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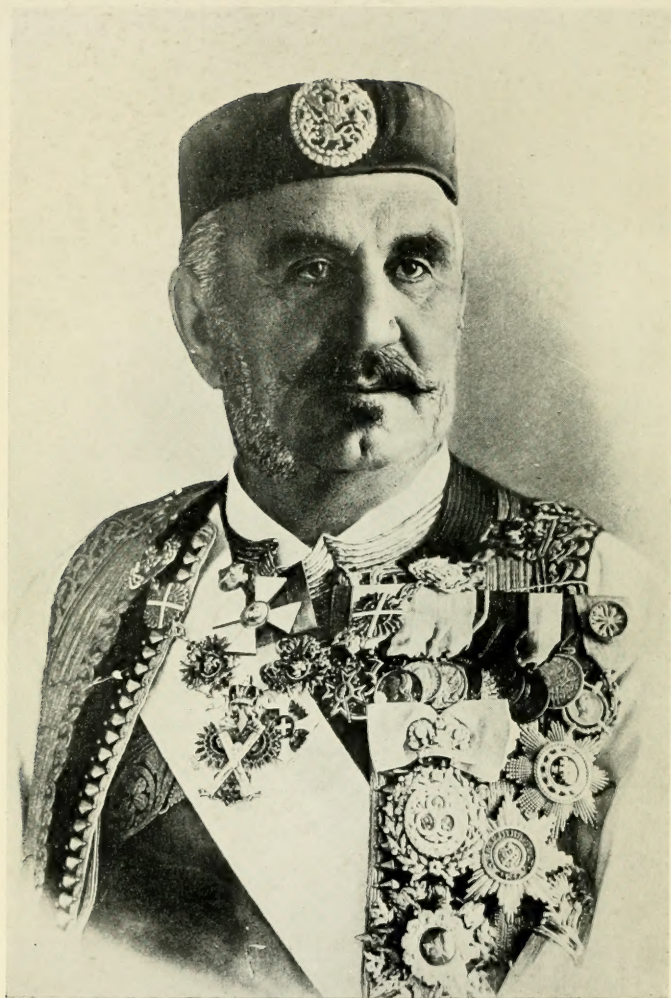
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A
HISTORY OF
MONTENEGRO

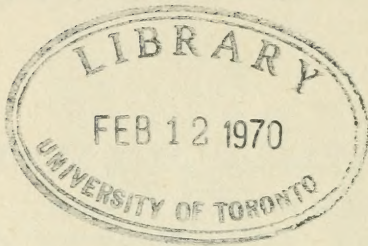
BY
FRANCIS SEYMOUR STEVENSON

*Author of "Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln,"
"Historic Personality," "The Macedonian Question," etc.*

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PREFACE.

THE present account of Montenegrin history, written about twenty-eight years ago, and not hitherto published, was based mainly on materials to be found in the "Monumenta Slavica," the "Monumenta Serbica," and the "Monumenta historico-juridica Slavorum Meridionalium," as well as in the writings of Jireček, Bogišić, Gopčević, and other authorities mentioned in the notes. It was then put on one side owing to the pressure of other occupations, and left untouched until the present time, when the events now in progress in the Balkans have given to the subject an increased interest and actuality. In view of the existing situation the book will be published as it was written, with only a few verbal alterations and the addition of a supplementary chapter bringing the story down to date. The materials quoted were consulted carefully at the time, and are not just now within the writer's reach. Consequently revision would involve considerable

delay, with little or no advantage to the ordinary reader, whilst the notes may perhaps be of assistance to the historical student desirous of investigating special points for himself. Another reason for issuing the work in its present form is that, although several books bearing on the subject of Montenegro have appeared during the interval, none of them cover the same ground, and the English reader, at any rate, will find in these pages information for which he would look in vain elsewhere.

It is impossible to grasp the full significance of the forces now at work without reference to the past. The movements in the Balkan peninsula in the course of the nineteenth century and at the present time, now to all appearance within measurable distance of success, represent a concerted effort to resume, under new conditions, the threads of national life and history at the point at which they were interrupted by the Turkish conquests. In the case of Montenegro the threads are unbroken, and supply the connecting link between the epoch which came to an end with Kossovo in 1389 and the new epoch of which 1912 has heralded the dawn.

F. S. S.

PART I.

THE ZETA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE historical interest that attaches to Montenegro is utterly out of proportion to the space that country occupies on the surface of the earth. With the exception of the politically insignificant republics of San Marino and Andorra, and of the principalities of Monaco and Liechtenstein, it is the smallest unit in the aggregate of European states ; and yet it is able to exhibit in the pages of its annals a record of persistent heroism to which not one of them can furnish a parallel. For nearly five centuries its hardy mountaineers have carried on a struggle for existence against an enemy many times superior to them in point of numbers ; and, whilst the remaining Slavs of the Balkan peninsula have

been compelled, during the greater part, at least, of that period to submit to an alien domination, the Montenegrins alone have succeeded in preserving intact their national independence.

Yet the history of Montenegro should not be regarded as consisting merely in a series of heroic achievements. The superficial observer may, perhaps, adopt that view ; but the more philosophical historian, though tempted to linger longest over those scenes of the protracted struggle for Faith and Freedom which appeal most strongly to the imagination, and which will ever so appeal, as long as human nature remains the same, will endeavour rather to trace their connection with the course of general history. He will show how the inhabitants of the Black Mountain co-operated, in a measure unconsciously, with the greater military powers of Venice, Hungary and Poland, in the work of saving the civilization of Eastern Europe from being entirely and irreparably withered and blasted by the barbarism of its Turkish invaders. He will point out how Montenegro occupies a place of paramount importance among the South Slavonic nations, and more especially among those that belong to the Serbian branch of that great family, inasmuch as, by

maintaining its own liberty, it has at the same time kept up the continuity of their history, and rendered it possible for them to acquire again the position to which they are naturally entitled ; how it forms, in fact, the connecting link between their greatness in the past and the greatness to which they may some day attain. Lastly, if from the external relations of the principality he turns to the consideration of its internal development, he will note the peculiar type of its institutions, and explain their existence with reference to the special circumstances by which their character has been determined.

It would be impossible to fix with any degree of accuracy the date at which Montenegrin history may be said to have commenced. The year 1389, in which was fought the great battle of Kossovo, has frequently been adopted as a convenient starting-point. The choice of that date, however, is, in more than one respect, unsatisfactory and misleading. On the one hand, it seems to imply that Montenegro arose at that moment, in all the fulness of its national independence, out of the ruins of the Serbian Kingdom. On the other hand, it loses sight of the fact that the Duklja, or Zeta, the district out of which the modern Montenegro was formed, possessed extensive

liberties of its own long before the time when Serbs and Turks were brought face to face. In the course of human events there is nothing abrupt, nothing isolated ; and the history of Serbia passes into that of Montenegro by a gradual process of transition. It is impossible to say where the one terminates and the other begins ; and the truest view would seem to be that of a recent historian, who declares that the independence of the Montenegrin people extends in reality over a period of twelve hundred years.¹ It will be necessary, therefore, in the following pages, to trace, first, the history of the Zeta in its origin and development, and, secondly, the manner in which it became transformed into Montenegro.

¹ B. von Kállay, " Geschichte der Serben, aus dem Ungarischen ins Deutsche übertragen von J. H. Schwicker " (Budapest, 1878), Vol. I. p. 172.

CHAPTER II.

Origin and development of the Serbian people—Importance of the House Community in their history—The Župans and Grand-Župans—Greatness and fall of the Serbian Empire—Importance of the Zeta throughout the period.

THE Slavonic migration which resulted in the permanent settlement of numerous Croatian and Serbian tribes, belonging to the same race and speaking the same language, within the confines of Illyria, took place during the reign and at the instigation of the Emperor Heraclius, who wished to re-people a region the old inhabitants of which had been driven by the Avars into the highlands of which is now called Albania, and at the same time to erect a durable bulwark against any who should attempt to penetrate from the north-west into the heart of the Eastern Empire.¹ The

¹ "Constantine Porphyrogenitus," *Administ. Imp.*, 30—36. He distinguishes "baptized Serbia" and "baptized Croatia," situated within the borders of ancient Illyricum, from ἡ μεγάλη καὶ ἡ ἄσπρη χρωβατία, ἡ ἀβαπτίστη καὶ ἡ ἄσπρη Σερβλία, beyond the land of the Τοῦρκοι, or Magyars.

Avars disappeared, in their turn, with a rapidity which has passed into a proverb;¹ and the new settlers soon occupied the whole country that extends from the Save to the Drin, from the Adriatic to the Morava, with the exception of the majority of the towns upon the Dalmatian sea-coast, which still remained in the possession of the Romans, or Romanized Illyrians, whom neither Turanian nor Slavonic invaders were able entirely to dislodge. The river Zentina, which falls into the sea at a point opposite the island of Brazza, may be said to form the boundary between Serbs and Croats.² With the latter we are not at present concerned. Various circumstances have contributed to isolate them, to a great extent, from those with whom they were connected by the closest ties of race and of language. The Croats adhered to the Latin, the Serbs to the Orthodox Church; and the difference of their creeds finds a parallel in the diversity of their destinies, inasmuch as the history of Croatia is connected with the Empire of the West, that of Serbia with the Empire of the East. This being so,

¹ "Pogyľbša aky Obre": "they died away like Avars." Nestor, quoted by Jireček, "Geschichte der Bulgaren" (Prag, 1876), p. 87.

² "Const. Porphyre.," 30: ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ζεντίνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀρχεται ἡ χώρα τῆς χρωβατίας.

it is only natural that Dalmatia, inhabited as it was both by Serbs and by Croats, should have fluctuated for several centuries between the kingdom of Hungary, which owed allegiance to the Holy Roman Empire, and the Venetian Republic, which acknowledged, in a certain measure, the supremacy of the *Basileus tōn Rōmaiōn* residing at Byzantium.

Restricting our attention, therefore, to the Serbian group, we find that it extended over an area that corresponds approximately to the modern kingdom of Serbia, to Bosnia, Herzegovina, the district round Novibazar, Montenegro, and the northern part of Albania.¹ It was divided into a certain number of districts, the names and boundaries of which have been preserved to us by the assiduity of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Yet it is not until the present century that the true significance of those districts has been understood. "Rascia," or "Serbia proper," "Bosnia," "Zachlumje," "Neretwa," "Travunja," "Konawlje," and "Duklja," are not merely geographical expressions, but denote that every tract of land called by one of these names was peopled by a separate aggregate of *Župas*, which were

¹ "Const. Porphyr.," 30. Cp. Schafarik, "Slawische Alterthümer" (Leipzig, 1844), Vol. II., p. 258.

themselves aggregates of House Communities, such as appear to have existed in most of the branches of the Aryan race at some period of their social development, but are found at present in a stereotyped form only among the Southern Slavs and a few Hindù tribes.

The tendency which arises, in proportion as knowledge becomes more accurate and more systematized, to investigate phenomena of every description, not only by viewing them in their formed and fully developed condition, but by examining their antecedents and instituting a search into their origin, has induced sociologists to devote special attention to the subject of the House Community. The conclusion at which their researches point would seem to be that this institution, consisting as it does in the association of several families all descended from the same ancestor, inhabiting a common dwelling or group of dwellings, governed by the authority of one Chief, and yielding the produce of their labour to a common fund, occupies an intermediate position between the single family, on the one hand, and, on the other, the village community, which is "essentially an assembly of separate houses, each ruled by its own chief." "The House Community of the South Slav-

onians," said Sir Henry Maine,¹ "corresponds to one or other of the larger Roman groups, to the Hellenic *genos*, the Celtic *Sept*, the Teutonic *Kin*, especially the Joint Family of the *Hindūs*." It would be out of place to inquire why it is that the organization of the House Community has lingered on down to the present time among the Southern Slavs, especially the Serbs of Montenegro, whereas among their northern kinsmen of Russia it has passed into the more developed stage. To whatever cause we attribute its continuance, there can be no doubt that the institution itself has exercised a most important influence upon the history of the Serbian people.

The *Župas*, then, as is implied in the original signification of the word,² which was tribal, not territorial, and denoted not a *shire* but a *ga*, were formed by the union of several House Communities, which placed themselves under the political and military leadership of one of their house-chiefs, in order to acquire

¹ East European House Communities, in "Early Law and Custom," p. 261. It is probable that the village community is an outgrowth of the house community, though the opposite view is held by some. See Leroy-Beaulieu, "L'Empire des Tsars et les Russes" (Paris, 1881), I. p. 472, *seqq.*, and others. Prof. Bogišić appears now to assign the priority to the House Community, and to have changed his view since the time when "Le Droit coutumier des Slaves Méridonaux, d'après les recherches de M. Bogišić, par F. Demelić" (Paris, 1877), was published.

² Probably it meant originally an "aggregate," a "confederacy," not a "sunny land."

additional security and power. But the centralising process could not end at this point. The *Župas*, in their turn, tended to coalesce, or at least to recognize the supremacy of the strongest among their number. Amid the haze that surrounds the first few centuries of Serbian history, we are able to discern the rise and progress of the Grand-*Župans*, who resided, when we first hear of them, at Desniča in Serbia proper, and whose authority over the other *župans* was symbolized by the title of Elder, *starješina*.¹

It would be impossible, within the limits of this work, to deal in any detail with the process of transition by which the Grand-*Župans*, as also, for the most part, the *župans*, ceased to be elected, and tended to become the hereditary rulers of a dynastic state. The Grand-*Župan* developed into the King; and though he still continued, in accordance with the principles of the House Community, to apportion his lands among his

¹ The *župa* was simply an aggregate of *zadrugas*, or House Communities; and just as the *zadruga* was governed by a house-chief, usually the eldest, and therefore called *starješina*, so too the *župa* was governed by its *župan*, who occupied in it the same position as the *starješina* held in the *zadruga*. Originally, too, the "Elder" of the *župa* was chosen by the "Elders" of the different House Communities of which it was composed. On the rise of the Grand-*Župans*, see A. Hilferding's "Geschichte der Serben" (Bautzen, 1856), Part I., and especially De Kállay, I. pp. 26—29, 76—78.

sons, and sometimes among his kinsmen or friends, granting to each a separate appanage, he no longer allowed them to retain the same independence of the central power which they had before possessed. They were reduced, in a measure, to the position of governors of the provinces of an united kingdom; and the King bequeathed his power to his eldest son.¹ At the same time the nobles, who, like the Optimates at Rome, were originally elected for the purpose of performing certain definite functions, endeavoured to hand down their official titles to their posterity; and thus the aristocracy of office-holders became an aristocracy of their descendants. Similarly the word *voivode*, which denoted originally a general, became a hereditary title.² The principal change, however, in the position of the nobles, was due to the introduction of a new system of land-tenure. For the communistic arrangements of the House Community there was substituted in their case a special form of property, called *bastina*. The possession of land in fee simple became one of their attributes; and the introduction of absolute ownership, whilst it became one of the disruptive forces that tended to dissolve, or, at any rate, to weaken the tie by which the

¹ De Kállay, I. p. 41.

² "De Kállay," I. p. 101.

House Communities were bound together, imparted to the Serbian nobility a slightly feudal aspect foreign alike to their origin and to their nature. Their power increased rapidly, and displayed itself in the *sbor*, or national assembly, which was not organized then on as popular a basis as it had been in early times, and as it afterwards became in Montenegro, and in which nobles, whether they belonged to the higher or to the lower grades,¹ voivodes, and leading warriors and dignitaries of the Church, met together to transact important affairs of state, including, in later times, the decision of questions relating to peace and war, and the election of bishops and even of the Serbian patriarch. Their growing power was a perpetual source of difficulty to the central authority. The new system diminished, in some degree, the power of the people, but the old order of things possessed too much vitality to be easily destroyed, and the persistency of the House Communities, free as they were from the evils that accompanied the feudal system, formed an effectual safeguard against any such wave of social discontent as that which passed over Western Europe in the course of the fourteenth

¹ In the code of Dušan, a distinction is drawn between the *vlastelínek*, or higher nobility, and the *vlastelišitjek*, or lower nobility. *Cp.* De Kállay, I. p. 100.

century, and gave rise to insurrections both in the cities and among the peasants.

It is clear, therefore, that the *Župas* and the yet greater aggregate of *Župas* co-extensive with the whole of the Serbian people, were organized on the analogy of the House Community, the principles of which permeated the whole framework of society, though modified as time went on and as new conditions came into being. The effect of these principles upon the history of the Serbs was partly beneficial and partly baneful. On the one hand they introduced into the political life of the nation the combined elements of democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy which are to be found co-existing, in a rudimentary form, in the House Community; on the other hand they multiplied and intensified the internal feuds and dissensions to which the Slavs have always been more or less prone. A close parallel might be drawn between the struggles in Serbia for the position of Grand-Župan and the long-continued strife which followed the division of Jaroslav's dominions among his five sons. The resemblance is instructive, for in both cases similar forces were at work and similar effects were produced.¹

¹ On the Appanage period in Russian history see Appendix IV. to W. R. S. Ralston's "Early Russian History."

It will now be possible to sketch briefly the various stages through which Serbian history passed during the four centuries and a half that preceded the battle of Kossovo, and in so doing to indicate the importance of the part performed by the Zeta throughout the period.

After the death, in 927, of the Bulgarian Czar Simeon, whose armies had spread desolation and death throughout the Serbian lands, at the time when he was endeavouring to wrest from the Byzantine Emperor the supremacy over the whole peninsula, the district of Duklja, of which Montenegro is the existing representative, rose gradually to a position of such preponderance that one of its Grand-Župans, Michael, assumed the title of King of the Serbs, and induced Pope Gregory the Seventh to recognize him as such.¹ Even during the period of Bulgarian supremacy the district had maintained a semi-independent attitude towards its conquerors; towards the close of the tenth century its ruler, Ivan Vladimir, who is described as possessing a "just, peaceable, and virtuous" disposition rarely to be met with in those days, had married the daughter of the Czar Samuel, and received as an appanage

¹ See Ranke's "History of Servia," p. 8. Schafarik, II. p. 252.

the northern part of Albania ;¹ and, again, it was Michael's father, Stephen Voislav, lord of Zeta and Travunja, who in 1040 annihilated a Greek army in the rocky defiles of Old Serbia, thus securing for the Serbs political and ecclesiastical immunity from Byzantine interference.² But the strength of the kingdom which Michael bequeathed to his successors was undermined by dissensions which ripened, in many cases, into civil wars, and it was not until the year 1159 that a more powerful dynasty was founded by Stephen Nemanja, a prince connected by ties of blood with the kings who had reigned in Duklja, and himself born within that region. He made himself Grand-Župan of Rassa, the district round the modern Novibazar, enforced his rule over all the Serbian lands, and left behind him a compact dominion of which his son Stephen was crowned King (1222).³

¹ Jireček, "Geschichte der Bulgaren," p. 193. Hilferding writes (I. p. 162): "Die Provinz Dioclea, welche noch bei Lebzeiten des Konstantin Porphyrogeneta keine politische Selbständigkeit besass, hat jetzt an der grenze des 10 ten. und 11 ten. Jahrhunderts bereits den Vorrang vor allen serbischen Ländern."

² Kodrenos, II. 587; Jireček, p. 203; Ranke's "History of Servia," p. 14. Cp. Diocleas (ap. Schwandtner, "Scriptores Rerum Hungaricazum," III. p. 497).

³ Schafarik, II. 249—255; De Kállay, I. 47. The importance of his reign in regard to the ecclesiastical history of the Serbs will be referred to in another section. Cp. p. 97.

It is unnecessary to relate how, during the century and a half that followed, the Serbian kingdom became consolidated; how under Milutin Uroš II. it entered upon a career of conquest, and how it extended its boundaries in different directions, at the expense of Greeks and Magyars, Shkipetars and Bulgarians, the power of the latter being crushed by the great battle of Velbužd (1330). It will be sufficient to say that, in the middle of the fourteenth century, under the rule of Stephen Dušan, it formed the most considerable as well as the most powerful state in the Balkan peninsula. Sir Henry Maine has pointed out that, during the Middle Ages, owing to the twofold notion of sovereignty which then prevailed, "the Chieftain who would no longer call himself King of the tribe must claim to be Emperor of the world."¹

Accordingly we find that, in his new capital of Skoplje on the Wardar, Dušan assumed an imperial crown² to which, considering the extent of his domination, he was at least as fully entitled as the Emperors of Romania, Trebizond, and Nicaea ever were. The palmy days of Serbian greatness

¹ "Ancient Law," p. 105.

² See Ranke's "History of Serbia," pp. 10—16; De Kállay, 60, *seqq.*; Finlay's "History of Greece" (Oxford, 1877), III. pp. 441-2.

were, however, of short duration; and the death of the great Czar in 1355, as he was marching against Constantinople, was followed by the dismemberment of his Empire, a signal instance of the way in which " vaulting ambition overleaps itself." If, instead of spreading his conquests far and wide, he had contented himself with the endeavour to establish a compact Slavonic power, based upon community of race, it is probable that the Kingdom thus created would have been sufficiently strong to defy not only the armies of Buda and of Byzantium, but the still more formidable forces of the approaching Osmanli.

As it was, the ruin of his Empire was caused by the incompatibility of its component elements, no less than by the disputes that arose in his family and by the insubordination of his voivodes. Bosnia acquired its independence, and attained to the culminating point of its greatness in the year 1388, when it possessed not only Zachlumje, but the greater part of Dalmatia, and was practically the head of a South Slavonian confederacy; Thrace and Macedonia, Aetolia and Thessaly, fell under the short-lived dominion of numerous petty princes, and Serbia itself dwindled again into a kingdom under

Uroš V., the last ruler of the Nemanjid dynasty.¹

¹ In one sense he was not the last ruler of the Nemanjid dynasty. Dušan's brother, Simeon Palæologus Uroš, who died in 1371, was lord of the greater part of Thessaly, Epirus, and Aetolia. Epirus then passed into the hands of Thomas Preljubović, whilst Thessaly fell to the lot of John Uroš, Symeon's son, who ended his days in 1410 in a monastery into which he had retired after the Turkish invasion. He too has been called the last of the Nemanjids. See Hopf, in Brockhaus' "Griechenland," IV. 35, *seqq.*

CHAPTER III.

History of the Zeta under the House of Balša—Advance of Venice along the Eastern shore of the Adriatic—Growth of the Ottoman power in the Balkan peninsula—Greatness of the Zeta at the time of Balša II—Battle of Saura—Decline of the power of the Balšas—Difficulties at home and abroad—Close of the period—Account of the various races over which the Balšas ruled.

AMID the virtual anarchy that prevailed during the period of disintegration which followed the death of Dušan, a noble named Balša succeeded, with the help of his three sons, in making himself master of the town and fortress of Skodra (Scutari) and in obtaining possession of the greater part of the Zeta. The time-honoured city of Gentius, which in the eleventh century had been the residence of Michael, son of Voislav, whom Western chroniclers called "King of the Slavs,"¹

¹ "William of Tyre," bk. II., ch. 17, describing the route taken by the Count of Toulouse at the head of a band of Crusaders, says: "Pervenientes ad locum, cui Scodra nomen, Sclavorum Regem ibi reppererunt." *Cp.* Raimondi de Agiles' "Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jherusalem," referring to the crusade of 1095 (in the "Gesta Dei per Francos," Hanoviae, 1611), p. 140: "Tandem, post multa laborum pericula, apud Scodram, regem Sclavorum, pervenimus, ac cum eo comes frequenter fraternitatem confirmavit, et multa ei retribuit, etc." He thinks that Scodra is the name of the King.

became again the seat of an independent power. How important a part the district played in the previous history of the Serbs has already been pointed out. The Zeta was the land from which the Nemanjid dynasty had sprung, and the value which it possessed in their estimation may be inferred from the fact that the Kings and Czars of that great family were in the habit of entrusting its rule, whenever it was possible to do so, to their eldest sons, in accordance with that system of government which was based upon an extension of the House Community, and was at the same time partly feudal and partly satrapal. It is described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus¹ as extending from the neighbourhood of Durazzo to that of Cattaro, so as to include Alessio, Dulcigno, and Antibari, whilst, in its mountainous part, it bordered upon Old Serbia; and it is said by him to have contained, in addition to Dioclea, the populous towns of Gradetæ, that is to say either Gradac in Montenegro,² or more probably

¹ Ch. 30, ἡ δὲ Διοκλήα πλησιάζει πρὸς τὰ καστέλλια τοῦ Δυρραχίου ἤγουν πρὸς τὸν Ἐλισσὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἐλκίνιον καὶ τὴν Αντίβαριν, καὶ ἔρχεται μέχρι τῶν Δεκατέρων, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ὄρεινά αὐτῆς πλησιάζει τῇ Σερβλίᾳ. Ch. 35. ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ Διοκλείας εἰσὶ μεγάλα κάστρα οἰκούμενα, τὸ Γράδετᾱι, τὸ Νούγραδε, τὸ Δόντο, τὸ Δόκλα (the last two names according to Schafarik's conjecture, instead of the unmeaning Δουτδόκλα). Δόκλα is, of course, the same as Dioclea, Doclea, Duklja.

² So Schafarik, "Slawische Alterthümer," II. pp. 272-5.

Starigrad or Budua;¹ of Novigrad, now called Prevlaka, on the southern side of the Bocche, and of Lonto, a place the position which is uncertain.² To these the monk of Dioclea adds³ the name of Lusca, the famous Lješkopolje, of Podlugie, the district round Žabliak; of Gorska, in the highlands of the Crnagora; of Kupelnik, now Kopic, to the east of the Skodrine lake; and of Oblići, Prapatna, and Crmnica, all three situated in that part of Montenegro which is still known by the last of these names.⁴ The meaning of the word Zeta, or Zenta, which served originally to denote the region watered by the Zeta, the Žewka, and the Bystriza, three affluents of the Morača, was, in fact, gradually extended so as to comprise the whole of the district once known by the name of Dioclea, or Duklja.⁵ The latter appellation of the dis-

¹ So Jireček, "Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters" (Prag, 1879), pp. 21, 22.

² According to Schafarik, it is Lindu, or Lunta, on the Eastern shore of the Skodrine lake. According to Rački ("Monumenta Slavonica Merid.," VIII. pp. 408-9) it represents Ljuta, a village between Perasto and Dobrota.

³ "Zentæ regio . . . et zupaniæ Lusca, Padlugiæ, Gorska, Cupeluich, Obliquit, Propatna, Cremenizza, Budna cum Cuceva et Gripuli." The last two places are near Budna, *i.e.* Budua. Presbyter Diocleas, "Regnum Slavorum," ap. "Schwandtner," III. pp. 474-509.

⁴ See Jireček, "Die Handelsstrassen," etc., p. 22.

⁵ Pliny the Elder ("Hist. Nat.," III. 21) speaks of the Docleates, and Ptolemy ("Geogr.," II., ch. 15) of Doclea. An

trict was derived from its chief city, which occupied a site near that of the modern Podgorica, and was famous as the birthplace of the Emperor Diocletian; famous too for its monkish chronicler, the Bede or Nestor of the Southern Slavs.

Such, then, was the land which had been the cradle of Serbian greatness, and which was destined to become the refuge of Serbian independence. The question now arises, What was the origin of the family into whose possession it passed? Attempts have been made by French writers of the last two centuries¹ to connect the House of Balša with the House of Baux, of which a branch is said to have settled in Albania at the time when the younger son of Charles II. of Naples, Philip of Tarentum, who had married the daughter of the despot of Epirus, became Duke of Durazzo (1315). And this theory derives some support from the fact that it seems to have been held by the Balšas themselves, as is shown by the identity of

ancient name for the district was Prevala, or Praevalis, which lingered on into the Middle Ages. *Cp.* the quotation from Pope Nicholas I. in Ranke's "History of the Popes," I. p. 13.

¹ Ducange, "Familiae Dalmaticae," vol. 24 of the "Corpus. Script. Byzant." (Venice, 1729), p. 266. "Hist. de l'Empire de Constantinople," tom. II. p. 285 (collection Buchon). F. Lenormant, "Revue Numismatique," nouv. serie, VI. pp. 140—164 (Paris, 1861). "Deux dynasties françaises chez les Slaves méridionaux" (Paris, 1861).

their arms with those of the illustrious Provençal House. This claim, however, may well be set aside; for we know that it was the fashion among the princes who ruled in Albania, owing doubtless to the influence exercised by the Angevins, to trace their origin back to a Western source. Charles Thopia, for example, claimed descent from Charles the Great, the Spans of Drivasto from the Emperor Theodosius, and the Ducagins of Alessio from Griffon de Hautefeuille; and the absurdity of these pretensions is hardly less great than that of the fond conceit which peopled Albania with the descendants of those who had migrated from Alba Longa after its destruction by Tullus Hostilius.¹ If we take into consideration that Balša was one of Dušan's generals, that he was appointed lord of the isle of Meleda, in conjunction with Triphon Bua, by the Serbian King Uroš,² and

¹ *Fatti illustri del Signor Scanderbegh, ap. Sansovino, dell' origine e querre de Turchi*, II. p. 272 (Venice, 1654). *Cp.* Hopf, IV. p. 41. The escutcheon of the Balšas represented "stella aurea in campo rubro" (Ducange); and the star is found upon the coins of Balša III. [Lenormant, "Revue Numism," nouv. série, VI. pp. 160-1.] Lenormant himself admits "that the genealogy of the Balša family is somewhat obscure; in what we know of it several degrees of filiation are wanting, and it is only by conjecture that it is possible to attribute their origin to a younger son of Bertrand de Baux, who may be supposed to have migrated to Albania" ("Deux dynasties françaises," p. 7).

