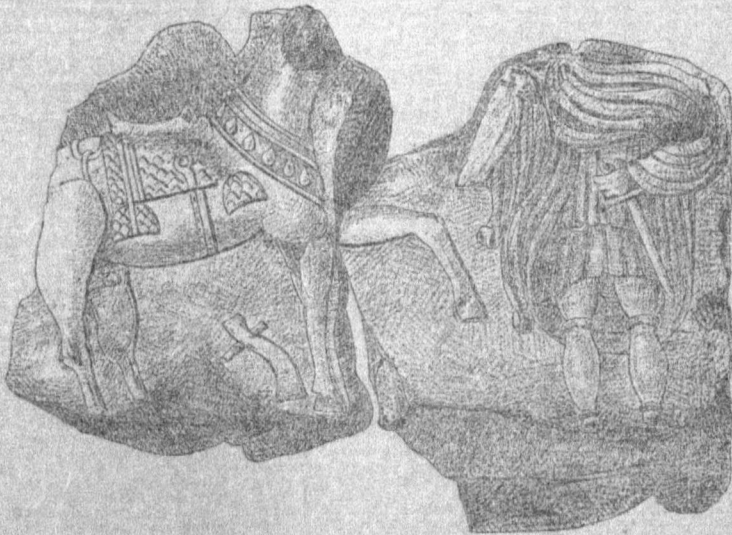




The Stone of Putitshevo.

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.

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 Campania, 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 Cumpania 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 Martitch—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, Fojnitzka 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-vijza, is the watershed of the Adriatic and the Black Sea, and the highest mountain peak in the land.

Modern Fojnitzka 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 Željeznitzka. 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 Herzegovinan 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 6,000 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 Vragoilovitch, 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 Zvizdavitsh, 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 Bosanskoga aliti Iliritschkoga I Srpskoga vladania za jedno Postavlieno po Stanislavu Rubtshitshu Popu, na slavu Stipana Nemanjitshu cara Srbliena 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 Nemanjitsch, Servian and Bosnian Emperor, in the year 1340”); and then the following Latin inscription :

"Codicem hunc continentem varia Stemata plurimum No-  
 bilium Familiarum Bosnensis jab ab imme-  
 morabili tempore, a captivitate nemque Regni  
 Bosne studiosè conservatum fuisse  
 a Reditis Prælati Franciscanis Familie  
 Fojnicensis testamur Nos  
 Fr. Gregorius a Varess Eppus  
 Rupsensis et Vicarius  
 Aplicus in Bosna Othomana  
 dictu Argen-  
 tina, præcipue  
 vero in olim  
 Episcopatu  
 Dumnensi.

Sutisca, Die 6, Julii, 1800.

(Beneath this the Bishop's signature and seal:)

Ita est Fr Gregorius Episco-  
 pus et Vicarius  
 Apostolicus Mppa."

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 Primorje.

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 († 1654), 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 Fojnuitza book of heraldry.\*

Now to what extent may the authenticity of the Fojnuitza 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 Fojnuitza monks from

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\* Described by Count Putshitsh, *Arch. f. Slav. Phil.* (Berlin, 1880), s. 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 Ratsbki, 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 *Hazánk*), 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 vertus et nocum*; 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.

\* *Spicilegium Observationum Historico Geographicorum de Bosnia 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 Fojnitzza 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. 63 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 purpure beneath the crown or, in the field azure.

The Croatian opinion, inspired by Ratshki, was also combated by a Croatian savant, Dr. Ivan Bojnitshitsh, 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 Ratshki's opinion, minus the mistaken or biassed 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 Bojnitshitsh 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, *Tural*, vol. 1, p. 11; *Heraldika*, p. 245, etc.

"The Kotromanovitsh, in addition to the crown of lilies, also bore a cross as coat-of-arms; the Krestitsh, 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, "*M Chervoii ducis S.*," and the other, which Nyáry considers to be one of Jura's coins, "*Moneta Chervoii 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

\* Nyáry, *Heraldika*, p. 247; p. 73 of this work.



coat-of-arms, the cross appearing in a subordinate position cannot be the armorial bearings, but only a religious emblem, which the Bantus 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 Bantus, 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.

\* In his letter addressed to Venice (in the Venetian State Archives, *Pacti Sciolti* *Scor. 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 Bojnitshitsh's arguments. He rejects Ratshki'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 Banus 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 Jcszenák family, a knight's seal dating from the time of Tvrtko's Banate, having such a bar on the escutcheon, just the same one, upon which Nyáry founds his coat-of-arms with a cross. (Stated in the Hungarian *Archæologiai Értesítő*, xii., 383.)

The same seal may also be seen preserved in the secret State Archives, in a document dated June 1st, 1367 (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: "*S(igillum) 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 Thallöczy'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.

Putshitsh, 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 Rasię Stepani Tre(r)tchonis.*" 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

\* *Arch. Ert.*, i. (1881), p. 52. (Fiedler, indeed, disputes the existence of this seal, upon the strength of an explanation by the Keeper of the Archives—Peccheti.)

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. Bojnitshtsh 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 first, published by Baron Kohn (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.



The Counterfeit Seal at Agram.

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 Bojnitshtsh 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 escentcheon. 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. Bojnitshitsh'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 Hrvoja, and by him only as a crest. But the Hungarian kings, too, down to the time of Ludvig II., King Mathias, 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 Mathias, 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.

