



AN OFFICIAL TOUR THROUGH
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

(769)

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AN OFFICIAL TOUR
THROUGH
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

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

BY

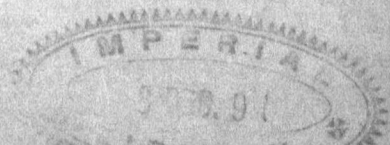
F. DE ASSBOTH
MEMBER OF THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT

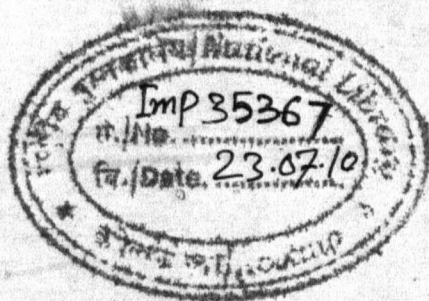
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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

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 Mohammedanism, 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.

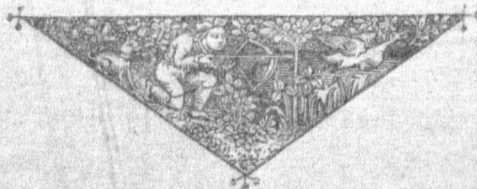
Side by side with a description of the monuments and memorable events of the past, and the circumstances of the present, I have been tempted to offer a picture of that wealth of nature which in these two provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina presents such a striking contrast, and yet which is withal in 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 figtree, 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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	Spicilegium observationum historico-geographicum de Bosniae Regno	Lugd. Bat.	1737
FARLATUS	Illyricum sacrum	Venetia	1769
ABBATE FORTIS	Viaggio in Dalmazia	Venezia	1774
LOURICH	Osservazioni sopra diversi pezzi del Viaggio del signor Fortis	Venezia	1776
HADSCHI CHALFA	Rumeli und Bosna. Uebersetzt von Hammer	Wien	1812
SVEAR	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
GARDENER WILKINSON	Dalmatia and Montenegro	London	1848
AMI BOUÉ	La Turquie d'Europe	Paris	1848
JUKIČ	Pregled turskog carstva v Europi	Agram	1850
H. DEPREZ	Les peuples de l'Autriche et de la Turquie	Paris	1850
SLAVOLJUB BOSNJACK			
[Jukič]	Zemljopis i povjestnica Bosne	Agram	1851
I. G. KOHL	Reise nach Istrien, Dalmatien und Montenegro	Dresden	1851
AMI BOUÉ	Recueil d'Itinéraires	Vienne	1854
A. HILFERDING	Bosnija Geroegowina i Staraja Serbija	St. Petersburg	1856
A. HILFERDING	Les slaves occidentaux	Paris	1858
	Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff 1496-99 ed. Groote	Köln	1860
JUKIČ	Bosanski Prijatelj	Agram	1850, 1853, 1861
PATON	Researches on the Danube and the Adriatic	Leipzig	1861
SESTAK UND LEHERB	Militärische Beschreibung des Paschalik Herzegovina	Wien	1862
JAGIČ	Jihoslované, obraz historicko-statistický	Prag.	1864
	Schematismus almae missionariae provinciae Bosnae Argentinae	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 KOVAČEVIČ	Opis Bosne i Hercegovine	Belgrad	1865
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THÖMMEL	Beschreibung des Wilayet Bosnien und Herzegovina	Wien	1867
N. MAKUŠEV	Zadunajskie i Adriatičeskie Slavjane	St. Petersburg	1867
ROSKIJEVIČ	Studien über Bosnien und die Herzegovina	Leipzig	1868
	Kratki zemljopis o Bosni	Serajevo	1869
MAUBER	Reise durch Bosnien	Berlin	1870
	Bosna Vilayetinin Salnamesi: Turkish Official Yearbook of the year 1280 of the Hedschra	Serajevo	1872
FRA PETRUS BARULA	Schematismus topographico-historicus custodiae provincialis et vicariatus Apostolici in Hercegovina	Spalato, 1867; Mostar,	[1873.]

EVARYST DE SAINT-MARIE . . .	L'Herzégowine . . .	Paris	1875
J. CREAGH . . .	Over the borders of Christendom and Islamiah, a journey through Hungary, Slavonia, Servia, Bosnia, Herzegowina, Dalmatia, and Montenegro, to the North of Albania in the summer of 1875	London	1875
G. THOMSON . . .	L'Herzegovina: 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
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MATHRONI . . .	Razgloka i hipsometrija slavonskoga naroda . . .	Agram	1875
CERNY . . .	Herzegovina zeme a lid . . .	Prag	1875
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MEYLEM . . .	A travers l'Herzégovine . . .	Paris	1876
STERNECK . . .	Geogr. Verhältnisse, Communicationen und das Reisen in Bosnien, Herze- gowina und Montenegro . . .	Wien	1877
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MACKENZIE AND IREY . . .	Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey . . .	London	1877
BLAU . . .	Reisen in Bosnien und der Herze- gowina . . .	Berlin	1877
RUTHNER . . .	Un viaggio a Maria Stella, convento dei Trappisti in Bosnia . . .	Venezia	1877
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G. RUFFER . . .	Land und Leute von Bosnien und der Herzegowina . . .	Prag	1878
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JIREČEK	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
MOJSISOVICS TIETZE u. BITTNER	Grundlinien der Geologie von Bosnien und der Herzegowina	Wien	1880
STRAUSZ	Bosnyák föld és népe	Budapest	1881
JETTEL	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	Des Mundschaftsrecht des Mannes über die Ehefrau bei den Slaven	Wien	1886
————	Ortschafts- und Bevölkerungs-Statistik von Bosnien und der Herzegowina	Wien	1886

INSTITUTIONS, LEGAL CUSTOMS, COINS, ETC.

