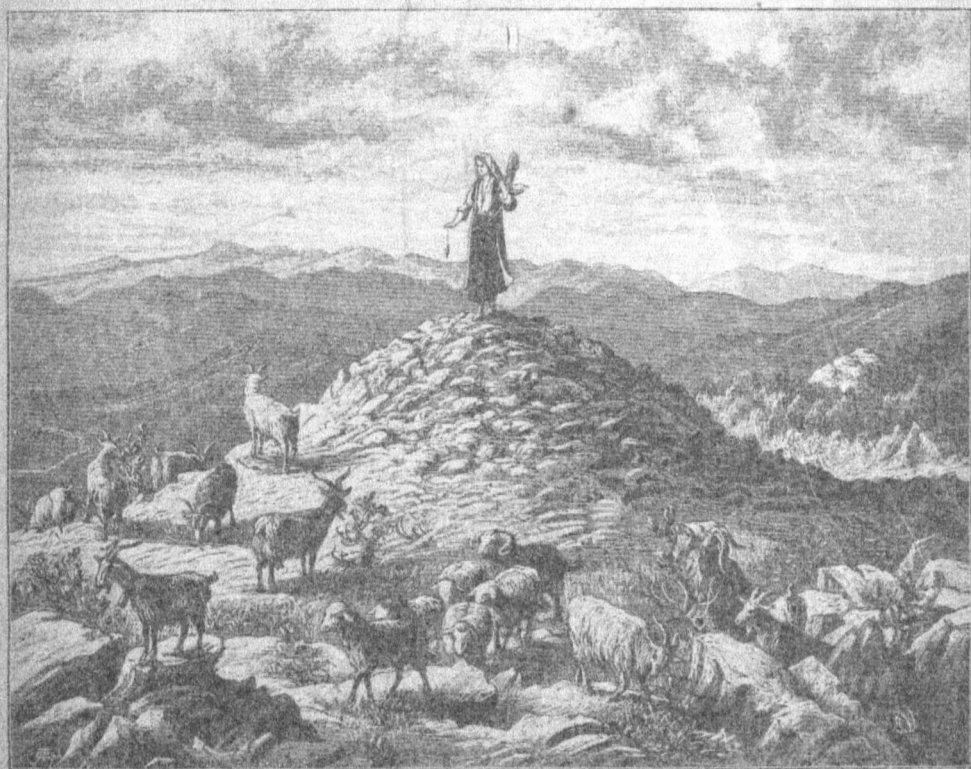


How far the cavern reaches and where it ends can hardly be even guessed at, for the background is enveloped in darkness, and to enter is impossible. It may be that the waters which collect in this cave are connected with the plains of Gatzko. It is just as uncertain whither the water flows after it has vanished upon the other side of the valley. The popular mind always seeks the continuation of the waters at all those points where human heads and bloody corpses, which have been thrown into them, are



A Cairn (Gomila).

supposed to have re-appeared. These fables, however, tell just as much of the Trebintshitza river, which suddenly appears near Bilek, as of the Opatshitza, which, flowing towards Stolat, comes up suddenly in the Dabar-Polje on the further side of the saddles of Koritnik and Liznik.

Thus much is certain, that high up in the inner wall of this cave there yawns a second mouth. The opinion is held amongst the people, that behind this, in the depths of the mountains of the Baba-Planina, there extends

a considerable lake. As a matter of fact, when a stone is cast inside with a powerful fling the echo sounds as though the stone had fallen into deep water. It may be that when they are high the waters flow through this chasm into the first cave, whilst it, as a rule, only trickles through the rocks.

Amongst the Mohammedan inhabitants of Kljutsh there exists a regular legend about this castle and one of its former lords; and King Sandalj's throne is still pointed out, a simple block of stone, upon which he sat in judgment, as the Prince of Montenegro still does before his Konak. King Sandalj was a mighty lord, the terror of his enemies; and he knew how to assert himself against the conqueror of the world—the Emperor of Turkey. When the Turkish army had conquered all the surrounding country, King Sandalj barricaded the subterranean passage, into which the stream flowed as it issued from the cavern, with blocks of rock, pitch, and flax, so that the rising water gradually covered the whole of Golinjev-Dol, the entire Gatzko-Polje, and the outlying country far beyond. Fort Kljutsh alone, upon its lofty summit, towered above the level of the waters, and thus did King Sandalj defy all attacks, keeping communication open with the distant shores by means of innumerable ships and boats. And when the waters at last forced an outlet for themselves and flowed away, the castle withstood a three years' siege, and did not fall until after King Sandalj's death. Just as in the case of the Mostarsko-Blato, so in this, the people maintain that in the high cliffs of the Baba iron rings may still be found, to which ships were fastened, and they also show the water line of the lake. The cliffs of the Baba, light green everywhere else, are, as a matter of fact, up to a certain height, which is sharply defined in a straight horizontal line, darker and moss-grown. The natural explanation of this manifestation lies in the moisture which from time to time oozes out from the interior of the mountain; but there is no doubt that most of these limestone valleys and basins, like the Gatzko-Polje and the Mostarsko-Blato, did at one time form lakes. Even at the present day numerous permanent mountain lakes exist amongst these hills, and there are still more which are full during a part of the year, but which dry up in the summer.

The Sandalj legend, however, in the form in which it still descends from father to son amongst the inhabitants of Kljutsh, is no mere empty fable, nor offspring of the popular imagination. Public records, on the contrary, seem to show that it is genuine history, simplified and enlarged, as people do simplify and enlarge historical events when looked at through the perspective of past centuries. Indeed, the fidelity with which the oral traditions of local history in their simple, broad features have been preserved amongst

this world-forgotten, poor Mohammedan population, where no historical teaching, nay, no teaching of any kind, is provided, is surprising and worthy of admiration. And these traditions relate to facts upon which the most recent historians have hardly touched, and what is still more remarkable is, that this should be so in spite of their connection with the past having been almost entirely severed. The nation and country are extinct; religion, and with it the intellectual horizon, the consciousness of unity, has suffered radical changes; and yet this needy people, which since its subjection to Islam has learnt nothing beyond how to till its own poor soil, to watch its goats, to wield the sabre amongst its rocks, and to repeat a few Arabic prayers, has managed to preserve memories of the heroes of its past and their deeds.

By this is made evident the great historical value of legendary lore, and to what an extent it may replace the absence of a literature; but in this phenomenon that strong, unshakable conservatism appears, which has its chief strength first in the propagation of Mohammedan faith; religion changes under pressure of the great events of the century,—it is Catholic, Bogomile, finally, Mohammedan, but national consciousness still lives on, inextinguishable amidst all the changes; and whilst the great Servian agitation may find a place amongst the Orthodox, and the Croatian under the Catholics, the Mohammedan Bosnian remains the immovable guardian of Bosnian national traditions.

The castle of Kljutsh is historically remarkable. In 1426 and thenceforward it is frequently mentioned, and at the conclusion of the Hungarian-Turkish peace in 1514 it is specified by name. Sandalj himself is well known to us from the history of the Bosnian Bogomilian wars, and the Wars of Succession; and that he resided in the castle of Kljutsh is confirmed by documents. He was one of the greatest of the Bogomilian leaders, and in his day the most powerful magnate in the land. Though not a king, he yet exercised a regal power, and might even have come to be a king had not death unexpectedly cut short his career.

He was a nephew of that Vlatko Hranitsh who conquered Croatia at the head of a Bogomilian army for Tvrtko I., and who later on at the memorable battle of the Kossovo-Polje, in which Serbia was crushed, commanded the Bosnian relieving army with relative success.

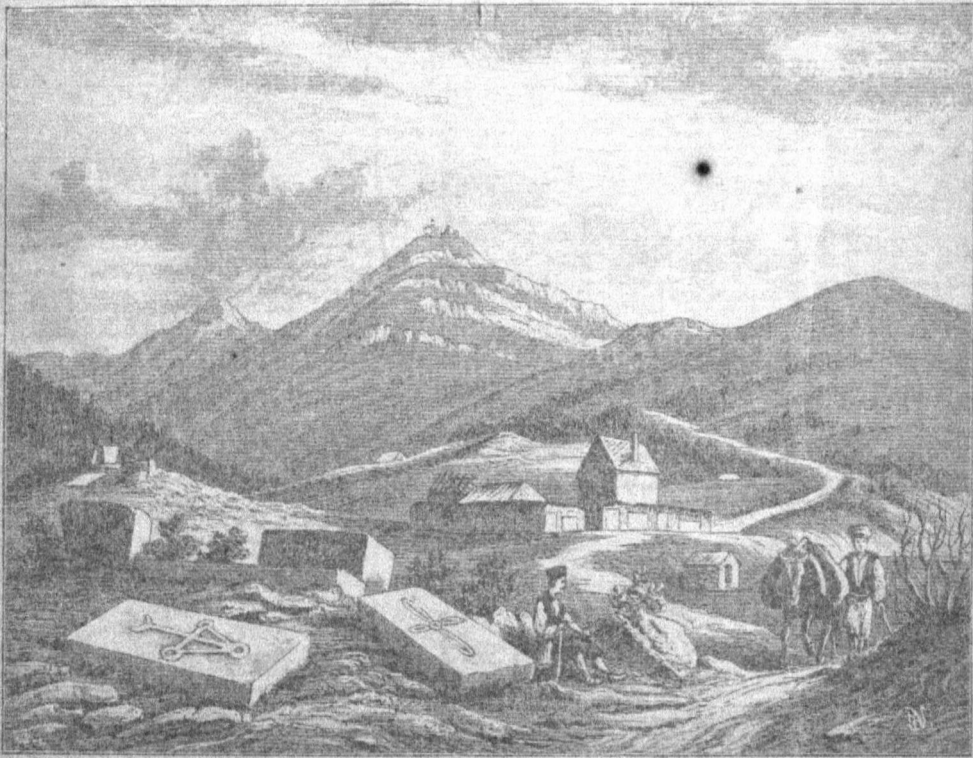
Sandalj Hranitsh of the race of the Kozatsha was one of those magnates who, under Jelena Gruba's weak government, took all the power into their own hands, and for a long time reduced the authority of the crown to a mere shadow. They held courts of their own, they dispensed favours, treated with foreign powers, and even carried on wars against them, and amongst one another. The

Waywode Sandalj Hranitsh, in 1341, at that time still only a simple Bosnian landowner, carried on a war of this description, at the head of several of his friends and allies, against the powerful family of the Sankovitshs, who at that time ruled in the county of Chlum. After the conquest of the Sankovitshs Sandalj Hranitsh ruled as much over the present Herzegovina as Hrvoja Vuktshitsh, who dwelt in the other Kljutsh near Jaitze, and whose brother-in-law he afterwards became, ruled over the Bosnian Netherlands and especially over North-western Bosnia. In the year 1404, at the congregation held by the Bosnian nobles at Visoko, at which Ostoja was banished and Tvrtko II. Tvrtkovitsh was proclaimed king, Sandalj Hranitsh was, with Hrvoja and the Dshed (Bishop) of the Bogomiles, one of the leaders.

When in 1405 the Emperor Sigismund attempted to reinstate Ostoja by force of arms, Sandalj was a leading agent in forming the alliance with Ladislaus of Naples, who, on the other hand, in the year 1406 contrived to arrange in Venice that the fortresses of Dulcigno, Antivari, and Budua, or at any rate the latter, which the Republic had taken away from the Balshas of Zeta, should be again delivered up to Sandalj, from whom the Balshas themselves had taken it whilst Sandalj had taken the field against Ostoja and Sigismund. Thus even at that early date do we find the incessant border wars going on between the countries now known as Herzegovina and Montenegro. Venice itself calls Sandalj "*Dominus in partibus Albania*," as later on, until 1815, the whole district around Cattaro was called "*Venetian Albania*." On December 25th, 1407, the Venetian Senate itself offered Fort Budua (Bude, Budva) to Sandalj, should he succeed at the head of their combined forces in entirely subjugating Zeta, which by the spring of the following year had passed over from the Venetian protectorate to that of the Turks. But by the autumn of 1407, Pope Gregory XII. had summoned Christendom to a general crusade against the Bosnian Bogomiles, and by the summer of 1408 the Hungarians had again entered Bosnia, and Sigismund gained a complete victory over Tvrtko at Dobor. Sandalj fled with Hrvoja from the battle, and whilst Sigismund caused the one hundred and twenty-six Bosnian magnates, who had been taken prisoners at Dobor, to be beheaded, he received the two fugitive generals with joy when they went to Buda to swear fealty to him. But as Sigismund wished to get Bosnia under his own immediate control, Sandalj sided with Ostoja's party. In 1410 the Emperor Sigismund again saw himself compelled to send an army to Bosnia, and again conquered a large portion of the country and dismembered it: Hrvoja received the Netherlands, John Gara Usora, John Marothi the Salt District, the Banus of Macsó the silver mines of Srebernitza, Stephan Lazarevitsh, Servia; but still, in the Upper Bosnian Valley, as well as in his own domains, in Chlum, Travunja, and Podrinje, Sandalj

upheld Ostoja's kingdom, whilst he sold the fortress of Ostrovitza in Croatia, which his wife had received as her marriage dower, for five thousand ducats to Venice, so that it should not pass into Sigismund's possession. The document is dated from Kljutsh.

Sigismund endeavoured to win what he could not seize by force. After repeated invitations, Sandalj in the year 1412 again went to Buda, so as to be present at the festivities held in honour of the Polish King Ladislaus ; in these



Vrbitza on the Vardar.

thirteen princes, twenty-one counts, twenty-six barons, fifteen hundred knights of foreign nationality, Greeks, Italians, Frenchmen, Poles, Bohemians, Russians, Austrians, Lithuanians, Servians, and Bulgarians, took part. In the games of chivalry Sandalj's Bosnian knights carried off the palm, and Sandalj himself was especially singled out for distinction and won over to such an extent that he accepted the commission to defend the Servian Despotate against the Turks, which mission he, moreover, brought to a successful conclusion in the

following year. "*Dum pridem magnificus Zandalius regni nostri Boznæ Wayvoda fidelis noster dilectus una cum aliis eiusdem regni nostri Boznæ . . . fidelibus in regno Rasciæ apud illustrem principem Despotum . . . in nostris secretis fuisset constitutus. . .*" writes Sigismund.

This royal patronage, however, awakened Hrvoja's jealousy, who unexpectedly saw himself, in spite of his services, superseded by Sandalj. In the year 1412, moreover, the brotherhood which had bound these oligarchs together became extinguished, for after the death of Katharine, who was a niece of Hrvoja's, Sandalj took George Stratimirovitsh, the Prince of Zeta's, widow, Helena, to wife. As Sandalj had once done to the Sankovitshs, Hrvoja now did to him, and broke loose upon him, or rather his possessions, whilst he was fighting in Servia. Sandalj hastened to Buda and called down such a storm upon Hrvoja's head, that he was compelled, upon command of the king, to desist and to renounce a large number of the towns which belonged to him in favour of Sandalj. As, however, Hrvoja had already in 1415 sought protection in Turkish support, the Turkish army in 1416 for the second time invaded Bosnia, and this time for the express purpose of fighting Sandalj.

