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AT THE EDGE OF THE OTTOMAN BALKANS THE CLOCK-TOWER MINARETS OF SOUTHERN HERZEGOVINA

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Architecture, anywhere in the world, is the outcome of an interplay between patron and craftsman, between wishes and needs on one side and building tradition and creative ability on the other. In cases as in Ottoman Imperial architecture the "forces of the periphery" are also very much at work. In this contribution, dedicated to Rahmi Unal, we would like to draw the attention to a little-known group of buildings at the very edge of the old Islamic world, the so-called "church-tower minarets," also known as "campanile-minarets," of the two southern-most districts of the Herzegovina: the former *kaza* of Nevesinje (Nevesinsko Polje) and the adjacent *nahiye* of Dabar, the Dabarsko Polje. In the following we shall briefly describe the few surviving examples of these minarets and present them against a historical and geographical background.

Introduction

The Dabarsko Polje, or the "Plain of Dabar", in the Southern Hercegovina formed a separate *Nahiye* and was part of the Ottoman Empire from 1468 to 1878. In spite of its very limited fertility, the plain has been inhabited at least since the early Byzantine period and throughout the Slavic middle ages (12th - 15th centuries) to which some written evidence and thousands of massive and monumental sarcophagus-like gravestones (*stećak*) still witness. In these centuries an important part of the population, including the leading feudal families such as Sanković and Hranić-Kosača, adhered to the heretical "Church of Bosnia," popularly known as Bogomil¹ Prior to the Ottoman

* Netherlands Institute, Istanbul. The Writer very much likes to thank Stephen Lewis (New York and Sofia) for reading the draft of this article and improving it wherever needed.

¹ For the "Bogomil Tombs" and the vast literature about them see: Marian Wenzel, "Bosnian and Hercegovinian tombstones - who made them and why," in: *Siidost-Forschungen* 21, Miinchen 1962, p. 102-143. A large number of "Bogomil Cemeteries" have been published by Šefik Bešlagić in the rich periodical "Naše Starine," (Sarajevo 1953-1990). The topic of who made the *stećaks* and why is highly controversial and politicized, all three ethnic/religious groups of the country claiming them.

For the Bogomils and the "Bosnian Church" the existing literature is also vast. A key to it is Srećko M. Džaja, *Konfessionalitat und Nationalitat Bosniens und der Herzegowina*, Miinchen, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1984. Serie: *Sudosteuropaische Arbeiten*. Siidost Inst, herausgegeben von Mathias Bernath. For older literature in English see the classic of Dimitar Obolensky, *The Bogomils, A Study of the Balkan Neo-Manichaeism*, Cambridge 1948. The topic is likewise very controversial and politically charged. For two of the most extreme point of view see the works of the Russian emigre scholar Aleksandar Solovjev and the American scholar John Fine, *The Late-Medieval Balkans*, Ann Arbor, 1987.

conquest this church was bitterly persecuted by the Catholics as well as by the Orthodox, and in the 15th century these heretics were partly forced to convert to Catholicism, or at least to become crypto - Bogomils. In a well known letter to the Pope in Rome the last King of medieval Bosnia, Stefan Tomašević, wrote that "the common people (of Bosnia) regard the Turks as their liberators" and that "the Turks treat them mildly." It will be clear that a combination of these factors paved the way for the success of Islam in these lands. In the 16th and 17th centuries the "Plain of Dabar" and the larger Nevesinsko Polje east of it had become a land of Islam, with well over 85% of the population adhering to the religion of the Prophet.

Both plains were districts, where a number of buildings essential to the Islamic way of life — mosques, mekteps, hamams, caravanserais etc.—had been erected. A number of Islamic scholars had their roots in the Plain of Dabar. The Plain supplied at least one man of great fame and importance: Cezzar Ahmed Pasha, born in Fatnica, the man who as Governor of Akko in Palestine stopped Napoleon. However, both districts were situated at the very edge of the Islamic World; bordered by the Dalmatian territories of the Venetian Republic, a powerful Roman Catholic power, and the very warlike Orthodox Christian mountain tribes of Montenegro. As a result of a number of long and violent wars, the most recent in 1992/95, Islam entirely disappeared from the area as did almost all the monuments of architecture it had created.

The Dabarsko Polje is a 21 km long and 2.5 km wide valley in the uplands of southeastern Herzegovina 15 km east of the town of Stolac (Picture 1-2-3-4). The plain lays at altitude between 560 and 473 meters above sea level and is on all sides surrounded by mountains. Here, the once important road from the Dalmatian merchant metropolis of Dubrovnik to the Balkan interior and Istanbul crossed the main north-south road through Herzegovina. In our time these roads almost entirely lost their function but in Ottoman times (1466 - 1878) Dabarsko Polje owed its importance to this crossroad function. (Table 1-2-3-4-5)

The plain of Nevesinje (Nevesinsko Polje) situated east of Dabar is twice as large, having more arable land and wide grassy prairies, sustaining an extensive cattle-breeding (Picture 2). Dabar had only the very small town of Predolje, having a mosque, two mesdjids, a mektep, a han and a hamam². The Plain of Nevesinje had a number of large villages and the small town of Nevesinje itself. In the 17th century this town had a number of mosques, schools, baths and hans and produced a disproportionately large

² For the development and fate of Predolje see: M. Kiel, - "Dabarsko Polje - 1458 / 2006 -The Rise and Fall of Islam and Islamic Culture in a Hercegovinan - Dalmatian and Montenegrin Border Area, in: Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Islamic Civilisation in the Balkans, Bucarest, 1-5 November 2006 (forthcoming).

For details see the rich studies in Serbo-Croat by: Hivzija Hasandedic, *Muslimanska Bastina u Istocnoj Hercegovini*, Sarajevo 1990, Petar Šobajić, "Dabarsko Polje u Hercegovini," in: *Srpski Etnografski Zbornik*, No 67, Beograd 1954 (small monography).

number of Ottoman poets, writers and statesman³. As a town Nevesinje came into being in the early Ottoman period, developing below the medieval hilltop castle Vinacac, which is first mentioned in the year 1435.