TOMKO	Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis familiae Marchiae vulgo Marnavitzae Nissensis	Romae	1632
WELTZL	Verzeichniz der Münzen- und Medaillensammlung	Wien	1844
PALMA	Heraldicae regni Hung. specimen		
JAC. RUPP	Numi Hungariae hactenus cogniti:		
	Periodus Arpadiana	Budae	1841
	Periodus mixta	Budae	1846
ÉRDY	A boszna és szerb régi érmek	Pest	1858
BOGIŠIČ	Pravni običaji u Slovene	Agram	1867
————	Loi constitutive des Vilayets	Constantinopel	1868
KÖHNE	Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde	Berlin	1868
QUERY	Droit Musulman	Paris	1871
NICOLAIDES	Legislation ottomane	Constantinople	1873
BOGIŠIČ	Zbornik sadašnjih pravnih običaja u južnih Slavena	Agram	1874
LAUBIČ	Opis Jugoslavenskih 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 Wehrgesetz 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 MILOŠIĆ	Razgonor ugodni naroda slovinskoga	Venezia	1756
RELKOVIĆ	Satir ili divi čovik	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 Slavicæ dialecti veteris	Wien	1822
MILUTINOVIĆ	Sarajlija. Szerbijanka	Leipzig	1826
MILUTINOVIĆ	Sarajlija. Zorica	Leipzig	1827
WILA	Serbische Volkslieder und Heldenmärchen	Leipzig	1828
KOPITAR	Glagolita Clozianus	Wien	1836
MILUTINOVIĆ	Sarajlija. Pevanija crnogorska i hercegovacka	Wien 1833; Leipzig	1837
FR. V. MIKLOSIČ	Radices linguae slovenicæ veteris dialecti	Leipzig	1845
ŠAFAŘIK	Památky dřevního písmenictví Jihoslovánu	Prag	1851
FR. V. MIKLOSIČ	Monumenta linguae palaeoslov. e codice Suprasliensi	Leipzig	1851
KAPPER	Gesänge der Serben	Leipzig	1852
ŠAFAŘIK	Památky blaholského písmenictví	Prag	1853
TALVJ.	Volkslieder der Serben	Leipzig	1853
KUKULJEVIĆ	Stari pjesnici hrvatski XV.-XVI. vieka	Agram	1856-8
FR. V. MIKLOSIČ	Kleinere Schriften	Wien	1857
ŠAFAŘIK	Ueber den Ursprung und die Heimat des Glagolitismus	Prag	1858
BERČIĆ	Chrestomathia linguae vetero-slovenicæ characterè glagolitico	Prag	1859
MIKLOSIČ	Zum Glagolita Clozianus	Wien	1860
DANIČIĆ	Rječnik iz književnih starina srpskih	Belgrad	1863-4
GRGČ MARTIĆ	Osvećenici	Agram	1861, 1862, 1866
	Srpske narodne pjesme iz Hercegovine	Wien	1866
PETRAHOVIĆ	Srpske narodne pjesme iz Bosne	Serajevo	1867
MAKUŠEV	Izledovanija ob istoričeskih pamjatnikach i bytopisateljach Dubrovnika	St. Petersburg	1867
BOGIŠIĆ	Slovenski Muzeum	Neusatz	1867
MIKLOSIČ	Beiträge zur Kenntniss der slavischen Volkspoesie	Wien	1870
	Bosanske nar. pripoviedke	Siszek	1870
PAVIĆ	Istorija dubrovatske drame	Agram	1871
KOSTA RISTIĆ	Srpske narodne pjesme pakupljene po Bosni	Belgrad	1873
DANIČIĆ	Istorija oblika srpskoga ili hrvatskoga jezika	Belgrad	1874
PAVIĆ	Narodne pjesme o boju na Kosovu	Agram	1877
BOGIŠIĆ	Narodne pjesme iz starijih najviše primorskih zapisa	Belgrad, Glasnik	1878
PEPINA I SPAŠOVIĆ	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 Stranzky, 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

