

**MONUMENTA SREBRENICA**

Research, documents, testimonies

**BOOK 7**

**SREBRENICA  
THROUGH  
PAST CENTURIES**

**Editorial Board of the  
Edition of Monumenta  
Srebrenica**

*Dr. Edin Ramić,  
Assistant Professor;  
(Chairman);  
Dr. Adib Đozić, Professor;  
Dr. Sadik Ahmetović;  
Ćamil Duraković, B. Sc.;  
Dr. Izudin Hasanović, Professor;  
Dr. Edin Mutapčić,  
Associate Professor;  
Dr. Muhamed Mehmedović,  
Associate Professor;  
Dr. Dževad Mahmutović,  
Associate Professor;  
Ramiz Salkić, M.Phil.;  
Begija Smajić, M.Phil.;  
Azir Osmanović, M.Phil.;  
Dr. Senada Nezirović;  
Dr. Sabahudin Smajić,  
Associate Professor;  
Sead Jahić, M.Phil.;  
Senad Đozić, M.Phil.;*

**Secretary**  
*Rusmir Djedović, M.Phil.;*

**Technical Secretary:**  
*Munisa Kovačević, M.Phil.*

Tuzla - Srebrenica 2018

ISSN 22333162



# **MONUMENTA SREBRENICA**

**Research, documents, testimonials**

**BOOK 7**

*SREBRENICA THROUGH  
PAST CENTURIES*

# ***SREBRENICA THROUGH PAST CENTURIES***

***Consulting editors:***

Jusuf Žiga, Ph.D., Professor

Sead Selimović, Ph.D., Professor

Anita Petrović, Ph.D., Assistant Professor

***Editor:***

Adib Đozić, Ph.D., Professor

***Reader:***

Zarfa Sarajlić, Professor

***Translated into English by:***

Selma Kešetović, Ph.D., Assistant Professor

***Publisher:***

Public Institution for Protection and Usage of Cultural-historical and Natural Heritage of the Tuzla Canton

***Print:***

OFF-SET Tuzla

***Edition:***

500

***Tuzla – Srebrenica 2018.***

***ISSN 2233-162X***

# **CONTENT**

Author's Preface .....	5
------------------------	---

## **GENOCIDE**

*Enver Halilović*

THE ISSUE OF COLLECTIVE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR A MASS WAR CRIME OF GENOCIDE .....	17
--	----

*Sead Omerbegović, Midhat Čaušević, Medina Salihović*

MASS GRAVES IN THE ZVORNIK MUNICIPALITY AS MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF THE 1992-95 GENOCIDE AGAINST BOSNIAKS ....	27
---	----

*Sead Omerbegović, Midhat Čaušević, Fatija Hasanović*

THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE ABOVE BOSNIANS IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF ZVORNIK-CASE OF BIJELI POTOK .....	65
---	----

## **FROM BOSNIAN PODRINJE HISTORY**

*Kemal Nurkić*

THE 1850/51 CENSUS OF THE QUART CRVENA RIJEKA IN SREBRENICA .....	103
--	-----

*Šefko Sulejmanović*

THE MOSQUE IN KOZLUK NEAR ZVORNIK .....	113
---	-----

*Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović*

THE QUART PETRIĆ IN SREBRENICA IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY .....	145
--	-----

*Rusmir Djedović, Adib Đozić*

THE QUARTS FOJHAR, GOSTILJ AND LIKARI NEAR SREBRENICA IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY .....	171
---	-----

## **APPENDICES**

Václav Radimsky

THE ROMAN CITY OF DOMAVIA IN GRADINA NEAR SREBRENICA IN BOSNIA AND THE EXCAVATIONS THERE ....	213
--	-----



## A Word from the Editor

In the last issue of “Monumenta“ we asked the question of the phenomenon of culture of remembering in Bosniaks. More specifically, we discussed the influence of “prejudical historiography“ on the development of culture of remembering in the direction of oblivion or memory. What to remember and why to remember. Everything both good and bad should be memorized. Memorizing is a part of our identity. Everything that we forgot we forgot part of ourselves. Human life on both individual and collective level occurs between remembering and hoping. Remembering is the only human reality. Identity is what happened to us. Proponents of not remembering, forgetting, not dealing with the past, are unable to build assumptions for a more humane future. From the lessons and experiences of the past, it is only possible to design the future. Explaining the impact of the past on the formation of people as a social group, French thinker Ernest Renan says that the nation as a global social group: “is the result of a long past effort, sacrifice and loyalty. The ancestor’s cult is most elegant; our ancestors taught us what we are. The heroic past of great people, glory (I mean, the true one) is the social capital on which the national idea is based. To have a common glory in the past, a common will in the present; done great things together, want to do more of them, those are essential conditions to be a people.“<sup>1</sup> A phrase, not to deal with the past but to turn to the future, is impossible. The only social reality is the past, there is no other. The past is our identity, everything we have to show and everything we have to remember on both a collective and an individual level is the result of the past. True, one should not be trapped in the past but it cannot be denied. How to turn to the future if we do not remove the negative assumptions from the past that could be repeated in the future.

Not only Bosniaks must not forget the genocidal suffering in the last two centuries, but at the same time it is necessary to affirm their overall socio-historical culture, not reduced to the cultural norms of the culture of left Messianism. We will not exaggerate if we say that the ideologies of “prejudical historiography” of Serbian and Croatian nationalism and the ideology of left-wing Messianism in the Bosniaks themselves have brought Bosniaks, as a nation, with a very rich culture and tradition and a very recognizable

---

<sup>1</sup> E. Renan, *Šta je nacija*, Kulturni radnik, No. 6/1981, Prosvjetni sabor Hrvatske, Zagreb, pp.104.

national identity, on the border of collective forgetting. From the perspective of the ideology of left-wing Messianism, the collective felling of Bosniaks hardly goes beyond the First Session of the ZAVNOBiH. The ideologies of Serbian and Croatian Messianism have muffled the collective identity of Bosniaks with Serbian and Croatian, and it as independent for them does not exist. Both of these ideologies, the ideology of national Messianism and the ideology of leftist Messianism have conditioned not only that Bosniaks do not recognize their identity in culture, language, politics, economy, religion, tradition... but also build a separate social-psychological phenomenon of self-ashamed contempt, similar to the phenomenon of a complex of lower values. The Bosniak phenomenon of self-ashamed, as a specific form of collective consciousness, is manifested in all spheres of life. But before this phenomenon is specifically shown on examples from real life, let us say that the sense of self-ashamed as a collective psychic characteristic causes a decrease in self-esteem. The reduction of self-esteem has resulted in the fact that people value others' cultural values more than their own. The history of Bosnia and Bosnians/Bosniaks lasts for centuries and no one has the right to reduce it to the 19th and 20th centuries when identity contents were predominantly determined by the aforementioned ideologies beyond the will and aspirations of Bosniaks.

Our ancestors in the Middle Ages and during the Ottoman period invested much in their national, cultural, linguistic and religious development than we know today. Somewhat less than five hundred years of Bosniak collective identity in Islamic-Oriental culture and civilization has been almost erased. The ideology of left Messianism erased it by developing the myth of Bosniaks as the remnant of "stagnant feudalism," and consequently of all the cultural and civilizational values of that period, which have an inestimable and timeless cultural and civilization value in both material and spiritual culture. Let us just mention the Drina Bridge by Mehmed Pasha Sokolović, the bridge of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent in Mostar, which is unjustly called the Old Bridge. In the spiritual, immaterial, culture, these are works of invaluable cultural value: ballad Hasanaginica, countless sevdalinkas (lit. love poems), pious songs of ilahi and kasida, the scientific works of Hasan Kafi Pruščak,<sup>2</sup>

---

2 Hasan Kafija Pruščak (1544-1616), wrote articles in Philosophy, Logic, Law, Politics and Dogma and discussed the most significant social issue of the time there. Among 17 written scientific articles a specially valuable is *Temelji mudrosti o uređenju svijeta* (lit. *The Basics of the Wisdom of Arranging the World*) (1596). The fact that this work of his was translated in French, Turkish, Hungarian and German long before it was translated in Bosnian in 1919 by Safet Bašagić, speaks about the significance and value of it. See more on biography and bibliography of Hasan Kafi Pruščak in: A. Ljubović, F. Nametak, *H. Kafija Pruščak, Izabrani spisi*, V. Masleša, Sarajevo, 1983.

Mehmed Hevaii Uskufi<sup>3</sup> and more than 200 other authors<sup>4</sup> who wrote in Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Should all this be waived, ashamed of or forgotten? Imagine what would be left of today's culture of West European nations if they renounced their cultures written in Latin, or if they renounced medieval church literacy, sculpture and painting. When Safvet-bey Bašagić spoke about the history of intellectual development of Bosniaks, he claimed that Ottoman period was "the most sacred age." Bašagić wrote further: "In the centenary struggle with the outer and inner enemy, a tired Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslim forgot his famous grandfathers, who in their own time made their names famous in the Islamic world with scholar and poetic works."<sup>5</sup>

The ideology of national Messianism, Croatian and Serbian, in the efforts to make everything in Bosnia Serbian and Croatian, applied in the culture, the criminal formula of Ivo Andrić, who when writing about the cultural and scientific work of Bosniaks in Oriental languages, said: "their spirituality - even when it was not insignificant and when it certainly caught the attention - it cannot be the object of our work because they belonged to the sphere of another culture by language and spirit."<sup>6</sup> This mischievous thought is the matrix of the views of both national ideologies, both Croatian and Serbian, and they either do not understand or do not want to understand Bosnian unity of differences, based on various sacred traditions, cultures and civilizations. How would a scientist or writer be characterized today who would characterize works written in Latin, German, French, English, Russian, Turkish or some other language as works that "cannot be the object of our work" ... because they belong to the "sphere of another." From the beginning of the national liberation movements, up to now, lasts the perfidious, concealed, ideological crypto-isolation of Bosniak identity, especially of its Oriental-Islamic content. This led to a much greater affirmation of non-Bosnian identities in Bosnia and Herzegovina than Bosniak identities. This is especially evident at the level of personal affirmation of prominent figures in culture, religion, science, art, politics, etc. Let us show this in a few examples.

---

3 More on Mehmed Hevaii Uskufi in: M. Huković, A. Kasumović, I. Smajlović, *Mehmed Hevaii Uskufi*, Univerzal, Tuzla, 1990.

4 Mehmed Handžić, (1906-1944) in a text *Književni rad bosanskohercegovačkih muslimana* (lit. *The Literary Work of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims*), written in 1934 talked about 200 scientists and poets.

5 S. Bašagić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti*, Prilog kulturnoj historiji Bosne i Hercegovine, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1986, pp. 21.

6 I. Andrić, *Razvoj duhovnog života u Bosni pod uticajem turske vladavine*, Kocka, Banja Luka, 1995, pp. 117.

The first example. Our eastern neighbors invented their epic hero Marko Kraljević who killed the fictional character Musa Kesedžija, invented the victory in the Kosovo field, and we, the Bosniaks forgot the real Bosniak epic heroes such as brothers Mujo and Halil Hrnjica, Tale from Orašac, Mustaj-bey Lički and others, who defend Bosniaks from persecution and ethnic cleansing in Bosnian Krajina. We forgot the Battle at Banja Luka in 1737<sup>7</sup> when self-organized Bosniaks defended Bosnia from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and delayed its occupation for more than 150 years. We ask this question so that we do not forget that in the near future the heroes of the defense of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the war against Bosnian-Herzegovinian society and the state from 1992 to 1995, and not only brave Bosnian soldiers, but also all those who defended and defend Bosnia and Herzegovina in science, culture and art. If this happens, then we would have to remember fictional heroes and Bosnian killers as heroes. It would be a complete loss of freedom and a path to disappearance.

The second example. The name of the reformer of the Serbian language, a Serbian Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787-1864), born in the village Tršić near Loznica, Republic of Serbia, has been given to dozens of schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while no school has the name of one of the greatest Bosnian alhamiado (lit. Bosnian literary works written with Arabic letters) writer Mehmed Hevaii Uskufi (1601 / 1602-?), who was born in Dobrinja near Tuzla. In order to avoid confusion, nobody is against the affirmation of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, or against the Serbian language, but why forget Mehmed Uskufi, a Bosniak from Tuzla, who, by no means of scientific and artistic elements, contributes to the development of culture, primarily literature, in Bosnia and Herzegovina lagged behind Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, on the contrary, he was the leader with his knowledge of several languages and letters, and he worked over two hundred years of work before Vuk Karadžić. Nije to ni do Karađića ni do Uskufije, ni do Srba kao jednog od bosanskohercegovačkih naroda već isključivo do bošnjačkog samostida, nastalog pod dvostoljetnim nasiljem naprijed pomenutih ideologija. There is a famous Hevaii's song in which he called for communion in Bosnia and begins with the verse "Bosanski da vam govorim bratani" (lit. I will speak in Bosnian, my brothers)<sup>8</sup>. "Bosnian to Speak to the Brothers". As you know Karadžić spoke Serbian but is represented in the symbolic content of Bosnia and Herzegovina more than Mehmed Uskufi. The reasons for this are neither

7 See more in: O. Novljanin, Hadžinesimović, *Odbrana Bosne 1736-1739*, Islamska pedagoška akademija, Zenica, 1994.

8 M. Huković, A. Kasumović, I. Smajlović, *Mehmed Hevaii Uskufi*, Univerzal, Tuzla, 1990, pp. 68.

Karadžić, nor Uskufii, nor Serbs as one of Bosnian-Herzegovinian people, but exclusively Bosniak contempt, created under two hundred years of violence of the aforementioned ideologies.

The third example. Two significant gusle (lit. a single-string music instrument) players and poets of epic folk poems Filip Višnjić (1767-1834) and Avdo Međedović (1875-1953) are not equally present in the memory and symbolic content of national groups they belonged to and if the difference is in the quality then it is in the one who is almost forgotten. One of the most significant gusle player Filip Višnjić, is remembered through the names of: grammar school and library in Bijeljina, in his birth place Gornja Trnava on the mountain Majevica, there is a stone mark erected in his honour. There is a monument erected in his honour in Loznica, Republic of Serbia, and in Belgrade a school is named after him. No school or institute of education in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sanjak is named after Avdo Međedović. And, who was Avdo Međedović? He was one of the greatest, not only Bosniak, but world epic poets of the time. He is the author of the famous epic poem “Ženidba Smailagić Mehā” (lit. “The Wedding of Smailagić Mehō”) with 12.311 lines and the length of Illiyad and Odyssey. Therefore, he was named “the Balkanese Homer”. We can freely say that Avdo Međedović wrote a poem of the same artisitic value as Homer. People at the University of Harvard know about him but very little is known about him in Bosnia and Herzegovina. While researching the work of Avdo Međedović, Milam Peri and Albert Bates Lord, professors at the Harvard University recorded around 100.000 lines of “Bosniak Homer”.

The fourth example. We know everything about Gavrilo Princip, a member of a terrorist organization “Mlada Bosna” who killed Austrian Prince Franz Ferdinand and his pregnant wife Sofia in Sarajevo in 1914. Dozens of lectures were written about Princip as a hero, and he is a “hero” for the ideology of left Messianism, and what is from the position of democracy and human rights, today, a person who kills innocent woman on a street and her unborn child. That is from the position of principle of justice and law a crime designated as terrorism. An authentic name of a bridge in Sarajevo “Latinska čuprija” was changed into the Princip’s Bridge. Every year were organized students’ excursions where they watched Princip’s footprints engraved into the pavement next to the bridge where he stood when he killed and innocent woman and her unborn child. As we learned everything about a killer Gavrilo Princip, we must not know anything about Muhamed Hadžijamaković, a Bosnian patriot and legal soldier, a hero of Bosnian army that fought against the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878. Hadžijamaković together with several Bosnian patriots, heroes, after the

Austro-Hungarian occupation of Sarajevo and after he was handed over to the occupators, at the passing-by military court, the first institution of the Austro-Hungarian authority after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, sentenced to death by hanging. Hadžijamaković showed his heroism at the moment of his sentence. When asked about his last death wish, Hadžijamaković asked to remove his hand-cuffs to take Islamic religious bath before hanging. When his hand-cuffs were removed, he pulled a rifle with a bayonet from one of the soldiers and began to stab them. There, compare the heroic deeds of Princip and Hadžijamaković and make your own conclusion. Princip is being mentioned even today, ideologists of revolutionary movements glorify him as a hero, and Bosniaks, do they remember Hadžijamaković. Nobody pays him respect, nobody knows about his grave, nobody knows the place of his hanging, no institution is named after him, his name is not present in history textbooks. Hadžijamaković is not to be blamed for that, but Bosniak collective memory, “built-in” contempt causes the lack of self-respect. It is clearly evident from the examples of Princip and Hadžijamaković who should be ashamed and who should be proud. Rest in peace great Bosnian hero Muhamed Hadžijamaković.

The fifth example. When it comes to the World War II and the fight against fascism, history is full of heroes. For example, elementary school in Srebrenica is named after Mihajlo Bjelaković, a partisan, born in Vidrići near Sokolac. He was killed in Srebrenica in 1944. A grammar school in Srebrenica was named after Midhat Haćam, a partisan from Vareš. A problem is not that those two educational institutions were named after those two anti-fascists, whose single deed was unknown except the fact that they got killed. They were not from Srebrenica. That is also not a problem. The problem is the collective memory of Bosniaks. The names of two beneficiaries from Srebrenica were unknown until recently and they saved 3.500 Serbs from Srebrenica from Ustashas' camps in 1942. Those were Ali(ja) Effendi Klančević and his son Nazif. They were not addressed as antifascists probably because Alija was imam, Islamic priest. For the ideology of left Messianism imams are reactionists and do not deserve personal affirmation even when they do heroic deeds. The similar was the destiny of Mufti Šefket Effendi Kurt from Tuzla, who on the Christmas Eve in 1942 prevented the slaughter of Serbs in Tuzla and the burning of the Orthodox church. It is quite another phenomenon how Serbs responded to those acts, especially in Srebrenica.

The sixth example. Bosniak women are no less beneficiaries and humanitarians than their male counterparts, but as Bosniak men they are not presented symbolically in the public space of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We know everything about a partisan Marija Bursać and many others, but the name of Ifaketa Tuzlić-Kulović, a daughter of Bakir-beg Tuzlić, was almost

forbidden and forgotten. In order to feed refugees from east Bosnia despite the warning, she went to Bosanska Dubica and collected food there. She bravely stood in front of Ustashas and they arrested her and took to the Jasenovac camp. She severely tortured there and died in greatest pains lit and burned with boiling oil. We knew nothing about that victims of Ustashas' crime. Is it because she was the daughter of Bakir-beg Tuzlić? Children frombeys' families were not welcomed in the public space as beneficiaries because they were "remians of the rotten feudalism".

The seventh example. This example is about relationship of Bosniaks to their religious tradition and nobility. Throught Europe, even today, it is quite normal for brides and grooms to be married in church by priests. Weddings of European princes and princesses are especially emphasized in public. Their wedding ceremonies are broadcast. What is the case with Bosniaks? Wedding ceremonies in mosques, according to Shariah, are for many young Bosniak couples taboo, something old-fashioned. Bosnian nobility is completely forgotten. What do Bosnians know about their princess Katarina-Emina and price Isak-beg children of Bosnian king Tomaš and Bosnian queen Katarina? We know everything about Tomaš and Katarina, but nothing about their childern. Is it because the king and queen where Catholics and their children Muslims? Bosnia must not forget its nobility as Europe does not forget its because Bosnia is European country with European values, without exception.

The eighth example. Somebody remembered to erect a statue of Bruec Lee. It is not a problem if a group of people like to have a statue of Bruce Lee in their town. The problem is something else. What cultural, spiritual, sport or any other relation does Bruce Lee have with Mostar? The problem is that in Mostar, and the whole southern Bosnian province Herzegovina there is no place for Fevzi Mostarac (1670-1747), who wrote the most famous work of Bosniak and Bosnian literature in Persian *Bulbulistan*. Why there is no place for Ali Fehim Džabić (1853-1918), a leader for religious and educational autonomy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for Mustafa Mujaga Komadina (1839-1925), a mayor of Mostar, humanitarian and a builder of a mosque other objects whose beauty was described in a sevdalinka "Dvore gradi Komadina Mujo", for Husejn-Husaga Čišić (1878-1941), anti-fascist whose two sons were killed by Ustashas. Is not a statue of Bruce Lee erected in order not to be "petrified" in a historical memory in Mostar or Stolac Mehmedalija Mak Dizdar, or not to remeber Bosnian nobelman Ahmed-Pasha Hercegović, son of Stjepan Vukčić Kosac and a brother of queen Katarina. Allwere bron in Mostar, Herzegovina but Bruce Lee, and were connected to Mostar and Herzegovina but the statue was not ereceted in their s but in the honour of Bruce Lee. They were not

blame but current Bosniaks who should know their identity a bit more and who should have more self-respect in order to overcome their contempt.

The ninth example. The relationship to name their children can best say about the contemporary Bosniak contempt. How Bosniaks today name their children instead of Ali(ja) Aljoša, instead Salih Sandokan. Instead of Hasan and Harun Hamir. In order not to be misunderstood, nobody is against the freedom to name their own children, but why is it a move away from the name of their ancestors, their traditions, their traditional identity, present only in Bosniaks and not in their neighbors in the east and west, north and south? What has if not Bosniak contempt that introduced Elvira and Elvir, typical Spanish names in Bosniak personal names and expelled Fatima and, for example, Hameda? Where did Rusmir and Rusmir, Jusmira and Jusmir, come from when they were not at all in the Bosniak tradition until 50 years ago.

We listed these nine examples, and we could have listed twenty, in order to point to Bosniak collective forgetting, that caused several social and psychological characteristics in Bosniaks at the level of collective activism among which contempt and lack of self-respect are especially present. If we forget these and many other similar examples, and they refer to us Bosniaks, our history, our memory, our identity, and we have no other, we believe that the day when we will forget all genocides against us including the last one is not far away. The words of Alija Iztebegović said on 2 October 2002, even today are very actual and warn us. Izetbegović said to Bosniaks then: “Protect and preserve your nation and the name Bosniak, faith and tradition. The loss of identity is paid with slavery and humiliation.” The disease of Bosniak contempt must be cured with the return of self-respect, through the realization of one’s own historic, social, political, cultural and spiritual identity. “One people can lose power and leadership, the glory of their weapon can be shed, their flag can be captured by their enemies, their right and laws can become dead letters – in short: one people can experience true political, social and economic fiasco in their homeland. Everything is temporary, day to day. But, there is one thing permanent, something that the fierce enemy cannot destroy, and that is literature. In that empire, neither force, nor case, nor time can eclipse the minds of people, which they acquired when they defeated barbarianism and lack of knowledge. That triumph stays forever, because it is the inheritance of future generations and time.”<sup>9</sup>

The space and intent of the text does not allow us to elaborate widely those phenomena but we want to open the questions for scientific and wider

9 S. Bašagić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti*, Prilog kulturnoj historiji Bosne i Hercegovine, Svetlost, Sarajevo, 1986, pp. 20.

Bosnian-Bosniak public because we consider them important for further development of Bosniak identity that will not jeopardize anybody but will also not “estrangle” itself from its iconic identity content. At the very end, memory of oneself, one’s culture, faught, homeland, customs is nurtured and protected by all peoples in the world, thus, why would Bosniaks be different? It is no exception or craze bt the rule of life because a man’s life as a social being is impossible outside the group they belong to and Bosniaks are not only biologically but culturally and spiritually connected to Bosnia as a state, culture, civilization, without which their existance is impossible. Due to all the menentioned, “brother, I am telling you in Bosnian“, Bosnia must be protected in memory, culture, politics, economy, military industry, poetry, especially sevdalinka. Cemeteries of dead soldiers throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina warn and oblige us. We hope that this volume, seventh, of “Monumenta“, with its content give modest contribution to the realization of a part of Bosnian-Bosniak history, culture, spirituality and in that way influence the decrease of contempt of Bosniaks and the increase of self-respect. In this volume, dear readers, you will have an opportunity to read eighth texts, and they are original scientific works. In this volume, we open a new and very important scientific question that was not talked about and written about so far. Enver Halilović writes about the problem in *The question of collective political responsibility for the mass war crime of genocide*. We promised that “Monumenta“ will not deal with questions referring to Srebrenica only but to whole Bosnia Podrinje. Three texts discuss the area of the Municipality of Zvornik: *Mass graves in the Zvornik Municipality – material evidence of genocide against Bosniaks* by Sead Omerbegović, Midhat Čaušević and Medina Salihović., then The crime of genocide against Bosniaks – the case of Bijeli Potok by Midhat Čauševića, Sead Omerbegovića and Fahrudin Hasanović, and *The mosque in Kozluk near Zvornik* by dr Ševkp Sulejmanović. The evidence that we pay significant importance to the research of social and historic and cultural content of Srebrenica in the 19th century are three texts: The list of population in the quart Crvena Rijeka in Srebrenica in 1850/51 by Kemo Nurkić, then *The quart Petrič in Srebrenica in the late 19th century* and *The quarts Fojhar, Gostilj and Likari in the late 19th century* by dr Adib Đozić and Rusmir Djedović. In the appendix we present the text on the older history of Srebrenica *Roman city Domavia in Gradina near Srebrenica in Bosnia and their remains* by Vladimir Radimsky. We expect that in addition to satisfaction with reading and learning about new things you increase your self-respect and decrease your contempt if it is present, and to give critical overview so that the next volumes of “Monumenta“ enlarge their quality.

*Professor Adib Đozić*



# ***GENOCIDE***

---



## **THE ISSUE OF COLLECTIVE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR A MASS WAR CRIME OF GENOCIDE**

### ***Introduction***

Karl Jaspers opened the question of individual guilt and collective responsibility for crimes against humanity immediately after the end of the World War II. He affirmed the idea of collective political responsibility and guilt of German nation for Nazi crimes committed in his name, and has greatly contributed to the intellectual and political denazification (German *Entnazifizierung*) of Germany after the Second World War. The collective political responsibility is inseparable from individual responsibility and guilt of masterminds and perpetrators of the crimes. Individually and collectively, they are not mutually inconsistent, assuming that the individual is aware of itself as individuality to the extent that the collective is aware of itself as collectivity, as an individual collectivity. “We are not aware of ourselves only as individuals but also as Germans. Everyone is, when one actually is, the German people. ... The German has no other form except these individuals. Therefore, the application for transformation, for rebirth, for rejecting the defective, is the task of the nation in a form of the duty of each individual”.<sup>1</sup>

The consciousness of oneself as an individual and on one’s own national collectivity is not something that is peculiar only to an individually and nationally conscious German, a German intellectual, philosopher, but also any other individually and nationally conscious member of any other nation, Bosniak, Serb, Croat, American, Turk, Russian, etc. Through awareness of oneself and one’s own nation about the war, we gain awareness of one’s individual and our collective (un)accountability depending on the manner we participated in it.

---

<sup>1</sup> Karl Jaspers, *Pitanje krivnje. O političkoj odgovornosti Njemačke*, AgfM, Zagreb, 2006, pp.74.

Jaspers dealt with the issues of war responsibility for committed crimes, thus, we are not dealing here with the issue of responsibility and guilt for not participating in the actual defense of our national collectivity, for the lack of patriotism and therefore non-defense of civilization values and humanism in general, since different forms of responsibility, both individual and collective, can be not only for the commitment of crimes, but also for failure to provide resistance to the crime, on an individual and collective level.

Isaiah Berlin<sup>2</sup> talks about the two forms of liberty, negative and positive liberty, “freedom from” and “freedom for”, which gives us the right to talk about the two forms of responsibility, “responsibility for doing” and “responsibility for not doing”. Every form of guilt is punishable with different types of penalties and responsibility for both what was done and what was not done, and should have been done.

### **Collective political responsibility**

The idea of German collective political responsibility and guilt for the atrocities of Nazism is an appropriate model for understanding every specific historical form of mass crimes against humanity. Within four accountability for mass crimes against humanity: criminal responsibility, moral, political and metaphysical responsibility of individuals, state structures and institutions, particularly important is the matter of national political responsibility of state-organized mass crimes against humanity, including the crime of genocide.

After the military collapse of fascism and nationalism, Jaspers returned to the University of Freiburg in the winter semester 1945/46, held lectures on “the spiritual situation of Germany after the World War II,” which were later enshrined in the book *The Question of German Guilt*. As Jaspers himself said in *The Interview* for its second edition (1962), “the file is supposed to help us get ourselves together, to find a path to dignity in assuming guilt, as we, depending on the type, clearly realized”.<sup>3</sup>

The experience of genocide in Srebrenica, as well as other crimes committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995, obliges us to ask the question whether such a review of the guilt of Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks is possible today in Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia? Do Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks

2 See in: Isaiah Berlin, “Four Essays on Liberty”, Oxford University Press London, 1969, a text: *Two concepts of Liberty*, his inaugural lecture held in 1958.

3 Karl Jaspers, Pitanje krivnje. O političkoj odgovornosti Njemačke, AgfM, Zagreb, 2006, pp. 113.

have their own Jaspers, is Jaspers possible among us? For now, unfortunately, the answer is negative. This fact is very symptomatic, both in terms of state of mind of these national groups and moral and intellectual values of their intellectuals, whatever the term meant. Let us see what Jaspers said on the collective responsibility of Germans for the crimes of Nazism: “We Germans are really without exception obliged to have a clear point of view on the question of our guilt and draw conclusions from it. Our human dignity obliges us to that. We cannot be indifferent about what the world thinks of us, because we are aware of belonging to humanity: we are first people, and only then Germans... Here, we are dealing exclusively with ourselves<sup>4</sup>; “I tried to achieve clarity in which we, the Germans might in our self-consciousness again come to ourselves.”

We, collectively and nationally and personally and individually, must ask ourselves the question: have we lost the human dignity so that we cannot ask questions that Jaspers asked, repeating them here and now, we will not be original, but we will build our own and raise the dignity of the nation to which we belong.

Inability to ask these questions not only confirms our hypocrisy, but also that the crimes are still ongoing, that they have not been completed, that they are still at work, just in the other manner. Neither Serbs nor Croats nor Bosniaks, neither intellectuals nor the theologians of these people, do feel their obligation as people to question the injustice “of their” nations for crimes that we did to each other.

Does this mean that we stopped, that we have never been, that we have not yet become human beings? If we are not human beings, what are we? Are we not even after two decades able to stand before our war mirrors and see ourselves, or nations that belong to?

If we cannot do that, it means that everything that was and is present even today is tomorrow completely repeatable. This fact is not pessimistic, but is devastating.

Can the question of guilt of the Serbian people for genocide in Srebrenica set up a Serbian philosopher or theologian? Can the question of guilt of the Croatian people for the crime e.g. in Ahmići set up a Croatian philosopher or theologian? Can the question of guilt of the Bosniak people for a crime against Croats or Serbs set up some Bosniak philosopher or theologian?

---

4 Ibid, pp.11.

Why is it important to ask questions of the collective, and not just of individual guilt for the mass war crimes? The answer is very simple: an understanding of individual war crime requires social, political, in relation to the individual, collective context. Perpetrators of mass war crimes were individuals or groups, paramilitary or officially political, but they are made in the name of the people or the country, emerging or existing. On the other hand, Serbian, Croatian, Bosniak has no other form of existence but individual. Therefore, the request “for rejecting the defective is the task of the nation in the form of the duty of every individual.” Every individual carries with themselves their collectivist sociability as well. According to their collectivist sociability, they are recognizable members of the collectivity to which they belong, but also the one that they express. The most recognizable form of collective sociability of an individual is his/her language, but there are also other forms and contents of his/her consciousness about him/herself and their world.

By asking this question, the question of collective responsibility for war crimes, as jaspers said, “we come to ourselves”, and do not cease to be what we are: Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks, neither in the individual nor in a collective sense, but with what we are we also become people, affirm and testify not only that we are what we are, individually and collectively, but also that we belong to mankind.

Are we enough human beings if we are only Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats? We surely are not.

In the process of denazification of the German people and the German state, according to Jaspers, a special role played philosophy and theology, philosophers and theologians. “Philosophy and theology are invited to clarify the depth of the question of guilt” in which, certainly are included the wartime killings of innocent people, because those are the issues of consciousness, political and statesmanlike legitimacy of criminals, their moral and sin for the mass murder of innocent people of a different language, a different religion, different names. Indeed no one else can be more qualified than them to ask themselves about which and what kind of consciousness and morality is the word when it comes to perpetrators, who gives them political legitimacy, on behalf of whom they acted, why they as individuals perpetrators of atrocities aimed at mass destruction of members of other nations? What is and what kind of awareness does a criminal have, what is his moral, in a sociological sense how and why it occurs, in whose name he is doing it, how and why God allows crimes against innocent, ordinary people in their homes, their fields

and factories, these are just some of the questions to which answers should be given, first and foremost, by philosophers and theologians, but also the others.

### **Political responsibility of statesmen and citizens?**

Political responsibility or guilt “exists in the work of statesmen and members of a state, as a result of that I have to deal with the consequences of the act of that state, whose I force subordinate and whose order allows my survival...” Every man is responsible for the manner of his behavior. *An instance is the power and the will of the winner* both in internal and in foreign policy.”<sup>5</sup>

Let us look at the context of this Jasper’s definition of political responsibility and guilt how many members of the official political structures were prosecuted and convicted of the individual or combined war crimes committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 at national and international tribunals. Are Slobodan Milošević, Radovan Karadžić, Franjo Tuđman, Jadranko Prlić, Ratko Mladić, Rasim Delić, etc. accused of war crimes as the so-called ordinary individuals or as army commanders, heads of states, political leaders of any actual or so-called states and political leaders of their people? For what are they accused? Were they close, direct, individual perpetrators of any particular crime? Did someone order them to commit a specific crime for which they should be imposed a penalty? Did they and their actual or so-called states, their peoples create and put into use all of which they had at their disposal in order to achieve personal or political goal? Are they only individuals such as millions or thousands of others? Finally: did they come at those positions alone, violently or the people chose them, some directly and some indirectly? Who is the one who chose them on the highest state political center? Could it be politically irresponsible person who politically elected them, or appointed them by their own will, their voice at those state positions and duties? Those who elected them and social positions to which they were elected determined their *collectivity*. None of them was charged as an individual who committed a specific crime, but as presidents or other military and political officials who from those positions and on behalf of their institutions performed their functions with which they determined the individual crimes against those over whom they had political, social power. Do presidents, national representatives of the rank present and represent themselves or something else, those who elected them and appointed on behalf of someone?

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, pp. 21.

It is time to raise the question, the topic of collective political guilt and guilt of nations and peoples during the aggression and the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995. Gaining awareness of one's own guilt of the individual and the collectivity is the path not only of individual and collective catharsis, purification, not only theoretical philosophical and theological, but also a practical political question of true reconciliation today and the only guarantee that something similar to what was then cannot be any more, and, therefore will not be repeated in the future. The topic of collective political responsibility and guilt of states and peoples for war crimes is primarily a question of the future, or the responsibility of the present to the future. Imagine what would happen to the environment in the next two thousand years with such a present destruction if we do not take respective measures for its protection today. By asking a question of collective political responsibility and guilt of a state, aggressors against Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 achieve, in the words of Jaspers', "internal turning point".

We are invited and obliged to ask ourselves that question, because of all the above mentioned. Every war political collectivity, each nation individually, each individual its member, including especially philosophers and theologians, must ask themselves and others this question, we are obliged to enter into business with us and about ourselves alone. It is necessary, in addition to dealing with others, to deal with ourselves as well. See how unreservedly we say: *German Nazism, Italian fascism; Can we in the same manner without delay connect crimes and nations in the event of aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995?* Do we have the right not to ask this question, spare the politically responsible for war crimes such as a genocide, but also for other mass atrocities against innocent people. In the aforementioned *The Interview* in the second edition of *The Question of German Guilt* Jaspers answered this question by saying: "The population, which in the service of a criminal state engages all its power, can no longer count on the exemption".<sup>6</sup>

Opening this question Now and Here is even more valuable and historically significant because it comes from a military winner and is not politically imposed, but not because the question of military winner is debatable, but because asking this question indicates that the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina is completed. We open it ourselves exclusively with ourselves and for our own sake. Its goal and purpose is not to convict the Second. The goal is to achieve, in Jaspers' sense, "internal turning point" in every nation, from which mutual tolerance and coexistence will emerge in the

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, pp. 117.

future. “The largest impact on our survival is indeed the declaration of guilt by the victors, they have a political character, but they do not help in what is crucial: in our inner turn. Here we are dealing solely with us. Philosophy and theology are invited to enlighten the depth of the question of guilt.”<sup>7</sup>

On this occasion I will not address the question of whether we open the question of collective responsibility and guilt for the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995. It is late, but I cannot help but wonder why we did not set this question earlier. Probably there are many reasons for this, but the primary (reason) is that there was no classic military or political winner to impose this question, if for no other reason than for the compensation of material war damage, on the one hand, and because the political victim of war and attacked the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina is politically powerless, both at internal and external political level, to express and present their suffering, on the other hand. These facts, lead even to the political non-recognition and challenging the execution of genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica, regardless of the fact that this is the only genocide in the history of mankind which is proved in the court of law. Bosnia and Herzegovina has neither internal nor international political power to protect politically denial and negation of genocide of Srebrenica. Therefore, the political contestation and relativism of genocide emphasizing that at the time in Bosnia and Herzegovina there were war crimes on all sides became common and daily. Non-repudiation of genocide in Srebrenica and in Bosnia and Herzegovina and abroad has become a thing of the moral dignity of an individual, a political entity or collectivity.

Due to the fact that in this war there was not a military winner, all political pre-war and war options remained in circulation. After the war, their mutual struggle continued, however, not with military, but with political means because the state aggressors against Bosnia and Herzegovina are not penalized. Therefore, today the facts are that political representatives and statesmen of Serbia and Croatia publicly protect “their” war criminals from both their country and Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>8</sup> They are the anachronism of today’s international democratic and civilized world that in the spirit of Derrida’s glossary can be called *rebellious statesmen*, analogous to the meaning

7 Ibid, pp. 19.

8 Premijer RH *Andrej Plenković*, države članice EU, Hašku presudu Jadranku Prliću i ostalim zločincima tzv. Herceg Bosne ocijenio je „dubokom moralnom nepravdom“ i nagovijestio međunarodni angažman RH na ispravci te „nepravde“. Predsjednik R Srbije *Aleksandar Vučić*, države koja je ušla u dijalog sa EU za ulazak u članstvo EU, presudu ratnom zločincu Ratku Mladiću ocijenio je „neopravdanom“ i „cinično dodao“ da se svi „trebamo okrenuti budućnosti i ne utapati se u suzama prošlosti“.

of his concept of “rogue state”<sup>9</sup>. To recall, under a rebellious state Derrida implies that “country that does not respect its obligations under the law of the world community and international law obligations, state that ridicules law and mocks the legal state”<sup>10</sup>. Derrida’s list of “outside the law” nations, “what the American administration declares for several decades: rogue State” join and apply for it states that protect the perpetrators of massive war crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995).

Politička krivica građana i naroda u ime kojeg je izvršen masovni zločin ne znači da je na bilo koji način odgovoran svaki pojedinac nekog naroda za učinjeni ratni zločin u njegovo ime. „Politička krivnja znači odgovornost svih državljanina za posljedice državnog djelovanja, ali ne kriminalnu i moralnu krivnju svakog pojedinačnog državljanina u odnosu na zločine koji su počinjeni u ime države“. Politička odgovornost se može hijerarhizirati prema stepenu političke dužnosti tako da nisu podjednako odgovorni visoki politički dužnosnici i tzv. obični građani. Osim toga, nikada nisu svi ljudi jednog kolektiviteta istomišljenici i ne odnose se na isti način prema nekom društvenom i političkom događaju. U vezi Njemačke odgovornosti za zločine nacista, Jaspers nas opominje da „osim onih koji su u nacionalsocijalizmu vidjeli zlatno doba ili ga još uvjek vide, bilo je i protivnika nacionalsocijalizma“.<sup>11</sup> Tako je bilo i u BiH u vrijeme kada su u njoj vršeni ratni zločini. Prema tome, ni ovdje uopštavanje, kao i inače, ne obuhvata sve, već najveći broj slučajeva. Neki Njemci doživjeli su „iskustvo gubitka nacionalnog dostojanstva“ već 1933., „drugi od lipnja 1934., neki 1938. s pogromima nad Židovima, mnogi od 1942., kada je poraz postao vjerojatan, ili od 1943., kad je postao izvjestan, a neki tek 1945., kad je zaista uslijedio“.<sup>12</sup> Iste ili približno iste doživljaje imali su Srpski, Hrvatski i Bošnjački narod u zločinima njihovih pripadnika u BiH u periodu 1882-1995. U Bosni, Srbiji, Hrvatskoj danas, kao i u vrijeme rata, na svim ratnim stranama, u svim narodima bilo je i ima ljudi koji priznaju svoju nacionalnu krivicu, uključujući u nju i svoju, a postoje i oni koji sebe drže nevinima, okrivljujući druge. „Gotovo čitav svijet optužuje Njemačku i Njemce. O našoj krivnji raspravlja se sa srdžbom, užasom, mržnjom i prijezirom. Traži se kazna i odmazda. U tome ne sudjeluju samo pojedinci već i neki njemački emigranti, pa čak i neutralne države. U Njemačkoj postoje ljudi koji priznaju krivnju, uključujući u nju i svoju, a postoje i oni koji sebe drže nevinima, okrivljujući druge“.<sup>13</sup>

9 Žak Derida, *Odmetničke države, (Dva ogleda o umu)*, Beogradski krug i Centar za medije i komunikacije, Beograd, 2007.

10 Ibid, str.13.

11 Ibid, str.15.

12 Ibid, str.15.

13 Ibid, str. 18.

Pitanje odgovornosti država, Srbije i Hrvatske, za agresiju na BiH 1992-1995. kao i političke odgovornosti građana i naroda Srbije, Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine je politički zatomljeno, zabranjeno, zarobljeno. To su nametnuli i postigli: (1) politički predstavnici tzv.međunarodne zajednice, i (2) politički zvaničnici Srbije i Hrvatske, prvi zbog uvjerenja da će tako najbrže doći do pomirenja nekadašnjih ratnih strana, a drugi da bi izbjegli i onemogućili bilo kakvu odgovornost svojih država. Politički zvaničnici Srbije i Hrvatske samoproglašili su svoje države *garantima* Daytonskog mirovnog sporazuma, suvereniteta i postratnog mira u BiH, na osnovu toga što su kao zaraćene, bolje kazano agresorske strane, potpisale ovaj sporazum.Nakon što su Daytonski mirovni sporazum potpisale države učesnice u ratu agresija i rat u BiH je zaustavljen. Države garanti održanja i implementacije Daytonskog mirovnog sporazuma su države PIK-a.

Međunarodni politički zvaničnici, kao i zvaničnici Srbije i Hrvatske, sveli su odgovornosti Srbije i Hrvatske za agresiju na BiH na ratne zločine u BiH, a ove (ratne zločine) na jednu vrstu odgovornosti, na krivičnu odgovornost. Tako je i na osnovu tog potpuno izgnana iz vida, ne samo odgovornost ovih država, već su izgubili status građanstva i protjerani svi drugi oblici krivice i odgovornosti za sve masovne političke zločine o kojima govori npr. Jaspers, a koji su se dogodili na tlu BiH, osim individualne krivične odgovornosti, pri čemu ni njih ne priznaju *odmetnuti državnici* agresorskih i nekih, na svu sreću manjeg broja, drugih država, kao npr. Ruske Federacije.Njihov zajednički odgovor na sva pitanja odgovornosti za agresiju i zločine u BiH (1992-1995) je u sloganu „okrenimo se budućnosti“.

## Conclusion

Politička odgovornost može biti, u individualnom smislu veća ili manja, ali je uвijek ili direktna ili indirektna. Direktna je za one događaje i u onomsmislu u kojem narod učestvuje u njihovom nastanku i procesu. Primjer direktnе političke odgovornosti naroda su njegovi izbori političkih stranaka i vođa na izborima. Narod je direktno odgovoran za izbor kojeg napravi na parlamentarnim izborima. Primjer indirektnе političke odgovornosti naroda je učinak vlasti koju je izabrala. Ako izabrana vlast uspostavi teror, kako kaže Hannah Arendt, „narod postaje sudionikom u zločinima vođa“. „Teror je iznjedrio začudan fenomen da je njemački narod učinjen sudionikom u zločinima vođa“. U okolnostima političkog terora potčinjeni postaju ortaci zločina ljudi na vlasti, ljudi režima. Tako zločincima postaju „ljudi, zakoje se

nikada ne bi pomislilo, očevi obitelji, marljivi građani koji savjesno obavljaju svaki posao, iz dužnosti ubijaju i na zapovijed izvršavaju ostala zlodjela“.

**Key words:** Individual guilt, collective responsibility, denazification, degenocidacij, political responsibility, rebellious statesmen

*Dr Sead Omerbegović, Associate Professor*

*M.A. Midhat Čaušević, Senior Assistant*

*M.A. Medina Salihović, Senior Assistant*

## **MASS GRAVES IN THE ZVORNIK MUNICIPALITY AS MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF THE 1992-95 GENOCIDE AGAINST BOSNIAKS**

### **Summary**

The paper deals with mass graves in the Zvornik Municipality as material evidence of genocide against Bosniaks, during the 1992-1995 aggression of Republic of Serbia and Montenegro over Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The paper elaborates on mass graves in the Zvornik Municipality, where bodies of Bosniaks executed from 1992 to 1995 were thrown. In addition to citizens of Zvornik, in the Zvornik area were killed and thrown into mass graves thousands of Bosniaks from the area of whole Podrinje and Bosnia and Herzegovina, internationally recognized state and the UN member. The most graves were prepared by the aggressor during the execution of genocide in and around the UN Safe Zone Srebrenica in July 1995.

Exhumations of mass graves of victims of the genocide were carried out by researchers from the ICTY, the State Commission for Missing Persons, the Federal Commission for Missing Persons, the Commission for Missing Persons of the Republic of Srpska.

More than 750 mass graves were found in Bosnia and Herzegovina by the end of 2016. A total of 207 exhumations, out of which 114 were mass graves, were carried out in the area of Zvornik from 19 August 1996 to 25 March 2016. In 114 mass graves, with only 27 cases of primary mass graves, a total of 9,786 victims were exhumed, and 4,997 in the area of “Dolina grobnica (The Valley of Tombs)” Kamenica.

**Key words:** mass grave, genocide, aggression, war crime, Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Zvornik, Srebrenica.

## **Introduction**

The objective reality of today are consequences of the aggression of the Republic of Serbia and Montenegro against Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period 1992-1995, which, twenty-three years after its completion, are still ongoing. Our research relates to the commission of crimes against humanity and international law against the civilian population in the period 1992-1995, and the emergence of mass graves as a specific form of crime after the crime.

Mass graves, difficulties and problems of their discovery, suggest a systematic approach to planning, organization, execution of a crime and its concealment, destruction of material evidence and denial. All this was done in order to, in addition to cover up the crime, hide victims and disable or make their identification difficult. Artifacts found near the graves, as well as in single graves (ligatures, bandages for hands, feet and eyes) suggest forms of crime and ways of mass executions committed against innocent civilians. The creation and discovery of mass graves are an indication and proof of intent to commit a crime, a segment of planned and organized system of crime which is aimed at the expansion of living space for members of only one ethnos in accordance with the programmed ideology and practice confirming the strategy of Serbian targets.

Mass graves occur as a side effect of the mass killings. The perpetrators of mass killings are trying to get rid of the bodies of victims, mostly by hiding them illegally and secretly with the aim of concealing material evidence on executed crimes, to thereby attempt to avoid criminal responsibility. It should be borne in mind that this is unethical burial - burial without religious rites, where bodies are most often indiscriminately dumped and buried. They are a confirmation of a process that has the properties and conditions of the planned, organized and targeted destruction of one national, ethnic, race, or religious groups as it is. It involved the social structure, ranging from political and government and military to civilian, all with the same goal - to conceal the crimes and the perpetrators remain unpunished.

The problem of mass graves is widespread, extensive and continuous problem, socially and scientifically significant, which is an indicator of the crimes committed against humanity and international law. A special interest for it have the victims, as well as their close relatives.

## 1. Mass graves in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The representatives of the Commission for Missing Persons in the past 15 years on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina have found more than 5,000 locations with mass, joint and individual graves. There were found about 25,000 of posthumous remains. Most of them have been discovered in eastern Bosnia, near Foča, Višegrad, Vlasenica, Rudo, Čajniče, Zvornik, Srebrenica and Bratunac. In addition, findings in Prijedor, Sanski Most and Ključ are also not negligible.



Illustration 1: Locations of mass graves in B&H

## 2. Zvornik – the chronology of genocide

Podrinje, located along the border with Serbia, 150 kilometers away from Belgrade, due to its geographical position and communication links with Serbia, as well as its demographic structure was the first target of the Great Serbia nationalists. The fact that the majority of population along the Drina River were Muslims presented inevitable obstacle to the achievement of historically set targets for the Great Serbia nationalists<sup>1</sup>. The decision was made

1 Plans on creation of “The Great Serbia” exist for hundreds of years with the aim of expanding the territory of Serbia to other nations and territories. Since Garašanin’s “Načartanija” (1844) a concept had been established according to which “Serbia must not retain small” and must “expand”. Cvijić adopted this concept, and thus, during the annexation crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908) formed a proposition on Podrinje. In order for Serbia to agree with the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina,

to physically destroy the obstacle. The realization of the criminal project was designed, planned, prepared and executed in Belgrade and assisted with the activities of collaborationist SDS of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the early April 1992, JNA troops<sup>2</sup> aided by armed formations of SDS, Special Serbian Police and Army Units, among others Arkan's Guard, Beli orlovi (White Eagles) and Crvene beretke (Red Berets), attacked cities along the Drina River and began their occupation in order to strip of 50 kilometers along the Drina River<sup>3</sup> to be cleansed<sup>4</sup> of the Muslim and Croatian population. Tenks, Yugoslav people's Army (JNA) transporters, Serbian special police unit Arkan's Guard, on 1 April 1992, crossed the Drina River and started with the execution of crimes against Bosniaks in Bijeljina. Only three days later, JNA units with the help of Arkan's Guard, Vojislav Šešelj's Beli orlovi and recruited reservists and members of SDS, attacked the city of Zvornik. The attack of the Užice Corps to the city of Višegrad, which was immediately occupied, followed, and the municipalities of Bratunac, Vlasenica and Srebrenica were already surrounded by Serbian armed forces, and would remain as such until the end of the aggression. At the same time, strong Serbian forces were located in Šekovići and Han Pijesak, and thus planned the physical separation of that region from Tuzla and Sarajevo. The already prepared plan, that only the top management of SDS knew about, was activated on 14/15 April 1992. On 17 April 1992, the

he proposed Podrinje to be given to Serbia, that is, to establish a corridor along its eastern border with a depth of around 50 km, with 12 counties and an area of over 10.000 km<sup>2</sup>. Such tendencies continued. Stevan Moljević, in 1941, published a programme 'Homogenous Serbia', in which he insisted on connection of Serbian people, and suggested to move and exchange population, so that all Serbs be together in a united Serbia and within Yugoslavia. Moljević's project entered also the foundations of decisions of Chetnick's Svetosavski Congress held at the end of January 1944. Collaborationist regime of Milan Nedić had the same goal – to move the border of Bosnia from the Drina River. During 1945-1991 Yugoslavia, the idea of 'The Great Serbia' did not vanish. Therefore, the Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Science and Art (1986) was adopted, which "in the most clear way reaffirmed and reactivated aims for 'The Great Serbia', and that political and programme document defined the programme for national legislation of Serbs and at the same time in the most clear way denoted the continuity of logics of national aims of Serbian intelligentsia. (See more in: Abazović, D. Mirsad: Kadrovska rat za BiH. Sarajevo: Savez logoraša Bosne i Hercegovine, 1999.)

- 2 The units of YPA were already in 1991 located on the bridges towards Bijeljina, Zvornik, Bratunac Srebrenica and waited readily an order for armed attack.
- 3 "Kertes Mihalj – a member of SFRY Government, aut. rem.] said at the meeting that the political and state leadership of SFRY decided that the area 50 kilometers from the Drina River would become Serbian territory." (ICTY, The Judgment of the Trial Chamber against Miroslav Deronjić, Subject IT-02-61-S, 30 March 2004, The Hague, Paragraph 54)
- 4 "Everything will be Serbian, only Serbian" (ICTY, Subject Miroslav Deronjić, No. IT-02-61, The statement of a witness Miroslav Deronjić, 19 November 2003, Paragraph 17)

Army of Serbia entered Bratunac which is located about four kilometers from the border. The next day, on 18 April, the Serbian army and police occupied Srebrenica following the same pattern. After the Serbian forces entered, a huge number of civilians were killed. Beside citizens of Srebrenica, among the killed were those who lived in other parts of Podrinje, but sought salvation in this town. During the first few months of aggression large-scale crimes were committed in the area. In the late June, the Headquarters of the Army of Serbian Republic issued an order “on the spread of a corridor between Romanija and Semberija and liberation of communication in the middle flow of the Drina River ”.<sup>5</sup>

Yugoslav People’s Army was aimed to master the course of the Sava River and control Posavina in order to establish a corridor and connect the western parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region of Krajina in Croatia territorially with Serbia. So they conducted offensive actions in the Spring and Summer of 1992, which resulted in taking Bijeljina, 01 - 04 April, Janja on 5/6 April, Zvornik from 8-26 April, Bratunac on 17 April, Srebrenica on 18 April, Vlasenica on 23 April, Brčko on 1/2 May, Kalesija on 11 May 1992, while fighting in Bosanski Brod lasted until the 6th October 1992.

After the occupation of Bijeljina, armed units of the Great Serbia move down the Drina River towards Zvornik. According to the Decision of Crisis Staff of the so-called Serbian Municipality Zvornik dating 5 April 1992, started the mobilization of all units of Territorial Defense of this municipality. The police was divided according to ethnic principle in accordance with the dispatch of Momčilo Mandić, and members of the Public Safety Station Zvornik of Serbian nationality moved to Karakaj, where the Serbian Crisis Staff was located. The process of formation and development of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was in

5 “The order states: ‘I have decided: to execute demobilisation of all ready for fight Serbian population in municipalities of Bratunac, Srebrenica, Milići, Vlasenica, Han Pijesak, Šekovići and Zvornik, gather strong enough forces, especially in Bratunac, Milići and Zvornik, and then leaning on present positions and in an immediate collaboration with local population attack, grouping main forces in direction: Milići – Konjevići – Drinjača – Zvornik, and additional forces in directions: Bratunac – Kravice – Konjevići and Milići – Lukići – the mine of boxit in Gunjaci, with the aim to: in an energetic and fast reaction in a wider area of the mentioned directions deblock, free and enable communications: Vlasenica – Milići – Konjevići – Zvornik, Konjevići - Kravice - Bratunac and Milići – Lukići – the mine of boxit. At the same time, leaning on stopping and fortification keep under control communications: Sokolac – Han Pijesak – Vlasenica – Šekovići – Caparde – Zvornik and Gornja Spreča – Caparde. Further clear ustashas from the areas of Drinjača, Milići, Srebrenica, Bratunac, the Drina River and Vlasenica, Kladanj, Olovo, Sokolac’.” (Šabić, Velid, pp. 65.)

detail elaborated in their Report on work for the period April-December 1992. In the Zvornik Municipality, from the beginning of mobilization, from April to June 1992, around 507 Bosniak civilians were murdered. The city was attacked on 8 April 1992, and during April and May the villages that belonged to the territory of the municipality were also attacked. With the support of tanks and artillery from Serbia, the units of Dobrovoljačka garda (the Volunteer Guard), on 8 April, executed a mass pogrom against the Bosniaks who did not manage to escape. In addition to the Territorial Defense (TO), in the area of the municipality operated also other units: Arkan's Guard, Beli orlovi, Žute ose (Yellow Wasps), Dušan Silni (Stefan Dušan) and Crvene beretke. These units executed mass crimes against Bosniaks in the Zvornik Municipality. In the area of the municipality around 25 detention facilities were formed in which Bosniak civilians were detained and subjected to various forms of torture, and then killed. Major Svetozar Andrić, a Commander of the First Birč Brigade of the ARS, on 28 May, ordered the Zvornik TO to organize and coordinate the departure of Bosniaks, and only women and children were evicted, while the men of military age were placed in camps. The JNA soldiers, on 30 May, captured around 150 Bosniak men, women and children – from the village of Kostijerevo in the Zvornik Municipality. They took them to Dom kulture (the Culture Center) in Drinjača, where they were guarded by the JNA members. In Dom kulture in Drinjača, on 30 May 1992, 88 prisoners were killed, and at the early June in the Technical School in Karakaj 160 prisoners, while 190 prisoners were killed in the so-called Gerina klanica (Gera's slaughterhouse). The attacks on the neighbouring places followed and on 26 June Kozluk was attacked. The inhabitants were ordered to leave their homes and sign declarations in which they renounced their entire property. Around 1,800 people were deported to Serbia. Many Bosniaks of this municipality were captured in various localities, among others in the factory Alhos in Karakaj, where they were subjected to terrible abuse. The prisoners were kept in factories Standard and Novi izvor. In Dom kulture in the village Čelopek was formed a camp for Bosniaks. "In early June a paramilitary group from Serbia assaulted the detainees with spiked metal bars and chains. Some detainees were forced to beat each other, and guards killed three detainees. The members of 'Žute ose', headed by Repić, Žućo and brothers Vučković arrived on 11 June 1992 at Dom kulture and killed at least five detainees. Repić's soldiers tortured detainees, forced them to eat cut off pieces of bodies and killed two who could not do it. On 27 June Repić returned to Dom kulture, shot and killed 20 and wounded 22 more detainees."<sup>6</sup> In the statement given to

6 9 ICTY, Judgment, Prosecutor against Momčilo Krajišnik, Subject IT-00-39-T, 27 September 2006, Paragraph 372.

the authorized personnel, Duško Vučković stated that “in two occasions in the village Čelopek, the Zvornik Municipality, he shot in the camp in people of Muslim nationality (men age 18 and more) who were kept there, and did not know how many of them he killed at the occasion. The residents of Čelopek drove somewhere in a truck the killed people”.<sup>7</sup> Other places of detention in this municipality were: Police Station in Zvornik, a prison in Zvornik, a headquarters of Civil Service (CS) in Orahovac, a prison near Novi izvor, 81 school in Kneževići, administrative building of a brick factory in Karakaj, a company Hladnjača, youth camp, sports hall, Paša Salihović’s house, a Motel Vidikovac and a Primary School in Liplje.<sup>8</sup>

The crimes continued in the following months as well. Thus, the greatest crime in the Zvornik Municipality was committed on 1 June. Namely, around 700 people from the Zvornik’s villages Klisa, Kaludrani, Sjenokos, Đine, Mahmutovići, Mrakodol, Kučić Kula, Čelismani, Lupići, Radava, Tršić, Đulići, Hajdarevići, Durakovići and Dardagani, was then arrested and taken to the Technical School Center in Karakaj, and other residents, around 4,000 of them, was deported to Kalesija. All 700 men detained in the Technical School Center in Karakaj were killed in a few following days, except for the two who survived the shooting. The killings continued in other villages. Thus, on 12 June in the village Križevići 29 elderly and infirm people were killed because they were not able to flee from the Serbian hordes of evil, after the defense of the village “fell”. The oldest, then killed was Hata Nezirović born in 1886, who was then 106 years old. During the eviction of residents of Kozluka and Skočići, 24 persons were captured and killed, and in the village Gušteri 13 men were killed at very end of June.

Therefore, during June 1992, more than 750 Bosniaks were killed in Zvornik. The finalization of genocide in this municipality was conducted during July 1992. Until then, Bosniaks in some villages of Zvornik resisted, or criminals had no interest to capture those villages. But, then their turn came. First on 5 July execution of 800 residents of Šepak was organized and they were evicted across the Drina River to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (to Loznica, Serbia) and at the occasion four people were killed. On July 1995,

7 AIIZ, No. 2-4411, The Republic of Srpska Bosnia and Herzegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs – the Security Center Service Bijeljina, No. \_\_\_ from 9 August 1992, the Official Record; 1996, in accordance with the verdict raised due to an incident that happened on 27 June 1992 in Čelopek, the County Court in Serbia proclaimed Repić guilty for killing and wounding 16 Muslim civilians.

8 AIIZ No. 2-4410, The Republic of Srpska – Ministry of Justice and Administration of Republic of Serbia, Information on the state in prisons and collection camps of war prisoners, No.: 04/2-112/92 from 22 October 1992, Pale.

over 400 Bosniaks were killed in and around the UN Safe Zone Srebrenica. From 20 May to 2 June 1992, in the camp Liplje, numerous rapes of Bosniaks were committed. Women were detained and raped repeatedly, and some of them were minors, and there were also men. Many Bosniaks were detained in the following locations: the Factory "Alhos" on 9 April 1992 or near that date; a building in Drinjača (Dom kulture) (from May to June 1992); the factory "Standard" (from April to the end of June 1992), Dom kulture in Čelopeku (from May to June 1992), Technical School in Karakaj (from May to June 1992); a company "Novi izvor" (from 29 May to 30 July 1992); the Agricultural company Ekonomija (from April to December 1992). From the very Zvornik a total of 15,436 people were forced out/deported to Hungary and Austria.

