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The Zones of Civilization of the Balkan Peninsula

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# THE ZONES OF CIVILIZATION OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA

By JOVAN CVIJIĆ

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[With separate map, Pl. V, facing p. 480.]

No historical phenomenon in the Balkan Peninsula exhibits so complete an adaptation to geographical conditions as does the distribution of its ancient civilizations. After a period of advance or recession, caused by exceptional historical happenings, sometimes not connected with geographical conditions, the expansion of a civilization has generally been arrested by geographical barriers. Even the civilizations which have spread over nearly the whole peninsula have finally seen their zones of influence diminish in this way. An adjustment has taken place, a perfect adaptation to geographical conditions. Thus the different zones of civilization have developed in close connection with the principal geographical characteristics, particularly those which may be termed the characteristics of union and of penetration. To be sure one occasionally finds several civilizations superimposed one upon another like geological formations. More frequently one finds them dove-tailed, as it were. Nevertheless, one can distinguish regions where a particular civilization has left a deeper impress than others. Even the civilizations which have recently entered the peninsula already show this adjustment to the geographical aspects of union and of penetration and are almost limited to definite regions.

## EFFECTS OF EARLY CIVILIZATIONS—GREEK, ROMAN, CELTIC

Not every civilization which developed in or was imported into the peninsula has had the same effect on the Balkan population. The civilizations existing prior to the establishment of the Yugo-Slavs (South Slavs) and the Turks have had no influence on the bulk of the present population. Hellenic civilization was preserved neither by the Greeks nor by the remnants of the ancient populations of Illyria and Thrace, the Albanians and the Arumani of today. Roman civilization left numerous traces in a large part of the peninsula, particularly on the Adriatic coast. Here it furnished the basis on which a later civilization developed, namely the Mediterranean-Italian civilization. Latin strongly influenced the language of the Albanians and the Arumani, and Roman blood, it seems, mixed with that of the ancient Balkan population. The civilization of the Celts, who entered the peninsula from the north and spread almost as far as the Aegean region, has left no perceptible trace in the Balkan population.

The lack of continuity of the civilizational influences is a characteristic of the Balkan Peninsula, a condition the reverse of that which obtained in Western and Central Europe.

#### BYZANTINE AND VENETIAN INFLUENCES

Even the civilizational influences of the period subsequent to the establishment of the Yugo-Slavs, namely, those of Byzantium, which affected all of the present Balkan peoples, were often strongly modified and in some regions even obliterated by the invasion of the Turks. Venetian civilization, modified to a certain extent by the earlier infusions of Roman and Byzantine civilization, and particularly by national spirit, has been preserved only on the Adriatic littoral. In addition, considerable Turkish and Oriental influences are to be met with in the Balkan Peninsula; likewise the influences of modern European civilization. Finally, a large part of the peninsula belongs to the Yugo-Slav patriarchal régime.

The area of distribution of these civilizations, particularly the Byzantine and Venetian, whose extension had almost become stable before the Turkish invasion, was considerably modified by the great migrations of the Balkan peoples in the Turkish period. This disturbance was due to the migrations of the Dinaric peoples to Dalmatia and of the Balkan peoples to the Yugo-Slav regions of Austria-Hungary. Not only the racial groups but also the civilization of the peninsula itself thus expanded toward the north, beyond the Save and the Danube as well as in Dalmatia.

#### IMPORTANCE OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF CIVILIZATIONS

The distribution of these various civilizations has in itself become a very important factor in the conditions of life and in the mental traits of the population. Not alone the extent of geographical influences on man and the relations of ethnic groups must be examined, but also the distribution of the different civilizations, as this is a factor which was in the past and remains in our day of great influence on all the ethnographical and anthropogeographical phenomena of the peninsula.

We shall indicate in this paper the distribution areas of the different civilizations. We shall characterize only those which concern the peninsula or have been modified by special Balkan circumstances.

#### Zone of the Old Balkan, or Modified Byzantine, Civilization

The evidences of Byzantine civilization to be observed today in the Balkan Peninsula only very rarely represent its best fruits. In the first place, the literary and intellectual side is missing, likewise the material acquisitions and the ease of life of the upper classes of Byzantine society. Only the remains of the civilization of the middle and lower classes are to be found, and even they only appear in a changed, almost

corrupted form. Although Byzantine civilization had already in the Middle Ages assimilated elements from Oriental civilization, it became still more deeply infused with these elements during the Turkish period. It was also subjected to Levantine influences. Thus modified, Byzantine civilization spread during the Byzantine and Turkish periods over the larger part of the peninsula, and even in regions which are today outside its confines. Byzantine civilization has thus become Balkan civilization *par excellence*, Balkanism in the true sense of the word.

#### BALKANISM

Balkanism is thus not of the Orient, nor can it be identified with the Near East, as has often been done. This confusion is due to the impression created by Mohammedanism, by the Balkan Turks, by the relations which the southern regions maintained during the course of centuries with western Asia and northern Africa. Turco-Oriental influences have certainly left numerous traces in the peninsula. They have even modified Old Balkan civilization. But what is striking in the material civilization and the moral conceptions of Balkanism is notably the influence of ancient Byzantine civilization, which makes itself felt throughout the whole range of ideas, from the kitchen to the most subtle moral conceptions.

