

HAJDUČKE PEĆINE U ZAPADNOJ HERCEGOVINI

HAIUKS' CAVES IN WESTERN HERZEGOVINA

Petar OREČ, *Sarajevo*

Ime HAJDUK je balkanski turizam mađarskoga podrijetla. Prvotno je značio plaćeni vojnik na granici protiv Turaka. Kasnije je označavao razne pojmove, kao što su: pješak, sudski sluga (pandur), lakej¹, odmetnik, razbojnik, lopov, tat, prepredenjak, momak slobodnoga ponaašnja, bečar, junak, tjelensi, stražar i gardist². U narodnom poimanju u zapadnoj Hercegovini hajduk označava narodnoga junaka protiv tuđina ili smionoga čovjeka³.

Hajdukovanje u zapadnoj Hercegovini nije temeljitije izučavano. Usputno je vršen osvrt na pojedine hajdučke družine ili na značajnije hajdučke harambaše od pojedinih istraživača. U znanosti se smatra da je hajdukovanje i u zapadnoj Hercegovini počelo od osmanlijske okupacije ovoga područja⁴. Hajdukovanje je poznato u svim balkanskim zemljama od osmanlijske okupacije pa do konca 19. stoljeća, čak i kasnije za stare Jugoslavije⁵. Općenito hajdučija ima dva obilježja. Jedno je obilježje narodnoga otpora i borbe protiv ekonomskoga, kulturnoga i vjerskoga ugnjetavanja, u prvom redu, protiv tuđina. Drugi je oblik otimačina, razbojništvo i pribavljanje imovine na lak način, koji je

The term HAIUK is a Balkan Turkish word of Hungarian origin. Originally it meant hired soldier at the border against the Turks. Later on it meant different things, e. g. infantryman, court servant, policeman, lackey¹, outlaw, bandit, thief, cunning fellow, reveler, hero, body guard and a member of an elite guard². It is understood among the people of Western Herzegovina that haiduk means a hero fighting against the foreigners or it means a brave man³.

No thorough Study has ever been made of haiduks in Western Herzegovina. Marginally, some explorers dealt with some haiduk bands of significant chiefs of haiduk bands (harambasha). It is scientifically considered that haiduks have occurred in Western Herzegovina at the time of Turkish occupation of this region⁴. The phenomenon of haiduk is known in all the Balkan countries from the time of Turkish occupation to the end of the 19th century and even later during the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia⁵. Generally speaking, two things are characteristic of the life of haiduks. The one characteristic thing is the resistance of the population and the fight against the economic, cultural and religious oppression, primarily against the foreigners. The second form is robbery, banditry and grabbing of property in any easy way, known on the Balkan even before the Turks have occupied the Balkan⁶.

Haiduk bands of Balkan countries, and thus also of Bosnia & Herzegovina were made primarily of Christians (Catholic and Orthodox) but there also were

poznat na Balkanu i prije osmanlijskoga osvajanja Balkana⁶.

Hajdučiju balkanskih zemalja, pa i Bosne i Hercegovine, čine pretežno kršćani (katolici i pravoslavni), a hajduka je bilo i za redova islamiziranoga pučanstva, pa čak i osmanlija⁷.

Različiti su bili motivi za odlaženje u hajduke, kako kod kršćana, tako i kod islamiziranoga stanovništva ili kod Osmanlija. U zapadnoj Hercegovini hajdukovanje kršćana najčešće je bilo izazvano okrutnim ponašanjem aga i begova, te drugih zvaničnika koji su imali zadaću provođenje mjera i propisa osmanlijske okupacione vlasti. Nasilje se najčešće svodilo na otmacinu zemlje, svojevoljno nametanje dažbina, ograničavanje vjerskih i kulturnih (nacionalnih) ispoljavanja, napadanje na čast žena i djevojaka, te razna ponižavanja i zlostavljanja. Sporedna (pojedinačna) odmetanja u hajduke bila su pljačkanja radi. Takvi hajduci kod naroda nisu uživali ugled, već se i danas njihovi postupci osuđuju.

Hajdučke družine iz zapadne Hercegovine kretale su se najčešće na području zapadne Hercegovine, držeći se pokrajnih planina (Vran, Kamišnica Biokovo i dr.). Njihovo operativno područje protezalo se od Metkovića i Makarske, na jugozapadu, Sinja i Livna, na sjeverozapadu, te Sarajeva (poglavito planine Ivan, Lopata, Vranica i njihova podnožja do Sarajevskog Polja⁸, na sjeveroistoku, udružujući se često s hajducima tih područja i vodeći male gerilske ratove.

Koliko je do sada poznato hajduci iz zapadne Hercegovine, u borbi protiv osmanlijske uprave, nisu se oslanjali na strane sile⁹, već su samostalno vojevali na označenom području. Istina, hajdučki harambaša Andrija Šimić, pritisnut svakodnevnim progonima od osmanlijske i austrijske vojske i policije (1870. g.) zatraži putom pravoslavnog popa iz Porima kod Mostara od

some haiduks among the Islamized population and even among the Turks⁷.

The motifs to join the haiduks were different, both among the Christians and among the islamized population and even among the Turks. The Christians of Western Herzegovina most frequently joined the haiduks as a result of behaviour of agas and beys and other officials the task of which was to implement the measures and the regulations of the Turkish occupation authorities. The most frequent forms of violence were grabbing of land, unlawful imposing of taxes, limitation of religious and cultural (national) manifestations, attacks at the virtue of women and girls and various other humiliating and abusive treatments. The reasons for scattered (single) apostasy to haiduks were robbery. These haiduks did not enjoy a good reputation among the population, and even today their deeds are condemned.