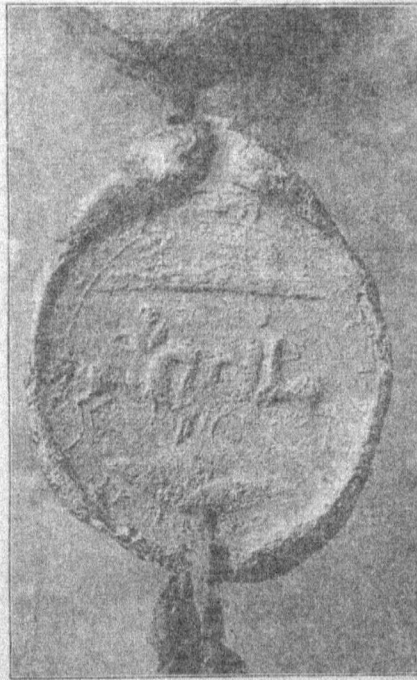
The fact alone that after Ludvig II. the Hungarian kings bore the sword-bearing arm as the arms of Rama cannot therefore decide the question, and it is absolutely incorrect to affirm, as Nyáry does, that "after all the steps taken by the General Minister of Finance, with the object of establishing the 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."\*

\* *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 Ladvig 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 Alphonso Ciacconi: *Vitæ 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 Ciacconi Vitæ et Res Gestæ Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. S. Cardinalium ab Augustino Oldoino recognitæ, etc.*, tom. iii., col. 41 (Romæ, 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 Cæli* 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 Elenæ et domo Caesaris Stephani natæ, 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 Cæli* 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

\* "*Archæologiai Értesítő.*" (New series. Published by the Hungarian Academy and the Archaeological Society. Edited by J. Hampel, October 15th, 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 SABBE SORORI ET ~~GENERE~~\* HELENÆ ET DOMO PRINCIPIS STEPHANI NATÆ THOMÆ REGIS BOSNÆ UXORI QUANTUM VIXIT ANNORUM LIII ET OBDOORMIVIT ROMÆ ANNO DOMINI MCCCCLXXVIII, DIE XXV OTOEBRIS MONUMENTUM IPSIUS SCRIPTIS POSITU."

It is clear from this that Ciacconi gave the inscription faithfully, and only corrected the words "*santi*," "*et*," and "*oteobris*." 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 Balsba III. In the original, too, he is called accordingly, not "Cæsaris 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

\* 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 Krestitsh (Christich) family. A seal of Ostoja's, of the year 1400 (see the Hungarian heraldic journal *Turul*, 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 Krestitsh, 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 Krestitsh and of the House of the Kotromans in opposition, like the search after the arms of the Krestitsh, 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 Krestitsh 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 Fojuitza 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 Gorazda and Mileshevo—The Glagolitic Writing—Religious and Historical Authors—Bosnian Influence upon Ragusa—Katshitsh—The National Language and Poetry of Bosnia as Regenerator of the South Slavonic Literatures—Folklore — Fra Grgo Martitsh — Karano Tvrtkovitsh — Jukitsh — Batinitsh — Kovatshevitch, Petranovitsh, Kosanovitsh, Jovanovitsh—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 Danitshitsh, Jagitsh, Karadžitsh, and others.



Whilst it utterly expired in Serbia, 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 Albigenses 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.; Ratshki, *Starine*, i. 93; Danitshitsh, *Starine*, iii.

† Ratshki, *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 Ichailat," 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 Jagitsh, *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 (Jagitsh, *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 Knjizvoti*, 167—169; *Slav. Naucny*, iv. 225.

in the train of the Sultan, and was afterwards Governor of Jaitze (published by Schaffarick in the Belgrade *Glasnik*, vol. xviii.). Ragusan historians mention the "Chronicle of Prince Hrvoja," which a certain Emmanuel 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 Mathias 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. Vetrantsh translated Euripides from Italian into Slavonic verse; Zlataritsh, Sophocles from the original; Hektorovitsh, Ovid; others, the writings of Virgil, Tibullus, Catullus, Propertius, and Martial; Marulitsh translated Petrarch; Soltanovitsh, 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 Vetranitsh (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 Slaci* (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 Mileshevo 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 Mileshevo, 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 Cyril 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 Matjevitsh, Posilovitsh, Bandulevitsh, Glavinitch, Antshitsh, 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 Bosniæ 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 Katshitsh Miotsshitsh (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 Slovincskoga* (*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. Katshitsh 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 Sibirjan," 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. Katshitsh's poems had a far-reaching effect. In his work *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (Venice, 1771) the Italian Abbot Fortis draws the attention of the European public to him, and upon the strength of his translations some of Katshitsh's poems, and other South Slavonic, and especially Bosnian-Herzegovinian folk-songs, first obtained admission into French, English, and German literature. But Katshitsh's greatest influence was shewn 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 Relkovitch (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 Divi Tshsovik* (*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 Kratantshitsh (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 Tshevaparitsh, 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 Dositheus 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 Karadžitsh (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 Toköly and J. Hadžitch, started a violent war against Vuk's innovations, which, however, in spite of this, gained ground.

