

*Bosnia before the Turkish Conquest*¹

I. THE HISTORY OF BOSNIA DOWN TO 1180.

THE earliest known inhabitants of Bosnia and the Herzegovina belonged to that Illyrian stock which peopled the western side of the Balkan peninsula at the close of the fifth century B.C. At that period we find two Illyrian tribes, the Ardiaei and the Autariatae, in possession of those lands. The former occupied West Bosnia, while the latter extended to the south and gave their name to the river Tara, which forms for some distance the present frontier between Montenegro and the Herzegovina. Few characteristics of these remote tribes have been preserved by the Greek and Roman writers, but we are told that the Ardiaei were noted even among the Illyrians for their drunken habits, and that they were the proprietors of a large body of slaves, who performed all their manual offices for them. Of the Autariatae we know nothing beyond the fact of their power at that epoch.

But the old Illyrian inhabitants had to acknowledge the superiority of another race. About 380 B.C. the Celts invaded the peninsula, and, by dint of continual pushing, ousted the natives of what is now Servia, and so became neighbours of the Ardiaei. Their next step was to drive the latter southward into the modern Herzegovina, and to seize their possessions in North Bosnia. Instead of uniting against the Celtic invaders the Illyrian tribes fell to quarrelling among themselves over some salt springs, which were unfortunately situated at the spot where their confines met. This fratricidal struggle had the effect of so weakening both parties that they fell an easy prey to the common foe. The victorious Celts pursued their southward course, and by 335 B.C. both Bosnia and Herzegovina were in their power, and the Illyrians either exiles or else subject to the Celtic sway. This is the first instance of that fatal tendency to disunion which has throughout been the curse

¹ I have drawn largely for this essay from the *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, of which five volumes have been published since the Austro-Hungarian occupation, and which throw new light on many points of Bosnian history. I have also visited all the chief places of historic interest in the occupied territory and the Sandžak.

of these beautiful lands. The worst foes of Bosnia and the Herzegovina have been those of their own household.

The Celtic supremacy left few traces behind it. While in the south a powerful Illyrian state was formed, which offered a stubborn resistance to Rome herself, the Celtic and Illyrian inhabitants of Bosnia and the Herzegovina remained in the happy condition of having no history. But when the South Illyrian state fell before the Romans, in 167 B.C., and the legionaries encamped on the river Narenta, upon which the present Herzegovinian capital stands, the people who dwelt to the north felt that the time had come to defend themselves. One of their tribes had already submitted to the Romans, but the others combined in a confederation, which had its seat at Delminium, a fortress near the modern town of Sinj, in Dalmatia, from which the confederates took the common name of Dalmatians. The first struggle lasted for nearly a century, in spite of the capture and destruction of Delminium by Scipio Nasica in 155 B.C., and it was reserved for Caius Cosconius in 78 B.C. to subdue the Dalmatian confederates and bring Bosnia and the Herzegovina for the first time beneath the Roman sway. Those lands were then merged in the Roman province of Illyricum, which stretched from the Adriatic to the western frontier of modern Serbia and from the Save into North Albania. But the spirit of the brave Dalmatians was still unbroken, and they never lost an opportunity of rising against their Roman masters. Aided by their winter climate, they resisted the armies of Caesar's most trusted lieutenants, and the emperor Augustus was twice wounded in his youthful campaign against them. One of their revolts in the early years of the Christian era was, in the words of Suetonius, 'the greatest danger which had threatened Rome since the Punic wars.' Under their chiefs Bato and Pines they defied the legions of Tiberius for four long years, and it was only when their last stronghold had fallen, and Bato had been taken captive, that they submitted. Their power as an independent nation was broken for ever, their country was laid waste, and in A.D. 9 finally incorporated with the Roman empire. North Bosnia became part of the province of Pannonia; the Herzegovina and Bosnia south of a line drawn from Novi through Banjaluka and Doboï to Zvornik, were included in the province of Dalmatia. The Romans divided up the latter in their usual methodical manner into three districts, grouped round three towns, where was the seat of justice, and whither the native chieftains came to confer with the Roman authorities. Thus Salona, near Spalato, once a city half as large as Constantinople, but now a heap of ruins, was made the centre of government for South Bosnia, while the Herzegovina fell within the jurisdiction of Narona, a fortress which has been identified with Vid, near Metković.

The Roman domination, which lasted till the close of the fifth

century, has left a permanent mark upon the country. The interior, it is true, never attained to such a high degree of civilisation as the more accessible towns on the Dalmatian coast, and no such magnificent building as the palace at Spalato in which Diocletian spent the evening of his days adorned the inland settlements. But the conquerors developed, much as the Austrians have done in our own time, those natural resources which the natives had neglected. Three great Roman roads united Salona and the sea with the principal places up country. One of these highways skirted the beautiful lake Jezero, traversed the now flourishing town of Banjaluka, which derives its modern name, 'the Baths of St. Luke,' from the ruins of a Roman bath, and ended at Gradiška, on the Save. Another connected Salona with the plain of Sarajevo, even then regarded as the centre of the Bosnian trade, and the valley of the Drina, while a branch penetrated as far as Plevlje, in the Sandžak of Novi-Bazar, then a considerable Roman settlement. The third, starting also from Salona, crossed the south of the Herzegovina, where traces of it may still be seen. Then, too, the mineral wealth of Bosnia was first exploited—the gold workings near the source of the river Vrbas and the rich deposits of iron ore in the north-west. The natives, hitherto occupied in fighting or farming, were now forced to work at the gold diggings. Roman authors extolled the Bosnian gold, of which as much as 50 lbs. were obtained in a single day, and a special functionary presided at Salona over the administration of the Bosnian gold mines. The salt springs of Dolnja Tuzla, now a busy manufacturing town, were another source of wealth, and the numerous coins of the Roman period discovered up and down the country show that a considerable amount of money was in circulation there. Many a Roman colonist must have been buried in Bosnian soil, for numbers of tombstones with Latin inscriptions have been found, and the national museum at Sarajevo is full of Roman cooking utensils, Roman vases, and Roman instruments of all kinds. Most important of all, it was during the Roman period that the first seeds of Christianity were sown in these remote Balkan lands. The exact date of this event, which was to exercise paramount influence for evil as well as good upon the future history of Bosnia, is unknown, but we may safely assume that the archbishopric of Salona was the seat of the new doctrine, from which it rapidly spread throughout the Dalmatian province. Several bishoprics, which are mentioned as subordinate to the archiepiscopal see of Salona in the sixth century, are to be found in Bosnia, and one in particular, the bishopric of Bistue, lay in the very heart of that country.

