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The Spread of the Slaves. Part II. The Southern Serbs, Bosnians, Montenegrins, and Herzegovinians.

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saw the natives use and which subsequent navigators have described. It seems either to be a native imitation of the first firearms seen, or else to have some symbolic meaning. Perhaps the numerous missionaries now located there could send us more details of Papuan customs. Otherwise, supposing the characters were Tamul, we might remember that gunpowder and firearms were mentioned as early as the Sacred Books of the Hindus. The custom of drinking (at a distance from the vessel) was common to both New Zealand and South India. Taylor, in his work upon New Zealand, called the bell discovered there Chinese or Japanese, and Van Diemen or Cook remarked a striking resemblance between the Maoris and Japanese.

Mr. MOGGRIDGE observed that one of the figures, No. 17, was the same as one which had been seen on rocks 6,900 feet above the sea in the N. W. corner of Italy. The inscriptions are not in colours as are those given in the paper, but are made by the repeated dots of a sharp pointed instrument. It is probable that if we knew how to read them they might convey important information, since the same signs occur in different combinations, just as the letters of our alphabet recur in different combinations to form words. Without the whole of these figures we cannot say whether the same probability applies to them.

The PRESIDENT, COLONEL GODWIN AUSTEN and MR. E. B. TYLOR offered some remarks.

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## THE SPREAD *of the* SLAVES. Part II.

### THE SOUTHERN SERBS, BOSNIANS, MONTENEGRINS, *and* HERZEGOVINIANS.

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

IN a previous paper we collected the evidence upon which it is now generally held that the Croats migrated about the year 634 from Gallicia and the Northern flanks of the Carpathians to their present situation at the head of the Adriatic, and also traced out their history till they lost their independence. We must now deal with their next neighbours, the Serbs. The Serbs and Croats are essentially the same race, sprung from the same stock and original homeland, and differentiated only by having separate histories. Croat, as we have shown, is a mere topographical name, derived from Khrebet (a mountain chain) and denoting the original country of the race, the Carpathians. It is a name without any ethnic value. Serb, on the other hand, according to the best Slave authorities, is essentially an ethnic name, and was apparently the generic name by which both

Serbs and Croats were originally known. Nay, further, Schafarik, whose authority I value very highly, deems Serb to be the original indigenous name by which the Slaves called themselves. He argues very forcibly that Jornandes, who was an Alan by birth, afterwards in the service of the Gothic king and eventually Gothic bishop of Ravenna, derived his information about the Slaves from Teutonic sources. He thus calls them generically Winidi or Wends, the name by which the Slaves are still known to the Germans, and he divides them into the two sections Antæ and Slavini. These two latter names do not occur before his time. According to Schafarik they were then probably new. It is not impossible that they were also of foreign origin.

While Jornandes probably derived his information from Teutonic sources, Procopius, who was a Greek, drew his account of the Slaves in all probability from the Slaves themselves. He says, "Both the Slavi and Antæ had formerly a common name and were called Sporoi, as I think, because they were Sporades, *i.e.*, living in scattered houses." This name Sporoi, the equivalent of the Winidi of Jornandes, Schafarik deems to be the oldest generic name of the Slaves extant. (*Op. cit.*, i, 92 and 93.)

This name of Sporoi, as the same author says, is not Slavic in form nor yet is it European, and he concludes with his very able predecessor, Dobrowski, that Sporoi is a corruption of Serbi.

In confirmation of this view he urges how in early times the name Serb is found applied to Slavic tribes in very remotely situated neighbourhoods, as in Upper and Lower Lusatia, on the Danube and the Save, north of the Carpathians and in Russia, and as further evidence of its indigenous character he names the fact that the tribe is cited by Pliny, who tells us that on the Kimmerian Bosphorus lived the Mæotici, the Vali, the Serbi, the Arrechi, the Zingi, and the Psesii, while Ptolemy tells us that between the Keraunian Mountains and the Rha (*i.e.*, the Volga) dwelt the Orynai, the Vali, and the Serbi. (Schafarik, i, 95-96.)

I confess that I am not at all convinced by this argument of Schafarik. Procopius was a singularly accurate historian. His value in this respect has received the especial notice of Gibbon, and it seems incredible to me that he should have given us such a corrupt form of the name Serbi as Sporoi, a form which is so entirely different in sound to the word Serbi. Again, as to the name being widely disseminated, it will be found to be explained, not by Serb having been a generic name applied to all the Slavic race, but by the fact, which we hope to prove, that the Serbs proper, migrated to very different areas from their original homeland. As to the mention of Serbi by Pliny and Ptolemy, I agree

with Zeuss, that the area named as their home and the tribes they are mentioned with prove that the Serbi of these authors were a different race altogether from the Slavic Serbs of later days, and Zeuss suggests they had as much to do with them perhaps as the Suevic Scythæ who lived on the Imaus according to Ptolemy had to do with Suevi of Germany. (Zeuss, 608, note.) Let us now examine the forms and etymology of the name; the former I shall extract from the elaborate account of Schafarik. Vibius Sequester calls them *Servetii* or *Cervetii*; *Fredegar*, *Surbii*; the *chron. Moissiac*. *Siurbi*; the *Lorsch Annals* *Suurbi*; *Alfred the Great*, *Surpe* and *Surfe*; *Reginon* and the *Bavarian geographer* *Surbi*; a *Silesian Chronicle* quoted by *Sommerberg*, speaks of a *Surbiensis provincia*; in a deed of 1136, we have *Swurbelant*; in *Biterolf*, *Surben*; in *Eginhardt*, the *Fulda Annals*, *Adam of Bremen*, *Helmold*, etc, *Sorabi*; by *Peter Bibliothecar Soavi* (for *Soravi*); by *Kadlubek*, *Sarbiensis prov.*; in a deed of 873, *Sarowe prov.*; in *Boguchwal Sarb*; in the glosses to the *Mater Verborum* of bishop *Salomo*, *Sirbi*; by *Sigebert Gemblacensis*, *Sirbia*; by the Emperor *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, *Serbli* and *Serbii*, also *Serbia* (the modern town of *Srbiça* in *Macedonia*); in a deed of 949 *Ciertvi* (the town of *Zerben*); in the foundation charter of the *Bishopric of Brandenburg*, dated in 949, *Ciervisti* (referring to the *Zupa* or *Gau* of that name); in a deed of 975, *Kirrusti*; in *Cod S. Meuric*, *Kiruiti*; in another deed of 1003, *Zerbiste*; in *Dithmar Merseb. Ziruuisti* (the modern *Zerbst* the capital of the *Gau*); in a deed of 1147, *Zeviriske*; in others of 1161, *Cervisti*, of 1196 *Cherevist*, of 1197 *Cherewist*; in a deed of 961, *Zurbici* (now *Zorbzig* in the district of *Leipzig*) by *Dithmar Zurbizi* and *Çurbizi*, by the *Annalista Saxo Zurbike*; in a deed of 1144, *Zorbwech*; in another deed, *Sorbek*. *Dithmar* and the *Annalista Saxo* mention a town *Zribenz* (now *Schrenz*). We have in a deed of 1040 mention made of the *Gau* of *Zurba*; in a deed of 1060 a town of *Serebez* (now *Sehrabiz*). *Cedrenus* speaks of the *Serbii*; *Zonaras*, *Anna Comnena*, etc. of the *Serbi*. In a *Munich MS.* of the 11th century, we have *Zeruiani* (for *Serbiani*). In the glosses of the *Bohemian Wacerad* in 1102, *Zirbi*; in *Cosmas*, *Zribia*, *Zribin*. In *Nestor* in the MS. of 1377, *Sereb* and *Serb*. In *Serbian documents* of the 12th to the 14th century, *Srb'* *Sr'b'l'*, *Sr'bin*, *Sr'blin*, *Sr'bli* (plur.), and *Sr'bsky* (adj.). In *Dalimil Srbowe*. The Southern Serbians still call themselves *Srb*, *Srbin*, *Srbljin*, *Srbljak*, while the northern ones of *Lusatia* are styled *Serb*, *Serbjo* (plur.), *Serbski* and *Serski* (adj.). In *Russia* and *Poland* we have numerous places compounded of the name, as *Serebszczyzna*, *Sierbszczyzna*, *Serepczyzna*, or *Sierpczyzna*, mentioned in a *Lithuanian Statute* of 1529, which is written Ser-

bowie and Serbia by Bielski in his chronicle of 1597, and Serbowie Serbin, Serby by Blazofsky in 1611. We find places called Serben and Serbigal in Liefland, Serbino in the Government of Saint Petersburg, Sierby in Minsk, Serbowski in Chernigof, Serbi and Serbinowka in Volhynia; these are in Russia. In Poland we have Serbentynie, Serbentyny or Serbentyszki in the voivodeship of Augustowo, Serbinof in Sandomir, Sierbowice in Krakau, and Sarbice, Sarbicko, Sarbiewo, Sarbin in the districts of Krakau, Plotsk and Kalisch in Western Galicia, etc. The Latin forms of the name, as is well known, were Servi and Serviani. (Schafarik, *op. cit.*, 175–177.) Schafarik is no doubt right in reducing all these various forms to the root Serb or Srb (*op. cit.*, i, 177 and 178), but when we come to attach a meaning to this root-word we are met with profound difficulties.

