jezero, which is situated on both banks of the Pliva, a beautiful mountain lake lay before us. The Pliva, after absorbing the Majdan stream, filling the long, deep valley with its waters, forms a whole succession of lakes, stretching far away from west to east. The first lake, four and a half miles long and one and a half miles across, is apparently quite closed in by the towering masses of rock at its end. The road passes along the northern bank on the rocky mountain-side, whence there is a fascinating view; the pyramidal mountains, already mentioned, the most beautiful of which—the Ottomal and the Ostrobrdo—look across from the opposite (southern) shore like lonely outposts of the Goritza chain, which, attaining an approximate height of two thousand feet, cut off the background parallel with the lake. All these mountains are dark green, from the dense forests which cover them all, and are quietly reflected in bluer tints in the bright azure of the lake. The northern shore of the lake, above which we and our noisy escort passed, on the mountain-side, is marshy and thickly overgrown with reeds and water-lilies. The dwellers



on these waters fish from peculiar boats, made of hollowed-out tree trunks, bound together in pairs. Not only fish but turtles frequent these lakes.

From Majdan we descended the eastern ridge of the Lizina-Planina, which fills up the angle between the Pliva and the Vrbas. This main ridge is separated from the secondary ridge, Litshe, by the wild, precipitous ravine of Korito, along which we now proceeded on the northern shore of the lake.

It descends first by steep precipices, then in terraces, down to the road and to the lake. This ridge is also broken up into rocky abyssees; and as the road passes round these, we again commanded a view of that part of the lake which we had already left behind us. This shore is chiefly characterized by rocky impassable land, covered with forests, wastes, and thorny bushes. Only on the sides of the Korito ravine, on the more level parts of the terraces, there are a few arable fields and detached groups of houses. Just when we believed ourselves to be at the end of the lake, because immense rocks seemed to shut it in, upon a lofty ridge of rocks, there suddenly rose before our eyes, on the further shore, sharply outlined against the woody background, the yellow castle of Zaskoplje, the hereditary seat of the Begs Kulinovitch, who pretend to be directly descended from the Banus Kulin.

But the lake does not come to an end even here. As soon as the road passed beyond the cliffs we saw how the waters force their way through the gaps, how they dash themselves across the broader intermediate spaces, and in the foaming rage of their struggles plunge down into a second lake, which forthwith, having waxed more broad and free, falls into a third. In this wise does this line of lakes, always separated by waterfalls, stretch away to a distance of five kilomètres (three miles) from west to south, an enchanting prospect of white foam and quiet green and blue waters, amidst mighty precipices and towers of rock, ancient ruins, and those woody pyramidal mountains.

The narrow road, which thus far had in many places sloped down to the sedge on the shore of the lake, led, after a three miles' journey over a hill which was covered with peasants' cottages, and after another mile and a half, past a domed Dervish monastery belonging to the village of Mile, and finally mounted the last ridge before Jaitze, at the point where the Pliva again parts from the lake. From this height we suddenly beheld the town itself lying before us. And what a town!

A pyramidal mountain, similar to those which had risen up before us during the whole of our journey, stands in the obtuse angle formed by the Pliva, now turning aside to the south-east, with the Vrbas, which turns from

the south, northwards. An antiquated straggling citadel crowns the mountain with projecting towers and battlements, from which frowning cannon point downwards. The castle walls with fortified gateways extend down the hillside in mighty angles, and within and without these walls the whole mountain pyramid is strewn, from summit to base, with picturesque Oriental houses of various sizes clinging to it like swallows' nests. On the left the deep, rocky bed of the river Vrbas, on the right the Pliva with its lakes, one above the other, and all around hamlets and clusters of houses, with here and there the ruins of some old castle, or a white minaret, peeping out from amongst verdant fields and gardens, all framed in by those woody pyramids; in the background the stone walls, and in the blue distance the bare mountain chains. This is what Jaitze looked like; and yet we did not see her upon her most beautiful side, for not until it reaches the other side of the pyramidal town, and after it has skirted it, does the Pliva, a river over sixty feet wide, dash down into the Vrbas stream from a height of ninety feet, a roaring giant cataract, into whose scattered waters the sunshine casts its rainbows.

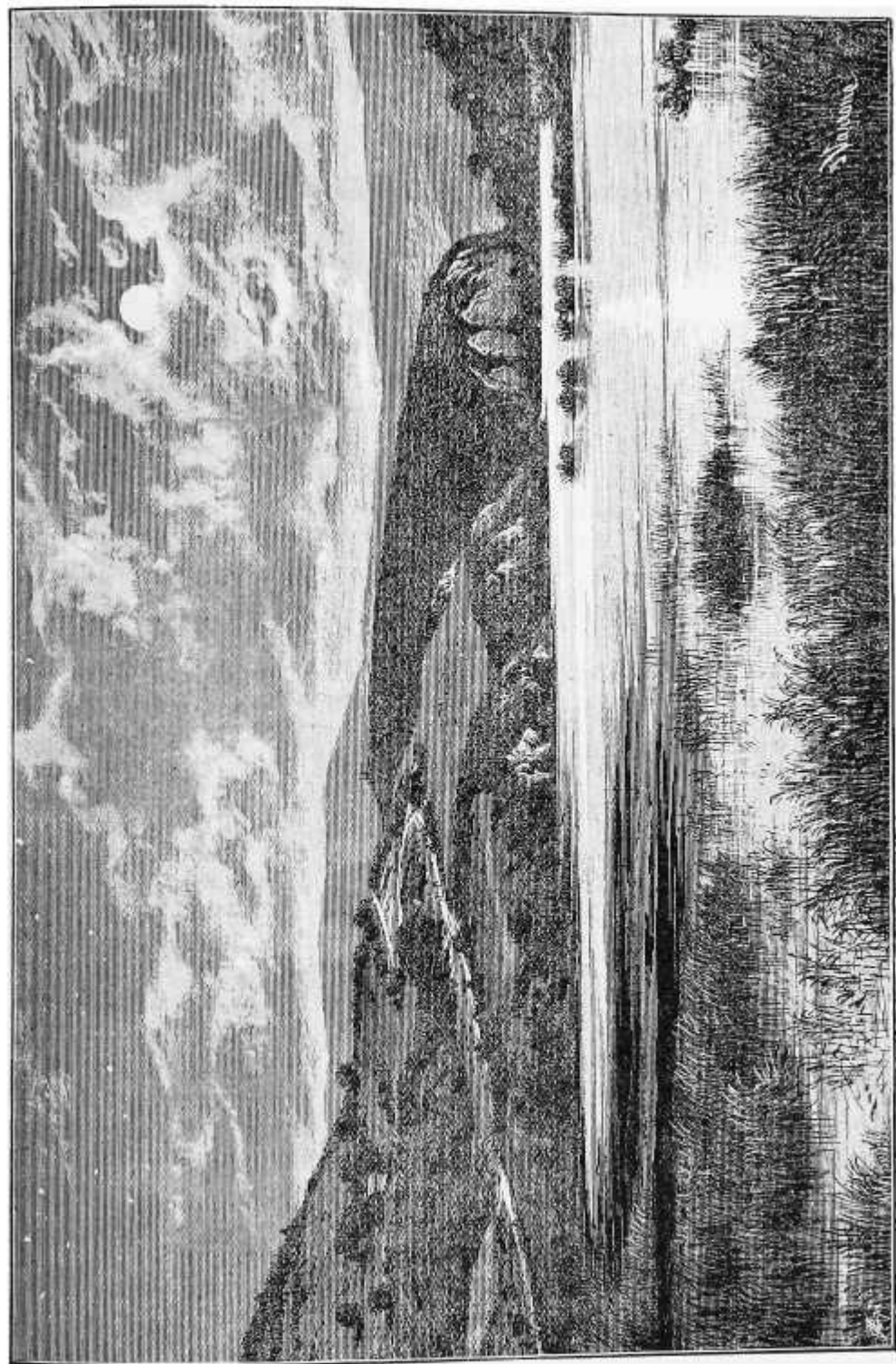
As the mountain ridge, upon which we were, is higher than the town and only slightly lower than the actual citadel, up to which a narrow ridge leads, we determined to inspect the citadel before the town. We drew up and left the carriages close to a quite solitary mediæval sepulchre, which stands there like an exclamation mark. Deeply hollowed out at the foot, and weatherbeaten at the sides, the bas-relief work of a crooked scimitar is all there is to show that it is in memory of a hero. It is by the people believed to be the monument of a Bosnian king. As a matter of fact, the fate of the last of the Bosnian kings did overtake him here, and this castle, held to the last extremity by Hungarian arms, remained for long after the fall of the Bosnian monarchy the last stronghold of ancient Bosna. Not until the battle of Mohacs did it fall into the power of the all-conquering crescent.

Before visiting it, it will be worth our while to recall its past.

\* \* \* \* \*

Through internal dissensions and Turkish arms the Bosnian monarchy fell at Jaitze. More than seventy towns fell into the hands of Muhammed II. in the course of a few weeks. King Stefan Tomashevitch, the last Kotroman, was slain during his flight, or, according to others, flayed alive here. At Jaitze, however, Hungarian arms once more gave life to the Bosnian monarchy.

Upon hearing the alarming news of the fall of Stefan, King Mathias in



The Piava Lakes.

that same year (1463) fell like a bird of prey upon the conqueror. Numbers of Bosnian noblemen joined their forces to his, one of the first of these being Vladislav, son of Duke Stefan, of Herzegovina. In the course of that autumn Mathias re-conquered the northern provinces, Ozora, and the Bosnian Netherlands, whose chief town and strongest fortress after Ključ was Jajce. Only a small district, the upper valley of the Bosna and the banks of the Lower Drina, remained in Turkish hands.

At the peace afterwards concluded in 1503, the fortresses of Jajce, Imoski, Proložac, Ljubuški, Mostar, Potahitelj, Blagaj, Prozor, Livno, Vienač, Komotin, Vratnik, Travnik, Novi, Ključ, Bihać, Doboi, Maglaj, Dubrovnik, and Zvornik fell to Hungary. But by December 6th, 1463, Mathias had proclaimed a reward\* to Vladislav and re-conquered seventy-five fortresses with the same rapidity with which the Turks had captured them.

The siege of Jajce lasted seven days, and the inhabitants sided with the besiegers, that they might be liberated from the Turks, who had carried off their wives and children.

Henceforth Jajce was the Turkish-Magyar Troy, the bulwark of Christendom. By the spring of 1464 Muhammed II. again stood before Jajce with an army of thirty thousand men. His siege was, however, frustrated by the strength of the defender of the fortress, Emerich Zápolya; and when he was made aware that Mathias himself, too, was advancing to the aid of the town, the Sultan again relinquished the siege, sinking his heavy cannon in the Vrbas that he might retreat with the greater ease. King Mathias in that same year commenced the organization of the re-conquered provinces, appointing Emerich Zápolya, Ban of Croatia and Dalmatia, not as Ban, but as Regent of the country. Later on (after Johann Thusz de Lak had for a short time, and perhaps only nominally, been the Ban) Mathias, about the year 1467, placed the Bosnian provinces under the Ban of Macsó, Nikolaus Ujlaki, and in 1472 nominated him King of Bosnia. The chief supports of the monarchy were, as a result of circumstances and the new organization, the Banates of Jajce and Srebrenik; the first consisting of the Netherlands, the latter the district of the ancient Salt Banate, lying between the rivers Bosna and Drina, constituting, together with the Banate of Usora, situated between the Vrbas and the Bosna, the so-called Ozora territory, or the province of Usora. The capital of this revived Bosnian kingdom was henceforth Jajce, and for sixty-four years, during which Hungary wrestled with Turkey for the possession of Bosnia, the history of Bosnia was enacted before the walls of Jajce.

\* Fejér (Pray), *Commentarii Hist. de Bosnia . . . cum regno Hungaricæ necn.*, p. 67—70.

After the victories gained by the Hungarian arms in Serbia, too, the Sultan despatched the Waywode of Wallachia to Hungary to offer a truce, nay, to even conclude a peace. Mathias, rejecting the proposal, armed for a fresh and great crusade, but in consequence of the pressure put upon him by the Pope, he did not advance against the Turks, but against the Hussite King Podjebrád, of Bohemia. So great was the respect in which Mathias was held, that in 1473 the Sultan repeated his offer; he was even prepared to resign his claim to the whole of Bosnia, if free passage through Hungary to Germany should be accorded to him. Mathias rejected this proposal also, although his quarrel with the Emperor Frederick III. had again broken out.

Again and again did Muhammed and Bajazid lead Turkish armies against Jaitze; the people and the garrison showed how, under a ruler such as Mathias, they could fight, and held the town against all assaults, whilst Hungarian armies repulsed the besiegers beneath its walls. After the death of Nikolaus Ujlaki, no new king was elected. His son, in a record of the year 1492, calls himself simply, "Dux Bosnæ." But Hungarian Bans continued to reign in Usora and the Netherlands. From 1499—1501, Franz von Borisló was Ban of Jaitze; in 1502, Balthasar Batthyányi; in 1505, Georg von Kanizsa and John Bebek; in 1507, Bartal, Prior of Vrána; in 1508, Georg von Zbtresenle; 1520—1526, Peter Keglevich.

The Sultan knew that it would be impossible for him to lead his army into the heart of Hungary and into Germany so long as Hungarian troops could endanger his retreat from Bosnia. After Mathias' death, therefore, the Turkish attacks upon Jaitze were renewed in rapid succession: their importance was so well realized on all hands, that the Pope appealed to all Christian princes not to allow this fortress to fall. Even Venice sacrificed money in its defence. In the year 1500, Sultan Bajazid led his army against Jaitze. John Corvinus, Mathias' heroic son, who governed that part of Hungary which lay on the further side of the Drava, defeated the Turks beneath the walls of the fortress, so that they perished by hundreds in the waters of the Vrbas.

In the year 1520 the Sandjak-Begs of Serbia and Bosnia made heavy onslaughts against Hungarian Bosnia. Zvornik, the stronghold of the Drina, fell through the negligence of the governor, Thomas of Mathusna, who had not sufficiently provisioned it. Teshanj, the key to the Usora, also fell; but the veteran Peter Keglevich did not allow Jaitze to follow suit, and the defence of this town is the last brilliant monument to Hungarian rule in Bosnia.

After the capture of Zvornik and Teshanj, the Begler-Beg of Bosnia, Ferhat Pasha, crossed the Save with fifteen thousand men, but suffered a total defeat at the hands of the captains Paul Tomori, Jacob Banffy, Francis Radó, John

Kállay, and Stefan Bardy, and was himself slain. His successor, Uzref Pasha, advanced, in order to repair the damage, with the Pasha of Epirus, Sinan, and with the Pashas of Belgrade and Semendria, again to the attack of Jaitze.

After the Turks had for some time in vain laid siege to the town, it appeared as though they were going to relinquish their fruitless task. Peter Keglevich, however, learnt that this was only a ruse, that the Turks were only pausing and concealing themselves under shelter of the forest and ravines, and were engaged day and night in the manufacture of scaling ladders. Keglevich, therefore, guarded the walls still more zealously, but sent a portion of his troops into the forests to



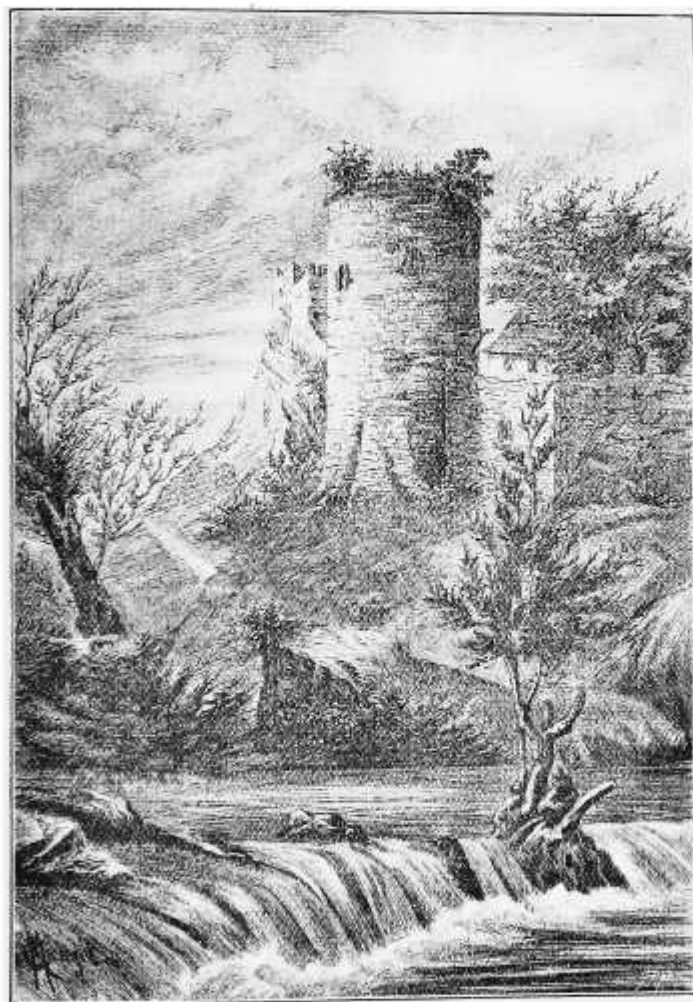
Obelisk at Jaitze.

wait in hiding there, until the firing off of a cannon should give them the signal for a rear attack upon the enemy. But he also devised another stratagem. As it was on the eve of a festival, he assembled the girls and women, and commanded them to draw up before the town, and to dance and sing upon the "Kraljeva-Polje" (King's mead) \* as they were in the habit of doing in times of peace and security.

In the course of the night the Turks emerged from their place of concealment, with scaling ladders. As they approached the town, they heard merry

\* According to the legend, King Stefan Tomashevitch was executed here.

songs being sung to the guzla, and could see the courageous women dancing in the moonlight, and in the face of so much freedom from care they, too, carelessly broke their ranks and threw the ladders aside, that instead of forcing their way into the town they might force their way amongst the women.



The Bear Tower.

Upon the instant sounded the report of the cannon, Peter Keglevich came storming out of the fortress, the troops standing in concealment fell upon the Turks in their rear, the women and girls caught up arms, and the Turks were mown'down to the last man.

Thus says the legend of Jaitze.

Certain it is, that the first Turkish army suffered a defeat, and that the Pasha was compelled soon afterwards to again draw up before Jaitze with twenty thousand men. Peter Keglevich again offered a stubborn resistance to the siege, until on June 11th, 1525, Christof Frangepan, at the head of a Hungarian army of sixteen thousand men, brought him relief. The victory of the united armies of Bosnia and Hungary closed the one and a half year's siege. King Ludvig II. bestowed distinction upon Frangepan by granting him high honours and titles. He signs himself in one of his letters: "*Christophorus Groff de Frangepanibus . . . Regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae, et Slavoniae specialis tutor atque protector.*"

This was, however, the last victory of the Hungarian arms in Bosnia.

On August 6th, 1526, Hungary itself fell at Mohacs. During the quarrel between the opposition kings, John of Zápolya and Ferdinand of Hapsburg, the fortress of Jaitze was transferred by Peter Keglevich to King Ferdinand, who entrusted it to the German captains Grbonog and Kozijanec. Frangepan fell fighting against Ferdinand's party.

At the beginning of 1528 the Sandjak-Beg of Bosnia, Uzref Pasha, and the Pasha of Servia, Mehmed-Gallioqli, again appeared before Jaitze. The garrison, however, yielded the fortress up in ten days, and with it fell the whole of the Jaitze Banate and a part of Croatia. Powerful Banialuka was surrendered by Captain Radovitsh without a blow being struck. Usora had already fallen in 1520.

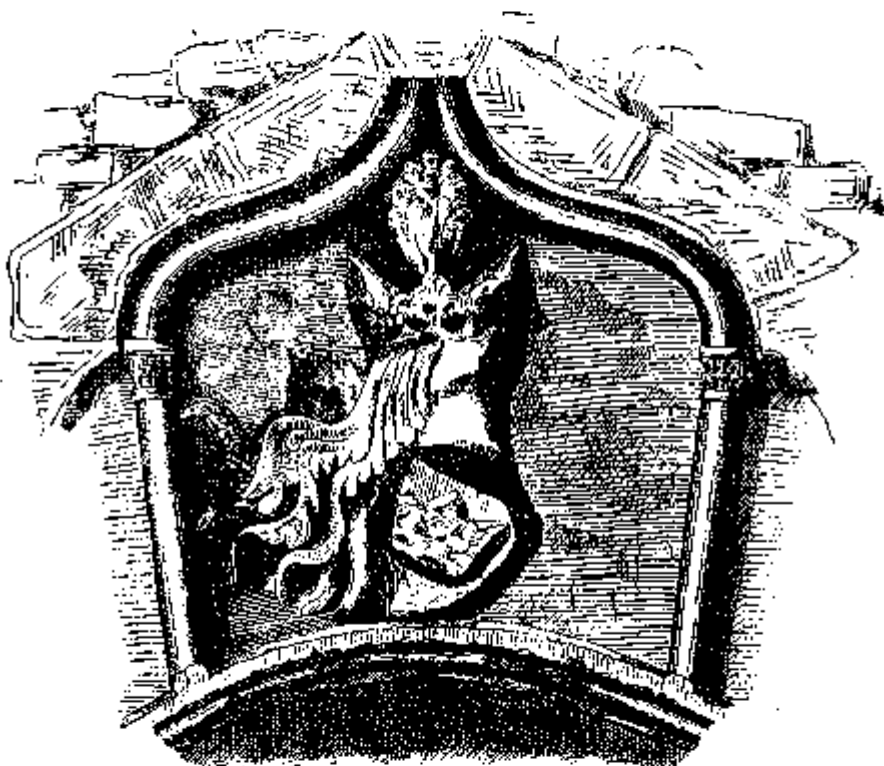
John Kállay, a follower of the Zápolya party, who himself took part in the defence of Bosnia, laments over the fall of Jaitze and the other border fortresses in a document addressed to Andreas Báthory, one of Ferdinand's partizans, which is, on account of its contents, as well as its pithy tone, one of the most characteristic writings of that time.

It was not without emotion, like that experienced in momentous moments, that I, walking beside a member of the Austro-Hungarian Government, entered the ancient fortress. I felt as though all those hearts now turned to dust, who had once so fiercely defended the Christian flag upon the battlements of the castle, must again begin to fight, as though now, after four centuries, they must still feel that they had not fallen in vain, must feel that that struggle for which they had staked their lives had not ceased, that the flag which broke in their hands would be raised again.

And in good sooth the image of this castle is able to restore the link between the present and the past. The Turks probably never thought of turning it into a modern fortress, but they preserved it from falling into ruins, so that to-day it still, in every line, proclaims the sixteenth century, with the marks of severe struggles indeed, but defying unshaken the powers of time.