² Miklosich, "Monumenta Serbica," pp. 141-3. Hopf, IV. pp. 37-42.

that his name is still to be found in various forms among the peasants who inhabit the neighbourhood of the Skodrine lake, it will appear unreasonable to call in question Orbini's statement¹ that Balša was "an indigenous noble of Albania," that is to say, an Albanian Serb.

Princes of the House of Balša may be said to have ruled over the Zeta from the close of Dušan's reign until the year 1422, during a period which coincided with the most momentous crisis in the history of the Southern Slavs; and they themselves did not escape wholly unharmed from the dangers to which so many of their fellow-countrymen succumbed. In order to form a conception of the peculiar character of the difficulties under which the Balšas² laboured, it will be necessary to glance for a moment at the two great movements by which their position was mainly affected, namely (1) the extension of the Venetian dominion along the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and (2) the rapid growth of the Ottoman power in the Balkan peninsula.

(1) The wars between Hungary and Venice

¹ Orbini, "Il regno degli Slavi," p. 286.

² The word Balša is really a baptismal, not a family name. In speaking, however, of the family as a whole, it would be difficult in English to use the plural of the word "Balšić," and the phrase "the Balšids" is apt to suggest too classical a conception. I have therefore spoken of "the Balšas."

for the possession of Dalmatia extended, with intervals of various length, over a period of more than three hundred years, and justified the reputation that country had earned as the debatable land between the East and the West. The two powers, indeed, which contended for the prize from the campaign that came to an end with the crowning of Koloman Könyves as King of Dalmatia (A.D. 1102) until the middle of the fifteenth century, occupied a somewhat paradoxical position in regard to each other; for while the more Eastern of the two was closely related to the Empire of the West, the more Western was connected by all the ties of historical association with the Empire of the East. Between them, and between them only, lay the main issue; for the temporary footing gained by the Genoese on Dalmatian soil, and the occupation of the greater portion of the country by the Bosnian King, Tvartko, were merely episodes in the great struggle. Many were the fluctuations to which their fortunes were subject, but the result could scarcely be doubtful. Dalmatia, extending as it does in the shape of a long and narrow wedge between the Adriatic on the one side and the range of the Illyrian Alps on the other, can only be held securely by a great naval power, or by

a power which commands an uninterrupted line of communications through Bosnia and the Herzegovina. The first of these qualifications belonged to the Queen of the Adriatic. Neither the first nor the second belonged to Hungary; for it had no fleet that could be compared with that of its rival, and, though its army was far superior, its hold upon Bosnia was seldom more than nominal. The consequence was that the Magyars were compelled little by little to relinquish the land over which they had ruled; and the issue of the struggle may be said to have been embodied in the treaty of 1433, by which Venice was formally recognized as the mistress of the whole of Dalmatia, with the exception of Ragusa and its territory, Veglia, and a few inland districts. Ragusa continued to flourish as an independent commonwealth until the time of Napoleon; Veglia passed in 1452 under the protection, and in 1480 into the possession of Venice, and the inland districts remained, for the most part, in the hands of Hungary.¹

Venice, therefore, was advancing rapidly along the Dalmatian coast. At the same time it began to acquire new possessions in the islands of the Ionian Gulf, and on the coasts

¹ See Lucius, ap. "Schwandtner," IV. p. 436.

of Greece and of Southern and Middle Albania. Into the details of this movement it is needless at present to enter. It will suffice to point out that any attempt to bridge over the interval that separated the Northern from the Southern acquisitions of the Republic, and to make them more continuous, would necessarily bring her into contact with those to whom belonged the maritime towns of the Zeta.

(2) The other great movement by which the position of the Balšas was mainly affected—the movement by which the land over which they ruled was affected for centuries after they had ceased to exist—was the progress made by the Ottoman Turks in their career of European conquest.

The Emperor Cantacuzene had raised a spirit which he could not lay, when, with the unscrupulousness that characterizes his whole policy, he had invoked the aid of Orchan against the Serbs. It was not to be expected that the fierce conquerors of Asia Minor would pause before the perils, such as they were, that confronted them on the Northern side of the Dardanelles. Nor were the issues of the struggle likely to be doubtful. On the one side was ranged a power possessing an admirable military organization, inspired with

the daring of fanaticism, and obedient to the dictates of one supreme will. On the other side stood a number of small states, differing mostly from each other in race, enfeebled by mutual jealousy and by internal strife—the wrecks of a great Empire, with no Belisarius, no Czar Dušan, to lead them against the enemy. It would be outside the province of this work to describe how Bulgaria was overwhelmed by the advancing wave of Ottoman conquest; how the capture of Niš (B.C. 1386)¹ turned the kingdom of Serbia into a tributary state; and how, on the fatal field of Kossovo, Bosnians, led by the Voivode Vlatko Hranić, Serbs under their King Lazar, Albanians, Croats and Vallacks, sustained by the aid of some auxiliaries from Hungary and Poland, united in one vigorous, though ineffectual, effort against the invader. Four years before that great battle the Turks had forced their way into Albania and had inaugurated, as will be seen, a struggle of well-nigh five centuries with the inhabitants of the Zeta.

It will now be possible to examine the leading features in the history of the Balšas, with special reference to the two movements which have been described.

¹ According to Turkish accounts, the capture of Niš took place in 1375; according to Serbian annals, in 1386. Jireček, "Geschichte der Bulgaren," p. 340, adopts the latter view.

Upon the death of the first Balša, in 1362,¹ his land was divided among his three sons, Strašimir, George I., and Balša II., who carried on with marked success the work of conquest begun by their father. The relation in which they stood to the Serbian kingdom was of a peculiar character. Vikašin, a noble of the Mrnjavčević family, who had assassinated the last ruler of the Nemanjid dynasty, and usurped his title, was powerless to resist the encroachments made on his dominions by those who owed a nominal allegiance to his sway,² and was only able to obtain a cessation of hostilities by bestowing the hand of his daughter Miliča upon the eldest of the three brothers as a guarantee of peace.³ A result of the alliance was that, in 1371, Vikašin, accompanied by his son, Marko Kraljević, visited George I. at Skodra, for the purpose of undertaking an expedition against Nicholas Altomanović, the nephew and successor of Voislav Voinović as lord of Zachlumje.⁴ The

¹ The date of his death is inferred from the fact that his sons received their Venetian citizenship on the 3rd of July, 1362 ("Monum. Slav.," IV. p. 48), and they were not likely to have received it during their father's lifetime.

² It appears from a document dated July, 1368 ("Monum. Slav.," IV. p. 93) that the "dominus Servie" had written to the Signorie to complain that George Balša was in rebellion against his authority.

³ Cp. Hopf, IV. p. 43; Orbini, etc.

⁴ See Jirčėek, "Die Handelstrassen," etc., pp. 36, 37

projected campaign, however, did not take place, in consequence of the death of Vlkašin, who was killed in that same year at the great battle fought against the Turks on the banks of the Mariča, and was succeeded by Prince (*knez*) Lazar, of the Grebljanović family, the last and not least famous of Serbia's independent rulers previous to the Turkish conquest. Strašimir now repudiated Miliča ;¹ but Lazar found it impossible to recover the provinces of which his predecessor had been deprived, and was compelled to allow them to remain in the hands partly of the Balšas and partly of Nicholas Altomanović, who was already in possession of Trebinje with its surrounding district, of Konawlje and of Dračevića, the country near Castelnuovo.² Thus the Balšas pursued their career unhampered by dependence upon a central power, and in their relations with Venice and with the Turks they relied for their support upon their own unaided strength.

It was the custom among many of the princes, whether great or small, who ruled on the Eastern shore of the Adriatic, to be

¹ *Cp.* Ducange. "Hist. de l'Empire de Constantinople." He afterwards married Theodora, daughter of Jarko, the governor of Macedonia under Dušan, and became in this way a distant connection of Manuel Palaeologus. "Orbini," p. 287.

² Castelnuovo itself, however (Novigrad), was only built in 1382 by Tvartko.

enrolled among the patricians of Venice, as that honour brought with it several other privileges; and the Venetians themselves endeavoured thereby to secure the assistance of those who were in any way capable of furthering the development of their commercial enterprise. Accordingly, in July, 1362,¹ the rights of citizenship were conferred upon "the illustrious brothers Strašimir, George, and Balša, mighty barons in maritime Slavonia." Some events, however, connected with the city of Cattaro, tended to impair the solidity of the alliance. That city underwent many changes during the last three decades of the fourteenth century, but in 1369 it was still in the hands of Uroš V., in the dominions of whose father, Dušan, it had been included, though, like all the Dalmatian cities, it possessed certain political institutions and liberties of its own, and remained in a condition of semi-independence, under whatever ruler it happened for the time being to be placed.

A war having broken out between Cattaro and Ragusa, the Balšas took the side of the latter, collected a flotilla of small vessels at Dulcigno, Antibari, and Budua—a city which had been taken by them from their kinsman,

¹ "Monum. Slav.," IV. p. 48.

Nicholas Zaccharia,¹—and proceeded to besiege Cattaro by sea and land. The Venetians, anxious lest injury should be done to their interests in those parts by the depredations of the belligerents, and being of opinion that the capture of the place would transfer its commerce, which had hitherto been carried on chiefly by themselves, to their rivals the Ragusans, resolved to interpose their good offices, though they declined to accede to the proposal made by Uroš and supported by the Cattarines that the city should pass into the hands of Venice.² The Pope, too, Urban V., had written to the inhabitants of Venice, Zara, Ragusa, Durazzo, and Apulia, requesting them to aid the citizens of Cattaro “situated as they were among the heretics and schismatics of Albania and Rascia”;³ and he even sent to the three brothers an epistle which induced them to abjure

¹ See Hopf, IV. p. 42. In 1367 Balša is called “presens castellanus et dominus Budue.” (“Monum. Slav.,” IV. p. 90).

² “Cum dominus imperator Raxie ad nos miserit ambaxatorem suum, rogando nos, ut sua civitas Cathari obsessa per mare et per terram a Jura (*i.e.* George) de Balše rebelle suo, sit nobis commendata, ne veniat ad manus dicti zure, per quem ambaxatorem ipsi Catharini etiam hoc a nobis supplicant, et superinde etiam nobis scripsit dominus papa, et bonum sit nuper his pro bono et securitate nostrorum mercatorum etiam providere, ne dicta civitas Cathari vadat ad manus dicti zure, . . . quia totum trafugum mercatus, quod fit in Cataro, fieret in Ragusio,” etc. Sept. 18th, 1369. “Monum. Slav.,” IV. p. 95.

³ Nov. 24th, 1367. (Theiner, “Monumenta,” I. p. 259.)

“schism” and make public profession of the Catholic faith in the presence of the bishops of Suazo and Drivasto.¹ The motives and the purport of this act will be discussed in another section. At any rate, peace was concluded shortly after between the contending parties, owing mainly to the mediation of Venice.² The war, however, had aroused the suspicions of the great Republic, and it was with bad grace that it granted permission to George Balša to “navigate for honest purposes upon the high seas, provided only that he did no wrong or injury with the said ships to any subject or loyal friend of Venice, or to any other merchant or person whosoever he be.”³

The attitude assumed by the Balšas during this struggle formed the basis of their traditional policy with regard to Ragusa and Cattaro. With the former city they entertained throughout relations of a friendly character, and concluded several commercial treaties,⁴ in which they conferred special

¹ Jan. 29th, 1369, dated Skodra. (Theiner, “Monumenta,” I. pp. 261-3.) Strašimir says: “Sigillum commune nostrozum trium fratrum, cum proprium non habeam, apponi feci.”

² “Nos fuimus principalis causa, ut pax fieret inter ipsum juram et Catarinos.” “Monum. Slav.,” IV. p. 98 (1370).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See F. Miklosich, “Monum. Serbica” (Vienna, 1858), documents 161, 173, 177, 183, 192, and 194. In January, 1368, the three brothers abolish the harbour-dues at Dagno. In November,

privileges upon the Ragusan merchants. Doubtless they considered the friendship of the "piccola Venezia" to be scarcely less advantageous than an alliance with her greater rival, and without the drawbacks consequent upon the growing tendency of the latter Republic to territorial aggrandisement. The feeling of attraction to a kindred people may also have contributed towards rendering the tie more binding; for the Italian Ragusa was gradually assuming a Slavonic aspect, owing to the influx of Croats and especially of Serbs from the country districts, and was becoming transformed into Dubrovnik.¹ Nor was the alliance impaired until the year 1419, when a rupture took place, followed however by a speedy reconciliation.²

The Cattarines, on the other hand, suffered much from depredations committed upon their territory by the subjects of the Balšas, especially by those who dwelt in the region of the Black Mountain, and in the Župa, or district between Cattaro and Budua. Shortly

1373, George I. swears that he, his brother, Balša II., and his nephew, George II. Strašimir, will befriend the Ragusans. Similar privileges are granted in 1376 by George I., residing in Konawlje; in 1379 by Balša II.; in April, 1385, by Balša II. as Duke of Durazzo; and in January, 1386, by George II. Strašimir.

¹ It should be noticed that the Slavonic literature of Dalmatia began by being Croatian, and ended by becoming Serbian.

² "Orbini," p. 294.

after the events that have been narrated, Cattaro passed into the hands of Louis the Great of Hungary, who in 1358 had made himself master of the greater part of Dalmatia. He retained the city in his possession until the year 1378, when it was taken by the Venetian Admiral Vettore Pisani;¹ but the peace of Turin, which terminated the war of Chioggia, restored it to him in 1381;² and upon his death, which took place in the following year, his widow, Elizabeth, and his daughter, Maria, who had been crowned "King" of Hungary,³ allowed the formidable Tvartko, "King of Bosnia and Rascia," over whose dominions indeed the sovereign of Hungary was supposed to exercise a sort of suzerainty, to acquire Cattaro as well as many other cities of Dalmatia.⁴ Amid all these changes the predatory incursions continued to be made, and the Cattarines found themselves compelled, after a time, to pay an annual tribute of a thousand ducats to the ruler of the Zeta, in order to secure their

¹ See Lucius, ap. "Schwandtner," III. p. 327. *Cp.* Hazlitt's "Venetian Republic," III. pp. 259, 324.

² "Monum. Slav.," IV. pp. 163-9, 177.

³ Caresino, quoted by Lucius, ap. "Schwandtner," III., p. 408: "Elizabeth regina uxor quondam dicti regis Ludovici, una cum Maria filia eius, Regimen Hungariæ gubernat, quæ quidem Maria appellatur Rex Hungariæ." *Cp.* the famous "Moriatur pro Rege nostro Maria Theresa" of 1740.

⁴ Lucius, ap. "Schwandtner," III. pp. 485-6; "Monum. Slav.," IV. p. 219.

“lands and vines” against molestation;¹ nor did they cease to have reason for complaint even after they had become subject to the Venetian Signorie.²

Not content with extending its dominion in a northerly direction, the House of Balša turned its attention towards the South. Without enumerating all the chieftains who exercised their sway over different portions of Albania, and to whom the dismemberment of the Serbian Empire consequent upon the death of Dušan furnished an opportunity of rising into prominence, it will be sufficient to mention the most important among the ruling families, in order to convey some conception of the forces with which the Balšas were brought in contact. Joannina, together with the greater part of Epirus, had been entrusted by Simeon Palæologus Uroš to the care of his son-in-law, Thomas Preljubović, who died in 1385 and was succeeded by his widow, the pious Maria Angelina, whose second husband was the celebrated Esau de Buondelmonti, brother of the Duchess of Leucadia.³ In the far South came the Buas, or Spatas, despots of Achelous and Angelokastron, who in 1374

¹ “*Monum Slav.*,” IX. pp. 166, 175. *Cp.* Farlati, VI. pp. 422, 452.

² See “*Monum Slav.*,” VIII. pp. 193, etc.

³ See Hopf, ap. “*Brockhaus*,” IV. pp. 37-9.

obtained possession of Arta and Rogus, which had previously belonged to the House of Ijoscha. It was their constant endeavour, as Albanians properly so called, to emancipate themselves as far as possible from the Serbian influence represented by the despot and despœna of Joannina. The growth of a national Albanian spirit, however, is best exemplified in the increasing power of the Houses of Musacchi and, above all, of Thopia. The possessions of the former were never very strictly defined, though they certainly included Berat, also called Alba Græca, or Arnaut Belgrad.¹ The House of Thopia ruled primarily in the district between the Mat and the Škumbi, and rose to greatness under Charles Thopia, who had defeated at the village of Achelous, near Arta, the forces of Nicephorus II., the lineal successor of the old despots of Epirus, and who from 1358—the date of the battle—to 1388 ruled over the nearest approximation to a united Albania that has ever been brought about. During the last twenty years of his reign he was lord of the important city of Durazzo²—the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 40—42. *Cp.* Hertzberg, "Geschichte Griechenlands," II. pp. 335, *seqq.* In Venetian documents Charles Thopia is called "princeps Albanie et dominus Dyrrachii" ("Monum. Slav.," IV. p. 227, etc.). His mother was a natural daughter of King Robert of Naples. Hopf, p. 39.

Epidamnus of the Greeks, the Dyrrachium of the Romans—which he delivered from Angevin rule and made the capital of his new kingdom.¹ Of the minor chieftains it will be sufficient, for the present, to name the Albanian Ropas, or Gropas, of Ochrida, the Spans of Drivasto, the Ducagins of Alessio, and, occupying a somewhat more powerful position, the Serb, Alexander Giorić, who ruled for a short time over Kanina, Vallona, and a few other places.² At the time, however, when the sons of Balša I. attained to prominence in the Zeta, the power of all the chieftains of Albania, whether they belonged to the Shkipetar or to the Slavonic race, was overshadowed by that of Charles Thopia.

When the Balšas embarked on a career of

¹ In 1081 Durazzo was taken by Robert Guiscard, but returned after his death to the Byzantine Empire. In 1108 it was captured by Bohemund, and in 1185 by William the Good of Sicily, after which it was again restored to the Byzantines. On the partition of the Empire in 1205, it passed into the hands of the Venetians, from whom it was wrested by Theodor, despot of Epirus and afterwards Emperor of Thessalonica. In 1273 it was destroyed by an earthquake, and rebuilt by Albanian Shkipetars, who appear to have settled in large numbers in the city which was theirs from immemorial antiquity. About 1315 Durazzo was taken, as a duchy, by Philip of Tarentum (younger son of Charles II. of Naples), who had married the daughter of the despot of Epirus. It passed successively into the hands of his brother John and his nephew Charles; and when the latter was murdered at Naples in 1348 by Louis of Hungary, the duchy was inherited by his daughter, Joanna, who married Louis of Navarre in 1366.

² See Hopf, IV. pp. 41-3. Jireček, "Geschichte der Bulgaren," p. 319.

conquest, they determined at the same time not to neglect the assistance they might derive from contracting alliances with powerful families. We have seen how Strašimir married, and afterwards repudiated, the daughter of the usurper Vikašin. More significant still were the marriages of his sister Voissava with Charles Thopia, and of Balša II. with Comita Musacchi. It was in alliance with his father-in-law, Andreas Musachi, who had apparently made over to him his claims to the possessions held by Alexander Giorić, that Balša II. attacked and defeated the son of that "gospodin" and became master of Vallona, Kanina, Parga, Chimara, and Sasno.¹ Croja had been captured as early as 1371, at the expense of the Sofi family.² Three years later Nicolas Altomanić, whose territory had been invaded by the combined forces of Bosnian Tvartko and Serbian Lazar, and who had been taken prisoner and blinded, succeeded in making his escape, and took refuge with the Balšas, to whom he ceded Trebinje,

¹ See Hopf, IV. pp. 42-3. In 1372 *George* Balša is already called "dominus Avalonæ, Buduæ et aliorum locorum" ("Monum. Slav.," IV. p. 100), so that the attack must have taken place during the period of joint rule by the three brothers. The five places mentioned are those that were retained by Comita Musachi after her husband's death.

² Marino Barleti, "Dell' assedio di Scutari, ap. Sansovino, dell' origine e guerre de' Turchi" (Venice, 1654), II. p. 304. Cp. von Hammer, I. pp. 535-6.

Konawlje, and Dračevića.¹ Assisted by a body of Albanian auxiliaries under Charles Thopia, George I. entered the dominions of the Bosnian king, after a fruitless attempt at mediation had been made by the Ragusans,² and advanced as far as Nevesinje, but was compelled by the numerical superiority of his opponents to retire and relinquish the newly-acquired territory, which passed into the hands of Tvartko,³ who appears to have followed up his success by invading the Zeta, though he soon withdrew his troops.⁴ George I. returned to Skodra, where he died in 1379, six years after his eldest brother; so that Balša II. remained sole ruler of the Zeta.

Again, it was in alliance with Andreas Musacchi, if we may trust the account handed down by his descendant, John Musacchi,⁵ that Balša II., in or about the year 1380, besieged

¹ Orbini, p. 284.

² According to Orbini, p. 291, Tvartko and Balša met at Ragusa for the purpose of discussing the question at issue. In 1371 a short conflict, which had taken place between the Balšas and the Bosnian king, had ended with the peace of the Narenta, also negotiated by the Ragusans (Barleti, p. 304). There is no truth in the story that one of the Balšas besieged Tvartko in Ragusa.

³ Orbini, pp. 291-2. *Cp.* Ducange, "Illyricum vetus atque novum," p. 136.

⁴ See Jireček, "Die Handelsstrassen," etc. p. 37. The "Monumenta Serbica" of Miklosich contain (No. 483) a letter written by King Tvartko from Spuž in 1376.

⁵ Giovanni Musacchi, who lived at Naples at the beginning of the sixteenth century, wrote a "breve memoria di nostra casa Musachi," of which Hopf (see p. 41) has made abundant use.

and took Kastoria, a city which was at that time in the possession of the celebrated Marko, the King's son, Marko, lord of Prilep and son of Vlkašin. To what extent the exploits of that hero are founded upon a basis of truth it is impossible to determine; to trace the thread of his history through the labyrinth of songs and legends in which it has become involved would be indeed a hopeless task. Many a Serbian pjesma preserves the memory of the great deeds, many a spot bears witness to the strength of one who in reality was among the first to side with the invading Osmanli, and who in all probability fought against his countrymen at the battle of Kossovo. But the songs of the people have idealized his name, and assigned to him qualities of an almost superhuman character; and his figure stands forth beside that of his friend Constantine as a Serbian Hercules beside a Serbian Theseus.

According to the popular version of the events connected with the siege of Kastoria, Marko's wife, Helena, the daughter of Radoslav Chlapen of Berrhœa—a woman as *ἔλαυδρος, ἐλέπτολις*¹ as her namesake of old—deserted her husband and offered to betray the city to Balša, on condition that he should

¹ Aeschylus, "Agamemnon," 673.

repudiate the daughter of Musachi and take her to wife; and the story goes on to relate how Marko endeavoured in vain to recover Kastoria with Turkish aid, and how Balša was so dissatisfied with Helena's conduct that he found himself compelled before long to imprison her and afterwards to send her away.¹ It is certain that on the Sunday before Christmas, 1379, there appeared before the despot, Thomas of Joannina, two deputies from the inhabitants of Kastoria, offering to place in his hands the citadel called Servia; but, in accordance with his usual practice, he caused them to be arrested for the purpose of extorting money from them.² It is certain also that Kastoria fell into the hands of Balša. But beyond these two facts nothing is really known of the events of the siege.

Without entering into details with respect to the cities they conquered and the princes on whose side and against whom they alternately fought, details which are, for the most part, full of uncertainty, it will be sufficient to insist upon the fact that the power of the Balšas must have extended, at one time or

¹ See Jireček, "Geschichte der Bulgaren," pp. 331-2. Orbini, p. 290.

² "Historia Epiri, a Michaele Ducæ nepote conscripta," in the "Corp. Script. Hist. Byzant" (Bonn, 1849), p. 226. Cp. Hopf, ap. "Brockhaus," IV. p. 39.

another, from the Narenta to the Acroceraunian mountains. It was exercised over an area wider than that which Charles Thopia brought under his rule; but, like the Empire of Dušan, it possessed little or no stability, inasmuch as it was not based upon unity of race, and was not fitted to harmonise the elements of discord which existed in Albania.

Meanwhile an enemy more formidable than Tvardko or Thopia or Marko Kraljević was drawing near. As elsewhere, so too in the Western portion of the Balkan peninsula, the advance of the Ottoman Turks was facilitated by the internal dissensions that prevailed among the various peoples and races with which they came in contact. In 1385 there broke out between Balša II. and his old ally, Charles Thopia, a war in which the former was so far successful that he was enabled to obtain possession of Durazzo.¹ In a document dated

¹ Orbini, p. 292. This was undoubtedly the first, not the second, occasion on which Balša captured Durazzo. Hopf has dispelled the myth to which Orbini (pp. 283-9) and Chalcocondylas (book IV.) have given credence. According to their account, which is followed, in spite of its inconsistencies, by P. Fallmerayer ("Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea," Stuttgart, 1830, II. p. 260), Count Louis de Beaumont—son of King Philip IV. of Navarre—who had married Johanna of Durazzo, sent a body of 600 Gascons to Durazzo as a first instalment of troops with which he hoped to conquer Albania. When Louis died in Apulia in 1373, the Gascons of Durazzo are said to have attacked the chieftains of Northern Albania on their own account. The defeated Balša, who, however, induced them by a bribe of 6,000

April, 1385, in which he confirms the privileges granted by his predecessors to the Ragusans, he styles himself "Duke" of that city.¹ Thopia, following the precedent established by Cantacuzene, invoked the aid of the Turks, before whose arrival, however, Balša appears to have withdrawn from Durazzo, as would seem to be indicated by the fact that when, in August of that same year, he sent ambassadors to Venice to describe the ravages committed by the invaders, and to solicit a loan of four galleys—a request with which the Signorie readily complied—he no longer described himself as Duke of Durazzo, but merely as lord of the Zeta, of Kanina, and of Avlona.² Not long afterwards the first great encounter between Balša's army and the Ottomans took place in the plain of Saura, not far from Berat.³ His forces were speedily overpowered by the superior numbers, as well as by the superior generalship of his opponents, who were under the command of the celebrated

ducats to evacuate the city, whereupon they set sail for Greece. The whole story is shown by Hopf to be based upon a confusion with the Navarrese company which landed at Corfu on its way to Greece.

¹ Miklosich, "Monum. Serbica," doc. 192.

² "Monum. Slav.," IV. pp. 219, 220.

³ Orbini, pp. 292-3. "Marino Barleti, "Dell' Assedio di Scutari" (ap. "Sansovino"), p. 304, writes: "Un certo Ieurenesio Capitano de' Barbari, entrò nella Macedonia con quaranta mila Turchi, incontra a i quali andando Balša tumultuarimente, non aspettando tutto il suo essercito, . . . fù rotto, e ammazzato,

Chaireddin, who is said to have originated and carried out the idea of a corps of janisaries recruited from Christian children.¹ He himself was killed, and by his side fell Ivaniš, son of Vukašin and brother of Marko Kraljević.

George II. Strašimir, the son of Strašimir, had for some time been detained in prison owing to his uncle's jealousy, but was now released and received the allegiance of the greater part of the Zeta.² Yet he possessed only a small portion of the territory that had been inherited or acquired by Balša II., whose widow, Comita Musachi, retained in her own hands Vallona, Kanina, Chimara, Parga, and Sasno, and subsequently made most of those places over to Venice.³ It was the constant aim of George II.'s policy to strengthen the alliance with the Venetian Republic, which he regarded as the only power capable of furnishing him with material assistance in the work of resisting the Turkish advance. In

con tutte le sue genti, in una certa pianura, ch' è chiamata da paesani Saura, vicina al fiume Aou, appresso Alba Greca, terra dell' Epiro." Ieuresio, or Ieuresio, is the same as Evrenus the Brenezes of Chalcocondylas (IV. p. 115) : Βρενέζη μέντοι ἔργα ἀποδειγμένα ἕξια λόγου κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Παίονας (Hungarians) καὶ ἐπὶ Πελοπόννησον στρατευσαμένων. But there seems no doubt that Chaireddin, and not Evrenus, was the victor of Saura.

¹ Von Hammer, I. p. 154.

² Orbini, p. 293.

³ See Hopf, IV. p. 43.

1388, for example, he conferred special privileges upon the Venetian merchants residing at Dulcigno ;¹ in the following year he received the requisite permission to arm two brigantines ;² in March, 1392, the rights of citizenship were conferred upon him and his descendants,³ and after his death the Signorie spoke in terms of warmest commendation of the feelings of affection and goodwill entertained by him towards the Republic.⁴

It was indeed a perilous inheritance that fell to the lot of the successor of Balša the Conqueror. Even within the limits of the Zeta properly so called, the authority of George II. was far from being unchallenged ; and it was the necessity for quelling a rebellion commenced by one of his subjects, presumably a member of the Zaccharia family,⁵ which compelled him to be absent from the battle of Kossovo, in which he was expected by his Slavonic confederates to take part.⁶ In order

¹ " Monum. Slav.," IV. p. 244.