#### THE SPREAD OF BYZANTINE CIVILIZATION

The Greeks, the "Romans" of the Middle Ages, were and have remained the real representatives of Old Balkan civilization. Next in order come the Arumani, or Kutzo-Vlachs, who were Byzantinized. The Turkish upper classes also adopted Byzantine civilization, although Mohammedanism, as a consequence of the rules of conduct of the Koran and the closed domestic life it prescribes, hindered its infiltration. The Balkan Yugo-Slavs began to adopt it during the course of their settlement in the provinces of the Byzantine Empire and particularly after their conversion to Christianity. Byzantine civilization continued to spread in the Serbian and Bulgarian states of the Middle Ages. Historians and archeologists have positively identified the influences, often preponderant, of this civilization in the architecture, the administration, the religious organization, as well as the law, the literature, and the material and intellectual life of the Serbian and Bulgarian states of the Middle Ages. However, the Bulgarian state was more completely exposed to these influences than the Serbian state, which adopted Western influences also and the development of which, besides, shows signs of its original evolution.

#### INFLUENCE OF TURKISH RULE AND THE GREEK CHURCH

During the period of Turkish rule the material civilization and the moral conceptions that emanated from Byzantium, or Stambul, in particular those of the Byzantine period of decadence, continued to spread throughout



almost the entire peninsula. The ancient frontiers which hindered the advance of Byzantine civilization had disappeared, and the means of transmission remained as effective if not more so. The Byzantine, or Greek, Church, as well as the Turkish state, flooded nearly the whole peninsula with a numerous clergy and communities which multiplied. The Greeks and the Grecized Arumani became the earliest traders of the peninsula, particularly in the central regions. They were the artisans known for their Old Balkan and Byzantine trades. They furnished the *handji*, the inn-keepers, and the *bakals*, the grocers, in all the cities and even the villages along the main routes. With the Serbian emigrants they went beyond the Danube and the Save and spread throughout the cities and larger villages of Syrmia, the Banat, the Batchka, etc., where every *handji* and *bakal* called himself a "Greek" and still does to this day even when not Greek in nationality. Byzantine civilization was pre-eminently the civilization of the cities and of the main longitudinal routes Constantinople-Belgrade and Saloniki-Belgrade. The Turkish régime protected it. It is asserted that it has been disappearing rapidly with the progressive liberation of the various sections of the peninsula from Ottoman domination.

#### PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF OLD BALKAN CIVILIZATION

The present distribution of Old Balkan civilization is about as follows. Its influence is strongest south of the Balkan Range and the Shar Planina, particularly in Thrace, in Macedonia, and in Greece, less in Epirus and southern Albania. Although its northern limit is generally the Balkan Range and the Shar Planina, it has penetrated by the valley of the Morava to Nish and beyond to the Save and the Danube. We have seen above that it has even crossed these rivers and spread as far as Budapest and Vienna. But this offshoot north of Nish, forming a narrow band in the valley of the Morava and beyond, has almost completely disappeared in the last decades. Traces of Old Balkan civilization are better preserved on the coast of the Black Sea. Its survivals are more frequent in Bulgaria, even north of the Balkan Range, than in Serbia.

Byzantine civilization did not spread uninterruptedly throughout the southern parts of the peninsula. Here numerous "islands," or enclaves, of the patriarchal régime are to be met with in all the areas lying outside of the longitudinal depressions. The best conserved are in western Macedonia (in the Prespa, Morihovo, Poretech, Kitehevo, Dibra, and Radika districts). Some also occur in eastern Macedonia (in the Ossogov massif, and the Malesh and Pijanetz districts). Another has been preserved in the basin of the Maritza (Sryedna Gora), south of the Balkan Range. Finally, there are traces left in west-central Greece, in the interior of the Peloponnesus, and on the island of Crete. However, the patriarchal régime differs noticeably here from that which exists in the Dinaric region, inasmuch as it has to a certain extent been influenced by Old Balkan civilization.

## RURAL TURKISH GROUPS IN BULGARIA, THRACE, AND MACEDONIA

The large rural groups of Turkish population in eastern Bulgaria and in Thrace, on the left bank of the Vardar, and between Kailar and Ostrovo in Macedonia, have hardly been affected by Byzantine influences. The mixture of Balkan civilization and the patriarchal régime, of Mediterranean and Levantine influences along the Aegean coast, and of Turkish influences, makes of Macedonia a checkerboard, as it were. The limits of the different civilizations are all the more striking when they coincide with the limits of the nationalities. Nowhere does the contrast appear more clearly defined than in going from the basin of Kortcha into that of Prespa.<sup>1</sup>

The impress of Old Balkan civilization is still very noticeable in anthropogeographical phenomena and ethnographic characteristics. It is the opposite of the patriarchal régime in a material as well as a spiritual sense. Many stresses and internal quarrels have been caused by these differences; by them the historical antagonisms of the Balkan peoples have at times been sharpened.

