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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Ottoman religious architecture in Croatia

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Objective: To provide a description and analysis of built, surviving, and lost Ottoman religious monuments in Croatia within the historical and sociopolitical context.

Methods: Based on the analysis of relevant published sources, historical maps, online sources, as well as site analysis, we provide a description of Ottoman architectural, religious, and cultural heritage in the contemporary Croatian regions of the Dalmatian hinterland and Slavonia. This includes the art historical interpretation of the remains of the three surviving 16th-century domed mosques in three Croatian towns: Klis (today, the Catholic Church of St. Vitus in the Fortress), Drniš (now incorporated into the Catholic Church of St. Anthony held by the Franciscans), and Đakovo (today, the Catholic Church of All Saints).

Results: The period of Ottoman rule saw the construction of a great number of Ottoman religious buildings in what is now the territory of the Republic of Croatia. There were two methods of mosque establishment: from the ground up, or by repurposing an older building, generally of Christian origin. With cessation of Ottoman rule these objects decayed and became less interesting for reutilization for Christian religious purposes. Many such converted objects perished in spite of their new utilization. The site analysis revealed the continuity of these sacred places in spite of religious conversion of the sacral site.

Conclusion: The introduction of Ottoman architectural and urbanistic features was the defining feature of urban development in Croatia during the Ottoman era. In the settlements, the Ottomans built both sacral and utilitarian profane buildings, but Ottoman religious buildings were the most prominent. In the territory of present day Croatia, only three such Ottoman places of worship remain in existence as structures, albeit reconverted into Catholic churches. Today, due to the conversion and renovation works, they represent a fusion of several stylistic periods.

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Introduction

The 14th century saw the initial contact between Christians and Muslims in the area that is now Croatia. It is important to emphasize that the advancing Ottoman military consisted (mostly) of converts from Christianity, drawn into Ottoman service through the system known as *devşirme*. Therefore, we will avoid calling the Ottoman military "Turks" and will use the term "Ottomans" instead (Necipoğlu, 2014) since they were largely Muslim (converts) of Slavic peasant origin. Over the centuries, the Ottomans would conquer and rule over areas belonging to present day Croatia (Tanner, 2019). The resulting changes most obviously affected urban development and architecture in the conquered territories. The Ottoman rule brought population changes (Islamization) and meant that many examples of old religious architecture in cities and settlements were reutilized for Islamic religious purposes (Vujić, 2010, pp. 18–19; Moačanin, 1999). Although a small number of Christian churches remained open, large part of them were converted to Islamic places of worship. However, in keeping with Islamic religious principles but also to save money and speed up the construction, earlier buildings were not usually destroyed (Mulić, 2004). The structure of a town with Ottoman features emerged from its medieval heritage – many extant buildings were modified with inherently Islamic architectural features. Beyond mosques, other Islamic religious buildings were also built in order to satisfy the daily needs of the Muslim population (Karač & Žunić, 2018).

With the expulsion of the Ottomans from the areas that were to become modern day Croatia, which brought in its wake the exodus of resident Muslim populations, Ottoman architecture lost its function. The vast majority of the Ottoman places of worship perished; what remained was converted into Catholic churches. Many such converted sacral objects were, as time passed and their structure became unstable, abandoned or rebuilt in a new style. Such was e.g. the case in Knin, Sinj, Vrgorac, Ostrovica and Nadin during the 18th century (Soldo, 1993; 1995; Mulić, 2004; Bačić, 1989). The only surviving Ottoman mosques in the Republic of Croatia – with adaptations undertaken during the Christian reconversion – can be found today in Drniš (Traljić, 1972; Tomić, 2016; Zdravković, 1956), Klis (Spaho, 1978; Zdravković, 1957), and Đakovo (Hafizović, 2014; Papić, 1990).

Inasmuch as the Ottoman cultural heritage in present day Croatia has been neglected by Croatian historiography (Mažuran, 1998; Moačanin, 1999; Tanner, 2019), this work is based on the monograph *Islamska arhitektura i umjetnost u Hrvatskoj: osmanska i suvremena baština* (Karač & Žunić, 2018). In our contribution, Ottoman religious architecture has been defined and the political and social context of the construction of Ottoman religious buildings and the ways in which they arose have been explained. In addition, relevant sites were visited for the study, analysis and interpretation in comparison with what has changed over time, i.e., what specific Islamic features are preserved on the present-day facilities. A synthesis of Ottoman religious buildings erected on the area of present day Croatia was made and the sole existing Ottoman mosques in Croatia were analyzed and placed in historical context. A small Ottoman glossary of terms used in the article is given in **Appendix 1**.

The time context of the construction of Ottoman religious buildings in Croatia

Ottoman/Islamic religious buildings in Croatia date from the era of the occupation of Croatian lands in the 16th and 17th centuries (Mažuran, 1998; Tanner, 2019), during the predominance of two major styles: the Renaissance along the Adriatic coast and the Early Baroque in mainland Croatia (Karač & Žunić, 2018, pp. 21–23). The occupied areas were organized as an administrative unit kown as Bosanski pašaluk (**Figure 1**).

Figure 1. Parts of Croatia and neighboring countries conquered during 16th and 17th centuries by Ottomans and organized as Bosnian Pashaluk (Šabanović, 1959, modified with permission).

Sultanic mosques

Immediately after the conquest, the Ottomans set to build and/or convert old buildings into the so-called "sultanic mosques" (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 47; Spaho, 1978, p. 218). As these mosques were built on the sultan's orders and required no *waqif* or "donor", their officials received salaries either from the state treasury or were granted a *timar* (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 413). Subsequent mosques were typically built in the suburbs and became centers of the emerging *mahallas* (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 130) at the expense of Christian neighborhoods. Some of the towns had neither military nor "sultanic mosque" (Moačanin, 2001, p. 83). However, as the pioneering Muslim settlers were military men, the first religious buildings intended for prayer were built in fortresses (e.g., Knin, Sinj) (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 130). As markets developed around important churches, "sultanic

mosques" in time found themselves often in the middle of new market centers (e.g. Brod, Đakovo) (Moačanin, 2001, p. 83).

Ottoman urbanism in present day Croatia

Prior to the arrival of the Ottomans, urban development in medieval Croatia lagged behind the rest of the Hungarian Kingdom. Knin was the only notable town south of Velebit in medieval Croatia. Settlements such as Skradin or Klis, together with local market towns on feudal manors, had some strategic importance (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 117), but they were later predominantly classified by the Ottomans as *varoş* and became centers of *nahiyahs* (Vukšić, 2016, p. 142; Moačanin, 2001, p. 63). During the 15th century the number of urban-type settlements in Slavonia and Croatia grew, rising to "about 70% of their total number" (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 117). During the era of Ottoman incursions many castles and forts were built; however, their numbers dwindled during the time of Ottoman occupation as they failed to meet the criteria of a "unified administrative area within the centralized Ottoman state and the organization of the Ottoman military and political system" (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 117).

This period is also characterized by the development of the so-called Islamic/Ottoman towns which were situated in "peripheral geographical locations" (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 118). Furthermore, these cities had unique spatial features and were built respecting the legacy of "the spatial organization of a medieval settlement" (Jurin Starčević, 2006, pp. 117–118). In the area of the present day Dalmatian hinterland, medieval walled cities, deemed valuable by the Ottomans, continued their development within the Ottoman urban network (Skradin, Sinj, Vrlika, Vrana) or gained new importance (Drniš). If a village or fortress failed to "autonomously" evolve into an urban center, the government would opt for systematic urbanization by way of privatization of state lands (i.e. that changed status from *miri* to *mülk*). Provincial governors increased their prestige by building Islamic buildings and the accompanying complexes in order to elevate a settlement to the rank of town (e.g. Hrvace) or to increase the rank of an existing town to city. Settlements along major traffic routes (Sinj, Vrlika, Knin, Hrvace, Drniš, Skradin, Klis) had a role in trade and transportation; the administrative function was taken over by the *sancak* (Vranješ & Vlaški, 2013, p. 97) and *kaza* (Vukšić, 2016, p. 142) (Skradin, Klis, Knin etc.). Military forts (Strmica, Čačvina), market towns (Kožlovac), or larger villages (Dicmo, Mućo) also became centers of *nahiyahs* (Jurin Starčević, 2006, pp. 117–119). Moačanin noted the following about the present day Slavonia and Syrmia: "In the East, several important economic and trading cities evolved due to the great importance of the main roads in that part of the Empire (Osijek, Ilok and Nijemci), while in the West only Požega stood out among smaller towns" (Moačanin, 2001, p. 63). As far as we know education in religious schools was limited to cities; towns in these parts only had lower schools. In the area of the present day Dalmatian hinterland, transcription and literary activities thrived in Drniš and Hrvace (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 119).

First settlers in the conquered towns conquered by the Ottomans were the so-called *askeri* or "state employees"; they were followed by immigrants, craftsmen, and merchants from

the already occupied regions (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 29). Alongside military garissons went the clerics who served in mosques or *mescids* (Jurin Starčević, 2006, pp. 137–138). Due to changing spatial gravitational forces, walled cities that were situated some distance away from the *serhad* or "frontier marches" lost their military significance, while towns along important trading routes (e.g., Osijek) or new military and administrative centers (e.g., Požega, Ilok) prospered (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 29). Based on status, the predominant type of settlement during the earliest Ottoman presence in Croatia was the *varoş* (Hafizović, 2016a, p. 86), which would typically develop as a suburb, outside walled cities (Hafizović, 2016a, p. 33). The influx of Muslims and the formation of *cemaat*s or "communities", especially from the middle of the 16th century, saw the proliferation of *kasaba*s. To gain *kasaba* status, towns had to satisfy the following four criteria: "1) have a *cemaat* with a permanent Muslim majority, 2) have at least one mosque offering full religious service for the needs of five daily prayers, especially *Juma* (Friday afternoon prayer) and both Eid prayers, 3) have a *bazar*, 4) regularly hold a market (fair) day" (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 29).

The word *kasaba* has the same root as the Arabic *kassap*, meaning butcher or geometer, and denoted "a fixed, demarcated, stable, systematically parceled out, central settlement" (Moačanin, 2001, p. 68). Normally, town populations would not partake in agricultural production (Moačanin, 2001, pp. 68–70); however, virtually the only difference between the *varoş* and *kasaba* was the religious affiliation of their denizens (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 121). Regardless of the size of their Muslim and craftsman populations, settlements engaging in agriculture and paying land tax had the status of *varoş* (Moačanin, 2001, p. 70). When transforming a *varoş* or square into a *kasaba*, the newly established urban settlement would be split in two: the crafts and trades district (Ott. *bazar*) and the residential district with streets (Arab. *mahalla*) and alleys (Ott. *sokak*) or dead ends (Ott. *çıkma*) (Mulić, 2004, p. 228). The mosque and the *bazar* – the defining symbols of the *kasaba* – were meeting places of Muslims; they were free to work after prayer, as prescribed by the Qur'an (Hafizović, 2016a, p. 31). The town's commercial district held craft workshops and shops, which traded in "food items, products of rural and urban crafts, and only occasionally in expensive fabrics, spices, and the like" (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 132). It was located at the foot of the fortress or within the "walled area of the fortress" (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 132). With the creation of the *kasabas*, the *varoş* could only survive as separate Christian *mahallas* on the outskirts of the *kasaba* (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 132; Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 29). And while Muslim settlers or Islam converts may become full-fledged *kasaba* residents and gain certain privileges, non-Muslim populations lived within non-Muslim *mahallas* (Ott. *mahalle-i geberan*) or stayed in their *varoş* (Hafizović, 2016a, p. 74). *Mahalla* means "a place" (site). "City quarter" or "district" are not the most accurate translations of the term as villages had *mahallas*, which tended to be insular or rectangular in shape. Before the formation of *mahallas*, residents were divided into groups – *cemaats* – based on religious affiliation. The earliest classifications split residents into "Muslim garrisons in the fortress and Christians in the *varoş*" (Moačanin, 2001, p. 82). The Muslim population in the *varoş*, with no further internal divisions, was known as the "Muslim *cemaat* in the *varoş*" (Moačanin, 2001, p. 82).