Sandalj had, in pursuance of an understanding with King Ostoja, caused the assassination of the Knez Paul Radinovitsh, who was, next to himself, the most powerful man in Chlum, and his old ally. It was Radinovitsh's sons who now, for the second time, introduced the Turks. These soon swarmed over not only the Podrinje, but the whole of Chlum and Travunja, as far as Ragusa. It must have been then that Sandalj in his castle of Kljutsh sustained the long and severe siege of which the legend tells, and during which possibly the waters which in the spring fill some of the Herzegovinian basins may have come to his aid. The campaign concluded with the result that the Turkish power for the first time nestled permanently down in the fortress of Vrhbosna, whence the Sandjak-Beg Isak now issued his commands, and that Sandalj himself, in spite of his successful resistance, was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sultan, as he henceforth, according to later records, held his possessions "by the favour and gift of God, and of the great Emperor Mahomet-Beg, Sultan."

Sandalj made use of this circumstance to make himself quite independent of the control of the Bosnian crown. In 1418 he stayed away from Stephan Ostovitsh's coronation; he did not look upon the king as his master, but as his equal, and with the help of Isak-Beg extended his possessions at his (the king's) expense. Not until after Isak-Beg, who led the first Turkish army from Bosnia to Hungary, had fallen in the year 1420 at Temesvár, and Tvrtko II. had, with Hungarian aid, begun to re-establish his authority in Bosnia, did Sandalj again take the oath of fealty to the Bosnian king, and he also appeared at Tvrtko's coronation. The

authority which he later on retained may be estimated by the circumstance that the council of Basel, when, in face of the danger threatening from Turkey, it endeavoured to re-establish unity amongst the Christian Churches, and especially directing its gaze upon the Bosnian Bogomiles, addressed itself in 1433, through the intervention of Ragusa, not only to king Tvrtko, but also to Sandalj. The powerful Bogomilian leader answered in the negative, urging as a pretext that the civil war then raging had been brought about by the Knez Radivoj, Ostoj's son, with Turkish aid.

And he turned this civil war to account.

Even though he did swear allegiance to Tvrtko, he did not do it without a fresh extension of his power. He subjected all the waywodes and knezes of Chlum to his rule. Those who offered any resistance, like the family of Radinovitch, were banished and their possessions pillaged. The power of his arm reached far towards Zeta, into what is now Montenegro, and on the other side to Croatia. In 1423, Knez Ivan Nelipitch, the Croatian Banus, was already trembling before his power, and in 1424 he did, as a matter of fact, conquer the Croatian Poljiza, situated on the further side of the Cetina. Finally the civil war, fanned into a flame by Radivoj, matured in him the determination to raise the House of Kozatsha to the Bosnian throne, in place of the House of Kotroman. When, in 1433, Tvrtko carried on a war, first with the Servian Despot George Brankovitch, and then with Radivoj, Sandalj in conjunction with the Despot, to whom he stood in the position of brother-in-law, through both his wives, bought Bosnia of the Sultan. The Despot took possession of Zvornik and Usora, everything else, after Tvrtko was driven out, falling under Sandalj's dominion.

Sandalj governed with regal power in Bosnia, though without the title of king. Single magnates, like the Waywode Juraj Voislitch, one of Hrvoja's cousins, and his successor in the Netherlands, opposed him, but especially in the province now known as Herzegovina he ruled as absolute sovereign. Here his power reached from the mouth of the Narenta to beyond the Lim. During the summer he resided in his castles on the Drina, in Fort Samobor, near Gorazda, in Kozman, near Fotcha, or in the castle of Sokol, which stands at the junction of the Piva and the Tara, in Kukunj near Plevlje, and in Kljutsh, where he had in former days found shelter against the Turks. The royal monastery at Mileshevo, with Saint Sava's tomb, where the kings of Bosnia were crowned, was under his power, as was also Fort Onogost, now Nikshitch. During the winter he took up his residence on the Lower Narenta, and beneath the mild skies of the Gulf of Cattaro. The whole county of Chlum belonged to him with its capital of Blagaj, near present Mostar and

the towns of Konitza, Vrabatz, and Nevesinje. Near Cattaro, which he had to resign in favour of the Venetians, he owned the royal castles of Novi and Risano. Paul Pavlovitch, the son of Paul Radinovitch, who had been assassinated, was the only man in a position to maintain his independence in the neighbourhood of Trebinje.\*

This was approximately the amount of territory which fell to his nephew Stefan Vuktshitch upon Sandalj's death in 1415, when at the height of his power, and soon afterwards Sigismund's army again re-established Tvrtko II. in Bosnia proper. It was really Sandalj Hranitch Kozatsha who created the Herzegovina of to-day, out of the small county of Chlum, although the name itself only arose later, after his successor Stefan Vuktshitch had through the Emperor Frederick III. been recognized as the Duke of St. Sava of the holy Roman Empire. The rocky fortress of Kljutsh was therefore in a certain sense the chief point of support in the founding of Herzegovina, and hence it is with justice that the legend attributes such a great part to it.

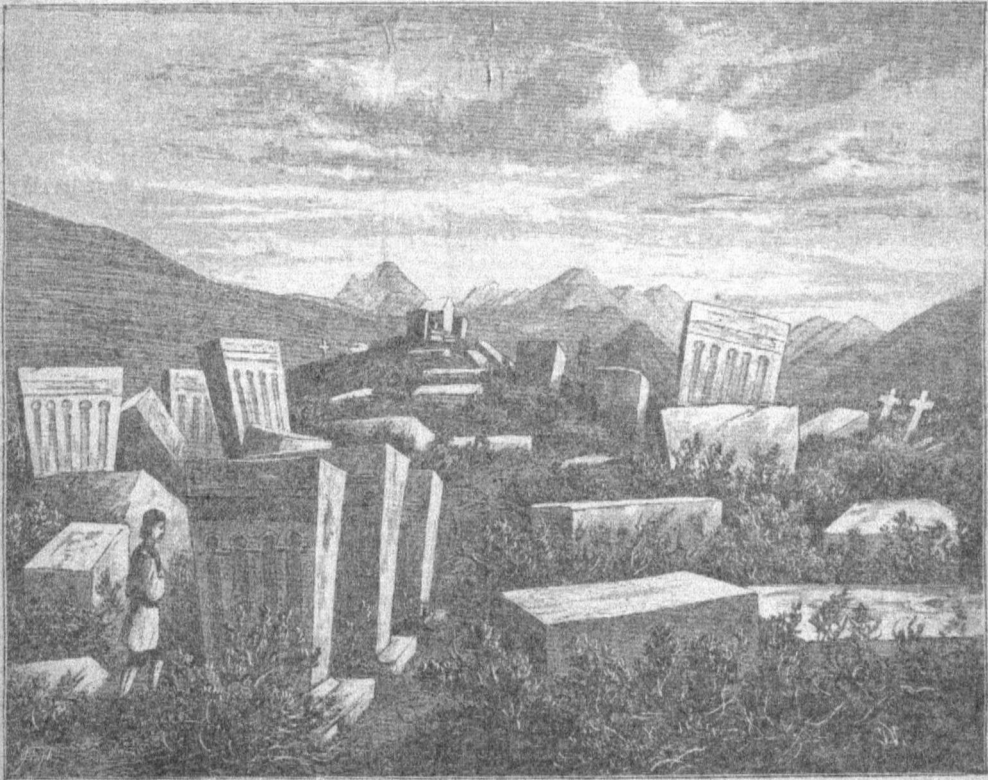
To-day, excepting for a few shepherds' huts, all life, all fame, has departed from it; but it itself continues to tower aloft in its strength in the valley of rocks, like an exclamation point in history, at which the traveller again and again turns round to gaze.

Between Kljutsh and Tzrnitza, below the northern slope of the mountain, lies an old Bogomilian burial-ground. The number and splendour of some of the enormous tombstones—one with a knight and falcon and some fantastic animals, others with the traces of superscriptions which have become illegible—point to a dense and wealthy population. Tzrnitza was, in fact, at one time a place of importance, which flourished principally in the fifteenth century, doubtless under the protection of the fortress of Kljutsh. Ragusan records mention it as a customs station, and a trading centre from 1380 downwards. Probably the inhabitants of the fortress of Kljutsh were also buried in this cemetery; at any rate the foundation walls of a chapel-like vault, twenty feet long by ten feet wide, and having an apse, built of the gravestones of similar monoliths, point to the grave of some great nobleman. The stone slabs which cover the vault have been broken, most likely by treasure-seekers.

Not far from this burial-ground the bridle-path ascends the saddle of the Kobil-Glava, over which we had to pass. The small ravine up which the road winds is hollowed out of the mountain-side like a regular corridor. The sharp boulders of the crumbled limestone collect from either side on the floor of this passage, and cracked like glass under our horses' hoofs. Here

\* Jiretschek, *Handelsstrassen*, 140.

and there we had to ride over large slabs of stone, smoothly polished by the action of the boulders when set in motion by the downpour of rain. The horses, even the most practised Bosnian pack-horses, advanced in fear, and the riders held themselves in readiness for a fall, and as a matter of fact there was not one amongst the dozen riders who with his horse did not fall at least once before we had reached the summit of the Saddle. Fortunately neither

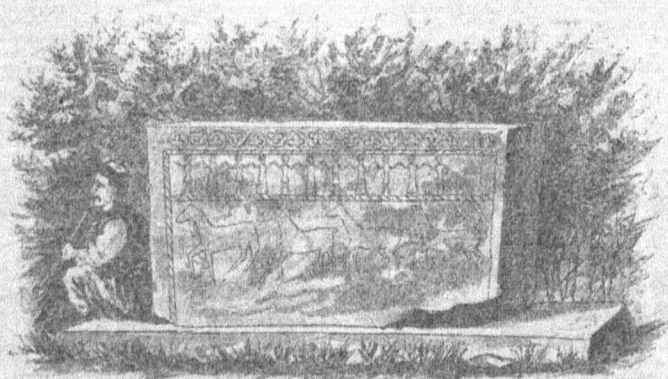


The Cemetery of Radmilovitch.

man nor beast was hurt. From the top of the Saddle, which we reached in about two hours, a similar road descends.

Viewed from this point, the nature of the country is very apparent. The bare limestone (Karst) forms deeper and deeper grooves, which descend downwards like steps to the south-west towards the sea. Only immediately in front of this the ridge of the mountain of Orien, nineteen hundred mètres high, rises up again in broken masses, and shuts off the horizon, depriving us of a view of the Adriatic. A few broader, deep basins lie spread out amongst

these mountain recesses, parallel with the mountains. The Gatzko-Polje was one such basin; and now follow the Dabar-Polje, through which runs the road from Bilek to Stolatz across Plana, the Ljubomir valley which leads across Trebinje to Ljubinje, and finally the long and narrow Popovo-Polje, watered by the Trebintshitza, which runs along from Trebinje to the north-west, and forms the last broad groove before reaching the coast. These fertile basins are concealed from our eyes by the rising ground between, by bare, rocky tablelands and ridges, the latter generally descending in slopes to the north-east, and in perpendicular cliffs to the south-west. With the exception of these few fertile basins, in the whole district we only find in the dolines (small caldron-like hollows formed by the falling in of subterranean caverns, wherein the rain-water which elsewhere washes everything away from the lime-



From the Dubovatz Cemetery.

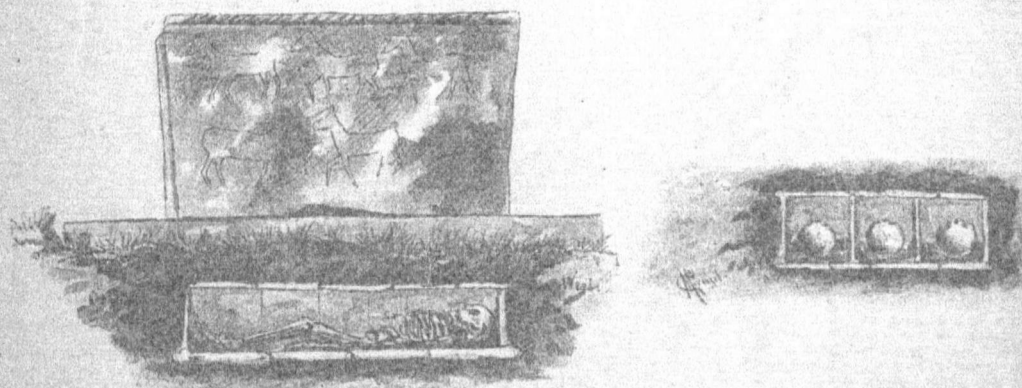
stone does not prevent the formation of vegetable mould) isolated, unimportant patches of ground, capable of cultivation, and which, protected by stone fences, are always industriously tended, although they are many miles distant from human habitations, and are frequently hardly more than three or four square yards in size. Soil capable of cultivation is just as rare a treasure here as water, which the sieve-like, perforated, rocky ground quickly absorbs. A few of the mountain ridges are covered with underwood, whose growth into woods is prevented by the goats. But these spots would not be capable of any other cultivation, for wherever the wood and the bushes have been destroyed, the rain has soon washed all the earth away, and nothing has been left but the bare yellowish-green rocks of which the whole district consists.

The Kobilja-Glava (colt's head) itself, which is one thousand three

hundred and twenty-three metres high, and upon which we were standing, appears to be plastered over with gigantic stones, and the more distant heights show the naked strata of stone in sharp lines.

Near the passage of the Kobila-Glava there stands one of the largest of the far-scattered cairns (*gomila*), which the traveller frequently comes across in this rocky waste, the Djurdjevo-Gomila. These cairns or *gomilas* were doubtless originally graves, immense heaps of stone collected together by human hands, and of far greater antiquity than the Bogomilian graves. Bronze objects, spiral ornaments, even bronze weapons, are found in them, side by side with skeletons. But some may also have been erected as simple memorials, or boundary marks, for such articles are not found in all.

The whole neighbourhood, as far as the eye can reach, is inhospitable



Lengthwise.

Crosswise.

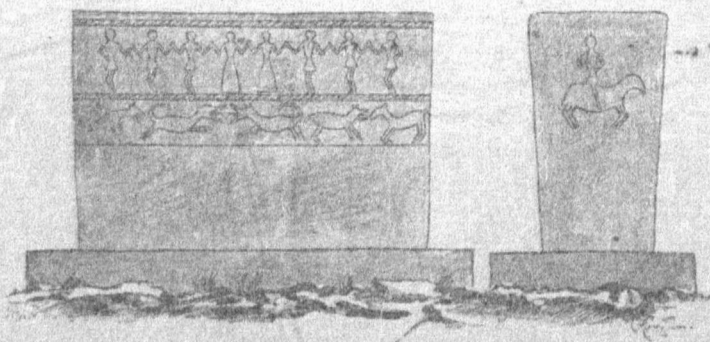
Grave in Dubovatz.

and bare,—cliffs and fissures, crumbling stones and boulders, rocky elevations with a sparse, poverty-stricken vegetation, deep lime-pits, generally quite bare, fissures and ravines, here and there meagre dolines. Nine miles along the road to Tzrnitza we reached a “Palanka,” an old Turkish guardhouse, and after another mile and a half we reached Korito. A poverty-stricken place! A bare, steep mountain ridge stretches along the Montenegrin frontier; a crater-like trough is visible upon the hillside. In this hollow there lie, around the lofty *kula* and the poor mosque, a few rough, bare stone houses, huddled together, with small windows in the upper stories only. Behind the town, upon the summit of the Orlova, and farther off on the still more lofty Traglova, there stand in melancholy isolation solitary watch-houses belonging to the military cordon. Behind the ridge of the Traglova, Montenegro commences.

