



The Spread of the Slaves. Part I. The Croats.

Author(s): H. H. Howorth

Source: *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 7 (1878), pp. 324-341

Published by: [Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2841009>

Accessed: 16/06/2014 17:04

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

grounds some three years ago, picked up a fine specimen of a saw, measuring two and a-half inches; and arrow heads are spoken of. Worked flakes and roughly-shaped spear-points have also been collected on the opposite river-bank. At Zâwiyat, Ariyân (naked men's corner?), about five miles above the pyramids of Gî'zeh, lies the platform of a similar feature, now ruined; and here, near the place where the saw came to hand, Mr. Hayns lately discovered a flake which appears to be a scraper.



For remarks upon the collection of flint implements at Bulák see the "Notice des Principaux Monuments," &c. Le Cairo, Morirès, fifth ed., pp. 81-2.

I have great doubts concerning the little collection which is herewith forwarded. To me only one flake, round which I have tied a thread, appears as if worked. The others look like mere *éclats*, which may be due to the causes which have overspread the Libyan desert with millions of specimens, numbers which, as Drs. Schweinfurth and Günfeldt remark, completely forbid our attributing them to art. However, your practised eye may correct my hasty judgment, and I am anxious to learn the result of your examination.

TRIESTE, *June* 19, 1877.

RICHARD F. BURTON.

The following papers were then read by the Director in the absence of the Authors—

THE SPREAD *of the* SLAVES. Part I.

THE CROATS.

By H. H. HOWORTH, ESQ., F.S.A.

BY your favour I have recently commenced a series of papers on the ethnography of Germany; I find it difficult to proceed in this work without at the same time considering the migrations and changes which the Slavic races have been subject to. Germans and Slaves being close neighbours, with frontiers frequently shifting and overlapping, it is almost impossible to understand the revolutions which have overtaken the one race, nor to map out its details correctly, without at the same time

surveying its neighbours. I therefore propose to write a number of papers concurrently with the series on the Germanic races, in which I shall treat of the ethnography of the Slaves: and I find it convenient to begin with the Croats.

The synonymy of the Croats has been collected with great patience by Schafarik, and from his classic work I take the following list of synonyms. By the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennitus, they were called Chrobotoi; by Cedrenos Khorbatoi; by Zonaras, Krabatoi; by Nicephorus Bryennios, Khorobatoi by Khoniates, Khrabatia; by Khalkokondylas Krokatioi. The Arab Masudi calls them Khorwatin. A gau in Karinthea is called Crawati in an early document. In deeds of 954 and 978 they are called Khrowat; by Dithmar Khruwati; by the "Annalista Saxo," Krowate; in the Saxon Chronicle Kruwati; a village Crubate is mentioned in 1055; another Gravat in 1086; the land of Kurbatia by Lupus Protospathes; Chrowati by Cosmas of Prague; Cruacia by Martin Gallus Croatii by Kadlulek. Alfred the Great calls them Horithi; Croatiae and Croatia occur in native documents of 892, 925, 1076, and 1078; Chrobatae in a deed of 1059, etc. In the Cyrillian legend of Saint Wenzel, dating probably from the tenth century, the name is written Khrbate, Khorbate, Khrabate; Khrbate by Nestor in the copy written in 1377; Khrbate in the oldest Servian MSS.; Khrbaten in an old Bulgarian MS.; Harwati, in the Dalmatian Chronicle of Diokleas, Kharwati in Dalimil, etc.

The Croats pronounce their own names Hr'wati, Horwati, The Serbs and Illyrians call them Hr'wat, plural Hr'wati. In both cases, as in the words hrabren, hrast, hren, hvala, hud, etc., h stands for the old ch. The Hungarians call them Horvatok, the Germans, Kroats, and Krobats.

The original form of all these names is Khr'watin in the singular, and Khr'wati in the plural, and according to all authorities known to me, including Schafarik, is derived from the Carpathians, which in old Slavic were named Krib, or Khrebet. This word means a mountain or hill, and occurs in composition in many Slavic localities, as Slovenski hribi in Steiermark; also several places in Russia, as Khriby, a village on the Kolpinka, and the Khribian woods and marshes in the same district; Khrebine, a village west of Vladimir, etc. From Khrib we get Khrebet, the term applied generally to large mountain ranges by the Russians, as Yablonoï Khrebet, Uralskoi, Khrebet, Kamskatskoi Khrebet' etc. (*Id.*, i, 488.) Croat therefore means merely an inhabitant of the Carpathians. According to Schafarik, the whole of the northern slopes of these mountains, stretching from the Sutschawa to the sources

of the Vistula, was known from the fifth to the tenth century as Khrby, and sometimes, by the permutation of consonants, Khrwy, or Khrwaty (*id.*), and this is the region, according to the best authorities, whence the Croats originally came.