The building of the mosque brought about the formation of the first Muslim *mahalla* (Mahalla of the Honorable Mosque), followed by the evolution of the settlement into a

kasaba (Moačanin, 2001, p. 82; Spaho, 1978, p. 217). Importantly, *kasabas* had defined boundaries, and any population living outside the *kasaba* limits did not enjoy the same privileges. The *kasaba* population was thus raised above the lowly *reaya* class and exempt from paying the basic *reaya tax*, which was paid by lower classes (Ott. *resm-i çift*), as well as other taxes like participating in the *çerahorluk* system, guard duty, etc. (Hafizović, 2016a, p. 32). The *kasaba* thus became a "powerful instrument of Islamization" (Hafizović, 2016b, p. 17). It rose on top of an earlier settlement or was built on in places of some military, commercial, or other importance (Hafizović, 2016a, p. 32). The Christian district was rarely split into *mahallas*, although there were some exceptions (Moačanin, 2001, p. 96).

During the early years of Ottoman rule, no major changes to the urban structure of conquered cities were made. In addition to stationing garrisons in fortified towns, the Ottomans built religious buildings such as "mosques, *mascids* and minarets, *türbes*, domed *hammams*," etc., or converted existing churches and chapels into Muslim shrines (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 31; Mažuran, 1998, p. 210). The construction works were split between local builders (Ott. *dülger*), charged with building "residential buildings (houses), *hans*, *caravanserais* (Ott. *kervansarays*), cafes (Ott. *kahvehane*), shops and craft shops, which also functioned as shops (Ott. *dükkan*), warehouses (Ott. *magaza*), *mekteb*s and *medrese*s, smaller Islamic temples, and churches" (Mulić, 2004, p. 228) on the one hand, and outsiders, who designed larger edifices, such as "bridges (Ott. *köpri*), larger mosques, higher *medrese*s, and public institutions, such as tribunals (Ott. *mahkeme*)" (Mulić, 2004, p. 228). *Dülgers* would inject Ottoman/Islamic features into their projects, and Ottoman builders (Ott. *mimar*) designed exclusively Ottoman/Islamic buildings (Mulić, 2004, p. 228). Towns experienced a minor change as *mahallas* expanded around mosques or *mescid*s (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 31). Forts (Ott. *kale*) (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 134) in times of war – were reconstructed or newly built by the Ottomans (Makarska). They were used to "as permanent posts for military commanders, crews, and their families, as well as local officials and clerks and to monitor the local territory including stores (weapons, ammunition, grain)" (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 135). According to Jurin Starčević private dwellings in present day Dalmatian Hinterland were modest, "built from stone and covered with wood shingles" (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 135) with the exception of the living quarters of the *dizdar* and important civil servants such as the *emin*, *kadi*, and similar functionaries" (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 135).

Before the arrival of the Ottomans to the area or modern Croatia towns were relatively small in size (Mažuran, 1998, p. 210); by the end of the 16th century, the settlements typically had up to 500 homes. Based on this criterion, only the *sancak* seats of Požega and Ilok qualified as small cities i.e. *şehirs*. Other administrative and commercial centers were towns i.e. *kasabas*. Between Danube, Sava and Drava there were about twenty such centers and the present day Dalmatian Hinterland had about ten such centers most notably Knin, Klis (a nominal *sancak* seat), and Drniš. In the *sancak* of Klis, Drniš and Livno (in present day Bosnia and Herzegovina) were noted by their size and number of religious and public buildings but never gained the status of *şehir*. The Ottomans even founded new towns like Petrinja and Gospić and they, obviously, had to have a mosque built by the founder (Telli Hasan Pasha and Rizvan Agha Senković) (Karač & Žunić, 2018, pp. 33–37).

The classification of Islamic religious buildings

Ottoman mosques are modified "Arabic mosques" of Selçuk type, which are constructed under the influence of Byzantine architecture as one-room buildings with dome and porch covered by small domes (Rimpf & Arbutina, 2018, p. 300).

Islamic religious edifices may be divided into covered and open-air buildings. Mosques and *mescids* are covered; unlike *mescids*, mosques always have a *minber* and a minaret from which the *müezzin* calls to prayer. Open-air buildings are *hajj suffas* and *musallas* (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 410). They were constructed in two ways: by converting churches into mosques or by building new ones. As demolishing non-Muslim religious buildings was prohibited under Islamic law, these would be converted into Islamic places of worship by the addition of distinctly Islamic architectural features (Hattstein, 2010; Karač & Žunić, 2018; Mulić, 2004, pp. 185–231). If a land was conquered by force (Arab. *anvatan*), its churches were converted to mosques; however, if the local Christian population agreed to surrender (Arab. *sulhan*), they could keep their churches. Nevertheless, "churches were still sometimes demolished or turned into mosques or other public buildings even after the conquest, even though the population already had *zimmi* status and the right to own churches" (Kursar, 2015). For example, if a church stood unused for 50 years, it could be converted into a mosque or be demolished, and its material used to build a new mosque or other buildings. The conversion or demolition of the church was also a common consequence of a "breach of the *zimmi* contract by betrayal or conspiring with the enemy" (Kursar, 2015).

The architectural construction of Ottoman religious buildings

Covered religious buildings were usually "rectangular, with a covered *mahfil* in front of the chapel, with side *suffas* underneath, and a minaret along the right-side wall, approached through a portal or otherwise" (Mulić, 2004, p. 231). The Islamization of Catholic churches was supervised by *dülgers* (builders) and included the removal of Christian symbols (the bell tower, high portals, altars, benches, decorations). The government used this process to save money, as building a new mosque would have been much more expensive. The mosques were built as a single room with a covered hipped roof and a flat wooden ceiling or with a dome. According to Mulić local builders would build the former type of mosque and Ottoman builders (Ott. *mimar*) the latter. The domed mosque could have had a single dome or a dome and secondary dome, over the prayer area. Mosque courtyards boasted fountains (Ott. *şadırvan*) and rooms for performing *abdest* (Ott. *abdest* in the "Abdesthane"), as well as sites reserved for the burial of "benefactors (Arab. *hair-sahaba/vakif*), restorers, mosque officials, prominent citizens, and dignitaries" in the back (Mulić, 2004, pp. 231–232).

Upbuliding of Ottoman mosques

The number of mosques in an area depended on the number of Muslim believers and its administrative status. According to Karač and Žunić Slavonia and Lika had 189 mosques, or "places of prayer", in total. Additional mosques were interspersed across the present day Dalmatian hinterland and the Makarska Littoral (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 47). At the

end of the 17th century, "there were about 100 mosques in the conquered territory of Croatia, two thirds of which stood in cities and larger settlements..." (Mažuran, 1998, p. 219). Cities in Slavonia and Syrmia did not have "the distinctive features of Islamic centers of crafts, trade, and culture until the major conquests of the 1550s" (Moačanin, 2003, p. 45). *Waqfs* played an important role in the establishment of distinctly Islamic buildings (Hafizović, 2016b, p. 44). These buildings were founded by benefactors i.e. *waqifs* (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 413), mostly *sancak beys*, as well as members of other social strata of society (Hafizović, 2016b, p. 44). *Sancak beys* and other senior officials were expected to erect Islamic buildings in places where there were none; generally, this included places where they conducted their service, their places of birth or other places connected to their life and career. Further maintenance of these facilities was ensured by a *waqf* to which individuals could pledge their real estate and other property. *Waqfs* were founded by the state or individuals who would give up part of their assets, in keeping with the Islamic tradition (Arab. *hadith*): "Whoever builds a mosque for the sake of Allah, Allah will build for him a house in Paradise" (cf. Mažuran, 1998, pp. 77–203). A *mescid* could evolve into a mosque by adding a *minber* and appointing a *hatib* (preacher) (Moačanin, 2001, p. 98).

Ottoman mosques in Croatia

The locations of the "sultanic mosques" in today's Croatia are in Požega, Kaptol, Orahovica, Valpovo, Brod, Dubočac, Jasenovac, and Knin. Mosques and mascids are also mentioned in the following Croatian counties: Vukovar-Syrmia county (town of Vukovar, and village of Nijemci), Osijek-Baranja county (Erdut, Dalj, Bijelo Brdo/Trnovac, Sarvaš, Nemetin, Darda, Đakovo, Podgorač, Vukojevci, Donja Pištana near Orahovica), Brod-Posavina county (Brodski Zdenci, Lužani, Kobaš, Cernik, Bijela Stijena), Požega-Slavonia county (Kamengrad/Kamensko, Pakrac, Kutjevo, Doljanovci, Grabarje, Gradište, Knežci, Vidovci), Virovitica-Podravina county (Mikleuš, Slatina, Virovitica, Voćin), Bjelovar-Bilogora county (Sirač, Kreštelovac), Sisak-Moslavina county (Kraljeva Velika, Lipovljani), City of Zagreb (Brezovica), Lika-Senj county (Udbina, Bilaj and Perušić), Zadar county (Ostrovica, Vrana, Nadin, Islam, Obrovac, Karin, Gračac, Novi), Šibenik-Knin county (Skradin), Split-Dalmatia county (Klis, Sinj, Vrlika, Drniš, Granica/Gradac).

Some towns and villages had several mosques and *mescids* – according to the 1574 census, there were four mosques in Ilok ("including a *mahalla mescids*") (see **Figure 2**), two in Vukovar, and three *mahalla mescids* in Nijemci. Reportedly, Požega had the mosques of Sultan Suleiman I the Lawgiver/Magnificent and Yahya Bey as well as six *mahalla mosques*: the Haji Xhafer's Mescid, Katib (Scribe) Muslihuddin, Haji Ali, *vojvoda*, Bali Agha and Haji Agha Mescid, and a *dervish* monastery (*derviş* convent). According to sources, Osijek had a Sultan Suleiman I Mosque, Kasım Pasha Mosque, Kapudan Bey Mosque, and Mustafa Pasha Mosque, as well as another mosque in the Muslim *mahalla* (see **Figure 2**). Đakovo had five mosques: the Benglu Agha Mescid, Muslihuddin Khawaja, Dervish Agha, Sari (Yellow) Agha, and a *bazar mescid* (see **Figure 2**). Valpovo boasted a Sultan Suleiman I Mosque (converted from the "fortress Church of St. Ladislaus and the tombs of the medieval aristocratic family Morović") as well as a *mahalla mescid* erected by Mustafa