Korito, whose name signifies "caldron," like other towns, is surrounded by gardens. But these gardens give the impression that nothing but stones grow out of the yellowish-red earth; its vegetation is extremely sparse: each garden is surrounded by a fence one or two feet in height, built up of the larger stones, picked up within its area. We have to step over some of these loose stone walls in order to enter the town. The fencing serves more to shut in the domestic animals, horses, goats, etc., than the gardens, which are, moreover, generally bare, and at most contain a few carnations.



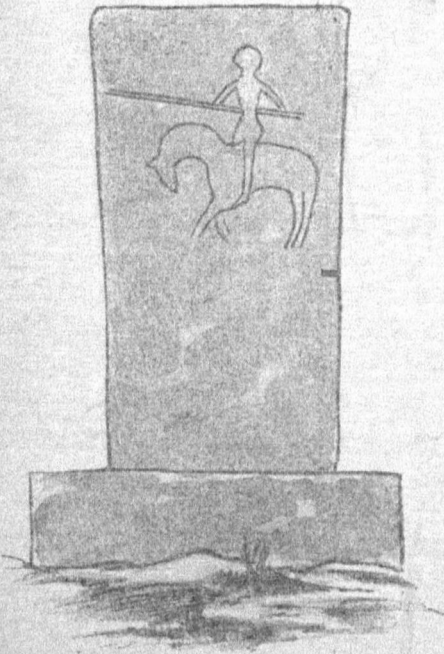
From the Bogutov Dub.



Stone near Radmilovitch (two sides).

which the Bosnian Mohammedan cannot do without, even in this wilderness of rocks. And the walls also serve one other purpose. They constitute the ramparts of the houses, which are built to resist a siege. Lying upon the ground behind these walls, the inhabitants take their aim at the stealthily advancing foe. One can imagine how many battles this little Mohammedan town, situated hard by the Montenegrin frontier, and otherwise isolated, in the midst of a Christian population, has had to endure. Is it not a wonderful thing, this clinging to the native soil, in spite of these conditions, for a town

to exist whose only soil capable of cultivation lies in dolines miles away, scattered and in patches, each plot only a few square yards in extent, and only reached after troublesome climbing, and made productive after stones have been grubbed up by spade and hoe? This town, too, has not even water, for from Tzrnitza to Plana no springs are to be found for miles round Korito, and the nearest reservoir is two miles and a quarter away. The water fetched from here in dry years gets an unsound, unhealthy taste, and at last the supply ceases altogether. It has then to be brought in small jars from distant places upon the backs of beasts of burden. It is curious that this



Stone near Radmilovitsh (third side).



From the Radmilovitsh Cemetery.

neighbourhood is, in all the more ancient documents, described as woody and fertile. The destruction of the forests has here, too, caused the disappearance of the fertile soil, and the drying up of the springs.

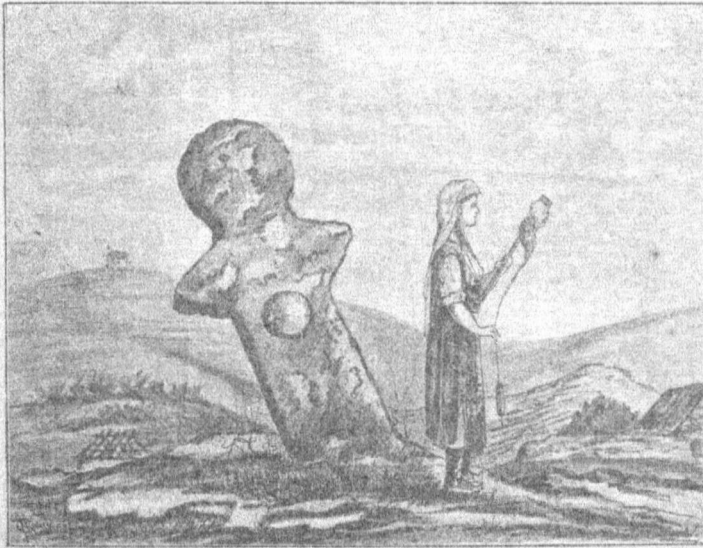
In Korito we were welcomed by a frugal breakfast, which, after our six hours' ride, suited us exactly, and which was flavoured by stories told by the Korito Mohammedans of their campaigns against their hereditary Montenegrin foes. Great was their joy when the minister arranged that the mosque, which had until then served as a military magazine, should be restored to the purposes of public worship.

After a short rest we again climbed down the hill, that we might continue our journey, as before, through a bare, rocky country dotted over with solitary ancient tombstones, directly southwards, towards Bilek. Near the above-named reservoir, where a "Palanka" (guardhouse) also stands, we saw two solitary horsemen descending the heights which form the Montenegrin frontier. It was the commander of the Bilek garrison with one of his adjutants, General de Galgóczy, a native Székler, who, amongst other things, has the habit of himself inspecting every single station along the frontier cordon every day and night, either alone or with a single companion. Even now, in coming to meet the minister, he was making use of the opportunity to inspect the cordon. We now struck into the road, along which he had come, and leaving the bridle-path which leads by a shorter cut to the carriage road of Plana-Bilek, we, by making a circuit on the mountain-side, passed along by the military outposts, which the minister was also anxious to inspect. We thus continued to advance on a bare, rocky soil, whilst the path lying to our right, which we had left, would, in about an hour, have led us out from amongst the boulders and at times have passed between green bushes, which gradually change into extensive low woods that soon hide the road leading over the Saddle. From the midst of this underwood rise the bare heights, upon which stand the solitary guardhouses of the cordon, as a rule only protected by low, dry walls, made of stones placed upon one another without mortar, and then covered in a primitive fashion with branches and planks, and surrounded by small earthworks. Only when they are placed at more distant points are these watchhouses more solid and more secure against attack; even these are not palaces of comfort and luxury, but they at least offer protection from the glaring sun, the pouring rain, snowstorms, and attacks. Indeed, most of them are obliged to defy all these contingencies by day and by night.

The cordon, commencing on the Orien, which is nineteen hundred mètres high at the point where the Krivoshtshie, Montenegro, and Herzegovina meet, runs along the borders of the two last-named countries, as far as the junction of the Tara and the Piva, a six or eight days' journey over hill and dale, an almost impassable wilderness throughout. If anything unusual is noticed in the vicinity of any of these watchhouses, the intelligence flies forthwith from post to post, right to the end of the line. Where there is no electric telegraph, a telephone is substituted—the most advanced science in the midst of the most primitive manner of life; and where the telephone, too, is wanting, the military optical telegraph comes into play. So the news travels from neighbour to neighbour: "Watchhouse X attacked by twenty robbers;"

"A suspicious-looking gang has crossed the borders;" "General G. is making his rounds." Now and then, should such a thing happen, "Female performers upon a starring tour," information which, however, remains a strict State secret between the immediate neighbours. Such an incident does at times occur. As a rule, however, the pleasures of life at the cordon are the exceptions, and it is cause for satisfaction if, during the snowy season, the regular supply of forage does not run short. Military neatness and etiquette fall into the background; but of all the greater importance is the ever-alert eye and ear, and the ever-ready rifle and revolver.

About six miles from Korito we crossed a track which leads from Plana



The Radmilovitch Cross.

to Montenegro. The ground for about a mile and a half slopes down to a woody valley, and beyond it the lofty, bare Vardar rises boldly up before us; this mountain is celebrated on account of its Bogomilian tombs, which, like a veritable giant necropolis, covered all over with bushes and trees, almost entirely surrounds the foot of the mountain in a wide bow.

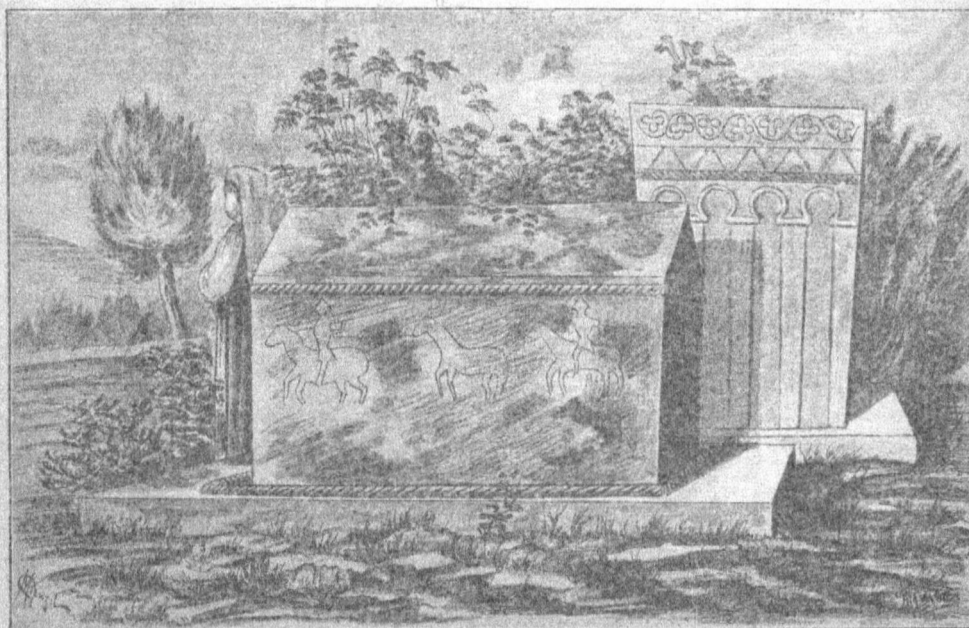
From amidst the layers of stone at its base, which seems to consist of artificial steps, towers the summit of the bare rocky masses of the Vardar, one of the most important points in the military chain. It is crowned by solid fortification, which commands a wide view towards Montenegro and into Herzegovina. Our troops erected the present fortress in

1883-84. The importance of this commanding position had, however, been recognized before. The remains of primitive walls show that a citadel has stood here in the past. Whilst the new building was in course of construction, Greek and Macedonian coins, two thousand years old, were found; but the ancient tombs, surrounding the foot of the Vardar, ornamented with representations of knightly sports and family arms, and others of more simple design, in which one tombstone covers several bodies, show that here there once dwelt a powerful, brilliant, and warlike race, which had withstood more than one siege and had fought more than one battle in defence of its heritage. Possibly, the powerful race of Radinovitsh, whose chief was assassinated by Sandalj Hranitsh in conjunction with King Ostoja, may have dwelt here, and that, even after that, it could not bring itself to bow down, having itself attained to almost regal power. Perhaps it is the name of this family, which the village of Radmilovitsh has preserved to the present day, and which lies at the southern foot of the Vardar, just where these proud and ancient sepulchres are the most imposing.

The first group in this necropolis of Vardar, which we reach in our descent through the woody valley, lies near one of the watchhouses of the cordon, close to the gendarme station of Vrbitza on the northern foot of the Vardar. Unfortunately the inexorable demands of war used a large number of these tombstones, when the 20th Battalion of Rangers built this station, upon the occasion of the last insurrection. Almost the whole of the strong stone fencing is formed of these enormous blocks and squares, which were so near and so easy to get, whilst building materials would otherwise have only been attainable by great expenditure of labour, time, and money. Beneath those gravestones which were taken, three skeletons were, as a rule, found, an unquestionable proof that they covered warriors who had fallen at the same time, for that these colossal stones should be again and again removed for the burial of those who died later is a theory which cannot be accepted. The small amount of decoration displayed by these tombstones shows that simple men rest beneath them. Many of the figures, even though they are not exactly crosses, remind one of the cruciform, a thing which occurs but seldom elsewhere. One represents a triangle with a ring at each corner, which rests upon the upper end of a staff rising from a reversed half-moon. There is no other like it, except in the cemetery of Radmilovitsh.

Continuing on our way from the graves at Vrbitza, directly at the foot of Mount Vardar, westwards, towards the village of Trnovitza, we found beneath the "Bogutov dub," the "Divine oak," five large groups of tombs, all placed a hundred feet apart from one another. This group of oak trees is the last

remains of a forest which was, doubtless, stripped for Ragusan masts. The detached groups of graves may be the tombs of separate families, or perhaps of different generations. Their rich ornamentation is skilfully executed, and the subjects chosen testify to the important position of those who lie beneath them. Upon one is represented a roe pursued by huntsmen on horseback: upon the other, a woman is walking between several knights, who are fighting with spears, close to whom a man, holding a sword, is being stabbed by a third knight armed with a spear. Upon the upper edge of one of the



Tombs near Bilek.

sarcophagi is represented the same long, broad sword, which has sometimes been found in similar graves. Another stone represents the same sword lying below a shield, which is adorned with a simple coat of arms; a square beam from right to left, in the left field an armed arm above the crescent. Amongst the ornamental decorations cruciform ones occur here also, sometimes in connection with half-moons and birds in Byzantine style. The tombs round Trnovitza are perhaps the most ancient of all, their decoration being hardly recognizable.

Allied to these are the tombs found below the mountain of Dubovatz, of which some are ornamented with groups of horses, others with kolo-dances.

Amongst them, differing from all the other tombstones, broken, but still recognizable, there stands a real stone cross. Here, too, three bodies generally rest beneath one stone.

If we skirt the Vardar further from Trnovitza, towards its southern declivity, we find, near Radmilovitsh, up and down the hill, a regular, dense forest of these ancient sepulchres, standing amongst bushes and separate trees; strikingly strong are those of a reversed, broad, obelisk shape, which rest upon a peculiar stone slab, and which grow broader and broader until they attain to a height of six feet. Here and there stands a stone cross or two of more recent date, like a foreign guest amidst the ghastly, impressive picture, which reminds one of a graveyard of giants, behind which the rugged Montenegrin Mountains, bare and rough, close the horizon, and the Vardar gloomily raises its coronet of walls.

Some of the graves have sunk into the ground, some of the tombstones have fallen; but, as a whole, they have withstood the ravages of time—although history passed over these regions in an almost unbroken succession of storms—telling their later descendants, by a proud tenacity, of a hard, unyielding, mighty race.

Upon the Radmilovitsh stones the inscriptions are strikingly numerous. But upon hardly any of them is more than the name decipherable.

If we search the separate tombstones we find swords here too, and shields with coats of arms lying upon swords, lancers in armour, merry kolo-dances, monstrosities, beasts of prey recalling dragons and antediluvian figures, etc., all amongst the more frequent purely ornamental designs. Cruciform emblems, with the exception of a few graves of undoubtedly more recent date, upon which small crosses are represented, scarcely exist here, a sign that those buried here maintained their Bogomilian faith, which rejected the cross firmly, strictly, and immovably. This, too, tells of a powerful race never yielding to the changes or tendencies and influences coming from without.

The proportionate frequency, too, of the generally scarce inscriptions points to men of greater importance.

As is commonly the case with these Bogomilian graves, the bas-relief form of ornament is very rare here, and only found upon the more important tombs, as they for the most part consist of outlines simply hollowed out of the stone. These decorations have, as a matter of course, suffered much from mosses, and the effects of storm and rain upon the limestone.

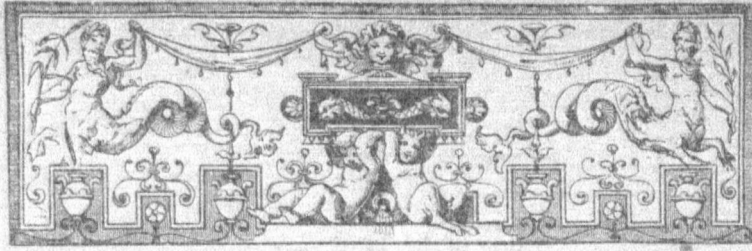
In the graves that are opened the skeletons are found exactly as the people still bury their dead; that is to say, at a depth of from two to three

feet, without a coffin, and only surrounded by stones similar to those used for the roofing in of the houses.