Finally, after Slavonia and Serbia 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, Slavonzka 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 *Illirske narodne novine* and *Danica illirska*, 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-Herzegovinan *Stokavstina*, which in Ragusan literature at an early date superseded the Dalmatian *Tshakavstina*; and was introduced into Slavonia by Relkovitsh and Katantshitsh in the second half of the last century, in our own century in Servia by Obradovitsh and Vuk Karadžitsh, 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 Petrovitsh Njegos II.

The Bosnian-Herzegovinan 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-Herzegovinan people has had an important share in the poetry now, through Karadžitsh'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 Herzegovinan 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 Kossovo-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

\* Kuripeshitsh, *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 Servia 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.

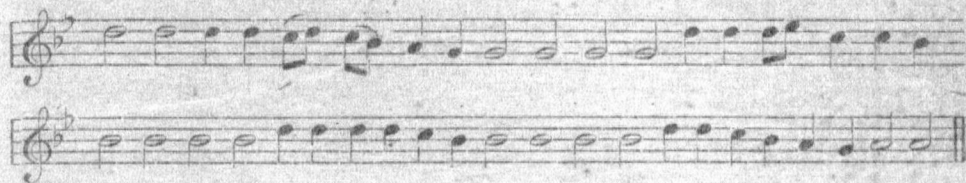
Wonderful and magic is their power, but not unconquerable to the true hero, for even they are not immortal. The vilas, too, understand the ethics of the bond of brotherhood, and hold it sacred. This bond originates either in simple inclination or in such a way that the enemy who feels himself to be lost, offers the victor brotherhood, and if he accepts it the partnership is sacred to both parties. Thus Vila Radivojla, besieged by Marko Kraljevitsh, 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 cæsura after the fourth syllable, of trochæic or dactyllic 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 :



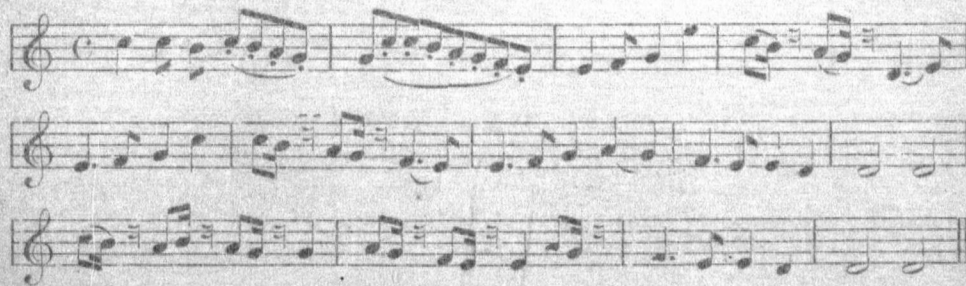
which is accompanied by the one-sided Gusla something after this fashion :



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 Servian national poetry, and here he published his first poems: *Serbijanka* (1826), *Zorica* (1827). From Leipzig he went to Cettinje, 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 Servian insurrection of 1813—1815. His collection of Montenegrin and Herzegovinan national poems—*Pevanija Crnogorska i Hertzegovatshka*—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 Ristitsh: *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: *Obrenoc*, *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 Trvtkovitsh-Brdo, in the year 1840 published his important collection of South Slavonian, and especially Bosnian records, in Belgrade: *Srpski spomenici ili stare risovalje, diplome, povelje i snšoenia 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 Jukitsh 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 *Slavoljub Bosnjak* wrote a geography and history of Bosnia (*Zemljopis i povjestnica Bosne*: Agram, 1851).

Jukitsh 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 Franjevaca 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 cvjetnik*.

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 pjesne Muhamedovaca u Bosni i Hercegovini*, by Government Councillor K. Hörmann.