But the power of Rome on the further shore of the Adriatic and in the mountains behind it did not long survive the break-up of the Western Empire in 476. Bosnia and the Herzegovina experienced

the fate of the provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia, of which they had so long formed a part. Twenty years earlier Marcellinus, a Roman general, had carved out for himself an independent principality in Dalmatia, and his nephew and successor, Julius Nepos, maintained his independence there for a short space after the fall of the empire. But Odoacer soon made himself master of the old Roman province, and in 493 the Ostrogoths under Theodoric overran the country, and for the next forty years Bosnia and the Herzegovina owned their sway. This change of rulers made little difference in the condition of the people. The Ostrogoths did not interfere with the religious institutions which they found already in existence. Under their government two ecclesiastical councils were held at Salona, and two new bishoprics founded, bringing the total number up to six. Theodoric, like the Romans before him, paid special attention to the mineral wealth of Bosnia, and a letter is extant in which he appoints an overseer of 'the Dalmatian iron ore mines.' But in 535 began the twenty years' war between the Ostrogoths and the emperor Justinian, whose famous general Belisarius, or Veličar, is said to have been a native of a village in Bosnia or the Herzegovina. Those twin lands at once became the prey of devastating armies, the battle-field of Gothic and Byzantine combatants. In the midst of the general confusion a horde of new invaders appeared, probably at the invitation of the Gothic king, and in 548 we hear of the Slavs for the first time in the history of the country. Further Slavonic detachments followed in the next few years, and before the second half of the sixth century was far advanced there was a considerable Slav population in the western part of the Balkan peninsula. Even when the war had ended with the overthrow of the Gothic realm, and Bosnia and the Herzegovina had fallen under the Byzantine sway, the inroads of the Slavs did not cease. Other savage tribes came too, and the Avars in particular were the terror of the inhabitants. This formidable race, akin to the Huns, whom they rivalled in ferocity, soon reduced the once flourishing province of Dalmatia to a wilderness. During one of their marches through Bosnia they destroyed nearly forty fortified places on the road from the Save to Salona, and finally reduced that prosperous city to the heap of ruins which it has ever since remained, while the citizens formed out of Diocletian's abandoned palace the town which bears the name of Spalato, or the Palace, to this day. But the Avars were not to have an unchallenged supremacy over the country. In the first half of the seventh century the emperor Heraclius summoned to his aid two Slavonic tribes, the Croats and Serbs, and offered them the old Illyrian lands as his vassals if they would drive out the Avars. Nothing loth they at once accepted the invitation, and, after a fierce struggle, subdued the barbarians, whose hands had been as

heavy upon the Slavonic as upon the Roman settlers. The Croats, who came somewhat earlier than the Serbs, took up their abode in what is still known as Croatia, and in the northern part of Dalmatia, as far as the river Cetina; the Serbs occupied the coast line from that river as far south as the present Albanian town of Durazzo, and inland the whole of modern Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, the Herzegovina, and the Sandžak of Novi-Bazar. From that time onwards these regions have, under various alien dominations, never lost their Slavonic character, and to this day even the Bosniaks who profess the faith of Islām, no less than their orthodox brothers, are of Servian stock.

The history of Bosnia and the Herzegovina from this Slavonic settlement in the first half of the seventh down to the middle of the tenth century is very obscure. We have few facts recorded, and nothing is gained by repeating the names of mythical rulers, whose existence has been disproved by the researches of critical historians. But it is possible to form some general idea of the state of the country during this period of transition. Nominally under the suzerainty of the Byzantine empire, much in the same sense as modern Bulgaria is under that of the sultan, Bosnia and its neighbouring lands were practically independent and formed a loose agglomeration of small districts, each of which was called by the Slavonic name of *župa* and was governed by a headman known as a *župan*. The most important of these petty chiefs was awarded the title of grand *župan*, and the various districts composed a sort of primitive confederation under his auspices. Two of the districts received names which attained considerable importance in subsequent history. The Slavonic settlers in the valley of the Upper Bosna adapted the Latin designation of that river, *Basante*, to their own idiom by calling the stream *Bosna* and themselves *Bosniaks*, and the name of the river was afterwards extended to the whole country, which from that time onwards was known as *Bosnia*. Similarly Mount Hum, above the present town of Mostar, gave its name to the surrounding district, which was called the Land of Hum, or *Zahumlje*, until in the middle of the fifteenth century it was rechristened the 'Land of the Duke,' or the *Herzegovina*, from the German *Herzog*. These derivations are much more probable than the alternatives recently offered, according to which *Bosnia* means the 'land of salt' in Albanian, and the *Herzegovina* means the 'land of stones' in Turkish.³

The Slavs, with the adaptability of many other conquerors, soon accepted the religion which they found already established in these countries. The Serbs, who settled at the mouth of the Narenta, alone adhered to paganism, and erected on the ruins of the old

³ *Wiss. Mitth.* i. 333, 434.

Roman town of Naron a shrine of their god Viddo, from whom the modern village of Vid derives its name. Here heathen rites were celebrated for more than two hundred years, and as late as the beginning of the present century the inhabitants of Vid cherished ancient idols, of which the original significance had long passed away.

The political history of Bosnia was determined for many generations by its geographical position on the boundary line between the Croatian and Servian settlements. It was here that these two branches of the Slavonic race met, and from the moment when two rival groups were formed under Croatian and Servian auspices Bosnia became the coveted object of both. That country accordingly submitted to Croatian and Servian rulers by turns. Early in the tenth century it seems to have acknowledged the sway of Tomislav, first king of the Croats, and was administered as a dependency by an official known as a *ban*, the Croatian name for a 'governor,' which survives to our own day. A little later the Servian prince Česlav incorporated it in the confederation which he welded together, and defended it against the Magyars, who now make their first appearance in its history. Under a chieftain named Kés these dangerous neighbours had penetrated as far as the upper waters of the river Drina, where the Servian prince inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. But, in his zeal to carry the war into the enemy's country, he perished himself, and with his death his dominions fell asunder, and Bosnia became for a brief period independent. But Krešimir, king of the Croats, recovered it in 968, and for the next half-century it belonged to the Croatian crown. But about 1019 the emperor Basil II restored for a time the dormant Byzantine sovereignty over the whole Balkan peninsula. After the bloody campaigns which earned him the title of 'the Bulgar-slayer' and ended in the destruction of the first Bulgarian empire, he turned his arms against the Serbs and Croats, forcing the latter to receive their crown from Constantinople and reducing Bosnia to more than nominal subjection to his throne.

Meanwhile the Herzegovina, or the 'Land of Hum,' as it was then called, had had a considerable history of its own. Early in the tenth century, at the time when the Croatian king Tomislav was extending his authority over Bosnia, we hear of a certain Michael Višević, who ruled over the sister land and held his court in the ancient fortress of Blagaj, above the source of the river Buna. Višević was evidently a prince of considerable importance. The pope addressed him as 'the most excellent duke of the people of Hum;' the Byzantine emperor awarded him the proud titles of 'proconsul and patrician.' The republic of Ragusa paid him an annual tribute of thirty-six ducats for the vineyards of her citizens which lay within his territory. His fleet, starting from the seaport