The development of the population of both districts and the process of Islamization will be shown with help of some population tables. (Table 6-7-8-9)

The economy of the Dabarsko Polje will be shown with help of some pie graphs. The most remarkable thing is a very low grain production and the total dominance of wine production, supported with sheep-breeding. In the two settlements chosen as model, Dabrica and Predolje wine dominated the entire economy and formed the economic base of the unfolding Islamic culture. The dry and stony character of the land, and the quality of the soil determined this type of economy.

Bileća.

The oldest dateable and relatively well preserved church-tower minaret stands in the town of Bileca, which is situated just outside the southern end of the Dabarsko Polje. Bileca, is built on the edge of a plain at an altitude of 470 metres above sea level and is the largest urban centre of southern Hercegovina. It is one of the few settlements in these districts that in the 20th century did not decline but grew to importance. The Baedeker travelguide "Osterreich-Ungarn" of 1913 lists the place as having only 1.500 inhabitants. In 1991 it had 13.284 (!) inhabitants, of which almost 2000 were Muslims⁴.

Bileća is an old settlement. It is first mentioned in 1387 in the Dubrovnik Archives and again in 1403, 1430 and 1438 being the name of a *župa*^{4a}. The town lies on the caravan road from Dubrovnik via Trebinje and Gacko to the Balkan interior and Istanbul. A cemetery filled with *stećaks* at the western edge of the town testifies to its medieval existence.

Bileća became part of the Ottoman Empire in 1466, together with the rest of the southern Herzegovina. The settlement is not mentioned in the *tahrirs* from 1468 to 1519. It definitely existed in the second half of the 16th century but it is not mentioned in the Ottoman taxation and population register (*tahrir defter*) from 1585 because volume III of this otherwise very detailed source is missing. Evliya Qelebi passed along the caravan road but also does not mention Bileća.

In 1574/75 Gazi Deli Hasan Paşa Predojević, a colourful character born in the direct neighbourhood of Bileća, constructed a small (9 x 9 m.) but well-built mosque in

³ We mention the Defterdar Mustafa Pasha, The important patron of Mostar Ruznameci Ibrahim Efendi, and his brother the Muftii Ali Kafi Efendi, Grand Vizier (1645/47) Salih Pasha Nevesinjac, Murteza Pasha (governor of Buda), the Yeniferi Aga Zulfikar (d. 1058/1648), Hazinedar Ibrahim Pasha, governor of Baghdad, Defterdar-zade Mehmed Pasha, governor of Erzurum, or the Mevlevi Poet Muhammed Muhtešim Veli Agić (d. 1692).

⁴ Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine, Republika Hrvatska, Državni Zavod za Statistiku, Zagreb, 1995, p. 54/55.

^{4a} Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine, Republika Hrvatska, Državni Zavod za Statistiku, Zagreb, 1995, p. 54/55.

local Hercegovinan style, with a slate-covered pyramid roof and a "campanile-minaret." (Picture 6-7) The tower had a square and closed body with in the upper part four round-arched windows through which the *azan* was given. The tower ended with a simple cornice above which was a low wooden pyramide roof, crowned with an Ottoman *alem*. The mosque survived the wars of the 20th century as a ruin. The minaret is still fully erect. The building is situated in a large fenced plot of land in the "Polje" of Bileća at the northern outskirts of the town.

Deli Hasan came with the *devshirme* to Istanbul, his Christian name is remembered as Nenad. He converted to Islam and later became Cakircibasi (Head of the Falconers) and, in 1562, Bey of the Sandjak of Fulek in northern Hungary. From 1573 onward Austrian sources knew of him as Sandjak Bey of the Hercegovina and Montenegro (Karadag). He had also been Bey of Herceg-Novi on the Adriatic coast. Several travellers during the second half of the 16th century mention that he had a caravanserai built in Bileća, as well as a big cistern for water storage and a *tirbe* for his family. In 1573 the caravanserai was mentioned by Philippe Dufresne-Canaye as newly built by Hasan Bey, Lord of (the important harbour and fortress of) Hersek-Novi. The caravanserai in Bileća is mentioned again in 1580 by Paolo Contarini and in 1587 by Hans Ludwig von Lichtenstein⁵. Later, Gazi Hasan Pasha became Sandjak Bey of Szeged in Hungary and in 1591 Beylerbey of Bosnia. It was in this capacity, in 1592, that he conquered the important fortress of Bihac in Croatia, only 60 km south of Zagreb, together with the strongholds surrounding it. The Bihac district was to become the northern-most reach of Bosnia and was to remain part of it till today. In June 1593 during the fateful Battle of Sisak Deli Hasan, along with other Pashas, and a large part of the Ottoman army, drowned in the swollen water of the river Kupa⁶.

The life and dead of Deli Hasan Pasha left a deep imprint in the memory of the people. Many legends are told about him and folk ballads about him were still sung in the early 20th century. Nine letters of Hasan Pasha to Pavle Pridović, an Ottoman spy in

⁵ Du Fresne-Canaye, *Le voyage du Levant*, Publié et annoté par M.H. Hauser, Paris 1897, p. 24; Paolo Contarini, *Diario del Viaggio da Venezia a Constantinopoli*, Venezia 1856, p. 14; von Lichtenstein, *Reisen und Begebenheiten von*, etc. herausgegeben von Hermann Freiherr von Rotenhan, Miinchen 1902.

⁶ The career of Hasan Pasha can be pieced together from the notes by Mehmed Stireyya, Sicill-i Osmani; Markus Kohbach, *Die Eroberung von Fiilek durch die Osmanen*, 1554, Wien (Bohlau) 1994, p. 295; Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Hanovi i Karavansaraji u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo 1957, p. 55; Many detail on Hasan Pasha are found in H. Šabanović, *Evliya Celebija Putopis*, I, p. 246, note 29. Compare also Aleksandar Olesnicki, "Kritički pregled turskih izvori o Sisackom boju u njihovoj uzajamno konsektivnoj vezi," in: *Vjestnik Hrvatskoga Arheološkoga Društva N.S. XXII-XXII*, Zagreb 1941/42, p. 144-170.