## INDEX.

- Agrarian conditions and land laws, 158-72.  
 Agrarian question, 366, 367.  
 Agricultural enterprise, 168.  
 — societies, 171, 392.  
 Aid, government, 167.  
 Akir, legend of, 467.  
 Alexander, legend of, 476.  
 Amulets, 182.  
 Andreas II., 46.  
 Antimony, 405.  
 Antiquities, Roman, 441, 442.  
 — of Rogatitza, 237.  
 Apocryphal books, 32, 33.  
 — — of Russian origin, 32.  
 Armoury trade, 180, 181.  
 Arms of Bosnia, 457-72.  
 Arslan-Agitsh-Most (Bridge), 358.  
 Art, Roman, deterioration of, 23, 24.  
 "Athnamech," the, 451.  
 Avars, the, 25, 276, 383.  
 Avd'Ag, dinner with, 232, 233.
- Ban Boris, 39, 40, 41.  
 — death of, 41.  
 Banialuka, 378, 380-92.  
 — bishop of, 380.  
 — citadel of, 382.  
 — illumination of, 382.  
 — inhabitants of, 382.  
 — rise of, 384.  
 — Roman, baths of, 19, 383-4.  
 Bans, Bosnian, 39, 42.  
 — Hungarian, era of, 48.  
 Banus Kulin, 43, 44, 45.  
 — Ninoslav, 46, 48.  
 — Stefan, 46, 50, 52, 53, 54, 56.  
 Basil II., 38.  
 Batish, Prince, tomb of, 102.  
 Bear Tower, the, 421, 425, 433.  
 Begova Džamija, 21, 131, 132, 153, 176, 420.  
 Béla II., 38, 39.  
 Béla III., 43.  
 Béla IV., 47, 48, 49.  
 Béla, Duke, 41, 42.  
 Bend-Bashi, the, coffee-house, 210-18.
- Berberli, Hüssein Aga, 144, 269, 384, 387.  
 — banishment of, 388.  
 — revolt of, 144.  
 — victories of, 387.  
 Bezestan, the, 174.  
 Bihatsh, 374.  
 — agricultural condition of, 375, 376, 377.  
 — society of, 375, 377.  
 — castle of, 374, 375.  
 Bilek, 352-61.  
 — fortifications of, 353.  
 — garrison of, 346.  
 — tableland of, 352.  
 — town of, 352, 353.  
 Bishoprics, Catharinic, 45.  
 Blagaj, 263.  
 — siege of, 95.  
 Bobovatz, siege of, 94.  
 Bogomiles, the, 25-100.  
 — and Turks, first alliance between, 68.  
 — conversion of, 385.  
 — crusade against, 336.  
 — doctrines of, 35, 36, 37.  
 — extinction of, 96, 98, 99, 100.  
 — importance of, 30.  
 — their influence on Western Reformation, 30, 31, 34.  
 — persecution of, 42, 44, 83, 86, 87.  
 — rebellion of, 58.  
 — rise of sect, 31.  
 — toleration of, 52.  
 Bogomilian burial grounds, 101-26.  
 — faith, 475.  
 — graves, 30.  
 — sepulchre, 301.  
 Bogumil, 34.  
 "Bogutov dub," tombs at the, 348, 349.  
 Bona, ancient, 268.  
 Book of Heraldry, Bosnian, 451, 452, 454, 455, 456.  
 Border warfare, 362, 263.  
 Boratz, fortress of, 41.  
 Boris, Ban, 39, 40, 41.  
 — death of, 41.
- Borje, 297, 303.  
 — tombstone at, 115.  
 Borovitza, mines opened in, 402.  
 Bosna railway, 1, 2.  
 — river, 4, 17, 19, 21.  
 Bosnia, arms of, 457-72.  
 — dismemberment of, 74.  
 — education in, 145-157.  
 — formation of, 26.  
 — historical literature of, 480.  
 — Hungarian supremacy in, 67.  
 — interest of Popes in, 45.  
 — original inhabitants of, 18.  
 — period of her greatest splendour, 48.  
 — purchase of, 339.  
 — reception in, 1, 6.  
 — relations between, and Hungary, 42.  
 — religion in, 145-57.  
 — tannery in, 11.  
 — tobacco factory in, 11.  
 — Turkish invasion of, 77.  
 Bosnian army, destruction of, 72.  
 — Begs, campaign of, 385, 386, 387.  
 — defeat of, 388.  
 — Book of Heraldry, 451, 452, 454, 455, 456.  
 — coins, first, 50.  
 — horses, 294.  
 — houses, 232-3.  
 — kings, arms of, 423, 424.  
 — mining, 398, 399.  
 — monarchy, fall of, 410.  
 — plums, 280, 281.  
 — soldiers, 188-9.  
 — state, rise of, 38.  
 Bosnians, conversion of, to Mohammedanism, 95.  
 Brankovitch, George, 86, 87, 89, 339.  
 — purchase of Bosnia by, 339.  
 Brtsška, 280.  
 Brzovo-Polje, 281.  
 Bukovitch, tomb of, 113.  
 Bulgarians, Turanian, invasion of, 26.  
 Buna river, 268, 269.  
 — sources of the, 263-7.  
 — village of, 264.