² *Ibid.*, IV. p. 271. ³ *Ibid.*, IV. p. 290.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V. pp. 42, 43, 73, etc. *Cp.* also p. 64: " Dum vixit dominus Georgius Strazimiri, nos viximus secum in bono amore et benevolentia, et nunquam enter eos et nos fuit aliqua causa erroris vel novitatis."

⁵ " Monum. Slav.," IV. p. 270 ; Orbini, p. 293.

⁶ *Cp.* Mme. Miyatović, " Kossovo," pp. 11, 15. Ducange (" Fam. Dalmaticæ," p. 260) relates a singular story respecting the death of Vuk Branković, to whose treachery the Serbs attribute the loss of the battle. " Some say that he escaped from Philippopolis, where he was detained by Musa, son of Bajazet,

to consolidate the bonds that united him with his Serbian and Bulgarian kinsmen, he had married Helena, the daughter of Lazar Grebljanović and widow of Sišman.¹ The event of Kossovo, however, dispelled any hopes that might have been conceived of establishing a united South-Slavonian power sufficiently strong to resist the Ottoman invasion. How Serbia was reduced to the position of a subject state, how Stephen Lazarević gave his sister Olivera in marriage

and came to George Balša, his brother-in-law, who cast in his teeth the perfidy he had displayed on the field of Kossovo, and gave orders that his head should be cut off." More probably Vuk Branković was poisoned in 1398 by order of Bajazet.

¹ That George II. Strašimir married Helena, daughter of Lazar Grebljanović, is clearly proved by a comparison of various documents, e.g. "Monum. Slav.," V. pp. 63, 64, 90, 87, 98, 112, etc. On p. 76 the despot of Serbia, i.e. Stephen Lazarević, is called "frater et avunculus dominæ Helenæ et Balsæ Strazimir." Most writers have fallen into a curious error. Some have called her "Despoena, aliis Maria appellata." Despoena is, of course, the title which has been taken for a proper name; some have even contracted it into Despa. Others, again, such as Buchon, Sir G. Wilkinson, and Lenormant, have seen the mistake, but without giving the real name. Lenormant ("Revue Numismatique," nouvelle série, Paris, 1861, tom. VI. p. 151) says that the name Iuveliča is furnished by a pjesma on the battle of Kossovo, incorporated by Prosper Mérimée in his collection of Serbian songs entitled "La Guzla." Considering, however, (1) that the song in question commits the anachronism of making "George Crnojević" appear at the battle of Kossovo, and (2) that Serbian pjesme, especially those of the Kossovo period, possess very little historical value, the name Iuveliča need not detain us. It may be added that Hopf takes for granted that the name of George II.'s wife was Helena. The ascertainment of this fact sheds an entirely new light on the genealogy of Lazar's family. The account given by Ducange ("Fam. Dalmaticæ," p. 259) is hopelessly confused.

to Bajazet, how at Nicopolis he fought on the side of the Turks against the latter-day crusaders of whose career Froissart has given so graphic a description, and how at Angora he saved the credit of the Turkish arms, it is unnecessary to relate in any detail. Nor was the Zeta unaffected by the Serbian defeat, inasmuch as it now became possible for the Ottomans to extend their range of conquest; and in October, 1392, news was brought to Venice that George II. Strašimir had been taken prisoner by the forces of Bajazet, and had undertaken to surrender into their hands Skodra and Dulcigno.¹ His detention by the Turks does not appear to have lasted much more than a year and a half; and during that time those parts of the Zeta, including Budua, which had not been overrun by the invader, were in the possession of a certain Radić Crnoj, the ancestor of the Crnojević rulers of the Crnagora. At first he received some support from the Venetians, who conferred upon him the rights of citizenship² as well as other privileges, not, as has been supposed, because they wished to punish George Strašimir for his treatment of a Venetian

¹ "Monum. Slav.," IV. pp. 295-6.

² "Monum Slav.," IV. p. 301 (Nov. 30th, 1392). He is called "magnificus et potens vir dominus Radiz de Cernue, dominus Zente et Budue," etc.

citizen, Philippo Varelli—such considerations would not enter into their minds now that he was a prisoner in the hands of the Turks—but simply because they saw in Radić Crnoj a powerful bulwark against the Ottoman, and one whose interest it was necessary to secure on behalf of their merchants. It was also their endeavour to obtain possession of Alessio, the “right eye of Durazzo.”¹ The dominant family in that city was that of the Ducagins, but the place formed part of the dominions of the Balšas, and was supposed by the Venetians to be at that time under the suzerainty of Radić Crnoj; but though they requested him to make Alessio over to them in return for certain rights,² it was from Progon and Tanus, the sons of Lech Ducagin, that they succeeded, in 1393, in obtaining the required boon.³ The acquisition of Alessio was merely a link in a long chain of policy. Two years previously the Venetians had occupied Durazzo with a strong garrison, and in 1392, after George Thopia’s death, had taken formal possession of that ancient and famous city.⁴ Of

¹ In the “*Monum. Slav.*,” IV. p. 305, the “*castrum de Leexio*” is called the “right eye of Durazzo.”

² “*Monum. Slav.*,” IV. p. 305.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

⁴ See Hopf, IV.; Hertzberg, II. p. 416. On the 13th of April, 1391, Pope Boniface IX. had proclaimed the deposition of George Thopia, and the transference of Durazzo to George II. Strašimir, a transference which, it need hardly be said, never

Corfu the Signorie had practically been mistress since 1386, though it was only in 1401 that her claim was fully recognized by King Ladislas.

In the course of the year 1394 George Strašimir was released from captivity, and succeeded, probably with Venetian help, in recovering Skodra. The place, however, was more easy to conquer than to hold, owing to the proximity of the Turks.¹ It is not surprising, therefore, that he should have made repeated offers of Skodra and Drivasto to the Venetian Signorie,² and that on the 14th of April, 1396, he should have concluded a treaty by which he surrendered those two cities in exchange for numerous privileges, including a yearly pension of a thousand ducats for himself and his descendants. He reserved for himself Dulcigno and Antibari,

took place. *Cp.* Farlati, VII., p. 369. On the motives which induced the Pope to act in this manner towards the House of Thopia, see Hopf, IV., p. 92.

¹ In September, 1394, Skodra is still in Turkish hands. The Signorie writes ("Monum. Slav.," IV. p. 337): "Vicecapitaneus culphi cum baiulo Durachii et supracomitibus videat, si Georgius Stracimiri posset recuperare locum Scutari, et, in casu quod foret possibile, cauto modo notificet ei, ut possit eam suo auxilio finem consequi." On p. 366 we have a brief mention of the fact that George II. has recovered Skodra. A curious story is told by Marino Barleti (p. 305) to the effect that Amurath I. handed the place over to George II. in exchange for a beautiful maiden for his harem. Even if for Amurath we substitute Bajazet, the story is incredible.

² "Monum. Slav.," IV. pp. 350-1, 354-5 (Nov.-Dec., 1395).

together with the adjacent districts as well as the mountainous portion of the Zeta.¹ Meanwhile, however, he experienced considerable difficulty in interfering with the vested interest which Radić Crnoj had acquired in the lands over which he had temporarily borne rule. As late as the 20th of April, 1396, we find a Venetian document in which the commissioners of the Republic are instructed to see that the roads are kept free for commercial intercourse, and above all to come to an agreement "with a certain Radice Cernovichi, a citizen of our city, who is, we believe, very powerful, and who is always making incursions with his tribesmen into the surrounding country."² Five days afterwards, however, Radić Crnoj was defeated and killed by George II. Strašimir,³ who thereupon surrendered Budua with the adjoining territory to Sandalj Cosača, Voivode of Zachlumje, or Chelm, and son of the celebrated Vlatko Hranić, in return,

¹ See "Monum. Slav.," IV. pp. 365-8, where the terms of the treaty are given in full. *Cp.* V. p. 73, where it is said: "Tanquam dominus locorum predictorum, habens merum et mixtum imperium, nostro dominio Scutarum, Drivastum et alia loca sua consignavit."

² "Monum. Slav.," IV. p. 372.

³ On May 31st, 1396, George II. Strašimir writes to the doge: "Favente Domino die vigesima quinta mensis aprilis maledictus istius patrie destructor, videlicet Radiz Zernoe, interfectus fuit a nostro exercitu, et partem territorii nostri, quam in manu forti tenebat, habuimus" ("Monum. Slav.," IV. p. 377).

it would seem, for services received from him during the struggle against the rebellious subject.¹

It was with much reluctance that the Venetians undertook to occupy places so difficult to defend as Skodra and Drivasto. The power of Venice was essentially maritime and commercial ; her colonies, unlike those of the Hellenes and English, were merely " factories " established along the coast for the purpose of protecting and promoting the development of her trade, and her merchant statesmen seldom ventured to annex inland towns unless they could do so with absolute security to themselves. The geographical position of Skodra, which commanded the valleys of the Boiana and of the Drin, and was accessible by small vessels, must have induced the Venetians to depart from their usual practice. The ill-humour, however, with which they entered upon their new possession finds vent in the complaints of their commissioners, who declare Skodra to be " in

¹ In a document dated July 22nd, 1396, " Sandaljus de Cosacchi " is called " Budue et Zente dominus." " Monum. Slav.," IV. p. 378. *Cp.* " Monum. Historico-juridica Slavorum Meridionalium," pt. I., vol. III. ; " Statuto di Budua," p. 87, with S. Ljubić's note (Agram, 1882). Sandalj Cosača (also called Sandalj Hranić) was not only Voivode of Chelm, but Grand-Voivode of Bosnia, and was more powerful than the Bosnian King himself. See Jireček, " Die Handelsstrassen," etc.

wretched order, and without any decent dwelling-place,"¹ owing doubtless to its capture by the Turks, whilst of Drivasto they maintain in a report, dated October, 1397, that no benefit is to be derived from its acquisition. "On the contrary," they say, "we incur much expense, especially with regard to the governor of the place, who receives two hundred ducats a year, and is of no use."² In after years the possession of those two places was not regarded as a matter for regret.

From Skodra George II. Strašimir transferred the capital of the Zeta to Dulcigno (Ulcin), where he died in 1404,³ and was succeeded by his second son, Balša III. Strašimir,⁴ who was still a boy and under the influence of his mother, Helena, the daughter of Lazar Grebljanović. A change in the Balša policy now supervened. The victory of Timour at

¹ "Monum. Slav.," IV. p. 377.

² *Ibid.*, p. 410.

³ See "Monum. Slav.," V. p. 42, dated 1404, and containing the Signorie's reply to the envoys "domine Helene consortis quondam domini Georgii," etc.

⁴ Orbini, p. 242, makes Balša III. the third son of George II., his two elder brothers, Ioić and Ivaniš, having died previously. Lenormant, however, points out ("Revue Numismatique," nouvelle série, tom. VI. p. 294) that Ivaniš was alive on the 3rd of May, 1416, and bore the title of Knez of Cetinje ("Miklosich, "Monumenta Serbica," doc. 263, "Ivaniš Cetinæ comes, confirmat iura Almissanorum"), and that he must therefore have been younger than Balša III. On the other hand, the Venetian gulf-captain, apparently misinformed, writes (Aug. 5th, 1405, "Monum. Slav.," V. p. 63): "Non est aliquis de prole Strašimir præter Balsam suprascriptum."

Angora (July 20th, 1402) had reduced to captivity a Sultan of the House of Othman, and shattered the flower of his forces ; and the death of Bajazet, which occurred eight months after the great battle, was followed by a period of strife between his sons, resulting, after many vicissitudes, in the establishment of Mahomet I.'s authority upon a secure basis. At the time, however, a deadly blow appeared to have been dealt to the Turkish power. The Greek Empire seemed about to renew its strength, and Serbia resumed her independence. It is not surprising, therefore, that Helena and Balša should have entered upon a policy hostile to Venice, on the supposition that they no longer required the assistance of that Republic against the Ottomans, and that the time had come for recovering the territory which had been yielded up to the Signorie by George II. Strašimir. Taking advantage of a revolt of the inhabitants of Skodra and Drivasto against their Italian masters, Balša succeeded in obtaining possession of those two places as well as of other portions of the Zeta which had passed under the same rule. The Venetians at once despatched eight galleys and some troops, and sent two envoys to Sandalj Hranić to solicit his aid. A victory gained by Checco of Treviso

led to the surrender of Skodra, and Dulcigno, Antibari, and Budua passed into the hands of Marino Caravello.¹ A reward of a thousand, afterwards increased to two thousand, ducats was offered by the Venetians to anyone who should place Balša's person in their power.² Sandalj consented to render assistance on condition that he should be allowed to occupy Budua—of which he had been for a short time in possession—and Antibari; whereupon the Signorie replied that if he could "reduce the whole of the Lower Zeta into obedience to their sway before the spring of 1408, and likewise drive out Balša Strašimir, together with his partizans, and keep him from the Upper Zeta, so that he should be unable to effect anything in those parts," they would hand over to him—not indeed Antibari—but Budua, and bestow various privileges upon him.³ In February, 1408, we find the following directions given to the Venetian commissioners. They are to visit Budua, Antibari, Dulcigno, and Skodra, and watch the course of events. If they perceive that Sandalj is unable to perform his promise, they are to remain passive spectators of the

¹ See "Monum. Slav.," V. pp. 54, 59, 60, 64, 76. *Cp.* Hopf, IV. p. 97.

² "Monum. Slav.," V. pp. 63, 68.

³ Dec. 23rd, 1407. "Monum. Slav.," V. pp. 108-9.

struggle ; if, on the other hand, he appears likely to be successful, they are to co-operate actively in the work of destroying the power of Balša. Should they think fit, they are empowered to induce other chieftains, such as George and Alexis Juras, lords of Kanina, to aid in accomplishing the task ; or, again, they may come to terms with Balša, provided that they do not allow Skodra, or Drivasto, or Dulcigno, or Antibari to slip from their hands.¹ The Venetians, however, not long after those most characteristic instructions had been issued, determined to adopt the fourth course therein described, with the difference that they found it necessary to sacrifice Antibari ; and in June, 1408, owing in great measure to the influence of Balša's wife, Mara, the daughter of Niketa, lord of Croja, a treaty of peace was concluded between the Venetian Signorie and the ruler of the Zeta,² whose claim to Budua and to the greater portion of the inland region was fully recognized, whilst Antibari was ceded to him on condition that he should visit Venice for the purpose of cementing the alliance.³ As he was hindered by his subjects from placing

¹ " Monum. Slav.," V. pp. 110-13.

² " Monum. Slav.," V. pp. 118-21. *Cp.* the *ébauche* of the treaty on pp. 97, 98, 102.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

himself thus within the power of his former enemies, Helena performed the journey in his stead, and we learn that in August, 1409, she was residing for a time at Venice.¹ The cession of Antibari was not carried out.

Balša III. appears to have been of a turbulent disposition, which longed for a wider field of activity than the comparatively narrow bounds within which that prince was confined by the treaty of 1409. Even in the following year it is said in a Venetian document that "Balša and his mother have not abided by the terms of peace, but have done and are doing much injury to our territory."² A formal breach took place, and this time fortune declared itself decisively on the side of Balša, notwithstanding the fact that the Venetians endeavoured to secure the assistance of the Turks, to whom they appealed on the ground that George II. Strašimir, and presumably Balša III.—though of this there is no evidence—had levied a tax of one ducat upon every hearth for the purpose of paying tribute for certain lands which had been overrun by the Ottomans.³ The mediation of Sandalj Hranić was at length procured, and a second treaty concluded on the 26th of November, 1412.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 145, and IX. p. 1.

² "Monum. Slav.," IX. p. 102.

³ "Monum. Slav.," IX. pp. 20, 56, 102.

Antibari still remained in the power of Venice, but Budua, together with Dulcigno, was restored to Balša, and it was agreed that he should receive a pension of a thousand ducats a year.¹

The next few years passed uneventfully over the Zeta,² until, in 1419, Balša resumed the offensive against the Republic, recovered Drivasto, allied himself with the Hungarians and with his uncle, Stephen Lazarević of Serbia, and was able to regain possession of Skodra in spite of the opposition offered to him by the combined forces of the Venetians and the Turks. The star of Venice, however, was in the ascendant, and in July, 1420, the very year in which a large number of Dalmatian cities became subjects of the Signorie, Pietro Loredano, who four years previously had gained a brilliant victory over the Ottomans off Gallipoli, received the submission of Budua.³ Though twice unsuccessful in his endeavour to recapture Skodra, he appears to

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 253. The peace was ratified by Balša on the 30th of January, 1413.

² There is no evidence that Balša III. ever obtained possession of Durazzo, as Lenormant ("Revue Numism.," p. 260) infers from one of his coins, on the reverse of which is the superscription, S. LAURENCIUS, with the figure of that saint, the patron of Durazzo.

³ Budua was first handed over by Loredano to the community of Cattaro, which in its turn tendered its allegiance to Venice. "Monumenta historico-juridica," pt. I., vol. III., pp. 92-3.

have so far impaired the power of his adversary that, on the approach of a large Turkish force in 1421, the last ruler of the House of Balša was compelled to seek refuge in Serbia. The manner of his death is uncertain, though the account which makes him return to Skodra after the withdrawal of the Turks, and end his days in the city which had been the nucleus round which had clustered the dominions of his family, seems the most probable.¹ One after another the cities of the coast, together with Skodra and Drivasto, were captured by the Venetian forces. In the meantime, however, Stephen Lazarević sent an army into the Zeta, to which he laid claim in consequence of his nephew's death, and found himself in 1423, after a short struggle, in possession of Skodra. Two years later the war was renewed, and the intrigues of a Venetian traitor, Antonio Giustiniani, whose aim was to secure the Zeta as a principality for himself, and who obtained the assistance of Mara, Balša's widow, as well as of the commander of the Turkish forces in Albania, inflicted considerable injury upon the Republic. In 1426, for instance, the Turks were allowed to capture Durazzo,

¹ See Hopf, p. 100. Cp. Andrea Navagiero, ap. Muratori, "Rerum Ital. Script.," XXIII. p. 1084 (Milan, 1733).

though the citadel still held out, and they were at length compelled to withdraw. In that same year peace was concluded, and when Stephen died in 1427, his nephew and heir, George Branković, retired from the Zeta, where he had exercised his authority in accordance with the traditions bequeathed by the Nemanjid family, but where his rule had become unpopular and a certain Stephen Crnojević had already acquired a strong hold upon the affections of the people.¹

Before entering upon a discussion respecting the origin of the Crnojević, it will be well to pursue a train of thought suggested by the death of Balša III., and offer some general reflections on the condition of the Zeta at the time of the Balšas, with special reference to the various races by which it was peopled. The rule of the Balšas was essentially a rule of Serbs over Serbs ; but it extended at one time, as has been seen, not only over the Crnagora and those parts of the Zeta (in the old sense of the word) which are still inhabited by Slavs, but over the greater portion of that Albanian land which is the abode of quite a different race.

The Shkipetars, or Arnauts, are divided at present into two main branches, the Gueghs

¹ Hopf, p. 100, *seqq.*

and the Tosks, of whom the former dwell to the North, the latter to the South, of the valley of the Škumbi, which Strabo assigns as the boundary between Aetolia and Epirus. The direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians and consequently the oldest race in the Balkan peninsula, they were driven back by successive intrusions of alien peoples and races into the mountain fastnesses of the land which is usually called Albania, and became, both in name and in reality, Shkipetars, or Highlanders.¹ Whilst Slavonic tribes tilled the ground in the valleys and plains of the interior, especially within the boundaries of the land now occupied by the Gueghs, and the Greek element predominated in the cities of the coast ground in the valleys and plains of the interior, especially within the boundaries of the land now occupied by the Gueghs, and the Greek element predominated in the cities of the coast and the lowlands of the South, the Shkipetars dwelt upon their heights, leading a pastoral life varied by incessant feuds. Little by little, however, they became dissatisfied with the narrow bounds within which they were confined. Albanian nomads began to wander, like the Vlachs, over different parts of the

¹ J. G. von Hahn, "Albanesische Studien" (Jena, 1854), I. p. 230.

peninsula, seeking pasture for their flocks and herds, and occasionally settling down and forming a village. As early as the first half of the thirteenth century we hear of Albanian nomads in the Serbian lands, at least as far north as the Skodrine lake.¹ In the following century the expansive movement of the population resulted in the migration of a large number of Albanians into Thessaly, Southern Epirus, and the basin of the Achelous,² and in 1380 Manuel Contacuzene, despot of Misithra, induced numerous Albanian families to colonize the waste places of Greece, and infuse a fresh element into the Hellenic race, which had long before received an admixture of Slavonic blood. In Albania itself the Shkipetars descended gradually into the lowlands, and attained to a position of predominance, Shkipetar chieftains taking, in most cases, the place of Bulgarian *boljars* or Serbian *starješinas*.³ Such were the beginnings of the national movement which enabled Charles Thopia to grasp the reins of power, which raised into prominence the Musacchi and other

¹ See Jireček, "Geschichte der Bulgaren," p. 216 note.

² See Hertzberg, II. pp. 247, 381. The Shkipetars were nomads when they migrated. Cp. Chalcocondylas, IV. 111. Νομάδες τε ὄντες, καὶ οὐδαμῆ ἔτι βέβαιον σφῶν αὐτῶν τὴν οἰκισιν ποιοῦμενοι. But the colonies they established in Greece were mainly of an agricultural character.

³ Jireček, "Geschichte der Bulgaren," pp. 216-17.

Albanian princes, and which explains, to a great extent, the policy pursued by the House of Balša. It was in order to conciliate their Albanian subjects, who had adhered, for the most part, to the Western Church since the middle of the thirteenth century, that they entertained amicable relations with the Pope and went so far as to recognize his ecclesiastical supremacy; and, again, it was by dividing in order to govern, by playing off one chieftain against another, by turning to their own advantage the instinctive antagonism of the two races as well as the internal dissensions which prevailed among the Shkipetars, that they became—at least in the days of Balša II.—the most powerful ruling family in Albania.

At no period, probably, in their history, have the Serbs and Shkipetars been brought into closer contact with one another than during the rule of the Balšas. It is natural, therefore, to regard that period of transition and expansion as furnishing, in a great measure, an explanation of the reason why certain common elements have permeated the manners and customs of both races. It would be difficult to point to any particular characteristic derived by the Serbs of Montenegro from the Albanians, unless it be a few unimportant usages in war. Other points of

resemblance are explicable by reference to the circumstances in which they have both been placed. On the other hand, the Albanians derived from the Serbs not only a variety of laws and customs, but also the expressions by which those laws and customs were denoted.¹ That this should have been so implies, on the part of the Shkipetars, an inferior degree of civilization, though not necessarily of national consciousness. It is evident, however, that they possessed few of the qualities requisite for rule; they had little or no political sense. As Fallmerayer observes, "Wherever Albanians have attained to power they have monopolized the possession and the enjoyment of everything. They have never attempted to render life and property secure amongst their subjects."² In the South, the victories of Charles Tocco in the first two decades of the fifteenth century pressed back the Shkipetars in a northerly direction, and restored to the Greek element in Aetolia, Acarnania, Arta, and Joannina, the position which it had once occupied. In

¹ Jireček, "Geschichte der Bulgaren," p. 217. Miklosich, "Die Slavischen Elemente im Albanischen" ("Denkschriften der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. XIX., Wien, 1870). Thus the Serbian words *pronija*, *baština*, *kralj*, *domaćin* (housefather), *zakon* (law, observance), *rob* (slave), etc., pass into Albanian, sometimes with slight changes of meaning.

² Cited by Hertzberg, II. p. 423.

the North, the short-lived kingdom founded by Charles Thopia incurred the fate which has been described ; and though, under their national hero, Skanderbeg, who indeed was not an Albanian but a Serb, the Albanians made a firm stand for their freedom and their faith, most of them became, in the course of time, the most devoted subjects of their Ottoman conqueror and not the least fanatical adherents to the creed of Islam.

In addition to the Serbs and Shkipetars and incidentally the Greeks and Italians, over whom the most powerful of the Balšas exercised dominion,¹ it is necessary to make brief mention of two races which also contributed their quota to the population of the Zeta. It is a strange fact that while the Vlachs, or Roumans, have increased and multiplied in Roumania, the Banat of Temesvar, Transylvania, the Bukowine and Bessarabia, their numbers have greatly diminished in the lands to the South of the Danube, in various parts of which they formed settlements, as for

¹ It should be remembered that the northern part of Albania, co-extensive with the Zeta, was still peopled mainly by Serbs. Antibari and Dulcigno were inhabited principally by Italians and Italianized Illyrians—who, though akin to the Shkipetars, had long since lost all trace of their origin—whilst the suburbs of those two places were the abode of Serbs. (*Cp.* Jireček, "Die Handelsstrassen," etc.) The city of Balša I. was, properly speaking, the Serbian Skader or Italian Scutari, and had not yet recovered its time-honoured indigenous name of Skodra.

example in Thessaly and in the neighbourhood of Ochrida. Whether the Roumans came originally from the North or from the South of the Danube, whether, in fact, they are to be regarded as the descendants of the Romanized Dacians or of the Romanized Thracians, is a question of more interest than importance. It will suffice to say that they were very numerous in the Serbian lands, and consequently in the Zeta, where they fed their flocks and herds on the lofty pasture-grounds of the Illyrian Alps, or engaged in trade on a small scale.¹ In Albania, too, they formed scattered settlements; and when, at a much later period, they founded the four great, though short-lived, commercial towns of Moschopolis in central Albania, of Krušovo near Prilep, of Arbanasi near Trnovo, and of Bej Arnaut between Rustchuk and Varna, the names of at least two of these places indicate the fact that the Vlachs were sometimes confounded with the Shkipetars, or Arnauts, among whom they had long resided, and with whom they doubtless intermarried to a certain extent.² Whatever Rouman elements once existed in the population of what

¹ Jireček, "Geschichte der Bulgaren," pp. 113-115, 218-221.

² Another remarkable fact is that now, among most Slavonic nations, the word Vlach is used indifferently to denote an Italian and a Rouman. Cp. Jireček, "Die Handelsstrassen," pp. 4-5.

is now Montenegro, have by this time been completely absorbed by the Serbian element.

With the Cigani, or Gypsies, of Montenegro, it has fared differently. According to one view, that remarkable race entered Europe in large numbers in the thirteenth century, passing along the northern coast of the Black Sea and settling down first in Bessarabia and then in Wallachia, whence they spread in different directions, many passing into Albania and afterwards into Greece together with the Shkipetars who migrated to that country.¹ According to another view, which derives its main support from philological considerations, they first appeared in Greece—though it is difficult to imagine how they came there—and afterwards made their way into Wallachia.² In any case they were to be found in the Illyrian Alps and in the island of Corfu towards the close of the fourteenth century. According to popular tradition, a certain Kurto, who migrated from the district of Kolašin at a time when that district was already under Turkish rule, was the ancestor

¹ Hopf, "Die Einwanderung der Zigeuner in Europa," cited by Hertzberg, II. pp. 470-2.

² Miklosich, "Ueber die Mundarten und Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas" (Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vols. XXI., XXII., XXIII., Wien, 1874), cited by Jireček, "Geschichte der Bulgaren," p. 477. The various Romany dialects have assimilated more words derived from the Greek than from the Rouman, or the Slavonic, or the Albanian.

of the Montenegrin *Ciganji*.¹ It is impossible, of course, to fix the date of their arrival with any degree of precision, but it is probable that they first settled within the borders of the Crnagora at the time of the Balšas. They have preserved their nationality distinct; for though they speak the same language, adhere to the same faith, clothe themselves in the same fashion, and have in general the same manners and customs as the rest of the Montenegrins, they scarcely ever intermarry with them, and still form a hereditary caste of tinkers and blacksmiths.²

I have lingered thus long over the period of the Balšas because it contains the germ of most of the movements by which the destinies of Montenegro have been mainly affected, and also because it represents the period of transition from the Serbian Empire to the principality of the Crnagora, thus exhibiting in a striking manner the continuity of their history. The rise of Stephen Crnojević marks the commencement of a new epoch.

¹ B. Bogišić, "Die Slavisirten Zigeuner in Montenegro, in Das Ausland," Stuttgart, May 25th, 1874.

² In 1874 Bogišić estimated their number at 500, but many Cigani who dwelt at that time in the surrounding districts must have become Montenegrin subjects since the Treaty of Berlin. They are sometimes called *meštar* or *majstor*, i.e. masters, with reference to their skilled workmanship, and sometimes *Jegjupak*, a word which, like our *Gipsy*, assigns to an Indo-European race an Egyptian origin.

PART II.

MONTENEGRO.

CHAPTER I.

Rise of the House of Crnojević—Stephen Crnojević and his son Ivan—Their connection with the movements associated with the names of Hunyadi and Skanderbeg—Advance of the Turks—Fall of Žabliak and foundation of the monastery of Cetinje—Close of the dynasty—Characteristics of the period—The history of the Zeta becomes transformed into the history of Montenegro.