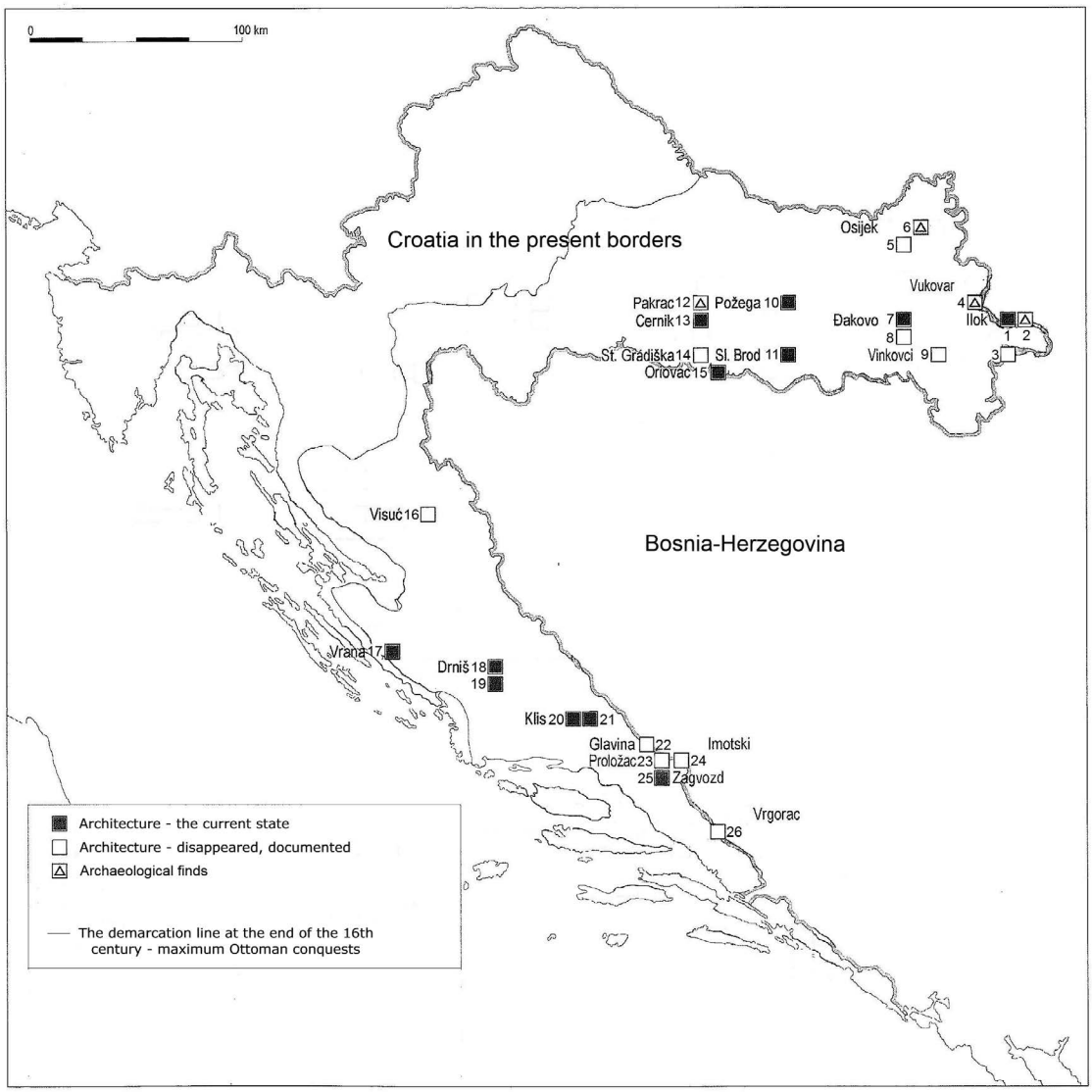

Figure 2. Ottoman religious cultural heritage in Croatia (selected sites): 1 – *türbe* (Ilok); 2 – former Turkish well (Ilok); 3 – finds of a Turkish aqueduct and the foundations of a mosque (Ilok); 4 – finds of a Turkish aqueduct and graves (Vukovar); 5 – former fountain along the Baranja road (Osijek); 6 – foundations of Kasim Pasha's Mosque and *türbe* (Osijek); 7 – Ibrahim Pasha Mosque (Đakovo); 8 – former minaret in the Bishop's Park (Đakovo); 9 – remains of a mosque near Bosut (Vinkovci); 10 – Turkish fountain "Tekke" (Požega); 11 – Turkish fountain "Rozinka" (Slavonski Brod); 12 – remains of a mosque in Pakrac; 13 – Turkish fountain in front of the castle (Cernik); 14 – former Gaibija *türbe* (Stara Gradiška); 15 – Turkish fountain in a park (Oriovac); 16 – former *türbe* of Halil Bey Memibegović (Visuć); 17 – Mašković Han (Vrana); 18 – Halil Hodja Mosque (Drniš); 19 – minaret (Drniš); 20 – Murad Bey Tardić Mosque (Klis); 21 – Turkish fountain of Three Kings (Klis); 22 – former mosque (Glavina); 23 – former mosque (Proložac); 24 – former mosque (Imotski); 25 – Turkish well (Zagvozd); 26 – former mosque (Vrgorac) (Modified from Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 110).

Kethüda and Suleiman Agha. Brod has three such Muslim religious buildings: a Sultan Suleiman I Mosque and *mescid* of Tuzju Bali and Mehmed I. Orahovica also had a "sultanic mosque" and a *mescid* in Hurrem Pasha's Mahalla; there was a Bali Agha Mescid in Miklueš (Mažuran, 1998, pp. 218–219).

According to *defters* and Venetian drawings and maps, "in its developed stage, a medium-sized *kasaba* such as Vukovar, Valpovo, Đakovo, or Drniš had five mosques (or *mahalla mescid*), while a *şehir* had even more: Osijek had eight (in Çelebi's time, there were apparently 12), Požega had nine places of worship": three mosques (established by Sultan Suleiman, Sultan Selim II and Sultan Murad III, 16th century) (Moačanin, 1999, p. 147) and six *mescid* – "in the 17th century, there were as many as fourteen etc." (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 47). After the liberation from Ottoman rule, some mosques were converted into

Catholic churches, including: the Knin mosque of Mustafa Emin, which was converted into St. Jerome's Church in 1688 (now demolished); the Šahin Agha Terzibalić Mosque in Drniš was converted to St. Barbara's Church (now demolished); in Lika, the Perušić, Budak, Bilaj, and Ribnik mosques were all adapted into churches in 1689. Notable examples of the incorporation of a mosque into the architecture of an existing church and subsequent reconversion of its appearance and function are: the medieval Đakovo cathedral, the Gothic St. Lawrence's Church and the Franciscan St. Demetrius' Church in Požega, and the Romanesque church in Koprivna. The medieval church within the Kaptol castle near Požega, the Gothic chapel in the Valpovo court complex, probably the old Chapel of St. Mark in the fortress in Slavonski Brod, the Franciscan church in Osijek, the Church of All Saints in Požeške Sesvete, the Church of St. Cross in Perušić. Presumably, there was one such church in Vukovar as well. As examples of churches that were converted into mosques, a source (Mažuran, 1998) cites: the Franciscan church of St. Trinity in Ilok and the Parish Church of St. Trinity and family tomb of Baron Korog near Osijek. The medieval Parish Church of St. George might have been turned into an Islamic religious object as well. There were other religious objects converted to churches. These were: the mosque in Vrgorac (adapted into the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary) (see **Figure 2**), the mosque in Prološac near Imotski (see **Figure 2**), the mosque in Pakrac (see **Figure 2**) and Orahovica, the mosque on the Bosut near Vinkovci (see **Figure 2**), and the Kasim Pasha Mosque in Osijek. There were mosques in Sinj, Vrlika, Knin, Jasenovac, Dubica, Moslavina on the Drava, Voćin, as well as smaller mosques within fortresses (for military personnel) in Udbina, Bijela Stijena, Velika, Sirač, Stupčanica, Virovitica, etc. (Karač & Žunić, 2018).

Within Klis Sancak, there are reports of a mosque in Hrvace, a "sultanic mosque" in Sinj (*hassa-mosque*), Vrlika, the Emin Mustafa Mosque in Knin, while Skradin probably had a *mescid* due to its military role and "sense of potential insecurity" (Hafizović, 2016a, pp. 54–259). According to Coronelli's design, Skradin is thought to have had three mosques, one of which was a repurposed *mescid* (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 131). There are records of a "sultanic mosque" in the Drniš Kasaba, in the area that was part of Klis Sancak in what is today Croatia (Sultan Suleiman's Mosque) (see **Figure 2**) as well as the Hrvace mosque founded by a provincial governor, one Ferhad Pasha Sokolović, by order of the sultan. It is well known that Sinj had the Haji Hamza Mescid, Klis boasted the Murad Bey Mosque (see **Figure 2**), Vrlika (*Vrhrika*) had the Iskender Agha Mosque; there was a *mescid* of unknown name in Skradin and the Emin Mustafa Agha Mosque in Knin (Spaho, 1978, pp. 218–227). The first mosque in Sinj fortress was presumedly the repurposed former Church of St. Michael (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 123).

Ilok mosques

Mosques in Ilok were built from 1540 to 1650. According to the sources analyzed by A. Rimpf and D. Arbutina (Rimpf & Arbutina, 2018), the town had the following mosques: the first mosque (often called Emperor's Mosque, formerly county church of the Apostles Saint Peter and Paul), second – Gazi Mehmed Bey Yahyapaşa-oğlu's (known as Bazar Mosque, in architectural style similar to Kasim-Pasha's mosque in Pečuh and Osijek and Ibrahim-Pasha's mosque in Đakovo), third – Arslan Bey Yahyapaşa-oğlu's, fourth – Sakkabaş Mehmed-aga's (the only one whose location is known – in the vicinity of Odescalchi Castle

where the graveyard's mausoleum was found), fifth – Gazi Turali Bey's (one of the conquerors of Ilok), sixth – Küçük Mehmed Bey's, seventh – Çavuş Mustafa's mosque.

Požega mosques

The Požega Kasaba records for 1565 cite two mosques growing to three "mosques that celebrated *Juma*" in 1579 (Hafizović, 2016b, p. 106). The "sultanic mosques" were the First Sultanic Mosque (Sultan Suleiman I); the Second Sultanic Mosque (Sultan Selim II), also known as "Kloster Mosque" or "the Great Mosque"; and the Third Sultanic Mosque (Sultan Murad III) (Uzelac, 1994, p. 53). *Mahallas* usually formed around characteristic Islamic buildings and were often named after them and the records from 1565 show the following: the Mahalla of the Mosque of the Exalted Lord; Mahalla of the Mosque of the Late Yahya Pasha; and five *mahallas* formed around *mescid*: the Mahalla of Tailor Hasan's Mescid; Mahalla of Scribe Muslihuddin's Mescid; Mahalla of Bali Agha's Mescid; Mahalla of *vojvoda* Kejvan's Mescid; Mahalla of Alia, son of Bali Mescid. In 1579, the number of *mahallas* increased, so four new *mahallas* can be found in place of the old Hasan in place of the old Hasan Terzia and Azap Mahallas: the Mahalla of the Second Sultanic Mosque, Mahalla of the Hajji Xhafer Mescid, Orljava Mahalla, and Mahalla of the Hajji Agha Mescid. The Mahalla of the Mosque of the Exalted Lord rose next to the sultanic Sultan Suleiman Mosque (Hafizović, 2016b, pp. 17–115) which emerged from an existing sacral building; today, St. Lawrence's Church (Uzelac, 1994, p. 53). The Mahalla of the Second Sultanic Mosque, formed by merging several surrounding *mahallas*, had the Selimiye Mosque, or the second "sultanic mosque". Since there are no records of its construction, it was possibly also an adaptation of an existing building (Hafizović, 2016b, pp. 114–115); more precisely (Uzelac, 1994, p. 53). Evliya Çelebi wrote: "it used to be a large monastery, and after the conquest, it became a beautiful mosque that is renowned across this region" (Çelebi, 1996, p. 239). The first "sultanic mosque" was probably built by the Jahjapašić clan and the second by one of the *sancak beys*, a contemporary of sultan Selim II. The third "sultanic mosque" was also built by a *sancak bey* and it certainly belonged to a *mahalla*, although none of them bore its name (Moačanin, 2001, p. 87). Another notable example in the Požega Sancak was the Kaptol Kasaba, which unquestionably had two mosques (a fortress and *kasaba mosque*) – one, built between 1566 to 1574, was dedicated to Sultan Selim, although Kaptol had not received the *kasaba* status as late as 1579 (Moačanin, 2003, p. 88).

Very close to the city of Požega, in the village of Vidovci there was a *mescid* built by a certain Hüseyn-dede who lived there, probably one of many *dervishes* who settled in the Ottoman frontier in Europe (Zahirović, 2012).