- "Bunari," the, 395.  
 Burial grounds, Bogomilian, 101-26, 340.  
   — Turkish, 130, 420.  
 Busovatza, iron springs of, 6.  
 Byzantine taste, traces of, 113.
- Cairns, 343.  
 Cannon, antique, 419.  
 Catacombs, the, 423, 424, 425.  
 Catholic tombs, 274.  
 Catholics, Roman, migration of, 98.  
 Cattle-breeding, 170.  
 Celts, invasion of, 18.  
 Cemetery, Radmilovitch, 348, 350.  
   — Stolatz, 117.  
 Cemeteries, Turkish, 130, 420.  
 Chlum, castle of, 268.  
 Christianity, introduction of, 26.  
 Christians, insurrections of, 270.  
 Chrome mines, 404.  
 Chronicles, 476.  
 Church of St. John, 428.  
   — — St. Luke, 422, 425, 426.  
 Codex, parchment, 475.  
 Coins, Bosnian, first, 50.  
 Coins, Roman, 384, 442.  
 Collieries, 446, 447.  
 Colonists, homesteads of, 390.  
 Colonization, conditions of, 391.  
 Conquest, Roman, 18.  
   — Slavonic, 25.  
   — Turkish, 16.  
 Constantine, 268, 276, 356.  
   — Porphyrogenitus, 38, 40, 289, 356.  
 Constantinople, taking of, 89.  
 Cordon, military, 346.  
 Courtship, 195, 196.  
 Croatia, invasion of, 53.  
   — rebellion of, 54.  
   — subject to Hungary, 38.  
 Crosses, occasional, 107-8.  
 Crusade against Bogomiles, 46, 47, 48, 336.  
   — — Gyaour-Sultan, 385, 386.  
   — — Turks, 89.  
 Cuneiform writing, 28.  
 Cycle of Novak, legendary, 241-3.  
   — — Vergilian, 34.  
 Cyrill, 26.  
 Cyrillie, 479, 480.  
   — inscription, 120.  
 Czareva Džamija, 131, 132, 173.
- Dabar Polje, the, 342.  
 Dervish Monastery, 409.  
 Dervishes, howling, meeting of, 206.  
 Desert of Korito, 324-51.  
   — character of people of, 326.  
 Doboi, 292.  
 Dobretitch, count of, tomb of, 436.  
 Dobritshevo, monastery of, 353.  
 Dolnja-Tuzla, 289.  
 Domanovitsh, 274.  
 Dominicans and Franciscans, disputes between, 52.
- Dragon, order of the, 73.  
 Drina river, 226, 227, 284, 288.  
 Drižish, 478.  
 Duboshitza, 404.  
 Dubovatz, tombs below, 349.
- Ecclesiastical Policy of Government, 146, 149.  
 Education, 145-57.  
   — standard of, 153, 154, 155.  
 Emanuel, emperor, 39, 41.  
   — death of, 42.  
 Epitaphs, 477.  
 Excavations, 109, 170, 117.
- Falconry, 379.  
 Fatnitza, stone at, 115.  
 Ferhad-Beg Herendia, submission of, 224-5.  
 Ferhadia Dshamia, 383.  
 Fojnitza, 318, 401, 404, 448-56.  
   — Franciscan monastery at, 448-9.  
   — iron-trade of, 401.  
   — mines of, 448.  
 Folk songs, 198-206.  
   — of Herzegovina, 327-31.  
   — — the Krain, 368-74.  
 Fotcha, 22-33.  
   — armourers of, 280.  
   — mediæval monuments in, 229.  
 Fra Grgo Martitch, 449, 489.  
 Franciscan monastery, 381, 448, 449.  
 Franciscans and Dominicans, disputes between, 52.
- Gabella, 274.  
 Gatzko, 321.  
 Gatzko-Polje, the, 319, 320, 322.  
 Glagolitic, 479, 480.  
   — inscription, 103.  
   — manuscript, 476.  
 Goat bridge, the, 132.  
 Goats, wild, 301.  
 Gomiles, 102.  
 Gorazda, 223, 224.  
   — printing-presses in, 224.  
 Goths, the, 25.  
 Government aid, 167.  
 Gratschanitza, 291, 292.  
 Graves, Bogomilian, 30, 101.  
   — mediæval, 240.  
   — Slavonian, 444.  
 Guilds, trade, 178, 179.  
 Gusinje, song of, 211-8.  
 Gyaursko-Polje, the, 102, 112, 119.  
   — sarcophagus in, 119-26.  
 Gyaour-Sultan, crusade against the, 385, 386.
- Hektorovitsh, 477, 478.  
 Heraldry, Bosnian Book of, 451, 452, 454, 455, 456.  
 Herzegovina, 40, 87.  
   — creation of, 340.  
   — customs of, 321.  
   — fall of, 96.
- Herzegovina, folk songs of, 327-31.  
   — houses of, 230.  
 Herzegovinian horsemen, 318.  
   — tombs, 322.  
 Historical literature, Bosnian, 480.  
 Honorius, Pope, 46.  
 Horses, Bosnian, 294.  
 Houses, Herzegovinian, 232-3.  
 Hrvoja, 68, 69, 73, 338.  
   — defence of, 74, 76.  
   — death of, 77.  
   — proclaimed traitor, 74, 76.  
   — and Ragusa, alliance between, 69, 70, 71.
- Hum, Province of, 40.  
 Hungary and Venice, truce between, 55.  
   — campaign against Bosnia, 74.  
   — weakness of, 46.  
 Hungarian army, defeat of, 47.  
   — Baus, era of, 48.  
 Hunyady, John, 80.  
   — death of, 89.  
   — taken prisoner, 86.  
   — victory of, 81, 89.
- Ihidsha, hot baths of, 10.  
 Illyrians, 18, 19, 26.  
 Imports, increase in, 195.  
 Indices, Russian, 34, 35.  
 Inscriptions, 117.  
   — Cyrillic, 120.  
   — Glagolitic, 103.  
   — Latin, 436.  
   — metrical, 442.  
   — Rogatitza, at, 237, 238, 239-240.  
   — Roman, 19, 22.  
 Institutions, representative, 185, 186, 187.  
 Insurrections, Christian, 270.  
 Invasion of Turanian Bulgarians, 26.  
   — of Slavs, 25.  
   — of Turks, 94.
- Itinerarium Antonini*, 19.  
 "Ivanska" or Church of St. John, 422.
- Jaitze, 405-33.  
   — attacks upon, 413, 414.  
   — capital of Bosnia, 412.  
   — castle of, 416, 418, 419, 420, 422.  
   — defence of, 413, 415.  
   — fall of, 416.  
   — waterfall, 431, 432, 433.  
 Jalla, river, the, 289, 290, 291.  
 Jablanitza, 250, 252.  
   — women of, 250.  
 Janizaries, 141, 142, 143.  
   — abolition of, 386.  
 Jeremias, 34.  
 Jews, Polish, 10.  
   — Spanish, 10.  
 Jezero, lakes of, 408, 409, 420.

