

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

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

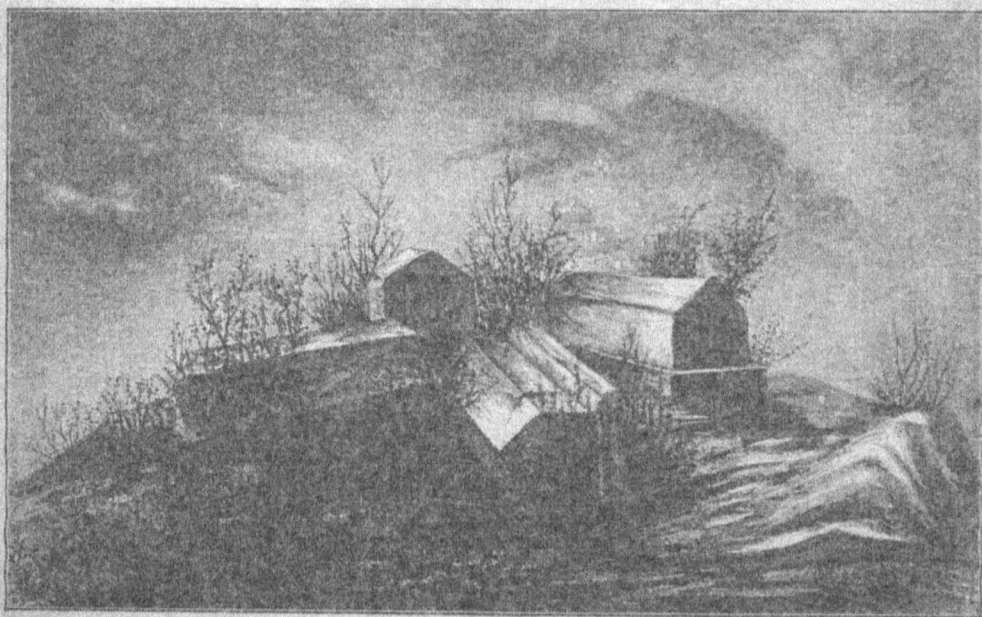
Amongst other races, too, as soon as they accepted Christianity, other books were produced in addition to these, assimilating the old heathen traditions, and reflecting the national modes of thought, thus gaining great popularity. Just the same thing happened with the Southern Slavs, but principally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

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

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

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

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



Bogomilian Tombs at Travnik.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

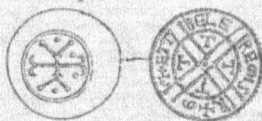
Boris was an energetic man, and under him Bosnia attained to nearly her present boundaries. Kynamos, the Emperor Emmanuel's historiographer, and the Presbyter of Dioclea both indicate the Drina and the Borovaglava Mountains adjacent to what is now Livno as the eastern and western boundaries of Bosnia.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

* Tkaltshitsh, *Mon. hist. episc. Zagradiensis*, i., p. 3.

† Ljubitch, *Opis jugoslavenskih novaca*, 181.

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

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



Moneta Bele Regis R.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Katona, *Hist. Crit.*; Fejér, *Codex dipl.*; Theiner, *Ungarische und südslavische Monumente*; Schwandtner, *Script. rer. Hung.*; Endlicher, *Mon. Arpad.*; The *Mon. Hung. Hist.* of the Hungarian Academy; Kukulievitch, *Cod. diplom.*; Jura Regni Croat.; Wenzel, *Cod. dipl. Arpad.*, *Tört. Tár*; Miklositch, *Monum. Serb.*; Ljubitch, *Südslav. Monum.*, *Mon. ragusina*; Fraknoi, *Országgy. Emlék.*; Rácki, *Mon. Hist. Croat.*, *Bogomili i Patavini* (*Rad. jugosl. Akad.*, vii., viii.); the publications of the Academy of Agram; the Belgrade *Glasnik*, Putshitsh, *Spomenici srebri*; Tkaltshitsh, *Mon. episc. Zagreb.*; Jiretshek, *Handelsstrassen*, are the chief sources for this period.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Coins of the Banus Stefan Kotroman.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