THE withdrawal of George Branković into Serbia enabled Stephen Crnojević to assert a wholly independent authority over the Crnagora. Who Stephen Crnojević was is a question which has given rise to considerable controversy.¹ Attempts have been made to connect his family, like that of the Balšas,

¹ The Ragusan historians, Orbini, Luccari, and Appendini, give somewhat confused accounts of the occurrences which followed Balša's death. Ducange ("Familiaë Dalmaticæ," p. 268, and "Illyricum vetus atque novum," p. 134) cites from some other writers. See also Andrić, "Geschichte des Fürstenthums Montenegro" (Wien, 1853), pp. 8-10. Hopf sheds most light upon the subject.

with a Western House, and to trace his descent from the French de Maramonts, who settle in Apulia at the time of the Angevin Kings of Naples.¹ Some writers have declared that Stephen migrated to Apulia immediately after the death of Balša III., who, it is alleged, had renewed the war with Venice at his instigation, and had entrusted him temporarily with the reins of power; and it is added that he afterwards returned to the Zeta in a Ragusan vessel. There can, however, be no reasonable doubt that Stephen Crnojević was, as Flavius Comnenus calls him, a "native Dalmatian," in the sense that he was a Serb. It is equally certain that he was the son of the Radić Crnoj, whose insurrection and death at the time of George II. Strašimir have already been described.² It is probable, too, that his family was connected by ties of marriage with that of the Balšas.

¹ Ducange ("*Familiaë Dalmaticæ*," p. 268) quotes Ammiratus, II. pp. 234, 257, in support of this view, but adds, "*quamquam Flavius Comnenus Dalmatam indigenam fuisse scribit.*" *Cp.* Lenormant, "*Deux dynasties françaises.*" The origin of the error is doubtless the jingle of names: Maramonte, Mauro Monte, Montenegro, Crnagora, Crnagorac, Crnojević.

² Miklosich ("*Monum. Serbica*") gives a document (No. 491) in which Radić and Stephen Crnojević promise to be friendly to the Ragusans. On the back of the document is written: "*Ponelia de Radic Cernoievich e de li soi fradelii.*" This refers probably to the time of Radić's insurrection, and the Stephen mentioned in the text is an otherwise unknown uncle of the famous Stephen Crnojević.

Stephen had two brothers, George and Gojčin, older than himself. They appear to have ruled for a short time conjointly with him, and after their death he concentrated in his own hands the territory which had been their appanage.¹

The extent of Stephen's territory was almost as great as that of Balša III., inasmuch as it comprised, in addition to the mountainous country to the north and east of Cetinje, the plains of the Zeta, in the narrower sense of the word, and the islands in the Skodrine lake.² Antibari had emerged from the war between Venice and the Serbs as an independent commonwealth, closely connected with Ragusa, and it was only in 1441 that it submitted itself wholly to the rule of Venice. The power of George Branković appears to have extended, for a few years after his withdrawal, over that portion of the Zeta which lay immediately to the South of the Bocche di Cattaro; for we find that in 1435 the Signorie surrendered Budua into his hands for the purpose of securing his alliance. At that time, therefore, he must have been able to

¹ Hopf, IV. p. 164. *Cp.* Jireček, "Die Handelsstrassen," p. 71. Some treaties between the Ragusans and Gojčin have been preserved.

² In 1419 Ragusa acquired South Konawlje, and in 1427 North Konawlje. See Jireček, "Die Handelsstrassen," p. 14.

command the line of communications from Serbia to that city. Seven years later, however, in consequence of the disasters which befell George Branković, Budua was received again into the Venetian dominions at the request of its own citizens.¹ It is hardly necessary to add that Skodra, Drivasto, and Dulcigno were already in the possession of the Republic.

The building of the fortress of Žabliak by Stephen Crnojević, not far from the spot where the Morača falls into the Skodrine lake, was designed primarily as a defence against the incursions of the Turks, into whose hands the greater part of Albania had fallen in 1430. Alibeg, the son of the celebrated Evrenus, resided at Croja. In 1438 Serbia was reduced to the condition of servitude from which it had emerged after the death of Bajazet, and George Branković was compelled to take refuge in Hungary. The effect of these events was to arouse to united action the Christian

¹ "Monumenta historico-juridica," pt. I., vol. III., pp. 92-8. In the document of 1435 we read: "Item quia petebat præfatus dominus (*i.e.* George Branković) catunos Cernagoræ sibi consignari per illustrem dominum ducem et dominium Venetiarum, convenerunt prædictæ partes et concorditer et unanimiter declaraverunt, omnes prædictos catunos Cernagoræ esse et spectare ac pertinere præfato domino duci et dominio Venetiarum cum omnibus suis dotis, possessionibus, patrimoniis, vineis et campis, cum ipsi catuni Cernagoræ in confinibus domini Venetiarum inclusi sint, et ipsius domini continue fuerint."

powers most deeply concerned to check the Ottoman advance; and the accession of Ladislaus, King of Poland, to the throne of Hungary, was followed by the outbreak of a struggle which seemed for a while to threaten with destruction the Turkish domination in Europe.

The name with which that great struggle is inseparably connected is that of John Hunyadi, a Magyarized Rouman, celebrated in Western chronicles as the White Knight of Wallachia and in Serbian *chansons de geste* as Sibinanin Janko-John of Hermannstadt. Of the various incidents that signalized the campaigns of 1442 and 1443, in the second of which the Hungarian general crossed the Balkans with the aid of Serbian, Wallachian, and German auxiliaries, and returned to Buda laden with spoil, it is unnecessary to speak. The treaty of Szegedin (July 12th, 1444), by which the war was terminated, restored to Serbia her independence under George Branković, whilst Wallachia remained in the power of Hungary and Bulgaria in that of the Turks. The treaty, however, was broken at the instigation of Cardinal Julian, and the disastrous battle of Varna (Nov. 10th, 1444), followed four years later by a second great defeat on the field of Kossovo, brought

Serbia again under tribute, with the exception of Belgrade, which in 1456 offered a strenuous and successful resistance under Hunyadi, who repulsed Mahomet the Conqueror from its walls; and the city remained in the possession of Hungary until the year 1521, when it was captured by Solyman the Magnificent. Serbia, however, passed from the tributary stage into that of complete subjection to the Turkish yoke before the year 1459 had come to a close; so that the exploits of Hunyadi served only to retard, without being able to stem the advancing tide of Mohammedan conquest.

In the meantime, however, a more protracted and no less heroic struggle was taking place in the Western parts of the Balkan peninsula. About the year 1434 Arianita Commenus, lord of Apollonia, placed himself at the head of a great movement directed mainly by the Shkipetars against the Turks and was able to inflict a bloody defeat on Alibeg. The movement was temporarily suppressed chiefly through the exertions of Turachan, the subsequently famous Beyler Bey of Thessaly,¹ but reasserted itself in all the fulness of its strength at the time when Hunyadi's second campaign dealt an ap-

¹ See Hertzberg, II. p. 512.

parently fatal blow to the Ottoman power. It was then that there arose in the person of George Castriot, the Judas Maccabæus of the Albanians, a leader worthy of the cause for which they were contending. Chroniclers and poets¹ have surrounded his name with a halo of romance. Historic criticism has eliminated the romantic elements, without detracting from the glory of the achievements.

The family of George Castriot was, in reality, of Slavonic origin, though connected by marriage with the Albanian House of Thopia. In 1368 his great-grandfather Branilo had assisted Alexander Giorić against Balša II.,¹ and his father, Ivan Castriot, who was the all-powerful lord of Croja until the time when that city fell into the hands of the Turks, had been, in conjunction with Venice, the antagonist of Balša III.² George Castriot, the youngest of four brothers, appears to have entered for a time the Turkish service, although he is known to have spent his youth in Albania and not, as has generally been supposed, at the court of Murad and in other parts of the peninsula. In

¹ Some conception of their number may be inferred from the "Bibliographie de Scanderbeg," by G. Petrovitch (Paris, 1881) One narrative, viz., that which is due, in all probability, to Marino Barleti, would seem to have served as the ultimate original authority for all.

² Hopf, IV., pp. 43, 122.

1444, having made himself master of Croja, he constituted himself the defender of his native land, and, with the assistance of his father-in-law, Arianita Comnenus, the hero of the previous rising, placed himself at the head of the Albanian movement, which he sought to connect with Hungary, Rome, Venice, and the Serbian inhabitants of the Zeta. In the list of chieftains who were present at the congress convoked by Skanderbeg at Alessio in the summer of 1444, occurs the name of Stephen Crnojević,¹ who appears to have occupied at that time a position of considerable importance. His authority over the Zeta—with the exception of such portions of the coast as still belonged to Venice—was no longer disputed or disputable. For a time the depredations committed by his subjects upon the territory of Cattaro had been a source of discord with the Republic, but the occurrence of a serious and untimely conflict had been averted by the mediation of the community of Cattaro itself² which perceived the advantages to be derived from a cessation of hostilities at a time when the necessity for concerted action against the common foe was most keenly felt. Nor did

¹ Barleti, "Fatti illustri del signor Georgio Scanderbegh, ap. Sansovino, dell' origine e guerre de' Turchi," II. p. 272.

² See Farlati, VI. p. 403.

Stephen apprehend any danger from the side of Bosnia ; for that kingdom, far from being aggressive, as in the days of Tvarto the Great, was in a state of rapid decay ; and Stephen Hranić, or Cosača, the son of Sandalj, had taken the opportunity of transferring his allegiance to Frederick III.—not indeed in his capacity of Austrian archduke and author of the motto “ *Austriæ est Imperare orbi Universo,*” but as the Holy Roman Emperor—and had been created by him Duke (Herzog, Herzega) of St. Sava,¹ so that the name of Chelm became, for this reason, transformed into that of the Herzegovina. Nor again, was the antipathy between Shkipetar and Serb, between Catholic and Orthodox, sufficiently strong to stand in the way of an alliance directed against the forces of the Crescent. Skanderbeg himself, as has been seen—Skanderbeg, the national hero of the Albanians, was of Serbian origin ; and he only strengthened his position by giving his sister Maria in marriage to Stephen Cronojević.²

¹ The precise title was “ Duke of Primorje,” and, according to Mr. A. Evans (“ *Through Bosnia,*” etc., London, 1877, Introd. p. 69), “ the name Duke of St. Sava was rather a popular spicing together of this and his other title of ‘ Keeper of the Sepulchre of St. Sava.’ ”

² Hopf, IV. p. 123. According to some, it was Scanderbeg’s daughter, Voissava. (*Cp.* Ducange, “ *Familiæ Dalmatiæ,*” p. 268.)

The congress of Alessio was followed in the same year by the battle of the Dibra, in which the Turks were repulsed with great loss ; and from that time a continuous struggle was waged for nearly twenty-three years between the Albanians and the Sultan. Towards the beginning of the war the combined forces of the Shkipetars and Montenegrins appear to have numbered about 12,000 men. In 1449 George Castriot and Arianita Comnenus received material support from Venice, and were formally recognized as *condottieri* of the Republic.¹ Similar honours were paid in 1451 to Stephen Crnojević as lord of the Zeta;² and two years later extensive privileges were conferred upon him, including the right of obtaining from Cattaro provisions of the value of 600 ducats a year, together with a tithe of the goods imported into that city or exported from it by land, in return for which he undertook to make the authority of the Signorie respected in the Župa, or mountainous district which extends from Cattaro to Buda, along the southern shore of the Bocche.³ So far the efforts of Skanderbeg had been attended with almost unvarying success. But the capture of Sfetigrad, in

¹ *Cp.* Hertzberg, II. p. 528. ² See Hopf, IV. p. 125.

³ Estratto dagli Annali Veneti conservati nella biblioteca di corte a Vienna, in the "Monum. Slav.," VI. p. 4.

the Upper Dibra, in July, 1449, prepared the way for a series of reverses. A guerilla warfare continued to be carried on, and in 1450 and 1451 a few victories were gained; but the result was, on the whole, unfavourable. The death, in 1461, of Charles Musacchi Thopia, who was closely connected with Skanderbeg, and whose daughter Yela was married to George Crnojević, Stephen's younger son,¹ deprived the cause of one of its ablest champions; and although the Sultan was compelled, in that same year, to recognize Skanderbeg as lord of Albania and Epirus, the catastrophe was not long delayed. The heroic resistance which had not only co-operated with Hunyadi in the work of retarding the Ottoman advance into Eastern Europe, but also, in all probability, prevented Mohammed II. from accomplishing his project of invading Italy by crossing the Adriatic from Durazzo,² was brought to a termination by the death of George Castriot at Alessio on the 17th of January, 1468.³ The whole of Albania, with the exception of the

¹ See Hopf, IV. p. 135.

² See, *inter alia*, V. Makušev, "Monumenta," vol. II., p. 25, *seqq.*

³ Hopf, IV., p. 135. On Scanderbeg generally see also Hertzberg, II. pp. 511-4, 528; Gopčević, "Oberalbanien und seine Liga" (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 494-512, and especially Jireček, "Geschichte der Bulgaren," pp. 368-9, who bases his account upon the researches made by Makušev into the history of the Slavs in Albania.

towns still held by the Venetians, fell into the hands of the Turks. Even Croja passed into their possession.

Stephen Crnojević died a few months before his great ally, and was buried in the monastery of the Ascension which he had built on the island of Kom, in the Skodrine lake. He was succeeded by his son Ivan, who had already attained to renown in many a battle against the Turks, fighting valorously on the side of Skanderbeg, with whom his name is indelibly associated in the songs that are sung to the sound of the guzla in commemoration of his great deeds. Around him, as around so many heroes of a nation's early history, has clustered a cycle of legends. To the descendants of his enemies the name of Ivanbeg is still a source of terror, and among his countrymen the belief is not yet wholly extinct, and is still kept alive in many a *pjesma*, that he is not really dead, but sleeps in a rocky cave near Obod, whence he will some day arise, like Marko Kraljević and Dušan the Great, to drive the Turks from Europe.

Ivan Crnojević had fallen on evil days. In every direction the Ottoman arms were attended with success. The capture of Constantinople in 1453, though an event of

primary importance in the history of civilization, exercised far less influence over the destinies of the Balkan peninsula than the battles of Kossovo and of Varna. Nevertheless it stands out as the most conspicuous landmark in the history of the time. The subjugation of Trebizond, of Greece, and of the Crimea, helped to signalize the eventful reign of Mahomet II. ; and the occupation of Otranto by Ahmed Kedük, the conqueror of the Crimea, seemed to bring the scheme for an invasion of Italy within the sphere of what might be practically achieved. Serbia, as has been seen, was completely reduced to the position of a Turkish province, though Belgrade remained in the power of Matthias Corvinus. Four years later, in 1463, the kingdom of Bosnia incurred the same fate. Bosnia's last king was put to death in the Sultan's presence by the Mufti, who exclaimed, "It is good to slay such infidels ;" and his widow was forced to seek refuge at Spalato, where she remained for some years, though the close of her life was spent in Hungary. A more strenuous resistance was offered by the Duke of St. Sava, whose daughter was the wife of Ivan Crnojević,¹ and by his two sons, Ladislaus and Vlatko, who were at length

¹ Ducange, " *Illyricum vetus atque novum*," p. 265.

compelled to abandon the Herzegovina, together with the district of Konawlje, to the Ottoman forces. A strip of territory in the possession of the Turks now parted the land of Ivan Crnojević from the Republic of Ragusa. In Albania still further progress was effected, and the attack was directed against those portions of the country which still remained in the hands of Venice. In 1474 an attempt to capture Skodra was made by Soliman, the Beyler Bey of Roumelia, but failed in consequence of the able defence offered by Antonio Loredano, seconded by the efforts of Ivan Crnojević, who took up his position upon the hill of San Marco, which commanded the city.¹ Thus he whom two years previously the doge Nicolas Trono had called the mortal enemy of Venice,² owing apparently to certain depredations committed on the territory of Cattaro, was now fighting on the side of the Republic against the common enemy. Nor did Ivan fail to render assistance to the Venetians when, in 1478, Mahomet himself advanced against Skodra with an army which is estimated by early and uncritical writers at 350,000 men, and commenced the memorable

¹ See Gopčević, "Montenegro und die Montenegriner," p. 4.

² "Monum. historico-juridica," pt. I., vol. III. "Ivan Cernoï" is spoken of in 1472 as "nostro mortal inimico."

siege which ended with the capture of the city.¹ At the conclusion of the war, Butrinto, Durazzo, Antibari, and Dulcigno, were the only important places which remained in the possession of the Republic on the eastern coast of the Adriatic south of Budua; and her losses were so great that she found herself unable to take any thought for the ally to whom she was indebted for invaluable assistance. The Turks still pressed forward and overran the territory of Ivan Crnojević. Žabliak had fallen into their hands in 1477; and though, in 1481, they lost it for awhile, in consequence of a sudden attack directed against them by Ivan and certain of his allies,² who kept alive in their hearts a hope that bordered on despair, the arrival of large reinforcements animated the Turks with fresh energy; and the fortress which had shared with Skodra and Dulcigno the privilege of being, at one time or another, the capital of the Zeta, passed into their possession, and remained for more than three centuries and a half the cynosure of the Montenegrin High-

¹ See Marino Barleti, 'Dell' Assedio di Scutari,' ap. Sansovino, and Von Hammer, I.

² Thus, on June 15th, 1481, the Rector and Council of Ragusa write to the King of Sicily: "Leca Ducaninus (*i.e.* Ducagin) et Ivan Cernovich in Albaniam advolarunt. Deus eorum vota fellicitet et secundet, sed sane externo favore eos parum profecturos credimus." Makušev, "Monumenta," II. p. 105

landers. The lower and more exposed portions of the Zeta were abandoned to the mercy of the invader, after a vigorous resistance against fearful odds ; and all who had at heart the preservation of their national independence took refuge in the mountainous region of the Crnagora, which had always formed an integral part of the dominions alike of the Balšas and of the Crnojević, and which now became for centuries the chosen home of liberty. After a short absence in Italy, where he endeavoured, but in vain, to arouse an active interest on behalf of his people, Ivan returned to the Crnagora, which had remained during the interval, according to the traditional account, under the care of his younger brother George Crnojević,¹ who is sometimes called Arnaut, or Arvanit, doubtless on account of his marriage with the daughters of the Albanian Charles Musacchi Thopia. Ivan proceeded to establish a polity adapted to the peculiar circumstances amid which those over whom he bore rule were situated. The first thing needful was to assign a centre, at once political and religious, to the new state. This he effected by making Cettinje the village-capital of his dominions.

¹ Cp. Gopčević, "Montenegro und die Montenegriner," p. 4. Frilley et Vlahoviti, "Le Monténégro Contemporain," p. 18.

Thither he transferred the residence of the Metropolitan of the Zeta, the venerable Visarion, whose dwelling-place had been until then at Vranina, in the island of that name. There, too, he built, in 1484 and 1485, as is attested by the original charter which still exists,¹ a monastery, on the model of that of the Maria Dolorosa at Ancona, a specimen of architecture with which many of the Serbs who inhabited the Zeta may have been familiar, owing to their frequent intercourse with that city.² About the same time a truly characteristic law was passed by the assembled people, to the effect that any man who should abandon the field of battle, except at his commander's bidding, or show sign of fear, should be clothed in the garb of women and driven by women from the country as a coward and a traitor. Thus did they steel their hearts against the promptings of despair; for though it lay in their power to purchase an ignominious security by the surrender of their freedom and the denial of their creed, they preferred to maintain intact the independence which was their birthright, on the barren heights of their

¹ Miklosich, "Monumenta Serbica," doc. 453. It is signed by "Ivan Crnojević, Gospodar of the Zeta." Certain lands are assigned to the monastery, on the slopes of Mount Lovćen.

² See Makušev, "Monumenta," vol. I. *passim*.

mountain fastnesses. Ἄρχειν τε εἶλοντο λυπρῆν οἰκέοντες
μᾶλλον, ἢ πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.¹

The sort of social compact by which the brave inhabitants of the Crnagora agreed to forego such material advantages as might be secured by submission, and to live and die fighting for their faith and freedom, brings to mind the time—towards the beginning of the eighth century—when Muza and Tarik, Emirs of Cordova, subjugated the greater part of the Iberian peninsula, and when a small band of patriots sought refuge in the inaccessible Asturian mountains, and prepared the way for the total expulsion of the Moors from Spain. In both cases it was a Mohammedan power of which the victorious career was checked ; in both we find the same heroic resistance, the same indomitable will ; and Ivan Crnojević finds a parallel in the immortal Pelayo.

The closeness of the ties which still subsisted between the Crnagora and Venice is indicated by the fact that Ivan's son George, who succeeded him in 1490, had married a Venetian lady, the daughter of Antonio Erizzo—an event upon which is founded one of the most celebrated of the Montenegrin *pjesme*,² which

¹ Herodotus, IX. 122.

² Some account of it is given in Denton's "Montenegro," and, at greater length by Chopin, in "L'Univers Pittoresque."

speaks of a marriage between Ivan's eldest son, named Maxim, and a daughter of the doge Mocenigo. This, of course, is purely imaginary; and Maxim is none other than the renegade Stephen, or Staniša, the younger brother of George. Still the connection between the fact and the fiction may easily be traced; and the poem itself represents the manner in which the Montenegrins regarded the alliance with effeminate and ungrateful Venice as the source of many woes.¹ It was at Venice, too, that George Crnojević caused a printing-press to be set up, and afterwards to be transferred to Obod, a fortress which his father had built on the river of that name, subsequently known as the Crnojevićka Rjeka. The most interesting point in connection with that printing-press is that it was almost the first from which Slavonic books, printed in Cyrillic letters were issued. Indeed, with the exception of the books printed at Cracow in 1491 by Sveipolt Fiol, there is no reason to believe that any work appeared in that character before the liturgical books which were printed at Obod in 1493 and in the following years,² though a few Czech books had been printed

¹ Such, at any rate, is Hopf's quasi-allegorical interpretation.

² Andrić, p. 16. Gopčević, "Montenegro und die Montenegriner," p. 97.

in the Gothic type at Pilsen as early as 1468.¹ The object which George Crnojević had in view was to spread among his people the literature of the Orthodox Church, in order to counteract, in some measure, the proselytising efforts of the Turks, efforts which, seconded as they were by the sword, induced many inhabitants of the outlying districts to profess the creed of the Prophet. Nor were the Turks unaided by traitors within the Montenegrin fold. Stephen, or Staniša, the "Maxim" of the above, mentioned *pjesma*, yielding to an inordinate desire for power, had visited Constantinople, embraced Mohammedanism, received the name of Skanderbeg, and been entrusted by Bajazet II. with an army, with which he promised to reduce Montenegro to a condition of subjection, on condition that he should be appointed its sandjak bey. The two brothers, according to the tradition, met on the Lješkopolje, and the battle which ensued resulted in the total defeat of Staniša, who

¹ See Morfill's "Slavonic Literature" (London, 1883), pp. 24, 86. The Cyrillic alphabet, which is derived probably from Greek uncials (whilst the Glagolitic, now employed only by the Croats of Dalmatia in their religious books, is a modification of Greek cursives), is used at present by the Russians, the Serbs, and the Bulgarians, and was also used, with some variations, from 1436 to 1828 by the Roumanians. It was only in 1553 that the first press was set up in Moscow.

fled to Skodra, where the inhabitants refused to receive him, so that he was compelled to seek refuge in the obscure Albanian village of Bušatlj, and became the ancestor of the great hereditary pashas of Skodra, the Bušatljas.¹ The tradition is not, however, borne out in its entirety by the documentary evidence which we possess ; and it is certain that Staniša not only retained for a long time the title bestowed upon him by the Sultan, but actually exercised a certain dominion over the outskirts of the Black Mountain as late as the year 1524.²

Respecting the last rulers of the House of Crnojević the details that have been handed down are few in number and very confused. George, the son of Ivan, was induced by his Venetian wife to exchange his precarious sovereignty over the Crnagora for the delights of Venice, and died in all probability either in that city or at Milan in 1514,³ though,

¹ Andrić, pp. 14-15. Gopčević, "M. und die M.," p. 5. Frilley et Vlahoviti, pp. 19, 20.

² See Marino Sanudo's diarii, in the "Arkiv," vol. VI. p. 418. July, 1514. "Vene in colegio uno nontio dil Sanzacho di Montenegro chiamato . . . Zernovich, fo fradello di quello qual ave una Eriza per moglie ed e morto hora," etc. ; and "Monum. Slav.," VI. p. 193. Relatio viri nobilis ser Francisci de cha Taiapetra, qui fuit rector et provisor Cathari (1524-7) : "Scanderbergo Cernovich, sanzacho de Monte Negro, veramente è persona maligna, el qual ha la natura di azontador," etc.

³ In 1499 George Crnojević made a will at Milan in favour of his wife, Elizabeth Erizzo. The Slavonic original, together with

according to some, he wandered first to France, then to Rome, and finally to Constantinople, where he became a Mohammedan and rose into high favour with the Sultan of the day.¹ The traditional account states that he was succeeded by Stephen, the son of George Arvanit, younger brother of Ivan Crnojević, in 1497, a year which was also marked by the cessation of the Venetian protectorate over Montenegro;² and it is added that Stephen was followed in 1515 by a certain Ivan, who resigned after a few months in favour of his son George, the last ruler of the House of Crnojević, who in his turn migrated in 1516, as his namesake had done, to Venice.³ In the absence, however, of any documentary evidence, it is impossible to

an Italian translation made in 1514, presumably the year of George's death, by a certain Nicolas de Pasquali, is given by Kukuljević Sakcinski in the "Arkiv," vol. II. p. 41.

¹ So Camerarius, "Narrat. Turc.," p. 64 (Francfort, 1598), who speaks of him as George Carlovich. Some support is given to this account by the letters received from Cattaro and cited in Marino Sanudo's chronicle ("Arkiv," vol. V. pp. 93, 95, 99), where it is stated (1500) that George "Zernovich" has returned to Montenegro, but has been captured by the sandjak bey of Skodra and conveyed to Constantinople. The provveditore of Cattaro, however, often confounded rumours with facts, as may be perceived by a perusal of his correspondence. This much is certain, that in July, 1499, George Crnojević offered to return to Montenegro to fight against the Turks ("Arkiv," vol. V. p. 45).

² Trevisan, provveditore of Cattaro, writes to Fires, or Firus, the sandjak bey of Skodra: "Pero del pæxe fo del Zernovich nui no ve impazemo ne volem impazarse cosa alguna" ("Arkiv," vol. V. p. 9. Cf. Von Hammer, I. p. 644

³ Andrić, pp. 15, 16.

attach historical value to these traditions, which are themselves intrinsically improbable. At any rate, there is reason to believe that, in or about the year 1515, the aged Vladika Vavil, who resided at Cetinje, had concentrated in his hands the civil and the ecclesiastical powers of the small state, though by what means this change was effected it is impossible to say. Perhaps it is best to accept the tradition which tells how the last Crnojević, whoever he may have been, convoked an assembly of the people before leaving the land over which his family had ruled, and solemnly transferred the authority which he possessed to the venerable metropolitan of the Zeta. It is certain that the change was brought about with the full concurrence of the people ; for no other explanation would be consistent with what we know of the nature of the Montenegrin character. At this point, then, commences the period of the prince-bishops, which has lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century. Before entering upon its history, it will be well to glance back briefly at the period by which it was preceded.

If the age of the Balšas was, on the whole, one of expansion, the age of the Crnojević formed, in a certain sense, an epoch of con-

centration in the history of the principality. No attempt was made by them to enforce or extend their rule over Albanians. Their aim was not to grasp at that which they did not possess, but to save that which they had from falling into the hands of their enemies. As time went on, their position became more and more precarious; and it was only by retrenching themselves behind an inaccessible bulwark erected by nature against all assailants, that they were able to preserve unimpaired the independence of their people. With them the history of the Zeta becomes narrowed down into the history of the Crnagora,¹ and new circumstances, which will exercise a determining influence upon the national character, come into being. Deprived of any share in the fertile plains that extend to the south of their mountain fastnesses, debarred from the possession of a sea-coast, and consequently hindered from holding any direct or continuous intercourse with the outer world, it will be the lot of the

¹ In the course of the fifteenth century the name Albania was extended so as to include the whole of the Zeta (in the old sense of the word) as far North as the Bocche. Even the district in which Cattaro is situated is still sometimes called Austrian Albania; and there was a difference of opinion between Napoleon and the Austrian plenipotentiaries, just before the treaty of Campo-Formio was signed, as to whether Cattaro belonged to Dalmatia or to Albania. The name Zeta was gradually confined to the region round Žabliak.

Montenegrins, for well-nigh four centuries, to wage an incessant warfare against the Turks, and to supplement the scanty sustenance afforded by the cultivated patches of ground which their indefatigable toil has created in the midst of rocks, by making forays into the surrounding country in order to obtain the necessaries of life. Heroism will become the national virtue. Every man will be a patriot ; every patriot will deem it his duty to be foremost in the strife, and the love of liberty will call forth deeds of valour even from women and from children.