## THE CITY DWELLERS

Urban agglomerations are in general more numerous and larger in the zone of Byzantine civilization than in the northern regions of the peninsula. Their appearance, the type of their *karshiya*, their markets, even the style of the houses is different. Certain ancient trades are characteristic, namely those which have to do with the transportation of agricultural and animal products and merchandise by means of horse caravans, a medieval form of transportation which has been preserved to our day. Another characteristic industry is the making of women's garments, often encrusted with silver and gold like an icon. The city garments of the women often have Greek names and in form are in the main of Byzantine origin. The greater part of the widespread trade in filigree objects is of Byzantine origin. The cuisine is also original in character, in the matter of dishes and the methods of preparing and serving them. Even the names of the dishes are Greek or Aruman. Old Balkan civilization smacks of an easy and regulated life, and it is patent that this quality has been imparted to the Slav population by the Greeks and Arumani. All these Byzantine traditions and survivals are permeated with Oriental elements, and it is impossible today, without special investigation, to distinguish between those which were introduced before the Turkish invasion and those which were brought in later.

The spirit of the city dwellers and even of the rural population, the ideas as to the manner of gaining a livelihood, and the moral conceptions were formed and are still here and there dominated by the Grecized Arumani and the Greeks. The manner of life of the city dwellers and their

<sup>1</sup> J. Cvijić: *The Anthropogeographic Problems of the Balkan Peninsula*, Vol. 1 of "The Population of the Serbian Lands" constituting Vol. 4 of *Srpski Etnografski Zbornik*, Academy of Sciences, Belgrade, 1902; reference on p. xxvii. [In Serbian.]

*savoir vivre* are regulated by certain fixed standards, by certain maxims which often recall an ancient didactic literature. The guilds, or closed trade unions, the *esnai*, the associations within which all eventualities are regulated and foreseen, attest their ancient origin. All, Slavs as well as Arumani and Greeks, are distinguished by particular bigotry. The walls of their houses are covered with pious inscriptions, but that does not prevent them from exploiting their neighbors and even making money by unfair methods. The sense of duty, responsibility, and mutual consideration is generally poorly developed. The main motive is a desire for gain, and all means which lead to it are justified. From this an extreme individualism results which makes co-operative action almost impossible.

#### CHURCH AND STATE

As in Byzantium the empire rested less on nationality than on religion, so, in the zone of Byzantine civilization, the Greek-Orthodox faith was for a long time superior to nationality and the peoples had almost entirely lost national feeling. Besides, the Orthodox faith here has a very particular spirit. It is curious that not only the city dwellers but even the peasants have a liking for ecclesiastical quarrels—an inclination thoroughly Byzantine. Opposed camps who held different views on material and spiritual questions concerning the Church were always numerous and gave themselves up to vehement quarrels. The religious conflict between the Slavs and Greeks about the middle of the nineteenth century appears to have found a very favorable field in this inclination.

#### Turco-Oriental Influences

Turco-Oriental influences are numerous and widespread. As a result of the Eurasian characteristics of the southeastern part of the Balkan Peninsula, they penetrated there before the Turkish invasion, particularly through the intermediary of Byzantium. Are not the Greeks installed on the Cyclades and on the coasts of Asia Minor a people belonging to Western Asia almost as much as to the Balkan Peninsula? A seafaring people, have they not throughout the centuries remained in close relations with Asia and Northern Africa? Numerous products and material objects have been borrowed from these regions and spread throughout the Balkan Peninsula since remotest times, mainly the various kinds of wheat, fruit trees, flowers, etc. Byzantine civilization was itself permeated with Oriental elements, which were in turn transmitted to all the Balkan peoples. Oriental influences are quite evident in the Serbian, Bulgarian, and Greek literatures of the Middle Ages and in Serbian art of the same period. Very old Oriental motifs are to be met with in the folklore and especially the folk songs and ornaments of the Balkan peoples.

## EFFECTS OF TURKISH RULE

But the Turco-Oriental influences spread in the peninsula mainly during the Turkish period. They are naturally strongest among the Turkish populations, which settled in the southeastern and central parts of the peninsula, and among the Moslemized inhabitants and the Albanians, who are in the main a Mohammedan people. There are numerous Moslemized Serbians, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, likewise Moslemized Bulgarians (Pomaks) in the Rhodope Mountains. These Moslemized inhabitants have contributed in large measure to the spread of Turco-Oriental influences, not only by adopting them themselves but also by spreading them among the Christian populations of their own language. Turco-Oriental influences have, indeed, in the course of the long Turkish domination, become rooted among all the Balkan peoples and, as a consequence of the metanastasic<sup>2</sup> migrations, also in the Yugo-Slav regions of Austria-Hungary, even in those that were not subjected to Turkish domination. They can be traced in the style of harness and weapons as well as in the type of cities and houses; in the prevalent indolence and laziness, the Oriental *yavashluk*, as well as in the squatting posture in which many tasks are performed; furthermore, in the Oriental prejudices, in the kindness and honesty of the Turk as well as in his fits of brutality, a trait characteristic of certain peoples of Western Asia.

## "RAYA" AND "BULGARIAN"

The century-long domination of the Turks has had another effect. It has impressed upon the Balkan peoples more or less the traits of the *raya*, the characteristics of an oppressed class.