The whole tract of ground from Bilek to Stolatz, over the Dabar-Polje, is like this from Gatzko to Bilek, full of ancient tombstones. A whole cistern is built of them between Plana and Fatnitza. To the south of Fatnitza a group appears, also remarkable for its decorative splendour; but it is behind Stolatz upon the road to Mostar that we first come to a burial-ground which exhibits any likeness to that of Radmilovitsh. The Gyaursko-Polje does not, indeed, surpass it in extent, but it does by its still more remarkable decorations.

From Radmilovitsh we reach Bilek in half an hour, crossing a small tableland on the way, lying to the north of the town, upon which, between numerous cairns, there also stand a few solitary Bogomilian graves.





## CHAPTER XXII.

### *BILEK AND TREBINJE.*

The Tableland of Bilek—The Radinovitsh Dynasty—The Town of Bilek—The Sources of the Trebintshitza—Fortified Monasteries and Warlike Monks—Prehistoric and Medieval Graves—Trebinje—The Crusade of Count Raymond of Toulouse—Old Travunja—Arslan-Agitch-Most, Vrm, and Klobuk—Epitaph from the time of King Tvrtko—The Shuma and its Fortifications—Marshal Marmont—Ragusa.

**B**ILEK, like Gatzko, was originally not the name of a place, but of the whole tableland, which stretches at a height of four hundred and eighty mètres, a mile and a half across, and three miles long, from the foot of Vardar to the Trebintshitza springs, hard by the Montenegrin frontier.

About fifteen hundred souls, mostly of the Orthodox faith, live scattered upon this fruitful tableland. "Bilechia" is in the Middle Ages mentioned especially as the ancestral seat of the Radinovitsh dynasty. On this account, too, the assumption is strengthened that the castle of Vardar above Radmilovitsh and the plains of Bilek, was the ancestral seat of the Radinovitsh family; but this in no way points to the existence of a town, of which, moreover, there are no remains.

As regards the present town it may be boldly asserted that it has to thank General Galgóczy for its existence. Where the Turks had erected a couple of military buildings on the southern edge of the plains to protect the borders, and where a few huts were afterwards built, General Galgóczy has, as it were, within a few years created a complete little township out of nothing and without money, by using the wealth of building materials lying so ready to hand, his soldiers, and the goodwill of the people. The town reminds one of a South Hungarian township as one looks down from the graceful mosque, built for the Mohammedans, in compensation for the old mosque destroyed by the Montenegrins, the ruins of which stand outside the present town. Bilek.

receives a peculiar character, from the fact that all its surrounding heights are fortified.

From Bilek an excellent carriage road leads all the way across Trebinje to Ragusa. After an uninterrupted ride of five days, therefore, we could from here onwards continue our journey in carriages.

A kilometer from the present town to the left of the road there is also a fortified camp. The ground falls away steeply from the camp and the road which leads up to it, and at the bottom of the ravine, far below, the Trebintshitza bursts suddenly from a limestone cavern, a complete river from its very outset, so that after four or five hundred feet it already flows at a depth of from three to five mètres.

High above the rocky bed of the Trebintshitza the road leads us to the mouth of the Tzepelitza stream. On the further side of the bridge leading over this stream, where a small fort keeps guard, the road branches off to the south away from the Trebintshitza; the river bends towards the Montenegrin border, and flows along it until it suddenly turns in a right angle back towards the west, so as to cross Trebinje, and to reach the wide plains of the Popovo-Polje to the north-west, where it then vanishes as suddenly and completely as it first burst forth from the rocks below Bilek.

Whether it afterwards re-appears in the waters of the Ombla or in those of the Krupa, near Ragusa, or near Metkovitsh, who can say?

At about the middle of the line, along which the river marks the boundary, there stand two celebrated monasteries opposite to one another. In the midst of the desolate wilderness of limestone (Karst), in whose ravines and caves the Trebintshitza at places attains to unfathomable depths, there suddenly appears an oasis of green pastures and shady woods, through which the river flows along between high banks of rock. Upon the Herzegovinan bank, on the slopes of "Grad," which at last falls perpendicularly into the river, stands the monastery of Dobritshevo. Its fortifications show that here we are still in the depths of the Middle Ages. These bulwarks were first raised against the Mohammedans, and now offer shelter to a guard-house belonging to the military cordon. I have never seen a monastery thus fortified except amongst the Bedouins, the fortified monastery of Mar-Saba, in the desert of Judah; and mediæval, too, is the condition of the monks. Although they seem to read their songs out of the original Mass-book, it is only their chief who really understands the art. Politically they are, however, all the better informed. The great antiquity of the monastery is also proved by its old seal, upon which the words, "Seal of the monastery," and "Trebin," are still decipherable. It was probably originally Catholic, and perhaps founded by the bishops of

Trebinje. Opposite to it, upon Montenegrin territory, stands the smaller monastery of Kasjerevo.

The high road to Trebinje itself leads from the Tzepelitza Bridge through country which grows ever more dreary and elevated, through the village of Panik to Moshko, which lies at a height of six hundred and four mètres. The huts of the latter place are all situated upon a wide tableland, which offers very little ground capable of cultivation, and is nearly covered with pre-historic graves (gomilas). Beyond the plateau of Moshko, there reaches, far to the north-west towards Ljubinje, the still larger plain of Ljubomit, which lies much lower down, so that it rejoices in a luxuriant fertility, and is enlivened by twelve villages, which together number more than one thousand souls. That it was a wealthy neighbourhood in the Middle Ages also, is shown by the ornamented tombstones which are to be found in numbers at all points upon these plains.

Not far from Moshko, near the huts of Borilovitsh, we descend from the dreary tableland into the valley of Jazen, where the road leads close by a cistern built of mighty slabs of stone, past clusters of trees and pastures, and reach Trebinje in an hour and a half after leaving the village of Jazen. The landscape, which, after so much desolation, suddenly and without any transition spreads out before the traveller, is indescribably charming as soon as he has crossed the threshold of the Gliva-Planina, which is wedged in between Jazen and Trebinje.

The plains of Trebinje lie spread out like a paradise, deep down below the rocky mountain-side, and surrounded in a wide circle by other bare but still bolder mountains, and watered by the Trebintshitza, which, after having turned away from the Montenegrin borders in a right angle, issues out of the mountain pass in front of Trebinje, and, split up into four branches, sparkles in its countless windings all over the fertile neighbourhood of the town and between the detached blocks of houses. I can only place the celebrated view from Grenoble on the same level with this. There, too, as soon as one emerges from the mountain wilderness of the Grande-Chartreuse, the plains lie spread out before us as by magic, encompassed by boldly formed snow-capped peaks, from which the waters issue, and are sucked up on all sides by the plains; there, too, lies a town of ancient date between far-scattered fortifications, and surrounded by verdant fields.

The influence of the Mediterranean Sea is felt in Trebinje lying only three hundred and three mètres high, and the vegetation common to its shores works its spell here too. Between the broad windings of the sparkling streams luxuriant tobacco fields extend, the thick foliage of the fig tree flourishes, and the pomegranate waves its red blossoms in the breeze. The peaks of the surrounding hills are crowned by forts, some old, some new, and the city itself clusters round



The Sources of the Trebintshitzn.

an old citadel. One side of this citadel faces towards the river; the others are protected all round by moats and bastions, upon which rise embattled walls three hundred mètres in length. Inside the bastions, close to the river's bank upon a levelled hill, a round powder-tower stands, as well as a broad four-cornered barbican, the clock-tower so called. About twelve hundred feet to the east of the citadel, upon a height which commands the town, the still strong watch-tower stands in solitude.

As General Galgóczy has created modern Bilek, so has General Babics at least restored desolate, deserted Trebinje. The dilapidated and dirty, unwholesome, Oriental town mentioned by travellers has under his hands grown into a smart European one, without having thereby entirely lost its Oriental and mediæval charm. The number and prosperity of the Catholic, Orthodox, and Mohammedan population, numbering some four thousand souls, is rapidly on the increase, by

means of its commercial relations with Ragusa, through the industry of the local retail tradesmen, and especially through the cultivation of tobacco, an art which is better understood each year; by these means the town is gradually regaining its ancient importance.

For Trebinje is one of the most ancient, and historically one of the most important towns in the country.

Even the Emperor Constantine, Porphyrogenitus, mentions both the country and town of "Trebumia," amongst the Slav principalities. It is possible that the town was



Seal of the Dobritshevo Monastery.

built by the immigrating Slavs from the ruins of an older colony like Budua, after it had been laid waste in the year 840 by the Saracens, who invaded this part of the country situated, as it is, so near the coast of the Adriatic.

It cannot be doubted but that at the time of the Romans a more or less important township must have been in existence upon a flourishing plain lying thus near to the old Epidaurus, from the ashes of which Ragusa arose.

Many believe that in Stari-Slano, situated immediately below Trebinje, they see the Roman town of Salunt.

Thus much is certain, that in Constantine's days a Slavonian prince already held his seat at the castle of Terbumia, whose power extended to the borders of Dioclea in the south, upon the west from Cattaro to Ragusa, and in the north across the Popovo-Polje and Ljubomir as far as Gatzko, whilst the eastern boundaries of his kingdom lay between Bilek and Piva.

These were, with slight variations, during the whole of the Middle Ages, the boundaries of the territory which is called in Servian records Travunje, afterwards Trebinje, in Ragusan records Tribunia and Trebigne.

Constantine mentions five castles in the country, namely, Terbania (Trebinje), Hormos (the Servian Vrm, afterwards Klobuk),\* Rissena (Risano), Lukobete, and Zetlebe. The chronicle of the Presbyter of Dioclea, too, enumerates the separate Županates: Libomir (Ljubomir), Vetanitz, Rudina (to the east of Bilek and still Ruđine), Krushevitza (between Canale, Grahovo, and the Krivoshtshie, still bearing the same name), Urmo (Vrm), Ressen (Risano), Dratshevitza (in the Middle Ages still the name of the Sutorina, in which a village of this name still exists), Canale (the present Canale, Slavonic Konavle, which Constantine also mentions as a dependency of Travunje), Tzrnovitz (between Ragusa and the old Epidaurus [Ragusa-Vechia], still possessing a township of this name, in Italian and upon maps called Mollini, Tzrnov Millstone). To the Trebinje Županate belongs Lug lying below it, and the territory of the Zubtshi race, inhabited by colliers and shepherds, which, as stated in Ragusan documents, "from poverty" also lived by theft.†

Trebinje was the first station upon the highway, so important in the Middle Ages, which led from Ragusa to Nish in fifteen days, and in thirty days to Constantinople, and which, especially from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, was regularly used by French embassies.‡ The crusaders of Raymond, Count of Toulouse, most likely passed through this fortress in the year 1096, and through "Slavonia," Scutari, and Macedonia to Constantinople.§

Upon the founding of the Servian State, Travunje, too, fell under its dominion; but as, upon the death of Czar Dushan (1355), this State broke up under the dominion of innumerable oligarchical families, Vojslav Vojkovitsh, Count of Chlum, took possession of Travunje, and this country, although always under half independent lords, remained with short interludes in permanent connection with Bosnia. A nephew and successor of Vojslav's, Nikola Altmanitsh, was in 1371 compelled to protect his provinces against the alliance of Vukashin, King of Rascia, with Balshitsh, who had attained to the dominion of Zeta. In the year 1373 he resigned Travunje to Djuro Balshitsh, upon condition that he should support Vojslav against the Bosnian Ban Tvrtko, whose overlordship he declined to recognize. But Tvrtko, in alliance with the Servian Knez, Lazar of Krushevatz,

\* Ragusan records of the fifteenth century cite: *La contrada Vermu con lo castello de Clobuck*.

† See Jiretshek, *Handelsstrassen*, 23—25.

‡ *Loc. cit.*, 74.

§ *Loc. cit.*, 84.

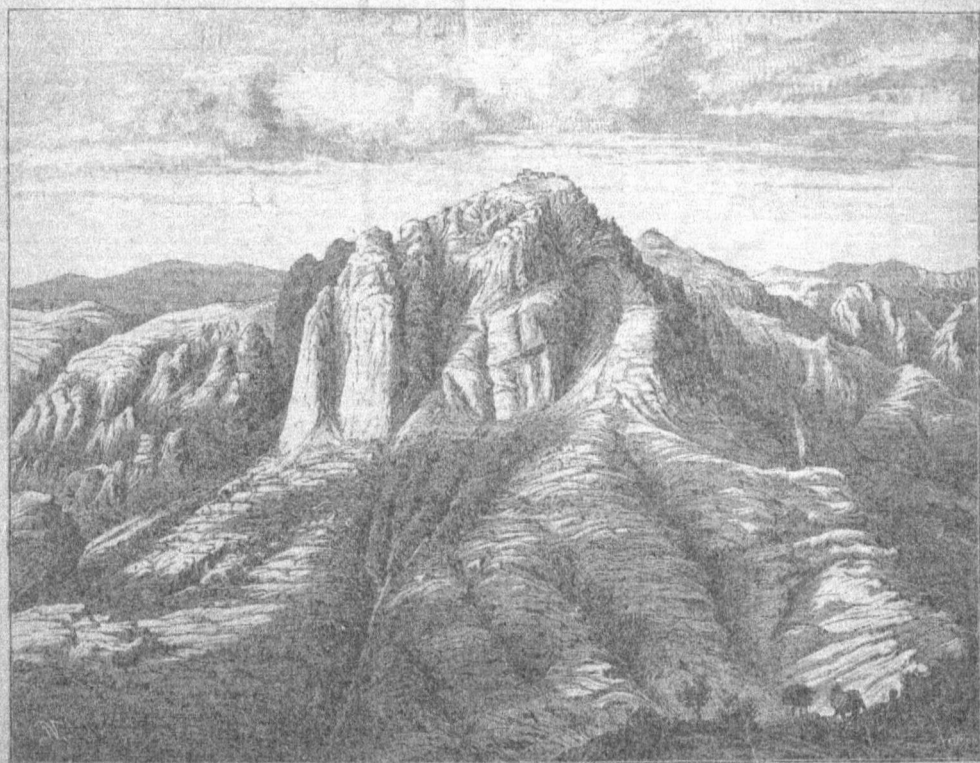
re-captured Travunje in 1376, reserving it, together with Chlum and a good part of Rascia—conquered at the same time—to himself, and thenceforth called himself King of Rascia, Bosnia, and the Primorje (the coastland). Under Tvrtko the family of Sankovitsh forced itself into a position of great importance in Chlum and Trevunje, and these provinces were torn from them in 1392, whilst the royal authority was on the wane, by Paul Radinovitsh and Sandalj Hranitsh. The family of Sankovitsh retained Bilek, Trebinje, Klobuk, and Canale, and after his assassination by Sandalj, his sons continued to govern, at any rate in Bilek and Trebinje. Next in importance to theirs are the parts played by the Nikolitshes of Popovo and the Ljubilatitshes of Trebinje. At first Sandalj's successor, Stepan Vuktshitsh, the founder of Herzegovina, conquered Bilek and Trebinje too, and forced the Radinovitsh back upon the Bosnian possessions of Boratz and Olovo. From this point onwards the principality of Travunje shared the fate of Herzegovina.