of Stagno, then the seat of a bishopric as well as an important haven, ravaged the Italian coast opposite, and made the name of 'Michael, king of the Slavs,' as a chronicler styles him, a terror to the inhabitants of Apulia. The great Bulgarian czar Simeon was his ally, and on two occasions during his struggle with the Byzantine empire he received aid or advice from him. We find him seconding Tomislav's proposal for summoning the famous ecclesiastical council which met at Spalato in 925 and prohibited the use of the Slavonic liturgy. In short, nothing of importance occurred in that region during his reign in which he had not his say. But after his death his dominions seem to have been included, like Bosnia, in the Servian confederation of Česlav; and, when that collapsed, they were annexed by the king of Dioclea, whose realm derived its name from the birthplace of Diocletian in what is now Montenegro, and took its origin in the valley of the Zeta, which divides that principality in two. About the end of the tenth century, however, the powerful Bulgarian czar Samuel established his supremacy over the kingdom of Dioclea, and the treacherous murder of its king a few years later completed the incorporation of Dioclea, and consequently of the Herzegovina, in the Bulgarian empire. But its connexion with Bulgaria was short-lived. When Basil 'the Bulgar-slayer' destroyed the sovereignty of the Bulgarian czars he added the Herzegovina as well as Bosnia to his own domains. Thus the twin provinces fell at the same moment beneath the Byzantine sway, and from 1019 remained for a space parts of that empire, governed sometimes by imperial governors, sometimes by native princes acting as imperial viceroys. Bosnia was the first to raise the standard of revolt, and no sooner was the emperor Basil II dead than it regained its independence under *bans* of its own, who raised it to an important position among the petty states of that time. The Herzegovina, less fortunate, only exchanged the sovereignty of the emperor at Constantinople for that of the king of Dioclea, who in 1050 made himself master of the land. For exactly a century it remained an integral portion of that kingdom, and had therefore no separate history. Even Bosnia succumbed a generation later to the monarchs of Dioclea, for about 1085 all the three neighbouring lands, Servia, Bosnia, and the Herzegovina, had to accept governors from King Bodin of the Zeta, and thus a great Serb state existed under his sceptre.

But in the early years of the twelfth century a new force made itself felt in South Slavonic lands, a force which even in our own day exercises a powerful influence over the fortunes of the Balkan peninsula. Since their unsuccessful incursion in the time of Česlav the Hungarians had never abandoned their cherished object of gaining a foothold there. But it was not till the union of Croatia in 1102, and of Dalmatia in 1105, with the Hungarian

crown by Koloman, that this object was attained. The Hungarian kings thus came into close contact with Bosnia, and were not long in extending their authority over that country. So far from meeting with opposition they were regarded by the people as valuable allies in the common struggle against the Byzantine emperors of the family of the Comneni, who aimed at restoring the past glories and dimensions of their realm. Accordingly in 1135 we find an Hungarian king, Béla II, for the first time styling himself 'king of Rama'—the name of a river in Bosnia, which Magyar chroniclers applied first to the surrounding district and then to the whole country. From that time onward, whoever the actual possessors of Rama, or Bosnia, might be, it was always included among the titles of the Hungarian monarchs, and at the present day the emperor Francis Joseph in his capacity of king of Hungary calls himself also 'king of Rama.' In his case the phrase has certainly a more practical significance than it possessed in earlier centuries.

The precise manner in which this close connexion between Hungary and Bosnia was formed is obscure. According to one theory Béla received the country as the dowry of his Servian wife; according to another the Bosnian magnates, seeing the increasing power of Hungary and the revived pretensions of the Byzantine emperors, decided to seek the protection of the former against the latter. At any rate a little later Béla assigned Bosnia as a duchy to his second son, Ladislaus, leaving, however, the actual government of that land in the hands of native *bans*. It is now that we hear the name of one of these rulers for the first time. Hitherto the Bosnian governors have been mere shadowy figures, fitting unrecognised and almost unnoticed across the stage of history. But *ban* Borić, who now comes into view, is a man of flesh and blood. In the wars between the emperor Manuel Comnenus and the Hungarians he was the staunch ally of the latter, and when a disputed succession to the Hungarian throne took place he aspired to play the part of a king-maker and supported the claims of Ladislaus, the titular 'duke' of Bosnia. But he made the mistake of choosing the losing side and, after being conquered by the troops of the successful candidate, disappeared mysteriously in 1163. Short, however, as was his career, he had extended the eastern borders of Bosnia to the river Drina, and we learn from a contemporary Greek historian that his country was 'independent of Servia and governed in its own fashion.' Three years after his disappearance from the scene Bosnia shared the fate of Croatia and Dalmatia, and fell into the hands of Manuel Comnenus. But upon the death of that powerful emperor in 1180 the fabric which he had laboriously erected collapsed; the Balkan peoples had nothing more to fear from the Byzantine empire, and Bosnia under her famous *ban* Kulin attained to greater freedom

and prosperity than she had yet enjoyed. But the same period which witnessed this political and material progress witnessed also the development of that ecclesiastical schism which was one day destined to cause the loss of all freedom and the suspension of all progress by facilitating the Turkish conquest of the land.

II. THE GREAT BOSNIAN BANS (1180-1376).

Kulin is the first great figure in Bosnian history. By nature a man of peace, he devoted his attention to the organisation of the country, which in his time was a ten days' journey in circumference, the development of its commerce, and the maintenance of its independence. He allowed foreigners ready access to his dominions, employed two Italian painters and goldsmiths at his court, and gave liberal mining concessions to two shrewd burghers of Ragusa, which during the middle ages was the chief emporium of the inland trade. He concluded in 1189 a treaty of commerce with that city, in which he swore to be its 'true friend now and for ever, and to keep true peace and genuine troth' with it all his life. Ragusan merchants were permitted to settle wherever they chose in his territory, and no harm was to be done them by his officials. Agriculture flourished under his rule, and years afterwards, whenever the Bosnian farmer had a particularly prosperous year, he would say to his fellows, 'The times of Kulin are coming back again.' Even to-day the people regard him as a favourite of the fairies, and his reign as a golden age, and to 'talk of *ban Kulin*' is a popular expression for one who speaks of the remote past, when the Bosnian plum-trees always groaned with fruit and the yellow corn-fields never ceased to wave in the fertile plains. Kulin's position was strengthened too by his powerful connexions; for his sister was the wife of Miroslav, prince of the Herzegovina, which, as we have seen, had formed part of the kingdom of Dioclea down to 1150, when it was conquered by Stephen Nemanja, afterwards first king of Servia. Nemanja made his brother Miroslav its prince, and thus was closely connected with Kulin. The latter, like Nemanja in Servia, threw off all ties of allegiance to the Byzantine empire on the death of Manuel Comnenus, and at the same time ignored the previous relations which had existed between the kings of Hungary and the Bosnian *bans*.

But it was Kulin's ecclesiastical policy which rendered his reign most memorable in the after history of Bosnia. In the tenth century there had appeared in Bulgaria a priest named 'Bogomil,' or the 'Beloved of God,' who preached a mystical doctrine, peculiarly attractive to the intellect of a Slavonic race. From the assumption that there existed in the universe a bad as well as a good deity the Bogomiles, as his disciples were called, deduced a complete system of theology, which explained all phenomena to

their own satisfaction. But the Bogomiles did not content themselves with metaphysics alone. They descended from the serene atmosphere of abstract reasoning to the questions of ritual and the customs of society. Appropriating to themselves the title of 'good Christians,' they regarded the monks as little short of idolaters, set at naught the authority of bishops, and defied the thunders of the popes. Their worship was characterised by extreme simplicity and often conducted in the open air, while in their lives they aimed at a plain and primitive ideal. A 'perfect' Bogomile, one who belonged to the strictest of the two castes into which they were divided, looked upon marriage as impure and bloodshed as a deadly sin; he despised riches, and owned allegiance to no one save God alone, while he had the quaker's objection to an oath. No wonder that popes, trembling for their authority, branded them as heretics and pursued them with all the horrors of fire and sword; no wonder that potentates found them sometimes intractable subjects, and sometimes useful allies in a struggle against ecclesiastical pretensions.