The aim of the joint criminal enterprise was also achieved through the campaign of persecution which reached such proportions that it included behavior based on which it was visible that the intention was to partially or completely destroy Bosniaks, national, ethnic and/or religious group as such. It was necessary to destroy traces of cultural and religious existence destroying monuments of culture and sacred objects. Therefore, a total of 28 mosques were destroyed in Zvornik, among which: in Đulići, in Kula Grad, in Kozluk, in Divič, in Snagovo, in Novo Selo, in Skočić, in Svratek, in Drinjača, in Glumina, in Donja Kamenica, in Gornja Kamenica, in Klisa, in Kovačevići, in Rijeka, in Selimovići...

## **2.1. Mass graves in the Zvornik Municipality**

According to our own research, it was found that in the Zvornik Municipality from 19 August 1996, when the first mass grave Lažeta was exhumed, to 4 December 2015, when a mass grave in Kozluk was exhumed, a total of 114 mass graves were exhumed. The data of the Institute for Missing Persons of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the Archives of the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law, University of Sarajevo, were used for the analysis of results. The available data (in the period of writing of the paper) that could be downloaded and analyzed followed the exhumation until 25 March 2016, when in the area of Drinjača were exhumed remains of one victim. Below is a review of the exhumations that have been made in the area of Zvornik, and which relate only to the mass graves.

<b>No.</b>	<b>THE BEGINNING OF EXHUMATION</b>	<b>THE END OF EXHUMATION</b>	<b>THE PLACE OF EXHUMATION</b>	<b>THE NUMBER OF EXHUMATIONS</b>	<b>TYPE OF GRAVE</b>
1.	19 August 1996	9 September 1996	Lažeta	146	Primary MG
2.	10 September 1996	24 September 1996	Branjevo	132	Primary
3.	26 February 1997		Nezuk	5	Individual
4.	15 April 1998	25 April 1998	Petkovci	43	Primary
5.	8 May 1998		Baljkovica	2	Joint
6.	8 May 1998		Tisova kosa	7	Surface
7.	10 May 1998	25 May 1998	Kamenica-Čančari	174	Secondary
8.	21 May 1998		Glođansko brdo	13	Površinski
9.	27 May 1998	10 June 1998	Kamenica-Čančari	155	Secondary
10.	29 June 1998	3 July 1998	Hodžići	40	Secondary
11.	10 July 1998	20 July 1998	Hodžići	57	Secondary
12.	22 July 1998	30 July 1998	Hodžići	81	Secondary
13.	7 August 1998	25 August 1998	Liplje	191	Secondary
14.	29 September 1998		Baljkovica	12	Surface
15.	30 September 1998		Zulići	7	Surface
16.	1 October 1998		Križevići	4	Surface
17.	1 October 1998		Križevići	6	Individual
18.	2 October 1998		Planina	6	Primary
19.	6 October 1998	11 October 1998	Glumina	274	Primary
20.	24 June 1999	6 August 1999	Kozluk	3	Joint
21.	24 June 1999	6 August 1999	Kozluk	17	Primary
22.	24 June 1999	6 August 1999	Kozluk	320	Primary
23.	12 July 1999		Motovo	6	Individual
24.	22 July 1999		Šib	2	Individual
25.	22 July 1999		Potočani	3	Surface
26.	22 July 1999		Motovo	2	Individual
27.	22 July 1999		Seferovići	2	Surface
28.	11 August 1999		Seferovići	3	Surface
29.	12 August 1999		Brežljak	7	Primary
30.	12 August 1999		Motovska kosa	6	Primary
31.	13 August 1999		Kaludrani	3	Individual
32.	7 September 1999		Seferovići	2	Individual

33.	6 October 1999		Motovo	3	Surface
34.	6 October 1999		Seferovići	3	Surface
35.	7 October 1999		Križevačke njive	8	Surface
36.	8 October 1999		Snagovo	5	Individua
37.	1 November 1999		Snagovo	2	Surface
38.	1 November 1999		Snagovo	6	Surface
39.	16 June 2000		Liplje	4	Surface
40.	19 June 2000		Glodi	3	Surface
41.	19 June 2000		Kostijerevo	4	Joint
42.	19 June 2000		Kostijerevo	13	Individua
43.	20 June 2000		Kostijerevo	12	Individua
44.	20 June 2000		Snagovo	3	Surface
45.	21 June 2000		Snagovo	4	Surface
46.	21 June 2000		Križevačke njive	5	Surface
47.	21 June 2000		Križevačke njive	4	Surface
48.	23 June 2000		Snagovo	5	Surface
49.	13 July 2000	3 August 2000	Lažete	131	Primary
50.	2 August 2000	17 August 2000	Lažete	42	Primary
51.	8 September 2000		Kozluk	12	Primary
52.	10 October 2000		Križevići	9	Primary
53.	11 October 2000		Grbavci	7	Primary
54.	12 October 2000	16 October 2000	Grbavci	69	Primary
55.	25 October 2000		Velja Glava	9	Surface
56.	26 October 2000		Snagovo	2	Surface
57.	26 October 2000		Križevačke njive	3	Surface
58.	16 November 2000		Sopotnik	2	Joint
59.	15 May 2001		Motovo	2	Surface
60.	15 May 2001		Križevačke njive	3	Surface
61.	18 June 2001	6 July 2001	Liplje	288	Secondary
62.	4 July 2001		Liplje	2	Joint
63.	28 August 2001	28 September 2001	Kamenica-Čančari	242	Secondary

64.	2 October 2001	22 October 2001	Kamenica-Čančari	200	Secondary
65.	24 October 2001	22 November 2001	Liplje	305	Secondary
66.	12 February 2002		Đafin kamen	2	Surface
67.	22 April 2002		Snagovo	5	Surface
68.	22 July 2002	6 August 2002	Kamenica	244	Secondary
69.	7 August 2002		Snagovo	3	Joint
70.	12 August 2002	7 October 2002	Kamenica	506	Secondary
71.	14 October 2002	25 October 2002	Kamenica	84	Secondary

72.	14 April 2003		Kozluk	3	Surface
73.	15 May 2003		Motovo	2	Surface
74.	23 June 2003	10 July 2003	Kazan Bašča	29	Primary
75.	23 June 2003	10 July 2003	Kazan Bašča	12	Primary
76.	23 June 2003	10 July 2003	Kazan Bašča	8	Primary
77.	23 June 2003	10 July 2003	Kazan Bašča	32	Primary
78.	23 June 2003	10 July 2003	Kazan Bašča	32	Primary
79.	23.06.2003	10 July 2003	Kazan Bašča	2	Joint
80.	15 July 2003	25 July 2003	Šahbegovići	33	Primary
81.	15 July 2003	25 July 2003	Šahbegovići	29	Primary
82.	15 July 2003	25 July 2003	Šahbegovići	31	Primary
83.	28 August 2003	3 October 2003	Crni vrh	629	Secondary
84.	23 January 2004		Kozluk	3	Joint
85.	5 May 2004		Snagovo	2	Surface
86.	19 October 2004	26 October 2004	Snagovo	94	Secondary
87.	16 May 2005	21 June 2005	Liplje	240	Secondary
88.	15 September 2005	16 October 2005	Liplje	482	Secondary
89.	24 October 2005	14 November 2005	Snagovo	230	Secondary
90.	16 March 2006	17 March 2006	Snagovo	32	Primary
91.	28 April 2006		Kamenica	6	Primary
92.	8 June 2006	17 August 2006	Kamenica-Čančari	1153	Secondary
93.	20 September 2006	11 October 2006	Snagovo	160	Secondary
94.	6 November 2006	24 November 2006	Snagovo	156	Secondary
95.	24 May 2007		Divič	2	Surface

96.	22 October 2007	24 November 2007	Kamenica	616	Secondary
97.	13 May 2008		Motova kosa	3	Površinsku
98.	14 May 2008		Kamenica	5	Individual
99.	22 May 2008	26 May 2008	Ulice	30	Primary
100.	12 August 2008	26 September 2008	Kamenica	362	Secondary
101.	7 October 2008		Gavrići	2	Individual
102.	8 October 2008	11 December 2008	Kamenica	881	Secondary
103.	20 October 2008	20 November 2008	Kamenica	262	Secondary
104.	24 December 2008		Križevačke njive	2	Surface
105.	8 July 2009	23 July 2009	Kamenica	107	Secondary
106.	20 January 2010		Mihaljevići	2	Surface
107.	20 January 2010		Mihaljevići	2	Surface
108.	7 June 2010		Liplje	4	Joint
109.	4 November 2011		Crni vrh	4	Surface
110.	19 June 2012		Ravne-Križevići	2	Surface
111.	1 April 2013	10 April 2013	Branjevo-Pilica	61	Primary (ransacked)
112.	16 July 2013		Planinci	10	Surface
113.	3 September 2015		Gornji Lokanj	3	Surface
114.	4 December 2015	23 December 2015	Kozluk	55	Primary

## 2.2. The presentation and analysis of 37 mass graves in the Zvornik Municipality

Due to the existence of numerous mass graves, we decided to narrow the presentation of a part of our scientific research. Below are presented mass graves in detail:<sup>9</sup>

1. LAŽETE (LZ-02), 2. BRANJEVO-PILICE (PLC), 3. NEZUK (NEZ-1/1-5), 4. BRANA KOD PETKOVACA (DAM), 5. ČANČARI (CR-12), 6. ČANČARI (CR-03), 7. HODŽIĆI (HZ-03), 8. HODŽIĆI (HZ-04), 9. HODŽIĆI (HZ-05),

<sup>9</sup> We underline here that we received the results of the research mainly using the documentation of the Archives at the Institute for the Research of Crimes against humanity and international law at the University of Sarajevo, and the Archives of the Institute for Missing Persons of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

10. LIPLJE (LP-02), 11. KOZLUK (KK-02), 12. KOZLUK (KK-03), 13. KOZLUK (KK-01), 14. BREŽLJAK (BRŽ-1/1-7), 15. MOTOVSKA KOSA (M. KOS-1/1-6), 16. LAŽETE (LZ-01), 17. KOZLUK (KOZ-1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12), 18. KRIŽEVICI (Z. KRŽ-1/1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9), 19. LIPLJE (hamlet Salihovići) (LP-01-001-288), 20. ČANČARI (Čančari 1) (CR-11/01-242), 21. ČANČARI (Čančari 2) (CR-07/01-200), 22. LIPLJE (hamlet Jošanica) (LP-04/01-305), 23. KAMENICA (CR-02-001-244), 24. KAMENICA (a field Prosine) (CR-05-001-506), 25. KAMENICA (Lugovi – Ravne) (CR-13-001-84), 26. SNAGOVO (ZV. SNA-01/01-94), 27. LIPLJE (ZV. LIP-03/001-240), 28. LIPLJE (ZV. LIP-07/01-482), 29. SNAGOVO (ZV. SNA-02/01-230-05), 30. KAMENICA (KAM-10 ZVO-001-1153), 31. SNAGOVO (SNA-03 ZVO-001-160), 32. SNAGOVO (SNA-04 ZVO-001-156), 33. KAMENICA (KAM-09 ZVO-001-616), 34. KAMENICA (KAM-04 ZVO-001-362), 35. KAMENICA (KAM-08 ZVO-001-262), 36. KAMENICA (KAM-06 ZVO-001-881), 37. KAMENICA (ZV.CR-01, KAM-14 ZVO-001-107).

### **2.2.1. Lažete (LZ-02) Mass Grave**

Primary mass grave Lažete 2 is located next to a railroad, near grave Lažete 1 in Grbavci (Orahovac), in a field covered with grass, immediately next to the railway embankment. On the west it bordered the road and railway embankment, and on the south the slope with trees and bushes. Lažete grave consists of two main primary graves, with human remains, that are marked as LZ-2a and LZ-2b, and the former was not disturbed without authorization, and the latter was disturbed without authorization and there were many disassembled and intercepted bodies. A total of 165 bodies were exhumed from Lažete 2 grave. Of these, one skeleton was incomplete, found at the surface of the grave, 112 bodies were exhumed from LZ-2a, and 52 bodies from LZ-2b. All were men. It was determined that the age range was between 13 and 70. These findings can be grouped into the following age groups: 11 to 15 years old = 8, 16 to 25 years old = 33, 26 to 35 years old = 44, 36 to 45 years old = 50, 45 and more = 28, unidentified = 1 less than 25 years old = 18. It is determined that the main cause of death was the use of firearm. Namely, from gunshot wounds.

## **2.2.2. Branjevo – Pilice (PLC) Mass Grave**

Near the village Pilice was a primary mass grave Branjevo-Pilice (PLC). At the Military Farm Branjevo (Vojna ekonomija Branjevo) soldiers of the ARS, on 16 July 1995, executed a large number of detainees who were brought in buses at the site. The indictment against Radislav Krstić, a commander of the Drina Corps, states that: "around 16 July 1995, soldiers of the ARS, under the command of Radislav Krstić, transported hundreds of Bosnian Muslims from the school in Pilice to Branjevo farm. Bosniak men were unloaded from buses, taken in small groups to an open area and badly executed with automatic weapons by the soldiers of the ARS, from the 10th Sabotage Detachment and other units. Between 16 and 17 July 1995 soldiers of the ARS, under the command of Radislav Krstić, using heavy equipment, buried hundreds of victims in nearby mass graves."<sup>10</sup> On 21 March 1996, the United States Government published a certain number of photographs taken from the air showing how the area around the Military Farm Branjevo looked on 17 July 1995. Those shoots that show a large number of bodies laying in the field near the Farm. The footage of 27 September 1995 also show signs of digging mass grave, as well as freshly excavated trench at the site of a mass grave, and an excavator and a loader parked in the area of the Farm. There were 132 male victims in the tomb, aged 15-61 at the time of death, and at least 130 died as a result of gunshot wounds. In the tomb were found 83 ligatures, where 76 victims were bound wrists. Blindfolds were found around the neck of the two victims. In this tomb during the exhumation were found mortal remains of 132 persons or 53 complete and 23 almost complete bodies. For 144 separated groups of human remains was found to belong to the male population. No remains were identified that belonged to the female population.

## **2.2.3. Nezuk (NEZ-1/1-5) Mass Grave**

A primary mass grave Nezuk (NEZ-1/1-5) was created from 11 to 20 July 1995. A total of five cases were exhumed from the mass grave Nezuk. Until 31 December 2009, four men were identified in the identification process.<sup>11</sup>

---

10 3 CRIMES AGAINST BOSNIAKS IN SREBRENICA DURING THE AGGRESSION ON THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA 1991-1995, *Documents and testimonies, Book 2, the Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law, Sarajevo, 1999*, pp. 555.

11 AIIZ, Inv. No. 2-3293.

#### **2.2.4. Brana near Petkovci (DAM) Mass Grave**

The primary mass grave Brana near Petkovci (the Dam near Petkovci) corresponds to the crime scene. On the plateau below Brana, on 14 July 1995 or around that date, 1,500 to 2,000 Bosniak men were executed and buried there. A subsequent review of a mass grave known as Liplje 2, that is located 14 kilometers south of Brana, showed that it is a secondary mass grave of the primary mass grave Brana near Petkovci, i.e. that the bodies were removed from Brana near Petkovci mass grave and reburied in Liplje 2 mass grave. There are four known secondary mass graves at the Liplje site, however, only Liplje 2 mass grave was exhumed.

#### **2.2.5. Čančari (CR-12) Mass Grave**

The secondary mass grave Čančarski put 12 (CR-12) (the Čančari Road 12) was first excavated on 27 September 1995 and then buried again before 2 October 1995. It can be seen in photographs that “the primary mass grave at the Branjevo Military Farm was created between 21 and 27 September 1995”.<sup>12</sup> The Čančarski put 12 mass grave is the secondary mass grave dug in brown clay and gravel. The overlay of the tomb contained lumps of soil and vegetation. There were parts of bodies of 174 persons, with only 43 complete bodies, in this tomb. Out of complete bodies, a total of 39 persons died due to wounds inflicted by the firearms. A total of 174 cases were exhumed from the Čančari (CR-12) mass grave. Until 31 December 2009 there were 98 persons identified – 88 men and 10 children.

#### **2.2.6. Čančari (CR-03) Mass Grave**

Along Čančarski put (the Čančari Road) there are twelve known tombs and they are all secondary. All twelve of them were examined and in each were found mortal remains of more persons. Two tombs, marked as Čančarski put 3 and Čančarski put 12, were completely exhumed in 1998. “The secondary mass grave Čančarski put 3 was dug in brown clay with a small admixture of limestone gravel. The tomb was excavated with the help of loader on wheels and with a serrated spoon. During the exhumation were found traces of wheels and the teeth on the bottom of the tomb. There was a ramp for a loader at the souther end of the tomb. The design and the plan of the tomb are very similar to the design of Čančarski put 12 mass grave. It must be, however, noted

<sup>12</sup> D. Manning, Inv. No. 00967419, pp. 19.

that the bodies found in Čančarski put 12 mass grave were connected to the primary mass grave next to the Branjevo Military Farm, and not with Kozluk. There were the remains of at least 158 persons in the tomb, 126 male and other of unidentified sex. Out of almost 35 complete bodies, in 29 the cause of death were shotgun wounds, and in six the cause of death was not determined. Eight blindfolds were found, and four across victims' faces, three directly to bodies, and one separated from the body in the tomb. There were 37 ligatures, with 26 either on hands or arms, five directly connected to the bodies, and six was separated from the bodies in the tomb.<sup>“13</sup> In Čančarski put 3 mass grave were found parts of bodies of at least 158 persons, and only 35 almost complete bodies.

## 2.2.7. Hodžići (HZ-03) Mass Grave

A secondary mass grave Hodžići 3 (HZ-03) was discovered by the SFOR soldiers while repairing the road to Hodžići. There are seven known tombs along the road, and they are considered to be secondary mass graves. All seven mass graves were investigated and in each were found more human mortal remains, except in a mass grave Cesta (Road) towards Hodžići 1. Three mass graves, marked as Cesta towards Hodžići 3, Cesta towards Hodžići 4 and Cesta towards Hodžići 5, were completely exhumed in 1998.

“Samples of soil/pollen, similar blindfolds and ligatures, complementary shell casings, as well as footage from the air which determined the dates of creation and redigging of the tomb, point out that the primary mass grave Lažete 2 was redug without authorization and that some bodies were relocated in the secondary mass grave Cesta towards Hodžići 3.”<sup>“14</sup> The tombs was dug with unusual clay, and gravel that are not typical for this area where the tomb was located, and it is considered that that part of soil was carried out with bodies, for which excavation was necessary to have excavator. It was established that there were at least 45 bodies in the tomb, and for 39 of them was determined to be of male gender. Gender remained unidentified for others. The following age groups were found: 13-17 years old = 3, 18-24 years old = 10, 25 and older = 27.

Not a single person of female gender was identified in the tomb. The soil samples show that this is the secondary mass grave of the primary mass grave (graves) Lažete.

---

13 D. Manning, *Ibid*, 00967451, pp. 50.

14 D. Manning, *Ibid*, 00967427, pp. 27.

## **2.2.8. Hodžići (HZ-04) Mass Grave**

There are seven mass graves, all secondary, towards Hodžići along the road. They were investigated and in each were found parts of bodies. Certain evidence point to connections of primary and secondary mass graves. Namely, samples of soil/pollen, similar blindfolds and ligatures, matching shell casings, as well as footage from the air, that were used to determine the dates of their creation and redigging, point out that the mass grave Lažete 2 was redug without authorization and that some bodies were relocated to secondary mass graves Cesta towards Hodžići 3, 4 and 5. Therefore, at least some of the bodies taken out from the mass grave Orahovac (Lažete) were returned and again buried in the mass grave Cesta towards Hodžići 4, as well as in mass graves Cesta towards Hodžići 3 and 5. The footage show that the primary mass grave Orahovac (Lažete 2), which is connected to the secondary mass graves on the road towards Hodžićima, was created between 5 and 19 July 1995, and was redug between 7 and 27 September 1995.

The manner of creation of this tomb was as follows: "This secondary mass grave was dug in brown clay. The tomb was dug with the help of a loader on wheels and with serrated spoon. At the bottom of the tomb were traces of the teeth and wheels, and in the northwestern part of the tomb was a ramp for a loader."<sup>15</sup>

At least 82 persons' bodies were found, 66 of male gender, and for other gender remained unidentified. Out of almost 49 complete bodies, 37 persons died due to gunshot wounds. There were 40 blindfolds found, 14 around faces, and five were connected to the bodies in some other ways. Other 21 blindfolds within the tomb were separated from the bodies. No ligatures were found in this tomb. The age of the exhumed persons was: 8-13 years old = 1, 13-18 years old = 3, 18-25 years old = 11, 25 and older = 66, 1 unidentified.

## **2.2.9. Hodžići (HZ-05) Mass Grave**

It has been shown that this secondary grave was dug in a reddish-brown clay on the east and in the soft sandstone on the western side. The tomb was dug up by a loader with wheels and serrated spoon. Together with the bodies were found visible lumps of soil which did not belong to the tomb, as well as several pieces of black plastic pipe with an inner diameter of two centimeters. According to the findings, "in this tomb, there were at least 57

---

15 D. Manning, *Ibid*, 00967436, pp. 36.

bodies, of which 54 were male, while for the others gender has not been determined. At least 45 people died as a result of gunshot wounds. There were found 34 blindfolds, out of which 22 were wrapped around the head, three were connected with bodies, and nine of them were found separately in the tomb. In this tomb was found only one ligature.” Important pieces of evidence were found during the exhumation. The minimum number of people located in the tomb is 57, and 51 complete bodies were found. It was determined that 54 bodies were male, while for the rest of the bodies gender has not been determined. They were of the following age groups: under 25 years old = 0, 55 to 65 years old = 7, above 65 years old = 1. These men were older than men in other tombs exhumed during 1998.

### **2.2.10. Liplje (LP-02) Mass Grave**

Along the road towards Liplje there are four secondary mass graves. In each of them were found the remains of more than one person. The secondary mass grave, marked as Liplje 2, was completely exhumed in 1998 and is in connection with the primary mass grave Brana near Petkovci. For the top layer of the tomb are characteristic roughly dismembered bodies and large blocks of limestone with no traces of atmospheric effects and some greenish lumps of clay.

These characteristics coincide with the unauthorized disturbance of the primary grave near Brana and indicate that Liplje 2 (LP-02) is the secondary mass grave of the primary mass grave Brana near Petkovci. It contained the remains of at least 191 individuals and they were collected in 807 bags. To address the high level of fragmentation of the bodies, it should be noted that only four bodies had been relatively untouched.

### **2.2.11. Kozluk (KK-02) Mass Grave**

The primary mass grave Kozluk (KK-02) was located along the Drina River near Kozluk. The mass grave site was used as a garbage dump and a place for gravel extraction. In the part of the dumpsite was found a green glass bottle, pieces of green glass and a label reading “Vitinka” and “Kozluk”. Similar pieces of green glass and labels were also found among bodies exhumed in 1998 from the secondary mass grave Čančarski put 3.

“Based on the evidence and studies that conducted by the expert in tests on pollen dr Tony Brown, it is considered that Kozluk is the primary mass grave to the secondary mass grave Čančarski put 3. Similar pieces of green glass were also found near the mass grave Čančarski put 1.”<sup>16</sup>

A total of 340 bodies, that is 292 complete and 233 almost complete bodies, were exhumed from the mass grave Kozluk. It is believed that mass graves Kozluk and Čančarski put 3 are connected primary and secondary mass graves. All persons for whom gender could be determined were of male. Persons for whom age could be determined was approximately between 8 and 85 years old.

#### **2.2.12. Kozluk (KK-03) Mass Grave**

The mass grave Kozluk (KK-03) is the primary mass grave. The place of crime executin coincides with the place of mass grave. A total of 340 bodies were exhumed. Until 31 December 2009, 262 persons were identified – 243 men and 19 children.

#### **2.2.13. Kozluk (KK-01) Mass Grave**

A total of three bodies were exhumed from the mass grave Kozluk (KK-01). Until 31 December 2009, three persons were identified – three men. Čikarić Besim, Čemo Aljo, Muškić Nezir were identified.

#### **2.2.14. Brežljak (BRŽ-1/1-7) Mass Grave**

Brežljak is the primary mass grave. The site of crime execution also corresponds to the site of the mass grave. There were 7 cases exhumed, and 5 men identified: Ademović Sakib, Hajdarević Halid, Hurić Sulejman, Jusić Dževad, Jusipović Avdo.

#### **2.2.15. Motovska kosa (M. KOS-1/1-6) Mass Grave**

Motovska kosa is the primary mass grave, where 6 bodies were found, among which was a child. The tomb was located at the local road from Parlog

---

16 D. Manning, *Ibid*, 00967447, pp. 46.

to Potočani, where bodies were found with a lot of clothes but dismembered. “Four persons were identified: Alić Emin, Jusić Mehmed, Omerović Mersudin, Omerović Omer”<sup>17</sup>

### **2.2.16. Lažete (LZ-01) Mass Grave**

The mass grave Lažete 1, also known as Orahovac is the primary mass grave. The place of crime execution coincides with the mass grave site. A total of 130 bodies were exhumed. Until 31 December 2009, 121 people were identified – 120 men and 1 child.

### **2.2.17. Kozluk (KOZ-1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12) Mass Grave**

The primary mass grave Kozluk (KOZ-1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12) was created between 11 and 20 July 1995. There were found 12 bodies. Until 31 December 2009, out of 12 exhumed bodies 7 men were identified: Begzadić Salko, Hadžibulić Suljo, Malić Meho, Mehmedović Mustafa, Mujkić Ramiz, Muminović Nezir, Salkić Ibrahim.

### **2.2.18. Križevići (Z. KRŽ-1/1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9) Mass Grave**

The mass grave Križevići is the primary mass grave, and also the only mass grave where bodies were buried next to each other. According to the information available, 10 people were captured, they dug themselves a tomb, and the tenth one was taken into unknown direction. Therefore, 9 bodies were buried in the mass grave Križevići. In addition, the tomb was located in Križevići across the railway and a station in the immediate vicinity of today's primary school.

### **2.2.19. Liplje – (zaselak Salihovići) – (LP-01-001-288) Mass Grave**

This mass grave is secondary, and is connected to the mass grave Petkovci. Bodies were first buried in the primary mass grave and relocated and buried into this tomb. During the exhumation were noted traces of excavator that was used during relocation of bodies from primary to this secondary mass grave. During the exhumation were found 288 bodies in total. Until 2009, only 23 people were identified, 18 men and 5 children.

<sup>17</sup> AIZ, Inv. No. 2-3305.

## **2.2.20. Čančari (Čančari 1) - (CR-11/01-242) Mass Grave**

Čančari is the mass grave found in the Zvornik Municipality. It is the secondary mass grave connected with primary mass graves discovered in Branjevo, Kozluk and Pilice. Next to bodies were also found things that belonged to the victims. Some of the items were: a wrist watch, identity card, registration card, shell casings, cloth bandage tied into a knot, scattered bones, and a body with his hands tied with a cloth bandage on the back and on the upper part of the same body was black leather jacket, "Seiko" wrist watch. During the exhumation were found 242 bodies. A total of 90 people were identified, 5 children and 85 men.

## **2.2.21. Čančari (Čančari 2) – (CR-07/01-200) Mass Grave**

Čančari is located in the village Kamenica that belongs to the Zvornik Municipality. It is the secondary mass grave, and all the bodies found there were first buried in primary mass graves in Pilice, Branjevo and Kozluk. During the exhumation were found 200 bodies. Next to the bodies were found pieces of bottles with label "Vitinka", that were also found in the mass grave in Kozluk.

## **2.2.22. Liplje (zaselak Jošanica) – (LP-04/01-305) Mass Grave**

From 24 October to 22 November 2001 the secondary mass grave Liplje-Jošanica was exhumed. It is connected with the primary mass grave Petkovci. Hand bandages were found on the mortal remains. Until 31 December 2009, 49 people were identified, 44 men and 5 children.<sup>18</sup>

## **2.2.23. Kamenica (CR-02-001-244) Mass Grave**

The secondary mass grave Kamenica is directly connected to primary mass graves Pilice, Branjevo and Kozluk. A total of 244 bodies were exhumed, and only 84 people were identified until 2009.

---

<sup>18</sup> AIIZ, Inv. No. 4-2562, *The Cantonal Court Tuzla, number KRI: 114/01, 22 November 2001, The Record on Exhumation, pp. 1- 2.*

## **2.2.24. Kamenica (njiva Prosine) (CR-05-001-506) Mass Grave**

Masovna grobnica koja se takođe nalazila u općini Zvornik, tačnije selo Kamenica. Grobnica je takođe sekundarna, povezana sa grobnicama Branjevo, Kozluk, Pilica. Pronađeni su takođe i razni predmeti. Neki od njih su : ženski ručni sat, tabakera, dio pasoša, vozačka dozvola, novčanik, češalj, vojna knjižica, takođe je pronađen i index sa Univerziteta u Tuzli kao i mnogi drugi. Pronađeno je 506 slučajeva prilikom eksuhmacije. Otkopavanjem su pronađeni i predmeti, kao što su: proteza, drveni štap/noga od stolice, čahura, drvena tabakera, uzorak zemlje uzet pored grobnice, ženski ručni sat, limena tabakera, platneni povez vezan u čvor, kašika ručne bombe, ručni sat nepoznate marke, zlatna navlaka za zub, tijelo kod kojeg je u košulji pronađen dio pasoša na ime Nail Hasanović, tijelo s odjećom i vezanim rukama, kod kojeg je u zadnjem džepu hlača pronađen pasoš na ime Mehmedalija Ćosić, rođen 11. 10. 1959. u Cerskoj, općina Vlasenica kao i mnogi drugi.

## **2.2.25. Kamenica (Lugovi – Ravne) – (CR-13-001-84) Mass Grave**

Pošto je grobnica sekundarnog tipa, sva su tijela prethodno bila pokopana u primarnim masovnim grobnicama Pilice, Branjevo i Kozluk, odakle su naknadno izmještена i zakopana u ovu grobnicu. Ekshumirana su 84 slučaja, od čega 50 kompletnih tijela.

## **2.2.26. Snagovo (ZV. SNA-01/01-94) Mass Grave**

Sekundarna masovna grobnica Snagovo, nalazi se u mjestu Snagovo, općina Zvornik. Pošto se radi o sekundarnoj masovnoj grobnici, ona je u direktnoj vezi s primarnim masovnim grobnicama Lažete 1 i 2. Osim dijelova tijela, prilikom ekshumacije pronađeni su: čahure i zrna metka, dijelovi lobanje s povezima za oči, dijelovi odjeće (džemperi, košulje, pantalone, čarape, cipele, naočale, kaiš za cipele, donji dio trenerke, jakna, kaput, crni češalj). Prilikom ekshumacije izvađena su 94 dijela tijela.

## **2.2.27. Liplje (ZV. LIP-03/001-240) Mass Grave**

Sekundarna masovna grobnica Liplje (ZV. LIP-03/001-240) nalazi se na području sela Liplje, općina Zvornik, u neposrednoj blizini mjesnog asfaltnog puta. Kao sekundarna masovna grobnica, pripada primarnoj

masovnoj grobnici Petkovci. Nakon fotografiranja, prema uputama, bagerista je započeo sa skidanjem površine zemlje, pa su već na dubini od 10-ak cm na nekoliko mjesta pronađeni dijelovi tijela, koji su locirani i obilježeni zastavicama, a dalje otkopavanje je nastavljeno. Na dubini oko jednog metra bagerista je primijetio minsko-eksplozivnu napravu, zbog čega je ekshumacija bila privremeno prekinuta, a o tome su obaviješteni pripadnici Civilne zaštite Republike Srpske, s kojima je dogovoren da sljedeći dan budu prisutni kako bi izvršili preuzimanje spomenute naprave. Narednog dana izvršeno je otvaranje plastičnog okvira, u čijoj unutrašnjosti nije pronađena nikakva eksplozivna naprava. Prema tvrdnjama tima plastični okvir namijenjen je za smještaj bombe. Nastavljen je skidanje zemlje u blizini mjesta na kojem je pronađena veća koncentracija dijelova tijela. U grobnici su, osim dijelova tijela, pronađeni: đon od cipele, dio pantalona – nogavica, čarape, čizme, gaćice, ljubičasta majica, džemper, košulja, čahure, zrna od metka i patika.

Ukupno je pronađeno 240 slučajeva i različitih predmeta, a identifikованo je 11 osoba: Atić Sejad, Beganović Ibro, Halilović Nufik, Hasanović Nihad, Kadrić Esmir, Malić Fehim, Muminović Ramo, Muratović Meho, Omerović Redžo, Ridić Vejsil, Selimović Durmo. Identifikovani Halilović Nufik, u vrijeme kada je ubijen imao je tek 16 godina.

#### **2.2.28. Liplje (ZV. LIP-07/01-482) Mass Grave**

Sekundarna masovna grobniča Liplje (ZV. LIP-07/01-482) direktno je u vezi s primarnom masovnom grobničom Petkovci. Tom prilikom ekshumirana su 482 slučaja.

#### **2.2. 29. Snagovo (ZV. SNA-02/01-230-05) Mass Grave**

Sekundarna masovna grobniča Snagovo je u vezi s primarnim masovnim grobnicama Lažete 1 i 2. Ekshumirano je 230 slučajeva, od čega je, do 31. decembra 2009, identifikovano 106 osoba od kojih su 98 muškaraca i 8 djece.

#### **2.2.30. Kamenica (KAM-10 ZVO-001-1153) Mass Grave**

Sekundarna masovna grobniča Kamenica (KAM-10 ZVO-001-1153) direktno je vezana za primarne masovne grobniče Pilice, Branjevo i Kozluk.

Ekshumirana su 1153 slučaja, tako da je to do sada najveća masovna grobnica na području Srebrenice, sigurne zone UN-a, jula 1995. Do 31. decembra 2009. identifikovane su 272 osobe – 260 muškaraca i 12 djece.

### **2.2.31. Snagovo (SNA-03 ZVO-001-160) Mass Grave**

The secondary mass grave Snagovo (SNA-03 ZVO-001-160) is located in the field Ćuprije. It is directly connected with primary mass graves Lažete 1 and 2. The excavation of the mass grave Snagovo revealed the following: an upper part of a body with the remains of a lower part, a jacket, a complete body, underpants, a belt, parts of trousers, a complete body, trousers, a belt, woolen socks, a right boot, remains of a shirt, a shell in a body, a complete body, a belt, woolen socks, a shell, a complete body with the remains of trousers, a complete body, blindfold, remains of trousers and shoes, a complete body and linen belt, a left foot in a training shoe, a left foot in a sock, a complete body, a jacket, a colored sweater, a T-shirt, an upper part of a body, a shell in a body... as well as many other items and bones that were apart from skeletons. From the secondary mass grave Snagovo (SNA-03 ZVO-001-160) were exhumed 160 bodies, 96 complete and 64 incomplete bodies.

### **2.2.32. Snagovo (SNA-04 ZVO-001-156) Mass Grave**

The secondary mass grave Snagovo (SNA-04 ZVO-001-156) is located in a state-owned property, 150 meters away from the mass grave Snagovo 03. It is the first mass grave from Crni vrh, on the left side of the road, parallel with the road. Its length is about 20 meters, depth around 2 meters, and width around 3 meters. As the previous mass grave, it was well camouflaged, but the vegetation on it was different from the rest of vegetation. This mass grave is directly connected to primary mass graves Lažete 1 and 2. “From the mass grave Snagovo (SNA-04 ZVO-001-156) were exhumed 156 bodies, out of which were 90 complete bodies. A total of 79 people were identified – 67 men and 12 children.”<sup>19</sup> During the excavation the following things were also found: a complete body, a shirt, trousers and a metal cigarette case, a complete body, remains of trousers and a shirt, a complete body, a shirt and socks, a skull with bandage, a lower part of a body, trousers, a complete body, remains of trousers, a left foot in a sock and a shoe, a left underarm, a complete body, trousers and a T-shirt, a complete body, trousers and a belt, a complete body,

---

19 5 AIIZ, Inv. No. 2-3322.

trousers, a skull, a left shin, a left foot in a sock and a shoe, a complete body, trousers, a sweater, socks and shoes, a complete body with bandage, a sweater, trousers, a shirt and a sock, a skull, a complete body with a bandage (possibly an 11 years old body), as well as many other objects.

### **2.2.33. Kamenica (KAM-09 ZVO-001-616) Mass Grave**

The secondary mass grave Kamenica (KAM-09 ZVO-001-616) is directly connected with primary mass graves Pilice, Branjevo and Kozluk. “From the mass grave Kamenica (KAM-09 ZVO-001-616) was exhumed 616 bodies. Until 31 December 2009, 110 people were identified – 104 men and 6 children.”<sup>20</sup> The following objects were found during the excavation: a left leg in trousers, a lower part and remains of clothes, a left arm and remains of a jacket, a complete skeleton, trousers and a shirt, trousers and a shirt, a lower part, trousers, socks, a lower part with a part of an upper part of trousers, a belt, a complete skeleton, trousers, a shirt, boots and hand bandage, a skeleton without a skull, a left hand, trousers, a belt, a T-shirt, a complete skeleton, trousers, a shirt, a right underarm and a bandage on the underarm, a complete skeleton without a skull, trousers, a shirt, socks, a left shin, a part of a right leg with a foot, a complete skeleton, parts of clothes, a cigarette case, a right shoulder blade, vertebrae and ribs...

### **2.2.34. Kamenica (KAM-04 ZVO-001-362) Mass Grave**

“From the mass grave Kamenica (KAM-04 ZVO-001-362) were exhumed 362 bodies. Until 31 December 2009, 75 people were identified – 74 men and 1 child.”<sup>21</sup>

### **2.2.35. Kamenica (KAM-08 ZVO-001-262) Mass Grave**

The secondary mass grave Kamenica was created by displacement of bodies from the primary mass grave Branjevo - Pilice. The number of exhumed bodies was 353. Until 31 December 2009, no person (exhumed) was identified.

---

20 AIIZ, Inv. No. 2-3323.

21 AIIZ, Inv. No. 2-3324.

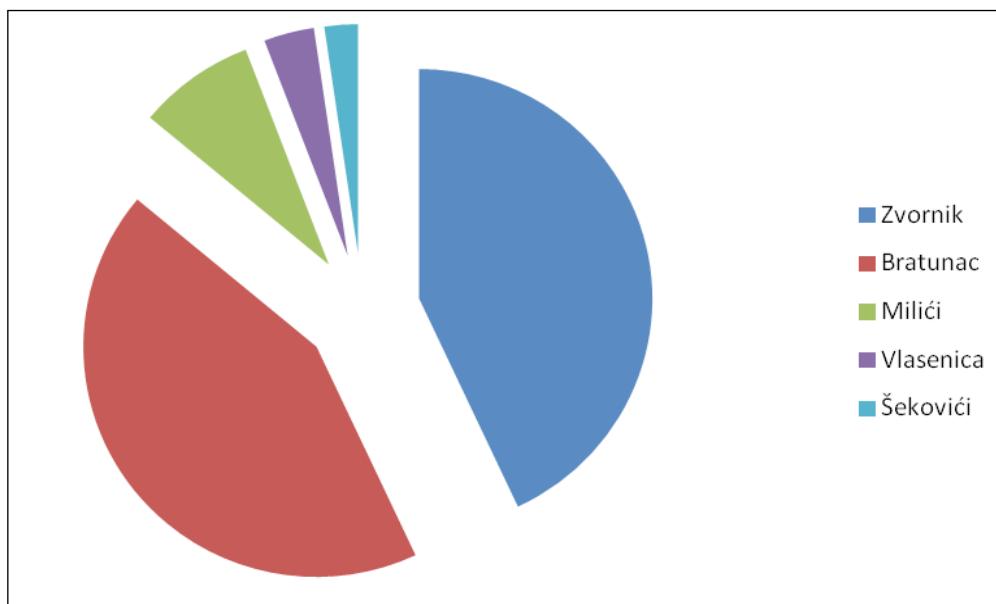
### **2.2.36. Kamenica (KAM-06 ZVO-001-881) Mass Grave**

The secondary mass grave Kamenica (KAM-06 ZVO-001-881) was exhumed from 8 October to 11 December 2008. Its dimensions are: left edge 13.90 m, right edge 16.90 m, the width of the tomb at the end is 3.10 m, and in the middle 3.30 m. The depth of the tomb is from 0.60 to 1.30 m. The number of exhumed bodies is 1,179. Until 31 December 2009, no person (exhumed) was identified.

### **2.2.37. Kamenica (ZV.CR-01, KAM-14 ZVO-001-107) Mass Grave**

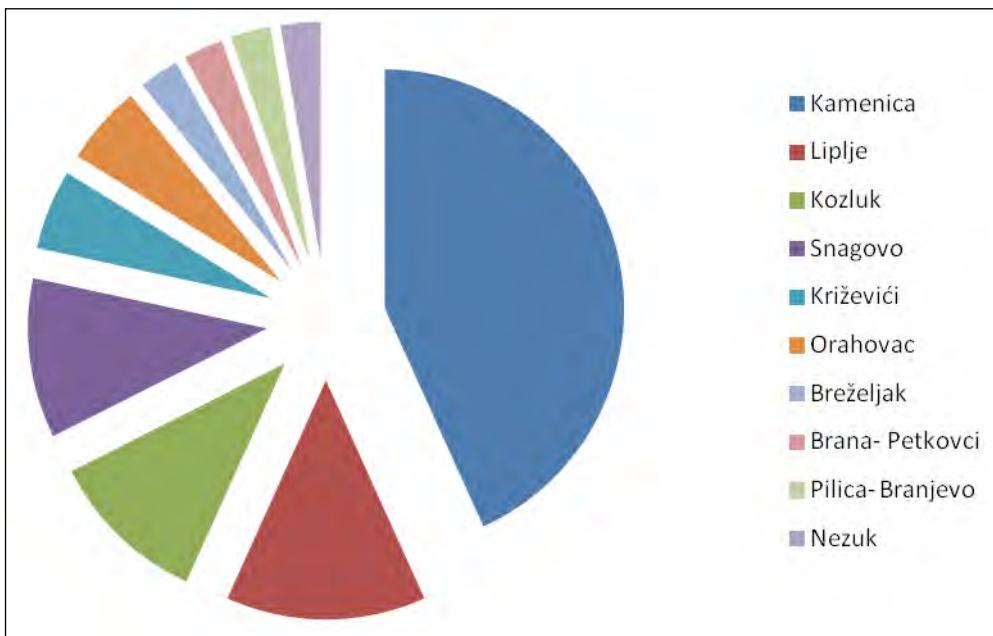
The secondary mass grave Kamenica was exhumed from 8 July to 23 July 2009. The number of exhumed bodies is 127. Until 31 December 2009, no person (exhumed) was identified.

## **2.3. A pie chart illustrating mass graves**



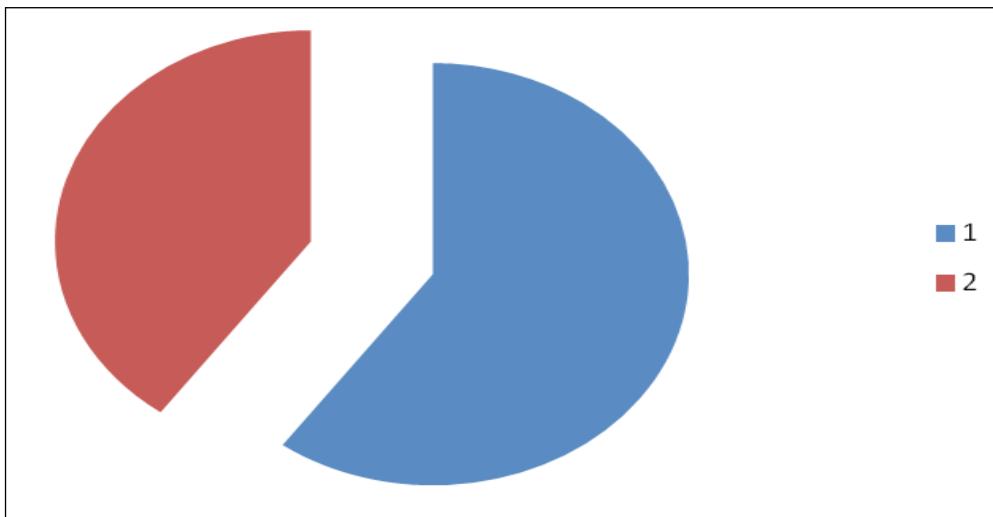
*Figure 1.*

The largest number of mass graves was discovered in Zvornik, Bratunac, Milići, Vlasenica, and the least in Šekovići.



*Figure 2.*

The majority of mass graves was discovered in Kamenica, 16 altogether. Five mass graves were discovered in Liplje, for in Kozluk and Snagovo each, and two in Križevići and two in Orahovac. One mass grave was discovered in Breželjak, Brana near Petkovci, Pilica – Branjevo and Nezuk.



*Figure 3.*

Out of 37 presented mass graves in the Zvornik Municipality, 12 are primary and 25 secondary mass graves.

## Conclusion

Representatives of the Commission for Missing Persons in the recent years have found more than 5,000 locations where there are large-scale, joint and individual mass graves. There were found around 25,000 mortal remains. A large number of them was discovered in the Zvornik Municipality. Although since the Dayton Agreement was signed until today, many mass graves have been discovered, greater involvement of the entire social community and relevant institutions is still necessary in order to identify exhumed people and to discover other people who went missing in the period of aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. By the end of 2016, over 750 mass graves were found in our country. According to the latest data, in the Zvornik Municipality, from 19 August 1996 to 25 March 2016, 207 exhumations were executed out of which 114 were mass graves. It is determined after our own investigation that in the Zvornik Municipality from 19 August 1996, when the first mass grave Lažeta was exhumed, until 4 December 2015, when the mass grave in Kozluk was exhumed, a total number of exhumed mass graves is 114. The majority of mass graves were exhumed in Kamenica, 15 altogether, and, thus, that area is often called “Dolina grobnica“ (The Valley of Mass Graves). Out of 15 mass graves 14 were secondary mass graves, where victims were transported to Kamenica from primary mass graves in Branjevo, Kozluk and other localities in Zvornik and Podrinje. Another specific feature is that the remains of victims, after being agitated and transferred to Kamenica, even septic tanks were used as secondary mass graves. The remains of victims were collected during identification from 4-5 secondary mass graves. The study found that in the area of Zvornik was located 114 mass graves and only 27 cases were primary mass graves. It was totally exhumed 9.786 victims, out of which 4.997 in the area of “The Valley of Mass Graves“ Kamenica. The executors of crimes would remove dismembered bodies of victims of genocide several times from one place to another and massacred victims in that way once again. It additionally aggravated and aggravates identification of victims of genocide and inflicted and inflicts pain to their surviving family members. On the monstrosity of crimes specifically indicates the fact that bodies of certain victims of genocide were being found in several different secondary mass graves, tens of kilometers apart one from another. One of the key indicators of executed genocide and the best material proof of its execution are mass graves

of victims of genocide. The existence of mass graves, but also difficulties and problems of their identification even from today's time distance of committed crimes, point, among others, to planning, organising and executiion of crimes, as a very important component in the strategy of genocide. The insult of victims be negation of proved genocide did not stop even 20 years after its commitment. The last phase of genocide, that is the negation of genocide, lasts through two things that the executors of aggression and genocide against Bosniaks constantly emphsise. First, there were no aggression but a civil war and second, genocide in Srebrenica and other towns did not happen. What they want to prove? The aggression is presented as a civil war, in order not to search of the causes of war outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina, u Srebrenici i drugim mjestima i gradovima, se nije desio. Šta žele dokazati? Agresija se pokušava predstaviti građansthat is they want to remove the responsibility of Serbia for their participation in aggression, and any connection with the committed crimes against humanity and international law, including genocide as the gravest form of crime, and with negation of genocide in Srebrenica they want to take off responsibility of the Republic of Serbia for any kind of collective responsibility, emphasising that individuals committed crimes, not genocide. It is ironic that the Government of the Republic of Serbia formed the Commission for research of events in and around Srebrenica from 10 to 19 July 1995<sup>22</sup>, that absolutely proved that military and police forces of the Republic of Srpska committed genocide. Although the International Court of Justice in the Hague in the verdict "Bosnia and Herzegovina against Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)", did not even mention the existance of mass gaves, there are all scientifically relevant parameters that can confirm the claim that mass graves are inseparable part, that is, the consequence of the genocide against Bosniaks. In the process of denial, that is negation, of all that happened, any relocation of the initial mass graves of victims to different locations is one of the crucially important elements in the process of genocide, and evidence of the organization of the process of genocide in detail. That procedure, unknown to the world's history, repeated twice, and often more times. It still makes problems in the identification of victims after exhumations, which further prevents victims, and their families, to finally find peace and try focus on the future. Every writing of articles on mass graves in Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot be finalized without mentioning the Drina River. There are too many witnesses who survived or watched slaughtering and killing of Bosniaks whose bodies were thrown from bridges to the Drina River in the last two centuries. There are hundereds of those who witnessed collecting bodies of thousands of innocent and killed Bosniaks along the

22 More in: Čekić, Smail, 2012, pp. 672 - 694.

Drina River flow. Therefore, although it is not in its definition, the Drina River can be called the biggest “mass grave” in our country. Hence, we will finish our article with the statement of Amor Mašović, a member of the Board of Directors of the Institute of Missing Persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who emphasizes: “I think that the Drina River is the largest mass grave in the Balkans. If we go back through history and events from the First and Second World War, from the Balkan wars, and all the genocides that Bosniaks were exposed to, and according to some there were ten, than surely the bed of the Drina River from its inception to the mouth, is probably the largest mass grave at the Balkans”.<sup>23</sup>

Mass graves in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and therefore in the Zvornik Municipality, the relationship to innocent victims, disabling their detection, exhumations and identifications of the remains, are material evidence of genocide in the Zvornik Municipality from 1992 to 1995.

---

23 <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/masovic-drina-najveca-grobnica-na-balkanu>,  
(Retrieved 3 March 2017)

## Bibliography

### Books:

1. Abazović, D. Mirsad: *Kadrovska rat za BiH*. Sarajevo: Savez logoraša Bosne i Hercegovine, 1999.;
2. Antić, Ljubomir, *Velikosrpski nacionalni programi, ishodišta i posljedice*, Golden marketing-Tehnička knjiga, Hrvatski institut za povijest, Zagreb, 2007.;
3. Avdić, Hakija, *Položaj Muslimana u Sandžaku*, Biblioteka Ključanin, Sarajevo, 1991.;
4. Balić, Hasan, *Bosanska kataklizma: studija slučaja Foča*, Magistrat, Sarajevo, 2001.;
5. Banac, Ivo, *Nacionalno pitanje u Jugoslaviji*, Zagreb, 1988.;
6. Bandžović, Safet, *Muslimani u Smederevskom sandžaku: progoni i pribježišta (1804.- 1862.)*, u:,, 150 godina od protjerivanja muslimana iz kneževine Srbije, Zbornik radova, Medžlis Islamske zajednice Orašje, Orašje, 2013.;
7. Bartol, Letica, Slaven, Letica, *Postmoderna i genocid u Bosni*, Jesenski i Turk-Hrvatsko sociološko društvo i Zavod za sociologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 1997.;
8. Begić, Kasim, *Bosna i Hercegovina od Vanceove misije do Daytonskog sporazuma (1991.-1996.)*, Bosanska knjiga, Sarajevo, 1997.;
9. Biserko, Sonja, *Kovanje antijugoslovenske zavere*, Knjiga I, Svjedočanstva 26, Helsinski odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, Beograd, 2006.;
10. Boyle, F. A., *Bosanski narod optužuje za genocid: postupak pred Međunarodnim sudom pravde u predmetu Bosna i Hercegovina protiv Srbije radi sprječavanja i kažnjavanja zločina*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2000.;
11. Cigar, Norman, *Genocid u Bosni, politika „etničkog čišćenja“*, VKBI, Sarajevo, 1998.;
12. Cigar, Norman, *Uloga srpskih orijentalista u opravdavanju genocida protiv muslimana*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava, Sarajevo, Bosanski kulturni centar, Sarajevo, 2000.;

13. Čekić, Smail, Agresija na Republiku Bosnu i Hercegovinu: planiranje, priprema, izvođenje (Knjiga I i II), Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2004.;
14. Čekić, Smail, Anaut-Haseljić, Meldijana, Macić, Bećir, *Masovne grobnice u Bosni i Hercegovini – sigurna zona Ujedinjenih nacija Srebrenica* -, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2010.;
15. Čekić, Smail, *Dejtonski (mirovni) sporazum – legalizacija genocida u Republici Bosni i Hercegovini*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2016.;
16. Čekić, Smail, *Genocid i istina o genocidu u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2012.;
17. Čekić, Smail, *Genocid nad Bošnjacima u Drugom svjetskom ratu*, MAG, Sarajevo, 1996.;
18. Čekić, Smail, *Historija genocida nad Bošnjacima*, Muzej grada, Sarajevo, 1997.;
19. Čekić, Smail, Kreso, Muharem i Macić, Bećir, *Srebrenica 1995*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2000.;
20. Čekić, Smail, Šestanović, Muhamed, Merisa Karović, i Zilha Mastalić-Košuta, *Zločini nad djecom Sarajeva u opsadi*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2010.;
21. Dedijer, Vladimir, Miletić, Anton, *Genocid nad Muslimanima, 1941.–1945.*, II izdanje, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1990.;
22. Donia, Robert, Iz Skupštine Republike Srpske 1991.-1996., University Press, Sarajevo Tuzla, 2012.;
23. Duraković, Nijaz, *Prokletstvo muslimana*, Oslobođenje, Sarajevo, 1993.;
24. Đorđević, Mirko, *O sprezi pravoslavne crkve sa strukturama političke moći*, Koreni, 2006.;
25. Đorđević, Mirko, *Ratni krst srpske Crkve*, Republika, Beograd, Broj 273;
26. Đozić, Adib, „*Genocid kao društvena i pravna činjenica bošnjačke historije*“, ZBORNIK RADOVA, Ustavno pravni razvoj Bosne i

- Hercegovine (1910-2010), Univerzitet u Tuzli, Pravni fakultet.Tuzla 2011., ISBN 978-9958-609-63-3; COBISS.BH-ld 19265286; (str, 289-307.); obim 19 stranica, format B-5.;
27. Đozić, Adib, „*Genocid u Srebrenici paradigmata bosnacida*“, Educa, Časopis za obrazovanje, nauku i kulturu, Nastavnički fakultet Univerziteta „Džemal Bijedić“ Mostar, 2009. god. II, br.2. ISSN, 1840-3301, UKD 316.48 (497.6) (str. 141-154.); obim: 14 stranica, format B-5-;
  28. Đozić, Adib, „*Ideologija lijevog mesijanizma i kolektivno društveno-historijsko pamćenje kod Bošnjaka*“, ZBORNIK RADOVA sa naučne konferencije „Bosna I Hercegovina i Bošnjaštvo, historija, stvarnost, perspektive“, Filozofski Fakultet Univerziteta u Tuzli, 2014.;
  29. Đozić, Adib, „*Izvanbosanski programi zla u bosanskohercegovačkom društvu*“, ZNAKOVI VREMENA, Časopis za filozofiju, religiju, znanost i društvenu praksu; Naučnoistraživački institut “IBN SINA” Sarajevo, 2004., Vol.7, broj 22/23. ISSN 1512- 5416 (str.131-146.); obim;16 stranica, format B-5.;
  30. Đozić, Adib, „*Ideologija nacija-države i zločini etničkog čišćenja i genocida nad Bošnjacima u 19. i 20. stoljeću*“, ZBORNIK RADOVA, sa naučnog simpozijuma, Orašje, 2012. godine. U štampi, format B-5.;
  31. Đozić, Adib, „*Neki oblici neofašizma i Bošnjaci danas*“, ZBORNIK RADOVA sa međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa „Bošnjačko iskustvo antifasizma”, Zagreb 30. novembar i 01. decembar 2012. godine, Bošnjačka pismohrana. Časopis za povijest i kulturu Bošnjaka u Hrvatskoj, Zagreb, 2013., U štampi; formatB-5.;
  32. Đozić, Adib, „*Studije o bošnjastvu, Prilog sociologiji nacionalnih zajednica u Bosni i Hercegovini*“, BKC, Sarajevo, - OFF-SET, Tuzla, Sarajevo/Tuzla, 2012.;
  33. Đozić, Adib, *Bošnjačka nacija*, Bosanski kulturni centar, Sarajevo, 2003.;
  34. Đozić, Adib, *Ogledi o bosanskohercegovačkom društvu, Prilog sociologiji bosanskohercegovačkog društva*, Bosanski kulturni centar, Off-set,Tuzla/Sarajevo, 2012.;
  35. Efendić Hasan, *Paradržavne tvorevine – Oslonci uništavanja BiH*, Udruženje za zaštitu tekovina borbe za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, Sarajevo 2011.;
  36. Filipović, Muhamed, *Korijeni agresije*, u: Genocid u Bosni i Hercegovini 1991.-1995., Zbornik radova, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava, Sarajevo, 1997.;

37. Gleni, Miša, *Balkan 1804.-1999. (nacionalizam, rat i velike sile)*(drugi dio), B92, Beograd, 2001.;
38. Gutman, Roy, *Svjedok genocida*, VKBI, MAG, Sarajevo, 1995.;
39. Herbst, Anne, „*Zagovara li srpsko-pravoslavna crkva religioznu ili nacionalnu mržnju?*”, u: Genocid u Bosni i Hercegovini 1991.-1995.“, Zbornik radova, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava, Sarajevo, 1997.;
40. Horvitz, Leslie Alan, Catherwood, Christofer, *Encyclopedia of war crime&genocide*, Facts of File Library of World History, New York, 2006.;
41. Huseinović, Samir, „*Uloga patrijarha Pavla u politici*“, Deutsche Welle, 16 November 2009
42. Ibraković, Dželal, *Bosna, islam – Bošnjaci: (etnološko-povjesne skice)*, Fakultet političkih nauka, Sarajevo, 2008.;
43. Imamović, Mustafa, *Kontinuitet genocida nad Bošnjacima*, u: *Genocid u Bosni i Hercegovini 1991.-1995.*, Zbornik radova, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava, Sarajevo, 1997.;
44. Karavelić Vahid, *Agresija na Bosnu i Hercegovinu – Sjeveroistočna Bosna 1991.- 1992.*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Sarajevo, Sarajevo 2004.;
45. Karić, Enes, „*Eseji od Bosne (Tri bosanske enklave)*“, Sejtarija, Sarajevo, 1999.;
46. Lavić Senadin, *Leksikon socioloških pojmoveva*, Fakultet političkih nauka Sarajevo, Sarajevo 2014.;
47. Macić, Bećir, *Zločini protiv mira*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2001.;
48. *Međunarodni krivični sud Ujedinjenih nacija za teška kršenja međunarodnog humanitarnog prava na području bivše Jugoslavije od 1991. godine*, Dokumenta, Fond za humanitarno pravo, Beograd, 1997.;
49. Memić, Mustafa, “*Bošnjaci – Muslimani Sandžaka i Crne Gore*”, Muslimansko nacionalno vijeće Sandžaka, Sarajevo, 1996.;
50. Memić, Mustafa, “*Bošnjaci (Muslimani) Crne Gore*”, ALMANAH, Podgorica, VKBI, Sarajevo, 2002.;
51. Mesić, Stipe, *Kako je srušena Jugoslavija: politički memoari*, Zagreb, 1994.;

52. Mulić, Jusuf, “*Velika Srbija, Muslimani i Bosna*”, autor, Sarajevo, 2006.;
53. Muratović, Rasim, *Holokaust nad Jevrejima i genocide nad Bošnjacima*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2012.;
54. Nilsen, Kjell Arild, „*Milošević u ratu i u Haagu – dokumentacija*– Institut za istraživanje zločina protivčovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2013.;
55. Protić, Milan, “*Uspon i pad srpske ideje*”, Beograd, 1995.;
56. *Rezolucije Vijeća sigurnosti UN o Bosni i Hercegovini*, Press centar ARBiH, Sarajevo, 1995.;
57. Saltaga, Fuad, *Da li je genocid sudbina Bošnjaka?*, Sarajevo, 1996.;
58. Sells, A. Michael, *Izneyereni most, religija i genocid u Bosni*, Sedam, Sarajevo, 2002.;
59. Slatina, Mujo, „*Socijalno-psihološko razumijevanje srpskog genocidnog ponašanja*”, u: *Genocid u Bosni i Hercegovini 1991-1995*”, Zbornik radova, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava, Sarajevo, 1997.;
60. Šabić Velid, *Genocid u Srednjem Podrinju 1992.-1995.*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo 2008.;
61. Šadinlija, Mesud, *Teritorijalna odbrana Bosne i Hercegovine 1986.-1992.*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2014.;
62. Šarić, Sabahudin, *Velikosrpska ideologija*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu i Naučnoistraživački institute “IBN SINA”, Sarajevo, 2010.;
63. Tomović, Milorad, “*Srpska crkva u ratu i ratovi u njoj*”, Medijska knjižara Krug, Beograd, 2001.;
64. Turudić, Momir, „*Ratnik u mantiji*“, VREME | BR 881 | 22. NOVEMBAR 2007.;
65. Veselica, Marko, “*Temeljni izvori i akteri genocida na prostoru Hrvatske Bosne i Hercegovine i ex-Jugoslavije*”, u: Genocid u Bosni i Hercegovini 1991-1995, Zbornik radova, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava, Sarajevo, 1997.;
66. Vučković, Slavica, *Moderna i antimoderna u Srbiji*, Republika, Beograd, Godina XIII (2001.), Broj 262.;

67. Zbornik radova *Ćosićev rat*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2013.;
68. Zbornik radova *Genocid u Bosni i Hercegovini 1991.-1995.*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Gesellschaft fur bedrohte Völker, Human rights Group for Bosnia, Sarajevo, Göttingen, Kuala Lumpur, 1997.;
69. Zbornikradova *Genocid u Bosni i Hercegovini-Posljedice presude Međunarodnog suda pravde*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2011.;
70. Zbornik radova *Historijski mitovi na Balkanu*, Institut za istoriju, Sarajevo, 2003.; Ibrahimagić, Omer, *Bosanski identitet i suverenitet*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2012.;
71. Zgodić, Esad, *Ideologija nacionalnog mesijanstva*, Vijeće Kongresa bošnjačkih intelektualaca, Sarajevo, 1999.;
72. Žiga, Jusuf, *Bosanska krvava zbilja*, VKBI, Sarajevo, 1997.;
73. Žiga, Jusuf, Đozić, Adib, *Sociologija*, OFF-SET, Tuzla, 2007.;
74. Žiga, Jusuf, *Vrijeme razljuđenih dvonožaca: paradigma Bosne koju su izdali*, Institut za istraživanje zločina; Sarajevo 2007.;

#### **Archives, legislation, others:**

1. Arhiv Instituta za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava univerziteta u Sarajevu (AIIZ) (The Archives of the Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo);
2. Dopunski protokol I uz Ženevske konvencije od 12. augusta 1949. godine o zaštiti žrtava međunarodnih oružanih sukoba (Additional Protocole I to the Geneva Convention from 12 August 1949 on protection of victims of international armed conflicts);
3. Dopunski protokol II uz Ženevske konvencije od 12. augusta 1949. godine o zaštiti žrtava nemeđunarodnih oružanih sukoba (Additional Protocole II to the Geneva Convention from 12 August 1949 on protection of victims of non-international armed conflicts);

4. *Javnost*, List SDSa (1991-1992) (*Javnost*, a magazine of the Serbian Democratic Party (1991-1992));
5. Konvencija o sprječavanju i kažnjavanju zločina genocida od 9. decembra 1948. godine (The Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide from 9 December 1948);
6. Krivični zakon Bosne i Hercegovine 1. mart 2003 (The Criminal Code of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1 March 2003);
7. Međunarodni krivični sud za bivšu Jugoslaviju (ICTY) – Online baza (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia – Online base);
8. *Oslobodenje*, Sarajevo (1991.-1995.) (*Oslobodenje*, a daily magazine Sarajevo (1991-1995));
9. *Rezolucija br. 3314*, Generalne skupštine Ujedinjenih nacija od 14. decembra 1974. (*Resolution No. 3314* of the General Assembly of the United Nations from 14 December 1974);
10. Rimski statut Međunarodnog krivičnog suda od 17. jula 1998, “*Službeni glasnik Bosne i Hercegovine*”, br. 2, 6. mart 2002. (The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court of 17 July 1998, “Official Gazette of BiH”, No. 2, 6 March 2002);
11. Ženevske konvencije I, II, III i IV (The Geneva Conventions I, II, II and IV);

### **Internet Sources:**

1. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vdU6ngDhrAA>, (Retreived 13 January 2017);
2. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hB373oKqI3s>, (Retreived 22 January 2017);
3. [http://www.camo.ch/deset\\_genocida.htm](http://www.camo.ch/deset_genocida.htm), (Retreived 20 February 2016);
4. <http://dzemat-oberhausen.de/?p=1656>, (Retreived 20 February 2016);
5. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LscWKbqb-6c>, (Retreived 2 January 2017);
6. [http://pescanik.net/wp-content/PDF/zasto\\_se\\_u\\_crkvi\\_sapuce\\_2.pdf](http://pescanik.net/wp-content/PDF/zasto_se_u_crkvi_sapuce_2.pdf), (Retreived 25 December 2017);
7. <http://www.hlcrdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/Transkripti/Transkripti%20sa%20sudjenja%20Slobodanu%20Milosevicu%20>

- %2844%29/Transkript%20sa%20sudjenja%20Slobodanu%20  
Milosevicu%20-%2015.%20decembar%202003..pdf, (Retreived 17  
January 2017);
8. [http://www.h1crdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/Transkripti/  
Transkripti%20sa%20sudjenja%20Slobodanu%20Milosevicu%20  
%2843%29/Transkript%20sa%20sudjenja%20Slobodanu%20  
Milosevicu%20-%2027.%20novembar%202003..pdf](http://www.h1crdc.org/Transkripti/Milosevic/Transkripti/Transkripti%20sa%20sudjenja%20Slobodanu%20Milosevicu%20%2843%29/Transkript%20sa%20sudjenja%20Slobodanu%20Milosevicu%20-%2027.%20novembar%202003..pdf), (Retreived 20  
January 2017)

*Sead Omerbegović*

*Midhat Čaušević*

*Fatija Hasanović*

## **THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE ABOVE BOSNIANS IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF ZVORNIK-CASE OF BIJELI POTOK**

### **Summary**

Although not proved in court, facts explicitly show that genocide against Bosniaks occurred in the period from 1992 to 1995 in Zvornik municipality. The total number of Bosniak killed in the municipality of Zvornik was 1976, of which 1542 were identified, while 434 people were missing. We would like to emphasize that the total number killed in the municipality of Zvornik is the largest number in the area of Bijeli Potok. At the beginning of June 1992, 665 Bosniak civilians were captured and killed in the Bijeli Potok. Of these, 422 were identified and 243 were missing. The majority of Bosniak victims were men, 655 men, while the rest were women. At the time the killed age structure was as follows: 69 were 15 to 20 years old, 150 killed 20 to 30 years old, 180 killed were aged 30 to 40, 121 killed were aged 40 to 50 , while there were 145 of them for 50 or more years. Most of the Bosniak killed were originally from the local community of Đulici, then from the local community of Klisa. Also, a large number of victims lived in Kucic Kula, Tršić, Šetići and Bijelo Potok, or they happened to be there by accident.