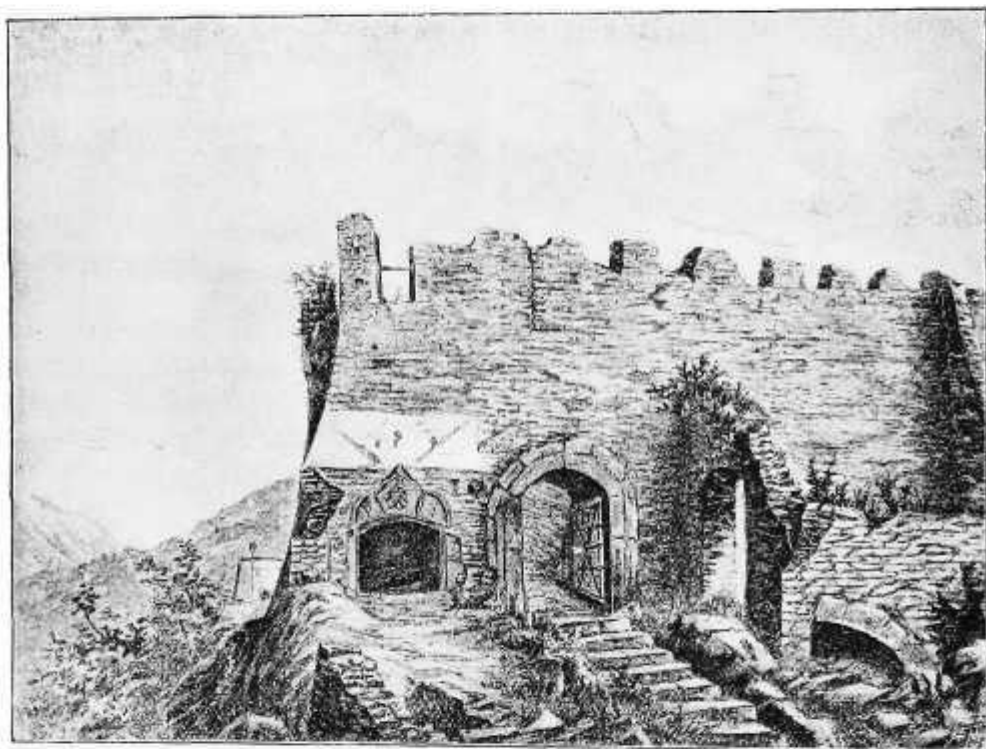
Whilst the road from Jezero winds up to the town to the right, a short steep ridge leads straight up into the castle, which, at the summit of the mountain, occupies the north-western quarter of the town. Passing some ruined tombs we reached the antiquated narrow gateway of the tower and embattled walls, where the commander of the little garrison, consisting of Hungarian infantry, received the minister, that he might act as his guide in the inspection of the castle. And very rarely do we come across a place more worthy of inspection, or which has so many or such surprising things to show.



The Royal Arms.

The inner space of the castle is an irregular square, the base of which extends towards the west, in the direction of the lakes of Jezero, to a length of two hundred mètres (218 yards); the eastern side looking towards the Vrbas is slightly shorter; the northern and southern about one hundred mètres (109 yards) in length. All around are bastions with high battlements still in good preservation, and recently restored. Damaged towers, fallen in on the inner side, but outwardly still strong, protect the four corners. The chiselled stones, small columns,

and beautiful capitals inserted into the castle walls show that in this court there were once some splendid State apartments, which being shattered in the frequent sieges were afterwards employed in repairing the defences. Ornamental stones lie about in the courtyard too, amongst them a beautiful corner pillar with carved leaves at its base. These stones may have given plausibility to the opinion that a Roman church once stood here. Its Italian character is, however, unmistakable, and strengthens the statement that the powerful Hrvoja—"by the grace of



West Side, with the Royal Arms.

God glorious Prince of Spalato, and Waywode of all Bosnia, chief lieutenant of King Ladislaus," who played such an important part under the Emperor Sigismund and the Neapolitan pretenders to the throne, who raised kings to the throne, and drove kings away, in Bosnia, but who resided in Jaitze as independent lord of the Bosnian Netherlands—had his castle built by a Neapolitan architect summoned from Luculo, upon the lines of the Castello Dell' Uovo in Naples. Thence, too, would come the name of Jaitze, for "jajce" signifies egg. But it is more simple to derive the name from the egg-shaped summit of the

mountain upon which the castle stands. Nothing now remains in the courtyard of pre-Turkish buildings except the enclosing walls and towers, the sally-port on the steep southern side, a few half-ruined bomb-proof corridors, and similar relics of the ancient arts of defence, which bear witness to the early strength of celebrated Jaitze.

But here in the courtyard there stands a small mosque, which since the days of Omer Pasha has served as a magazine for arms, and several military store-houses. Of antiquities we only found in the fortress the barrels of eight cannon from the time of Mathias and Ferdinand I., two of these bearing inscriptions and coats-of-arms.

Looking down from the castle battlements we saw how strong and impregnable it must have been in the Middle Ages, when there was no modern ordnance to play across from the heights on the further side of the Vrbas and the Pliva.

The pyramidal mountain upon which the castle and town are built stands on the left bank of the Pliva and the Vrbas, in an obtuse angle formed by the Pliva and the Vrbas, as the former emerges from the lakes into which it flows. These waters serve as natural, impregnable moats, for the Vrbas, especially, flows between rocky cliffs as high as houses. The ground between the two rivers includes the bare rocky mountain of Borek, which only leaves a narrow road, hard by the river's bank, open to the town. And though the waters may not just at this spot stand in the besieger's way, there is no lack, quite apart from the dangerous pass through which alone approach is possible, of natural bulwarks even here. From three sides of the castle walls, precipices descend sheer down into that valley, which is formed by the curve of the Borek and of the Jaitze pyramid itself. Only at the bottom, at the foot of these precipices, are there a few clusters of houses, and only upon the fourth and less steep side, to the south-east, does a medley of houses reach up to the battlements of the castle; upon just that side, that is to say, which is protected by the rivers to the south and east.

Only on its northern and western sides did this quarter of the town need artificial protection, and this purpose is served by the walls provided with mighty gateways, towers, and battlements which reach down to the Vrbas on the north-western side, to the Pliva on the western. This quarter of the town on the declivity which slopes down to the water, which, together with the castle, is surrounded by these walls and the two rivers, constitutes the old town. It always came within the radius of the fortress, and here, as everywhere else, is the real Turkish town. The Christians live outside the natural and artificial bulwarks in the small clusters of houses on the steep slopes of the castle hill,

and in the wooden houses of the suburbs of Kozluk and Pijavitza on the farther side of the Vrbas and the Pliva.

As we gazed round from the battlements of this lofty castle, far away to the west, beneath the perpendicular precipices, there stretches the incomparably beautiful sight of the lakes of Jezero tumbling over the cliffs in cataracts into one another, hemmed in on their northern shores by bare terraces of rock, on their southern banks by luxuriantly wooded hills, from amongst which tower the pyramids of Ottomal, of Ostro-Brdo, and, at the last waterfall, the Zaskopljje, crowned with old ruins and groups of houses. Opposite to this last, upon the bare rocks, stands the lonely little mosque of Mile. To the north, on the further side of the steep slope, into which the castle hill leads, stretch verdant corn-fields, along both the high banks of the deep-set Vrbas; below these, on the left bank, lies that Kraljevo-Polje, now called Tzarevo-Polje, which in the Keglevich legend is mentioned as the place where the maidens danced.

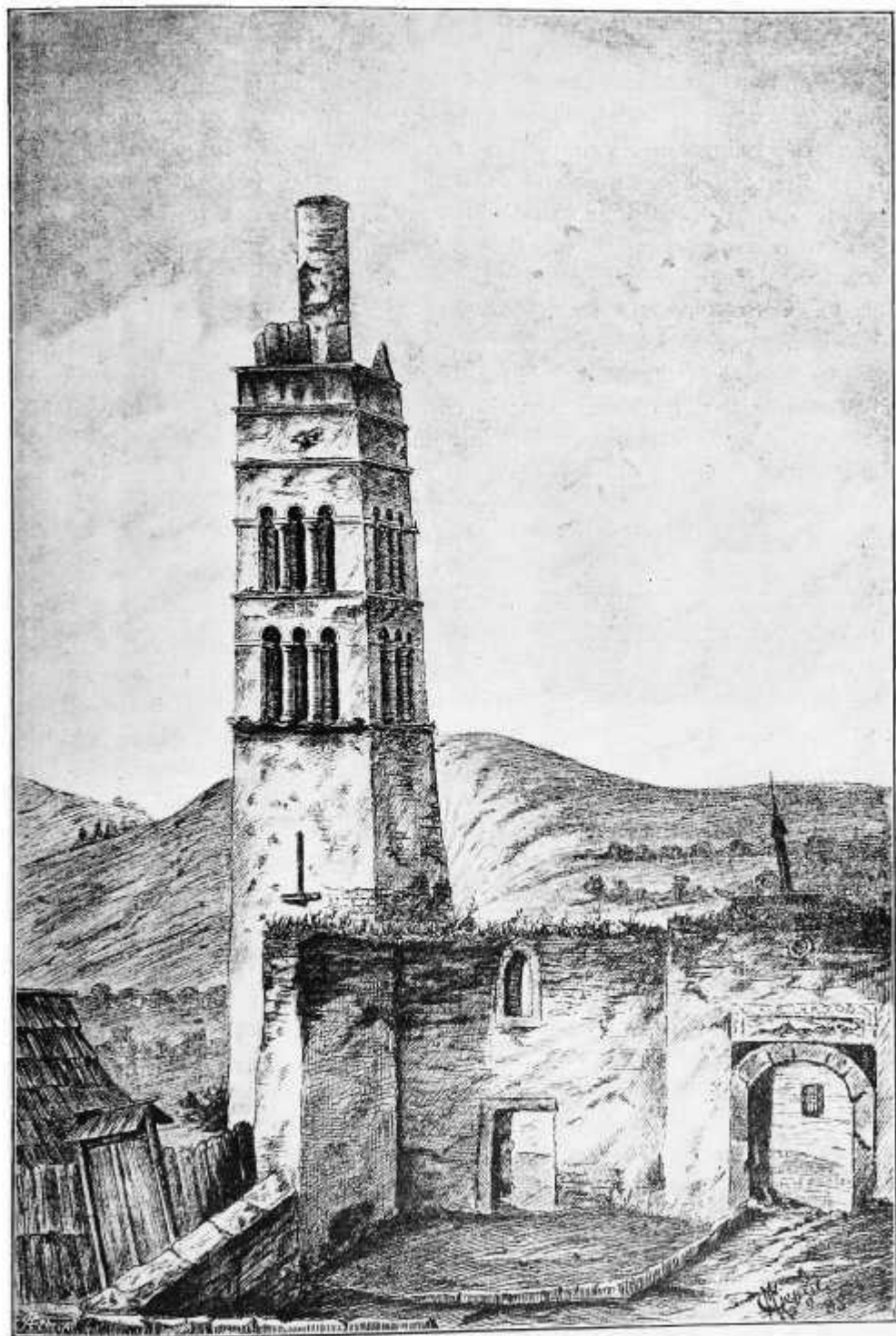
Nearer to us, close beneath the castle and by the side of the road leading up to it, there rises, surrounded by Turkish cemeteries, a small hill in the form of a pyramid, upon which the summer castle of the old kings is supposed to have stood. Close to the road are the tombs of the Kulinovitch family, and further down detached houses, into whose courtyards we looked. In one of these we watched our stately leader, Moharem Aga Saratsch, descending, in the midst of his domestics, from his snorting white Arabian horse.

Down the stream, on the right side of the Vrbas, numerous villages extend, the so-called "Dnoluka" meadows, a parcel of vakuf-land, founded by Chozref-Beg, and the property of the Begova-Džamija, in Serajevo.

If we look from the other side of the castle, towards the south-east, we see the old town stretched along the hillside, which is here no longer steep, but a gentle slope, encompassed round by the beds of the Vrbas and the Pliva, and the embattled walls of the fortress running down from the castle to the rivers. The Banialuka gate may be seen in the line of wall descending to the Pliva, whilst out of that, running down to the Vrbas, towers the Travnik gate, with vaults supporting a mighty tower.

The whole of the old town presents a most picturesquely Oriental picture, with its narrow streets winding down to the water, the weather beaten buildings all huddled up together, a mass of narrow nests with innumerable small, generally barred windows, low doorways, and upper stories projecting far beyond the ground floor, built partly of wood and partly of stone, amongst the latter being many a carved piece broken off from some old ruin, and many an old bomb in the walls, or at any rate holes beaten in by them.

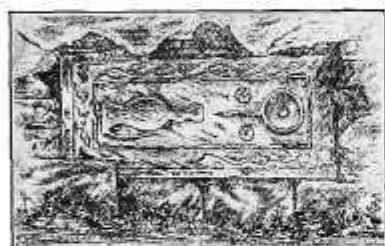
But what makes this Oriental picture a quite exceptional one, are the



The Church of St. Luke.

three immense buildings dating from the Christian Middle Ages, which rise high above these small buildings. Far below us, close to the banks of the Pliva, there stands a strong, flat tower, quite round and without any entrance, once, it is said, the bear prison of the old kings. To the right and left of it stand mosques, both unmistakably Christian churches of the Middle Ages. That to the south-west of the Bear Tower, which is still called "Ivanska," was once a church of St. John's; the other, to the south-east, formerly the church of St. Luke the Evangelist, is a four-cornered, roomy building, with a lofty campanile in the Roman style,—a beautiful, graceful building, which rises just in the centre of the old town, the most masterly art-monument in all Bosnia. Though certainly much decayed, with a small chimney-like minaret at the top of its flat tower, it is still sufficiently well preserved to suggest its

restoration to its original state. In the interior of the church a Roman stone has been built in.



Roman stone in St. Luke's Church.

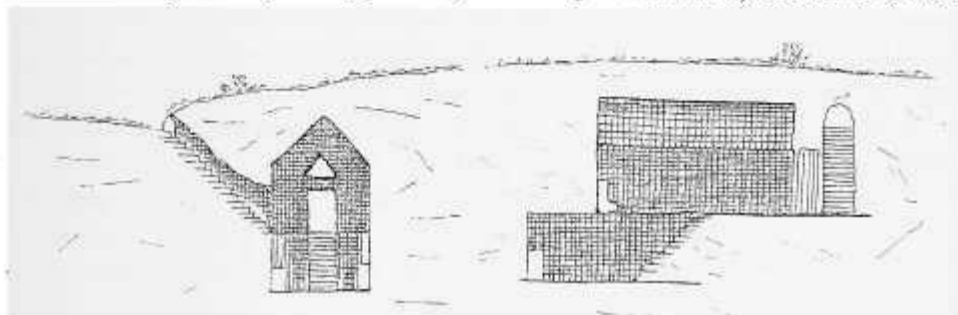
Looking beyond these buildings we saw the green waters of the Pliva, the dark bed of the Vrbas; on the further side of the Vrbas, the country suburb of Kozluk, and further away still, with its bold promontories of rock, the Hum Mountain, upon whose summit, according to the legend, gentle hands buried

Stefan Tomashevitsh, the last king, flayed alive by Muhammed II. Beyond the Pliva lies the cluster of houses known as Pijavitza, and further still the green heights of Tjushina. At the foot of all these mountains lie pleasant country and summer residences, scattered far away between smiling gardens and groups of trees, detached portions of the villages of Volnjak, Armanj, Kalina, and Hertzegovatz. Thus did Jaitze appear to us under a clear, warm sky, in ceaseless changes of colour and form, at that moment presenting, at one and the same time, a picture of an Oriental town in festive attire, and also one of gayest country life; all the roads and paths were lively with many-coloured groups, for that day was their annual market day, and in the neighbourhood a church festival was being held.

Yet not alone on the earth, but also beneath it, does Jaitze, as a really ancient fortress, present monuments worth seeing, nay, only in her subterranean buildings, undisturbed by any emotions of modern life, can her great and tragic past impress us to the full; here the visitor really feels the historical breath of centuries. Leaving the courtyard of the castle, we first of all inspected these subterranean buildings.

Close to the gateway, situated on the western side of the fortress, a cave is hewn out of the rough rocks; it is an old sepulchre. That it is a royal vault is shown by the coat-of-arms cut into the keystone of the entrance arch, which, even though much damaged, is still clearly recognizable as a bas-relief.

It is the coat-of-arms of the Bosnian kings, the same which also appears upon their coins: on the shield, a simple crown of lilies; above the shield a helmet, with ornaments falling down on the left; above this, a crown, from whose centre a high plume rises as an emblem of royalty. The entrance to the vault itself is so low, that one can only enter stooping. The inner vault is the height of a man; in the background is a natural ledge of rock, more than a yard high. Upon this, according to tradition, the coffin of one



Transverse and Vertical Sections of the Catacombs.

of the Tvrtkos rested. This is, however, unlikely, because both the Tvrtkos were in the habit of placing a Gothic T beneath the crown on their escutcheon. It is more probable, as some have determined, that the sepulchre belonged to the chapel, which at one time stood in front of it, although the rock could only afford a very small space for outbuildings. Only recently one such building stood here: the dwelling-house of the Kulinovitsh family. Their family vault still lies near the castle. The Kulinovitshes, who pretend to be descended from the Banus Kulin, and in whose family, according to their family traditions, the office of governor of the castle was hereditary, are of opinion that the sepulchre and its armorial bearings belonged to this house of theirs (which was without doubt of later date), and still look upon the armorial bearings as their own. The coins of the Bosnian kings, nevertheless, permit of no doubt upon the point that they are the ancient Bosnian coat-of-arms. Such coins, although they are most rare, have been found in greater numbers just within the circuit of the castle than anywhere else.

Far more interesting than this simple vault, which merits attention only



in so far that the coat-of-arms is the only specimen preserved in the whole country of the armorial bearings of the ancient kings, are the catacombs of the castle.

If we pass down the steeper south-western slope of the castle hill, straight towards the massive Bear Tower, before we reach the labyrinth of streets which constitute the town, we come across a small, grass-covered gateway in the undulating earth.

Our guides, Hungarian infantry soldiers, opened the heavy door with an immense iron key, only the first steps of the steep stairs leading down into the narrow shaft being visible, all else hidden in impenetrable darkness. We stumbled down by the light of a tallow candle, and even this threatened to go out in the draught made by the flutterings of the bats. Sixteen steps lead down into the narrow ante-room of the catacombs, which the garrison now uses as a cellar for green stuff, whilst the original royal vault has at one time served some one as a beer cellar. We had to pause before we could proceed. The soldiers at first essayed to set light to some pine shavings, a really capital means for lighting this place. The shavings lighted for the same purpose upon other occasions, and then thrown aside after use, were lying about by hundreds upon the stone ledge which projects from the left-hand wall; but it was a long time before they caught alight, for they were all damp from the moist air.

At last each one of us was holding a burning torch, and not till then did we discover that the rocky walls were covered with a thick layer of soot, of which particles stuck to our hands and fell down upon our faces. One after another we stepped through the opening in the right-hand wall, which is so low that we had to stoop much. We walked slowly and carefully, for we only had a misty, red light wherever we held the pine torch, whose melancholy, flickering light, blown to and fro by the draughts, only served to blind our eyes. But the floor is uneven; sandy places alternate with wet and slippery rocks, across which the strange, wonderful, old-world form of a salamander slipped fearfully away; water wells up through small holes, and in the middle a larger shaft gapes open, into which some more steps lead. No one spoke in the stifling air; the soldiers, who moreover were not capable of giving many explanations, only pointed silently to the different objects with their pine torches.

All of a sudden we began to see: we had entered the hall, which is about twenty paces long by ten broad, and roofed over by a pointed arch.

There are three niches to the right, three to the left, two opposite to the entrance. Against the long walls stand altar-shaped blocks. The niches



for the graves are connected together, and parted from the central hall by a thin wall of rock, in which crosses, crescents, and suns are chiselled in open work, so that, when lighted from the back, it gives the effect of a transparency.

To the right of the entrance there is another open niche; a stone ledge two feet high passes round its walls, in which indentations in the form of three-quarters of a circle, clearly benches, are cut. But as gutters are cut into the walls above these seats, from which water drips down, it is concluded that upon these seats prisoners were punished. The stairs in the centre lead by ten steps down into a similar, though smaller hall. Here also, behind a larger vault, there stands an altar; above this there is again a thin wall, in which a large cross, with a half-moon on its left, on its right a sun, are carved. This is called "The Queen's Tomb." The whole is hewn out of the natural rock with the greatest care and with astonishing patience, without the aid of wood, iron, or foreign pieces of stone. But, however surprising all this may be, the air is so heavy that we did not breathe freely until we again stepped into daylight, where Jaitze lay spread out before us in all its beauty.

We still wished to see the Bear Tower and St. Luke's Church before going to the konak.

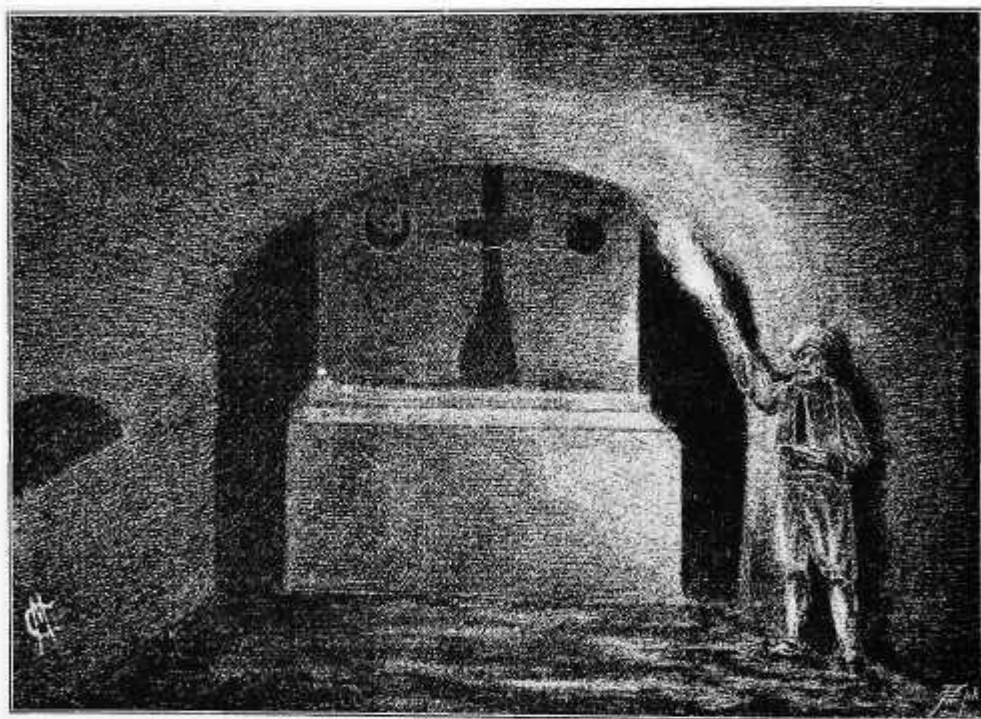
The Bear Tower is in an angle of the castle walls which lead down to the Pliva, and had most likely a subterranean connection with the castle, as there is no entrance into the tower. Superstitious fear holds the people, of all denominations alike, back from forcing an entrance. An "*Adet*," a religious injunction, rests upon the tower, and whoever should force their way in in defiance of this would assuredly meet with some misfortune: the very least that could happen would be that his crops would be destroyed by hail. Needless to say this was not enough to prevent some of our officers from taking a look into the tower, by the aid of ladders.

It is quite empty, but on the floor stones and brambles are visible. The three shooting gaps for cannon are connected inside by a circular passage.

This passage is now overgrown with bushes and trees, which rise above the walls, three yards and a half above them, and thus look up out of the flat tower.

