

"BOGA HVALITI, PUK SABIRATI, MRTVE OPLAKIVATI"

Katoličko zvono sa sahat-kule u Foči u sjeveroistočnoj Hercegovini*

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Sažetak

Katoličko zvono sa sahat-kule u Foči u sjeveroistočnoj Hercegovini, jedno je od rijetkih koje se sačuvalo do danas. Nakon skidanja sa sahat-kule krajem 19. st. završilo je u Zemaljskom muzeju u Sarajevu. Od 1968. godine nalazi se u muzeju "Stara Hercegovina" u Foči. Osim godine lijevanja ispisane arapskim brojevima (1637.), na njemu je latinskom kapitalom i latinskim jezikom zabilježena i uloga ove vrste zvonâ, tj. da hvale Boga, sazivaju puk na molitvu te preminule ispraćaju na vječni počinak.

Ključne riječi: Bosanski vilajet, Foča, sahat-kule, katolička zvona sa sahat-kula.

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Uvod

Sa svih prostora, koje su pregazila kopita njihovih konja, Osmanlije su ne samo odvodili roblje, nego i plijenili sve do čega su mogli doprijeti. Osobita meta njihovih osvajačko-pljačkaških pohoda bile su kršćanske institucije i bogomolje iz kojih su pljačkali sve što se moglo odnijeti, uključujući i zvona s njihovih zvonika. Bez obzira i na reljefe raspeta Krista, Bogorodice, svetaca i natpisâ, koji su ih nerijetko ukrašavali, postavljali su ih na svoje sahat-kule ukoliko ih nisu pretopili u topove i streljivo. Prethodno su s njih uklanjali klatna, zamjenjujući ih metalnim batovima koji su udaranjem o njihove vanjske stijenke mjerila vrijeme te na taj način sazivala islamske vjernike na molitvu.

Iz Foče u Sarajevo, iz Sarajeva u Foču

Tragajući za katoličkim zvonima, koja se još uvijek oglašavaju s osmanlijskih sahat-kula na području nekadašnjega Bosanskog vilajeta ili su nekada s njih otkucavala vrijeme,² osvrnuo sam se i na ono iz Foče u sjeveroistočnoj Hercegovini.³ Kako mu nisam uspio ući u trag, niti doći do bilo kakve informacije o njegovoj sudbini, prenio sam ono što je o njemu zabilježeno u inventarnoj knjizi Zemaljskoga muzeja u Sarajevu. Prema toj knjizi ovo se zvono nekada nalazilo u velikoj izložbenoj sali Zemaljskoga muzeja, koji ga je posudio muzeju u Foči, te da 2002. godine nije bilo u sarajevskome muzeju.⁴ Iz toga je slijedio zaključak da ga muzej u Foči nije ni vratio Zemaljskome muzeju. Na upit o sudbini ovoga zvona iz Muzeja "Stara Hercegovina" u Foči odgovoreno mi je da se od 60-ih godina 20. st. nalazi u tome muzeju, što je i sa snimkama potvrđeno.⁵ U inventarnu knjigu toga muzeja upisano je da je 1968. godine vraćeno u Foču, te da ga je muzej u Foči darovao sarajevski Zemaljski muzej.⁶

2 ANTE ŠKEGRO, "Katolička zvona sa osmanlijskih sahat-kula u Bosanskom elajetu. Catholic church bells from Ottoman clock towers in the Bosnian Eyalet", u: *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku*, br. 108, Split, 2015., str. 295-313.

3 A. ŠKEGRO, *nav. dj.*, str. 305-306, br. 5.

4 Inv. br. 363: "Izlož. (vel. sala). (Posuđeno Muzeju u Foči). (P. A.)."

5 E-mail od 2. ožujka 2016. godine upućen autoru ovoga rada iz Muzeja Foča: "Poštovani, Željezno zvono nalazi se u inventaru Muzeja 'Stara Hercegovina' od šezdesetih godina prošlog vijeka. Opis naveden u Vašem radu je jasno vidljiv, prije svega natpis na latinskom i 1637. godina. Fotografije zvona nalaze se u atačmentu. Srdačan pozdrav! Danko Mihajlović."