Like Byzantine civilization, Turco-Oriental influences predominate in the southeastern part of the peninsula, that is in the region with Eurasian characteristics. They have also taken deep root along the longitudinal routes of the Maritza-Morava and the Vardar-Morava valleys as far as Nish, that is to say precisely in the region where the Yugo-Slav population shows the *raya* characteristics most clearly. This fact, as pointed out in the writer's previous article in the *May Review*, has been the cause of an important ethnographical error concerning the meaning of the term "Bulgarian." This term became synonymous with *raya* and was applied to the whole oppressed population, even to the Serbian population of the southern regions. To the north of Nish and in the Dinaric regions Turco-Oriental influences are less evident, excepting in the Moslemized districts of Bosnia. They are insignificant among the ancient Yugo-Slav population of Austria-Hungary, but much more noticeable among the Dinaric immigrants in these regions. The Slav populations which are least affected by these Turco-Oriental influences are the Slovenes and the Croats of "Civil Croatia" (districts of Zagreb, Varazhdin, and Krizhevatz).

<sup>2</sup> For an explanation of this term see footnote 2 in the author's previous article in the *May Review*, p. 346.—EDIT. NOTE.

### Zone of Western Civilization

Of great interest are the various contacts between the West and the Balkan world. We have already referred to the traces of Roman civilization in the peninsula. The Balkan world has also been in contact with the West at the time of the Crusades, at the time of the rule of the House of Anjou in Albania and of the Franks and the Latins on the Aegean coast and at Constantinople. More important was the influence of the city republics of Italy, particularly Venice and Genoa, which made itself felt along the whole Balkan littoral from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. Finally, we will call attention to the significance of new Western influences which operated during the course of the nineteenth century. All these influences can be grouped under the name of Mediterranean and Western civilizations in contrast with the civilization of Central Europe, of which the influences, although recent, are becoming more and more important.

### LIMITS OF WESTERN INFLUENCES

The routes of penetration and the geographical distribution of these two groups of civilizations are different. The Western civilizations reached the Balkan Peninsula chiefly by means of the sea routes and penetrated into the interior by the transverse routes which start from the Adriatic. Although Roman civilization, and even Venetian civilization to a certain extent, spread over a large part of the peninsula, their advance has finally been halted by the topography of the region, and they are at present limited to the narrow coastal strip, mainly on the Adriatic. It is the rugged relief of the country which has stopped the spread of these influences, just as it has prevented the spread of the Mediterranean climate toward the interior. As soon as one leaves the towns of the Adriatic coast, the Western influences disappear and the patriarchal régime becomes predominant.

### EXTENT OF MEDITERRANEAN INFLUENCES

The Mediterranean influences are more or less noticeable throughout the whole Balkan littoral from Trieste to Constantinople. They belong essentially to the same civilization that is met with on all of the European coasts of the Mediterranean, modified to a certain extent by the different nationalities that occupy the coasts of the Balkan Peninsula. It has rather a Levantine and Greek aspect at Constantinople (particularly among the inhabitants of the suburb of Pera) and on the coasts of the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean. On the Albanian coast there is a mixture of South Italian, Greek, Turco-Oriental, and even patriarchal influences. On the Adriatic coast the urban agglomerations, the house types, and the manner of living bear a Mediterranean aspect, superimposed on a Serbo-Croat foundation. The ancient sway of Venice has dotted the landscape with ruins of small forts and other structures bearing the Venetian coat-of-arms and has impressed the republican spirit on the mentality of the city dwellers.

## ITALIAN TRACES IN THE INTERIOR

The interior of the Balkan Peninsula even today is not entirely free from Western influences. Roman civilization has left its traces on the native population, the Illyrian and Thracian tribes who, in the area north of a line extending from Alessio to Ratiaria, became half Romanized. This ancient population was assimilated by the Serbo-Croats but left its traces on them. An important Serbian group in the Dinaric Mountains, the Era clan, has mental traits very similar to those of the Latin peoples of Western Europe. Words of Latin origin have been introduced into the Serbo-Croatian language, probably by the old, half-Romanized Balkan population. A part of this population which fled before the Slav invasion into the central and eastern parts of the peninsula, has, according to certain linguists, greatly influenced the Serbian and Bulgarian dialects of those districts.

The relations of the republic of Venice with the Serbian kingdom of Rashka in the Middle Ages have also left traces in the interior of the peninsula. The Western influences in the architecture of Serbian churches of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries are well known. Numerous weapons and cloths of Venetian origin are mentioned in Serbian folklore, particularly in the folk songs. In the Serbian language there are words of Italian origin which probably date from this period (*piana*, *pogatcha*, *bisage*, etc.). The Dinaric regions and even the parts of Serbia along the Morava maintained commercial relations with Italy by the route of Ragusa as late as the end of the eighteenth century (export of cattle). The fine flour of Yakin (Ancona) and the flour pastes of Italian origin were still known in the Metohiya, the region of Petŭ, or Ipek, in the first decades of the nineteenth century. They were known even in eastern Bulgaria, probably introduced by Genoese merchants. At Karlovo, in the sub-Balkan depression, several ancient houses and shops of the Italian type were seen by the writer.

## CATHOLICISM

There remains to be discussed the most important of the Western influences in the peninsula, Catholicism and the Latin alphabet which accompanied it. But a distinction must be made. It is only on the Adriatic coast that Catholicism was in constant connection with Western civilization. In Bosnia and other Yugo-Slav countries outside of the peninsula Catholicism has been allied rather with the civilization of Central Europe. In Bosnia particularly it was spread and supported from Hungary.