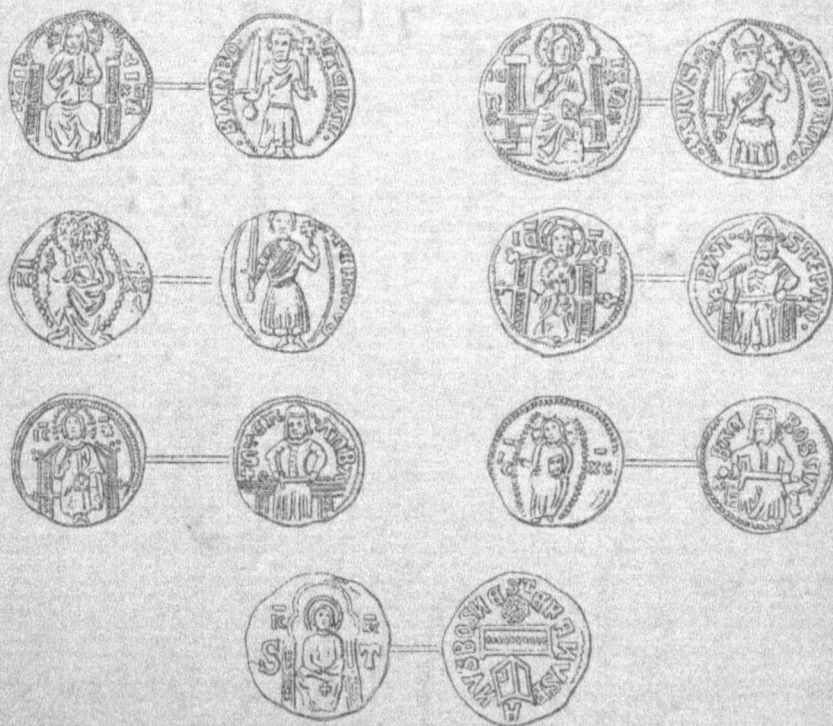
century lived independently under its own Župan. The Narentans were celebrated pirates, and from the time of the introduction of Christianity, Bogomiles; to Venice and to the Hungarian king a double motive for renewed efforts at their subjugation. In the Crusade of 1276—1279, the Venetians at last succeeded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

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

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

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

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



Coins of the Banus Stefan Kotromanitch.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† *Ljubitch, Mon. Slav. Merid.*, ii. 318—339.

‡ *Ljubitch, Op. cit.*, 376—429.

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

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

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

† *Ibid.*, iii. 190–199.

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

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

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

† Wenzel, *Tört. Tár*, i., 14—16.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



The Coins of Banus Tvrtko.

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

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

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

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

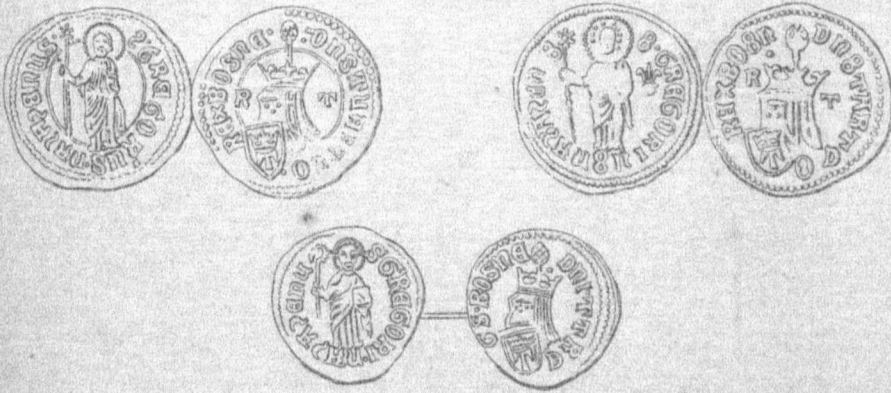
The king's aim had been to weaken the old Servian empire. Tvrtko, on the contrary, entered upon a path calculated to lead to its re-establishment. Later on, after Ludvig's death, he endeavoured to conquer Croatia and Dalmatia too, so as to found a great South Slavonic kingdom. He at first assumed a doubtful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

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

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

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

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



King Tvrtko's Coins.

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

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

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

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

Heavily did the Bogomilian persecutions of King Ludvig now avenge

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

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



The Cattarinic Copper Coins of King Tvrtko.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Fejér, *Cod. dipl.*, x., 2.