The Bogomiles appear to have entered Bosnia about the middle of the twelfth century, and speedily gained a hold upon the country. Kulin at first remained uninfluenced by their teachings. Thus, in 1180, we find the papal legate writing to him in the most courteous terms, and addressing him as the 'the noble and powerful man, the great *ban* of Bosnia.' The legate sends him a letter and the holy father's blessing, and begs him to give him in return, as a token of his devotion, 'two servants and marten skins.' But Kulin found it politic later on to secede from the Roman church. For some time past the rival archbishoprics of Spalato and Ragusa had striven for ecclesiastical supremacy over Bosnia. Béla III, king of Hungary, who had now time to devote to his ambitious schemes against that country, warmly supported the claims of the see of Spalato, to which he had appointed a creature of his own. Kulin was naturally on the side of Ragusa, and was encouraged by his sister, whose late husband, Miroslav, prince of the Herzegovina, had had a similar contest with the archbishop of Spalato, and had concluded a treaty with the Ragusans. The pope took the part of Spalato, and Kulin retorted by defying him, as Miroslav had done before. The latter had probably been a Bogomile for some time before his death; the former now formally abandoned the Roman church, with his wife, his sister, his whole family, and ten thousand of his subjects. The force of so potent an example was at once felt. The Bogomile or Patarene heresy, as it was called by the Bosniaks of other creeds, now spread apace, not only over Bosnia, but in the neighbouring lands. The two Italian painters, whom we have mentioned as residing at Kulin's court, carried it to Spalato, where it extended to the other Dalmatian coast towns; and the

destruction of Zara by the crusaders in 1202 was regarded by pious chroniclers as a judgment upon that city for its heretical opinions.

King Béla III was not slow to make Kulin's defection the excuse for posing as defender of the true faith. But his death and the quarrels between his heirs gave Kulin a little breathing space, and it was not till 1200 that he was in actual danger. By that time Béla's sons, Emerich and Andrew, had established themselves respectively as king of Hungary and duke of the Herzegovina, and accordingly threatened Bosnia from two sides. Emerich, following his father's policy, endeavoured to induce the pope to preach a crusade against the Bosnian heretics, and Innocent III, who then occupied the chair of St. Peter, hailed the king of Hungary as overlord of Bosnia, and bade him summon Kulin to recant, or if the latter remained obdurate invade Bosnia and occupy it himself. Thus menaced by a combination of the spiritual and the temporal power, Kulin bowed before the storm. He felt that at all costs Hungarian intervention must be avoided, so he made the rather lame excuse that he had 'regarded the Patarenes not as heretics, but as catholics,' and begged the pope to send him some safe adviser, who should guide his erring feet into the right way. Innocent, pleased at Kulin's submission, sent two ecclesiastics to Bosnia to inquire into the religious condition of the country and to bring back its ruler to the true fold. The mission was temporarily successful. Early in the spring of 1203 the *ban*, his great nobles, and the heads of the Bogomile community met in solemn assembly in the 'white plain,' or Bjelopolje, on the river Bosna, confessed their errors, and drew up a formal document embodying their recantation. 'We renounce the schism of which we are accused'—so runs the deed—'we promise to have altars and crosses in all our churches, to receive the sacrament seven times a year, to observe the fasts ordained by the church, and to keep the festivals of the saints. Henceforth we will no more call ourselves "Christians," but "brothers," so as not to cast a slur upon other Christians.' The oath thus taken was renewed by representatives of the Bogomiles in the presence of the king of Hungary, who bade Kulin observe his promises for the future. The cloud had passed away, but with its disappearance Kulin too disappears from the scene. We hear no more of him after 1204; but his memory was not soon forgotten.³ Two centuries later a Bosnian king desired to have confirmed to him all the 'customs, usages, privileges, and frontiers which existed in the

³ An inscription, said to be the oldest in the country, has recently been discovered at Muhašinovići, on the river Bosna, which refers to a church erected by Kulin, and concludes with the words, *Bog daj zdravje banu Kulinu Vojslavi* ('God grant health to the ban Kulin and the baness Vojalava'). See the *Bosnische Post*, 7 June 1898.

time of Kulin,' and the rich Bosnian family of Kulenović of our own time is said to derive its name and lineage from him.⁴

But the recantation of Kulin did not check the growth of the Bogomile heresy. Under his successor, Stephen, the numbers of the sect increased, and the efforts of Pope Honorius III and his legate to preach a crusade against the heretics remained fruitless. The holy father might exclaim that 'the unbelievers in Bosnia, just as witches in a cave nourish their offspring with their bare breasts, publicly preach their abominable errors, to the great harm of the Lord's flock;' but even this mixture of metaphors failed to stimulate the flagging zeal of the Hungarian catholics. Even when the king of Hungary had pacified his rebellious nobles by the golden bull, and was therefore able to turn his attention to Bosnian affairs, the proposed crusade fell flat. The king worked upon the cupidity of the archbishop of Kalocsa by granting him spiritual authority over Bosnia; but the only result was to stiffen the backs of the recalcitrant Bosniaks. Imitating their neighbours in the Herzegovina, who had lately made a Bogomile their prince, they deposed the weak-kneed Stephen and put Matthew Ninoslav, a Bogomile by birth and education, in his place. The new *ban* proved, however, more pliant than his poorer subjects. Alarmed at the threatening attitude of the king of Hungary, he recanted, as Kulin had done before him, and placed his country under the protection of St. Peter. But the conversion of their prince had little effect upon the masses. The monks of the Dominican order might boast that they had converted, if not convinced, Ninoslav, but it was felt that stronger measures must be taken against his people. In 1234 a crusade was at last organised, and for the next five years the Bogomiles of Bosnia experienced all those horrors of fire and sword which their fellows, the Albigenses, had suffered in the south of France. Under different names and in widely different spheres the two bodies of heretics had adopted similar doctrines. Indeed, the Albigenses had looked to the Bogomile 'pope,' or primate, of Bosnia for spiritual instruction and advice, and accepted their 'vicar' at his hands. But while historians and poets of renown have cast lustre upon the struggles and sufferings of the martyrs of Provence the probably equally heroic resistance of the Bosnian Bogomiles has made little impression upon literature. Yet it is clear that they possessed all the stubborn valour of our own puritans. In spite of the conquest of both Bosnia and the Herzegovina by the Hungarian king's son, Koloman, who received the former country from the king and the pope as the reward of

⁴ The ruins of their *Stansburg*, *Žaakopolje*, may be seen near Jajce, almost on the spot where, in 1878, the great fight between the Austrians and the insurgents took place.

his labours, in spite of the erection of forts and a catholic cathedral to keep the unruly passions and heretical inclinations of the people in order, the spirit of the Bogomiles remained unbroken. Ninoslav, furious at the arbitrary substitution of Koloman for himself, once more appeared as their champion, and the great defeat of the Hungarians by the Tartars in 1241 not only rid him of his rival, Koloman, but freed his land from all fear of Hungarian intervention for some time to come. Even the incursion of the Tartars into Bosnia was a small disadvantage as compared with the benefits which that country had derived from their previous victory over its foes. Ninoslav now felt himself strong enough to assist Spalato in its struggle against the king of Hungary and to offer an alliance to Ragusa against the growing power of the Servian monarchy. A second crusade in Bosnia in 1246 was not more successful than the first, and the pope in placing the Bosnian see under the authority of the archbishop of Kalocsa, expressly gave as his reason 'the utter hopelessness of a voluntary conversion of that country to the true faith.' Even the papal permission to use the Slavonic tongue and the Glagolitic characters in the catholic service did not win over the Bogomiles to Rome. Crusades and concessions had alike failed.