More than one monument of this changeful, historical past may still be seen to-day even outside the town itself. About seven thousand feet above the town a primitive bridge leads across the Trebintshitza, the Arslan-Agitsh-Most, renowned throughout Herzegovina as a worthy rival and contemporary of the bridge of Mostar. This name is also borne by the Mohammedan village, consisting of some twenty-five houses, standing in the midst of this inhospitable wilderness of rocks, in front of which the bridge spans the river as it flows between its steep and rocky banks. With a length of ninety-two metres and a width of only three, the bridge is formed of two enormous central arches and two lower shore arches, and above each of the latter a viaduct: upon the southern bank the bridge is carried on by three quite small arches; on the northern it abuts upon a steep mountain of rock, beneath which the old road continues to the right, until, skirting the mountain, it turns northwards towards Jazen; to the south the old road, which may still be traced by ruined towers, leads to Cattaro. This important connection was accordingly preserved by this bridge, the only ancient and only stone bridge across the Trebintshitza. It, however, also intercepts the connection, for there still at the present day stands in the middle of the bridge the Kula provided with shooting gaps, which lends it a warlike appearance. The ruins of a peeniar fortification stand, five hundred yards off, under the northern bank of the bridge; whilst the northern foot of the bridge still covers an open redoubt.

Regarding the age of the bridge we have no data, but that Arslan-Agitsh-Most is a very ancient settlement is shown by the Roman coins so frequently found here, and by the numerous cairns. That traffic has from ancient times been directed to the spot it is very easy to see. The plain below the town

is an ancient lake-basin, still sufficiently flooded by the river, which below the bridge splits up into four branches, to be impassable. There is a superstition current amongst the people, that it would be impossible to permanently bridge over the river below the town. Ten years ago, in fact, an attempt of this kind came to nought, although a child's corpse was built up in its foundations for the propitiation of evil spirits.

Continuing along the southern bank of the river towards the east, we



Klobuk.

soon reached the territory of the ancient Županate of Vrm. The name is still preserved by the little township of Vrono and the Župa valley, an hour's distance from the bridge, in which forty-five Mohammedan houses straggle about. From this valley there towers up, boldly and defiantly, hard by the Montenegrin borders, a huge mass of rocks, high above the jagged, cleft, mountain ridge, covered with small pyramids of rock and occasional oak trees, and crowned by the ruins of ancient Klobuk mentioned by Constantine

Porphyrogenitus. The fort which commands the neighbourhood up to the farthest gunshot range, and is only approachable on foot by a narrow ridge of rock, has remained strong and undamaged to the present day. In 1694, the Venetians were only able to capture it by cutting off all supplies of food. In 1806, the Russians laid siege to it in vain. In 1878, it was stormed for two entire days by our troops, when the solid walls, partly hewn out of the natural rock, offered a long resistance to guns of nine centimètre bores. It was only with difficulty that the outer walls were destroyed and the gate tower blown up. The people had until then believed the fort to be impregnable. Now the newly erected cordon fortress looks down upon its ruins from a neighbouring height.

Between Klobuk and Nikshitsh, upon territory which is now Montenegrin, but which once belonged to Travunje, there are still numerous Bogomilian graves; but in the Popovo-Polje, near to the town of Velitshanji, there is a stone which commemorates Tvrtko's reign. Its superscription runs:

*"Va ime oca i sina i sv. Duha. Ovdje leži službenica božija Polyhranja a imenom svetskim gospodja Radoča žena Podjavenca Čibodica . . . a nerjesto župana Zvratka i sluga . . . a kći župana Draživojevića, kaznacu satniku sestra; piše ovaj spomenik njezin sin Dabiživ s božijom pomoću . . . svojim Gudima, a u dane gospodina kralja Tvrtku."* ("In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Here rests God's servant Polyhrania, whose worldly name was Lady Radotsha, the wife of Podjavenatz Tshiboditsh, . . . the bride of Zvratko, a Župan and servant, and daughter of the Župan Draživojevitsh. This monument was written by her son Dabiživ with the help of God . . . of his people, and in the days of the lord King Tvrtko.")

Trebinje itself is surrounded by ruins of varying size, which heighten the romantic nature of its aspect. The wars between the Venetians and Turks and the Herzegovinian insurrections have raged here more than anywhere else. The fortress-like character of the buildings, even of the ordinary dwelling-houses, adds to the difficulty of distinguishing between the historical and the more modern ruins. Besides the remains of watch-towers of greater or less antiquity, the ruins of two old monasteries are also shown. One of these, whose founder the Apostle Peter is said to have been, lies to the south of Trebinje, near Tzrnatsh, which consists of only three houses; the second is situated near Tirdoshi, which is made up of nine houses, upon the right bank of the river, where the Bishop of Chlum, who had fled from the Turks, for a while resided. Being disturbed in 1693 by the Turks, it was rebuilt upon the further bank of the river, and to-day still stands upon this spot near Dužina, a hamlet of six houses. Since 1777 the bishops have, however, resided at Mostar.

From Trebinje we drove fifteen miles across the stony desert of "Shuma," along a road where nothing was visible save smaller or larger peaks of rock, with goats upon the smaller ones, and fortresses and watch-towers upon the larger, built by the Venetians, Turks, French, and our own troops.

The Turks built one-and-twenty kulas between Trebinje and Ragusa. The watch-tower of Tzarina which stands upon the Dalmatian borders is ancient Ledenitze, restored by the Venetians, and "Fort Imperial" which rises above Ragusa is the work of Marmont and the French. As soon as we had passed through this, the yellow-grey desert of stones came to a sudden end, the never-ending blue of the Adriatic appeared, and the water-washed walls and towers of the old free town of Ragusa lay spread out beneath us amidst palms and laurels.





## CHAPTER XXIII.

### *THE KRAIN.*

Kostainitza—The Perpetual Border Wars—Turkish Railroads—The Baptism of Fire of the Hungarian Militia—The Railway Regiment—Novi—The Unna—Bosnian Mills—Public Discussion upon the Agrarian Question—The Misfortunes of the Small Agas—Tzazin and his Songs—Popular Songs of the Occupation—Bihatsh—The Fortress of Béla IV.—Economical Conditions—Agricultural Societies—Horse-Races—Medieval Bosnian Swords—Falconry—A Vanished Town.

*July, 1884.*

UPON our third journey, in coming from Agram we crossed the Bosnian borders at Kostainitza. The traveller sees at a glance that the Unna, as it hurries along between two hilly banks, divides two different worlds. There is no transition; one plunges suddenly into the East. Croatian Kostainitza, on the left bank of the river, is a small town quite in the character of the townships upon the military frontier; Bosnian Kostainitza, on the opposite shore, is purely Mohammedan; it first began to exist in the seventh decade of this century at the time when the small agas, who had migrated from Servia, settled here. But the contrast does not strike one only as regards the exterior. In spite of commerce, which was briskly carried on even in former days at this place between the inhabitants of the two frontiers, in spite of the railroad, which has closely united the two since the Austrian occupation, the hatred between the Croats and the Bosnians is nowhere stronger, and the collisions between them are nowhere more frequent than here, and especially from Kostainitza to Bihatsh along the whole line of the sometime Croatian military frontier and the Krain, "Turkish-Croatia" as it is called. It may be boldly asserted that, in spite of all treaties of peace, the wars between the borderers of the Lika and the Mohammedans of the Krain never ceased, and would still be carried on with mutual raids and cattle stealing if the Bosnian Administration did not take care to maintain order upon its own borders, and

prevent all such adventures on the part of its own subjects. Their power does not of course extend beyond the borders, and unhappily the raids into Bosnian territory, which the former warlike border warders of the Lika conducted in person from time to time, have not even now ceased. In opposition to them it is still necessary that the people and the authorities should be ever on their guard.

The last incursion of the Krainian Mohammedans took place at the time of the Occupation. They had declared that as soon as our troops should march over the borders they, too, would cross them; and they kept their word, so that the royal Hungarian militia stood upon this occasion for the first time under fire. Whilst Bihatsh was subjected to a several days' siege by the regular troops, the Honveds under Colonel Muzulin protected our own territory against the agas of the Krain, who were determined to give tit for tat.

The small fort, which with its romantic old walls and towers stands between the two towns upon an island in the Unna, seems to keep watch over the hatred on either hand. Its outworks consist of three massive towers facing Croatia, and round bastions facing Bosnia, built upon limestone foundations thickly overgrown with ivy. It was built during the days of Eugene of Savoy, and still belongs to Croatia. Upon the same island are also the old custom-house, and the so-called "Rastell," a piece of level ground surrounded by walls, where upon a certain day in the week business was transacted between the borderers and the Turkish population.

At the first station upon Bosnian ground, at Doberlin, the representatives of the Bosnian authorities awaited the minister. Here commences the old Turkish railway, which is under the excellent management and control of the Imperial Royal Railroad Regiment. This line is a small portion of the network of railways projected by the Porte in 1860, and which was then only carried out piecemeal, so to speak, at the terminal points, where its construction seemed to be cheap and easy, by the Belgian contractor—known in Austria too—Langrand-Dumonceau, and after his bankruptcy, by Hirsch, and thus it was that the hundred and three kilometres from Doberlin to Banialuka of that grandly conceived project, which was to unite the Adriatic with Salonica across Novi-Bazar, came to exist. The other terminus of this line was also only completed from Salonica to Mitrovitz on the Kossevo-Polje. Since the Austrian occupation the war department has taken over this first Bosnian railway, and in a very short time formed a junction between it and the monarchical railway system. After the establishment of the Railroad Regiment the line was transferred to their management.

The railway as far as Novi goes straight along the right bank of the Unna. This river, as it flows between tall mountains, along a fruitful though narrow valley, for the whole length of the way to, and even a little distance beyond, Novi, forms the frontier between Bosnia and Croatia. At first we only travelled as far as Novi, the next station. Here we passed the night so that we might the next day continue our journey to Bihatz, the chief town of Krain, by road.

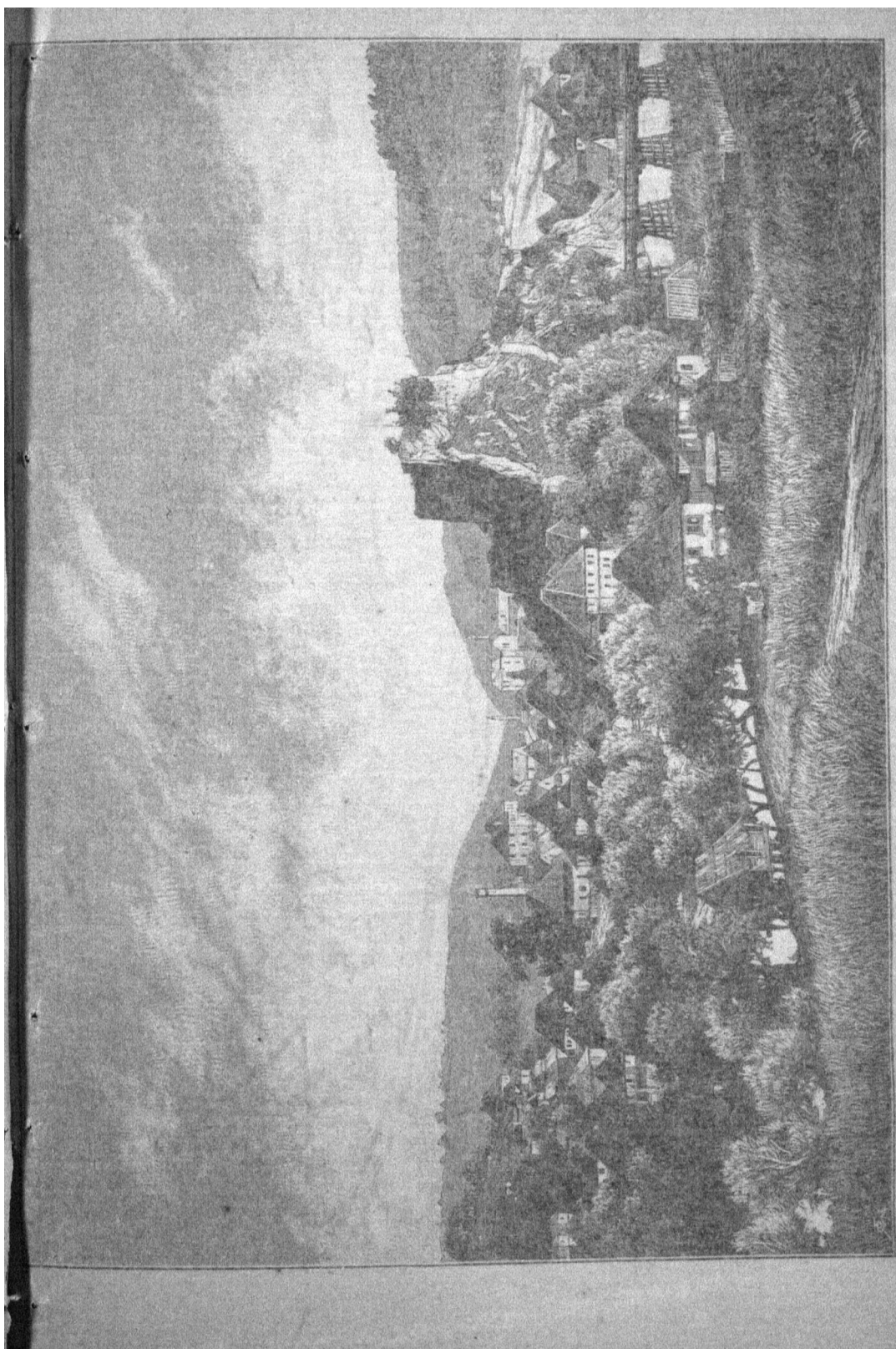
Novi itself is a small, rather poor town, but is picturesque, as it is built in three blocks connected by bridges, at the meeting-point of the two branches of the Unna and of the river Sana as it flows from the east. The old bulwarks, which were captured by Field-Marshal London in 1789 after a heavy siege, but before which the imperial troops suffered a heavy loss of eight thousand men in 1717, now lie in ruins. In spite of its ruins, however, and of its poverty-stricken appearance, the town, which numbers some two thousand inhabitants, enjoys a certain commercial importance, and has become through the meeting of the rivers, the fruitful and populated valley of the Sana, and the railroad, the trading centre of the Krain.

Since its connection, too, with the railway system of the monarchy, the town has markedly improved, and a brisk trade is carried on in its bazaar.

After the minister had, on the evening of our arrival, visited the mosques, churches, and schools of the various sects, and had invited the most important of the inhabitants to dinner, we early upon the following morning entered our carriages, and, accompanied by a part of the inhabitants on horseback, took our way up the Unna, on the right or Bosnian bank, to Ottoka. But from here onwards we drove along the left bank to Krupa, after the frontier line, turning to the north-west, had left the river which we had followed up stream in a south-westerly direction. At Krupa we left the Unna to turn north-westwards amongst the mountains, towards Tzazin.

The wild Unna, with whose foaming waters so much blood has been blent during the ever-recurrent battles over the possession of Bosnia, is owing to its natural conditions one of the most interesting of rivers, and exactly in harmony with the wild and romantic Krain, where one ancient castle ruin after another appears, where the verdant mountains still re-echo with songs of heroes, and the people are still like a warlike race from the age of chivalry, as they come dashing up with stately mien, and in gorgeous costumes, from one town after another, in order to join our procession.