Haiduk bands of Western Herzegovina moved most frequently over the regions of Western Herzegovina, keeping to the bordering mountains (Vran, Kamišnica, Biokovo etc.). The area of their operation extended from Metković and Makarska on the south-west, Sinj and Livno on the north west to Sarajevo (mainly Ivan, Lopata and Vranica mountains), and Sarajevsko Polje⁸, to north west, uniting frequently with the haiduks of these regions and fighting small guerrilla wars.

As far as it is known till now, the haiduks from Western Herzegovina in their struggle against the Turkish rule, did not rely on foreign forces⁹, but they fought on their own in the mentioned territory. It is true, nevertheless, that Andrija Šimić, one of haiduk chiefs, pressed by every-day pursuits of the Turkish and Austrian armies and police (the year 1870) has asked through the orthodox priest at Porim near Mostar to get permit from the Montenegro Duke to provide refuge for him personally in Montenegro. He was intending to dismiss the haiduks. The Duke of Montenegro has allowed Andrija Šimić to come to Montenegro. When he informed the haiduks of his intention, the haiduks opposed it and he gave up his leaving to Montenegro, continuing his fight on his operational area and soon after that he was caught by the Austrian authorities at Ruvnići near Imotski in 1871.¹⁰

It is not known to the general public and even more it was not recorded by the historians that twelve haiduks from

kneza Crne Gore dozvolu da se osobno skloni u Crnu Goru, namjeravajući da hajduke rasturi. Knez Crne Gore dozvoli Andriji Šimiću da dođe u Crnu Goru. Kada saopći hajducima svoju nakanu, hajduci se tomu usprotiviše i on odustade od odlaska u Crnu Goru, već nastavi borbu na svom operativnom području, te ubrzo bijaše uhvaćen od austrijskih vlasti u Runovićima kod Imotskoga 1871. godine¹⁰.

Široj javnosti nije poznato, a gotovo to povijesničari nisu zabilježili, da je dvanaest hajduka s područja Lištice, na čelu s hajdučkim harambašom Ivanom Čerkezom iz Pribinovića kod Lištice, produžilo četovanje i poslije okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. godine od strane Austro-Ugarske, mada su u to doba i hercegovački ustanici (1875—1878) godine bili položili oružje¹¹. Opoljane hajduke i njihovoga harambašu Ivana Čerkeza savladaše okupacione snage na Oštrvcu između Posušja i Duvna 1880. god.¹²

Od brojnih hajduka koji su stoljećima četovali i u zapadnoj Hercegovini, najpoznatiji su: hajdučki harambaša Mijat Tomić, rođen u Brišniku kod Duvna, hajdukovao u 17. stoljeću, a ubijen od osmanlijske zasede u Doljanima kod Jablanice¹³; hajdučki harambaša Stanko Soćivica, rođen oko 1715. godine blizu Trebinja. Zbog razbojništva pobjegne u Imotski, a zatim u hajduke¹⁴; hajdučki harambaša Ivan Bušić-Roša (Crven), rođen u Vinjanima kod Imotskoga poslije 1700. godine. O njemu postoje zadnje vijesti do 1777. godine¹⁵; Ivan Oreč-Čuka, hajdučki harambaša, rodom iz Graca kod Posušja (1809—1899) godine, uhvaćen u suradnji osmanlijskih obavještajaca i austrijskih vlasti 1840. godine u Vinjanima Gornjim kod Imotskoga i osuđen u Splitu na 22 godine tamnice¹⁶; hajdučki harambaša Andrija Šimić (1833—1905) godine, romom iz Gruda (Alagovac), osuđen u Splitu 1872. godine na dosmrtnu tamnicu¹⁷; hajdučki ha-

the region of Lištica headed by the haiduks' chief Ivan Čerkez from Pribinovići near Lištica, have prolonged their engagement in warfare even after Bosnia & Herzegovina was occupied by Austro-Hungarians in 1878, although even the Herzegovina rebels had put down their arms at that time¹¹. The surrounded haiduks and their chief Ivan Čerkez were defeated by the occupational forces, at Oštrvce, between Posušje and Duvno in 1880¹².

Among the numerous haiduks who were engaged in warfare in Western Herzegovina the best known are: the haiduks' chief Mijat Tomić, born at Brišnik near Duvno, who was a haiduk in the 17th century and was killed by the Turkish ambush at Doljani near Jablanica¹³; the haiduks' chief Stanko Soćivica, born near Trebinje in 1715. He fled to Imotski because of robbery and then he joined the haiduks¹⁴; haiduks' chief Ivan Bušić-Roša (the Red), born at Vinjani near Imotski after 1700. The last information existing on him are to the year 1777¹⁵; Ivan Oreč-Čuka born at Grac near Posušje (1809—1899) was caught at Vinjani Gornji, near Imotski by the secret Turkish agents and Austrian authorities who had worked together, in 1840, and was sentenced in Split to 22 years of prison¹⁶; haiduks' chief Andrija Šimić (1833—1905), born at Grude (Alagovac), sentenced in Split in 1872 to life imprisonment¹⁷; haiduks' chief Ivan Čerkez, born at Pribinovići, near Lištica, strangled in the Division Prison in Mostar¹⁸, and Bekir-bey, who was a haiduk in Mostar surroundings and also in Western Herzegovina in the 19th century¹⁹.