Ninoslav passes out of sight in 1250, and the next two generations are, with the exception of the Turkish supremacy, the gloomiest period of Bosnian history. Religious differences and a disputed succession made the country an easy prey to the ambitious designs of the Hungarian monarchs, who in 1254 subdued not only Bosnia but the Herzegovina beneath their sway. While the latter soon fell under Servian influence the former was split up into two parts. South Bosnia was allowed to retain native *bans*; the north, for the sake of greater security, was at first entrusted to Hungarian magnates, and then combined with a large slice of northern Servia, known as Mačva, in a compact duchy, which was conferred upon near relatives of the Hungarian king. During this period the history of this distracted land is practically a blank. Beyond the names of its successive rulers we have little handed down to us by the chroniclers. 'A sleep as of death,' in the words of a Croatian writer, 'had fallen upon the country. The whole national and religious life of Bosnia had perished beneath the cold blasts of the wind from beyond the Save.' Now and again we come upon traces of the old Bogomile spirit and the old zeal of the persecutors. Stephen Dragutin, who had been driven by his brother from the Servian throne and had become under Hungarian auspices duke of North Bosnia and Mačva, was specially noted for his 'conversion and baptism of many heretics,' and it was in answer to his request that the Franciscans, who have since played such an important part in Bosnian history, settled in

the country. But still the pope complained that 'the churches were deserted and the priesthood uprooted.' Meanwhile two powerful families began to make their influence felt, the Croatian clan of Šubić and the race of Kotromanić, whose founder, a German knight, had entered Bosnia in the Hungarian service and was the ancestor of the Bosnian kings. The family of Šubić was at first in the ascendant, and became lords of part and then the whole of the land. In fact, early in the fourteenth century one of the name ruled, under the title of '*ban* of the Croats and all Bosnia,' a vast tract of territory extending from the Save to the Narenta and from the Drina to the Adriatic. But in 1322 he fell before a combination of rivals, and young Stephen Kotromanić, who had been his deputy in Bosnia, became independent and united both North and South Bosnia under his sway.

Stephen Kotromanić proved himself to be the ablest ruler whom Bosnia had had since Kulin, and laid the foundations upon which his successor built up the Bosnian kingdom. His reign of over thirty years was marked by a series of successes. He began in 1325 by annexing the Herzegovina, which, as we have seen, had been under Servian authority for the last two generations, as well as the sea coast from the river Cetina as far south as the gates of Ragusa. Thus, for the first time in its history, Bosnia had gained an outlet on the sea, and was not entirely dependent upon foreigners for its imports. The Dalmatian coast with its fine harbours is the natural frontage of the country behind, which even at the present day touches the sea at only two small points. But in the first half of the fourteenth century Bosnia had gained a considerable coast-line. Kotromanić even coveted the islands as well, and specially Curzola, then under the overlordship of Venice. But here his plans failed, although the Ragusans were ready to lend him ships for the purpose. He rewarded them by confirming all their old trading rights in his country and granting them some territorial concessions near the mouth of the Narenta. He took an active, if somewhat insidious, part in the operations which King Charles Robert of Hungary and his successor, Louis the Great, conducted for the restoration of their authority in Croatia and Dalmatia. Charles Robert, who had bestowed upon Kotromanić a relative of his own wife in marriage, found him a useful ally; but in the war between Louis the Great and the Venetians for the possession of Zara the Bosnian ruler was desirous of standing well with both sides. At the famous siege of Zara in 1345 and the following year he went, at the bidding of Louis, to rescue the town from its Venetian besiegers. But the crafty Venetians knew their man. They gave him a heavy bribe, and offered him a much heavier one if he would persuade Louis to abandon the relief of the beleaguered city. The money was well spent. At a critical moment of the siege, when

it had been arranged that the Hungarian and Bosnian army should support the besieged in a sally from the gates, Kotromanić and his Bosniaks hung back and the Venetians won the day. The quaint chronicle of this famous siege expressly ascribes the defeat of the allies to the perfidy of 'that child of Belial, Stephen, *ban* of Bosnia,' and it was largely owing to his subsequent mediation that Zara ultimately surrendered to Venice. But Kotromanić soon found that he required the good offices of Venice himself. While he had been engaged in the west of the Balkan peninsula there had grown up in the east under the mighty auspices of Stephen Dušan the great Servian empire, which threatened at one moment to swallow up Constantinople itself. Dušan is the greatest name in the whole history of the peninsula, a name cherished to this day by every patriotic Serb. But just as the restoration of Dušan's empire, which is the daydream of Servian enthusiasts, would jeopardise the existence of modern Bosnia, so the conquests of the great Servian czar alarmed the Bosnian ruler of that day. For the first half of his reign Dušan was too much occupied with his eastern conquests and his law reforms to interfere with his western neighbour. But he had not forgotten that the Herzegovina, which Kotromanić had annexed, had once belonged to the Servian monarchy, and, as soon as he had leisure, he pressed his claims. Both parties accepted the mediation of Venice, and for a time peace was preserved. But in 1349 Kotromanić assumed the offensive, invaded Dušan's dominions, and penetrated as far south as the beautiful town of Cattaro, at that time part of the Servian empire and now the finest natural harbour in the Austrian dominions. Dušan retaliated next year by descending upon Bosnia and laying siege to the strong castle of Bobovac, the residence of many Bosnian rulers. As has usually happened in the history of the country, the persecuted Bogomiles flocked to the standard of the invader, and Bosnia seemed to be at his feet. But the walls of Bobovac, behind which lay the lovely daughter of the *ban*, resisted his attacks, and he marched away southward through the Herzegovina to Cattaro. Next year the hostilities ceased, and as a further security Kotromanić found a husband for his daughter in King Louis the Great of Hungary, his old ally.

The internal condition of Bosnia was less fortunate, however, in the hands of Kotromanić than its external relations. The power of the Bogomiles had greatly increased before his accession; they had a complete organisation—a spiritual head called *djed*, or 'grandfather,' with a seat at Janjići, and twelve 'teachers' under him—while there was not a single catholic bishop living in the country. Moreover the rival orders of Dominicans and Franciscans had begun to fight for the exclusive privilege of applying the tortures of the Inquisition to the Bosnian heretics—a conflict which naturally favoured the growth of that heresy. Under these

circumstances Kotromanić began his reign by openly favouring the Bogomiles, who formed the bulk of his armies and were his best bulwark against foreign aggression so long as he was their protector. But in 1340, on the persuasion of the king of Hungary, he committed the political blunder of embracing the catholic faith and thus making his Bogomile subjects look upon Stephen Dušan as their legitimate champion. The evil results of his ecclesiastical policy were apparent when the great Servian czar invaded his dominions.

Stephen Kotromanić died in 1359, and his nephew Tvrtko succeeded him. Tvrtko is the greatest name in Bosnian history, and his long reign of nearly forty years, first as *ban* and then as first king of Bosnia, marks the zenith of that country's power. Beginning his career under circumstances of great difficulty, and even driven at one moment from his throne, he lived to make himself king not merely of Bosnia, but of Servia, Croatia, and Dalmatia as well, and to unite beneath his sceptre a vast agglomeration of territory, such as no other Bosnian ruler has ever governed.