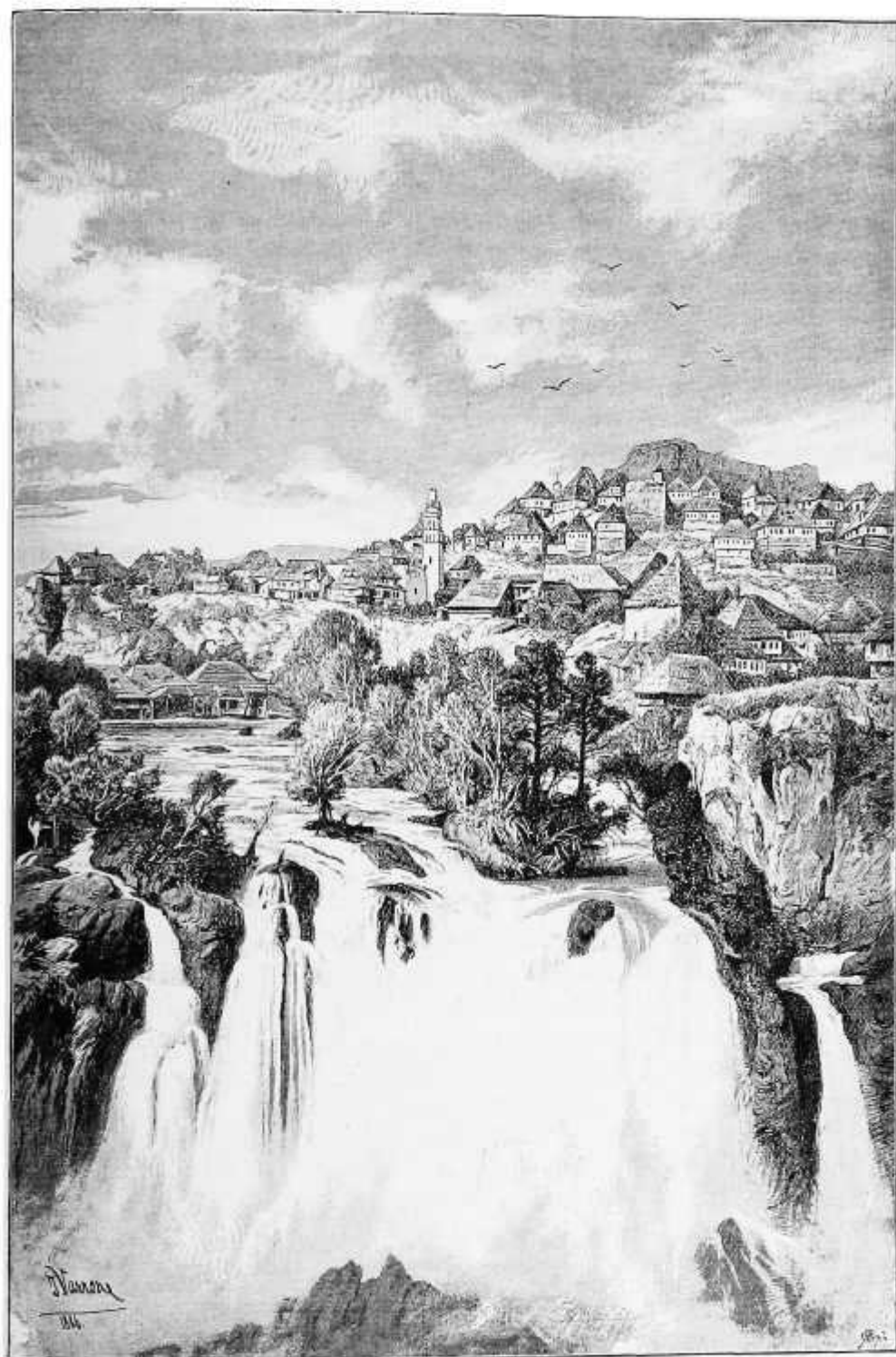
The church, which was once St. Luke's, situated in one of the oldest streets of the town, also looks heavenwards, roofless, and given up entirely to decay. Of its interior decoration only one single chiselled stone slab is still visible, and even this is an old Roman stone. For a time the building was used by the Turks as a mosque. This is apparent from the thin,

chimney-like piece of minaret at the top of the tower, which is built in the Romanesque style of architecture; indeed, it is said that the building has already changed three times from church to mosque. Now, however, no one takes any further trouble about it. The tower, a beautiful Italian campanile, is the most interesting part of the building, and would be worth preserving, for it is the sole one of the larger buildings which has been left to us from the time of the Bosnian kings. The square tower narrowing towards the



The Catacombs.

top is half way up formed of two tiers of open columns, with two lofty carved arches on either hand, which are connected together and with the corner pillars by Romanesque arches. Above these two tiers of columns the tower again rises in a solid mass, only relieved by cornices. The tower is broken off flat at the third cornice above the arches, and only a few detached stones and the minaret already mentioned stand upon its summit. According to the writings of Farlato, the Jesuit, who repeats the statements of the Bosnian monks, Luke the Evangelist lived in this church, died here, and



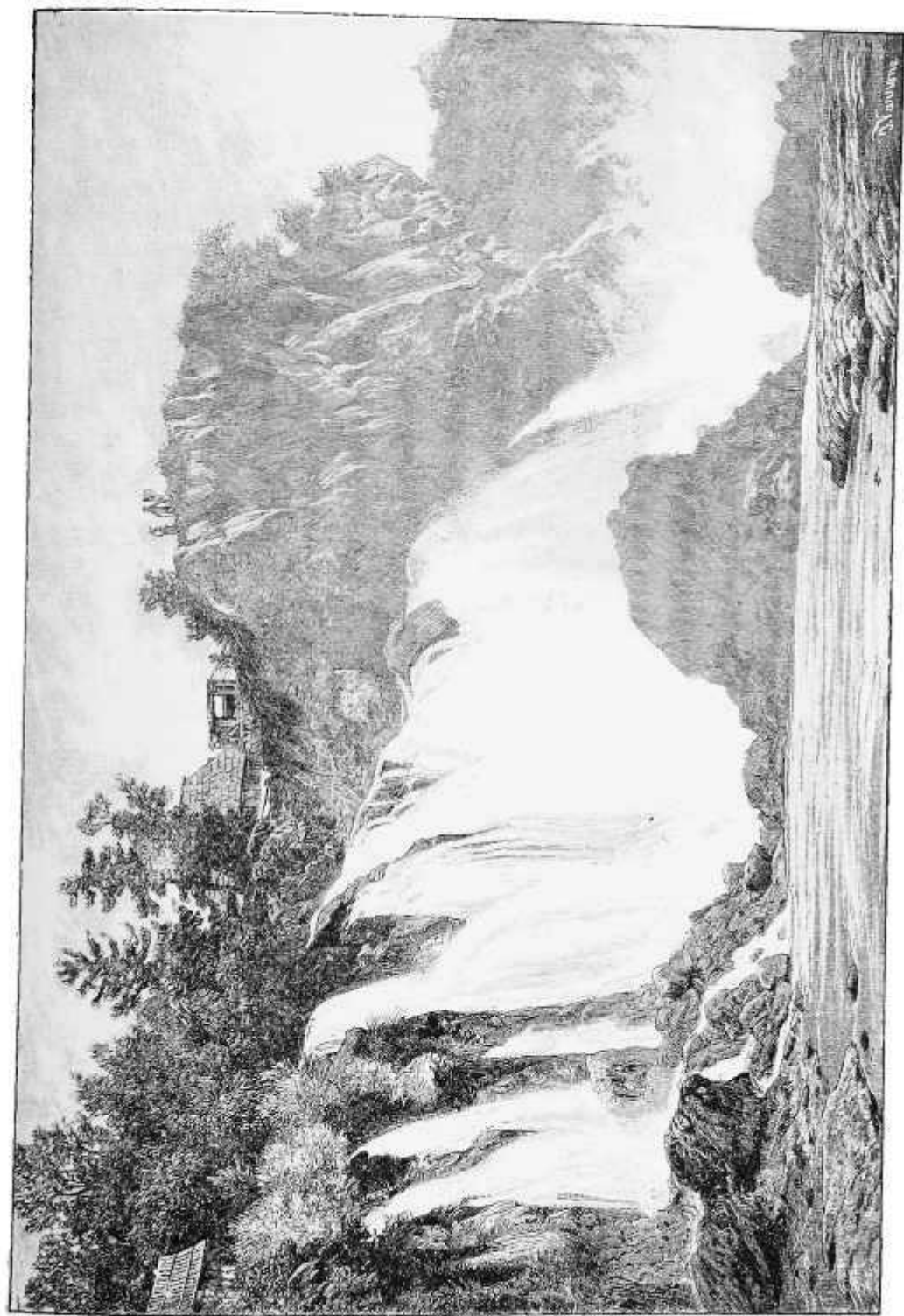
Jairze.

was buried here, and his holy remains were taken to Venice by monks, after the Turks had conquered Jaitze.

In the meantime such crowds of people had collected in front of the konak that it was only with difficulty that we could get in. Whilst the customary audiences were taking their course, I studied the motley groups of people crowding the narrow streets. The beautiful Lala—Spanish for lily—was occupied in the same way, opposite to me, on the other side of the street; she is the daughter of the wealthiest Spanish Jew in the place, and she sat with a fez on her head, dressed in coloured silk, and adorned with jewels, at her ease at the narrow window, and allowed her large dark eyes to wander over the dense crowd.

I had already heard that a church festival was being held in the neighbourhood, and the returning pilgrims added their quota to the crowd. The church of St. John, near Jaitze, is celebrated in this neighbourhood, and, indeed, throughout the country, as a place of pilgrimage, and the most wonderful things are related of it. It lies down the river Vrbas, on the right bank of the stream, and Catholics, Orthodox, and Mohammedans too, know and are all equally convinced that on its being threatened by the Turkish troops the angels carried it across from the left bank. All therefore who are afflicted with infirmities, without respect to creed, make pilgrimages to this church on St. John the Baptist's day. They crawl along on their knees to the brilliantly clad, golden-crowned statue of Saint John, after touching which they lay their hands upon the wounded place, nor forget the larger or smaller obole which has to be thrown into the plate placed at the foot of the image. Moreover, the monk living there is an especially wonderful man in exorcising the devil. Closely penned together, often supported and protected by their relatives, the imbecile and the mad squat and lie around the monk, who recites the holy formula over each. A dim lamp throws its flickering light over the scene. Shrill cries, tearful whimperings, lamentations, and incomprehensible sounds are mixed up together. Even the Mohammedan submits to the monk's placing the crucifix on his head, and in blind faith in the power of the holy sanctuary repeats the name of Jesus, who indeed in Islam too ranks as a great prophet, but to whom the Islamite is not in the habit of turning, for Mohammed is even greater than he. Even the Mohammedan women take off their veils here, that they may not stand in the way of the holy influence. Truly an eloquent proof that primitive popular traditions conquer even religious differences and fanatical sectarian hatred!

The whole neighbourhood, moreover, teems with the traditions of former days, and monuments of the past. Not far from here stands the castle of



The Pliva Falls.

Komotin, upon a regular point of rock, so that its walls, which have neither door nor gateway, can only be reached at the risk of one's life, and the garrison was drawn up and let down by ropes. This was the last fort captured by the Turks. During the siege a Turkish hero ran for a considerable distance after his head had been cut off. At the spot where he at last collapsed, and where he is buried, there stands a Mohammedan tombstone, to which the Mohammedans make pilgrimages as though it were the grave of a saint. The Catholics, however, affirm that a holy bishop lies buried here, nay, that treasure seekers have even found the bishop's ring, and so this spot, too, forms a subject of veneration for people of different creeds ; the fact is that a snake-shaped silver bracelet was recently found at Komotin.

According to popular belief incalculable treasures still lie buried under the castle.

One dark, stormy night, so runs the legend, a stranger appeared to the Komotin shepherd, and commanded him to take a spade, hoe, and lamp, and to guide him up to the castle of Komotin, because he had to fetch something from there. A rich reward was promised to the shepherd, but yet he lingered. Who could get up there in such a dark night? Neither would it be wise to visit the quarters of the witches at midnight ; besides, he might not leave his flock, as they might be devoured by wolves.

The stranger, however, said so much about the treasures hidden away in the cellars, which were only approachable to him who had control over the spirits, explained to the shepherd so repeatedly that he might carry as many of the jewels away as he might desire, and that he might become a surpassingly wealthy man, even though the whole flock should be destroyed as a result, that the shepherd at last determined on attempting the perilous journey. The rain was pouring down and made the steep rocks slippery. The flickering light from the lantern could hardly illuminate it, and the roaring hurricane nearly threw the men down.

They had to search for the road on all fours, and falling rocks flew over their heads into the abysses. The shepherd cursed the stranger and wanted to turn back, but his employer would not allow his own courage to flag, and dragged his guide along with him.

When they had attained the summit, the storm suddenly ceased, the clouds parted, the moon shone forth and cast a ghostly light over the ruins. The stranger indicated the spot where the shepherd was to dig ; he soon hit upon an iron slab : it was a door, which sprang open as soon as the stranger touched it with a curiously shaped key.

A large hall lay spread out before them ; the stranger exhorted the

shepherd to hurry, for they might not linger long. When he lighted a torch, the whole hall sparkled with treasures; the shepherd was quite stunned, and his eyes blinded. Whilst the stranger did not honour the treasures with a single glance, but at once advanced towards a niche, out of which he produced a casket, the shepherd remained petrified with astonishment. Rapidly as the stranger had hurried towards the casket, he turned back just as rapidly, and called to the shepherd to follow him quickly, for the doors would immediately shut to again, and then no power in the world would be able to set him free. But the shepherd still stared at the countless treasures. At last the stranger pushed him violently out of the door. They were hardly out before the doors closed. The shepherd had brought nothing away with him, except one single thing, which he had clutched as he stumbled out, and had stuck in his belt. Upon this there arose lamentations which made the shepherd shudder, so that he wished to flee, but the stranger kept him back to close up the pit. In the valley the stranger richly rewarded the shepherd and then rapidly vanished with the simple little casket.

When the shepherd awoke the next morning he thought it had all been a dream, but in his pockets he found the money he had received from the stranger, and in his belt a golden tobacco-box. He told the whole affair to his uncle, and they both went up again with spade and hoe. They dug up the whole place, they dug for days and weeks, but the doors they never found, nor did those who heard the story from them, and went on digging after them.

The whole neighbourhood of this historical town breathes forth such primitive lore as this, and is on account of its traditions one of the most romantic spots in the whole country.

We had, however, not yet seen it in all its incomparable beauty. Not until we reached the further side of the town and the further side of the Vrbas, opposite to the point where the Pliva pours down suddenly into the Vrbas from a height of ninety feet in one single gigantic waterfall, with the town with its ancient, lofty towers and walls and its picturesque confusion of small Oriental houses, and the mighty fortress behind it—not until then, in the presence of all the romance of the Middle Ages, of the Orient, and of a mighty nature, did we see that Jaitze stands perhaps alone in the whole world, in its marvellous beauty.

After the official receptions were over we hastened down to the waterfall. We left the town by the Travnik gate, which opens towards the Vrbas, and as we reached the wooden bridge which leads across the stream from the lower town, we became aware of the immense clouds of spray rising from

the cataract, on the right, and could distinguish its distant roar. We went along the Vrbas upon the slope of the further shore, which borders the suburb of Kozluk (Nut-wood), covered with orchards and fields of waving corn, drawing ever closer to the more and more imposing view, until at last we stood just opposite to the dizzy, lofty precipice, which falls suddenly sheer down into the deep rocky bed of the river. One involuntarily grasps the stray fruit trees which stand at the edge of the declivity, mastered by the feeling that this roaring, rushing, mighty mass of waters must tear down everything with it into the depths beneath, nay, even that which stands opposite to it on the nearer shore. Eye and ear are confounded by the hellish battle of the waters, the raging and ferment of a gigantic witches' caldron.

The Pliva, only just emerged from the lakes, plunges, in its entire width of sixty feet, over rocky towers and bastions, into the Vrbas, as it peacefully flows along between cliffs ninety feet high. The heaving waters dash down into the abyss in a dense mass, only parted quite at the top by a few projecting spikes of rock; far away to the right and left, in separate silver streaks diverted by higher blocks of rock, detached streams of water rush down. One of these water-courses—water-courses only when compared to the great body of water, but themselves large waterfalls—drives the wheel of a dilapidated mill, which rashly clings to a projecting rock. Only a few paces further and it and the miller would be carried down together by the force of the waters, and be dashed into atoms on that reef of rocks which tears the waterfall to pieces as it rushes down from above into the abyss, and against which the waters dash in never-ending rage, so that the rush of waters, which has only just fallen, as though they would crush the whole earth, in the next moment fly upwards, higher than ever, in clouds of rain and spray, flinging a constant shower of spray across to the further bank, whence, lost in wonder, we contemplate this great marvel of creation. The lime contained in these showers of spray remains, hanging like hoar-frost upon the grasses and bushes around.

The waterfall itself forms a regular flood of light in the yellowish-brown bed of the dark Vrbas.

Out of the moist mists, which cast deep shadows on the ground, white clouds of spray shoot up, whose margins are tinted red by the sun's rays, and across the whole a rainbow is thrown.

And what a background this fairylike scene can show! The pyramidal hill of Jaitze, up to its citadel-crowned summit, to which the ochre-coloured old town, with its labyrinth of small Oriental houses, reaches, and in the centre, just above the waterfall, the Italian campanile, somewhat higher up



on the left the massive Bear Tower, to the right the square, flat clock tower.

Reluctantly did we take our leave of this scene, and twice turned to look at the waterfall, just as, in parting from one whom we love, we always gaze back. However, on these occasions we could only catch sight of the waterfall without the town.

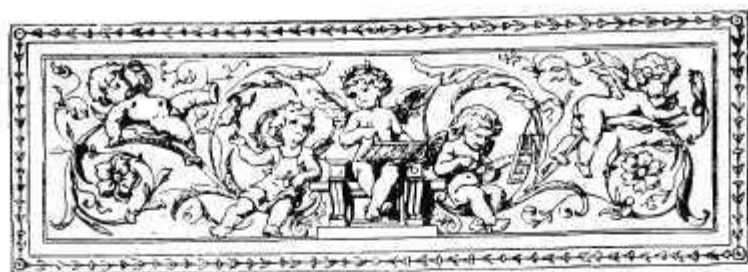
After the first-rate luncheon, which was waiting for us in the military casino, we resumed our journey to Travnik.

We left the town by the bridge which crosses the Pliva, and had then to cross from the left bank of the Vrbas over a second bridge to the right bank of that river. At the further end of both these bridges we stopped the carriages so as to go down to the waterfall. On the right bank of the Pliva, straight along the right side of the waterfall, a steep rocky path leads from the little mill, which is driven by a spout of the cataract down to the bed of the Vrbas. Down below we stood immediately by the side of the fall; indeed, we could even get a little way behind it, so that we could see the sparkling waters through its veil, as they plunged roaring down into the dark bed beneath, and whose falling masses, as they rose again in clouds of spray, played in all the colours of the rainbow in the changing reflections of the sunbeams. The scene here is perhaps the most fairylike and enchanting of all; but the most imposing view is from the third point. Again, this time across the bridge which passes above the waterfall, upon the right bank of the Vrbas, a long winding path led us down to the bed of the river near caves and hollows cleft in the mighty tufaceous limestone, until we stood just beneath our first position, opposite to the cataract, but far below, in the dark river bed.

Nothing was visible of the town and its surroundings; the waterfall stood before us, isolated in its entirety, and not until we stood in this densely shaded place, cool on the hottest day, upon the mossy tufaceous rocks, perennially wet from the showers from the cataract, did we experience the full impression of the overpowering spectacle.

With difficulty did we tear ourselves away from the brilliant, splendid vision of this waterfall, which may be compared to the world-renowned waterfalls of the Rhine at Schaffhausen and the Giesbach, much higher than the first and far more powerful than the last, worthy to outbid them in fame.





## CHAPTER XXVII.

### TRAVNIK.

The Battle of the Forest—The Karaula-Gora—The Counts Dobretitsh—Mediæval Tombs—Travnik—The Vali of Hungary—Ancient Lashva—Roman Monuments—The Robber-world—Bosnian Collieries.

June, 1884.

TAKING leave of Jaitze and the beautiful vision of the waterfall, we drove across the bridges over the Pliva and Vrbas, and a little further up the right bank of the latter river, as far as the hamlets of Pirjakovitz and Rjeka. Near to these, from a valley which opened towards the east, there issues a small mountain stream which, as it gently pursues its course, falls into the Vrbas, a marked contrast to the thundering fall of the Pliva. Our road turned off and led along the right bank of this little stream up the woody valley. Valley and stream both bear the name of Krezluk, and descend some nine miles off, from the Karaula Mountains, which we had to cross in order to reach Travnik.

At first the road skirts Mount Hum just below the Kraljevo-Grob, where, according to the legend, the last Bosnian king lies buried. As we reached the foot of the Bozikovatz-Planina the scenery grew more and more lovely. Once only did a small group of houses come in sight on the further slope of the Krezluk. Dense woods cover both sides of the valley to the end; but the wood too grew ever more and more desolate. True it is, that a primeval forest of trees, huge beeches and giant firs, raise their heads in mighty masses towards the skies, but the breath of death envelops them all, and we passed on through a forest's mournful ancestral tomb. The trees put forth branch after branch into the air, but they are barked, ghostly, white branches, some bare, or with withered leaves, others with reddish spines, and from the far-reaching boughs there hang, long and dry, like a mourning veil, the brownish-grey



creepers which have sucked up the last sap of life from the dead. Yet amongst these dead giants of the forest, who even in death defy the storms, fresh verdure is shooting up in the fruitful soil, and a wealth of weak saplings struggle with one another for air and light, untroubled by the fact that the conqueror will soon fall a sacrifice to the bark-scarab, who dwells in these woods and kills the trees by the heap. Singing-birds too are missing; indeed, they are scarce throughout the country, and the harsh tones of the magpie, and the soft cooing of the cushat dove, and the far-reaching note of the cuckoo, are the only things which speak of life in this vast scene of death.

At first rising slowly, then getting steeper and steeper and more tortuous, the road mounts the heights of the Karaula-Gora, where, at about nine miles from Jaitze, in the middle of the wilderness, the military station, situated between Jaitze and Travnik, is sheltered beneath old Turkish watch-houses and more modern barracks. Here, upon these cool heights, the country is quite bare, only a few sporadic rows of trees being scattered about here and there: these, too, being given up to destruction, so that their trunks are hardly to be distinguished from the telegraph posts which line the highways.

From this point the road branches off, which leads from Travnik to Skender-Vakuf and thence to Banialuka. Upon this road, on the further side of the Gostilj Mountain, is situated the village of Dobretish, and, not far from that, Zapetshe, where, close to a cavern, the historically interesting tombstone of the last Count of Dobretish is shown.

Blau\* renders the inscription, which has been several times published,† as follows:

"I. H. S. *Hic jacet illustrissimus Comes Eques et Liber Baro Dobreta, qui in summa persecutione turcarum in viros nostros hic subtus in spelunca prout relatum . . . do . . . plenus dolore oppressus dura captivitate obiit circa an. Domini 14 . . . etatis. . .*"

After having rested at the hospitable garrison, whilst our horses were being changed, we again started on our way for another three miles across the high meadow grounds of the Karaula-Gora, upon which we occasionally met with a lonely inn, until suddenly, towards the east, a view of the plains of Travnik opened up before us, and we reached the valley which leads down from the Karaula Mountains to Travnik.

\* *Reisen in Bosnien und der Herzegowina*, 106.

† *M. Dobretich, Nobilissimae Familiae Comitum Dobretich olim Regni Bosniae Optimatum liber genealogus* (Veneti, 1775).