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

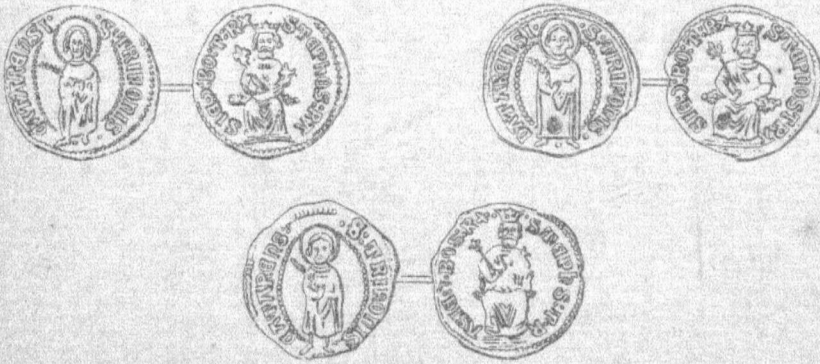
The most powerful of the magnates were at this time Hrvoja Vuktshitsh and his brother-in-law Sandalj Hranitsh. The latter reigned as absolutely in Chlum as Hrvoja did in North-western Bosnia. Both were zealous Bogomiles. Stefan Ostoja, who was most likely an illegitimate son of Tvrtko's,* and likewise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

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

* Ostoja's illegitimate son King Thomas Ostojitsh calls Tvrtko II. "*Patruus noster carissimus*."

† Ragusan records given by Putshitsh. Lucius, *De Regno Dalm.*, p. 258.

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



Coins of King Ostoja.

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

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

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

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

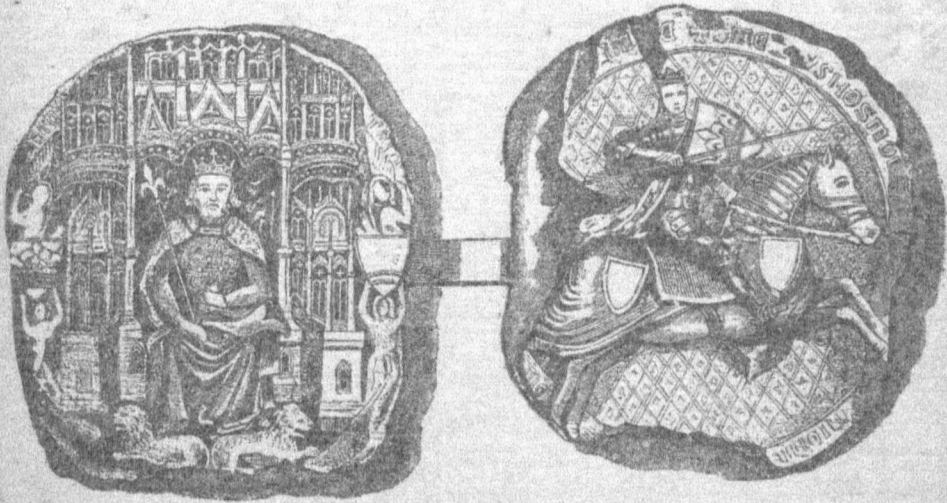
John Maróthi relieved the fortress of Bobovatz, where a Hungarian garrison was now stationed for several years. Hrvoja raised no further opposition to Ostoja, thus protected by Sigismund.

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

^{*} Miklosics, *Mon. serb.*, p. 252.

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

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



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

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

* A grant from Ladislaus.

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

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

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

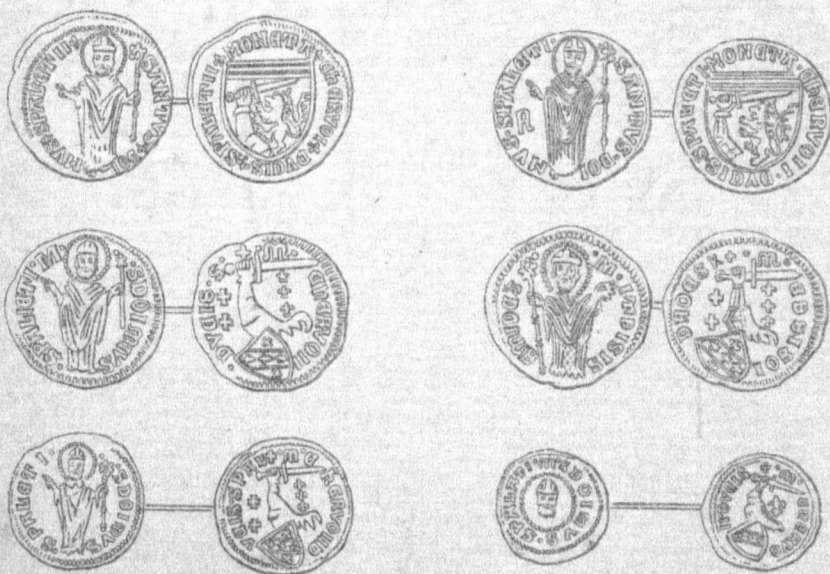
* Fejér, *Cod. dipl.*, x. 4, p. 397.