For the conquest of Bihac and the defeat at Sisak see: Ismail Hami Danismend, *Izahn Osmanh kronolojisi*, 3, Istanbul 1972, p. 122/23 and 127-129. The dramatic Battle of Sisak and the events prior and after it is dealt with in great detail in the collective work edited by Josip Kulanović, *Sisak u obrani od Turaka. Izbor Gradja, 1543-1597*, Zagreb 1993 (772 pages!).

Dubrovnik, are preserved⁷. An anonymous poet wrote a panegyric in Ottoman Turkish about him. A copy of it is preserved in the vast collection "Zbornik Enveri Kadić" in the Gazi Husref Bey Library in Sarajevo⁸.

Locally it is told that Hasan Pasha also constructed a church for his mother in the village of Prijevor, four km from Bileća Bile Bileća a near the road to Plana and Gacko. The local population called the building "Predojevica Crkva" after Hasan's family name. At the end of the 19th century people still sang about the construction of the mosque and the church by "Nenad Pasha."⁹ The ruins of this church are still to be seen. It is registered in the Gruntova Knjiga (*Grundbücher*, or land registration books of the Austrian administration of Bosnia) as property of the Orthodox Church. Ottoman dignitaries who were said to have built mosques as well as churches are favoured characters in local folklore (compare Plana). Here, however, we have an actual historical case¹⁰.

In 1942, during the Second World War, the Mosque of Hasan Pasha Predojević was set ablaze by Serb nationalists. The four walls and the church-tower minaret survived. The large terrain surrounding the ruins of the mosque is now solidly fenced to prevent further theft of its stonework. The building is an officially registered "monument of culture, under the protection of the state."

Bijeljani.

The village of Bijeljani on the edge of the Dabarsko Polje, on the road from Divin and Berkovica to Stolac is the second place still preserving a church tower minaret till today. Until World War II Bijeljani was the centre of an *Općina* (admin, community) which included six nearby villages and hamlets, inhabitants of Bijeljani. In 1991 only one Muslim family was still living in the village¹¹. Bijeljani is not mentioned in the Ottoman *tahrirs* of 1477, 1520 and 1585. It must have been founded later, or it had been disguised behind a different name. The presence of a cemetery comprised of some dozens of *stećaks* outside the village, on the road to Stolac, testifies to the presence of a medieval settlement at this site.

In the early-17th century, a mosque was built in Bijeljani. It was a well-constructed edifice measuring 10 x 8 meters. It had a square, clock-tower-like minaret of twelve meters high. A mektep must have been built with it. The founder of the complex is not known but would likely be a scion of the important and old Telarevic

⁷ For the letters see: Dr. Aleksa Ivić, "Pisma Hasan-pase Hercegovac iz 1573," in Spomenik Srpske Kraljevske Akademije, XLIV, drugi razred 42, p. 20-26.

⁸ See: Hazim Šabanović, Književnost muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine na orijentalnim jezicima, Sarajevo 1973, p. 86. The original work of the panegyric was in the private library of the well-known Bosnian scholar Osman Sokolović, now in the Gazi Husref Begova Library, Sarajevo.

⁹ See: "Knez Bajagić i Nenad Paša (narodna pjesma), in: Bosanska Vila 13, Sarajevo 1894, p. 101.

10) ¹⁰ More about this building by: Desimir Kojčić, "Crkva Vezira," in: Sloboda/6/352, Mostar 1954.

¹¹ Stanovništvo B.i H. 1991, p. 54 -55.

family. In 1885, during the Austrian period, the mosque was partly or largely demolished. It was rebuilt in exactly the same size and form in the 1890s by Ahmed Zečo¹². During World War II, when many of the Muslim inhabitants of the Dabarsko Polje were murdered by Serbian nationalist gangs (*četnik*), the mosque was badly damaged¹³. The roof collapsed and only the four walls and the curious minaret remained. As the Muslim inhabitants were almost gone, there was no need to rebuild the old mosque. In 1991 Bijeljani had only two Muslim inhabitants, and 136 Serbs.

In 1994 Amir Pasić published a photograph of the mosque of Bijeljani taken about 30 years before, when the whole building was well visible¹⁴. (Picture 8) When we visited the place, on 29 and 30 July 2006, we found the building back with the help of friendly inhabitants. The site was totally overgrown with ivy and prickly shrubs. Only the *alem* on top of the minaret still appeared above the leaves. Sections of the walls up to four meters high also looked through the greenery. The ruin is situated at the southern extremity of the village, below the main road and beyond the last uninhabited houses and barns of the village.

The remains of this mosque survived the systematic destruction of all traces of the Islamic past by Serb nationalist bands. The building was simply forgotten by them; but it was not forgotten by the local Serb inhabitants of the village, who were very friendly and helpful in guiding us to this rare specimen of "Islamic" architecture.

Dabrica.

Today, as in the past Dabrica (pop. 1981: 770 inh.) is one of the "largest" villages of the area between the towns of Stolac and Bileca. It still is a predominantly Muslim settlement situated 10 km NNE of Stolac.

Dabrica is supposed to be the successor of the Byzantine fortified settlement of Kostun, where the ruins of sizeable castle can still be seen¹⁵. The name Koštun is thought to be a corruption of the Greek "Kastron." In 960 the Byzantine Emperor/scholar Constantine Porphyrogenetus, in his *De Administrando Imperio*, mentions the castle as "Dobriskik." In the 12th century the local writer Pop Dukljanin mentions the *Župa Dabar*. In the time of Emperor Manuel Comnenos (1143 -1180), the

¹² **Hasandedić**, Bastina (see note 2) p. 74.