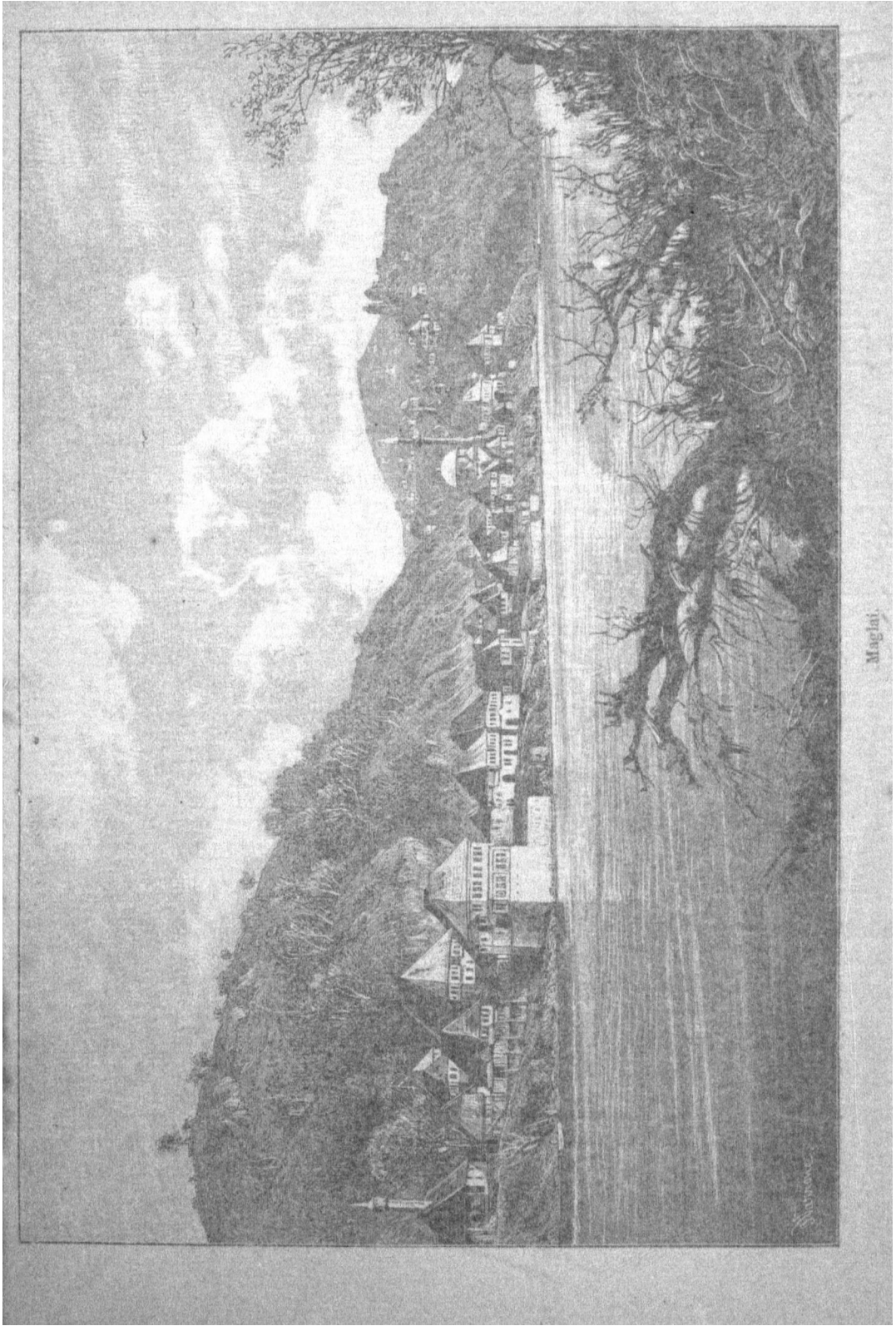
* In addition to the Austrian and Hungarian Ministers of Finance there is an Imperial Minister of Finance, who also governs Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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 Derwent, 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 Vuishija-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