6 "1177. 21. XII 1970. Zvono. Zvono je iz Sahat kule - Foča. Zvono je prije rata odneseno u Zemaljski muzej - Sarajevo. 1968. g. vraćeno u Foču. Poklon Zemaljskog muzeja iz Sarajeva, Muzeju u Foči."



Sl. 1. Sahat-kula u Foči iza Muzeja Stara Hercegovina
Fig. 1. Clock tower in Foča beyond Old Herzegovina Museum

Prije nego li je dospjelo u sarajevski Zemaljski muzej, ovo se zvono nalazilo na sahat-kuli u Foči (sl. 1). Prema povjesničaru Hamdiji Kreševljakoviću (1888.-1959.) dao ju je nešto iza 1758. godine izgraditi Mehmed-paša Kukavica,⁷ valija Bosanskoga vilajeta od 1752. do 1756. i od 1757. do 1760. godine. Kukavica je i sam rođen u Foči, u islamiziranoj obitelji Pavlovića, koja je potjecala iz mjesta Popov most 30-ak km južno od Foče.⁸ Nejasno je kada je i u kojim okolnostima dospjelo na ovu sahat-

7 HAMDIJA KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆ, "Sahat-kule u Bosni i Hercegovini", u: *Naše starine: godišnjak Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine*, 4, Sarajevo, 1957., str. 31.

8 ALIJA BEJTIĆ, "Bosanski namjesnik Mehmed-paša Kukavica i njegova zadužbina u Bosni (1752-1756 i 1757-1760)", u: *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, 6-7, Sarajevo, 1956., str. 77-114.

kulu s koje se oglašavalo do 90-ih godina 19. st.,⁹ kada ga je Kotarski ured iz Foče otpremio u sarajevski Zemaljski muzej.¹⁰ U sarajevskome muzeju bilo je i sredinom 30-ih godina 20. st.¹¹ U inventarnoj knjizi toga muzeja zavedeno je kao veliko željezno zvono sa slikom ispod kruništa te biljnim plastičnim ornamentom i natpisom.¹²



Sl. 2. Oštećenja pri dnu zvona sa sahat-kule u Foči
Fig. 2. Damages on the base of the bell from clock tower in Foča

9 H. KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆ, *nav. dj.*, str. 31.

10 Inv. br. 363: "Foča. Poslao kotarski ured u Foči; nalazilo se na sahat-kuli, a verovatno potiče sa neke crkve".

11 DR. M(ITHOVIĆ) MANDIĆ, "Gradine, gromile i druge starine u okolici Livna", u: *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 47, Sarajevo, 1935., str. 14: "Mlada su zvona: jedno na sahatkuli u Pruscu kod Bugojna, koje potječe iz 17. stoljeća (s natpisom 'Ave Maria' i godinom 1629.), pa jedno iz Foče, koje se čuva u Sredovj. Zbirci Zem. Muzeia (pod inv. Br. 363) iz god. 1637. Još ima manjih zvona u istoj zbirci: jedno pod inv. br. 365 na sahatkuli u Sanskom Mostu (iz god. 1591.) i drugo pod inv. br. 364 sa sahatkule u D. Vakufu (iz god. 1720.)."

12 Inv. br. 363: "Veliko gvozdeno zvono sa natpisom nosi sliku, ispod uške. Zvono je ukrašeno plastičnim biljnim ornamentom. Natpis glasi: DEVM LAVDO, PO-PVLVM CONVOCO, DEFVNCTOS DEPLORO. Dimenzije: visina 65 cm.; prečnik 63 cm."