**Key words:** genocide, ethnic cleansing, crime, Zvornik municipality, Bijeli Potok, extermination, Bosniaks.

## **Introduction**

In addition to the established and verdicts of war crimes against humanity that were characterized as genocide against Bosniaks in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995, there were also crimes that, according to their structure, have all the elements of the crime of genocide, but they are not characterized by competent courts as such. One of these crimes against humanity, which has all the elements of genocide, is the crime of genocide against Bosniaks in 1992 in the municipality of Zvornik. The facts give us the right to characterize this crime against humanity as the crime of genocide in the field of scientific research, and we will also treat it in the continuation of the work towards it. The crime of genocide that took place in Bijeli Potok is the most representative example of the 1992 Bosniak victims of the Zvornik municipality. Bijeli Potok is the place where the Bosniak people were first brought and then killed from the wider area of the municipality of Zvornik. "In the morning, on June 1, 1992. on the scam, instead of in the direction of Sapna, they were taken to the Bijeli Potok. On the same day, the aggressors carried out the separation of the male and female population, where men were taken to Karakaj with the intent to be executed, and the women, children and the elderly were taken to Memici with the aim of ethnic cleansing of the municipality of Zvornik from the Bosniak population. the slaughter and destruction of a group of people aimed at marking, registering, humiliating, raping and killing women, children and men for one single reason, that is, belonging to another ethnic group, religion, culture and nation. All this confirms that in the very act of killing in Bijeli Potok all the elements are necessary that we can characterize as one crime as genocide.

One of the basic problems that will be problematic in this paper is the attitude of survivors and their attitude towards the barbarism of those "people" or "social groups" who committed the most serious crime against humanity in Bijeli Potok. We will problematize the knowledge of the survivors of the fact that the crime of genocide is of the closest to them. The fact is that monsters did not care on the one hand for children who will be left without parents, which today is a common case, and on the other hand for parents who will spend the rest of their lives in irreplaceable pain for their loved ones. Life after the crime of genocide is a fundamental problem of this paper. In order to answer these questions, we will use the basic methods of scientific research by surveys, statistical methods, content analysis and interview as a method for data collection. The survey was conducted in the area of Zvornik municipality in July 2017. The research involved persons who survived genocide and ethnic cleansing, as well as institutions responsible for documenting and studying

crimes against humanity. We consider it important to find out the consequences of the genocide in Bijeli Potok on the surviving Bosniak population, such as fear, despair, anxieties, etc. which are permanent categories. The scientific goal of this paper is to demonstrate, and not forget, the continuity of the crime of genocide that has been going on against Bosniaks in the last three hundred years, and to point out from the perspective aspect that the crime of genocide leaves unimaginable consequences on surviving victims and society in whole.

Within the framework of the hypothetical framework, we were guided by the assumption that the crime of genocide and ethnic cleansing committed by the army and police of the Serbian Republic in Bijeli Potok, the municipality of Zvornik in 1992 caused a number of negative consequences for the Bosniak population of the Bosnian Podrinje.

In this paper, we explicate several other important hypothetical starting points, such as: The crime of genocide and ethnic cleansing of the Bosniaks in Bijeli Potok are also a result of the ideology of the Serbian big state. In addition to the negative demographic consequences for the Bosniak population, the crimes of genocide and ethnic cleansing disrupted the traditional interethnic values of life in the Bosnian Podrinje. The crime of genocide and ethnic cleansing simultaneously accompanied the urbicide, which caused a very poor economic situation in the area of the crime committed. The work also has a social significance which is reflected in the fact that society, as a whole, should work instinctively to affirm one of the fundamental values and characteristics of a Bosnian society, that is openness to something different, but also the acceptance of the truth which must be based on facts, because only so Bosnia and Herzegovina has meaning as a whole in “unity different”.

## **1. Theoretical elaboration of basic concepts of work**

### **1. 1. War crime**

In addition to many other acts that fall into the crime, as such, there is a war crime. The war crime is classified as serious crimes committed during the war and for which the perpetrators of the same can be prosecuted. War crimes consist of killing, torturing, inhuman treatment, causing serious physical injuries to the wounded, sick and prisoners of war, and looting the population. There is no single definition of the term “war crime”. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court provides the following definition: “The war crime constitutes grave violations of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and other grave violations of the laws and customs applicable in international armed

conflict in the established framework of international law, that is, in the case of an armed conflict whose significance is not international, grave violations of Article 3 of the common one for all four Geneva Conventions.<sup>1</sup> “Other international conventions thus imply” violations of the laws and customs of war “, which includes the killing, abduction and deportation of civilian populations to forced labor camps; murder and abuse of prisoners of war; killing hostages; the destruction of cities and settlements that is not justified by military needs. The definition of war crime is also found in a whole series of national criminal laws governing matter. The above facts clearly point out to the complexity of the notion itself, that on the absence of uniquely adopted and unified definitions that adequately encompass all existing ones.

In postwar societies, it is not a rare case that there is a justification and a glorification of war crimes. Anthropologist Ivan Čolović explains that “according to the ideology of extreme nationalism of the nations stands above everything, nothing that has been done in the fight against the enemies of the nation can not be a crime.”<sup>2</sup> The violations of the laws and customs of war since the end of the Second World War are, according to world agreements, example of the following crimes:

- targeted killing of civilians,
- destruction of water supply systems and electrical supply systems,
- starvation of the civilian population,
- obstructing the delivery of humanitarian aid,
- massive bombardment of cities,
- attacks on unprotected cities,
- use of biological or chemical weapons,
- killing prisoners or hostages,
- robbery in occupied areas,
- systematic robberies of cultural goods,
- genocide,
- or other mass killings (democid)

Simply put, **war crimes** are criminal offenses that involve: the attack on a civilian population, a settlement or individual civilian population, killing, torturing, deliberately inflicting on a person a physical or mental illness, moving, forcible translation to another religion, forcing forced labor,

---

1 Law on the Confirmation of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court - Article 8.

2 <http://pescanik.net/2012/09/ivan-colovic-intervju/> Ivan Čolović – interview

plundering the property of the population , and other. Crimes against humanity and War Crimes are two international crimes, but there are also Terrorism and the Crime against Peace (Aggression)

## 1. 2. Genocide

The term “genocide” was formed by combining the Greek word genos (race or tribe) with the Latin word cide (kill). The word was first used in 1944, in the work of the expert Rafael Lemkin, THE ROLE OF THE FORMS OF EARTH IN OCTOBER EUROPE, and then entered into wider use. In this paper Lemkin says: “New conceptions require new terms. Under genocide, we mean the destruction of a nation or some ethnic group ... generally speaking, genocide does not necessarily mean the direct destruction of the nation. We intend to mark a coordinated plan of different actions with the aim of destroying the essential foundation for the life of national groups with the goal of destroying groups as such.”<sup>3</sup> Since this is a broad and complex concept, discussions about the most adequate definition of genocide are still being conducted. In 1947, Lemkin wrote a paper for the Journal of the American Journal of International Law, which reads: “... the crime of genocide includes all acts, including not only the deprivation of life but also the prevention of life (through abortion, sterilization), as well as procedures that to a considerable extent endangering life and health (artificially caused infections, targeting to death in special camps, deliberate separation of families for displacement...)”<sup>4</sup>

The definition of genocide was also given by experts from the field, Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonason. As they say, genocide can be defined as “... the area of unilateral mass killing, in which a state or another authority intends to destroy a group, such as that group and its members defined by the perpetrator.”<sup>5</sup> As Helen Fein confirmed, genocide is “... the continuous and

3 Raphael Lemkin, AXIS RULE IN OCCUPIED EUROPE (THE ROLE OF THE FORCE OF THE EQUITY IN OCTOBER EUROPE), Carnegie Endowment for Peace in the World, Washington, DC, 1944. page 79. Quoted by Ton Zwaan, BOOK OF WORKS: SREBRENICA FROM RECOGNITION TO RECOGNITION, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Belgrade, 2005, page 27. Taken from Muratović Rasim, the Holocaust of the Jews and the genocide against Bosniaks, Sarajevo, (2012), page 28

4 Raphael Lemkin: GENOCIDE AS A CRIME UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW (GENOCID KAO OBLIK ZLOČINA PO MEDUNARODNOM PRAVU), American Journal of International Law, br.41, 1947, page 147; Isto, page 27. Taken from Muratovic Rasim, the Holocaust of the Jews, and the genocide against Bosniaks, Sarajevo, (2012), . page 28.

5 Frank Chalk i Kurt Jonasson, THE HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY OF GENOCIDE, ANALISES AND CASE STUDIES (HISTORIJA I SOCIOLOGIJA GENOCIDA:

deliberate action of a perpetrator aimed at directly or indirectly physically destroying a community by disabling the biological and social reproduction of members of that group, which is continuously carried out regardless of the victim a drawer, or that it does not threaten any danger.<sup>“6</sup> Israel Charni, also one of the genocide experts, considered the following definition of genocide: “... the massive killing of a large number of human beings, in the case of non-military action against the military forces of an oath of enemies, but in the case of victims essentially unprotected and helpless.<sup>“7</sup> Only some of the definitions of genocide are listed, since there are many definitions and interpretations of it, from different authors. But it must be said that genocide is a crime punishable by international law. Many authors and experts, rightly, consider this to be the most horrifying, fiercest and most difficult form of crime in the entire history of mankind.

### **1. 2.1. Genocide as the most terrible and harsh crime**

According to the degree of its complexity, genocide is a very complex and complex social fact. Because of the complexity, as such, genocide is at the same time sociological, political, anthropological, criminological, and historical, a question that “is not the problem of just one community, one race, one nation, one culture, or one country. it concerns all communities, all races, all peoples, all cultures, all states, all people in general.<sup>“8</sup> The reason for this is that it is because genocide is the form of the most horrifying and cruel crime in the history of mankind, which we call “people” can commit. During

ANALIZA I STUDIJE SLUČAJEVA), Yale University Press, in collaboration with the Institute for the Study of Genocide from Montreal, New Haven / London, 1990, page 23. Quoted by: Tom Zwaan, COLLECTOR OF WORKS: SREBRENICA FROM RECOGNITION TO RECOGNITION, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Belgrade, 2005, page 29. Retrieved from Muratovic Rasim, the Holocaust of the Jews, and the genocide against Bosniaks, (2012), page 30.

- 6 Helen Fein, GENOCIDE: A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPEKTIVE (POSMATRANJE GENOCIDA IZ SOCIOLOŠKOG UGLA), Sage Publications, London, 1993, str. 24; Isto page 29. Retrieved from Muratović Rasim, *Holokaust nad Jevrejima i genocid nad Bošnjacima*, Sarajevo, (2012) page 30.
- 7 Israel Charny, TOWARD A GENERIC DEFINITION ON GENOCIDE (PREMA GENERIČKOJ DEFINICI GENOCIDA), in the work GENOCIDE: CONCEPTUAL AND HISTORICAL DIMENSIONS (KONCEPCIJSKE I HISTORIJSKE DIMENZIJE GENOCIDA), arranged by George J. Andreopolis , University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1994, page 66; Isto, page 29. Taken from Muratovic Rasim, the Holocaust of the Jews, and the genocide against Bosniaks, Sarajevo (2012), page 30.
- 8 Read more in: Adib Đozić, *Genocid kao društveni i znanstveni fenomen*, DHS, social and humanistic studies, Journal of the Faculty of Philosophy in Tuzla, Year I, no. 1, Tuzla, 2016, page 121-163.

genocidal actions, one-sided, not double-sided, killings are carried out, where victims are predominantly, unprotected and helpless, even in the event that they do not pose any threat. The phenomenon characteristic of the process of persecution and genocide itself is that victims are largely unprepared. Especially at the beginning of such a process, it is very difficult for potential victims to understand what is happening, and even later, when this process is progressing and when it becomes somewhat more noticeable, many victims still find it difficult to see and understand what is happening and what will happen. It happens. It is clear that the perpetrators intend to confuse the victim with various deceptions in order to achieve their goal as easily as possible. “For a man it is more difficult to imagine and come to the conclusion that one of his working colleagues, acquaintances, neighbors or other people who, by the way of the case, knows how to plan and execute his destruction.”<sup>9</sup> And even those who have a good feeling or can accurately predict what awaits them, only a few can figure out what can hit them all. In the end, when the victims find themselves in the hands of the executioners, they may encounter any fate. They can end up in detention, detained in camps, and be tortured and forced to work until they are exhausted, can be deported with various means of transportation, can be looted and humiliated in the worst possible ways, and they can simply be killed on the spot. “If a person attempts to imagine what the fate of the victims is, not only in the general sense, but in all the terrible details, it can only then be expected that he will, in some respects, succeed in perceiving the true essence of the process of persecution and genocide.”<sup>10</sup>

The goal of genocidal acts is to get rid of certain groups of people, to be executed, removed and expelled from the designated territory, only because they belong to a different religion, nation, religion, culture, and we can freely say, race. The specificity of genocide does not stem from the scope of killing, as well as savagery, and the incidents that characterize the perpetrators, but rather arises from the very intent of destroying a certain group of people. On December 9, 1948, the UN General Assembly adopted the International Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, genocide means every act “... committed with the intention of destroying one national, ethnic, racial or religious group in whole or in part:

- a. murder of members of the group;
- b. causing serious or mental harm to members of the group;
- c. deliberately subjecting the group to such conditions of life that should lead to its complete or partial destruction;

---

9 Muratović Rasim, HOLOKAUST NAD JEVREJIMA I GENOCID NAD BOŠNJACIMA, Sarajevo, (2012), page 42.

10 Isto, page. 43.

- d. imposing such measures to prevent birth within the group;
- e. forcibly moving children from one group to another.”<sup>11</sup>

### 1. 2.2. Genocide as a historical reality of Bosniaks

When we talk about the history of Bosniaks, we can not help but mention that this is a nation that has been genocide continuously in the last three centuries. From the second half of the 17th century up to date, eleven genocides have been committed against Bosniaks in the Balkans.

**The first genocide** against Bosniaks occurred during and after the Great - Vienna war between Turkey and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Since the Turks in that war lost all possessions and power in Hungary, Slavonia, Lika, Krbava, Dalmatia, Boka Kotorska, all Muslim Bosnians who failed to return to Bosnia and other areas south of the Sava from these regions and countries on time and the Danube were killed, expelled, or forcibly translated into Christianity. **The second genocide** against the Muslims-Bosniaks occurred on Christmas Eve in 1711. That night, a so-called “trigger investigation” was carried out. About 1,000 Muslims who lived in the area of “Old Montenegro” were killed. The main and responsible culprit and organizer of another genocide against Bosniaks was the Orthodox Church. **The third genocide** against Bosniaks occurred between 1804-1820 as a consequence of the First and Second Serbian uprisings. This genocide, Serbian historian and diplomat Stojan Novakovic, described as “the general need of the Turks-Muslims from the people”. In addition to the Orthodox Church, which plays a key role in the second genocide, in the third genocide against Bosniaks, it was joined by historians, politicians and poets such as Njegoš. **The fourth genocide** against Bosniaks occurred between 1830-1867 as a consequence of the Hatish Sharif of 1830 and his annex from 1833. With this document, Serbia acquired the status of a vassal autonomous principality within the Ottoman Empire. Then all Bosniaks were expelled from Belgrade, Uzice, Sokol, Sabac. All exiled Muslims of the Porta settled in Bosnia, where two settlements were built for them, Upper and Lower Azisi, that is, Bosanski Samac and Orasje.

**The fifth genocide** against Bosniaks occurred after the Berlin Congress in 1878, based on the decisions of the then autonomous principality of Serbia and Montenegro that gained full independence and where they expanded their territories. Although Serbia and Montenegro committed themselves

---

11 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Resolution 260 A, III, December 9, 1948)

at the Berlin Congress to respect the freedom of religion of Muslims, this, unfortunately, did not happen. Muslims were killed and expelled in Belgrade, Sabac, Uzice, Sokol, Nis, Pirot and Vranje, and all their cultural and religious buildings were destroyed.

**The sixth genocide** against Bosniaks occurred as a consequence of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Bosniaks started moving to Sandzak, Kosovo, Macedonia, during and after the occupation, where the Turkish army was still at that time. Thus there was a radical reduction of the Muslim population in the total population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. **The seventh genocide** against Bosniaks occurred in Sandzak and Montenegro, where Muslims were abducted in Plav and Gusinje. This genocide is a direct consequence of the first and second Balkan wars. It was the seventh genocide against the Muslims of the Balkans, and the first of the Bosniaks of Sandzak.

**The eighth genocide** against Bosniaks occurred in 1919 in the Plavsko-Gisnj region. To put it more accurately, it was repeated in this same region after the violent recruitment of 1912-1913. Unlike that time, this time the 450 most populous Bosniaks of this region were killed, about which they otherwise did not say. **The ninth genocide** against the Bosniak-Muslims had been in existence since the establishment of the Kingdom of SHS (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) in 1918 until the fall of 1941. In these times, the lives of Bosniaks were of no value, and especially a difficult situation for the Muslims of Sandzak and Herzegovina. So in Bijeli Potok, on November 7, 1924, about 600 Muslims were killed in the village of Sahovic without any reason, guilt or reason. Also, the data show that there were about 3000 undiscovered killings of Muslims in the Royal Comits in Herzegovina. **The tenth genocide** against Bosniaks occurred from 1941-1945. That was the time of the Second World War, where, according to some estimates, there were about 103,000 Bosniaks, mainly civilians. This means that around 8.1% of Muslims were killed during this period. These are only data, and details of starvation have not yet been sufficiently explored. **The eleventh genocide** against Bosniaks occurred between 1992 and 1995, during the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this genocide, Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia took part in the genocide, which in the previous ten genocides was not the case for jointly committing a crime. This genocide was the most cruel, the harshest and the largest in scale from all of the previous ones. This crime included all Serbian and Montenegrin, to the highest state, political, military and church structures. Serbian and Montenegrin intelligentsia also contributed greatly to this crime. The goal was to form the Greater Serbia. In this criminal aggression, Croatia

was also involved in the realization of Greater Croatia. The suffering of Bosniak civilians was massive. It is important to note that in this aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina an urbicide and a cultured. Unlike the previous ten genocides, although initially unarmed and scammed, the Bosniaks gathered strength and opposed the aggressor, where they showed that they can and must defend themselves.<sup>12</sup>

Speaking about the causes of genocide in general, it is important to mention that three main causes are dominant: political, ideological and economic. As for the causes of genocide against Bosniaks,<sup>13</sup> they are in the national ideology of the attackers, and the negation of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bosniaks, of the Bosniak identity, as the quintessential content of the Bosnian society and the Bosnian state. The negation of Bosniaks was intensified by the withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans, so Bosniaks were forced to move or adjust. The basis and mental preparation for doing evil against the Bosniaks is in the Serbian or Croatian national ideology. The main culprits, who, knowingly or unconsciously, through their acts caused the genocidal history of Bosniaks, thus laying the groundwork for all future potential genocides, were Serbian intellectual and cultural workers and church chiefs: Petar Petrović Njegoš, Petar Kočić, Vuk Karadžić, Ivo Andrić, Vladimir Gacinovic, Jovan Cvijic, Cedomir Mitrinovic, Jovan Ducic, Petar Gakovic, Vladimir Dvornikovic, Milorad Ekmećic, Petar Lubarda and many others, and from Croatian Ivo Pilar, Ferdo Sisic and others, with the aim of achieving “Great Serbia “Or” Great Croatia “.

### **1.3. Ethnic cleansing**

Ethnic cleansing is also one of many war crime processes. The term entered the political dictionary of the 1990s after the outbreak of the aggressor war against the Bosnian population. This term began to be used by the perpetrators during the wars led by the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia and in this context it was used as a euphemism related to the “final solution” that from the 1990s the term became widely accepted in academic discourse in its generic meaning.

---

12 Read more: Smail Čekić, *Historija genocida nad Bošnjacima*, Museum of Genocide, Sarajevo, 1977., i Dedijer Vladimir, Miletić Antun, *Genocid nad muslimanima 1941.-1945.*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1990.

13 Read more: Mehmedalija Bojić, *Uzroci genocida u Bosni*, El-Kalem, Sarajevo, 2001.

**Ethnic cleansing** is an euphemistic name for the forcible change of the ethnic composition of an area, including executions, expulsion or displacement of the population in order to change the ethnic structure in an area. The act, as a rule, psychologically and physically, is violent towards the targeted “inadequate” ethnic group (not necessarily always minority) in a particular area. In the course of ethnic cleansing, the persecution of the domicile population is carried out, or by various measures of coercion, the inhabitants are brought into such a position that they leave the area themselves. Sometimes the inhabitants of a certain area leave their homes to avoid what might be, and sometimes after being threatened by the executors. However, there is a possibility even if the targeted ethnic (or cultural or civilization) group, despite all pressures, does not want to leave their homes, so that the perpetrators of ethnic cleansing are physically and forcibly taken from the targeted area.

Ethnic cleansing is an illegal method that usually occurs during the war, and consists of murder, rape, torture and intimidation until violent expulsion. Ethnic cleansing is usually accompanied by efforts to remove physical evidence and evidence of the culture of a group that has undergone ethnic cleansing, which is reflected in the destruction of homes, infrastructure, and the degradation of monuments, cemeteries and churches. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, former Polish Prime Minister, nominated by the United Nations as the empowered human rights envoy in the former Yugoslavia, in his 1992 report explicitly pointed out that “ethnic cleansing in Bosnia was not a consequence of the goal of war.”<sup>14</sup>

The UN report says ethnic cleansing by Serb forces was “systematic and obviously well planned”. For the most brutal forms of “ethnic cleansing” at the beginning of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, paramilitary units are responsible. The two units that played a key role in ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina were “Chetniks” Vojislav Seselj and “Tigers” Željko Ražnatović Arkan. Noel Malcolm also estimates that ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina was not just a side war, but actually a major part of a political plan that was to be achieved by war, namely the creation of homogeneous Serb territories, which eventually would be able to join other Serb areas, and even the very Serbia, in order to create “Great Serbia”. Several Croatian generals and warlords have been indicted and sentenced to participate in a joint criminal enterprise in order to ethnically clean parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was to be joined „to Great Croatia“.<sup>15</sup>

14 [https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Etničko\\_čišćenje](https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Etničko_čišćenje)

15 See the judgment of the Hague Tribunal, Jadranko Prlic and others.

### **1. 3.1. The difference between genocide and ethnic cleansing**

Crimes committed during ethnic cleansing are similar to genocide. However, ethnic cleansing is not exactly the same as genocide. While genocide implies intent to completely or partially destroy a particular group, ethnic cleansing may involve murder only to the point of mobilization, or the expulsion of a particular group outside the disputed territory. Ethnic cleansing often rises or ceases when the target group leaves the desired territory under pressure, while mass murder during the genocide is ubiquitous and persistent throughout the whole process and continues even when the target group attempts to escape the perpetrator of genocide.

A clear scientific difference between the crime of genocide and the crime of ethnic cleansing explains A. Giddens, where he says: "Ethnic cleansing involves forced displacement of the population through the use of force, harassment, threats and terror. Genocide, on the other hand, represents the systematic destruction of one ethnic group by another."<sup>16</sup>

### **1.4. Zvornik**

The city of Zvornik is mentioned for the first time in historical sources in a Dubrovnik document on May 21, 1410. under the name Zvonik, and in 1519 under the present name Zvornik. The center of the municipality is located in the eastern part of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the eastern slopes of Majevica. It belongs to the Serbian Republic administratively. Prijeratna opština

Zvornik spread to 500 km<sup>2</sup> with 14,500 inhabitants in the city and 50,000 inhabitants in the municipality. Today it is superficially limited to 387 km<sup>2</sup>. The territory of the city extends along the left bank of the Drina river, 52 km long, while the depth is 26 km. It borders with the municipalities of Bratunac, Milići, Vlasenica, (in the south), Šekovići, Osmaci, Kalesija (in the west), Lopare, Ugljevik and Bijeljina (in the north), and in the east by the river Drina and Serbia.

A few kilometers upstream from the town of Drina was reconstructed and Zvornik Lake was created. There are sixty-one settlements with about 13,000 households organized in 40 local communities. The larger settlements of the municipality are: Kozluk, Karakaj, Pilica, Drinjača, Đulići, Čelopek, Roćević, Orahovac and others.

16 E. Gidens, *Sociologija*, (prijevod), Faculty of Economics, Beograd, 2007, page 273.  
Retrieved from Jusuf Žiga i Adib Đozić, *Sociologija*, Tuzla, 2013, page 307-308.

Composition of the population - municipality of Zvornik				
	2013	1991	1981	1971
<b>Person</b>	58 856 (100,0%)	81 295 (100,0%)	73 845 (100,0%)	60 910 (100,0%)
<b>Serbs</b>	38 579 (65,55%)	30 863 (37,96%)	30 064 (40,71%)	27 769 (45,59%)
<b>Bosniaks</b>	19 855 (33,73%)	48 102 (59,17%)	40 801 (55,25%)	32 504 (53,36%)
<b>Others</b>	316 (0,537%)	960 (1,181%)	295 (0,399%)	316 (0,519%)
<b>Croats</b>	106 (0,180%)	122 (0,150%)	104 (0,141%)	107 (0,176%)
<b>Yugoslavs</b>	-	1 248 (1,535%)	2 110 (2,857%)	49 (0,080%)
<b>Roma</b>	-	-	335 (0,454%)	49 (0,080%)
<b>Albanians</b>	-	-	58 (0,079%)	31 (0,051%)
<b>Crnogorci</b>	-	-	47 (0,064%)	44 (0,072%)
<b>Montene- grins</b>	-	-	12 (0,016%)	10 (0,016%)
<b>Slovenians</b>	-	-	12 (0,016%)	18 (0,030%)
<b>Hungarians</b>	-	-	7 (0,009%)	13 (0,021%)

*National composition of the population-municipality of Zvornik*

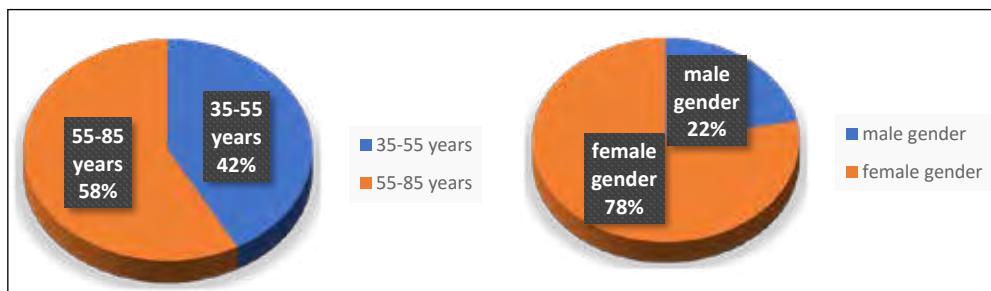
#### **1. 4.1. The crime against the inhabitants of Klisa and surrounding villages in the municipality of Zvornik 1992.**

Considering that the city of Zvornik fell into the hands of the enemy in April 1992, and after that Kula Grad, the locals from the surrounding villages fled in Klis around May 10, 1992, for fear of their existence, because Klisa was the largest a village and a safe zone at that time. An agreement was reached on the voluntary eviction of Sapna of all Bosniak nationality inhabitants on May 31, 1992. at the house of Vinko Radovic in the village of Petkovci between the representatives of the then structure of power in the municipality of Zvornik and representatives of the local communities of Klis and Đulici. However, in the morning, 1.6.1992. It was decided that the mentioned agreement was not

respected, since the people who were affected in Klisa were forcibly taken to the Bijeli Potok. As the locals arrived at Bijeli Potok, Serb aggressors were splitting military men from women, while some of them were killed and tortured on the spot. After separating it, it is important to mention that men were forcibly taken to trucks and buses, mainly Drina Trans, which even existed on the Zvornik-Sapna line, and drove them to Karakaj. Women, children and elderly people were taken in the direction of Memic. When they arrived in Karakaj, they detained the hostages in the premises of the Technical-School Center, where the others were detained, and some of them were tortured and killed by 5.6.1992. years. The survivors were transported to the Pilica Cultural Center, a village between Bijeljina and Zvornik, where about a dozen more distinguished people were killed. The rest were returned to Karakaj, in the so-called. "Geri's Slaughterhouse" and every trail gets lost there. Of the six hundred sixty-six civilians expelled from Klisa, only one managed to survive the shooting and "escape." A few people, ie about sixty people are unaware of what is happening, the rest in their homes. However, on 3 and 4 June Serbian aggressors return to the occupied territory where they are expelled to the mosque in Dulici. They were held in captivity for twenty days, some and up to a month, after which the exchange of prisoners was carried out. During their stay they were tortured, two girls were raped and one man was killed. In addition to the inhuman acts of the Serbian aggressor, in the area of the municipality of Zvornik, all facilities related to ethnic, religious and national belonging of Bosniaks have been destroyed.

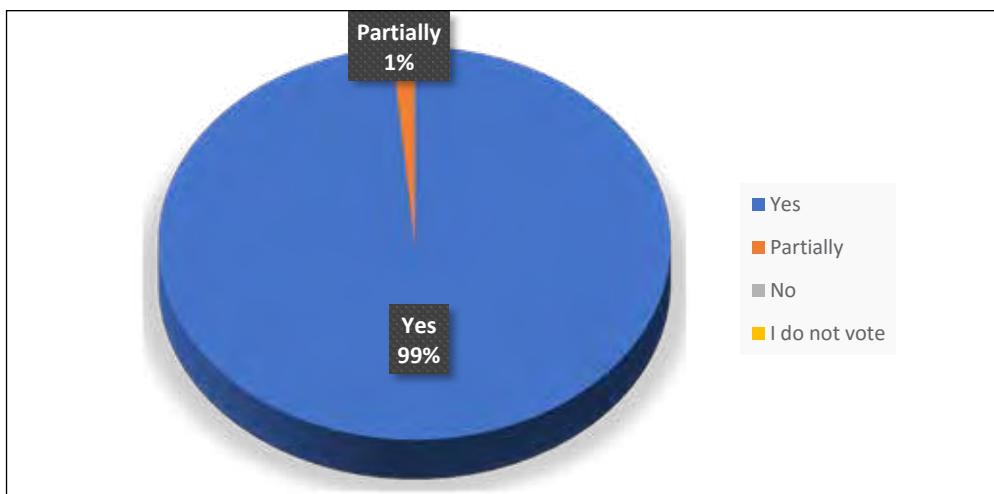
## 2. Analysis and interpretation of research results

In this part of the paper, we will present the results of the research and give an analysis of the results obtained. In the area of the municipality of Zvornik, we conducted a survey on the crime of genocide in Zvornik on 1.6.1992. year on the Bijeli Potok. The survey was divided, that is, focused on the age structure and gender, in order to have more precise and concrete answers to certain questions, and pluralism itself as such.



Answers to the questions posed by the survey, domicile population, are as follows:

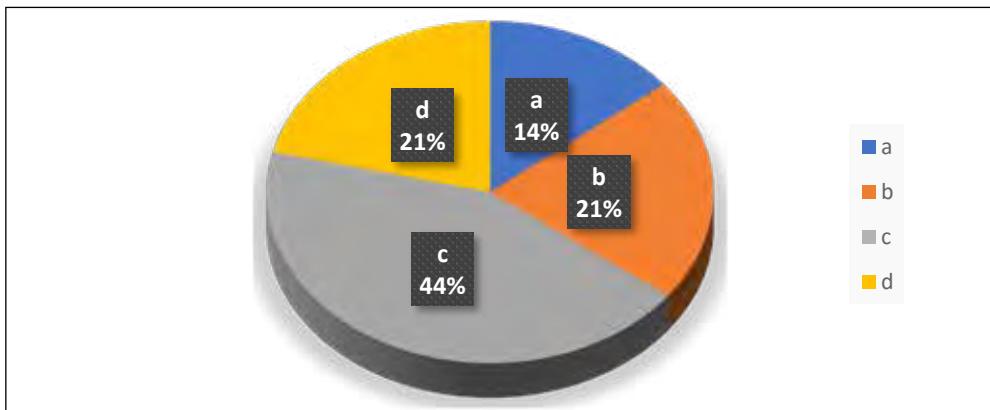
- To the question “Do you recognize the genocide that happened 1.6. 1992 in the area of Zvornik? “Respondents answered:
  - a) Yes - 99 %
  - b) Partially - 1 %
  - c) No – 0 %
  - d) I do not vote – 0 %



As we see in the enclosure, 99% of the respondents answered that they recognized that the genocide took place on 1.6.1992. on the territory of the municipality of Zvornik. It's very important that this one time distance has a clear view of the survivors of what happened in the past period when asking the injuries of innocent people in favor of the municipality of Zvornik. Awareness of what was at stake is as important as the fact that sanctions are the perpetrators of crimes of genocide in the area of Zvornik municipality. Facing the facts is important for the victim and the perpetrator of the crime. Without confronting the facts and recognizing them, they will not be able to talk about coexistence and a better future in the area of the municipality of Zvornik.

- To the question “Can you confirm on the basis of personal experience that the crime of genocide and ethnic cleansing occurred in Zvornik municipality and whether you were victims of physical and psychological abuse:

- a) We were not present at the time when the crime of genocide and ethnic cleansing were committed - 14%
- b) We were present but were not direct witnesses of the committed crime of genocide and ethnic cleansing - 21%
- c) We were eyewitnesses of the committed crime of genocide and ethnic cleansing - 43%
- d) We were victims of physical and psychological violence during war events - 21%



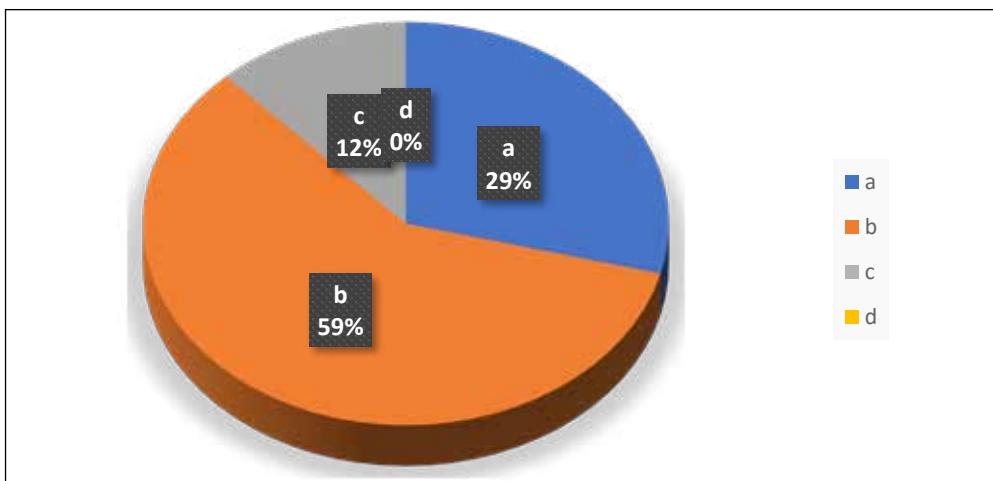
What is very important is that the respondents themselves gave answers that can be a reflection of the situation in which the population in Zvornik was then. If we take into account, 44% of the respondents were direct witnesses of the crime of genocide, while 21% of the respondents were victims of psychological and physical torture, then we can conclude that in more than half of the answers there is a personal experience of genocide crimes. These answers are particularly important because they are talking about people who have returned to their place of suffering.

Some of the examples of physical and psychological abuse reported by the respondents:

1. „I have seen all men get away, and at the same time they are committing violence against them.“
2. „I am one of the few who survived the shooting, I managed to escape them, so they caught me again, but I managed to escape again.“
3. „I brought my husband's jacket, and one of them told me that he did not need it, if he should, he would dress him.“
4. „We hear threats that will give us everything.“

5. „In Bijeli Potok, one of them approached my son and said:” You brought me into your hands. “

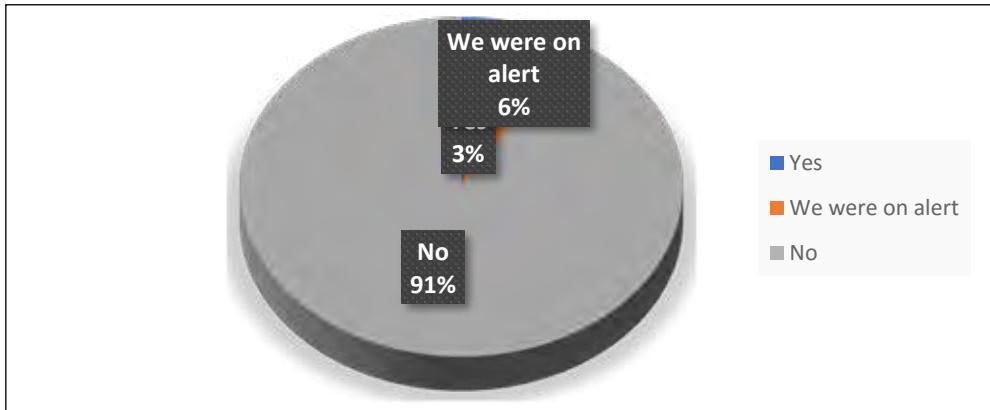
- When asked, “At what point were you aware that the situation is not right, that the genocide or planned extermination of Bosniaks is being prepared?” Respondents replied:
  - At the time of the removal of men - 29%
  - The expulsion, as well as the separation of men from women, on Bijeli Potok, 1.6.1992. 59%
  - In the month of April / May 1992, when the surrounding villages were surrounded - 13%
  - Much earlier, educated with past experiences - 0%



From the answers themselves, it can be clearly concluded that the respondents were aware of the situation in which they were found only when concrete actions began to result in genocide and ethnic cleansing. If there was a world based on past experience in the first signs of danger, the population could react and thus prevent the crimes. It is necessary to write and talk about the events that have occurred in order to theoretically preserve the truth about the crimes and essentially develop the world about the existence of the intention of evil that needs to be recognized and sanctioned.

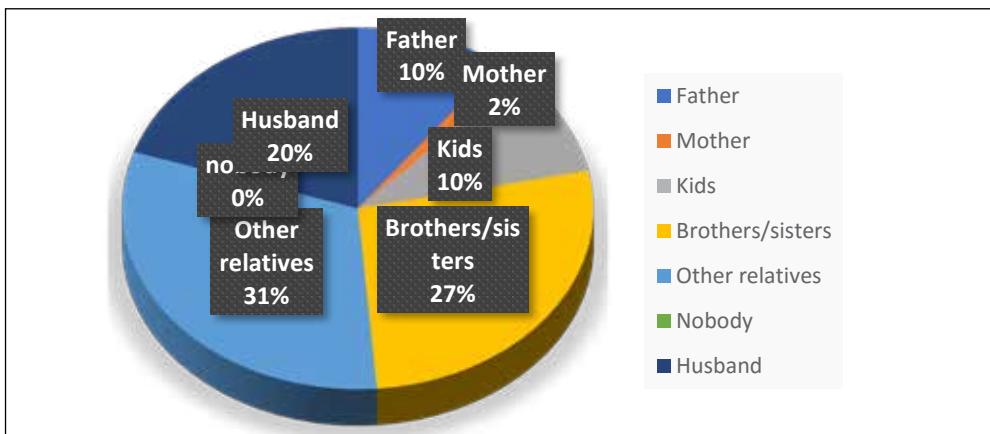
- To the question “Did you ever imagine, before the committed genocide, that your” neighbors “are perpetrators or accomplices of the crime?” The respondents replied:
  - Yes – 3 %

- b) We were on alert – 6 %
- c) No – 91 %



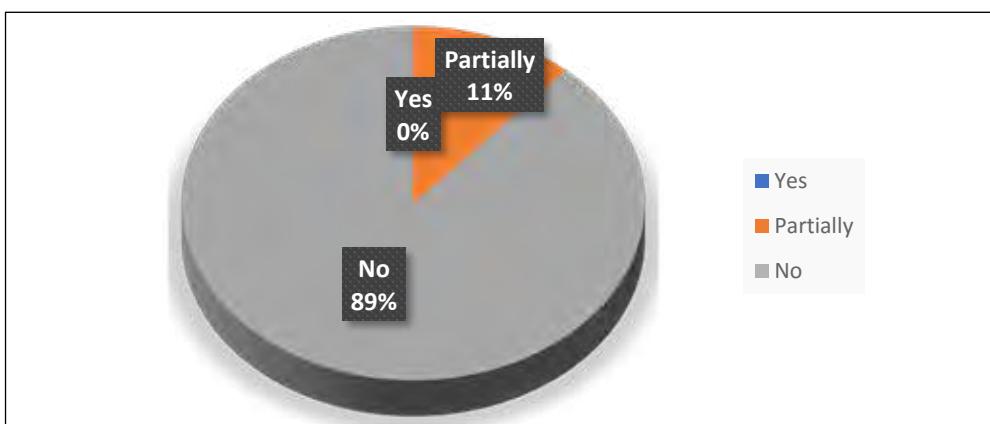
The answer to this question makes it clear to us that interpersonal, neighborly relations were at an enviable level among the inhabitants of the area of the municipality of Zvornik. The fact itself, and this confirms and answers the preliminary question that the victims were aware of what is happening only at the moment of concrete acts of crime, shows that the degree of trust and mutual solidarity was the basis of life in these areas. The existence of a criminal intent from the people whose victims are the victims of the daily living space is not recognized by the victims. Therefore, we believe that documenting the truth and facts about the crimes that took place in 1990-1995. years necessary for future generations.

- The question “Who was killed in your family in the genocide?”  
Respondents answered:
  - a) Father – 26 %
  - b) Mother – 4 %
  - c) Kids – 24 %
  - d) Brothers/sisters – 47 %
  - e) Other relatives – 79 %
  - f) Nobody – 0 %
  - g) Husband – 50 %



The structure of the responses shows that one or more members of the narrower and wider relatives were killed in the respondents, indicating that the respondents themselves could feel the proportions of genocide crimes in the area of Zvornik municipality. It is also significant here that the respondents themselves meet with the perpetrators of the crimes and watch the places of executions on a daily basis.

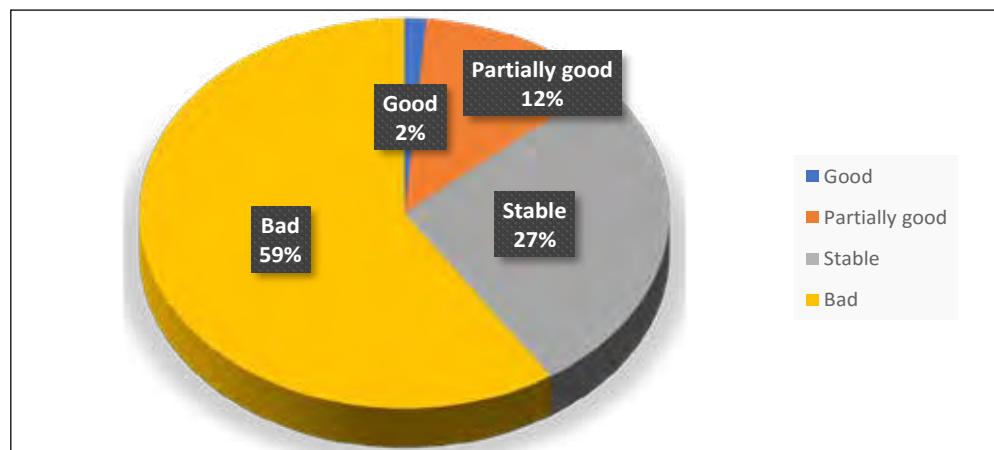
- To the question “Did your feelings, such as fear, anxieties, despair, as such, disappear?” respondents answered:
  - Yes – 0 %
  - Partially – 11 %
  - No – 89 %



The answers to the question asked in order to find out whether there is fear among the respondents themselves in relation to the crimes that have

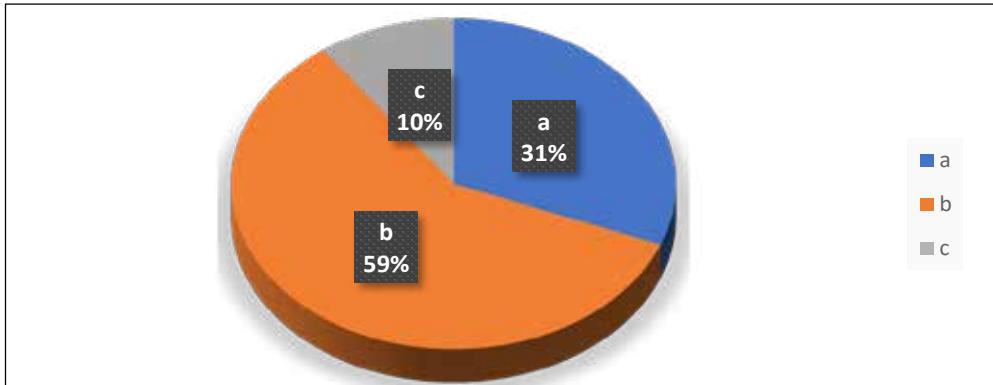
happened is clear and unambiguous. And after more than 20 years, fear is present and we know that the fear of categories that complicates everyday life of people. Now the question is raised about the extent of the crime of genocide and ethnic cleansing and how far they are far-reaching? From these answers we see that the consequences are permanent and that they are lifelong.

- To the question “What is the economic, or material state, after the genocide against Bosniaks in the area of Zvornik?” Respondents answered:
  - a) Good – 2 %
  - b) Partially good – 12 %
  - c) Stable – 27 %
  - d) Bad – 59 %



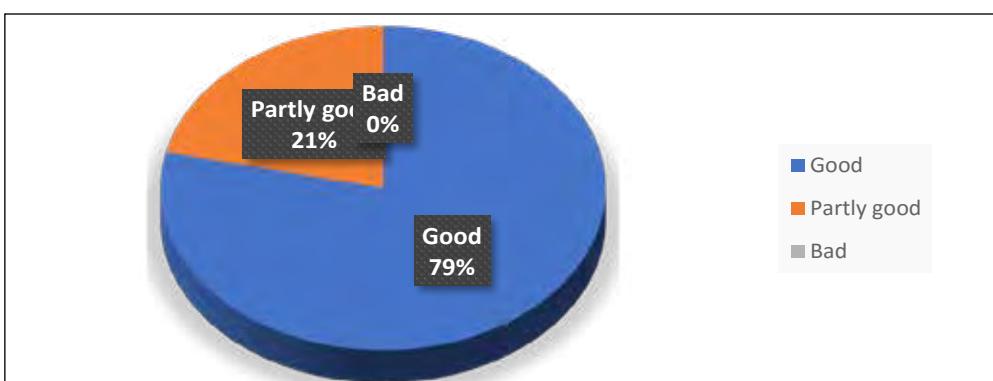
- The very act of crimes of genocide and ethnic cleansing results in a worsening economic situation of survivors. If we bear in mind that these are people who have been solved with a material status and that after the crimes themselves have been left without their own goods and that they had to start everything from the beginning in an existential sense. The departure from the place of life and the long-term absence of survivors had the consequence and loss of work they had before. Long-term absence caused negligence to the good that is in their possession, which implied additional effort and the power to return the same good to their purpose. All these are the reasons for the poor material status of the families or respondents than they had before the act of crime.
- The question “What consequences have caused genocide?” Respondents answered:

- a) Poor material and spiritual condition – 31 %
- b) Permanent feelings / conditions, such as fear, depression, pain, sorrow, stress (psychological consequences) – 59 %
- c) Physical / external consequences – 10 %



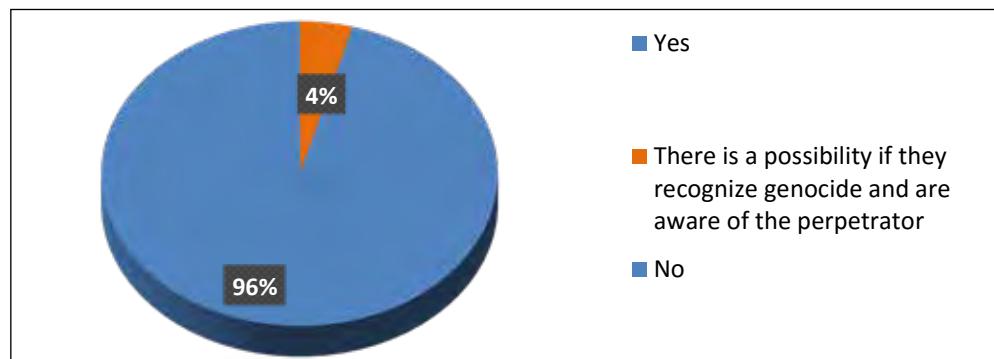
This question was aimed at finding out which segment of the crime material, spiritual or physical, has left a greater impact on the victims of genocide and ethnic cleansing. From the very answers it is evident that the consequences that have the characteristic of a spiritual nature (fear, depression, pain, sorrow, stress) or psychological consequences left most of the traces to the respondents themselves. What can we conclude that the loss of material goods is incompatible with the psychological consequences that accompany the victims of genocide.

- When asked “What were your relations with” neighbors “before the committed genocide?” Respondents answered:
  - a) Good – 79 %
  - b) Partially good – 21 %
  - c) Bad – 0 %



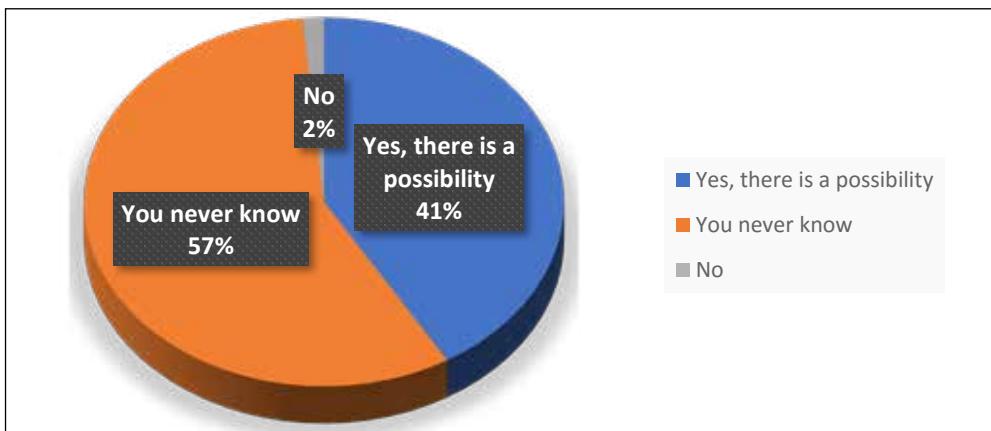
The answer to this question is a confirmation of everything previously told about interpersonal relations in the area of the municipality of Zvornik. The fact is that many crimes could have been prevented by the absence of a false and dishonest relationship between the victims and the perpetrators of the crime. It should be emphasized that there were also those cases in which humanity was retained and thus saved lives. Košija remained a neighbor and did not accept being a criminal.

- When asked “Is there any possibility of forgetting and forgiving those who committed genocide?” Respondents answered:
  - a) Yes – 0 %
  - b) There is a possibility, if they recognize the genocide and are aware of the perpetrator, with the adequate punishment of criminals – 4 %
  - c) No – 96 %



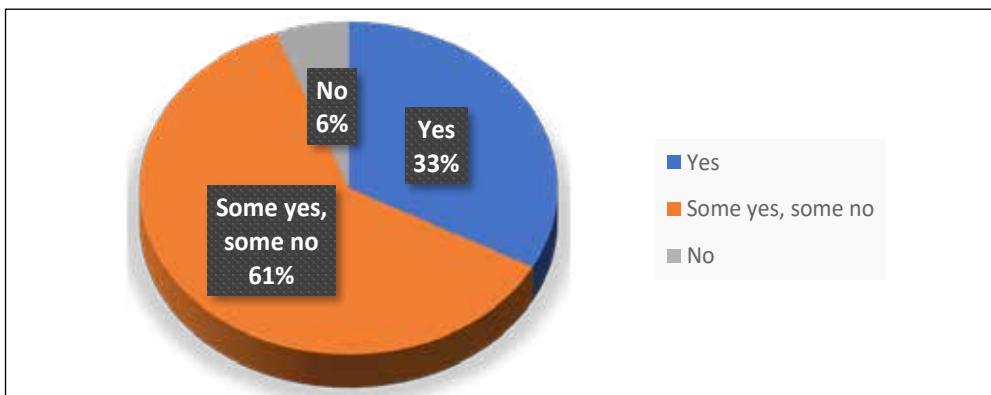
They answered this question themselves, and the victims of the genocide have been damaged and twenty years after the war. The fact is that there is no possibility of forgetting and forgiveness, but there is a possibility of coexistence, and this is confirmed by the act of returning to the war fireplace.

- The question “The possibility of a renewed genocide?” Respondents answered:
  - a) Yes, there is a possibility – 41 %
  - b) You never know – 57 %
  - c) No – 2 %



If we compare it to some of the preliminary questions that speak of the state of the world before committing the crimes of genocide, we will see that the answers are directed to that there was no possibility that all these crimes would occur. Good neighborly relations, trust relationship was not even thought that something like that could happen. But now the situation is quite different. There is no more security for repeating the crime of genocide. If we still have in mind that the category of forgiveness and oblivion is present in survivors, then we see what the consequences of the crime of genocide have left.