Osijek mosques

According to Hafizović, Osijek had six Muslim *mahallas*: Mahalla of the Honorable Sultanic Mosque, Mahalla of the Captain Bey's Mosque, Mahalla of the Sarač Agha Mescid, Mahalla of the Honorable Mosque of the Late Kasim Pasha, Mahalla of the Honorable Mosque of Mustafa Pasha, and a Muslim mahalla in the Osijek fortress suburbs (Hafizović, 2016b, p. 28). All above *mahallas* centered around mosques or *mescid*, except for the last, for which records mention the work of religious figures, but no religious buildings. The mosque

in the Mahalla of the Honorable Sultanic Mosque was apparently large and, as the first mosque, sat inside the fortress (Hafizović, 2016b, pp. 28–170). It was originally a church (Çelebi, 1996, p. 367) or maybe a tomb of the Korog family converted into a Sultan Sulejman I Mosque (Vujić, 2010, p. 18). Mažuran concludes that the Parish Church of St. Trinity, being situated in front of the castle entrance, became the Sultan Suleiman I Mosque (Mažuran, 1994, p. 110). The mosque in the Mahalla of the Honorable Mosque of the Late Kasim Pasha was built in 1558/1559 by Kasim Pasha of Pecs, the first Osijek Sancak Bey (Hafizović, 2016b, p. 171), who led the restoration of Osijek in 1526 (Mažuran, 1994, p. 108). Evliya Çelebi described it as "a very nice building in the artistic sense, with a stately minaret and a dome covered with pure blue lead" (Çelebi, 1996, p. 368). It might have been erected atop an old parish church. The mausoleum-like tomb of Kasim Pasha was built next to the mosque and its minaret was raised atop the site of the latter monument to St. John of Nepomuk. Upon the arrival of the Jesuits in 1687, it was turned into a church (Mažuran, 1994, pp. 110–217). After it was torn down, "its south-western nave and a large part of the central area were covered into the new Parish Church of St. Michael" (Mažuran, 1994, p. 219). The mosque in the Mahalla of the Honorable Mosque of Mustafa Pasha was built in 1563 by Filibeli Mustafa Pasha, the then Sancak Bey of Požega (Hafizović, 2016b, p. 171). According to Evliya Çelebi, it was "covered with clay tiles (ridge tile), as it stood in the *bazar*, in a very busy place..." (Çelebi, 1996, p. 368). The tomb of Mustafa Pasha stood nearby (Mažuran, 1994, p. 120). In addition to the mosques, Osijek reportedly also had forty *mahalla* mescid (Çelebi, 1996, p. 368). The abundance of Muslim places of worship transformed Osijek into "a Muslim religious center of its broader milieu" (Mažuran, 1994, p. 137).

The Cernik Kasaba was said to house the Mosque of Hadhrat Padishah, the Lord of the World (Hafizović, 2016b, p. 177). Evliya Çelebi mentions Sultan Suleiman's Mosque in the fortress as well as, exaggerating, 21 other mosques in town, three of which served *Juma* prayers. "These mosques are not covered with lead, which probably means that they are smaller, *mahalla* buildings; the *bazar* mosque stands out with its beauty" (Çelebi, 1996, pp. 177–232).

Knin mosques

The 17th-century Knin fortress is on record as having had two mosques, "with a rectangular ground plan and a tented roof"; these presumably also had minarets to the west, which show in drawings as "bell towers with four-sided pointed ends". The main mosque was next to the "Skradin Gate", above the road leading to the fortress (Bezić, 1980, p. 143) (some maintain that it was closer to the fortress), and was later converted into the St. Jerome and Clara Church. The second mosque must have been "somewhere in the middle between the main mosque and the foot of the Spas Hill" (Bezić, 1980, pp. 143–144), close to today's Loredan's gates. According to the apostolic visitations made by the bishops of Šibenik during the 18th century the new church of St. Jerome i.e. ex mosque was in function until the second half of the 18th century. In 1783 it was already abandoned due to its dilapidaed condition and today there are no visible remains of the object (Soldo, 1993, pp. 158–163). Although the object and its origin and location are still a matter of debate, it is generally considered that it was a reutilized or adapted pre-Ottoman church. The object was described as the "Duomo di St. Girolamo" by the Venetian cartographers but after

thorough analysis it was established that the medieval cathedral was in a different location in the suburb (Živković, 1993, pp. 102–104; Jakšić, 2000, pp. 20–40). The Ottoman urban settlement of Knin was focused around one main street (contemporary street of king Petar Svačić) leading from the bridge across the river Krka uphill towards the entrance to the fortress that stood above the town. At the top of that street, that obviously had the role of a market street, was the location of this forgotten religious object.

The Vrgorac mosque

There are testimonies of a mosque in Vrgorac, at the foot of Mount Matokit, where a Catholic church is located today; but there are no data on it. Based on drawings of the Vrgorac fort from 1708 and 1775 reports, we know that an octagonal minaret with a *şerefe* and an alem, decorated with a crescent and star atop the minaret, stood at the foot of the hill, to the southeast of the fort. Hasandedić points out that the minaret was demolished in 1861 due to religious intolerance caused by the persecution of Christians in the near by Ottoman Herzegovina; a bell tower was erected in its place. A mosque, which was next to the minaret, was transferred to the Franciscans in 1694, after the capture of Vrgorac by the Venetians. They converted the mosque into a church which was then torn down in 1913, to build a new Catholic church in its place. This mosque as far as is known, was the only Muslim place of worship in the Vrgorac region, and also had its own cemetery with grave markers (*nishan*) (Hasandedić, 1999, p. 41).

Mosques of the Imotski region and Makarska Littoral

The location of the Imotski mosque is unknown; possible sites include Topana and Bazana. One drawing from the Zadar archives places the mosque in Bazana, below the Topana fortress; there was supposedly an octagonal minaret with a *şerefe* next to the mosque and a cemetery with *nishan* grave markers adjacent to it. As its *waqf* name has not been preserved, the founder remains unknown. The presumable mosque in Donja Glavina (see **Figure 2**) sat on the site of what is now an Orthodox church According to Hasandedić it was built "in the first years of Turkish rule, but no later than the middle of the 16th century" (Hasandedić, 1999, p. 68) and then demolished around 1755, after it has been repurposed into a church. Proložac also had a mosque, but its site is unknown, as are any basic data about its construction (see **Figure 2**). There are no data or traces for the Zadvarje mosque either, except the fact that it existed and had an adjoining cemetery with grave marks. Although there were several mosques in the Zabiokovlje and Primorje Regions, at least according to Karlo Jurišić, Makarska did not have a mosque (Hasandedić, 1999, pp. 41–89). A 1629 document makes mention of a *hodja* there (a Muslim religious official); however, Islamic rites could have been performed in a church, as the Makarska monastery was probably abandoned at the time (Jović, 2016, pp. 111–112). Although a Muslim population in Makarska is archeologically confirmed by finds of burials positively attributed to that religious group the location or the very existence of their religious object is still unconfirmed (Tomasović, 2012, pp. 74–83).

Existing remains of Ottoman mosques in Croatia

The only Ottoman mosques still standing in the Republic of Croatia today are three 16th-century buildings of the "domed type, with a rectangular prayer space, an octagonal tholobate, and squinches" (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 51). All remaining buildings that were mosques in Ottoman period have been converted into Catholic churches. These are the 1565 Ibrahim Pasha Mosque in Đakovo (today, the Catholic Church of All Saints), the Halil Hodja Mosque in Drniš (today, the Franciscan Church of St. Anthony), and the Murad Bey Tardić Mosque (now the Catholic Church of St. Vitus in the fortress) in Klis. Beyond these buildings, there are some indications that the Church of Our Lady of the Angels in the Imotski fortress as well as the Glavina church could have been repurposed former Ottoman mosques (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 51).

The Drniš mosque

Contrary to the staunch opinion that Drniš was founded by the Ottomans as well as attempts to etymologically link its name with Turkish, an archival document (a purchase and sale contract) from the end of the 15th century clearly testifies of the existence of this town even before the arrival of the Ottomans. The document, written at the onset of the Turkish invasions in Dalmatia, makes the first mention of Drniš, a medieval town comprised of a castle with its own suburban *varoş* ("Sub Darnis") (Traljić, 1972, pp. 393–394). Ottoman records make the first mention of it in the defter TD 157 from 1528/1530 as a *varoş* comprised of a Muslim and Christian population, together with the mention of fort officials such as *dizdar*, *kethüda* and *imam* (Jakovljević & Isailović, 2019, pp. 324–453). Additionally, an unknown author recorded that in 1522, "the Ottomans conquered and began to expand the city" (Traljić, 1972, p. 394). Taking into account that the Ottomans captured Knin and Skradin in the same year, there is a high probability that these records are correct and Drniš was taken in the same year, although an earlier date cannot be completely ruled out (Traljić, 1972, p. 394). Considering that we must say that Evliya Çelebi records erroneously about Drniš being conquered in 1537/1538, "Gazi Husrev Bey conquered the surroundings of this *şehir* and bewildered its people by besieging the city, plunging its residents into famine and poverty" (Çelebi, 1996, p. 190). With the Ottoman conquest, Drniš became the center of the Petrovo Polje Nahiyah, the seat of the *naib*, or deputy *kadi*. In 1585, it gained *kasaba* status (Hafizović, 2016a, p. 35). Based on Evliya Çelebi's claim that "every year, one hundred to one hundred and fifty people came to the *hajj*" (Çelebi, 1996, p. 191), the town might have developed more as a "religious pilgrimage" site than owning to any "defensive, military" role (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 127). As Drniš evolved into a *kasaba* in the 17th century due to the developed trade with Dalmatia (similar to Livno), the Petrovo Polje Nahiyah was often called after its seat. During the whole Ottoman period the *nahiyah* was a part of the judicial unit of Skradin Kadiluk and part of military and administrative unit of Klis Sancak (Šabanović, 1959, p. 207; Jakovljević & Isailović, 2019, pp. 323–343).

A 1532 record of construction efforts by *vojvoda* Murad states that "the city was inhabited and had its own military crew" (Traljić, 1972, p. 393). In the 16th and 17th centuries, it was a "fortified town with a suburb" (Traljić, 1972, p. 394), inhabited by military personnel and its commander (*dizdar*). As a significant and strategic Ottoman stronghold during the

Ottoman-Venetian wars (Traljić, 1972, pp. 394–396) and an important trade center, the city underwent a series of developments, although its original urban network was kept intact (Tomić, 2016, p. 107). According to a description of a 17th-century painting of Drniš, the city had five mosques with domed minarets; Coronelli's design (**Figure 3**) shows four mosques with minarets in the *varoş* and one without a minaret, in the fortress. In the 17th century, the *kasaba* population was registered under the Mahalla of the Hounourable Mosque of the Late Sultan Suleiman. By the decision of Sultan Suleiman, the main "sultanic mosque" was built in the suburbs. Since it was a state mosque, there was no *waqf* – the cost had to be covered by the granting of *timar* and *filuri tax* revenues collected in the Krka Sancak (Hafizović, 2016a, pp. 62–257). A smaller mosque built by Šahin Agha Terzibalić (Tomić, 2016, p. 107), a member of a prominent local family, was converted into St. Barbara's Church after the Venetian conquest in 1692; it was named "after the patron saint of the fraternity of gunners in the fort of Drniš" (Traljić, 1972, pp. 398–399).