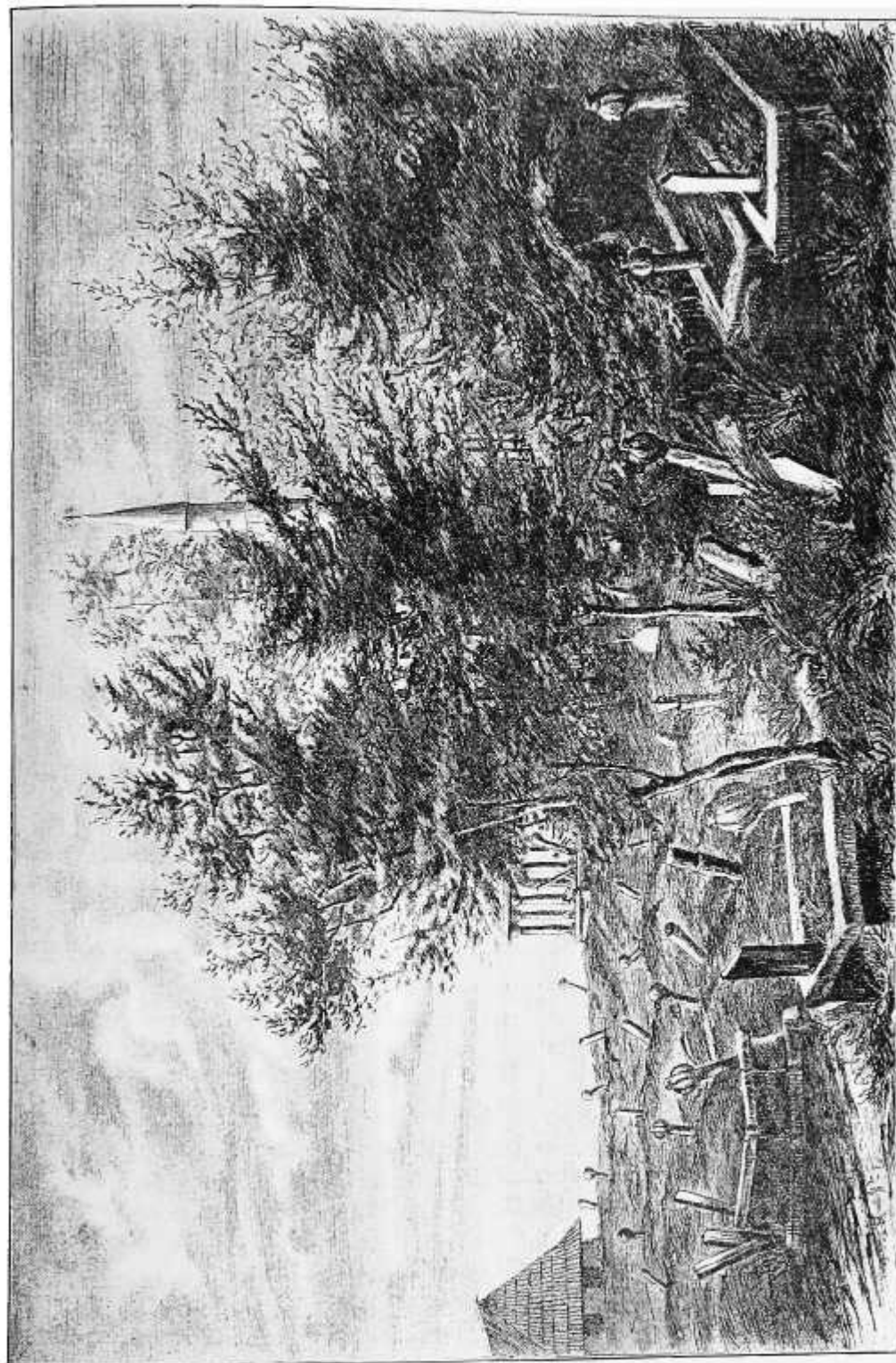
The peak of Gostilj looks across from the north; to the north-east extends the immense Vlashitsh-Planina, at whose feet the plains of Travnik, watered by the Lashva, extend. The road leads steeply, nay, in many places even precipitously, down the bare eastern declivity. In half an hour we reached the Lashva valley, at whose entrance an inn and a deserted mosque keep guard. We threw one last glance at the peak of Gostilj, upon which the beech wood, forcing its way upwards from below, seems to be engaged in a regular war of conquest with the firs crowding the upper third of the peak, and then we proceeded almost continuously beneath the ribbed chain of the Vlashitsh towards the narrow plains of Travnik; the valley bends from the north to the south-east; at the beginning, where the Karaula-Gora and the Vlashitsh press upon one another, they have regularly heaved up the earth and rocks into the forms of columns and giant crystals. The sides of the Karaula assume the shape of bubbling water, whilst the rocks of the Vlashitsh chain cut through the left side of the valley in sharp jags like a saw, the ridge itself, moreover, ending in a regular rock saw; whilst its sides are covered with bare reddish earth, with here and there thick bushes and detached clusters of trees, or even a few arable fields. All the more fruitful look the slopes of the Karaula, which merge into timber-covered hills, and then into arable land.

Between these hills and the steep sides of the Vlashitsh, close against the latter, flow the waters of the Lashva, increased by numerous subsidiary streams to a breadth of thirty feet, but always remaining in a shallow, pebbly bed. The valley which has broadened out to about five miles in width is, near Travnik, again compressed by the projection of the promontories of the Karaula-Gora, which is itself only a ridge of the vast wilderness of the Radovan-Planina, which lies stretched out between the Vrbas and the Lashva. At the spot where one of the promontories running out towards the Lashva—the Grahovina—in conjunction with the Vlashitsh, confines the valley, Travnik becomes visible with its houses built on the more elevated and rocky slopes of the Vlashitsh, and its fields on the more hilly and fruitful slopes of the Grahovina. However, at a good distance still from Travnik we come upon one village after another. Altogether the whole valley, from beginning to end, presents a charming picture of cheerful life. The Lashva flows! along between nut trees, hazel nuts, mulberry trees, beeches, oaks, elders, and willow trees, and on all sides those small primitive mills, which may have come down to these people from the Romans, are revolving. Some of these are driven by the Vlashitsh springs, and one and the same water-course sometimes drives as many as three mills. The water is

connected by pipes, made out of hollowed-out tree trunks, and sometimes shoots high up into the air, and waters the close turf, moss, and bushes all around. Right at the beginning of the village of Varoshluk there is an ancient tower and an ancient, deserted burial-ground, containing about a hundred tombstones, beneath the shadow of the woods, witnesses to the long-vanished importance of this place. The rapid and easy drive of about six miles along the level valley was truly refreshing after the tedious climbing in the rough wilderness and bare solitudes of the Karaula.

The feeling of refreshment increased when, after the ceremonies of the reception, we gave ourselves up to repose in the broad cool halls of the konak, where, amidst splendid carpets and broad Oriental divans, a capital meal lay spread out before us. Turtle soup, salmon, and unrivalled Travnik crawfish, asparagus, venison, strawberries as large as nuts, all home-grown produce, were there to show that one can live excellently well in Bosnia, if one only understands how. Those who wish to enjoy the more choice garden products must of course here grow them themselves.

In the konak, with its immense vaulted gateway, opening on to the chief square, and the massive ground floor, with the lightly turned arches of the open vestibule of its upper story, its ancient tower, and the slight minaret of the mosque, which was once connected with it, and which all together produce a very imposing effect, there now dwells only a very modest governor of the district; but for two centuries, and until our own days, it was the residence of a very great noble, the governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Still greater than his province was the title of the "vali," or, as he was more frequently called here, the "vizier;" for the pashas, who had their residence in Travnik, did not call themselves viziers of Bosnia, but viziers or valis of Hungary, and this, too, was their official title at the Porte. Amongst the Turks the lasting conviction had been maintained that, in holding Bosnia and Herzegovina, they also held a portion of the once powerful Hungarian kingdom. These provinces were the first which they had wrenched from the Hungarian crown, and they were also the last parts of Hungary, which was afterwards almost entirely conquered, to remain in their hands. But, as they never renounced their claim upon Hungary, the Travnik vizier always received the title of "Vali of Hungary." Moreover, the very choice of his seat had its origin in the maintenance of these claims. An organized Turkish government was first established at Serajevo; indeed, the Serajevo of the present day, situated at the feet of the old fortress of Vrhbosna, is directly descended from the Turks; but as they, in their conquests, ever



Turkish Cemetery.

pressed further forwards, and especially when, with the Banate of Jaitze, the districts lying on the further side of the Save had fallen into their hands, the viziers also shifted their quarters further forwards and removed to Banialuka. In the year 1686, however, after the Turks had lost Buda, Banialuka no longer appeared to them to be sufficiently secure, and yet they did not wish to draw back as far as Serajevo, and so they chose the middle course, at the same time implying that they intended to return to the place whence they had been driven, and thus Travnik became the capital of the country, or at any rate the seat of government, for, on account of its population, its trade, and its political supremacy, Serajevo always remained the actual capital. Repeated attempts were afterwards made to remove the residence of the vali to Serajevo. The old Bosnian oligarchy, who at that time had already become too powerful as Mohammedan begs, and had revived all their old traditions, would not submit to having the vizier with his officials and hirelings saddled upon them in their stronghold and centre—Serajevo. Even as a guest he was only allowed to appear there by the favour of the begs. Not until 1850, when Omer Pasha crushed the last revolt of the begs with a heavy hand, was the government of Constantinople in a position to enforce the residence of the vali in Serajevo. Until then he made compacts with the begs from his seat at Travnik, and they in pursuance of their old traditions, dating from old Hungarian-Bosnian days, even held a sort of diet, and in the last century assembled, when summoned by the vizier, to consult with the kadis, muftis, and other learned effendis, about the defence of the country, as is stated by Omer Effendi, the Bosnian-Turkish historian.

The effects of these two hundred years of supremacy may still be recognized in the town. Like most Oriental towns, Travnik does not come up to what, at a distance, it promises. Seen from the last hill before entering the town, it is conceivable that many should rate the prospect even higher than that of Serajevo. The valley of the Lashva narrows down to about two thousand yards; upon its right bank, hidden in a crevice of the Grashovina, lies one part of the town like an arena, with minarets and domes amongst houses and foliage; on the left bank, on a steep and bare mass of rock belonging to the Vlashitsh, there stands an old grey fort, with massive walls and towers still in good preservation, and around it lies grouped the principal quarter of the town; on the heights, on either bank, white kiosks (summer-houses) and country houses sparkle, and in the foreground extensive barracks and other public buildings may be seen, whilst on the further side of the town lie to the right fertile hills and woods, to



the left rocky mountains. The first impression of its beauty is weakened when we reach the badly paved, crooked streets; yet between the many huts and small houses there still stand many stately buildings as witnesses to its former greatness, the palaces of former viziers, their arches, arcades, bazaars, mosques, etc. The ordinary dwelling-houses, too, are sufficiently varied in their outlines and coloured decorations.

Amongst all these buildings, which we on the following day inspected more closely, the only one that has been kept in repair is the mediæval fortress. Many mistakenly identify it with ancient Bobovatz. The people attribute it to Tvrtko. It is probable that in the Middle Ages no town lay below the fortress, and the old city lay, without doubt, down lower, on the Lashva, where the valley again widens out into the "Travanjsko-Polje." As is the case with so many other Bosnian towns, and especially with Serajevo, Mostar, etc., a fertile plain lies spread out in front of Travnik, whilst the town itself is built at the exit of the defile. It is just Serajevo, however, and also the analogy of the others, that indicate that we must seek the ancient, the Roman, and the mediæval towns in the plains, whence it was not until Turkish days that they withdrew under the shelter of the mountain passes and the fortresses standing there, after they had vanished from their original position, disturbed by devastating invasions, and deserted by the inhabitants, who either scattered themselves in the forests or, if they had sworn allegiance to the Turks, removed to those places where these had settled, within the precincts of their citadels. In fact, tradition here affirms that the ancient town stood a mile from here, far below the castle of Travnik, whilst the ground on which the present town stands, in Turkish days still consisted of pasture land, to which, moreover, the name of Travnik refers. The name of the old town was Lashva. That the open town standing in the plain was rapidly destroyed at the time of the Turkish conquest is not to be wondered at, as all the Turkish armies led against Jaitze passed by it. The author of a manuscript of the last century still calls himself *P. Petrus à Lasva*.

Neither are there signs wanting that at the spot indicated by tradition as that occupied by the destroyed town of Lashva; that is to say, upon the ground where the present village of Putatshevo stands, a still more considerable city stood in the time of the Romans, and also in the Middle Ages. Roman antiquities have been found in the whole of this neighbourhood. One of these, now preserved in the Vienna Belvedere,\* is of especial interest,

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\* Palace and Gardens belonging to the Emperor.--[Tr.]

because it manifestly shows the transition from the decayed architectural arts to that old Slavonic, barbaric stonemasonry which has been preserved to us in the Bogomilian tombstones; it at the same time proves that an important town stood here, which passed over from the Roman age into the Slavonic. This kind of late Roman monument may be regarded as the direct prototype of those rough and superficial sculptures of the Middle Ages, so rich, however, in motive, which endeavoured to replace artistic excellence by vastness of dimension.

The most interesting Roman discovery which has up till now been made in the country, is preserved in Travnik itself, a stone bearing the following metrical inscription:

*"Ultima clausurunt Parcarum stamina filo  
Principii miserandi diem, quem, gloria(m) nisi,  
Avus adque pater puerum dedere (p)præclara(e)  
Milita(e) patruoque suo iunxere fovendum,  
Cum primum pulchra lanugine sumeret annos,  
Spectantes magnum patriæ columnæque futurum,  
Heu miseri, gloriari sibi lactamque senectam.  
Crudele(m) luctum domui Ravenna remisit,  
Hoc miseros titulo proprium signasse dolorem."*

This is preserved in the parsonage of Travnik. It was found near the inn of Podrunitsh, ten kilometres (0·80 miles) from Travnik, upon the road to Jaitze. It is 0·80 high, 0·57 wide, and 0·19 deep. Its marginal decorations represent ivy and vine leaves.\*

In the parts of the Travanjско-Polje belonging to Putitshevo there are numerous traces of sunken remains, elevations with regular quadrangular margins and corresponding hollows. At one spot, where the stone enclosure is still quite visible, according to tradition a monastery once stood; the whole district is that of ancient Lashva. The ruins of an old stone bridge are still visible, but now only a few villas are scattered amidst the pasture land. At the other, south-eastern end, of the Travanjско-Polje, near the hamlet of Moshunj, similar relics are found. A few ruined vestiges of a castle and a church point to the western and eastern boundaries of a vanished town, whilst upon the level ground between, only the beaten coins of Roman days and of the Middle Ages are found. The vanished town is popularly called Karbun, whilst according to others this was the old name for Travnik.

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\* Published by Hoernes, *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* iv.



The Stone of Putitshevo.

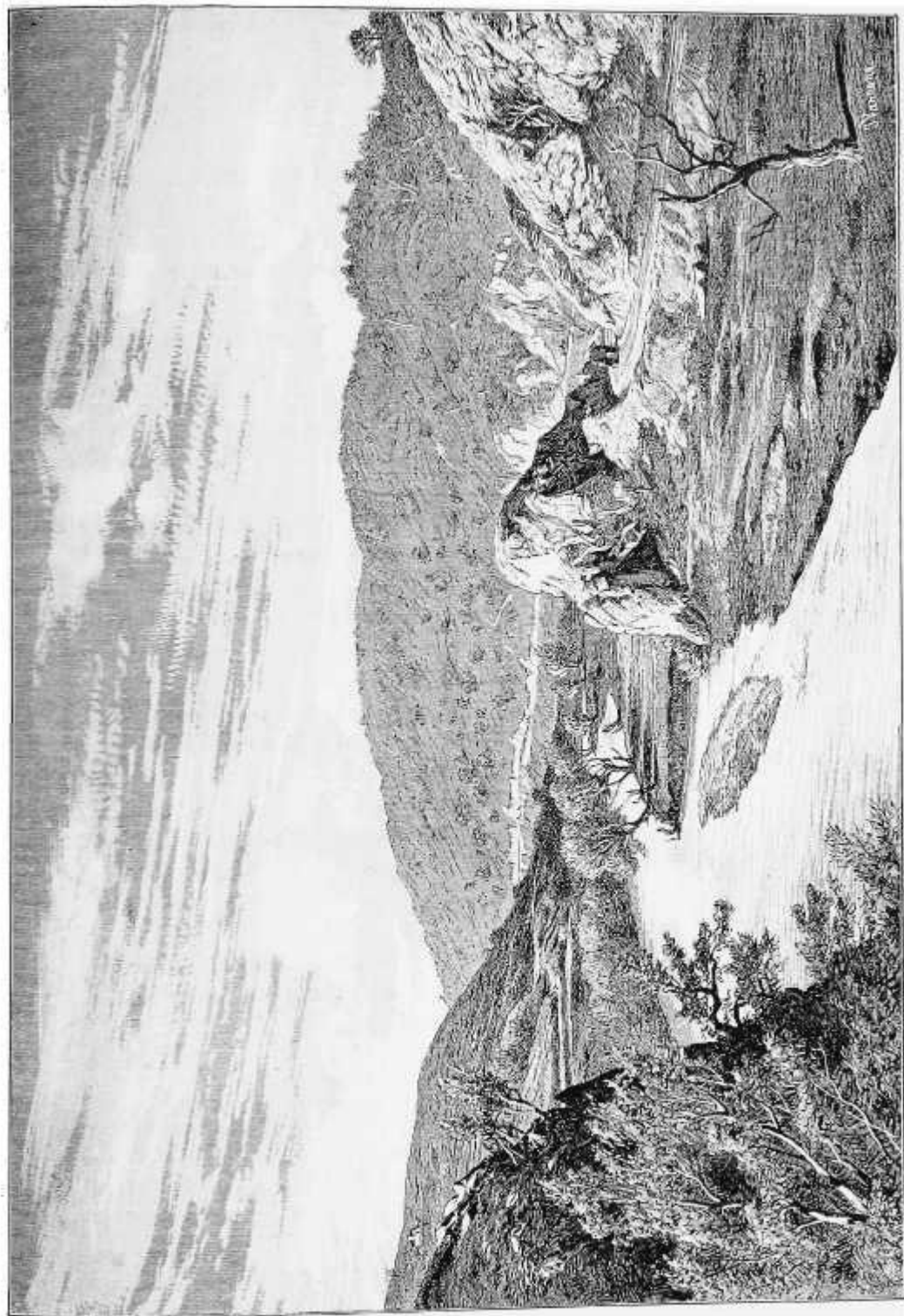
At several points there are groups of old Slavonian graves, one of the most beautiful being situated between Travnik and Putitshevo, to the left of the road. In Travnik itself, as already stated, no monuments are to be found of an earlier date than the Turkish, with the exception of the fort, which is by tradition attributed to Tvrtko II., but which has, by the mosque built within its precincts, and the old cemeteries and turbels at its feet, attained to an altogether Turkish character. The circumstance, too, that it is an almost exclusively Mohammedan town, speaks for the Turkish origin of modern Travnik; added to about eighteen hundred Mohammedan families, there are four hundred Catholic, one hundred and fifty Orthodox, sixty Jewish,



The Stone in the Vitezka Chapel.

and forty gypsy families. The Catholics live quite apart in the suburb of Dolatz, at about three-quarters of a mile from the town, and not until the erection of the new Catholic seminary did Travnik possess a Catholic church.

The next day we bade farewell to Travnik. During our stay there we had received the intelligence that the robber Tržitsh had been shot by a patrol in a wood hard by. Just at the time of our circular tour small robber bands had started up at several points without their existence having been accounted for circumstantially or theoretically. Not until after weeks had passed was it proved that they were in connection with that strange movement which was just then set on foot by a few Servian radicals against



View near the Campania Inn.

the House of Obrenovitch, and which was to have been seconded by a Bosnian movement.

These attempts came to a speedy end there, as well as with us, and the scientifically organized bands, as they lacked all support, soon vanished.

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From Travnik to Serajevo we took the road through Zenitza, that we might inspect the collieries there. The valley of the Lashva, which flows towards the south-east, is broad and fertile as far as the inn of Compania, situated near the village of Vitez, behind which it then enters a narrow defile, and soon afterwards reaches the Bosna.

In this valley, which is about fifteen kilometres wide, we everywhere met, side by side with the flourishing life of the present, the relics of an important past. Immediately below Travnik begin the picturesque groups of Bogomilian graves. At the bottom of a narrow side-valley, towards the north, beneath woody hills, stands the monastery of Gutshjagora. According to report the monks of the Lashva valley retreated from the devastated town of "Lashva" to this spot, as their old monastery had also been destroyed at the time of the Turkish invasion. That, however, at the time of the Romans a considerable colony already existed here—even though it may not have been the *Leusaba* of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which lies more to the west, perhaps another *Leusaba*—is proved by the important Roman monuments found here.

Two of these came from the village of Putitshevo, immediately below Travnik. One has since vanished; \* the other, as mentioned above, is at present preserved in the Vienna Belvedere.

The stone, 2·21 mètres high (2 yards 15 inches), 70 centimètres wide (27½ inches), and 20 centimètres deep (7·8 inches), bears the following inscription between the two fields:

*"Quartiniano caro conjugi Elpis titulum posuit, qui Salona in fata ruit."* †

The upper field represents a bust between two columns, the lower one, of mediæval form, shows a man and a horse of awkward execution and false proportions, in a framework of leaves. (Published by Hoernes.)

The striking inequalities of the ground here, which point to an ancient destroyed town, I have already mentioned.

Close to the village of Vitez in the year 1879, at the uncovering of a mound, the foundations of a cemetery chapel were discovered, in which amongst skeletons a spur and some silver filigree were discovered. A portion of the things found is preserved in the Vienna Court Museum. In a house distant

\* Published by C. I. L., iii., 2766.

† *L. cit.*, 2765.

some two miles from here, known as Vitezka Chapel, formerly the chapel of the Catholic community, besides broken pieces of inscriptions, a piece of Roman sculpture is preserved: an armed man in a tunic and pall holds a richly caparisoned horse. (Published by Hoernes.)

From the inn of Cūmpania we, by passing over the Vitrenitza Mountains in a north-easterly direction, in course of time reached Zenitza by the same road along which we in 1882 had travelled to Serajevo, where Zenitza was still the railway terminus.

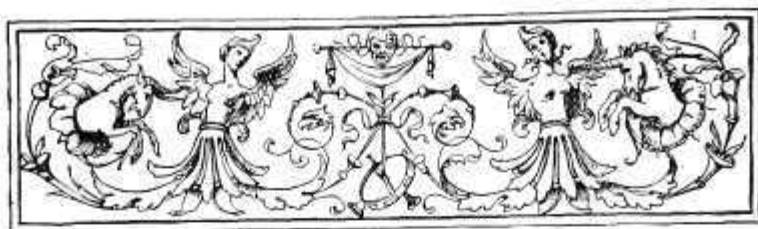
Zenitza was the first point at which coal mines were opened in Bosnia. Coal mining is a modern industry, its immense development being due to the age of machinery. Although so much attention had been given to mining even in ancient times in Bosnia, coal mining was not begun until after the Austrian occupation. On May 4th, 1880, on the basis of arrangements come to between the Government and the "Coal Industry Society," at the beginning of this year (1880) the first works were taken in hand. The largest of the beds put under requisition is 15 mètres deep, and its quality 4485 calories.

In the first year the output was 50,000 metercentners (4,920 tons), and within two years this was increased to 133,000 (13,100 tons); the delivery of coal has been steadily on the increase, Serajevo, several Save vessels, and some Slavonian industrial establishments getting their coals from here.

After this happy beginning the Government took the considerable brown coal collieries of Mostar and Kreka near Tuzla under their own management. From the former the Mostar-Metkovitsh Railway now obtains its coals, by which means, too, the exportation of coal to Italy has been rendered possible. There are four beds here, the deepest being nine mètres, the quality 4,280 calories. The collieries at Kreka will supply coals to the salt mines at Tuzla and to the new Doboj-Tuzla Railway. Beds of coal have been discovered in other parts of the country (Banialuka, Bjelina), but have not yet been worked. Authorities on the subject promise a great future to Bosnian coal mining.

After inspecting the mines we entered the railway train, and, some hours later, Serajevo.





## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### *FOJNITZA AND THE BOSNIAN BOOK OF HERALDRY.*

The Mineral District of Fojnitza—The Town—The Monastery—Fra Grgo Martitsh—King Mathias' Tabard—The Portrait of a Bosnian King—The Athnameh—The Book of Heraldry—Its Authenticity and Value.

DURING our visit to Serajevo I made an excursion to Fojnitza, principally for the purpose of inspecting the interesting antiquities in the Franciscan Monastery there, which bear upon the history of Bosnia. Taking the Busovatz road as far as Kiseljak, where the Fojnitzka-Rjeka, as it dashes down from the western hills, joins the Lepenitza, as it struggles towards the Bosna, we drove from this point up the narrow valley of the former, decked with under-wood, and in about an hour and a half reached the huts inhabited by the Fojnitza miners, above which, upon a considerable elevation, the celebrated old monastery stands like a castle.

We dismounted at the arrondissement magistrate's house, and after breakfast at once descended the steep winding path to the monastery.

Fojnitza and Kreshevo, which lie to the south-east, were, during the whole of the Middle Ages, celebrated towns; their iron, copper, and quicksilver mines secured to them progress, prosperity, and importance, and made them known in distant lands.

Hence arose amongst the wealthy Ragusan trading colonies, the large monastery which still exists, and even the kings of Bosnia frequently resided in Fojnitza, as well as in Kreshevo. The whole of the mountain range lying between these two towns shows traces of primitive mining, and the manufacture of domestic utensils remained a national industry till the time of the Austrian occupation. Since the Occupation, especially in the neighbourhood of Fojnitza, this old branch of industry has again made rapid strides, and the antimony



mines especially, which were not worked during the Middle Ages, give promise of a rich return.