The Emperor Constantine has an etymology of his own; he speaks of “the Serbli, who in the Roman tongue are called Servi;” and adds “that from them the shoe of a slave was called Serbula, and that those were called Serbuliani whose shoes were of a rude and poor character.” He adds “they were called Servi since they *served* the Roman Emperor.” (Stritter, ii, 152 and 153.) Schafarik with considerable confidence connects the word with an old Slavonic root, Sir (orbus); in Russian, siryj, sirota; in Serbian, Croatian, Karinthian, and Slovak, sirota; Bohemian, sirotek, sirube, siroba; Lower Lusatian, sirota; in Upper Lusatian, syrota, Syrotstwo; Polish, sierota, sieroce, sieroci, words connected with the Sanscrit *su* (generare, producere) in Lat. *sevisatum* from *se rere* for *se sere* (*se* reduplicated); Gothic, *saian*; Scandinavian, *soa* (*serere*), etc., etc. (*Op. cit.*, 179.) This etymology seems to me to be exceedingly farfetched and improbable, and I cannot accept it for a moment. I much prefer to side with the learned and very critical Dobrowski who after a most searching inquiry among all the Slavic dialects could find no reasonable etymology of the word. (Dobrowski, *Inst. I, Slav*, p. 154; Schafarik, *op. cit.*, i, 174.)

This conclusion makes it a proper subject of inquiry whether the name be not a foreign one. Now in my various inquiries into Slavic history I have been very much struck by a fact which is its leading factor, namely, that the Slaves, *per se*, are a helpless, weak, childlike race, incapable of originating or of carrying out great innovations or great conquests. That the leaven which has ever leavened the various branches of the race has been of foreign importation, and that the leaders, the upper strata among them, who have alone shown energy and skill and enterprise have been foreigners and not natives. Thus in Russia the people who gave its name to Russia, and from whom the older dynasty and older aristocracy were descended, were the Scandi-

navians. In later times the Tartars and the Germans have been the salt of the community. The Bulgarians were led and governed by a caste of foreigners, the Turanian Bulgars, the Slovaks and other Slave races of Hungary by the various Turanian tribes who have occupied that area from early days. The Croats, as we have shown, were in close connection with the Avars who also conquered the Antæ.

This dependence on a more vigorous race of leaders has been well expressed by a recent correspondent of the *Standard* in one of a series of able letters in which he argues that the recent consolidating influence among the Russian Slaves has been its German element. Without it the race is as mobile as mercury.

This being the character of the race wherever we can test it, it would assuredly be an extraordinary fact if the Serbs who both to the north and south of the Carpathians were so vigorous in early days should have been an exception to the rule. I believe they were not so, but that like the Slaves of Bulgaria, they were led by a foreign race who supplied their upper class.

If we postulate this as more than probable, we may then connect them, as Schafarik has done, with the Serbi or Surbi of Pliny and Ptolemy; this tribe which from its habitat and from the names of the tribes with which it is linked, we may take to have been of Alanic or of Hunnic blood, was no doubt thrust westward in the various race migrations that took place in South-Eastern Europe from the 5th to the 7th century, and just as the Bulgars led a race of Slaves into Thrace so I believe the Serbi or Surbi overcame and led another branch of the same race southwards towards the Danube, and westwards towards the Elbe. In this view the Serbi or Surbi were not originally Slaves at all, but a conquering tribe who led a race of Slaves. This is my view of the origin of the name; let us now turn to the history of the race. In the present notice we shall limit ourselves entirely to the Southern Serbs, leaving their northern brothers to be treated in another paper. As in the case of the Croats, Constantine Porphyrogenitus is the author who first describes the migration of the Serbs. He tells us that after the migration of the Croats, who had been summoned, as I have mentioned in the previous paper, to his assistance by the Emperor Heraclius the Serbli also went to the same emperor. (Stritter, ii, 393.)

Schafarik, who has discussed the dates of this migration, concludes, I think very reasonably that, the Croats migrated in 634, and the Serbians in 636, (*op. cit.*, ii. 241.) They were sprung, says the emperor, from the unbaptized Serbians who were also called White, and dwelt beyond the Turks (*i.e.*, the Magyars), in a place called Boiki by them, which is not far from Francia, and also near to Great Croatia, which is also called White (Stritter, *op.*

*cit.*, ii, 151.) He also tells us that this land of Boiki was watered by the Bislas, or Ditzike. (Schafarik, ii, 239, and 243.) I have already in my former paper discussed Schafarik's very reasonable conclusions about Boiki showing that it did not mean Bohemia, but the land of the still surviving Ruthenian Boiki. (In the Ruthenian dialect Bojki, singular Bojok; Schafarik, ii, 243.) These Boiki live in Eastern Gallicia from the sources of the Dniester to the Pruth. In the districts of Sambor and Stryj in the lower parts of Stanislawof and Kolomyj and scattered about in Chorkof and even further north. (Schafarik, ii, 243.) I may add as a remarkable confirmation of the argument previously addressed that the Serbi were originally an Alanic or Hunnic tribe that Jornandes in enumerating the Hunnic tribes on the Maeotis mentions the Boisoi which is assuredly another form of Boiki. It may be also remarked that the use of the term white as equivalent to great or free in the phrases White Serbia or White Croatia is essentially an Eastern expression in use very generally among the Turks, and other Turanian tribes.

The White Serbia of Constantine then is to be identified with Eastern Gallicia and Red Russia. This is largely confirmed by the fact that the language of the Southern Serbs and the Croats is closely related to the Ruthenian and White Russian. (Schafarik, ii, 245.) The topography of the two districts also strengthens the same conclusion; thus we have the Cetina a tributary of the Bug, and a Cetina in Dalmatia, San in Gallicia San in Carinthia and Sana in Bosnia, etc. etc. (*Id.* 246.) A number of words which in the Serbian and Croatian languages are like those in Lettish, Lithuanian, and Old Prussian show that they must formerly have been in close contact with the latter races. Thus: Illyrian, *dekla, dikla* (puella, ancilla) Lett, *dehkla* (dea virginalis); Serb *sukun-djed* (atavus), *Sukun-baba* (atavia), Lett, *sugga* (familia); Serb *kuća* (canis femina), Lett, *kuzza*; Serb, *dubok* (profundus), Lett, *dohbis* (cavus), Lith. *dubbus*; Serb, *klanac* (fauces montis, semita montis) Lith, *kalnas* (mons.); Serb, *gruwati* (percutere cum sonitu), Lith, *grauju* (durio, tono); Serb, *griza* (tormina), Lith, *grizzas*; Serb *wlat* (spica), Croat, lat, Lith. *waltis*.; Serb *lud* (fatuus), Lith, *letas*; Serb, *tek* (vixdum solum), Lett, *teck*; Serb, *kosa* (capilli) Lith, *kassa* (tress of hair); Serb, *kruska* (pirum), Lith, *krausze*; Serb, *krs* (adluvis), Illyr *krs* (rupes), Lith, *krasuzus* (præruptum ripæ); Serb *kucati* (pulsare), Lith, *kucus* (fustis); Serb, *lanac* (catena), Lith, *lencugas*; Serb, *wienawati* (jungere connubio), Lith *wenzawoju*; Serb *razboj* (latrocinium), Lith, *razbojus*; Serb, *grabiti* (rapere), Lett, *grabbaht, grahbt*; Serb, *kukawica* (miser, misera), Lett, *skukkis* (puella misera); Serb, *cupati* (vellere) Lith, *czopti*, etc. etc. We also find such names as Prusna, Prusjen or Prusin, Prus-

ianos (in 1017 in Cedrenos) and Prusez a town of Bosnia, in the southern district which carry us north to the kingdom of Prussia on the Baltic. (*Id.* 245 and 247.)