The mosque built by *serasker* Halil Hodja was converted into the church of St. Anthony of Padua (Tomić, 2016, p. 108); however, "there is an unfounded assumption that the lower part of the bell tower of the Church of St. Anthony was a substructure of a minaret, despite it being separate from the building itself " (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 55). It is one of the medium-to-small mosques in our area and had "squinches under the dome and richly decorated oriental-style stalactites (piers) in all four corners" (Traljić, 1972, p. 396). Over the square room, it had a "dome on squinches, inscribed in an octagonal tholobate" (**Figure 4**) (Tomić, 2016, p. 110). During the adaptation, the mosque was extended in the front and

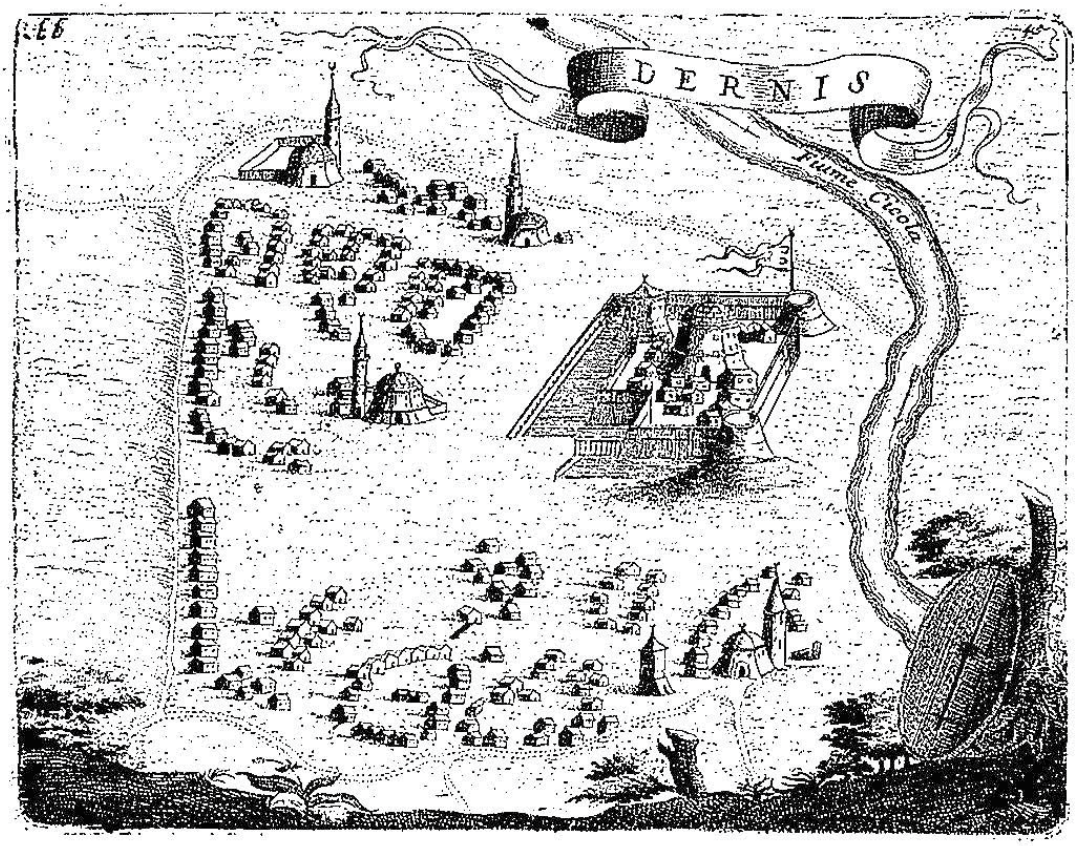

Figure 3. Drniš, 1688, V. M. Coronelli. An illustration of mosque sites in Drniš during the Ottoman rule (Reproduced with permission from Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 33).

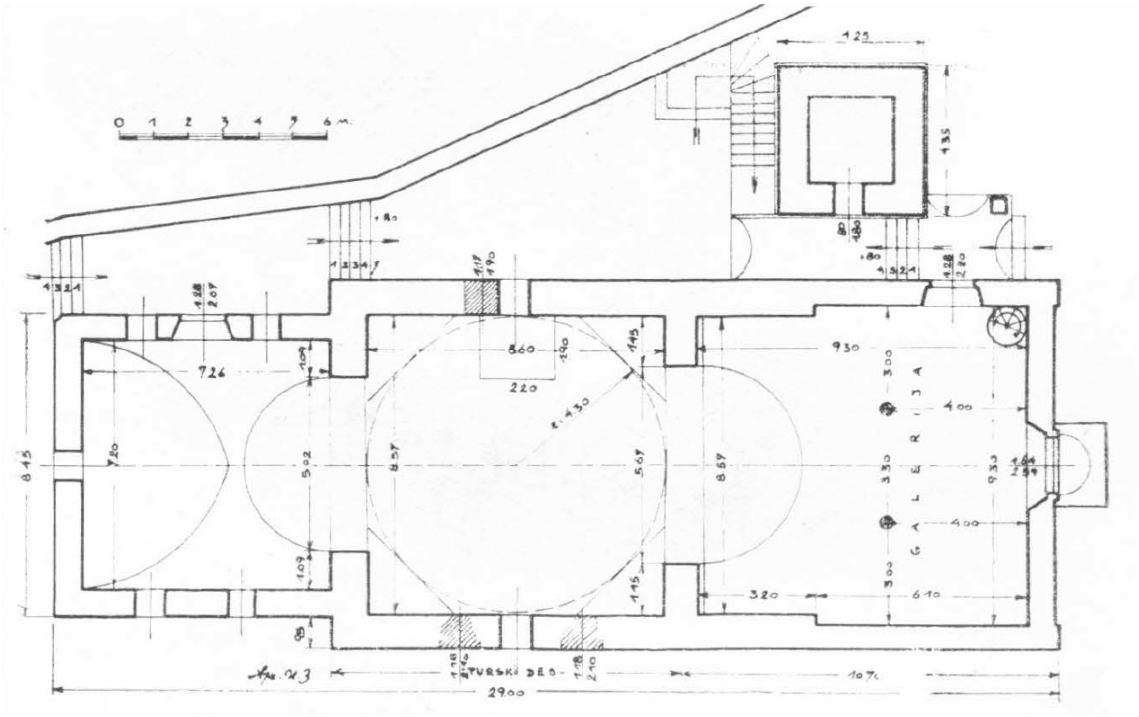

Figure 4. The ground plan of the church of S. Anthony in Drniš (a former mosque). A domed mosque on an octagonal tholobate (circular inner shape) and squinches over the central square prayer space inscribed into the longitudinal floor plan of the church. South of the church is a bell tower with a rectangular floor plan (Reproduced with permission from Zdravković, 1956, p. 193).

back (Traljić, 1972, p. 396), with the addition of windows with Ottoman pointed arches. A square bell tower was added to the south-west wall (Zdravković, 1956, p. 196); however, the dome collapsed in the middle of the 20th century, wiping out its original shape (Traljić, 1972, p. 396). All that was left was "the middle part with squinches, without the dome" (Zdravković, 1956, p. 191), which was replaced by a gabled tile roof and stalactites in the corners. Traces of a *mihrab* are visible on its southern side, but there are no traces of a minaret (Zdravković, 1956, pp. 191–196). According to Venetian sources, there were three mosques in Drniš (the Terzibalić mosque, the Hadži Halil mosque and the "sultanic mosque").

The remains of Halil Hodja mosque in Drniš

In 2016 Tomić stated that: "Today, the church of St. Anthony is a single-nave longitudinal building with a four-sided apse created by expanding the central building, a former mosque" (Tomić, 2016, p. 110). The apse, built over the *mihrab*, is narrower and lower than the central space and is connected to the mosque by an arched opening. The rear wall of the apse has one pointed window and there are additional two windows on each side wall. It is covered with a gabled roof and its flat-ceiling interior features an altar dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua (**Figure 5**). The simple façade is adorned with a rectangular portal, raised by two low steps and framed by "slightly protruding door jambs extended at the foot and covered by a flat, protruding cornice" (Tomić, 2016, p. 111). There is a rosette and a small window in the gable in the same axis as the door. A bell tower to the south of the church, built over the minaret base, has a rectangular ground plan with three stories separated by cornices and ends in a four-sided cap (**Figure 6**). The first floor is opened by

a small circular opening, the second by a semicircular window, and the third by a bifora. The contemporary Church of St. Anthony of Padua in Drniš is a valuable marker of stylistic stratification. The longitudinal church was fused with the remains of a central-plan Ottoman mosque and retained certain Ottoman elements, mixing "a stylistically modest Baroque bell tower, a classicist façade, and neo-style altars" (Tomić, 2016, pp. 111–112).

Based on previous findings, there was no church on the site before the Turkish conquest. Mass was served in a chapel by the Visovac Franciscans (Traljić, 1972, p. 397). The Church of St. John the Baptist in Badanj had the role of the parish church until the conversion of the Halil Hodja Mosque into the church of St. Anthony of Padua (Tomić, 2016, p. 108).

Figure 5. The interior of the former Ottoman mosque, today the church of St. Anthony of Padua in Drniš. An illustration of a stone squinch framed by pointed arches (Reproduced with permission from Karač, 2015).

The Drniš minaret

The Drniš minaret, restored in 1968, is the only existing 16th-century mosque minaret in Croatia (**Figure 7**) (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 55). The minaret, still standing in the Gradina area (see **Figure 2**), has its bottom part up the *şerefe* and a smaller portion of the staircase. The pulpit is square and the transition segment into the dodecagonal cylindrical body is an octagonal polygon. The mosque next to which it once stood is visible in traces (Zdravković, 1956, pp. 196–198).

Other types of Ottoman religious and other accompanying architecture in Drniš

Drniš presumably had a *han* or *caravanserai* and a public fountain, or *sebil* (Traljić, 1972, p. 397). In Dalmatia, Drniš and Hrvace were the only towns where "the labor of transcrip-

Figure 6. A former Ottoman mosque, today the Franciscan Church of St. Anthony of Padua in Drniš. The square area of the domed mosque with a tholobate and an added apse and bell tower, built over the base of a former minaret (Reproduced with permission from Karač, 2015).

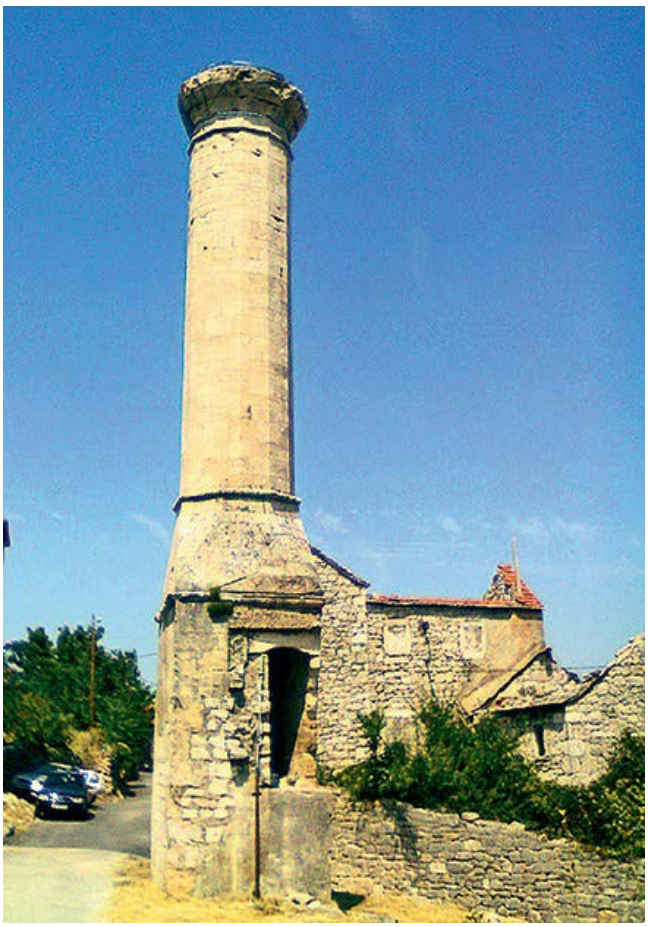

Figure 7. The Drniš minaret. The last existing 16th-century mosque minaret in Croatia, with part of the staircase leading to the balcony where the muezzin called for prayer, which was held in the now missing mosque. It was renovated in the second half of the 20th century (Reproduced with permission from Karač, 2015).

tion of Islamic literature" flourished (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 119). Based on the transcription works, Drniš has very likely had at least one *mekteb* (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 145; Mažuran, 1998, p. 219). Of other buildings of Islamic significance, Drniš preserves a tower in the remains of its fortress, a fountain in front of the main church altar, and the clock from the Drniš clock tower (*sahat kula*), now incorporated into the bell tower of St. John's in Šibenik (Tomić, 2014, p. 108).