The author to whom we are indebted for the first notice of the migration of the Croats, is the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus whose notice has been sifted with great critical acumen and skill by Schafarik, the author of the "Slavonic Antiquities." Constantine tells us how in the reign of the Emperor Heraclius, the Avars having driven the Romans out of Dalmatia, and that province having been converted into a desert, the Chrobati, by the Emperor's invitation, entered that country, drove the Avars out, and settled there. Schafarik dates the invasion of the Avars about the year 630, and their expulsion about 634. (*Op. cit.*, ii, 241.) "Previously the Chrobati lived," says the Emperor, "beyond Bagibaria, where still live the Belo Khrobati" (*i.e.*, the White Khrobati), which doubtless means the Free Khrobati, as distinguished from the Black or subject Khrobati. In another place he tells us that in his day these White Khrobati still lived in their own land, near the Franks, and subject to Otho the Great. In a third place, where he describes the old country of the Servians, he tells us it was situated beyond the land of the Turks (*i.e.*, the Magyars), and was called Boiki, and was near Francia and Great or White Khrobatia. (Stritter, ii, 157 and 390.) As Schafarik says, there is much ambiguity in these apparently distinct statements. Boiki has been often supposed to represent Bohemia; but the land whence the Servians came was called Boiki by themselves; while as is well known, Bohemia has always among the Slaves been called Cheky. Again, Constantine does not write the name Boiké, as he would have done if he wished to connect it with the Boii, but Boiki (indeclinable, as was the custom of the Greeks in writing barbarous names). Schafarik concludes, as I think most justly, that by Boiki there is no reference to Bohemia, but a reference to the Russian tribe of the Boyki (Russian. Boyki, singular Boyok), who still live in Eastern Galicia from the Dniester to the Pruth, in the district of Sambor and Stryi, in the lower part of Stanislawof, and Kolomyi, and also scattered in the district of Chorkof and very probably still further north. Constantine's putting Borki in the neighbourhood of the land of the Franks, was perhaps due to some confusion in his own mind between Boiki and Bohemia.

Constantine in another place describes White Croatia as situated beyond the Turks, which with him means the Hungarians.

Again, as to Bagibaria, some would make it equivalent with dwellers on the Wag or the Bug; others a corruption of Babi-egorbo, an old name for the Carpathians; (Stritter, ii, 389, note.) Others again connect it with Bavaria; Bavaria then stretched as far as the Danube, and Gallicia might well be described as being beyond Bavaria and the land of the Turks (*i.e.*, of the Magyars). (*Id.*, ii, 243.)

On turning to other authorities, we find this conclusion amply supported. Nestor, the first Russian chronicler, in speaking of the times before the arrival of the Varagians, names the Khorwati in close proximity with the Dulyebii, who lived on the Bug, and the Tiwertzi who lived on the Dniester. And he distinctly calls them Khrobate biele, or White Croats. In describing the campaign of Oleg against the Greeks, in 906, he mentions how he was assisted by contingents of men from the Varagians, the Slovenians, the people of Novgorod, the Chudes, the Kriwichi, the Mera, the Polani of Kief, the Derewani, the Radimiches, the Severani, the Wiatices, the *Khorwati*, the Dulyibii, and the Tiwertzi. "These Khorwati," as Schafarik says, "no doubt were the White Khorwati, who lived beyond the Carpathians. In 981 Vladimir declared war against Mechislaf of Poland, apparently to reconquer certain places in Gallicia which had been won by Oleg, but had been re-occupied by the Poles. He took the towns of Cherwen (now called Czermo), on the river Guczwa, Peremysl, etc. Oppressed on all sides, the Croats tried to regain their independence." (Schafarik, ii, 105.)

In 993 we find Vladimir undertaking a fresh war against them, whose issue is not stated.

Besides these proofs, we have as remains of the former occupation of this district by Croats, the names of certain places, as the villages of Horb, Horbok, Horbof, Horbowiza, Horibatche, Zahorb, Hrbitschi, Hribowa, Hrichowze, and more doubtfully, Khrewt, in the circle of Sanock; Kharwin, and four villages called Kharsevitz in Eastern and Western Gallicia, etc. (Schafarik, *op. cit.*, ii, 106.)

Zeuss argues very forcibly that the name *patria Albis* given by the Geographer of Ravenna to the flat country north of the Carpathians, is not to be explained as the country of the Elbe, but as the white land, and as equivalent to the White Servia and White Croatia of the Byzantines. ("Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme," 610.) He also mentions that north of the mountains, although west of the ancient White Croatia, we meet in mediæval times with traces of the Croats; thus we find Cosmas of Prague, under date 1086, in mentioning the border districts of the diocese of Prague north-west of Bohemia, near the gau of Troppau, speaking as follows, "Ad aquilona-

lem hii suut termini: Psouane, Ghrouat, et altera Chrouati, Zlasane, Trebouane, Boborane, etc." (*Id.*, 610.) These Croats are probably referred to in the legend of St. Wenceslaus, where we find that Drahomira fled to Croatia. This was in 936. (Schafarik, *op. cit.*, ii, 444.) They would also seem to be the Horithi of Alfred. (*Id.*) It is possible that these Croats were not a section of the White Croats, but received their name merely from living in the chribty or mountains. There can be small hesitation however in accepting the neighbourhood of Gallicia north of the Carpathians as the cradle land of the Croats.

Invited by the Emperor Heraclius, as I have mentioned, the Croats set out under the leadership of five brothers, named Klukas, Lobel (Lobelos), Kosenetz (Kosentsiz), Muchlo, and Khrwat (Khorvalos), and two of their sisters, named Tuga and Buga. Some suspicion has been cast on these names. Khrwat seems to be the eponymos of the race; two others of them mean tarrying; while the two girls' names are equivalent to joy and sorrow. (Evans, "Bosnia," etc., xx.) But the names do not seem to me to be other than perfectly natural ones. They entered Dalmatia, and having fought for some time against the Avars, who inhabited that district (*i.e.*, from about 634 to 638), they killed some and some they subdued, and from this time the Croats occupied that country. The Avars were not entirely dispersed, and the emperor tells us that when he wrote, three centuries later, remains of them were still to be found there who retained their name of Avars. (Constan. de adm. Imp., 30; Stritter ii, 389.) Schafarik suggests that the Morlaks, who have been by several writers made out to be of Tartar or Kirghiz origin, are really descended from these Avars. He also suggests that it was from this fact that Avar, title of Ban, was first adopted among the Croats, and afterwards by other Slavic races. (*Op. cit.*, ii, 278, and note 2.)