Constantine tells us definitely that the land of the unbaptized Serbians was watered by the Bislas, which was also called Ditzike (Stritter ii, 406.) Bislas is clearly Wisla, the Slavic name of the Vistula. Schafarik suggests that Ditzike if not a corruption of Dikitse or Tykitsch was probably the name of some tributary of the Vistula, Bug, or Niemen, whose name has been mistaken by Constantine for a synonym of the Vistula (*op. cit.*, ii, 248.) All these facts converge to one conclusion, namely, that the homeland of the Serbs before their migration southwards was in Eastern Galicia and its neighbourhood. We shall probably have more to say of it when we come to deal with the Northern Serbs.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus tells us that on the death of one of their princes, the younger of two of his sons who divided his heritage led his people southwards, and asked the Emperor Heraclius for land to settle in. He granted them a district in the government of Thessaly which was afterwards called Serbia, but before long they grew discontented and asked the emperor's permission to return to their old land. (Stritter, ii, 151-2). The name of the town Serbitza on the Haliakmon, about nine leagues from Thessalonica, seems to show that some of them remained behind in Macedonia. (*Id.* ii, 239, note.) On crossing the Danube they regretted the step they had taken and longed for fresh settlements. They again approached the emperor through the Byzantine governor of Asprokastron or Belgrade. "He accordingly granted them," says Constantine, "the district now called Serbia and Pagania which was known as the country of the Zachlumi, Terwunia and the district of the Canalitæ, which were subject to the emperor, but which had been laid waste by the Avars who had driven the Roman inhabitants out and forced them to seek shelter in Dalmatia and Dyrrachium." That is, he granted them the country watered by the Drina, the Bosna and the Urbas, and bordering on that occupied by the Croats. The Avars were driven out and the Serbs settled down on the three rivers just named and extended themselves to the Adriatic. This second migration, the first having been probably in 636, took place in the year 638. (Schafarik, ii, 241.)

The country thus occupied by the Serbs was eventually divided into seven districts or *gaus*, *i.e.*, Serbia Proper (still so called); Bosnia, Neretwa, Zakh'luma, Terwunia, Kanalia and Dukla or Doklea, (*id.* 249). Each of these districts was governed by a Zupan. Of these the Serbian Zupan was the chief. He had his capital at Desnitza (Destinika of Constantine) on the Drina. The grand Zupan was, according to the Serbian



and old Slave custom, styled Starjesina (senior), and had authority over all the other Serbs, except the Neretshani or Pagani, who were entirely free and uncontrolled (*id.* 249). The Emperor Heraclius sent for priests from Rome, who introduced Christianity among the new settlers as they had among the Croats, but they do not seem to have had much success among the Serbs, who, to a great extent, remained attached to their old faith, and on the death of Heraclius in 641, fell completely away from their dependence on Byzantium. Constantine says nothing of the successors of the first prince, except that he was succeeded by his son and grandson. (Stritter ii, 153.) After some time reigned their descendant Boisesthlabus, or Wyscheslaf, who lived about 780 (?) A.D. (Schafarik, ii, 250.) Then followed in turn Radoslaf, Prosigoi and Wlastimir. We do not know the name of the Serbian ruler to whom the Croatian prince Liudewit fled in 822, as Eginhardt tells us, and who was treacherously killed by him.

Wlastimir's reign fell between 836 and 843. Hitherto the Serbs and Bulgarians had lived at peace, but we are told he repelled the attack of the Bulgarian prince Presia, who waged a war of three years against him without other result than losing many men. He married his daughter to Kraian, the son of Belof the Zupan of Terwunia, and also conferred on him the title of prince, and released him from his suzerainty, a prerogative which was inherited by his sons Khwalimir and Zuzimir. (*Id.*)

Wlastimir's heritage was divided among his three sons Muntimir, Strojuni, and Gojnik. They had an important struggle with the Bulgarian King Michel Boris, the son of the Presia above-named, who wished to revenge his father's defeat, but he was himself beaten, and his son Wladimir was captured together with twelve war engines. (Schafarik ii, 176 and 177, and 250, Stritter ii, 155). This defeat led to peace being made between the two powers, and we are told the Serbian princes accompanied Boris on his return home as far as Rasa, which was on the Bulgarian frontier, from which statement, and also from the report of the envoys sent by the Constantinople Synod in 869, it would appear that the ancient Dardania lay within Bulgaria.\*

A mention in contemporary narratives of a Bulgarian Morawa, and the statement that in 885 there was a Bulgarian governor at Belgrade, shows that the valley of the Serbian Morawa and of the Ibor, or so-called Lower Morawa, were in Boris' time subject to Bulgaria (Schafarik, ii, 177).

\* Dardania was the district where the Morawa and the Ibor sprang and extended from Prischtina as far as Nisch.

We will not trace the history of Serbia any further in detail, nor relate its many struggles with the Bulgarians, with the Greek empire, with Hungary and the Dalmatian towns, nor shew how its alliances and its sympathies were at length ruled by its attachment to the Greek Church, which only secured its prize after a long struggle with the Latins. The capital of Serbia in early times was Dioklea, in later times Rasa, now called Novi Bazar. We will pass over the long interval between the 9th and the 14th century and turn to the days of the Great Serbian hero, Stephen Dushan.

Stephen Dushan was crowned King of Serbia on the 8th of September, 1331. At this time there had been considerable confusion in Bulgaria, but matters were at length tolerably settled by the elevation of John Alexander, the nephew of the former King Michael, to the throne. Alexander was the son-in-law of Ivanko Besseraba the Prince of Roumania, and he married his sister Helena to Stephen Dushan. The three rulers of Serbia, Bulgaria, and Roumania, now made a common alliance against the Greeks and Hungarians. (Jirecek, *Gesh. Bulg.*, 297–299.) Besseraba defeated the Hungarians, and Alexander fought successfully against the Greeks, but Stephen Dushan's victories were the most important. In the first three years of his reign he conquered Ochrida, Prilep (where he built himself a palace), Kastoria, Strumiça, Khlerin (now Lerin or Florina) Zeleznec (the Turkish Demirhissar north of Prespa), Voden, and all Western Macedonia. (*Id.* 299). At this time there was terrible confusion in Albania, whence the mountaineers had issued and ravaged the neighbouring districts in various directions. In 1336 Dushan invaded Northern Albania, and speedily appropriated the whole country except Durazzo.

Meanwhile, the condition of the Byzantine empire was rapidly becoming desperate, attacked as it was on the one side by the Slavs and on the other by the Turks, while its forces were paralysed by internal dissensions.

Andronicus the Third died in 1341, and left the throne to his son John, the Fifth, Palaeologos, against whom the ambitious John Kantakuzenos rose in rebellion, and planted his seat of empire at Didymotilchon on the Maritza. This feud was the signal for the Slaves to attack the empire. Alexander and his Bulgarians made a savage raid upon Thrace. We now find Kantakuzenos allying himself with Alexander of Bulgaria and with Stephen Dushan, and we are told that 24 Serbian voivodes accompanied him in his attempt to secure the Greek throne (Ranke's *Serbia*, 14). The Serbs and Greeks were naturally drawn together by their common faith, and had a common ground of opposition to the Latins; and while Kantakuzenos

conquered Thrace, Stephen Dushan appropriated Macedonia, where many of the inhabitants were of Serbian descent. The Byzantine authors compare him at one time to a fiercely raging fire, at another to a swollen torrent overflowing far and wide. (*Id.*, 15). He now, *i.e.*, in 1346, had himself crowned Tzar of the Serbs and Greeks at Skopia, and gave his son Urosh the title of kral or king, while with the consent of the patriarchs of Tirnova and Okhrida, he made the Archbishop Johanniki Patriarch of Serbia (Jirecek, 304). On another side Dushan defeated Louis the First of Hungary, and seems for a while to have occupied Belgrade and rescued Bosnia from an obstinate ban (Ranke, *op. cit.*, 15 and 16).