## CENTRAL EUROPEAN INFLUENCES

The influences of Central Europe in the Balkan Peninsula hardly made themselves felt until the end of the eighteenth century. The temporary occupations of certain regions by Hungary in the Middle Ages did not leave any traces. After the Austro-Turkish wars and after the great



Serbian migrations of the Turkish period, the commerce of the northern part of the peninsula was directed towards Austria. The relations with this country became more and more numerous and varied and continue to do so to this day. German influence also begins to enter in the last decades.

The Magyars, people of the great Hungarian lowland, the Alföld, had hardly anything to do with the spread of Central European civilization in the peninsula. Hardly any Balkan inhabitant speaks Hungarian. The immense Hungarian plain is considered by the Balkan inhabitant a space to be crossed as quickly as possible without stopping. Hungary itself, in order to obstruct a closer contact between Serbia and the Yugo-Slavs of the kingdom, limited all relations with the Balkan Peninsula, even on the two railroad lines Belgrade-Fiume and Belgrade-Vienna. As a consequence a basin which is predestined by nature to serve as a link between peoples and to facilitate the propagation of civilization has played the rôle almost of an obstacle, hindering contact and the interchange of influences.

Nevertheless the civilization of Central Europe has penetrated along the valleys and longitudinal routes into Serbia and Bosnia and even into Bulgaria, although further removed, and has finally spread to Saloniki and Constantinople. It has reached numerous cities and even the villages of the valleys that are followed by the railroads and the more important roads. Its traces are superimposed on the traces of Byzantine civilization and the patriarchal régime. It finds expression mainly in the material side of life and increasingly in the tastes of the urban population. But the civilization of Central Europe has been able only in a limited way to influence the mentality and the spirit of the Balkan peoples, particularly those of the independent Balkan states. In Serbia the spirit of society is totally different. Numerous men have been trained in Western Europe, particularly in France, and the rest have also adopted Western ideas. The institutions, although based on national tradition and spirit, are more related to those of Western than to those of Central Europe. There is in the independent Balkan states and especially in Serbia a marked tendency to create, out of the various civilizational influences and by drawing on native resources, an original national civilization.

The case is not entirely the same in Bosnia and particularly in Croatia and Slavonia, where, in the large cities, foreign rule considerably impedes the maintenance of national tradition.

### The Patriarchal Régime

The regions of the peninsula lying north of the Shar Planina and the Balkan Range belong in general to the patriarchal régime, excepting for the narrow Adriatic littoral and the northern plains of Serbia. South of this boundary large enclaves of the patriarchal régime exist in the moun-



tainous ramparts of the Sryedna Gora, the Rhodope Mountains, and the Pindus as well as in a large part of Albania. Other enclaves are those which have been discussed above.

We should not consider the patriarchal régime of the peninsula a régime without civilization. On the contrary, the population whose mode of life it is, is distinguished by moral conceptions of a high order and by other evidences of civilization. Its particular philosophy of life, its social and economic organization, and its well-developed institutions, its art and poetry are all of indisputable merit.