¹³ To give one example: On September 1941 a group of 450 Muslims from the Dabarsko Polje and the Plain of Nevesinje, largely women, children and old people, were killed by a Serb nationalist gang (Cetnik) and their bodies thrown in a karst grotto in the Trusina mountains separating both plains.

From the entire Čatovica family, 144 people, only Handžera Čatovica survived, in the 1970 living in the village of Lastva near Trebinje (**Hasandedić**, Bastina, p. 177). For many more examples see: Smail Balić, *Das unbekannte Bosnien*, Köln-Wien 1992, p.6, or: **Dedijer and Miletić**, *Genocid nad Muslimanima*, Sarajevo 1990.

¹⁴ Amir **Pasić**, *Islamic Architecture in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Istanbul 1994.

¹⁵ It (Kostun) is 210 m. long and 50 m. wide. The walls and six towers are still standing to the height of six meters. See: Hamdija **Kreševljaković** - Hamdija **Kapidžić**, "Stari Hercegovacki Gradovi," in: *Nase Starine II*, Sarajevo 1954, p. 14

castle was one of the Byzantine strong points in the wider area. The name Dabar for the district is an old and obsolete Slavic word meaning "narrow valley between mountains." This is exactly what the Dabarsko Polje is.

Dabar is mentioned several times in the 14th and 15th century sources preserved in the Dubrovnik archives mostly in connection with robbers attacking caravans from Dubrovnik (1285, 1384, 1404, 1421)¹⁶. Dabrica and its territory became an Ottoman possession in 1466. The village is mentioned in the census- and taxation register of 1468 as having 23 Christian households¹⁷. The register of 1477 has with 37 households, still all Christians. By 1530 Islam had made much progress. The village had 33 Muslim households and 23 of Christian ones. The State encouraged this development by giving the village a privileged status. In 1585 there were 23 Muslim households in Dabrica, the Christians had gone down to 17 households¹⁸.

In the year 1610 Sefer Aga Begović built in Dabrica a (for local standards) sizeable mosque flanked with a typical "clock tower," or "Campanile Minaret." (Picture 9) Above the entrance of the mosque was an inscription in Arabic, carved in a slab of stone 60 x 35 cm, which in four lines praises the builder. It gives the date of construction in the form of a chronogram: (ma⁵bedu'l-abrar wa darii'l-salihin) which yields the date of H. 982 (1574/75). The text is of high calligraphic quality and local lore records that it actually was written in Istanbul, implying that there was no skilled calligrapher in Dabrica or its district. Below the text the date of 1019 (March 1610 - March 1611) is written in numbers. This date was thought to be the date of construction of the building. In our opinion it is the work of a half-ignorant stone cutter who added the date in numbers as a kind of afterthought while using a stencil for the rest of the text. The text is too good to believe in such a big mistake.

Sefer Aga must have had some pretensions. His title suggests that he has been a military man, a captain, with a good education. According to the local lore, he came from Anatolia and settled in Dabrica. His descendants still live in Dabrica today and a number of them are buried in the graveyard around the mosque. The text of the inscription of the mosque and some of the old gravestones were published by Mehmed Mujezinović¹⁹ Next to the mosque Sefer Aga had constructed a small hamam, a *hart* for travellers and a mektep for the education of children. Together they constitute one of the *kiilliyes* made by the Ottomans in this area. These buildings do not exist anymore: they were demolished during World War I. The name "Hanine" still marks the place where the *han* once stood and the site of the *hamam* is also remembered locally. The mosque follows the orthodox Ottoman style customs better than the other examples in the area. The four-centred arches above the windows are purely Ottoman. Local elements include

¹⁶ N. Iorga, Notes et Extraits pour servir a l'histoire des Croisades aux XVe siecle, II, Bucarest 1915, p. 198.

¹⁷ Istanbul, Atatiirk Kitaphgi (Belediye Kuttiphanesi) Muallim Cevdet Yazmalari, 0.76.

¹⁸ Ankara, T.K.G.M. 7 (Eski) 484, fol 89 a/b.

¹⁹ Mehmed Mujezinović, Islamske Epigrafika III, Sarajevo 1982, p.390 - 392.

the pyramid-shaped wooden roof, covered with heavy stone slabs, rhombic slates in the specific Hercegovinan manner, following the better buildings of Mostar.

Recent developments.

During the second half of the 20th century Dabrica was still a large village with, in 1971, 842 inhabitants. The census of 1991 (Stanovništvo B.i.H.) shows that the total number had gone down considerably, to 478 people due to emigration to the industrialising towns in the neighbourhood, first of all to Mostar. In 1991 the composition of the population of Dabrica was 269 Muslims, 127 Serbs, 77 Croats, and a few people of undeclared nationality. Dabrica was thus still mostly Muslim, just as it had been in the 17th and 18th century. (Table 10)

During the Bosnian war, in 1994, the Dabrica mosque was blown up by the Croat nationalist forces (HVO) and the Muslims and the Serb inhabitants of the village were driven away. Ten years after the war seventy percent of Muslims returned to Dabrica and in 2005 the mosque was in course of being fully reconstructed, exactly as it had been before.

Plana.

The small village of Plana (1991: 120 inhabitants, three quarters Muslim) is situated on the plateau just five km south of the southern end of the Plain of Fatnica. Until 1992 Plana had a small mosque with a slate-covered pyramid roof in the usual style of the area as well as a conspicuous church-tower-like minaret. Between 1948 and 1991 Plana, situated on dry and unfertile land, declined; rapidly. Of the 319 inhabitants in 1948 two thirds have since departed for a better life in the surrounding towns²⁰.