- Kadi-Beg, 296.  
 Kalinovik, station of, 310.  
 Karadzitsch, Vuk Stefanovitsh, 182, 484.  
 Karaula-Gora, the, 436.  
 Karovitsh, 234.  
 Karst, the, or limestone region, 249.  
 Kasjerevo, monastery of, 354.  
 Katshitsh, 481.  
 King's Mead, the, 114.  
 Kiseljak, mineral springs of, 6.  
 Kljutsch, castle of, 332, 335, 340.  
 — legend of, 334.  
 Klobuk, ruins of, 359.  
 — siege of, 360.  
 Kmet-land, 165, 166.  
 — the, 164.  
 Kneses, 27.  
 Kobila-Glava, mountain of, 340.  
 Kolo dance, the, 115.  
 Koloman, conquests of, 46, 47.  
 Komotin, castle of, 480.  
 — legend of, 430, 431.  
 Konitza, 247, 249.  
 — bridge of, 247.  
 Koran, law of the, 159, 160.  
 Korito, 343, 344, 345.  
 — ravine, 409.  
 Kosina Tshupria, the, 132.  
 Kossovop-polje, battle of, 64, 65, 86.  
 Kostainitza, Bosnian, 362.  
 — Croatian, 362.  
 Kotromanitsh, Stefan, 51.  
 Krain, the, 362-79.  
 — people of the, 364.  
 — folk songs of, 368-74.  
 Kral Sandalj, castle of, 332.  
 Kratantshitsh, M.P., 481.  
 Krbiljina, station of the, 302.  
 Kreshevo, 401.  
 — mines of, 448.  
 Kreshimir, king, 33.  
 Krupa, 366, 377.  
 Kula, of Dervish Beg Tshengitsh, reception at, 303.  
 Kulas, 303.  
 Kulin, Banus, 43, 44, 45.  
 Kulinovitsh tombs, 420.  
 Kutzovlachs, 26.  
 Ladislaus II., 40.  
 Lake Fort, the, 408.  
 Land-laws, and Agrarian conditions, 158-72.  
 Latin inscription, 436.  
 Lead mines, 400, 401.  
 Legend of Akir, 476.  
 — Alexander, 476.  
 — Kljutsch, 334.  
 — Komotin, 430, 431.  
 — Pirlitor Castle, 300.  
 — Zvornik, 286-7.  
 Limestone region, or Karst, 249.  
 Literary movements and national poetry, 473-91.  
 Literature, historical, 480.  
 Livno, tower of, 19.  
 Love charms, 182.  
 Maglai, 4.  
 Mahmud II., reforms introduced by, 386.  
 Majdan, 397.  
 — yield of copper and iron ore at, 397.  
 Majdans, primitive, 397.  
 Malbul, 161.  
 Manganese ore, 404.  
 Manichaeans, Armenian, 32, 33.  
 — Bosnian, 78.  
 Marriage customs, 196-7.  
 Martitsh, Fra Grgo, 21, 449, 489.  
 Marulitsh, 477.  
 Mathias, king, tabard of, 449, 450.  
 Mediaeval monuments in Fotcha, 229.  
 — swords, 117.  
 Memorials, Turkish, 127-44.  
 Mentshetitsh, 478.  
 Metind, 26.  
 Metkovich, unhealthiness of, 276.  
 Metruke-land, 163.  
 Mevat, the, 163.  
 Mile, 409.  
 Miliaska, river, 17, 220, 294, 295.  
 Military road from Rogatitza to Serajevo, 240, 243.  
 — roads, Austrian, 277.  
 — Turkish, 277.  
 Mills, primitive, 437, 438.  
 Mineral springs, Kiseljak, 6.  
 Miners, Hungarian, 399, 400.  
 Mines, Bosnian, 45.  
 — chrome, 404.  
 — lead, 400, 401.  
 — Roman, 19.  
 — silver, 398, 400, 402.  
 Mining, Bosnian, 398, 399.  
 Minorites, Bosnian, 146, 147.  
 Mitshitsh, 480.  
 Mirich-land, 160, 161, 162, 163, 165.  
 Mohacs, battle of, 410.  
 Mohammedan tombs, 274.  
 — women, 10.  
 Mohammedans, 11.  
 Monarchy, fall of Bosnian, 410.  
 Monastery, Dervish, 409.  
 — Dobritshevo, 353.  
 — Franciscan, 381.  
 — Kasjerevo, 354.  
 — Trappist, 489, 390.  
 Monuments, Roman, 446, 447.  
 — ancient Trebinje, 358, 360.  
 Morinje, the, 315, 316, 317, 318.  
 Moshko, plateau of, 354.  
 Mostar, 254, 255-62.  
 — bridge of, 257, 258, 260.  
 — excavations at, 117.  
 — original name of, 260.  
 — people of, 261, 262.  
 — population of, 260, 261.  
 — to the sea, 268-77.  
 Mostar, warlike character of, 255-6.  
 Mostarsko Blato, the, 273.  
 Muezzins, 14.  
 Mufti, dinner with the, 190, 191, 192, 193.  
 Muhammed II., defeat of, 89.  
 — victory of, 89, 95.  
 Muik-land, 159, 160, 165.  
 Murad II., defeat of, 81.  
 Mustapha Pasha, 387.  
 Narenta, river, 245-4, 257, 272, 27, 276.  
 Narentans, the, 52.  
 Narona, 276.  
 National Poetry, 473, 474, 475.  
 Necropolis of the Vardar, 324-51.  
 New Ulok, 314.  
 Ninoslav, Banus, 46, 48.  
 — alliance with Ragusa, 47.  
 — close of reign, 49.  
 Novi, 364.  
 Obelisk, reversed, 112.  
 Obradovitsh, Dositheus, 482.  
 "Old Slavonic," 26.  
 Olovos, 401.  
 Omer Beg, 281.  
 — Pasha, 269, 270, 272.  
 Ostoja, king, flight of, 70.  
 Ostrobrdo, mountain, 408.  
 Ottomal, mountain, 408.  
 Palmotitsh, 478.  
 Pandours, the, 228.  
 Papal interest in Bosnia, 45.  
 Parchment Codex, the, 475.  
 Patarines, 45, 100.  
 Pavlovatz, castle of, 222.  
 Petitions, by natives, 8, 9.  
 Pirlitor, castle of, 300.  
 — legend of, 300.  
 Pliva, river, 408, 434.  
 Plums, Bosnian, 280-1.  
 Policy, ecclesiastical, of government, 146, 149.  
 Pope Honorius, 46.  
 Popovo-Polje, 342.  
 Posavina, the, 278-87.  
 — economical development of, 282, 283.  
 — large estates in, 279.  
 Pratzta, 221.  
 Priedor, 378.  
 Prozor, 249.  
 Queen Katharine, tomb of, 466, 467, 468, 469.  
 Radinovitsh, Paul, 338.  
 — tomb of, 101, 222.  
 Radmilovitsh cemetery, 348, 350.  
 Radivoj, Knez, 91.  
 Ragusa, 361, 477, 478, 479.  
 — and Hrvoja, alliance between, 69-70, 71.  
 — siege of, 69.