It is the natural weirs formed of rock which give to the Upper Unna its quite unique aspect; these follow one another in close succession, stretching across



the whole width of the river, so that the waters flow through their narrow valley closed in by woody mountains in a series of cataracts. This is of course an insurmountable obstacle to vessels, however much it may increase the beauty of the landscape; but without there being any traffic the river is yet lively. One sees mill upon mill on this wild river, often submerged up to the roof at high tide, for all these mills are built firmly upon piles, or anchored to sunken stones, so as to be able to resist the violence of the floods. These mills are very primitive, such as might have existed in the days of the Romans, and all the more have they grown up with and become a part of the surrounding nature.

Opposite to Krupa, just where the principal street again passes along the right bank, first into the town of Krupa, and then from this seat of the divisional court, on to the capital of the district, we left the high road, after the minister had briefly returned the greetings of the inhabitants of Krupa, and promised to visit the town on his return. Our journey to Bihatz now led up mountain paths and byways through Tzazin, in order that the minister might be enabled to visit this out-of-the-way arrondissement and its chief town.

At Tzazin the reception assumed the dimensions of an imposing demonstration on the part of the entire population of the arrondissement, under the leadership of the Burgomaster Hadshi Ahmed Aga Pozderatz and the Knezes of the few Christian communities. Whilst the minister moved about for a long time amongst the assembled crowd that he might hear all who might have a complaint or petition to bring forward, a lively dramatic scene was enacted, whilst several knezes and kmets began to discuss the existing agrarian conditions. Only those who know the East can conceive what a high degree of trust was evinced, when those belonging to a class once so oppressed, could enter into such an open, nay, public discussion with the representative of the highest power in the State.

Lively colouring and loud demands were not wanting when two or three of the talkers, crowding round the minister, proclaimed their views; one with exaggerated Oriental humility, another in an excited, dictatorial tone. It is true that the condition of the Christian peasantry in the Krain had perhaps been more burdensome than anywhere else in the land. The population consisted mostly of Mohammedans, and the uninterrupted feud with the borderers of the Lika kept the fanaticism of the opposing parties always at its height; on the other hand, there is hardly one large landowner here, and the small agas were only able to maintain their position as gentlemen by means of the most wanton oppression. The peasantry were more imposed upon here than anywhere else, and abuses were more frequently met with.

All the more sanguine, consequently, were the hopes attached by the Christians to the Austrian occupation. The Catholics especially, which constitute the majority of the Christians of the Krain, had never ceased to glance over the borders, whence their hoped-for emancipation was to come. In their simplicity they thought that, in the natural course of events, after the entrance of our troops the Mohammedan element would be exterminated, and that the whole country would be distributed amongst Christians and become Catholic. Just at this time, moreover, there were not wanting indications of a certain skilful agitation coming from without. These circumstances explain how it was that some, already accustomed to the fact that the kmets, now protected against former abuses, need no longer fear their master's wrath, but, on the other hand, disappointed in their expectations, now that they heard that a man was coming to them to whom each could freely make known his wrongs, besieged the minister energetically, some with profound humility, others impetuously and dictatorially, like people who are absolute novices in the use of free speech. One demanded the abolition of tithes. Upon the simple remark that the tithes were the emperor's, and that taxes must be levied in every country, on the further side of the border even, for example, where nothing had been grown, but here only of that which the land yielded, and in proportion to that which had been grown, a whole group of people began angrily to protest against the first speaker's proposition. Not for the world! We will gladly give to the emperor that which is his, but wherefore should we also pay the landlord? Finally, however, they expressed themselves satisfied that the Government was bound and willing to protect all, and that one could not exactly take away from the landlord that which was his.

Tzazin has also, like nearly all the larger and numerous smaller townships of the Krain, a citadel of its own. A new mosque was in course of erection within the walls of the citadel, in place of that destroyed during the insurrection. We visited this, and the model medreze (mosque school) connected with it; and then pursued our journey, after partaking of luncheon in the house of the magistrate of the arrondissement. The remote mountain region of Tzazin, between Buzin, Petshi, and Bihatsh, from century to century the scene of sanguinary battles, is celebrated as the birth-place of a host of ballads and songs. Like every people which dwells in a romantic neighbourhood and lays store by warlike traditions, the people of the Krain expresses its emotions in ballads, and celebrates its heroes in song. Tzazin is the central point of this world of song, and its singers and poets are the Mohammedans who live there. The songs and ballads of Southern Slavonia are, as a whole, sufficiently well known, but the Southern

Slavonic collectors have naturally given less attention to just the Mohammedan folk-songs. The folk-songs of this neighbourhood, however, are the songs of Mohammedan Bosnians, and, on this account, I have considered them worthy of being represented. The following all derive their origin from the neighbourhood of Tzazin :

## I.

“ ‘Dost thou see this soft red hair?  
 Art thou angry when I stroke it?’  
 ‘Nay, then go! for were I angry  
 I would never have it stroked.’

“ ‘Dost thou see this visage pale?  
 Art thou angry when I kiss it?’  
 ‘Nay, then go! for were I angry  
 I would never have it kissed.’

“ ‘Dost thou see this bosom white?  
 Art thou wroth when I caress it?’  
 ‘Nay, then go! for were I angry  
 I would never let you do it.’

“ ‘Dost thou see thy white foot there?  
 Art thou angry when I lift it?’  
 ‘Were I angry I would never,  
 Never let you lift it up.’”

## II.

“ Three little birds together met  
 In a mead, upon a twig;  
 The first it was a sumbul bird,  
 The second was a bulbul bird,  
 The third it was a swallow.  
 Of these which is it sings the best?  
 In this wise spake the sumbul bird:  
 ‘Not one doth sing so well as I,  
 For when I sit upon the church,  
 The pilgrim, captivated, lets  
 His rosary fall down.’  
 In this wise spake the bulbul bird:  
 ‘Whene’er I sing upon the medrez  
 The very Softas, pious men,  
 That they may hearken to my song,  
 E’en throw aside the Alkoran.

"Then spake the third, the swallow bird :  
 'When as I sing beside the inn  
 The very drunkards cease to drink,  
 And set aside their tankards so  
 That they may listen to my song.'"

The following old heroic song, too, is of interest on account of its geographical details:

"With weeping eyes  
 Beg Osman gazed across the plain,  
 And as he gazed, gazed far away,  
 A horseman did his eyes espy,  
 Approaching at a gallop quick.  
 In finest gold was he equipped.  
 From coat of mail to his feet.  
 Beg Osman now him recognized,  
 For it is Silitsh, Nusret's son,  
 His own dear brother's son,  
 From fort Dundjur, near Požega.  
 'Say, art thou well and happy, nephew?'  
 'Yes, I am well, but happy, no ;  
 I see that thou art weeping, cousin.'  
 And Osman to him thus replied :  
 'Oh, listen, son, wherefore I weep,  
 Look over there t'wards Ogaravitsh !  
 For once it counted close upon  
 Six hundred stone and well-built houses.  
 Of these, too, many were my own,  
 Not counting any of the huts.  
 But then the emperor's general  
 (The punishment of Allah meet him !)  
 Inhumanly burnt everything,  
 Of both my daughters robbed me,  
 When as I was away in Stamboul.  
 When home returned I saw my grief,  
 With both my daughters torn from me !  
 Since then three years their course have run,  
 And I shall never see them more.'  
 'Oh ! let me kiss thy hand, good cousin.  
 Upon the best of all my steeds  
 I traversed all the emperor's land ;  
 And far around it I did ride,  
 Yet never came across the maids.  
 I wandered far as Klausenburg,  
 And many strangers saw I there,

Who thither came to barter wares,  
 From Malta's distant island, too;  
 But of the maidens no one knew."

Osman-Beg at last receives a letter from his daughters. They tell him that they are kept prisoners in Prozor, by the imperialist general. Osman-Beg raises a regiment, and sets his daughters free. The general is slain in the fight. This song is descended from the last century, and the close connection between Transylvania and the East is echoed in it. Of the numerous songs, composed upon the Occupation, the following rendering is sung in the Krain, to the *Guzla* :

"Look, a rainbow high in heaven  
 Sees destruction fall on Bosnia.  
 Kostajnitza and Gradiska  
 Already lie in Swabian hands.  
 God! oh, curse Commander Ajnan,  
 Commander General Ajnan,  
 Who has taken prisoner  
 Our valiant Aga Feim,  
 And three Kapetanovitshes,  
 Ismi, Dervish, and the Mustaj,  
 Mustaj-Beg the youngest of them.  
 Clouds move o'er the azure heavens,  
 Mists descend upon the earth,  
 From the mist a horseman dashes,  
 Hassan-Beg the gloomy rider,  
 At his back the men of Krain.  
 They lay siege to Banialuka  
 Till the heat of summer's noon,  
 Soon falls Krupitsh with Beg Ali,  
 All the standard-bearers fall.  
 Hassan-Beg receives a missive  
 From the white stone fortress, Bihatsh :  
 'May God bless you, Hassan-Beg!  
 We have here attacked been  
 By two mighty generals,  
 Ozak and Rajneder called,  
 On the Unna they are storming  
 Bihatsh our own white fort.'  
 Hardly had these words been read,  
 It was followed by a second  
 From the fort of Britshka, far away,  
 That the town and fort of Britshka  
 Had been captured by the Swabian.

“ Yet, when he had learned all this,  
Came the Mufti of Tashlidza,  
Brother to Omer Effendi,  
And the men of Herzgovina,  
They came with him, travelling thus  
Through the whole of Herzegovina,  
Marching on to Serajevo;  
Meeting there some thousand men,  
Met with soldiers from the Krain,  
With the soldiers of the Sultan  
Having just come from the fight,  
From the fight by Wisoko.  
Abbas Pasha then collected,  
Collected all his leading men:  
‘ Harken, men of Serajevo,  
Harken to the Sultan’s law,  
None may shoot at any Swabians.’  
Spake the Mufti: ‘ Abbas Pasha!  
If thou hast the Sultan’s firman,  
Here I have my heroes true!  
Outside must the Swabian stay!’  
Great the uproar! Weapons clang,  
Abbas trembles for his life;  
Soon he quitted Serajevo,  
With him, too, then went two thousand  
Anatolian soldiers too.  
To the men spake Hadshi Loja,  
Calling out with thundering voice:  
‘ Brothers! fly to arms, revolt!  
Soldiers need I, thousands six,  
Dresses, arms, will merchants lend,  
That this town we may defend.’  
Then in council men assemble,  
But a letter comes from Travnik:  
‘ Sorely pressed is Jaitze fortress  
With the Swabian laying siege.’  
Hadshi Loja calls together  
Now the bravest of the men,  
Marching with them upon Travnik.  
Travnik’s fort stands void—deserted,  
All have marched away to Jaitze.  
Vainly had they issued forth,  
On the next day they returned,  
From the tumult of the battle,  
From the white stone fort of Jaitze  
Where were met the Bihatshians,

Mustaj-Beg and Rustem-Beg,  
By two death-shots from the cannon  
By the German Emperor sent.  
Hadshi Loja leads again  
His faithful men to Serajevo,  
Camps them all near Iidshe,  
Sends to Gasinatz a letter  
To the Mufti of Tashlidza.  
But he had already left  
For the level Posavina,  
Came in contact at Preslitza  
With the whole of Swabia's army.  
Thirty thousand of the Swabians,  
Of the Mufti only eight,  
Cannon, too, 'gainst the splendid  
Emperor's princely cannon,  
Takes he with him 'gainst the foe.  
Dark it was and midnight when the  
Mufti thus addressed his men :  
'Has,' he said, 'that hero e'er been  
Born of woman who will  
Venture to creep up  
Into the hostile Swabian camp,  
Confusion, unrest, there to found,  
Then to shoot and slash around,  
That the Swabians startled thus  
One upon another fall,  
Murdering one another thus?'  
Twenty heroes promptly came,  
Uttering no parting word,  
Doing e'en as they were bid.  
Mighty fear possessed the Swabians,  
One upon the other rushed,  
Stabbing, hewing one another dead  
Until the rising of the sun.  
Then when dawned the daybreak pale  
In upon them rushed the Mufti,  
Fighting till the night came on.  
From the field of battle turned he  
Back to Herzegovina bare.  
Hearing of this Hadshi Loja  
Wisely drew his men together  
Serajevo to defend  
'Gainst an attack from Filipovitsh ;  
Serajevo is surrounded  
By the General Filipovitsh.

“Bravely Hadshi then protects it,  
 Spitting forth his fire and flame,  
 Right and left the Swabians fall.  
 Valiant Hadshi Loja then  
 By swift bullet loses  
 Both his feet from off his body.  
 Serajevo ! Serajevo !  
 Thou didst fall to Filipovitsh.”

In this neighbourhood the following song is also sung. It has come down to us from the times before Glamotsh had fallen into Turkish hands.

“OUT OF THE FORTRESS OF GLAMOTSH.

“Wailing hear we in the fort of Glamotsh !  
 Is't the Vila, is't the angry serpent ?  
 Vila it is not, no, not the angry serpent ;  
 Emina the maiden is't who wailleth,  
 Wailleth, for she is in trouble !  
 By the Ban is Emina imprisoned,  
 For he says that she shall be baptized.  
 But she will not be baptized,  
 Off the white tower rather would she leap.  
 “Then the unbelieving Ban she thus misled :  
 ‘Only tarry, unbelieving Ban, a little,  
 Whilst I go up, upon the upper floor !’  
 Emka\* went up to the upper floor,  
 And she from the white tower gazed ;  
 Saw afar the courtyard of her father's house ;  
 Saw close by her former schoolhouse white :  
 ‘Lo ! I see my father's house, oh, sorrow !  
 See my school too, once my greatest dread !  
 Thou didst frighten me enough  
 When thy writing I was set to learn !’  
 Then her white dress drew she round her,  
 But forgot her braided hair ;  
 And thus sprang she off the tower.  
 But her hair caught on the window,  
 And thus hung Emina the maiden.  
 There for one whole week she hung  
 Till her hair was perished quite,  
 Then upon the greensward fell  
 Up then sprang the Christian Ban and hastened ;  
 Oft and oft he kissed poor Emka, dead,  
 Then he buried Emina the maiden,

\* Emka is the diminutive of Emina.

“And a chapel built above her grave,  
The top adorned with a golden apple  
Yet, before a week had passed away,  
On Emka's grave there fell a spark,  
A spark which burnt her at her head,  
A spark which burnt her at her feet.  
This her aged mother saw,  
Took a knife, unloos'd it from its chain,  
Plunged into her deepest heart the knife,  
Sank and died.—Alas, poor mother!”