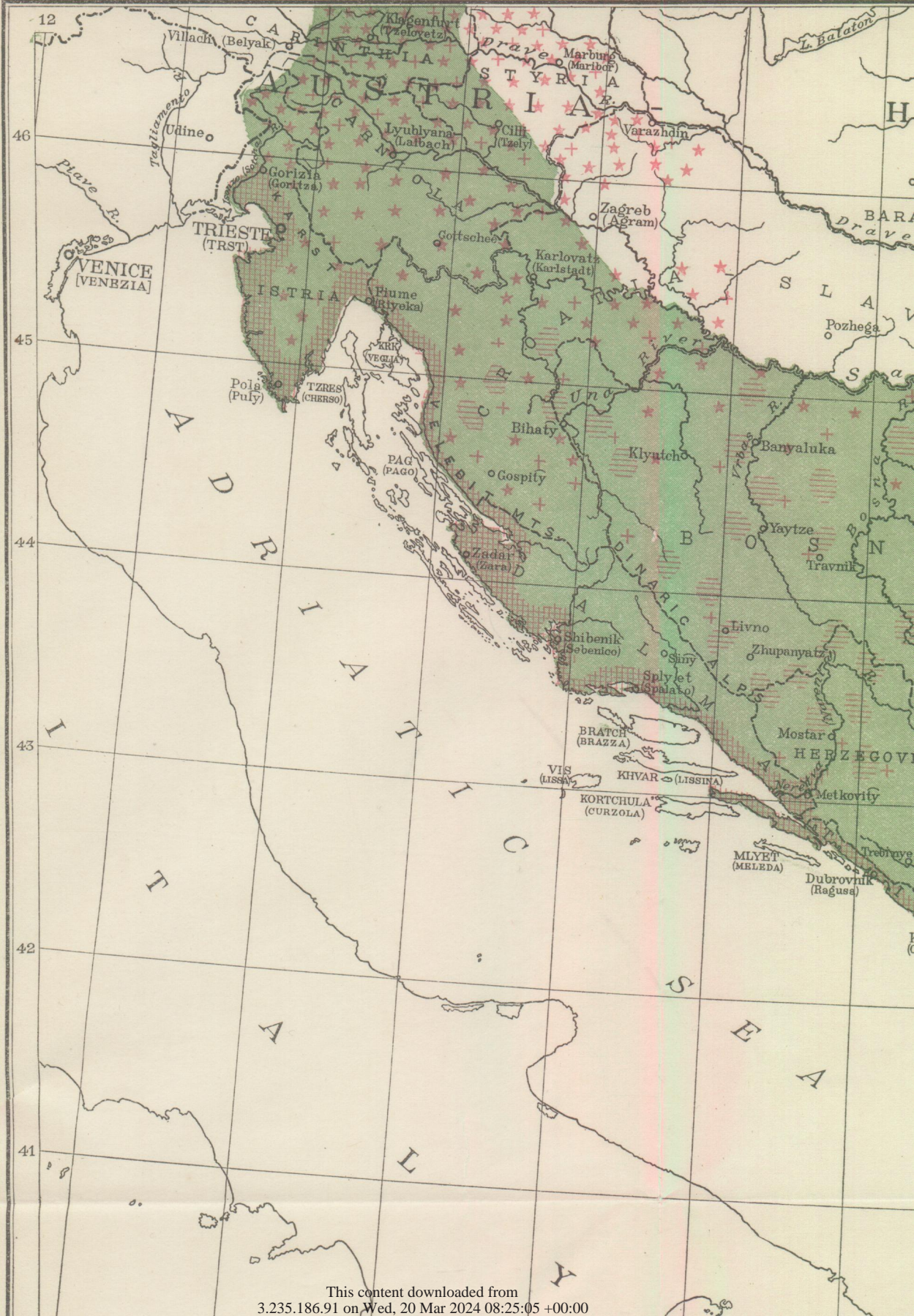
#### THE YUGO-SLAVS

The patriarchal foundation among the Yugo-Slavs dates from their settlement in the Balkan Peninsula at the beginning of the Middle Ages. Their organization in clans and *zadrugas* (i. e. communal associations of several families under one roof) weakened or disappeared under the influence of Byzantine administration and civilization as well as under the administrative system of the Yugo-Slav states of the Middle Ages. At the time of the Turkish dominion the Yugo-Slavs inhabiting the regions outside the zone of ancient civilizations reverted to the patriarchal régime. A certain ethnographic rejuvenation then took place: ancient social organizations and customs which had almost disappeared, revived and developed anew. But in spirit and content this patriarchal régime is different from the earlier one. The broad historical experiences of the Yugo-Slavs during the Middle Ages have left in their consciousness more or less profound traces. Left to themselves, the most vigorous of these patriarchal populations have drawn from these experiences definite opinions and moral sentiments which pervade their folklore and are evident in their actions. This development has been able to take place more easily and more completely among them than among the Yugo-Slav populations which remained subjected to Austrian and German influences.

#### CLAN AND "ZADRUGA"

The general characteristics of the patriarchal civilization as thus described are not the same in the various regions where the patriarchal régime obtains. The most notable differences are to be found in the social organization. The clan (*pleme*, pl. *plemena*, in Yugo-Slav; *fise* in Albanian) is to be met with only in Montenegro, in the regions adjacent to the ancient kingdom of Rashka, and in northern Albania among the Serbs and Albanians. The *zadruga* exists throughout the western and central portions of the peninsula from the Adriatic to the Isker River in Bulgaria, as well among the Serbs as among the Albanians. It disappears to the south as soon as one approaches the Greek population of the Aegean littoral. It is not to be found among the Bulgarians. It is lacking among the Turks.