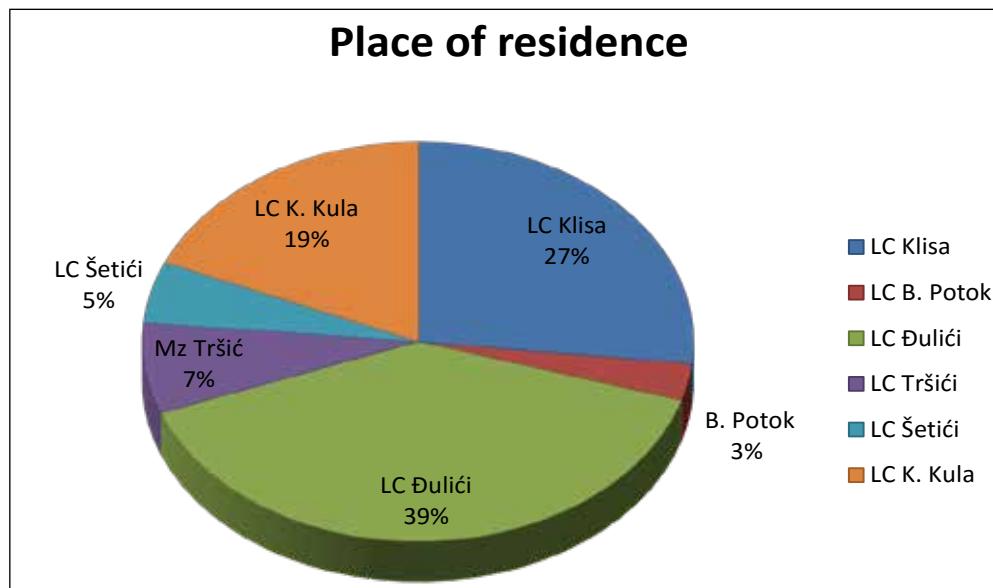
- To the question “Have the remains of your dead been found?”  
Respondents replied:
  - a) Yes – 33 %
  - b) No – 6 %
  - c) Some yes, some no – 61 %



The answer to the last question can also be the sublimation of the general condition in which the respondents themselves are. Most of the respondents even after twenty years since the war passed did not manage to find the remains of their loved ones. They are known to have killed their loved ones, put them in tombs, and they certainly know where they are, but they do not want to reveal it. All of this suggests that there must be a minimum of humanity after the crimes committed, the victims must be buried in a worthy way if we want to make the situation in the community better. Without the truth and the disclosure of facts, we will not be able to base the light on the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

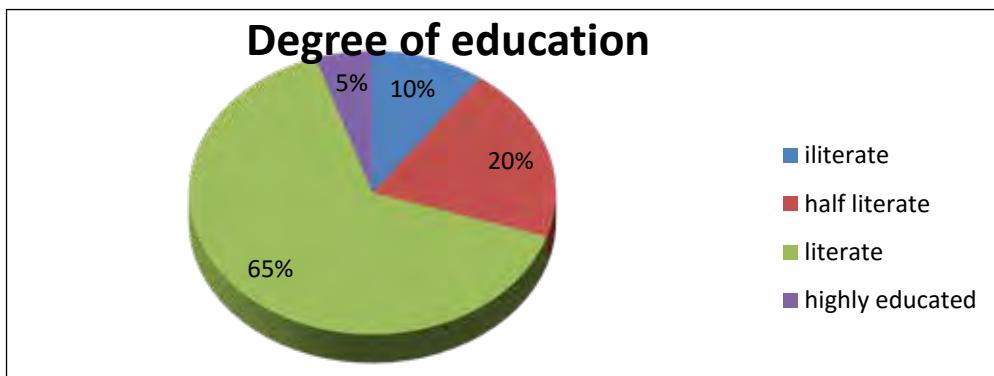
## **2.1. Graphic presentation of the basic characteristics of the victims of genocide in the area of the municipality of Zvornik**

These are data relating to the place of residence, level of education, age, as well as the gender structure of innocent killed Bosniaks from the area of the municipality of Zvornik.

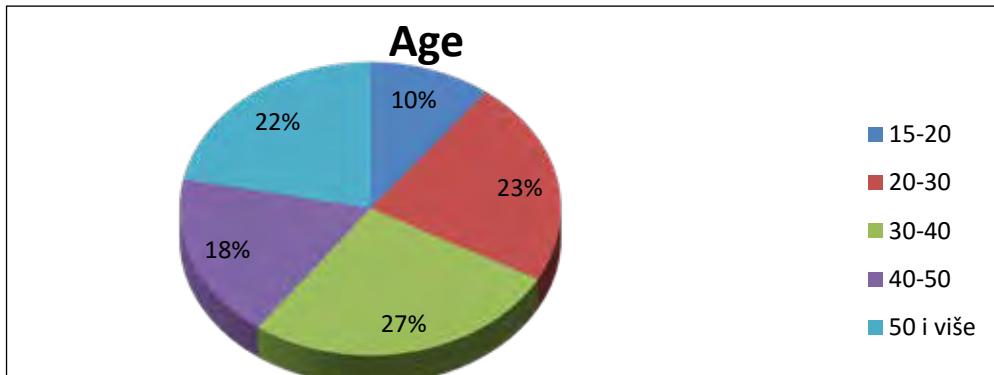


1. In the local community of Klisa, where they belong; Kalidrani, Sjenokos, Celishmani and Dzine, 27% of the innocent killed Bosniaks lived.
2. In the local community of Đulići, where they belong; Durakovići, Radava, Hamzići, Mahmutovići Mrakodol and Petkovci, 39% of the innocent killed Bosniaks lived.

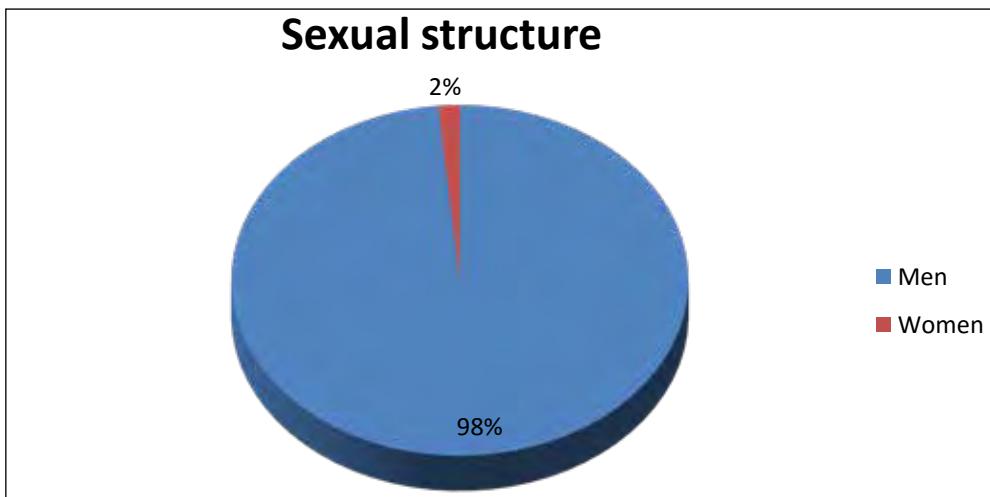
3. In the local community Kučić Kula, where the Lupa, Tahići, Ramici, Grebe, Hajdarevići and Dardagani belong, 19% of the innocent killed Bosniaks lived.
4. In the local community, Tršić lived 7% of the innocent killed Bosniaks.
5. In the local community, Shetty lived 5% of the innocent killed Bosniaks.
6. Bijeli Potok was inhabited, or 3% of innocent killed Bosniaks were there.



1. Of the sixty-six sixty-five innocent-killed Bosniaks, illiterates were around 10%.
2. Of the sixty-six sixty-five innocent killed Bosniaks, half-literate were about 20%.
3. Of the sixty-six sixty-five innocent Bosniak victims, literates were about 65%
4. Of the six hundred and sixty-five innocent killed Bosniaks, highly educated were about 5%



1. Of the six hundred sixty-five innocent killed Bosniaks, from 15-20 years old, they had 10%
2. Of the six hundred sixty-five innocent killed Bosniaks, 20-30 years ago, they had 23%
3. Of the six hundred sixty-five innocent killed Bosniaks, 30-40 years ago, they had 27%
4. Of the six hundred sixty-five innocent-killed Bosniaks, from 40-50 years old, 18%
5. Of the six hundred and sixty-five innocent-killed Bosniaks, from 50 years and over, they had 22%



1. Of the six hundred and sixty-five innocent killed Bosniaks, 98% of them were men.
2. Of the six hundred sixty-five innocent-killed Bosniaks, 2% were women.

### **3. Conclusion**

By analyzing the causes and consequences of the crimes committed in Zvornik in 1992 on Bijeli Potok, we have unambiguously shown that this is a crime of genocide. Genocide is confirmed by multiple consequences such as: human casualties, loss of material goods, mental pain, loss of trust in coexistence, trauma of survivors, demographic consequences, and so on. Human, civilian, victims are the most explicit and indisputable evidence, and these are the following: throughout 1992-1995, civilians of Bosniak nationality

were killed in the area of Zvornik municipality. The crime at Bijelo Potok represents a paradigmatic example of crimes against unarmed civilians who surrendered to the army and police of the Serbian Republic without a fight. The total number of Bosniak civilians killed in the municipality of Zvornik in the period 1992-1995. is 1976, of which 1542 have been identified so far, while 434 of them have yet to be found (missing). Of the total number killed in the municipality of Zvornik, 665 Bosniaks were killed from the Bijeli Potok. Of these, 422 were identified, and another 243 were wanted. The majority of Bosniak victims were men, 655 men, while the rest were women. At the time they were killed, 69 were minors, aged 15 to 20, 150 were aged 20 to 30, 180 were aged 30 to 40, 121 were aged 40 to 50 years, while there were 145 of them for 50 or more years. Most of the Bosniak killed were originally from the local community of Đulici, then from the local community Klisa. Also, many victims lived in the area of local communities Kučić Kula, Tršić, Šetići and the Bijeli Potok, or they happened to have happened there accidentally.

The analyzed and interpreted data confirmed the completely set general hypothesis: "The crime of genocide and ethnic cleansing committed by the army and police of the Serbian Republic in Bijeli Potok, Zvornik municipality in 1992 caused many negative consequences for the Bosniak population of the Bosnian Podrinje." confirmed and an auxiliary hypothesis: "The crime of genocide and ethnic cleansing against Bosniaks in Bijeli Potok is also a result of the ideology of the Serbian big state:" The aim of the Serbian aggressors was the achievement of the "Great Serbia". Since the Bosniaks did not want to move out of Zvornik municipality, and therefore did not support this idea, the aggressors were left to commit the crime of genocide and ethnic cleansing, which they did. "In addition to the negative demographic consequences for the Bosniak population, the crimes of genocide and ethnic cleansing have partially destroyed the will to live;" After the theoretical and empirical analysis of the topic itself, we argued that our hypothetical framework was well established and proven. After the genocide against Bosniaks, the gender structure of the municipality of Zvornik was changed and there is mainly female population now. The number of Bosniaks in relation to the list of pre-genocide has been drastically reduced. The present poverty is only one of the consequences of the genocide and causes multiple permanent consequences for the Bosniak population. Cultural, religious and educational institutions have been destroyed, with the aim of completely cleansing the area of Zvornik municipality ethnically from the Bosniak population. The crime of genocide and ethnic cleansing in the area of Zvornik municipality was followed by urbicide. The consequences are permanent and irreversible both for the victims themselves and for the Bosnian society in general.

## ATTACHMENT

### List of killed 01.06.1992. Bijeli Potok - Zvornik - identified

Surname	Father's name	Name
Ademović	Salko	Beriz
Ahmetović	Hasan	Agan
Ahmetović	Agan	Ismet
Alić	Mehmed	Meho
Alić	Mehmed	Ibrahim
Alić	Alija	Ramo
Alić	Alija	Nura
Alić	Safet	Samir
Alić	Hilmo	Safet
Alić	Abdulah	Refik
Alić	Abdulah	Rešid
Alić	Meho	Abdulah
Alić	Salih	Sabit
Alić	Hasan	Samed
Alić	Abdulah	Adil
Alić	Hasan	Osman
Alić	Hasan	Alija
Alić	Ibrahim	Nedžad
Alić	Aljo	Rašid
Alić	Meho	Ramiz
Alić	Ševko	Nijaz
Alić	Dedo	Hariz
Alić	Hašim	Redžo
Alić	Hašim	Nedžib
Alić	Mustafa	Fikret
Alić	Kasim	Mehdin
Alić	Salih	Sadik
Alić	Ahmo	Avdo
Alić	Mustafa	Selim
Avdić	Hajdar	Agan
Avdić	Alija	Nesib
Avdić	Mujo	Zuhdija

Surname	Father's name	Name
Avdić	Agan	Nurija
Avdić	Arif	Elvir
Avdić	Mustafa	Arif
Avdić	Ibrahim	Smajil
Avdić	Husejn	Dženit
Avdić	Mujo	Ćazim
Avdić	Hrustan	Hazim
Avdić	Hajdar	Hrustan
Avdić	Alija	Hrustan
Avdić	Alija	Hasan
Avdić	Emin	Husein
Avdić	Muradif	Muhamed
Avdić	Selmo	Sadik
Bajrić	Ibrahim	Sakib
Beganović	Mustafa	Muriz
Beganović	Mujo	Mustafa
Beganović	Himzo	Salkan
Beganović	Himzo	Safet
Beganović	Rifet	Dževad
Beganović	Mustafa	Idriz
Beganović	Rifet	Refik
Beganović	Zeir	Halil
Beganović	Zeir	Džemil
Bekrić	Salko	Sabit
Bekrić	Zećo	Abdulah
Bošnjak	Husejn	Rizvo
Bošnjak	Selim	Fetija
Bošnjaković	Ahmet	Rifet
Bošnjaković	Mahmut	Ibrahim
Bošnjaković	Safet	Mevludin
Bošnjaković	Alija	Mehmed alija

Bošnjaković	Rašid	Alija
Brkić	Agan	Ahmet
Brzović	Memšo	Bego
Brzović	Memšo	Sejfo
Čektavica	Sejfo	Ohran
Čerkić	Salko	Nurijsa
Čolić	Bego	Salko
Čolić	Mujo	Fahrudin
Čolić	Jusuf	Nasuf
Čolić	Salko	Šefik
Čolić	Zećo	Haso
Čolić	Haso	Muhamed
Čolić	Mustafa	Hatija
Dardagan	Omer	Hasan
Dardagan	Hasan	Mensur
Dardagan	Bajro	Osman
Dardagan	Osman	Saud
Dardagan	Omer	Husejin
Dardagan	Mešan	Damir
Dardagan	Smajo	Ifeta
Dautović	Džemal	Rasim
Delić	Mehmed	Nurif
Delić	Rasim	Sead
Delić	Hasan	Rasim
Delić	Rasim	Zijad
Delić	Hrustan	Amir
Delić	Husejin	Smajil
Delić	Nazif	Safet
Delić	Mehmed	Hrustan
Delić	Safet	Mirsad
Delić	Mumin	Sejdo
Delić	Džemal	Džemil
Delić	Mehmed	Fahrudin
Delić	Nurijsa	Nurdin
Delić	Mehmed	Nurijsa
Delić	Osman	Nusret
Delić	Jusuf	Nihad

Delić	Osman	Mensur
Delić	Nazif	Osman
Dogić	Safet	Mehmed-alija
Duraković	Mumin	Hajrudin
Duraković	Mujo	Mumin
Džafić	Mujo	Agan
Džafić	Agan	Senad
Džafić	Agan	Smail
Džinić	Šahbaz	Rifet
Džinić	Ibrahim	Rasim
Džinić	Avdija	Muhamed
Džinić	Avdija	Hazim
Džinić	Rasim	Enver
Džinić	Hasan	Izet
Džinić	Ahmet	Haris
Džinić	Ahmet	Sabit
Džinić	Džemal	Sejdalija
Džinić	Avdija	Mustafa
Džinić	Šahbaz	Alija
Džinić	Himzo	Muhamed
Džinić	Šahbaz	Izet
Džinić	Halil	Himzo
Džinić	Šahbaz	Sejad
Džinić	Mustafa	Veiz
Đulić	Rašid	Sabit
Đulić	Halil	Jusuf
Đulić	Hasim	Hazim
Đulić	Halil	Hajrudin
Đulić	Halil	Omer
Đulić	Husein	Sulejman
Đulić	Adem	Nedžad
Đulić	Agan	Sead
Đulić	Sulejman	Emin
Đulić	Meho	Muhamed
Đulić	Selim	Hajrudin
Đulić	Alija	Admir

Đulić	Selim	Alija
Đulić	Ibro	Ismet
Đulić	Mehmed	Hazim
Đulić	Nedžib	Džemil
Đulić	Ibro	Rifet
Gakić	Osman	Šaban
Gojkić	Himzo	Agan
Gojkić	Husein	Nijaz
Gojkić	Himzo	Husein
Gojkić	Mujo	Mustafa
Gojkić	Mujo	Alija
Gojkić	Ibrahim	Hamza
Gojkić	Ohran	Himzo
Grahić	Avdo	Ibro
Grahić	Refik	Hazim
Grahić	Ramo	Hasan
Grahić	Hasan	Salih
Grahić	Halil	Mirsad
Grahić	Džafer	Hajdar
Grahić	Šaban	Muhamed
Grahić	Ibro	Refik
Grahić	Alija	Mujo
Grahić	Selmo	Salko
Grahić	Hajdar	Halčo
Grahić	Salih	Senad
Grahić	Šemso	Halil
Grahić	Hamdija	Alija
Grahić	Džafer	Alija
Grahić	Halil	Nijaz
Grahić	Arif	Muradif
Grahić	Selmo	Hamed
Grahić	Šaban	Mehmed
Grahić	Salko	Jasmin
Grahić	Hajdar	Safet
Grahić	Salih	Sejad
Grahić	Šerif	Elvir
Grahić	Džafer	Ibrahim

Grahić	Smajl	Nuriја
Grahić	Hasib	Avdo
Grebić	Mujo	Mustafa
Hajdarević	Osman	Mehemed
Hajdarević	Ćazim	Haris
Halilović	Mehmed	Fetija
Halilović	Fetija	Izudin
Halilović	Fetija	Šemsudin
Hamidović	Ibro	Nurko
Hamzić	Ramo	Ibrahim
Hamzić	Rasim	Nešad
Hamzić	Hamed	Edvin
Hamzić	Rasim	Izet
Hamzić	Jusuf	Rasim
Hamzić	Abid	Asim
Hamzić	Islam	Hrusto
Hamzić	Fehim	Šaban
Hasanović	Alija	Muradif
Hasanović	Mujo	Fetija
Hasanović	Selmo	Šemsudin
Hasanović	Mujo	Muriz
Hasanović	Husejn	Rusmin
Hasanović	Mujo	Sejdo
Hasanović	Fehim	Fehro
Hasanović	Mustafa	Osman
Hasanović	Smajo	Hasan
Hasanović	Mustafa	Husejn
Hodžić	Mehmed	Ibrišim
Hrustić	Alija	Ajša
Hrustić	Džemal	Mehmed-alija
Hrustić	Mehmed	Ferhat
Hrustić	Mehmedalija	Mirsad
Hrustić	Mehmedalija	Muhaed
Hrustić	Mehmedalija	Fikret
Hrustić	Safet	Fedahija
Hrustić	Rahmo	Fehrat

Hrustić	Fehrat	Fetija	Jašarević	Edhem	Bajro
Hrustić	Mehmed	Kajtaz	Jašarević	Abdulah	Nurija
Hrustić	Alija	Muhamed	Jašarević	Husejn	Hasan
Hrustić	Ahmet	Mehmed-alija	Jašarević	Vehid	Elvir
Hrustić	Ejub	Nedžad	Jašarević	Mehdin	Vehid
Hrustić	Džemal	Mevludin	Jašarević	Ramo	Selim
Huremović	Mustafa	Safet	Jašarević	Džafo	Džafer
Huremović	Safet	Mirzet	Jašarević	Muradif	Izet
Huremović	Safet	Ismet	Kadrić	Rifet	Mirsad
Huremović	Alija	Salko	Kadrić	Avdo	Nakić
Husejnović	Huso	Sejfo	Kahrimanović	Dedo	Nešad
Husejnović	Sejdo	Senad	Kalajdžić	Suljo	Himzo
Husejnović	Sejdo	Rasim	Kalajdžić	Šaban	Fetija
Husejnović	Sejfo	Nihad	Limić	Meho	Ibrahim
Husejnović	Sejfo	Mensur	Lolić	Mehmed	Izet
Husejnović	Sejdo	Mehdin	Lolić	Ahmet	Džemo
Husejnović	Sejdo	Ševko	Lolić	Murat	Ramo
Ibrahimović	Rašid	Himzo	Lolić	Ibršim	Mehdin
Ibrahimović	Ibrahim	Elvir	Lolić	Mehdin	Mensur
Ibrahimović	Ibrahim	Jasmin	Lolić	Hasan	Emin
Ibrahimović	Ramo	Izet	Lolić	Murat	Dževad
Ibrahimović	Redžo	Mujo	Lolić	Ramo	Amir
Ibrahimović	Mujo	Muradif	Lolić	Mehdin	Mehmed-alija
Ibrahimović	Ćazim	Nijaz	Lolić	Meho	Ahmet
Ibrahimović	Ćazim	Esnaf	Lolić	Meho	Murat
Ibrahimović	Ćazim	Muamed	Lolić	Mustafa	Enver
Ibrahimović	Hasib	Osman	Lolić	Mustafa	Hajro
Ibrić	Redžo	Sejfo	Lolić	Ramo	Said
Islamović	Mehmed	Elvir	Lolić	Mujo	Salih
Islamović	Huso	Mehmed	Lolić	Ibršim	Redžep
Islamović	Ibrahim	Šaban	Lolić	Safet	Abdulah
Islamović	Mehmed	Mustafa	Lolić	Meho	Hasan
Islamović	Ibrahim	Agan	Lupić	Redžo	Omer
Islamović	Ibrahim	Ramiz	Lupić	Mehmed	Ramo
Jahić	Tosun	Ejub	Lupić	Rahmo	Mahmut
Jašarević	Abdulah	Avdo			

Lupić	Adem	Meho
Lupić	Mehmed	Ramo
Lupić	Alija	Ibro
Lupić	Mehmed	Ramiz
Lupić	Ahmet	Jusuf
Lupić	Safet	Ismet
Lupić	Ramo	Ibrahim
Majlović	Ahmet	Junuz
Majlović	Avdo	Enes
Majlović	Šaban	Munira
Majlović	Mustafa	Omer
Mehmedović	Ibrahim	Hamdija
Memidžanović	Omer	Fehim
Memidžanović	Omer	Alija
Muhamedbegović	Sulejman	Admir
Mujkanović	Šahman	Šaban
Muminović	Šaban	Nijaz
Muminović	Smajo	Mujo
Muratović	Ahmo	Idriz
Muratović	Džafer	Adem
Muratović	Džafer	Abaz
Muratović	Džafer	Šaban
Muratović	Ahmo	Senad
Muratović	Ahmo	Beriz
Musić	Huso	Šaban
Musić	Nurija	Ahmet
Musić	Salih	Said
Musić	Aljo	Abdurahman
Musić	Hilmo	Džemil
Musić	Šemso	Izudin
Musić	Salko	Salih
Musić	Musa	Hakija
Musić	Redžo	Mehmed
Musić	Ibro	Meho

Mustafić	Zahir	Senad
Mustajbašić	Mujo	Mustafa
Mustajbašić	Safet	Samir
Mustajbašić	Safet	Admir
Mustajbašić	Mujo	Hamed
Mustajbašić	Hasan	Ramo
Mustajbašić	Izudin	Elvir
Mustajbašić	Refa	Izudin
Nuhanović	Jahija	Hata
Nuhanović	Nurija	Izet
Nuhanović	Šerif	Fehim
Nuhanović	Fehim	Šemso
Nuhanović	Meho	Fazila
Nukić	Ševko	Šefik
Nukić	Šefik	Ismet
Okanović	Šemso	Omer
Okanović	Omer	Rejf
Okanović	Rizvo	Ramiz
Okić	Zaim	Ibrahim
Okić	Fehim	Fehrat
Omerović	Suljo	Sulejman
Omerović	Agan	Mersudin
Omerović	Juso	Zeir
Omerović	Osman	Muharem
Omerović	Dedo	Began
Omerović	Salih	Mujo
Omerović	Suljo	Safet
Omerović	Šerif	Kadira
Omerović	Safet	Edin
Osmanović	Juso	Nedžib
Osmić	Aljo	Izudin
Osmić	Aljo	Fahrudin
Osmić	Mujo	Jasmin
Osmić	Alija	Mirsad
Pargan	Hrusto	Mustafa
Pargan	Hasan	Senad
Pargan	Hasan	Husejn

Pargan	Šaban	Murat
Pargan	Mujo	Šaban
Ramić	Alija	Hamdija
Ramić	Alija	Mehmed-alija
Ramić	Tahir	Nedžib
Ramić	Juso	Ismet
Ramić	Mujo	Muhidin
Ramić	Mujo	Mustafa
Ramić	Ibro	Rizvan
Ramić	Rizvan	Izo
Ramić	Omer	Murat
Ramić	Tahir	Fetija
Ramić	Selim	Mumin
Sakić	Ibrahim	Salih
Sakić	Ibrahim	Sakib
Salihović	Abdulah	Mensur
Salkić	Ibro	Ramo
Seferović	Huso	Mujo
Seferović	Hasan	Husejn
Selimović	Mustafa	Safet
Selimović	Mahmut	Zenun
Selimović	Mahmut	Emin
Selimović	Hrustan	Rifet
Selimović	Safet	Agan
Selimović	Mehmed	Smajo
Selimović	Agan	Emir
Selimović	Mahmut	Mevludin
Selimović	Safet	Husejin
Selimović	Safet	Avdija
Selimović	Rifet	Dževad
Selimović	Safet	Hasan
Selimović	Hrustan	Osman
Smajić	Hajrudin	Avdo
Smajić	Hajrudin	Avdija
Smajić	Džafer	Fahrudin
Smajić	Hajrudin	Šemsudin

Smajlović	Ahmet	Ismet
Smajlović	Mahmut	Smajo
Softić	Avdija	Hakija
Softić	Hakija	Safet
Softić	Pašan	Mešan
Subašić	Sulejman	Rasim
Suljić	Sejdo	Muzafir
Suljić	Šaban	Uzeir
Suljić	Smajl	Ibrahim
Šerifović	Murat	Hajdar
Šerifović	Murat	Safet
Šerifović	Murat	Rifet
Šerifović	Husejin	Enes
Tahić	Alija	Smajl
Tahić	Agan	Mirsad
Tahić	Husejn	Agan
Tahić	Salih	Muzafir
Tahić	Hasan	Amir
Tahić	Salih	Hasan
Tahić	Hasan	Adil
Tahić	Husejn	Mustafa
Talović	Suljo	Esed
Talović	Suljo	Hajro
Terzić	Rifet	Mirzet
Terzić	Salko	Avdija
Terzić	Sejmo	Sejad
Terzić	Sejdo	Rašid
Terzić	Rašid	Refik
Topalović	Husejn	Izet
Topalović	Mustafa	Asim
Topalović	Salko	Suljo
Topalović	Mehmed	Agan
Topalović	Ibrahim	Aljo
Topalović	Omer	Safet
Topalović	Safet	Ibrahim

## LITERATURE

1. Bećirović, Hajriz, *Genocid u savremenoj društvenoj znanosti*, Sarajevo, 2007.
2. Bojić, Mehmedalija, *Uzroci genocida u Bosni*, El-Kalem, Sarajevo, 2001.
3. Cigar, Norman, "Genocid u Bosni, politika "etničkog čišćenja". VKB1, Sarajevo, 1998.
4. Čekić, Smail, *Historija genocida nad Bošnjacima*, Muzej genocida, Sarajevo, 1997.
5. Čekić, Smail, *Agresija na Republiku Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava, Sarajevo, 2004.
6. Čekić, Smail, *Genocid i istina o genocidu u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, 2012.
7. Dedier, Vladimir, Miletic, Antun, *Genocid nad muslimanima 1941-1945.*, Svijetlost, Sarajevo, 1990.
8. Doubth, Keith, *Sociologija nakon Bosne*, Bubook, Sarajevo, 2003.
9. Đozić, Adib, *Izvanbosanski programi zla u bosanskohercegovačkom društvu*, Znakovi vremena, br. 22/23. 2004.
10. Đozić, Adib, *Elementi za novu subznanstvenu teoriju (sociologiju) genocida*, Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta Tuzla, br 6/2005.
11. Đozić, Adib, *Ogledi o bosanskohercegovačkom društvu*, Prilog sociologiji bosanskohercegovačkog društva, BKC, Sarajevo, OFF-SET, Tuzla, 2012.
12. Đozić, Adib, *Studije o bošnjaštvu*, Prilog sociologiji nacionalnih zajednica u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo, OFF-SET, Tuzla, 2012.
13. Đozić, Adib, Žiga, Jusuf, *Sociologija*, OFF-SET, Tuzla, 2013.
14. Filipović, Muhamed, *Korijeni agresije, u: Genocid u Bosni i Hercegovini 1991-1995.*, Sarajevo, 1997.
15. Grupa autora, *Genocid u Bosni i Hercegovini 1991-1995.*, Sarajevo, 1997.
16. Halibegović, Nihad, *Bošnjaci u jesenovačkom logoru*, VKBI, Sarajevo, 2006.
17. Kulić, Slavko, *Strategija nasilja kao strategija razvoja*, Naprijed, Zagreb, 1996.

18. Letica, Barton, Letica, Slaven, *Postmoderna i genocid u Bosni*, Naklada Jesin-ski i Turk, Hrvatsko sociološko društvo, Zagreb, 1997.
19. Memić, Mustafa, *Bošnjaci (Muslimani) Crne Gore*, ALMANAH, Podgorica, VKBI, Sarajevo, 2003.
20. Muratović, Rasim, *Holokaust nad Jevrejima i genocid nad Bošnjacima*, Sarajevo, 2012.
21. Ziilch, Tilman, “*Etničko čišćenje*” genocid za “*Veliku Srbiju*”, VKBI, Sarajevo, 1996.
22. Žiga, Jusuf, *Bosanska krvava zbilja*, VKBI, Sarajevo, 1996.

### **Internet sources**

1. <https://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zvornik>
2. [https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ratni\\_zlo%C4%8Din#cite\\_note-2](https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ratni_zlo%C4%8Din#cite_note-2)
3. [https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Etni%C4%8Dko\\_%C4%8Di%C5%A1%C4%87enje](https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Etni%C4%8Dko_%C4%8Di%C5%A1%C4%87enje)
4. <http://www.monteislam.com/islamske-teme/korijeni-i-uzroci-genocida-nad-bosnjacima>



***FROM BOSNIAN  
PODRINJE HISTORY***

---



## THE 1850/51 CENSUS OF THE QUART CRVENA RIJEKA IN SREBRENICA

### Summary

The article deals with the population census made in the mid-19th century as part of reform that was then carried out in the Ottoman Empire. Since in the lists of the Eyalet of Bosnia, in a large part were also given the surnames of the listed persons, they can be used, not only for genealogical research, but also for the comprehensive analysis of proprietary, demographic and other socio-historical facts. This article deals with the census of the quart Crvena Rijeka in Srebrenica, the Srebrenica Kaza, from 1850/51, in a manner that the surnames from this period are compared with the surnames which are still in this place today. The research shows that on the basis of this list, it is possible to determine not only the development of some of the current surnames in the quart Crvena Rijeka, and thus open the possibility for reconstructing the genealogies of some families from the mid-19th century to the present day, but also to determine the “indigenous” population of this quart since their years of birth were also listed.

**Key words:** The Ottoman census, the 19th century, the Srebrenica Kaza, Crvena Rijeka.

### Introduction

To write any segment of the history of the Bosnian society and its state, without knowing the data from the censuses of the Ottoman Empire, is almost impossible. By doing research in the Archives of the Turkish Government in Istanbul (orig. *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*), I have the opportunity to frequently check census records from the fund of these records (NFS.d.). These are records related to the Eyalet of Bosnia. In this article I would like to point out their significance for genealogical, demographic, historical and

sociological research based on the list of the quart Crvena Rijeka (orig. Kızıl Dere) in the Srebrenica Kaza.<sup>1</sup> The census data from 1850/51 are particularly important because they contain surnames for many families. During the last ten years of the reign of Mahmoud II, the Ottoman state was forced to form a census center. The population census was made in order for the Empire to use it for the recruitment of soldiers and to find out the existing social structure in the country itself. After the abolition of the Janissaries system in 1826, there was a need to know the number of inhabitants for the formation of a new military system. It was necessary to keep the daily records of younger male members in order to form a modern army.<sup>2</sup>

## **1. A few notes on the basic characteristics of the census record from 1850/51**

The Ottoman sultan Mahmoud II made the first decision on the population census in 1829. Regardless of the fact that the population census started in Istanbul in 1829, due to the Russo-Ottoman war and the rebellion in Greece, the list could not be completed by 1831. The census in 1831 was primarily planned for the Ottoman Empire to have accurate records of potential military capable men.

The greatest rebellion of the Eyalet of Bosnia in the 19th century was certainly due to the abolition of the Janissaries system. For the first time with the Captains, Beys and a part of the ordinary population, the protest against the central government was organized in Bosnia.<sup>3</sup> After reading the declaration about the abolition of the Janissaries system in Bosnia, there was a serious upheaval in both Sarajevo and Travnik.<sup>4</sup>

---

1 It is the 5951 defter (lit. record).

2 Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914): Demografikve Sosyal Özellikleri*, translated by Bahar Tırnakçı, İstanbul 2003, pp.44.

3 If one also adds the weakness that Bosnian Veli (lit. Governor) Hajji Mustafa Pasha showed while leading and managing the Eyalet of Bosnia, dissatisfaction increased even more. (A. Cevat Eren, *Mahmud II. zamanında Bosna –Hersek*, İstanbul 1965, pp. 72-3; Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, *Vak'anüvis Ahmed Lütfi Efendi Tarihi*, akt. Ahmed Hezarfen, İstanbul 1999, I, pp. 133-135).

4 Two months after the abolition of the Janissaries system in Istanbul, different declarations were written about it and the formation of the new military system Asakir-I Mumammedije throughout the whole Empire. The declaration about the abolition of the Janissaries was sent in September 1826. When it was first read in Travnik, people went to the Veli's place and threw stones on the Pasha's doors. Only people of Travnik could pass through those doors. They threatened that everybody who wanted to go to the town center would be stoned. Out of 48 kazas in the Eyalet of Bosnia, only 15 obeyed the declaration. (Eren, pp.78-79).

The application of Tanzimat (lit. reorganization) of the Eyalet of Bosnia started in 1850-ies which was a bit later compared to other parts of the Empire. The reason lied in the very geographic location of the Eyalet of Bosnia that was in the western part of the state and due to differences in social and economic issues. At the same time it was an indication of the determination of the Ottoman state to implement reforms in the realm itself.

Comprehensive reforms in the Ottoman Empire started in the first half of the 19th century resulted in a new way of managing administration and the emergence of new statistical books. One of the newness was the population census (orig. Nüfus defterleri). The research work on these lists began in the mid-20th century, and it has been intensified lately, which has contributed to the appearance of numerous translations of the records.<sup>5</sup>

The records were kept specifically for individual kazas, and separately for Muslims, non-Muslims and Roma. The centers of kazas were listed first and then villages. The places were listed according to quarts, that is, houses, and each house was registered under a serial number. The number one was a man of the house, then other male members of the household, his sons, brothers, cousins and other male squads who lived in the house. Next to the name of each male person, except for underage children, a brief physical description was also given. If there was a mosque in quarts or villages, the scribe usually took the imam's home first and then the rest of the households. Unlike the identification data in Ottoman records from the earlier period, which usually consisted of the name of the person himself and the name of his father, in these records, in most cases, the family name was also listed.

When working on this list, some of the problems remain the same as in the case of other lists. This first refers to the reading of the names of the persons recorded in this list. The usual problem with these lists is the replacement of the consonant ć and ę because the scribe wrote ę where he should have written ć and vice versa.<sup>6</sup>

The quart Crvena Rijeka (Kızıl Deresi) was named after the name of the river that flows through it. The river was named after the color of water, that is the oxide of iron-arsenic elements that cover the riverbed, because the sources around the river are rich in minerals of different metals such as: iron,

5 Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanski İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı*, Ankara, 1943; Mehmet Güneş, *Osmanski Nüfus Sayımları ve Bu Sayımları İçeren Kayıtları*, Gazi Akademik Bakış 8/15 (2014), pp. 221-240.

6 Nedim Zahirović, *Osmanski popisi stanovništva kao izvor za geneološka istraživanja na primjeru popisa sela Donji Ljenobud i Gornji Ljenobud iz 1850/1851. godine*, Analisi GHB 2017, pp. 179-194.

led, zinc, silver, tin, arsen and others, which give the riverbed a characteristic red color, that is the color of rust (oxide) or iron. The quart Crvena Rijeka is situated in the eastern part of the city of Srebrenica, and with its western part it flows into the city center, whereas it leans on the south-west on the quart Skender, and in the north-west approaches Varoš. In the topographic sense, the quart is in the lower part of the valley of the river Crvena Rijeka and occupies its lowest valley parts of the slightly milder northern valley slope. The rose is heading northwest-southeast at a length of about 550 meters. The valley is wide open to the west and the center of Srebrenica, and to the east it narrows down.<sup>7</sup>

The area of the today's quart Crvena Rijeka has been inhabited soon after the Middle Ages. In addition to the residential function, immediately around the area, there are mines. In the Middle Ages, Srebrenica and Crvena Rijeka were explicitly mentioned in the documents.

In the centuries-long urban tradition of Crvena Rijeka, there are numerous written and material historical sources. One of them is the existence of a Turkish bath - hamam in this quart. The abundance of water, primarily mineral, enabled the existence of a hamam or spa in Srebrenica even at the beginning of the 16th century (more precisely in 1533). It was then referred to as the Imperial hamam and brought the annual revenue of 333 akchas. The hamam was located in the quart Crvena Rijeka. It was also mentioned by the Ottoman traveler Evlija Čelebija in the 7th century.<sup>8</sup>

The hamam was standing at the top of a quart called Crvena Rijeka. The place where hamam was located today is called *Hamamluk*. The walls were visible before the occupation in 1878. On this site were found channels and slabs of hamam.<sup>9</sup>

At the end of the 19th century, at the top of the quart Crvena Rijeka, beside the stream of Crvena Rijeka in the land registry books, the plot was mentioned at c.p. 1/369 as an orchard (garden) named *Hamamište*. Immediately beside it there is a plot on c.p. 1/361 named at *Nova voda*, and near there is also a plot on c.p. 373 with a mill. All this in 1894 was owned by Arif-agă Pašagić son of Suljaga<sup>10</sup>

7 Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Mahala Crvena Rijeka u Srebrenici krajem 19. stoljeća*, Monumenta Srebrenica Knjiga 2, Tuzla-Srebrenica, 2013, pp. 39-68.

8 Čelebi, Evlija: *Putopisi*, Sarajevi-Publison ofg, Sarajevo, 1996.

9 Kreševljaković, Hamdija: *Hamami u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 1462-1916, Beograd, 1937, pp. 73.

10 Cartridge 417, The Land Registry book IX, C.M. Srebrenica, The Land Registry Court in Srebrenica.

## **2. Personal, age and ethnic structure of the quart Crvena Rijeka 1850/51**

Crvena rijeka (BOA Istanbul, NFS.d. 5951, 25-31)

House 1.

1. Jusuf son of Mehmed Effendi Mula, medium built, born in 1236 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 30 years old.
2. His son Mehmed, born in 1253 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 13 years old.
3. His son Omer, born in 1265 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 1 year old.

House 2.

1. Sulejman Pašalić son of Sulejman, medium built, born in 1226 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 40 years old.
2. His son Arif, medium built, born in 1246 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 20 years old.

House 3.

1. Husejn son of Ismail Selimčehajić, tall, born in 1229 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 37 years old.
2. His brother Ismail, born in 1243 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 23 years old.

House 4.

1. Abdulatif son of Husejn Đozić, short, born in 1216 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 60 years old.
2. His son Hajji Husejn Effendi, born in 1235 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 31 years old.
3. His son Hasan, born in 1241 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 25 years old.
4. His son Alija, born in 1247 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 19 years old.
5. His son Mustafa, born in 1249 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 17 years old.

House 5.

1. Omer son of Mustafa Porčić, medium built, born in 1226 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 40 years old.
2. His son Ibrahim, born in 1251 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 15 years old.

## House 6.

1. Hasan son of Omer Tabaković, medium built, born in 1236 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 30 years old.
2. His brother Sulejman, born in 1241 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 25 years old.

## House 7.

1. Ibiš son of Mehmed Jahić, medium built, born in 1224 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 42 years old.

## House 8.

1. Mustafa son of Osman Saračević, short, born in 1250 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 16 years old.

## House 9.

1. Jusuf-aga son of Ismail Đuzdarević, tall, born in 1221 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 45 years old.
2. His son Salih, born in 1252 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 14 years old.
3. His son Rešid, born in 1261 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 5 years old.
4. His son Abdullah, born in 1263 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 3 years old.

## House 10.

1. Hasan son of Hasan Perčo, tall, born in 1202 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 64 years old.
2. His son Rizvan, born in 1257 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 9 years old.
3. His son Mehmed, born in 1261 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 5 years old.

## House 11.

1. A miller Osman son of Sinan Pečan, short, born in 1216 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 50 years old.
2. His son *No name*, born in 1260 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 6 years old.

## House 12.

1. Shkeih Mustafa son of Ibrahim, short, born in 1211 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 55 years old.
2. His son Salih, born in 1244 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 22 years old.

## House 13.

1. A leather tailor Ahmet son of Halil, medium built, born in 1220 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 46 years old.
2. His son Ismail, born in 1254 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 12 years old.

## House 14.

1. Mustafa son of Abdullah Pašić, tall, born in 1231 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 35 years old.
2. His brother Abdullah, born in 1242 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 24 years old.
3. His son Omer son of Mustafa, born in 1257 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 9 years old.
4. His son Ibrahim son of Mustafa, born in 1259 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 7 years old.
5. His nephew Pašo son of Abdullah, born in 1262 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 4 years old.
6. His nephew Salih son of Abdullah, born in 1263 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 3 years old.

## House 15.

1. Alija son of Nuko Klančanin, short, born in 1238 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 28 years old.
2. His son Abdullah, born in 1261 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 5 years old.
3. His son Ibrahim, born in 1265 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 1 year old.

## House 16.

1. Mustafa son of Omer Bakalović, short, born in 1236 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 30 years old.
2. His son Ibrahim, born in 1263 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 3 years old.
3. His son Alija, born in 1265 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 1 year old.

## House 17.

1. Mehmed son of Mustafa Vitlovac, niskog rasta, born in 1196 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 70 years old.
2. His son Salih, born in 1241 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 25 years old.  
Soldier

3. His son Mustafa, born in 1243 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 23 years old.
4. His son Ibrahim, born in 1246 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 20 years old.

House 18.

1. Ismail son of Alija Odunđu, tall, born in 1240 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 26 years old.
2. His son Hasan, born in 1265 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 1 year old.

House 19.

1. Mustafa son of sipahi (lit. soldier) Ibrahim Kapudžić, medium built, born in 1238 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 28 years old.
2. His son Pašo, born in 1262 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 4 years old.

House 20.

1. Abdullatif son of Ahmed, medium built, born in 1231 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 35 years old.
2. His son Mustafa, born in 1265 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 1 year old.

House 21.

1. Ibrahim son of Halil Purta, medium built, born in 1231 (acc. to Islamic calendar), 35 years old. Soldier.

## Conclusion

According to the 1850/1851 census in the quart Crvena Rijeka there were a total of 21 houses and 55 registered male residents, of which 25 were listed as capable, 18 as old, 9 as minors and 2 soldiers. Comparative analysis of the data from this list with the data from cadastral and registers books that emerged during the Austro-Hungarian reign and the time of the first Yugoslavia would give precise data on the continuity of ownership of the land, the genealogy of a number of families, the migration of new families, the natural increase of the population, the age, the birth of children, the size of the family and many other socio-historical indicators.

## References

1. Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Mahala Crvena Rijeka u Srebrenici krajem 19. stoljeća*, Monumenta Srebrenica Knjiga 2, Tuzla-Srebrenica, 2013.
2. Čelebi, Evlija: *Putopisi*, Sarajevi-Publison ofg, Sarajevo, 1996.
3. Kreševljaković, Hamdija: *Hamami u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 1462-1916, Beograd, 1937.
4. Gruntovna knj. IX, K.O. Srebrenica, Uložak 417, Gruntovnica suda u Srebrenici.
5. Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı*, Ankara, 1943;
6. Mehmet Güneş, *Osmanlı Dönemi Nüfus Sayımları ve Bu Sayımları İçeren Kayıtları*, Gazi Akademik Bakış 8/15 (2014).
7. Nedim Zahirović, *Osmanski popisi stanovništva kao izvor za geneološka istraživanja na primjeru popisa sela Donji Ljenobud i Gornji Ljenobud iz 1850/1851. godine*, Analitika GHB 2017, pp. 179-194.
8. Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914): Demografikve Sosyal Özellikleri*, preveo. Bahar Tırnakçı, İstanbul 2003, pp. 44.
9. A. Cevat Eren, *Mahmud II. zamanında Bosna –Hersek*, İstanbul 1965.
10. Ahmed Lütfi Efendi, *Vak'aniüvis Ahmed Lütfi Efendi Tarihi*, akt. Ahmed Hezarfen, İstanbul 1999.



*Šefko Sulejmanović*

## THE MOSQUE IN KOZLUK NEAR ZVORNIK

### **Abstract:**

The mosque in Kozluk near Zvornik was built in the mid-17th century, during the Ottoman administration in Bosnia. According to the time of construction, it is the oldest mosque in the Zvornik area and its surroundings. With occasional reparations and renewal, and enforced downtime, it served its primary purpose from the time of its inception until today. From the initially modest mosque with wooden minaret and wooden roof, it eventually developed into a monumental domed mosque with two spiked minarets. The mosques in Kozluk is presented through four time periods in this paper. In addition to historical vertical, its architectural characteristics in all epochs of its existence are presented as well. Alongside the mosque, waqfs, cemeteries and mekteb, as its integral infrastructure, are also presented. Additionally, all known persons who worked in the mosque, such as: imams, waqfs, mutevelis, muezzins, mualimas and others, are presented in the paper.

**Key words:** Podrinje, Zvornik, Kozluk, people of Kozluk, the mosque, waqf, maktab, imams, beneficiaries.

### **1. The Village Kozluk**

Kozluk is situated on the fourteenth kilometer of the Zvornik – Bijeljina road, on the left bank of the Drina River. The data on the ancient history of the village are very modest.<sup>1</sup> However, many tombs talk about the population in the ancient period that are even present today. The etymology of the name is unknown. There are two versions of the origins of the name. According to one, Kozluk was named after a wild plant that people used to call koziji luk (lit. goat's onion), and the place itself was named Kozluk. According to the other version, that has its roots in the Turkish language, *Because there are*

<sup>1</sup> Mehmed Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika Bosne i Hercegovine*, knjiga II, Sarajevo 1998, pp. 133, (hereinafter: M. Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika II*).

*many nut trees, it is named Kozluk* (lit. in Turkish “Kozlidze”), as it noted down a famous Evlja Čelebi.<sup>2</sup> Although the name was not noted in the earliest Ottoman lists,<sup>3</sup> Kozluk belonged to a group of significant settlements in the Ottoman period, in the area of Zvornik Kadiluk (lit. county).<sup>4</sup> Describing Kozluk Evlja Čelebi in his *Sejhatnami* says that it is a town (in Turkish: kasaba) in the Zvornik Sanjak with a mosque, two inns and several shops.<sup>5</sup> Bearing in mind that Kozluk was named kasaba, it had to have a weekly market day, and possibly a yearly fair. A huge number of refugees from Serbia, mainly from Sokol, after 1862 settled in Kozluku, after which this town experienced faster urban development.<sup>6</sup>

With the arrival of the Ottomans to Bosnia, Kozluk started its development as a caravan station, because on the Zvornik – Bijeljina road were present cars already in the 17th century. “A French man Kikle, who was a professional royal interpreter for the Turkish language, on a diplomatic task on his road from Paris to Istanbul passed through Kozluk in 1658.”<sup>7</sup> Then he wrote that there were two inns in Kozluk: Sarajli-han (lit. Sarajli Inn) and Mehmed Čelebijin-han (lit. Mehmed Čelebi’s Inn), and a mosque named after Mehmed Čelebi. Dr. Hazim Šabanović mentiones also that *Kozluk was an important settlement in the Zvornik County in the 17th century.*<sup>8</sup>

However, very turbulent political events in the 17th and 18th centuries in the Bosnia Eyalet (lit. State), prevented further economic and cultural development of Kozluk. It significantly stagnated in the 18th, and was not mentioned in the 19th century, probably as a consequence of war during which Kozluk was devastated. Nevertheless, Kozluk was a significant strategic place for the Ottoman state, therefore, immediatley after the Zvornik Capetancy was established in 1718 a tower was built in Kozluk. “In the mid-19th cnetury the territory of present day Kozluk was the estate of the Fidahić family (probably

2 Evlja Čelebi, *Putopisi – odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*, translated by Hazim Šabanović, Sarajevo 1996, pp. 485, (hereandafter: E. Čelebi, *Putopis*).

3 See observation on the development of this village in: A. Uzunović, N. Banjanović, *Kozluk*, pp. 30.

4 Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, Sarajevo 1959, pp. 201, (hereandafter: H. Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*).

5 E. Čelebi, *Putopis*, pp. 485.

6 *Memoari Živka Crnogorčevića (Memoars of Živko Crnogorčević)*, edited by Milenko Filipović, Sarajevo 1966, pp. 71. It is stated in the mentioned work that Bosnian Vizier Osman Pasha Skopljak owned large estate in Bosnia and that *all his property after his death went to malul (to the State), as well as the village Kozluk in the Zvornik County on the Drina River...*

7 Alija Uzunović, Nusret Banjanović, *Kozluk: Monografija*, Kozluk 1979, pp. 30, (hereandafter: A. Uzunović, N. Banjanović, *Kozluk*).

8 A. Uzunović, N. Banjanović, *Kozluk*, pp. 30-31.

from the 18th century).<sup>9</sup> According to certain data, at the very beginning of the 19th century there was only one inn in Kozluk, which certainly speaks of reduced transit and traffic of goods along the Drina River, in comparison to the earlier Ottoman period.<sup>10</sup>

In the second half of the 19th century, or more precise in 1862, 141 families with 373 male members would arrive to Kozluk from Soko in Serbia. Apparently those refugees, with a *mosque, tower, remains of lime pit and residential objects* found only two families in Kozluk, families Mehić and Marhošević, and *the village was already overgrown with weeds.*<sup>11</sup> With the arrival of refugees from Soko to Kozluk in 1862, the town started its new life. Probably at the time, the first madrassa was established in Kozluk, which was very significant for urban physiology and cultural aura of the town,<sup>12</sup> and with the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian in 1878, Kozluk received the status of municipality, which it retained until 1962.<sup>13</sup> After that period, during the socialist Yugoslavia, Kozluk was a significant place in the Municipality of Zvornik, connected with a road traffic to the center of municipality.<sup>14</sup> In the official state administration, it had the status of local community.<sup>15</sup>

## 2. The Mosque in Kozluk

In its centuries-long existence, since the mid-17th century until today, the mosque in Kozluk passed through different socio-political periods. As other mosques, it shared the destiny of the people it belonged to in its

9 *Ibid*, pp. 36.

10 A. Uzunović, N. Banjanović, *Kozluk*, pp. 32.

11 *Ibid*, 38-39. More detailed data on the mentioned migrations see in: Hodžić, Šaban „Migracije muslimanskog stanovništva iz Srbije u sjeveroistočnu Bosnu između 1788-1862. godine“, *Članci i građa za kulturnu istoriju istočne Bosne*, knjiga II, Tuzla 1958, pp. 65-142.

12 Hifzija Suljkić, „Islamski spomenici u Kozluku“, *Islamska baština u Bosni i Hercegovini i njenoj okolini*, sabrani tekstovi, Tuzla, 2007, 191, (hereinafter: H. Suljkić, *Islamski spomenici u Kozluku*)

13 Kozluk was until 1963 also the center of the municipality that encompassed the north-east part of today's municipality Zvornik along the Drina River towards Janja. Wikipedia, 15 April 2018.

14 “Kozluk is a ton. It has never been a village. Until 1962 it was a municipality with the population of 19,000. It was degraded in that year to a local community. It had its industrial resources, touristic potential. We are urban settlement.“ This is what the citizens of Kozluk stated about Kozluk in: Bajro Perva, „Kozluk (Zvornik): The renewed mosque is decorated with two minarets“, *Preporod*, br. 16/930, (15 August 2010), pp. 37, (hereinafter: B. Perva, *Obnovljenu džamiju sad krase dvije munare*).

15 According to the list in there were 2.115 people in 1971, 2.652 people in 1981 and 3.017 people in 1991 in Kozluk. Wikipedia, 20 April 2018.

religious and symbolic correlation. In the architectural terms, in all the periods of its existence it reflected the economic and other socio-political and cultural situations of the time. For centuries it personified the reach of Oriental and Islamic culture and witnessed the presence of Muslims on the left bank of the Drina River. It was repaired, rebuilt and expanded several times. It is also known that it was badly damaged during the World War 2, but the heaviest devastation, destruction and disruption experienced during the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995. Today, it is rebuilt, with far higher spatial capacity, prettier and more functional than it ever was. Spatially and symbolically, it is situated in the center of Kozluk, where it likely “always” was.<sup>16</sup> In this paper, its centuries-long existence and its cultural and historical significance will be presented in four correlative periods.

## 2.1. The First Period

As far as it is known until today, the first travel-writer who mentioned the mosque in Kozluk was a Frenchman Kikle who said in 1658 that it was Mehmed Čelebi's mosque.<sup>17</sup> It is the first time the mosque was mentioned, under this name, which was probably the name of its first founder.<sup>18</sup> In historiography, this data is considered to be quite reliable, which points undoubtedly that the mosque in Kozluk existed in the mentioned period. Unfortunately, there are no precise data on its appearance, income, religious officials, and the exact place of its location. Since it had its founder, it must have also had foundation (waqfs) that financed its work.

Some authors believe that the founder of this mosque was Mehmed Čelebi who founded a mosque in Zvornik as well, and there are also modest data on that mosque.<sup>19</sup> Mehmed Čelebi's mosque in Zvornik was also mentioned

---

16 See a copy of a cadastral plan where the location of the mosque in Kozluk is noted. Appendix: F-1.

17 H. Suljkić, *Islamski spomenici u Kozluku*, 188; As already stated, a Frenchman Kikle during its diplomatic journey from Paris to Istanbul, spent several hours in Kozluk in 1658 and wrote down several modest data about Kozluk. A. Uzunović, N. Banjanović, *Kozluk*, pp. 30.

18 On Friday, 22 July 2016, was organized a round table on a topic “450 years of the mosque in Kozluk”, and more about it will be given in a part that elaborates the latest renewal and functioning of the mosque in Kozluk.

19 “The mosque with the same name existed also in Zvornik, and was mentioned for the first time in 1600. It is assumed that it was today's mosque Rijeka (River), whose name, according to tradition, is Hajji Mehmed's mosque. There are no data on its foundation, but it is certain that it was the same man who built a mosque in Kozluk.” A. Uzunović, N. Banjanović, *Kozluk*, pp. 30-31.

as Hajji Mehmed's, or as people called it Riječanska džamija (the River's mosque).<sup>20</sup> It is not clarified whether it was one or two different persons yet. According to all mentioned, it should be notified that Hajji Mehmed's quart in Zvornik, as well as his foundations were mentioned in the Ottoman sources from the mid-16th century,<sup>21</sup> and in the second half of the 16th century, among five Muslim quarts, *Mehmed Čelebi's mosque and quart* were clearly mentioned.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, it is quite certain that in the middle of the second half of the 16th century in Zvornik lived philanthropist and benefactor Mehmed Čelebi, and that at the same time was built a mosque named after its founder.

The second time the mosque was mentioned was in 1664. Namely, several years after a Frenchman Kikle, or precisely in 1664, the Ottoman travel-writer Evlija Čelebi<sup>23</sup> passed through Kozluk who, while speaking about what he saw in Kozluk said: "There is a mosque, two inns and several stores. Houses are covered with boards."<sup>24</sup> Evlija Čelebi did not give detailed data on the mosque in Kozluk as well, neither about its appearance nor its founder. Given that houses were covered with boards, it is likely that the existing mosque was also covered with boards or shingles. One can claim with certainty that it was of modest spatial capacity and construction material, because, otherwise, Evlija Čelebi would have said more about it, as he wrote excitedly about Musa Pasha's mosque in Nova Kasaba. Also, had the mosque had in its yard a tekke (Dervish's house), turbe (a tomb of a saint person) or any other significant object, or a grave of its founder, Evlija Čelebi would have certainly mentioned it in his *Sejahatnama*.

A period when the mosque in Kozluk was mentioned twice (1658 and 1664), in historiography is known as the period of weakening of the Ottoman Empire (1579-1683) and the loss of its territories in Europe (1685-1792).<sup>25</sup>

20 "It is possible that a quart with Mehmed Čelebi's mosque, that is the mosque, was identical to today's quart and mosque called Rijeka (lit. River). According to tradition, the old name of Riječka džamija (lit. River's mosque) was: Hajji Mehmed's mosque." Mustafa Sulejmanović [Hifzija Suljkić], „Tri zvorničke džamije“, *Islamska misao*, No. 78-79, Sarajevo 1985, pp. 28.

21 "No one knows who was late Hajji Mehmed. His foundation was the most significant, 5.400 akchas and consisted of revenues (interests), inherited cash and rents from 23 shops that he established and endowed. Expenditures accounted for salaries of a mosque's officials and officials of two masdjids (lit. a mosque without minaret), which totaled to 5,266 akchas" See more in: A. Handžić, *Tuzla i njena okolina*, pp. 147. And footnotes under no. 21 and 22.

22 A. Handžić, *Tuzla i njena okolina*, pp. 149.

23 Evlija ibn Dervš Mehmed Zili (Evlija son of Dervish Mehmed Zili), also known as Evlija Čelebi, "globetrotter", as he righteously called himself, travelled through Kozluk in 1664. from Tuzla to Bijeljina.

24 E. Čelebi, *Putopis*, pp. 485.

25 See: Mustafa Spahić, *Povijest islama*, Sarajevo 1996, pp. 435-437; et al.

The Ottoman Empire led long and exhausting wars against the Habsburg Monarchy, then against the Venetian Republic, Poland, and in the east against Persia and Russia. Had the mosque been built, or renewed during such adverse socio-political circumstances, it would have surely had modest architectural characteristics. The mosque in Kozluk according to all indications and analogue indicators was built much earlier than the years mentioned, in a place of strategic significance for the State, next to important traffic communication between Zvornik and Bijeljina, that is Rača on the Sava River.

It can be concluded from a court dispute over the performance of muteveli's (lit. muteveli – a manager of a waqf (foundation) duties of waqfs from Kozluk that the mosque in Kozluk existed in the mid-18th century, or precisely in 1755.<sup>26</sup> "The waqfs of the mosque in Kozluk (Zvornik)" with annual monetary incomes and outcomes was mentioned in the late 19th century in the Budget of waqfs in Bosnia and Herzegovina for 1889.<sup>27</sup>

In functional terms, regardless of its appearance and size, the mosque in Kozluk was used to perform the five daily prayers and religious instruction, and possibly to perform the Friday prayer and two Eids. For connoisseurs of cultural and social circumstances of the time, this means that Kozluk, in urban terms, had the status of a small town,<sup>28</sup> which famous Evlija Čelebi explicitly stated, and that Kozluk at that time was inhabited by Muslims.

## 2.2. The Second Period

The time period of Kozluk from the acquisition of the status of town until the 19th century has not been explained, and travel writers also do not mention it. In the area of Zvornik and its surrounding heavy fightings took place in 1688/89 between the Ottoman and Austrian armies, on the occasion of which great material destruction, robbery and demographic changes occurred. Certainly, neither Kozluk nor its mosque could overcome the war consequences. Nevertheless, some believe that Kozluk in the 17th century was one of the most important settlements of the Zvornik Kadi, while some indicators indicate that Kozluk experienced urban stagnation in the 18th century. "According to some reliable sources, at the very beginning of the

26 More on the above mentioned see in a footnote on this article under no. 79.

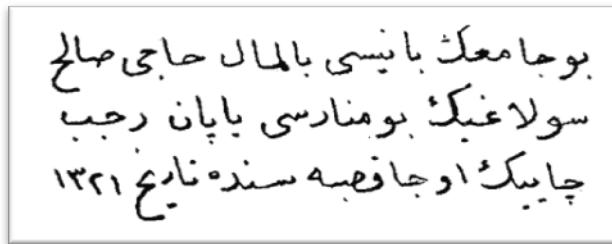
27 More detailed on the foundation see in: *Proračuni vakufa u Bosni i Hercegovini za godinu 1889*, Zemaljskom vakufskom povjerenstvu u Sarajevu, Sarajevo 1890, pp. 647, (hereinafter: *Proračuni vakufa u BiH za godinu 1889*).

28 In order for a place to become a town, it was necessary for it to reach certain level of development, and to have: at least one congregation of Muslims (a quart with about fifty permanently residing Muslims), at least one mosque where a Friday prayer and two eid prayers are being held, a market day and a square with shops.