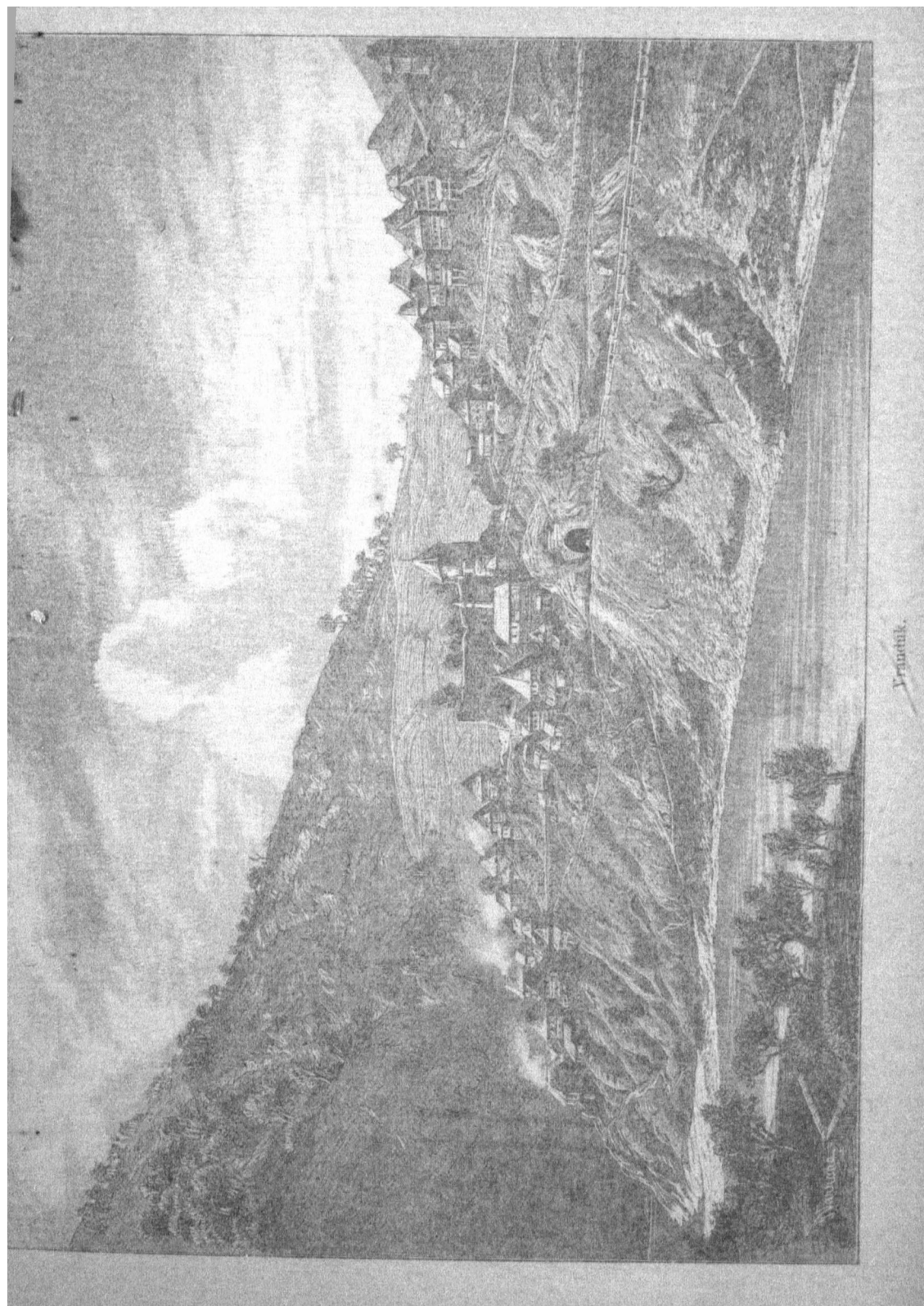
Magdalen.

the mouth of the Sprezza, 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 1593, 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