The mosque of Plana was one of the smallest in the entire district, measuring only 5.70 x 5.35 inside (Picture 10-11). Unlike most other mosques with campanile-like minarets, it is well dated. An inscription in Ottoman Turkish prose preserved above the entrance, mentions that the original mosque was built in the year 1027 (A.D. 1617) and that it was renewed in the year 1210 (1795) at the expense of the villagers of Plana²¹. The founder of the mosque was Avdo Avdić, a son of an Orthodox family of the district who, after converting to Islam, built the structure. The building was therefore known as Avdića Džamija. Avdo is the founder of the Avdić family that until 1992 still lived in Plana. Several members of this old family are buried in the Muslim graveyard just south of the village. Avdo Avdić is said to have also built a small church for his mother 500 meters away of the mosque but this could just be a topos of local lore.

During the Cretan war (1645 - 1669) Plana, like many other villages of Dabar suffered from the devastating raids of irregulars in Venetian Service. An account from 1661, preserved in the Venetian archives, mentions three people from Plana, a mother of

²⁰ Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine, 1991, Zagreb 1995, p.56-57.

²¹ For the inscription see: **Mujezinović**, *Islamska Epigrafika*, III, p.356.

35 years with two children of ten and eight years old, Fatima and Hadice, sold at the slave market of Venice²².

The text of 1795 on the mosque is evidently related to another violent attack of Hayduks and Montenegrins from the south.

In 1992, during the Bosnian war, Serb nationalists drove away the Muslim majority of Plana and blew up the mosque, a registered "Monument of Culture protected by the State." In the summer of 2006 the village looked depressing, most of its 25 houses still in ruins. The Muslim cemetery, however, was left undisturbed and a gravestone for Derviš Avdić from 2004 shows that the tie with history is still unbroken²³.

The Campanile-Minarets of the Southern Herzegovina

The strange square towers serving as minarets are completely alien to the Ottoman architectural tradition, have been treated by several writers of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Amir Pašić in his work on the architecture of Bosnia-Herzegovina aptly called them "Campanile-Minarets" and had no difficulty relating them with Romanesque and Gothic church towers of the Dalmatian coast²⁴. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, on the other hand vehemently opposed this idea. He based his opinion on one example only: Dabrica²⁵. It could not have been a minaret, he held, rather, it must have been a clock tower. Ayverdi did not know the rich architectural tradition of Dalmatian coast and did not use the equally rich Ottoman documentation of the 16th century as preserved in the archives of Dubrovnik. Through this sources we have learned that Ottoman governors and officials summoned master builders from the coastal regions of Dalmatia or from Dubrovnik²⁶. Moreover, the tower of Dabrica could never have been a church tower because its masonry was structurally bound with that of the mosque and is in line with the *kibla*. In Herzegovina Mecca is due south-east. Orthodox, as well as Catholic churches are oriented towards the east, allowing the early morning light to fall through the absis window on the altar, sunrise symbolising the resurrection of Christ in Christian theology. It is of course absurd to think that the builders of the Dabrica mosque 'turned' the tower 45 degrees in order to adjust it to the direction of Mecca.

²² Aleksandar Sobovljević, "Trgovina Bosanskim robljem godine 1661," in: Glasnik Zemaljskih Muzeja, Sarajevo 1946, p. 139-162 (Plana on p. 161)

²³ For more on Plana see: Camil Avdić, "Plana kod Bilica," in: Novi Behar VI, br 7-8, Sarajevo 1932. S.P. "Intessantna dzamija kod Plana," in: Sloboda 31, Mostar 1955, 358.

²⁴ Amir Pasić, Islamic Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Istanbul 1994, p.191.

²⁵ E.H. Ayverdi, Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri, Yugoslavya, II, 3, Istanbul 1981, p.483).

²⁶ These notes either come from the Dubrovnik State Archive and are well-known to Bosnian scholars, or from the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul (Muhimme and Ahkam defters). For a general survey see: Cvito Fisković, "Dalmatinski majstori u srednjovjekovna Bosna i Hercegovini," in: Radovi sa simpozijuma "Srednjovjekovna Bosna i Evropska Kultura, (izdanja Muzeja grada Zenice III), Zenica 1973, p. 147 -199."

Ayverdi's views may have more to do with damaged pride than with art historical observation²⁷.

Inspection reveals that the "Campanile-Minaret" was the common type at the mosques of the districts of Dabar and Nevesinje. There are at least eleven examples known to have existed intact or as ruins prior to the 1991-/95 war. Two examples escaped destruction and are still standing, in the village of Bijeljani and in Bileća-Polje and a third, in Dabrica, was faithfully reconstructed in 2005-06, as said. In the past there must have been many more of this very un-Ottoman towers. A list mentions them (Table 11).

Pašić mentions some more names, such as the mosques of Čejvan-Cehajina and Sinan Pasha in Mostar. These two, however, must be a slip of the pen. Sinan Pasha's mosque, the "Old Mosque" of Mostar, was demolished in 1948 but some good photographs of it show a standard Ottoman minaret alongside this building. Čejvan's mosque still stands today and also has the normal Ottoman minaret. The Mosque of Fatime Kadun in Mostar, however, also mentioned by Pašić, did have a square clock tower minaret until it was demolished in 1947. If we plot clock tower-minarets on a map we see that they occurred over a relatively large area in southern Hercegovina with Mostar as the northernmost point and Bileća at the Montenegrin border as the southernmost. They all date from the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century, when Islam had become the predominant religion in the area. We can be sure that many more once existed. In the architecture of the Ottoman Balkans towers like this are totally alien.

The classical Ottoman minaret has a slender round or a polygonal shaft, never square. Only in south-eastern Anatolia, in important cities like Diyarbakır they are known from Umayyad times onward. The type was still used by the Turkish dynasty of Ak Koyunlu that preceded the Ottomans in Diyarbakır. However, art historically southeast Anatolia was outside the core area of Ottoman art and had an Islamic tradition dating to the Umayyad period. In the Balkans outside Bosnia-Herzegovina there is only one square minaret still standing. This is on the Old Mosque of Yambol on the Tundja in Bulgarian Thrace, a structure from the early Ottoman times (1370/80) whose form was never repeated again²⁸. The clock-tower minarets of the districts of Dabar and

²⁷ For the Diyarbakır buildings see Metin Sozen, *Diyarbakır'da Tiirk Mimari*, Istanbul 1971. For Yambol see: M. Kiel, "Some Early Ottoman monuments in Bulgarian Thrace, Stara Zagora, Jambol and Nova Zagora," in: *Bulleten*, T.T.K., XXXVIII, sayı 152, Ankara, 1974, S. 635 - 656 (Easier accessible in: M.Kiel, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*. Variorum, Aldershot-Brookfield USA, 1990. Ayverdi, in his great work on Early Ottoman Architecture missed this important building.