19th century, there was an inn in Kozluk (certain Murta kept it), and in 1785 Suleyman Bosniak was mentioned as an imm of the mosque in Kozluk.<sup>29</sup>

It is presumed that the mosque retained its authetic appearance until the mid-19th century and with the arrival of a large number of refugees from Serbia, the need for reparation and expansions of the mosque appeared. “The immigrants from Sokol found in Kozluk a mosque, a maktab, a tower and ‘two-three houses’ (probably because of the plague and wars that were raging)”.<sup>30</sup> It is commonly known that the plague was often battered by the Bosnian Eyalet and devastated its villages and towns, and travel writers especially emphasized 1690, 1732, 1782 and 1816 as the years of the greatest misfortune of the Bosnian population.<sup>31</sup> This was the third time when the mosque in Kozluk was mentioned and it dated in 1862 and the arrival of new population from the Principality of Serbia to Kozluk.<sup>32</sup> With the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to Bosnia in 1878, immediately after that, the mosque was recorded in its topographic maps.<sup>33</sup>

There are some more data about the mosque from the beginning of the 20th century. Thanks to the tariff that was located above the entrance door of the mosque, and which was noted by famous Mehmed Mujezinović in his Epigraphy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the year and the founder of its reconstruction are known. Namely, above the entrance door there was, in Arabic letters and with free hand, the written text:



29 A. Uzunović, N. Banjanović, *Kozluk*, pp. 31-32.

30 H. Suljkić, *Islamski spomenici u Kozluku*, pp. 189.

31 ZA travel writer Friar Nikola Lašvanin wrote about the plague that devastated Bosnia in 1690 the following: “Wherever one goes, there were dead bodies laying; they were not buried, and there were nobody to do so. People ate leaves, bark of wood, vine leaves, dogs, cats. In Sarajevo, children ate their dead mother; in Banja Luka if they hanged somebody, the hungry people would eat him during the night...“ See in: Nikola Lašvanin, *Ljetopis*, Sarajevo, Zagreb, 2003, pp. 197; Also see in: Senaid Hadžić, *Primjeri suživljena*, Tuzla 2017, pp. 254-255.

32 M. Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika II*, pp. 133

33 The Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereinafter: ABH), The Collection: Maps and Plans (hereinafter: ZKP), Topographic Map, 6262 – Zvornik; See F-1 in the Appendix of this article.

“This mosque was restored by Hajji Salih Suljagić from his own funds, and the minaret was built by Redžep Čajić from the town of Odžak in 1321.“ (1903.)<sup>34</sup>

The mosque was built of hard material and placed on stone squid. The outer facade was white with two layers of narrow rectangular windows, a simple design. On the lower windows were installed protective grids (demirs). The mosque was covered with a four-convex wooden roof with a pile of pebbles, which was a common practice of the time. On the right side of the mosque there was a built-up minaret, whose hill reached the bottom of the window in the upper floor. According to the above, it can be concluded that the imam rose to the minaret from the mahfil of the mosque. As such, it served its purpose until 1967<sup>35</sup>

From the previously mentioned tariff it can be seen that the Hajji Salih Suljagić, from his own funds, erected a mosque with a stone minaret, which would as such exist until 1992. There are no data on who the mentioned Salih Suljagić was. He was probably a wealthy man who settled in Kozluk and built a mosque for the needs of the then ehalia.<sup>36</sup> It can be seen that the mosque served its purpose until 1965, from the fact that Mevlud was held in Kozluk on July 16, 1965, in the mosque marking the birth of Muhammad, s.a.v.s. The Mevlud was prepared and held by students of religious instruction under the leadership of the Jamaat's Imam Sulejman Effendi Osmanagića.<sup>37</sup>

### 2.3. The Third Period

The third period of the mosque in Kozluk started in 1967, when the old mosque was demolished, and at the same location the new one was erected, with the existing built minaret that was not, as we know it, demolished.<sup>38</sup> In a

34 M. Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika II*, pp. 133

35 The description of the mosque was given based on the photograph from 1961. See F-16 in the Appendix of the article.

36 There were many immigrants from Sokol that settled down in Kozluk in 1862 named Salih. There were no one with the last name Suljagić, but the closest is Salihagić. Therefore, under the number 25 was mentioned Salih son of Ibrahim Salihagić. See in: A. Uzunović, N. Banjanović, *Kozluk*, pp. 43.

37 In addition to a large number of believers, the following were also present at the Mevlud: religious and teaching servant Ibrahim Effendi Pajić and the President of the Board of the Islamic Religious Community Zvornik Hajji Jusuf Omerović, and a student from gazi Husrev Bey's Madrassa Abdulgafar Jukić. In: Muhamed Jakubović, „Mevludi-šerif u Kozluku“, *Glasnik*, No. 9-10, XXVIII/1965, (Sarajevo 1965), pp. 364.

38 “The Board of the Islamic Religious Community in Zvornik is approved as an investor,

report from 1968, it was mentioned that the old mosque “got heavy wounds during the war and recuperated for more than twenty years. And now it is the time to renew it completely<sup>39</sup> and heal it and again shines prettier than ever.”<sup>40</sup> This leads to the conclusion that the mosque in Kozluk was devastated during the World War 2 and was not adapted for a very long time.

The adaptation of the new mosque was conducted according to the duly completed and approved project documentation. The project has been preserved to the date by the competent municipal administration in Zvornik.<sup>41</sup> According to the mentioned documentation, the mosque had a rectangular layout concept 18.32x11.02 m. On the 80 cm stone wall, there were laid 38 cm thick walls, with two levels of windows, the lower of rectangular shape with semicircular finish, and the upper round windows.<sup>42</sup> There were twelve large windows in total, six on the left facade from the entrance, four on the right and two on the front side. The window openings were 1.20 m wide. The height of the interior light from the ceiling to the floor area was 6m. According to the layout projection of the mosque, the mihrab was 184 wide and the semicircular niche 114m. The edge of the mihrab was pushed towards the interior of the

---

to conduct a thorough adaptation of the mosque in Kozluk, and under the conditions that it adheres to approved technical and investment documents – of the project, architectural and urban and construction regulations of the works.“ Municipal Assembly Zvornik, Decision, Number: 05-600/67, from 12 June 1967, the first paragraph. The document is in the possession of Muhamed Banjanović from Kozluk.

- 39 The technical control was conducted and approval for construction was issued under the number: 05-600/1967 from 12 June 1967. “Preduzeće za projektovanje Bijeljina (the company for projects in Bijeljina)”, the name of the object: Adaptacija džamije (the adaptation of the mosque), Investor: the Jamaat’s Board. The document is in the possession of Muhamed Banjanović from Kozluk.
- 40 Ešref Berberović, „Reis-ul-ulema otvara nove džamije“, *Glasnik VIS u SFRJ*, No. 11-12/XXXI, Sarajevo 1968, pp. 530, (hereinafter: E. Berberović, *Reis-ul-ulema otvara nove džamije*). There are no clear data on the devastation of this mosque.
- 41 Photocopies of the project documentation are in the possession of Muhamed Banjanović from Kozluk. On the photocopy issued on 6 February 2003 in Zvornik, the following is printed by the printing machine: The photocopies are true to the original verified and claimed by the head of receiving office and signed by Stevo Jović. The document was certified by the seal of the Municipal Administration in Zvornik. On all sheets of the project documentation are signed project designers: engineer of architecture S Lukić, engineer of architecture K. Andrejević, technician M. Janča and engineer of architecture V. Ratković.
- 42 It is interesting to notice that small windows in the project documentation were rectangular shape with four light fields, but in the photographs they were circular in shape. It is presumed that the correction was due to symbolic significance of the sacral object. Compare the drawings of the mosque F-4 and a photograph F-5 in the Appendix of the article.

mosque for 57cm. The mihrab was built according to the Namazđah mosque in Zvornik,<sup>43</sup> as well as other construction characteristics similar to his mosque.<sup>44</sup> The porch in front of the entrance door in the planar projection was 3.80x3.00 m. The mosque was covered with a four-wire wooden roof with a red tile cover. The minaret was masonry, with one open sarcophagus, but its closer characteristics are not mentioned.

The new mosque was built in a year of solid building materials. After the construction of the mosque, inspection was carried out by the competent municipal authorities, so that the facility could obtain a usable permit. After the approval was issued for use by the competent state authorities, the mosque was officially opened on September 8, 1968. The ceremony was attended by the then Reisul-ulema Sulejman Effendi Kemura, who solemnly opened the mosque.<sup>45</sup> As such, with occasional rehabilitation and less restoration, it existed until 1992.<sup>46</sup>

- 
- 43 The Namazđah mosque in Zvornik, was demolished on 31 July 1978. See in: H. Suljkić, *Islamski spomenici u Kozluku*, pp. 189.
  - 44 ABH, The State Government for Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo – the construction Department (ZVS-GO) 1873-1918, Sacral objects. There is a project of the construction of the Namazđah mosque and its description in the Archives. The Namazđah mosque from the newer period was built in 1911 (in 1329 according to the Islamic calendar). The project was developed by the architect L. Wendleuner, and its realization in front of the Maeriffs Commission in Zvornik signed the president Smailbeg Skopljaković. The project of the Namazđah mosque was published within: *Projekti (skice i planovi) sakralnih objekata u fondovima Arhiva Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1918 (Projects (drawings and plans) of sacral objects in the funds of the Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1878-1918)*, Sarajevo 2005, without the pp.
  - 45 At this festivity present were, among others: the president of the Board of the Islamic Religious Community in Zvornik Jusuf Hadžiomerović, the main imam from Tuzla Hafiz Husein Effendi Mujić, the president of the Board of the Islamic Religious Community in Bijeljina Husein Effendi Grabčanović, religious and teaching servants from Bijeljina, Gradačac, Zvornik and Srebrenica and many imams. A prayer ashore at the beginning said Hafiz Abdulah Effendi Budimlija, a report on the construction of the mosque read a secretary of the Islamic Religious Community in Zvornik Salih Mujaković, and a key of the newly built mosque a local imam Rašid Effendi Ahmetović gave to the Reisul-ulema. At the ceremony, among others, spoke: H. Naim Effendi Hadžiabdić, Orthodox priest Miladin Racić and a main imam from Belgrade Hamdi Effendi Jusufspahić. Together with Reisul-ulema were also H. Kasim Effendi Ibršimović and H. Ešref Berberović. See more in: E. Berberović, *Reisu-ul-ulema otvara nove džamije*, pp. 530-531.
  - 46 At this festivity present were, among others: the president of the Board of the Islamic Religious Community in Zvornik Jusuf Hadžiomerović, the main imam from Tuzla Hafiz Husein Effendi Mujić, the president of the Board of the Islamic Religious Community in Bijeljina Husein Effendi Grabčanović, religious and teaching servants from Bijeljina, Gradačac, Zvornik and Srebrenica and many imams. A prayer ashore at the beginning said Hafiz Abdulah Effendi Budimlija, a report on the construction of the mosque read a

According to Mehmed Mujezinović, next to the mosque in Kozluk there were several tombs with inscripts, from the newer age. The epitaphs on tombs show that here were burried, among others: Zumreta Čučković, a wife of Hafiz Abdulah-aga Suljagić, a daughter of Mustafin, died in 1315 (1897); Emira, a wife of hajji Salih-aga Suljagić, a daughter of Abdi-aga, died in 1321 (1903). The epitaph on her upper tomb wrote in *talik* letters Ahmed Burić from Brčko; Safija, a daughter of Abdulah Effendi Kučukalić, died in 1324 (1906) and Hajji Mustafa-aga Suljagić, son of Sulejman-aga, died in 1336 (1917).<sup>47</sup>

When Serbian paramilitaries occupied Kozluk in April 1992, they brutally exterminated the entire Bosniak population, destroyed the mosque in Kozluk and ruined all traces of the existence of the mosque and its yard. For almost ten years, its yard and aligned cemetery served as a parking lot and mixed goods market. As far as it is known, this was the only and longest period of interruption of the work of this mosque. However, it never, and even then, was not destroyed in the hearts and minds of its people. This is how a displaced girl from Kozluk, from the distant world, remembers her mosque:

“... that the mosque in which during Ramadan we would go on teravia, there is no more. This is where the bus station is now stationed by Serbs inhabiting the town from which all Muslims were expelled. Yes, they destroyed the mosque. And it was once pleasant to listen to the mixed sound of church bells and ezan from the minaret.”<sup>48</sup>

These words of the expelled girl from Kozluk tell in the best way what the mosque taught people, and how they were raised. Despite the terrible evil that has been done to her, her parents and her family, and her mosque, in her heart no seed of hatred towards the church or church bell is seen. Towards the churches of those who did such an evil to her.

---

secretary of the Islamic Religious Community in Zvornik Salih Mujaković, and a key of the newly built mosque a local imam Rašid Effendi Ahmetović gave to the Reisul-ulema. At the ceremony, among others, spoke: H. Naim Effendi Hadžiabdić, Orthodox priest Miladin Racić and a main imam from Belgrade Hamdi Effendi Jusufspahić. Together with Reisul-ulema were also H. Kasim Effendi Ibrašimović and H. Ešref Berberović. See more in: E. Berberović, *Reisu-ul-ulema otvara nove džamije*, pp. 530-531.

47 M. Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika II*, pp. 133.

48 Alma Iman, “Kozluk – tamo gdje Bosna počinje”, Ratna tribina, No. 14, 25 January 1993, pp. 12. The title: “Zagrebačke tuge”, (hereandafter: A.Iman, *Kozluk*). A message from a girl from Kozluk who was at the time a refugee in Zagreb. “No evil lasted for ever, and this one will also not last.”

## 2.4. The Fourth Period

After the forced deportation of Muslims from Kozluk in 1992, the hope of returning to their Kozluk was never left by those who truly belonged to it. The people of Kozluk showed that after Dayton, returning to Kozluk in large numbers, renewing their houses and building their mosque. As already mentioned, the Kozluk Mosque was in the heart of Kozluk, in its real and symbolic sense. Therefore, even at the time of the most brutal armed aggression (1992-1995), the people of Kozluk did not lose hope of returning to their home land. Thus, the previously mentioned expelled girl from Kozluk builds with her childish imagination ruined and protects her homeland and loved ones from forgetting:

“We will build new houses, factories and religious houses. We will build new Bosnia. The wind will blow away the dust and the time will bury it. Everybody can forget, but I will not. I will keep it in a corner of my memories, for my grandchildren, if I have any. And if they feel Bosnia according to their grandmother’s words, let them feel it according to the dust. It will make them grow fonder in their hearts and they will not allow such a war to happen again.”<sup>49</sup>

With the return of people to Kozluk, after the Dayton Accord, the preparations for the construction of the mosque started. The first Ramadan Eid prayer in Kozluk was held on 16 December 2001 in a house of Abdullah Jakubović.<sup>50</sup> The ceremony was conducted by Mehmed Effendi Huremović from Kraljevići near Sapna. After the eid prayer started the initiative for foundation of the Jamaat Board. Seven members were proposed for the Jamaat Board, and it was confirmed with the Decision of the Majlis of Islamic

---

49 A.Iman, *Kozluk*. This is a message of a persecuted girl from Kozluk who at the time spent her refuge in Zagreb. These are her words of support, encouragement, but also a hope of better future. She says: “I am a child of Bosnia. This one, from the dust. That is the base of its future. And I do not see mine without it.”

50 The following were present at the eid prayer: Abdullah Jakubović, Sulejman Mehmedović, Muhamed Osmanbegović, Mehmedalija Osmanbegović, Zuhdija Hadžimuratović, Sadik Hodžić, Huso Hodžić, Salih Delić, Hasan Delić, Nurija Kuprašić, Fahrudin Hadžialić, Alija Banjanović, Meksud Melezanović, Mustafa Haranbašić, Sejdalija Marhošević, Mustafa Hergić, Hasan Pekmezović, Muhamed Banjanović, Husejn Čajkić and Isen Imeri. Two women were also present at the meeting after the eid prayer: Emina Jakubović and Hirka Melezanović. The signed document is in the possession of Muhamed Banjanović from Kozluk.

Community Zvornik from 19 February 2002. Muhamed Banjanović<sup>51</sup> was appointed president of the Jamaat Board and he conducted the service until 2014.<sup>52</sup> The first donations for the construction of the mosque were recorded on 15 August 2002.<sup>53</sup> The foundation stone for the mosque, with speeches, was laid on 21 May 2004,<sup>54</sup> and the mosque was officially opened on 24 July 2010.<sup>55</sup> *The renewal laste for 7 years.*<sup>56</sup> Out of 19 renewed mosques in the territory of the Mejlis of the Islamic Community Zvornik, *this is the largest*

- 
- 51 Upon the Decision of the Executive Board of the Islamic Community Zvornik number: 28/02 from 10 February 2002, the following were appointed to the Jamaat Board of the Jamaat Kozluk: 1. Mehmed Banjanović, the president, 2. Muhamed Osmanbegović, member, 3. Mustafa Hergić, member, 4. Meksud Melezanović, member, 5. Mustafa Haranbašić, member, 6. Amir Jakupović, member and 7. Sado Jatić, member. The Decision was signed by the president of the Executive Board of the Mejlis of the Islamic Community Juso Jusić. See in: The Archives of the Mejlis of the Islamic Community Zvornik.
  - 52 In the following year, 2015, the Executive Board of the MIC Zvornik appointed the Commission whose task was to organise elections of the Jamaat Board and members of the Mejlis Assembly. At the head of the Commission was Muhamed Banjanović. See: the Act of the Executive Board MIC Zvornik number: 02-03-3-365-1/15 from 4 October 2015 on the appointment of the Commission of the Jamaat Kozluk consisting of: 1. Muhamed Banjanović, the president, 2. Hajrudin Kahrimanović, member and 3. Hakija Hadžić, member. The Archives MIC Zvornik; The personal documentation of Muhamed Banjanović.
  - 53 The first donators on 15 August 2002 were: 1. Muhamed (Salih) Banjanović - 200, 2. Ševko (jusuf) Pekmezović – 250, 3. Husejn (Junuz) Banjanović – 50, 4. Stjepan (?) Halužan – 200, 5. Velić (Alija) Pekmezović – 100, 6. Me deputy of the Tuzla Mufti Besim Effendi Čanić. The document of the Office of the Tuzla Mufti number: 204/03, from 10 December 2003. According to the personal records of Muhamed Banjanović (1 April 2018).
  - 54 On behalf of the Jamaat and Construction Board the words of gratitude to all who helped the construction of the mosque, said the president of the Jamaat and Construction Board Muhamed Banjanović. The speech, handwritten on two pages of A-4 form are in the ownership of Muhamed Banjanović. At the meeting was also present the president of the Executive Board of the MIC Bijeljina Sead Berberović, who also gave a contribution in money on behalf of MIC Bijeljina as a symbolic type of help to the refugee jamaat. The document is in the possession of Muhamed Banjanović.
  - 55 *Islamska zajednica u BiH: Monografija*, pp. 518; *Pozivnica*, Odbor Islamske zajednice Zvornik, džemat Kozluk, Organizacioni odbor, „Pozivamo Vas na otovrenje džamije u Kozluku dana 24.07.2010 godine u 13 sati. Odbor“ (*Invitation*, The Board of Islamic Community Zvornik, the Jamaat Kozluk, the Organization Board, “We invite you to the opening of the mosque in Kozluk on 24 July 2010 at 13:00 hours. The Board“)
  - 56 “All the members of the jamaat in Kozluk, within their possibilities, helped the renewal of the mosque. Before the war, there were around 700 households in the jamaat in Kozluk. Around 350 households returned.“ B. Perva, *Obnovljenu džamiju sad krase dvije munare*, pp. 37.

*mosque opened after the war.*<sup>57</sup> The ceremony of opening of the mosque was attended by the highest ranking officials of the Islamic Community.<sup>58</sup>

The newly built mosque has rectangular layout concept 21.22x14.95 m,<sup>59</sup> covered with one large and three small concrete cupolas coated with copper sheets.<sup>60</sup> Two concrete minarets with two balconies each were built next to the mosque. Minarets are 41.70 m high each, and contain 109 metal stairs.<sup>61</sup> *As people from Kozluk like to say, this is the first mosque with two minarets in the lower Podrinje.*<sup>62</sup> Although the mosque in Kozluk was built from the assets donated by people from Kozluk scattered all over the world, the most creditable individuals for its present day renewal were: Hajji Salih Suljagić, Ahmed Effendi Purković, Abdulah Jatić, Muhamed Banjanović and Hakija Hadžić.<sup>63</sup>

The interior of the mosque is very decorative. The height of the illuminated area of the mosque from the head of the dome to the floor surface is 13.75 m. The mihrab is made of marble with mat golden color, with engraved Arabic ornaments. The mihrab, as well as all window openings end with a sharp broken bow.<sup>64</sup> The minbar and throne were made of wood, decorated with

---

57 The words of the main imam Nurija Effendi Čikarić at the opening ceremony. See in: B. Perva, *Obnovljenu džamiju sad krase dvije munare*, pp. 37.

58 The day before the opening ceremony, Friday prayer was conducted by the then Reisululema dr Mustafa Effendi Ceric, because the following day he was present at the opening of mosque in Sanica near Ključ. His representative at the opening ceremony was a military mufti Ismail Effendi Smajlović. At the ceremony their speeches gave: the Tuzla Mufti Husejn Effendi Kavazović, Main Imam Nurija Effendi Čikarić, Imam Ahmed Effendi Purković, the president of the Construction Board Abdulah Jatić and others. The mosque was opened by: Imam Ahmed Effendi Purković, the president of the Construction Board Abdulah Jatić and Muteveli Muhamed Banjanović. See in: B. Perva, *Obnovljenu džamiju sad krase dvije munare*, pp. 37.

59 See the layout concept of the mosque in the Main project for the construction of the mosque in Kozluk from 2003.

60 The mentioned and other technical data are displayed according to Main project for the construction of the mosque in Kozluk: Re-Konstrukcija, doo Sarajevo, Main Designer: Husein Redžić, Construction Engineer., Sarajevo, September 2003. Project Investor: The Commission of the Jamaat Kozluk. The project was available thanks to the president of the Jamaat Board Abdulah Jatić. The construction works were performed by the company "Tehnograd" from Tuzla.

61 A mason Samir (?) from Bosanski Novi built minarets.

62 *Islamska zajednica u BiH: Monografija*, pp. 518.

63 M. [Muhamed] Berbić, „Obilježena četiri i po stoljeća islama u Kozluku“, *Dnevni avaz*, 26 July 2016, 21, (hereinafter: M. Berbić, *Obilježene četiri i po stoljeća islama u Kozluku*).

64 A marble mihrab was built by a mason Samir Džafić from Rainaci, Kalesija.

perforations, and covered with a color of the mihrab.<sup>65</sup> The protection fence on the mahfil and stairs to mahfil and basement were made of rostfour material.<sup>66</sup> The calligraphic and ornamental decoration of the mosque were performed by top calligraphers and painters, giving this mosque special decorative value.<sup>67</sup> The mosque is air-conditioned, with underfloor heating,<sup>68</sup> and the floor area in the main room for adoration is covered with carpet jets in a combination of red and golden color. The ground floor with a space for adoration, left and right anteroom and staircase occupies an area of 259.70 m<sup>2</sup>, and the base of the basement with library, hall, classroom, two rooms for religious washing, corridor, pantry, male and female toilet and staircase 261.30 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>69</sup> The mosque has a total of 72 openings, of various shapes and sizes, which are sealed with plastic joinery, in combination with glass and metal.<sup>70</sup>

The courtyard of the mosque is greened and neatly maintained. It is enclosed with concrete pavement and pillars with a wrought-iron fence, in a very decorative design. In the courtyard of the mosque, beside the shadrums, arranged paths and a bench seat, there are also three metal flag masts. A total of eleven graves were restored with tombs made of white marble. According to the villagers, this is only part of the newly built tombs that existed earlier in the mosque's yard, which were brutally removed during the aggression (1992-1995) and the demolition of the mosque in Kozluk. On the right side of the mast are three tombs belonging to family Purković, next to the right minaret five tombs belonging to family Banjanović, in front of the mosque one tomb of the late Zumreta and on the left side of the mosque two tombs. According to the inscriptions on the existing tombs, the following were buried in the yard: Selmo Purković (1872-1926), Ibrahim Purković (1886-1934), Šefil (Selmo) Purković (1926-1983), Sabit (Mustafa) Banjanović (1907-1982), Mustafa (Sulejmana) Banjanović (1886-1971), Jusuf (Sulejman) Banjanović (1897-1960), Abdulah (Sulejmana) Banjanović (1885-1960) Hajji Sulejman (Avdija) Banjanović (died in 1917), Zumreta Begtašević (1900-1983), Salko Banjanović and Nura Banjanović.<sup>71</sup>

65 The minber and thorne were built by the company "Hamidović", owned by Rasim Hamidović from Hidani, Kalesija.

66 The mentioned constructions were perfomed by the company "Herceg" from Srebrenik.

67 The calligraphic and decorative perofrmance was made according to the drawing and under the supervision of dr Čazim Hadžimejlić from Sarajevo.

68 The electro installation and heating were perofrmmed by the company "Elektro-tehna" from Tuzla.

69 The data are given according to the Main project from 2003.

70 All the plastic jointry was performed by the company "Drina-plast", owned by Hariz Bećirović. All the data were given by Abdulah Jatić, on 20 April 2018.

71 The insight was realized at the site on Friday, 20 April 2018. On the given day I talked

Today in Kozluk lives around 330 Bosniaks, which is 10-11% of the before the war number of population. At the Jamaat Board's list there are around 400 members of the Islamic Community. In religious school maktab there are a total of 19 students. All the daily prayers are held in the mosque, Friday prayer, eid prayers, and occasionally other religious programs such as mevlud, tahvid, etc. The jamaat kozluk achieves very good results in the maktab's competitions organized by the Islamic Community. Although it belongs to the so-called "refugee jamaat", Kozluk responds to many humanitarian activities, and they received a special recognition from the Riyaset of Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the most successful jamaat in collection of zekaat and sadekatul-fitr in the area of the MIC Zvornik. On the occasion of marking the Deportation Day of people of Kozluk on 26 June 1992, religious programs are organized every year in the mosque of Kozluk.<sup>72</sup> The current president of the Jamaat Board in Kozluk is Abdulah Jatić.<sup>73</sup>

On Friday, 22 July 2016, on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the renewal of the mosque in Kozluk, a cultural and religious event was prepared in Kozluk under the name "The four and a half centuries of Islam and Muslims in Kozluk". The aim of this event was to gather all people from Kozluk from all over the world, and to become a traditional annual gathering of people from Kozluk. The event is marked by a series of content of religious, cultural and sporting character. On that occasion the Tuzla Mufti vahid Effendi Fazlović visited Kozluk and led a Friday prayer on Friday, 22 July 2016. The central part of the event was a round table that was organized in the mosque of Kozluk after the Friday prayer.<sup>74</sup> It was the fourth of meeting with the mosque in Kozluk and its jamaat.

---

in Kozluk with Abdulah Jahić, the president of the Jamaat Board, Ahmet Effendi Memić, Imam of the mosque in Kozluk and Ahmed Effendi Purković, retired Kozluk's Imam. Here, I express my gratitude for their hospitality and plenty of useful information.

- 72 According to the saying of Ahmed Effendi Memić on 22 April 2018.
- 73 According to the Minute recorded on 14 March 2016 at the consultative meeting of the Jamaat Board in Kozluk, in the Jamaat Board were elected: Abdulah Jatić, the president, Ahmed Effendi Purković, deputy, Hakija Hadžić, treasurer, Muhamed Osmanbegović, member, Mahmut Kalabaluković, member, Abdulah Hasanović, member and Ahmet Effendi Memić, member. The Minute is published on the Info Board in the mosque.
- 74 At the round table a journalist and publicist Mehmed Pargan, history teacher Mustafa Muharemović and master of historical science Šefko Sulejmanović, spoke and among others, it was stated that the mosque in Kozluk represented the oldest sacral object in Kozluk, that it continuously performed its function for about 450 years, and that today's Bosniaks of Kozluk are largely descendants of residents of the town Sokol and other places in the western Serbia, who moved to Kozluk in the second half of the 19th century. More on the event in the report: M. Berbić, *Obilježene četiri i po stoljeća islama u Kozluku*, 21. See a photo in the Appendix of the article, F-14.

### 3. Waqfs

How the mosque in Kozluk was maintained at the time of its establishment, for now we do not have reliable knowledge. It is most probable that her founder, Mehmed Čelebi, left of the necessary funds from which its servants were also paid. Only its existence and work in the Ottoman period speak of the necessity of having a waqf. The first mention of the waqf Mehmed-aga in the village of Kozluk was in 1755 in connection with a dispute over the exercise of the duty of the mutavelli of this waqf.<sup>75</sup> Over a hundred and thirty years later, in the Accounts of the waqf in Bosnia and Herzegovina for 1889, “the waqf of the mosque in Kozluk (Zvornik)” realized an annual income of 45 forints, from the income of two fields. The money was spent on the salaries of the imams and the mujesins. The muttevel of the waqf was Hajji Mustafa-aga.<sup>76</sup> The other waqfs were not mentioned in the mentioned Accounts.

Over time, the waqf of the mosque in Kozluk was growing, or all waqfs were not properly recorded before. On the basis of the contract on donation and order of the State Government on July 29, 1913, the ownership of a certain property was registered in favor of the waqf of the mosque in Kozluk.<sup>77</sup> According to data provided by Hifzija Suljkić, a passionate researcher of the Muslim heritage, especially in northeastern Bosnia, the waqf of the mosque in Kozluk in the 1980s had the following real estate: Ćeramidluci - 9 dunams of the plow, Buban - 4 dunams, Vrbak - 2 dunams, Bare - 9 dunams, Nožinović's field - 4 dunams, Vakuf - 3 dunams, Harem - 18 dunams, several plots in Skočičko field, as well as a graveyard around the mosque with the area of 1.5 dunam.<sup>78</sup>

---

75 Gazi Husrev Bey's library (hereandafter: GHB), the Turkish documents (hereandafter: TD), Polimac, XII/251. In the document sent to the Zvronik's Kadi in 1755 (1169) waqf Mehmed-aga was mentioned in the village Kozluk and the dispute about the right to perform the duty of mutevelli of the waqf; GHB, TD, Polimac; XII/417. The document was sent to the Bosnian Vali and Kadi... in the Zvornik Sanjak in 1761 (1174) where Mustafa son of Ibrahim Pasha complains about mutevelli of *the mosque in Kozluk's waqf, the violent Alibeg because he meddled in his ziyamat*; H. Suljkić, *Islamska baština*, pp. 189.

76 More details on this waqf see in: *Proračuni vakufa u Bosni i Hercegovini za godinu 1889*, Zemaljskom vakufskom povjerenstvu u Sarajevu, Sarajevo 1890, 647, (hereandafter: *Proračuni vakufa u BiH za godinu 1889*).

77 Vakufska direkcija Sarajevo (the Waqf Office in Sarajevo) (hereandafter: VDS), *Prepisi z.k. izvodaka za godinu 1911*. Vlastovnica, No. 499.

78 H. Suljkić, *Islamski spomenici u Kozluku*, 189; *Islamska zajednica u BiH: Monografija*, pp. 518.

As it can be concluded, the mosque in Kozluk had in the past a large number of waqf real estates, and many are preserved until today. According to the copy of the Ownership List 295/03, the Municipal Administration for Land Surveying and Real Estate Cadastre Zvornik, issued under the number: 06-952 from 3 June 1998, the cadastral area Zvornik, the cadastral municipality Kozluk, Islamic Religious Community – the Waqf Kozluk possessed the following properties:

No.	No. of the Ownership List	No. of parcel New example	Name of parcel	Culture	Area in m <sup>2</sup>	Owner IRC Kozluk
1	295	366	Polje	Arable land - 1	4.955	1/1
2	295	413	Polje	Arable land - 2	2.050	1/1
3	295	431	Hodžinovića polje	Arable land - 1	4.293	1/1
4	295	1378	Tabanci	Orchard - 4	4.32	1/1
5	295	1379	Tabanci	Arable land -5	1.446	1/1
6	295	1390	Tabanci	Orchard -3	216	1/1
7	295	1736/1	Vakuf	Arable land 3	1.379	1/1
8	295	1830	Ćeremizluk	Arable land 1	7.620	1/1
9	295	1847	Vrbak	Arable land -1	1.558	1/1
10	295	1902/2	Dvoriste	Arable land - 4	126	1/1
11	295	1903	Plac	Yard	75	1/1
12	295	1917	Dvoriste Dvoriste	House and yard	106 284	1/1
13	295	2327/1	Džamijski plac Džamijski plac	Mosque Yard	150 170	1/1
14	295	2328	Džamijski plac	Cemetery	1.052	1/1
15	295	2379	Polje Vrbak Polje Vrbak	Arable land -3 Arable land -2	2.000 2.000	1/1
16	295	2583	Bara	Arable land - 2	3.849	1/1
17	295	2707/2	Njiva kod groblja	Arable land -3	1.000	1/1
18	295	2708	Groblje	Cemetery	11.270	1/1
19	295	2709	Groblje	Arable land -3	1.773	1/1
20	295	2710	Groblje	Cemetery	1.269	1/1
<b>TOTAL</b>					<b>49. 073</b>	

A total of 23 parcels of 20 cadastral parcels were listed. According to the above, the Waqf of the mosque in Kozluk possessed real estate in the area of 49.073 m<sup>2</sup>, with a cadastral income of 1.049.01, in the property sector 1/1. On one plot of land there is a mosque plot of 150 m<sup>2</sup>, a yard of 170 m<sup>2</sup> and a graveyard (cemetery) of 1052 m<sup>2</sup>. In the Ownership List of the Land Register from 2012, there were 23 parcels with a total of 49.073 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>79</sup>

79 The Mejlis of the Islamic Community Zvornik (hereinafter: MIZZ), the Department of Waqf, Kozluk. See in: The Ownership List – copy, number 295/0 from 13 September

## **4. Religious Officials**

We consider it reasonable to mention in this place the names of all the imams, muezzins and other persons who in any way served the work of the mosque, or the jamat that gravitated to the Kozluk's mosque.

### **4.1. Imams**

Each mosque, since its foundation, and so did the one in Kozluk, had to have its own imam. From 1879, to this day, the imams of the mosque in Kozluk were:

- Hajji Sulejman Effendi Banjanović from Kozluk (1879-1914),<sup>80</sup>
- Abdullah Effendi Banjanović (named Mulavdija),<sup>81</sup> son of Sulejman Effendi (1914-1958),<sup>82</sup>
- Muradif Effendi Omeragić from Srebrenik (1958-1959),
- Sulejman Effendi Osmanagić from Goražde (1959-1966),
- Rašid Effendi Ahmetović from Nova Kasaba (1966<sup>83</sup>-1991),
- Vahid Effendi Hadžić from Trnava, a shorter period of time in 1991, about six months.

---

2012 and a copy of the Cadastral Plan number: 6 from 17 September 2012. According to the new measurements, the mosque and its yard are under the cadastral number 2327/1, and a graveyard under the number 2328.

- 80 According to the saying of Muhamed Banjanović (April 1st, 2018), Abdija, as a refugee from Sokol, brought two minor boys, Sulejman and Salih. Salih, one of his sons, will be later imam of the mosque in Kozluk for about 35 years.
- 81 On 10 June 1960, at the age of 79, passed away Abdulah Effendi Banjanović – Mulabđija, a retired imam from Kozluk. The deceased was born in Kozluk in 1881, a father Hajji Suljo, who was also imam of the mosque in Kozluk. The deceased after the completion of maktabi ibtidajje finished a madrassa in Zvornik. After the madrassa, he was in trade business, and later he was appointed as imam and religious teacher in Kozluk. He remained at the service until the end of the war when he was imam of the mosque in Kozluk until 1955 when he was retired. He was appreciated and respected among his and other jamat members both in Kozluk and other surrounding places, and they all attended his funeral.“ Redakcija, „Merhum Abdulah Banjanović – Mulabđija“, *Glasnik VIS u SFRJ*, No. 1-3/XIII, Sarajevo 1962, pp. 98.
- 82 The years of Abdullah Effendi's service need to be checked because in the previous footnote was mentioned 1955 as the year of his retirement, except for the case that he performed imam's duties in Kozluk for three more years after being retired.
- 83 H. Sulkić, *Islamski spomenici u Kozluku*, pp. 190.

- Ahmed Effendi Purković<sup>84</sup> from Kozluk, from 1991 till April 1992<sup>85</sup> and from 1 September 2003<sup>86</sup> to 31 March 2011.<sup>87</sup>
- Ahmet Effendi Memić,<sup>88</sup> the current imam, from 1 June 2012.<sup>89</sup>

After the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), in the days of returning to their homes, the duty of imam performed young imams from Kraljevići (Sapna), who finished Behram Bey's madrassa in Tuzla:

- Nehrudin Effendi Čikarić and
- Mirzet Effendi Sinanović.

By establishing the functioning of the jamaat and the return of a larger number of people from Kozluk into thier homeland, the imam's duty was taken by the before the war imam Ahmed Effendi Purković, who performed the imam's duty from 1 September 2003 until the appointment of the new imam Ahmet Effendi Memić on 1 July 2012.

- 
- 84 Ahmed Effendi Purković was born on 15 January 1946 in Kozluk, where he completed his elementary school. He finished Gazi Husrev Bey's madrassa in Sarajevo in 1977. From 1979 till 1983 he was imam in the Zamlaz mosque in Zvornik. From 1983 till 1991 he served as imam in Bijeljina, and from 1991 till the beginning of aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina he was imam in Kozluk. At the beginning of 1992, after deportation from Kozluk, he worked as imam in Maribor till 1996, when he returned to Bosnia and Herzegovina and was appointed as imam of the jamaat Kreševo, MIC Tešanj. He stayed there until 2003 when he was transferred to Kozluk where he stayed until 2011 and his retirement. Ahmed Effendi Purković dedicated his whole life to the duty of imam. See a photo of Ahmed Effendi Purković in the Appendix of the article F-12.
- 85 Until the beginning of the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period of 1992-1995.
- 86 Riyaset of the IC in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The decree on transfer of the imam, number: 02-MO-785/2006, from 6 March 2006. Ahmed (Šefik) Purković, until today was appointed to the duties of imam, hatib and muallim in the jamaat Kreševo MIC Tešanj, is dismissed from the mentioned duty and appointed to the duty of imam, hatib and muallim of the jamaat Kozluk, MIC Zvornik from 1 September 2003.
- 87 Riyaset of IC in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The decree on transfer of the imam, number: 02-MO-07-1-560-1/11, from 15 March 2011.
- 88 Ahmet Effendi Memić was born on 26 October 1981 in Sapna, where he completed his elementary school. He then enrolled Behram Bey's madrassa in Tuzla and finished it in 2001, and the next year he obtained the duty of imam. From 2002 to 2012 he worked as imam in the jamaat Kovačevići, MIC Zvornik, and from 2012 until today the duty of imam in the jamaat Kozluk. He is married with three children.
- 89 Riyaset of the IC in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The decree on the appointment of the imam, number: 02-07-1-962-1/12, from 22 May 2012.

## **4.2. Muezzins**

In the earlier period, besides the imams, majority of the most important mosques had their own muezzins. Today, in most of the mosques muezzins perform this duty voluntarily, sometimes with symbolic remuneration. According to Hifzija Suljkić, the muezzin duty in the Kozluk's mosque performed the following:

- Mustafa Terzić, a muezzin during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy,
- Hasan Purković (1890-1922),
- Mehmed Alajbegović (1922-1941),
- Jusuf Hublić (1947-1958),
- Nuriya Jakubović from 13 April 1966.<sup>90</sup> The last official muezzin.

Today the mosque in Kozluk does not have permanent muezzin. On Friday and eid prayers retired imam Ahmed Effendi Purković performs the duty of muezzin.

## **4.3. Mualims (bulas) (A female religious teachers)<sup>91</sup>**

Mualims, or in people known as *bulas*, are women who independently, or as assistants to imam, performed certain religious ceremonies, specifically related to women, such as the prayer of tahvid, mevlud, dressing up the dead female for burial, etc. The most well-known buas in Kozluk were:

- Mirsa Dudaković, during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy,
- Aiša Alajbegović, ibid,
- Selima Banjanović, between the two wars,
- Hafiza Omerović, after the World war II,
- Hadži Hadžera Velagić (died in 1982).

They all acquired their knowledge and education in Kozluk.<sup>92</sup> Today the preparation of women for burial performs Safeta Purković, a wife of retired imam Ahmed Effendi Purković, together with Hanifa Kalabaluković.<sup>93</sup>

---

90 H. Suljkić, *Islamski spomenici u Kozluku*, pp. 190.

91 Contrary to muallimas, bulas did not have official religious education, but acquired their knowledge in an informal way from educated persons, mostly from older bulas.

92 H. Suljkić, *Islamski spomenici u Kozluku*, pp. 190.

93 According to the saying of Ahmet Effendi Memić, in Kozluk, on 20 April 2018.

## 5. Maktab in Kozluk

With the construction of the first mosque in Kozluk, there should have been a maktab for religious teaching of Muslim youth. There is no written information about the origin and work of the maktab in Kozluk, during the Ottoman period. It can only be assumed that the first maktab was formed during the construction of the first mosque, or somewhat earlier. In the later period, at the end of the 19th century, there was a reform of maktabs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Hamdija Kreševljaković said that a pretty large square tower was built in Kozluk, with several floors. It was located across the road from the maktabi ibtidija, or later waqf apartment for the imam of the Kozluk's mosque. In his opinion, the tower was demolished after 1878, and the maktab building was built from its material.<sup>94</sup>

Sibjan maktab in Kozluk was reformed to maktabi ibtidaiju in 1896. The organization of work of maktab was adjusted to new conditions and rules of work. Classrooms were furnished with desks, board and other means. rada mekteba prilagođena je novim uslovima i pravilima rada. Teaching was no longer maintained individually, but frontally, and in classes. In this (Austro-Hungarian) period, students received certificates in the Ottoman language and they were called *Mektebi-ibtidaije šehadetnamesi*. In the certificates, the subjects and individual marks from each course were recorded and finally the final achievement of the student with whom they finished the class, and in the Ottoman language.<sup>95</sup>

From one preserved certificate of the mektebi ibtidija in Kozluk, the following items that were studied during the period of 1910-1913 were listed. The Qur'an, the Tedwid, the Akaid-Islam, the Shurutil salat (Islamic rituals) and the Hati-areb (Arabic letter - the colorful script). In that period the certificate was signed by the then muallim Hasan Effendi Hublić. As other religious and cultural objects, maktabs were also sustained by the assets of waqf. From the Waqf-Mearif Committee in Zvornik, a muallim received a salary of 600 krones per year.<sup>96</sup>

In maktabi ibtidaiji in Kozluk, the duty of muallim performed the following:

---

94 H. Kreševljaković, *Izabrana djela II*, pp. 481.

95 See in the Appendix a facsimile of the certificate and a report on students of maktabi ibtidaije in Kozluk, F-15.

96 The most data on maktab in Kozluk was taken from the article of Hifzija Suljkić titled "Islamski spomenici u Kozluku (Islamic monuments in Kozluk)". See in: H. Suljkić, *Islamska baština*, pp. 190-191.

- Abdulgafar Effendi Jukić from Kozluk (1878-1907);
- Muhamed Effendi Hodžić from Nova Kasaba (1908-1911) and
- Hasan Effendi Hublić from Srebrenica (1912-1954).

It was usual that children in maktab during the dry season learn prayers for rain. Thus, the children in Kozluk, led by their muallim, performed prayers for rain on the Mešanagića hill and near Vodenica on the Drina River. They say that after those prayings, it soon began to rain.

The teaching in makatabs in certain periods was held in the mosque, and there was also a special facility that was known to the people as “maktab”. It was a ground-floor building of modest spatial capacity set on a socle of about 80 cm high, covered with a four-leaf roof with a tile of tiny earthy tiles. With the construction of the new mosque in 1967, the teaching in maktab was held in a intentionally-built room in the mosque, and the maktab was converted into a residential waqf area. The last imam who lived in this “maktab” was Rašid Effendi Ahmetović.<sup>97</sup> From the former maktab, that is the waqf’s apartment, today only its foundations left.<sup>98</sup>

That the teaching in maktab was held in a mosque after the adaptation of the mosque in 1967, is also evident in the fact that in the Minutes on the technical inspection of the facility, among other things, stated the following: “The chimney doors in the religious room are set high.”<sup>99</sup> According to Islamic tradition, in all parts of the world where Muslims live, children were obliged to attend maktab, in which they acquired basic knowledge of religion and religious laws.

---

97 Ahmed Effendi Purković as imam of the jamaat in Kozluk, and a resident, lived in his own house, and current imam, Ahmet Effendi Memić, lives in a house of Mrs. Emina Spahić in Kozluk. According to the sayings of Ahmet Effendi Memić and Abdulah Jatić.

98 According to the saying of Abdulah Jatić, on 20 April 2018. See a photo of an old makatb in the Appendix, F-14.

99 The Committee composed of: Tomo Jašić Tomo, appointed construction technician and the president, engineer Ljubomir Rajković, construction inspector and a member and Miomir Jocić Miomir, a member reviewed the mosque in Kozluk on 29 April 1968 and made a report on it. At the end of the Report a note was handwritten: It is noted that the omissions and defects on the object are removed and that a permit for use can be issued, 30 November 1968. A copy of the Report is in the possession of Muhamed Banjanović from Kozluk.

## **Conclusion**

The mosque in Kozluk belongs to a group of the oldest sacred objects of Islamic provenance in the area of the former Zvornik Sanjak. It was created at the traffic road communication along the Drina River, with occasional reconstructions and interruptions, which served its primary purpose until our day. In this article, it was presented through four correlative periods, which show that it shared the fate of the Bosniak people, to which it has always belonged.

With the arrival of persecuted families from Sokol and surrounding area to the Bosnian Vilayet in the second half of the nineteenth century, a number of ulema settled in Kozluk, who, besides the mosque, could also serve meritoriously the work of the newly founded madrassa. This points to the accelerated development and urban status of Kozluk as a town, when the mosque was also given a new look and a more dignified robe. However, Kozluk will experience the hardest days in its history in the period of brutal aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), when all the traces of the centuries-long existence of the Kozluk's mosque were vandalized from the face of the Earth. Returning to their homeland, after Dayton, and building a monumental mosque, people of Kozluk demonstrated their religious and national identity, as well as social, urban and cultural dignity.

Therefore, the mosque in Kozluk, for the former modest mosque with wooden roof and wooden minaret, developed into one of the prettiest and most functional mosques with a semi-domed in the Bosnian Podrinje. It speaks today in the best manner about Kozluk Tand digniti of people there, who surely deserve to have such a magnificent mosque.

## Appendix



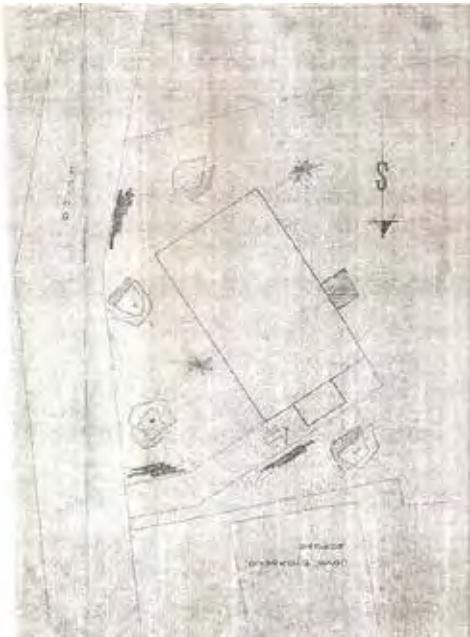
F-1: The mosque in Kozluk noted on a topographic map from the early Austro-Hungarian period.<sup>100</sup>



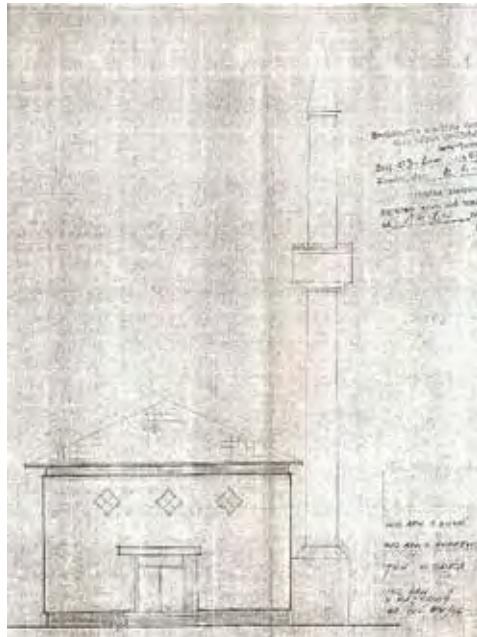
F-2: A copy of the cadastral Plan of Kozluk with the mosque and its yard.<sup>101</sup>

100 The Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, A Collection of Maps and Plans.

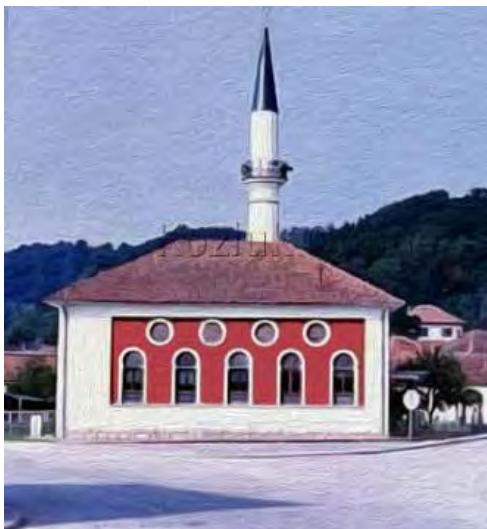
101 A copy of the cadatsral plan of the Republic Administration fro Geodetic and Property Affairs, Regional Unit in Zvornik, Cadastral Municipality Zvornik, No. Plan 6, The number of a parcel according to a new survey is 2327. Issued in Zvornik on 17 September 1992, The Archives of MIZ Zvornik, Registrar: Vakuf – Kozluk.



F-3: A footprint concept of the mosque in Kozluk according to the Main project from 1967.



F-4: The layout of the entrance facade of the mosque at Kozluk from 1967, the street view.<sup>102</sup>



F-5: The mosque in Kozluk at the late 20th century.<sup>103</sup>



F-6: Panoramic view of the today's mosque in Kozluk

102 According to the Main project from 1967.

103 Kozlukonline graphic » kozlukonline.com, (Retrieved 15 April 2018)



Mihrab džamije u Kozluku

F- 7: The mihrab (the imam's seat in the mosque) of the mosque in Kozluk from 1967.<sup>104</sup>



F-8: The minber (the stairs in the mosque from which imam preaches) and mihrab of the mosque in Kozluk from 2010.

104 H. Suljkić, *Islamski spomenici u Kozluku*, pp. 45.



F-9: Hasan Effendi Hublić<sup>105</sup> F-10: Sulejman Effendi Osmanagić F-11: Rašid Effendi Ahmetović



F-12: Ahmed Effendi Purković F-13: Ahmet Effendi Memić



F-14: The object of former maktab in Kozluk.<sup>106</sup>

105 Muallims of maktab in Kozluk, *Ibid*, pp. 46.

106 The object was initially used as a mekteb (Islamic religious school), and later as a residence for imams of the mosque in Kozluk. According to Muhamed Banjanović, Rašid Effendi Ahmetović resided in this object.



F-15: A facsimile of certificate of completed maktab and a report on learners of maktab in Kozluk.<sup>107</sup>



F-16: A group photo after the Friday prayer in front of the mosque in Kozluk in 1961.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>107</sup> H. Suljkić, *Islamski spomenici u Kozluku*, pp. 47.

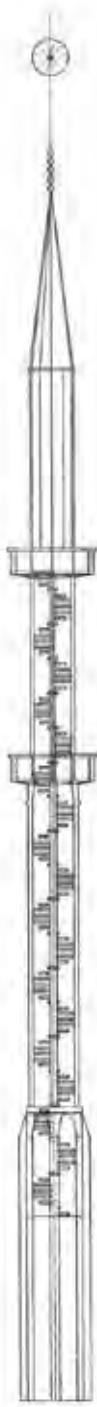
<sup>108</sup> Sulejman Effendi Osmanagić stands in the middle wearing a white imam's hat on his head. Hajji Muhamed Jakubović from Kozluk owns the original photography.



F-17: The internal layout and functionality of today's mosque in Kozluk.<sup>109</sup>

---

109 A detail from the manifestation of the sixth anniversary of the opening of renewed mosque in Kozluk.



*F-18: Vertical section of a minaret of the mosque in Kozluk.  
(The main project from 2003)*



*Adib Đozić*

*Rusmir Djedović*

## THE QUART PETRIĆ IN SREBRENICA IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY

### Summary

The quart Petrić is one of the oldest quarts in Srebrenica. The very name of the quart, many toponyms in and around the quart, archeological findings, prove that the area of the quart was inhabited even before the arrival of the Ottomans in Bosnia. It is located at the very south of Srebrenica in the valley of the Bijela River or the Čičevačka River. On centuries-long urban tradition of the quart, as one of the urban parts of Srebrenica, witness road communications, locations of houses, number of residents, the quart's mosque, several mills and other industrial objects, as well as complex structure of vocations of the residents from farmers, craftsmen and imams (lit. Islamic priests).

In the text we interpret basics, geographic and urban, demographic, ownership, genealogical and other social and cultural facts from the past of the quart, first and foremost those that refer to the second half of the 19th century. The main part of the text deals with a detailed overview of the quart Petrić from 1894. The ownership of land and houses, families, public facilities, toponyms from the end of the 19th century are presented and analysed.

The sources of the Austro-Hungarian provenance, the Land Registry books and cadastral plans were used for the research.

**Ključne riječi:** The quart Petrić, Srebrenica, the late 19th century, the mosque Petrić, families, houses.

## Introduction

Overviews of most quarts in Srebrenica at the end of 19th century were given in many texts.<sup>1</sup> The last researched quart in Srebrenica will be Grad (of towns-fortresses in Srebrenica).<sup>2</sup>

This quart is located somewhat upstream along the Bijela River and it is separated from the quart Skender by a smaller area. The name Petrić (also Petrić can be found) talks about its medieval heritage. In the late Ottoman period there were around 40 houses, a mosque, many Muslim cemeteries, a waqf complex Učina bašča (also a cemetery). There was a mill on the Bijela River.<sup>3</sup>

When the southern border of the quart Skender was described<sup>4</sup> that the quart Petrić leans on with its northern border, it was mentioned:

On the south it is separated from the quart Petrić with a free area, around 150m. The quart Petrić actually starts, when observed from the city center, upstream the Bijela River, where there is a bridge across it. The quart

---

1 Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Mahala Crvena rijeka u Srebrenici krajem 19. stoljeća*, Monumenta Srebrenica, knjiga 2, Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla – Srebrenica, 2013; Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Mahala Skender u Srebrenici krajem 19. stoljeća*, Monumenta Srebrenica, knjiga 3, Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla-Srebrenica, 2014; Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Čaršija u Srebrenici krajem 19. stoljeća*, Monumenta Srebrenica, knjiga 4., Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla-Srebrenica, 2015; Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Musala, Varoš i Ciganluk u gradu Srebrenici krajem 19. stoljeća*, Monumenta Srebrenica – istraživanja, dokumenta, svjedočanstva, Knjiga 5, JU Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla –Srebrenica, 2016; Rusmir Djedović, Adib Đozić, *Panadurište, Baratova i Soločuša u Srebrenici krajem 19. stoljeća*, Monumenta Srebrenica – istraživanja, dokumenta, svjedočanstva, Knjiga 6, JU Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla –Srebrenica, 2017.

2 In Volume 8 of the edition *Monumenta Srebrenice* for 2019.

3 Rusmir Djedović, Senad Begović, *Urbani razvoj grada Srebrenice u osmanskom periodu sa osvrtom na ulogu vakufa*, Zbornik radova naučnog simpozijuma Kulturno-istorijsko nasleđe Srebrenice kroz vijekove, JU Arheološki muzej „Rimski municipium“ Skelani Srebrenica, 2012, pp. 209.; Rusmir Djedović, *Grad Srebrenica – urbani razvoj od antike do početka 21. stoljeća*, Zbornikradova naučnog skupa Uloga grada i regije u privrednom razvoju i političkom životu BiH (1851-1995), held in Mostar in 2013. godine, Museum Herzegovina, Mostar, 2014, pp. 210.

4 We subsequently found another house in the quart Skender in 1894. It is a house on c. p. 1/239 owned by Hasan **Kardaševića** son of Alija. It is at the top of the quart.

Skender leans on the south-western slopes of the reef where at the higher areas is situated old medieval town Srebrenik and somewhat lower Donji grad (at around 430m of altitude), next to it is an old quart Grad. The reef lowers to the mosque Skender and is named Bandera, and lower parts towards the quart Skender are named Klisa and Rajčevac. On the opposite, left valley side of the Bijela River, the quart leans on the lowest slopes of the hill Bojna (Velika and Mala, the highest altitude 554m) and a plot named Komačevo groblje.<sup>5</sup>

One of the quart Petrić is very similar. From the north-east towards the quart Gradina and Skender are slopes named Klisa and Majdan. From the eastern slopes Rajčevac, and a cemetery and a hill Karšija.<sup>6</sup> Uščina bašča is from the southern side, a cemetery, that today, is almost lost, except for individually preserved and embedded cemeteries, and a plot with the same name, Vinogradiste and Grebendek. On the west are plots: Kamen, Višdrminor and Agićeva bašča and above them the hill Bojna (plots Indžirka, Papratnja, Marin vinograd (lit. Mara's vineyard). More to the south-east are plots with old names that reminds us of old and developed mining industry. Most plots (pastures and forests) around the quart Petrić were state-owned in the late 19th century.<sup>7</sup> Immediately after 1878, on the south of the quart on the state-owned plots was riflerange (Schiefsstatte).

Through the quart Petrić: flows the Bijela River, that is 5 km long and sprouts on the south, above the quart Čičevci. Therefore, it is sometimes called the Čičevac River or the Čičevačka River. Above the quart Petrić, its confluent is Zlativoda.<sup>8</sup> The Bijela River was also called Guška in the old days. It was noted that people there suffered from lice, because there was no iodine in the sources near its watrecourse.<sup>9</sup> A famous travel writer Evlija Čelebija noted it down in the 17th century. When he passed through Srebrenica, he wrote: "An interesting rarity - ... residents of the town, while drinking that water, would mostly get lice."<sup>10</sup>

---

5 Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Mahala Skender u Srebrenici...*, pp. 10.

6 People also call it Karabojka. The saying of Mirsad Mustafić, 21 April 2018.

7 Cartridge 8, The Land registry books for cadastral municipality (C. M.) Srebrenica from 1894. The Land Registry Srebrenica, Bosnia state-owned.

8 Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Mahala Skender u Srebrenici...*, pp. 10.

9 The saying of Hilmo (Ahmo) Siručić, born in 1939, recorded in April 2014.

10 Evlija Čelebi, *Putopis*, Sarajevo-Publishing, Sarajevo, 1996, pp. 99.

## Ancient past

The area of the quart was inhabited since the oldest times. According to the discovered remains of a building from the ancient times, and that was immediately next to the quart Skender, in the neighbouring quart Petrić, this narrow area was inhabited since the antiquity.<sup>11</sup> Near the bridge in Petrić, that is the bridge that connects Klisan and the quart Petrić, in Atif's garden, the foundations of a building were found.<sup>12</sup> It was probably the underground exit to a fortress in Stari grad. Very important medieval antiquity is Klis, that is plots named Klis in a neighbouring quart Skender where the foundations of a monastery and a church Sveta Marija (lit. Holy Mary) were found.<sup>13</sup> Today, there is a renovated Catholic Kapelica (lit. Chapel).

Significant, unexplored antiquity till today that is located on the south-east of the quart Petrić is a toponym Grad. It is an elevation (747m) on a long slope that rises from the quart to Pribićevac. This is the third locality that on the south-east of the city of Srebrenica that points to eventual medieval town – fortress. Below the toponym Grad is a plot named Karšija with an old cemetery.

This toponym was discovered lately: between the city of Srebrenica and Pribićevac was a locality, named Grad, in the late 19th century. Immediately around Grad, there are toponyms: Karšija, Vodenica, Olovine, Majdan, Kinštica...<sup>14</sup>

Detailed overview of toponyms on the south-east of Srebrenica and Petrić, and towards a plateau Pribićevac, there are numerous interesting toponyms, such as: Rajčevac and Majdan (immediately above Petrić), Karšija, Groblje, Grad, Vodenice, Kiselj, Olovine, Sokolac, Ruine (the medieval town of Srebrenik), Kinštice, Stara voda, Carev gaj, Zlativoda, Pište voda, Kriva kraldrma, Stinska rijeka, Majdan, etc.