† Putshish, *Spom.*, i. 59.

‡ Lucius, *De regno Dalm.*, p. 261.

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

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



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

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

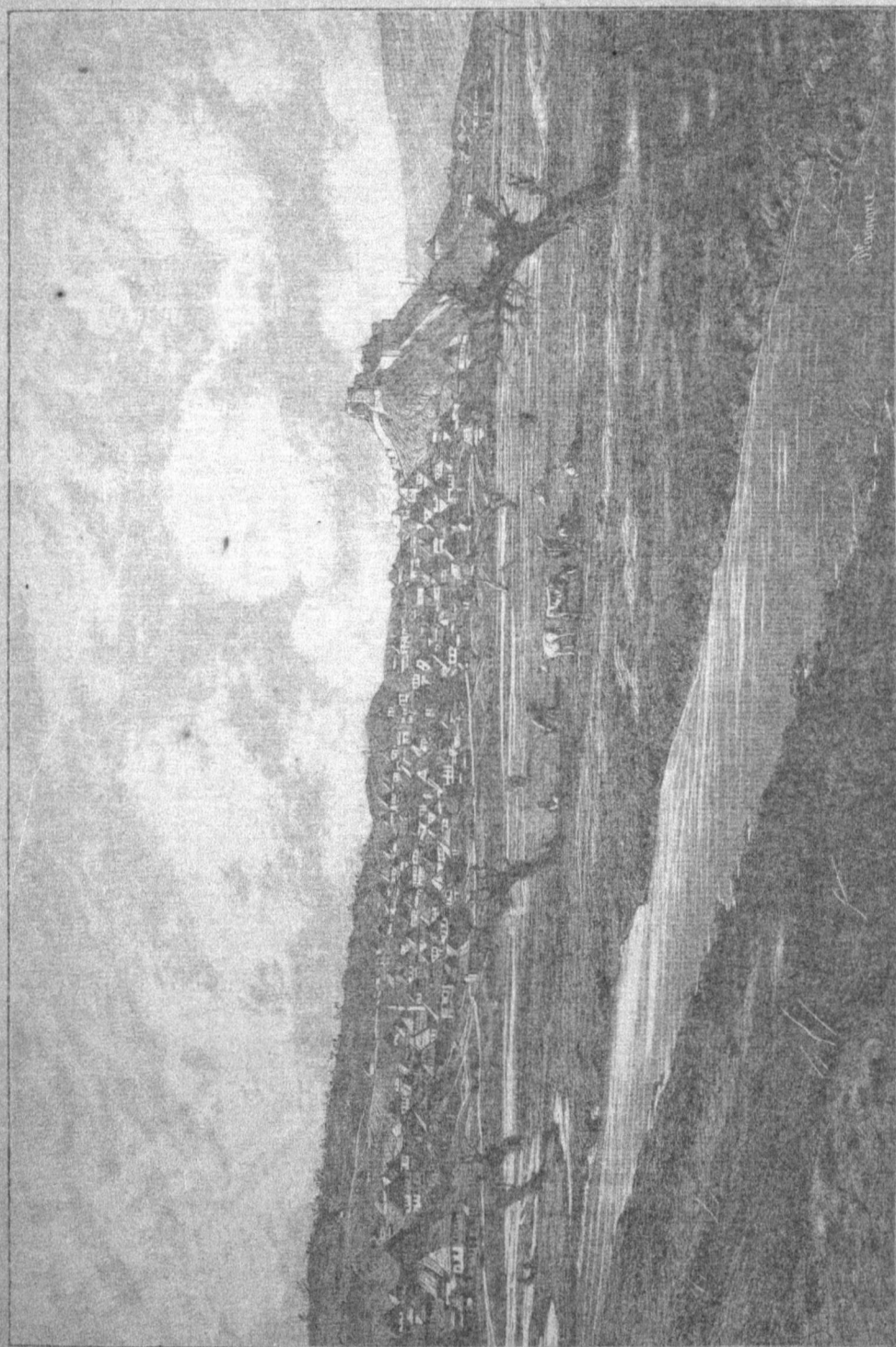
Sigismund even bestowed Požega upon Hrvoja in addition to his old possessions, and then, too, invested him with the newly created order of the Dragon.*

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

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

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

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



Doboi.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Coins of Tvrtko II. Tvrtkovitsh.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* *Ægidius Carlerius, Liber de Legationibus. Mon. . . . Script.*, 1, 676.

† *Joannis de Turonis, Regestrum. Mon. . . . Script.*, 1, 791.

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

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



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

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

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