²⁸ Osman Pasha was born shortly before 1650 in Kazanci and was therefore called Kazanac. Local tradition relates that he was born a Christian and at age 13 was brought to Istanbul where he accepted Islam and took the name Osman. His Christian name had been Drago. He was a son of the Orthodox Papovic family, or, in a second version of the story, Tepavcevic. Through his natural gifts Osman rapidly made rapidly. In 1671 he became Bostancibasi at the Ottoman court and in 1675 was made Governor of Damascus. In 1678 he became Beylerbey of Anadolu and in

Nevesinje vividly illustrate that the source of inspiration was not the art of the fully Ottomanized cities of the interior of the Balkans but the much nearer Gothic and Renaissance building traditions of the Christian Dalmatian coast whose very same masters constructed them. Note that even the arch of the mihrab of the Predojević Mosque in Bileća-Polje has a Gothic profile.

Concluding Remarks.

With help of the solid information from the Ottoman *tahrir defters* it could be shown that the spread of Islam in the districts of Dabra and Nevesinje was a process stretching out over more than a century. From zero in 1468 it rose to more than 85 percent in 1585. The spread of the church tower - minarets is closely connected with the spread of Islam and is restricted in time between about 1550 and the terrible destructions of the Cretan War (1645 -1669)

In one way or another we could retrace the existence of some monuments of Islamic culture in both districts There must have been many more in the past but the evidence is lost. The spread of Islam in the district was, as elsewhere in Bosnia-Herzegovina, spontaneous, voluntary, and, most important, very gradual. The end of Islam in our area, on the other hand, was the result of brutal violence beginning during the Cretan War and via the long war after the Second siege of Vienna (1683 - 1699) ending during the civil war of 1992/95, when the "job" was finally finished.

The phenomenon "campanile-minaret" vividly illustrates the fact that the districts of Dabarsko Polje and the Plain of Nevesinje were really at the very edge of the Islamic world. It seems as if the terrible destructions during the Cretan brought an end to the construction of the strange minarets. When around 1675²⁹ Osman Pasha Kazanac decided to promote his native hamlet of Kazanci between Bileca and Gacko into an Ottoman *kasaba* he chose the classical polygonal minaret as focal point for his *kiilliye*³⁰ as if he wished to emphasize the more Islamic character of the real Ottoman minaret. Later minarets in Herzegovina also follow the classical type. The great mosque of Bileća may be mentioned as a case in point. It should be added in this context that of all the buildings of Osman Pasha only the lonely minaret of Kazanci remains (Picture 12). The rest was destroyed in 1684, together with the entire *kasaba*, during an attack of a gang of 700 Herzegovinan and Montenegrin hayduks under the terrible Harambaşi Bajo Pivljanin, who slaughtered Kazancis population or sold them as slaves, including the Imam and his wife and children³¹. The event made an enormous impression and was long remembered by the local population. Folk songs about the destruction of Kazanci

1683 Vezier of Bosnia. He fell in 1685 at Egri (Eger, Erlau) defending Ottoman Northern Hungary.

²⁹ This consisted of a mosque, medrese, mektep, sadirvan su yolu and a konak.

³⁰ For Bajo Pivljanin and his various exploits see: Marko Vujacic, *Znameniti crnogorski i hercegovački junaci*, knj. III, Beograd 1953. For a more serious study of the life of the same important historical person see: Jovan Tomić, *Poslednji dve godine iz života i rada Harambasi Baja Pivljanina (1684 i 1685)*, po arhivskim podacima, Beograd 1901 (a booklet of 34 pages).

³¹ *Hasandedic, Bastina* (see: note 2), p. 204.

were collected as late as 1906³². The minaret of Kazanci stands in an completely deserted area, surviving as a pathetic reminder that these lands once formed the outer edge of the Islamic world.

Dabarsko Polje 1468 – 1585

A century of recovery and change

Twelve Dabra villages of which a complete sequence could be made

Village Name	1468		1477		1499		1519		1585	
	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.
Dužilj (Kuti) o	29	o	42	5	70	26	78	53	12	
Fatnica	2	35	3	43	5	111	2	109	38	28
Hotelji	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	3	o
Kalac	o	o	o	o	[2 12]	3	18	24	11	
Kukričje	o	o	o	o	o	10	3	11	4	6
Lapas	o	10	o	19	15	21	9	20	18	3
Lapšici	o	9	o	18	9	40	22	8	30	1
Meća	o	4	o	11	5	14	11	10	11	1
Ostrovič	o	25	o	55	18	85	36	64	57	3
Predolje	o	46	o	51	39	66	40	78	60	7
Suzine	o	9	o	11	o	19	5	14	11	o
Zagrad	o	9	o	20	6	30	11	21	17	o
TOTALS:	2	176	3	270	104	478	168	431	326	72
	178		273		582		599		398	
	1%	Musl.	1%	Musl.	18%	Musl.	28%	Musl.	82%	Musl.

Name in Italics (*Lapas*) = disappeared village

o Between 1519 and 1563 the big village of Ostrovič was split in two smaller ones: Upper and Lower Ostrovič. The apparent decline of the old village is thus not caused by a slaking population but by re-settlement elsewhere.