Generally speaking, haiduk bands were more numerous during the international conflicts, and less numerous in the periods between the wars. Thus for instance during the wars, in which the Turks were also participating, some of the haiduk bands included about 300 haiduks²⁰, and even up to 500²¹ haiduks, and in the periods between the wars the number of haiduk bands ranged between 7 and 50 haiduks. Thus, the band of Mijat Tomić before 1642 was forty men, a fact indicated by the letter sent by Mijat Tomić to Omer-aga, Commander of the Imotski fortress (the letter is being kept in Venice)²², there were nine haiduks in the band of Stanko Soćivica after 1745²³, there were thirty three haiduks (thirty two were Catholic and one was a Moslem)²⁴ in the band of Ivan Bušić about the year 1777, the number of haiduk in the band of Ivan Oreč-Čuka

rambaša Ivan Čerkez, rođen u Pribi-
novićima kod Lištice, ugušen u divi-
zijskom zatvoru u Mostaru¹⁸, te Bekir-
beg, koji je hajdukovao u okolici Mo-
stara, pa i u zapadnoj Hercegovini u
19. stoljeću¹⁹.

Općenito hajdučke družine bile su
brojnije u vrijeme međunarodnih su-
koba, a malobrojnije u međuratnim
periodima. Tako, na primjer, u vrije-
me ratnih sukoba, u kojima su sudje-
lovali i osmanlijski Turci, pojedine
hajdučke družine brojale su oko 300
hajduka²⁰, pa čak i do 500 hajduka²¹,
dok su u vrijeme između ratova haj-
dučke družine brojale najčešće od 7
do 50 hajduka. Tako hajdučka družina
Mijata Tomića, prije 1642. godine,
broji četrdeset ljudi, što doznajemo iz
pisma Mijata Tomića dostavljenoga
Omer-agi, zapovjedniku utvrde Imot-
ski (pismo se čuva u Veneciji)²², haj-
dučka družina Stanka Sočivice broji,
poslije 1745. godine devet hajduka²³,
družina Ivana Bušića Roše oko 1777.
godine broji tridesettri druga (tride-
setidva su katolici i jedan je musli-
man)²⁴, hajdučka družina Ivana Oreča
— Čuke brojala je četrdeset hajduka
prije 1840. godine²⁵, hajdučka družina
Ivana Čerkeza brojala je dvanaest dru-
gova oko 1880. godine²⁶ itd.

Hajdučke družine često su se broj-
no mijenjale, usljed pogibija, hvatanja
hajduka, uslijed smrti izazvanih zaraz-
nim bolestima i napuštanjima hajduč-
kih družina iz raznih razloga (starost,
svađe, ženidbe i sl.). Bilo je i povre-
menoga udruživanja više hajdučkih
družina, koje je trajalo kraće vrije-
me. Tako imamo udruživanje hajduč-
ke družine Andrije Šimića iz Gruda
koja je okupljala hajduke iz Ljubuš-
kog, Posušja, Imotokoga i Duvna i
sinjskih odnosno vrličkih hajduka
1870. godine, kao odgovor na spora-
zum Austrije i Turske da zajednički
progone spomenute dvije hajdučke
družine. Tako su u cilju zajedničkog
progona hajduka održali zajednički

before 1840 was forty²⁵, and there were
twelve haiduks in the band of Ivan Čer-
kez about the year 1880²⁶, etc.

The numbers within haiduk bands
has changed quite often, due to killings,
and catching of haiduks, as a result of
deaths caused by contagious diseases
and leaving of the haiduk bands due to
many reasons (old age, quarrels, mar-
riages etc.). Several haiduk bands would
unite from time to time but for short
periods. Thus the haiduk band of Andri-
ja Šimić from Grude, which was gathe-
ring the haiduks from Ljubuški, Posušje,
Imotski and Duvno has joined the hai-
duks from Sinj and/or from Vrlica in
1870, as a response to the agreement
reached by and between Austria and
Turkey to pursue jointly the two mentio-
ned bands. With the purpose of joint
pursuit of haiduks they held a meeting
in the Turkish military camp at Vir near
Posušje on September 16, 1870, which
was attended by vice viziers of the Lju-
buški and Livno Court Districts and the
administrator of Duvno, from the Tur-
kish side and by Imotski Captain from
the Austrian side²⁷. Periodical association
of several haiduk bands in the perfor-
mance of joint operations did not influ-
ence significantly the form of organiza-
tion of the haiduk life in the various
haiduk bands.

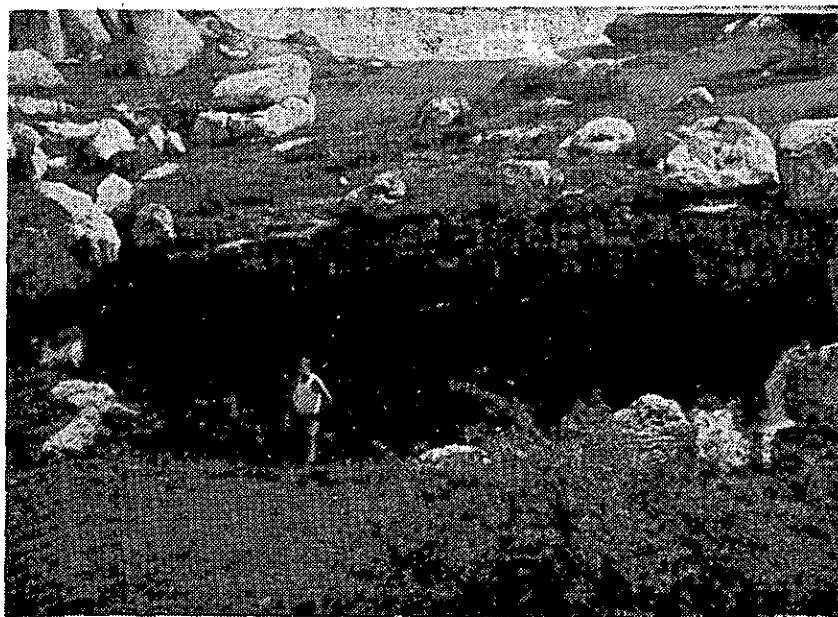
The haiduk were made of young and
brave men, ready to endure all the dif-
ficulties and dangers. It is true that
occasionally there were some women
among the haiduks. The haiduk bands
followed a democratic procedure in the
election of their chiefs, whom they cal-
led: »arambaša« »kapitan« or »četovođa«.
This was the man who demonstrated
among haiduks the sense for such a
duty, primarily by his personal courage
and righteousness. Individuals would
stay for a long time as commanders, as
was the case with Ivan Bušić Roša, who
was commanding the haidukes for some
twenty years²⁸. Other duties within the
haiduk bands awarded by elections or
in some other way are not known to
us. It is known that the haiduks had
their accessories (jataks) in the willages
and the towns. The haiduks were well
and quite often on due time informed
about the behaviour of the rulers in
respect to people, their intentions to
pursue the haiduks, about the traitors
informing the occupation rulers about
the haiduks, whereabouts and who are
the people helping them, about the mo-
ving of merchandise and rulers on the