In 1347 Stephen Dushan was received with great honours at Ragusa, while Arta and Joannina were in his possession, and thence his voivodes spread themselves over all Roumelia on the Wardar and Marizza as far as Bulgaria. (Ranke, 16.) His reign was in fact the apogee of Serbian prosperity. His dominions reached from Arta to Belgrade and from the Dalmatian Mountains to the Mesta. In Macedonia the Byzantines only retained Thessalonica and he is proudly styled the Tzar of the Serbs and Greeks, of the Bulgarians and Albanians. Trade flourished greatly at Skopia, Novo Brdo, Prizren, and Kattaro where the Venetians, Ragusans, and Saxons planted factories and shops, and in 1349 he issued a famous code of laws to govern his subjects. (Jirecek, 305.) Alexander of Bulgaria was dependent on him, and his brother was Dushan's Governor of Albania. We need not wonder when we survey this picture that the Serbs look back to the days of Stephen Dushan as their golden age, but in the light of contemporary history we cannot forget one important fact which has been noted by a traveller in Serbia, who thus expresses himself: "The brilliant victories of Stephen Dushan were a misfortune to Christendom. They shattered the Greek Empire, the last feeble bulwark of Europe, and paved the way for those ultimate successes of the Asiatic conquerors, which a timely union of strength might have prevented." (Servia, by Paton, 222.) Dushan was about to invade Thrace with 80,000 men, with the intention of conquering Constantinople, when he suddenly died on the 20th of December, 1355, and with him passed away the glory of Serbia. His son, Urosh, was only 19 years old, while Simeon, Dushan's brother, and Helena, his widow, struggled for supreme power, and the pernicious aristocracy of the voivodes, which has been a terrible scourge to Slavonic communities, as may be seen in the history of Poland, broke out into open revolt and divided Roumelia into a number of petty states, probably only nominally dependent on Urosh, and they submitted them-

selves presently to the Osmanli, whose opportunity was created by these selfish quarrels. Urosh was murdered in 1368 by one of these feudal chiefs, namely, Vukashin, kral of Pheres. He was succeeded by Lazarus, a natural son of Stephen Dushan, who was styled merely kniaz Lazar. He was a pious and generous prince, and a brave but unsuccessful general. (Paton, *op. cit.*, 222.)

The Turkish system of occupying conquered countries with military colonies and carrying off the original inhabitants, says Ranke, excited a great national opposition in the year 1389, and a league was formed of the Serbians, Bosnians (who had regained their independence), and Albanians. The united troops were commanded by Lazar and Wuk Brankovitch, who had however been gained over by the Turks. Before the battle Milosh, the son-in-law of Lazar, entered the tent of Amurath, the Turkish sultan, and assassinated him. The fight took place on the following day on the famous field of Kossowa, in which Lazar was killed and Serbia was laid prostrate. It was fought on the 15th of June, 1389. Amurath's successor, Bajazet, nominated Stephen the son of Lazar, whose sister he married, king or despot of Serbia, and the latter served the Turks faithfully during his life. On his death he was succeeded by George, the son of Wuk, who was deposed by the Turks, in 1458, and Serbia was incorporated with the empire; nor was this altogether unwillingly. I have mentioned that the Serbs were strongly attached to the Greek faith, of which Stephen Dushan was a great champion, one of his laws ordaining that whoever endeavoured to pervert anyone to the Latin heresy was to be sent to work in the mines. This jealousy of Greek and Latin raised a great barrier to any common action between the Serbs and their northern neighbours, the Germans and Hungarians. A Serbian song, says Ranke, relates that George Brankovitch once inquired of John Hunyad what he intended to do with regard to religion, should he prove victorious. Hunyad did not deny that in such an event he would make the country Roman Catholic. Brankovitch thereupon addressed the same question to the Sultan; who answered that he would build a church near every mosque and would leave the people at liberty to bow in the mosques, or to cross themselves in the churches according to their respective creeds. The general opinion was that it was better to submit to the Turks, and retain their ancient faith than to accept the Latin rites . . . . The Serbians themselves invited the Osmanlis into their fortresses, that they might not see their strongholds given over to a Cardinal of the Romish Church. (*Op. cit.*, 29.) The Serbians did in fact what the Bosnian Paterenes did, namely, called in the Turks rather than surrender

their ties to their Church. But there was this difference:—in Bosnia and a large part of the Herzegovina the landowners adopted Islamism and retained their lands. In Serbia it was not so. The ancient noble class almost disappeared, the family of the Brankovitch's however retained till the beginning of the 17th century, their castle and possessions at Semendria. (Paton, 290.) The Kara Panshitshis kept their hold upon the Kraina while Starewala, and Klintsh also had their kniases or princes. The country was divided out among the Turkish Spahis, who had full authority both over the persons and the property of the Serbian peasants. (Ranke, 22.) Such at least of them as remained, for the Turkish conquest led to a migration of 37,000 Serbian families into Hungary. (Paton, *op. cit.*, 291.) The Serbians aided the Emperor Leopold greatly in his Turkish wars, and their brothers beyond the Save rose in rebellion to assist him. By the peace of Passarowitz a large portion of Serbia fell into the hands of the emperor. It was, however, recovered by the Turks, who wreaked their vengeance on the families of the rebels. They abolished the national Serbian hierarchy, and the Serbian bishop became subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Turkish Spahis, as I have said, were the owners of the land, and the native Serbians became merely rayahs or cultivators who had to pay the Spahis rent. This was in fact a kind of hereditary stipend in return for which they rendered military services. The Spahis, according to Ranke, although not belonging to the ancient nobility, were mostly of Serbian extraction and language. (*Op. cit.*, 51.) They differed from the rayahs chiefly in belonging to another faith. They lived in the towns, while the rayahs occupied the open country. I shall not relate the story of the emancipation of the Serbs in detail. How it was brought about by the turbulence and tyranny of the Janissaries, whose leaders styled themselves deys or dahis, like the rulers of Barbary and Tripoli, and who lorded it over both the Spahis and the rayahs. How they succeeded in appropriating the land of the former and compelling them to migrate, and how eventually, when the Janissaries were extinguished, the rayahs themselves rose in rebellion and won their practical independence, exchanging the direct rule of the Sultan for the payment of an annual subsidy, and buying out the claims of their former masters, the Spahis. I would mention, however, as a fact equally interesting to the ethnologist and the historian that Serbia is essentially a peasant community. It was the peasants who won its independence, and it is the descendants of peasants who control its affairs now. This absence of a class or caste of leaders, who by the fact of belonging to a superior race and of inheriting wealth and traditions, is

generally found to be the guardian of chivalry, patriotism and the other unselfish public virtues may account for much in the later history of Servia which is not heroic and for the absence of what Ranke deplures—a more elevated tone of morality.

I will now pass on to consider the Serbs of Macedonia. As has been shown by Falmerayer and others, Greece was overrun and conquered by the Slavonians and Avars in the beginning of the 6th century. The Serbs who were called in to his assistance by Heraclius, first advanced, as I have shown, into Macedonia, where they would find, no doubt, considerable settlements of their countrymen. When they retired they left a small colony behind them which gave its name to Serbitza in Macedonia. Bohuez, the learned archbishop of Mohilef, in his "Histoire des Sarmates" would make out that the Slavonian element in Macedonia and the Morea is derived from this source. (*Op. cit.*, i, 115-117.) This view I cannot accept. These Macedonian Slaves are in the main no doubt descended from the earlier colony. It was probably not till the 14th century that any considerable body of Serbs migrated into Macedonia. During the reigns of Milutin, Stephen Urosh the Third, and Dushan, a Serbian named Khrelia, filled the post of Protosevast, and ruled the conquests they had made in Macedonia. He at length rebelled with a force of 1,000 men, and set up as an independent prince, ruling over three towns, with his residence at Strumiça, and the title of Cæsar Khrelia. He died in 1343. (Jirecek, *op. cit.*, 301.) His principality was annexed by Stephen Dushan.

On the latter's death, as I have mentioned, his possessions in Macedonia broke up into a number of small principalities. His brother, Simeon Palæologos Urosh, the ruler of Thessaly, Epirus, and Aetolia, was crowned at Trikala emperor of the Serbs and Greeks. He died in 1371, and left Epirus to Thomas, the son of the voivode Preliub, who ruled till 1385 and had a chronic struggle with the Albanians.

In Thessaly Simeon was succeeded by his son Johannes Urosh, the last of the stock of Nemanya, a famous ancestor of Stephen Dushan, who on the invasion of the Turks in 1410 became a bishop and the founder of the Meteor Monastery. (*Id.*, 319.)