The name Petrić points to a significant age. Probably, medieval. It should be noted that a river crossing on the Drina River near Srebrenica is mentioned as Petrić (and today there is a quart with the same name). In different sources is Petrić, although there are: Petrić, Petrića, Petrića, Petrović? The

11 Adib Đozić, Ruzmir Djedović, *Mahala Skender u Srebrenici...*, pp. 11-12.

12 The saying of Hilmo (Ahmo) Siručić.

13 More in: Adib Đozić, Ruzmir Djedović, *Mahala Skender u Srebrenici...*, pp. 12.

14 Adib Đozić, Ruzmir Djedović, *Naselja Pusmulić (sa Jasenovom) i Čičevac (sa Pribićevcem) kod Srebrenice krajem 19. stoljeća*, Monumenta Srebrenica – istraživanja, dokumenta, svjedočanstva, Knjiga 6, JU Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla –Srebrenica, 2017, pp. 88.

name probably originates from a personnal name Petar, that was present in the middle ages and the first years of the Ottoman reign in Srebrenica. There are no proofs that it is the so-called saint's toponym.<sup>15</sup>

During the larger part of the middle ages this area belonged to a larger area named Osat. From the 14th century it belonged to the district Srebrenica that was formed around the medieval town of Srebrenik and a square Srebrenica. With the arrival of the Ottoman administration in around 1460, it belonged to a nahiye and later the Kaza of Srebrenica.<sup>16</sup> In the 16th century a part of the city of Srebrenica was mentioned, as a quart Pišni/Pišti Voda, with only one household and a grave Pribićevac, in the nahiye Srebrenica. Later, a locality Pištivoda was situated between Srebrenica (the quart Petrič) and Pribićevac. In the late 19th century, a forest name Pribićevac and Pištivoda encompassed around 491 dunams.<sup>17</sup>

From the center of the city of Srebrenica from the middle ages through the Ottoman period led an important road through Petrič and further to the south and south-east with several branches. One important road through Petrič towards the south led across Čičevac. It went through the center of Srebrenica (Trg, Čaršija), across Skender and Petrič. From there, next to an old cemetery Učina bašča, following the slope climbed to a reef between Rajna and Jelići. There was also a branch that from the reef of the hill Bojna came from the north (that road is also called Drminor, and from Čaršija it led to Hrid).<sup>18</sup>

Toponyms that point to the wealth in mines and minerals, and the then well-developed mining are characteristic of the quart Petrič such as: Majdan (in two places), Vodenice, Kiselj, Olovine, Kinštice, Stara voda, Pištje voda. The name of the stream Zlativoda is especially interesting.<sup>19</sup> There were in and around the quart Petrič several cemeteries since the old days. Probably the oldest one on the east of the quart below is a plot Karšija on c.p. 279 named Groblje. It was state-owned in the late 19th century. In 1894, it was owned by the waqf of the Petrič mosque on 1/312 and 205 in the very quart. Above the quart Petrič was also a very well-known cemetery Učina bašča on c.p. 247.<sup>20</sup> On the east of the quart is an interesting toponym Parisov grob (lit. Paris'

15 The saying of Mustafa Siručić called Zubarić, born in 1929, recorded on May 18th, 2013.

16 More in: Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Naselja Pusmulić...*, pp. 88-89.

17 Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Naselja Pusmulić...*, pp. 88-89.

18 Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Naselja Pusmulić...*, pp. 92-93.

19 The saying of Hilmo (Ahmo) Siručić, born in 1939, recorded on April 15th, 2014.

20 It is c.p.: 1/227 a plum orchard Komačovo groblje, 187 Komačovo groblje later anf 1/227 is later called Kovačeve groblje.

grave).<sup>21</sup> Since it was mentioned in the late 19th century, it is a site from the Ottoman period.

According to the detailed census that the Ottomans recorded in 1850/51, there were several dozens of houses in the quart Petrič. The first was listed a house of imam. The head of that house was Murat Effendi son of Omer Effendi. The second house belonged to the quart's head Mula Halil son of Abdija, 55 years old. The following were last names of house owners in the old quart: Selimčehajić, Bektić, Jakupović, Sarač... In the late 19th century, residents of Petrič were: tailors, hairdressers, loggers...<sup>22</sup>

From the documents of the Sheriah Kaza from 1887<sup>23</sup> there are two monumets of the quart Petrič. The first was the permit to marry issued to a widow Arifa a daughter of Husejin aga from Petrič to Salko, a son of Meho from the village Pirić.<sup>24</sup> And the other is also a marriage permit for Paša (Mehmed) from Petrič to Suljo (Omer) from Petrič.<sup>25</sup>

## The Petrič mosque

The Petrič mosque is very old and well-known. The date of its construction and the name of its first benefactor remain unknown.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, from the aspect of cultural and historic heritage of Srebrenica, the age of the quart Petrič is very important scientific question.

The recent research on the age of the mosque point to a conclusion that it is very old mosque. It can be claimed with certainty that it is one of city mosques and that it was erected at the same time when the quart was developed. The age of mosque is the age of the quart. One of the rules of development of quarts in the Ottoman period was that they were developed around mosques or residents would build them in the center of a quart when

21 Cartridge 29, a parcel on c. p.: 404/1 a pasture Parisov grob, 287 Jabuka, 290 Podrenub(?), in the late 19th century it owned minor Omer late Edhem's Fazlić(?). There is also a parcel c. p. 287 next to Jabuka .

22 Nufus defter 1850/51 BOA NFS.d 5951.

23 *Bošnjak*, for 1887, or Šematizam svijeh oblasti u Bosni i Hercegovini, Zemaljska štamparija, Sarajevo.

24 Tufan Gunduz, *Tuzlanski, Bijeljinski i Srebrenički Sidžil (1641.-1883.)*, Arhiv TK, Tuzla, 2008, pp. 20.

25 Tufan Gunduz, *Tuzlanski, Bijeljinski i Srebrenički....* pp. 28.

26 Adib Đozić, *Gradske džamije Srebrenice*, Monumenta Srebrenica, knjiga 1, Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla – Srebrenica, 2012., pp. 49.

they developed their quarts. In the 17th century, Evlja Čelebija claimed that the city of Srebrenica had six mosques in addition to numerous urban and cultural contents.<sup>27</sup> One of them was surely the Petrič mosque.<sup>28</sup>

There are earlier presumptions on the significant age of the mosque and its waqf: The waqf was established in the first half of the 17th century, and was related to the upkeep of the Petrič mosque. It was probably destroyed at the turn of the 17/18th century.<sup>29</sup>

According to the accounts from 1913, the Petrič mosque's waqf had revenues in the amount of 40 kronas from the land and 5 kronas from the estates. The expenditures were salaries of imam and muezzin. The head of the village was Ahmetaga Pašagić.<sup>30</sup>

Hivzija Suljkić, a good connesieure of historic events, mentions that the revenue of the Petrič mosque in Srebrenica in 1912 was 50 kronas.<sup>31</sup>

The Petrič mosque's waqf in 1894 contained many estates: the mosque with a site and yard on c. p. 1/291 with an area of 140 m<sup>2</sup>; a plum orchard on c.p. 1/290 with an area of 350 m<sup>2</sup>; a site near the mosque on c.p.. 1/279 with an area of 30 m<sup>2</sup>. Then, the waqf contained larger plots at the top of the quart Petrič: a cemetery Učina bašča on c.p. 247/1 with an area of 26.000 m<sup>2</sup>, cemeteries on c.p. 205 and 1/312 with areas of 1.830 and 500 m<sup>2</sup> and an arable land next to the cemetery on c. p. 240 with an area of 1.980 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>32</sup> The mosque, plum orchard and a site in the vicinity had the status of mulk and others the status of mirija.<sup>33</sup>

---

27 Evlja Čelebi, *Putopis*, Sarajevo-Publishing, Sarajevo, 1996, pp. 100.)

28 Hifzija Suljkić, *Spomenici...*, pp. 286-287.

29 Rusmir Djedović, *Vakufi u gradu Srebrenici...*, pp. 46.

30 *Proračun vakufa u Bosni i Hercegovini za godinu 1913*, Sarajevo, pp. 288.

31 Hifzija Suljkić, *Spomenici islamske kulture u Srebrenici*, Sabrani tekstovi knjiga II, BMG, Bosanska medjitska grupa, Tuzla, 200, pp. 289.

32 Rusmir Djedović, *Vakufi u gradu Srebrenici od 15. do 20. stoljeća*, Baština sjeveroistočne Bosne, broj 3/2010, Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla, pp . 47.

33 Cartridge 460.

Kadastralni broj četvrtice	Oznaka nekretnine	Pravna narav.	dunam	<input type="checkbox"/> muzika	u prih. kor.
	I				
241	gradište			035	1
242	gradište		066	232	1
243	zemlja za gradište i dvorište			140	0

240	gradište			389	
241	gradište		066	1830	1
242	zemlja kod gradišta			232	
243	gradište Šarena džamija			140	
244/1	zemlja na krovu i vodnjak Šarena džamije			400	
245	zemlja			120	
246	zemlja			100	
247	zemlja Šarena džamije			194	

Povodom sastavljanja gručovnice godine 1894. uknjiženo je pravo vlasništva	u A I	gradište	u korist:
Šarena džamija Srebrenica			

14 kraj + 5.

*The Petrić mosque's waqf in Srebrenica according to the Land Registry books from 1894*

In 1894, the Petrić mosque's waqf owned also on c.p. 143/2 an arable land Palučak of dunam and 600 m<sup>2</sup> in the quart Likari.<sup>34</sup> In 1890, the Petrić mosque's waqf had a revenue from a rent in the amount of 10 forints. The expenditures that year were salaries of imam (24 forints) and muezzin (2 forints). The lightning of the mosque cost 5 forints. The surplus was 3 forints.<sup>35</sup>

34 Cartridge 62 The Land Registry books for the Cadastral Municipality (C. M.) Likari from 1894. The Land Registry Srebrenica.

35 Proračuni vakufa u Bosni i Hercegovini za godinu 1890., Sarajevo, pp. 77.

There are some data on the Petrič mosque and the quart in *Vasijetnama* by Hajji Mustafa Verlašević from Petrič, Srebrenica, from 1307 to 1889.<sup>36</sup> In cadastral plans of the city of Srebrenica from 1882-5, that are still used in the Cadastre of Srebrenica, the Petrič mosque was even then drawn.<sup>37</sup> It is clearly visible and drawn on the original cadastral plan of the city of Srebrenica from 1894.



*A part of the Cadastral Plan of the City of Srebrenica from 1884 where we can see the Petrič mosque*

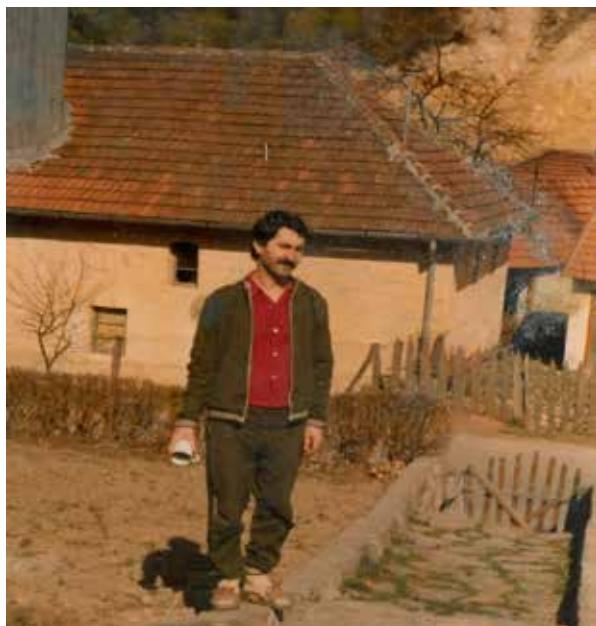
Based on the fact that in the first Austro-Hungarian plans from 1878 and the departure of the Ottoman reign, there is the Petrič mosque, we can conclude that it was built in the Ottoman period. According to the facts listed so far, it surely existed in the first half of the 17th century, and probably even earlier, but it should be checked in the Ottoman archives.

36 *Orijentalna zbirka arhiva Tuzlanskog kantona 1563–1936, analitički inventar*, Arhiv TK, Društvo arhivskih zaposlenika TK, Tuzla, 2017, pp. 35.

37 The Cadastral Plans of the City of Srebrenica from 1882-5, ratio 1:6.250 and 1:3.125. The Cadastre of Srebrenica.



*The frontal right part of the Petrić mosque in the late 1980-ies*



*Himzo Murathodžić (1953 - ) a grandson of Himzo Murathodžić standing next to the Petrić mosque in the late 1980-ies. We see a wooden part of minaret and the south-eastern and western wall of the mosque.*

The mosque in the Petrić quart, as well as other mosques in the city of Srebrenica, was destroyed during the crime of genocide in 1995. It was renovated in 2017 and now its name is “Šehidska džamija (lit. veteran’s mosque)”, because of a large number of war veterans from this quart who were murdered during the war against Bosnian-Herzegovinian society and state in the period 1992-1995.



*The present day mosque in the Petrić quart that is named „Šehidska džamija“*

The most significant person for the renewal of the mosque, both in material and financial sense and for the idea, is an engineer of technology Meho Tepić (1951 - ), a son of Mujo Tepić (1905 - 1954) a grandson of Mahmut and a great-grandson of Abdulah Tepić. Meho Tepić's brothers (Jusuf, 1938-1995, Abdulah (Avdo), 1941-1995 and Asim, 1943-1995), as well as majority of closer male relatives were murdered during the crime of genocide against

Bosniaks in 1995. The fourth brother of Meho Tepić, Ibrahim died of natural causes.



*Meho Tepić (1951 - )*

According to the 1850/51 list, the first resident in Petrič was Murat Effendi son of Omer Effendi, 33 years old, which means that he was born in 1817. His son Husein was also mentioned.<sup>38</sup>

We see that in the Petrič quart in the mid-19th century served imam named Murat Effendi. Since he was then 33 years old, he probably served there a certain number of years. Since his late father was Omer Effendi, we see that it was an imam family from even the 18th century. We do not know whether his father served earlier in the Petrič mosque.

He left in Petrič for decades and died there. His grave is Komarčev cemetery. In the late 19th, there was a house in the quart that belonged to the family Murathodžić. Precisely, in 1894, the owner of the house was Husein Murathodžić late Murat's. It was obviously the same Husein son of Murat Effendi and who people named after his father Murat, the imam, and he took the last name Murathodžić. In 1908, he was succeeded by his son Himzo Murathodžić.<sup>39</sup> The oldest known member of the family Murathodžić was Omer, a father of imam Murat, after whom they were named. Omer was born in the late 18th century. Murat had a son Husein, and Husein had a son Hamza born in 1886 and died in 1952. His grave is in Klisa above the main road to Zeleni Jadra. Hizmo had a son Omer (1923-1992). Omer had half-brothers Fehim and Nedžib, Nedžib was probably born in 1915. His son is Mujo (Mujica) Murathodžić (1945-2014). The descendants of Omer Murathodžić were his sons Fahrudin (Fahro) (1949-) and Himzo (1953-)

38 Nufus defter 1850/51 BOA NFS.d 5951.

39 Himzo Murathodžić had no brothers. He had two sisters, Dževahira who married to Džafer Akagić and gave birth to Alija Akagić in the quart Stari grad.

and a daughter Fatima (Fata) (1955-) married to Samed Glumčević in Tuzla. Fahrudin Murathodžić has two children, a son Emir (1978-) and a daughter Amina (1983-). Therefore, the family Murathodžića looks like this: **Omer**, born in the late 18th century, - **Murat**, (1817-?) – **Husejn**, (?-?) – **Himzo**, (1886-1952) – **Omer**, (1923-1992) – **Fahrudin**, (1949-) – **Emir**, (1978-), that is, seven generations.<sup>40</sup>



*Himzo Murathodžić's tomb in Klisa - Srebrenica*

There were two houses belonging to the family Hodžić called Muštikić in the late 19th century in Petrič. Obviously descendants of some imam from the turn of the 18/19 century.

### **The demographic and ownership structure of the quart Petrič in 1894**

The utmost on the north, and immediately on the south-west near river, were houses that belonged to families Berberović/Nalić and Hadžiomjeragić. In 1894, a house on c.p. 1/247 was owned by Mehmed **Berberović** late Husein's,

40 The saying of Fahrudin Murathodžić, his wife Azemina, neé Ahmić from Bratunac, and Fatima (Fata) Murathodžić married name Glumčević.



*Avdo (Avdaga) Nalić  
(1870 - 1954)*

and Avdo **Nalić** son of Ibrahim. He was probably a hairdresser from the 1850/51 list.

A house on c.p. 1/255 was owned by Šaćir Effendi **Hadžiomeragić** late Hajji Omeraga. In 1907, Atif Delić late Ibrahim's was mentioned. A house on c.p. 1/257 was owned by Avdo a minor son of Smajl **Selimčehajić called Ibrahimović and** Dundža neé **Bajraktarević** married to Mustafa Kadić called Avdić. Parcels, on c.p. 172 Bojna were owned by Smail Selimčehajić called Ibrahimović late Ibrahim's.

In the late 19th century, in Likari, the following owned plots: Dundža neé Bajraktarević married to Mustafa Avdić from Srebrenica and Avdo a minor son of Smajl Ibrahimović called Selimčehajić from Srebrenica.<sup>41</sup> It was probably the same family Selimčehajić from the 1850/51 list from the quart Petrič. Today, the last name of the descendants of this family is Čehajić.

Following the main road from the center of Srebrenica to the south, a couple of hundreds of meters from the bridge on the river, in the late 19th century, the following houses were located.

A large house on the north entrance to the quart, on the corner of the street that across the bridge connected several houses was a house on c.p. 1/265 was owned by Sulejman **Halilovića** late Ibrahim's and minor Salih late Hasan's Halilović. They also owned parcels on c.p. 1/252 Kod Kamena and 318 and 319 Klisa. That family Halilović were probably descendants of the head of the village Mula Halil from the 1850/51 list. The mention of Zada neé Pašalić a widow of Hajji Ibrahim Mulahalilović in 1894 also points to that. From 1899, Hanifa neé Pašalić a widow of Omer Pašalić called Beširević was mentioned and in 1921 Osman Pašalić-Beširović late Omer's.<sup>42</sup>

On the right of the road, towards the mosque, there were many houses, the first was on c.p. 1/259 owned by: Mustafa, minor Mehmed and Mulija (daughter) of late Avdo **Kadić called Avdić**. In 1936, it was registered to Atif Kadić late Mustafa's.

41 Cartridge 30...

42 Cartridge 50...

A house on c.p. 1/263 that in 1894 owned Jusuf **Delimehmedović** late Husein's. After the WW1, in 1921, it was listed to children minor Alija and Huso.

A house on c.p. 1/280 was owned by Omer **Nalića** late Hasan's. In 1928, a widow Timka Ustić udova, and children Idriz and Huso were mentioned.<sup>43</sup>

A house on c.p. 1/282 was owned by: Jusuf, Sulejman and Mahmut **Tepić** late Abdulah's. In 1926, minor Mujo Tepić late Mahmut's was mentioned. The same people owned a plot Papratnja na c.p. 416.

On the left side of the road towards the mosque, there were several houses. A house on c.p. 1/277 in the late 19th century was owned by Hajji Mustafa **Verlašević** late Osman's. In 1910, it was registered to: Tija Kapidžić(?), a widow Zejna Kandžetović, Sulejman, Ibrahim, Avdo and Jusuf Verlašević late Hajji Osman's, and Hanifa marriage name Đozić and Nura.

The family Verlašević had many shops in Čaršija. Osman, minor Sulejman and Ibrahim sons of Hajji Mustafa Verlašević owned one shop Čaršija each.

A house on c.p. 1/278 was owned by Smajl **Begtić** late Smajl's. In 1903, he was succeeded by his son Nazif Bektić.

A house c.p. 1/276 and a parcel Bojna c.p. 169 were owned by Arif **Begtić** late Smajl's. In 1912, Meho Gluhić late Avdija's was mentioned. Those were member of the family Bektić from 1850/51 in the quart Petrič.

On the north of the mosque, across the river, there were several houses. Those were houses of the family Pašalić and a house of the family Verlaševića, well-known families from the quart Petrič.

The closest to the river was a house on c. p. 1/270 owned by Hajji Husein **Pašalić** late Ibrahim's in 1894. There was an estate around the house with many ancillary buildings. Two years later, in 1896, it was owned by: a widow Bejha, a widow Muške (wives of Hajji Husein), Hajji Mustafa, and Hanifa Pašalić married to Mehmed Pašagić and Nesiba, all children of late Hajji Husein. They also owned a shop in Čaršija and a plot 300 Klisa (c.p. 299 i 300).<sup>44</sup>

---

43 More in: Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Mahala Skender u Srebrenici...*, pp. 16.

44 Cartridge 53.

Hajji Mustafa Pašalić son of Hajji Hasan also had a shop in Čaršija, and a plot Viganj. In 1896, Hajji Mustafa was mentioned as a deceased. Soon, there in the vicinity was built a house on c.p. 1/272 or 1/273.

A house c.p. 1/267 and parcels 312, 313 and 315 Klisa were owned by Omer **Pašalić** late Besir's. In 1899, he was succeeded by: Osman, Fatima married to Hajji Mujo Siručić from Voljevica, Safija married to Mujaga Osmanagić, Iza(?), a widow Hanifa, and in 1917, Meho late Osman's was mentioned.

A house on c.p. 1/268 was owned by Osman **Pašalić** son of Omer.

Hajji Mustafa Pašalić son of Hajji Husein from Srebrenica, also from 1919, passed to: a widow Mejra neé Hasić, Mujaga, minor: Abdo, Smajo and Salih, all children of late Hajji Mustafa from Likari, and Dževa married to Salko Mulamujić (Kozluk).<sup>45</sup>

A house on c.p. 1/269 was owned by Hajji Mustafa **Verlašević** late Osman's. In 1914, he was succeeded by: Sulejman, Ibrahim, Hanifa marriage name Đozić and Nura married to Hasan Dautbašić. They also owned a parcel between the river and the mosque on c.p. 1/292 named Kod Džamije, and parcels 192 Kamen, 170 and 175 Bojna.<sup>46</sup>

In the center of the quart Petrič was situated the mosque with the same name. In the late 19th century, next to the mosque were waqf's land on c.p. 1/279 a site and 1/290 a plum orchard next to the mosque.

Across the mosque was an estate with two houses and ancillary buildings. A house on c.p. 1/285 was owned by Emina late Husein's **Agišćić?**. In the late 19th century, a parcel Bojna c.p. 216 and Ljuta strana Tupeljevac c.p. 83 (157 dunams) were owned by Emina minor daughter of late Husein Agišćić? A house on c.p. 133/2 at Musala was owned by a minor Emina late Husein's Agišević and a widow Abida Tepić in the late 19th century.

In the late 19th century, a house on c.p. 1/286 was owned by Husein **Murathodžić** late Murat's. In 1908, it passed to Himzo Murathodžić. They also owned a plot Indžirka (c.p. 196). Later on c.p. 1/284 was a building on c.p. 243 Mlinište with a yard and 414 Zlativoda listed to Himzo late Hasan's? Murathodžića. From 1924, it was listed to: minor Murat, Nedžib and Fehim<sup>47</sup> sons of Husein.

45 Cartridge 40.

46 Cartridge 50.

47 The saying of Fahrudin Murathodžić, recorded on April 28th, 2018.

The family Tepić owned an estate with two houses and ancillary building in the late 19th century. Those were a larger house on c.p. 1/287, owned by Smajl **Tepić** late Salih's. Also, a house on c.p. 1/288, was owned by Smajl **Tepić** late Salih's. In 1912, he was inherited by Mustafa late Smajl's, and in 1933, Huso and Osman Tepić. They also owned a shop in Čaršija and a parcel named a garden Kod Džamije. They also owned a mill on c.p. 1/294 that was situated on the Bijela River next to the mosque.<sup>48</sup> A parcel on c.p. 197 Kruščik and 221 Agićeva bašča were owned by Smajl Tepić late Salih's and since 1912 Mustafa Tepić late Smajl's, Rašid Tepić late Ibrahim's.

On the south-east of the mosque, across the street that led to the mill of the family Tepić was a housing on c.p. 1/296 owned by Jakup and Muharem **Osmanović called Didović** sons of Mustafa. Salčin Osmanović called Didović late Osman's owned a shop in Čaršija and a house on Hrid. A house on c.p. 1/298 was owned by: Mehmed, Ibrahim, Osman and Abdulah **Brezovica** late Osman's. In 1918, it was listed to Alija and Huso late Mehmed's.

Further to the south-east, after several smaller parcels were many houses between the road and the river. A house on c.p. 1/304, a plot Grebendek c.p. 418/1 i 418/2 and Zlativoda 423, were owned by Smajl and Mustafa **Jahić** late Jahija's. In 1907, it was listed to: Mejra neé Štitar, Bejda and Hanifa late Mustafa's.

A house on c.p. 1/306 was owned by Avdo and Paša late Mustaf's **Ramić**. In 1905, it was listed to Fatima Hodžić a widow of Abdulah.

Next to those houses on the cadastral plan from 1884 were also houses on approximately c.p. 1/302 and 1/307?

In 1894, a house on c.p. 1/309 was owned by: Salih, minor Husein, Osman and Mejra late Avdo's **Durković**, and Fatima neé Šakić?.

The utmost south estate with a house on c.p. 1/310 belonged to Avdo **Šakić called Ibrahimović** late Osman's. In 1912, it passed to his widow Džehva neé Hublić. They also owned Mliništa 410/2 at the top of the quart Petrić and a plot Višdrminor c.p. 206/1 i 206/2.

Immediately on the Bijela River on c.p. 1/313, in te late 19th century, was Mlinište with a yard owned by: Alija and Mustafa Hasić late Hasan's, Mejra married to Hajji Mustafa Pašalić, minor Hava and a widow Naila neé Gladović. In that part of the quart was a cemetery on c.p. 1/312, and on c.p. 205 a cemetery, all belonged to the Petrić mosque's waqf in Srebrenica.

---

48 Cartridge 44.

There were many houses upstream of the mosque on the right, east side of the Bijela River. The first house was on c.p. 1/359 owned by Abdulah **Tutundžića** late Sulejman's and Fatima Štetarac?. In 1923, it was listed to Suljo and Rasim late Abdo's.

A house on c.p. 1/355 was owned by: Ibrahim, minor Sejfo and Sulejman late Sulejman's **Parić**, a widow Mejra neé Hasić.

In 1894, a house on c.p. 1/352 was owned by: Osman, Ibrahim minor late Hasan's **Hodžić called Muštikić or Ibrahimović**.

A house on c.p. 1/350 was owned by: Hata neé **Hodžić** married to Huso Selimović from Bajramovići, minor Mustafa and Zahid late Mehmed's **Muštikić called Hodžića?**. In 1919, it was listed to minor Ibro and Hakija late Mujo's.

The family Muštikić had houses and plots in Likari. Hata neé Muštikić married to Husein Selimović from Bajramovići, te minor : Mustafa, Zahid and Salih late Mehmed's Muštikić were also mentioned.<sup>49</sup>

A house on c.p. 1/347, and parcels Zlativoda c.p. 411 were owned by Mehmed **Ademović** late Adem's. In 1915, it was listed to Adem late Mehmed's and Fata neé Omerović married to Mujo Smajlović.

A house on c.p. 1/346 was owned by Fatima neé Mujić a widow of Mehmed **Alić**. In 1909, it was listed to minor Mehmed Šakić son of Osman.

A house on c.p. 1/345 was owned by Kadundžika neé Hasić<sup>50</sup> a widow of Hajder **Mehmedović**. It was later listed to Abdulah and Suljo Mehmedović. According to the saying of Amir (Hamđija) Mehmedović called Gera, born in 1959, and he heard the stroy from his father, the family Mehmedović did not move from Užice or any other town in Serbia, but, according to the oral tradition, the oldest known Mehmedović was Sulejman, a high ranked officer of the Ottoman army from Srebrenica. He had a large plot in Zeleni Jadar, a locality, Kulače. The family of Damir Jusufović lives there today. Amir's grandfather Sulejman (Suljo), son of Hajdar and grandson of Sulejman sold the land to the family Jusufović from Karačići. This is the geneaology of the family Mehmedović: **Sulejman**, officer of the Ottoman army, buried at the locality of Misirlije. He probably lived in the first half of the 19th century. Sulejman had a son Hajdara, a husband of Kadindžuka Hasić. **Hajdar** had

49 Cartridge 21.

50 The saying of Amir called Gera Mehmedović, recorded on April 30th, 2018.

sons: Abdulah (Avdo) and Suljo (1900-1976). Hajdar lived in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. **Suljo** Mehmedović had a son **Hamdija**, (1930-1995) and Hamdija **Amir** called Gera. Therefore, the family Mehmedović looks like this: Sulejman – Hajdar – Suljo, (1900-1976) – Hamdija,(1900-1976) – Amir, (1959-) called Gera.

A house on c.p. 1/342 was owned by Salčin **Hasić** late Ibrahim's: in 1898, it was listed to: Alija and Mustafa Hasić late Hasan's, and Fatima neé Šakić?. According to the saying of Alija (Ibrahim) Hasić, (1954-) the family Hasić originates from the village Beserovina, municipality Bajina Bašta, Serbia.<sup>51</sup> Due to violence, robbery, arson of estate and farm products, Hasan Hasić, during the night, ran across the Drina River to the Bosnian side at the place Liješće with his sons Mujo and Alija. Somewhat later, Hasan Hasić settled in the quart Petrič. Therefore, there were two families Hasić. One that belonged to Mujo and the other to Alija. Therefore, Hasan, a refugee came with his sons Mujo and Alija. The persecution happened in 1862 before the persecution of Bosniaks from Užice. Mujo named his son after his afther Hasan, (1898-1972). Hasan had a son Ibrahim, (1930-1986). Alija Hasić, was son of Ibrahim born in 1954. godine. Alija's son Alem was born in 1983. The descendant of Alija Hasić, Mujo's brother and Hasan's son was Jusuf Hasić (1928-1998). Jusuf Hasić was a significant political figure in Srebrenica before the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, we know, with certainty, six descendants of the family Hasić in the quart Petrič and: **Hasan – Mujo<sup>52</sup> – Hasan**, (1898-1972) – **Ibrahim**, 1930-1986) – **Alija**, (1954-) – **Alem**, (1983).<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately, due to the same ideology, the spread of the borders of Serbia, that is being realized for more than 200 years by

51 Dr. Stevan Ignjić, *Račanski kraj u njaževini Srbiji 1815-1860* Užički zbornik, Titovo Užice, 1980, pp. 85.

Name of villages	No. of houses	No. of families	Male members	Notes
Raočići	12	52	24	-
Pljeskovo	57	300	128	today's B. Bašta
Bačevci	15	51	27	-
Aluge	23	110	65	hamlet Jagoštice
Beserovina	10	51	21	-
Šapari	-	-	-	hamlet Lještansko
Bušine	-	-	-	polje/Beserovini
Perućac	24	131	73	-
Žabljak	-	-	-	a part Pljeskova
Dona	22	84	-	a part Bačevaca

52 Dr. Stevan Ignjić, *Račanski kraj u njaževini Srbiji 1815-1860* Užički zbornik, Titovo Užice, 1980, pp. 89.

53 The saying of Alija (Ibrahim) Hasić, (1954-), recorded on April 29th, 2018.

persecution and genocide against Bosniaks, the last generation of the family Hasić, Alem son of Alija, lives in Germany.

A house on c.p. 1/335 was owned by: Mehmed **Gladović** late Salih's, Salih late Ibrahim's, Najla married to Hasan Hasić and Bejha first marriage name Selimović then married to Hajji Husein Pašalić. In 1906, it was listed to Salih Mehmedović called Rogalić late Alija's and minor Mehmed Kadić late Abdulah's.

At the top of the quart Petrič, the family Gladović owned parcels on c.p.: 251 Kolište, 443 an arable land Zlativoda (Bejha Gladović first marriage name Selimović then married to Hajji Husein Pašalić, and since 1899, it was listed to Alija and Mujo Hasić late Hasan's), 440, 444 and 445 Zlativode (Mehmed Gladović late Salih's), 1/338 Višput, 212 Bojna (Zejna Gladović married to Abdulah Kadić, since 1906, Salih Mehmedović called Rogatičanin late Alija's and minor Mehmed Kadić late Abdulah's).<sup>54</sup>

A house on c.p. 1/333 was owned by Aiša neé **Sušić** first marriage name **Bećirović** then married to Husein Turković. In 1902, Alija Hasić late Hasan's was mentioned.

A house on c.p. 1/332, and parcels: a site on c.p. 339, Marin vineyard on c.p. 447, and also late a shop in Čaršija were owned by Alija **Hasić** late Hasan's. In 1928, he was succeeded by Osman<sup>55</sup> late Alijaga's.

At the very top of the quart Petrič and on the east side of the river were several more houses in the late 19th century. A house on c.p. 1/330 was owned by Mustafa **Alić** called Čavkunić late Alija's. In 1913, Bego Konaković late Halil's was mentioned. A house on c.p. 1/327 and a parcel Rajčevac on c.p. 357 were owned by Salih **Halilović** late Halil's.

A house on c.p. 1/325 was owned by Omer **Hrustemović** late Hrustems with  $\frac{1}{2}$  and Salih **Džilić** called Smajlović late Smajl's with  $\frac{1}{2}$ . In 1908, Mehmed, Mahmut, Osman and Mustafa Zuhrić late Daut's from Džile were mentioned.

A house on c.p. 1/320 was owned by Ahmet **Purković** late Osman's and in 1930, Hasib, Mustafa iand Jusuf, probably his sons, were mentioned.

54 More in: Rusmir Djedović, *Naselje Luka krajem 19. stoljeća (historijsko-geografska i etnološka istraživanja)*, Monumenta Srebrenica, knjiga 3., Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla-Srebrenica, 2014, pp. 50.

55 The saying of Alija (Ibrahim) Hasić, (1954.-), recorded on April 29th, 2018.

A house on c.p. 1/316 was owned by Sulejman **Mujić?** called **Omerović** late Omer's. In 1923, a widow Hamša neé Kardašević and Kada marriage name Hadžić were mentioned.

A house on c.p. 252/2 was owned by: minors Mehmed, Jusuf and Rukija late Mustafa's **Rumičanina called Kozarac**, te Zejna neé Turnadžić.<sup>56</sup> Mehmed Rumičanin called Kozara late Mustafa's also had a house in the quart Crvena rijeka. A house on c.p. 244/2 was owned by Avdo **Jašarević** late Jašar's in 1894, and in 1923, the family Omerović was mentioned.

There were some plots towa rds the south and south-east of the quart on c.p.: 231 Glminorać, 237 Grebendek, 418 Grebendek, 193/1 U kamenu. The owners were: Mustafa Ridžić late Smail's, Muhamed Škodrić late Ibrahim's, Šaksima Škodrić married to Jusuf Delimehmedović, Mehmed Rminoričanin called Kozara late Mustafa's.

Parcels on c.p. 128 Mala Bojna, in the late 19th century, were owned by Arif Muhagić late Hasanaga's, further the family Begović. There were also parcels on c.p.: 196 Indžirka, 217 Bajrina bašća, 447 Marin vineyard, 206 Višdrminor.

In the late 19th century, in the quart Petrić, as well as in the neighbouring quart Skender, there were several watermills on the Bijela River. The utmost downstream was on c.p. 1/294 next to the mosque and owned by Smajla Tepića late Salih's. In the upper part of the quart on c.p. 1/313 was Mlinište with a yard owned by Alija and Mustafa Hasića late Hasan's. Above the quart on c.p. 243 was Mlinište with a yard owned by Hivza late Hasan's Murathodžić (and c.p. 414 Zlativoda). In 1924, it was listed to: minor Murat, Nedžib and Fehim sons of Husein.<sup>57</sup> The utmost upstream was Mlinište on c.p. 410/2 owned by Avdo Šakić called Ibrahimović late Osman's. In 1912, it passed to Džehva neé Hublić his widow.

## General characteristics

From the previous observation and overview of the quart Petrić, and in the late 19th century, we can give its general characteristics. There were some significant persons in the late 19th century, such as: Selim, Deli Mehmed, Omer Effendi in the 18th century; and Kaza (Abdulah or his father) at the turn of the 18/19 century; Hajji Omeraga, imam Murat Effendi, Mula Halil

56 Cartridge 21.

57 Cartridge 406.

in the first half of the 19th century and Hajji Mustafa Verlašević, Haji Husein Pašalić, Hajji Osman Verlašević, Smail Tepić, Hajji Mustaf Pašalić, Alijaga Hasić in the second half of the 19th century.

In the old days, there were in and immediately around the quart many cemeteries. The one in front of Čaršija is very old, and Učina bašča very big.

Probably, with the development of the quart Petrič, and surely from the mid-17th century, in the northern (lower) part of the quart was the mosque. As it was very old, its real name got lost, and it was known as the Petrič mosque. There was a waqf that upkept the mosque and its officials from the old days.

In 1894, there were exactly 45 houses and numerous ancillary buildings in the quart. Those houses were owned by families: Berberović/Nalić, Hadžiomeragić, Selimčehajić called Ibrahimović, Halilović (Malahalilović?), Kadić called Avdić, Nalić, Delimehmedović, Tepić-3 houses, Verlašević-2, Begtić-2, Pašalić-3, Agišćić, Murathodžić, Osmanović called Didović, Brezovica, Jahić, Ramić, Durković, Šakić called Ibrahimović, Tutundžić, Parić, Hodžić called Muštikić or Ibrahimović-2, Ademović, Alić, Mehmedović, Hasić-3, Gladović, Sušić, Bećirović-2, Alić called Čavkunić, Halilović, Hrustemović, Džilić called Smajlović, Purković, Mujić called Omerović, Rminoričanina called Kozarac and Jašarević. In the late 19th century, some families owned several houses: Pašalić-3, Tepić-3, Hasić-3, Verlašević-2, Hodžić called Muštikić or Ibrahimović-2, Begtić-2, Sušić, Bećirović-2 and Nalić-1-2.

There were four watermills on the Bijela River in the quart, owned by families: Tepić, Hasić, Murathodžić and Šakić called Ibrahimović.

The origin of the family Verlašević from the quart Petrič is very interesting. They are originally from Verlaš.<sup>58</sup> Verlaši, Verlaševići or Verlovići (Velovići) is a locality between Klotijevac, Ljeskovik and Uriscići, closest to Uriscići. The land was used and cultivated by the people of Uriscići. According to the pre-war sayings of the residents of Uriscići, in the mid-19th century was a plague in a small community Verlaši, who afraid of extinction, sought refuge in Srebrenica. Today, there are remains of cemeteries of late and buried members of the family at the locality.<sup>59</sup> In the village Uriscići were registered numerous parcels named Verlovići in the late 19th century.<sup>60</sup> It was also stated

58 Alija Suljić, *Stanovništvo i naselja općine Srebrenica, antropogeografska monografija*, knjiga treća, Autorsko izdanje, Tuzla, 2017, pp. 67.

59 Alija Suljić, *Stanovništvo i naselja...*, pp. 67.

60 Ruzmir Djedović, Nermin Ibrić, *Naselje Uriscići u okolini Srebrenice krajem 19. stoljeća*

that toponyms: Đurđev dol, Živanovina, Lauković, Verlovići, Pašića diljka, Besare, Staništa point to old population and inhabitants...<sup>61</sup>

## Conclusion

Traditional urbano and geographic and social and historic whole of the city of Srebrenica, known as the quart Petrič is very old. There are minor antiquities there, especially important are the mosque, surely from the first half of the 17th century, and most probably right after the development of the quart Petrič, and several very old cemeteries. An old and important road goes through the quart and from the center of Srebrenica goes further to the south and south-east. There were also four mills at the Bijela River at the turn of the 19/20th century. The owners were families: Tepić, Hasić, Murathodžić and Šakić called Ibrahimović. Today, there are none of them there.

In the late 19th century, or more precise in 1894, there were 45 privately-owned houses in the quart Petrič. The following old and very well-known families from Srebrenica had several houses: Pašalić, Tepić, Hasić, Verlašević, Begtić, Nalić. Most families were refugees from the Province of Serbia, who were very persecuted, or ethnically cleansed through the whole 19th century. The most intense period of persecution from Serbia and immigration to the quart Petrič was from 1815 to 1862. Some families were autonomous, or their immigration from other places was not recorded, such as: Murathodžić and Mehmedović. Unfortunately, after the crime of ethnic cleansing in the 19th century in the Province of Serbia, the descendants of the persecuted families experienced the crime of genocide at the end of the 20th century from the followers of the same ideology.

---

– kulturno-historijsko naslijede, Baština sjeveroistočne Bosne, broj 9/2016, Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeda Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla, 2017, pp. 117-135.

61 Rusmir Djedović, Nermiñ Ibrić, Naselje Urisići..., pp. 118.

## References

1. The Land Registry books for the Cadastral Municipality (C.M.) Srebrenica from 1894. The Land Registry Srebrenica.
2. The Land Registry books for the Cadastral Municipality (C.M.) Likari from 1894. The Land Registry Srebrenica.
3. The Cadastral Plans of the City of Srebrenica from 1882-5, ratio 1:6.250 and 1:3.125. The Cadastre of Srebrenica.
4. The Cadastral Plans of the City of Srebrenica from 1884, Zone XXXXX Colone XX, Section 12, Viertel b, Sechztl.b/1,3, ratio 1:3.125. Krieg archives, Vienna.
5. The topographic maps from the Austro-Hungarian Period, ratio 1:75.000 and 1:25.000.
6. The topographic maps from the mid-20th century, issued by the Yugoslavian People's Army, ratio 1:50.000 and 1:100.000.
7. Nufus defter 1850/51 BOA NFS.d 5951. Research and translation by Kemal Nurkić, M.A.
8. The saying of Mustafa Siručić called Zubār, born in 1929, died lately, recorded on May 18th, 2013.
9. The saying of Hilmo (Ahmo) Siručić, born in 1939, recorded in April 2014.
10. *Proračuni vakufa u Bosni i Hercegovini za godinu 1890.*, Sarajevo.
11. *Proračun vakufa u Bosni i Hercegovini za godinu 1913.*, Sarajevo.
12. Evlija Čelebi, *Putopis*, Sarajevo-Publishing, Sarajevo, 1996.
13. Hifzija Suljkić, *Spomenici islamske kulture u Srebrenici*, Sabrani tekstovi knjiga II, BMG, Bosanska medijska grupa, Tuzla, 2007.
14. Tufan Gunduz, *Tuzlanski, Bijeljinski i Srebrenički Sidžil (1641.-1883.)*, Arhiv TK, Tuzla, 2008.
15. Rusmir Djedović, *Vakufi u gradu Srebrenici od 15. do 20. stoljeća*, Baština sjeveroistočne Bosne, broj 3/2010, Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla.
16. Rusmir Djedović, Senad Begović, *Urbani razvoj grada Srebrenice u osmanskom periodu sa osvrtom na ulogu vakufa*, Zbornik radova naučnog simpozijminor a Kulturno-istorijsko nasleđe Srebrenice kroz vijekove, JU Arheološki muzej „Rimski municipiminor“ Skelani Srebrenica, 2012.

17. Dr. Stevan Ignjić, *Račanski kraj u njaževini Srbiji (1815-1860)*, Užički zbornik, Titovo Užice, 1980.
18. Adib Đozić, *Gradske džamije Srebrenice*, Monminor enta Srebrenica, knjiga 1, Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla – Srebrenica, 2012.
19. Rusmir Djedović, *Urbani razvoj grada Srebrenice od srednjeg vijeka do početka 20. stoljeća*, Monminor enta Srebrenica, knjiga 1, Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla – Srebrenica, 2012.
20. Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Mahala Crvena rijeka u Srebrenici krajem 19. stoljeća*, Monminor enta Srebrenica, knjiga 2, Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla – Srebrenica, 2013.
21. Rusmir Djedović, *Grad Srebrenica – urbani razvoj od antike do početka 21. stoljeća*, Zbornik radova naučnog skupa Uloga grada i regije u privrednom razvoju i političkom životu BiH (1851-1995), held in Mostar in 2013, Muzej Hercegovine, Mostar, 2014.
22. Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Mahala Skender u Srebrenici krajem 19. stoljeća*, Monminor enta Srebrenica, knjiga 3., Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla-Srebrenica, 2014.
23. Rusmir Djedović, *Naselje Luka krajem 19. stoljeća (historijsko-geografska i etnološka istraživanja)*, Monminor enta Srebrenica, knjiga 3., Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla-Srebrenica, 2014.
24. Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Čaršija u Srebrenici krajem 19. stoljeća*, Monminor enta Srebrenica, knjiga 4., Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla-Srebrenica, 2015.
25. Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Musala, Varoš i Ciganluk u gradu Srebrenici krajem 19. stoljeća*, Monminor enta Srebrenica – istraživanja, dokminor enta, svjedočanstva, Knjiga 5, JU Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla –Srebrenica, 2016.
26. Nermana Hodžić, *Orijentalna zbirka arhiva Tuzlanskog kantona 1563–1936, analitički inventar*, Arhiv TK, Društvo arhivskih zaposlenika TK, Tuzla, 2017.

27. Rusmir Djedović, Adib Đozić, *Panadurište, Baratova i Soločuša u Srebrenici krajem 19. stoljeća*, Monminor enta Srebrenica – istraživanja, dokminor enta, svjedočanstva, Knjiga 6, JU Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla –Srebrenica, 2017.
28. Alija Suljić, *Stanovništvo i naselja općine Srebrenica, antropogeografska monografija*, knjiga treća, Autorsko izdanje, Tuzla, 2017.
29. Rusmir Djedović, Nermin Ibrić, *Naselje Urisići u okolini Srebrenice krajem 19. stoljeća – kulturno-historijsko naslijeđe*, Baština sjeveroistočne Bosne, broj 9/2016, Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla, 2017.
30. Adib Đozić, Rusmir Djedović, *Naselja Pusmulić (sa Jasenovom) i Čičevac (sa Pribićevcem) kod Srebrenice krajem 19. stoljeća*, Monminor enta Srebrenica – istraživanja, dokminor enta, svjedočanstva, Knjiga 6, JU Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla –Srebrenica, 2017.

*Rusmir Djedović*

*Adib Đozić*

## **THE QUARTS FOJHAR, GOSTILJ AND LIKARI NEAR SREBRENICA IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY**

### **Summary**

The three quarts that are located directly from the north side of the city of Srebrenica are discussed about in the article. These are quite intertwined quarts: Fojhar, Gostilj and Likari. The state of quarts at the end of the 19th century is investigated. A detailed overview of each quart, especially urban-geographic, ownership and demographic characteristics, are given. The houses and other urban contents, estates and land, their owners and numerous toponyms are cited. Each well-known cultural and historical heritage is listed in each quart. The article was written on the basis of the 1894 land registry books and cadastral plans from the same period.

**Key words:** Fojhar, Gostilj, Likari, the late 19th century, houses, families.

### **Introduction**

To the north of the city of Srebrenica, there are three quarts that lean against each other and whose territories (cadastral municipalities - c.m.) are rather intertwined. These are quarts Fojhar, Gostilj and Likari. The northernmost part of the territory (c.m.) of the city of Srebrenica, in the form of a very narrow belt, is re-entered among the mentioned quarts by the end of the 19th century. This belt is on the west bounded by the river Križevica and on the east by the old road to Bratunac.

The quarts of Fojhar, Gostilj and Likari are located in the valley of the river Križevica, which starts in Srebrenica from the Crvena and Bijela (Čičevačka) rivers. The older parts of the quarts are high in the slopes of the

valley (both on the west and east). Already at the end of the 19th century, some parts were on the lower slopes, and through the 20th century, the bottom of the valley was more densely populated, beside the river Križevica, its confluents and the modern Srebrenica-Bratunac road.

On the north of the quarts Fojhar, Gostilj and Likari, in the extended valley of the river Križevica are the old settlements Potočari and Pećista, which in a way make up one whole. On the east is the old quart Sase (with Gradina), as well as Obadi (with Zalazje), which also constitute one whole. On the west is a small mountainous village Osredak, which seems to have developed in the area of Fojhara, because the wooded hills even more western, belonged to c. m. Fojhar since the old days.

### Ancient past

The area north of the city of Srebrenica, i.e. the central part of the basin and valley of the river Križevica (from Srebrenica to Potočari), with quarts Fojhar, Gostilj and Likari, was inhabited in prehistory and ancient times.

It has already been noted that are from the ancient past the names of the peak Gradac (527 m) in Likari and Gračić in Potočari.<sup>1</sup> It is already known that in Potočari were two Roman stellas with relief figures of people transferred to Srebrenica.<sup>2</sup>

At the end of the 19th century, toponyms were registered in Likari on Austro-Hungarian plans and maps. They are the toponym Gradac and the hill Gračan<sup>3</sup> and Gračan<sup>4</sup>.

A workshop (dump) of medieval cannon balls of stone was discovered at the site of Lubardište, in the quart Gostilj. Kamenolom under Grac with several hundred balls (diameter 6.5-9.5 cm)<sup>5</sup> was close by.

1 Rusmir Djedović, Adib Đozić, Panađurište, Baratova i Soločuša u Srebrenici krajem 19. stoljeća, Monumenta Srebrenica, knjiga 6., Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla-Srebrenica, 2017, pp. 61.

2 Šefik Bešlagić, Stećci kataloško-topografski pregled, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1971, pp. 234.

3 The Cadaster Plan for c. m. Likari, from 1884, The Cadastre of Srebrenica and Cartridge No. 64, c. m. Likari, The Land Registry (e.g. c.p. 201/6 a forest Gradac, 201/9 a forest Gradac).

4 Topographic map of Srebrenice, ratio 1:25.000, the end of the 19th century.

5 Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine, tom 3, Sarajevo, 1988, pp. 74. Our famous researcher Ivo Bojanovski signed the text.

The medieval population of this area is also reflected through the existence of medieval necropolises with tombstones. The best known researcher of Bosnian tombstones Šefik Bešlagić has registered several necropolises in the surrounding quarts Gostilj, Fojhar, Potočari and Pećista half a century ago.<sup>6</sup>

It is known for a medieval necropolis at the site of Bašča in Fojhar. At the site Bašča, beside the road (owned by Sejfo Mujić), there is a necropolis with 32 tombstones (4 plates, 18 crates and 10 gabled cemeteries). Monuments are well processed and preserved.<sup>7</sup>

At the site Osojnača (owned by Cvijetin Grujićić), near the road, not far from the village, there is a necropolis with 38 tombstones (3 slabs, 16 crates, 17 gabled and 2 pillars). Two pillars were decorated. Their motives are the figure of a man and a sword.<sup>8</sup>

Not far from Kamenolom under Grac there are two large saddles from the late Middle Ages.<sup>9</sup> The location of Troliz is connected to Gradac and quarry, to the left of the road. There are two tombstones in a shape of saddle with a stand, extremely large dimensions.<sup>10</sup>

The necropolis Vrhovine in Gostilje is another locality with tombstones. At an elevation of 330 m above sea level, one tombstone in the form of a slab, four in the form of saddle and three tombstones for which due to considerable damage we cannot determine the shape.<sup>11</sup>

One previously unknown necropolis of medieval tombstones had to be in Fojhar, above Borkovići. Namely, at the end of the 19th century on the hill Lupoglava was registered a site with the name Mramorje, e.g., on the plan from 1884 or the land registry books from 1894.<sup>12</sup>

---

6 Rusmir Djedović, Adib Đozić, Panađurište..., pp. 62.

7 Šefik Bešlagić, Stećci..., pp. 235.

8 Those were probably “several Bogomil tombstones”, that famous travel writer Renner saw at the end of the 19th century. (Herceg-Bosnom uzduž i poprijeko – putovanja Henrika Rennera, Mitrovica, 1900, str. 219.)

9 Arheološki leksikon..., pp. 74.

10 Sead Jahić, Stećci na području Srebreničko-bratunačkog kraja i mogućnosti njihove valorizacije u turizmu, Magistarski rad odbranjen na Odsjeku Geografija Prirodno matematičkog fakulteta u Tuzli, decembar, 2012, pp. 77.

11 Sead Jahić, Stećci..., pp. 76.

12 The Cadastral Plan for c. m. Fojhar, from 1884, The Cadastre of Srebrenica. Cartridge No. 49 (31/1 a forest Lupoglava, Mramorje of 687 dunams) and Cartridge No. 21, (31/2 a forest Mramorje...), c. m. Fojhar, The Land Registry Srebrenica.

On the border between Fojhar and Bajramovići is the site Mramor.<sup>13</sup>

There are numerous sites with medieval necropolises and in the immediate vicinity of these settlements: Potočari, the hill Gračić and the locality of Mramorje (in Budak). Zalazje, a medieval necropolis with 20 tombstones, the hill Biljeg in Obadi, on the east of Likari. In the northern part of Srebrenica there are several localities with tombstones.<sup>14</sup>



*Topographic map of the quarts Fojhar, Gostilj and Likari in app. 1887 (light more important roads, dotted borders of cadastral municipalities)*

The Ottomans found the medieval settlement named Gostilj. The name is from the word “guest”, which was a high priest of the Church of Bosnia or the word “guest”, which signified the important center of this church. There were seven houses in the settlement Gostilj in the 1460-ies.<sup>15</sup>

From the aspect of ancient times, it is a very interesting area called Soločuša, both in the settlement Gostilj and in the far north of Srebrenica.<sup>16</sup>

13 More in: Rusmir Djedović, *Naselje Bajramovići na razmeđu 19 i 20. stoljeća*, Monumenta Srebrenica, knjiga 4., Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla-Srebrenica, 2015, pp. 175.

14 More in: Rusmir Djedović, Adib Đozić, *Panadurište...*, pp. 62-63.

15 Ahmet Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine*, Islamski kulturni centar Mostar, Mostar, 2008, pp. 74.

16 One the name Soločuša in: Adib Đozić, *Panađurište...*, p. 73.

More on the Orthodox church in Soločuša in: Rusmir Djedović, Adib Đozić, *Panadurište...*, pp. 74-76.

From the old days, the name of Soločuša means the area around the mouth of the stream with the same name in Križevica (which belongs to c. m. Gostilj). At the end of the 19th century there was the Soločuša Inn, and in the recent times several houses around the main road near the mouth of the stream. Otherwise, the Soločuša stream flows from the northwestern slopes of the smaller mountain Kvarac<sup>17</sup> and the Orthodox church in the far north of Srebrenica is often called Soločuša.

Even before the Ottoman administration, and even during the first centuries of the Ottoman reign, numerous toponyms in this area speak about the richness in ores and mining. The name of the settlement from the northwest side of Srebrenica, Fojhar is certainly from the Middle Ages and is related to mining by the Sase. Also, the name of the village of Pećište, something on the north. Toponyms: Kvarac, Kiselica, Vitlovac, Soločuša?, Rusenovac? ... are some of the toponyms related to ores.<sup>18</sup> The name of the main river in the mentioned settlements is also interesting. It regularly appeared at the end of the 19th century as the river Križevica. Then there was a locality called Križevac. It is located on the north of Gnione in Gostilj. Those are plots at c. p. 169/1 and 169/2 Križevac.<sup>19</sup>

In the settlements of Fojhar, Gostilj and Likari, at the end of the 19th century, there were numerous traces of cemeteries from the Ottoman (perhaps even the earlier) period. In Gostilj: 3/2 a forest Tomb, 58/2 a cemetery, 116 a cemetery and 169/5 a cemetery. In Fojhar 36/1 a cemetery and 89 Groblje. In Likari: 35/4 a cemetery, 110/2 a cemetery, 135/2 a cemetery.<sup>20</sup> There is a large number of toponyms that point to significant age and heritage. Some of them are of medieval age: Stup - Fojhar; Dolnji Vitlovac, Vitlovac, Vitlovački gaj, all in Gostilj; Plan and Zagoni in Likari; Zvezda (Zvijezda), Gradno and Seoča in Fojhar; Štap and Podštapski potok (stream) in Likari; Katince near Križevica under Purkovica, Obrnovac and Stražioc in Likari; Senega, between

---

Rusmir Djedović, Adib Đozić, *Panadurište...*, pp. 62. Those are toponyms, e. g. 100/1 an arable land Kiseljak behind the church and 100/2 a pasture Kiseljak behind the church, Cartridge No. 30, c. m. Gostilj, The Land Registry Srebrenica.

Cartridge No. 17, c. m. Gostilj, The Land Registry Srebrenica. More in: Rusmir Djedović, Adib Đozić, *Panadurište...*, pp. 73.

17 Rusmir Djedović, Adib Đozić, *Panađurište...*, pp. 73.

18 Rusmir Djedović, Adib Đozić, *Panađurište...*, pp. 62. Those are toponyms, e. g. c.p. 100/1 an arable land Kiseljak behind the church and 100/2 a pasture Kiseljak behind the church, Cartridge No. 30, c. m. Gostilj, The Land Registry Srebrenica.

19 Cartridge No. 17, k.o. Gostilj, The Land Registry Srebrenica.

20 Cartridges No. 12 and 34, c. m. Gostilj; 7 and 49, c. m. Fojhar; 64, c. m. Likari, The Land Registry Srebrenica.

Borkovići and Lipe and Kutlići in Fojhar; Bran brdo (hill) and Bran (eastern slopes of Zanika) in Gostilj...

Toponyms referring to the old industrial activities are: Božino Guvno, Sofa in Joševa, Podvinjica, Dautovo Guvno in Kutlići, all in Fojhar; Vinogradina, Stupa, Vinica, Zavinje, Valjenovac, Bjelilo, Lazine krčevine (lit. Landfilled land), Gniona, Brzovrt above Vitlovac, Blagolažje near Gnione, Strijelci, Močila, Barilovo Guvno, Redžića Guvno, all in Gostilje; Budak, Laz, Kalemić, Kalemci, Vrtine, Redžića Guvno, all in Likari.

The toponyms referring to the old population are: Seoca, (Seoča), Selište in Kutlići, Selište and Kućišta, all in Fojhar, Selište in Orići, Ulica, Selište in Purkovići, Čardak, all in Gostilj. The toponyms point to the older population of the 19th century: Borkovići, Buljićić, Šegrić, Dautovo Guvno on the north of Kutlići, all in Fojhar, Barilovo Guvno, Milačevići, Markovište, Mijatinovac, Milačevićki Gaj, Antolov Vrh, Redžića Guvno, Jovina Voda, Orići, Mujčinov Brijeg in Orići, Cvietko (Cietko), all in Gostilj; Rokovac, Begina Njiva, Vukojevica, all in Likari. There are other old and interesting toponyms: Ićigrije-brdo from Fojhar to Osredak, Zanik, Koribašča, Kamenita Luka, Tušanj, Potrkuša, Kotlina, Purkovice, Lupaglav.

The great importance in the past of the settlements Fojhar, Gostilj and Likari had the routes of the old roads that went through them. It has already been noted that the main factor in the urban and geographical appearance and development of this part of Srebrenica was the old Ottoman road, and the later upgraded Austro-Hungarian road to Bratunac.<sup>21</sup> The modern road from Bratunac to Srebrenica was built along the valley of the river Križevica valley since 1881. In the 1885 report, the administrative director of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hugo Kucher, stated: now we are working hard on several bridges and failures and I have seen serfs who remove balks.<sup>22</sup> At the entrance to Srebrenica there is the inn Baratova. In addition to this most important road along the valley of the river Križevica, the road that separates from the inn Soločuša is also important, and through Likare and across the saddle of Predola, it goes through Obadi, and beside Gradina and Sasa, it goes out on the river Drina.

---

21 Rusmir Djedović, Adib Đozić, *Panađurište...*, pp. 74.

22 Azem Kožar, *Granica na Drini prema izvještaju Huge Kutschere, administrativnog direktora Zemaljske vlade za Bosnu i Hercegovinu od 14. 11. 1885. godine*, Saznanja 4, Društvo historičara Tuzla, Odsjek za historiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Tuzli, Tuzla, 2013, pp. 64.

At the place where from the main road to Bratunac separates the old road through Likari and Obadi, to Zalužje, Gradina and Drina, there is an old inn since the old days. It is known as the inn Soločuša, and is already in the territory of the settlement Gostilj. When describing this path, Renner travel writer at the end of the 19th century, said: "It passes next to an inn", "among beautifully cultivated fields... where there are several more houses." Further, on the way to Gradina (through Gostilj) it passes "next to several Bogomil tombstones".<sup>23</sup> An even less important old route is the one that goes from Gostilj, next to Gniona, via Lipa, to Gradno and to the old route to Nova Kasaba. The eastern parts of Gostilj and Likare touch the old road from Srebrenica, across the peak Kvarac and Zalužje to Gradina and Sase. Somewhat on the north, in Potočari, from the main road, along the inn Potočarska rijeka to the west, separates a more important route, via Milačevići and Rogač, to Nova Kasaba.

In the settlements Fojhar, Gostilj and Likari in the 19th century, there were no religious buildings. From the religious heritage there are only the old cemeteries. In 1885, a priest was mentioned in Likari. Since then all inhabitants of the settlement were Muslims, it could only be an imam. In 1894, there were lands in Likari that belonged to the waqf of the city of Srebrenica. These are parcels c. p. 143/2 an arable land Palučak (later Luka) a dunam and 600 m<sup>2</sup> (the waqf of the Petrička mosque in Srebrenica)<sup>24</sup> and c. p. 26/1 an arable land Prisojnica of 2 dunams and 700 m<sup>2</sup> (the waqf of the Skender mosque in Srebrenica).<sup>25</sup> The Orthodox population at the end of the 19th century belonged to the Protopresbyterian order of Srebrenica.

There was one house in the settlement Fojar with five people and in Gostilj twelve houses with eighty-five people.<sup>26</sup> There are several data on the population of the settlement from the 1880-ies. There is a statement from 1887 given by a person named Gralević (probably Garaljević) from the village of Likari on the donation of his entire property to his daughter and son-in-law.<sup>27</sup> In 1887, the property of deceased Ejubovic Salke from the village of Fojhar in Srebrenica was divided. From 1887, Izinnama was married to Hatidže from the village Babolić (probably Babuljica) for Dženan a son of Began from the village of Jašva Kojhar (probably Joševa Fojhar).<sup>28</sup>

23 Herceg-Bosnom..., pp. 219.

24 Cartridge No. 62, k.o. Likari, The Land Registry Srebrenica.

25 Cartridge No. 63...

26 *Šematizam pravoslavne mitropolije i arhidijeceze dabro-bosanske za godinu 1882.* Zemaljska tiskara, Sarajevo, 1882, pp. 64.