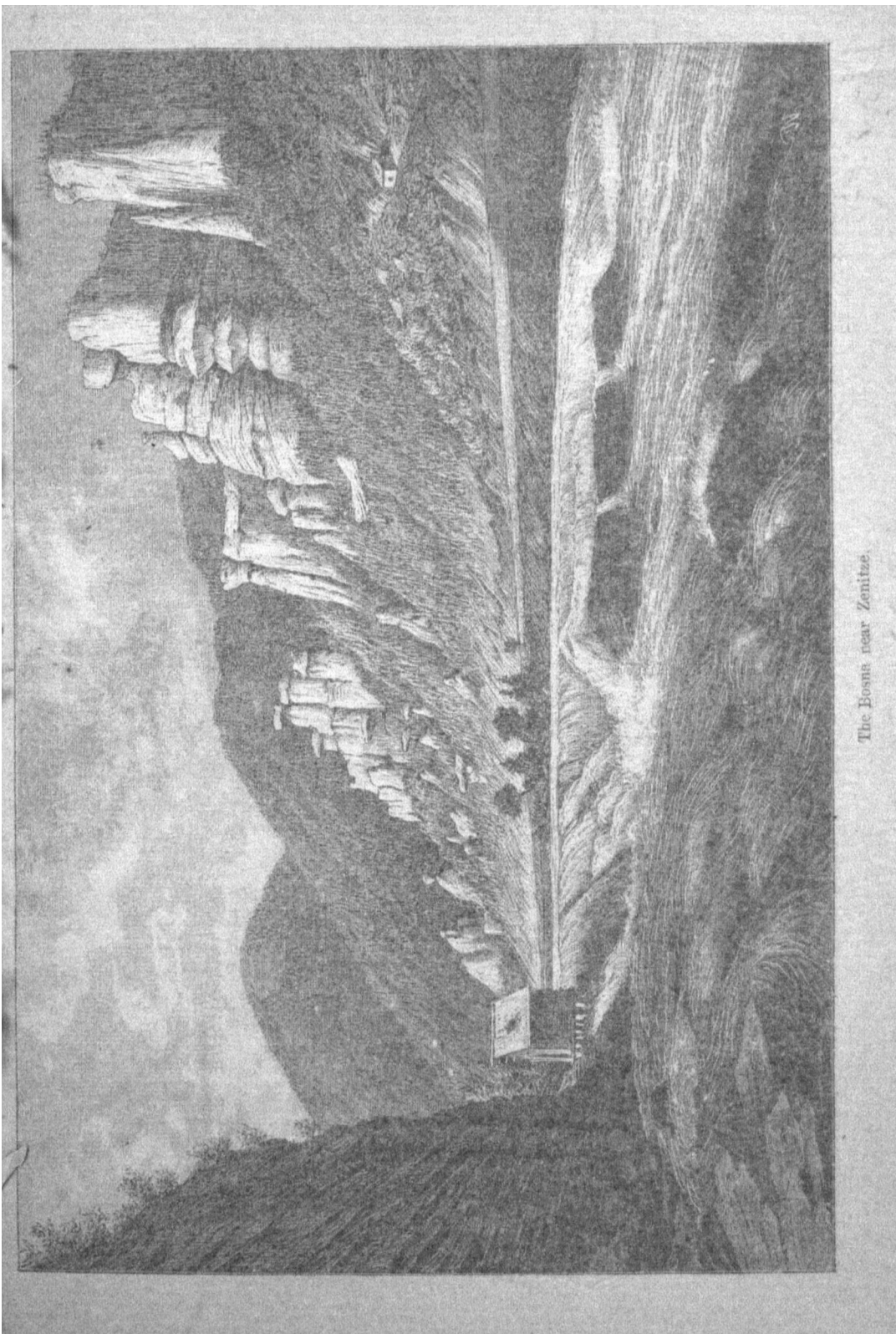


Frank.

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 Blazuj; 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 Boona near Zenitze.

still, the horsemen, who very possibly did not belong to the "banderiums" 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 Blažnj, 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 Ilidshe 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.

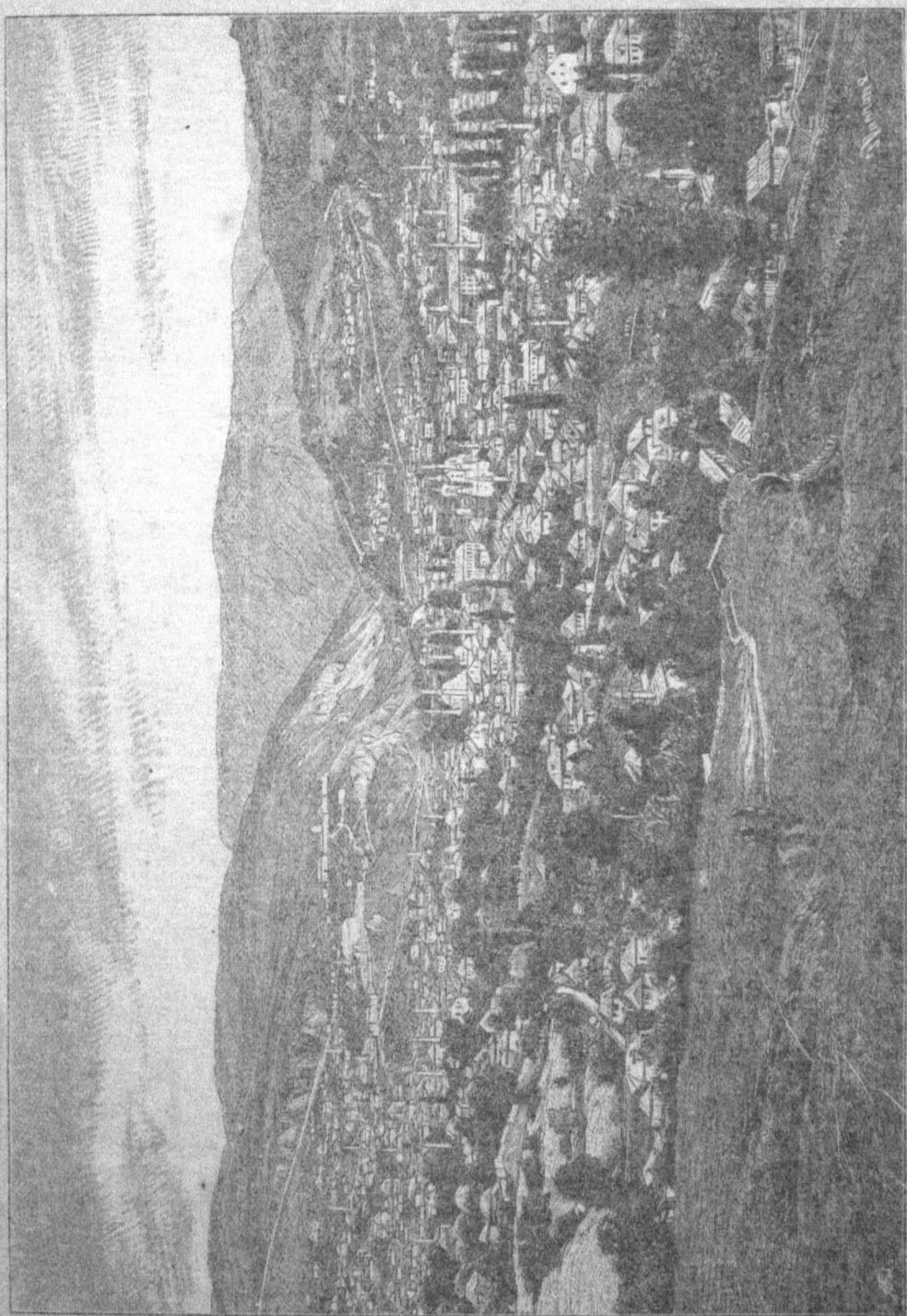
SERAJEVO.