In regard to these Morlaks, Sir Gardner Wilkinson collected some curious information. He says the first notice of them is about the middle of the fourteenth century, when they would seem to have been the occupants of the mountainous district of north-western Bosnia. After that period they migrated with their families and flocks from Bosnia as the Turks advanced there; and immediately before their settlement in Dalmatia, their principal abodes were in the districts of Corbavia and Lika, to the north and north-east of the River Zermagna. "Though of the same Slavonic family as the Croatians," he says "and others of that race, some have supposed a difference in their appearance, and a superior physical conformation." This he

assigns to their hardy life and pure climate. Farlati supposes the name to be compounded of Greek and Slavonic, and that it was originally Makro vlahi, and that they received the latter name from their dark or black colour. Some have indeed called them Black Latins. ("Historicus Dalmata," vi, 5.) This etymology is much more reasonable than that adopted by Wilkinson from mor the sea; and vlah, a term given in Slavonic to all those who do not speak German, and even to the Latins, and which is the root of Valachi Wallachians. (Wilkinson, "Dalmatia and Montenegro," ii, 296.) An inland race of mountaineers would scarcely receive a name derived from the sea; and the former derivation is very consistent with the theory, quoted from Schafarik, which makes the Morlaki descendants of the Avars. It would be curious to examine their dialect from this point of view, and now that so good and enthusiastic a student of Slavonian as Mr. Evans lives at Ragusa, we may perhaps hope that an inquiry in this direction may be made. As to the title of Ban, Schafarik says, that Bayan was a title in use among the Avars, and was used of a subordinate dignity to that of Khakan or Khan, and it is almost certain that the Slaves derived it from the Avars. (*Id.*, ii, 278, note.) He adds elsewhere that it is probably derived eventually from the Persian Bayan. (*Id.*, ii, 257, note 3.) Wilkinson says the principal nobles of Hungary Bohemia in the middle ages were called Pan; the same title was given in Poland to the first dignities of the State, and it now means Lord, Mr. or Sir. (*Op. cit.*, i, 25.) The Austrian Governor of Croatia is still known as the Ban.

So far as we know, the Croats were the first Slaves who permanently settled in Dalmatia, in Pannonia beyond the Save, and in Präwallis. There had been several previous raids of Slavic invaders into these districts in 548, 550, 551, and 552, but these were only temporary invasions, and the Croats were the first to actually settle there. (Schafarik, ii, 237.) Although Constantine does not tell us that they settled down as dependants of the empire, it seems almost certain from their subsequent history that they did so. (*Id.*, 278, note.) A portion of the Croats who entered Dalmatia detached itself from the main body, and occupied Illyria and Pannonia. (Const. Porphyry, *op. cit.*; Stritter, ii, 391.) This detached body seems to have settled, in fact, in that part of Pannonia situated between the Danube and the Save, and known as Pannonia Savia, with its chief town at Sisek, and partly also in Illyria, where there was subsequently a Croat gau. (*Id.*, 279.)

There were thus constituted two Croat States, one in Dalmatia, with its chief towns of Belgrade (Zara Vecchia), on the Adriatic,

and Bihatsch on the Una; and a second whose capital was Sisek at the junction of the Kupa (Kulpa) and the Save. According to Constantine, the boundaries of the land possessed by the Croats of Dalmatia were, on the south, the river Zetina and the towns of Imoski and Liwno. On the east, the Urbas, with the towns of Yazye and Baynaluka. On the north the Drave, the Kulpa, the town of Albnun, and the Arsia in Istria; and on the west the Adriatic. (Stritter, ii, 395, note; Schafarik, *op. cit.*, ii, 279.) They also doubtless occupied several of the Dalmatian islands and the Istrian peninsula, whose inhabitants speak the Croatian dialect. (Schafarik, *id.*) In Croatia, Constantine says there were eleven Zupas, *i.e.*, gaus: Chlewiana, *i.e.*, Chlewno (the modern Liwno, in Herzegovina); Tsentsina (Zetina); Imota (Imolski near the Zetina); Plewa (the modern Pliwa); Pesenta (the mountain of Wesenta, south of the Yayze); Parathalassia (Primorye, a district between the Zetina and the Krka); Brebera (Bribri, between the Krka and Lake Karin); Nona (Nin, on an island in the strait of Puntadur); Tnina (Knin, on the river Krka); Sidraga (the district of Belgrade or Zara Vecchia); Nina (the district on both sides of the Dzrmanya, including the town of Byelina); Kribasa (the later county of Krbarva); Litsa (the military district of Lika); Gutsika (the open country of Gazko.) (Schafarik, *op. cit.*, ii, 295-6.) The three last gaus were subject to the Ban, an officer of whom I shall have more to say presently.

From the names of these gaus and the towns which they enclosed, it would seem, says Schafarik, that the division of Dalmatian Croatia did not reach northwards to the Sen and the Otoschatz; and this northern frontier strip from the Arsia and from the mountain Albnun (Yawonirk?) to the Kulpa, belonged to the other section of Croatia, whose princes had authority as far as the Danube and Sylvania. Croatia therefore was bounded on the north by the Wends, who as early as 631 had gained possession of Friauli on the north-east (Schafarik, by a *lapsus penicilli* says north-west) by the Pannonian Avars, and on the east and south by the Serbs; from whom the latter were separated by the rivers Urbas and Zetina; and it included the modern districts of Turkish Croatia, Dalmatia and some of its islands, a part of the military frontier, and of Austrian Croatia, Istria and Carinthia.