27 Tufan Gunduz, *Tuzlanski, Bijeljinski i Srebrenički Sidžil (1641. – 1883.)*, JU Arhiv Tuzlanskog kantona, Društvo Arhivskih zaposlenika TK, Tuzla, 2008, pp. 20.

28 Tufan Gunduz, *Tuzlanski...*, pp. 25.

## I Fojhar

The settlement Fojhar continues in the far northwestern part of the city of Srebrenica and on the west of the river Križevica. The area of the settlement used to stretch far to the west, down to the smaller mountain Gradno (peaks Gradno, Zvijezda and Bukovik). We see this because at the end of the 19th century forests in the extreme north-east of the mountain (up to the peak Bukovik) belong to c. m. (cadastral municipality) Fojhar. Although between these forests and the settlement Fojhar, in the meantime developed the settlement Osredak as a special c. m. The larger part of the settlement is located in the Kutlić river basin, at different altitudes (320 to 600 m). This settlement belongs to the broken type, and it consists of the following hamlets: Fojhar, Joševa, Kutlići, Lipa and Seoce.<sup>29</sup>

According to the first Austro-Hungarian population census of 1879, the settlement Fojhar contained 15 houses, 93 inhabitants, of which 89 were Muslims and 4 are Greek Orthodox.<sup>30</sup> In 1885, there were 19 houses, 100 inhabitants, 85 of them were Muslims and 15 were Eastern Orthodox in Fojhar.<sup>31</sup> At the end of the century, in 1895, the settlement Fojhar has 19 houses with a total of 94 inhabitants, of which 87 are muhamedan and 7 are east-orthodox. According to the official census from 1895, in the settlement Fojhar there were the following parts: Borkovići, Fojhar, Joševa, Kutlići and Seoce.<sup>32</sup>

### I 1. The overview of the settlement in 1894

In the late 19th century, there were many areas with pastures and forests in the settlement Fojhar that were state-owned. Those were: 31/1 a forest Lupoglava, Mramorje, Vrane? and Kamen of 687 dunams, 31/12 a forest Šegrić of 176 dunams, 31/13 a forest Podhrašće of 762 dunams, 31/18 a forest Grabić of 36 dunams, 40/1 a pasture Grabić of 24 dunams, 40/2 Poratak, 40/4 Ražište, 49/4 Ražište, 81/1 a pasture Pridol of 12 dunams, 89 Groblje of 470 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>33</sup>

29 Alija Suljić, *Stanovništvo i naselja općine Srebrenica – antropogeografska monografija*, Geografsko društvo Tuzlanskog kantona i Narodna i univerzitetska biblioteka „Derviš Sušić“ Tuzla, Tuzla, 2011, pp. 191.

30 *Štatistika miesta i pučanstva Bosne i Hercegovine*, C. I kr. vladina tiskarna, Sarajevo, 1880, pp. 95.

31 *Glavni rezultati popisa žiteljstva u Bosni i Hercegovini od 22. aprila 1895.*, Zemaljska štamparija, Sarajevo, 1896, pp. 346-347.

32 *Glavni rezultati popisa žiteljstva*, pp. 346.

33 Cartridge No. 49, vlasnik Bosansko – hercegovački zemaljski erar, c. m. Fojhar, The Land Registry Srebrenica.

## I 1.1. Fojhar

A part of the settlement Fojhar, located on the slopes north of the mouth of the Kutlićka River in the river Križevica, was also called Fojhar in the old days. The entire settlement got its name.

The inhabitants and their houses in the settlement were the following: houses on c. p. 130/1 and a plot, 129 an orchard around the house, later a house on c. p.: 130/3, 130/7, 130/9, 130/10, 129/2 and 129/4, then later Groblje on c. p . 129/3, and 130/12 Zanoge the owners were Arif and Hasan **Mujić** late Mustafa's. In 1918, Mustafa was succeeded by: a widow Fata was neé Čeliković, Šaćir, Zejfa married to Halil Brvarević from Milačevići, Hamša married to Mojo? Smajlović from Srebrenica, minor? Tima.<sup>34</sup> Most likely, this house originated from the serf's farm because, as part of the serf's village Mujić, at the end of the 19th century, were listed plots 126 and 127 Vodica, owned by Sulejman Ademović late Adem's from Srebrenica. In 1895, Fatima married Sulejman Ademović, 1895 Arif Mujić late Mujo's and in 1918 Smajo, Mujo, Ali and Ibro late Arif's.<sup>35</sup>

A house on c. p. 130/2 was the property of Arif and Hasan **Mujić** in 1894. Mustafe. In 1918, Mustafa was succeeded by: a widow Fata neé Čeliković, Šaćir, Zejfa married to Halil Brvarević from Milačevići, Hamša married to? Mujo Smajlović from Srebrenice, minor? Tima.

Houses on c. p. 130/9, and later also houses on: 130/7, 130/9, 130/10 the owners were Arif and Hasan **Mujić** late Mustafa's. Since 1918 the heirs are the same.<sup>36</sup>

The same were the owners of many other lands in the area. For example: 31/15 a forest Fojharski vrhovi of 148 dunams, 111 and 115 Dol, 118 and 119 Brdo, 117 Njiva, 120 Slana bara of 8 dunams and 900 m<sup>2</sup>, 121 Luka, 122 a quarry, 126 and 128 Podkućnica, 191 and 192 Drenja , 193 and 194 Strugar, 202 and 203 Duga njiva.

Arif and Hasan Mujić late Mustafa's were likely owners of an old waterfall below Fojhar on the river Križevica. Surely later they were the owners of c. p. 121/2 a mill with a land.

A little further down the river, in the old days there was another mill but in the territory of Srebrenica. Downstream from the Factory since the old

34 Cartridge No. 1...

35 Cartridge No. 22...

36 Cartridge No. 2...

days there was one watermill, whose ravine went along the right side of the river Križevica (on c. p. 7/4).<sup>37</sup>

## I 1.2. Seoča (Seoce)

More on the west of Fojhara, across a smaller stream and in a higher slope, is part of a settlement called Seoce or Seoča. The next family houses are in the settlement.

Houses on c. p. 101/2 and a plot: 86/2 and 86/3 Božino Guvno, 86/6 Šator, 140 and 141 Vranjeva stijena, the owners were: Šaćir Šakanović son of Alija, Mehmed and Halil Šakanović late Šakan's, everyone from Srebrenica. In 1900, Aleksa Mičić late Mića's was mentioned.<sup>38</sup>

The serf's estate Ahmetović with a housing on c. p.? 106 was passed to Mahmutaga Efendić late Avdaga's from Srebrenica. In 1896, it passed to: Salih, Hasan, Hakija, minor Juso, Naza married to Ibro Nalić and Haša married to Salihbeg Abdurahmanović all from Srebrenica.<sup>39</sup> The serf's estate Ahmetović encompassed also a plot c. p. 100 Podkućnica owned by Jovan Ilić called Marić late Rade's from Srebrenica. By the decision of the County Administration, in 1930 it passed to Ragib and Salčin Ahmetović late Salih's.<sup>40</sup> The nearby land on c. p.: 103 and 108 Bašča (later 108 a cemetery), 86/5 Šator, 86/6, 86/9 and 88 Brdo were owned by: minor Salih and Fatima late Mehmed's Berberović, all from Srebrenica and Bejda married to Mustafa Memišević from Podčauši. In 1895 it was transferred to Salih and Fatima from Fojhar.<sup>41</sup>

The large plots of 31/14 a forest Podkućnica and Boćino Guvno of more than 160 dunams were owned by: Šaban Berberović late Ahmet's, minor Salih and Fatima late Mehmed's Berberović, Bejda married to Mustafa Memišević from Podčauši, Šaćir Šakanović son of Alija, Mehmed and Halil Šakanović late Šakan's, all from Srebrenica, Sulejman Salkić son of Began, minor Bećir, Avdo and Zlatka children of Lutvo Siručić. In 1914, minor Mustafa and Rabija late Hajji Ahmo's, Haša married to Fejzaga H. Selmanagić and Šemska married to Hajji Salih H. Suljagić were mentioned.<sup>42</sup>

37 Rusmir Djedović, Adib Đozić, *Panadžurište...*, pp. 79.

38 Cartridge No. 5...

39 Cartridge No. 4...

40 Cartridge No. 40...

41 Cartridges No. 29 and 30...

42 Cartridge No. 31...

Below Seoče to the Kutlička River a parcel on c. p.: 144 and 145 Dolnji Palučak, 146 and 147 Gornji Palučak, were owned by Jovo Jovanović son of Jakov from Srebrenica.<sup>43</sup> A plot on c. p. 139 Palučak was owned by Ahmo Hadžimujagić late Hadžimujaga's from Srebrenica.<sup>44</sup>

### I 1.3. Joševa

North of Fojhara on Brdo is Joševa. It was at the end of the 19th century the largest and most densely populated part of the entire settlement Fojhar. In the center on c. p. 6/1 is a place for the gathering of inhabitants, and the inhabitants and houses were as follows.

Houses on c. p. 9/4 and 13/1 an orchard Sofa, in 1894, were owned by Hasan and minor Beguna late Sulejman's **Kovačević**.<sup>45</sup>

Houses on c. p. 1/1 and a plot 36/1 cemetery of 700 m<sup>2</sup> and 36/2 Jasen were owned by Zulfo **Salkić** late Salih's. In 1903 it was listed to: a widow Bejhana neé Velić, minor Husein and Hatidža married name Alić from Milačevići. And in 1905, from Hatidža it was transferred to Omer Alić, a son of Mehmed and minor Meva a daughter of Omer.<sup>46</sup>

A house on c. p. 1/4, and lots: 31, 38 and 39 Selište (later a house 2/2) owned Alija **Salkić** son of Began. In 1923, Sejfo Salkić late Džanan's and minor Omer Salkić late Salko's were mentioned.<sup>47</sup>

Houses on c. p. 2/1 and a plot: 2/2 a construction site, 13/3 and 14/4 Sofa were owned by Began **Salkić** late Salih's. In 1901, they were passed to: Sulejman, Ali and Džanan late Bego's.<sup>48</sup>

Houses on c. p. ?2, and lots: 33 and 34 Zabrdica, 14 Sofa, 64 Studenac, 69 and 82 were owned by Osman **Salkić** late Salih's. In 1897, they mentioned: Čuća late Osman's, Salkuna married to Salih Ahmetović, Ibrahim, Began and Medo Salkić late Salko's, Hurma married to Durmo Hasanovic from Suha.<sup>49</sup>

---

43 Cartridge No. 41...

44 Cartridge No. 37...

45 Cartridge No. 6...

46 Cartridge No. 7...

47 Cartridge No. 8...

48 Cartridge No. 9...

49 Cartridge No. 10...

A house on c. p. 4 and plots: 9/7 Hupina, 17 Brdo, 24 Ravan, 33 Zabrdnica, 63 Studenac, 153 Buljić owned Medo **Salkić** late Salih's. In 1919, the owners were: a widow Fata neé Halilović, Iбриша married name Brdarević with ½, Džanan, Ali and Suljo late Began's.<sup>50</sup>

A house on c. p. 3 at the end of the 19th century owned Sulejman **Salkić** son of Began. In 1918 it passed to Ramo and Šaban late Sulejman's, Sulejmana married to Sejdin Ademović from Milačevići and Raza married to Ibro Mujić.<sup>51</sup>

Plots on c. p.: 6/2 Gradilište, 25/1 Podvinjica, 33/2 Zabrdnica, 59 and 60 Podkućnica, 65 Studenac, 69/1 Kućišta, 149 Podvinjica were owned by Ibrahim Salkić late Salih's.<sup>52</sup> Also, large plots on c. p.: 31/6 a forest Studenac, Kućišta with 357 dunams, 31/7 forests Podkućnica and Studenac, 31/8 a forest Zabrdnica and Selište of 220 dunams, at the end of the 19th century, were owned by: Began, Ibrahim, Zulfo, Medo and Osman Salkić late Salih's, Hasan and minor Beguna late Sulejman's Kovačević.<sup>53</sup> On the south of Joševa is located the aforementioned Groblje on c. p. 36/1 and close to Joševa and nearby Lipa is a cemetery on c. p. 89.

## I 1.4. Lipa

On the north of Joševa since the old days there was a serf's estate called Lipa or Na Lipi. At the end of the 19th century, on this serf's estate lived the **Lazić** family, with a housing on c. p. 78/2, and plots 77 and 78 Alijino brdo. The owner was Avdibeg **Abdurahmanbegović** late Haji Hafz Abdurahmanbeg's from Bijeljina. In 1908 it passed to Rukija neé Effendić married to Rašidbeg Abdurahmanović from Srebrenica. Since 1913, the following were mentioned: Milovan Lazić late Nedо's, minor Cvjetko and Rajko Milošević Ilija's.<sup>54</sup> This serf's estate also encompassed lands 31/2 a forest Mramorje of 25 dunams and 800 m<sup>2</sup> and 31/5 a forest of Lupoglava of over 100 dunams. The owners were: Avdibeg Abdurahmanbegović late Haji Hafz Abdurahmanbeg's from Bijeljina, Arif Ahmetović late Mehmed's, Mustafa Ahmetović late Mustafa's, Havka married to Husein Šemšić from Milačevići and Zeka married to Rašid Jahić from Lipovac.<sup>55</sup>

50 Cartridge No. 11...

51 Cartridge No. 12...

52 Cartridge No. 46...

53 Cartridge No. 48...

54 Cartridge No. 13...

55 Cartridge No. 21...

## I 1.5. Borković

On the west of Joševa, across a stream and in the slope is a part of Fojhar, Borkovići. Above Borkovići is the hill Lupoglava with the locality of Mramorje.

The owners of houses on c. p. 45/3 at the end of the 19th century were: Arif **Ahmetović** late Mehmed's, Havka married to Husein Šemšić (later married name Budić, Pale) from Milačevići, Mustafa Ahmetović late Mustafa's and Zeka married to Rašid Jahić from Lipovac.<sup>56</sup> The same were the owners of the other house on c. p. 45/2.<sup>57</sup>

Lands on c. p. 48 and 52 Nadkućnica owned Arif Ahmetović late Mehmed's. In 1911, Mehmed, Ahmet, and Bećir, sons of Arif<sup>58</sup>, were mentioned. Plots on c. p.: 31/4, 72, 75 and 76 Senoga, 42, 45 and 47 Podkućnica 51 and 53 Lupoglava were owned by: Arif Ahmetović late Mehmed's, Havka married to Husein Šemšić (later married name Budić, Pale) from Milačevići, Mustafa Ahmetović late Mustafa's and Zeka married to Rašid Jahić from Lipovac.<sup>59</sup>

A house on c. p. 44/2 and a parcel 41 an orchard Dol, were owned by: Jusuf **Avdić** late Abdullah's, Ali, Hasan and Zulfo Avdić late Salih's and Pemba late Salih's Avdić. In 1900, it passed from Jusuf to his son (Šaban?), a daughter and a widow ?. Around 1908, it passed from Alija to his minor children.<sup>60</sup>

One plot at the end of the 19th century had Avdibeg Abdurahmanbegović late Hajji Hafz Abdurahmanbeg's from Bijeljina. In 1897, Jusuf Avdić late Abdullah's son bought it. In 1914 were also mentioned: Šaban Avdić late Jusuf's, Muška married to Haso Grebenkušić from Karačići (later sons Jusuf and Husein Kahrić) and Hajra married to Ibro Vranjkovina from Bajramovići.<sup>61</sup>

On the south of Borkovići is a forest Šegrić. Plots on c. p. 21/10 a forest Šegrić of 70 dunams were owned by: Jusuf Avdić late Abdullah's, Ali, Hasan and Zulfa Avdić late Salih's and Pemba late Salih's Avdić.<sup>62</sup>

---

56 Cartridge No. 14...

57 Cartridge No. 15...

58 Cartridge No. 23...

59 Cartridge No. 24...

60 Cartridge No. 16...

61 Cartridge No. 20...

62 Cartridge No. 26...

## I 1.6. Kutlić

In the far southwestern part of the settlement Fojhar is its part Kutlić. It is located on the southern slope of the valley Kutlička river, towards the settlement Bajramovići.

A housing on c. p. 181/2 and parcels: 160/1 and 160/2 Dautovo guvno, 160/4, 160/5 and 160/6 Selišta, 162 and 166 Selišta were owned by Mejruša neé **Ejubović** married to Hasan Ramić. In 1924, Arif Ejubović late Mujo's was mentioned.<sup>63</sup>

A house on c. p. 188/2, was owned at the end of the 19th century by: Mustafa **Ejubović** late Salih's,? A widow,? neé Ahmetović, daughters, minor Abdo Ejubović late Salko's, Arif late Mujo's.<sup>64</sup>

Plots on c. p.: 160, 167 and 168 Selišta, 189 Drenja owned Bejta neé Ejubović married to Alija Salkić.<sup>65</sup>

Above Kutlić on the land Duga njiva (near the old road towards Bajramovići) was a house on c. p. 208/2, with a plot 208 Duga njiva, of than 34 dunams. The owner in 1894 was Abdullah **Đozić**, son of Hajji Alieffendija from Srebrenica.<sup>66</sup> In 1933, by the decision of the County Administration, the owners were: Milovan, Radovan and Pavle Vasić late Pero's.<sup>67</sup> Nearby, on Brdo towards Bajramovići, Đozići owned more land.<sup>68</sup>

Plots on c. p.: 196 Bašča, 198 Dol, 31/16, 166, 167 and 172 Luka, 190, 195 and 201 Drenja were owned by Suljaga Halilović late Ibrahim's and minor Salih late Hasan's Halilović. In 1928, Sulejman passed it to: Džemila neé Mulahalilović married to Meho Bakalović and Salko Mulahalilovic late Huso's.<sup>69</sup>

A large plot on c. p. 31/17 a forest Pišanja, Duga njiva and Podkućnica of 318 dunams were owned by: Arif and Hasan Mujić late Mustafa's, Suljaga Halilovic late Ibrahim and minor Salih late Hasan's Halilović, Mustafa Ejubović late Salih's and Began Salkić late Salih's.<sup>70</sup> Some lands in Fojhar also had: Salih, Husein, minor Asim and Hasan late Sulejman's Hublić.

63 Cartridge No. 17...

64 Cartridge No. 18...

65 Cartridge No. 32...

66 See more in: Appendix No.1 and 2.

67 Cartridge No. 19...

68 More in: Djedović, R. *Naselje Bajramovići...*, pp. 182.)

69 Cartridge No. 38

70 Cartridge No. 45

## I 1.7. General characteristics of the settlements in the late 19th century

According to the aforementioned overview of the settlement Fojhar in 1894, we see its general urban and geographic characteristics.

The largest part of Fojhar is Joševa, that is actually, a true quart, as a traditional content of our settlements. In 1894 there were 7 houses in Joševa and the center. The family Salkić had the most houses. To be more precise, there were 6 houses of the family Salkić and 1 of the family Kovačević.

Fojhar as a part of the settlement with the same name had 3 houses, all 3 belonged to the family Mujić and a mill. There were 2 houses in Seoča, 1 belonged to the family Šakanović and 1 serf's estate Ahmetović – Effendić. There was only one house in Lipa, a serf's estate Lazić – Abdurahmanbegović. There were 3 houses in Borković, 2 of the family Ahmetovića and 1 of the family Avdić. There were 3 houses in Kutlić, 2 of the family Ejubović (one was a housing) and 1 of the family Đozić.

In 1894, there were 19 houses in the whole settlement Fojhar (16 houses, 1 housing and 2 serf's estates). The following houses owned the majority of houses: Salkić-6, Mujić-3, Ahmetović-2-3, Ejubović-2, and one house each: Šakanović, Kovačević, Avdić, Đozić and Lazić.

Therefore, in 1894 Fojhar was a smaller settlement whose inhabitants owned both houses and land, with only a few serfs' estates. Due to the closeness to Srebrenica and the main road, the settlement grew later. We see that from the state of the settlement from the mid-20th century.<sup>71</sup>

## II Gostilj

The area of the settlement Gostilj leaned to the territory of the city of Srebrenica on its north side at the end of the 19th century. Gostilj stretches north of the stream Kiselica and on the right side of the river Križevica encompasses the area to the inn Soločuša and everything on the east side of the old road to Sase and to western slopes of a large hill Zanik. On the western side, Gostilj encompasses all the flow of the stream that flows through hills Ravna njiva across Gnionu. On the south-east it stretches next to the mountain Kvarac.

---

71 Imenik naseljenih mjesta NR BiH stanje 12. VII 1955. godine, Zavod za statistiku NR BiH, Sarajevo 1955, pp. 221.

A part of the settlement Gostilj is located in the valley of the river Križevica on both of its sides, and a part in smaller river valleys of its confluents. The settlements are usually located at the altitudes from 268m to 500m. The settlement Gostilj, as majority of settlements in the Municipality of Srebrenica, belong to the broken type of settlements. The following hamlets constitute it: Gaj, Gostilj, Gniona, Orići and Soločuša.<sup>72</sup>

According to the first census during the Austro-Hungarian reign in 1879, there were 12 houses, 87 residents (all Greek Orthodox) in Gostilj.<sup>73</sup> In 1885, there were 16 houses, 100 residents, 13 Muslims and 87 Greek Orthodox in Gostilj.<sup>74</sup> At the very end of the century, in 1895, there were 18 houses with 104 residents, 12 Muslims and 92 Greek Orthodox in Gostilj.<sup>75</sup> In the 1895 list the following belonged to the settlement Gostilj: Arići, Gaj, Gniona, Gostilj, Saločuša and Vitkovići.<sup>76</sup> The location of Arići was unknown.

## I 1. The overview of the settlement in 1894

In the old days, significant areas in Gostilj were state-owned, first and foremost pastures and forest. In the late 19th century, those were the following plots on cadastral particles: 24 a pasture Močila of 4 dunams and 300 m<sup>2</sup>, 31 a pasture near river, 49/1 a forest Zanik, Brzovrt of 1260 dunams, 58/1 a pasture above graveyaerd of 19 dunams, 58/2 a graveyard of 500 m<sup>2</sup>, 64/2 a pasture Skakavac of 21 dunams, 116 a graveyard of 600 m<sup>2</sup>, 152 a pasture near the road of 8 dunams, 168 a pasture above the rive of 3 dunams, 169/1 a forest Orići, Plandiše, Barilovo guvno of over 1300 dunams, 169/2 a pasture Ravna njiva, 169/5 a graveyard of 650 m<sup>2</sup>, 170 a forest Brzovrt, Divjakinja, Kvarac of 1215 dunams.<sup>77</sup>

---

72 Alija Suljić, *Stanovništvo...,* pp. 223.

73 Štatistika mesta i pučanstva Bosne i Hercegovine, C. I kr. vladina tiskarna, Sarajevo, 1880, pp. 95.

74 Štatistika mesta i žiteljstva Bosne i Hercegovine po popisu naroda 1. maja 1885., Zemaljska štamparija, Sarajevo, 1886, pp. 154-155.

75 Glavni rezultati popisa žiteljstva u Bosni i Hercegovini od 22. aprila 1895., Zemaljska štamparija, Sarajevo, 1896, pp. 346-347.

76 Glavni rezultati popisa žiteljstva..., pp. 346.

77 Cartridge No. 34.

## **II 2. The present day settlement Vidikovac**

From the city of Srebrenica, or more precisely from Baratove and the church at Soločuša, downstream on the right side of the river Križevica are plots of people of Gostilj and which today are in the suburb Vidikovac. There were only several houses there at the end of 19th century.

A housing on c. p. 37/2 (later named Kamenita luka), with parcels: 37/1, 38 and 39 Kamenita luka.

In 1894, it was owned by Salih Effendi Šehomerović late Šeh Omer's from Srebrenica. From 1924 they were listed to: minor Orhan and Mustafa Šehomerović late Salih's Effendi, both from Srebrenica. In 1964 Zuhdija Ikanović late Mustafa's from Fojhara and Azem Begić Selmanov from Luka were mentioned.<sup>78</sup>

The owners of a huge parcel that stretched from the river Križevica and high to Vitlovac on c. p. 40/ a forest Vitlovački gaj of 522 dunams, in the late 19th century, were: Salih Effendi Šehomerović late Šeh Omer's, Asim, Nazif, minor Hasib and Habiba children of Abdulah Klančević and Mehmed Mustafić late Mustafa's, all from Srebrenica.<sup>79</sup> A large number of smaller plots, that is housings, were formed on these plots today.

Near the main road to Bratunac was a house on c. p. 38/ owned by Aleksa Popović late Stevo's and Soka neé Jurošević married to Aleksa Popović, both from Srebrenica. In 1897 it was inherited by: a widow Soka, minor: Pelka, Staka and Savka late Aleksa's.<sup>80</sup>

Somewhat more in the slope Milačevići was a house on c. p. 41/2 and plots on c. p.: 35, 36 Milačevići, 40/3 Markovište Milačevički gaj, 41, 42, 43 and 44 Milačevići, all owned by Aleksa Popović late Stevo's from Srebrenica and Soka neé Jurošević married to Aleksa Popović from Srebrenica. The successors were the same.<sup>81</sup>

In the late 19th century, a plot on c. p. 100/1 an arable land Kiseljak behind the church and 100/2 a pasture Kiseljak behind the church, of over 7 dunams were also owned by Aleksa Popović late Stevan's from Srebrenica.<sup>82</sup> These plots are obviously immediately behind the church at Soločuši, that is a cadastral particle of Srebrenica.

78 Cartridge No. 11.

79 Cartridge No. 33.

80 Cartridge No. 8...

81 Ibid

82 Cartridge No. 30...

## **II 3. The Soločuša Inn (Soločuša)**

On the main road to Bratunac and at the place where the stram Soločuša flows into the river Križevica was an inn from the old days. It is the Soločuša Inn, that was regularly marked in the oldest maps and plans of the area (from the late 19th century).

The Soločuša Inn in 1894 encompassed a house on c. p. 25/2, and an estate with plots: 25/1 a garden next to a house 26 and 28 Milačević, 29 a pasture near the road, 32 Luka, 33/1 Projek, 33/2 and 34 Luka... Somewhat later also c. p. 24/2 a pasture Močila and 24/3 with a commercial building and a yard. Over time, several building were built there with the inn at the center.

In the late 19th century, the owner of the Inn and other real estate was Ilija **Miladinović** late Đuro's from Srebrenica. In 1912, he was inherited by: a widow Sofija, minors: Milan, Savo and Mara Miladinović late Ilija's.<sup>83</sup>

On the north-east of the Soločuša Inn is a hill whose wesetern slope goes to the old road to Sase with an interesting name Grobnice. It is a plot on c. p. 3/2 a forest Grobnica of over 7 dunams. Together with surrounding parcels on c. p. 23 Potrkuša (with a house on 23/2 later), was owned by Avdibeg Abdurahmanbegović late Hajji Hafz Abdurahmanbeg's from Bjeljina in 1894. In 1908, it was listed to Hajji Hasan and Salih Sejfć late Sejfo's from Srebrenica and even later to Sabit and Adem late Salih's.<sup>84</sup>

## **II 4. Gostilj**

More on the north-east, across Grobnice and Koribašče were a couple of houses. Different names in different periods of time were given to that part of the settlement. The oldest was probably Gostilj, than Bran (Bran brdo), Cvjetko (Cietko), Grujičići...

In the late 19th century, between Paljevine and Koribašče was a serf's estate **Ilić** with a housing on c. p. 1/2, and parcels: 4/1 a pasture Ulica, 5 a forest Ulica, 16/1 Liještak, 18 Koribašča, 19 Paljevina...

Avdibeg **Rustanbegović** late Mustajbeg's from Srebrenica was the owner of it all. In 1939, by the decision of the county administration it passed to Maksim Maksimović late Jovo's.<sup>85</sup>

83 Cartridge No. 7...

84 Cartridge No. 12...

85 Cartridge No. 2...

In the vicinity were plots: c. p. 3/1 a forest Paljevine of 67 dunams, 154 i 155 Luka, also owned by Avdibeg Rustanbegović late Mustajbeg's from Srebrenica. In 1925 he was succeeded by: minor Ibrahim, Šuhreta and Emina Rustanbegović late Avdibeg's, all from Sarajevo. In 1926, it was listed to Stojan Grujičić.<sup>86</sup>

On the north of Koribašče was a serf's estate **Grujičić**, with a housing on c. p. 8/2 , and plots: 7/1 i 7/2 Zanik, 10 Podkućnica, 12/1 under Zanik, 13 Poretak, 16/2 Liještak, 64/1 above the house, 64/2 Skakavac, 113/3 kod Luke, 116 Strijelci, 120 Luka, 121 and 122 Bara, 123/2 Strijelci, 128 Selište, 137/1 Strijelci,... and later 18/1 Koribašča, and houses on 18/2 and 8/3.

All was the property of Avdibeg **Rustanbegović** late Mustajbeg's from Srebrenica. In 1929, by the decision of the county administration in Srebrenica the owners were: Milorad, Vukoja, Andelko and Budimir Grujičić late Radovan's.<sup>87</sup> Over time, this part of Gostilja was named Grujičići.

## II 5. Gaj

On the east of the Soločuša Inn on a slope that from the south-west rises to a hill Zanik were several houses. In the middle of the slope was a site named Groblje on c. p. 58 and in the late 19th century it was state-owned. This part of Gostilj in the old days was called Gaj.

In 1894, from the southern side of the graveyard was a house on c. p. 52/2 with a parcel 52/1 a plumb orchard next to a house. The owners were Omer **Beganović** late Omer's and Fatima neé Beganić married to Arif Begtić from Srebrenica. In 1905, it was listed to: Salkan, Avdo and minor Muhamed Gušić late Hasan's from Srebrenica and later to Avdo Gušić late Hasanaga's from Gostilj.<sup>88</sup> The same people owned surrounding plots on c. p. 40/16 Selišta and 51.<sup>89</sup>

On the west of the graveyard was a house on c. p. 53/2 (later listed as Selište), with plots on c. p.: 21 and 22 Podkućnica, 27 Luka, 40/14 and 53/1 Selišta, 55 and 56 Porednica... In the late 19th century, all was owned by Hasan **Gušić** late Salih's from Srebrenica. In 1898, it was listed to: Zulfo, minor Salih, Avdo, Muhamed and Šida Gušić late Hasan's, and a widow Zubejda neé

86 Cartridge No. 31...

87 Cartridge No. 1...

88 Cartridge No. 5...

89 Cartridge No. 22...

Zulfić, all from Srebrenica.<sup>90</sup>

Above the graveyard were plots on c. p. 40 and 70 Jelah owned by Ibrahim Hadžismajlović late Hajji Smajl's and in 1903 Mustafa late Hajji Ibro's.<sup>91</sup> As well as: 40, 45, 73 and 74 Mijatinovac, and 60 Vinogradina, all owned by Salih Hadžismajlović late Hajji Smajl's, and Murat and Ibrahim Smajlović late Hajji Smajlaga's.<sup>92</sup>

Somewhat above the graveyard was a serf's estate **Ilić**, with a housing on c.p. 67/2, and parcels: 4/2 Ulica, 6 and 12 Podkućnica, 49 a forest Stupa, 57 an arable land Čardaksa around 6 dunams, 61, 62 and 65 Vinica, also later 67 and 77 Lipak, as well as a house on 67/2. Everything was owned by Avdibeg **Rustanbegović** late Mustajbeg's from Srebrenica in the late 19th century. In 1930, by the decision of the county administration it passed to Jovan and Blagoja Ilić late Risto's.<sup>93</sup>

Another serf's estate, with a housing oin c.p. 69/2, and parcels 47 and 48 Stupa, 76 Lipak 78 and 79/1 Liještak, 79/2 and 82 Orašlje, 81, 82 and 83 Krčevina were owned by the family **Ilić**. In 1894. The owner was Hajji Alija **Effendić** late Hajji Hasan's from Srebrenica. In 1930, by the decision of the county administration it passed to Milorad Ilić late Sreten's?<sup>94</sup>

## II 6. Vitlovac

A part of Gostilja that is near Srebrenica on a long slope between the streams and Soločuša, was called Vitlovac in the old days. Nin the late 19th century there was a serf's estate **Marković**, with a housing on c. p. 93/2 and a parcel 96 Dolnji Vitlovac. The owner was Salih Effendi Šehomerović late Šeh Omer's from Srebrenica. By the decision of the county administration in 1930, it was listed to a minor Marko Marković late Aleksa's.<sup>95</sup> Other plots, such as c. p. 97 Dolnji Vitlovac owned by Mehmed Mustafić late Mustafa's belonged to this serf's estate.<sup>96</sup> Also: 86 Lazina Krčevina, 89, 90, 92 and 94 Vitlovac owned by Salih Effendi Šehomerović late Šeh Omer's, Asim, Nazif, minor Hasib and Habiba childern of Abdulah Klančević, all from Srebrenica.

90 Cartridge No. 6...

91 Cartridge No. 24...

92 Cartridge No. 25...

93 Cartridge No. 3...

94 Cartridge No. 4...

95 Cartridge No. 9...

96 Cartridge No. 28...

In 1903 it passed from Habibe to minor Maida a daughter of Husein Effendi Đozić, in 1905 from Nazif to minor Zuhdija late Nazif Effendi's. In 1929, by the decision of the county administration it passed to Stojan Mitrović late Mitar's.<sup>97</sup>

A house on c. p. 95 (later 37/2 Kamenita luka) was owned by Salih Effendi **Šehomerović** late Šeh Omer's from Srebrenica. In 1923, the owners were: Vasfa neé Muhamagić, minor Orhan and Mustafa Šehomerović late Salih Effendi, all from Srebrenica. In 1925, it was listed to: Laza Radivojević late Simo's from Likari, Božidar Janković late Maksim's and Đorđe Savić son of Drago, both from Serbian Ljubovija.<sup>98</sup>

## II 7. Orići

On the slope of a hill in the coren of the river Križevica and its western confluent from Gnjone is a part of Gostilj, Orići.

In the late 19th century, there was a serf's estate **Suljaković** (Čuljaković?), with a housing on c. p. 149/2, and parcels: 142 Mujčinov briješ, 157 and 159 Dolača, 161 a garden next to the graveyard, 162 an arable land Orići of 8 dunams, 165 Luka, 169/6 Liještak next to Luke.

The owners were minor Mujaga and Begto late Salihaga's **Ibrahimagić** from Srebrenica. In 1916, it was listed to Begto called Bekir Effendi Ibrahimagić late Salihaga's from Srebrenica and in 1930, it was listed to Ramo and Rejho Suljaković late Suljo's.<sup>99</sup>

The serf's estate Suljaković, also encompassed a plot on c. p. 147/2 Briješ owned by Vasva neé Avdagić married to Mujaga Zildžić (in 1902, it was listed to Mehpi Anadolac called Ibrahimagić late Hasanaga's as well as Hafa neé Dedeić married to Suljo Suljaković).<sup>100</sup> Also plots: 143, 144 and 145 Selište, and 164 Orići, all were owned by Vasva neé Avdagić married to Mujaga Zildžića (in 1929, it passed to Rejha neé Čulahović (Suljaković?) married to Nurija Ložić from Orići.<sup>101</sup>

Below Orići in a field near the river Križevica other people owned plots as well then. Such as c. p. 156 Luka the owners Mujaga and Hasanaga

97 Cartridge No. 32...

98 Cartridge No. 10...

99 Cartridge No. 13...

100 Cartridge No. 19...

101 Cartridge No. 21...

Effendić late Muhamedaga's from Srebrenica,<sup>102</sup> and 151 Luka minor Mujaga and Begto late Salihaga's Ibrahimagić from Srebrenica (in 1901 Hajji Salih Hodžić late Hasan's and Fata neé Tanković married to Hajji Salih Hodžić, both from Deljegošta Velika and in 1914: Šaćir, Abdurahman, Mehmed, minor Seid, and 6 daughter of late Hajji Salih).<sup>103</sup> Immediately above Orići is Groblje on c. p. 169/5.

Below Orići, near the river Križevica, in 1900, was formed a serf's estate Radivojević on parcels c. p. 154 and 155 Luka, and owned by Avdibeg Rustanbegović late Mustajbeg's from Srebrenica. In 1907, it was listed to Lazo Radivojević late Simo's.<sup>104</sup>

## II 8. Gniona

Towards the north-west in the upper part of the stream that flows into the river Križevica is located a part of Gostilj named Gniona.

In the late 19th century, there were a house on c. p. 131/2, and later on 131/3.

In 1894, the owners were: Vukašin, Vaso, Obrad and Risto Petrović sons of Rade, and Todor and Boško Petrović sons of Janko. In 1901, Vaso, Obrad , Risto and Milovan Petrović late Rade's were mentioned, as well as Mitra Vukašin's widow and in 1914: a widow Spasenija, minor Veljko, Ljubinko, Jevra, Stoja and Savka late Todor's.<sup>105</sup>

In the vicinity were plots on c. p.: 108 Valjenovac, 123 Predola, 124 Zagajnica, 130 Duga njiva, 132 and 133 Podkućnica, all owned by: Vukašin, Vaso, Obrad and Risto Petrović sons of Rade, and Todor and Boško Petrović sons of Janko.<sup>106</sup>

A house on c. p. 128/3, and plots: 129 in Duga njiva, 123 Predola, 127 Zagajnica, 128/1 Duga njiva, were owned by: Ilija, Stevan and Marko Alempić late Alempija's. In 1904, it passed from Stevan to: Ilija and Marko Alempić late Alempija's and Marica married name Kipić from Buljevići, the county Vlasenica, and in 1912, from Ilija to Jefto Sliepčević son of Lazar.<sup>107</sup>

102 Cartridge No. 23...

103 Cartridge No. 26...

104 Cartridge No. 43...

105 Cartridge No. 14...

106 Cartridge No. 29...

107 Cartridge No. 15...

A serf's estate **Simić** with a housing on c. p. 120/4? Was owned by Abida neé **Avdagić** married to Ibrahim Mujkić from Srebrenica. In 1896, it was listed to Risto Simić late Jovan's and in 1929, to: Rodoljub, Despot, minor Dušan and Ljeposava late Risto's.<sup>108</sup>

A house on c. p. 115/2, and a plot on c. p.:102 Jovina voda, 103 Osoje, 113 and 114 Previla, 169/1, and 169/2 Križevac of about 5 dunams, were owned by Jovan **Dokić** late Đoko's. In 1922, it was listed to: Jovan's widow Mitra, minor Nedjeljko and Stojko Krzmanović children of Ilij, and a widow Mara.<sup>109</sup>

A serf's estate **Tešanović** with a housing on c. p. 111/2, and plots 109 Bukvica and 110 Podkućnica, in the late 19th century, were owned by Makso **Mičić** late Mića's from Srebrenica and Savka neé Dragičević a widow of Rade **Ilić** from Srebrenica. In 1907, it passed from Makso to Jovo Ilić late Rade's from Srebrenica.<sup>110</sup>

Below Gnjone were plots on c. p. 136 Lapak and Antolov vrh and 139 Zavinje. As well as parcels of a serf's estate Tešanović<sup>141</sup> Bijelilo and 142 Lučica owned by Vasva neé Avdagić married to Mujaga Zildžić. In 1910, it was listed to: Vaso, Obrad, Risto and Milovan Petrović late Rade's.<sup>111</sup> In Gnjone on c. p. 116 was a graveyard.

In Gostilj, in the late 19th century, Mustafa Kadrić called Karačić late Ahmet's from Srebrenica owned a plot called Tušanj. In 1901, it was listed to Jovan Maksimović late Antonija's.<sup>112</sup>

## **II 9. General characteristics of the settlements in the late 19th century**

In the late 19th century, the settlement Gostilj was a smaller broken type settlement with approximately the same number of houses and serf's estates. It is interesting that then the Orthodox of Gnjona had more houses than serf's estates. In the part of Gostilj which is now known as Vidikovac, there were 3 houses, 2 belonged to the family Aleksić and a housing of the family Šehomerović in 1894.

---

108 Cartridge No. 16...

109 Cartridge No. 17...

110 Cartridge No. 18...

111 Cartridge No. 20...

112 Cartridge No. 27...

In the Soločuša Inn there were only 1 one house of the family Miladinović in that time. It was actually the Soločuša Inn with ancillary buildings.

A part of Gostilj, in a narrow sense, had 2 houses, actually serf's estates Ilić – Rustanbegović and Grujićić – Rustanbegović.

There were 4 houses in Gaj, that belonged to families Beganović and Gušić, and serf's estates Ilić – Rustanbegović and Ilić – Effendić.

There were 2 houses in Vitlovac, a house of the family Šehomerović and a serf's estate Marković – Šehomerović.

There was only 1 house in Orići, actually a serf's estate Suljaković – Ibrahimagić.

In 1894, there were 5 houses in Gniona, families Petrović, Alempić and Đokić had one house each, and two serf's estates Simić – Avdagić and Tešanović – Mičić, Ilić.

In 1894, there were a total of 18 houses in Gostilj: 9 houses, 1 housing and 8 serf's estates (mostly the family Rustanbegović-3). The most houses owned the following families: 2-3 houses Šehomerović (a house, a housing, a serf's estate Marković), 2 houses Aleksić, 3 houses Ilić (2 serf's estates Rustanbegović and one serf's estate Effendić), and one house each: Miladinović (Han Soločušu), Beganović, Gušić, Petrović, Alempić and Đokić, and one serf's estate each: Grujićić, Simić and Tešanović. Due to the vicinity of the city of Srebrenica and the main road, the settlement Gostilj developed later. In the mid-20th century, there were 29 houses and 192 residents in Gostilj.<sup>113</sup>

### III Likari

The settlement Likari is located on the north of Gostilj and on the both sides of the river Križevica. From the Soločuša Inn to Purkovice. Towards the north-east it encompasses the territory to the peak of the hill Čauš. On the west, Likari encompass the area across the river Križevica, below the hill Gradac. On the north are Potočari and Pećista.

A larger part of the settlement is in the valley of the river Križevica, at the foot of the hill Zanik (831 m.). Parts of the settlement are on different altitudes (260-580 m.). The settlement is of broken type and the following helmets belong to it: Likari, Obrenovac, Prikovina and Predola.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>113</sup> *Imenik naseljenih mjesta NR BiH stanje 12. VII 1955. godine, Zavod za statistiku NR BiH, Sarajevo 1955*, pp. 221.

<sup>114</sup> Alija Suljić, *Stanovništvo...,* pp. 291.

According to the first list during the Austro-Hungarian reign in 1879, there were 21 houses, 103 residents, all Muslims in Likari.<sup>115</sup> In 1885, there were 24 houses with 112 residents, all Muslims, and one resident was imam in Likari.<sup>116</sup> At the very end of 19th century, in 1895, there were 27 houses with 108 residents, 103 Muslims and 5 Orthodox in Likari.<sup>117</sup>

According to the 1895 list, Likari encompassed the following: Gostilj, Gradac, Likari, Obrenovac and Podgostilj.<sup>118</sup>

### **III 1. The overview of the settlement in 1894**

In the late 19th century, across the settlement Likari, next to the riverbed of Križevica, goes the road Srebrenica – Bratunac. It was registered in the land registry books as Cesat on c. p. 189/2.

In the late 19th century, significant areas were state-owned. Such plots, prevailing forests and pastures were on c. p.: 35/4 a cemetery dunam and 500 m<sup>2</sup>, 85/1 a forest Zanik of around 630 dunams, 85/6 a pasture Površje, 85/7 a forest Budak of around 400 dunams, 97/1 Zanik, 97/2 Podkesten, 110/2 a cemetery of 2 dunams and 400 m<sup>2</sup>, 135/2 a cemetery of dunam and 600 m<sup>2</sup>, 201/5 a forest Stražioc of 32 dunams, 201/6 a forest Gradac Borik of 105 dunams, 201/9 a forest Gradac of 68 dunams, 201/31 a forest Borik, later also 215/1 Štap...<sup>119</sup>

### **III 2. Likari**

Likari in the narrower sense of the word were the most important part of the settlement with the same name in the late 19th century. It was the then densely populated part of the settlement, actually a real quart, as the traditional urban and geographical content of our settlements. In 1894, in Likari were a number of houses and other traditional urban contents.

---

115 *Štatistika mesta i pučanstva Bosne i Hercegovine*, C. I kr. vladina tiskarna, Sarajevo, 1880, pp. 95.

116 *Štatistika mesta i žiteljstva Bosne i Hercegovine po popisu naroda 1. maja 1885.*, Zemaljska štamparija, Sarajevo, 1886, pp. 154-155.

117 *Glavni rezultati popisa žiteljstva u Bosni i Hercegovini od 22. aprila 1895.*, Zemaljska štamparija, Sarajevo, 1896, pp. 348-149.

118 Glavni rezultati popisa žiteljstva..., pp. 348.

119 Cartridge No. 64...

In the center of Likari, there was a locality that was the center of the entire settlement, that is for gathering people. This was a parcel on c. p. 1/11 called Mjesni prostor. Around were very densely arranged houses and other facilities. Next to the houses there was Groblje on c. p. 35/4 and the old road to Sase and the Drina River passes among the houses.

In 1894, a serf's estate **Hasanović** contained a housin on c. p. 1/1, and parcels: 17 Prijedol, 54/1 Ravan. Everything was owned by Ibrahimaga **Mašić** late Mahmutaga's, minor Hatidža and Nura daughters of Ibrahimaga Mašić, then all from Sarajevo. From 1930, by the decision of the county administration the owner was Redžo Hasanović late Rašid's.<sup>120</sup>

A serf's estate **Suljaković** contained a housing on c. p. ½ and parcels: 21 an arable land Premakuća, 30 and 32 Prisojnica, 44 Tutnjeva, 51 Gaj. The owners were: Ibrahimaga **Mašić** late Mahmutaga, minor Hatidža and Nura daughters of Ibrahimaga Mašić, all from Sarajevo. Since 1930, by the decision of the county administration, the owner was Jusuf Salihović late Salih's.<sup>121</sup>

A serf's estate **Hasanović** with a housing on c. p. 1/?, and patcels: 18/2 Potočje, 45 Tutnjevac, 49 and 50 Gaj. At the end of the 19th century all were owned by: Ibrahimaga **Mašić** late Mahmutaga, minor Hatidža and Nura daughters of Ibrahimaga Mašić, all from Sarajevo. Since 1931, by the decision of the county administration, the owner was Abdo Hasanović late Omer's.<sup>122</sup>

A serf's estate **Mujić** with a housing on c. p. 1/7 and plots: 29 and 34 Prisojnica, 35/3 a plum orchard aboce a cemetery, 59 Poljanska niva, 60 and 61 Brdo, 68/1 Površje, all were owned by: Ibrahimaga **Mašić** late Mahmutaga's, minor Hatidža and Nura daughters of Ibrahimaga's Mašić, all from Sarajevo. In 1931, by the decision of the county administration, the owner was Suljo Pirgić late Smail's.<sup>123</sup>

In 1894, the housings on c. p. 1/8, were owned by: Ibrahimaga **Mašić** late Mahmutaga's, minor Hatidža and Nura daughters of Ibrahimaga's Mašić, all from Sarajevo. In 1921, Safija neé Halilbašić a widow of Ibrahimaga Mašić from Sarajevo (Sagrdžije), Hatidža married to Muhamed Effendi Sarić from Sarajevo (Korvićeva?), Nurija married to Ragib Effendi Bakarević from Sarajevo (Hrvatin) and Ajiša married to Mujaga Bičakčić from Sarajevo were mentioned. In 1922, Ajiša's part passed to: Mujag son of Hajji Salihaga from

120 Cartridge No. 1...

121 Cartridge No. 2...

122 Cartridge No. 3...

123 Cartridge No. 4...

Sarajevo (Šantićeva), minor Bedra a daughter of Mujaga, Hiba neé Selmanagić, a widow of Ibrahimbeg Halilbašić from Sarajevo (Halilbašić gr.?), Nura and Hatidža. Shortly from Safija it passed switched to: Hiba, Mustajbeg Halilbašić late Ibrahimbeg's, Samija married name Prijepoljac, Abida married name Bičakčić, Mujaga Bičakčić late Hajji Salihaga's, Hajji Naim Effendi Kadić, Muhamed Effendi, daughters.<sup>124</sup>

A serf's estate Garaljević with a housing on c. p. 1/9, and lots: 9 and 10 Bašča, 14. Brdo, 27 Prisojnica, 47 Tutnjevac, 55 Begina njiva, 94 Rokovac, all were owned by: Ibrahimaga Mašić late Mahmutaga's, minor Hatidža and Nura daughters of Ibrahimaga Mašić, all from Sarajevo. In 1940, by the decision of the county administration, it was listed to Mešan Garaljević late Mujo's.<sup>125</sup>

A housing on c. p. 1/10 was owned by Ibrahimaga Mašić late Mahmutaga's, minor Hatidža and Nura daughters of Ibrahimaga Mašić, all from Sarajevo.<sup>126</sup>

A serf's estate Ademović, which encompassed a housing on c. p. 1/9?, and plots: 12 Šljivak, 58 Njiva, later 1/15 a house, all were owned by Ibrahimaga Mašić late Mahmutaga's, minor Hatidža and Nura daughters of Ibrahimaga Mašić, all from Sarajevo. In 1937, by the decision of the county administration, the following listed to: Abdo, minor Meho and Habsija? Ademović late Bajro's.<sup>127</sup>

A serf's estate **Osmanović** with a housing on c. p. 1/5 and the land: 64/1 Kotlina, 65 Budak, 74 and 76/1 Vrbanje, in the late 19th century, were owned by: Ibrahimaga Mašić late Mahmutaga's, minor Hatidža and Nura daughters of Ibrahimaga Mašić, all from Sarajevo. In 1931, by the decision of the county administration, the owners were: Suljo Osmanović late Osman's, Sejfo Osmanović late Hasan's, Ramo and Osman Kasumović late Hasan's.<sup>128</sup>

A housing on c. p. 1/4 was owned by: Ibrahimaga Mašić late Mahmutaga's, minor Hatidža and Nura daughters of Ibrahimaga Mašić, all from Sarajevo. Since 1921, the owners were: Safija neé Halilbašić a widow of Ibrahimaga Mašić from Sarajevo (Sagrđije), Hatidža married to Muhamed Effendi Sarić from Sarajevo (Koroščeva?), Nurija married to Ragib Effendi Bakarević from Sarajevo (Hrvatin) and Ajiša married to Mujaga Bičakčić from Sarajevo. In 1922 it passed from Ajiša : Mujaga Bičakčić son of Hajji

124 Cartridge No. 5...

125 Cartridge No. 6...

126 Ibid

127 Cartridge No. 8...

128 Cartridge No. 9...

Salihaga from Sarajevo (Šantićeva), minor Bedra? a daughter of Mujaga, Hiba neé Selmanagić, a widow of Ibrahimbeg Halilbašić from Sarajevo (Halilbašić gr.), Nura and Hatidža.<sup>129</sup>

A serf's estate **Suljaković** with a housing on c. p. 2/2, and lots 39/1 Poretak, 41 Laz, 42/2 Plan, 46 Tutnjevac, 87 Zahrast, 93 Dolovi, all were owned by: Ibrahimaga Mašić late Mahmutaga's, minor Hatidža and Nura daughters of Ibrahimaga Mašić, all from Sarajevo. Since 1931, by the decision of the county administration, the owners were Redžo and Šećo Suljaković late Arif's.<sup>130</sup>

Around Likari, many lands owned people from other places, mostly from Srebrenica. Somewhat on the east of Likari were plots 67/1 Površje and 72/4 Površje, at the end of the 19th century, owned by Hajji Husein Effendi Đozić late Latif's from Srebrenica. In 1898, they were succeeded by: Abdulah Effendi, Haki Effendi, Mehо, minor Ahmo, Vehbija, Safija Đozić late Husein's, Bejda married to Hajji Alija Efendić all from Srebrenica, Abida married to Selim Alemić from Kutuzer, Zahida married to Hajji Avdo Nalić, Emina Begović married to Nazif Efendić from Srebrenica.<sup>131</sup>

Plots: 20/3 Ravan, Površje, 92 Zanik owned Hajji Husein Effendi Đozić late Latif's from Srebrenica. In 1898, the same people inherited it. In 1910 it passed from Emina to Hajjo Avdo Nalić a son of Hajji Ibro and Haki Effendi Đozić late Hajji Husein's. In 1931, by the decision of the county administration, it was listed on Osman Kasumović late Hasan's and Sejfo Osmanović late Hasan's.<sup>132</sup>

Plots on c. p.: 9/1 Bašča, 22/2 Ravan, 311 Podkućnica, 84 Tinjci, all were owned by: Mehmed and Šaban Alić late Abdulah's from Pala, Hankija married to Alija Rahmanović from Potočari, Hasan and Sado Salihović from Pala. Since 1913, Mešan Garaljević late Mujo's was mentioned.<sup>133</sup>

On the south-west were plots on c. p.: 33 Vernik, 32 Kotlina, 85/2 Mrakodol, all owned by Ibrahimaga Mašić late Mahmutaga's, minor Hatidža and Nura daughters of Ibrahimaga Mašić, all from Sarajevo<sup>134</sup> and 23 Kotlina, 25 Vinograd, 53 Pežulica, 63 Bačina njiva, 83 Tinjci, all owned by: Hasan, Lutvo and Mustafa Siručić called Salihović late Salih's from Voljevica.<sup>135</sup>

129 Cartridge No. 10...

130 Cartridge No. 11...

131 Cartridge No. 35...

132 Cartridge No. 34...

133 Cartridge No. 28...

134 Cartridge No. 28...

135 Cartridge No. 59...

### **III 3. Zagoni**

Zagoni are a part of Likari in the far north of the settlement. This is a larger plot on the east side of the river Križevica. The stream that springs from the part of Likari goes towards the east, next to the saddle with an interesting name Štap. That is why the downstream area is called Podštapski potok. On the saddle Štap was, at the end of the 19th century, one housing.

It was the housing on c. p. 215/2, (later Štap), with plots: 85/15 a forest Štap, 215/1 an arable land Štap, with a total of about 22 dunams, 217 Barica, all owned by Salih Smajlović called Osmanović late Osman's from Poznanovići. In 1906, Ibro, Rašid, Jusuf, minor Šaban and Huma Smajlović called Osmanović late Osman's, all from Poznanovići, were mentioned.<sup>136</sup>

To the northwest from Štap and to Križevica is the land of Zagoni, with two houses and a waterfall. A housing on c. p. 225/1, with plots: 221 Nadkućnica, 224 and 226 Podkućnica, all were owned, in 1894, by Ibrahim Smajlović's son Demir.<sup>137</sup>

Houses on c. p. 223/3 and parcels 222 and 223/1 Zagoni owned Mustafa Osmanović late Osman's. In 1902, Jakub and Muharem Osmanović called Divović late Mustafa's from Srebrenica were mentioned.<sup>138</sup>

Below Zagoni on the river Križevica was one watermill from the old days. It is located on c. p. 227/1 a yard with a mill, next to it were parcels 227/1 a garden at the mill and 218 Zagoni. The owners were from Srebrenica, Hajji Husein Pašalić late Ibrahim's and Hajji Mustafa Pašalić a son of Hajji Husein.<sup>139</sup>

### **III 4. Purkovice**

In the slope on the east side of the river Križevica were several houses in the late 19th century. They were below the road to sase. In the old days this part of Likari was called Purkovice (later Prikovine). There was a plot Kalemci and nowdays that name prevails. Below towards the river Križevica is a plot Katince. In the late 19th century, there was a house on c. p. 112/2, and later houses on 113/5 and 111/6, as well as a parcel 113/5 Kalemić. Then there were the following parcels around a house: Ravan, Podvoda, 118 Luka,

136 Cartridge No. 14...

137 Cartridge No. 12...

138 Cartridge No. 13...

139 Cartridge No. 51...

117 next to Luka, 191 Luka, 194/2 a site, 195 Kalemci, 214 Smajlovača, Zagoni, all owned by Hajji Husein **Pašalić** late Ibrahim's from Srebrenica. In 1895, the owner was Hajji Mustafa Pašalić late Hajji Husein's and in 1919: a widow Mejra neé Hasić, a widow Halima neé Ustić, Mujaga, minor Abdo, Smajo and Salih late Hajii Mustafa's, all from Likari, Dževa married to Salko Mula Mujić, Tima married to Meho H.Alić, Hanifa married to Mula Mustafa Mula Ibišević, all from Kozluk, minor Ajiša and Hafa late Hajji Mustafa's (Mujaga's) from Likari, Sefa married to Atif Ustić from Srebrenica, minor Šahza, Zilka and Alija late Hajji Mustafa's from Likari.<sup>140</sup>

A serf's estate **Ibrahimović** with a housing on c. p. 111/8, with plots: 101/1 Brdo, 110/1 Brezak, 111 Osojnača, 195 next to Luka, 196 Luka, 212 Smrečak, all wer owned by Hajji Husein Pašalić late Ibrahim's from Srebrenica. In 1895 he was succeeded by: Hajji Mustafa Pašalić late Hajji Husein, Hanifa Pašalić married to Mehmed Pašagić and Muška late Hajji Husein's. Again, in 1919, the owners were the same.<sup>141</sup>

Nearby plots on c. p.: 85/12 and 85/13 Rupovače, 118 and 191 Luka, 193 Kalemci, 219 Zagoni again were owned by Hajji Husein Pašalić late Ibrahim's from Srebrenica and in 1895 they were inherited by: Hajji Mustafa Pašalić late Haji Husein, Hanifa Pašalić married to Mehmed Pašagić and Muška late Hajji Husein's.<sup>142</sup>

A house on c. p.111 / 6 and parcels: 111/4 Podkućnica, 165 and 201 Zagajnica, 192 Vukojevica owned Avdo **Šakić** late Osman's from Srebrenica. In 1902, the owner was Avdibeg Rustanbegović late Mustafa's and in 1925: minor Ibrahim, Šuhreta and Emina Rustanbegović late Avdibeg's, all from Sarajevo.<sup>143</sup>

A serf's estate **Jašarević** with a housing 101 / 3, later 85 Vodice, 210/2 Vodice, by the end of the 19th century, owned Osman **Pašalić** son of Omer. Since 1898, it was listed to minor Sulejman Pašalić son of Osman, and since 1933, by the decision of the county administration it was owned by Mustafa Jašarević late ?.<sup>144</sup>

A serf's estate **Jašarević and Ibrahimović** with a housing on c. p. 102 and plots: 107 Podkućnica of around 30 dunams, 108 Podkućnica, 209/1 an arable field Polje, later 107, all were owned by Osman Pašalića son of Omer.

---

140 Cartridge No. 15...

141 Cartridge No. 16...

142 Cartridge No. 46...

143 Cartridge No. 17...

144 Cartridge No. 18...

In 1918, it was listed to Meho Pašalić son of Omer, and later the successors of Alija Ibrahimović were mentioned.<sup>145</sup>

Among these houses, next to the road to Drina (Sase), on the west side was c. p. 110/2 a cemetery.

Above Selište, near the road to Likari and Sase, and south of Purkovica is a serf's estate Beganović, with a housing on c. p. 125/2, and plots: 104, 106 Osojnjaka, 115, 119 and 124 Luka, 123 and 125 Strijelci, 131 Gornje Vrtine, all, in 1894, was the property of Avdibeg **Rustanbegović** late Mustajbeg's. Since 1905, the owner was Hajji Mustafa Pašalić late Hajji Husein's and since 1919 Mujaga. In 1930, by the decision of the county administration, the owners were Mustafa and Aljo Beganović late Salih's.<sup>146</sup> Further to the southwest, under the road are the lands Selište, Vrtine (closer to Križevica) and Potkuša, on both sides of the road near the Soločuša Inn. On c. p. 135/2 was a cemetery (in Potkuša).

The land on c. p.: 134, 135 and 136 under the name Potkuša (later on 136/2 a house was built), 139 and 140 Luka (all on the east side of Križevica) and a parcel 147 a pasture near the water and 157 pasture by the road (west of the river) were owned by Avdibeg Abdurahmanbegović late Hajji Hafz Abdurahmanbeg from Bijeljina. In 1899, Hajji Hasan Sefić late Sefo's from Srebrenica was mentioned.<sup>147</sup>

### III 5. Obrnovac

Opposite of Vrtina, on the western slopes of the valley of the Križevica River, is part of Likari Obrnovac. This is the named of the land, and in the old one it was regularly marked as Obrnovac. In recent times appears a distorted name Obrenovac.