Evening Walks—Description of the Town.

IN 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



Sanjeyo.

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.

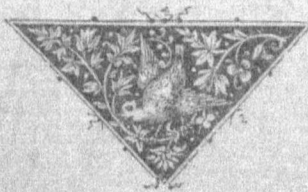
And yet the most beautiful view of all is from the provisional ministerial residence in Raghîb Effendi Tshurtshitsh's house. It is situated high up upon the slope of the northern ridge. It is true that the windows only look towards the south and west, so that nothing of the fortress is visible; but towards 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 circlelets 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.

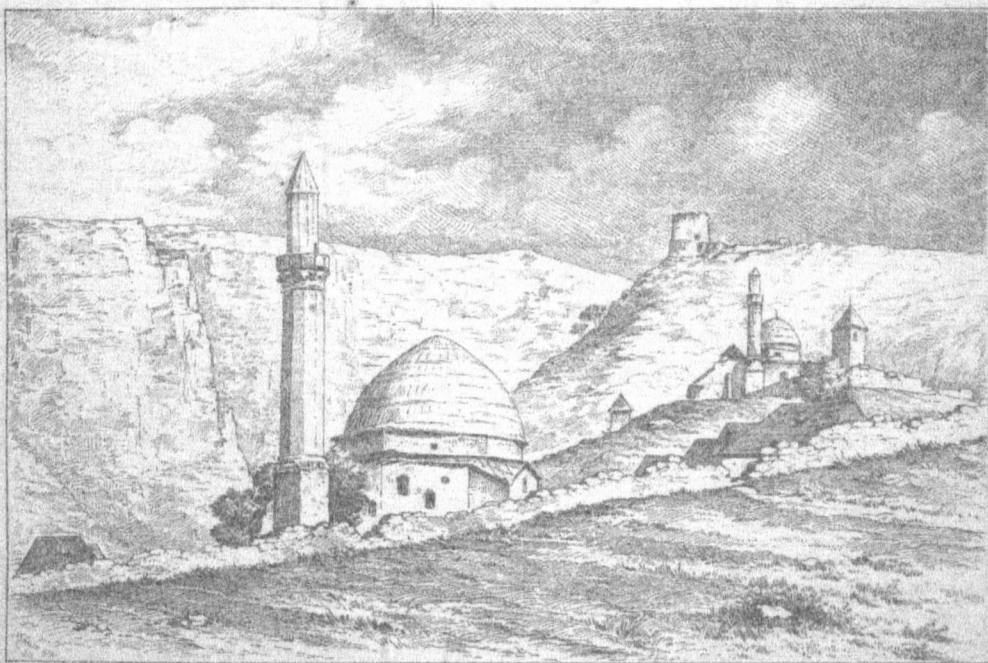
The Town as it is, and the Town as it once was—The Sources of the Bosna—"Ad Matricem"—The Primitive Illyrian Inhabitants—Delminium—P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica—The Roman Conquest—Tiberius and Germanicus—Roman Administration—Roman Roads—The Tower of Lívno—Baths, Tombstones, Superscriptions, Mines—The Roman Town—The Tombstones at Iidshe, 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 Dunno and Dlmno. 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

*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 *Vaclusus* (Unna or Ukrina) and the *Urpanus* (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 Naronæ. 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, Brotshno, Liubushki, Serajevo, Rogatitza, Srebrenitza, 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

* 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 Blažnj.



Monument at Ilidshe.