The first seventeen years of his reign were spent in a desperate but successful struggle for the mastery of his own house. He was a mere boy at the death of his uncle, and his mother, who acted as regent, was too weak to cope with the disorders of the time. The magnates, many of whom were zealous Bogomiles, were contemptuous of one who was both a child and a catholic, while they would have welcomed the great Servian czar Dušan, had he found time to repeat his invasion of Bosnia. But the death of that monarch on his way to the siege of Constantinople in 1355 broke up the Servian empire for ever and removed all fear of a Servian occupation of Bosnia. But with the removal of this danger another arose. Louis the Great of Hungary had welcomed the growth and independence of Bosnia so long as the Servian empire existed as a menace to his own dominions; but, as soon as that empire fell, he revived the ambitious designs of his predecessors upon the Bosnian realm. As the son-in-law of the late *ban* he had some claims to the succession, and accordingly set to work to humiliate Tvrtko and reduce him to a position of dependence upon the Hungarian crown. He compelled him to surrender the Herzegovina as the dowry of the Hungarian queen, and to take a solemn oath that he would persecute the Bogomiles, that he would support Hungary in war, and that either he or his younger brother Vuk would always reside at the Hungarian court. In return he allowed him to remain Bosnian *ban*—a mere puppet without power. But the crafty Louis, in his desire to be absolute master of Bosni overreached himself. Determined to be doubly sure of his vassal, i.e. incited the Bosnian magnates to revolt against their chief. But those proud nobles, who had never regarded their *ban* as anything more than the first of their order, had no intention of exchanging

his easy sway for the iron hand of the Hungarian king. Louis saw his mistake, and supported Tvrtko against the barons and the Bogomiles. But the rebels would not recognise the authority of one who relied upon Hungarian swords to enforce it. Aided by his brother they deposed and drove out Tvrtko in 1365, and it cost him a desperate struggle to recover his power. Bosnia was given up to all the horrors of civil war, and, to crown all, a terrible conflagration, the like of which had never been seen before, broke out and destroyed everything that came in its way. 'At that time,' writes a chronicler, 'the highest mountains, with the stones, birds, and beasts upon them, were consumed with fire, so that the hills became plains, where new corn is sown and many a village stands. And in these villages dwell Bogomiles, who boast that God set these mountains ablaze for their sake.' At last Tvrtko prevailed, and in 1370 he was undisputed master of the country and his brother an exile.

Freed from all fear of Louis, whose eyes were turned northward to Poland, and master of his rebellious barons, Tvrtko began to extend his dominions. The decline of the Servian empire gave him the opportunity which he sought. Lazar, perhaps the most unfortunate name in Servian history, governed a remnant of that realm, which was threatened by dissensions from within and the Turks from without. Tvrtko aided him against his domestic rivals and received in return large portions of Servian territory, including a strip of coast as far as Cattaro and the famous castle and monastery of Mileševo, in the present Sandžak of Novi-Bazar, where lay the remains of St. Sava, the apostle of the Serbs. In virtue of this territory he considered himself the legitimate successor of the Servian monarchs, and while Lazar contented himself with the modest title of *knez*, or 'prince,' Tvrtko had himself crowned in 1376 on the grave of St. Sava at Mileševo with two diadems, that of Bosnia and that of Servia. Henceforth he styled himself 'Stephen Tvrtko, king of the Serbs and of Bosnia and of the coast.' All his successors retained the Servian title and, like the Servian monarchs, invariably adopted, as Tvrtko had done, the royal name of Stephen. Not a voice was raised against this assumption of kingly power. Ragusa, ever anxious to be on good terms with those in authority, was the first to recognise him as the legal successor of the Servian sovereigns, and promptly paid him the annual tribute which she had rendered to them, as well as a sum for trading privileges in Bosnia. Venice followed suit and addressed him as 'king of Servia,' and the king of Hungary was too busy to protest. Tvrtko proceeded to live up to his new dignities. He moved his residence from Srebrenik to the strong castle of Bobovac, the picturesque ruins of which still testify to the past glories of the first Bosnian king. Here Tvrtko organised a court on the Byzantine model, as

the rulers of Servia had done before him. Rough Bosnian barons held courtly offices with high-sounding Greek names, and privileges and honours were distributed from the throne. Hitherto Bosnian coins had been scarce, and Ragusan, Hungarian, and Venetian pieces had fulfilled most purposes of trade. But now money, of which excellent specimens still exist, was minted bearing the proud title of 'king' instead of that of *ban*, and displaying a visored helmet surmounted by a crown of fleurs-de-lis with a hop blossom above. Tvrtko took his new office very seriously as a king by the grace of God, animated, as he once wrote, 'with the wish to raise up that which is fallen and to restore that which is destroyed.'

III. THE KINGS OF BOSNIA (1376-1463).

Tvrtko's first care was to provide himself with an heir to his kingdom, and he chose a Bulgarian princess as his queen, by whom he had a son, afterwards King Stephen Tvrtko II. But, not content with the dignity and the territory which he now possessed, the Bosnian monarch aspired to found a sea power. He had, as we have seen, already gained a long strip of seaboard from the mouth of the Cetina up to the walls of Cattaro. But Ragusa, with its harbour Gravosa, the gem of the whole coast, was not, and never seemed likely to be, his. He accordingly resolved, as he could not capture Ragusa, to found at the entrance of the lovely Bocche di Cattaro a new station, which should become its rival and the outlet of all the inland trade.⁵ The picturesque little town of Castelnuovo stands on the spot to-day, a place over which for a brief period in the present century there floated the British flag. Tvrtko next obtained from Venice an admiral for his future fleet, and ordered galleys to be built there. And, amidst the confusion which followed the death of Louis the Great of Hungary, he obtained from the little queen Maria, as the price of his friendship, the ancient city of Cattaro, which, after having enjoyed the protection of the Servian czars, had lately acknowledged the Hungarian rule. The finest fiord in southern Europe was in his hands.

But Tvrtko did not rest here. True to his policy of making profit out of the misfortunes of others, he availed himself of the disturbances which now broke out in Croatia to take the side of the Croats against their queen and his friend Maria. Croatia was soon in his hands, and the Dalmatian towns began to surrender. Spalato and Traù, unable to obtain help from Hungary, agreed to submit to him by a certain day; but when that day arrived Tvrtko was occupied elsewhere. For on the same day on which

⁵ In this respect history is repeating itself; for Castelnuovo is to be the terminus of the new railway line, connecting the occupied territory with the Bocche.

Spalato was to have opened its gates, 15 June 1389, the battle of Kossovo was fought, that battle which decided for five centuries the fate of the Balkan peninsula. In that memorable conflict, the name of which will never be forgotten by the southern Slavs, a Bosnian contingent aided the Servian army against the Turks. It was not the first time that the Bosniaks had faced their future masters in battle. Two years earlier they had helped Prince Lazar to rout a Turkish force, and they hoped for the same result on the plain of Kossovo. Tvrtko himself was not present at the fight; but his trusty lieutenant Vlatko Hranić inflicted heavy losses on the left wing of the Turkish host, which was commanded by the sultan's second son. But when the Servian traitor Vuk Branković rode off the field the faithful Bosniaks gave way. All was lost, and the Turkish supremacy was assured. Tvrtko at first believed that his army had been successful. There is extant a letter in which the city of Florence congratulated him on the glad tidings of victory which he had sent. 'Happy the kingdom of Bosnia,' says this document, 'to which it was granted to fight so famous a fight, and happiest of all your majesty, for whom, as the victor, the true and eternal glory of the heavenly kingdom is appointed.'