A housing on c. p. 161/3 with a plot 161/2 Jelah was owned by Hata neé **Mušikić** married to Husein Selmić from Bajramovići, minor Mustafa and Zahida late Mehmed's Mušikić from Srebrenica.<sup>148</sup> In 1902, Avdibeg Rustanbegovic late Mustajbeg's bought it from Mustafa and Hata.<sup>149</sup>

---

145 Cartridge No. 19...

146 Cartridge No. 20...

147 Cartridge No. 7...

148 Families Mušikić or Hodžić or Ibrahimović from the quart Petrič.

149 Cartridge No. 21...

A serf's estate **Gelo** with a housing on c. p. 162/2, and parcels: 155 Zanoga, 164 Brdo, 201/2 a plum orchard Obrnovac (later Obrenovac, a house on 201/3), all were owned by Avdibeg Rustanbegović late Mustajbeg's. Since 1910, Salih Husić late Karo's from Pusmulići was mentioned.<sup>150</sup>

A house on c. p. 153/3 and the land: 131/1 Dolnje Vrtine, 134/1 a forest Pasik of 56 dunams, 148 Obrnovac, 150 Obrnovac, 201/1 a forest Obrnovac of 135 dunams, at the end of the 19th century, were owned by Avdibeg **Rustanbegović** late Mustajbeg's. In 1925, they were listed to: minor Ibrahim, Šuhreta and Emin Rustanbegović late Avdibeg's, all from Sarajevo. And in 1927, Avdo Mujkanović late Osman's was mentioned.<sup>151</sup>

A serf's estate **Mujkanović** with a housing on c. p. 153 / 4 and parcels 146 Luka, later a house on 201/3 (Obrnovac) were owned by Avdibega **Rustanbegović** late Mustajbeg's. In 1913, Husein Šaran late Smail's was mentioned and, in 1930, by the decision of the county administration, the owner was Abdo Mujkanović late Osman's.<sup>152</sup>

Near the plot: 144 Obrnovac, 163 Ravan, later houses on 144/2 and 144/3, all owned Mehmed Hublić late Derviš's from Srebrenica. In 1903, Pašo Hopić a son of Ramo from Orahovica was mentioned, and in 1919 minor Alaga, Turso called Huso and Đulsa children of Pašo Hopić from Likari.<sup>153</sup>

### III 6. Gradac

On the south-east slopes of the hill Gradac (somewhere Gračan brdo) is located the part of Likari with the same name.

Houses on c.p. 184 and plots: 168 and 201/21 Premakućnica, 183 and 201/18 Podkućnica, 203, 204, 205 and 206 Dolovi, 234 a forest Redžića guvno of 16 dunams, in the late 19th century, were owned by Mešan **Malić** late Malo's. In 1902, it was inherited by: Avdo, minor Šaban, Mujo, Hadžira, Mejra Malić late Mešan's, Hava married to Smail Husejnović from Glogova and Hamša Halilović a widow of Meša Malić.<sup>154</sup>

It seems that immediately before 1894 it was a serf's estate, and at the serf's estate Malić the following parcels were situated: Premakućnica, 166,

150 Cartridge No. 22...

151 Cartridge No. 23...

152 Cartridge No. 24...

153 Cartridge No. 38...

154 Cartridge No. 25...

201, 229, 231 and 239 Stražioc, 156/2 Bašča, Podbašča and all was owned by: Avdibeg Rustanbegović late Mustajbeg's with 1/3, and Rade and Janko Petrović late Petar's each with 1/3. In 1899, it passed from Rade to: Šurko, Vaso, Obrad, Milovan and Risto Petrović and Miljana married to Mališa Milanović from Viogor. In 1905, it passed from Šurka to a widow Mitra and brothers.<sup>155</sup>

Next to the river Križevica was a serf's estate **Begtić** with a housing on c. p. 173/2, with a parcel 172/2 Bara. It was owned by minor Sulejman and Emina children of Osman **Pašalić** from Srebrenica. In 1901, it was listed to Hanifa Pašalić married to Mehmed Pašagić and Rukija Akagić married to Arif Pašagić, from Srebrenica, and in 1919, it passed from Rukija to Mehmed Pašagić late Arifaga from Srebrenica, and in 1919, it passed from Mehmed to minor Raif, Seid late Mehmed's Pašagić.<sup>156</sup>

There are also parcels 173/2 Palučak and 201/14 above Palučak, owned by Osman Pašalić, son of Omer from Srebrenica, and since 1917, Salko Suljić late Huso's was mentioned.<sup>157</sup>

A serf's estate Suljić with a housing on c. p. 174/2, and plots: 174/1 Bara, 180 Okrugla njiva, 211/13 at Okrugla njiva owned minor Sulejman and Emina children of Osman Pašalić from Srebrenica. Since 1901, Hanifa Pašalić was mentioned married to Mehmed Pašagić and Rukija Akagić married to Arif Pašagić, from Srebrenica.<sup>158</sup>

Below Gradac near Križevica, there were plots 179/1 Bara and later a house on 179/5, owned by Zada Pašalić, a widow of Hajji Ibrahim Muhalilović from Srebrenica, more precisely the quart Petrić. In 1899, Hanifa Pašalić, a widow of Omer Pašalić called Beširović was mentioned, and in 1921 Osman Pašalić-Beširović late Omer's.<sup>159</sup>

In Likari some lands owned Dundža Bajraktarević married to Mustafa Avdić and minor Avdo son of Smajl Ibrahimović called Seliméhajić from Srebrenica (since 1903, the owner wa Mešan Garaljević late Mujo's).<sup>160</sup> Hajji Alija, Osman, minor Salih, Mustafa and Vasfija late Hajji Hasan Effendić from Srebrenica.<sup>161</sup> A parcel Palučak was owned by Ajka neé Siručić aa widow of

155 Cartridges No. 55, 56 and 57...

156 Cartridge No. 26...

157 Cartridge No. 47...

158 Cartridge No. 27...

159 Cartridge No. 50...

160 Cartridge No. 30...

161 Cartridge No. 31...

Smajlaga Mujičić from Rakovac.<sup>162</sup> Also, Emina neé Orić a widow of Hajji Mustafa Ustić from Srebrenica owned some lands.<sup>163</sup>

### **III 7. General characteristics of the settlements in the late 19th century**

Based on the previous detailed review of the Likari settlement from 1894, we see its general urban and geographical, demographic and proprietary characteristics.

The most important and densest inhabited part of the then Likari was a part that had exactly the same name. In 1894, this part represented a formed quart, as the traditional content of our settlements. The quart Likari then had densely arranged 10 houses and Mjesni prostor in the center. It then contained: 1 house of the family Mašić, 1 housing of the family Mašić and 8 serf estates, all owned by the family Mašić from Sarajevo. Those were the serf's estates: 2-Hasanović, 2 Suljaković, and one, Mujić, Garaljević, Ademović and Osmanović each.

A part of the settlement Zagoni had 3 houses and a mill, a house of the family Osmanović called Divović and 2 housings of the family Smajlović called Osmanović and Smajlović.

Purkvice is a part of the settlement Gostilj that in 1894 had 6 houses: 1 house of the family Pašalić, 1 house of the family Šakić, and serf's estates: Ibrahimović - Pašalić, Jašarević - Pašalić, Jašarević and Ibrahimović - Pašalić, Beganović – Rustanbegović.

In Obrnovac, there were 3 houses, 1 housing of the family Mušikić and serf's estates Gelo - Rustanbegović and Mujkanović - Rustanbegović.

Gradac also had 3 houses, 1 house of the family Malić and serf's estates Begtić - Pašalić and Suljić – Pašalić.

We see that Likari in 1894 was a medium-sized settlement with a total of 25 houses, and: 5 houses, 4 housings and 16 serf's estates. There were far more serf's estates than houses. Owners of serf's estates were families from other places. The family Mašić from Sarajevo had 8 and Pašalić and Rustanbegović from Srebrenica had 5 and 3 serf's estates in Likari.

---

162 Cartridge No. 58...

163 Cartridge No. 45...

In the settlement then, the following families owned two houses each: Mašić, Hasanović, Suljaković, Smajlović, Ibrahimović and Jašarević and one each: Pašalić, Šakić, Osmanović-Divović, Muštikić, Malić, Suljaković, Mujić, Garaljević, Ademović, Osmanović, Beganović, Gelo, Mujkanovic, Begtić and Suljić. Some believe that: the family Malić was originally, probably from Malešići (Zvornik) or from Donji Vrsin (Vlasenica).<sup>164</sup>

Due to a somewhat distant position from the city of Srebrenica and the fact that the most important part, the quart Likari is located high in the hill, the settlement Likari slowly developed. We see this from the situation of houses and inhabitants in the settlement in the middle of the 20th century.<sup>165</sup>

## Conclusion

According to the data from the late 19th century, land registry books and cadastral plans, the settlements Fojhar, Gostilj and Likari were of broken type and consisted of more parts, scatter across slopes of hills and the valley of the river Križevica. In Likari, in the late 19th century, a quart named Likari was formed. In Fojhar was formed a smaller quart named Joševa with seven houses and a central area. Each of the three settlements had an old cemetery. The settlements Fojhar and Gostilj also contained less than 20 houses. The settlement Likari was somewhat larger with 25 houses.

There are numerous sites with significant cultural and historic heritage, especially necropolis with tombstones and old Muslim cemeteries in the settlements Fojhar, Gostilj and Likari. Several important roads go across these settlements since the old days. In the 19th century, very important locality was the Soločuša Inn, situated at the main road from Srebrenica to north (Bratunac, Zvornik, Nova Kasaba) and at the place where a road separates from it across Likari to Sase and the Drina River.

Owners of land in all the three settlements were predominantly people from other places, from Srebrenica, Sarajevo and Bijeljina. There were a lot more serf's estates, whose owners were Orthodox but there were also a number of Muslims who were registered in the census as Mohammedans.

---

164 Alija Suljić, Stanovništvo..., pp. 298.

165 Imenik naseljenih mesta NR BiH stanje 12. VII 1955. godine, Zavod za statistiku NR BiH, Sarajevo 1955, pp. 221.

## References

1. The Land Registry books for c.m. Fojhar from 1894, The Land Registry Srebrenica.
2. The Land Registry books for c.m. Gostilj from 1894, The Land Registry Srebrenica.
3. The Land Registry books for c.m. Likari from 1894, The Land Registry Srebrenica.
4. The Cadastral Plans ratio 1:6.250 for c.m. Fojhar, The Cadastre of Srebrenica.
5. The Cadastral Plans ratio 1:6.250 for c.m. Gostilj, The Cadastre of Srebrenica.
6. The Cadastral Plans ratio 1:6.250 for c.m. Likari, The Cadastre of Srebrenica.
7. Sead Jahić, Stećci na području Srebreničko-bratunačkog kraja i mogućnosti njihove valorizacije u turizmu, Magistarski rad odbranjen na Odsjeku Geografija Prirodno matematičkog fakulteta u Tuzli, decembar, 2012.
8. Štatistika mesta i pučanstva Bosne i Hercegovine, C. I kr. vladina tiskarna, Sarajevo, 1880.
9. Štatistika mjesta i žiteljstva Bosne i Hercegovine po popisu naroda 1. maja 1885., Zemaljska štamparija, Sarajevo, 1886.
10. Glavni rezultati popisa žiteljstva u Bosni i Hercegovini od 22. aprila 1895., zemaljska štamparija, Sarajevo, 1896.
11. Austrougarske topografske karte razmjera 1:25.000 sa kraja 19. stoljeća.
12. Topografska karta iz austrougarskog perioda razmjera 1:75.000, sekcija Vlasenica und Srebrenica.
13. Topografska karta razmjera 1:50.000, sekcija Zvornik 4, Vojnogeografski Institut na osnovu reambulacije iz 1932. g.
14. Topografska karta iz sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća razmjera 1:25.000, sekcije Zvornik 477-4-3 i Zvornik 477-4-1.
15. Imenik naseljenih mjesta NR BiH stanje 12. VII 1955. godine, Zavod za statistiku NR BiH, Sarajevo 1955.
16. Šematizam pravoslavne mitropolije i arhidijeceze dabro-bosanske za godinu 1882. Zemaljska tiskara, Sarajevo, 1882.

17. Herceg-Bosnom uzduž i poprijeko – putovanja Henrika Rennera, Mitrovica, 1900.
18. Šefik Bešlagić, Stećci kataloško-topografski pregled, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1971. i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Građa, knjiga XXVI, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka, knjiga 22, Sarajevo, 1986.
19. Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine, tom 3, Sarajevo, 1988.
20. Ahmet Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine*, Islamski kulturni centar Mostar, Mostar, 2008.
21. Tufan Gunduz, *Tuzlanski, Bijeljinski i Srebrenički Sidžil (1641. – 1883.)*, JU Arhiv Tuzlanskog kantona, Društvo Arhivskih zaposlenika TK, Tuzla, 2008.
22. Alija Suljić, Stanovništvo i naselja općine Srebrenica – antropogeografska monografija, Geografsko društvo Tuzlanskog kantona i Narodna i univerzitetska biblioteka „Derviš Sušić“ Tuzla, Tuzla, 2011.
23. Azem Kožar, *Granica na Drini prema izvještaju Huge Kutschere, administrativnog direktora Zemaljske vlade za Bosnu i Hercegovinu od 14. 11. 1885. godine*, Saznanja 4, Društvo historičara Tuzla, Odsjek za historiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Tuzli, Tuzla, 2013.
24. Rusmir Djedović, *Naselje Bajramovići na razmeđu 19 i 20. stoljeća*, Monumenta Srebrenica, knjiga 4., Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla-Srebrenica, 2015.
25. Rusmir Djedović, Adib Đozić, *Panađurište, Baratova i Soločuša u Srebrenici krajem 19. stoljeća*, Monumenta Srebrenica, knjiga 6., Zavod za zaštitu i korištenje kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Tuzlanskog kantona, Tuzla-Srebrenica, 2017.

APPENDIX No. 1. The Judgment of the Administrative Court in Sarajevo in 1933 on the complaint of Abdulah Đozić

APPENDIX No. 2. The calculation of the payment of compensation for the seized land from Abdulah Đozić in 1935 according to the Law on Beys' Countries of 1928.

## APPENDIX 1

**Administrativni sud u Sarajevu  
Upravni sud u Sarajevu**

(THE ADMINISTRATIVE COURT IN SARAJEVO acc. to authors)

Adm. broj 321 - 5/1933. Sarajevo, 4 aprila 1933.

U slijedećem sažetu se ističe da je na ovom putovanju u imenu

člana 61. Upravnog veličanstva Kralja,

Upravni sud u Sarajevu

U svom odjeljenju za administrativne sprova crte prirode, sastavljenoj od upravnog sudije Petkovića Alekse kao predsjedatelja, upr. sudija Frkovića Nusle i Kudra Šifira kao članova, i pravavnika Upravnog Vasića Milovana iz Pojhara, u u cijestnosti zaинтересованog projekta obavješten o tužbi, uzeo je na danonjičanju pretresu u razmatranje tužbu Gjorčića Abdulahe iz Srebrenica za ponitiće rimovljanja Kr. banske uprave u Sarajevu od 25. oktobra 1932. broj 29.811. Iznad je, proučivši tužbu, u admnito rješenje, osimla mata i odgovor, u kojem tumačio strane, današnji.

Članak 811. Upravni sud u Sarajevu

Uzvrat se obnaša kao neosnovana. -

Uzvrat se obnaša kao neosnovana. -

Vasić Milovan pok. Peri iz Pojhara sreza Srebreničkoje staviće u upravljenoj pojavili suhtjev na kat. čestice: 208/1, 208/2 i 208/3. god. 1919. kat. "Pojahr. vlasništvo Abdulahe Gjorčića iz Srebrenice" u površini od 34 dun. 730 m<sup>2</sup>, jer da je još njegov otac pok. Peri u 1910. godini prije svjetskog rata dobio tu zemljinu u obradu pod tradičnu, uz obetanje, da će mu vlasnik na istu podijeliti kmetsko pravo, jer da je ove nekretnine njegova porodica držala sve do godine 1917. kada ih je vlasnik oduzeo njegovoj materi na osnovu neplačane redovnog suda, dok su on i otac bili u vojsci. -

Vlasnik zemlje priznao je, da je pok. Peri Vasiću dao tu zemljinu na 7 godina pred rat i da je porodiča Vasić u godini 1917 bila otstranjena sa te zemlje, dok je Vasić bio u vojski. -

Predsjednik Agrarnog delegata u Srebrenici od 25. avgusta 1927. br. 60 agr. priznato je Vasiću po čl. 2. Regulike uređbe prava na ovu zemljinu, uzvazivši u obzir, da je otstranjivanje sa zemlje nastalo zbog rata.

Po žalbi vlasnika kr. banske uprave u Sarajevu rješenjem od 3. jula 1930. broj 4445-III citiranim predsjednikom Agrarnog delegata poslušati, naredivši ponovni postupak. -

U tom ponovnom postupku pred Agrarnim delegatom potraživao Vasić je istakao, da vrijeme trajanja odnosa nije bilo ugovorenog, da je egzistencija njegove porodice vezana za sporu zemljinu, dodim je vlasnik zemlje naveo, da ne postoji zakonski preuslov, desetgodisnjki nerekidni posjed, računajući od 25. februara 1919. ustanovljeni i da je otstranjivanje uslijedilo na osnovu sudske presude, a ne načinim putem. -

Agrarni je delegat predsjednikom pd. 26. jula 1930. broj 119/30. odbio zahtjev, potraživajući razloga, jer vlasnik nepraktični desetgodisnjki posjed, računajući od 25. februara 1919. ustanovljeni i jer prekid u državi nju begluka-nije nastupio uslijed ratnih prilika ili nasilja, već na osnovu sudske odinke. -

Protiv ove presude Agrarnog delegata Žalio se je potraživao Kr. banskoj upravi u Sarajevu navodeći, da je sudska postupak uslijedio, kada su on i njegov otac bili u vojsci, što da je iskoristio vlasnik, a da je tako ujvijek bio u redu davani. -

Vlasnik je prigovarao, da se je, ok. Peri Vasić sudbeno obvezao, da će mu predati zemlju do 15. novembra 1915. godine. -

Kr. banska uprava u Sarajevu rješenjem 04.10. oktobra 1932. broj 29.811-III uvažila je Žalbu Milovana Vasića i na admnitu predsjedniku Agrarnog delegata broj 120/30. otkriti, da naredivši potraživajući Milovača Vasiću prijedorni zemljište po čl. 2. bezglukog zatona od 3. decembra 1928. i to s razloga, jer vrijeme trajanja ugnasa među strankama nije bilo ugovorenog, a potraživao je rupa zvančnim uvjerenjima nema ni-

kakve, svoje zemlje i jer je priznanjem stranaka i izjavama pre-  
slušanih svjedoka utvrđeno, da je porodica potraživala prije po-  
nu "zemljoprista" pod trećim na 7 godina prije rata, pa sve do 1917  
godine, kada je uslijedila dekolonizacija, koja je doduše uslijedila na  
osnovu odluke sudske vlasti, ali je ta dekolonizacija nastala u vrij-  
dje ratnih prilika, dok je stranik bio u vojsci, a otac mu je  
počinio u ratu, dakle da postoji uslovi u čl. 14 Batinog zakona.  
Protiv toga, u desetina Kraljevaca u rano tijeku se Gajozid Abdur-  
lah 16 hrvatskih 1932. ovom sudu, koji je takođe bio predstavnik.  
U tužbi tvrdi se da je

U tužbi ističe, da se u ovom slučaju na meseči sudići po dl.14 Beglučkog zakona, jer je otac tu imel jev u 1913. odušed na ostravskoj agenciji, sa sporom zemlje. Vasidi imaju drugu zemlju, te im egzistencijski razlogi veština za sporom zemlju, dok je zemljevinac nlagiran i vekom sa sporom zemljom.

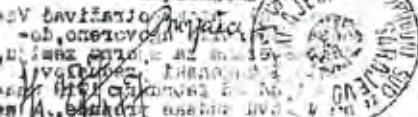
-vjetovanički predmet mid je rečeno, da je tužba Abdulaha Gjorčevića neosnovana, da se je napadnuto riješenje kraljevske uprave prava i pravila i da zakon je osnovan. -

Istina sudskom osudom P-255/13 od 15 novembra 1913 priznato je vlasnikovo pravo vlasnosti na spornu zemlji i izređeno uručenje sporne zemlje, koju je potraživao državni 6-7 godina, a ugovor o držanju je istakao, ali se ovo ne može uvelati, jer je radi predaje pravnog liječnika u ovaj stvar odredjeno mirovanje posturka, te je tada potraživačeva Staka nakon njegove parti osudom od 4 novembra 1916 P-146/B/16 presudjena na predaju spornih nekretnina i posjed ob spomenutim vlasniku delokacija je provedana tek 1917 godine.

Kr. banatska uprava je, ravilno postepeno, kad je Delegatova presuda, proj. 129/30, od 20. jula 1930 ponosila, jer nije bila utemeljena na zakonu.

5. Sa svoga izdrenoga a na osnovi čl. 34 zakona o Državnom  
svjetu i državnim sudovima valjalo je tužbu odbaciti jer neosno-  
vano je učinak na osnovu čl.  
6. Upravljače preduzeća koje se nezadovoljna strana žaliti pre-  
tem podnosi predsjedniku suda Državnom svjetu, u roku od petnaest dana, od prijema  
predsjedniku izvještaj o

### Frotsjednitt sehata



Служебное		ПОЛ.
ФИО	Номер	Отделение связи
ГАДЫШЕВА САДЫРЖАНА САДЫРЖАНОВА	16	14688
Санкт-Петербург		
Адрес:		
ул. Маршала Бирюзова, д. 10		
городской округ Красногвардейский		
адресная книга		
Санкт-Петербург		
19811/109		

Членство в ассоциации

466

13 19

Mr. Long

— 18 —

—  
—

卷之三

## APPENDIX 2

## KRALJEVSKA BANSKA UPRAVA DRINSKE BANOVINE U SARAJEVI

III Broj 3432 /1935

## Agrarno-pravni odsek

Obračun

obisplati ošteta po zakonu o beglučkim zemljama u B. i H. od 14/IX 1928

Примак: Абдулах Џозић син Алијевендије из Сребренице

## ***APPENDICES***

---



Sarajevo, January – March – 1891

**Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini** (lit. The Bulletin of the State Museum in Bosnia and Herzegovina). Volume I. Year III.

Editorial Office: Sarajevo, The Building of the State Government.

Administration: Sarajevo, The State Printing House.

The annual price of the Bulletin with postage 2 forints, and the value of The Book with postage 80 coins.

## **THE ROMAN CITY OF DOMAVIA IN GRADINA NEAR SREBRENICA IN BOSNIA AND THE EXCAVATIONS THERE**

**Prepared by mining officer V. Radimsky**

When in 1879 a mining advisor Dr. Em. Titze, who came to Srebrenica during the geological study of Bosnia, found, however, that there was a common tradition about the former rudokopa, which was somewhere there, but no one was able to say where the ore was dug.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Tize, who saw the land for a quick look, did not find any traces of the old mining, no pits, no halves of metal and ore. Through spacious trois points with different streams in the area, where there were up to 13 percent of lead with silver, it was possible to judge only that in the vicinity of the Srebrenica baths and melted lead coins and silver was excavated from them.

Dr Konst. Jireček's distinguished worl gave as information on colorful destiny of the city of Srebrenica, including the mining industry there in the middle ages. In the work Srebrenica was first mentioned in 1376 when it was a vibrant trade spot and people from Dubrovnik moved there. In 1410, it was captured by Hungarians, and from 1411 to 1440 it was under the Serbian rule, from 1440 to 1443 under the Ottoman rule, and in 1443 it returned to the Bosnian rule. But, it resulted in a long-lasting war between Bosnia and Serbia, that were both interested in that important mining place, adn during the struggle the city was well devastated. In Srebrenica, where gold, silver and

---

<sup>1</sup> Grundlinien der Geologie von Bosnien und der Hercegovina. By dr Ed. Mojsisovics, dr E. Titze and dr A. Bittner. Vienna , 1880, pp. 168.

copper were mined, in 1417, coins were also made. The fraternal monastery, once a major monastery from the Franciscan order, that stood in the city center, was mentioned in 1425 in the Dubrovnik charters, and was devastated in 1686. The Bosnian church province was named after it “Bosna argentina“. There were some Ragusans in Srebrenica at the end of 15th century, and at the beginning of the 16th century, mining collapsed completely there.

Srebrenica was then a sweet mountaneous city, with an Ottoman fortress above it, and somewhat even higher a beautiful medieval town with two towers.

In 1881, a mining society “Bosnia“ started with ore digging there again, and with detailed research and examinantion, it was concluded that mining industry had been well-developed there.

According to the manner of work, dimensions of branches, and excavations and historical oral tradition, two golden periods could be distinguished there: the first during the fall of the Roman Empire, and the second in the late middle ages.<sup>2</sup>

The mining settlement during the Roman time was in the neighbourhood of the present day village “Gradine“, and a village Sase and the city of Srebrenica should be observed as settlements of miners from the middle ages. As those two place stood one in front of the other, is given in the layout of Srebrenica’s surrounding place below (Illustration 1).

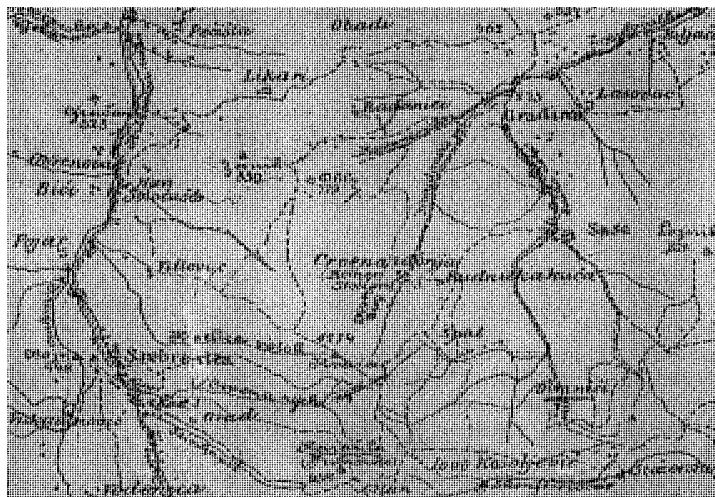


Illustration 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ljudevit Pogatschnig: „Glas zem. muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini“. Sarajevo, 1890, pp. 125-130.

Redigging of Gradina revealed a large monument of the Roman settlement there for the history of Bosnian mining industry, as well as for the whole country, therefore, here, I will describe individual objects from the Roman period, that were found in the neighbourhood of the village, and the results of the digging so far.

Among all from the neighbouring village Gradina the following should be listed:

It is said that in 1882 and 1883, during the development of Crvena zdonja (Rother Stollen) near Krivi brije, a copper coin was found there originating from the age of the Roman Emperor Konstantine II (337-340). Therefore, from the very old age of the Empire.<sup>3</sup>

A completely preserved Roman mining lamp was found in the summer 1885 by a shepherd in an old pit near Krivi brije.

In 1889, in a pit Ošista on the south-east of the village Diminići was found a similar, Roman mining lamp.

The Budin lamp from Diminići (Illustration 2.) had an ordinary shape of Roman loamy lanterns and was made of sandy loam. It was 97 mm long, 58 mm wide, and 35 mm high. One coin was copper, and the other two were bronze, but only one was recognizable, and according to the curator dr Truhelka could be a bronze medal of the Emperor Karakal (211-217).

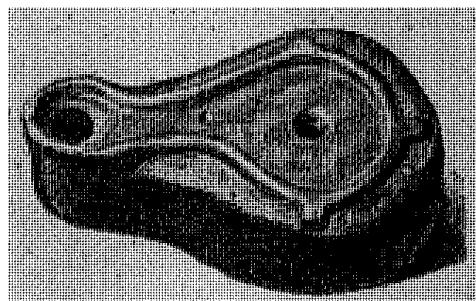


Illustration 2.

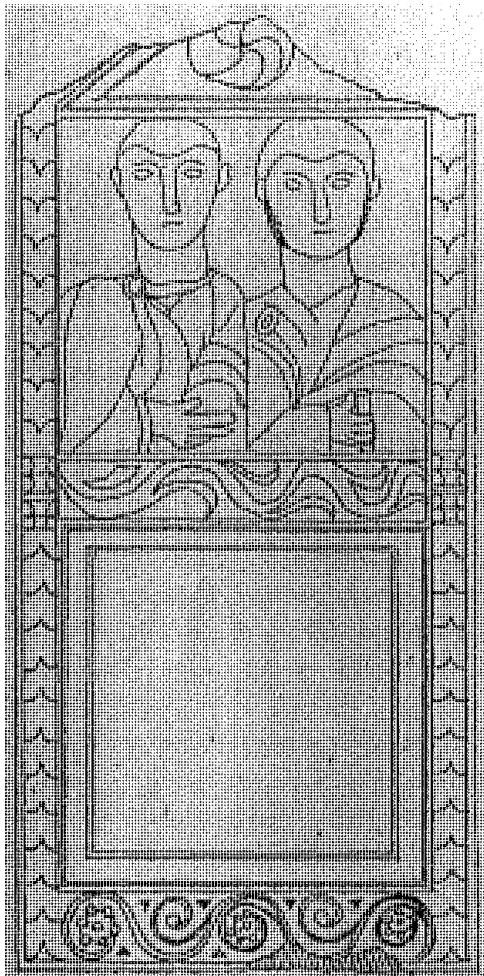
In the exterior wall of the East Orthodox church in Sase, which had no windows, two Roman stones were built in, that probably originated from Gradina. One of them was 131cm high and 62cm wide (Illustration 3.) tombstone; there was no epitaph, and above it were visible female and male chests, and a man held a paper in his hand. The front side was decorated with

<sup>3</sup> „Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Erzlagerstätten Bosniens.“ From the mining advisor Bruno Walter. Sarajevo, 1887, pp. 134.

something similar to a rose. The other stone (Illustration 4.) is a passage from a prayer 30 cm wide and 40cm high.

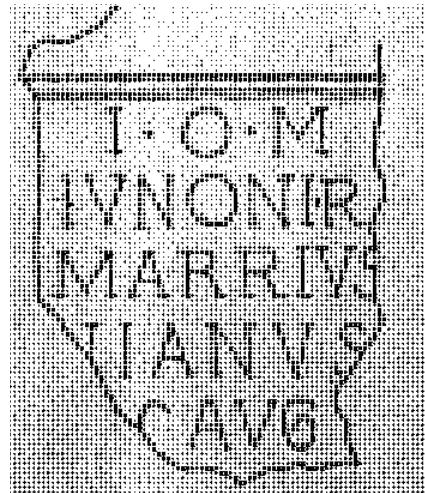
A supervisor Ljudevit Pogatsching in Kvarc gave the following information about the first excavation in Gradina that he managed:

In March 1883, the mining society “Bosnia“ ordered the gentleman to measure the strength of water in Gradina, where he first saw a pile of stones there. Then he saw, a carved stone for the stopping of water into a pit that a watermill master had brought there.



1/10.

*Illustration 3.*



1/10.

*Illustration 4.*

Then he saw in point a) (see a drawing of destroyed Roman constructions in Gradina, table included) app. 30m on the north of the later found main entrance to large Roman buildings (table, point b) and pretty wide streets between buildings that stood one in front of the other, displayed in Illustration 5. The epitaph on the upper part was upside down on the ground and well preserved, and the epitaph on the lower part was not able to be read.



1/10.

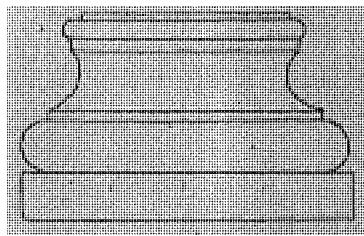
*Illustration 5.*

The unreadable lower three lines must have been from 1880-1883 destroyed, because a nice gentleman dr Truhelka gave mi the script of the epitaph, recorded in 1881, and it stated:

I. O. M.  
ET GENIO LOCI  
PRO SALVTE  
MVNCIPII PO  
SVERAT VSVS  
ATQVE CVLTVS

A stone, in a form of a pillar, 100cm high, 60cm wide, and 40cm thick. The epitaph was not framed, and the upper part of a stone was chipped.

At that moment, a man from that place showed to my friend a foundation of ionic pillar, that he found in his garden, where he planted tobacco (table, point c) illustrated in illustration 6.



1/10.

*Illustration 6.*

Mr. Pogatschnig found in the spring 1884, when the road was built there, near the south-east corner of a large building (table, point d) a corner of a giant marble stone with latin letters. In 1884 was excavated and it was a monument of great archeological value.

It was a pillar 114cm high, 69cm wide, and 45cm thick. The front part was framed and there were holes on both upper and lower sides, which pointed to a fact that the stone had foundations and an upper decoration.

A curator, dr A. Domaszewski<sup>4</sup> read the epitaph:

L DOMITIO  
I EROTI VI  
RO EX EQVES  
(T)RIBVS TVR  
5. MIS EGREGIO  
PROCVRATORI  
METALLORVM  
(P)ANN(O)N  
DELM(A)T MI  
10. (R)AE INTE(G)RITATIS  
(E)T BONI(TA)TIS  
M AVR RV(ST)ICVS  
V E DVCE(NA)AMICO  
PRAESTA(NTI)SSIMO

---

<sup>4</sup> Archeolog. Epigraphische Mitth. Aus Oestereich, Vienna, 1884. Volume VII. pp. 243.



Illustration 7 (1/10).

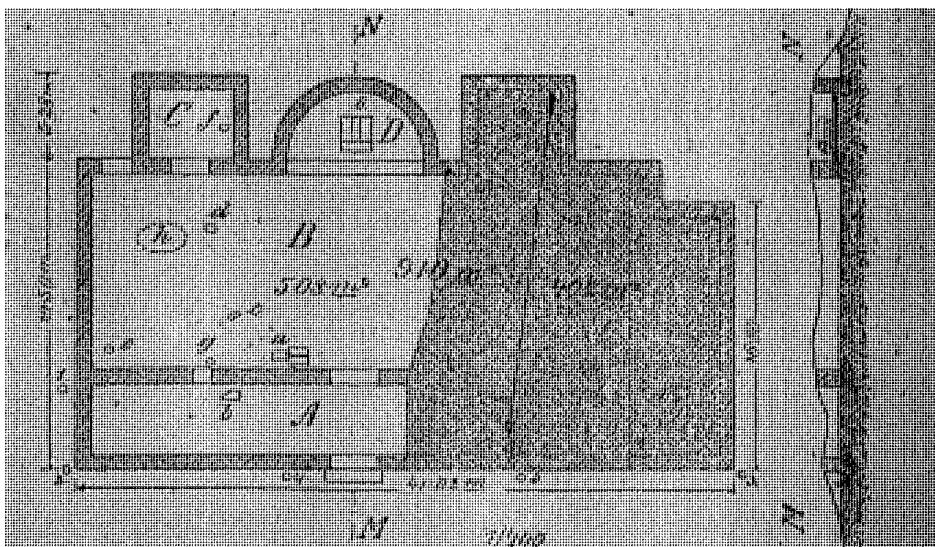
The stone was erected in honor of Lucija Domicija Erosa, prokurator metallorum et Delmatiorum, and ducenarius M. Aurelius Rusticus erected it. According to the upper epitaphs, it was L. Domicio, a main magare of all mines in Dalmatia and Panonia, that is in the then Dalmatia, Bosnia and the danube at the mouth of Tisa to the Vienna Forest, east sides of Styria and Carnolia. According to that, Srebrenica was one of the main mines in the vast area of the Roman Empire.

In the late August 1884, the gentleman found in point e) (see table) on the right bank of the stream Sasa, 482, on the south-east of a large building b) in Gradina, a tombstone with epitaph of Katilija Trifina, with a form given in the illustration 7.

Mr. Domszewski<sup>5</sup> published that epitaph too, but he read the third line as Tryphena, and the original clearly showed Tryphina.

After that, the mining society “Bosnia“ decided to conduct excavation of Gradina with two miners. The excavation managed Pogatschnig and continued with it with some interruptions from December 1884 to 15 April 1885.

Therefore, they discovered a volume of rectangular building 41m long, and 19.5m wide, with the front side facing north and in the middle of the southern side a semi-circle apse, and on each side rectangular fence. The construction covered the area of 910 m<sup>2</sup>, with three entrances and a spacious gate on the north, and two narrow doors on the south. A layout and cross-section, from the excavation from the Fall 1890, are shown in Illustration 8.



1/400

*Illustration 8.*

Three huge, carved stones, built-in as stairs, and two with epitaphs, were found on the east next to the foundation of the building in point 1. (Illustration 8.). Front sides of stones were facing earth, and, as it seems, were used as stairs. Also, two coins from the age of the Tzar Alexander Sever (222-235) were found there.

Dimensions of the two stones with epitaph are equal, and: 121cm height, 56cm width and 40cm thickness. In the middle of the upper and lower

<sup>5</sup> Archeolog. Epigraphische Mitt. Aus Oestereich, Vienna, 1884. Volume VII. pp. 246.

sides were holes for iron, and both stones were standing on foundations and the upper side was decorated with heads, and probably chests.

Mr. Domaszewski read the epitaphs:

1. IMP · CAES · M	2. (IULIAEMA)
AVREL · SEVERO	MAEAE · AVG
ALEXANDRO	MATRI · IMP
PIOFELINV(I)C(T)O	CAES · M AVR
5. AVG · PONT MA(X)	5. SEVE(RI ALEXA)
TRIB POTX	N(DRI P) II(FEL IN)
PCOSI(1)I(I)NDVE	V(IC) · AVG · E(T)
GENT(ISSIM(O))	(CAST E)T SENAT
PRINCIPI · ORDO	AC PATR · ORDO ·
10. MVN · DOM · DD	10. MVN · DOMAV
PP · DEDICANTE	D · D · P · P · DEDICANTE
IVL · TACITIANO	IVL · TACITIANO
V · E · PROC · AVG V	V · E · PROC · AVG (V)
NVM (INI E1)V(S)	DEVOTISSIMO
15. DEVOTISSIMO	15. NVMINIEORVM
(E)T D(1)C(A)T(ISSIMO)	

Those were the two monumets in honor of the Tzar Alexander Sever and his mother Julija Mameja by munitipio Domav... from public funds, and dedicated to Protector Tacitian, who was probably the protector of mines.

Epitaphs became unclear in some places in time, and since Alexander Sever was destroyed by his successor Maximin, because at the time it was a common custom in Rome to destroy all the monuments dedicated to the previous emperor.

Those two stones were no less famous than the one that belonged to Protector Domicio, becuase they reveal the name of the Roman munitio Domav..., therefore, Domavia or Domaviae, that was unknown so far.

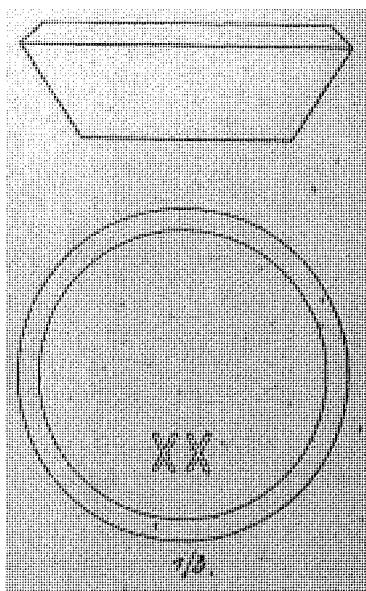
On the north-east and north-west corners next to points 2 and 3 (illustration 8.) lied one broken part of a pillar.

A statuete Venrian made of bronze was found next to a point 4 (Illustration 8.) lying next to the foundation and it was 12cm high.

On the west of the main entrance, with two stairs there, next to a point 5 (Illustration 8.) was found a piece of lead, that weighed 6700 grams, with a number XX (Illustration 9.) on its surface. It was obviously a form of a piece of led as it was a custom in a melting workshop in Domavia at the time.

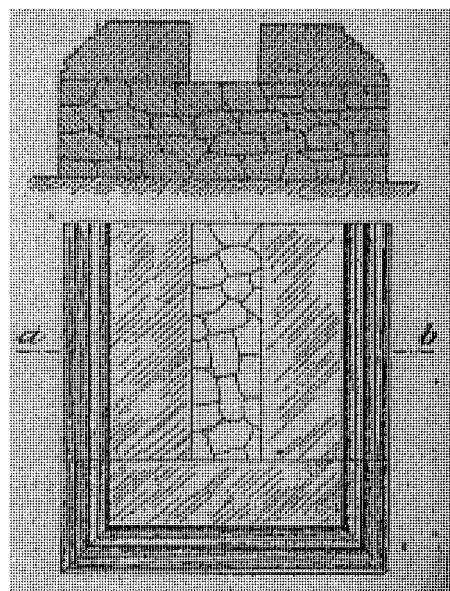
A number XX probably means twenty Roman pounds, and it was probably a normal weigh for mine products. Twenty Roman libras was equal to 6550 grams, and a surplus of 150 grams should not point to inaccuracy and probably to oxidation of lead on the surface.

The interior of the building was also examined, and in the middle (Illustration 8., point 6) was found an underground construction that consisted of three nicely profiled limestone plates.



1/3.

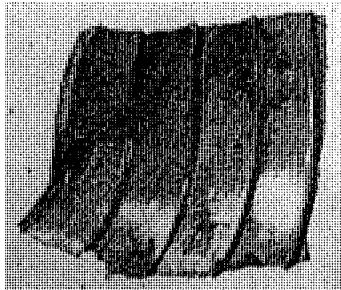
*Illustration 9.*



1/40

*Illustration 10.*

Around the construction were found parts of bronze fragments that were on the exterior side covered with gold.



*Illustration II (1/1).*

Mr. Pogatsching decided that on the aforementioned marble postament stood bronze statue that was destroyed with the destruction of the city. Such a melted bronze covered with gold, probably a fragment of the upper part is displayed in Illustration 11.

In August-October 1890, the State Government ordered the excavation of Gradina and I conducted the business under the supervision of Mr. Frederik Pogatschnig.

The first task was to make the closest to the original Roman settlement. Thus, I rodered to discover directions of walls and corners of buildings, and in the Summer we settled piles of houses separated on the west, north and north-east sides of Grad.

After the harvest, Mr. Potschnig found on the east and south-east of Grad spacious ruins of Roman buildings and on the right side of stream Sase a rectangle of an area of 2.500m<sup>2</sup> and that was probably Roman “castrum”.

When we connected all the points, we found a layout of an old Roman town near Gradina (as can be seen in a table). Today’s village Gradina lies on a hill that stretches from south-east to north-west, with an oval shape on the south-east end and stone fortress “Grad“.

There were buildings grouped around “Grad“ of the ancient town, and across them castrum on the second hill protected the entrance to the valley Sase.

But, Domavia must have had a lower town as well, because there were foundations of Roman buildings on the south-west behind the village and between buildings of the village Gradina. It could have been a beautiful building, probably a monastery, judging by the foundations of a pillar.

Then, I decided to start my work with a large building b, because there were found stones with epitaphs, because its complex basis and isolated

position under Gradina showed its significance and because according to the foundation of apside could be expected, that a statue or at least larger fragment could be found.

Immediately, after the beginning of the work it proved that the building musta have been burnt down. There we found soot 30cm thick on the surface of the ruin. Again, probably in the middle ages there was a building on the same spot because in the middle of the building with a surface area of 20-30m<sup>2</sup>, and 80cm high. There were stones in the ruin, brick, covered with a layer of 30cm of earth.

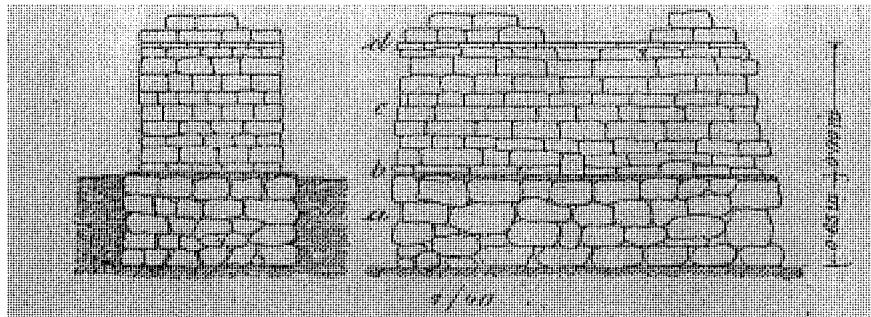
As can be seen from a layout and cross-section (Illustration 8.), they were discovered while four different rooms were dug in 1890. At the main 35m wide entrance, was a front area A 4.65m wide along the whole building. It led to the main entrance through the door 3m wide, and on the east side through the second door 1m wide into the middle, largest room of the building B. A door 1.9m wide led from that room on the southern side to the court, and then another door 2.3m wide and rectangular addition of 4.5m wide and 5.3m long inside C. Semi-circle apside D in the middle of te other side of the building was open with all ist width of 8m opposite of the room B.

Both rooms A and B were at the same height, equal to the height of the foundation, while the foundation of C and D was 60cm higher.

Rooms A. B and C had loam floor, and only in apside were found remains of a brick.

Both main and middle walls had above the foundation equal thickness of 95cm, and a foundation of one side was 10-15cm wider.

The shape and section of walls on the south-east corner, if still preserved, is displayed in Illustration 12.

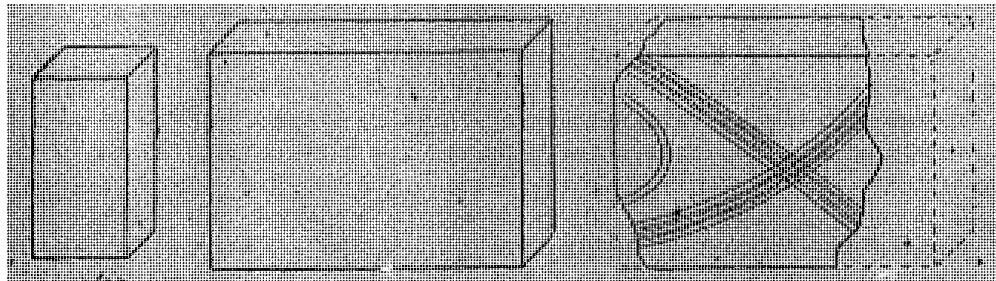


1/40

*Illustration 12.*

The foundation walls *a* were not equal, usually 65cm deep, and 115-120cm thick. The upper side of the foundation was covered with lime *b*, and a wall *c* was built on that wall 95cm thick and 90cm high, a type *d* was clearly visible above a layer of lime on the foundation that made the wall height equal, and a wall of equal thickness was built there.

The brick found during the excavation, was probably built in upper parts that were not preserved. Many broken tiles proved that the building was covered with it.



*Illustration 13.*

*Illustration 14.*

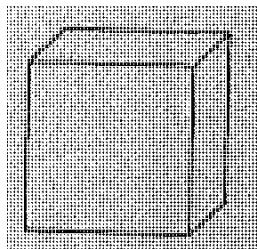
*Illustration 15.*

This brick was, as it was usual in the Roman time, in different dimensions. Therefore, we found some of bricks similar in shape to the present day. Illustration 13. Displays such a brick with 26cm length, 13cm width and 6cm thickness. Bricks were rectangular in shape and with larger dimensions.

Such brick was (Illustration 14.) 43cm long. 30.5cm wide and 6cm thick. It can be seen in Illustration 15., a 30cm wide and 7.5cm thick found in Gradina.

Again, we found brick with decorations of dog's leg. Some believe that Roman masons tested the dryness of the brick by letting dogs to go over them but such a belief does not hold water.

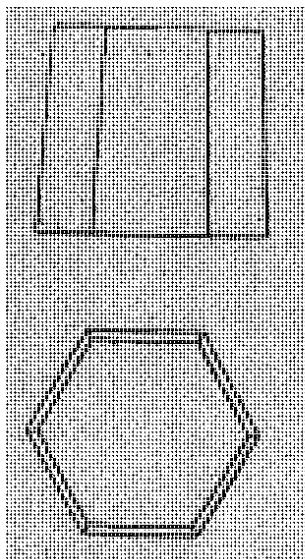
The bricks from the tarpaulin in Gradina (Illustration 16.) had the shape of a square with a length of one side of 20cm and 5.5cm thickness.



1/10

*Illustration 16.*

In the middle are B, there was a smaller pillar for tarpaulin of red loam in a shape of a chopped pyramid (Illustration 17.).

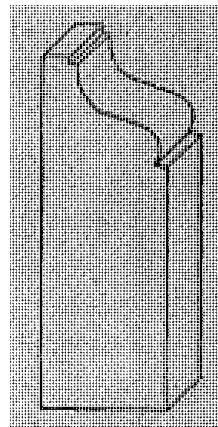


1/10

*Illustration 17.*

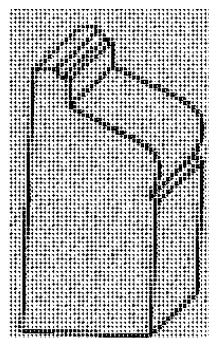
Very interesting were corn bricks found, three of them, in the ruin. The first shape (Illustration 18.) was 48.6cm long and 17.3cm wide and 6.5cm thick. The second shape (Illustration 19.) was only 27cm long.

13cm wide and 6cm thick. The third shape, finally, only fragments of which are given in Illustration 20, with 29.6cm wide and 6.6cm thick.



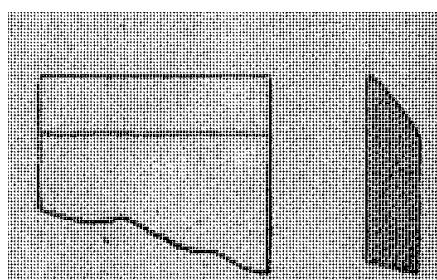
1/10

*Illustration 18.*



1/10

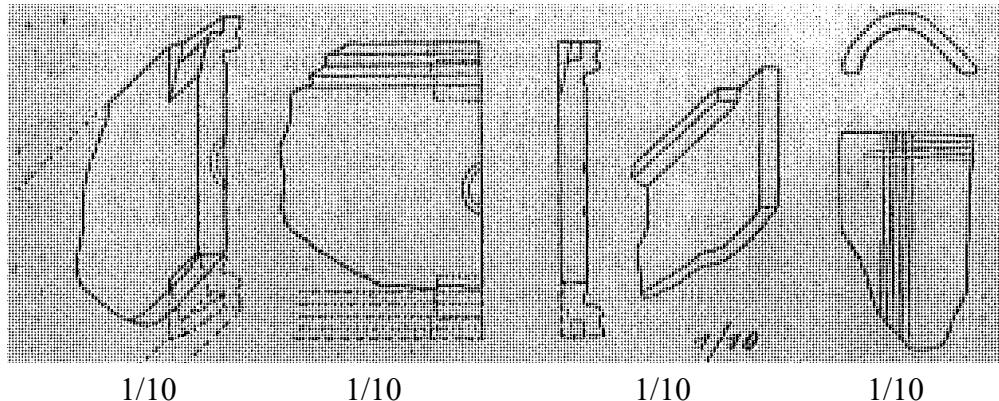
*Illustration 19.*



1/10

*Illustration 20.*

There were piles of tile, but only in fragmets, which was to be expected considering large, proportional, thin decorative bricks (Falzziegel). The first, illustration 21., was displayed from the lower part, and the second, Illustration 22., was displayed from the upper part, 40cm wide and 32cm thick. The two-sided grooves, on which the grooved tile was laid, were 3 cm deep.



*Illustration 21.      Illustration 22.      Illustration 23.      Illustration 24.*

The second shape of tile, given in Illustration 23, was 25mm thick and grooves were 25mm.

Somewhat deformed fragments of the grooved tile (Illustration 24) was decorated on the outside, and 20cm wide and 2.2cm thick.

It was worth to mention that there were no seals on bricks. Furthermore, a mixture of lime with broken brick was found next to that building and at the borders of the city, which was a custom in Roman buildings.

Three stones with inscriptions found between objects excavated in 1890.

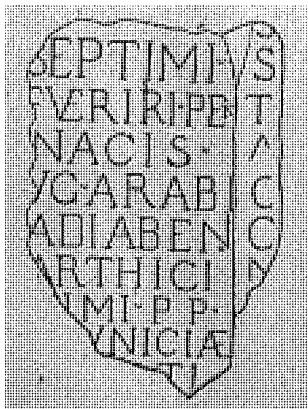
The first was lying next to the middle wall in the room B (Illustration 8.) nexto to a and in the end of those two, large, smooth plates, lying next to each other in the fllor of the room. It was 150cm high, 65cm wide and 56cm thick. It had a simple frame, was well as two sides and the back side was empty. There was a hole on the upper side, and we concluded that it was decorated with an inscription.

It is displayed in Illustration 25., and it could be concluded that it was erected in honor of Kaj Julius Silvan Melanio by the Protector Publio Flaminio Pomonal.



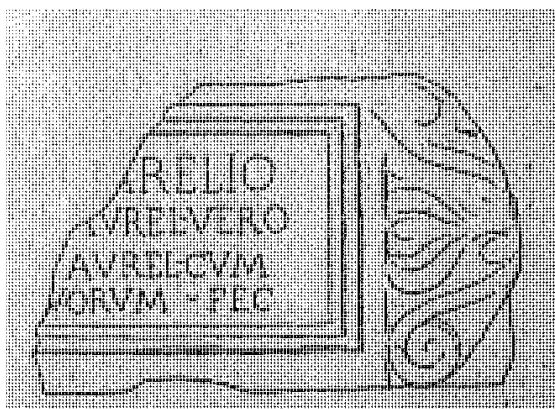
*Illustration 25.*

The second inscribed stone was found in only two pieces, one lying in the room A next to the point b, and the other in a smaller room B next to the point c. The first was 28cm long, 65cm wide and 37cm thick. The epitaph (Illustration 26.) was in honor of the Tzar Septimio Sever (192-211).



1/10

*Illustration 26.*



1/10

*Illustration 27.*

The third stone lied in the point D in the room B on the floor, and it was the left half of the monument of some Aurelio Vero. His epitaph is displayed in Illustration 27.

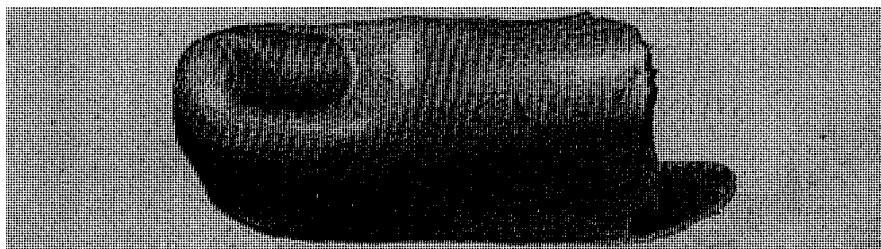
That stone, probably was built in a wall, and 50cm high, 55cm wide and 20cm thick. The inscribed area with profiled frame was 35cm high. Next

to the epitaph was visible an ornament in relief, consisting of leaves and curves.<sup>6</sup>

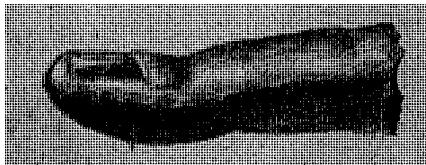
Coins, copper and bronze, were found in the room B in different places 9 pieces, and only 4 were recognisable.

The first originated, according to the curator dr Truhelka, from the Tzar Troyan (98-117), and were the oldest found coins so far in Gradina. The second showed the name of Salonine (259), the wife of the Tzar Galien. The third were the coins of the Tzar Aurelian (270-275), and the forth the coins of the Tzar Konstantine the Great (306-337), made in the twentieth year of his rule.

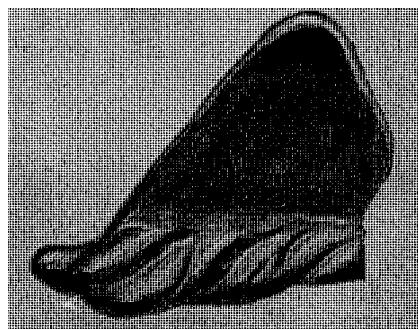
Of the bronze objects, we should mention many melted bronze objects, with holes, found scattered in rooms A and B, as well as in C, and the most was found in apside. We would emphasise a human, right toe, larger than natural, found in the point e (Illustration 28.) not far from the north-eastern corner of the room B, as well as a fragment of a left massively melted finger found in the point of of the room C.



*Illustration 28 (1/1).*



*Illustration 29 (1/1).*

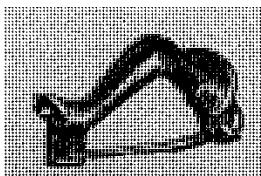


*Illustration 30 (1/1).*

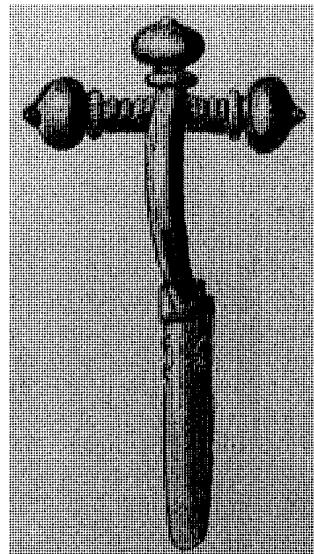
6 We sent fascimile of the three stones with epitaphs, Illustrations 25-27, to director Frano Bulić in Split. He said that they were very interesting and important, but he would like to see complete photos before he gave his opinion. The photos were sent to us, and we hope that the famous researcher – who we thank cordially – would give us translations of the epitaphs, and we would publishe them to the readers. Editorial Office.

Without doubt, it could be concluded that a bronze statue stood in the building in its natural size that was destroyed during the Barbarian break-ins.

Of all bronze objects, a fibule was found with bow heads at the end (Illustration 31.), characteristic for the end of the 3rd and the whole 4th century A.D., and often found in Roman rooms. The second small fibule (Illustration 32.) of a special shape, according to the curator Szombaty was pretty much present at the end of 2nd and the beginning of 3rd century A.D. in dacia, panonia and Norick, and not much in the west and north.



*Illustration 32 (1/1).*



*Illustration 33 (1/1).*

Furthermore, an oval earring was found with section of 25mm and some other fragments.

Many nails were found with round heads with diagonal of 5cm, a hammer that lied in the room B next to a narrow door that led to the room A in the point g (Illustration 8.). The hammer was 10.5m long, with a handle 4.5cm wide and 3.5cm thick. On one side it was of a rectangular shape, and on the other vertical, and was an ordinary working hammer.

The other iron was a mattock found in the room A on the ground. It was 25cm long and the blade was 6.5cm wide.

They were all rusted.

In both rooms A and B we found lead lumps, 20cm long, 14cm wide, and 3cm thick. They were all scattered in the room B.

There were broken glass with different shape and color. It was worth to mention: glass container with wide handles, parts of three containers with narrow gutter, and bottoms of two smaller cups.

Opposite of those were loam leftovers, and ornaments of pieces of containers, and renovation of those was impossible.

They belonged to most various containers of different size; red or grey, rarely dark and partly painted with light black bords; 1.5cm thick, and hanldes were 5cm thick. They were typical Roman dishes.

In the south-east part of the room B marked with a letter h (Illustration 8.), elliptic pit 3m long, 2.3m wide and 90cm deep, and with up to 50cm thick pure lime.

Finally we mus add that the whole eastern part of the room B was covered with smaller and larger pieces of melted plate 90cm thick. It consisted of melted lime, with stones and small pieces of brick. There was an imprint of a board 2cm thick, that was nailed there. That plate covered a floor, and when it collapsed the whole building was destroyed; because it did not make the whole plate but it was there in broken pieces, on a ruin with fragments of brick, loam, two bronze coins, a bronze fibule and a bronze toe.

Everything excavated in 1890 was deposited in the State Museum in Sarajevo.

I would not say my opinion about the purpose of the building because I think that more proof would be found and then with certainty we would be able to say its purpose. It could be said that the building was the central spot in Domavia since both of its facades were decorated with pillars and many epitaphs in and next to it. Apside took the central place among certain rooms of the builidng because only that area was decorated with brick and walls were painted, and also there was a huge, marble stone where a statue stood once. The statue was made of bronze because many bronze fragments were found scattered there, and some were covered with gold.

We could be satisfied with the results of our findings so far in Gradina. First and foremost, 9 stones with epitaphs that we were interested in.

Except for tombstones of Katilije, Trifina and two Jupiter's plates there were six monuments from Gradina in honor of the Tzar Alexander Sever and his mother Julija Mameja, the Tzar Septimie Sever, Protector Lucio Domicio Eros, Knight Kaj Julius Melania and Aurelio Vero, from which we found so far unknown name Domavia Roman municipio in Gradina, the names of three protectors and a former monument of Domavia – its mine.

The material of its stones, as well as many other architectural objects, was partly white, partly red, carved limestone.

A closer surrounding of Gradina consisted of limestones and trachitic stones, and the stones must have been brought from distant places. The vally of Gradina had only one exit, along the Sase and Bijeli stream towards Podrinje near the Bjelovac Inn. The road must have passed there during the Roman period, becuase when we ride today along those streams very often we find remains of Roman buildings, architectural pieces and piles of stones mixed with loam. In Biljača, we already found two tombstones with epitaphs, one with Greek and the other with Latin letters, and in Bosnian Loznica next to the Drina River bank lies a spacious Roman medieval cemetery, with many releif and architectural stones, that we intedn to describe. Opposite of Loznica, on the Srebian side above the Drina River rises a limestone mountainous slope Azbukovija, and we believe that Romans took marble from that place to Domavia.

The coins found so far encompassed the Roman Empire Period from Trojan to Konstantine II, that is from 98-340 A.D., and eventhough we cannot see the establishment of working city on them, at least they testify that municipium was present there until the mid-4th century.

Finally, the drawings so far determined the position and volume of the lower town of Domavia, and without excavations the basics were settled for the discovery of the interesting Roman colony.