The Klis mosque

Klis, the nominal seat of the Klis Sancak, had the status of *kasaba*. It evolved from an existing settlement and was conquered for strategic and political reasons (Hafizović, 2016a, p. 33); nevertheless, Ottoman sources refer to it as a *varoş* (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 121). It was the seat of the Klis Nahiyah, first mentioned in 1550, although it was founded after the fall of Klis. It was part of the Skradin Kadiluk until the founding of the Zagorje/Klis Kadiluk (**Figure 1**). As a "trade emporium, it was located between the Venetian Split and the Ottoman interior" (Šabanović, 1959, p. 126), which raised its strategic importance (Šabanović, 1959, p. 210). It was under Ottoman governance from 1537 to 1648 when it was taken over by the Venetians, with a temporary interruption in 1596 (Tanner, 2019). Until the establishment of the Klis/Zagorje Kadiluk in 1580, it was part of the Skradin Kadiluk (Hafizović, 2016a, p. 57). In the 17th century, it lost its *kasaba* status – sources refer to it as a fortress *varoş* (Hafizović, 2016a, p. 253).

Honorable Mosque of Murad Bey

Muslim inhabitants of the *kasaba* were registered as "the Congregation (*cemaat*) of the Honorable Mosque of Murad Bey" (Hafizović, 2016a, p. 58). It was named after its founder, Murad Bey Tardić, the first Klis Sancak Bey and Gazi Husrev Bey's *kethüda*, who took part in the conquest of Klis (Spaho, 1978, p. 225). It was built sometime between the fall of Klis under the Ottoman rule in 1537 and the Bey's death in 1545 (Hafizović, 2016a, p. 58). It was located in the fortress and was used by the army. It was said to be "a kind of small chapel for the Turkish military crew who were not allowed to leave the fortress even for the purpose of common prayer" (Zdravković, 1957, p. 294) (**Figure 8**). Due to its function, its architecture was simpler than what was seen typically in *varoş* mosques, such as the one in Drniš. Its octagonal tholobate sat on a square base, followed by a round tholobate of the dome with an octagonal roof. The dome had a hemispherical vault. Due to the tholobate, which did not allow for windows, light came through two northern and two southern windows. The interior design featured a transition between a square and a dome, with squinches and a honeycomb console supported by eight arches (**Figure 9**). The mosque could have had a minaret in the north although not necessarily because of its limited purpose. With the arrival of the Venetians, the mosque lost its function; in 1648, after liberation, it was turned into the Christian Church of St. Vitus. A new sacristy with a semicircular vault was connected to the former mosque by a door in the east (Zdravković, 1957, p. 295). Of this event, Evliya Çelebi wrote: "Its mosques were turned into churches (*deyir*). This regrettable event happened during the time of Sultan Ibrahim" (Çelebi, 1996, p. 153).

The central-plan church "raised over its square ground plan with an inscribed dome, resting on squinches" (Bužančić, 2011, p. 30) (**Figure 10**). The minaret in the northwest was

Figure 8. Klis, 1571, G. F. Camocio: An illustration of the mosque site in the Klis fortress (Reproduced with permission from Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 22).

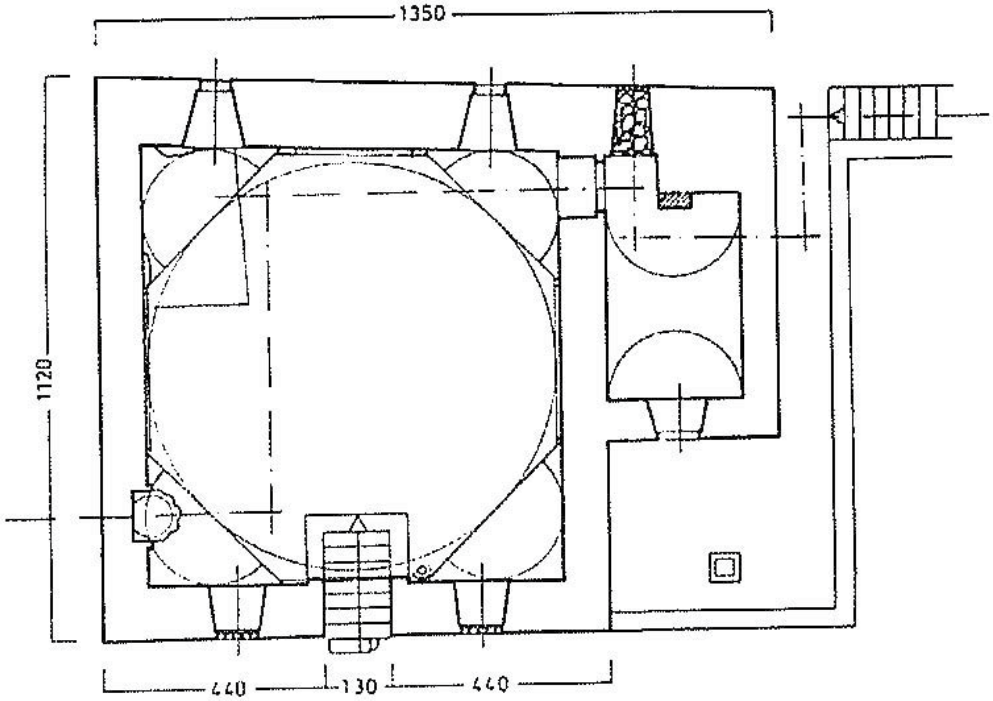

Figure 9. The ground plan of the Klis mosque. The mosque has a dome over an octagonal (circular inside) tholobate and squinches over the central cuboid prayer hall (Reproduced with permission from Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 52).

Figure 10. The former 16th-century Ottoman mosque, today the Catholic Church of St. Vitus in Klis. The square space of the mosque with a dome and squinches was incorporated into the church, with an added tholobate. The mosque had an entrance in the west; the church, in the south (Photo: Monika Gusić).

Figure 11. The interior of the former 16th-century Ottoman mosque, today the Catholic Church of St. Vitus in Klis. An illustration of semicircular squinches with a tholobate and a dome (Photo: Monika Gusić).

wrecked in the bombing by the Venetian army under Commander Leonardo Foscolo and then replaced by a bell-gable, now lost. Most of the decorative stone sculptures were the 17th-century Baroque (**Figure 11**) (Bužančić, 2011, pp. 30–31). The semicircular gate in the south was most likely a Venetian intervention, as mosques generally had their entrance in the west. The year 1619 is inscribed on the pillar of holy water font near the gate and the stone slab above the inner doorway reads: "MDCCXLIII QVOD INSTAVRAVIT PIETAS PIETAS TVEATUR" (Zdravković, 1957, p. 296), meaning "1743: That which is built in piety is preserved in piety" (Zdravković, 1957, p. 296), marking the year of the restoration of the church. A rectangular plateau, found on the left side in the church interior, is thought to have been part of the altar (Zdravković, 1957, pp. 294–297).

Klis also had a school, which probably operated inside the mosque. The suburban area of the fortress held a Muslim cemetery and a large *han* with a fountain in the front, the remains of which are still visible (Hafizović, 2016a, p. 58).

Preexisting church building on the site of the mosque in Klis fortress

To the east of the church, there is a barrel-vaulted room with a water cistern in the south. The stone door frame leading from the church to a vaulted room, belonging to a late-Gothic portal with a twisted braid, hints at the existence of an older building. An analysis of the interior revealed that only half of today's church belonged to the older building; namely, its southern part. During the construction of the mosque, the top of the gorge next to what was then a church was leveled to build the new mosque. Research has not revealed the location of the sanctuary and altar as they were, presumably, outside the mosque, on the site of the cistern. The remnants of architecture found in the west, outside the mosque, may match the west lobby of the medieval Church of St. Vitus. In addition to the remains, a two-story building to the west also appears in Venetian illustrations as well as the 1668 floor plan by Giuseppe Santini. It was a single-nave building with two entrances (west and south) overlooking a gorge; it was certainly two-storied, based on the remains of a staircase, and used as lodging by Venetian soldiers in the 17th century. Presumably, a cistern was built over the sanctuary of the old Croatian church. "The uncovered remains of an early medieval building to the west of the church" (Bužančić, 2011, p. 33) may have been a vestibule comparable to the 9th-century westwerk ("Predromanika", 2021), which was detached from the church and turned into barracks. The existence of the older church is corroborated by "the marble fragments of sacral sculptures from the 9th to 12th centuries" (Bužančić, 2011, p. 33) (pilasters, plutei, trabeation of the altar partition) built into the walls of the mosque. The fragments of a post-and-lintel septum bear inscriptions of 9th-century royalty. The fragments of the altar rail bear the possible first mention of a queen's name after Queen Jelena's sarcophagus. "The unearthed sections of the 9th-century altar rail with ornamental interlace belong to a pilaster with interlace and a pluteus with ornamental interlace and four fragments of the altar rail with fragments of the ruler's inscription" (Bužančić, 2011, p. 34). The fragments contain the following words: ORUM FILIU(S), MEA DOM(N)A S, LAVA I REGINA. Since, according to Bužančić's opinion the words were written in a single line, a possible interpretation includes adding a C between the S and LAVA, to read S(C)LAVA REGINA, denoting her title, or SLAVA REGINA, referring to her name or gens, "as a derivative from REGINA SCLAVORUM, the Slavic Queen or Queen of the

Slavs" (Bužančić, 2011, p. 37). A queen would have certainly had the title of *Regina*, which would make her husband, the *Rex*. She was also addressed as *Domina*, and her husband was therefore a *Dominus*. This fragment was part of the 9th-century church furnishing and represents "the oldest known artifact with a mention of a royal title" (Bužančić, 2011, p. 37). The inscription "may belong to a mid-9th-century ruler, likely Trpimir himself, the only contemporary ruler bearing a royal title, probably won by victory in the war with the Greeks..." (Bužančić, 2011, p. 38). Bužančić's interpretation of the inscription is questioned in some details by Budak (2011, pp. 318–320).

A tholobate wall had a relief of the *Majestas Domini*, depicting Christ in a mandorla, raising his right hand in blessing and holding the Gospel scroll in his left. Next to the head of Christ in the mandorla is the capital inscription "HIC", and an angel holding a mandorla is preserved to his right. Another angel with a continuation of the phrase, "XPC", must have been shown to the left. The relief might have originally stood in the lintel of the portal or been part of the church furnishing. The manner of its design harkens back to human sculptures from Split and Solin (Bužančić, 2011, pp. 31–42).

The Đakovo mosque

During the time of Ottoman rule, the Đakovo Nahiyah, conquered in 1536, originaly belonged to the Gorjan Kadiluk in Požega Sancak (Hafizović, 2016b, p. 26; Moačanin, 1999, p. 46). When Gorjan lost its strategic significance, Đakovo was made the *kadiluk* center and the *kadiluk* was named after it (Šabanović, 1959, p. 219). According to Evliya Çelebi, Đakovo was conquered by Arnaut Memi Pasha, a Krajina *ghazi* and Herzegovina Sancak bey, whose family received it as a "hereditary land holding" or *ocaklık* (Çelebi, 1996, p. 240).

Mescids

Ottoman Đakovo, which was conquered without a fight, retained the outlines of a medieval city. The building of mosques and other Islamic buildings and the addition of another suburb on the site of the contemporary Episcopal Park brought no major changes (Filipec, 2012b, pp. 21–22). According to the 1565 census, the *kasaba* had several religious buildings (Hafizović, 2016b, p. 167), listed with their *mahallas* and officials. The census also mentions the Mescids of Ceribasha Mehmed Bey and the Mescids of Benlu Agha. The 1579 census lists 5 *mahallas*: the Mahalla of the Benlu Agha Mescid, Mahalla of the Bazar Mescid, Mahalla of the Late Muslihuddin Hodja Mescid, Mahalla of the Dervish Agha Mescid, and Mahalla of the Sari Agha Mescid (Papić, 1990, pp. 7–41). Since the latter makes no mention of the Mescid of Ceribasha Mehmed Bey, it may have been one and the same with the *bazar mescid* (Hafizović, 2014, p. 42). A Muslim majority appears for the first time in the third, 1565 census (Filipec, 2012a, p. 44). In 1579, Đakovo had five Muslim *mahallas* centered around *mescids* and only one non-Muslim *mahalla* (Hafizović, 2014, p. 41).