Even when he had discovered the terrible truth Tvrtko continued his Dalmatian campaign instead of concentrating all his energies upon the defence of his realm against the Turks. He used the brief respite which they gave his land to press on with his operations in the west. Here he was speedily successful. All the Dalmatian coast towns, except Zara and Ragusa, surrendered to him, as well as the large islands of Brazza, Lesina, and Curzola. Overjoyed at their submission, he confirmed the privileges which they had previously enjoyed, and treated them with the utmost consideration. Master of Dalmatia and Croatia in all but the name, he assumed in 1390 the title of king of those countries, just as fourteen years earlier he had proclaimed himself king of Bosnia and Servia. Tvrtko had now reached the summit of his power. He had achieved the difficult feat of uniting Serbs and Croats under one sceptre; he had made Bosnia the centre of a great kingdom, which possessed a frontage on the Adriatic, from the Quarnero to Cattaro, save for the enclaves of Zara and Ragusa, which embraced the territory inland as far as the river Drina and included part of the modern Sandžak of Novi-Bazar, as well as other originally Servian territories. The beginnings of a sea power had been formed under his auspices, and Dalmatia in union with Bosnia was no longer 'a face without a head.' Even now Tvrtko's ambition was not appeased. He was anxious to conclude a political alliance with Venice and a matrimonial alliance—for his wife had just died—with the great house of Habsburg. But death prevented the accomplishment of his designs. On 23 March

1391 the great Bosnian monarch expired without even being able to secure the succession for his son.

It has been the fortune of each of the various Balkan races to produce some great man, who for a brief space has made himself the foremost figure of the peninsula. Bulgaria can point to her mighty czars Simeon and Samuel, Serbia cherishes the memory of Stephen Dušan, the Albanians have found a national hero in Skanderbeg, Bosnia attained her zenith under Tvrtko I. But in each case with the death of the great man the power which he had rapidly acquired as rapidly waned. Tvrtko's realm was no exception to this rule. Its founder had not lived long enough to weld his conquests into an harmonious whole, to combine catholic Croats with orthodox Serbs, Bosnian Slavs with the Latin population of the Dalmatian coast towns, Bogomile heretics with zealous partisans of Rome. The old Slavonic law of succession, which did not recognise the custom of primogeniture, added to the difficulties by multiplying candidates; and thus foreign princes found an excuse for intervention and the great barons an excuse for independence. Deprived of his authority, the king was unable to cope with an enemy like the Turk, whose vast hosts were absolutely united in their obedience to the rule of one man, and the kings of Hungary, instead of assisting their brothers of Bosnia against the common foe, turned their forces against a country which might have been the bulwark of Christendom.

The evil effects of Tvrtko's death were soon felt. His younger brother, Stephen Dabiša, who succeeded him, felt himself too feeble to govern so large a kingdom, and in 1393 ceded the newly won lands of Dalmatia and Croatia to King Sigismund of Hungary. The two monarchs met at Djakovo, in Slavonia, and concluded an agreement by which Sigismund recognised Dabiša as king of Bosnia, while Dabiša bequeathed the Bosnian crown after his death to Sigismund. A combination of Bosnian magnates and Croatian rebels, however, refused to accept these terms, and Dabiša himself broke the treaty which he had made. An Hungarian invasion of his kingdom and the capture of the strong fortress of Dobor, on the lower Bosna, at once reduced him to submission, and a battle before the walls of Knin, in Dalmatia, finally severed the brief connexion between that country and the Bosnian throne. To complete Dabiša's misfortunes, the Turks, who had been in no undue haste to make use of their victory at Kossovo, invaded Bosnia for the first time in 1392, and gave that country a foretaste of what was to come.

On Dabiša's death in 1395 the all-powerful magnates, disregarding the treaty of Djakovo, made his widow, Helena Gruba, regent for his son. But they retained for themselves all real power, governing their domains as almost independent princes, maintain-

ing their own courts and issuing charters, coining their own money and negotiating on their own account with foreign states, such as the republics of Venice and Ragusa. One of their number, Hrvoje Vukčić, towered above his fellows, and his career may be regarded as typical of his troublous times. For the next quarter of a century Bosnian history is little else than the story of his intrigues, and the neighbouring lands of Dalmatia and Croatia felt his heavy hand. Even Sigismund, king of Hungary, and his Neapolitan rival, Ladislaus, were bidding against one another for his support, and at the end of the fourteenth century he was 'the most powerful man between the Save and the Adriatic, the pillar of two kings and kingdoms.' The shrewd Ragusans wrote to him that 'whatsoever thou dost command in Bosnia is done ;' the documents of the period style him *regulus Bosnensis*, or 'Bosnian kinglet ;' he called himself 'the grand *voivode* of the Bosnian kingdom and vicar-general of the most gracious sovereigns King Ladislaus and King Ostoja, the excellent lord, the duke of Spalato.' The three great islands of Brazza, Curzola, and Lesina, and the city of Cattaro owned his overlordship, and his name will always be connected with the lovely town of Jajce, at the confluence of the Pliva and the Vrbas, the most beautiful spot in all Bosnia. Here, above the magnificent waterfall on the hill, for which in olden times the Bosnian *bans* and the Croatian kings had striven, Hrvoje bade an Italian architect build him a castle. Whether the town of Jajce, 'the egg,' derives its name from the shape of the hill or from the fact that the castle was modelled on the famous Castello dell' Uovo at Naples, is doubtful. But he is now regarded as the founder of the catacombs, which still bear his arms and were intended to serve as his family vault.⁶ For his capital of Spalato he even issued coins, which circulated in Bosnia as freely as the currency of the puppet kings whom he put on the throne. What Warwick the kingmaker is in the history of England, what the mayors of the palace are in the history of France, that is Hrvoje in the annals of medieval Bosnia. An ancient missal has preserved for us the features of this remarkable man, whose gruff voice and rough manners disgusted the courtly nobles of the Hungarian court. But the uncouth Bosniak took a terrible revenge on his gentle critics. When a wit made fun of his big head and deep voice by bellowing at him like an ox, the company laughed at Hrvoje's discomfiture. But when, a little later, the fortune of war put the jester in his power, Hrvoje had him sewn into the skin of an ox and thrown into the river, with the words, 'Thou hast once in human form imitated the bellowing of an ox, now therefore take an ox's form as well.'