The rest of the southern conquests of Dushan and his predecessors were divided into several small principalities. Thus Seres and Melnik fell to the brave despot Joannes Uglyesa. His brother Ulkasin first, *i.e.*, in 1356, filled the post of Selnik at the court of Dushan's son, Urosh, but he afterwards also took the title of despot. Uglyesa's father-in-law set up authority at Drama, while in South Macedonia, from Seres to Vardar, Bogdan, who is still remembered in the ballads of the country, became

chief. North of him was the Sebastocrator Deyan. Albania was divided between two Albanians, Andreas Musaki and Karl Thopia, the latter ruling the countries between the rivers Mat and Skumbi. North of them was the Slav Alexander, Gospodin of Valona and Kanina. Othrida fell to the Albanian Zupan Ropa or Gropa. Radoslaf Khlapen, Musaki's son-in-law, had the Macedonian Berrhoea. Zetla and the land round the Gulf of Scutari, *i.e.*, the modern Montenegro, obeyed the family of Balsa (*vide infra*). Herzegovina fell to Voislaf Voikhnovic, who was driven away by his nephew Nikola Altomanovic. The famous family of the Brankovitches trace their descent from the Sebastocrator Branko, who under Dushan was governor of Okhrida. (*Id.*) These various petty principalities had only an ephemeral existence, and were speedily overwhelmed by the Turks.

Let us now turn for a while to the fragment of the Serbian kingdom which survived in the Black Mountains.

After the terrible battle of Kossowa, where King Lazarus was killed, Prince George Balsha who had married the Despina, a daughter of the Serbian king, became independent in the old Zupa of Zenta, whose black mountains gave it its Italian name of Montenegro and made it also a suitable asylum for the fragment of the Serbian power, which survived. Stratzimir, the son of Balsha, was called Tzernoie (*i.e.*, black) from his dark complexion, and he gave his name to the family of Tzernoievitch. Their son Stephen Tzernoievitch was a contemporary of the Albanian hero Skanderbeg, whom he aided by sending him a contingent of Serbians under his second son Bozidar (*i.e.*, divine gift).

Stephen left three sons, Ivan, Bozidar, and Andrew. On Scanderbeg's death in 1467, the Turks conquered Albania and the Herzegovina, and then turned upon Zenta. Ivan appealed to Venice in vain, and then abandoning his capital Zabilak (on the Moracsa now in Albania) to the Turks, he retired into the mountains, and in 1485 founded the convent of Cetinje, where he fixed his capital. Ivan was succeeded by his son George, who was a patron of learning, and introduced a printing press into the country, where many books of the Church service were printed. They are the oldest in the Cyrillic character, dating as early as 1494. He married a Venetian lady of the family of Moncenigo, by whom he had no children, and who persuaded him to retire to Venice. This he did with the consent of the people, and resigned his authority into the hands of the spiritual chiefs. The metropolitan Germen thereupon undertook the direction of affairs, introduced the present Theocratic form of government, and became the first Vladika.

The Turks succeeded in gaining over many of the people to

Islam during the next century, and Montenegro was treated as a portion of the Pashalic of Scutari, but they could not conquer the country, although they ravaged the valley of Bielopavlich with an army of 30,000 men. In 1623, Suleiman, Pasha of Scutari, penetrated as far as Cetinje, where he destroyed the convent, but he was compelled to retire with heavy losses.

Towards the end of the 17th century, Daniel Petrovich-Negosh was elected Vladika, and from that time the episcopal dignity has continued in the Petrovich family.

I shall not trace the history of Montenegro further in detail. The story has been well told by Wilkinson (*Dalmatia and Montenegro*). It will suffice to say that that history is a singularly heroic one, and that probably no community of modern times so well represents the virtues and prowess of ancient Sparta as that which lives in the Black Mountains. Time after time the Turks have invaded the land and devastated it with fire and sword, burnt its capital, Cetinje, and almost depopulated large districts, but it has never been conquered, and has earned the right to become the future hope of the South Slavonians. Its government until lately was a singularly patriarchal one. The popular diet meeting in the open air was the deliberative body, while the Vladika was at once high-priest, judge, legislator, commander-in-chief, and civil governor (Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, i, 460.) He was the only remaining instance, says Wilkinson, of the military bishops who played such an important part in the wars of the Middle Ages, nor was he inferior to those of former days in courage and prowess. For a long time the office of governor was held by a distinct person, and had become hereditary in the family of Radomit, but it became almost nominal, and was at length suppressed.

The language of Montenegro, says Wilkinson, is a very pure dialect of Slavonian. The Montenegrins themselves call it a Serbian dialect, which it no doubt is; and Krasinski says it is considered the nearest of all the Slavonian dialects to the old Slave tongue into which the Scriptures were translated by St. Cyril and Methodius in the 9th century. The dialect of the Maritime Serbs to the north is a good deal corrupted with Italian words, while that of Bosnia has been similarly sophisticated by Turkish. (Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, i, 450.)

The Montenegrins have generally good foreheads, but the face is not well shaped, being rather square (which is particularly observable in the women) with rather high cheekbones, and the lower jaw projecting a little at the side. Many are nevertheless very handsome. Their eyes are rather near than far apart, mostly hazel, and some few light blue. The hair is brown, sometimes dark, but rarely black. The profile of



the men has generally a decided outline, with a moderate aquiline or straight nose. In stature they are much above middle height, some are very tall and they are well proportioned. Their voices are powerful and they can converse at long distances (*id.* i, 450 and 451.) The moral and physical qualities which distinguish them so clearly from the other Southern Slaves, seem to point to their blood not being so unmixed as their language. They have apparently married considerably with the Albanians to the south. Their dress is nearly the same as that of the Albanians, whom they also resemble in wearing the fez and turban, and having a long lock of hair projecting behind ; also in the absence of beards (*id.* 452 and 453).

Let us now turn to another part of the ancient Serbia, which has a tolerably substantive history, namely, Bosnia.

In the time of Constantine it formed a district of Serbia Proper, but it would seem that it had even then its own Zupan who was dependent on the Grand Zupan. Bosnia took its name from the river Bosna, a tributary of the Save which waters it. Constantine mentions two towns within its borders, namely, Katera, the modern Kotorsko or Kortoritza on the river Bosna and Desnik, probably the modern Desan or Tesan on a small tributary of the same river (Schafarik, ii, 261.) Although it is probable there was a separate Zupan of Bosnia from early times, the first time a Bosnian Zupan is named is in the year 1080. (*Id.* 256.) It would seem that in the early days of Croatian prosperity, the Croats appropriated a part or the whole of Bosnia, and according to Mr. Evans, when the King of Croatia died childless, a new king was elected by the seven Bans of the crown lands, one of whom was the Ban of Bosnia. The seven are enumerated in a deed of the year 1100 (Through Bosnia &c, xxvi) Bela Urosh (1120–1136) granted it to Ladislaf, the son of his daughter Helena, and he held it for some time as the Ducatus Bosnensis under the authority of the Hungarians who had conquered Croatia. The Magyars called Bosnia Rama, from the river of that name flowing into the Narenta (Evans, *op. cit.*, xxvii, Schafarik, ii, 257). In 1141 Geza the Second of Hungary completed the conquest of Bosnia, but its position remained more or less independent, and the Byzantine Chronicler Kinnamos, in describing his master Manoel's campaign against the Magyars, tells us the Drina divided Bosnia from the rest of Serbia. Bosnia was not then subject to the Grand Zupan of Serbia, but the people were at that time under their own magistrates and used their own customs (Stritter, ii, 177). Mr. Evans, in his learned and most valuable book, "A Walk through Bosnia and Montenegro," has written the history of Bosnia in detail, and has explained what a powerful element the Paterenes or Bogomils