The Crnagora, of which Ivan Crnojević was prince, and of which the greater part became subject to the rule of the Vladikas, may be said to have included the four *nahie*, or provinces, of Katunska, though less extensive than it is at present, of Rječka, of Crmnica, and of Lješanska. The most important of these was undoubtedly the first, in which was situated Cetinje, and which formed the stronghold of Montenegrin independence. The four provinces of the Brda, or mountainous region which lies to the north-east of a line drawn from Nikšić to Spuž, were not added until the eighteenth century ; so that the Crnagora was virtually co-extensive with the limestone district which extends

from the neighbourhood of Antibari to the Herzegovinian frontier, and which is characterized by dolomitic peaks and labyrinths of huge rocks, with numerous caves and fissures, that form, in many cases, the sole outlet for the smaller streams, though some of the rivers have carved out open valleys for themselves in the direction of the Skodrine lake. No country could be better adapted for a long-continued guerilla warfare.

The Serbian name of Crnagora, by which that country is known, occurs, as has been seen, in a Venetian document of the year 1435. The probability is, therefore, that it was in use at a considerably earlier period; and there is no need to appeal, in confirmation of this view, to the doubtful tradition which assigns to Stephen Crnojević the appellation of Crnagorać, the Montenegrin. The founder of the line of Crnojević, whether Radič Crnoj or some chieftain to us unknown, may have derived his name, like Kara Othman, from the black colour of his hair, reputed a sign of manly beauty, or from that of his armour, as was the case with our Black Prince; or possibly from the awe with which he inspired his enemies. Nor is it necessary to trace any connection between the name of the country and that of its rulers. There can

scarcely be any doubt that the word Crnagora, which has been rendered Montenegro by the Venetians, Maurovouni by the Greeks, Mal-Esüa by the Shkipetars and Kara-Dagh by the Turks, was intended originally to denote a physical fact.¹ It contains, in all probability, an allusion to the dark and sombre aspect imparted to the limestone rocks by the heavy rains of winter and of spring as well as by their overgrowth of lichens, an aspect equally striking to those who leave behind them the Italian scenery and vegetation of the Bocche di Cattaro, and to those who pass from the sandstone region of the Brda, with its spreading forests and lofty pasture-grounds, interspersed with dolomitic peaks, into the bleak land of Ivan Crnojević.

¹ The subject is discussed, to some extent, by Frilley et Vlahoviti, pp. 81-84.

CHAPTER II.

Montenegro under the government of elective Vladikas—Protracted struggles with the Turks—Period of Turkish greatness—Relations with Venice and other European powers—Bolizza's account of the country—The Sicilian Vespers of Montenegro—The office of Vladika becomes hereditary in the family of Danilo Petrović Njeguš.

It is unnecessary to linger long over the period that extends from the resignation of the last Crnojević to the year 1711, a year in which the office of Vladika ceases to be elective and becomes hereditary, and in which Russia begins to exercise an important influence over the destinies of Montenegro. The order of succession of the prince-bishops has been preserved, though the dates are in several cases uncertain.¹ The essential nature of their authority will be discussed in another section, in connection with the general ecclesiastical history of Montenegro. It will be

¹ See Andrić, pp. 18-23. Frilley et Vlahoviti, p. 20. The former list is founded mainly upon the dates of liturgical books printed at various times—though no longer at Obod or at Cetinje—by order of some of the Vladikas; the latter is based upon "documents preserved in the monastery of Cetinje."

sufficient, for the present, to say that they were assisted, in the exercise of their civil powers, by certain "civil governors" (*upravitelji*), whose office was not hereditary, as it became in the eighteenth century, but who appear to have been appointed by the Vladika himself, and to have been in every case natives of the Katunska *nahia*.¹ No chronicler has rescued from oblivion the memory of the valorous deeds performed during that long period; no glamour of an illustrious name illuminates those two centuries of war, and many an unnamed Leonidas may have perished in some Slavonic Thermopylæ in battle against the barbarian foe. Even the *pjesme* are few and far between. In the intellectual revival which made Ragusa a centre of Italian, of Greek, and, above all, of Slavonic culture, Montenegro had no part. Men who are engaged in a struggle not only for their freedom and their faith, but for their very lives, have no time for culture; and intellectual progress cannot be achieved apart from a certain basis of material well-being. Even the printing-press established by George Crnojević at Obod would seem to have fallen before long into the hands of the Ottomans. The books which some of the Vladikas caused

¹ Andrić, p. 18.

to be introduced into the country were all of a liturgical character ; and there is no reason to believe that the Montenegrins derived any appreciable benefit from the Serbian press which existed at Skodra in the sixteenth century.¹

The period of the elective Vladikas of the Crnagora synchronizes with the epoch during which the House of Othman attained to the zenith of its power. The largest part of the population over which it ruled within the limits of its European dominions, belonged to the Slavonic race ; and, with the exception of the Shkipetars of Albania, most of whom were converted to Mohammedanism principally during the seventeenth century,² the most powerful mainstay of its power on this side of the Bosphorus consisted of the Bosnians, whose adherence to the tenets of the Koran had, in all probability, been a more or less direct result of the persecutions that had long been directed against the Bogomilians by Catholic and Orthodox alike.³ The corps

¹ Jireček, "Geschichte der Bulgaren," p. 451.

² Between 1610 and the middle of the 17th century the number of Albanian Catholics was supposed to have fallen from 350,000 to 50,000. See Ranke, "Sämmtliche Werke," XLIV. pp. 539-541.

³ On the Bogomilians generally, see Jireček, "Geschichte der Bulgaren," pp. 171-184, and A. Evans, "Through [Bosnia]," pp. 23, *seqq.*

of Janissaries was recruited, at first, almost exclusively from Slavs ; and, if we may trust the testimony of Jovius, who wrote in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, nearly all the members of that Prætorian Guard spoke Slavonic.¹ Some of the most remarkable among the Viziers and Pashas of that epoch were Serbs,² who carried on their diplomatic relations with the republic of Ragusa in their own language ;³ and Slavonic was, in some cases, the medium of communication between Turkish and Venetian officials.⁴ The first treaty between the Turks and a Christian power had been the treaty concluded with the Ragusans in 1365 ; and though there was no talk as yet of admitting them into the European concert, their alliance was sought by such monarchs as Francis I. of France. Yet, in spite of their military achievements, and in spite of the number of Slavonic renegades from whom they derived support, neither force of arms nor persuasion enabled the Turks to extend their domination

¹ Jovius speaks of Slavonic as one of the four principal languages spoken at Constantinople (Turkish, Arabic, Slavonic, Greek). "La terza è la Schiavona famigliar alli janizzari per esser la più larga lingua di tutto il mundo." (Paulo Jovio, "Commentario de le cose de Turchi," 1538.)

² See Ranke, "Sämmtliche Werke," XLIV. p. 525.

³ Jireček, "Geschichte der Bulgaren."

⁴ E.g. the letters between Trevisan and Firus Bey (*cp.* p. 68, *n.* 1), which were translated "de schiavo" in latin.

over the Crnagora, the inhabitants of which disdained to become either Rayahs or renegades. Still the more exposed portions of the territory now included under that name contained numerous converts to Moham-medanism, who not only paid the *haratch* to their conquerors, but were ready at all times to lend a helping hand to the advancing enemy, and their presence in the valley of the Crnojevićka Rječka and elsewhere is said to have given in reality more trouble to the loyal Montenegrins than the combined forces of the beyler beys of Roumelia and of Bosnia.

In the midst of its long struggle, Montenegro did not altogether escape the attention of Western Europe. The capture of Antibari and Dulcigno by the Turks, in the year in which the battle of Lepanto was fought,¹ a capture which was formally recognized in the treaty of 1573,² had, it is true, diverted the attention of Venice from those parts. Dulcigno became a notorious nest of pirates, and Antibari sank rapidly into decay. Cattaro, however, still remained in the hands of the

¹ A graphic picture of the condition of Southern Dalmatia at that time is to be found in a diary of 1571, translated from the Venetian by Sir G. Wilkinson, "Dalmatia and Montenegro" II. pp. 297-325.

² Theiner, "Monumenta," II. p. 60.

Republic ; numerous refugees from the district of Antibari sought refuge within its territory ;¹ and often did the Montenegrins render valuable assistance to the city, especially in 1538 and in 1657, when it was besieged and all but captured by the Turks. Again, the Montenegrins were brought into contact with the Venetian *proveditore* of Cattaro, inasmuch as it was they who carried on the postal communication between the shores of the Bocche and those of the Bosphorus. The necessity for the prompt delivery of despatches addressed by the merchants of Venice to their agents at Constantinople, compelled them to seek the most rapid mode of conveyance. Accordingly the following plan was devised. As soon as a vessel reached Cattaro with despatches from Venice, they were entrusted to the care of Montenegrin messengers, who received the protection, purchased by Venetian gold, of the various local chieftains through whose territory they passed, and who rode by way of Zatica, through the Kuči and Clementi tribes, across the district of Plava, so called from a small mountain lake with wooded banks, which still bears that name, and past Peć (Ipek) and Novoselo, until at length they came to

¹ Wilkinson, II. p. 327.

Priština. Thence they journeyed through Philippopolis and Adrianople, and arrived at Constantinople eighteen days after leaving Cattaro. A messenger received, for every journey he performed, fifteen talari in summer and twenty in winter. These details are made known to us by the testimony of Marino Bolizza, Venetian *nobile* of Cattaro, who was sent to Montenegro in 1612 for the special purpose of organizing the postal service on a more secure basis, by entering into negotiations with the various tribes, and by substituting definitively the new route for the old route which passed from Cattaro to Priština by way of the Herzegovina, and which entailed a delay of four days in each direction, besides involving additional expenditure. It appears, however, that the passage through the territory of the Kuči and Clementi was attended with so much difficulty, that it was found necessary to revert ultimately to the old route; and the despatches were subsequently conveyed by Montenegrins across the mountains of the Herzegovina.¹

¹ Some account of Bolizza's relation is given by Frilley et Vlahoviti, pp. 376-381; by Ranke, "Sämmtliche Werke," XLIV, p. 526; by Jiresek, "Die Handelsstrassen," etc., p. 71 seqq., 168 seqq.; and by Gopčević, "Oberalbanien und seine Liga," pp. 578-586. For the latter portion of the route see Franiberti, "Viaggi alla Tana," cited by W. Heyd, "Geschichte des Levanthandels im Mittelalter," II, p. 347. The postal service

The "relation" presented by Bolizza to the Signorie deals separately with Montenegro, Antibari, Dulcigno, Skodra, Podgorica, and Plava, and contains many facts of interest and importance. It describes, for instance, how the inhabitants of the Crnagora were in the habit of feeding their herds from May until October upon the heights between Cattaro and Cettinje. It speaks of the magnificent forests of ash, beech, and fir on the slopes and in the neighbourhood of Mount Lovćen. It indicates that the climate must have been warmer and more equable in the sixteenth century than it is at present. The vine appears to have been grown at a greater height than it is now. The statistics which Bolizza gives are so precise as to invite scepticism. Montenegro — in the sense in which he uses the term—is said by him to have contained 93 villages, 3,524 houses, and 8,027 men capable of bearing arms. Of these only 600 were armed with the *handjar*. Above all, the narrative of Bolizza exhibits

appears to have been carried on in the Balkan peninsula in spite of wars, and at times when ordinary travellers could not pass. Fynes Morison, who stopped at Ragusa in 1595, writes ("Itinerary" (London, 1617, pt. I, bk. III, ch. 1): "When we inquired of the way from Ragusa to Constantinople by land, all the Postes and Messengers passing that way told us that the warre of Hungarie made all those parts full of tragedies and miserie."

in a clear light the relative position of the Turks and Montenegrins. Giovanni Battista Giustiniano, who travelled in Dalmatia in 1533, without, however, setting foot within the confines of the Crnagora, could speak of the Black Mountain as peopled with subjects of the Ottoman.¹ Bolizza, who was better acquainted with the facts of the case, makes it plain that, although the Turks laid claim to tribute, they were wholly unable to enforce its payment on the part of those at least who dwelt in the Katunska nahia ;² but that, as has already been pointed out, there existed, side by side with the free Montenegro of which Cetinje formed the centre, what may be called an "unredeemed Montenegro," consisting of the outlying districts peopled mostly by Mohammedanized Slavs with an intermixture, here and there, of Albanians.

The possibility of deriving assistance from the brave inhabitants of the Crnagora was not entirely left out of sight by those whose aim it was to drive the Turks out of Europe. It is hardly necessary to do more than allude

¹ " Un monte asprissimo tutto di sasso vivo detto Monte Negro, abitato da sudditi Turchesci " (" Monum. Slav.," VIII. p. 241).

² The first half of the seventeenth century was signally conspicuous for defeats inflicted upon Turkish armies sent to enforce submission, *e.g.* in 1604, 1612, 1613, and 1623. The events of 1604 are described at some length by Bolizza. They seriously affected the postal service.

to the schemes entertained by Charles Emanuel I., Duke of Savoy, whose ambitious temperament, not content with aspiring at one time to the throne of France and at another to the Imperial crown of Charles the Great, prompted him to come forward as the successor of Andronicus the Elder, from whom he was descended through the Montferrat branch of the Palæologi. This design, however, did not stand alone, but formed part of a vast project the conception of which had been originated and matured, in all probability, in the fertile brain of one of Philip III.'s ministers. It was arranged, first, that the Pope should effect the conquest of Egypt with the aid of Tuscan and Venetian troops, and should thereupon hand that country over to Spain, in order that the road to India might be secured in its possession; secondly, that Venice should receive as a compensation certain islands in the Grecian Archipelago; and, thirdly, that the Duke of Savoy should make himself master of Cyprus, which had been bequeathed to him by Queen Carlotta, as well as of Albania, Macedonia, and the adjoining countries, with a view to the ultimate attainment of his ends. Accordingly, in 1608, he entered into relations with the nobles of Bosnia and Macedonia, and, more

particularly, with the Serbian Patriarch, who promised "to convoke the lords temporal and spiritual of Serbia, and to crown the duke King, in accordance with the ancient traditions handed down by the Patriarch Saint Sava and by Saint Simeon Nemanja." No express mention is made of Montenegro in the documents that bear upon these transactions, although it was clearly meant to be comprised within the dominions of Charles Emanuel, and although one of the agents employed in connection with the negotiations would seem to have been a descendant of the last ruler of the House of Crnojević.¹ The project, how-

¹ Makušev, "Monumenta," II. 311. Instruzione de mano di S. A. Carlo Emanuele I. de Savoia a Marchese di Lullino mandato dalle serenissimi principi a Modine intorno alla proposta di Spagna per la conquista d'Albania: "Deve informarsi di sentimenti del popolo e far giurare la fedeltà a lui od a. suo figlio capitano Giovacin Cerni Vaivode e specialmente Gradan vaivode." Giovacin Cerni is probably the Giovanni Crnojević who (according to Hopf, IV. p. 164; *cp.* the genealogical table of Andrić, which is not quite correct, however) was the great-grandson of Constantine Crnojević, who married a lady of the house of Contarini, and was the son of George Crnojević, the husband of Elizabeth Erizzo. Giovanni Cerni, as he appears to have been called at Venice, died in 1660. On the whole subject of the project of Charles Emanuel, as regards the Balkan peninsula, see Makušev, II. pp. 309-313; Ricotti, "Storia della Monarchia," III. 387-9; Carutti, "Storia della diplomazia della Corte di Savoia," II. 47-62, and especially P. Vayra, "Museo Storico della casa di Savoia" (Turin, 1880), pp. 397-403, containing, *inter alia*, a facsimile of the letter sent by the Serbian patriarch. 50,000 men were to be employed in the expedition: 22,000 were to be supplied by the Pope, 22,000 by the King of Spain, 6,000 by Charles Emanuel, and the remaining 50,000 from Macedonia and other parts.

ever, remained unfulfilled; and the treaty which the Duke concluded at Brussels, in 1610, with Henry IV. of France, diverted his attention from the Balkan peninsula to the Milanese, by placing within his reach a prize more easy to grasp, more valuable to possess.

A second project, no less chimerical than the first, and more closely related to Montenegro, was formed about the same time by Charles II. Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, Mayenne and Réthel, who also claimed to be the descendant of Andronicus the Elder,¹ and who endeavoured to secure the assistance of France for a scheme similar in character to that which Charles Emanuel had attempted to carry out with the aid of Spain. In 1612 his agents had already penetrated into the Morea, and were engaged in the work of raising an insurrection among the inhabitants of Maina. Two years later a representative gathering of priests and warriors from several of the provinces that lay under the Turkish yoke, met within the confines of the Kuči tribe, not far from the borders of the free Crnagora, under the auspices of the Serbian Patriarch.

¹ In 1532 Margaret Palæologina of Montserrat had married Frederick Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, and was thus the grandmother of Charles II. Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers.

The occasion of the gathering was the imposition of a heavy tax by the Porte upon the clergy of the Orthodox Church: the real object was to organize a concerted movement on a large scale, and with the help of Western resources, against the oppressors. It was resolved that arms and ammunition should be introduced simultaneously into Montenegro and into the mountains of the Cimeriots, nearly opposite to the island of Corfu. From those inaccessible strongholds, "neither of which had ever paid tribute to the Grand Signior," it would be possible to distribute the necessaries of war among the Ducagins, the Piperi, the Clementi, the Bjelopavići, the Kuči, and other tribes, amounting altogether to 30,000 men, to whom might be added 12,000 more from Serbia, the Herzegovina, Bosnia, and Macedonia. Vallona, Croja, Žabliak, and Castelnuovo were to be seized first, and to form the basis of all subsequent operations. It was expected that a general rising would then take place; that a large Slavonic and Albanian force would be able to march against Adrianople, increasing its numbers as it advanced; that the Bulgarians, and perhaps even the Moldavians and Wallachians, would render active assistance, and that finally Constantinople itself

would be restored to Christendom. A copy of the resolution embodying these bold designs was sent to the Duke of Nevers, who continued for the next few years to devote his energies to the furtherance of his scheme. Acting upon the advice of Father Joseph, the subsequently famous confessor of Richelieu, he established an order of Christian Militia, equipped five vessels, endeavoured at one time to connect the movement with Spain, Germany, Poland, and Italy, and made further efforts, especially in 1618, to rouse the men of Maina into action. One of his agents, M. de Châteaurenaud, after visiting the Morea, journeyed to Vienna, where they met the Archbishop of Trnovo and endeavoured, through him, to enter into direct relations with the general body of the Bulgarian clergy.

Lastly, on All Saints' Day, 1619, Father Joseph, in his capacity of Papal commissioner proclaimed a new Crusade from the pulpit of the Cathedral of Nevers, and received the oaths of all who were desirous of taking part in it. But the days when Crusades were possible had long gone by : the zeal of Peter the Hermit would have been of no avail ; and when Charles became Duke of Mantua, all thoughts of carrying out the enterprize

were speedily abandoned.¹ The most significant fact in this strange episode, with its fair beginning and its impotent conclusion, is undoubtedly the gathering in the Kuči territory, exhibiting as it does in a clear light the position held by Montenegro towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, the unity which prevailed between the Serbs and the Northern Shkipetars, the desire for concerted action against the common enemy which was felt by the Christians of the Balkan peninsula, whether Catholic or Orthodox, and to whatever race they belonged, and, more remarkable still, the hopes that were aroused at a time when the Ottoman power was virtually at its height. Thus it was that substance was imparted, in the estimation of many, to what was nothing in itself but the shadow of a dream.

¹ See "Mémoire sur une tentative d'insurrection organisée dans le Magne de 1612 à 1619 au nom du duc de Nevers, comme héritier du droit des Paléologues," par Berger de Xivrey. "Mem. de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres," tom. XV. pp. 304-335 (Paris, 1842). "Mémoires de Michel de Marolles abbé de Villeloin" (Paris, 1556), pp. 56-7, etc. Richelieu himself, unlike Father Joseph, did not believe in the scheme. Thus speaking of the Duke, he writes (*Mémoires*," tom. I. p. 314): "Il vouloit démembler de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem celui du Saint-Sépulcre, et s'en faire grand maître . . . il désiroit l'assistance de la reine pour faire réussir son affaire de l'institution des chevaliers du Saint-Sépulcre, par laquelle il se promettoit de se faire empereur de tout le Levant." *Cp.* "Lettres de Richelieu," VII. 108 (large edition), where the apparent praise accorded to the scheme seems to be ironical.

Of more real importance than the schemes of the Duke of Savoy and of the Duke of Nevers was the decision at which the Diet of Pressburg arrived in 1659, five years before the great battle of St. Gotthard, at which the Imperial general Montecuculi defeated the whole Turkish army under Ahmed Kiuprili. It was resolved to impress upon the Venetian Signorie the desirability of inducing "the people who dwelt near Cattaro and were called Montenegrins" to engage in active hostilities against the Beyler Bey of Bosnia, in order thereby to divert his attention from Wallachia and render his forces unavailable for distant enterprise.¹ This resolution, which was probably suggested by the Venetians themselves, indicates the growing importance of Montenegro at a time when the brightness of the Crescent was beginning to wane. The defeat of Kara Mustapha by Sobieski before the walls of Vienna was followed by the long and eventful campaign which restored Hungary to Europe; and the second battle of Mohacz, fought on the 12th of August, 1687, undid the work which had been done by the victory gained on that same field by Solyman I. nearly a century and a half

¹ See Theiner, "Monumenta," II. p. 148. It is a letter written by Mgr. Caraffa, the Papal Nuncio, who was present at Pozsony whilst the Diet was sitting.

before. Large portions of Serbia and Bosnia now fell into the hands of the Austrians; George Branković, who claimed descent from the princely family of that name, styled himself "despot of Illyria, Serbia, Syrmia, Moesia, and Bosnia," and attempted to arouse a national movement among the Southern Slavs, passed the remaining years of his life in captivity at Eger, where he busied himself with writing his country's history, towards the making of which he was unable to contribute; and it seemed, for a time, as if the House of Habsburg was destined not only to expel the House of Othman from Europe, but also to take its place. In the meantime the progress of the Venetian arms was attended with like success. The Morea was conquered by Morosini, and the Dalmatian frontier was advanced. In 1687 the Venetian general Cornaro, acting in this respect in accordance with the advice tendered twenty-eight years previously to the Republic by the Diet of Pressburg, allied himself with the Montenegrins, who shortly afterwards gained a brilliant victory over the Turks, in the neighbourhood of Castelnuovo, and under the leadership of Vučeta Bogdanović.¹ Though

¹ Michel Foscarini ("Historici delle cose Veneziane," 1722), vol. X. pp. 251-260. Andrić, p. 21. Gopčević, "Montenegro und die Montenegriner," p. 7. Wilkinson, II. p. 357.

the Republic bestowed gold medals and pensions upon individual Montenegrins who had distinguished themselves in the battle, and granted plots of land to the families of the fallen, she abandoned the Crnagora when the aid of its mountain-warriors was no longer required, and withdrew the forces that had been sent under the command of Grbičić for the purpose of co-operating with them against the Ottomans. The consequence was that the Pasha of Skodra, Suleiman, assisted by the Montenegrin renegades, succeeded, after a battle which is said to have lasted no less than eight days, in advancing with part of his army as far as Cettinje. The monastery was blown up by a monk on the approach of the enemy; and the Turks found themselves compelled before long to retire from the country, whereupon its inhabitants descended from the heights on which they had sought a temporary refuge, and rebuilt their burnt-down villages.

In spite of the assistance which it had rendered to the Venetians, and also, though in a less direct manner, to the Emperor Leopold I.,¹ at the time (1690) when he issued his manifesto to the Southern Slavs, exciting

¹ Andrić, pp. 22, 23. *Cp.* Gopčević, "Montenegro und die Montenegriner," p. 35.

them to action against the Ottomans and promising support, and when he induced the Serbian patriarch to migrate with a large number of Serbs into his dominions, Montenegro was unnamed in the treaty of Carlowitz. Yet, however desirable some such mention would have been, its absence was not fraught with consequences injurious to the welfare of the principality, inasmuch as the year 1697 had witnessed the election to the office of Vladika of Danilo Petrović Njeguš, under whom Montenegro emerged from the obscurity in which it had remained for nearly two centuries, and resumed a position that accorded better with its intrinsic importance. A native of the village of Njeguš, that lies between Cattaro and Cettinje, and into which his family had migrated from the Herzegovina—though whether the family gave its name to the village, or the village to the family, is uncertain—Danilo was chosen at the early age of twenty to perform the functions of spiritual and secular ruler of the people, and set himself to the task of accomplishing the regeneration of his country. In order to effect this result it was clearly necessary to destroy the power of the numerous Slavonic renegades who dwelt in what has been called the “unredeemed

Montenegro," and to whose assistance the pasha of Skodra was indebted for such successes as he had been able to gain against the free inhabitants of the Montenegrin highlands. An event which occurred in 1702 strengthened Danilo's resolution. A Christian community of Serbs, who lived in the neighbourhood of Podgorica and were subject to Turkish rule, had invited him to descend into their midst for the purpose of consecrating a church, and a safe-conduct had been granted to him by Demir Pasha. As soon, however, as he arrived, he was thrown into prison, and afterwards led forth to execution, bearing the stake on which he was condemned to be impaled; and it was only at the last moment, when bribed by an exorbitant ransom which was paid, in a great measure, by the metropolitan of the Herzegovina, that Demir allowed Danilo to be released. Then followed the " Sicilian Vespers " of Montenegro, an act of stern retaliation. On Christmas Eve, 1702, the Montenegrins rose like one man and put to the sword all Mohammedans, whether Turks or Slavs or Albanians, who dwelt within the borders of their land; but the children of the renegades were spared, together with the women and all who consented to

forswear the Koran and be baptized. A hymn of triumph, breathing the spirit of a Gideon or a Joab, recounts the terrors of that night. "The hallowed eve draws onwards. The brothers Martinović kindle their consecrated torches. They pray fervently to the new-born God. Each drains a cup of wine; and, seizing the sacred torches, they rush forth into the darkness. Wherever there was a Turk, there came the five avengers. They that would not be baptized were hewn down every one. They that embraced the Cross were taken as brothers before the Vladika. Gathered in Cettinje, the people hailed with songs of joy the reddening dawn of the Christmas morning; all Crnagora was now free."¹

It has been said that "for those human beings with whom the Turk forced himself into contact, and who refused to betray their faith, there were no alternatives but two: if not savages they must be slaves, if not slaves they must come near to being savages." It is while estimating events like that which has been described, that there is most need of historical objectivity: we are too apt to judge the actions performed by men in other

¹ See Gladstone, "Nineteenth [Century]," vol. I.; Gopčević, "Montenegro und die Montenegriner," pp. 8, 9; Andrić, p. 24; Frilley et Vlahoviti, p. 22; Denton, p. 229, etc.

ages and countries by reference to principles current among ourselves ; nor are we sufficiently careful to take into due consideration the particular circumstances of the case. No one would attempt to excuse the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, unless he were making it his aim to defend a paradox ; but the massacre of Christmas Eve, 1702, was an act of self-defence arising out of the inexorable exigencies of the situation, and the only apology for which is to be found in the necessity upon which it was based. A new life was infused into the people of the Crnagora, which became from that time, to a far greater extent than it had been before, the refuge of Serbian independence. The Crmnica ceased to pay the wonted haratch to the Pasha of Skodra. More important still was the accession of the Brda, which, although it was not formally incorporated with Montenegro until the close of the eighteenth century, was virtually united, for weal or woe, with the Crnagora, in the narrower sense of the term, a few years after the event of 1702.

The need for the establishment of the central power upon a basis sufficiently strong to meet the difficulties and dangers consequent upon the increase of territory, and the

unsatisfactory character of the arrangements that had existed until then, induced Danilo to modify the constitution, with the full consent of the people, by making the office of Vladika hereditary in his own family. It was agreed that the Vladika should henceforth nominate his successor in his will, and that the nomination should be regarded as valid if it received the sanction of the assembled Montenegrins. Thus the rights of the people were preserved intact, whilst the evils resulting from the existence of an elective monarchy were carefully avoided. In this one respect the constitution established by Danilo resembles that of Poland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It should be observed, however, that what came first in the one case came last in the other. The Polish monarchy, which was nominally elective but really hereditary under the Jagellons, became elective both in name and in reality after the extinction of that dynasty. In Montenegro the change that was brought about was in a diametrically opposite direction, inasmuch as the office of Vladika, which had before been elective both in name and in reality, became really hereditary, though nominally elective. In this manner the feebleness and anarchy which would inevitably have followed upon

the retention of the old system, and of which unmistakable signs had long since begun to appear, were effectively staved off by the introduction of a new order of things.

CHAPTER III.

The office of Vladika—Characteristic features of Montenegro's ecclesiastical history viewed in connection with that of the Eastern Church.

THE constitutional change by which the office of Vladika was made virtually hereditary in the family of Danilo Petrović Njeguš, affords a favourable opportunity for examining the origin and nature of that remarkable institution ; and such an enquiry necessarily involves some account of the Montenegrin Church as a whole, and in its relation to the remainder of the Eastern Church.