- Railway, Turkish, 363, 364.  
 Lama, 41.  
   — river, 249.  
 Ramazan, 15, 189-195.  
 Rastell, the, 363.  
 Ravine of Korito, 409.  
 Records, State, 28.  
 Relkovitsh, Matija, 481.  
 Representative institutions, 186, 186, 187.  
 Reshid Pasha, 387, 388.  
 Rizvanbegovitsh, Ali Beg, 387, 388, 389.  
   — Pasha, 269, 270, 272.  
 Roads, Roman, 20, 21, 25, 26.  
 Rogatitza, 234-44.  
   — antiquities of, 237.  
   — Begs of, 236, 237.  
   — inscriptions, 237, 238, 239, 240.  
 Roman antiquities, 441, 442.  
   — art, deterioration of, 23, 24.  
   — baths at Banialuka, 383, 384.  
   — coins, 384, 442.  
   — inscriptions, 19, 22.  
   — monuments, 446, 447.  
   — roads, 20, 21, 25, 26.  
   — ruins, 252.  
   — stones, 16-24.  
   — tomb, 246.  
 Romanja Planina, the, 234-44.  
   — — robbers of the, 241.  
 Romans, alliance against, 18.  
 Royal arms, 423.  
 Ruins, mediæval, 28.  
   — Roman, 252.  
 Russian indices, 34, 35.  
 Saint John, church of, 428.  
   — Luke, church of, 422, 425, 426.  
   — Sava, duke of, 87, 267.  
 Salt district, 41, 49.  
   — Springs of Tuzla, 288, 290.  
 Sava, river, 378.  
   — boats on the, 378.  
 Sandalj Hranitsh, 68, 73, 74, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339.  
   — — purchase of Bosnia by, 339.  
 Sarajlija, S. M. 489.  
 Sarcophagus in Gyaursko-Polje, 119-26.  
   — Roman origin of, 111-4.  
 Save river, 278.  
 Scholars, number of, 156-7.  
 Schools, 156-7.  
 Semendria, capture of, 90.  
   — peace of, 86.  
 Sepulchre, Bogomilian, 301.  
 Serajevo, 11, 12-15, 16, 17, 77, 101, 181.  
   — aristocracy of, 132-41.  
   — city of, 176, 178.  
   — departure from, 219.  
   — founding of, 130.  
   — inscriptions near, 101, 102.  
   — life questions in, 173-218.  
 Serajevo, Mohammedan character of, 127.  
   — plains of, 20.  
   — storming of, 144.  
   — to Gorazda, 219-25.  
   — tradesmen, 174.  
 Serajevsko-Polje, 10, 15, 17, 101.  
 Serdar, Ekrem, 269.  
 Servia, defeat of, 89.  
   — fall of, 65.  
   — — — into hands of Turks, 90.  
   — war with, 55, 56, 57.  
 Sheep-stealers, 317.  
 Shehidler, the, 130.  
 Silver filigree work, 229.  
   — mines, 398, 400, 402.  
 Sinan-Thekia, 206-10.  
 Sitnitza, 395, 396.  
 Slavonian graves, 444.  
 Slavonic empire, rise of, 27.  
   — — old, 26.  
 Slavs, invasion of, 25.  
 Solen of Tuzla, 402.  
 Soltanovitsh, 477.  
 Song of Gusinje, 211-8.  
 Spahis, claims of the, 160.  
 Spalato, siege of, 63, 64.  
   — surrender of, 47, 64.  
 Sprezza, river, 41, 288, 291.  
   — valley of the, 288-92.  
 Srebernitz, silver mines of, 402.  
 Stefan, Banus, 46, 50, 52, 53, 54, 56.  
   — Kotroman, 50.  
   — Tomashevitch, king, 91, 92, 410.  
   — — death of, 95.  
   — — flight of, 95.  
 Stefan III., 40.  
 Stefan IV., defeat of, 40.  
 "Stefanit and Ichnilat," 476.  
 Stepan, Duke of St. Sava, 87, 267.  
 Stepanograd, ruins of, 257, 264.  
 Stolatz, castle of, 269.  
   — cemetery at, 117.  
 Stones, Roman, 16-24.  
 Strafuni, the corps, 311-2.  
 Subterranean buildings, 422, 423.  
   — caverns, 322, 323.  
 Sunullah Effendi Sokolovitsh, 190.  
 Support funds, agricultural, 171, 172.  
 Sutjeska Pass, the, 298.  
 Swords, mediæval, 377-8.  
 Szegedin, diet of, 90.  
 Tabard, of King Mathias, 449, 450.  
*Tahula Peutingeriana*, 18, 19, 383.  
 Tapia, the, 159, 161.  
 Thomas, king, 81, 87.  
   — conversion of, 82.  
   — death of, 91.  
   — record of, 83.  
   — war with Duke of St. Sava, 87.  
 Timar, the, 159, 160.  
 Tomb of Batitsh, Prince, 102.  
   — Borje, 115.  
   — Bukovitz, 113.  
   — Dobretitsh, count of, 436.  
   — Dubovatz, 349.  
   — Katharine, Queen, 466, 467, 468, 469.  
   — Roman, 246.  
 Tombs, Catholic, 274.  
   — Herzegovinan, 322.  
   — Kulinovitsh, 420.  
   — Mohammedan, 274.  
   — wedding, 316.  
 Tombstones, 28, 29.  
 Tradesmen, Serajevo, 174, 176.  
 Trappist monastery, 389, 390.  
 Travnik, 434-447.  
   — seat of government, 440.  
 Trebinje, 352-61.  
   — ancient monuments in, 358, 360.  
   — plains of, 354.  
 Trojan war, 476.  
 Tsharshija, the, 176, 178, 179.  
 Tshelabi Bazar, 236.  
 Tshemerno, saddle of, 390.  
 Tshengitsh, Ali Beg, 138.  
   — Ali Pasha, 190, 191.  
   — Dervish Beg, 228, 296, 304, 309.  
   — Kadri-Beg, 296.  
   — folk song, 306-9.  
   — Smail Aga, 269.  
   — tribe of the, 143, 304.  
 Tuzla, 288-92.  
   — gypsies in, 289-90.  
   — salt springs of, 288, 290.  
   — Solen of, 402.  
   — trade of, 290.  
 Turanian Bulgarians, invasion of, 26.  
 Turkish cemeteries, 130, 420.  
   — railways, 363, 364.  
 Turks, crusade against, 89.  
   — first permanent settlement of, 328.  
   — invasion of, 94.  
   — memorials, 127-44.  
   — retreat of, 81.  
 Tvrtko I., accession of, 50, 59, 60.  
   — death of, 65.  
   — policy of, 60, 61, 62.  
 Tvrtko II., 338.  
 Tzazin, 366, 367.  
   — songs and ballads, 367.  
 Tzervanj-Klanatz, mountain of, 315.  
 Tzintzers, 26.  
 Tzrnitza, 331.  
 Ulok, new, 314.  
 Unna, river, 19, 364.  
   — mills on the, 366.  
 Usora, 41.  
 Vakuf, the, 181, 183, 162.