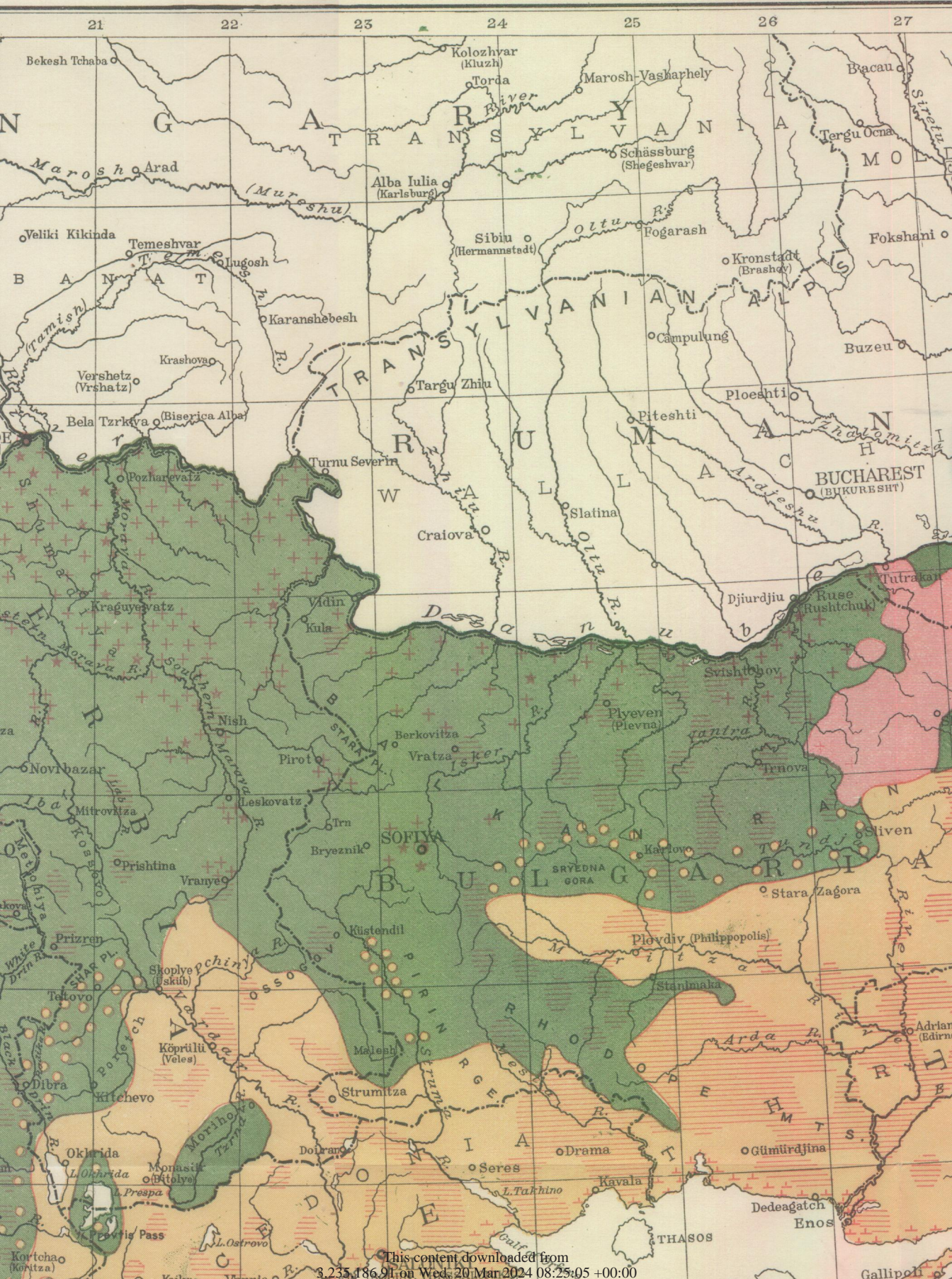
The *zadruga* is still existent in all the Yugo-Slav districts of Austria-Hungary, particularly in Dalmatia, Croatia, Syrmia, the Batehka, and the