After the luncheon of which we had partaken at the house of the magistrate of the *arrondissement*, we started on our journey directly south. At *Ostrozatz* we again reached the Unna, and at five o'clock in the afternoon *Bihatsh*, the old, historical, interesting capital of the *Krain*. Since the castle of *Bihatsh* was built by *Béla IV.*, King of Hungary, it has never ceased to play a part in the Hungarian-Croatian-Bosnian-Turkish feuds. Even before the Turkish period, Hungarian warders of the border were frequently garrisoned here. The first more important battle against the Turks was fought here in 1592. In the attempts at re-conquest in the years 1692 and 1697 the castle was unsuccessfully besieged: on the last occasion with twelve thousand men and thirty-two cannon. In the years 1717 and 1739 the imperial troops again fought the Turks beneath its walls. The town, with a population of some five thousand souls, the half of whom are Mohammedans, is picturesquely situated in the plain of *Bishtshe*. *Bishtshe*, or *Bitshe*, in Turkish *Bebke*, is also the name of the town itself, which, with its suburbs lying amidst gardens, extend along both banks of the Unna, and upon the islands formed by the many branches of the river at this point. To the south of the town, upon the left bank of the Unna, rises the peak of the *Debeljatsha*, five hundred and sixty-nine metres high, and from here there extends down stream the broad fertile plain, which is bounded on the west by bastion-like and far-extended heights, running parallel with the Unna, the last promontory of the *Pljeshavitza-Planina*, which at the same time constitutes the frontier towards Croatia.

The inhabitants were assembled before the town, and at their head the Burgomaster *Mehemmed-Beg Alibegovitsh*, and the president of the Agricultural Society, *Hassan-Beg Ibrahimbegovitsh*, received the minister. Whilst the deputations and those to whom audiences were granted were assembling in front of the district magistrate's *konak*, we took a rapid survey of the town and its public institutions. The inner town or fort, on the left bank of the Unna, is formed by a hexagonal building protected by double walls, and with watch-towers at four of its corners. The side towards the Unna especially, with its

old walls, which partly date from the time of their first founder King Béla IV., present a threatening warlike appearance. In the centre of this side one gateway leads out on to the wooden bridge, which connects the two broad branches of the Unna and one of their islands with the opposite shore, whence the forked road leads across one of the suburbs to the east to Krupa, to the south to Petrovatz. Another road leads through the southern gateway and ruined citadels in the direction of the Croatian Zavalje, straight to the Rastell of Zavalje, whilst the third and northern gateway leads to Jzashitsh.

Upon the southern, western, and northern sides, which are not protected by the Unna, the battlements are surrounded by broad moats.

The whole of Krain had, so to speak, attended the audience. Deputations were there from Petrovatz, Kulen-Vakuf, and Unatz, the latter under the leadership of the Pop Ilia Bilbia, who had, as captain of the Tshetas,\* fought on the side of our troops against the insurgents.

Amidst the numerous private matters which were brought before him, the minister especially directed his attention to the material interests of the district, and from the Agricultural Society to the religious establishments, all found support and encouragement in matters concerning the common good, and, where necessary, even material aid.

The Bihatsh district is generally looked upon as the least advanced and the poorest in all Bosnia. We had ample opportunity for convincing ourselves that at any rate the conditions for development were not wanting here either, and that even now a certain amount of progress is perceptible.

It is certainly true that the Krain had lagged behind. The eternal conflicts between the borderers of the Lika and the Mohammedans of the Krain, which did not cease even in times of profoundest peace, and amongst whom the conditions of war remained permanent, at least as regards the mutual cattle raids, formed a heavy drawback to agricultural progress. Neither can it be denied that the Krain is a limestone district; whilst the favoured Posavina has garden soil equal to early banate ground, and the other parts of Bosnia also attain to the level of Styria. The limestone nature of the ground has not, however, reached such a point here as in many places in Herzegovina. The high mountains are still covered by mighty woods, amongst them oak forests, which, as soon as they are opened up to commerce, will form one of the sources of wealth in the Krain. Upon the lower declivities, where inaccessibility has not protected the woods from destruction, nature herself has saved the layers of vegetable mould which everywhere envelop the limestone region. Densely growing ferns cover these slopes

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\* Native Volunteers.

for miles, and with their roots hold the soil firmly together, that it may not be washed away by the torrents of rain. True it is that this contest could not endure for long, if cultivation did not come to the rescue. But these heights, when situated in the vicinity of human habitations, are interspersed with luxuriant wheat, the culture of which is constantly on the increase, and the broad valleys of the shining rivers of the Unna, the Sana, and the Unnatz, which wind all about this neighbourhood, making everything verdant and fresh, wherever they flow form fertile country which is not only fruitful, but also industriously tended, and well cultivated. In few districts of the country is so much wheat grown as here, and its cultivation has increased from year to year, until now when it has developed into an article of export. The neighbourhood of Novi, and Sanski-Most, too, is occupied with the production of iron, though certainly as a peculiar, primitive domestic industry. The Kmet manufactures the metal extracted from his ground and soil, of which a tenth belongs to the State and a third to the ground landlord, into rough bars of iron, a method by which some 40 per cent. of the iron is wasted with the slack. Grain and iron are forwarded on the Unna and the Save as far as Belgrade: the vessels capable of carrying eighty thousand kilogrammes are generally towed back by men up stream laden with earthenware. The mills stand in almost unbroken rows along the rivers, and the natural weirs are very cleverly utilized for them. The most hopeful sign, however, is the lively interest taken by people in trade and agricultural progress. Small begs and agas hold the soil here side by side with the free peasantry, who are so scarce in other parts of the country, but so common here. It is perhaps on this account that this district is accounted the poorest. On the other hand, however, it shows itself, pressed as it is by want, just on that very account more ready to welcome progress than other neighbourhoods having great begs and large estates.

For some small agas, who here and there owned one single kmet-holding in common, the new era has been fatal. They formerly lived at the expense of the unhappy kmet; for one half of the year he had to provide this master, for the other half that master, with all his needs as though he were his guest. Such abuses have now come to an end, and some agas have emigrated from their estates; but most of them adapted themselves to the new order of things, and the small agas now support themselves honestly as carriers—the favourite occupation of those compelled to work—or as tradesmen and shopkeepers, in greater comfort than heretofore; thus the desire for emigration which showed itself chiefly amongst the small agas of this district has ceased; indeed, even those who emigrated are beginning to return, and amongst others one of these who had just returned from Smyrna introduced himself to the minister at Bihatsh, and

could not sufficiently complain of the fact that where he had been they did not even understand Bosnian. Profoundest peace now reigns in this district, where every span of ground is drenched in blood. Numbers of fine streets, the rapidly increasing vehicular traffic, the visibly flourishing towns of Bihatsb, Novi, and Krupa, which are rising to a commercial pinnacle, all show the result of peaceful labour. It was in this district, too, that the first agricultural society was founded.

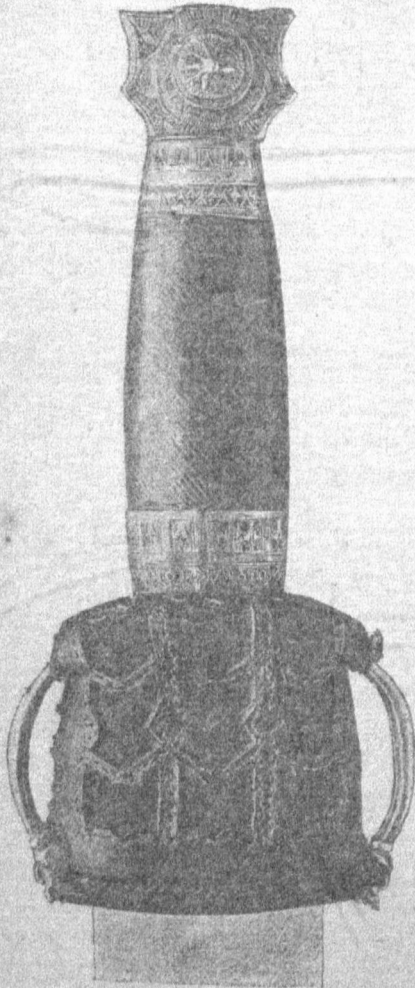
The Government, which is inclined to support every effort at advancement even though it may be with only small sums, helped this society too, but the largest part of its capital was found by the people themselves. Latterly, too, horse-races have been again introduced: formerly these were warmly supported by the people, but had ceased to be held during the struggles of these bloody years. The Krainian Mohammedan considers himself to be the best mounted soldier there is, and the population is, although dwelling amongst mountains, as a matter of fact a population of horsemen, as was proved, moreover, by the numerous troops of horsemen which appeared from every valley and hillside and caracolled around our carriages.

The Agricultural Society purchases animals for breeding, establishes experimental stations, and has commenced the cultivation of hops with great success. Several deputations petitioned for a railway, and for making the Unna navigable; but the people know also that intellectual progress is one of the conditions of material advancement. Numerous communal schools have been erected, and the town of Bihatsb itself has built a beautiful one-storied schoolhouse of freestone, and thus prosperity is advancing in every direction through the personal efforts of the people. After the audiences there followed a banquet given by the town to the minister, and after that a torchlight procession. On the following day we travelled back to Novi by the direct road to Krupa on the right bank of the Unna. In Krupa we took our mid-day rest, as far as a couple of hours could count as rest which, after a rapidly swallowed meal, were dedicated to the inspection of the offices, and to granting audiences. At the house of the magistrate of the arrondissement, a son of the brave General Baron Mollinary, we found a small ethnographical and archaeological collection, whose chief pride is three swords, which are amongst its most rare and most valuable articles. Baron Mollinary found all three of them himself in old graves near Mostar. They are all alike, three feet long, with two-edged blades, three fingers wide, across, and with short straight hilts, separated from the blades by brass ferules, upon which the remains of coverings made of leather and red cloth are still preserved. The swords point to mailed knights, and that similar ones were found in three graves indicates their general use. They are long, heavy, straight swords; but as no bearers of such weapons have invaded the neighbourhood of the Narenta since

the Turkish conquest, they evidently date from the time of the Bosnian monarchy ; and this it is which makes them so valuable, for all that has up till now been discovered belonging to this era amounts to very little. Except a few ruins of churches and castles and a couple of coins, hardly anything besides the Bogomilian graves, which are scattered all over the country, have come down to us

from this epoch. Fortunately, in the bas-reliefs of these tombstones, the past life of the dead is portrayed, as in Egypt, and especially all that appertains to war and the chase, and these same swords are really represented innumerable times upon these tombs, whereby it is amply proven that these swords were those used by the Bosnian knights of the Middle Ages.

From Novi-we travelled the following day, over the old Turkish railway direct to Banialuka. It hardly needs stating that this railroad, since it has been under the management of the Imperial Royal Railroad Regiment, has not suffered from a single one of those peculiarities, by which Turkish railways may generally be recognized. Formerly there was only a train on every alternate day, and this started empty at horse speed. Now there is a regular service from Doberlin to Banialuka. We reached Priedor by the left bank of the Sana, through a country in every respect like the upper valley of the Unna, though the landscape is, it is true, more lively, for beyond the grey willows we could see ships upon the river, which flows more quietly than the Unna. The Sana is navigable from Priedor onwards, and the craft in use there (which remind one of the Dahabials of the



Medieval Bosnian Sword.

Nile), about one hundred in number, go as far as Semlin, indeed even to Buda-Pesth, and occasionally on to the Lower Danube. Their regular traffic, however, only reaches to Jasenovatz, where the Unna flows into the Save. Their cargo consists of wheat, oats, and maize.

Priedor itself is a small town on the right bank of the Sana, with three thousand five hundred inhabitants of various creeds. It is situated just at the point where the valley issues forth from amongst masses of rocks into an inviting, fertile plain. In the crevices of the rocks which tower aloft above the town hundreds of falcons build their nests, and from here the begs of the neighbourhood of Banialuka take their young falcons. For amongst many other traditions of the old nobility, long since extinct in the rest of Europe, the wealthy begs who dwell here still faithfully encourage the noble sport of falconry. As each spring comes round the young birds are taken away and trained until August; then the begs ride away in gay bands, and, flying after the falcons in the stubble fields, they with their aid catch the wild pigeons.

After Priedor, when we had left the Sana valley which turns towards the south, the road led through an altogether more open and really verdant neighbourhood, watered by countless streamlets, with a mill upon nearly every one. It was four miles and a half from Novi to Priedor, and after about another three miles and a quarter we passed from the hill country into the Vrbas valley, in the plain of Banialuka, which extending in a northerly direction passes through into the Posavina. Near Trn we reached the river \* Vrbas; the railroad turns from the east directly southwards, up the left bank of the river, and in about a quarter of an hour runs into the Banialuka railway station. In Trn there are but few houses now, scattered along both banks of the Vrbas; yet here the old town is supposed to have once stood, and not until after its destruction did the more modern Banialuka come into existence, about three miles from Trn, higher up, quite at the mouth of the defile. Tradition agrees in this with the general rule, that before the Turkish invasion, the larger towns all stood in the open plains, but then drew themselves up in front of defiles, beneath forts and hills; or rather under their protection new Mohammedan towns grew up, like Serajevo, Mostar, Travnik, and Banialuka; whilst the old Christian towns either sank into places of insignificance, like Ban-Brdo before Serajevo and Blagaj before Mostar, or were entirely blotted out, like Lashva before Travnik, and Trn.





## CHAPTER XXIV.

### BANIALUKA.

A Monk-Bishop—Banialuka—The Fortress—The Roman Baths—Hussein Aga Berberli and the War against the Gyaour-Sultan—The Trappists—The German and Southern Tyrolese Colonies—The Agricultural Society of Banialuka.

THE sun was already setting when our train drew up at Banialuka. The railway station, where nearly the whole of the town had assembled, is about a mile and a half from the town, and in the hurry of the arrival I got into a carriage in which two ecclesiastics were also seated. At first I think we were all three astonished, until it became clear, after we had introduced ourselves to one another, that I had been placed in the bishop's carriage by mistake. The Bishop of Banialuka is still a young man, and—like all the bishops in this country formerly—belongs to the Order of Franciscans, and I have to thank this accident for a winning, lovable acquaintance.

Banialuka, too, like most of the larger towns in this country, is situated on the borders of a plain, in front of the entrance to a narrow defile.