The great Turkish invasion, which took place in 1398 and

⁶ Cf. 'Die Katakomben von Jajce,' *Wiss. Mittl.* ii. 94-107.

almost entirely ruined Bosnia, convinced the great nobles that a woman was unfitted to rule. Headed by Hrvoje, they accordingly deposed Helena Gruba, and elected Stephen Ostoja, probably an illegitimate son of Tvrtko, as their king. So long as Ostoja obeyed the dictates of his all-powerful vassal he kept his throne. Under Hrvoje's guidance he repulsed the attack of King Sigismund of Hungary, who had claimed the overlordship of Bosnia in accordance with the treaty of Djakovo, and endeavoured to recover Dalmatia and Croatia for the Bosnian crown under the pretext of supporting Sigismund's rival, Ladislaus of Naples. But the latter showed by his coronation at Zara as king of both those lands that he had no intention of allowing them to become Bosnian possessions, as in the days of Tvrtko. Ostoja at this changed his policy, made his peace with Sigismund, and recognised him as his suzerain. But he had forgotten his maker. Hrvoje, aided by the Ragusans, laid siege to the royal castle of Bobovac, where the crown was preserved, and when Sigismund intervened on behalf of his puppet summoned an 'assembly' or 'congregation of the Bosnian lords' in 1404 to choose a new king. This great council of nobles, at which the *djed*, or primate of the Bogomile church, and his suffragans were present, is frequently mentioned at this period, and contained in a rude form the germs of those representative institutions which in our own country sprang from a like origin. Hrvoje easily persuaded the council to depose Ostoja and elect Tvrtko II, the legitimate son of Tvrtko I, in his place. But Sigismund was not so lightly convinced. After a first futile attempt he sought the aid of the pope in a crusade against 'the renegade Arians and Manichæans' and marched into Bosnia in 1408 at the head of a large army. Tvrtko II met him beneath the walls of Dobor, on the same spot where, fourteen years before, another great battle had been fought. Once again the Bosnian forces were defeated. Sigismund took Tvrtko as his prisoner to Buda-Pesth, after beheading 126 captive Bosnian nobles and throwing their bodies into the yellow waters of the Bosna. The victory had decisive results. Hrvoje humbled himself before the king of Hungary, and Ladislaus of Naples sold all his rights to Dalmatia to the Venetians in despair. But the national party in Bosnia was not so easily dismayed. Nothing daunted by the defeat of Tvrtko and the desertion of Hrvoje, they restored Ostoja to the throne. Utter confusion followed. Sigismund dismembered the country, leaving Ostoja the Herzegovina and South Bosnia alone, while even there every one did what was right in his own eyes, and members of the royal family lived by highway robbery. Well might the Ragusans complain that 'our people travel among the Turks and other heathen, yet nowhere have they met with so much harm as in Bosnia.' Yet one step lower was Ostoja to fall. Hard pressed by the Hungarians and his rival Tvrtko, he summoned in 1415 the

Turks to his aid, and thus set an example which was ultimately fatal to his country.

Since their great invasion in 1398 the Turks had not molested Bosnia. Their struggle with Timour the Tartar in Asia and the confusion which followed his great victory at Angora had temporarily checked their advance in Europe, and it was not till their reorganisation under Mohammed I that they resumed their plans. They were accordingly free to accept the invitation of Ostoja and Hrvoje, who was now in opposition to the Hungarian court, and aided them to drive out the Hungarian army. The decisive battle was fought near the fortress of Doboje, the picturesque ruins of which command the junction of the rivers Bosna and Spreča. A stratagem of the Bosniaks, who cried out at a critical moment, 'The Magyars are fleeing,' won the day. But they could not rid themselves of their Turkish allies so easily. In the very next year Mohammed appointed his general Isaac governor of the castle of Vrhbosna ('the source of the Bosna'), which stood in the heart of the country, on the site of the present capital of Sarajevo, and even great Bosnian nobles were not ashamed to hold their lands by grace of the sultan and his governor. Under Ostoja's son, Stephen Ostojić, who succeeded as king in 1418, the country obtained a brief respite from the Turkish garrison, which quitted Vrhbosna. But three years later the restoration of Tvrtko II, after years of exile, gave the sultan another opportunity for intervention. For Tvrtko's title was disputed by Ostoja's bastard son, Radivoj, who called in the Turks to his aid. Tvrtko purchased a temporary peace by the surrender of several towns to them; but the fatal secret had been divulged that the sultan was the arbiter of Bosnia, and to him two other enemies of the king turned, the 'despot' of Servia and Sandalj Hranić, a great Bosnian magnate of the house of Kosača, who was all-powerful in the Herzegovina. The two partners bought the Bosnian kingdom from the sultan for hard cash, and Tvrtko was once more an exile. In 1436 the Turks again occupied Vrhbosna, which from that time became a place of arms, from which they could sally forth and ravage the land, and when Tvrtko returned in the same year it was as a mere tributary of the sultan Murad II, who received an annual sum of 25,000 ducats from his vassal, and issued charters as the sovereign of the country. Soon Murad overran Servia, and occupied the Bosnian towns of Zvornik and Srebrenica, which the Servian 'despot' had bought, so that it seemed as if the independence of Bosnia was over. Tvrtko knew not which way to turn. He implored the Venetians, who twenty years before had taken the former Bosnian haven of Cattaro under their protection, and were now masters of nearly all Dalmatia, to take over the government of his kingdom too. But the crafty republic declined the dangerous honour with many complimentary phrases. With Ladislaus IV of

Hungary he was more fortunate. He did not, indeed, survive to see the fulfilment of the Hungarian king's promise, for he was murdered by his subjects in 1443. But the help of John Hunyady, the great champion of Christendom, enabled his successor to stave off for another twenty years the final blow which was to annihilate the Bosnian kingdom.

With Tvrtko II the royal house of Kotromanić was extinct, and the magnates elected Stephen Thomas Ostojić, another bastard son of Ostoja, as their king. Ostojić, whose birth and humble marriage diminished his influence over his proud nobles, came to the conclusion that it would enhance his personal prestige, and at the same time strengthen his kingdom against the Turks, if he embraced the Roman catholic faith. His father and all his family had been Bogomiles, like most Bosnian magnates of that time, but Tvrtko II was a catholic and a great patron of the Franciscans, who had suffered severely from the Turkish inroads. The conversion of Ostojić was full of momentous consequences for his kingdom; for, although he was personally disinclined to persecute the sect to which he had belonged, and which had practically become the established church of the land, the pressure of his protector Hunyady, the Franciscans, and the pope soon compelled him to take steps against it. He was convinced that by so doing he would drive the Bogomiles, who formed the vast majority of the people, into the arms of the Turks, and the event justified his fears. But he had little choice, for the erection of catholic churches did not satisfy the zeal of the Franciscans. Accordingly in 1446 an assembly of prelates and barons met at Konjica, the beautiful town on the borders of the Herzegovina, through which the traveller now passes on the railway from Sarajevo to Mostar. The document embodying the resolutions of this grand council has been preserved, and bears the name and seal of the king. It provided that the Bogomiles 'shall neither build new churches nor restore those that are falling into decay,' and that 'the goods of the catholic church shall never be taken from it.' No less than 40,000 of the persecuted sect emigrated to the Herzegovina in consequence of this decree, and found there a refuge beneath the sway of the great magnate Stephen Vukčić, of the house of Košaca, who had made himself practically independent of his liege lord of Bosnia and was at the same moment on good terms with the Turks and a strong Bogomile. Thus the old Bosnian realm was practically divided in two; Stephen Vukčić, by posing as a defender of the national faith, received a considerable accession of subjects, and the German emperor bestowed upon him in 1448 the title of *Herzog*, or duke, of St. Sava, from which his land gradually derived its present name of Herzegovina. But both Bosnia and the sister land were soon to feel the hand of the Turk.

W. MILLER.