sastanak u Osmanlijskom vojnom logoru u Viru kod Posušja, 16. rujna 1870. godine na kojemu su sudjelovali kajmakani ljubuškoga i livanjskoga kadiluka, mudir Duvna, s osmanlijske strane, i kapetan Imotskoga, s austrijske strane²⁷. Povremeno udruživanje više hajdučkih družina u izvođenju zajedničkih akcija nije bitnije uticalo na način organiziranja hajdučkoga života u pojedinim hajdučkim družinama.

Hajdučke družine bile su sastavljene od mladih i odvažnih muškaraca, spremnih da izdrže sve teškoće i opasnosti. Istina, pojedinačno u hajducima bilo je i žena. Hajdučke su družine na demokratski način birale svoga vođu, kojega su zvali: 'aranbaša, kapitan, ili četovođa, koji je u hajducima pokazivao smisao za taku dužnost, prvenstveno osobnom hrabrošću i pravednošću. Pojedinci su ostajali dugo kao hajdučke četovođe, kakav je bio

main roads, about the collection (plunder) of unlawful taxes etc. The haiduks would get their arms from or repair them at those people who were devoted to them, or they would seize them from the occupiers. On some cases the haiduks would repair the arms by themselves, they even prepared the gunpowder by themselves, as was the case of gunpowder preparation in Velika Pećina (The Large Cave) in Petnjik at Drinovci (Peć Mlini) near Grude. Special robes were made for haiduks, which were identical to those worn in towns in the Venetian, Austrian or Turkish occupied territories, to which places the haiduks would go to carry out some jobs, perform some actions, or to hide from pursuit.

The haiduk bands of an operation region (about one hundred of square kilometers) and even generally did not have their center, a main cave, or a main mountain where from they would go to an action and to where they would come back. It is possible to say that the haiduks were moving constantly. A more or less permanent shelter was offered to them by the surrounding mountains, as are: Vran, Kamišnica and Bjokovo, where in it was easier for them to hide in the caves, the thick forests,



Sl. 1. Šimića pećina u Vučipolju kod Posušja

slučaj i s Ivanom Bušićom Rošom, koji je zapovijedao hajducima oko dvadeset godina²⁸. Nisu nam poznate druge izborne ili na drugi način određene dužnosti u hajdučkim družinama. Poznato je da su hajduci imali i svoje pomagače (jatake) u selima i gradovima. Hajduci su bili dobro i najčešće na vrijeme obaviješteni o ponašanju vlastodržaca prema narodu, njihovim namjerama u progonu hajduka, o potkazivačima (izdajnicima) za račun okupatorske vlasti kuda se kreću i tko pomaže hajduke, o prometu robe i vlastodržaca na glavnim putovima, o sakupljanju (pljački) nezakonitih dažbina i slično. Hajduci su nabavljali oružje ili su ga popravljali kod odanih ljudi, ali i otimali od okupatora. U određenim slučajevima hajduci su i sami popravljali oružje, čak su sami i spravljali barut, kakav je bio slučaj spravljanja baruta u Velikoj Pećini u Petnjiku u Drinovcima (Peć Mlini) kod Gruda. Za hajduke su pravljene posebne odore kakve su nošene u gradovima na Mletačkom, Austrijskom ili Osmanlijskom okupacionom teritoriju, gdje su hajduci odlazili da obave pojedine poslove, izvrše pojedine akcije, ili da se sklone od progona.

Hajdučke družine jednoga operativnoga područja (oko stotinu četvornih kilometara), pa i općenito nemaju svoj centar, glavnu pećinu, ili glavnu planinu odakle su polazili u akcije i gdje su se vraćali. Hajduci su stalno u pokretu, tako rekuć. Relativno stalna pribježišta bile su im okolne planine, kao što su: Vran, Kamišnica i Biokovo, gdje su se lakše skrivali u pećinama, u gustim gorama, kod tamošnjih stočara ili u okolnim selima, jer u tim prostorima hajduci su imali stvarnu vlast, a okupator samo kada je s vojskom na tim terenima.

U ratnim sukobima osmanske carvine, Mlečana i Austrije hajduci se slobodnije kreću na Mletačkoj odnosno Austrijskoj okupacionoj teritoriji,

with the cattle breeders of these regions and in the villages, because the haiduks were really ruling in those areas, and the occupiers were ruling only at the time when the army was present there.

During the wars of the Turkish empire, the Venetians and Austrians, the haiduks were moving more freely in the Venetian and/or Austrian occupation territory, while during the periods of peace they were equally or almost equally pursued on the territories held by the Venetians, Austrians or the Turks. This is why in addition to other reasons the haiduks from Western Herzegovina and other regions did not have any specific center. The haiduks were supported almost equally by the people wherever they came to, except for those who were robbers.