Opis i podrijetlo

Premda je u inventarnu knjigu sarajevskoga Zemaljskog muzeja zavedeno kao željezno, zvono sa sahat-kule u Foči je brončano kao i druga zvana ove vrste. Izuzev neznatnih oštećenja na samome njegovu dnu, odnosno na dvjema paralelnim reljefnim linijama kojima završava, zvono sa sahat-kule u Foči dobro je očuvano (sl. 2). Kad bi mu se klatno vratilo, i sada bi poslužilo svojoj izvornoj svrsi. U nepoznatim okolnostima i vremenu na njegovo je krunište, čija su rebra s vanjske strane urešena tordiranom vrpcom, nadodana vodoravna prečka, očito zbog lakšeg učvršćivanja o gredu na kojoj je visjelo. Oko te prečke omotano je nekoliko namota deblje žice, vjerojatno kako bi se njime lakše manipuliralo (sl. 3). Nije isključeno da je ta žica također služila za fiksiranje za gredu o



Sl. 3. Krunište zvona sa sahat-kule u Foči
Fig. 3. Crown of the bell from clock tower in Foča



Sl. 4. Godina lijevanja zvona sa sahat kule u Foči
Fig. 4. Year of casting of the bell from clock tower in Foča

koju je bilo obješeno. Ispod kruništa je reljefno polje ukrašeno motivom lozice i ljiljana. Po sredini je razdijeljeno vrpcom na kojoj je arapskim brojevima (sl. 4) naznačena godina njegova lijevanja (1637) te latinskom kapitalom i latinskim jezikom pouka o ulozi ove vrste zvonâ (*Dev̄m lavdo, popvlvm convoco, defv̄nctos deploro*) (sl. 5-7). Središnji dio zvona, omeđen reljefnim frizom ispod kruništa i pet paralelnih reljefnih linija na dnu, nema nikakvih ukrasa. Na reljefu od pet paralelnih linija kojima srednje polje završava kao i na završnom polju ispod njega, na dva su mjesta zamjetni tragovi udaranja metalnoga bata o njegove stijenske (sl. 8). Središnji dio ovih zvonâ ukrašan je različitim kršćanskim motivima i likovima. Primjerice, zvono koje još uvijek otkucava sate sa sahat-kule u Pruscu kod Donjeg Vakufa u zapadnom dijelu srednje Bosne, saliveno tri godine prije zvona sa sahat-kule u Foči, ukrašeno je



Sl. 5. Početak natpisa na zvonu sa sahat-kule u Foči
Fig. 5. Beginning of the inscription on the bell from
clock tower in Foča



Sl. 6. Središnji dio natpisa na zvonu sa sahat-kule u Foči
Fig. 6. Middle part of the inscription on the bell from
clock tower in Foča



Sl. 7. Završni dio natpisa na zvonu sa sahat-kule u Foči
Fig. 7. Final part of the inscription on the bell from
clock tower in Foča



Sl. 8. Tragovi udaranja metalnog bata o stijenke zvona sa sahat-kule u Foči
Fig. 8. Traces of striking with the metal hammer on the walls of the bell from clock tower in Foča



Sl. 9. Reljef raspetog Krista na zvonu sa sahat-kule u Pruscu
Fig. 9. Relief of Christ crucified on the bell from clock tower in Prusac



Sl. 10. Reljef sv. Nikole biskupa na zvonu sa sahat-kule u Pruscu
Fig. 10. Relief of St. Nicholas the Bishop on the bell from clock tower in Prusac



Sl. 11. Reljef Bogorodice s djetetom Isusom na zvonu sa sahat-kule u Pruscu
Fig. 11. Relief of the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus on the bell from clock tower in Prusac



Sl. 12. Reljef sv. Ivana Krstitelja na zvonu sa sahat kule u Pruscu
Fig. 12. Relief of St. John the Baptist on the bell from clock tower in Prusac

reljefima rasketoga Krista (sl. 9), sv. Nikole biskupa (sl. 10), Bogorodice s djetetom Isusom (sl. 11) te sv. Ivana Krstitelja (sl. 12).¹³

Natpis na zvonu sa sahat-kule u Foči upućuje na zaključak da je saliveno u ljevaonici zvonâ koju je početkom 17. st. u Zugu, središtu istoimenoga kantona u središnjoj Švicarskoj, utemeljio Martin Kaiser (+1642.). U toj su ljevaonici zvona lijevana do 20. st.¹⁴ Pouka o značaju ove vrste zvona svoje podrijetlo vuče još iz razvijenoga srednjeg vijeka.¹⁵ Kad bi zvona mogla govoriti, ovo bi bez sumnje ispričalo zanimljivu priču o svome putešestvju od središnje Švicarske do osmanlijske kasabe Foče.