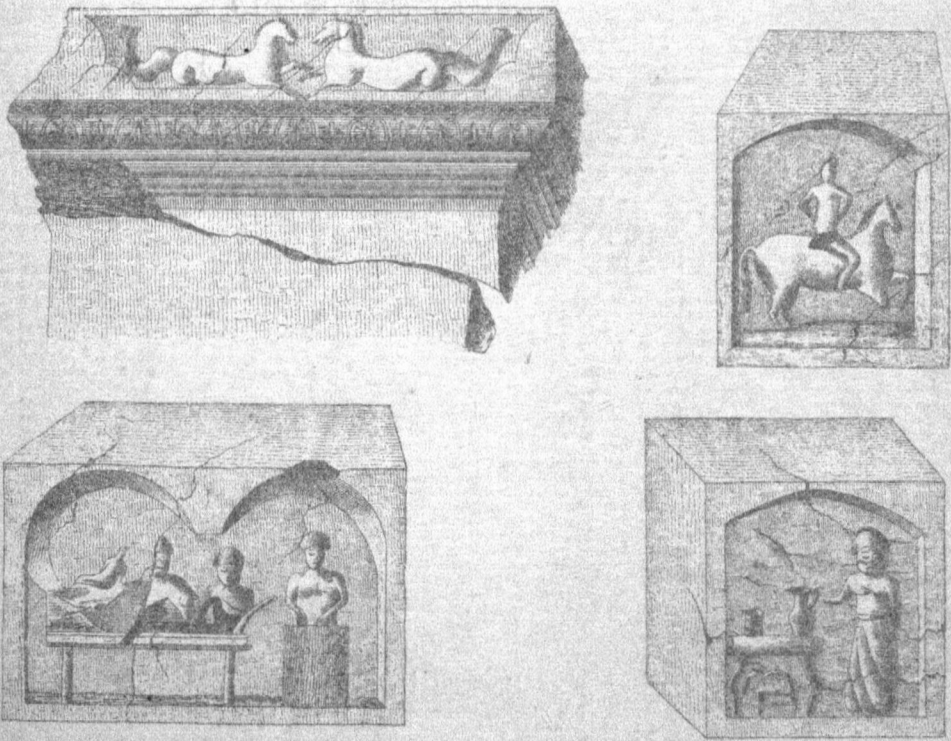
tablets, is marked the whole way, from Naronā to Serajevo, with Roman remains, at Mostar by ruins, at Passaritsch by carved tombstones. In addition to this Roman road, natural thoroughfares lead in all directions from the plains of Serajevo, as from their natural centre. The sources of the Bosna are 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).

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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.

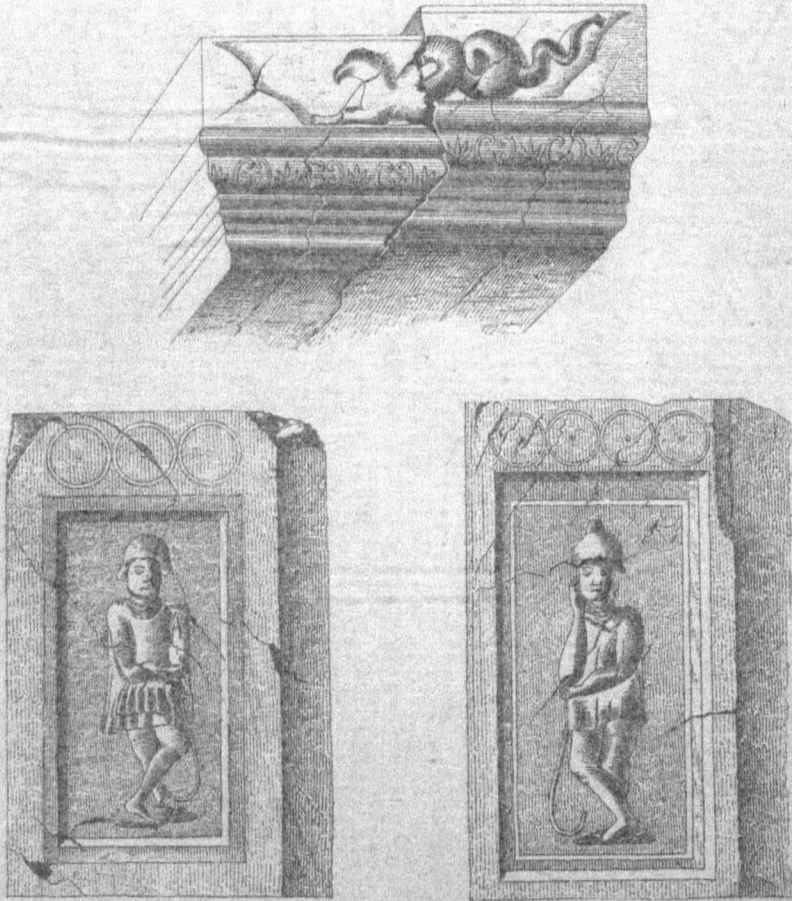
The immense pillar-head, to be seen in the court of the Begova Dz-amia, might possibly have been removed thither from its original place during the building of the court, when materials for the new edifice were being collected from ruins; but in two Roman sculptures the boundary stones of the Roman



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 Ildshe, 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 Ildshe.



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

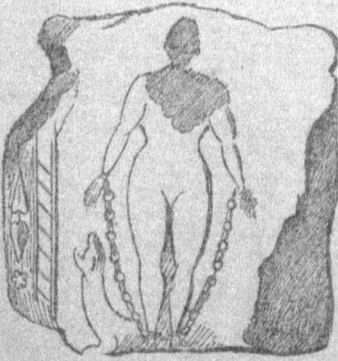
the times of the last Cæsars, when powerful barbaric influences were already at work. Some of these constitute the real link with mediæval Bosnian sculpture, specimens of which are found throughout the country upon tombstones dating from the national epoch. Below are the most interesting, for, to the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

* 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 Brotschno—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 Žljebo (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 Župans—The Masonic Signs at Žljebovi—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, Comitatatus Berec, Rama, Salenes, Usora—Duke Béla and his Ramase Coins—Banus Kalin—The Bosnian Heretical Pope—Crusades against the Bogomiles—Ninoslav—Hungarian Bans—Kotroman—Bosnian Coins—Stefan Kotromanitch—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 Kossova-Polje—What Bosnia signified to the Hungarian State—Dabisha, Ostojica—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. Tvrtkovitch—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.