Selection of the haiduk caves as temporary dwellings, was conditioned by the independence of the haiduk bands from foreign forces, by hundreds years of experience to survive and fight in permanent movement, avoiding the destruction, and causing damage and troubles to the occupier. That is why the haiduks chose such caves in which they would stay and from where they would fight over the whole operational region, taking into account that the chosen cave should be not easily accessible, with small entrance, not known to the population of the region, so that it might be possible for the haiduks to run away in emergency.

The choice of the haiduks' caves differs as a rule from the choice of the caves chosen by human societies for their dwellings in the prehistorical times or in early middle age. In the event when the choice of the haiduks' caves coincided with the caves in which human societies dwelt over various periods of time, these were the caves which were used by haiduks as dwellings which they used occasionally when there was no immediate danger.

A number of the haiduks' caves was used also by the soldiers of the Peoples Liberation War for their temporary dwellings or for treatment of the wounded persons, as was the case with Mijat cave in Vran mountain and Šimića Cave in Vučipolje near Posušje. The Haiduk caves were used as temporary shelters of the local population in different dangers to life or for hiding of food and other properties.

Among the haiduk caves only the Šimića cave at Vučipolje near Posušje was



Sl. 2. Velika (Ravlića) pećina u Drinovcima

dok u vrijeme mira hajduke podjednako ili skoro podjednako progone na teritoriju kojega drže Mlečani, Austrija, ili Osmanlije. Zato hajduci iz zapadne Hercegovine i drugih područja i nemaju određenoga centra, uz ostale razloge. Hajduci imaju podršku svugdje, skoro podjednako, od naroda, gdje se nađu, izuzimajući pljačkaše.

Izbor hajdučkih pećina, kao privremenih staništa, bio je uvjetovan samostalnošću hajdučkih družina od stranih sila, stoljetnim iskustvom da se opstane, i bori u stalnim pokretima, izbjegavajući uništenje, a okupatoru nanoseći štetu i uznemiravanje. Zato hajduci biraju pećine gdje će se zadržavati i boriti širom operativnoga područja, vodeći računa da je izabrana pećina teže pristupačna, s malim ulaznim vratima ili da je unutar pećina razvijena, gdje progonitelj nesmiije dublje zalaziti bez velikoga rizika, tražeći da odabrana pećina ima i druge otvore osim ulaznih vrata, koji su nepoznati širem krugu mjesnoga

fortified at the entrance by special walls for defense purposes. It has not been established till now that the haiduk caves were fortified in the communal sense (building several rooms, water supply facilities, drawbridges, protection against humidity, roads and paths etc.). The haiduk caves, as it seems, with slight improvements were used in their natural setout.

Living for a shorter or longer period of time in the various haiduk caves, the haiduks would bring and prepare food within them, they would bring bedspreads and blankets for resting and sleep, they would bring drinking water from the existing reserves of permanent snow and ice on the higher mountains (Vran, Kamišnica and Biokovo) or from the surrounding sources or cisterns. As the haiduks' caves are not investigated, it is not known to us to which extent it was possible to use the water from the caves for drinking and other needs, which should be neglected.

We should mention by the way that haiduks did not use for their abodes only the caves, but they were staying also in the peasants' and shepherds' houses, and in winter they would usually stay with their relatives or with reliable friends. The haiduks would build in the ground special rooms for winter quar-

pučanstva, da u slučaju nužde hajducima omogućí bjekstvo.

U pravilu izbor hajdučkih pećina razlikuje se od izbora pećina koje su ljudske zajednice birale za svoja staništa u prapovijesti ili u ranom srednjem vijeku. Ako se u pojedinim slučajevima i podudario izbor hajdučke pećine u kojoj su ljudske zajednice bile nastanjene u raznim periodima, to su one pećine koje su hajduci koristili kao usputna boravišta, kada nije bilo neposredne opasnosti.

Jedan broj hajdučkih pećina koristili su i borci Narodnooslobodilačkoga rata za svoje privremeno boravište ili za liječenje ranjenika, kao što je bio slučaj s Mijatovom Pećinom u Vran planini i Šimića Pećinom u Vučipolju kod Posušja. Hajdučke pećine su korištene i kao privremeni zakloni mjesnoga pučanstva u raznim životnim opasnostima ili za skrivanje hrane i drugih dobara.

Od hajdučki pećina jedino je Šimića Pećina u Vučipolju kod Posušja bila utvrđivana kod ulaznih vrata posebnim zidovima u obrambene svrhe. Do sada nije utvrđeno da su hajdučke pećine bile uređivane u komunalnom smislu (zidanje više prostorija, gradnja objekata za vodu, pravljenje pokretnih mostova, postavljanje zaštite od vlage, probijanje putova i staza i slično). Hajdučke su pećine, kako se čini, uz neznatno dotjerivanje korištene, kako ih je priroda podarila.

Živeći kraće ili duže u pojedinim hajdučkim pećinama hajduci su u pećine donosili ili pripremali hranu za jelo, donosili prostirače i pokrivače za odmor i spavanje, donosili vodu za piće s postojećih rezervi vječitoga snijega i leda na višim planinama (Vran, Kamišnica i Biokovo), ili s obližnjih izvora ili čatrnja. Usljed neistraženosti hajdučkih pećina nije nam poznato koliko je bilo mogućnosti da se koriste i pećinske vode za

ters, which they called the jamas (pits)²⁹. The haiduk chief Mijat Tomić lived for two winters in the cellar of Kopčić bey at Kongora, near Duvno, while the guard was looking for him in the caves³⁰, being a very interesting fact.