The word Vladika meant originally a powerful person, or ruler, and appears to have been connected with the headship of the House Communities.¹ Traces of that signification may be found in its use, at the time of the Nemanjids, as the equivalent of

¹ See F. Miklosich, "Lexicon Palæoslove nico — Græco — Latinum, sub voce." V. Brandl, "Glossarium illustrans bohémico-moravicæ historiæ fontes," says that the word was used to denote (1) the heads elected by the House Communities, (2) the descendants of those heads or knights, (3) knights newly created. J. Jungmann, in his "Lexicon of the Cech language," assigns to *Vladyka* the meanings (1) of ruler, (2) of bishop.

the Byzantine word *despotes*, and in several Slavonic languages, as for example in Czech, it has preserved unimpaired its original signification. Among the Serbs, however, it was gradually specialized, and came to denote a bishop.¹ The title of Vladika, which belonged to the rulers of Montenegro from the commencement of the sixteenth century until the year 1851, though used in the Serbian sense of the word, may be said to unite in itself the notion of secular power with that of episcopal rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The position of the Vladikas of the Crnagora has been compared, from a constitutional point of view, to that of the Popes of Rome, with their combination of spiritual with temporal power; and the resemblance is certainly remarkable in the case of those who ruled from the time of Vavil to that of Sava Ocinić, the predecessor of Danilo. The following difference should, however, be noted. The power of the Popes was primarily spiritual, and it was only incidentally that they became temporal sovereigns. The Vladikas, on the other hand, were bishops because they were princes, not princes because they were bishops.

¹ A similar change came over the Greek word *δεσπότης* Sophocles, in his "Lexicon of Byzantine Greek," assigns to it as one of its meanings "a title given to eminent men in general and to bishops in particular."

This was so especially during the last century and a half of their rule. The episcopal dignity was with them little more than an inseparable accident. And although the existence of a civil governor would seem, at first sight, to militate against this view, it should be remembered that he was in reality a mere agent to whom the Vladika delegated the non-ecclesiastical portion of his power, and from whom he was always at liberty to require its resignation—as was actually the case in 1832, when Peter II. abolished altogether the subordinate office.

Another remarkable feature in the rule of the Vladikas is the hereditary character which it may be said to have acquired under Danilo, and to have retained until the middle of the nineteenth century. That hereditary character furnishes a proof of the subordination of the spiritual to the temporal element in the office. As it was, the system gave rise to considerable practical difficulties. By the rules of the Orthodox Church, although the lower clergy are allowed, and in some countries, such as Russia, compelled to marry, celibacy is incumbent upon the upper ranks of the hierarchy. Consequently the Vladika was necessarily succeeded by his nephew or by some other near relation. And some there

were whom the prohibition to marry actually deterred from entering upon the functions which would in the ordinary course of events have devolved upon them. The artificial character of the system is too obvious to require comment ; and it is not surprising that the enlightened prince, Danilo, the namesake of him who inaugurated the line of hereditary Vladikas, should have introduced, or rather restored, a more natural condition of things, such as had obtained at the time when the Crnojević were rulers of the Crnagora.

A parallel to the hereditary functions of the Montenegrin bishops has been found in the Nestorians, or Chaldæans, among whom the succession of Patriarchs has been confined to one family since the time of Simeon I., who lived in the latter half of the fifteenth century.¹ There, however, the parallel ends ; and the points of difference are more conspicuous than the one point of agreement.

The existence of an institution at all resembling that of the hereditary prince-bishops of Montenegro, would scarcely have been possible outside the pale of the Eastern Church. That Church presents to an atten-

¹ See Neale's " Holy Eastern Church " (London, 1853), I. p. 143 ; and A. H. Layard's " Nineveh and its remains " (London, 1849), I. p. 266.

tive observer three practical aspects of the highest importance. In the first place, its history is marked throughout by a close union between Church and State, and it is almost invariably the civil power which has succeeded, in practice, though not necessarily in theory, in securing its own ascendancy. The most characteristic scene in the career of the Western Church is that of an Emperor shivering in the snow at the gates of the castle of Canossa, an event for which it would be impossible to find a parallel in the records of the Eastern Church. The Patriarchs of Constantinople, for instance, though they refused to recognize the supremacy of the Pope, were in the habit of performing the bidding of the Byzantine Emperors; and their subserviency to the established rulers of the day continued long after the Imperial City had passed into the hands of its Mohammedan conquerors. Again, it may be said that the close union between the civil and the ecclesiastical power has been one of the principal causes of the second great characteristic of the Eastern Church, namely, its capacity for adapting itself to the special requirements of the various countries that have adhered to its doctrines, and of becoming the national Church of the nations that have

arisen in Europe out of, or in connection with, the Byzantine Empire. To mention only the divisions of the Eastern Church in Europe, the Churches of Greece, Russia, Roumania, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria, are independent alike of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and of one another, and are truly national Churches. In Russia, for example, this became manifest to all men in 1589, when the Metropolitan of Moscow was raised by the Czar to the position of Russian Patriarch, and at the time of Peter the Great, when the office of Patriarch was abolished lest it should become too powerful, and a Holy Synod, or commission of bishops with an Imperial representative, was substituted for it. Even the existence of numerous sects, such as that of the Old Believers, constitutes one of those exceptions that prove a rule: for they separate themselves from the national Church not because it is connected with the State, but because they dissent from certain of its doctrines, and they continue to revere it as the embodiment of the national spirit. The third characteristic of the Eastern Church is its essentially Græco-Slavonic nature; and even of the Roumanians who are members of the Orthodox Church, it may be said that they possess much in

common both with the Greeks and with the Slavs, though they belong to a different race. Nor should it be forgotten that the process by which the Orthodox Church became to a great extent, Slavonic, as far as numerical preponderance is concerned, imparted to it a more practical character than it had previously possessed, rescued it in part from the maze of theological metaphysics within which it had been confined by the dialectical subtlety of the Greek mind, and increased its "Catholicity" without rendering it less "Orthodox."¹

The question now arises, In what relation did the Vladikas of Montenegro, in their episcopal capacity, stand to the remainder of the Eastern Church? The answer, in obtaining which it is necessary to bear in mind the above-mentioned characteristic features, is that they occupied a position of virtual independence, which traces its origin back to a comparatively early period in Serbian history, and which became more and more accentuated as time went on. The conversion of the Serbs had been effected indirectly by the missionary work of Cyril

¹ For the Eastern Church in general, from this point of view, see Stanley's "Eastern Church"; E. A. Freeman's article in the *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1858, and De Kállay, "Geschichte der Serben," II. pp. 30-39.

and Methodius; and the consequence was that they were naturally indisposed to accept in their entirety the principles and practices of the Western Church, or to recognize the supremacy of the Pope. Stephen Nemanja had been baptized a Catholic; but, by founding the monastery of Chilandar on Mount Athos, as well as by other acts of his reign, he strengthened the bonds that united him to the Eastern form of Christianity. His youngest son St. Sava, the first archbishop of the Orthodox Church in Serbia, was consecrated in 1221 by the Byzantine Patriarch Germanos, established his residence at Žica (Uschitza)—the Serbian Kiew—and divided the land into twelve episcopal sees which were filled by Serbs.¹ At the same time the political emancipation of Serbia from the Byzantine Empire led to the formation by Dušan, in 1346, of a separate Patriarchate at Peć (Ipek), in no way subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Thus the Eastern Church, in accordance with the capacity it has always exhibited for becoming decentralized without losing thereby its essential unity, developed, in the Serbian

¹ *Cp.* De Kállay, I. pp. 47, 94. Ranke's "Servia," p. 10. Document 22 (ap. Miklosich, "Monumenta Serbica"), dated 1233, says that "Sava, Serbiæ archiepiscopus, monasterium S. Nicolai (in Vranina) eximit a potestate episcopi Zetæ."

branch of the Slavonic race, into a national Serbian institution. When the principality of the Zeta rose into prominence after the death of Dušan, it remained in close connection with the national form of religion; and although the three sons of Balša I. acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of Urban V., and entertained amicable relations with Gregory XI.,¹ the steps they took in that matter were designed above all for the purpose of conciliating their Albanian subjects,²—partly, too, in order to facilitate their intercourse with the Venetians, and partly in accordance with the example set by Milutin Uroš, by Dušan, and by other Serbian rulers,³ who had purchased the Papal recognition of their authority by the sem-

¹ Theiner, "Monumenta," vol. I. pp. 259, 261-3, 277, 288, and 292. See p. 46.

² There were eleven Catholic bishops in the archiepiscopal diocese of Antivari, formerly of Dioclea. See Theiner, "Monumenta," vol. II. pp. 217-9. *Relatione del stato spirituale e temporale del regno d'Albania e Servia, data da l'archivescovo di Scopia* (supposed to have been Peter Bogdanić). *Farlati*, vol. VII. p. 191, *seqq.*, enumerates them: Albanenses, Balleacenses (p. 206, of apparently uncertain locality), Buduenses, Dagnenses, Drivastenses, Olcinienses, Pulatenses (*i.e.* of Pulato, 30 miles from Skodra?), Sardenses et Sappatenses (united together in 1490), Svacienses (of Soaca), Scodrenses.

³ How unreal were the professions of allegiance to the Western Church made by the Serbian rulers, may be inferred from the code (*zakonik*) of Dušan, a clause in which contains provisions for the punishment of those who sought to pervert anyone to "the Latin heresy." For the relations of Uroš II. and Dušan with the Pope, see Theiner, I. pp. 127-9, 209, 280.

blance of submission to his supremacy. Nor were they, perhaps, altogether uninfluenced by the repeated attempts of the Palæologi to renew relations with the Western Church. In any case there is no reason to believe that the Slavonic subjects of the Balšas abandoned in any sense the Church of their fathers, their nation, and their race.

Enough has already been said to show how earnest was the desire of the princes who belonged to the House of Crnojević, to make their dominions the home of Orthodoxy. When Stephen built the monastery in the isle of Kom, when Ivan gave to the bishop of Cetinje the title of Metropolitan of the Zeta—a title which was, as has been seen, of ancient date,—and when George established the printing-press at Obod, it was their endeavour to promote the interests of the Eastern Church in Montenegro. They followed the period of the elective Metropolitans, who concentrated in their hands the civil and ecclesiastical power, and who were consecrated in most cases doubtless by the Patriarch of Peć (Ipek). The relation of the Montenegrin Church to the Serbian Patriarch continued to be of an intimate character after the office of Vladika had become hereditary in the family of Danilo. When in 1690 the

Patriarch Arsenije Crnojević, himself a native of the Crnagora,¹ migrated into Hungary, at the invitation of the Emperor Leopold, with a large number of Serbian families from Upper Rascia,² it was natural that the Vladikas should be sent for consecration to the newly-settled lands. Thus, in 1700, Danilo was consecrated by Arsenije at Sečuj in Hungary. The Patriarchate of Peć, however, lasted until the year 1766, when, owing mainly to the intrigues of the Patriarch of Constantinople with the Sultan, it terminated, after an existence of more than four centuries, with Vassilije Ivanović Brkić, who was expelled by the Turks and sought refuge in the free Crnagora. From that time it became necessary for the bishops, when they succeeded, to seek consecration far away from their mountain home. Peter I. was consecrated bishop at Carlowitz by the Metropolitan Putnik, Peter II. at St. Petersburg; and, since the year 1857, when Prince Danilo secularized the supreme power and assigned to the "Metropolitan of Crnagora,

¹ Whether he was a descendant of one of the Crnojević princes is uncertain. The genealogy given on the last page of Andrić is based on the conjectures of Pavtović.

² The Serbs of Hungary received the name of Ráczok from the Magyars, and of Raizen from the Germans. Many Albanian families were transferred by the Turks to Upper Rascia, to occupy the vacated spots.

Brda, Skodra and Primorje," a purely ecclesiastical position, it has become customary for the latter to be consecrated in Russia by the Holy Synod.

Thus the ecclesiastical history of Montenegro presents several points of the deepest interest. It is remarkable for the hereditary character which for a century and half belonged to its Vladikas, together with the combination of civil, military and ecclesiastical power in the hands of one man, a combination at first sight suggestive of a theocracy. The close union of Church and State has been shown to be in harmony with the general principles of the Eastern Church. One of the canons of a council which Innocent III. caused to be held at Dioclea in 1199, at a time when that region still adhered unhesitatingly to the Western Church, commences with the words, "Forasmuch as the powers established by God are two in number."¹ In the independent principality which arose out of the ancient Duklja, those two powers, far from being regarded as fundamentally opposed to one another, were, for a considerable period at least, inseparably combined. Again, the immunity of the

¹ "Cum duæ sint Potestates a Deo constitutæ," quoted by Ranke, "Servia," p. 9.

Montenegrin national Church from foreign control, together with the closeness of the connection in which it has stood, or is standing, with the Serbian and Russian divisions of the Orthodox Church, illustrates, to a great extent, the nature of Montenegro's place in the aggregate of nations, as a political unit which has acquired and developed to the full its national independence, and yet is bound by indissoluble ties to the other members, however distant, however scattered, of the Slavonic race.

PART III.

MONTENEGRO AND THE EASTERN QUESTION.

CHAPTER I.

Growth of the power of Russia—Peter the Great enters into relations with Danilo—Vicissitudes of warfare with the Turks—Sava Petrović Njeguš—Vassilije—Projects of the Empress Catherine—Appearance of Stephen the Little in Montenegro, claiming to be Peter the Third—Death of Sava.

OF all the events which affected the destinies of Montenegro at the time of Danilo, none was fraught with consequences of greater moment to the principality than the commencement of its relations with Russia. It would be impossible, within the present limits, to give an account of the manner in which that great Empire began to influence the history of the Balkan peninsula. Such an account would naturally go back to the middle of the ninth century, when Askold and Dir sailed across the Black Sea and ravaged the neighbourhood of Constantinople ; it would relate the successive invasions of Oleg, Ivor, and

Swatoslaw in the tenth century, and of the great Jaroslaw in the eleventh ; and it would tell how, even at that early period, the Varangian rulers of Russia deemed Bulgaria on the Danube a prize of greater worth than Bulgaria on the Volga, and regarded Peristh-laba, rather than Kiew, as the central point of their Empire.¹ But the power of their successors was impaired by civil strife ; and for centuries the development of the Russian people was arrested, except in a few large towns, and its energy crushed by the Mongol conquest, whilst the pressure exercised by Poland in the West produced results that were scarcely less pernicious. It was not until the close of the fifteenth century that Ivan the Terrible, Czar of Muscovy, was able to emancipate his dominions from the yoke of the Golden Horde, and, by the annexation of various principalities, to prepare the way for an outburst of national energy which had long been suppressed, though ample proof of its existence had been afforded four, five, and even six hundred years before. Most significant of Ivan's ambitious designs was his marriage with Sophia, a supposed descendant of the Palæologi, and his consequent

¹ See especially the speech attributed to Swatoslaw by Nestor (traduit par L. Paris, Paris, 1834, vol. I. p. 94).

assumption of their claims. Of the wars which the Russians carried on with the Tartars of the Crimea and with the Turks before the time of Peter the Great it is needless to speak. Suffice it to say that the power of Russia continued to increase and to extend itself in all directions. With the accession of Peter in 1689 commences a new era in the relations of that Empire with the Balkan peninsula. As early as the year 1645 Russia appears to have been regarded by the Venetian Signorie as the natural protector of the Christians under Turkish rule ;¹ but it was Peter the Great who first made it one of the main principles of his policy to come forward as the champion of the Rayahs against their oppressors, and to take upon himself a function which Venice was too feeble to fulfil.

In estimating the motives which induced the Czar to pursue these aims, it is necessary, doubtless, to take into account his personal ambition. Yet even an autocrat is utterly unable to frame a great and enduring policy unless it represents forces that are at work among his people, and unless it follows the stream of national tendency, of which it is his chief merit to have discerned the direction.

¹ See De Kállay, II. p. 54.

In the Russia of Peter the Great three forces of paramount importance were at work. First there was the natural and ever-increasing tendency of the people to expansion, which sought a field for its proper development ; secondly, the religious, crusading zeal, which desired to rescue the Orthodox Christians of the Balkan peninsula from the Moslem yoke ; and, thirdly, a subtle sympathy—discernible even then, though it was only at a much later period that it rose into marked prominence—which was felt by the Slavonic or Slavonized part of the population inhabiting the Russian Empire for those who, like themselves, were Slavs, but who, unlike themselves, were still in bondage.

Peter the Great saw this, and saw it distinctly. When in February, 1711, in consequence of the events which followed the battle of Pultowa and the escape of Charles XII. into Turkish territory, a war broke out between Russia and the Turks, the Czar strove to impart to the struggle a religious character ; and the standards beneath which marched the legions of " Holy Russia " bore on the one side the device " In the name of God and for the cause of Christianity," and on the other the representation of a cross with the inscription *Ἐν τούτῳ νίκα*

At the same time endeavours were made to connect the movement with the Greek, the Rouman, and the Slavonic nationalities which inhabited the Balkan peninsula and belonged to the Orthodox Church. Acting in accordance with the advice of a Ragusan merchant named Sava Vladislavljević, a Herzegovinan by birth, who had entered the Russian army, had translated into Russian the work of Orbini on the Slavs and was subsequently rewarded with the title of Count of Ragusa, Peter despatched two envoys—one of whom, Michael Miloradović, was a native of the Herzegovina, while the other, Ivan Lucačević was born at Podgorica—with a manifesto addressed to the Vladika Danilo and couched in language similar to that which was used in the proclamations that were sent to the Albanians, Macedonians, and Bosnians who were subject to the Porte.¹ In another proclamation, issued by Miloradović in the Czar's name to the *starješinas* of the different House Communities in Montenegro, the independence of the principality was distinctly recognized.² This took place one hundred and sixty-eight years before the Congress of Berlin. No wonder that the Slavs of the peninsula, whether bond or free, began to

¹ Andrić, pp. 25-7.

² Andrić, pp. 28-30.

look upon the Czar as the true champion of their liberty and of their faith, and that the Ragusan poets, Gradić and Rujić, celebrated in song the glory of his achievements.¹

The Montenegrins now invaded simultaneously the Herzegovina and Albania, with the assistance of the Clementi and a few other Shkipetar tribes,² and continued to carry on an active warfare in the enemy's dominions for several months after the Czar had been surrounded on the banks of the Pruth, and compelled to sign the ignominious treaty of the 21st of July, 1711. In the spring of the following year the Sultan Achmet III. despatched an army amounting, according to the lowest computation, to 60,000 men for the purpose of reducing the Crnagora into subjection. The two armies met in the

¹ *Cp.* Le Leger, "Les Origines du Panslavisme," in "Le Monde Slave" (Paris, 1873), p. 335. A. Brückner, "Peter der Grosse" (Berlin, 1879), pp. 455-461. E. Schuyler, "Peter the Great" (London, 1884), vol. II. pp. 227-232.

² Vincent Zmajević, archbishop of Antivari, writes to the Pope from Cattaro, Sept. 1st, 1711: "In questi confini è insorta una guerra insolita. Li popoli scismatici sudditi del Turco hanno intimato la guerra al Sovrano per soccorrere con diversioni la causa del Mosco. Capi di questa spedizione sono vescovi e religiosi, che abbandonate le chiese si sono posti coll'armi in campo e si unirono hora nell'assedio della fortezza di Niksichi in Erzegovina. Hanno fatto il possibile per attirare alla loro sequela li popoli cattolici montani d'Albania, e particolarmente li Clementi, alli quali fecero anche il regale di cinquecento ongari, soccorso opportuno alle loro esigenze." Theiner, "Monumenta," II. p. 241.

neighbourhood of Podgorica. The voivodes Mitjunović and Gjurašković, heroes of many a *pjesma*, led the wings, and the prince-bishop in person was in command of the centre. In the battle which ensued the Turks were driven back with terrible losses, and allowed no less than eighty-six standards to fall into the hands of their opponents. Gjurašković himself was among the slain, Danilo and Mitjunović among the wounded; but the total losses of the Montenegrins were comparatively insignificant.¹ Two years later, however, after incurring many reverses, the Turks, under the leadership of the Grand Vizier Damad Ali, the Ali Coumourgi of Byron, invaded Montenegro to the number—it is said—of 120,000 men, treacherously seized and put to death 37 *glavari*, or captains, whom they had induced to enter the Turkish camp for the purpose of discussing terms of peace, and advanced into the heart of the Katunska nahia. Cetinje was occupied, for the second time, by an Ottoman force; its monastery was again destroyed, a large number of villages were burnt to the ground, and women and children were carried off into slavery. Montenegro seemed at length to be overwhelmed by the

¹ Andrić, p. 31. Cp. Gopčević, "Montenegro und die Montenegriner," pp. 9-12.

wave of calamity. But Damad Ali was soon compelled by want of provisions to withdraw from the inhospitable land; his vast and unwieldy army suffered much from the guerilla warfare of the mountaineers; and, war having broken out between the Venetians and the Turks partly in consequence of the aid which the former were said to have furnished to the Montenegrins,¹ the Grand Vizier advanced into Greece (1715), where he besieged and captured Corinth and wrested the Morea from the Signorie.

Danilo now performed the journey to St. Petersburg for the purpose of obtaining pecuniary aid from Peter the Great in order to enable the Montenegrins to rebuild their homes. The Czar bestowed upon him 10,000 roubles, together with 160 gold medals for distribution among the bravest warriors, and promised to contribute a yearly sum of 500 roubles towards the maintenance of the Church and Monastery of Cettinje, which were rebuilt about nine years afterwards (1724) by the Vladika.

The last twenty years of Danilo's life were marked by repeated victories gained over the Turks. He assisted the Venetians in 1717, when Alvise Mocenigo laid siege to Antibari;

¹ Von Hammer, IV. p. 124.

and, in the following year, he appeared before Dulcigno with a force of 5000 Montenegrins for the purpose of co-operating with Schulenburg in the campaign against that city, a campaign which came to an end on the arrival of the news that the peace of Passarowitz had been signed and the interests of Venice had been sacrificed to those of her allies.¹ Nor should it be forgotten that, by keeping the attention of the Ottoman generals engaged, Danilo had prevented them from opposing their full strength to the forces of Prince Eugene. Although he extended the boundaries of Montenegro in different directions, his influence was felt far beyond its limits, and his ecclesiastical authority over the Orthodox population of the Bocche and of the neighbouring districts was recognized even by the Venetian Signorie, notwithstanding the fact that Catholic prelates, such as the energetic Vincent Zmajević, who was archbishop first of Antibari² and afterwards of Zara, complained loudly of his proselytising disposition.³ In Montenegro he is still

¹ Cp. Gopčević, "Oberalbanien und seine Liga," pp. 13, 14, 350.

² The archbishops of Antibari did not reside at Antibari, but usually either at Cattaro or at Budua.

³ Zmajević speaks (Aug. 25th, 1719) of the "perfido e tanto noto vescovo di Zettigne." Theiner. "Monumenta," II. p. 254.

revered as one of the greatest and best of the Vladikas.

His nephew Sava Petrović Njeguš, who succeeded him in 1735, was a man of a very different type. Endowed with a gentle, unambitious temperament, he was ill adapted to be a ruler over Montenegrins, especially in the stirring times in which his lot was cast; and throughout the eventful period of forty-seven years during the greater part of which he exercised the functions of prince-bishop, he allowed his personality to remain in the background. In 1742 he visited the Empress Elizabeth at Moscow, and returned by way of Berlin, where he received a cross of gold from Frederick the Great.¹ But the dissensions which prevailed among the inhabitants of the various *plemena*, or subdivisions of the Montenegrin *nahie*, in consequence of the feebleness exhibited by the central administration, induced Sava to retire before long into the monastery of Stanjević, and to entrust the reins of power to the hands of his cousin Vassilije, who was consecrated in 1750 by the Patriarch of Peć, though for several years before that date he was practically in possession of full power. Vigorous measures were now taken for the

¹ Andrić, p. 38.

preservation of order, and among the changes that took place was the appointment of a new civil governor, Stanislas Radonić Njeguš, in whose family that office remained an heirloom until it was finally abolished in the nineteenth century by Peter II.

These reforms, by consolidating the power of Montenegro, enabled it to offer adequate resistance to the various attacks directed against it by the Turks whilst Vassilije was ruler, and to prevent a repetition of the calamities of 1714. The principal object of the pashas of Skodra and of Bosnia was to recover the allegiance of the Piperi and Kuči tribes, which formed part of the Brda and had united their fortunes, for all practical purposes, with those of the Crnagora; but in the attempts which they made the Turkish generals signally failed, and a protracted battle fought near Nikšić (Onogošt) in 1754 culminated in the complete victory of the Montenegrins, whose success was rendered all the more difficult owing to the fact that the Venetians, fearing lest they should be involved in a fresh war with the Turks, had prohibited the importation of all ammunition from their territory into the Crnagora.³ The Sultan now endeavoured to adopt a conciliatory

¹ See Andrić, p. 39, *seqq.*

attitude, without, however, abating in any degree his arrogant pretensions; but his overtures were rejected, and defeats of a still more serious character were inflicted on the Turkish troops in the campaign of 1756. Ten years later Vassilije died at St. Petersburg, on the occasion of his third journey to that city. In the course of those journeys he had made known the claims of his people to the sympathy of Christian and Slavonic Russia by causing a brief account of their national exploits to be printed at Moscow in 1754;¹ munificent gifts and other marks of good-will had been bestowed upon him first by Elizabeth and afterwards by Catherine;² and not the least important of the results he achieved was to enable a number of young Montenegrins to receive at St. Petersburg a military education in conformity with the improvements recently effected in the art of war.

At the death of Vassilije the power necessarily reverted to the feeble hands of the Vladika Sava. Although he received an accession of strength from the presence in Montenegro of the last Patriarch of Peć, who had been expelled from his see by the Turks in consequence of Fanariot intrigues,

¹ Andrić, p. 40. *Cp.* Pypin and Spasović, "Geschichte der Slawischen Litteratur" (Leipzig, 1880), I. p. 298.

² Andrić, pp. 43-46.

he was unable to impose a check upon the forces of disorder which tended more and more to dissociate the various *plemena* from one another, and to make them independent of the central authority,—a tendency fraught with the greatest danger to the liberty of the principality, considering the paramount importance of national unity in the struggle against the Turks. As it was, the Crnagora was distracted by the feuds which prevailed between the leading families, and the customs of the vendetta lingered on with ominous persistency.

Such was the condition of things when, towards the beginning of the year 1766, there arose one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of Montenegro. A monk named Stephen, supposed to have been of Croatian origin, appeared in the village of Crnčani near Budua, and caused a vague rumour to be circulated that he was Peter III., the murdered husband of Catherine II. The mystery which surrounds the person of the Czars has always been favourable to pretenders of the Perkin Warbeck type; in Russia itself at least seven persons put forward the same claim as the monk Stephen; and the simple-minded Serbian mountaineers were not likely to investigate such pretensions

with critical impartiality. The influence of Russia among the inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula had increased rapidly since the days of Peter the Great. The peace which that Czar concluded with the Turks in 1720 allowed a Russian ambassador to reside at Constantinople, so that he was enabled to enter into direct relations with the Christian subjects of the Porte. The Oriental Project of Marshal Münnich found favour both with Anne and with Elizabeth, who prepared the way for the more earnest endeavours of Catherine II. to make that project a reality. Nor was the good fortune of Russia unaffected by the rapid decline of Venice and of Poland, and by the necessity to which Austria was reduced, at the peace of Belgrade, to relinquish the districts in Bosnia, Wallachia, and Serbia, including even Belgrade, which had been assigned to her by the treaty of Passarowitz. Soon after the accession of Catherine in 1762, intrigues were commenced on a far more extensive scale than had previously been the case. The appearance, therefore, of a Russian envoy¹ in Montenegro, for the purpose of making that country a basis of operations among the neighbouring subjects

¹ Von Hammer, IV. p. 565, refers to the translation of the Bey of Bosnia's report, appended to Brugniard's report of Oct. 1st, 1766.

of the Turk, considering the importance of its position, the independence which it had succeeded in preserving and the relations it had entertained with Russia, might at any time be expected. And was it a matter for surprise if the imagination of the Montenegrins exalted an adventurer into an agent, and an agent into the ruler of the land to which they owed so much? Was he not come in person to be the liberator of the unredeemed Serbs? The wish, in their case, was father to the thought, and they merely assumed the reality of that which they most desired to see.

Though denounced as an impostor by the Vladika Sava, the influence of Stephen Mali—Stephen the Little, as he was called—extended itself more and more. From the Primorje he transferred his abode to Cetinje and subsequently to Njeguš; and he was able, before long, to persuade the chieftains to forego their petty feuds and to unite in one vigorous effort against the combined armies of the Beyler Beys of Roumelia and of Bosnia, who attacked Montenegro in 1768 with an army of greater magnitude than had ever been brought against it at any previous time. The former advanced from Nikšić, the latter from Podgorica, while the pasha of Skodra endeavoured to invade the Crmnica

nahia. Meanwhile Venetian troops guarded the frontier from Spiča to Grahovo in order to prevent any ammunition from reaching the hands of the Montenegrins.¹ The situation was highly critical; no cartridge could be obtained for less than a ducat, and the supply might cease at any moment. It has been said, however, that the best way of sending ammunition to the Montenegrins is to send it to their enemies: and in October they succeeded in capturing a convoy laden with powder and shot for the use of the Turkish forces. The unexpected succour renewed their courage, and on the twenty-eighth of that month was fought a battle which occupies in the history of the Crnagora a part similar to that which is filled in the history of England by the defeat of the Spanish Armada. The two main bodies of the Ottoman army, under the command of the two Beyler Beys, had united in the neighbourhood of Cevo, and were defeated with great loss by a force many times inferior to their own.² The resemblance which has been noted is heightened by the events which followed. On the first of November there broke out one of those mountain storms for the frequency

¹ Andrić, p. 48. Gopčević, pp. 16, 17.