Upon the east Ponir, upon the west the Laush Mountains, again, and for the last time, narrowly confine the roaring waters of the Vrbas. At the point where the river issues from the narrow rocky defile of these wooded hills the town commences. Ponir bending off to the east, Laush towards the west, make room for a long narrow plain across which the Vrbas still flows for some time, close up to Ponir, until it has picked up the Vrbanja stream which dashes down the north-eastern slope of the mountain, after which it runs out at Old Gradiska into the great plain of Posavina. Whilst the Vrbas is still flowing along below Ponir, the Tzrkvina stream runs into it from the slope of the Laush, which bends towards the west, just where the plain grows considerably wider. On the further side of this stream, between its

own right bank and the left bank of the Vrbas, in the angle formed by the two rivers, and resting upon the Laush, there is situated the ancient town, with its citadel commanding an extensive view, and the great mosque. Opposite, on the other shore, regularly wedged in between Ponir and the Vrbas, small huts and modest mosques with green gardens extend in a narrow row far into the mountain pass: a poor suburb which, about three miles off, has its continuation in some solitary hamlets. On the left side of the Tzrkvina, between it and the left shore of the Vrbas, where, owing to the eastward bend of the Vrbas which comes from the south, the plain really begins to widen, is situated the Christian quarter of the town, which merges into gypsy huts at the river's bank. Entirely separated from this quarter of the town, further back on the plain, upon the high road to Gradiska, there is a more modern block of houses consisting of better buildings, which is only connected with the rest of Banialuka by a long row of trees and a Turkish cemetery. Behind these there is yet another isolated, countrified group of houses in the plain lying below the Laush,—Nova-Varosh, the New Town. Detached houses lie scattered around in the fertile plain, so full of life, and isolated hamlets peep forth from amidst the dark green of the mountain-sides. Outside the gypsy town, but a good deal further down on the Vrbas—which, after having made a bend so as to afford space for the widening of the plain, now again flows northwards—there stands solitarily between two larger islands, a spacious barrack. A little distance further down the river the Vrbauja stream dashes from the right hand into the Vrbas, and upon the same bank, but again considerably further down, stands the Trappist Monastery; opposite to this, far beyond the river and across the plain, amongst the hills, the Franciscan Monastery is situated. The plain widens more and more after Banialuka, until at last it passes up into the great Posavina Plain. The position of Banialuka is at once visible from the railway station, which, separated from the Vrbas by groups of trees, lies almost opposite to the mouth of the Vrbauja. It is one of the most beautiful situations that can be imagined: rivers, mountains, rocks, woods, gardens, and arable land in endless variety, full of fresh and luxuriant life. But it is not alone the position of the town which is favourable. Banialuka is, speaking generally, one of the most advanced towns, which has only quite recently been outstripped by Serajevo itself, through the latter's being the centre of an European Government, and, as a result of this, having founded many educational institutions. Banialuka was the first of the larger towns to have a railway, even during Turkish days, and as the terminus of this railway it grew to be the focus of traffic, which was also increased by the excellent high road leading through Old Gradiska

to the Save. Hence, even before the Austrian occupation, Banialuka numbered over twenty thousand inhabitants, of whom about sixteen thousand were Mohammedans, two thousand five hundred Orthodox, and one thousand five hundred Catholics. Even since then the town has made sufficient progress. Its trade in cattle and home produce is considerable. These favourable conditions also tell in the outward appearance of the town. In no other town in the country are there so many ordinary dwelling-houses, built after the solid European manner, as here. It preserves its Oriental impress chiefly through its forty-five mosques. We drew up immediately upon our entrance into the town at the end of the above-named avenue, in front of a large, beautiful, and comfortable hotel, on its right hand, which is in itself a guarantee for the progress and European pretensions of the town. In the open space before the hotel were drawn up the pupils of the various educational establishments to welcome the minister in rotation with speeches for the occasion. The Orthodox, Catholic, and Mohammedan schools, the girls' educational establishment belonging to the Sisters of the Holy Blood of Nazareth, and the Communal Schools, were all represented here. The large number of assembled scholars, their healthy looks, and the frank and intelligent appearance of the children gave evidence of the thorough progressive spirit of the town.

After the luncheon, in which the notabilities of the town took part, we adjourned to the chief square of the inner town, in front of the Konak, at the invitation of the town council. The road to Old Gradiska leads direct to this quarter, between gardens and churchyards, through the Christian suburb and over the Tzrkvina bridge; it then turns to the left, so that we walked down to the citadel along by the houses of the inner town, and the bazaar on the right bank of the Tzrkvina. The citadel is built in the angle between this stream and the Vrbas in such a manner that its shorter side, some two hundred feet long, leans towards the Tzrkvina, and its longer side, measuring about five hundred feet, towards the Vrbas. The two other sides, which are not protected by the rivers, are separated by moats five mètres wide and two mètres deep from the large open space which lies between the castle and the other buildings in the old town. Behind the moats rise bastions from six to eight mètres high, which are supported at their corners by solid towers. The chief gateway is situated in the centre of the long side looking towards the old town, to which a wooden bridge leads over the moat. It is true that the walls of the fortress have been repaired, but as a whole it offers little security, because one can see into the citadel from three sides of the half-circle of mountains which rise behind Banialuka. This, however, does not prevent it, with its

antique warlike appearance, from lending a romantic character to the whole neighbourhood. Between the longer side of the fortress and the houses, most of which form part of the bazaar, but which also afford a peep into the narrow streets of the old town as they wind up and down hill, there lies a well-tended promenade ornamented with trees and rose bushes, along which the surging crowd was already moving. At the end of this promenade we again found more important buildings, which serve as an ornament to the place. Opposite to the fortifications stands the largest mosque in the town, and one of the most beautiful in the country, the domed Ferhadia-Dshamia, which was really built at the expense of the Austrian family of Auersperg. The Bosnian Vizier Ferhad Pasha, when he in 1576 slew General Eberhard Auersperg at Radonja, in Croatia, had also, amongst others, taken his son Engelbert prisoner. According to tradition the Ferhadia-Dshamia was built out of the money paid for his ransom. Opposite to the shorter side of the fortress, and also leaning towards the Vrbas, stands the Konak, a spacious, lofty, but uninteresting building, which is only ornamented with gaily-coloured trellis-work. Here we seated ourselves in the shade on the river's bank and enjoyed a splendid view. Behind us surged the multitude in the square belonging to the mosque, down to the water's edge; below us foamed the Vrbas in a deep bed of rocks; the outline of the shore and the bridge thrown across from the castle, framed in thousands of small shining lamps. These lamps are very ingeniously made: they are military jam pots, filled with sand saturated with petroleum. Small timber-houses, enveloped in vines, looked across from amongst nut trees and plum trees, beneath the dark masses of Mount Ponir, upon which there blazed enormous beacons. And now resounded the military music, and the general rejoicing reached its highest point. We sat there until late at night, that we might gaze our fill at the picturesque sight, enjoying cigarettes and Turkish coffee the while.

Banialuka is an old town. It is most likely identical with the point "Castrum," situated on the river Urbanus, of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*; and there can be no doubt that the road passing from Salona through Dalmatia to Pannonia, past this place, "*Ad Fines*" to "*Servitium*," is the present Brebir on the Save, which was already upon Pannonian soil. This was the road taken by the Avars when they invaded the Roman empire. One of the Roman monuments in Banialuka is still preserved—the Roman baths, from which the name "Lucas-Bath," borne by the town, is clearly derived. We inspected the public buildings and visited these baths at our leisure. They are situated on the right bank of the Vrbas, a good way up stream in that quarter of the town, which, reaching about three miles up the mountain pass, begins almost opposite to the

fortress. The whole of this quarter of the town lies shut in between the river and Ponir. The mountain at first rises one hundred feet above the river, then three hundred feet, and in many places descends into it down a steep cliff. The bed of the river is quite rocky, its current is naturally strong, and is made still more rapid by the weirs constructed for the sake of the countless mills. Although the water is shallow, it is from two to three hundred feet wide; on the further shore the orchard-covered hills of the other mountain range begin to rise. The snake-like, tortuous mountain pass, with its rows of houses, which sometimes vanish, then re-appear, with here and there a mosque nestled among the gardens and cliffs, and made lively by the roaring Vrbas and the clatter of the mills, is one of the most beautiful idyls. In the midst of this idyl the baths, still known as the "Roman baths," lie in two groups. The one, in the vicinity of a bridge, is now nothing more than a ruin, from which there bubbles up a warm spring. Here, in 1870, six hundred Roman coins were found. A little further on, up the stream, stands the bath, still in use, a massive domed building, which must have been built in the sixth century, and beside it is another, in ruins. In their neighbourhood there are three more springs, not yet used.

Banialuka, like Serajevo and Mostar, certainly first developed into a town of some importance under the Turks, under whose government the old centres of life fell into decay or were laid waste; whilst, on the other hand, new ones came into being, to whose simultaneous origin their similar positions in front of important defiles, and their outward character, point. In the Bosnian-Hungarian period Jaitze on the one hand, and Brebir on the other, were far too important for the development of a town situated between them to have been possible. Between strong Brebir and fortified Jaitze there moved almost uninterruptedly for centuries, Bosnian, Croatian, Hungarian, and Turkish armies, and that alone would prevent the existence of a town which could only rise to importance as the centre of peaceful commerce. But when the Turkish dominion was rendered secure by the fall of Jaitze, Banialuka advanced rapidly to the front, for now, as in early days at Jaitze, encounters take place before Banialuka. In the years 1527, 1688, and 1737 the Austro-Hungarian army here fought against the Turks. Since the Duke of Hildburghausen was, on August 4th, 1737, defeated by the Bosnian Vizier Ali Pasha Etshimovitsh, who was of Bosnian birth, the town has developed rapidly and undisturbed, and in the first half of the present century it already formed the political centre of the whole neighbourhood for far around, and as such plays a very prominent part. As a matter of fact, perhaps the most remarkable and most characteristic movement which Turkish Bosnia can show amongst

so many and such vast insurrections, emanated from Banialuka. From here started that astounding campaign set on foot by the Bosnian begs and agas, in order to unfurl the banner of the prophet against the "unbelieving Gyaurs-Sultan," so that they might reinstate the true Islam in Stamboul.

And it was only by a hair's breadth that Hüssein Aga Berberli, the "Dragon of Bosnia," did not, after having already conquered Old Servia and the whole of Bulgaria, enter the residence of the Caliphs as conqueror at the head of the Bosnians who had entered the field against the Turks for the salvation of Islam.

A large portion of the Bosnian people, and almost the entire Bosnian nobility, had thrown themselves into the arms of the Turks and Mohammedanism, not from cowardly weakness, but after bloody persecutions and battles, from hatred of the oppression of the Latin Church and the Hungarian arms. The conversion in a body of the Bosnian Bogomiles to Mohammedanism was at first, doubtless, only in appearance: they submitted themselves to the Turkish yoke, which for converts was not particularly heavy, that they might free themselves of the old one, and wreak their vengeance on their persecutors, but, secretly hoping for a happier future, they preserved the Bogomilian traditions. These, however, after one or two generations had passed away, may have fallen into oblivion all the more easily the more inward and outward points of accord came to exist between the Bogomilian and Mohammedan creeds, the more the Turkish dominion was confirmed, and the more abundant became the opportunities offered the new convert for the achievement of a brilliant material and political position. In the wars against Hungary, and later on, against Austria, these renegades were the precursors of the Turks, and they remained the actual masters of the country, equipped with all the privileges of a military oligarchy, heightened by boundless arbitrariness.

No wonder then that they merged into Mohammedanism, nay, even transferred to their new religion all that fanaticism which they had inherited from their Bogomilian ancestors, and which in all ages and amongst all creeds has, especially in this country, played so great a part. As the Osman kingdom had long since ceased to battle for the spread of Islam, and had already sunk into that peaceful lethargy from which it was only roused from time to time by the necessity for self-defence, war was still ceaselessly prosecuted by the Bosnian Mohammedans, or rather, by the Mohammedan Bosniaks, mostly at their own expense, by raids across our military borders, by attacks upon the Montenegrins, and by fighting their own Christian subjects or the insurgent serfs. Christian, or at least European, ideas began more and more to take some effect upon the Osman kingdom now at peace with the Christian world,

and especially was this the case in the capital and the centres of commerce. The Mohammedan Bosnians, far removed from the centres of European traffic, from all intercourse with Europe, and engaged in uninterrupted wars with the Christians, preserved their self-contained religion, "the belief of the Lords," in all its purity, with their hereditary fanaticism, and in the proud consciousness of its superiority.

When Mahmud II., in face of the Servian revolt and the victorious Russian invasion, contemplated the regeneration of his kingdom, he entertained great ideas of reform, and abolished the janizaries, in whose ranks the Bosnians played a leading part, which stood in the way of every change, and which had ceased to be of military importance. As he not only recognized the Servian autonomy won at the point of the sword, but also granted to the Christians the free practice of their religion, and in addition threatened the unlimited powers of the Bosnian begs and agas, who had until then only played with the governors of the Porte, with centralizing reforms, it was natural that the violated and threatened interests should unfurl the banner of violated Islam: for man is so constituted that he generally endeavours to fight for his material interests with some ideal interest as his watchword.

The Bosnian begs, ever ready for war, fought enthusiastically on behalf of the Porte against the Kargeorgevitsh Servian revolt. But the news had hardly been announced that the Sultan was going to liberate the Servian rajahs, and had even entered into negotiations with the insurgents, before the Bosnian janizaries, under the command of Ali-Beg Vidaitsh, Kapetan of Zvornik, took up arms against the innovations. Not until 1821 did the energetic Dzel-al-Edin Pasha, who in one night caused thirty Bosnian noblemen to be beheaded, quell the movement.

But when, in 1826, the begs heard that all the janizaries were being massacred in Stamboul, Ali-Beg Vidaitsh again unfurled the flag of rebellion, and the Vizier Hadži Mustapha Pasha, when he was going to announce to them the Imperial Firman abolishing the janizaries, was obliged to escape from Travnik. His energetic successor, Abdurrahman, formerly Pasha in Belgrade, was only able to suppress this second rebellion after much bloodshed and many executions. Thus far had opposition thriven, when, after the Russian war of 1828 and 1829, Mahmud II. and his Grand-Vizier, Reshid Pasha, proceeded earnestly towards the carrying out of the long contemplated reforms. The Bosnian nobles now felt that not only their rights, but also their religious feelings, were being violated. Ali-Beg Vidaitsh's son, true to the traditions inherited from his father, again called them to arms. But the real centre of the movement this time was Banialuka, and from here in the

year 1831 what was to the Sultan the most dangerous of all the Bosnian revolutions, the celebrated campaign of the Bosnian begs, took its departure for the gates of Stamboul. It was the Kapetan of Old Gradiska, Hussein Aga Berberli, who stirred up the whole of the Mohammedan population in his neighbourhood, and started off with them. The small agas of the Krain joined him in troops, and the insurgents assembled and sent in their adhesion to the cause at Banialuka. Their leader possessed every attribute calculated to work upon the masses. Of youthful, brilliant appearance, wealthy, respected, heroic, he was also a captivating speaker, and so firm in faith, that amongst his followers, when in the cowl of a dervish he summoned them to war, he was taken for a saint. Indescribable enthusiasm spread throughout Bosnia upon the news that he had unfurled the green flag in the name of the prophet, in a holy war against the Gyaour-Sultan. Many beheld in him a new prophet or the long-expected Mahdi.

Hussein Aga Berberli, who called himself "*Zmai Bosanski*," "the Dragon of Bosnia," first of all advanced against the residence of the vizier at Travnik. Here he took the Vizier Ali Pasha Moralja prisoner, caused his Nizam uniform of European cut to be taken off in public, had him washed as unclean, ordered him to repeat penitentiary prayers, poked him into the old Turkish costume, and then dragged him along with him. After his triumphal entry into Serajevo all Turkish officials were dismissed throughout the country, some of them were executed, and everything was destroyed which in any way recalled the Turkish rule. The captured vizier succeeded during Ramazan in making his escape to Stolat, whence with the aid of the Herzegovinan noble, Ali-Beg Rizvanbegovitch, who had remained faithful to the Porte, he fled across the Austrian border.

Hussein Aga Berberli advanced with twenty thousand men to the Kossovo-Polje, which had already witnessed so many decisive battles, and wherein the year 1389 the Bosnians had for the first time fought against the Turks. Here twenty thousand men, under Mustapha Pasha, Albanians who had likewise revolted, joined him. Within a short time Hussein conquered the towns of Prizrend, Ipek, Sofia, Nish, and the whole of Bulgaria, Reshid Pasha, the Grand-Vizier, leading the Nizam regiments against him, a thing which had become possible owing to peace having been concluded with Russia, but he placed more reliance on his diplomacy than on his arms. He knew that personal contentions and jealousy had broken out between the two rebel leaders.

He therefore entered into separate, confidential negotiations with each of them, and as he promised the governorship of Bosnia to Hussein Aga, the latter separated himself from Mustapha Pasha, as he knew full well that he also was negotiating with the Grand-Vizier.