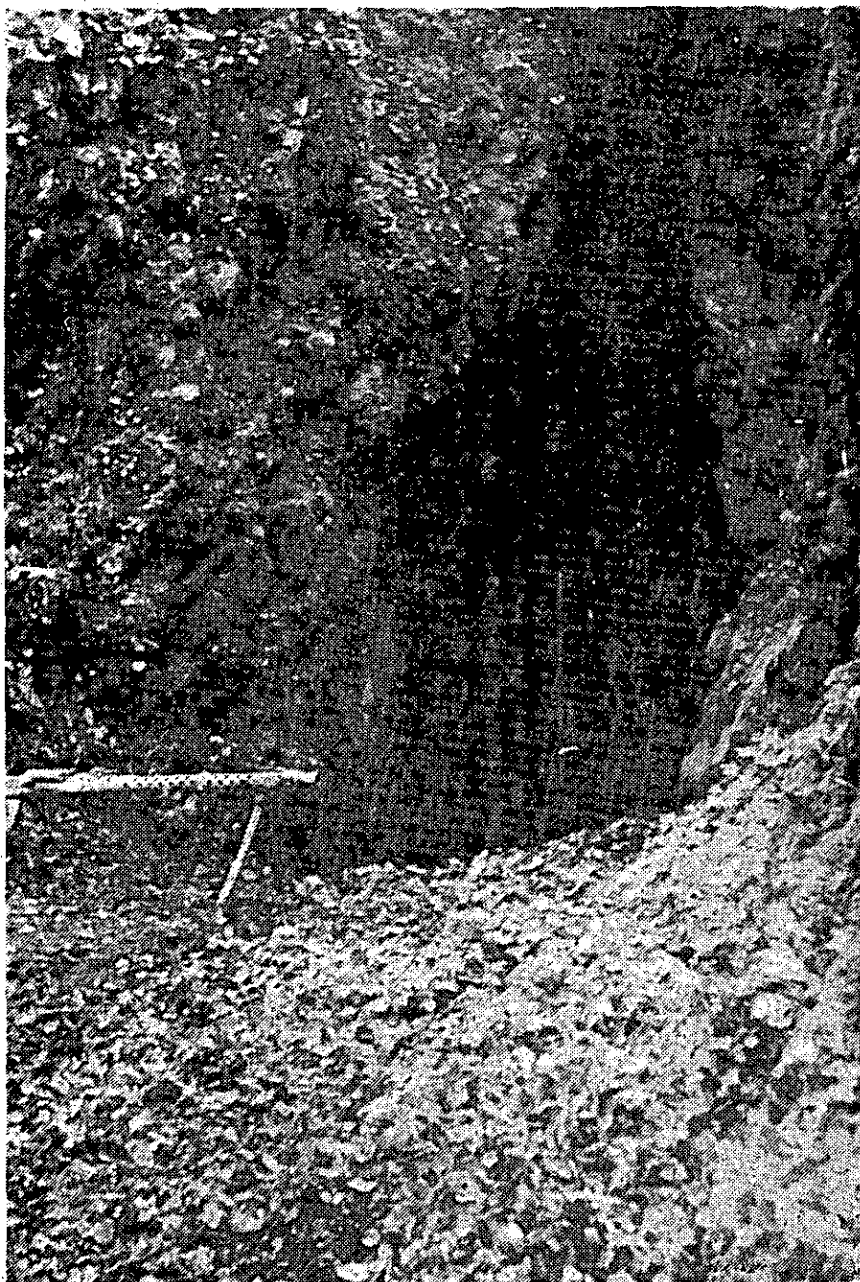
The caves within which the haiduks would stay or dwell for prolonged periods of time were named the haiduk cave. There are some caves which were named after the famous haiduks. The haiduks had also some hidden caves which served them to treat their wounded, keep their prisoners, and hide there in case of prolonged pursuits. These caves were named the haiduks caves, because they were not known to the population, even all the haiduks were not informed about the most hidden, actually the secret caves. Even today those families who new about these caves reluctantly speak about the secret haiduks' caves.

There is still a belief among the people that the haiduks' caves were provided with two or more openings. One of these opening was usually known, and the others were not generally known, so as to provide the possibility to escape before the pursuers. It is actually true that some of the haiduk caves were provided with several openings. The pursuers upon learning that the haiduks were in the cave, would surround the entrance to the cave and would wait for haiduks to run out of food and water and thus to force them to surrender. The haiduks would usually appear in an action at some other place or they would attack the siege of the cave and would vanish.

The best known haiduks' caves are in the Vran mountain and are named after the haiduks' chief Mijat Tomić from the 17th century. One of the haiduks' caves is located under the top of the Vran Mountain. It was used on different occasions in the Second World War and even later. Its space and archeology have not been investigated. There is another Mijat's cave at the foot of the Vran Mountain.

One haiduks' cave is named after Andrija Šimić, the haiduks' chief from the 19th century, and its name is Šimića Cave. The location of the Cave is at Vučipolje near Posušje. Its space and archeology have not been investigated.

One of the haiduks' caves is located on Kušanovac hill. It is frequently heard about this cave that it a haiduks' cave. In some of the villages in the vicinity (Rujan) they say that it is Mijat's



Sl. 3. Mijatova pećina na Vran-planini

piće i druge potrebe, što ne bi trebalo zanemariti.

Usputno da napomenemo da hajduci nisu koristili za boravak isključivo pećine, već su boravili i u seoskim odnosno stočarskim kućama, a najčešće zimi kod rodbine ili kod pouzdanih ljudi. Hajduci su pravili u zemlji i posebne prostorije za zimovanje, koje su nazivali jame²⁹. Hajdučki je harambaša Mijat Tomić stanovao dvije zime u podrumu bega Kopčića u Kongori kod Duvna, dok ga je zaptija tražila u pećinama³⁰, što je veoma zanimljivo.