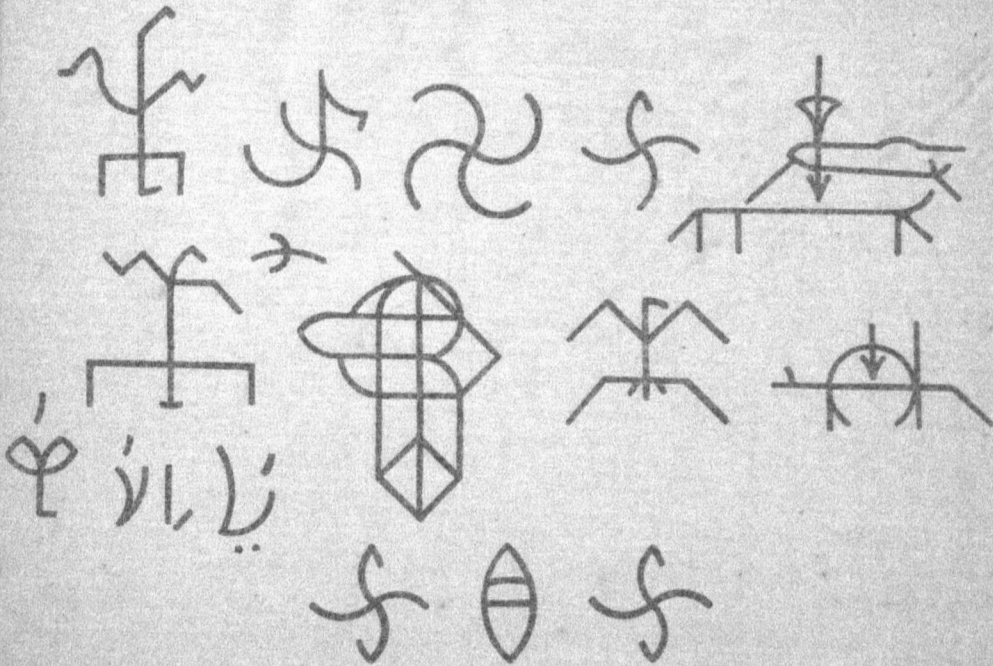
Nevertheless, in this district not a single memorial has been preserved from the first century of the Slavonic colonization. From the sixth century—that is to say, from the time when the Slavs had overrun the entire Balkan Peninsula, and, especially, had permanently conquered the present territory of 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 Cyrill 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 owning 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 Derwent, 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.

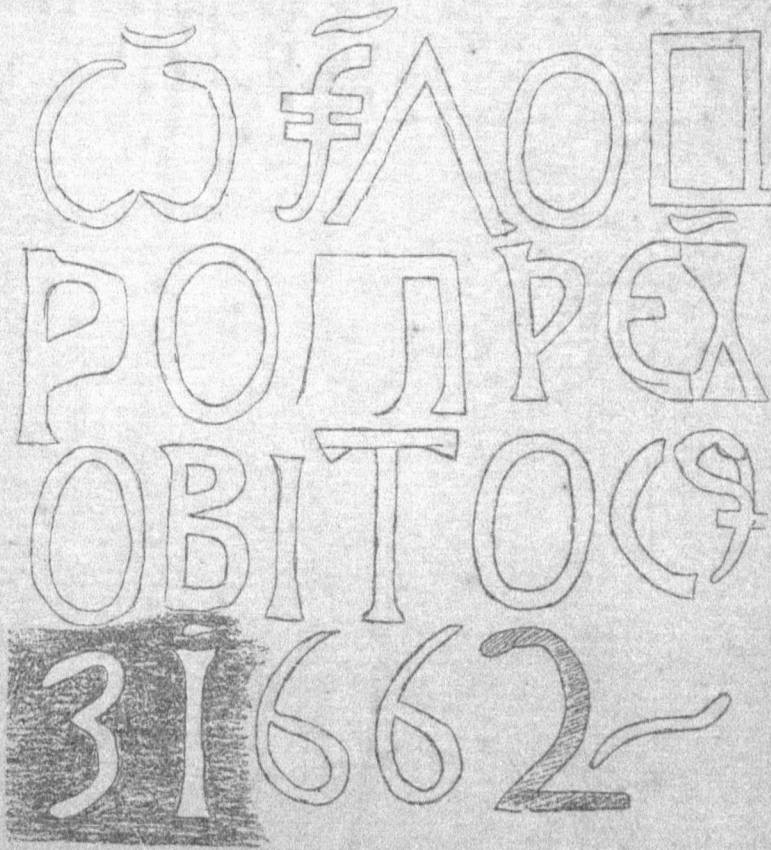
Old ruins of castles and monasteries may be seen everywhere; they are, however, possessed of hardly anything of artistic value belonging to that age, but show rather the traces of transition during the Turkish epoch.

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 Derwent 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

* 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 Melanchthon—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 Melanchthon, 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