The numbers of 1585 are from AHN6, Privredna, P.O.F. 46, p. 165/66.

research M.Kiel '96

Table 1 - Population table

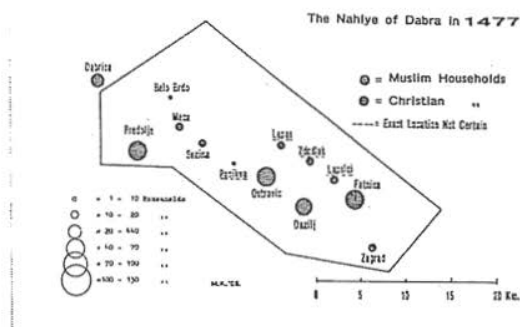


Table 2- Settlement development

³² Published in: *Bosanska Vila* (Sarajevo) of 1906, No 2 and 3.

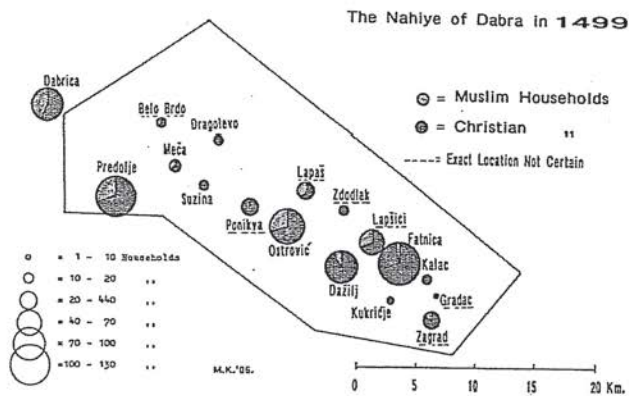


Table 3 Settlement development

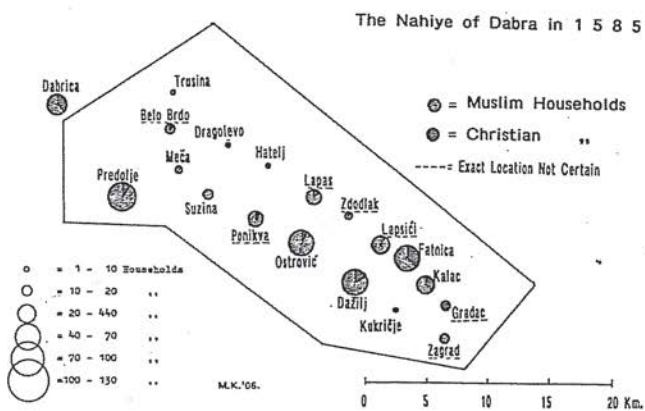
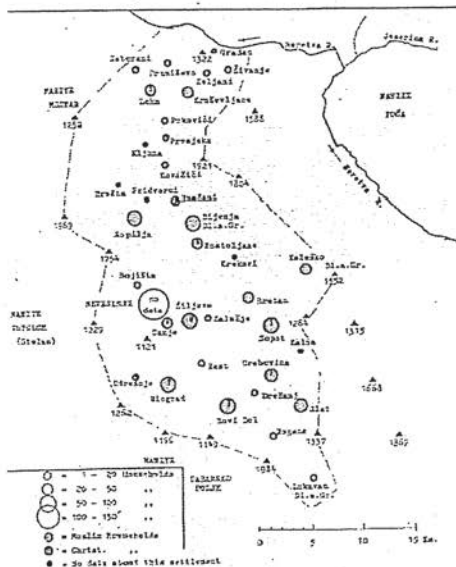


Table 4- Settlement development

Settlement Pattern and Population of the Kaza of Nevesinje in 1885 acc. to T.R.G.M. No 7 and 8, Ankara



Settlement Pattern and Population of the former Kaza of Nevesinje in 1991 according to: Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine, Zagreb 1995.

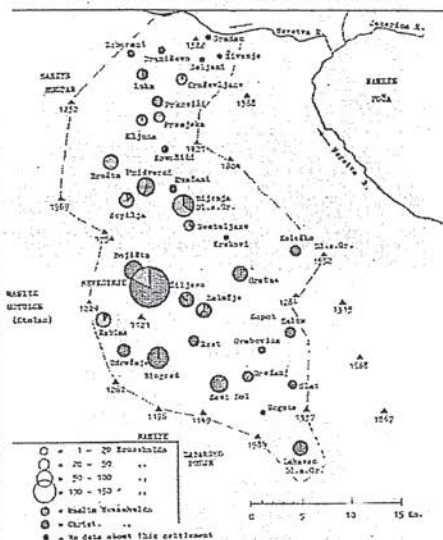


Table 8,9- Population Nevesinsko Polje.

The Population of the Dabarsko Polje in the second half of the 20th Century after the Census of 1991 (Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine, Zagreb, Tvrnjak 1995).

1961 Total Inh.	1981		1991	
	Musl.	Christ. Total	Musl.	Christ. Total
Berkovici 747	4	612 616	4	155(1) 159
Bijeljani 243	3	174 177	2	136 138
Divin 173	34	53 87	25	41 66
Fatnica 341	94	176 270	44	111 155
Hatelji ca. 600	o ca.	555 550	o	468 468
Kalnc 102	28	17 45	9	11 20
Kuti 178	o	94 94	o	61 61
Ljuti Dol 616	o	441 441	o	316 316
Meča 162	o	134 134	o	88 88
Milavići 129	17	88 105	8	64 72
Ornhovice 188	86	6 94	62	9 71
Predolje 134	3	115 118	1	90 91
Prisoje 69	o	27 27	o	11 11
Strupici 401	19	319 338	12	194 206
Suzina 308	11	183 194	o	162 162
Trusina 258	o	173 173	o	122 122
Zasada 291	o	154 154	o	96 96
TOTALS 4.926	299	2.437 2.736	167	2.135 2.302

= 11% Muslim = 7% Muslim

Between 1961 and 1991 the population of Dabarsko Polje sunk to less than a half of its former size, caused by the industrialisation of Mostar, Bičica and Stolac and the prospects of more money and a better life. The number of Muslims sunk much faster than that of the Christians, pointing to mounting tension between the groups.
In 1981 and 1991 the Polje had far less inhabitants than in 1499! M.Siet '06