During the last decades of the Bosnian monarchy, after the fall of Visoko, Fojnitza rose to be the most important centre of Bosnian commerce; it was the permanent residence of a "Comes," and the permanent place of abode of several noble Ragusan families engaged in the silver trade, whilst even the royal court was held here in the castle of Kozao, whose ruins may still be seen, on the slope of the Zetz (six thousand eight hundred feet high), which, situated between the sources of the Fojnitzka, the Vrbas, and the Nere-vitza, is the watershed of the Adriatic and the Black Sea, and the highest mountain peak in the land.

Modern Fojnitza has some two thousand five hundred inhabitants, mostly Roman Catholics; a strikingly beautiful race, chiefly miners and smiths.

From the monastery one gets one of the most splendid of all the views over the town, which is divided by streams into several blocks, from amidst whose brown timber houses two white mosques stand out. The view commands, too, the valleys of the Fojnitzka, the Dragotsha, and the Željeznitza. We entered the monastery, which is now the most beautiful, the largest, and the most ancient Catholic monastery in the whole country, close by an old ornamental cross decorated with leaves. We knocked at a door in the courtyard, above which "*Clausura*" was written in golden letters. A monk opened the door, from which a steep wooden staircase leads into the upper story. At the end of the staircase the prior was already standing, and he led us into the spacious refectory. Here several monks soon assembled, amongst them Fra Grgo Martitsh, the national poet, who in one of his most recent works has sung of the Occupation.

The conversation was carried on in three languages; besides the native, German and Hungarian were spoken, for several of the monks, including Fra Grgo, had finished their theological studies in Hungary. Cigarettes, fiery Herzegovinian wine, and coffee, soon loosened people's tongues. After a walk through the simple, but cleanly rooms of the monastery, and after an inspection of the church and the school kept by the monks, we returned to the refectory, where the Prior now produced the monastic treasures out of an antique cabinet in the wall.

One of these, King Mathias' Tabard, was already known to me, for it had been exhibited in 1875 at the historical exhibition at Budapesth, owing to Herr de Kállay's intervention, who, in the beginning of the seventies, being then the Consul-General in Belgrade, had travelled in Bosnia, and thus discovered this historical and interesting art treasure hidden away in the Bosnian

monastery. No European inquirers who had travelled in Bosnia had seen it up to that time, and nothing was known of it beyond the statement made by Farlato, which rested upon the reports of Bosnian monks, that they were in possession of a tabard, which Queen Katharine had embroidered with her own hands. Since Herr de Kállay has proved that the armorial bearings upon it are those of Mathias Hunyadi, this pious tradition has been altered to King Mathias having given it to Katharine. Furthermore, the tabard is not embroidered, but of green-gold brocade, with armorial bearings woven into the back, which show beneath a golden crown of lilies the united arms of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Bohemia, with the Corvinian raven on the inescutcheon. The texture might be conjectured to be of Genoese workmanship, and is executed in a masterly fashion. The tabard is now in the Crown Treasury at Buda. His Majesty bought it from the Bosnian monks in the year 1885 for 3,000 florins (£600), which since has been devoted by the latter to the improvement of the monastery.

Whether King Mathias did, as a matter of fact, give it to Katharine, or whether, as is more probable, it reached Bosnia under Ujlaki's reign in Bosnia, can hardly be determined. Local tradition, which insists at all costs on connecting the tabard with the memory of Katharine, the unhappy and last national queen, can hardly be unbiassed in this matter. It is right, no doubt, to respect the pious traditions, which the national memory has sought to preserve as bright and substantial as possible under its long bondage to Turkey, but it is just this tendency which excludes perfect reliability.

According to Farlato the Bosnian monks also pride themselves upon a picture preserved in the monastery at Sutiska, which is intended to represent Christ appearing before the last Bosnian king, Stefan Tomashevitch, in order to draw his attention to the danger threatening from Turkey. I looked for the picture and found it; it is doubtless an old and interesting painting, probably the work of a Bosnian artist, but certainly not that which pious tradition would have us believe. The picture is a votive picture of the school of Tintoretto, wherein the family of the donor, in costumes of the sixteenth century, are kneeling before the cross of the crucified Saviour and several saints. On the picture is the following Cyrillic inscription, torn by a bullet, but yet perfectly legible: "On July 2nd, in Venice, 1597, I, Stefan Vragoilovitsh, finished this, by the grace of God, and after two years' labour."

Needless to say, this picture can have no reference to Stefan Tomashevitch, who died in the year 1463; but it is nevertheless possible that it may have been painted by a Bosnian monk, who stayed in Venice and there pursued the art of painting.

At any rate another relic belonging to the monastery of Fojnitza stands more in unison with historical facts, although not raised quite above all doubt. That it counts its age by centuries, and that its importance is historical, permits of no question, for it has performed its duty for centuries and served the monks as an effectual protection against the viziers, who have never cast any doubt upon its authenticity. This is the celebrated *Athnameh*, which, with Turkish text but Latin date, runs as follows:

"*Athnameh*.—I, Muhammed Sultan Khan, make known to all whom it may concern, that I have granted my protection to the Bosnian monks, the owners of this Firman. It is my command, that none shall dare to trouble them, to disturb them, or to meddle with their religious affairs. I decree that they may live unmolested in my kingdom, and those who have fled may freely return, and may dwell in my kingdom quietly and fearlessly, and may inhabit their churches. Neither their persons nor their possessions and churches shall be disturbed by my Imperial Person, nor by any of my subjects. It is granted to them to introduce any whom they may desire from foreign lands. Therefore do I grant them grace by means of this Firman, and swear by the great God, by the Creator of Heaven and Earth, by the seven books, by the great Prophet, by the one hundred and twenty-four thousand saints, as also upon the sword which I carry, that none shall have the audacity to oppose that which I have spoken, so long as these monks obey my commands in my service."

According to tradition, Angelo Zvizdavitch, the superior of the Fojnitza Monastery, obtained this letter of safety from the Sultan Mahomet II. in the year 1463, upon the battlefield of Milodraz.

Finally, the most prized of all the relics of the monastery, the celebrated book of heraldry, lay before us.

A large quarto leather volume, in a worn-out leather binding, and of coarse, unmarked grey paper, bearing upon the first page the following inscription in old Cyrillic letters: "*Rodoslovie Bosunakoga aliti Iliritshkoga I Srpskoga vladania sa jedno Postavljeno po Stanislavu Rubtshitshu Popu, na slavu Stjepana Nemanjitchu cara Srbljena u Bosniaku, 1340.*" ("Collection of armorial bearings of the Bosnian or Illyric and Servian nobility, compiled by the priest Stanislaus Rubtshitsh, in honour of Stefan Nemanjitch, Servian and Bosnian Emperor, in the year 1340"); and then the following Latin inscription:

*"Codicem hunc continentem varia Stemata plurimum Nobilissimi Familiarum Bosnensis jäh ab immemorabili tempore, a captivitate nemque Regni Bosnae studiosae conservatum fuisse a Rectoribus Prædictis Franciscanis Familiae Fojnicensis testamur Nos Fr Gregorius a Vares Episcopus Rujensis et Vicarius Apicatus in Bosna Othomana dictæ Argentinæ, præcipue vero in olim Episcopatu Dumniensi.*

*Suttisea, Die 6, Julii, 1800.*

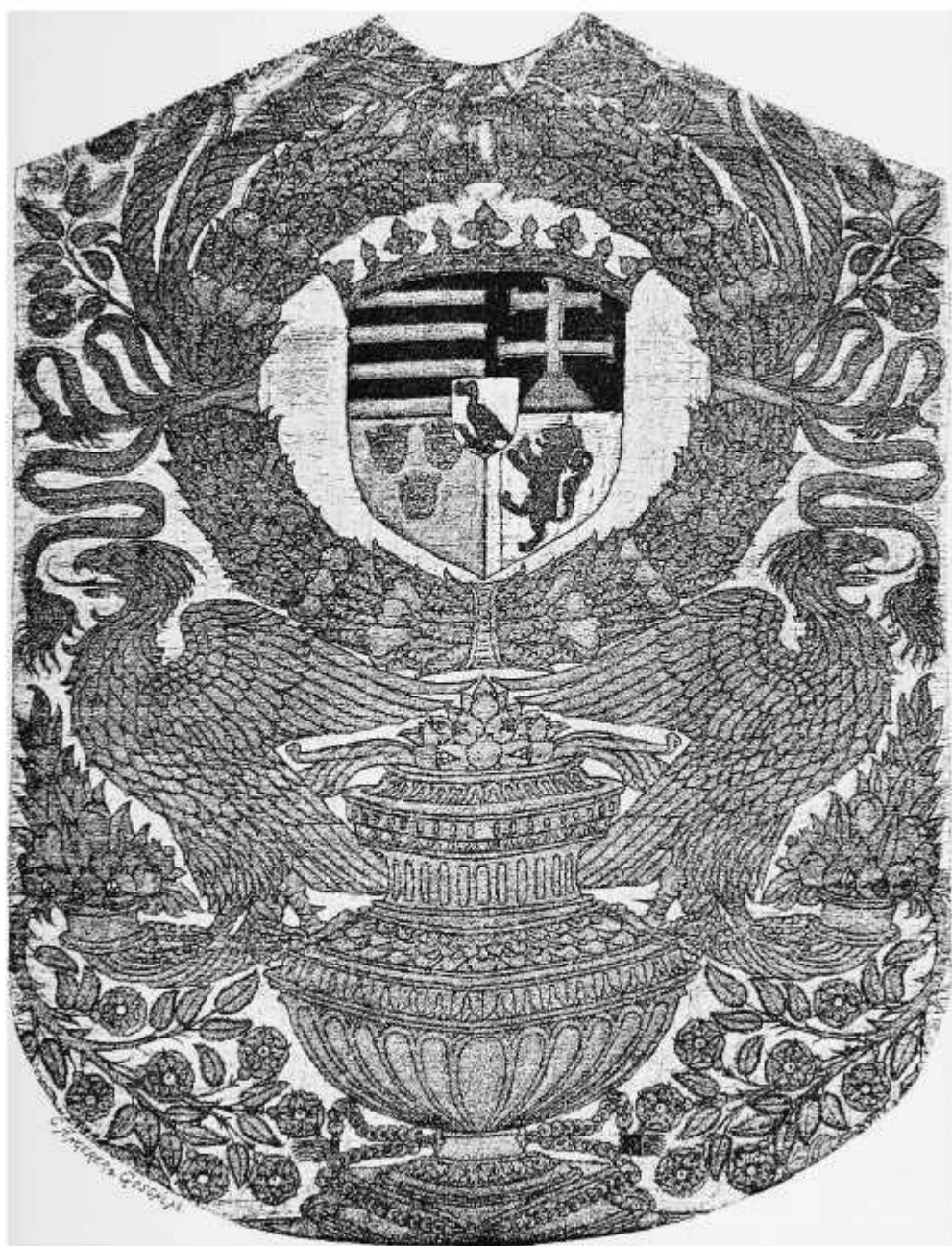
(Beneath this the Bishop's signature and seal:)

*Ita est Fr Gregorius Episcopus et Vicarius Apostolicus Mpps."*

Upon the next page is represented the Virgin Mary with the Child upon a golden crescent. This is followed by a saint with a lion. Then two saints beneath one cross. After these three sacred pictures follow the armorial bearings in long succession, carefully drawn and painted, with the name under each in Latin characters.

The first coat-of-arms is that of the Emperor Dushan. Above the shield a crowned helmet, upon this a crowned, double-headed white eagle; to the right and left also a helmet, and upon each of these a crowned lion. The escutcheon is divided into eleven quarterings; in the inescutcheon the same double-headed eagle; around it the arms of the different countries; in two quarterings the lion sanguine of Macedonia; in one quartering each the arms of Dalmatia (three crowned heads on a field azure), Slavonia (three dogs or, in a field argent), and Croatia (dice sanguine, argent); the lion or, of Bulgaria in a field sanguine, the three horse-shoes, argent, of Racia in a field azure. The battle-axe, as the arms of Servia, crossed spears, which terminate in crowned negro heads, as the arms of Bosnia, an arm vambraced, with a sword as the arms of the Prinaorje.

Hereupon follow the arms of all these provinces one after the other, and we here learn, through the writing below, that, according to the author, the crossed spears with the crowned negroes' heads, with a star and crescent in the



The Tabard of King Matthias.

centre, constitute the Bosnian coat-of-arms, and the arm holding a sword that of the Primorje.

The book gives no less than one hundred and twenty-six family armorial bearings, amongst them the arms of the Kastriots, a black eagle gemels in a field or, with eagle's claws over the helmet; a Tvrtkovitsh, coat-of-arms, lilies or, upon shield azure; a Kopjevitsh coat-of-arms, with four javelins (Kopje-Javelin); the Mergnjavitsh arms, in which the fairy of the South Slavonic legend—Vila—waves a flag with a picture of an eagle on it; the Frangepan arms, with two lions sanguine holding a dice; the Ljubitsh arms, a flying lion sanguine; the Dobievitsh arms, with a cannon; the Grubishitsh arms, a unicorn, winged, white; in many the dragon, fishes, crabs, and other animals appear. Heraldic mistakes occur mostly in the colours; otherwise the arms are surprisingly beautiful in their originality and simplicity.

Upon the last page beneath a composite picture of the most important arms stand the words, "*Semper Spero*."

This book of heraldry has been repeatedly copied, amongst others, by the Monk Kreshitsh, in the year 1837, for Count Ladislaus Festetics. The oldest copy, beautifully got up, with a curious Latin preface and a dedication, with a few alterations in the copy on the first page, was produced by Marko Skorojevitsh, a Bosnian, for the Archduke Franz Ferdinand († 1854), son of the Emperor Ferdinand III., and is preserved in the Court Library of Vienna.

There is a second "*Rodoslovje*," which was also the property of the Bosnian Franciscans and preserved in the monastery at Sutiska, but which is now in the possession of Stroszmayer, the Bishop of Diakovar; a sheet of parchment, drawn across the back of a portrait of King Mathias, painted upon wood, and which, according to the inscription, was executed by Peter Ohmutshevitsh, the Ragusan, in the year 1482. It is the representation of the family tree of the Servian and Bosnian sovereigns, written in Bosnian Cyrillic characters, and ornamented with the same arms as are found in the Fojnitza book of heraldry.

Now to what extent may the authenticity of the Fojnitza book of heraldry be trusted?

There is no doubt but what this is one of the most beautiful and most ancient of old books on heraldry, but yet it can be but little older than the specimen in the Vienna Court Library. The bishop's testimony was doubtless written in good faith, for in the year 1800 the book must already have been in the possession of the Fojnitza monks from

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\* Described by Count Putshitsh, *Arch. f. Slav. Phil.* (Berlin, 1880), *a.* 339.

"immemorial times;" but the Cyrillic inscription is at the best a pious fraud, due to patriotism. The nominal arms of the Emperor Dushan—quite apart from the fact that Dushan never possessed either Bosnia, which he at any rate wished to conquer, and still less Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia—point to a style affected at a much later age; quartered arms, moreover, did not come into use until the fifteenth century, and the shields too, of the shape given, for instance, in the Fojnitza book, as the arms of Bosnia, are not of any older date. That the name of "Illyria" as a political conception was entirely unknown throughout the Middle Ages, we have already mentioned upon another occasion. Neither could, in Dushan's time, any cannon have appeared in Bosnian or Servian coats-of-arms for it is probable that the Bosnians and Serbs may have employed cannon brought from Venice, for the first time, at the battle on the Kossova-Polje. Amongst the family names enumerated are those which distinctly point to a Turkish origin; and to the time of the already established Turkish dominion, too, points the motto "*Semper Spero.*"

It is possible that the author of this book, inspired by the manifestly older, fantastic "*Rodoslovje*" by Ohmutshevitsh, which also belonged to the Bosnian monks, compiled it by using and improving upon the arms of the countries and princes therein found, and by supplementing these with the armorial bearings of such of the older families as were known to him, and perhaps also by pictures created out of his own fancy. In order to then endow it with greater authority and to surround it with national piety, the compiler of the book himself, or, maybe, the possessor of it, may have certified in writing upon it, that it had been executed in the Emperor Dushan's time and for his glory.



The Arms of Bosnia.

When all is said it remains an interesting and most valuable collection; but the question which is still of most interest to us is, Whence do the Bosnian arms, almost identical in both "*Rodoslovjes*," proceed, which we have never met with elsewhere in any Bosnian mediæval monuments?

Klaitsh (in the Agram "*Obzor*") wanted to trace it back to ancient Servian traditions, but, as is pointed out by Ratshki, without any historical foundation. Mr. Evans, who in all good faith believes the Fojnitza book of heraldry, and especially the Bosnian arms therein found, to be authentic, would explain the spears adorned with negro heads, by the wars with the Saracens, which certainly did take place on the coast. The Ohmutshevitsh arms, however, plainly show, in place of the spears adorned with negro heads,

flags with horses' tails. Here, then, we see nothing but imitations of Turkish copies, namely, the Turkish flags with horses' tails, upon which rest the crescent and the star. According to this the answer is easily made that the compiler of the Ohmutshevitsh "Rodoslovje" had fashioned it out of the emblems of war of some contemporary Bosnian vizier. He was unable to construct the arms of Bosnia, whose true symbols were unknown to him, out of the historical monuments. The author of the Fojnitza book of heraldry, who moreover corrected and supplemented the Ohmutshevitsh dates very largely, may have felt that the arms were too Turkish and have replaced the horse's tail by a crowned negro's head. The idea of these crowned heads may have been supplied by the Dalmatian coat-of-arms. A similar idea, however, also occurs upon the tombstone of the Bosnian King Nikolaus Ujlaki in the church of the Minorites at Illok (so stated by the Hungarian newspaper *Házánk*), where, next to the arms of Ujlaki and those of the Bosnian kings, a head appears on each of two posts. The author of the *Spicilegium* is of opinion that the Turks forced these arms upon Bosnia in place of the old ones.\* From the seventeenth century onwards, however, nearly all writers who have concerned themselves with Bosnia, have looked upon these arms—clearly upon the strength of the Fojnitza book of heraldry—as the true arms of Bosnia, thus: Orbini, *Regno dei Slavi*, p. 273; Du Fresne, *Illyricum vetus et novum*; Shimek, *Geschichte Bosnien*; Zefarovitsh, *Stemmatographia* (1741); Filipp of Occhieva, *Epitome Vetustarum Bosnensis provincie* (Ancona, 1776); Andreas Dugonics, *A Magyarok Uradalma* (1801); down to Roskievitsh, *Studien über Bosnien und die Herzegowina* (1868).

Upon the strength of this these arms were at first used in the capital of the country, after the Austrian occupation.

As, in addition to this, lively controversies have arisen concerning this matter, as also concerning the other armorial bearings attributed to Bosnia, it will be worth our while to enter more fully into the question of the Bosnian arms.

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\* *Spicilegium Observationum Historico Geographicorum de Bosnie Regno* (Lug. Bat. 1736), p. 84.







## CHAPTER XXIX.

### *WHAT ARE THE ARMS OF BOSNIA?*

Different Opinions—The Testimony of the Monuments—The False Seal of King Tvrtko—  
The Seal of Banus Ninoslav—The Arms of Rama—The Sepulchre of Queen Katharine  
—The Heraldic and Political Question—The Explanation.

AS early as the year 1880 the general Government had the intention of fixing upon arms and national colours for Bosnia, and invited the local Government to submit a report founded upon data to be derived from the country. The Bosnian Government then in power, through the intervention of the Ban of Croatia, entrusted the study of this question to Franz Ratschki, the President of the Croatian Academy.

The result come to under Ratschki's direction was then handed over to the Viennese Secret State Archives, and, in passing, to the Hungarian Government, the Hungarian Academy of Science, the National Archives, and the National Museum.

Collective opinion agreed that the arms of the Fojnitsa and Sutiska "Rodoslovjes," which the local Government had already begun to introduce, was devoid of all historical foundation.

Whilst rejecting these, however, diverse opinions produced no less than four different coats-of-arms.

Croatian opinion advocated the crown of lilies or, upon a shield azure, seen upon the Bosnian seals and coins, as also upon the coat-of-arms on the sepulchre at Jaitze (see p. 417) with a mantle ermine purple beneath, a similar crown above the shield and a similar mantle beneath.

The opinion of the Viennese House Court and State Archive, drawn up by the Counsel, Herr Fiedler, accepted the crown or, on the field azure, but rejected the mantle with the assertion that the Croatian specialists had mistaken the curiously ornate Gothic letter T, which the two Tvrtkos and

King Thomas placed underneath the crown (see pp. 53 and 83), for a mantle. This view may have been influenced by the wish to make the Croatian colours serve for Bosnia too, by means of the mantle ermine purple beneath the crown or, in the field azure.

The Croatian opinion, inspired by Ratski, was also combated by a Croatian savant, Dr. Ivan Bojnitshitsch, in a treatise submitted to the Hungarian Antiquarian and Anthropological Society, whose views were that the Bosnian arms were an oblique bar argent accompanied by three lilies argent in a field sanguine.

Finally, the Hungarian opinion agreed that the Bosnian arms were an arm vambraced sanguine, with a crooked sword thrust forth from clouds in a field or, which same arms the Hungarian kings have constantly borne ever since the House of Hapsburg mounted the throne.

The question is now forced upon us as to how these four very different opinions came to exist.

A glance at the numerous arms given even in this work, which have come down to us on the seals, coins, and castles of the Bosnian kings, will show clearly that Ratski's opinion, minus the mistaken or biased view as to the existence of the mantle, agrees with Fiedler's opinion, and also perfectly with the constant usage of the Bosnian kingdom.

We must, however, concede that Fiedler himself supplied the breach for the assaults and antagonistic views of the Hungarian experts, inasmuch as he distinguishes an earlier coat-of-arms, that which Bojnitshitsch also advocates, and which, according to his opinion, also was used until the days of King Ostoja, from a later one—that with the crown of lilies—which only afterwards came into general use, and which he is desirous of retaining for the future.

We will examine the grounds of the Hungarian opinions a little more closely.

Baron Albert Nyáry,\* who repeats the opinion of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, explains himself as follows: "Five quite different national coats-of-arms, possessed of state and political importance, are known from the era of the national kingdom in Bosnia, which endured for one hundred and seven years, and there can be no doubt that by more extensive researches of this nature these variations will in the course of time be still further increased. So many opposition kings reigned in this country so constantly torn to pieces by civil wars, and shaken in its political and national unity; and all ostentatiously used the family coat-of-arms, corresponding to their own party and particular interests, upon seals and coins.

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\* *Herald. Journal, Turin*, vol. 1, p. 11; *Heraldika*, p. 245, etc.

"The Kotromanovitch, in addition to the crown of lilies, also bore a cross as coat-of-arms; the Krestitch, the crown of lilies; Hrvoja used, as well as the bar, an arm armed with a sword, as did also the Banus Jura with the figure of a lion.

"Thus, in the course of a hundred and seven years, the coat-of-arms with the bar was in use for eighty-eight years, the crown of lilies fifty-two years, the arm with the sword from twenty to twenty-five years."

This statement by the learned genealogist, since deceased, only shows that he was hardly sufficiently acquainted either with mediæval Bosnia or the monuments which have come down to us from this period. Of the numerous coats-of-arms set up by him we can forthwith eliminate several. Hrvoja never was either King or Sovereign of Bosnia, still less so was his obscure nephew Jura; with this, however, vanishes the period of from twenty to twenty-five years "of the sword-bearing arm," and the sword-bearing arm as well as one of the coats-of-arms borne by Bosnian rulers. Later on, however, let it be observed, Nyáry, in support of his statement, mentions two coins, one having the bar, the other the lion, as coins of the Banus Jura. The first glance, however, at the Gothic writing encircling these coins will show that they are the coins which Hrvoja caused to be struck, as Duke of Spalato." One bears the words, "*II Chertoi ducis S.*," and the other, which Nyáry considers to be one of Jura's coins, "*Moneta Chertoi ducis Spaletii.*" Jura, who moreover occupied a much inferior position to his uncle, never caused any coins to be struck. But in the case of Hrvoja's coins it is also clear (see p. 73) that the arm bearing a sword is used, not as part of the coat-of-arms, but only as a decoration or ornament to the helmet, for the adornment of the lion, as well as of the shield with the bar, the former of which is the Spalato coat-of-arms, whilst the latter may have been Hrvoja's personal emblem.