Schafarik remarks that it is well to remember that there were certain towns on the coast which having been for a long time subject to the Greek Empire, secured for a while their independence, but ended by becoming tributary to the Croats. These were Rausium or Ragusa, called Dubrownik by the Slaves; Trangurium, *i.e.*, Trogir or Trau; Diadora, *i.e.*,

Zader or Yadera ; and the islands of Arbe, *i.e.*, Rab ; Wekla, *i.e.*, Kark or Kerk ; and Opsara, *i.e.*, Osero or Absorus. To these towns and islands and the neighbouring district, the name Dalmatia now became more and more restricted, in order to distinguish them from the neighbouring Croatian districts proper ; and their inhabitants, as Constantine tells us, retained the name of Romani or Romans. (Schafarik, ii, 280.) Their descendants are still well known as the so-called Italians of the Dalmatian coast.

Having considered their country, let us now turn to the history of the invaders. When he had persuaded them to settle down on his frontiers, the next thing which the Emperor Heraclius was solicitous about was the conversion of the Croats to Christianity. He accordingly applied to the Pope, who sent a number of priests to baptise them. Their prince at this time was named Porga, the son of one of the five brothers already named. Porga is a curious and uncommon name, apparently not Slavic ; and Schafarik compares it with Purgas, the name of a Mordwin chief mentioned in the year 1229 (*op. cit.*, ii, 280, note), a fact which makes it probable that the Croats were at this time subject to alien princes, perhaps of Avar descent.

The conversion of the Croats by missionaries of the Latin Church, and not by those of the Eastern Church, became a very important fact in later days, and a fact which still forms a notable element in that congeries of political difficulties, the Eastern Question. The Pope who was reigning at the time was John the Fourth who entered into close relations with the new converts, put them under the protection of the Holy See, and made them promise, probably, at the instance of the Byzantine Court, to abstain from making any attacks on other countries. This promise they further ratified in writing, and it was honestly carried out. Being restricted from making aggressive wars, they partly occupied themselves in agriculture, and partly in trade, their ships frequenting the various towns on the Adriatic. (Schafarik, ii, 281.) They accordingly became rich, and their country populous. Constantine tells us they had a force of 60,000 cavalry, and 100,000 infantry ; 80 ships, each manned by 40 hands, and 100 others, with lesser crews of 20 and 10 men. (Stritter ii, 396). He tells us also there was an archbishop and a bishop among them, with priests and deacons. Through their influence and that of several other ecclesiastics, notably John of Ravenna, Archbishop of Spalato, they were not only grounded in the faith, but were also closely attached to the Empire. According to Thomas, Archdeacon of Spalato, the first bishoprics created in Croatia were those of Dubno (Deluminium) and Sisek (Siscia). (Schafarik, 281, note.) We thus find the Croats attached

politically to Byzantium, while their religious ties were with Rome. Unlike their Slavic neighbours, they were never subject to the kings of Bulgaria, with whom, however, they lived on amicable terms. We have hardly a notice of the Croats during the next one hundred and fifty years; in fact, the only reference to them during this interval, given by Schafarik, relates to an invasion of Apulia by a host of Slaves who came from the Adriatic. “*De Venetiarum finibus*,” are the chronicler’s words; as they are said by the annalists to have gone with a multitude of ships, it is probable they were Croats. (Schafarik, 282, note 1.) We do not meet with any further references to their country till we come to the days of the Frank conqueror “Karl the Great.” Having conquered the Lombard kingdom in 774, and ravaged Friauli in 776; he then in his struggle with the Bavarian prince Tassilo and his Avar allies, overran the Wendish districts on the Ens in the Tyrol, Karinthia, and Istria. This extension of the Frank arms led inevitably to their speedily overshadowing the Croats. The rivalry between the Byzantine and Romish churches had begun its work, and was at this period intensified by the ill-feeling between the Greek Emperor and his grandees. On the bloody defeat of the Byzantines in Italy in 788, the Franks overran Istria, Liburnia, and Pannonia on the Save. They annexed these districts as far as the Danube, and appointed Marquises or Margraves and Counts there, on whom the native Slavic chiefs became dependent. This was in 789. Thus the Grand Prince (Veliki Zupan), who had his seat at Sisek, became a Frank subject. The Franks gave him the title of rector, and made him immediately dependent on the Marquises of Friauli. It was probably from this event that the district of Syrmia was called Frankokhorion, while the town now called Mandyelos, the Budaliia of the Romans, received the name of Frankavilla. (*Id.*, 283.) Hitherto the Dalmatian towns had not been interfered with; according to Eginhardt, this was because of the friendship of his master for the Byzantine Emperor (Egin. “*Vitæ Car.*” Pertz, i, 451); but in the year 806, Paulus, Duke of Zara, and Donatus, bishop of the same town, went to him with rich presents, and also apparently with their submission. (Eginhardt; Pertz, i, 133.) This change of masters led to considerable ill-feeling between Karl and the Emperor Nicephorus. This was terminated by a treaty in 810, by which the latter transferred his now merely nominal sovereignty over the Dalmatian Croats to the Frank Emperor, while he retained control over the towns of Zader, Trogir, Spalato, Ragusa, and the islands of Osero, Rab, and Kerk, *i.e.*, of the district now called Dalmatia. (Schafarik, 282–3).