Table 10- Population table

The Geographic Distribution of the Churchtower-Minareret
in the S.E. Hercegovina

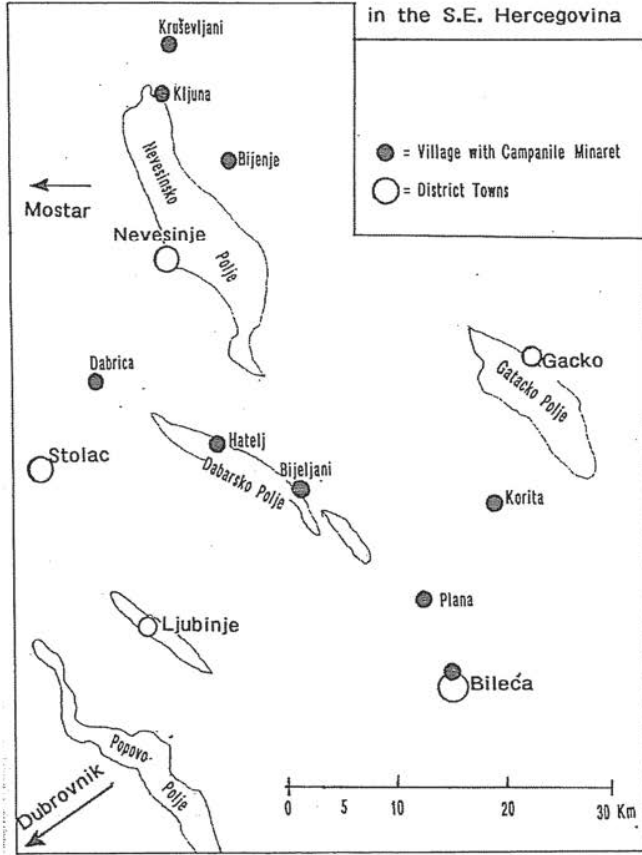
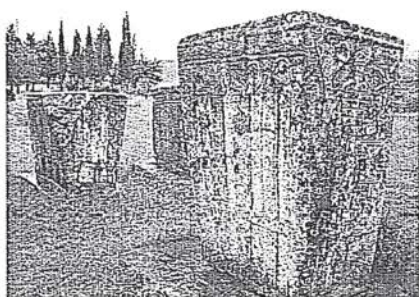


Table 11- Map of area



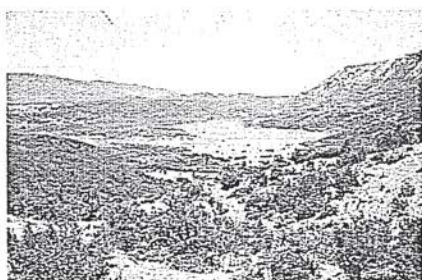
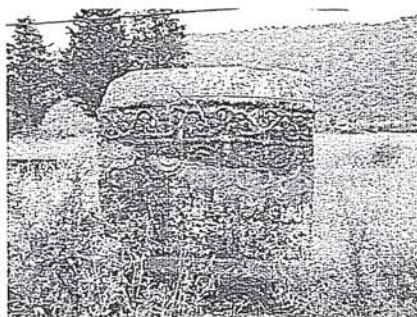
Picture 1- Panoramarsko Polje Dabaye



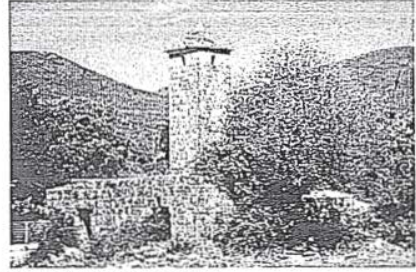
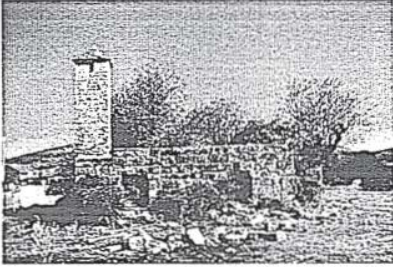
Picture 2-Radimlie Bogomil grave
Stones 14 th- early 15 th century



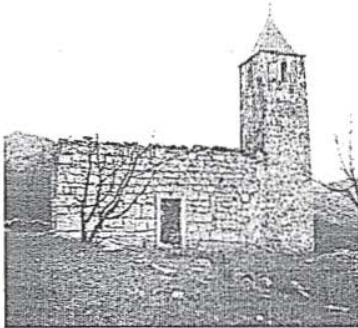
Picture 3,4- Radimlie Bogomil grave Stones 14 th- early 15 th century



Picture 5- Panorama Nevesinsko Polje.



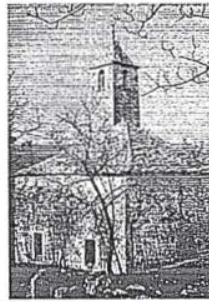
Picture 6,7- Bileca Hasan Paša Predojevic Mosque



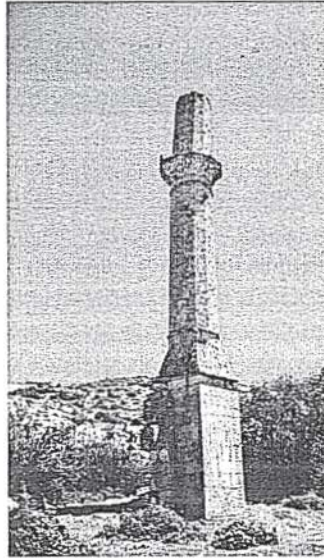
Picture 8- Mosque of Bijeljina
17 th century (Photo Amin Pasic)



Picture 9- Mosque of Dabrica



Picture 10-11- Mosque of Plana



Picture 12- Lonely Minaret of Kazanci