13 A. ŠKEGRO, *nav. dj.*, str. 296-299, br. 1-4.

14 ANTON BIELER, "Die Zuger Glockengiesserfamilien Keiser und Brandenburg und ihr Werk", u: *Zeuger Neujahrsblatt*, Zug, 1949., str. 37-60.

15 MIROSLAV FLODR, "Komplexní pojetí funkce zvonu v středověkých zvonových nápisech", u: *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty Brněnské univerzity Studia minorae Facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Brunensis*, C 23/24, Brno, 1976./1977., str. 125-129.

Zaključak

Brojna zvona koja su osmanlijske postrojbe opljačkale s kršćanskih bogomolja po Europi završila su i na sahat-kulama Bosanskoga vilajeta, s kojih su pojedina skinuta tijekom austro-ugarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini (1878.-1918.). Neka su završila i u sarajevskom Zemaljskom muzeju, poput onih sa sahat-kulâ u Donjem Vakufu, Sanskome Mostu i Foči. Nije jasno u kojim se okolnostima i vremenu ovo zvono obrela na sahat-kuli u Foči. Rijetka su preživjela Prvi svjetski rat jer ih je tijekom 1917. godine, kao i ona s kršćanskih bogomolja, rekvirirala austro-ugarska vojska i pretopila u topove, odnosno streljivo. Dva se od njih još uvijek oglašavaju sa sahat-kula u Pruscu kod Donjeg Vakufa i 20-ak km udaljenom Gornjem Vakufu u zapadnom dijelu srednje Bosne. Neposredno po uspostavi austro-ugarske vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini, zvono sa sahat-kule u Foči prosljeđeno je sarajevskome Zemaljskom muzeju, koji ga je 1968. godine darovao muzeju u Foči gdje se i sada nalazi. Za razliku od njega, sva tri zvona sa zvonika katoličke crkve u Foči, koja su na njega postavljena 1914. godine, austro-ugarska vojska je rekvirirala 1917. godine. Time im se zauvijek zametnuo trag kao i najvećem broju drugih zvonâ s područja Austro-Ugarske Monarhije, kako s crkava, tako i sa sahat-kula.

"TO GLORIFY GOD, SUMMON BELIEVERS, AND MOURN THE DEPARTED"

Catholic church bell in the Ottoman clock tower in Foča,
northeastern Herzegovina*

Abstract

From all the lands that they ran over with the hooves of their horses, the Ottomans took not merely slaves, but everything they possibly could. Particular targets for their conquering and looting raids were Christian institutions and churches, where they plundered everything they could carry, even including bells from bell towers. Regardless of the reliefs of Christ on the Cross, the Virgin Mary, saints, and inscriptions that often decorated them, they placed them in their clock towers, if they did not melt them down for cannons and ammunition. First they removed the clapper, instead using metal hammers to strike the outside surface of the bell and mark time, in this manner calling the Islamic faithful to prayer.

Key words: Vilayet of Bosnia, Foča in northeastern Herzegovina, clock towers, Catholic bells

* Sincerely thanks to Branka Dragičević and Danko Mihajlović from the "Old Herzegovina" Museum in Foča about the information and photographs of the bell from the clock tower in Foča. Sincere greetings! Danko Mihajlović.

Introduction

From all the lands run over by the hooves of their horses, the Ottomans took not merely slaves, but everything they possibly could. Particular targets of their conquering and looting raids were Christian institutions and churches, where they plundered everything they could carry, even the bells from the bell towers. Although the bells were often decorated by the reliefs of Christ on the Cross, Virgin Mary, saints and inscriptions, the conquerors placed them in their own clock towers, or they melted them down to make cannons and ammunition. First, they would remove the clappers and replace them with metal hammers to strike the outside surface of the bell, calling thus the Muslim believers to prayer.