Thus the Croats became to a large extent subjects of the

Frank Empire. On the death of the Great Karl, the Franks began a somewhat persecuting policy towards them. In 817 a dispute arose between Kadolach, Duke of Friauli, and the Byzantine Emperor Leo the Armenian, as to the boundaries of Dalmatia. The Greeks presented their complaints on this matter to the diet held in 817 at Aachen, and the Emperor sent Albgar the son of Miroch, to settle matters on the spot. (Eginhardt, "Annales" sub ann. 817.)

Kadolach appears to have treated the Croats on the Save very arbitrarily, and Liudewit their prince sent an embassy with complaints to the diet at Vannes. (Eginhardt, "Annales," 818.) No notice having apparently been taken of his complaints, he rebelled, and an army was sent against him, which seems to have been partially successful, and Liudewit sued for peace. As his terms were not reciprocated by the Emperor, he persuaded the neighbouring Wends and also the Timociani, who had recently fallen away from their allegiance to the Bulgarians and submitted to the Emperor, to rebel. Meanwhile, Kadolach, the Marquis of Friauli, caught the fever and died, and was succeeded by Baldric, who marched into Carinthia, where he encountered the army of Liudewit, and having defeated it on the Drave, drove him out of that province.

He was attacked on another side by Borna, the chief of the Dalmatian Croats, who was apparently in alliance with the Franks. The struggle took place on the River Culpa, but Borna was deserted by the Gudusciani, and was defeated. In this battle Dragomus, the father-in-law of Liudewit, who had been treacherous to his son-in-law, and had deserted him, perished.

Borna, on his retreat homewards, succeeded in reducing the Gudusciani once more to obedience. In the winter Liudewit invaded his borders, and ravaged them with fire and sword. Borna, however, revenged himself, killed 3,000 of the enemy, captured 300 of their horses, and recovered much booty. (Eginhardt, "Annales," 819; Pertz, i, 205-6.) Thus did the Croats imitate a very common policy among the Slaves, and tear each other's throats, while the Empire stood by approvingly.

In January, 820, it was determined at an Imperial diet, to send three armies simultaneously into the country of Liudewit. Borna assisted at this diet with his advice. One of these armies marched through the Norican Alps; a second by way of Carinthia; while the third went through Bavaria and Upper Pannonia. The first and last were obliged to return again, but the one which marched through Carinthia defeated the enemy three times, and crossed the Drave; but Liudewit defended himself bravely, shut himself up in his capital; and the Franks

contented themselves with devastating the country round, and then retiring. They had however struck terror into some of the rebels, for we read that the people of Carniola who lived about the Save, and close to Friauli, submitted to Baldric; and the Carinthians, who had sided with Liudewit, also submitted. (Eginhardt, "Annales," ad ann. 820.)

Meanwhile Borna the chief of the Dalmatian Croats, died. He is called dux Dalmatiae et Liburniæ by Eginhardt. He was succeeded by his nephew Ladislavl. The Franks once more entered the country of Liudewit and ravaged it in 821. In 822, they sent another army, on the approach of which he was constrained to fly from his capital Sisek, and to escape to the Servians (Schafarik says probably to Bosnia); Eginhardt tells us he there murdered one of the princes of the country, and appropriated his territory. He then sent envoys to the Franks. (Eginhardt, "Annales," 822; Pertz i, 209.) He had however again to fly, and now escaped to Dalmatia, where having lived for some time with Liudimysl, the uncle of Borna, he was at length put to death by him. This was in 823.

This ended the independence of the Croats on the Save, who were now united with the Dalmatian Croats.

This internecine war among the Croats was due no doubt partly, as Schafarik says, to the jealousy created by a section of them being subject to the Franks, and another section independent; but I believe another reason not referred to by that historian was, that the Croats of the north were still very largely pagans, while their southern brothers were Christians. The Frankish raids to which it gave rise were accompanied with terrible barbarity, and the Emperor Constantine tells us how even children at their mothers' breasts were killed and thrown to the dogs. They kept up the struggle however with the persistence of their race, killed their prince Liudimysl the Frankish *protégé*, and also, according to Constantine, the Frank commander Kozilimis. This war took place during the years 825–30, and during the reign of Prince Porin. Being once more free the Croats turned to the Pope, asking him to send people to baptise them, and also asking for bishops. (Constantine Porphy.; Stritter, ii, 392.) Porin ruled over the whole of the Croats on the Adriatic, whose borders extended probably as far as the modern Slavonia; under him was a Ban who had authority over three gaus. Slavonia itself, *i.e.*, the country between the Drave and the Save, or at all events its eastern portion, was at this time subject to the Bulgarians, who had pushed their authority beyond the Drave. (Schafarik, ii, 286.)

The various towns of Dalmatia which had been subject to the Greeks, fell away during the reign of Michael the Second

(820-29), and Zader set up an independent dux or doge of its own. (*id.*, 286; Stritter, ii, 88.) On Porin's death, he was succeeded for a short space by Moislaf, who in 836 renewed the peace with Peter Tradonico the Doge of Venice. His successor Trpimir in 837 ratified the gift of certain revenues which had been made by his predecessor Moislaf to the church of Split or Spalato, and the deed by which he did it is the oldest one extant relating to the Croatian princes. In his days there came from the neighbouring Frank districts (*i.e.*, from Istria and Carniola) a pilgrim named Martin, dressed in secular garb. He did many wonders, and although a pious person, he was infirm and lame in his feet, and was carried about by men. He devoted himself to the conversion of the people, and was so successful, that they desisted from acts of piracy on their neighbours, and ceased attacking them except in self-defence, and we are told the Croats became attached to seafaring, and frequented the coast as far as Venice. (Constantine Porphyry; Stritter, ii, 394-5.) Unlike the neighbouring Slaves, the Croats were never subject to the Bulgarians, nor did they even pay them tribute. They only had one struggle with them, in the days of Michael Boroses of Bulgaria, who failing to beat them, made peace with them, and gifts were interchanged. (*Id.*, 395.)