True, upon the coin ascribed by Nyáry to Jura, the arm is pressed down on to the lion's shield; but this can only be attributed to the convenience or want of skill of the coiner, who had not left sufficient space for the helmet and its ornaments. This is evident from Hrvoja's other coins.

The cross, too, may be eliminated, which is based by Nyáry upon the fact that on one of Tvrtko's Banus seals, which depicts a knight, the flag held by the knight, as well as his saddle-cloth, are ornamented with a cross.

Certainly the coat-of-arms was occasionally introduced upon seals of this kind as well as upon the knights' shields and other such secondary places. As, however, the shield in this case shows, without doubt, the bar as a

coat-of-arms, the cross appearing in a subordinate position cannot be the armorial bearings, but only a religious emblem, which the Banus may have adopted at the time when, in order to please Rome and King Ludvig, he sided with the good Catholics in opposition to the increasing number of Bogomilian heretics.

Thus none remain of the many coats-of-arms but the bar of lilies and the crown.

But with those monuments which have come down to us, even this statement that the bar was used by the Kotromanovitsh and the crown by the Krestitsh does not accord, which would, according to Nyáry, signify that neither of these was the national coat-of-arms, but that both were only family arms.

To set the dynasties of the Krestitsh and the Kotromanovitsh thus in opposition to one another is in itself untenable. Ostoja was probably the illegitimate son of Tvrtko I. It is, however, certain that Ostoja's successor and equally illegitimate son, King Stefan Thomas Ostoitsh, traced\* his descent from the blood of Tvrtko, and upon that he rested his right to govern. Looking upon themselves as the continuers of the Kotromanovitsh dynasty, they would certainly not discard the armorial bearings of this royal house, in order to use the armorial bearings on the mother's side, thus giving prominence to their illegitimate descent. Moreover, as it is at least certain that the mother of Stefan Thomas was of lowly origin, it is questionable whether such a coat-of-arms even existed. Under no circumstances could Ostoja and his descendants, in opposition to the Kotromanovitsh traditions, "ostentatiously use the family arms in harmony with the particular interests of their own party" upon their seals and coins, as is supposed by Nyáry. On the contrary, the crown appears upon all the coins and seals of the Bosnian kings, from first to last, but the bar is only used upon exceptional occasions; and though Tvrtko I., who was most certainly a Kotromane, used it, though only as Banus, and occasionally Stefan Thomas, nominally a "Krestitsh" (see p. 83), amongst whose coins it twice occurs on one side, whilst the reverse side displays the crown, this king's six other coins only bear the crown as coat-of-arms.

The assertion, therefore, that the first, or Kotromanovitsh, dynasty used the bar, the second, or Krestitsh, the crown, to which theory Fiedler also inclines, is altogether untenable.

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\* In his letter addressed to Venice (in the Venetian State Archives, *Pacti Sciolti* Ser. Sen. V. Busta 5, Nr. 53): "*Condam domini Tvrtko Regis patris nostri.*"

In order to entirely dispose of the bar, we will, in conclusion, at once consider Bojnitshtsh's arguments. He rejects Ratsbki's opinion upon the ground that the crown, which could only appear above the coat-of-arms, may not in heraldry be looked upon as an armorial figure. He recommends the bar, accompanied by lilies, as this is visible upon the Banns seal, and upon the regal seal of Tvrtko, and also upon the royal seal of Ostoja.

In fact, there exists in the National Museum at Pesth, amongst the documents relating to the Jeszenák family, a knight's seal dating from the time of Tvrtko's Banate, having such a bar on the escentcheon, just the same one, upon which Nyáry founds his coat-of-arms with a cross. (Stated in the Hungarian *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, xii., 383.)

The same seal may also be seen preserved in the secret State Archives, in a document dated June 1st, 1387 (stated by Köhne, *Blätter für Münz-Siegel-, und Wappenkunde*, vol. iv., part xl., no. 5); and again, with few alterations, on a document in the same Archives of May 14th, 1356. The exterior inscriptions both run: "*Sigillum Min(us) Tvert(conis) D, Gra(tia), Toti(us) Bosne Bani.*" Upon the first-mentioned is the inner Cyrillic inscription: "*Gn (Gospodin) Ban Stepan;*" upon the latter, however, instead of Stepan, "*Tvrtko.*"

Concerning the royal seal of Tvrtko I., however, the two known examples (in the Vienna State Archives, a document of December 2nd, 1382, and, according to a statement of Thallóczy's,\* in the Venetian State Archive, in a document of the year 1383) have become so blurred that they can give no certainty, but probably bear, not the bar, but the cross.

Putshtitsh, on the other hand, gives a description of a seal, which, according to him, dates from the years 1388 or 1389 (*Spomen. srbski*, ii. 32), with the bar as the coat-of-arms, and the following inscription: "*Regis Rascie Stepani Tve(r)tchonia.*" According to this, Tvrtko would have introduced the bar into the coat-of-arms as King of Rascia.

There exists yet another seal, ascribed to Tvrtko, nominally discovered in the year 1849 in the Dalmatian town of Sinj, and which has been transferred from the possession of Count Buratti into that of the Agram Museum. This was first made known by the German Association of Scholars at St. Petersburg, and then by Ljubitch. A glance, however, at the accompanying drawing, the "empire" character of the whole, pointing to the first half of the present century, and which may well have continued after the Napoleonic

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\* *Arch. Ért.*, i. (1881), p. 32. (Fiedler, indeed, disputes the existence of this seal, upon the strength of an explanation by the Keeper of the Archives—Pecheti.)

dominion in Dalmatia, until towards the middle of the century, the time of the discovery, the inscription with *Illyria*, entirely unknown to mediæval diplomacy, together with the Russian Knight of St. George, only latterly introduced amongst the Southern Slavonians,—all these equally show that it is a fabrication of political Illyrianism, a simple forgery.

Now concerning Ostoja's seal of the year 1400 (mentioned by Kukuljevitsh, Erdi, and others, see p. 71) only preconceived ideas can identify the diadem adorned with three lilies, which distinctly shows the crown of lilies, with the bar upon Tvrtko's armorial bearings when Banus. It is clearly a crown, as Thallóczy (*Arch. Ert.* (1881), p. 30) and afterwards Jagitsh have already remarked. Bojnitshitsh was able, however, to introduce two other seals in support of his views. Both are Dabisha's seal upon documents of July 17th, 1392, and 26th April, 1395, of the State Archives in Vienna. The



The Counterfeit Seal at Agram.

first, published by Baron Kohne (xli. 4) shows the bar accompanied on either side by three lilies, in a shield, above the shield the crowned helmet with the bush-like feather decoration on the helmet, which always recurs on the royal arms of Bosnia. The other is a two-sided State seal, similar to Ostoja's, but yet with the bar on the knight's banner (the coat-of-arms on the shield is no longer recognizable); upon the reverse side, on a coat-of-arms near the throne, is the bar with lilies on either side.

Finally, there is, in the State Archives at Vienna, yet another document of Tvrtko II., dated June 20th, 1405, which is also sealed with the coat-of-arms with the bar.

In addition to this, as already mentioned, the bar is seen on two of King Thomas's coins, to which Bojnitshitsh also refers.

According to this the bar occurs in the Banus seal, and in one royal seal of Tvrtko I., in the royal seals of Dabisha and Tvrtko II., and upon two of King Thomas's coins. On the other hand, however, the coinages of all the kings, from Tvrtko I. to Stefan Thomashevitsh, excepting the two named above, without exception, only show the crown as coat-of-arms, and upon all the royal and state seals, with the exception of the four mentioned above, we find only the crown of lilies on the shield of the escutcheon. In the face of these variations, which are known to occur during the growth of most heraldic devices before the fifteenth century,

one has to conclude that the bar, which was only very exceptionally used, was entirely supplanted by the habitual use of the crown. Regarding the origin of the two coats-of-arms, that of the bar is obscure, that of the crown clear and distinct. The Banus seal of Tvrtko shows that the bar must be traced back to times antecedent to the monarchy. Whether it was used even before Tvrtko is at least doubtful. We see that upon the Banus coinage no coat-of-arms ever occurs (see pp. 53 and 59). Upon one of Banus Stefan's coins we find a sign, which reminds one of a helmet, but no coat-of-arms (p. 53). Only one Banus seal is known besides Tvrtko's, and that is upon the deed of alliance drawn up by Banus Ninoslav for Ragusa, of the year 1240, which is now in the possession of the Academy of Sciences in Belgrade. From this, according to a photograph of the original here given, we gather that it clearly represents two knights attacking one another with lances. The Cyrillic inscription says: "*Pečat Velikoga Bana Ninoslava*" ("The seal of the Grand Banus Ninoslav"). No coat-of-arms is distinguishable. The circular cut above the equestrians shows, nevertheless, a net-like drawing, which was perhaps intended to represent a coat-of-arms; it recalls the armorial seal of the Slavonian Banus Nikolaus, of the year 1240 (*Pray de Sigill.*, tab. i., fig. 4). This, taken with the circumstance that the bar in conjunction with lilies nowhere occurs before the time of Banus Tvrtko, seems to justify the presumption that Banus Tvrtko himself received the lilies of Anjou from Ludvig I., to whom he was related, or that he assumed them in honour of his king, in a shield only emblazoned with a simple bar or cross-bar. Such shields, genuine battle shields with simple cross-bars, were, according to the evidence of the mediæval Bosnian tombstones, upon which they frequently occur, in general use.

In like manner, it might be explained, that Hrvoja, as lieutenant to the Pretender to the throne, Ladislaus of Naples, assumed a like device. When Tvrtko, however, caused himself to be proclaimed king, he assumed the crown in his coat-of-arms, which from that time forth suddenly appears upon his coins. He dropped the simple bar, but retained the lilies, though only as secondary ornament to the vizor and on the crown itself, which he now raised to being the State heraldic device, which was then preserved and confirmed by habitual use. If either of these is a personal or family coat-of-arms, it is the bar with lilies used at the time of the Banate, but not the crown, whose origin is made clear through the evidence of the coinage; it was assumed, as the royal arms, at the same time as the regal title. Bojnitshitz's objection that the crown cannot be an heraldic symbol is not founded in heraldry. The arms of Galicia and Sweden also display crowns. The

circumstance that the lasting use of the crown, raised to be the arms of the Bosnian kingdom, is generally interrupted on the part of kings of illegitimate birth, by their straining back to the bar with lilies, would seem to show that this was, at any rate by them, looked upon as the family arms, through the use of which they could proclaim their Kotromanovitch descent.

The habitual and consistent use of the crown, according to this, makes Nyáry's theory, that the custom was far too variable to serve as a foundation, quite untenable. With these variations he also tries to establish that the Hungarian kings did not assume the crown as the arms of Bosnia (Rama's), but the arm holding a sword, the use of which in Bosnia Nyáry himself ascribes to the last "epoch of from twenty to twenty-five years." We have, however, now seen that the arm bearing a sword was only used in Bosnia by Hrvoje, and by him only as a crest. But the Hungarian kings, too, down to the time of Ludvig II., King Matthias, Vladislaus, nay, even John, all alike used the crown as the arms of Bosnia. It is certainly correct that upon Ferdinand II.'s seal, upon which the separate provinces are also specified by their initial letters, the crown appears for Galicia, but the arm with the sword for "Rama." Nyáry would prove by this that the crown appearing in the arms of Matthias, Vladislaus, and John represents Galicia. But a demonstration cannot be conducted in this manner. In the event of there being any doubt presumption speaks for Bosnia, for the arms of Galicia would be more likely to be missing in the arms of those Hungarian kings, than would the arms of Bosnia.

The fact alone that after Ludvig II. the Hungarian kings bore the sword-bearing arm as the arms of Rama cannot therefore decide the question, and it is absolutely incorrect to affirm, as Nyáry does, that "after all the steps taken by the General Minister of Finance, with the object of establishing the Bosnian arms, have been of no avail, are opposed to the principle of legal continuity, and are not in accordance with the former character of the royal declaration of rights, as proclaimed by fourteen kings, who have borne the title of King of Bosnia; to this action the minister has clearly been prompted by the opposing Slavonic tendency which he had encountered in the adaptation of the double-headed eagle of Austria, and the re-appearance of which he hoped to turn aside by the removal of the arm with a sword, which recalled Bosnia's subjection to the Hungarian crown, and by replacing it by one or another coat-of-arms belonging to the national kings of Bosnia."\*

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\* *Heraldika*, 249.



With a wider experience and more objectiveness Thallóczy confirms the opinion of the Hungarian National Archives.\*

Whilst he describes the coins and seals of the Bosnian kings, and especially the seal found upon the documents of Ostoja and Stefan Thomas† and the arms of Jaitze, he expresses the opinion that under the confused conditions of mediæval Bosnia a national coat-of-arms must have been out of the question, but that the crown of lilies, which he is inclined to regard as originally the family arms of the Kotromans, was through habitual use raised to the position of being the conventional arms of the Bosnian kings, and recognized as such by the Hungarian kings as overlords. On the other hand, however, Hungary recognized, and its reigning family has used, from the sixteenth century until to-day, another coat-of-arms as that of Bosnia, a coat-of-arms differing entirely from that in use up to 1463; but the old one, according to his view, does not belong to present Bosnia, and there are now no grounds for continuing the use of the arms hitherto regarded as those of Rama, *i.e.*, Bosnia (the arm, vambaced, sanguine, bearing a sword and stretching forth from the clouds in a field or), as those of the occupied provinces.

To this opinion we must add the remark that the heraldic question can only be, whether the Bosnian kingdom, as such, did possess arms, and, if it did, what those arms were. The fact that we find (disregarding Nikolaus Ujlaki, who used his own coat-of-arms) upon the royal coins, seals, records, and castles of Bosnia persistently and consecutively the same crown of lilies in a three-



The seal of Ninoslav of the year 1240.

\* *Arch. Ért.* (1881), p. 23.

† Thallóczy mentions the last seal as that of Tvrtko I., which he believes not to have been hitherto described, but which, as a matter of fact, has been published more than once, and lastly by Mr. Evans. As, however, it was used demonstrably before the time of Thomas by Tvrtko II., but not by Tvrtko I., and occurs upon his records, and as, moreover, Tvrtko I. bore loftier titles, it may probably originally have been the seal of Tvrtko II.

cornered shield, above it the helmet with a lily-strewn cover, a similar crown of lilies, and rising from this the bushy feather ornament in use from the first king to the last, as also upon the seal of their feudal lords—the Hungarian kings—down to Ludvig II., this fact supplies a clear and plain answer to the question.

But whether that coat-of-arms of Rama which it can be shewn only came into use by the Hungarian Government after the collapse of the Bosnian monarchy, as opposed to that of the Bosnian kingdom, which was also recognized and borne by the Hungarian kings, and that not only by the Hungarian Government, but generally, and especially in Bosnia itself, is to be retained: that is no longer a heraldic question, but a political one, the decision of which cannot rest with the herald.

The question, however, as to whence this new usage emanated is of conspicuous heraldic interest; how those Rama arms, the arm with a sword, suddenly appeared under Ferdinand I., whence they came? Upon this question, however, just those Hungarian authorities who advocate the retention of this coat-of-arms do not enter.

Yet it is clear that this coat-of-arms would stand in a far more favourable light, if one could bring it into connection with some heraldic event or other of the Bosnian monarchy. Only Fiedler, who rejects this coat-of-arms, explains its origin to be, not the arms of Rama at all, but that adopted by the House of Hapsburg, which had attained to the succession of the Hungarian throne, as the titular coat-of-arms for all those provinces which had fallen into Turkish hands, but to which the Hapsburgs laid claim. Yet this view would also require the explanation, as to why, if this were the case, by the side of the armed hand the arms of Rascia and Bulgaria still appeared especially for them.

Now there certainly exists a genuine Bosnian royal coat-of-arms, in which there appears the arm holding a sword. Just this one, however, was not taken into account by the opposing opinions. It would seem that it was not known to any of those called upon to give an opinion. Only Thallóczy closely touches upon it, when he says: "There still remains to be mentioned the distinctly important tomb of the Bosnian Queen Helena, interred at Rome, upon which the crown (fifteenth century) appears upon four shields."

The reader already knows this highly interesting tomb (see p. 97), which is not the grave of Helena, but of the Bosnian Queen Katharine, and which does not represent the crown in four shields, but to the left of the queen's head the arms of Katharine's father, Stefan, Duke of St. Sava, also sufficiently well known from Venetian and Florentine archives; to the right of the head the arms of Katharine's consort, the Bosnian King Stefan Thomas;

and, indeed, in the fields *a) d)* of this shield placed beneath the crown of lilies the same crown of lilies, in the fields *b) c)* a knight galloping, but in the inescutcheon just the arm bearing a sword.

After the publication of his account, I had an opportunity of calling Thallóczy's attention to these peculiarities, as well as to the fact that he could find a drawing of the tombstone in Mr. Evans' book, whereupon he afterwards published a monograph upon this tomb.\* Yet this monograph requires supplementing in several particulars.

"Mr. Evans" (says Thallóczy), "cannot have reproduced this monument from the original, but from an engraving, the work of Alphonse Ciaccioni: *Vita et Res gestæ Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. S. Cardinalium ab Augustino Oldoino recognitæ, etc.* (vol. iii., col. 41: Roma, 1677)." This is correct, for Mr. Evans himself gives the picture with the remark: "I have copied my illustration of the monument of Queen Catharine from a representation of it as existing in 1677, in *Alphonse Ciaccioni Vita et Res Gestæ Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. S. Cardinalium ab Augustino Oldoino recognitæ, etc.*, tom. iii., col. 41 (Roma, 1677). I do not know whether the monument is still extant.

"Yet after we received" (continues Thallóczy) "the news from Rome" that the tomb no doubt existed in front of the High Altar of the *Ara Caeli* Church, but that the inscription as well as the likeness had become unrecognizable, we contented ourselves with the reproduction by Evans, which gives the arms and inscription, if not faithfully and correctly, yet sufficiently so for our purpose. Upon the original tombstone, namely, two different kinds of inscriptions existed; one old Slavonic, in Cyrillic letters, and a corresponding one in a Latin translation. In Evans' reproduction, though, only the Latin inscription is visible, and even this not in the type of the fifteenth century, in addition to which it is incorrect, for it really runs as follows:

"*Catharinæ Reginae Bosnensi, Stephani Ducis Sancti Sabæ, ex gener Elena et domo Cæsaris Stephani nuptæ, Thomæ Regis Bosniæ uxori, quæ vixit annos LIV. et obiit Romæ Anno MCCCCLXXVIII, XXV Octobris Monumentum ipsius scriptis posuit.*"

These interesting remarks of Thallóczy's induced me to go to the root of the matter. In Rome the priests of the *Ara Caeli* Church naturally knew nothing whatever about a tomb of the Bosnian Queen Katharine. However I soon found the gravestone built into a pier under the chancel. The arms

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\* "*Archæologiai Értesítő.*" (New series. Published by the Hungarian Academy and the Archaeological Society. Edited by J. Hampel, October 16th, 1885), p. 328.

and the face are somewhat worn, but the life-size figure and the inscription are in good preservation. Mr. Evans' reproduction, like the drawing by Ciacconi of the year 1677, agrees entirely with the tombstone, apart from the damage since done to the coats-of-arms and the face; and the letters of the inscription are also the same; only the setting, which I added to Ciacconi's picture, after the original, is wanting; and in the inscription itself small mistakes have crept in in the copying. The text, for instance, contrary to Thallóczy's statement, runs as follows:

"CATHARINÆ REGINÆ. BOSNENSIS STEPHANI DUCIS SANTI SABÆE SORORI ET GENERE \* HELENE ET DOMO PRINCIPIS STEPHANI NATÆ THOMÆ REGIS BOSNÆ UXORI QUANTUM VIXIT ANNORUM LIII ET OBDORMIVIT ROMÆ ANNO DOMINI MCCCCLXXVIII, DIE XXV OCTOBRIIS MONUMENTUM IPSIUS SCRIPTIS POSITUM."

It is clear from this that Ciacconi gave the inscription faithfully, and only corrected the words "*santi*," "*et*," and "*octobris*." Of a Slavonic inscription there is no trace; and yet the part containing the text, with that containing the figure, of which the foot even breaks into the text, are formed of one and the same stone. That the Slavonic inscription supposed to have followed upon the Latin one has been broken off is not credible. Ciacconi must at least have had some knowledge of such an unheard of, and, to his notions, such an inconceivable outrage to church and tomb. Whence Thallóczy obtained the Latin text, and upon what grounds he affirms that a Slavonic follows the Latin one, he does not enlighten us, inasmuch as he only says that the text in the Slavonic language was published by Miklosich. Most likely the incorrect Latin text, as also the statement as to an original Slavonic text, may be traced back to a Slavonic source, which translated the text into Slavonic, or at least repeated it in Slavonic, and also "corrected" it for the glorification of the great Southern Slavonic Czar Dushan. To this conclusion, at any rate, Thallóczy's explanation brings us, that by the "Czar Stefan" mentioned in his text the Emperor Dushan is to be understood. Katharine and her mother Helena had absolutely nothing to do with Dushan. The latter was the daughter of the Prince of Zeta, now Montenegro, Stefan Balsha III. In the original, too, he is called accordingly, not "Cesaris Stephani," but "Principis Stephani." With this, too, collapses Thallóczy's remark, that the inescutcheon which appears in the ducal arms of St. Sava with the cross "clearly point to some relation to the House of Nemanja, which is also mentioned by the inscription on the tombstone." The

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\* The E N (*in genere*) with a hyphen.

inscription on the tombstone certainly does not mention the royal Servian House of Nemanja, as stated; moreover, there exists no credited coat-of-arms of this house, as neither Dushan nor any other members of this house ever used a coat-of-arms upon their seals or coins. The remark can, therefore, only rest upon the fact, that the Servia of to-day certainly bears a cross in its coat-of-arms, a fact which, however, has nothing whatever to do with this case.

As to the coat-of-arms to the right of the head, it can only be that of her husband, the Bosnian King Thomas. The view held by Thallóczy regarding it, is the following: "The open crown visible in the fields *a) d)* is the family emblem of the Kotromans transformed into a coat-of-arms; but that found under *b) c)* is that of the kings from the Krestitch (Christich) family. A seal of Ostoja's, of the year 1400 (see the Hungarian heraldic journal *Tzrul*, 1884, p. 21), for instance, shows on the reverse side a knight armed with a lance, who holds in his hand a shield ornamented with lilies and a bar. This knight is, according to my opinion, the family arms of the Krestitch, and the amalgamation only strengthens the fact that the opposition dynasties of Bosnia were ever seeking a legal basis for their succession and choice, which also found expression in this coat-of-arms by a display of the arms of both dynasties."

The placing of these dynasties of Krestitch and of the House of the Kotromans in opposition, like the search after the arms of the Krestitch, have here also led the author astray. The reverse side of the Ostoja seal, to which he appeals, distinctly shows a so-called knight's escutcheon, a kind of heraldic drawing, which is still found in use, especially in the case of feudal arms, amongst all the larger heraldic engravers; the knight himself is not a heraldic symbol, only the knight's escutcheon displays the arms—in this case a crown of lilies.

In Rome, at the time of Katharine's death, the new fashion of arms containing more than one field had come into general use, especially amongst the great dynasties. Thus they may have felt the necessity of giving the Bosnian queen also a coat-of-arms divided into several fields. The most important and most prominent field *a)*, and the field corresponding to it *d)*, was, according to correct heraldic axioms, reserved for the principal arms, the arms of Bosnia, which from the commencement of the monarchy to its fall was the crown of lilies. Upon what ground in the fields *b) c)*, the knight, and in the inescutcheon the arm bearing a sword—which thus far have never occurred in the arms of Bosnia—were assumed, no positive data have until now offered themselves, and without some such foundation all guessing would be futile.