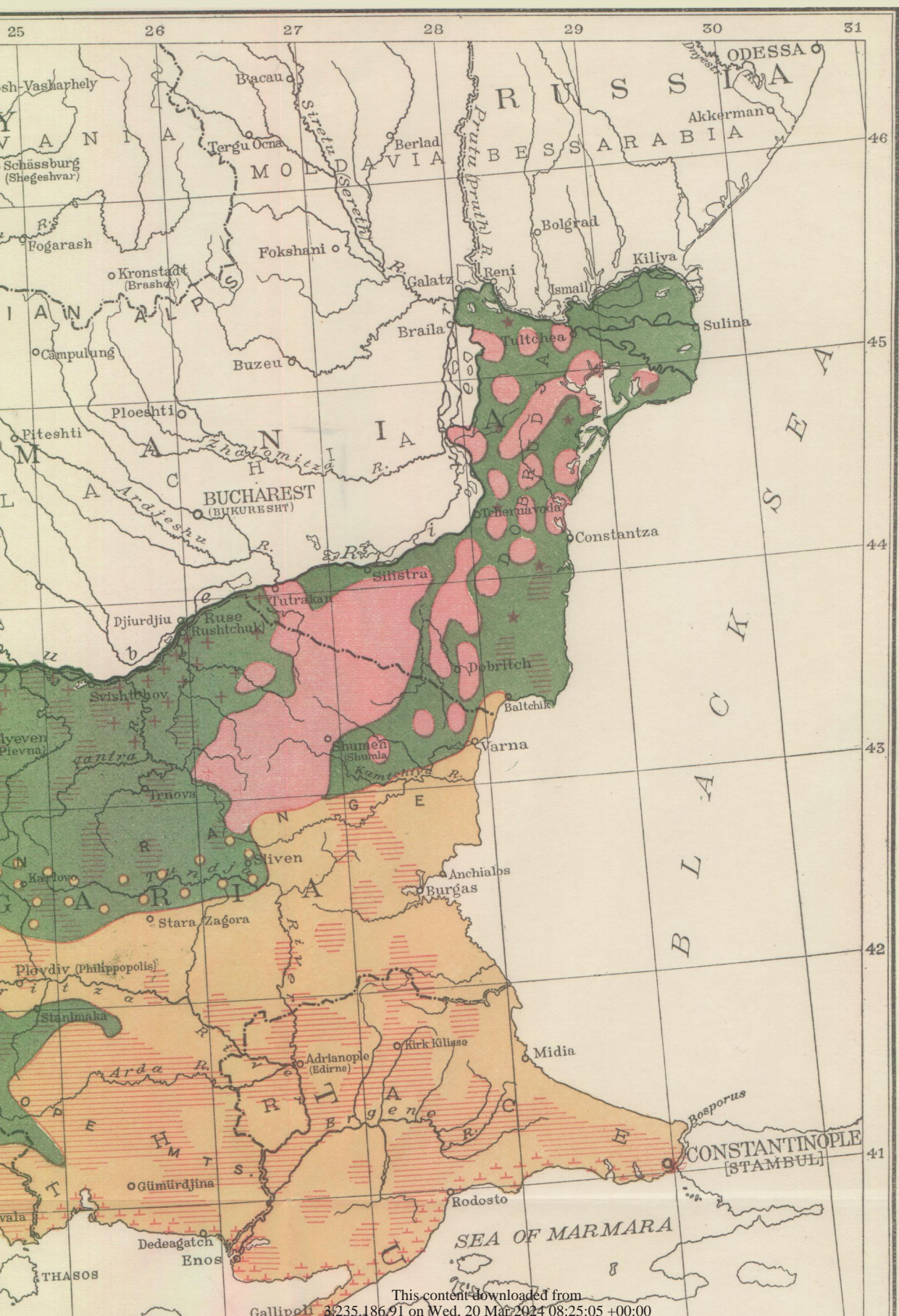






















# ZONES OF CIVILIZATION OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA BY JOVAN CVIJIĆ

Scale 1 : 3 000 000

25 0 25 50 75 100miles

-  Patriarchal régime
-  Old Balkan (modified Byzantine) civilization
-  Turco-Oriental influences
-  Italo-Mediterranean influences
-  Mediterranean influences
-  Central European influences
-  Western European influences
-  National civilization based on the civilizations of Central and Western Europe

The names are rendered as far as possible in the language of the predominant race of a given region. All names (except Italian and German) have been transliterated, whether they belong to languages using Latin characters (e.g. Magyar, Rumanian, Croatian) or not. The transliteration is according to sound, except for modern Greek, where it is according to letter. The system followed is that of the Royal Geographical Society ("Hints to Travellers", 9th. edit., London, 1906, Vol. 2), except for these changes and additions: tch for ch; dj for j; tz for ts; ö like German ö or French eu; ü like German ü or French u.

Political boundaries as in July, 1914.

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Banat. This institution was strongly reinforced by the Dinaric immigrants during the course of the Turkish domination.

Closely related to the social organization in clans and *zadrugas* are the phenomena of material life as well as numerous special mental traits. Almost all of the population belonging to the patriarchal régime has, more or less, been affected by Turco-Oriental influences.

#### INFLUENCE OF ROME VS. THAT OF CONSTANTINÓPLE

Historians often maintain that a profound separation has taken place in the Balkan Peninsula between the zone of influence of Rome and that of Constantinople, particularly after the division of the Roman Empire into the western and the eastern empire under Theodosius in 395 A. D. The northwestern part of the peninsula, favored by its position and by its geographical characteristics, which facilitated penetration from the west, joined itself more closely to Western civilization, they say, while the greater part of the peninsula accepted Eastern civilization—the civilization of Byzantium. The results of these different influences, it is asserted, are still evident in our day. The most striking aspects of these differences are the Catholicism and the use of the Latin alphabet of a section of the Yugo-Slavs, as compared with the Greek-Orthodox faith and the use of Cyrillic characters by the majority of this race.

#### THE PATRIARCHAL RÉGIME VS. BYZANTINE CIVILIZATION

The present distribution of the different civilizations of the peninsula corresponds to a certain extent to this widely accepted belief. As a consequence of the migrations in the Turkish period and of the ethnographic rejuvenation of which we have spoken, the civilizational influences, both of the West and of Byzantium, have become effected in the regions north of the Shar Planina. The most pronounced boundary in this region is not the boundary between Byzantine and Western civilization, but that between the patriarchal régime and Byzantine civilization. Thus Balkanism, that is to say, Oriental influences and the influences of the ancient Byzantine civilization, becomes more and more marked as one advances from the Dalmatian Adriatic toward the Black Sea and toward Saloniki and Thrace. It is in the same direction that Balkan mentality and the passions which move the Balkan world become more and more marked.

#### CATHOLIC ENCLAVES

Mention should also be made of the islands of Catholic population to the west of the Bosna River in the midst of Greek-Orthodox and Moslemized Serb populations. But these Catholic islands themselves belong to the patriarchal régime. Besides, in so far as it is Catholic, this population is more related to Central Europe than to Western Europe.

The ethnic foundation of the patriarchal populations is the same among the Catholic Yugo-Slavs and the Greek-Orthodox Serbs. They are mixed north of the Save River as well as to the west of Bosnia. The migrations which took place in the Turkish period have brought numerous Greek-Orthodox Serbs into Croatia and Slavonia, where today they form a third of the Slav population. The Catholics themselves are descended in part from the Greek-Orthodox populations which were converted during the last centuries.

#### REGION OF UNBROKEN WESTERN INFLUENCE

The only region where Western influences exist practically without interruption is the Adriatic littoral, chiefly Dalmatia. But even on this coast Byzantine civilization had, after Roman civilization, taken deep root. Furthermore, Byzantine civilization was the basis of the Venetian civilization which penetrated the coastal region. Finally, a large Serbian population belonging to the patriarchal régime migrated to Dalmatia during the Turkish dominion and settled even in the cities. The awakening of Serbo-Croatian nationalism and the development of a native civilization have obliterated almost all, except the material, traces of Venetian civilization.