Between, 868 and 878, we find that Sedeslaf or Sdeslaf, a relative of Trpimir's, and a *protégé* of the Byzantine Emperor Basil, the Macedonian, was Prince of Croatia. He was probably a usurper, for Trpimir left sons behind him. During his reign, the Croats again became dependent on Byzantium, and transferred their ecclesiastical sympathies from the Pope of Rome to the Patriarch of Constantinople. (*Id.*, 287.)

The chief reason for this, was the publication of the Slavic Liturgy in the Cyrillic character in Bulgaria, Pannonia and Moravia, which so pleased the neighbouring Croats and Serbs, that they sent to ask teachers from the Emperor Basil, and accepted baptism from them. It is probable that the Slavic Liturgy was at the same time promulgated in Croatia, as would appear from a papal brief issued when the Croats returned to their allegiance to him. (Schafarik, ii, 287.)

At this time all the mainland of Dalmatia was occupied by Slaves, and the citizens of the town were chiefly Romans, who also inhabited the islands off the coast. As the latter, however, were terribly harassed by pirates, no doubt Saracens, and were in danger of extermination, they appealed to the Croats to allow them to move to the mainland; but they refused permission, unless they paid tribute; upon which they appealed to the Emperor Basil, who ordered that they should pay the same tax to the Croats

which they had paid to the imperial prefect; and from this date, Aspalathus, *i.e.*, Spalato paid 200 gold pieces; Trogir, 100 gold pieces; Diodora (*i.e.*, Zader), 110 gold pieces; Opsara (Osero), 100 gold²pieces; Arbe (Rab), 100 gold pieces; Becla (Wkla), 100 gold pieces. This was in addition to a certain tax on wine and other products. (Const. Porp.; Stritter, ii, 398–9.) In return apparently for this favour, the Croats and Servians sent a contingent to help the Greeks at Bari, in the year 888, when they were attacked by the Saracens. (Schafarik, ii, 287.)

In May, 879, Sdeslaf was killed by Branimir, who broke off the connection with the East, and placed the Croats once more under the ecclesiastical authority of Rome, and sent Theodosios, the “Diaconus” of Nin, to Rome to be consecrated a bishop.

John, Archpriest of Solina; Vitalis, Bishop of Zader; Dominicus, Bishop of Osero, and others who were referred to, did not wish to receive their authority from Rome, and it may be mentioned as a proof of the strength of the Eastern party, that Maximus, the new Archbishop of Spalato, was consecrated by Walpert, the delegate of Photius, Patriarch of Aquileia. And it was a long time before the Greek cult was completely driven out of Croatia.

During Branimir’s reign, the Croats were independent, both of the Byzantines and the Franks. In 882, Branimir was succeeded by Mutimir or Muntimir, the younger son of Trpimir, who had defeated his elder brother Kryesimir. In a deed of his, dated in 892, we first meet with certain high dignitaries, as the Maccecharius (? Magnus Cococus* or chief cook), Cavelarius, Camerarius, Pinzenarius, Armiger. (Schafarik, ii, 288–9.) Muntimir must not be confused with the prince of the same name who was ruling at this time in Servia.

Muntimir was apparently succeeded by his elder brother Kryesimir, whose authority he had usurped. The latter was reigning in 900, and continued to rule till 914 (*id.*, 289), when he was succeeded by his son Miroslaf, who was killed three years later by the Croatian Ban Pribina. (Stritter, ii, 396.) He was not allowed to keep his ill-gotten throne long, for in 920 we find a prince named Tomislaf, who is known from a letter to the Pope John the Tenth. During his reign, and in the year 925, a synod was held at Spalato, where the use of the Slavic Liturgy was forbidden. At another synod in 928, three new Croatian bishoprics were founded at Skradin, Sisek, and Duwno. In 924, the Serbian prince Zacharias, with a great number of his people, sought shelter in Croatia from the attacks of the Bulgarians. These emigrants did not return home till ten years later. It was this close alliance of the two peoples,

* Or perhaps Claviger, from mediæval Greek Matsouka and low Latin Maxuga, mazuca, a key.

which probably led to the invasion of Croatia in 927 by Alogoboturs, the general of the Bulgarian king Simeon; an expedition which had an unfortunate end, the invaders being badly beaten. In 940, Godimir, or Chedomir, became the ruler of Croatia, and he was succeeded in 958, by his grandson Kryesimir the Second, called the Great, who restored his country to its ancient prosperity, which had much decayed during the recent revolutions. He was succeeded by his younger son Drzislaf. He was the *protégé* of the Greek Emperors Basil and Constantine, and as a consequence of the doubtless renewed prosperity of the country, we find him forsaking the ancient title of Veliki Zupan or Great Zupan, and adopting that of king, which was borne by his successors. According to the frail testimony of Thomas of Spalato, says Schafarik, he joined Neretwa and Zachlumen to his kingdom. On the other hand, we find that the coast towns of Dalmatia, Zader, Trogir and Spalato, and the islands of Kerk, Rab, and Kortschula, which had been for one hundred and twenty years tributary to the Croats, were now conquered by Peter Urselus the Second, Doge of Venice, who styled himself Dux Dalmatiæ. (*Id.*, 291.)