From Foča to Sarajevo, from Sarajevo to Foča

Searching for Catholic bells that are still used or that once told the time in Ottoman clock towers in the former Vilayet of Bosnia,² my attention was drawn to Foča in northeastern Herzegovina.³ As I did not succeed in tracing it, nor could I find any information about its fate, I noted what had been recorded about it in the inventory book of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo. According to their records, this bell had once been displayed in the large exhibition hall of this museum, but it was loaned to the museum in Foča, and therefore could not be found in the National Museum in Sarajevo in 2002.⁴ That would mean that the museum in Foča did not return it to the National Museum in Sarajevo. Having asked about the fate of this bell, the answer I got from the "Old Herzegovina" Museum in Foča was that the bell had been in their museum since the 1960s, as was confirmed by photographs.⁵ It was recorded in the inventory book of that museum

2 ANTE ŠKEGRO, "Katolička zvona sa osmanlijskih sahat-kula u Bosanskom elajetu. Catholic church bells from Ottoman clock towers in the Bosnian Eyalet", in: *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku*, 108, Split, 2015, pag. 295-313.

3 A. ŠKEGRO, *op. cit.*, pag., 305-306, nr. 5.

4 Inv. nr. 363: "Exhib(ition) (large hall). (Lent to the Museum in Foča). (P. A.)."

5 An e-mail from 2 March 2016 sent to the author from the Museum in Foča: "Dear Sir, The iron bell has been a part of the inventory of the 'Old Herzegovina' Museum from the 1960s. The appearance cited in your work is clearly visible, particularly the legend in Latin and the year 1637. The photograph of the bell is enclosed. Sincere greetings! Danko Mihajlović."

that it had been returned to Foča, as a gift from the National Museum in Sarajevo to the museum in Foča.⁶

Before it arrived at the National Museum in Sarajevo, this bell had been located in the clock tower in Foča (Fig. 1). According to the Bosnian historian Hamdija Kreševljaković (1888-1959), the person who had the clock tower built, shortly after 1758, was Mehmed Pasha Kukavica,⁷ the governor of the Vilayet of Bosnia (1752-1756; 1757-1760), himself born in Foča, into the Islamized Pavlović family, who originally came from the village of Popov Most 30 some kilometers south of Foča.⁸ The period and the circumstances under which the bell arrived in this clock tower are unclear. Its ringing could be heard there up to the 1890s,⁹ when the County Office in Foča sent it to the National Museum in Sarajevo.¹⁰ It was confirmed as being in this museum in the middle of the 1930s¹¹ as it was listed in the inventory book of this museum as a large iron bell with an image below the crown, floral relief decoration, and a legend.¹²

Description and the origin

Although it was listed in the inventory book of the National Museum in Sarajevo as an iron bell, the bell from the clock tower in Foča was

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- 6 "1177. 21 December 1970. The bell. The bell is from the clock tower - Foča. The bell was taken before the war to the State Museum - Sarajevo. In 1968 it was returned to Foča. A gift from the State Museum in Sarajevo to the Museum in Foča."
- 7 HAMDIJA KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆ, "Sahat-kule u Bosni i Hercegovini", in: *Naše starine: godišnjak Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine*, 4, Sarajevo, 1957, pag. 31.
- 8 ALIJA BEJTIĆ, "Bosanski namjesnik Mehmed-paša Kukavica i njegova zadužbina u Bosni (1752-1756 i 1757-1760)", in: *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, 6-7, Sarajevo, 1956, pag., 77-114.
- 9 H. KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆ, *op. cit.*, pag., 31.
- 10 Inv. nr. 363:"Foča. "Sent by the County Office in Foča; it was located on the clock tower and probably came originally from some church."
- 11 DR. M(ITHOVIĆ) MANDIĆ, "Gradine, gromile i druge starine u okolici Livna", in: *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 47, Sarajevo, 1935., p. 14: "The bells are young: one on the clock tower at Prusac near Bugojno, from the 17th century (with the legend 'Ave Maria' and the year 1629), and another from Foča, kept in the Med(ieval) Department of the National Museum in Sarajevo, from 1637. The same department also has smaller bells: one from the clock tower in Sanski Most and the other from the clock tower in D. Vakuf."
- 12 Inv. nr. 363: "A large iron bell with a legend bears an image below the crown. The bell is decorated with relief floral ornamentation. The legend reads: DEVM LAV-DO, POPVLVM CONVOCO, DEFVNCTOS DEPLORO. Dimensions: height 65 cm; diameter 63 cm."