Mosques

The Congregation (*cemaats*) of the Garrison of the Đakovo Fortress reportedly had an honorable fortress mosque, probably a "sultanic (state) mosque" "since its officials received

timars as compensation for their service" (Papić, 1990, p. 40). Its position in the fortress as well as the sheer number of its officials confirm that this was a decently-sized building, hinting at its creation by conversion of the medieval Đakovo cathedral.

Given its central position in the *kasaba* and resident religious officials (an *imam*, two *muezzins*, and a minister), the *mescid* in the trade district might well have been a mosque (Papić, 1990, p. 41). A Sijil (Ott. *sicil*) refers to the Benlu Agha Mescid as the Honorable Mosque, for which the Agha built a *hammam* whose revenues went toward the mosque's *waqf*. The Đakovo Kasaba also had a *caravanserai* which may have been built from Benlu Agha's *waqf* (Hafizović, 2014, p. 44). According to the 1698 census and a 1697 map of Đakovo by F. H. Sparr de Bensdorf it still had three mosques after its break with the Ottoman rule (**Figure 12**). The Hasan Pasha Mosque, which stood near the fortress, was converted into the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Ibrahim Pasha Mosque to the north of the fortress was converted into St. George's Church, also known as the Parish Church of All Saints; and there are also references to a Kaston Pasha Mosque to the south of the fortress (Papić, 1990, pp. 4–5). By all accounts, Đakovo had four mosques (the "sultanic mosque" and three known mosques based on Szadezki's census and Sparr's map), while the fifth "could have been a wooden *mescid* in one of the Turkish *mahallas* that perished in the liberation war or even earlier" (Papić, 1990, p. 43).

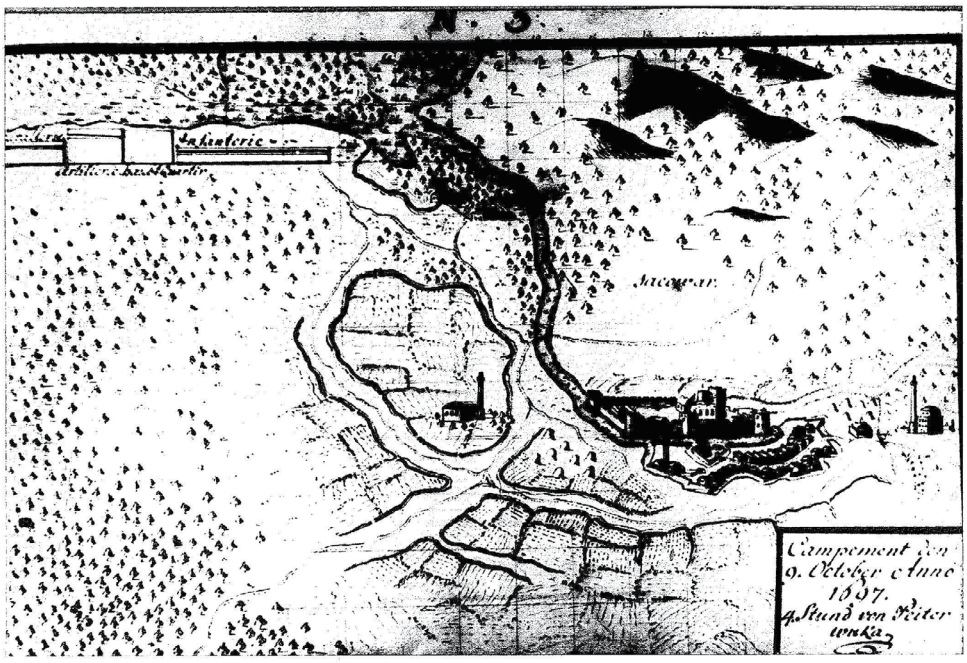

Figure 12. Đakovo, 1697, F. H. Sparr de Bensdorf. An illustration of the sites of three Ottoman mosques (in the fortified suburbs, south and north of the fortress) in Đakovo (Reproduced with permission from Papić, 1990, p. 6).

The remains of Ibrahim Pasha's mosque in Đakovo

The Đakovo Ibrahim Pasha Mosque is "the largest and most fully preserved mosque" in present day Croatia and also "the most important Ottoman monument" in Slavonia (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 83). Mehmet Bey Memibegović is cited as the mosque's *waqif*. The registers (*defters*) make a mention of his *mescid* in 1565 but the mosque was certainly built earlier. Turkish records from the 16th century make no mention of Ibrahim Pasha after

whom the Mosque was named after one of the last members of the aforementioned clan (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 83), or the religious building bearing his name. Since Evliya Çelebi makes no note of the Ibrahim Pasha Mosque while writing about its alleged titular, we may assume that it was not built by the ellusive Pasha but rather another Ibrahim Pasha, son of Arnaut Memi Bey, referred to as the Sancak Bey of Kyustendil under Buda in 1604 and Bosnian *beylerbey* in 1621. If this theory is correct, the mosque could be dated to the late 16th or early 17th century. If it was built in the second half of the 16th century, it would have been the work of Gazi Mehmed Bey Memibegović. Ceribasha Mehmed Bey might have been the son of Memi Bey, who would have inherited Đakovo from his father, making Ibrahim Pasha's Mosque his *mescid*. Accordingly, Ibrahim Pasha's Mosque might have been identical with Mehmed Bey's Mescid (built between 1545 and 1565), also known as the Bazar Mescid. Finally, the mosque was certainly the work of a Memibegović, very likely one of the two sons of Memi Bey mentioned above (Papić, 1990, pp. 41–44). Detailed data on the origin of the Memibegović family was published by Sudár (2009).

The Ibrahim Pasha Mosque is "a classical Ottoman domed mosque" (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 83) from the 16th century. Mosques of this type can be found in Siklós, Szigetvár, and Pécs in Hungary (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 83); however, this was also the standard type of mosque in Macedonia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the rest of Slavonia. It had three parts: the entrance porch, the central prayer hall, and the minaret. The porch and gate were in the northwest, with a *mihrab* on the southeast inner wall (Papić, 1990, pp. 45–48). An octagonal tholobate with a circular dome (**Figure 13**) rose over the square prayer space (internal dimensions: 9.75 x 9.75 m), on squinches with "honeycomb vaulting (*muqarnas*)" (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 83). The ground floor had eight windows, two on each peripheral wall: the same as the tholobate, with one on each side. The domed ceiling confirms that this was an Ottoman-type mosque. The building had a mosque porch (*suffa*) in the north and a minaret behind the west façade (discovered based on archaeological remains). The porch was divided into three bays with a central aisle and two side *suffas*. It was covered with three small domes on four pillars (Papić, 1990, pp. 17–45). The original portal, the *mihrab* niche, and the *minber* were removed during the conversion of the mosque into a Catholic church (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 83). This portal had been built using bricks and stone (crushed stone and roughly worked stone) and probably had a wooden floor (Papić, 1990, p. 45).

Archaeological excavations have revealed that the mosque was not built on the site of the medieval St. Lawrence Church (Filipec, 2012b, p. 28) but atop of an older medieval cemetery (Papić, 1990, p. 36), which was put out of use with the construction of the Ottoman mosque (Filipec, 2012a, p. 44). Archaeological and architectural research showed that the "oldest layer of the Đakovo parish church" was originally a mosque (Papić, 1990, p. 40). Although there is some opinion that St. Lawrence's Church, of which there is mention even after the Ottoman conquest of Đakovo, was converted into a mosque, no remains of an older sacral building have been found. Since the dead used to be buried inside and around the church, and the mosque was built over a cemetery, St. Lawrence's Church must have stood nearby.

The mosque has not survived intact; what remains is "the central prayer space, with wholly preserved walls and dome, as well as eight small windows on the ground floor and six

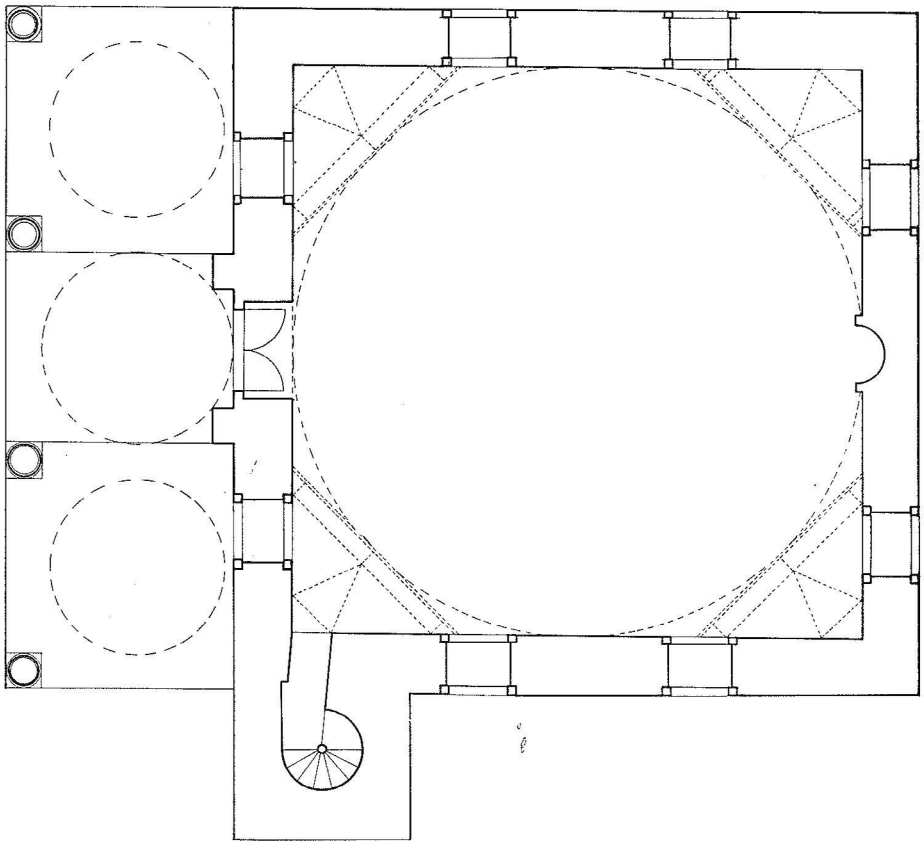

Figure 13. The ground floor plan of the original Ibrahim Pasha Mosque in Đakovo. The mosque had a dome over an octagonal tholobate (circular inside) and squinches over a square hall. The entrance porch in the northwest was divided into three bays (two side suffas and the central entrance) and covered with small domes. A minaret stood beyond the west façade (Reproduced with permission from Papić, 1990, p. 45).

in the tholobate. The mosque porch perished, but the north-west wall keeps recognizable traces of supporting transverse arches in the porch, which carried the load of the domes onto the mosque walls. Of the minaret, there remains today the base as well as the traces of the connection between the minaret wall and the mosque proper together with the gate, now walled up, which led from the mosque to the minaret. The floor level of the mosque and the site of the *mihrab* were also established" (Papić, 1990, p. 44). No traces of the following have survived: "the portal, *mihrab*, *minber*, and none of the plastic and painted decor" (Papić, 1990, p. 44).