Wilkinson, in reporting the results of this war, says, "The Croats were also expelled from the Isle of Pago, which was restored to Zara, and Surigna was sent by his brother Mucimir (? Drzislaf of Schafarik) on a mission to the Doge at Trau, with instructions to make peace on any terms. A treaty was therefore concluded, by which the King of Croatia promised to abstain from all acts of aggression in Dalmatia, and sent his son Stephen to Venice as a hostage for his fidelity. He there received an education worthy of his rank, and afterwards married Nilcea, the daughter of the Doge. (*Op. cit.*, ii, 227.)"

In the year 1000, Drzislaf was displaced by his elder brother Kryesimir the Third (the first as king). Catalinich says he was killed in an attempt to relieve the island of Pasmaus. (Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, ii, 226, Kryesimir.) He had been previously granted the title of Patrician by the Greek Emperor. He tried to drive the Venetians out of Dalmatia, but was defeated by them in 1013. Bulgaria and Servia had both submitted to the throne of Byzantium, and according to Zonaras and Cedrenus, their example was followed by that of the Croats. But Schafarik has shown that these writers have used the term Croat in a mistake for Serbian. (*Op. cit.*, ii, 291.) Kryesimir the Third was succeeded in 1035 by his son (? his nephew, Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, 227-8), Stephen the First, whose wealth is proved by the rich presents he made to the Church. By his second marriage with Wetenege, the widow of the Patrician Doym of Zader, he had two sons; one of whom who

succeeded him as Peter Kryesimir the Fourth (or second as king), was the most famous of all the Croatian rulers. Soon after his accession in 1050, he recovered the Dalmatian towns from the Venetians; the archbishop and city of Spalato, and the Bishop of Rab acknowledged him as their suzerain. He thereupon took the title of King of Dalmatia. In 1066 Zara was again wrested from him by the Doge Domenico Contarini. (*Id.*, ii, 229.) He introduced several ecclesiastical reforms. He planted new bishoprics at Belgrade on the coast, and at Knin; and his sister Cica founded the nunnery of Sta. Maria at Zara, of which she became the first abbess. The Bishop of Kiev was nominated High Chancellor of the realm. His diocese reached as far as Drau. Under him a famous synod was held at Spalato, where the Slavic Liturgy was again prohibited. Methodeus was proclaimed as a heretic, and the Cyrellian writing was denounced as an invention of the Arian Goths. It was probably less from its Arian quality than from its having originated with the Greek Church that it was unpopular. Before his death, which happened in 1074, Stephen adopted his nephew Kryesimir as his successor; but this was not carried out, for the throne was seized by one named Slawisha, of whose history little is known. We read however that in November, 1075, he was captured and carried off as a prisoner to Apulia by the Norman chief Amikus. Wilkinson says the Normans were called in by the partisans of the dispossessed Stephen, who had retired to Spalato to the Benedictine convent of Saint Stephen. (*Op. cit.*, ii, 229.) The throne was then occupied by Demeter Zwonimir, who had been Ban of Croatia, and had married the daughter of St. Stephen of Hungary and sister of Vladislaf, but had been deposed by Slawisha. (Wilkinson, ii, 230; Schafarik, 292.) To strengthen his position, he, by the advice of the Archbishop Laurence of Solina, acknowledged the Pope as his suzerain, who thereupon sent him the emblems of the royal dignity, and he was duly crowned on the 9th of October, 1076, in the church of St. Peter at Old Solina. (*Id.*, 293.) But things were now going badly with the Croats. The Normans appeared in crowds on the coast, while the Venetians endeavoured to recover their lost authority on the Dalmatian shore. On Zwonimir's death in 1087, he was succeeded by Stephen the Second, the exiled nephew of Kryesimir the Fourth. He had taken refuge in a monastery, as I have said from which he now withdrew, and was duly crowned at Sebenico by the Archbishop on the 8th of September, 1089; but he died the following year, the last representation of the race of the Drzislafs. His death was followed by a terrible civil strife, in the midst of which one of the Zupans offered the crown to the brave Hungarian king

Vladislaf. Accepting the invitation, he marched with an army to Modrush, overran the country, and nominated his nephew Almus as its king. Later he founded the Bishopric of Agram (the Slavic Zagreb). On the death of Vladislaf, he was succeeded by Koloman, who seized upon Bielogorod (now called Zara Vecchia) (Wilkinson, 231, note), and apparently displaced Almus. The Zupan Peter thereupon rose in rebellion against him, and he in turn marched an army into Croatia. The Croats in the presence of this danger seem to have stopped their civil strife, and divided the land among twelve Zupans.

They collected their warriors, and awaited the attack of Koloman on the Drave. Not being certain of victory, the latter made proposals of peace, in which he engaged to protect their liberties. These overtures were successful, and peace was duly ratified, and the Croats acknowledged Koloman and the Hungarians as their masters; and he undertook to respect their rights, freedom, and laws. A Zupan (probably Peter is meant) who was discontented with this peace, was slain in a fight in the mountains of Gwozdansko; and Koloman was crowned at Biograd by the Archbishop Crescentius, of Spalato, with his bride Bussita, a daughter of the Norman Count Roger. (Wilkinson, ii, 231.) This was in 1102. Thenceforward Croatia was governed by a deputy of the Hungarian king, who was styled the Ban of Croatia, and the Hungarian kings took the title of kings of Croatia and Dalmatia. Some of the Dalmatian islands were seized by the Venetians, who after many bloody struggles, planted their authority also in several of the towns on the coast. (*Id.*, 294.) The story, and a very interesting one it is, of the fierce strife between Hungary and Venice for these Dalmatian towns, has been told in detail by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in the work already quoted (*op. cit.*, chapter ix, *passim*), but it forms no part of our present subject.