(the Manichæan sectaries of its isolated districts) were in its various internal revolutions, and what a struggle its brave people and their ban had against the aggressive Roman Catholics of Hungary who threatened to overwhelm them. For the story of the contest I must refer to his pages, and will give only the concluding episodes. In 1444, Stephen Thomas was crowned king of Bosnia. He proved an uncompromising Roman Catholic, and the Inquisition was soon busy persecuting the Paterenes who were protected by Stephen Cossaccia the Duke of St. Saba, or Herzegovina and the chief dependent of the Bosnian crown. The Manichæan Paterenes in their distress turned, as their brothers had turned in Serbia, to the Turks, and invited them to come in. Thus was enacted another part in that fierce drama where Christians hated one another so cordially that they turned eagerly to the infidel to rid them of their rivals. Stephen Thomas, we are told, purchased an ignominious peace at the price of a tribute of 24,000 ducats a year. He afterwards, when the weight of the Turkish heel became intolerable, implored the assistance of the Western Powers, of the Pope, the King of Arragon, the Duke of Venice, the Duke of Burgundy, etc. (*Id.* Evans, lxxiii.) But the days for crusading were gone by; "already," says Mr. Evans, "in 1449, the Turks were settled in the country between the Drina and the Ukrina, and the neighbouring Pashas and Agas began to trade in Bosnian slaves." (*Id.*) At length his people grew weary of their impotent king, and Stephen Thomas was assassinated, "if report speaks truly by, his step-brother Radivoj and his illegitimate son Stephen." He, like his father, was an uncompromising Roman Catholic, and drove 40,000 Paterenes from the country. But there still remained behind a preponderating number of these sturdy sectaries, who "by the mouth of their spiritual chiefs, negotiated the transfer of their allegiance to the Sultan, and he agreed to allow them free toleration in religious matters, freedom from taxation, and other privileges." (*Id.* lxxvii.) In 1463, the Sultan Muhammed entered the country with a large force, and appeared before Bobovac, the ancient seat of the Bosnian bans and kings. Its governor was a Paterene and opened the gates of the city. The king fled first to Jaycze and then to Clissa on the coast of Primoria, where after a siege of forty days he surrendered. (*Id.* lxxviii.) The other towns of Bosnia speedily gave in, and we are told that in eight days seventy cities opened their gates to the Turks. The latter now put Stephen Tomasevic to death, "the most eminent nobles who had not fled to Dalmatia, were transported to Asia: 30,000 of the picked youth of Bosnia were taken to recruit the janissaries; and 200,000 of the inhabitants were sold as slaves."

(*Id.*) The Hungarians shortly after this succeeded in recovering a part of Bosnia, but they had to surrender it again, and in 1527, the whole country, as far as the Save, passed finally under the domination of the Turks. (*Id.*, lxxxvii.) The change was not an unwelcome one to the peoples, for "the rule of the Moslem was looked upon as less oppressive than that of the petty Christian bans and barons." (*Id.*) The Turks now offered to allow all those who would abjure their religion and accept Islam to retain their lands. The Paterenes seem to have accepted these terms almost universally, and as Mr. Evans says, we may perhaps suspect that the Manichæism which looked on Christ as one Æon might accept Muhammed as another. (*Id.* lxxxix). Thus came about the strange revolution by which a Slavic race became uncompromising Muhammedans, for as is very familiar to all students, the amount of Turkish blood in Bosnia and the Herzegovina is very slight indeed, and confined, as Mr. Evans says, to a few officials and a part of the soldiery. The Muhammedans there are of the same race precisely as the Christians, speak the same Serbian dialect, and trace back their title-deeds as far. (*Id.* xci.) They form a third of the population. The other two-thirds are divided in allegiance between the Greek and Latin Churches. The former have been largely recruited by immigrants from Serbia, while the latter have correspondingly decreased by emigration into Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia. The landowning class, the gentry, and those who have the skill and the traditions of government are, as I have said, Muhammedans. A feudal aristocracy, "till within the last few years they were still living in the castles built by their Christian ancestors, they kept their old escutcheons, their Slavonic family names, their rolls and patents of nobility inherited from Christian kings. They led forth their retainers as of old under their baronial banners, and continued to indulge in the chivalrous pastime of hawking. The common people, on the other hand, have clung to their old Slavonic institutions, their sworn brotherhoods, their village communities, their house fathers; and have paid and pay still, the same feudal dues to their Muhammedan lords as they did to their Christian ancestors." (*Id.* xcii.)

Having traced out cursorily the history of Bosnia, let us turn for a short space to that of its old dependency, Herzegovina.

The Herzegovina formed the ancient Zupa of Zacluma, which was incorporated with Bosnia by the Ban Stephen in 1326. It was granted as a fief to a brave general of Stephen's named Vlatko Hranic who having transferred his allegiance to the Emperor Frederick the Fourth, was in 1440 given the style of duke (Herzog) whence his country got the name of Herzegovina which is merely the adjectival form of Herzega, the

Slavic corruption of Herzog. It includes the maritime districts of Serbia from Ragusa to the Cettina, to which were afterwards added Castelnovo, Hisaur and other places on the Gulf of Cattaro. Its capital was Mostar. I shall not tell its story, which is closely twined with that of Bosnia, in detail, but, as before, merely relate its concluding incidents. In 1466 died Stephen Cosaccia, the duke of Herzegovina, and his heritage was shared by his sons Ladislaf and Vlatko. In 1483 the Beglerbeg of Bosnia invaded the duchy, expelled the two princes, and incorporated their dominions in the Sandjakat of Bosnia (Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, ii, 96 and 97.) Stephen's son Stephen, who had been sent as a hostage to the Porte, became a renegade, took the name of Ahmed Pasha and rose to be Grand Vizier. He is known to the Turks as Herzekoglu, *i.e.*, the Duke's son, (Evans, lxxxii.) The Venetians after many struggles, conquered the coast district of Primoria and by the peace of Carlovitz in 1699, the Herzegovinian towns of Citluk, Gabella, Cattaro, Castelnovo and Risano with Knin, and Zeng and other places were left in the hands of the Venetians, the only remaining strips of Herzegovinian coastland left to the Turks being the narrow enclaves of Klek and Sutorina (*Id.* lxxxii, 1, note 2.) From the Venetians, who held sway here so long, they passed to the house of Austria, and we find in this ancient possession an explanation of the longing eyes which Italians are supposed to be now casting across the Adriatic. The inland districts of Herzegovina remain Turkish to this day. The condition of things socially in Herzegovina is very much the same as in Bosnia, except that the Muhammedan aristocracy is not relatively so numerous.

We have now traced the crooked history of the various fragments of the Serbian stock, and will conclude with some details about the topography of the Serbian land chiefly taken from the work of Schafarik. I have mentioned that the emperor Constantine tells us Serbia was divided into seven districts or *zupas*; one of them was distinctively known as Serbia.

The frontiers of Serbia properly so called were, according to the emperor Constantine, as follows: the Save bounded it on the north, on the west the mountain chain dividing the valleys of the Bosna and the Urbas and further north the chain between the Urbas and the Rama; thence the boundary continued through the Duwnanian plains as far as the Imota Lake, and thence to the mouth of the Zetina. In the south-west the Serbian islands were washed by the Adriatic; in the south-east Serbia was bounded by the mountains which stretch from Antivari (Bar) to the Lake of Scutari and from the River Drimez to the Plawno Lake; the Ibar and the Morawa apparently separated the Serbs

from the Bulgarians. It would seem that the land east of the Ibar on the Topliza on the Blue Morawa and the Tempeschka (*i.e.*, the ancient Dardania), was first colonized by the Bulgarians and only became attached to the Serbian kingdom in the time of Stephen Nemanya and his successors, and thus it came about that the Serbian dialect afterwards prevailed there. (Schafarik, ii, 258 and 259.)

The Serbian land proper was in later times divided into two districts, namely Serbia and Rascia. The latter formed a separate zupa, which occupies a notable place in Serbian history. This zupa took its name doubtless from the River Raschka, otherwise called the Rasina which flowed through it, and its capital was Rasa, the modern Novi Bazar on that river. It was probably the Rase of Constantine Porphyrogenitus who tells us Muntimir's sons took refuge there in the year 870. (Stritter, ii, 155). Kinnamos, the historian, mentions a fortress of Rason in the years 1122 and 1153, which, however, according to Schafarik, is more probably to be identified with the modern Razan on the Nischawa (*op. cit.*, ii, 261.) The zupa of Rascia formed the South Western portion of Serbia Proper and from it the Serbians were sometimes called Rasawe or Rassiani, in Magyar Ratz, in German Ratzen.

Within these limits Constantine mentions six towns whose sites are not clearly to be traced. 1. Destinika, the Serbian capital. This was not Trstenit as many suppose, but rather Desnitza which under the form Thysnitza is mentioned in a deed of the emperor Sigismund in 1426. Its site is probably to be sought on the Lower Drina, where the villages of Desit and Desna still remain. (*Id.* 260.) 2. Tzernabuskei, whose situation is unknown. There are several hamlets called Bucji in Serbia and a place called Bielabuca on the Trawnik in Bosnia. 3. Meigyretus perhaps the modern Medjurjec in Yagodina. 4. Dresneik, probably the modern Dreznik in the district of Uzizk. 5. Lesnik, the modern Ljeschnitza on the Yadar. 6. Salines, now Solina (Turkish Tuzla from Tuz, Salt), a small town still existing on the Yala, a tributary of the Bosna called Sallis by Ptolemy, and Salde in the Peutingerian table. (Schafarik, ii, 261.)