Pećine u kojima su se zadržavali ili duže boravili hajduci dobiše imena: hajdučka pećina. Ima pećina koje su dobile imena znamenitih hajduka. Hajduci su im služile za liječenje ranjenika, čuvanje zarobljenika, za sklanjanje u slučaju dužih potjera. Te pećine nisu dobile imena: hajdučke pećine, jer narodu nisu bile poznate, čak ni svi hajduci nisu znali za najskrivenije odnosno tajne pećine. I danas se nerado priča o tajnim hajdučkim pećinama od onih rodova kojima je to bilo poznato.

Kod naroda i danas vlada uvjerenje da su hajdučke pećine imale dva ili više otvora. Jedan otvor obično je bio poznat, a ostali su bili nepoznati, kako bi mogli progoniteljima umaći. Doista, bilo je slučajeva da su hajdučke pećine imale više otvora. Progonitelji saznajući da su hajduci u pećini, opkoljavali bi ulaz u pećinu i čekali da hajducima nestane hrane i vode, i tako ih prisile na predaju. Hajduci bi se, obično, pojavili u akciji na kojemu drugomu mjestu, ili bi napali opsadu pećine i nestali.

Najpoznatije hajdučke pećine nalaze se u Vran planini i nose ime hajdučkoga harambaše Mijata Tomića iz 17. stoljeća. Jedna je hajdučka pećina pod vrhom Vran planine. Korištena je u raznim prilikama u drugom

Cave, named after the famous haiduks' chief Mijat Tomić from Brišnik near Duvno, from the 17th century. Its space and archeology have not been investigated.

There is another haiduks' cave in the Greda hill at Sovići near Grude. The space and the archeology of the cave have not been investigated. The stalactites and the stalagmites of the cave in the vicinity of the cave entrance were probably destroyed by the inn keepers which built improvised caves next to their inns. Close to this cave a prehistoric not fortified settlement from the Bronze Age was also located³¹. It was not established if this cave was inhabited.

Two haiduks' caves are located at Drinovci in Petnik hill near Grude. The haiduks used one cave in the south-east part of Petnik. This cave is not easily accessible. The other cave used both by haiduks and uskoks is easily accessible. It is described under various names in literature: Velika Pećina u Peć Mlinima³² (the large Cave at Peć Mlini) and Ravlića Pećina³³ (the Ravlića Cave) where allegedly uskoks' chief Kostreš used to stay when he was coming with his uskoks to those regions. This spacious cave was settled from an older stage of the Neolithic to Bronze Age. People were dwelling here periodically even later to the Middle Age. The first attempt to establish archeologically whether the cave was inhabited has not succeeded. Actually, the people from Zemaljski Muzej (Land Museum) of Bosnia & Herzegovina, have tried thirty years ago to excavate a probe some 15 m from the entrance into the interior of the cave in order to establish if a settlement existed there. The probe was negative, because they found many layers of salt-peter and no traces of human settlement. The author of this paper has found in 1970 close to the entrance some remains of pottery from the middle stage of Neolithic, Bronze Age and the Middle Age³⁴. Later on, during the archeological investigations made by the Zemaljski Muzej of Bosnia and Herzegovina, inhabitation of this cave was established also in the older stage of the Neolithic.

The haiduks' caves are worthy of the attention and thus also of a more thorough study, primarily in order to elaborate in bigger detail their possible usage in Social National Defense and also as dwelling places for people. Based on the knowledge available to us till now,

svjetskom ratu, pa i kasnije. Prostor-
no i arheološki nije istraživana. Pos-
toji još jedna Mijatova pećina u pod-
nožju Vran planine.

Jedna hajdučka pećina nosi ime
hajdučkoga harambaše Andrije Šimi-
ća iz 19. stoljeća, pod imenom Šimića
pećina. Pećina se nalazi u Vučipolju
kod Posušja. Arheološki i prostorno
nije istraživana.

Jedna hajdučka pećina nalazi se
u brdu Kušanovac. Za ovu pećinu naj-
češće se čuje da je hajdučka pećina.
U pojedinim okolnim selima (Rujan)
kažu da je to Mijatova pećina, kako
je ime nosio slavni hajdučki haram-
baša Mijat Tomić iz Brišnika kod
Duvna iz 17. stoljeća. Arheološki i pro-
storno pećina nije istraživana.

Postoji hajdučka pećina i u brdu
Greda kod Sovića blizu Gruda. Pro-
storno i arheološki pećina nije istra-
živana. Stalagmite i stalaktite, koji su
bili blizu ulaznih vrata, u pećini poru-
šili su, po svoj prilici, gostioničari,
koji su uz gostionice gradili inprovi-
zirane pećine. Blizu ove pećine nala-
zilo se prapovijesno vangrađinsko na-
selje iz brončanog doba³¹. Nije utvrđe-
no da li je ova pećina bila nastanjena.

Dvije hajdučke pećine nalaze se u
Drinovcima u brdu Petnik kod Gruda.
Hajduci su koristili jednu pećinu u
jugoistočnom dijelu Petnika koja je
teško pristupačna. Druga pećina, koju
su koristili hajduci i uskoci, lako je
pristupačna. U literaturi je poznata
pod raznim imenima, kao što je: Ve-
lika Pećina u Peć Mlinima³² i Ravlića
Pećina³³, gdje je, navodno boravio i
Kostreš harambaša, kada bi dolazio
na to područje sa svojim uskocima.
Ova prostrana pećina bila je naselje-
na od starije faze mlađega kamenoga
doba do brončanoga doba. Tu su i
kasnije, povremeno boravili ljudi do
srednjega vijeka. Prvi pokušaj da se
utvrdi arheološki da li je pećina bila
naseljena, nije uspio. Naime, radnici
Zemaljskoga muzeja Bosne i Herce-

the haiduks' caves were inhabited only
exceptionally, but they were selected
carefully with the purpose of guerilla
fighting against stronger enemy. That is
how this paper originated. Namely the
author of this paper in his study of the
people's fight against the foreign enemy,
was dealing also with the issue of selec-
tion of haiduks' caves, the number of
which is quite big in this region.