In 1687, the Ottomans left Đakovo, burning it to the ground; the area was subsequently annexed to the Military Frontier's Osijek district. Bishop Đuro Patačić, the successor of Bishop Ogramić – who started the restoration of the Bosnian Diocese in Đakovo – converted the Ibrahim Pasha Mosque, with only minor interventions (most likely, the tearing down of the minaret), and put it to Christian use, dedicating the resulting church to St. George. After the conversion of Hasan Pasha's Mosque into the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the cathedral, St. George's was the third church in Đakovo. In the 1720s, Bishop Bakić continued the reconstruction works on the church of St. George (e.g., walling in of mosque windows in the tholobate and on the ground floor), including the addition of a bell tower and the reorientation of the entrance. The space under the central dome became a sanctuary and a new gate replaced the *mihrab*. The façade, built over the rear wall of the mosque, was decorated in the Baroque style and opened up with pilasters and decorated

with wreaths, paintings of the apostles St. Peter and Paul, and stucco reliefs. The Baroque transformation was the work of Bishop Bakić, who put it into operation around 1725. Later interventions wiped out the Baroque layer (Papić, 1990, pp. 40–55). Similar examples of a mosque-turned-Baroque church, as was the case in Đakovo, can be found across Croatia and Hungary; the "conversion of the Hasan Pasha Mosque in Pécs occurred during the same period" (Papić, 1990, p. 55). Since the "longitudinal, medium-sized, single-nave church" was the predominant type at the time, this is the only "central-type church from the first half of the 18th century in Slavonia" (Papić, 1990, p. 57). Its current dedication to All Saints dates back to 1753; it became the parish church nine years later (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 83), during the episcopate of Josip Antun Čolnić (1751–1773). Its first Classicist restoration was carried out by Bishop Krtica (1773–1805). By then, the square church had become rectangular and on the outside an "elongated rectangular prism reminiscent of an ancient temple" (Papić, 1990, pp. 57–59). The second classicist renovation in 1819 – the work of the Zagreb architect Bartol Felbinger (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 83) – saw the building of a new sacristy on the site of the tower; the Baroque tympanum was torn down and the façade got a new bell tower. Only the upper section of the façade was altered; the bottom part was kept as it was. According to Anđela Horvat, the church was of the "transitional-style (...) of single-nave churches of the late-Baroque conception, with more

Figure 14. The former 16th-century Ottoman Ibrahim Pasha Mosque, today the Catholic Church of All Saints in Đakovo. The façade of the church was added to the central square prayer area of the mosque. The northwest entrance to the mosque was exchanged for a church entrance in the southeast. The north porch and minaret were fragmentary, and the portal, mihrab, and minber were removed during renovations. Ottoman architectural elements were accentuated by conservation works (Photo: Monika Gusić).

Figure 15. The interior of the former Ottoman mosque from the 16th century, today the Catholic Church of All Saints in Đakovo. An illustration of the historicist pseudo-Moorish wall decor (Photo: Monika Gusić).

or less classicist components" (Papić, 1990, p. 64); however, the Baroque elements have almost completely vanished. The next major reconstruction took place in 1884, after a devastating earthquake damaged the dome. A new sacristy was built, the choir was walled in, the dome repaired, the roof raised, and the interior decorated by Eduard Petz, based on Ludovic Seitz's design, at the initiative of the parish priest Anđelko Voršak and Bishop Strossmayer (Papić, 1990, pp. 63–69). Its Islamic origin was emphasized by the restoration of the oriental motifs in the Moorish style decorating the walls, the dome, and the addition of new pointed arches (Papić, 1990, p. 70) (**Figure 15**). Despite extensive works during the baroqueization of the church and the classicist transformation, the "external form and architectural framework of the internal space of the church" (Papić, 1990, p. 69) have not changed significantly; the church has kept its original contours of the mosque, with minor interventions, to this day (Papić, 1990, p. 69).

Other types of Ottoman religious and other accompanying architecture in Croatia

Tekkes (zawiyas)

Many trade and residential districts had *dervish* monasteries called *tekkes* or *zawiyas* (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 133), which "played a significant role in the Islamization of borderlands" (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 144), as they provided a broader education than what

was available in *medreses* (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 144). Under the Ottoman rule, present day Slavonia had 20 *dervish tekkes* or *zawiyas*, the most notable being the Hindi Baba Tekke in Vukovar (on the present-day site of Eltz Castle). Mentions are also made of *tekkes* in Grgurevci, Syrmia, and the Ulama Pasha Tekke in Požega, dating to the mid-16th century. In the 17th century, Osijek had four *tekkes*, Nijemci had three, Pakrac two, and Cernik, Ilok, and Valpovo had one each. Presumably, there were *tekkes* in Dalj, Voćin, Vidovci, Đakovo, and elsewhere (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 57). There is no record of *tekkes* in *kasabas* in present day Dalmatia, although there might have been one in Drniš, as it was a very likely "starting point for the religious pilgrimage to Mecca" (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 133).

Schools

Mosques used to have their own primary schools (*mektebs*), and larger cities, such as Ilok, Osijek, Valpovo, Požega, and Cernik, also had high schools (*medreses*) (Mažuran, 1998, p. 219). *Mektebs* taught "the basics of literacy (writing and reading), the basics of religious education, and the reading of the Qur'an" (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 143), while *medreses* provided education in "Arabic, Oriental languages, interpretation of the Qur'an, Islamic traditions, Sharia and inheritance law, dogmatic theology, rhetoric, philosophy, mathematics, calligraphy" (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 143). Both types of religious and educational institutions were built next to religious buildings (*medreses* stood next to larger mosques) but they differed in their external appearance. There was no difference between a *mekteb* and a regular residential building in terms of the architectural style and building materials; on the other hand, *medreses* "stood out with their impressive architecture, spacious courtyards with porches encased in arcades, classrooms, and dormitories for students" (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 133). Every *kasaba-level* town had a *mekteb* (e.g., Hrvace, Vrana, Klis, Sinj, Drniš, etc.) (Jurin Starčević, 2006, p. 132). In the 16th century, Osijek had four *medreses*, most notably the Kasim Pasha and Mustafa Pasha Medreses, as well as five *mektebs*. Additionally, there were three *medreses* and six *mektebs* in Pakrac, two *medreses* and six *mektebs* in Ilok, Rača on Sava had two *medreses* and three *mektebs*, and Vukovar and Nijemci both had two *mektebs* each (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 57).

Musalla

Most Islamic cities also had a *musalla*. It was usually built next to a cemetery and could hold a monument or two, especially a *türbe* mausoleum. One of such structures was identified on the map of Turkish Vukovar (see **Figure 2**); they were also mentioned by the *defters* for Požega (1579) (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 55). As it was well-known that "the *imam* of the Požega *musalla* was the best paid religious official in the city, the *musalla* was, in a way, "the main" mosque in Požega" (Uzelac, 1994, p. 58). As the Parish Church of St. Paul, which sat between the city gates and the fortress, was destroyed during the siege of the Požega fortress, the *musalla* is seen as the church's successor, keeping the continuity of the religious use (Uzelac, 1994, pp. 56–58).

Türbe

The only extant *türbe* in Croatia is located in Ilok (see **Figure 2**). It is of the "somewhat rare, ciborium-type of open pavilion with a dome on four pillars" and it was built by a

"*waqif* of a now missing central mosque on the fortress plateau, in whose *harem* it stood" (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 57). According to one theory, this might have been the pavilion of the mosque's *shadirvan*, like the one found in the Mašković Han in Vrana. There are also records of Gaibija's *türbe* near Stara Gradiška (see **Figure 2**); Halil Bey Memibegović's *türbe* in Visuć near Udbina (see **Figure 2**); Kasim Pasha and Mustafa Pasha's *türbe* in Osijek (see **Figure 2**); and two additional *türbes* (Bajram Baba's *türbe* and Husrev Baba's *türbe*) in the same area but of unknown exact location. Hindi Baba's *türbe* next to a *dervish tekke* in Vukovar is cited as "the most popular place of pilgrimage in the Ottoman Slavonia" (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 59); other pilgrimage sites include Hasan Effendi's *türbe* next to a Khalwati tekke in Požega (former Dönmez Bey's *türbe* and Dizdar Ahmed's *türbe*) and Sheikh Mustafa Effendi's *türbe* in Knin (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 59). Imotski apparently had "a *türbe* of some *ghazi*" (Hasandedić, 1999, p. 67).

Public fountains

In addition to mosques and *tekkes*, public fountains were also part of the inventory of the Ottoman architecture. Surviving fountains are located at the foot of the Klis fortress ("the fountain of Three Kings with a curved arched niche characteristic of that type of *mihrab* fountain") (see **Figure 2**); in Otavice, Oriovac (see **Figure 2**), Požega (see **Figure 2**), near Slavonski Brod (the Rozinka Fountain on the Brod hill) (see **Figure 2**); Cernik, near Osijek along the Baranja-bound road (Kasim Pasha's fountain with double arched niches) (see **Figure 2**); and in Tvrđa (next to the Kasim Pasha Mosque complex) (see **Figure 2**). The Arslan Bey Mosque in Ilok also had a fountain; in Osijek, there existed twelve sebils (most notably, the renowned Serdar, Kethüda, and Kasim Paša Sebil (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 75). In addition to fountains, Ottomans also built wells remains of which still survive in Zagvozd (see **Figure 2**), near Vrgorac, and in Ilok (see **Figure 2**). The architecturally designed water facilities also included *shadirvans* (*şadırvan*s), now found in the already mentioned Mašković Han in Vrana; the Ilok *türbe* might have also been a *shadirvan* (*şadırvan*), of a former mosque (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 77).

Caravanserais, hans, misafirhane and imarets

Other characteristic buildings beyond mosques included *caravanserais*, *hans*, *misafirhane*, *imarets* for travelers and passers-by, and *hammams* (Mažuran, 1998, p. 219). *Caravanserais* offered free lodgings and were financed from the *waqf*; in contrast, *hans* were for-profit. The building of these facilities, as well as Muslim places of worship, were initiated either by the state or a benefactor, who ensured funds for the maintenance. The Dalmatian hinterland had at least six *caravanserais* or larger *hans*, in the following places: Knin, Obrovac Sinjski, Klis, Trilj, Makarska, and Vrana, the site of the only surviving *han* of Vizier Jusuf Mašković (see **Figure 2**). In Slavonia, *caravanserais* and inns existed in Vukovar, Osijek, Požega, Đakovo, Valpovo, Rača, Pakrac, and Cernik (Karač & Žunić, 2018, pp. 69–71).

Discussion

Tooday, Ottoman religious monuments are the least researched heritage layer of Croatian art history. The main reason lies in the destruction of all Islamic symbols following the

liberation from Ottoman rule as well as the destruction of cities and towns during the expulsion of the Ottomans (Karač & Žunić, 2018, p. 47) and the decay of abandoned and derelict buildings (Zdravković, 1956, p. 190). With the departure of the Ottomans and their authority over Croatian cities, the Islamic architectural achievements of the Ottoman period were almost completely and irreversibly destroyed.

The long years of Ottoman conquest and governance over larger parts of the area that forms present day Croatia brought various changes. The Ottomans left their marks on the administrative and legal systems, population structure, and urban networks (Tanner, 2019). The surviving material and cultural heritage confirm that cities and settlements under Ottoman rule adopted Near Eastern and Islamic features. Ottoman religious architecture was the most imposing feature. The development of the city or settlement as well as of Ottoman architecture would largely depend on its economic, military, and trade significance. Religious needs of the newly settled Muslim and Islamized populations made the construction of Ottoman religious buildings a priority. Muslim places of worship, the most common buildings of this kind, were built from ground up or converted from Christian churches in conquered territories with the addition of inherently Islamic features.

In addition to historical documents that provide information on the location of mosques and *mescid* and illustrate their external appearance, the three extant Ottoman mosques in Drniš, Klis, and Đakovo – although converted to churches after the break with the Ottoman rule – provide a realistic if fragmentary insight into Ottoman religious architecture in the present day Dalmatian hinterland and Slavonia. These pieces of Ottoman material culture provide valuable information about the 16th-century Ottoman domed mosques and their architectural elements. They are testimony to the process of adaptation of Christian buildings into mosques as well as the later process of reconversion of mosques into Catholic churches. Archaeological research has revealed that Ottoman mosques stood on or near the sites of today's Christian churches.

All three churches – former mosques – partially preserve construction elements from the Ottoman period. The only surviving mosque minaret in Croatia – as the most recognizable architectural element of the mosque – still stands in Drniš.

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