bronze, like all other bells of this type. With the exception of insignificant damage to the very base, specifically to the two parallel relief lines there (moulding wires), the bell from the Foča clock tower is well preserved (Fig. 2). If the clapper were to be returned, even now it could serve its original purpose. At an unknown time and in unknown circumstances, a horizontal bar was added to its crown, whose ribs on the exterior side were decorated on the outer surface with a spirally twisted ribbon, evidently because of easier attachment to the beam from which it hung. Several coils of thick wire were wrapped around the bar, probably to be handled more easily (Fig. 3). It cannot be excluded that this wire could also have served for attaching it to the beam from which it hung. Below the crown is a relief field decorated with a motif of vines and lilies. It is divided in the middle by a band with the year of its casting (1637) in Arabic numerals (Fig. 4) and a text in Latin capitals and Latin language noting the original role (*Devn lavdo, popvlvm convoco, defvinctos deploro*) of such bells (Fig. 5-7). The central section of the bell, bounded by a relief frieze below the crown and five parallel relief lines on the base, bears no decoration. Traces of striking with the metal hammer on the walls of the bell can be seen in two places on the relief elements of five parallel lines that end the central field, as well as the final field below it (Fig. 8). The central sections of such bells are usually decorated with various Christian motifs and figures, for example the bell that still strikes the hours at the clock tower in Prusac near Donji Vakuf in the western part of central Bosnia, cast three years before the bell at the clock tower in Foča, decorated with reliefs of Christ crucified (Fig. 9), St. Nicholas the Bishop (Fig. 10), the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus (Fig. 11), and St. John the Baptist (Fig. 12).¹³

The inscription on the bell from the clock tower in Foča indicates that it was cast in a bell foundry founded by the bell-maker Martin Kaiser (+1642) at the beginning of the 17th century in Zug, the center of the canton of the same name in central Switzerland. Bells were cast in this foundry up to the 20th century.¹⁴ The story of the importance of such bells can trace its origins back to the High Middle Ages.¹⁵ If bells could

13 A. ŠKEGRO, *op. cit.*, pag. 296-299, nr. 1-4.

14 ANTON BIELER, "Die Zuger Glockengiesserfamilien Keiser und Brandenburg und ihr Werk", in: *Zeuger Neujahrsblatt*, Zug, 1949, pag. 37-60.

15 MIROSLAV FLODR, "Komplexní pojetí funkce zvonu v středověkých zvonových nápisech", in: *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty Brněnské univerzity Studia minorae Facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Brunensis*, C 23/24, Brno, 1976/77., pag. 125-129.

speak, this one would certainly be able to tell an interesting story about its travels from central Switzerland to the Ottoman provincial place (*kasaba*) of Foča in northeastern Herzegovina.

Conclusion

Numerous bells that the Ottoman units plundered from Christian churches throughout Europe ended up in the clock towers of the Vilayet of Bosnia, and some of these were removed during the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878-1918). Some ended up in the National Museum in Sarajevo, such as those from the clock towers in Donji Vakuf in the western part of central Bosnia, Sanski Most in northwest Bosnia, and Foča. It is not clear under what circumstances and at what time this bell ended up in the clock tower in Foča. Only a few clock tower bells survived the First World War, as during 1917 they were requisitioned, like those on Christian churches, and melted down for guns or ammunition. Two of them still sound the hours at the clock tower at Prusac near Donji Vakuf and in the 20 some kilometer distant Gornji Vakuf - Uskoplje in the western part of central Bosnia. Immediately after the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian government in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the bell from the clock tower in Foča was assigned to the National Museum in Sarajevo, which later donated it in 1968 to the museum in Foča, where it is currently located. In contrast to this, all three bells from the bell tower of the Catholic church in Foča, which had only been put in place in 1914, were requisitioned in 1917. Traces of them were lost forever, as is true for the majority of other bells, whether from churches or from clock towers, in the areas ruled by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.