govine, prije tridesetak godina, pokušali su kopanjem jedne sonde oko 15 m dalje od ulaza u unutrašnjost pećine da ustanove da li je bilo tu naselje. Sonda je bila negativna jer se tu našlo mnogo naslaga šalitre i bez ostataka ljudske naseljenosti. Pisac ovoga članka je 1970. godine našao blizu ulaznih vrata ostatke zemljanih posuda iz srednje faze mlađeg kamenoga doba, iz brončanoga doba i srednjega vijeka³⁴. Kasnije je utvrđena naseljenost ove pećine i u starijoj fazi mlađeg kamenoga doba prilikom arheološkoga istraživanja Zemaljskoga muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine³⁵.

Hajdučke pećine zaslužuju pažnju da budu svestranije izučene, u prvom redu u cilju razrade njihovoga korištenja za općenarodnu obranu, ali i kao ljudska staništa. Na osnovu dosadašnjega našega saznanja, hajdučke pećine su samo iznimno bile naseljene, dok su izabrane pažljivo u cilju vođenja gerilske borbe protiv jačega neprijatelja. Tako je i ovaj rad nastao. Naime, pisac ovoga rada baveći se istraživanjem narodne borbe protiv tuđina, bavio se i pitanjem izbora hajdučkih pećina, kojih ima u ovom kraju u velikom broju.

LITERATURA BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1 PETAR SKOK: Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika, Knjiga prva, Zagreb, 1971., str. 649.
- 2 BRATOLJUB KLAIC: Rječnik stranih riječi, Zagreb, 1978., str. 512.
- 3 PETAR OREĆ: Posušje, Knjiga prva (Knjiga još nije objavljena).
- 4 MARKO VEGO: Bekija kroz vjekove, Sarajevo, 1964., str. 180.
- 5 Enciklopedija Jugoslavije (3), Zagreb, MCMLVIII, str. 652—654;
- 6 PETAR OREĆ: Posušje, Knjiga prva.
- 6 Enciklopedija Jugoslavije (3), str. 652.
- 7 MIROSLAV DŽAJA: Sa kupreške visoravni, Slavonski Brod, 1970., str. 100.
- 8 PETAR OREĆ: n. dj.; Enciklopedija Jugoslavije (3), str. 652—654.
- 9 Enciklopedija Jugoslavije (3), str. 652—654.; PETAR OREĆ, n. dj.
- 10 MIJO MILAS: Hajduk Andrija Šimić; Zagreb, 1972., str. 28.
- 11 IVAN PINJUH iz Lištice, Pismo o hajduku Ivanu Cerkezu naslovljeno na pisca ovoga članka od 7. 4. 1970. god.; MARTIN ĐURĐEVIĆ: Memoari sa Balkana (1858—1878), Sarajevo, 1910., str. 184.
- 12 PETAR OREĆ: n. dj.
- 13 ANĐELKO MIJATOVIĆ: Narodne pjesme o Mijatu Tomiću, Zagreb, 1969.
- 14 ANTE UJEVIĆ: Imotska krajina, Split, 1953., str. 102. i 103.
- 15 JULIJAN JELENIĆ: Ljetopis franjevačkog samostana u Kreševu, GZMBiH, XXIX, 1917, Sarajevo, 1918. god., str. 78.; ANTE UJEVIĆ: n. dj. 102. i 103. pogrešno donio godinu.
- 16 PETAR OREĆ: n. dj.
- 17 MIJO MILAS: n. dj., str. 53.
- 18 PETAR OREĆ: n. dj.
- 19 MIJO MILAS: n. dj., 70.
- 20 MARKO VEGO: n. dj., 180.
- 21 Enciklopedija Jugoslavije (3), 653.
- 22 Bukovica uz stotu obljetnicu osnutka župe, Bukovica, 1980., str. 24—26.
- 23 ANTE UJEVIĆ: n. dj., 103.
- 24 MIROSLAV DŽAJA: n. dj.; Dr JULIJAN JELENIĆ: n. dj., 78.
- 25 PETAR OREĆ: n. dj.
- 26 PETAR OREĆ: n. dj.
- 27 MARKO VEGO: n. dj., 102.

- 28 ANTE UJEVIĆ: n. dj., 102.
- 29 MIJO MILAS: n. dj., 31.
- 30 PETAR OREČ: n. dj.
- 31 PETAR OREČ: Prapovijesna naselja i grobne gomile, GZMBiH u Sarajevu, Arheologija, N. s., Sveska XXXII/1977, Sarajevo, 1978., str. 194.
- 32 PETAR OREČ: Prapovijesna naselja i grobne gomile, GZMBiH, Arheologija, N. s., Sveska XXXII/1977, Sarajevo, 1978., str. 196.
- 33 BRUNISLAV MARIJANOVIĆ: Ravlića Pećina (Peć Mliini), Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine Sarajevo, Arheologija, N. s., Sveska 35/36, Sarajevo, 1981., str. 1—97.
- 34 PETAR OREČ: Stari putovi u našem kraju »Imotska krajina«, Imotski, 1. listopada 1976.; PETAR OREČ: Prapovijesna naselja i grobne gomile, GZMBiH, Arheologija, N. s., Sveska XXXII/1977., Sarajevo, 1978. str. 196.
- 35 BRUNISLAV MARIJANOVIĆ: n. dj.