² See Andrić, p. 49, *seqq.* Frilley et Vlahoviti, pp. 30-1.

and intensity of which Montenegro is conspicuous. The stores of gunpowder belonging to the Turks who were advancing against the Crmnica, were struck by lightning. Terrified by the explosion they turned to flight ; and, on the same day, a similar catastrophe compelled the Venetians to withdraw to the cities of the coast. " Adflavit Deus et dissipati sunt."

In the course of the following year, active hostilities, which were continued almost uninterruptedly until the conclusion of the treaty of Kainardji in 1774, were commenced between the Russians and the Turks. Catherine, acting in pursuance of the policy handed down by Peter the Great, developed by Münnich, expounded by Orloff and apotheosized by Voltaire, issued a manifesto to the Christian inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula, and despatched Prince George Vladimirović Dolgoruki with an Imperial Ukase to Montenegro. Landing in the neighbourhood of Spiča, he made his way with a numerous retinue and a large quantity of ammunition to Cettinje, where he read the proclamation before the assembled people. It referred to the interference of Russia in the affairs of Poland, for the purpose of securing for the Orthodox their proper share of the privileges

which had hitherto been monopolized by the Catholic inhabitants of that kingdom ; it set forth in brief terms the causes of the war, and invited the Montenegrins, as a free, Slavonic and Orthodox people, to unite in the war against the Turks.¹ At the same time Dolgoruki took the opportunity of declaring that Stephen Mali was a mere impostor. Yet, although he detained the false Czar in honourable captivity for nearly two months, until the time of his own departure for Russia, he perceived at length the weakness of Sava and the powerful hold which had been gained upon the imagination of the Montenegrins by Stephen ; whereupon he not only allowed the latter to be released, but went so far as to commend him to the obedience of the people, and bestow upon him the uniform of a Russian staff officer. No important results were achieved by Dolgoruki's mission, though the Montenegrins helped to divert the attention of the Turkish generals in Albania and the Herzegovina, thus rendering indirect assistance to the Russian fleet which startled not only the Porte but all Europe by penetrating through the straits of Gibraltar into the Mediterranean.

For six years—from 1768 to 1774—the

¹ Andrić, pp. 50-53.

monk Stephen maintained his position in the Crnagora, and gave countenance to the popular belief in his Imperial title by the measures of which he was the author. The administration of justice was reformed ; life and property were rendered more secure ; and it was while superintending the construction of a new road that Stephen lost his sight in the springing of a mine. He then retired into the monastery of Brčela, where he was assassinated by a Greek servant, at the instigation, it is said, of Kara Mahmoud, pasha of Skodra.¹

Considerable doubts have prevailed as to the nature of the support received by the false Peter from foreign powers. A strong impression existed at the time, especially among the Turks, to the effect that he was acting as the instrument of the Signorie's ambitious policy ; but, though that notion derives some support from the frequent relations entertained with him by the Venetian officers, as well as by the terms of praise in which they spoke of him,² it is intrinsically improbable, and is practically dispelled by their conduct in regard to Montenegro in 1768, by their attempt to capture the monas-

¹ Andrić, p. 54. Frilley et Vlahoviti, p. 33.

² See Frilley et Vlahoviti, p. 34.

tery of Stanjević in 1774, and by the ignorance displayed in the Venetian reports respecting Stephen's real character.¹ Nor, again, was he an agent of the Greek captain Papasoglou, who was sent by Gregory Orloff, Catherine II.'s ambitious lover, to establish relations with Maina in 1766;² in which case the events of which he was the hero might be compared with the disturbances fomented almost simultaneously in Georgia by a Greek monk in the pay of Russia. That Dolgoruki himself regarded Stephen as a mere adventurer and not in any way as an agent, is made clear by his memoirs, which were written several years afterwards, at a time when he could no longer have any motive for concealing the truth. And, however involved the mazes of Russian diplomacy may be, it is inconceivable that one who claimed to be Peter III. should have received official support, except under the pressure of extreme necessity, during the lifetime of Catherine. It seems best, therefore, to look upon him as one of those men who, by using their knowledge of human nature as a means of further-

¹ See "Annual Register."

² *Cp.* Finlay's "History of Greece," V. p. 248, and *note*. Perhaps the notion that Stephen had some connection with Papasoglou may have arisen originally from a confusion between Maina in the Morea and Maina near the Bocche di Cattaro.

ing their designs, contrive to push themselves into prominence, without any of the advantages to be derived from external aid, or from intellectual capacity in the higher sense of the term.

During the eight years that followed the death of the false Czar the government of the Crnagora remained in the hands of the aged Vladika Sava. The only event of importance that occurred during those years was the conclusion, in 1779, of an alliance between the Montenegrins and Maria Theresa. The independence of the principality was formally recognized, and one of the articles in the treaty stipulated that, if the Turks were compelled to evacuate Serbia, the whole of the Zeta as far as the Bojana, as well as the Herzegovina, should be united with the Crnagora and the Brda.¹ Thus the period which elapsed between the accession of Danilo and the death of Sava in 1782 resulted in the acquisition of new allies, more trustworthy and more powerful than Venice, and gave to Montenegro a considerable increase of territory, whilst it suggested the possibility that its inhabitants might at length obtain the portion which was their due and for which they had so long contended.

¹ Andrić, pp. 55, 56.

CHAPTER II.

Peter I.—His reforms—Relations with Russia and with Austria—Battle of Kruze, and death of Kara Mahmoud—Attitude of Montenegro towards the French—Siege of Ragusa—Impulse given to Panslavism by the Napoleonic conquests—The Montenegrins and the English drive the French from the Bocchi—Peter II.—Abolition of the civil governorship—Danilo secularizes the government—Danilo and the Paris Conference—Battle of Grahovac—Assassination of Danilo.

SAVA was followed by his nephew, Peter I., a prince who had been present at the death-bed of Vassilije, and had already taken an active part both in the civil and in the military administration of his country. He was consecrated bishop at Carlowitz in 1784, and, after a fruitless journey to Russia, at a time when the alliance of the Southern Slavs was not desired by its statesmen, he returned to Montenegro, where a crisis of a serious nature had occurred. The hereditary pasha of Skodra, Kara Mahmoud Bušatlja, supposed to have been a descendant of the renegade Staniša of the Crnojević family, had made

himself virtually independent of the Sultan, and was endeavouring to carry out a design similar in kind to that which the celebrated Ali Pasha, of Tepeleni, and afterwards of Joannina, was able to put into execution, on a wider scale, in Southern Albania, in Thessaly, and in large portions of Macedonia and Greece. Taking advantage of the dissensions which prevailed among the Montenegrin chieftains, Mahmoud had invaded and ravaged the nahie of Katunska and Rječka, advancing as far as Cettinje and burning the monastery.¹ Yet, in spite of the disasters that had befallen his country, it was with the greatest difficulty that the Vladika reconciled the contending factions, which derived much of their strength from the system of House Communities.

In 1788 a war broke out between the Austrians and Russians on the one hand and the Turks on the other. There is no doubt that a scheme for the partition of the Turkish dominions in Europe had been arranged about six years previously between Joseph II. and Catherine II., on the understanding that Austria should have Serbia and Bosnia, Russia the Crimea and Oczakow, whilst a "constitutional Empire" was to be erected in the peninsula, with the Russian grand duke

¹ Andrić, p. 57.

Constantine as Emperor.¹ Both the allied powers endeavoured to secure the co-operation of Montenegro. Lieutenant - colonel Vukassović was sent to the Crnagora with a letter from the Emperor Joseph, and with four hundred Serbs and Bosnians; and, shortly after, there arrived at Cettinje some Russian envoys, bringing with them not only the manifesto issued by Catherine to all the Christians of the Balkan peninsula, but also a special proclamation addressed to the Montenegrin people.² The greatest enthusiasm was aroused, but no immediate success was attained. The Austrian envoy Brugniard, who, forgetting that "il Turco e sempre Turco," tried to gain over Kara Mahmoud, was received by him with all the appearance of friendliness, and was assassinated on his way back at the pasha's bidding, together with the officers by whom he was accompanied.³ Nikšić and Spuž were besieged, but ineffectually, by the combined forces of the Crnagora and the Brda; and at length Vukassović, deeming that he would secure no advantage by remaining any longer in Montenegro, withdrew unexpectedly to Cattaro and embarked his troops. And, although Leopold

¹ See, *inter alia*, Jireček, "Geschichte der Bulgaren," p. 480.

² Andrić, pp. 59-63.

³ Cp. Frilley et Vlahoviti, p. 37.

II., on his accession in 1790, caused a vessel laden with ammunition for the use of the Montenegrins, to be despatched from Trieste, he made no mention of his allies of the Black Mountain in the peace of Sistova (1791), which he concluded in the following year; nor did the services they had rendered to Russia obtain any recognition in the treaty which was signed at Jassy in 1792.

The murder of Brugniard, however, was speedily avenged. In the year 1796, Kara Mahmoud, after several fruitless endeavours to subdue the Montenegrins, advanced with a large army into the Lješanska nahia, with the object of impairing the power of the principality by separating the Crnagora from the Brda. The Vladika in person encountered the invading forces in a narrow defile close to the village of Kruze. The Turks were driven back into the open plain, and rushed in wild confusion in the direction of the Morača. Those who escaped from the hands of their enemies were swept away by the stream. Mahmoud himself was taken captive and put to death. His head was embalmed, and still remains at Cettinje, a grim memorial of that great and famous day.¹

¹ *Cp.* Andrić, p. 71. Frilley et Vlahoviti, pp. 40, 41. Gopčević, "M. und die M.," p. 19.

Peter I. was now able to turn his attention to the internal affairs of the principality. A large number of families from the district round Trebinje had migrated into Montenegro a few years before, and settled in the valley first of the lower, and afterwards of the upper Morača. By their presence they helped to strengthen the ties which bound the Brda to the Crnagora; and the union, which had virtually existed since the time of Danilo, was now formally and definitively recognized. In 1798 the customary law of the Montenegrins was reduced to a code, which was to be valid in both portions of the land over which the Vladika was ruler. Every nahia had its *srdar*, and every *pleme* was under the immediate government of certain knezes and other hereditary officers. Tribal gatherings were presided over by the *glavari*; and the national assembly, or *skupština*, which corresponded to the old Serbian *sbor*, and was sometimes called by that name, held a prominent place in the *zakonik* of Peter I. Justice was administered by a number of *sudaci*, judges, and the *starješinas*, or heads of houses, continued as before. In all this there was nothing new; and the code merely embodied and formulated the customs and institutions that were based upon, or had

grown out of, the principles of the House Community. Peter I., however, by his remarkable persuasiveness of speech and example, effected many changes for the better in the customs of the Montenegrin, helped to soften down the features in their character to which their protracted struggle with the Turks had imparted an unwonted harshness, and prepared the way for the more conspicuous reforms that were carried out by his successors. Not without reason is he revered as a saint by his people, and called the "great and holy Vladika."

Meanwhile, Montenegro was involved in the European wars which were the consequences of the French Revolution. In 1797 the Venetian Republic ceased to exist, and by the treaty of Campo-Formio Dalmatia was ceded to the House of Austria. Some difficulty arose, at the same time, in connection with the bay of Cattaro. Napoleon maintained¹ that it belonged to the province of Albania, whereas the Austrian plenipotentiaries contended that it had always formed part of Dalmatia, so long as that country was under the rule of Venice. Indeed, when Cattaro had tendered its allegiance to the

¹ *Cp.* "Correspondance de Napoléon Bonaparte," Sept. 9th and 25th, 1797.

Signorie, its inhabitants had expressly stipulated that they should not be transferred to any other power. The Vladika Peter, whose advice was repeatedly sought by the Bocchesi, recommended them at first to await the possible restoration of the Venetian Republic ; but, perceiving the impracticable nature of such a policy, and the necessity for concerted action against the French, he offered no resistance to the Austrian commanders, Rakavina and Turm, when they advanced to take possession of the territory. He hastened also to effect a reconciliation with Russia, with which a temporary dispute had arisen owing to the intrigues of the archimandrite Vučetić—a dispute, however, which produced one definite result, inasmuch as it provoked a distinct declaration on the part of the Vladika and his government to the effect that “the people of the Crnagora and of the Brda stood in no sense in any relation of subjection to the government of Russia, but were merely under its moral protection, as belonging to the same race and professing the same creed.”¹ Accordingly, when the peace of Pressburg (Dec. 26th, 1805), signed not many days after the battle of Austerlitz, placed Dalmatia, including the province of Cattaro, under the

¹ Andrić, p. 89.

authority of France, the Vladika, supported by promises of assistance from Russia, was prepared to oppose any attempt made by the French to make themselves masters of the Bocche. In conjunction with the Russian general Sankowsky and the Russian admiral Senjavin, the Montenegrins advanced against Castelnuovo, which was surrendered to them without any resistance by the Austrian commissioner, who still held that town, but who was to have transferred it in the course of a few days to the French, in accordance with the stipulations of the treaty. Cattaro itself was occupied by the Russians; and from that time, for a space of nearly two years, the Russians and Montenegrins fought side by side in many a battle against the common enemy, and on most occasions their efforts were crowned with success. In vain did General Lauriston promise that Napoleon would raise the Vladika of the Crnagora to the position of Dalmatian Patriarch.¹ The offer was rejected with scorn. Lauriston himself was besieged for nearly a month in Ragusa, which he had entered in spite of the fact that it was a neutral and independent commonwealth, until the arrival of Molitor on the 24th of June, 1806, with considerable reinforcements,

¹ Andrić, p. 100.

altered the aspect of affairs, and compelled both Russians and Montenegrins to retreat, though they still retained in their possession the shores of the Bocche.¹ On the 18th of September, Lauriston, assisted now by Marmont, afterwards Duke of Ragusa, inflicted a serious defeat first upon the Russians and then upon the Montenegrins; but, on the following day, a protracted engagement with the troops of the Vladika compelled Marmont to withdraw in all speed to his camp, which was pitched temporarily in the Sutorina, the narrow strip of territory which belonged to the Turks and separated the district of Castelnovo from that of Ragusa. In danger of being surrounded, he was soon compelled to seek refuge in Ragusa, with such forces as still remained to him, and, during the following month, the country round that city was exposed to frequent incursions and depredations on the part of the Montenegrins, who continued to carry on their struggle against the French in spite of the assistance which the latter received from the Turks after the Porte had declared war against Russia in December, 1806; and the events of that and the next year only served to strengthen the

¹ Frilley et Vlahoviti, pp. 46-48. "Annual Register for 1806," pp. 149-151. Alison's "History of Europe" (Edinburgh and London, 1850), VII. pp. 152-4.

importance of the Vladika's position, by increasing the influence he exercised over the Serbs of the Bocche and of the Herzegovina.

At length, in July, 1807, the peace of Tilsit was concluded, and a scheme, resembling in some respects that of 1782, but on a larger and more ambitious scale, was embodied in the secret articles of the treaty. Russia was to have Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria as far south as the Balkans; France was to be the ruler of Albania, Thessaly, and the Morea; the House of Habsburg was to be propitiated by the acquisition of Bosnia and a large portion of Serbia, whilst the Sultan might be allowed to retain Thrace, together with Constantinople. The mouths of Cattaro, which had been the ostensible cause of the rupture between France and Russia, though the real motives lay, of course, far deeper, were ceded definitively to France.¹ On the 29th of July Castelnuovo was surrendered to Marmont, and two days later all the fortresses of the Bocche were placed in his hands.² Not long after, the French general, who was instructed by Napoleon to make preparations

¹ By a separate treaty between France and Russia, which was signed at Paris on July 20th, 1807, and which ordered " Venetian Albania " and Ragusa to be ceded definitively to France. *Cp.* " Mémoires du Maréchal Duc de Raguse " (Paris, 1857), III. p. 1.

² Andrić, p. 103. Frilley et Vlahoviti, p. 51.

for the possible landing of two French armies, the one at Cattaro, the other on the coast of Greece, for the purpose of penetrating into the interior of the peninsula,¹ and who endeavoured to conciliate the native population, had a memorable interview with the Montenegrin Vladika, whose calm and dignified demeanour produced a strong impression upon his mind.²

Whatever estimate we may form of the work accomplished by Napoleon and the motives by which he was actuated, there is no doubt that in one respect, at least, he exercised, in an indirect and, to a great extent perhaps, unconscious manner, a beneficial influence upon the destinies of humanity. By causing old combinations to crumble to pieces, and new combinations to be formed in their place, he gave a powerful impulse to the principle of nationality founded upon race. Formerly considerations of dynastic interest occupied a position of paramount importance, whereas at present the various branches of each race are striving, wherever

¹ "Mémoires du Maréchal Duc de Raguse," II. p. 108, etc.

² *Ibid.*, II. pp. 58, 59, 376. It is interesting to note that, in his account of the manners and customs of the Montenegrins (II. pp. 375, *seqq.*), Marmont exhibits traces of the notions, derived from French writers of the eighteenth century, respecting the uncivilized as compared with the civilized state. He tends to idealize the former.

such endeavours do not conflict irremediably with their history and with their geographical situation, to unite themselves into one state. The tendency itself is, of course, far too deeply rooted in human nature, far too closely bound up with the development of mankind, to have owed its origin to any one man, however powerful, or even to any one movement, though it were as great as the French Revolution: but its growth is capable of being accelerated or retarded; and it is probable that neither an United Italy nor an United Germany would now exist, if it had not been for the conquests of Napoleon. A similar result was produced within the borders of Illyria. On the 15th of October, 1810, the decree was issued by which the seven combined provinces of "New Illyria" were formally constituted, namely, Carniola, Carinthia, Istria, civil Croatia, military Croatia, Dalmatia with Zara, and Albania with Ragusa for its chief town. Every province was divided into districts, cantons, and *arrondissements*; and the whole, the organization of which was completed in 1811, was entrusted to the care of Marmont. These arrangements, however bureaucratic they may appear, could scarcely fail to tighten the bond that united the Serbs to the Croats and the

Slovenes. Nor is it surprising that they should have aroused the enthusiasm of poets like Vodnik, especially when we bear in mind that they coincided, in point of time, with the remarkable literary movement commonly known as Panslavism, which was associated with the names of eminent philologists, poets and historians, such as Kollar, Kopitar, Schafarik, Dobrowsky, Jungmann, and others, though, by arousing among the various members of the Slavonic race a national consciousness based upon the community of their origin and upon the fact that the languages they spoke were, at bottom, merely dialects of one and the same language, it came little by little to assume a political significance.

In Dalmatia, however, as a general rule, the animosity aroused among the inhabitants by the French occupation, was such as to outweigh every other feeling. The Austrian government, at any rate, had cleared the land of the *hajduks*, or robbers, by whom it was infested, much in the same way as Bulgaria was devastated by bands of *krjadalids*; it had done its best to render life and property secure, and had established schools and other means of education unknown in the days when Dalmatia was governed by the Venetian

oligarchs.¹ Under the rule of the French, on the other hand, Ragusa had been deprived of its independence and had undergone calamities more grievous to bear than any it had incurred since the terrible earthquake of 1667; the republic of Polizza, which has been described as a Slavonic San Marino, had been subjected to a terrible ordeal, and the whole of Dalmatia had been brought under a reign of terror, which was tempered, however, by the clemency of Marmont. In the French the Montenegrins saw the allies of the Ottoman Turks, and the oppressors of their kinsmen of Dalmatia, whom they frequently assisted, in spite of Napoleon's threat that he would avenge with their blood the reverses they had inflicted upon his troops, and make of Montenegro a Monte Rosso. The Vladika's attention, however, was fully engaged, and he was unable to co-operate actively with the great Serbian rising which took place under George the Black—Djuradj Crni, or Kara George—and Miloš Obrenović. At length, in 1813, in consequence of Napoleon's campaign in Russia and of the events by which it was followed, the Austrians, aided by the English, who had occupied the island of Lissa six years previously, began to reconquer

¹ *Cp.* Wilkinson, II. p. 362, *seqq.*

Dalmatia. Meanwhile the Vladika had entered into communication with Sir William Hoste, the officer in command of the British fleet in the Adriatic, and with his aid made himself master of both shores of the Bocca.¹ On the 29th of October, the Bocchesi and the Montenegrins united themselves formally under the rule of Peter I. The act of union was signed, on the one hand, by the Vladika and by the civil governor Radonić, and, on the other, by representatives from fifteen different communities. A "central commission" was appointed to regulate the affairs of government. On the 5th of January, 1814, Cattaro itself, which had been ably defended by Gauthier against the attacks of the Montenegrins by land and the English by sea, was surrendered to Vuk Radonić and Vincent Lovrenčić, the two delegates of the commission, and became for a time the capital of Montenegro, which thus obtained its share in the long-coveted sea-coast.² But

¹ Andrić, pp. 112-4. Frilley et Vlahoviti, "Memoirs of Sir W. Hoste" (London, 1833), II. p. 186, *seqq.* He entered the Bocche on the 13th of October, 1813.

² Andrić, p. 114, *seqq.* "Memoirs of Sir W. Hoste," II. pp. 226, *seqq.* Lord Aberdeen found fault with Sir W. Hoste (1) for having allied himself with the Montenegrins, and (2) for not having given up Cattaro to the Austrians. Sir William showed conclusively (1) that he had merely accepted, and not asked for, the assistance of the Montenegrins, and (2) that to have surrendered Cattaro to the Austrians would have been to go beyond the instructions which he had received.

a few months later, in consequence of the negotiations which were conducted at Paris by the victorious potentates, the Austrians, who had entered Ragusa on the 28th of January, advanced into the Bocche under the command of General Milutinović; and the Vladika, acting in accordance with the advice tendered by the Czar Alexander I., withdrew into the Crnagora, while the House of Austria entered, against the wishes of the native population, into the possession of a district which it had acquired vicariously, by the efforts of others and by no merit of its own. The Emperor of Austria—as the Archduke of Austria and King of Hungary was called since 1806 — assumed, in addition to his numerous other titles, that of lord (Herr) of Cattaro, and conferred upon the inhabitants of that town and upon the Bocchesi generally, certain privileges, the gradual withdrawal of which led ultimately to the insurrection of 1869.

The last fifteen years of Peter I.'s career were devoted to the task of establishing unity among his people, and putting an end, as far as was possible, to the blood-feud, which, handed down as it was from generation to generation, parted family from family, tribe from tribe, and was an incessant cause of

intestine strife. When the necessity arose for repelling a Turkish invasion, as was the case in 1819 and 1821, the contending factions were indeed temporarily reconciled, but only to resort afresh to the usages of the vendetta as soon as they were no longer exposed to the common danger. Even on his death-bed the Vladika was engaged in the work of reconciling differences; and his last words, the memory of which lingered long among his people, were an exhortation to unity. It is related that, "on the 18th of October, 1830, Peter I., who was then in his eighty-first year, was sitting, after the manner of his country, by the fireside of his great kitchen, and was giving to his chiefs, assembled round him, instructions for the settlement of some local differences which had arisen. The aged Vladika, finding himself weak, announced that his last hour was come, and prayed them to conduct him to the humble cell which, without fire, he inhabited as a hermit would. Arriving there, he stretched himself upon his bed; urged upon his chiefs to execute with fidelity the provisions set forth in the will he had that day dictated to his secretary; and then, in conversation and in prayer, rendered up his soul to God. So died this illustrious man, whom a Slavonic writer has not scrupled

to call the Louis XIV. of the Crnagora, but who in a number of respects was also its Saint Louis."¹

His nephew and successor, Rado Tomov, who was consecrated in 1833 under the name of Peter II., was eminent as a warrior, as a statesman, and as a poet,² and carried on with signal success the humanising work commenced by his predecessor. A printing-press was established at Cettinje. The vendetta was finally abolished, and the decrease in the number of offences against life and property was so rapid as almost to preclude the necessity for the application of the Draconian decrees that were fulminated against evil-doers. At the same time several important changes were effected in the mode in which the government of the country was administered. Much of the power which had previously belonged to the heads of the nahie and of the plemena was transferred to a

¹ Frilley et Vlahoviti, p. 58, rendered by Gladstone, "Nineteenth Century," I. p. 369. *Cp.* Gopčević, pp. 21, 22. Andrić, pp. 122-4. Mickiewicz, "Vorlesungen über slavische Sprache und Literatur" (Leipzig, 1843), part I., p. 231.

² His three principal works are (1) "Luča mikrokosma, the Ray of the Mikrokosm," a work composed under Miltonic influence; (2) "Gorski vijenac, the Bond in the Mountains," dealing with the period of Danilo; and (3) "Lažni car štjepan Mali, the false Czar Peter the Little." The last two are lyrical dramas. *Cp.* Pypin and Spasović, I. pp. 298-303. Andrić, p. 127. He was educated by the historian, S. Milutinović.

senate, which consisted of twelve leading *glavari* and met, as a general rule, at Cetinje, where it could be controlled by the Vladika. The number of *sudaci*, or judges, whose business it was to settle disputes and inflict penalties, was largely increased.¹ More significant still was the banishment, in 1832, of the *upravitelj*, or civil governor, Radonić, who represented a hereditary aristocracy, and whose family had, in fact, occupied that position ever since the year 1746. It is uncertain how much truth is contained in the allegation that he had intrigued with Austria for the purpose of securing for himself the supreme power; but there is no doubt that the existence of his office side by side with that of the prince-bishop, was detrimental to the true interests of the state, inasmuch as it prevented the attainment of any unity in the administration. The change which brought about the abolition of the civil governorship and the resumption by the Vladika of the full civil powers which, in theory, he had never ceased to possess, resembles, to a certain extent, the Japanese revolution of 1868, which resulted in the restitution to the Mikado of the civil authority which for two centuries had remained in the hands of the Shiogoon.

¹ Cp. Gopčević, p. 22.

The first half of the period during which Peter II. bore rule, was marked by incessant struggles between the Montenegrins and the Turks. Prodigies of valour were performed by the men of the Crnagora. On one occasion, for instance, in 1835, twelve of their number, impelled by that spirit of unrest which disdains to fall short of the highest standard of heroic virtue, and which exclaims with Virgil's Nisus,

“ Aut pugnam, aut aliquid iam dudum invadere magnum
Mens agitat mihi, nec placida contenta quiete est,”

seized the citadel of Žabliak and retained it against the most fearful odds until they were reinforced by three hundred of their fellow-countrymen from the Rječka nahia, with whose assistance they obtained possession of the rest of the town, after a three days' battle, in spite of the opposition offered by three thousand of their opponents.¹ At length, however, the Vladika ordered the place to be restored to the Turks, apparently because he considered it, at that time, to be strategically untenable. Many other exploits were performed during those wars; but though the Montenegrins invaded both Albania and the Herzegovina, and inflicted

¹ Andrić, p. 132.

more defeats than they incurred, they were unable to retain permanently the district of Grahovo and the so-called Skadarska nahia, of which they had become temporarily masters, or the islands of Lesendrija and Vranina, which, situated as they were near the northern extremity of the Skodrine lake, enabled their Turkish and Albanian possessors to interfere with the fisheries that formed an important source of revenue to the principality.¹ The difficulties under which the Vladika laboured were indeed great; for though the Emperor Nicholas, with more political foresight than Alexander I., and with more regard for the interests of the Southern Slavs, paid a yearly subvention to Montenegro, the repeated failure of the crops, which consisted mainly of potatoes and of maize, produced a famine at a time when a plentiful supply of provisions was most urgently needed; and events which had occurred between 1838 and 1840, in connection with the delimitation of the Austro-Montenegrin frontier, had contributed towards making the name of Austria disliked by the people of the Crnagora.

The centralising reforms of Peter II. were the prelude of a yet greater change in the

¹ *Cp.* Wilkinson, I. p. 470.

constitution of the land. At the time of his death, in 1851, his nephew, Danilo Petrović Njeguš, sometimes called "the first," but in reality the second ruler of that name, who had been designated in his testament as his successor, was pursuing a course of studies at St. Petersburg; and, on his way thither, whilst passing through Trieste, he had become enamoured of the beautiful Darinka Kuekuić, and had resolved to make her his wife. This he was unable to do without breaking through the custom which compelled the ruler of Montenegro to be consecrated bishop. Such, then, was the immediate cause of a change which must inevitably have occurred sooner or later; and its acceleration was doubtless of a beneficial character, though it put an end to an institution the prolonged continuance of which is one of the most interesting facts in history.

Danilo's determination to secularize the government was ratified by the senate and by the assembled people, and received the approval first of Russia and afterwards of Austria. In the code published in 1855, his person is declared to be inviolable, and he is called "prince" (*kniaz*) and "lord" (*gospodar*) of the Crnagora and of the Brda. The origin of both these titles may be traced

back to the House Community, and the second was that by which the Vladika was commonly designated by his people previously to the year 1851. The office of metropolitan was now rendered entirely distinct from that of prince.