Vardar, mountain, 325-6, 347.  
 — necropolis of, 324-51.  
 Vartzar-Vakuf, 396, 397.  
 Vendetta, the, 321.  
 Vetranitsh, 477, 478.  
 "Vila," the, 487, 488, 489.  
 Vishegrad, baths of, 19.  
 Vrbas river, 19, 380, 381, 410.  
 — Bosnian mining, 393-405.

Walks, evening, 12.  
 War, Trojan, 476.  
 Warfare, border, 362, 363.

Watch-house of the wounded, 222, 223.  
 Waterfall, Jaitze, 431, 432, 433.  
 Waywodes, 141.  
 "Wedding tombs," 316.  
 Wild goats, 301.  
 "Windhorst," 391.  
 Women, Mohammedan, 10.  
 Writing, cuneiform, 28.  
 — introduction of art of, 26.

Zadruga, the, 158.  
 Zablumska-Rjeka, river, 318.  
 Zargorje, the, 293-314.

Zargorje, character of, 293, 294.  
 — outlaws of, 310, 311.  
 Zapolya, Emerich, 412.  
 Zara, siege of, 54, 55.  
 Zaskoplje, citadel of, 409.  
 Železnitza, ravine of, 295.  
 Zenitza, collieries at, 446, 447.  
 Zlatarish, 477.  
 Zupans, 27, 37, 39.  
 Zvornik, fall of, 413.  
 — fortress of, 284, 286, 287.  
 — legend of, 286-7.  
 — silver mines of, 402.