Mediæval historians add several names to those given by Constantine. Thus Semberiya, which still designates the district enclosed at the point where the Save and Drina meet one another. This district was called Sumbra by the anonymous priest of Dioklea and Subria in the Dalmatian Chronicle. East of Semberiya and on the right bank of the Drina was the district of Matschwa, which in the 13th century was made into a banat, "Banatus Machoviensis." (Schafarik, ii, 262.) On the river Lugomira, which falls into the Morawa, on the left below

Tiupriya, was a district called Lugomira, in the 12th and 13th centuries, and which still retains that name. (*Id.*) Kinnamos also mentions in the year 1153 a fortress of Galitch, captured by Manoel Komnenos, now in ruins. In 1162 he mentions a town, Desæ Vallum, probably the modern Tyesica, not far from Bulowan and Nisch; and in 1154 a town of Setzeniza, probably the modern Sienitza on the Wuwaz. Budimel, named as an important town in 1165, was situated in the south-west of Serbia.

The zupa or province of Zakhlum was so called, as the Emperor Constantine tells us, from being situated behind the Mountain Khlum and is a name formed like Zavolok, Zavolga, etc.; it stretched from Ragusa, in the south-east, as far as the Neretwa or Kraina in the north-west. On the east it was bounded by the mountain range separating the valleys of the Neretwa and the Drina. This range divided Zakhlum from Serbia Proper. Its neighbour on the north was Croatia and on the south Terwunia. (Schafarik, ii, 263.) Within its limits several towns are mentioned by the Greeks, whose sites, however, are not well ascertained. The position of Khlum, its principal town, is not known. Constantine says both it and Buna were placed on a mountain behind the river Bona; the Boona is a tributary of the Neretwa, and I find a place called Boona close to the junction of the two rivers. Khlum may be represented by the adjoining town of Blagai. The other towns of Zakhlum mentioned by the Emperor are—Stagnum, now called Ston, in Italian, Stagno, on the isthmus joining the peninsula of Sabioncello to the main land, Mokriskik, whose site is unknown; Yosli now Oslye, a place east of Ston in the Herzegovina; (Schafarik, *loc. cit.*); Galumainik, the modern Glumnik, in the district of Ragusa; Dobriskik the modern Dabar at the sources of the Wukostah, south-east of Liubin. (*Id.*) The narrative of the priest Diokleas compiled in the year 970 (Bohucz, *op. cit.*, 121), gives us some more facts about this district; he calls Zakhlum Podgoria, and divides it into nine gaus; Onogost, whose name survives in a small town on a lake near Niksit; Moratsha, at the sources of the river of the same name; Komerniza, on the Piwa, a tributary of the Tara; Geriko or Gaza, the modern Gačko; Netusini, *i.e.*, Newesin, a small town on the river of the same name; Guisemo, whose site is unknown: Neret, the land on the Upper Neretwa and Rama, the land on the river of the same name. The seaboard of Zakhlum with the enclosed portion of the land of the Neretshani is called Cherenania, *i.e.*, Kraina by Diokleas. He names the following gaus in this district Stantania (*i.e.*, Ston). The valley Popowo, through which according to Lucius and Farlati the Zakhluma flows. Yabsko (probably Yabiza or

Zabiza) Lucca, *i.e.*, Luka, which was afterwards famous, Schafarik says its site is unknown, but I find a place, Papavo Lucca on the peninsula of Sabioncella; Velliza (? Briesta on the same peninsula), Gorymita (site unknown), Dubrawa (ditto), and Debroy, the modern Dabar. (Schafarik, ii, 265.)

At the time of the migration of the Serbians the district of Zakhlum had been devastated and depopulated by the Avars. It was then settled by a colony of Serbs. It is unknown when they began to have a separate line of princes. From 912 to 926 there reigned in Zakhlum a prince called Michel Bouseboutzes, *i.e.*, Michael, the son of Wyschewit. In 912 he made prisoner a Venetian prince who was returning from Byzantium, and sent him to Simeon, the Bulgarian king (Schafarik, ii, 255–256), and in 916 we find him informing the latter of the attitude of the Greeks, and inciting him to punish their ally, the Grand Zupan of Serbia. (Stritter, ii, 407.) Later he seems to have been on better terms with the empire, as he was nominated proconsul and patrician by Constantine, which titles were only conferred on friendly princes. Lupus Protospatha styles him, improperly, king. Pope John the Tenth wrote him a letter as well as to the Croatian Prince Tomislaf, urging him to adopt the Latin instead of the Slav language in the services of the Church, a proof of the consideration he enjoyed abroad. (Schafarik, ii, 256.) The Zupan of Zakhlum was styled Archon by the Greeks. (*Id.*)

North of the Zakhlemi dwelt the Neretshani or Pagani. Their country, according to Constantine, extended from the Neretwa (whence they derived one of their names) to the Zetina. It contained three zupas or gaus, Rastotza, Mokron, and Dalen. The two former were situated on the coast and their inhabitants were engaged in fishing. The third gau was inland and its people were agriculturists. They also had four islands off the coast, namely, Meleta (the modern Meleda), Curcura (*i.e.*, Cuzola formerly called Corcyra Nigra), Bartzo (*i.e.*, Brazza), and Pharos (which still retains its name). These islands were very beautiful and fertile, and contained many deserted towns and marshes (paludes ? meadows) where they fed their cattle. (Stritter, ii, 414.)

There were other islands which did not belong to them but were subject to the Greeks, as Choara (? Curzola), Jes (Lissa or Issa), and Lastobon (Lagosta).

According to Constantine this zupa derived its name of Paganania from the fact that its people remained Pagans after the other Serbs had been converted to Christianity. (*Id.*, ii, 411–412.) The zupa of Rastotza or Rastok took its name from the little lake of Rastok, south of the town of Makarska. The gau

of Mokron lay north of this and took its name from the same town of Makarska, which was then called Mokro; on the north it was conterminous with Croatia. The inland gau of Dalen connoted the district, which also bore the name of DImen or DImeno, and which is now called Dubno or Duvno, and forms a part of the Herzegovina. In Roman times it was called Dalminium or Delimium, and contained a town of the same name. Thence were derived the general names of Dalmatia and Dalmatæ.

In the Gau of Raztoki is the town of Ostrog, mentioned by Constantine and still called Yaostrog. It is situated on the coast, near Makarzka, between the sea and Lake Yezero. The site of Labinez, another of the towns named by Constantine, is not exactly known. Fortis places it at the ruins near the village of Gradetz. Makron, a third town mentioned by him, is the modern Makarska, while the fourth one named, Berulia, or Wrulya, is a place on the coast between Omisch and Makarska.

The Neretshani, as I have said, remained pagans after their brethren had been converted, and their position on the coast, and their skill as fishermen, soon made them a prosperous community. They seem to have engaged constantly in piracy and were a terror to their neighbours, making the Roman inhabitants of the coast islands their special victims, and we are told that they attempted to invade the mainland of Croatia, but were prevented settling there by the Croats. (Stritter, ii, 414). In the year 820, the Neretshani attacked the Doge Johannes Participatius on the sea, and forced him to make a peace with them, by which he apparently agreed to pay them black mail. The Doge Tradoniko renewed the pact with Drosaik, who was doubtless their Zupan. Notwithstanding this, they made fresh attacks on the Venetian borders under their leaders Uneslaf and Diodur (the last of which is probably a corrupt name), plundered Kaorle, and made the Venetian ships in the harbour pay a large tribute. They landed on the coast and carried off much booty. They also wounded the Doge Tradoniko himself in a sea fight. This was in 840. They waylaid a messenger of Pope Hadrian, who was on his way home from the Synod of Constantinople, and the acts of the synod fell into their hands. This was in 869-870. The Doge Ursus Participatius fought without success against them. Nor did they spare their own relatives, for when in 868 the Zakhumi, Terwuni, Kanali, Ragusans and Croats went to Bari to aid the Emperor Basil against the Saracens, the Neretshani fell on their lands and devastated them cruelly. This did not, however, hinder them from intercourse of another kind, for the emperor Constantine describes how the Croat ships frequented their ports. In the year 917 we find the