Modern Austrian Croatia is divided into two well marked sections: Provincial Croatia, comprising the three districts of Agram (Zagreb), Warasdin, and Kreutz, with the maritime district adjoining; and secondly, Military Croatia, until recently divided into two generals' commands, and comprising eight regiments. Besides these, to which alone the name of Croatia is now generally applied, there were comprised in ancient Croatia the northern part of the modern Dalmatia as far as the Zetina, the north-western part of Bosnia as far as the Urbas, and the modern Slavonia. In early times it also included Istria, and although the latter was detached from Croatia about the end of the eighth century, it still retains a Croatian dialect. Over all this district the Croats were the dominant race, and it was all known in early times as Croatia, and included, as I have

said, three well marked divisions, namely Pannonian Croatia, or Croatia on the Save, Provincial Croatia, and Dalmatia.

The eastern portion of ancient Croatia is now called Slavonia; and it is interesting to trace the history of this name. From the earliest times to the days of Matthias Corvinus (*i.e.*, 837–1492), the rulers of Croatia bore no other title than that of princes and kings of Croatia and Dalmatia. Foreigners, however, occasionally applied the generic name Slavi to them. Thus in a letter from the Emperor Louis the Second to the Emperor Basil, in 871, they are called Slavini, and their country Slavonia. In a brief of Pope John the Tenth, 914–29, to John the Fourteenth, Archbishop of Spalato, it is called Slavinarum terra, Slavina terra, and in another brief of Innocent the Fourth, Slavonia terra. (Schafarik, *op. cit.*, ii, 307.)

During the reigns of Bela the Third, 1170–96, and Andrew the Second, 1205–35, the section of Croatia lying between the Drave and the Save was carved out into an appanage, and was called the Duchy of Slavonia (ducatu Slavoniæ). King Vladislaf probably suspicious against John Corvinus, who ruled the Duchy of Croatia, took in 1492 the title of King of Slavonia. After the battle of Mohacz, a portion of Slavonia was occupied by the Turks, and we then find the name Croatia limited to that portion of it comprising the districts of Agram, Warasdin, and Kreutz, which still remained subject to the Hungarians; while the other portion, which was occupied by the Turks, and was only recovered at a later day, namely, the districts of Veröcze, Posega, and Syrmia, received the name of Slavonia, which it still retains. (*Id.*)

All the Croats, except a section who occupy the north-western mountain district of Bosnia called Kraina, and often called Turkish Croatia, as far as the river Urbas, are now subject to Austria. Kraina was a part of the ancient Croatia, and was probably detached from it at the end of the fourteenth century, when Tuarko founded the kingdom of Bosnia, and appropriated considerable districts from his neighbours; and it fell apparently with the rest of Bosnia into Turkish hands.

The Croats were originally no doubt a homogeneous race, and hardly distinguishable from the Servians, of whom, in fact, they formed a section.

At present there are, however, two well-marked Croatian dialects; one prevails in Provincial Croatia and in the country of the St. George and the Kreutz or Cross Regiments, while the other prevails in the other districts of Croatia in the Litorale and in Slavonia. The latter apparently hardly differs from the dialect of the districts occupied by the Servians proper. The

former perhaps originated in a mixture of the invaders with the Slovenians of Carinthia, etc., otherwise known as Wends. (*Id.*, 308–309.)

As I have said, the Croats and the Servians were originally one race, speaking one language, and having one history. The great distinguishing feature which has made their history run in separate grooves, has been the fact of the former being Roman Catholics and the latter attached to the Greek Church. This has given an entirely different direction to the sympathies of the most patent social force in the country, namely, that of the priesthood. The Croats also being further removed from such dangerous neighbours, were not so sophisticated by Bulgarian or Turkish domination, and retained their practical independence, although subject to the Hungarian Crown.

But we must never forget that in origin and in race they belong to the great Servian stock, which will, we trust, occupy us in our next paper.

More CASTELLIERI. By RICHARD F. BURTON and MESSIEURS ANTONIO SCAMPICCHIO (LL.D.), of ALBONA, and ANTONIO COVAZ, of PISINO (Deputy to the Diet, etc.).

SECTION I.—THE SEABOARD OF ISTRIA.

I HAVE obtained the consent of Dr. Antonio Scampicchio, and associated his name with my own, in these pages, of which many are translated from his letters and notes. He has also at my especial request, been good enough to write out for me the rustic Slav songs common about Albona, of which short specimens conclude the next section, and to translate into Italian my first paper, "Notes on the Castellieri." I have also ventured to add to these pages the name of Sig. Antonio Covaz of Pisino, Deputy to the Istria Diet; most of the excursions in the southern peninsula were undertaken by his advice, and many of the most important details come from his practised pen.

The little Istrian peninsula, which still preserves its classical name Istria or Danube-land, and is shaped on the map like a greatly reduced Africa, as the poet says, is geographically distinct from the rest of the Austrian world.

To north, west, south and south-east, this Xth. Regio of old Rome is bounded by the Gulf of Trieste, by the Adriatic, and by the Quarner or Quarnero. Sinus Flanaticus (not Fanaticus) of which the Florentine Francesco Berlingeri says:—