Those who want, at all cost, to find the "arms of the Krestitch dynasty" might with more justice seek it in the arm bearing a sword than in the figure of the equestrian knight. At this epoch the regents began to introduce their hereditary family arms into the inescutcheon of the national or territorial arms, as King Mathias introduced the raven, and Vladislaus the Polish eagle even into the Hungarian arms.

If Nyáry's view were correct, that the arm bearing a sword in Hungarian heraldry especially denoted feudal duties, it might furnish an explanation here also. Were the Fojnitzza book of arms reliable, which ascribes the arm with a sword to the Bosnian province of Primorje (in the copy in the Vienna Library *Pomerania and Kumania*),—and, as a matter of fact, this symbol is frequently found upon tombstones along the coast,—then might we seek for the devices of the more important Bosnian provinces, in the fields *b*), *c*), as well as in the inescutcheon, in the latter that of the Primorje, in the fields *b*) *c*) perhaps that of Usora.

But however much of the origin of the knight and of the arm bearing a sword in these arms may still need clearing up, yet thus much is certain, that here at least an authentic Bosnian royal coat-of-arms lies before us, to which may be traced back the arm bearing a sword which afterwards came into use as the arms of Bosnia, even if its adoption rested upon confusion and error; upon the error, namely, that the chief arms should be sought for in the inescutcheon instead of in field *a*).

It is clear that, after the all-destroying and crushing Turkish conquest, the arms of Bosnia also sank into oblivion. When this coat-of-arms was sought for, what could be more striking, more worthy of credence, than the tomb of the last Bosnian queen in the capital of Christendom? Doubt could only be awakened on the point as to which of the different fields contained the chief arms. We now, therefore, meet with such doubts and vacillation. The heraldic book, by Grüneberg of Constance of the year 1485, may also have been founded upon the Roman arms, which shows, by the simple omission of the inescutcheon in the fields sanguine *a*) *d*), a diadem of lilies argent, in the fields argent *b*) *c*), a knight sanguine with a crown. The collection of armorial bearings of the Bavarian State Archives, of the same date, shows, on the contrary, only the inescutcheon with the arm bearing a sword, as the arms of Rama, *i.e.*, Bosnia. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, when the old arms of Bosnia with the crown were still known and used in Hungary upon the royal seals, such vacillations arose in the West as a result of the erroneous comprehension of the arms at Rome, and in Germany people began to look upon the arm bearing a sword as the arms of Bosnia. From Munich the error passed on to

Vienna, and under the House of Hapsburg was also in Hungary adopted as the arms of Rama.

Nyáry and Thallóczy state, that at Innsbruck, upon the occasion of the restoration of a bastion in the year 1499, amongst forty coats-of-arms the arm bearing a sword was introduced as the arms of Bosnia. I have sought for this bastion, but have not found it; on the other hand, however, I have certainly found this coat-of-arms upon the tomb of the Emperor Maximilian. It was clearly introduced as the arms of Bosnia upon the strength of the heraldic collection at Munich.

In a collection at Kief of the year 1500, these two arms, according to Thallóczy, figure side by side,\* the crown as the Bosnian, the arm bearing a sword as Rama's. In a heraldic collection, which dates from the commencement of the fifteenth century, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Bosnian arms bear a golden crown in fields *a) d)*, in fields sanguine *b) c)* a heart argent in fields azure.

In one of Albrecht Dürer's engravings of the year 1515, the arm bearing a sword represents the arms of Bosnia.† It is the same in Martin Schrot's book of heraldry of the year 1551. On the other hand, in the book of heraldry of the Vienna House, Court, and State Archives of the year 1585 the crown or in a field azure again appears as the arms of Bosnia.

The arm bearing a sword is also represented upon the statue of the plague on the "Graben" in Vienna, erected in the year 1693.

According to this, it would appear that at the same time as, not only in Hungary, but also in Russia and England, the Bosnian coat-of-arms of a crown was still known, in Germany, through an error of the Munich book of heraldry, and by the misapprehension of the arms at Rome, the use of the arm bearing a sword was spread, and thence penetrated simultaneously with German influence to Hungary, and the old arms—the crown—which were last used by the opposition national king, John of Zápolza, supplanted. Thenceforth the arm bearing a sword became confirmed by Hungarian State usage, appeared upon all seals and arms, and finally was, at the coronation of his Majesty in the year 1867, borne in advance, upon one of the flags of the lost "provinces," as the arms of "*Rama seu Bosnia*." The monuments which have come down to us show then that the consecutive arms of the kingdom of Bosnia, and which were indeed also used by the Hungarian kings as overlords, were those with the crown of lilies, but that, in consequence of a misconception in a German book of heraldry of the sixteenth century, they were superseded by the arm bearing a sword.

\* *Arch. Ért.* (N. Series), i. 37.

† *Ezsterházy Gallery in Budapesth.*

As to any further questions, especially whether in Bosnia the historical arms of the country or the arms of the more modern Hungarian State usage shall be adopted, that is not a question of heraldry, but of politics.

If we, however, determine to reconcile the opposing sides, if we wish to preserve the use of the historical arms of Bosnia together with those used for three hundred years by the Hungarian kings of the House of Hapsburg, and at the same time wish to avoid his Majesty's wearing two different coats-of-arms for the same country, then the Roman tombstone offers a safe historical and heraldic basis. If we place, in the fields *b)* *c)* of the royal arms there visible, the stripes of the ducal arms of St. Sava—*i.e.*, those of the present Herzegovina—which appear upon the same monument, removing the knight which is to us quite meaningless, of unknown origin, and already, by the arrangement of the fields, shown to be subordinate, we thus obtain a coat-of-arms resting upon an entirely historical foundation which strictly follows the principles of heraldry, which bears in the fields of the first rank the historical arms of Bosnia, in the fields of second rank the only arms which can upon any grounds be ascribed to Herzegovina, but in the inescutcheon exhibits the Hapsburg-Hungarian arms of Rama. Concerning the colours, it follows as a matter of course from the circumstances, that the Herzegovinan stripes upon the Roman monument appear as azure upon argent, that the crown or (which in our monuments occurs sometimes in a field azure, sometimes in a field sanguine) would be placed in a field sanguine, by which means the arm sanguine in or can be retained, which was recently decided upon as the arms of Rama by the highest decrees of the years 1809 and 1836.







## CHAPTER XXX.

### *LITERARY MOVEMENTS AND NATIONAL POETRY.*

Traces of an Ancient Bosnian Literature—The Bogomilian Writings—Treatment of the Byzantine Legends and Romances—Political and Legal Documents—Chronicles—Ragusan Influence—Printing Presses of Gerazds and Miloshevo—The Glagolitic Writing—Religious and Historical Authors—Bosnian Influence upon Ragusa—Katchitch—The National Language and Poetry of Bosnia as Regenerator of the South Slavonic Literatures—Folklore — Fra Grgo Martitch — Karano Tvrtkovitch — Jukitch — Batinitch — Koratshevitch, Petranovitch, Kosanovitch, Jovanovitch—Geographical, Historical, and Ethnographical Literature—The Press.

THE rich mines of folklore bear witness to the poetic tendencies and capacities of the Bosnian people. That this poetry may be traced back to remotest ages is clear from its mythical and superstitious elements pointing back to heathen times. The poetry was transmitted from mouth to mouth by the people and popular singers, and handed down from generation to generation. Thus far, at any rate, no evidence is to hand from more ancient epochs of that national life so rich in other directions, that authors and men of letters concerned themselves with this national poetry, worked it up, or even wrote it down. Even if—which may in no wise be denied—such manuscripts have existed, they may easily have fallen into oblivion, and been destroyed in the constant turmoil; and, indeed, this is all the more probable, from the fact that at least so much may be confidently affirmed, that this popular poetry was never in a position to seriously rouse the interest of literary judges and learned circles. These, as was everywhere the case in the Middle Ages, in Bosnia also belonged almost exclusively to the religious profession, and were just in Bosnia uninterruptedly taken up with violent religious strife, and therefore engaged upon questions and interests so high that they could scarcely feel the poetry of the people to be worthy of notice; nay, it is even probable, the more popular it was, the lower and more profane they considered it to be, and condemned it at once if, in its robust pleasure in existence, or through

superstition and mythical elements, it came into collision with the austerity of their religious teachings. In other countries, from time to time at least, religious peace reigned, and during these intervals men of literary tendencies turned to the temple of the Muses, nay even to popular poetry; but in Bosnia, embittered religious war raged perpetually, and it was accordingly natural that isolated men of letters, if they did feel the necessity for refreshing themselves at the well-springs of poetry, or to create it themselves, sought rather those foreign literatures, from which they had obtained their scientific culture, than descended into the mines of national poetry to the songs of the beggars and uneducated street singers.

So not until the seventeenth century did Bosnian national poetry commence to rise to literary importance and to exercise any material influence upon literature, and indeed also upon that of the neighbouring South Slavonic peoples. Up to that time we can only find traces of a Bosnian literature in the domain of religious, political, and judicial life, and in treatises, by means of which poetical works of foreign nations, who were possessed of an older, more developed culture, were transcribed in the national language of Bosnia.

We are unable to conceive of the Bogomilian religion, with that powerful development, which, in spite of the reaction working against it from without at the head of armies, raised it to be the national religion, without an important literary movement.

If the Bogomilian religion was from the beginning more capable of winning over the heathenish Bosnian people than its rival the Orthodox church, those apocryphal and "false books" doubtless also bore their part, which originating with the already Slavonicized Bulgarians, were diffused in the national language, and met the poetic capacities, as well as the myths of the people, half way, nay, even to a certain extent had their root in these (see pp. 31 and 32). The monuments of this literature have descended to us abundantly, and that, indeed, not only in old Bulgarian, but also in just that language which was especially spoken by the Bosnian races. So was it with the apocryphal books of the Old and New Testaments, the so-called "false books," which had laid hold of the South Slavonic heathen traditions, the legends rejected by the Church, prophecies, the exorcising of spirits and devils, and other superstitions.\*

At least that portion of this literature, upon which the Bogomilian religion was based, could at last find no other refuge than Bosnia, after this sect had been fundamentally uprooted from Servian soil by Nemanja.

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\* Numerous manuscripts of this kind have been published by Danitshitch, Jagitch, Koraditch, and others.

Whilst it utterly expired in Servia, and only continued to exist in secret in Bulgaria, the Bogomilian faith rose to power in Bosnia, and even assumed a national character, after its defence became identical with the defence of political independence against Orthodox-Servian and Catholic-Croatian attempts at subjugation. It now called itself plainly *Crkva Bosanska* (Bosnian Church), and it could not have maintained itself in power against the crusades headed by the Hungarian kings in the days of persecution and suppression, in opposition to the teachings of the Roman Catholic priesthood, without the secret spread of those writings, which after the cessation of the persecution always played their part in the recovery of a position of power. Finally, the beginnings of the European Reformation everywhere point towards Bosnia; the Church of Rome itself sought here the crux of the heretical movements appearing in Northern Italy and the south of France, on the Rhine, in England and Bohemia, as also their spiritual leader, the "Heretic Pope." That from these countries the persecuted fled to Bosnia is amply proved by their lively literary connection, and by the Albigeuses having received a part of their religious writings from Bosnia (see p. 34).

That such a national and yet far-reaching religion must have had an important literature, and that this literature must have used, not the languages of the persecuting churches, but that of the people, is a matter of course. It is just as conceivable, however, that the literature ceased to exist, simultaneously with the sect, when no one was left able to cultivate it and keep it going, whilst three factors must have equally militated against it: Mohammedanism, Orthodoxy, and the Catholic Church.

Irrespective of this, the parchment codex, ornamented with simple drawings, to be seen in the University Library at Bologna, has been preserved, which includes upon three hundred and fifty-three pages the New Testament with the Psalms and apocryphal books. It dates from the year 1404, is dedicated to Prince Hrvoja, and is a genuine Bosnian-Bogomilian document; \* then there is a MS. of Marciana the Venetian, also from the fifteenth century; † an apocalypse, which in the previous century was discovered by the Orshova pastor, Mathias Sovitsh,‡ and some others.

That by the side of this religious and elevating literature a certain poetic literature was also encouraged, is proved by unmistakable signs. The mediæval Byzantine legendary and fairy literature was diffused throughout the Balkan Peninsula, and even permeated the literatures of the Slavonian peoples. Certain

\* Dobrovsky, *Institutiones lingue slavicae*, p. xiii.; Ratschki, *Starine*, i. 93; Danitshitch, *Starine*, iii.

† Ratschki, *Starine*, i. 99.

‡ Dobrovsky, *op. cit.*

motives in these legends may even be recognized in the national poetry of Bosnia.

The legend of Alexander, the legend of Akir, the Trojan War, "Stefanit and Ichnilat," have been preserved in Servian translations of the Middle Ages. Amongst these manuscripts there has come down to us one of the legend of Akir, of the year 1520, in the so-called "Bosnian Cyrillica" or "Bukvitza," a style of writing which came into existence in Bosnia, and was exclusively used there, and a still earlier manuscript in the same writing, of the legend of Alexander. (In the Lobkovitz Library at Randnitz, upon one hundred and sixteen pages, published by Jagitch, *Starine*, vol. iii.) These, then, are of Bosnian origin, although they were discovered in the neighbouring territory of Dalmatia.\*

Of undoubted Bosnian origin is the legend of the Trojan War in a Glagolitic MS. of the year 1468, in which Latin, Greek, and Hungarian words also occur (Jagitch, *Arch. f. Slav. Lit.*, ii. 24).

Numerous fragments of a political and legislative literature have been preserved to us in the records of the Bosnian rulers. By the side of Latin documents we have also some with Slavonic text. Though of no literary importance, they yet merit notice as memorials of the language. In the ancient literatures of the Slavonic peoples, in consequence of the influence of the Church, which everywhere suppressed the national tongue, the Old Slavonic language holds almost unlimited sway. These records show us, however, that in Bosnia the national language was written, and that the Old Slavonic language of the Church raised no party wall here between the people and literature, which is moreover proved by the Bukvitza manuscripts still preserved, and is clearly due to Bogomilian influence. In addition to their historical and linguistic importance these records are also worthy attention, because they throw light upon the institutions and the administration of justice. The earliest of these is the record of Banus Kulin of the year 1189.

We gather from them that in Bosnia, unlike Servia and Bulgaria, from the very first a Western spirit, the influence of Italian and Hungarian institutions and legal usages, was dominant.

In conjunction with these political and legal documents it must be mentioned that contemporary events were also recorded in chronicles. To these belong in a certain measure one of the most important historical sources of the last days of the Bosnian monarchy, the diary of the Bosnian renegade Michael Kostantinovitch of Ostrovitza, who took part in the Bosnian campaign

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\* Regarding the Bukvitza MSS.: Novakavitch, *Istorija Knjiznosti*, 167—169; *Slon. Naueny*, iv. 225.

in the train of the Sultan, and was afterwards Governor of Jaitze (published by Schaffafiek in the Belgrade *Glasnik*, vol. xviii.). Ragusan historians mention the "Chronicle of Prince Hrvoja," which a certain Emanuel is supposed to have written, yet no further trace of this record exists.

In conclusion we must also point to the mediæval epitaphs, of which several are instinct with that simple sublimity, which is poetry's noblest blossom, and which might in this case have been unfolded under the influence of a Puritanic Church in a struggle for life or death.

These indications and remains show, therefore, that just at the time when all the conditions of a great literary outburst were present, when in neighbouring Ragusa under the influence of the Italian Renaissance a flourishing literature did, in fact, come into being, the great catastrophe befell Bosnia of a total collapse of its national life.

In spite of all this the Ragusan development was not without its influence upon fallen Bosnia; whilst, on the other hand, Bosnia too was an important factor in this development.

Ragusa, originally Greek-Roman, became, together with the remaining towns along the coast, Italian. Slavonic elements were, however, constantly accruing from the Slavonian countries in the background; and the monopoly which the great sea-board town exercised, especially in Bosnia, as exporter, importer, and banker of the country, to an important extent tended to the final effect of making it as much a Slavonic as an Italian town. Detached branches of the foremost patrician families remained for generations stationary in the Bosnian mining towns, so as to conduct the business of their house on the spot. Thus the Italian renaissance, carrying Ragusa along with it, called forth at the same time a Slavonic educational and literary movement, the like of which at that time only existed beyond Italy, in Southern France, in Castile, and at the Court of Matthias Hunyadi. This movement was strengthened, not only by the intellectual connection with Italy, but also by the circumstance that after the fall of Constantinople several of the most eminent of the Constantinople literati settled in Ragusa, as, for example, Chalkandylus, Laskaris, and others. The sons of the patricians, from holding intercourse with these, as well as attending the Italian upper schools, conceived an enthusiasm for classic literature and poetry, and as they employed two different languages in public and in private life, they began to write in two languages too—Italian and Slavonic. Vetrantish translated Euripides from Italian into Slavonic verse; Zlataritch, Sophocles from the original; Hektorovitch, Ovid: others, the writings of Virgil, Tibullus, Catullus, Propertius, and Martial: Marulitch translated Petrarch; Soltanovitch, Tasso, etc. Ariosto

expresses himself with great admiration concerning Marulitsh, who wrote in the Slavonic, Italian, and Latin languages with equal ease, and calls him the "godlike." He is looked upon as the founder of the Ragusan-Slavonic literature (1450—1524). He wrote religious poems and dramas in the Slavonic language, of which "Saint Judith" first appeared in print, in Venice, in the year 1521, and afterwards passed through several new editions. Siska Mentshetitsh (1457—1501), who wrote Italian under the name of Sigismondo Menze, left behind him more than three hundred and fifty love-songs in the Slavonic language and Provencale style. His contemporary and rival was Držitsh, their successor Lutshitsh (1480—1540), who borrowed the material of his drama "Robinja" (the female slave) from his neighbours, already living under the Turkish yoke, for whose fate he evinced the greatest sympathy, inasmuch as he in his drama supplicates God to succour them. The art of poetry transplanted here from foreign soil accordingly soon sought after national subjects, and soon, too, assumed national forms; both were, however, by preference sought and found in Bosnia by the Ragusan poets, and the Slavonian poets of Ragusa dropped the dialect of the coast more and more, in preference for the purer and more sonorous Bosnian one. As early even as Vetešanitsh (1482—1576) Isaac is mourned for by Sarah, quite in the style of the national dirges.

"Oh, grey falcon, lovely bird,  
Thou dost rend thy mother's heart in twain."

Hektorovitsh (1486—1572) even introduces folk-songs into his didactic poems on fishing (Venice, 1569). The subjects evolved from the histories of the neighbouring Slavonic countries became more and more numerous after the publication by Urbini, the Ragusan (afterwards a Benedictine Abbot in Hungary) of his work *Storia sul regno degli Slavi* (Pesaro, 1601). We cannot here follow further the course of Ragusan literature, which developed more and more, as it only interests us in its connection with Bosnia. It is just in this connection, however, that Palmotitsh (1606—1657) merits our attention, for he turned his attention directly to Bosnia, in order to purify the Ragusan-Slavonic language, corrupted by Italian elements, and to freshen up his poetry by national inspiration. The Slavonic Myth evolved from the Bosnian folk-songs and legends plays a great part in his *Christiade* (Rome, 1670; Pesth, 1835).

This rise of literature in Ragusa, as it on the one hand sought for purity of language and national inspiration in Bosnia, could not avoid, on the other hand, reacting to some extent on Bosnia. Even after the total

collapse of the national state and of national culture, at least a modest branch of the national literature continued to exist in the Church, which afterwards again blossomed forth and flourished under more favourable conditions.

There can hardly be a doubt but that the influence of the Italian renaissance, in that condition of Western culture in which we find Bosnia immediately before its great catastrophe, would not have confined itself to Ragusa, but would also have called forth a similar literature in Bosnia. Unhappily at the time when the movement became active in Ragusa, Bosnia was already fighting in her death struggle. Yet even by that time intellectual development had already thriven so well that book-printing in Gorazda and Milieshevo survived even the Turkish yoke; from the former town there proceeded in 1529 a Slavonic Mass-book, and one from the latter in 1544. In the meantime the national language was expelled all too soon from the Orthodox Church. The dignitaries of the Church were drawn from the Phanar, the bishops were Greeks, and did not understand the language of the people; but the lower clergy, after the extinguishing of book-printing in Gorazda and Milieshevo, obtained their spiritual food exclusively from Russian books, which were brought into the country from Russia. One service which we owe to the Bosnian Franciscan monks is, that the already flickering light of national literature was not quite extinguished.

In Bosnia, namely, the national language occupied a respected position in the Catholic Church; indeed, to a certain extent even grew to be the language of the Church. The Papal Chair was openly moved to this concession in the interests of the war against the national Bogomilian Church. It can be authenticated that the Roman Catholic Church has in Bosnia, as in Dalmatia and Croatia, since the ninth century tolerated the Slavonic language side by side with the Latin in the services of the Church. Later on the use of the national language in the Church services became general—that is to say, in Glagolitic characters—by which the Catholics distinguished themselves from the Orthodox Church, which held firmly to the Old Slavonic language of Bulgaria, with the Cyrillic writings. The origin of the Glagolitic is obscure. A Glagolitic manuscript of the thirteenth century already considers this writing to be primeval. The traditions of the Church attribute it to the times of St. Hieronymus, that is, to the sixth century. According to some Slavonian philologists it should be the actual writing employed by Cyrill and Method, which was afterwards, by the Oriental Church, under Greek influence, corrupted into the Cyrillic used by it. In the fourteenth century its use was extended amongst the Roman Catholic Slavs, as far as Prague. In Bosnia, too, it was also used for every-day purposes, side by side with

Bukvitza, Cyrillic, and Latin characters. After the Papal Chair had repeatedly proceeded against the Glagolitic Church books, Pope Innocent IV. at last solemnly sanctioned their use by a Papal Bull of 1248. The oldest Glagolitic Mass-book dates from the year 1483, and was most probably printed in Venice. In Bosnia these Mass-books, together with the Latin ones, were in general use amongst the clergy. These books, and especially the Roman Catholic Slavonic liturgy, in opposition to the Old Slavonic language employed by the Oriental Church, clung to the language of the people, and not until the eighteenth century did a movement make itself felt which is anxious to translate the Catholic Glagolitic books also into the Old Slavonic tongue.

This introduction of the national language into the services of the Catholic Church, the connection between the Bosnian clergy and the Bishopric of Ragusa, some of whom are still subject to it, and the recourse had by Ragusan-Slavonian literature to Bosnian national sources and dialects, at last awakened a regular literary movement in Bosnia itself. The Bosnian Franciscan monk, Mathias Diokovitsh (died 1631), printed his versified legends of St. Katharine and other poems, and he was followed by his companions Matjevitch, Posilovitsh, Bandulevitsh, Glavinitch, Antshitch, and others, mostly with works of a sacred character.

Later on, clearly under Urbini's influence, there arose in the Latin tongue too, a distinct historical literature in Bosnia; although its first productions were only quite unimportant chronicles and monographs, beneath criticism, Philipp Zastritsh of Otsheviye in Eastern Bosnia (1700—1783), the same Franciscan monk who, under the name of Phillippus ab Ochievia, supplied such valuable dates to the work of the Jesuit, Farlato, with his independent work *Epitome vetustatum Bosnensis provincie*, awakened so much interest that his book soon appeared in a second edition (Ancona, 1776). Far more superficial is the *De regno Bosnie eiusque interitu*, of Narentinus Prudentius (Venetiis, 1784).