In the following year, the Porte, filled with indignation at the events which had occurred, revived its claim, which indeed it had never been able to make good and never allowed wholly to die out, to the sovereignty of the Crnagora. War was declared against the principality. In the course of the struggle which ensued (Nov. 24th, 1852), Žabliak fell into the hands of the Montenegrins, but was abandoned by them about a month after. Russia and Austria, however, by exercising pressure on the Porte through their representatives, Count Nesselrode and Count Leiningen, were able to bring the war to a speedy termination. The Austrians and the Turks were compelled, at that time, to perform a part at variance with their historical character; for while the House of Habsburg, in taking up the cause of the Southern Slavs, came forward as the champion of national aspirations, the Sultan, by the protection he had afforded to the Hungarian and Polish refugees, appeared as the bulwark of personal liberty.

During the Crimean war, it was the constant aim of Danilo to preserve the neutrality of Montenegro, but, though he succeeded in his endeavour, it was at the cost of internal dissensions of a more serious character than had ever before occurred. The introduction of a house-tax had previously caused a rebellion among the Piperi; and when it became manifest that Danilo, acting in accordance with the wishes of the Austrian government, not only intended to put an end to border raids, but was bent upon pursuing a peaceful policy, the majority of the inhabitants of the Brda raised the standard of revolt, appointed provisional rulers of their own, and were with the utmost difficulty brought back to feelings of loyalty.¹ Meanwhile the Russian plenipotentiaries at the Paris Conference had declared that their government "had no other relations with Montenegro than such as sprang from the sympathies of the Montenegrins for Russia, and from the friendly dispositions of Russia towards those mountaineers;" whilst Ali Pasha asserted that "the Porte regarded Montenegro as an integral part of the Ottoman Empire," though he prudently added that "the Sublime Porte had no intention of

¹ See Frilley et Vlahoviti, pp. 67-70.

altering the existing state of things."¹ Thereupon Danilo, on the 31st of May, 1856, addressed to the European Powers a note in which he demanded (1) the diplomatic recognition of Montenegro's independence; (2) the extension of its frontiers in the direction of Albania and of the Herzegovina; (3) the definitive settlement of the Boundary Line towards the Turkish dominions, such as existed already towards Austria, and (4) the annexation of Antibari to the principality.² It was only to the third of these claims that the Powers really devoted any attention, though Napoleon III. consented, in May, 1858, to recognize the first; and the Montenegrin people repudiated with scorn the notions of acquiescing in a Turkish suzerainty in return for an extension of their territory. The war which arose in 1858 out of the assistance afforded by the Montenegrins to their insurgent kinsmen of the Herzegovina, was signalized by the brilliant victory which Mirko Petrović, the prince's brother, gained on the plain of Grahovac (May 13th, 1858). That event produced a powerful impression throughout the peninsula, and induced the international Commission,

¹ Protocols 14 and 15 of the Paris Conference. Parliamentary Papers, 1856, vol. 61, pp. 60, 64.

² Hertslet's "Map of Europe by treaty," p. 1438.

which met in that year for the purpose of fixing the Turoc-Montenegrin frontier,¹ to admit Danilo's representative, the voivode Peter Vukotić, to take part in its deliberations, and also to include the whole of the district of Grahovo, as well as those of Rudine and Župa, within the limits of the Crnagora. The delimitation of the frontier, however, was established in principle only, as the outbreak of the war in Italy and various other events prevented the Commission from deciding points of detail or putting its decisions in force.

In August, 1860, Prince Danilo was assassinated at Cattaro. The nefarious act was prompted by motives either of private revenge or, more probably, of political animosity. If the latter alternative be true, it was due to a renewed outburst of the flame of opposition which had been kindled by his reforms and barely extinguished by his severity. In his foreign policy he had displayed, as a general rule, a truly statesmanlike capacity. He had reorganized the army, introduced a new code, and established both unity and order throughout the land. He had also done more than any of his predecessors to make Montenegro acquainted with the refinements

¹ Hertslet, pp. 1353, 1457. *Cp.* Frilley et Vlahoviti, pp. 70-72.

of Western civilization. After his death his merits received from those over whom he had borne rule the recognition to which they were entitled, and he was mourned as a father by his people.

The period which extends from 1782 to 1860 occupies a position of great importance in the history of Montenegro. Progress may be discerned in every direction. The internal reforms effected by Peter I., Peter II., and Danilo are seen to bear fruit; the battles of Kruze and of Grahovac mark two distinct stages in the development of the military power of the united Crnagora and Brda; the principality enters into new relations with foreign countries; and the events which take place during the last few years of the period prepare the way for the time when the sanction of diplomacy will be given to the work of many centuries, by the formal admission of Montenegro into the European states-system as a free and self-determining unit.

CHAPTER III.

Accession of Niketa (Nicholas)—Reverses of the year 1862—Reform of the army—Increasing difficulties of the Eastern Question—Insurrection of 1875 in the Herzegovina—War between Montenegro and the Turks—The treaty of Berlin and its results—The Albanian League—Surrender of Dulcigno to the principality—Importance of Montenegro's position—Internal changes—Conclusion.

THE accession, in 1860, of Prince Niketa, or Nicholas, the son of Mirko Petrović and nephew of Danilo, marks the commencement of the last and not least important period in the history of Montenegro. It has been said that "he set out with two fixed ideas—the first, to prosecute the civilising work among his people; the second, to liberate the Serbian lands still in servitude." To these may be added that of securing the possession of a seaport, and that of obtaining from all Europe a formal recognition of the Crnagora's independence. Of these ideas the first, third, and fourth have at length been realized. The second still awaits realization, though much has already been done, and though there are

unmistakable signs that more may yet be achieved.

Although the Montenegrin government abstained, in 1861, from co-operating actively with the Serbs of the Herzegovina, who had effected a rising and had defeated a Turkish army of 30,000 men, it was unable to prevent isolated bands of Montenegrins from taking part in the struggle. In the spring of the following year, the Porte seized that pretext to declare war against the principality, and to concentrate against a country the population of which, according to the official estimate made in 1865, amounted to only 196,000 souls, and was probably even less numerous, the most powerful army it could gather together from all the quarters of its vast Empire. Omar Pasha, a Croat by birth, who in 1852 and 1853 had become familiarized with Montenegrin warfare, was in command of that great force. Montenegro, as it then was, has been compared to "the figure which would be produced if two roughly drawn equilateral triangles, with their apices slightly truncated, had those apices brought together, so that the two principal masses should be severed by a narrow neck or waist of territory."¹ Against that narrow strip of land,

¹ *Cp.* Frilley et Vlahoviti, p. 80. Gladstone, p. 365, etc.

barely twelve miles in width in one part, two divisions of Omar's army, under Dervish and Abdi Pashas, advanced simultaneously from Nikšić and from Spuž, in accordance with the plan adopted on previous occasions, as for instance in 1796, so as to completely cut off the Crnagora from the Brda, and afterwards to unite in a concerted attack upon the former region, whilst a third division operated against the latter. In the face of such numbers and such strategy the heroic defence offered by the Montenegrins, under the command of Mirko Petrović, was of little avail; and, on the 13th of September, Prince Nicholas accepted the terms of peace put forward by the Turkish commander.¹ However, the fifth and sixth articles of the treaty, which stipulated that Mirko should be banished, and that the Turks should be allowed to occupy the high road from the Herzegovina to Skodra between Nikšić and Spuž—a provision which would have irremediably parted the Crnagora from the Brda—remained a dead letter, whilst the other articles were by no means unfavourable to the principality, considering that one of them recognized explicitly the line of demarcation established by the mixed Commission in 1859.²

¹ Hertzlet, pp. 1512-3.

² Frilley et Vlahoviti, pp. 303-312.

In consequence of the reverses incurred in 1862, the prince set himself to the task of organizing the Montenegrin army on an entirely new basis. Peter II. had instituted a small bodyguard of *perjaniks*; Danilo, too, had introduced some important changes, and had created a corps of pioneers; but the principles of Montenegrin warfare continued, on the whole, to be those of the guerilla applied to a wider sphere, and the heroes of Grahovac were armed with *handjars*, or yataghans, and with the old - fashioned Albanian muskets. The army was now divided into thirty battalions of infantry, of 848 men each; a corps of cavalry, consisting of 3,000 men, principally dwellers in the plain of the Zeta, was now for the first time constituted, and mountain artillery was introduced. Rifles constructed after the newest pattern were distributed among the men; and though most of them still retain their *handjars*, which have done good service in the late war, they all carry revolvers as well. In 1877 the number of men who bore arms was estimated at 35,000, though of these 11,000 were either under seventeen or over fifty, and acted accordingly as a reserve.¹ The work of transporting provisions, and sometimes even

¹ See Gopčević, p. 43. Frilley et Vlahoviti, pp. 433-454.

ammunition, is generally performed by women. It is with this small army, thus constituted, that Montenegro has not only retrieved the disasters of 1862, but realized some of the dearest aspirations which its people have for centuries entertained.

The murder of twenty-two Montenegrins by the Turks at Podgorica, on the 19th of October, 1874, nearly brought about a renewal of hostilities after a period of peace which extended over twelve years, in the course of which the small district of Novasella, reaching down to the Adriatic, was at one time on the point of being ceded to Montenegro by the Porte. The crisis of 1874 was smoothed over by the diplomatic intervention of certain European Powers. The events, however, that took place in the following year, heralded the approach of an epoch-making conflict. The miserable condition of the Rayahs of the Herzegovina formed a striking contrast with the state of things which prevailed in the free Crnagora and in Dalmatia. The visit paid by the Emperor Francis Joseph to the latter country produced a deep impression among the neighbouring populations that were still subject to Turkish bondage, inasmuch as it suggested the possibility, and aroused in their minds the hope that they might ere long shake

off the yoke of Mohammedan oppression and be incorporated into an Empire more than half the inhabitants of which belong to the Slavonic race. In Austria-Hungary itself the prospect gave rise to various sentiments. To the majority of the people, whether Slavs or Germans or Magyars, such an union appeared, on different grounds, to be eminently desirable. Was it not their "mission" to civilize those parts? And would not the union of Bosnia and the Herzegovina to Dalmatia, by adding the body to the head, the head to the body, enable the resources of each to be developed? From a military point of view, too, it would increase the security of the Empire; and some there were who looked forward to a time when the power of the House of Habsburg might extend as far as the Aegean, although the Emperor himself and others in authority declared that those who held such views were the enemies of the monarchy. There were many, however, both at Vienna and at Budapest, who were of opinion that a large accession of Slavs to the population of Austria-Hungary would be calculated to jeopardize the dominant position occupied, ever since the establishment of the dualistic constitution, by the Germans on the one side, and by the Magyars on the other

side of the Leitha. Nor was there wanting a certain number of Slavs who, though desirous that their kinsmen should be freed from the Turkish yoke, thought that for them to become subjects of the Austrian government, though it might be attended with immediate advantage, would ultimately preclude them from obtaining their full measure of national independence. They remembered how, in 1869, that government had imposed upon the Serbs of the Bocche the burden of military service outside the limits of their land, in defiance of the engagements upon which it had entered forty-five years previously, and how it had kindled into flame an insurrection in which some two thousand mountaineers of the Krivoscie and other districts near Cattaro had taken part, carrying on a protracted campaign, fraught with innumerable ills, against the Imperial troops, and nearly involving Austria in a war with Montenegro.

Such were the divergent opinions which prevailed at the time when an outburst of cruelty on the part of certain Turkish officials brought matters to a crisis, and produced in the Herzegovina a rising which afterwards had its counterpart in Bosnia, in Bulgaria, and in various other portions of the Sultan's European dominions. Committees were

formed at Trieste and in many Dalmatian towns to furnish the insurgents with arms and money, as well as to assist the wounded ; considerable pressure was brought to bear upon the government of Austria-Hungary by its Slavonic subjects, and on the 30th of December, 1875, was issued the celebrated Andrassy note, which insisted upon an amelioration in the condition of the Christian population, and practically asserted the right of the European Powers, which had guaranteed the Ottoman Empire in 1856, to interfere in its internal affairs.¹ Meanwhile thousands of refugees from the Herzegovina had found an asylum in the Crnagora, where the cause for which they were contending excited the deepest sympathy ; and Prince Nicholas found it impossible to prevent individual Montenegrins, whose numbers would seem to have amounted to about five hundred,² from crossing the frontier and aiding their Orthodox and Slavonic neighbours against the Turks. After the publication of the Berlin memorandum (May 13th, 1876), Prince Gortchakoff declared that " if the efforts of the European Powers to effect a pacification between the

¹ *Cp.* " The Eastern Question," by the Duke of Argyll, I. pp. 159-161.

² W. J. Stillman, " Herzegovina and the late Uprising " (London, 1877).

Porte and the insurgents should prove to be unavailing, although he would do nothing to excite Serbia and Montenegro, he could no longer restrain them from action.”¹ Such was the force of public opinion in the Crnagora that the prince was compelled at length to prepare for a struggle, and to enter into communication with Prince Milan of Serbia and with the Czar; the blood of the Bulgarian martyrs cried aloud for vengeance, and it has been said that “a revolution in Serbia would have followed a definite refusal to declare war against the Porte,” and, again, that “if Serbia had declared war, and Montenegro had not followed instantly, the prince of Montenegro must have abdicated.”² Accordingly, on the 1st and 2nd of July, 1876, Serbia and Montenegro commenced hostilities against the Turks. Into the details of that struggle it is unnecessary to enter. At no time, probably, did the Ottoman forces encounter a more strenuous resistance; never were their defeats more numerous or their losses greater; and when, on the 1st of November, an armistice was proclaimed, in consequence of the defeat of the Serbian army on the Morava and the ultimatum presented

¹ Duke of Argyll, p. 193. “Parliamentary Papers,” 1876. “Turkey,” III. p. 142.

² Stillman, pp. 144-5. *Cp.* Gopčević, etc.

by the Russian ambassador to the Porte, the Turkish army had sunk from 130,000 to 40,000 men, and the Montenegrins were on the point of capturing Podgorica and Nikšić.¹ When the armistice, which was virtually prolonged until the beginning of June, 1877, had expired, the Turks, desirous of ending the war at one blow in order afterwards to join the troops which were arrayed against the Russians in Bulgaria, invaded Montenegro simultaneously from Albania, from Rascia, and from the Herzegovina. The prolonged struggle in the Duga pass, the relief of Nikšić by the Turks, the victory gained on the 20th of June over the Albanian army, and the evacuation of Montenegrin territory by the Ottoman troops, were the most conspicuous incidents in that campaign ;² on the 8th of September the capitulation of Nikšić took place ; and the operations were soon after transferred to the Albanian side,³ where the Montenegrins, after a long-continued struggle, became masters of a large portion of the Zeta, in the older and wider sense of the word, including the districts of Plava and Gusinje, the Škadarska nahia, and, more important still, the seaports of Dulcigno, Antibaldi, and

¹ *Cp.* Gopčević, pp. 187-194.

² A. Evans, " Illyrian Letters " (London, 1878), pp. 154-164.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 208-215.

Spiča. The work of the fifteenth century was thus undone in the nineteenth, and the Crnagora began to expand anew into that fertile Zeta over which the House of Balša had once borne rule.

Diplomacy, however, interfered, and prevented the Montenegrins from enjoying full possession of the inheritance over which they had reasserted their authority. The area of the principality, which was raised by the first two articles of the San Stefano treaty to 5,272 square miles, was reduced to 3,680 by the modifications which the Berlin Congress introduced.¹ For instance, though the right of Montenegro to the possession of Antibari was recognized, it was denied both Spiča and Dulcigno, the latter being retained by the Turks, while the former was incorporated with Dalmatia, as was the case with Cattaro in 1814. In the meantime serious complications arose in connection with the Shkipetar inhabitants of a large portion of the newly-conquered districts. The population of Antibari and the district of the Bojana belonged almost entirely to the Albanian race, though it contained a considerable admixture of Slavonic blood. There were also many Albanian

¹ See article on "Montenegro" in the ninth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

families in the district of Gusinje, although the dominant element in its population was formed by Mohammedanized Serbs. An attempt was therefore made by Hussein Pasha, the Turkish governor of Skodra, to turn the hereditary hatred of the Albanians for the Montenegrins to the advantage of the Porte, and, by arousing their national spirit, to hinder the cession of the conquered territory. The formation of the Albanian League, however, though promoted by external agencies, was a genuine movement, and must be viewed in connection with the development of the national consciousness in the fourteenth century, the establishment of an Albanian kingdom by Thopia, the determined resistance offered, under the guidance of Skanderbeg, to the Osmanli, and the fact that the Shkipetars, while adopting, for the most part, the creed of their conquerors, and forming, for several centuries, one of the main supports of the Ottoman power in Europe, have always occupied a peculiar and almost independent position. National unity, however, is rendered impossible by the configuration of the territory, by the clearly-marked separation between Northern and Southern Albania, by the prevalence of political factions, and, above all, by the distinct existence of

numerous powerful tribes, such as the Mir-dites and the Malissori, which tend to substitute the love of the tribe for the devotion to the race, and to confine patriotism within narrower limits, though they make it more intense.

In accordance with the decisions arrived at by the Congress of Berlin, Prince Nicholas had evacuated Dulcigno and the region of the Bojana, and was preparing to receive the districts of Plava and Gusinje, which had been added to his dominions, when they were occupied by the forces of the League. In consequence of the remonstrances addressed to the Porte by Montenegro, and urged by Russia, Mehemed Ali Pasha was sent to restore order; but his assassination by the Albanians furnished the Turkish government with a pretext for refusing to yield up the debatable land (April 18th, 1880).¹ Meanwhile, by the Corti Compromise, it was decided that Montenegro should forego its claim to Plava and to the smaller, but more fertile and strategically more important part of Gusinje, and should obtain, instead, the region which derives its name from the river Sem—the Serbian Cijevna—and which includes Podgorica, as well as Fundina, Žabliak, and Spuž, but is peopled, to some extent, by

¹ See Gopčević, "Oberalbanien und seine Liga," p. 92, *seqq.*

Shkipetars of the Maljsor tribe. Not long after, the terms of the treaty were modified so as to include Dulcigno, the inhabitants of which, though they belonged mainly to the Albanian race, were desirous of being united with the principality,¹ within the Montenegrin territory. Delays, however, still occurred; and it was only after a special ambassador had been sent by the British government to Constantinople, and a naval demonstration had been made by the Great Powers, that Dulcigno was surrendered by Dervish Pasha, on the 27th of November. And, though manifestations hostile both to Turks and to Montenegrins have been made since that time by the Castrati and Clementi tribes, contentment is beginning to be restored. It is felt that it is better to be subject to the Prince of Montenegro than to the Sultan. Again, although neither Antibari nor Dulcigno form the most natural outlet for Montenegro, it was a matter of vital consequence that the principality should obtain possession of a line of coast, in order that it might develop its resources and enter into communication with the outer world; and as the acquisition of Cattaro was, for obvious reasons, impossible, and Spiča was also secured by Austria, the

¹ See Gopčević, "Oberalbanien und seine Liga," p. 97.

acquisition of Antibari and Dulcigno was the only alternative that remained. Nor need we suppose that the enmity which subsists between the Serbs of the Crnagora and the Shkipetars will endure for ever. The enmity did not exist at the time when the national hero of Albania, the Serbian Skanderbeg, fought side by side with Ivan Crnojević, and was the staunch ally of his father Stephen; and on various occasions, in more recent times, the tribes of Northern Albania united themselves with the Montenegrins in their struggle against the Turks.

In consequence of the recent accession of territory, the position of Montenegro has been rendered strategically more secure; and it is no longer possible for two hostile armies to make Nikšić and Spuž the bases of their operations, and so cut off the Crnagora from the Brda. Some of the districts that have been added are rich in the products of the soil, and have contributed towards augmenting the wealth of the country, which was previously at a very low ebb. Of greater significance is the fact that a large Serbian population has been united to free Montenegro, partly on the southern side, but to a far greater extent in the direction of the Herzegovina. Thus, although there remains even

now an "unredeemed Serbia," the liberation of which has yet to be accomplished, the events of the last few years have served to exhibit in a clear light the historical position occupied by the Crnagora, as the connecting link between the Serbia of Nemanja and Dušan and the Serbia which may some day be evolved out of existing combinations. It would be impossible here to endeavour in any way to forecast the future of the lands from which the tide of Ottoman conquest has receded, or may be expected to recede. The nineteenth century has witnessed the triumph of the principles of liberty throughout a large portion of South-Eastern Europe. It has called into existence the kingdoms of Greece, Serbia, and Roumania, the principality of Bulgaria, and the state known as Eastern Roumelia. The independence of the Crnagora, which has never ceased to be a reality, has at length, by the twenty-sixth article of the Berlin Treaty, received the formal recognition of all the Great Powers. What has been done hitherto is merely the prelude of that which is to come. If, as seems probable, the ultimate solution of the Eastern Question, in so far as it relates to the Balkan peninsula, is to be found in the adoption of some form of confederation, for

the purpose of permitting the various elements of which the population of that peninsula is composed, to attain to the full development of their natural powers, and in order to raise up an effective bulwark against the possible advance of Austria, which has already acquired a vantage-ground in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and against the designs of Russia, it will be necessary, first to establish not a *Bundesstaat*, but a *Staatenbund*, an aggregate of numerous distinct states, each possessing a marked individuality of its own; and, secondly, so far as the Serbian branch of the Slavonic race is concerned, to aim at the union of the Serbian people, without on that account destroying the character of Montenegro as a nation by merging it into a greater whole.

Whatever may be the nature of the changes which are destined to be brought about in the Balkan peninsula, there is no doubt that, from every point of view, the Crnagora occupies a position of the highest importance. It remains to consider briefly how far it has been rendered worthy of that position by the internal progress which has been effected within its limits. The customs and institutions of the principality, as has already been pointed out, are based upon those of the

House Community, which have been modified, but also, to a great extent, preserved from dissolution by the severe conditions in which they have for centuries been placed. During the nineteenth century, especially since the accession of Nicholas, they have undergone extensive changes. The vendetta has been relegated to the past, and its abolition has been effected partly by the efforts of successive rulers, partly by the extension of the time-honoured habit of becoming connected with a former adversary by a kind of spiritual relationship called *gossipred*. Life and property are probably more secure in the Crnagora than in most European countries; and it is a common saying in Dalmatia that money which is left to-day upon a Montenegrin high road, is certain to be found there to-morrow. The magic of property, not indeed of private, but of collective property, has operated with beneficial results. The border-raids, or *četas*, have long ceased to be carried on. Several articles in the code promulgated by Danilo in 1855 have accordingly become antiquated; and the work has been recast, in a form better adapted to the requirements of a civilized state, by the labours of Professor Bogišić. "Chaste" and "frugal" the Montenegrins are still, but in no sense can they

be called "savage."¹ Education is compulsory for boys and girls alike ; and in 1877² the principality contained no fewer than seventy-one schools, every one of which was free, in addition to an agricultural institute in the newly-founded town of Danilovgrad, a high school for girls and a seminary for priests and teachers. Postal and telegraphic communication has been established with the outer world and with the interior of the country, and new roads have been created. Yet, in spite of all these changes, in spite of increased material prosperity and the introduction of Western forms of thought, the old simplicity of life has suffered no decay. The keen sense of honour, the zeal for heroic enterprise, and, above all, the love of liberty, together with an unbounded faith in the future of the Serbian race, continue unimpaired. The House Community still survives, and furnishes us, in the nineteenth century, with an insight into the manners and customs of an early stage of society through which most of the branches of the great Indo-European family have in all probability passed. The Montenegrin warrior still sings, to the accompaniment of the guzla, the deeds of Dušan,

¹ See Tennyson's poem in the "Nineteenth Century," I. p. 359.

² *Cp.* Gopčević, pp. 96-103, etc.

of Miloš Obilić, of Marko the King's son, of Skanderbeg and Ivanbeg, and of the exploits performed by a long series of Vladikas and heroes in defence of Freedom's chosen sanctuary.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER

BRINGING THE HISTORY OF MONTENEGRO DOWN TO NOVEMBER, 1912.

IN the course of the twenty-eight years which have elapsed since the foregoing pages were written, the position of Montenegro has been strengthened both by internal consolidation and by the development of her external policy. The grant of a new constitution in harmony with the growing needs of the times, has not had the effect of impairing the essentially paternal character of the rule of Nicholas, whose relations with his own people have been guided by insight, knowledge, and sympathy. In 1897 the bicentenary of the Petrović dynasty was celebrated amid great rejoicing, and the opportunity was taken in 1910 of raising the principality to the rank of a Kingdom. King Nicholas has carried into the twentieth century much of the simple dignity with which kingship was endued in

mediæval times. In the eyes of those over whom he reigns he is the poet who, in his earlier years, voiced the aspirations of Montenegro and, indeed, of the whole Serbian race, in his "Onamo, onamo, da vidju Przren," "Onward, onward, let me see Prizrend," and other poems and dramas full of the spirit of patriotism. As the head of the army, whilst in touch with the recent advances of strategy and modern military methods, he is sufficiently acquainted with the individual soldiers to be able to call most of the veterans and many of the others by their names. Although a new legislative assembly was established in 1905, with a Council of State and a ministry, little is done without the King's advice and co-operation; and, though he no longer sits under the historic tree beneath which he used to administer justice, he is frequently consulted by the judges, who are in telephonic communication with the palace. Moreover, notwithstanding the fact that the office of Vladika no longer exists, he is still regarded as inheriting some of the sanctity which appertained to the office of prince-bishop.

How long this admixture of old and new will survive the personality of King Nicholas and the extension of the boundaries of Montenegro, is a question for the future. In

any case the period covered by the fifty-two years of his reign has already coincided with the European recognition of the independence of the country, its erection into a kingdom, and its gradual enlargement, first as the result of the war of 1876-8 and the subsequent treaties, and, secondly, as the inevitable outcome of the wonderful events now in progress (November, 1912) in the Balkan peninsula. The political connection with the European states has been rendered closer not only by the improvement of diplomatic intercourse, but also by family alliances with reigning and princely houses. Princess Zorka of Montenegro, who died in 1890, married Peter, now King of Servia ; and King Nicholas numbers among his sons-in-law the King of Italy, as well as the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia, Prince Romanowsky (Duke of Leuchtenberg), and Prince Francis Joseph of Battenberg. His eldest son and heir, Prince Danilo, now in command of the Montenegrin forces in the field, married Princess Jutta (now Militza) of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. More important, perhaps, than these alliances is the position which King Nicholas occupies, as senior in reign, though junior in kingship, and a Nestor in counsel, among the rulers of the Balkans.

The incidents which led up to the present

war are too fresh in men's minds to require more than a passing notice. An intolerable situation had been created for Montenegro by the Turkish repression of the revolt in Northern Albania, and especially of the Malissori rising, with the result that the little kingdom was compelled to harbour refugees, to resist raids, and to incur, in time of nominal peace, the risks and expenditure usually associated with hostile operations. Although the actual declaration of war was not promulgated by King Nicholas until October, 1912, the whole of the Southern and Eastern borderland had been for nearly two years in a condition hardly distinguishable from a state of warfare. To this should be added the knowledge of the sufferings undergone by members of the Serbian stock beyond their immediate confines, in Old Serbia and Northern Macedonia, as well as the sympathy felt for their co-religionists, whether Greek, Bulgarian, or of other races, who experienced similar treatment in other parts of European Turkey, whilst the twenty-third article of the Berlin Treaty remained inoperative owing to the apathy of the Great Powers. In this way the Montenegrin question became once more one with the Serbian question, and in a less degree one with the movement which demanded the

Balkans for the Balkan peoples. Few even among the most sanguine advocates of Balkan union with a view to some ultimate form of confederation, as foreshadowed in these pages, could have foreseen a few months ago that Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro would be able to combine with the speed and the success which have characterized their joint efforts. Side by side with their severed Serbian brethren, with whom they have joined forces not only in the Sandjak of Novibazar, but also in Northern Albania, they have fought in alliance with Greeks and Bulgarians, who, laying aside their differences, combined to put an end to Ottoman misrule in Europe, and to restore, as far as might be, the edifice shattered by the invasions of the fourteenth century.

The experience of the last few years has shown that in Northern Albania Shkipetars have been able on more than one occasion to act with Serbs, whilst in the South they have frequently acted with Greeks; and readers of Montenegrin history will bear in mind that much of Montenegro's past is inextricably interwoven with that of Northern Albania, first in the days of the Zeta, then in the time of Scanderbeg, and also at a later period. The disappearance of Turkish rule, which

helped to maintain itself there, as elsewhere, by fomenting dissensions and divisions between race and creed, will probably render co-operation easier in days to come. Although the future of Albania, however, is still uncertain, the present war has shown that the combination of Balkan nations for Balkan objects is not beyond the capacity of their statesmanship, and, more particularly, has emphasized the fact that the divergencies between the branches of the Serbian people have been due to temporary causes which time and opportunity may some day remove. It is to be hoped that the changes now at work may enable Montenegro to perform in the Balkan states-system a part worthy of her historic traditions and aspirations, and of her unbroken record of heroic achievement.

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