Neretshani subject to the Grand Zupan Peter, but they no doubt again became free in later days. In 932 and 948 their depredations caused much trouble at Venice. (Schafarik ii, 269.) They were apparently in alliance with the citizens of Ragusa, and we are told that Vito Bobali, a leading Ragusan, left his native city with others to offer his services to Muiss prince of the Neretshani (Wilkinson, i, 280), who feared the ambitious views of Venice on the Dalmatian coast. (Wilkinson, i, 286.) The Doge Pietro Kandiano the Third sent two fleets against them, but they effected nothing, their position and the friendly alliance of the Croats making them too powerful. But their continual piracies having aroused against them their various neighbours, the Doge Pietro Orseolo the Second set sail with a formidable fleet in the spring of 997, determined to crush them. He was welcomed with great joy by the citizens of Trieste, Capo d'Istria, Pirano, Isola, Albona, Rovigno, and other towns of Istria, and then went on to Dalmatia. Leaving Zara, the Venetians proceeded to attack the Neretshani. Forty of their principal merchants were captured in a ship, while attempting to reach Ragusa from Puglia. They were assailed in their fortresses and defeated on all points. The islands of Lesina, Meleda, Curzola, and Lagosta, which they had strongly fortified, were taken, and the victorious fleet having returned to Trau, the Doge received there the submission of those of the Neretshani who had escaped the slaughter. They engaged to exact no more tribute on the sea, to burn their large boats, to indemnify the Venetian merchants for their captured cargoes, to send six hostages to the Doge, and to abstain for the future from all acts of piracy." (Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, ii, 226.) The Neretshani were thus effectually crushed: a remnant only, says Wilkinson, was found in later times among the pirates of Almissa and the subjects of the house of Kacich, who ravaged the Adriatic in the 12th and following centuries, and they were not finally conquered by the Venetians till the arrival of the Turks in Bosnia. (*Id.*, 226.)

Terwunia or Kanalia, according to Constantine, extended from Ragusa in the north to Cattaro in the south; on the west it was bounded by the Adriatic, and on the east by Serbia Proper. Its chief towns as named by him were Terwunia, the modern Trebinja in the Herzegovina; Risena the modern Risano in the Gulf of Cattaro; Hormos, probably Hurona, north of Resano, Lukavete, now called Zuka near Tuhel: and Zetlewe, probably Zeta, on the river of that name. According to Diokleas Terwunia at the end of the 10th century contained the following gaus: Libomir (a mountain Liubomir still remains); Vetanitzta whose site is unknown; Rudina (a place, Rudine under the mountain Liubomir is still known); Kruzewiça (doubtless Krushe, in

Montenegro); Urmo, the Hormos of Constantine; Ressena, *i.e.*, Risan; Dracevitza, either Dratschewo near Trebuye and Slan, or Drakowitza, a castle between Cattaro and Ragusa; Canali, *i.e.*, Kanawlie, a small district stretching from Epidaurus (Ragusa Vecchia), along the coast of the gulf of Cattaro, which was so called down to the 18th century; and lastly, Gernovitza, whose site is not known. Terwunia itself, according to Schafarik, is not a Slavic name. He deems it a corruption of the Illyric Latin Travunia, *i.e.*, trans. *Βουνοσ*, and a name of the same genus as Tramontana, etc., while Kanalia, which Constantine derives from Kolnitzer (*via plaustris*) was no doubt derived, as Stritter says, from the famous aqueduct (canal) which supplied Epidaurus with water, of which ruins with Roman inscriptions still remain. (Stritter, ii, 409). Ragusa, the Emperor tells us, was on the confines of the Zaclumi and the Terwuni, and paid tribute to the princes of both; the citizens had vineyards in either district. (Stritter, ii, 407 and 409.)

The later historians of Ragusa, who are not of much authority, mention an attack by the Terwuni on Epidaurus about 640–650, of their alliance with the Saracens, and the destruction of Epidaurus by the two combined in 656.

The Zupans of Terwunia acquired a temporary independence in the first half of the 9th century, when we read that the Grand Zupan Wlastimir gave his daughter in marriage to Kranian the son of Bela, Zupan of Terwunia, gave him the title of prince, and released him from his jurisdiction. (Stritter, ii, 408.) About this time we read that the citizens of Ragusa gained a victory over the people of Terwunia and Zakhlum, and in 831 they obtained considerable advantages by a treaty made with the chief of Terwunia. (Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, i, 278.) Kranian was succeeded by his son Phalimer, and he by his son Tzutimir. (Stritter, *id.*) It would seem they afterwards lost their independence, for the Emperor Constantine makes the Terwunians subordinate to the Grand Zupans. (*Id.*)

Having surveyed the topography of Serbia Proper we will now turn to the other zupas or gaus into which the land was divided in the time of Constantine, and begin with the most southern. This was called Dioklea by the Greeks and Romans, and by the Serbians Duklia, and in later times Zenta or Zeta. It comprised the southern part of the modern Montenegro and a portion of Northern Albania. Constantine has made a curious blunder about the origin of the name. He tells us it was so called from a city built by Diocletian, while the fact is that Diocletian took his name from his own mother city. It was an ancient city, was called Doklea by Ptolemy and Dioklea by Aurelius Victor. Pliny speaks of a people whom he calls

Docleatæ. The Serbs called it Dukla, and it is curious that the Ruthenians, north of the Carpathians, also had a town called Dukla. It was devastated in the 10th century by the Bulgarians, but revived, for Kinnamos in describing its capture, by John Ducas in 1162, calls it a very famous town. King Milutin assigned it as the residence of his blinded son, Stephen, in 1317. It was situated at the outfall of the river Zeta into the Moratsha, and its ruins are still called Dukliangrad; from them was built the later town of Podgoritza. (Schafarik, ii, 273.) The sites of the other towns of the district mentioned by Constantine are not so certain, Gradeta is probably the modern Gradit, above Scutari. Nugrade is perhaps Gradatz in Montenegro. Lonto is called Lunta and Luncza on old maps, and Linda on modern ones, and is north-east of Scutari. The monk, Diokleas, calls the district of Dioklea, Zenta or Zeta, a name derived no doubt from the river Zeta. He tells us it contained nine gaus. Lusca probably the modern Nahiya Lieshanska. Padlugia whose site is unknown. Gorska, also unknown. Eupelnik ditto. Obluquit, the modern Oblatshit. Propartna, now Papratnitza in Lieshanka. Kremeniza also unknown, but reminding one of a Gallician town. Budua the modern Badua, near the coast. Kuzewa, perhaps Kutie or Kutisti in Montenegro, and Gripuli, probably Krtoli, near Cattaro. From the position of these towns it would seem that Dioklea was separated from Terwunia by the gulf of Cattaro and the mountains which separate Grahovo from Bielitza; from Albania by the River Drimza, and a line drawn from Scutari to Antivari on the sea; from Servia by Raskkian mountains beyond the lake of Plawno, and from Zakh'luma by the mountains at the sources of the Moratsha.

Besides the towns above named there were others of some fame in early times within the district; thus Budimal on the Moratsha where the village of Budina still remains, Scutari the Skodra of the Romans, Cattaro the Dekatera of Constantine, which was ravaged by the Saracens in 867. The Albanian towns of Antivari, Ulcin, Lesch, and Daratsh were also largely peopled at one time by immigrants from the neighbouring Dioklea. (*Id.*, 274-5.)

I have now completed a hurried survey of the Southern Serbs, and the main points which I wish to emphasize are, first, that amidst the disjointed and disintegrated history of these parts, and beneath a seeming variety of names, Croats, Bosnians, Montenegrins, Herzegovinians, etc., we have in fact but one race, with one origin; namely, the great Serbian stock. Secondly, that this race first migrated to the south of the Danube and the Save and occupied its present country at the

beginning of the 7th century; thirdly, that like other Slavic races its leaders were probably of another stock, belonging, in this case, to the great Alanic family, and that it was from these leaders that the Serbs received their name; and lastly, that the main body of the race is of the same stock as the Ruthenians of Galicia and its borders. By pushing the Serbs out of their present country and remitting them to the north of the Carpathians we, *pro tanto*, simplify very greatly the ethnographic map of Europe in early times. Our next paper will deal with another line of migration from the same district, which tended westwards and northwards, and we shall treat of the Sorabians, or Northern Serbs, and the Obotriti.

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