Still more striking does this method of exchange between Ragusa and Bosnia become with the advent of Andreas Katshitch Miotshitch (1690—1760). Sprung from a Dalmatian family, he entered the Franciscan Order, concluded his studies in Pesth, and sojourned for a long time in Bosnia as Papal legate, where, whilst seeking everywhere for old monuments and manuscripts, he, during his journeys, studied the customs and spirit of the people, but, above all, their rich poetry. These studies, and the poems proceeding from them, he collected together, under the title of *Razgonor ugodni naroda Slovinskoga* (*The Pleasant Solace of the Slavonian People*), and published them in Venice in 1756. Since



then this volume has passed through thirteen editions, first in Venice and Ancona, then in Ragusa (where it lent a last impetus to the literature there, which had fallen into decay), and afterwards in Zara and Vienna, and more recently in Agram. In these works, not only the matter, but the tone, is already quite national, and the language is ennobled by the influence of the sonorous, unspoilt Bosnian-Herzegovinian idioms. Katshitch himself says of only two of his poems, that he had them directly from the mouth of the people: that about Mustaj Pasha, and that about John Hunyadi ("Janko Sibinjan," John of Hermannstadt). Most likely, however, other pieces in his collection are also really folk-songs; and it is certain that many parts of the book breathe the spirit of the people, that they are difficult to distinguish from the folk-songs, and that they are spread far and wide amongst the people. Katshitch's poems had a far-reaching effect. In his work *Viaggio in Dalmatia* (Venice, 1771) the Italian Abbot Fortis draws the attention of the European public to him, and upon the strength of his translations some of Katshitch's poems, and other South Slavonic, and especially Bosnian-Herzegovinian folk-songs, first obtained admission into French, English, and German literature. But Katshitch's greatest influence was shown in the fact that he roused other South Slavonian literatures to like efforts, and thus brought about their regeneration. We shall see that his school still flourishes at the present day in Bosnia; and though he was not able to prevent the ultimate decay of the Ragusan literature, yet the re-birth of the Servian and Croatian is directly due to the circumstance that Servian and Croatian authors, following his example, not only created rich material out of the Bosnian folk poetry, but by the rejection of the language until then used in their literature, employed the unspoilt and sonorous dialect obtaining among the Bosnian people, and raised it to be the literary language of the Serbs and Croats.

We first of all come across these efforts in Slavonia, where Matija Belkovitsh (1732—1798), of Bosnian descent, returning from imprisonment in Prussia, into which he had fallen during the Seven Years' War, composed a work in verse—*Satir ili Dicit Tshsovih* (*The Satyr or the Wild Man*): Dresden, 1761—in which he satirically compares the condition of his native land and that of foreign countries; and then published a translation of *Æsop's Fables*, an Illyric dictionary and a grammar; whilst in the year 1831 there appeared in Pesth a translation of the Bible by Matijo Peter Kratantschitch (1750—1825), also a Slavonian Franciscan monk, as the author himself says, "in the Slavonic-Illyric-Bosnian dialect." In this same dialect his colleague, Grgur Tshvaparitch, wrote the drama *Josip sin Jakova Patriarhe* (*Josef, the Patriarch Jacob's son*), which appeared in Pesth in the year 1820.

Much more emphatic was the advent of Dosithens Obradovitsh from Tshakova in Hungary (1729—1771), with which the present Servian literature really begins.

When Servia in the year 1718 shook off the Turkish yoke, even though it was only for two decades, literary life re-awakened amongst the Serbs after a long spiritual lethargy. The metropolitans began to erect schools in Belgrade, and later on in Karlovitz and Neusatz. The professors who were appointed, however, and with them the books, came up from Kief in Russia. Under their influence there gradually appeared a Servian written language, which was a mixture of the Russian ecclesiastical and Servian national language, hardly comprehensible to the people themselves, whose language was despised by the learned as unsuited for literary purposes. Obradovitsh, who, impelled by a thirst for knowledge and love of adventure, had as a priest travelled throughout Eastern Europe and a part of Asia Minor, attempted, whilst at Cattaro, after his first journey, after having studied the pure Herzegovinan dialect, which is also spoken in Montenegro, to translate the ecclesiastical writings into the national language. He afterwards went as tutor to the sons of a Wallachian family to Leipzig, and here published his work *My Life and Adventures* (1783), which was followed by many of his other national writings. After he had also travelled through England, Russia, and Italy, he finally settled in Belgrade in 1807 as tutor to the children of Karageorge. His language is certainly not yet quite free from Russian influence; but it approaches to the national tongue, and this alone was sufficient to make the pops burn his books, which have in consequence become extremely rare. He found, however, imitators. Vuk Stefanovitsh Karadzitch (1787—1864) was the first able to aid in the conquest of the new tendency.

Sprung from a Herzegovinan family, he was born on the banks of the Drina, in the immediate neighbourhood of that Bosnian-Herzegovinan people which, thanks to the circumstance that it dwelt under the rule of a purely national, though Mohammedan aristocracy, had maintained its language in its original purity; whilst in Servia, though the literature had been resuscitated, the national tongue was corrupted by Russian, Turkish, Hungarian, German, and Wallachian elements. Vuk Stefanovitsh himself never set foot upon Bosnian soil, but from childhood upwards he had learnt the choicest pearls of Bosnian folk poetry from the mouths of Bosnian and Herzegovinan singers, which he also afterwards caused to be collected by friends and then incorporated in large numbers into his collection of Servian folk-songs. As a self-taught man too, who had never attended a school, he remained free from the influence of the Russian-Servian scholastic tendencies then in vogue. After he had served under

Karageorge as scribe, teacher, and local judge he in 1813, whilst in Vienna, whither he had fled from the recently victorious Turks, wrote an article upon the fall of Serbia, which, by its original, primitive language differing so much from the language of literature then in vogue, attracted the greatest attention. Encouraged by the learned Slavonian censor in Vienna (Kopitar) he in 1814 published his first collection of national poems, which, after Vuk had repeatedly travelled through Dalmatia, Ragusa, and Montenegro, and had gradually collected many and especially Herzegovinan songs, at last filled six volumes. These collections were followed by his dictionary, a grammar, a collection of proverbs, and historical ethnographical writings. Whilst his works met with the greatest recognition throughout Europe, and his folk-songs were translated into the most important European languages, in his native land, where in spite of Obradovitch's writings the Russian school had held its ground, his language, and especially his new orthography, were looked upon as nothing short of treason, and he himself as an Austrian agent accused, on account of the one letter "J," of leanings towards Catholicism. When he commenced the translation of the New Testament—that is, an ecclesiastical writing—into his pure, native tongue the storm again burst forth with renewed vigour; all his works were prohibited in Serbia, and even after the subsequent removal of the interdict in the year 1860 were excluded from the national schools until 1864. In Russia, too, he was vigorously attacked, chiefly by Hilferding, and he himself was for a long time banished from Serbia.

The "Matica Srbska" of Pesth (now of Neusatz), founded in the year 1827, the first Servian scientific society, like every learned society which falls under the control of narrow-minded authorities, an enemy to all strivings after and development of a better style, under the guidance of its founders, Sava Tököly and J. Hadžitch, started a violent war against Vuk's innovations, which, however, in spite of this, gained ground.

Finally, after Slavonia and Servia also, following the example of Ragusa, and continuing to regenerate their literary language from the pure sources of the Bosnian-Herzegovinan dialects, had as regards the written language adopted this idiom, the Croats in the year 1836 followed suit, with all the more ease in that the actual Croatian "Kajkavina" dialect could scarcely be said to possess a literature.

Ljudevit Gaj (1809—1872), the celebrated spiritual leader of the "Illyrian" movement, had in the year 1834 commenced his political newspaper the *Novine Horvatske*, with the literary supplement, *Danica Horvatska, Slavionska i Dalmatinska*, in this "Kajkavina" dialect. As early as 1835,

however, he introduced a new orthography, and also published articles in the Bosnian dialect.

As he in the meantime arrived at the knowledge that he could not attain his goal—the union of all the South Slavonian races under Croatian leadership—by means of the “Kajkavina” dialect, which is spoken by hardly more than seven hundred thousand people, he in the year 1836 started his paper under the new title of *Ilirske narodne novine* and *Danica ilirska*, and also began to write the articles in the Bosnian dialect, which had in the meantime been everywhere adopted by the Croats as their written language. The political union of the Servian, Bosnian, and Croatian races, related indeed, but divided by historical development into separate nationalities, remained a delusion, but apart from the distinction of the Cyrillic and Latin writing, they have at any rate gained a common written language in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *Stokavština*, which in Ragusan literature at an early date superseded the Dalmatian *Tshakavština*; and was introduced into Slavonia by Relkovitch and Katantshitch in the second half of the last century, in our own century in Servia by Obradovitch and Vuk Karadžitch, and by Gaj in Croatia as the language of literature, and in the meantime attained to a literary development in Montenegro through the royal poet Peter Petrovitch Njegos II.

The Bosnian-Herzegovinian language for this triumph had to thank, not only its sonorousness and its purity, kept free as it had been from all foreign elements, but also in a large measure its rich and fascinating national poetry. In the preceding pages the reader has become acquainted with many pearls of this poetic art. In spite of this it will, however, be necessary to offer a closer survey of this, the noblest manifestation of the national spirit of Bosnia.

The Bosnian-Herzegovinian people has had an important share in the poetry now, through Karadžitch's and other collections known and recognized throughout the educated world by the general title of “Servian Folk Poetry.” The rhapsodies over the battle on the Kossovo-Polje, which sing of the tragic fall of the Servian State, indeed undoubtedly form a national Servian treasure, although the Herzegovinian singers in the immediate neighbourhood will have borne their share in this, as in the legendary cycle of Marko Kraljevitsh; nay, some literary inquirers—like the Russian, Pipyn—seek for the native place of the Servian Epos in Bosnia itself and in Herzegovnia. Traces of the national Bosnian age, its kings and heroes, are found just as seldom in the Bosnian folk poetry, as those of the Czar Dushan and the Nemanjas are found in the Servian. It seems as though the danger from Turkey, and the crushing

tragedy of the national ruin, had extinguished these recollections ; and although there can be no doubt that the development of national poetry is much older, and that certain elements point to heathen times and heathen notions or customs, yet the more modern songs about the Turkish struggle have clearly absorbed the refrain of the old ones ; the ancient heroes have fallen more and more into oblivion by the side of those new ones, which had more interest for the people living under the Turkish yoke just because they had struggled against this yoke. So the Herzegovinan singers may also have taken their matter from the collapse of the Servian kingdom, the deeds of Marko Kraljevitsh, and the battle on the Kosovo-Polje, in which, moreover, a Bosnian army also took part, and which raged in the immediate neighbourhood of Old Herzegovina. As a whole, only very little beyond these events has been preserved relating to historical reminiscences in the folk-songs thus far known ; but a traveller of the sixteenth century, who was travelling with an imperial embassy across Bosnia to Constantinople,\* mentions that in Bosnia a great deal was sung concerning national heroes, amongst them Radoslav Pavlovitsh and others. We most frequently meet with reminiscences of Hunyadi, and especially of the Hungarian suzerainty ; but in their legends, which were undoubtedly also sung in verse, the last days of the Bosnian monarchy and its fall, King Stefan Tomashevitch, and the fall of Jaitze are abundantly dealt with. Stefan, the first and last Duke of Herzegovina, is to the present day one of the best-beloved figures of national poetry, and many legends tell of Sandalj Hrantish and other contemporary historical heroes.

Naturally, however, national poetry only then enters upon its right element, when it no longer sings of rulers and generals standing at the head of organized armies, but of deeds accomplished by the unaided might of heroes who have stepped forth from amidst the simple folk themselves, or who have stood in intimate relations with them. This is why Marko Kraljevitsh, the mythical son of a king, although he never governed, is more sung of than the greatest ruler in the entire South Slavonian, Servian, Bosnian, nay, even Bulgarian folk poetry, and more lauded than the historic heroes are those Hajdukes and Junakes, who, trusting to their own strength, alone or with only a few companions took up the struggle against the Turkish despots in the wildernesses of the mountain forests, and were looked upon by them as robbers, but by the people as national heroes. The largest number and the most beautiful of the songs to be found in the collections of Servian national poems of this kind come from Bosnia and Herzegovina. If a new hero of

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\* Kuripeshitch, *Wegreise K. K. Majestät Botschaft nach Constantinopel*, 1531.

this kind aroused the fancy of the people the old songs were adapted to him, or new ones composed for him by making use of the old, and thus certain songs were for ever appearing with fresh variations, and for ever telling of different heroes in the most diverse places. These living continuations, in which the old surviving materials are constantly being worked up for new events with new matter, still continue to the present day.

Whether the rich original force, whence this poetry flows, has been diminished, it would be difficult to decide. There is no doubt that the more modern songs are broader and more shallow in their course, and are in thought and speech more slovenly than the old ones. Yet, as each striking event at once finds its singer, and the mass of productions cannot all be masterpieces, the apparent deterioration may be only traceable to the fact that the knell of daily production is ringing; the weaker amongst the new songs rapidly fall into oblivion, the better ones always improve, and it is on that account that the old ones so far excel the mass of the new.

It may be assumed that this uninterrupted harvest of heroic songs will last, until fundamentally altered conditions of civilization rob its fruitful soil of its present adventurous life which now flows along in the freedom of nature. Moreover, if Bosnia and Herzegovina surpass the neighbouring allied races in their heroic songs this is of course due to the fact that here this life of adventure has been least restricted. It can be proved that the more advanced the culture of these peoples, the older and more established their state and administrative regulations, the more did their heroic songs disappear to make room for love songs and comic songs. In Hungarian Bács and in Syrmia the old heroic song has already died out; even in Serbia its sources are beginning to dry up; whilst in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as in the Black Mountains, they still flow freely. Yet here, too, it can be shown that in the populous towns love songs and comic songs preponderate, in the mountains the heroic.

The most striking feature of these heroic songs consists in the fact that by the most simple, most natural methods they are able to rise to the representation of the sublime, and to tragic pathos, and are replete with earnest, but natural, unconscious dignity. With the ingenuousness of natural sensation they often mention situations veiled, or paraphrased by more refined taste; but never do they, like over-ripened literatures, seek obscenity for its own sake, but, on the contrary, unite a strongly developed sense of shame and decency to their powerful, robust sensuality, their hot Southern temperament, and their unaffected individuality. We never come across common coarseness; but, in the fierceness of hatred and war, we come in contact with the native barbarity of the natural man, before which civilized feelings recoil: that which the defeated foe carried

with him, becomes the rightful property of the victor, and the mutilation of the fallen is just as much a matter of course, if in the eyes of the conqueror he merits hatred or contempt. Before such things the poet must not recoil either; yet besides these features of barbaric strength, noble perceptions, lofty sensations, a natural nobility of mind, a distinct chivalric spirit, discover themselves. The opponents, before rushing into mortal combat, often address one another in warm tones of genuine regard, with real, friendly sympathy and heartiness; they come to terms in a loyal manner over the conditions of the combat, the violation of which counts as the greatest dishonour. Manly strength, frank courage, indifference to death, the support of the weak, succour of the persecuted, are all accounted the greatest virtues; cowardice and treachery the greatest baseness. On the other hand, it is laudable and commendable to conquer the insidious or unjust enemy by means of sly artifice. A characteristic feature of these heroic songs is also the quiet objectivity, with which the singer confines himself to the ever plastic, historical representation of the events. His sympathy for one side does certainly gain expression, but he is just as reserved in extolling the one as in condemning the other: the events, the deeds of the combatants show which side is the better. The opponents abuse, insult one another, but not so the poet. This objective impartiality reaches a still higher level in the Mohammedan songs, which is clearly explained by the commanding position of the Mohammedan element.

However, in addition to these heroic songs, Bosnian poetry is also rich in love songs and in comic songs, which are principally native to the larger towns. They are distinguished by moving tenderness, hot passion, happy mirthfulness, wit, and fun. Life itself is their theme. They unite genuine humour with directness of feeling and rich colouring as few other poetries do.

Those superstitious and mythical elements pointing to heathen times which testify to the antiquity of these poems play a great part in the heroic songs as well as in the love poems and comic poems. There is frequent mention of winged horses, dragons, three-headed men, spells, bewitchments, necromancy, and magicians.

The leading part, however, is played by the "Vila," the female fairies of the mountain forests. One dwells high up in the clouds in her palace built of gold and pearls, another in the crystal of the pool. For the most part, however, they inhabit the mountain peaks, where, clad in sun-gold, adorned with stars, and nourished by the pale rays of the moon, they dance kolo, and allure erring youths to their sides. They are heartless beings, capable at the most of sensual love, and only following the whim of the moment; they dispense their favour and their scorn, the latter always including the wildest cruelty.

Wonderful and magic is their power, but not unconquerable to the true hero, for even they are not immortal. The vilas, too, understand the ethics of the bond of brotherhood, and hold it sacred. This bond originates either in simple inclination or in such a way that the enemy who feels himself to be lost, offers the victor brotherhood, and if he accepts it the partnership is sacred to both parties. Thus Vila Radivojla, besieged by Marko Kraljevitah, offered him brotherhood, and then protected him against other vilas. Warningly she cautions him upon one of his campaigns not to disturb the quiet surface of the pool, that the water vila who levies her tax upon all travellers by taking out their eyes may not be driven forth. But Marko pays no attention to her warning, the water vila awakens, and bridles the stag with snakes, upon which she pursues the foolhardy man, who would now be lost if his "brotherhood" sister, Vila Radivojla, did not save him.

The song calls the vila the Baness of the Planina. She jealously defends her rule, not only against mankind, but also against the eagle, whose wings she breaks if he enters into her kingdom without her consent; but she also interferes amongst the habitations of man, hinders the building of castles and towns, pulling down by night that which the builders have built in the day, until the master-builder causes his best-loved daughter or his wife to be immured in the building. But if in a good-natured mood she protects lovers, leads the wicked enemy astray with her kisses, takes the children of bad parents to herself, as, for example, the tenth girl of that woman who, longing for a son, cursed its birth with the words, "Let the devil take it."

Of palpable heathen origin are the songs praying for rain with the refrain "Dodo le doda" sung by girls in times of drought, where the leader, the "Dodola," laying aside her usual clothes, is covered with willow leaves, water flowers, and sedge, and watered in front of every single house.

Concerning the metre, the heroic songs always consist of ten syllabic lines, with a caesura after the fourth syllable, of trochæic or dactylic foot, and a pause of the sentence after each, but especially after every second line. The singer makes a pause here to recall what follows, or to reflect, and only the instrument continues the refrain with its simple chords. The variations are greater in the love songs and comic songs, where occur lines of six, eight, or twelve syllables, which sometimes form true strophes, with a repetition consisting of single words or even only exclamations.

The delivery is a monotonous recitative, which is something between a declamation and a song, and even with lyric songs only occasionally rises to a melody. The singer follows the subject-matter and the words more than the music. Expressed thus the song would, for example, sound something like this :





which is accompanied by the one-sided Gusla something after this fashion ;



One of the lyric melodies runs thus :



Another :



After Vuk Stepan Karadžitsh had also incorporated a considerable number of the Bosnian Herzegovinan folk-songs into his collections, a whole succession of other collectors began to follow his example. Before all others must be mentioned Sima Milutinovitsh Sarajlija, born in Serajevo (1791—1847). After the flight of his family, from the plague, young Sima was first educated at Belgrade, then in Szegedin, Karlovitz, and Semlin. In 1813 he returned to Bosnia, and after he had taken part in the Servian conspiracy of 1814, and had made his escape from Turkish imprisonment, lived for a long time with a guerilla band. Later on he dwelt as gardener's assistant in Viddin, and soon afterwards in Bessarabia, where he enjoyed a Russian pension. Thence he went

to Leipzig, where at the time an active interest was being taken in Serbian national poetry, and here he published his first poems: *Serbijanka* (1826), *Zorica* (1827). From Leipzig he went to Cetinje, where for five years he devoted himself to the education of the future prince, Peter II., and indulged his poetic inclinations. There he wrote the history of Montenegro, and collected numerous folk-songs. He spent the last year of his life in Belgrade, and here he also wrote the history of the Serbian insurrection of 1813—1815. His collection of Montenegrin and Herzegovinan national poems—*Pevanija Crnogorska i Hercegovatshka*—appeared in Vienna in 1833, in Leipzig in 1837. In 1858 there appeared in Esseg a collection of Bosnian-Herzegovinan folk poems, collected by Ivan Franjo Jukitsh of Banialuka, and Ljubomir Hertzegovac. The last name is a pseudonym of the already named Franciscan monk Fra Grgo Martitsh, who also wrote under the names of Nenad Poznanovitsh, Radovan, and others, and of whom we have still to speak as the most important of Bosnian poets now living. Boguljub Petranovitsh published three important collections:—*Srpske narodne pjesme iz Bosne i Hercegovine*, Belgrade, 1867 (older epic poems), which was followed in 1870 by a second volume, also of epic poems. A volume of lyric poems—*Srpske narodne pjesme iz Bosne*—he edited in Serajevo, 1867. There appeared in 1873, also in Belgrade, the collection by Kosta Hristitsh: *Srpske narodne pjesme pakupljene po Bosni*. Bosnian folk tales were published by Bosnian students of the Priests' Seminary in Djakovar: *Bosnanske nar. pripoviedke* (Sissek, 1870).

Hand in hand with these collections of folk-songs a new literary movement also commenced in Bosnia. The most important poet of this period is Fra Grgo Martitsh, formerly Catholic pastor in Serajevo. The school of Katshitsh, really, has in him had a new birth; to national themes he unites the tone and elements of popular poetry, so that his works stand betwixt art and folk poetry.

His most important works are: *Osvetnici* (*The Avengers*) in three parts: *Obrenov*, *Luka Vukalovitsh*, and *The Battle at Grahovo*, and *The Turkish-Montenegrin War*, which appeared in the years 1861, 1862, and 1866, and further, his epic in glorification of the Austro-Hungarian occupation.

*Pavel Karano Trvtkovitsh*, an Orthodox priest from the Bosnian community of Tyrtkovitsh-Brdo, in the year 1840 published his important collection of South Slavonian, and especially Bosnian records, in Belgrade: *Srpski spomenici ili stare risovulje, diplome, povelje i anšoenia bosanski, srbski, hercegovatshki, dalmatinski i dubrovatshki kraljeva, careva, banova*. This is the first collection of the records of Bosnian rulers, and covers the period from the record of the Banus Kulin of the year 1189, down to 1463, a work which opened up an

entirely new epoch of Bosnian historical writing, fundamentally altered the character of the same, and also for the first time unfolded a picture of the inner life of Bosnia during the Middle Ages. Upon this foundation Miklosich and other inquirers in Bosnian history then worked.

Ivan Franjo Jukitsch published in his compilation *Bosanski Prijatelj* (*The Friend of Bosnia*), in 1850, 1853, and 1861, his historical and literary works, amongst them many folk-tales, and under the name of *Stavoljub Bosnjak* wrote a geography and history of Bosnia (*Zemljopis i povjestnica Bosne*: Agram, 1851).

Jukitsch was already at work upon the strength of the rich materials discovered by Karano Tvrtkovitsh, and his Bosnian history therefore stands, although it is short, far above all other attempts made up to that time.

The two volumes compiled by a Franciscan monk, Fra M. V. Batinitsh, are also a serviceable piece of historical work: *Djelovanje Franjevacu u Bosni i Hercegovini za prvih šest vijekova njihova aborauka* (*The Doings of the Franciscan Monks in Bosnia and Herzegovina during Six Hundred Years*): Agram, 1881.

A description of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Opis Bosni i Hercegovina*) was published in Belgrade in 1865 by Toma Kovatshevitch, and the above-named Boguljub Petranovitsh described the national manners and customs (*Glasnik*, XXVIII—XXX).

Sava Kosanovitsh, the sometime Metropolitan in Serajevo, published some interesting studies upon the Bosnian antiquities and the Bogomiles (*Glasnik*, XXIX, XXXVII, and XXXVIII).

George Jovanovitsh in 1866 published an essay on morals based upon a Greek original; in the same year there appeared in Serajevo the first newspaper, *Bosna*; in the year 1869 the first calendar, and a weekly paper, *Sarajevski vještnik*.

Since the Austrian occupation the *Sarajevski List* appears as the official paper, and by its side the *Bosnische Post*, and in the Turkish language the *Watan*.

Quite recently, in 1887, Government Councillor Mehmed-Beg Kapetanovitsh Ljubušatk published, under the title of *Narodno Blago*, a highly interesting volume of Bosnian proverbs and folk-songs, and in 1888 appeared the first volume of the highly interesting collection of Mohammedan songs, *Narodne pjesme Muhamedovaca u Bosni i Hercegovini*, by Government Councillor K. Hörmann.



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