

## FRANCISCANS AND MEDICINE IN HERZEGOVINA

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### SUMMARY

*In the introductory part the author summarizes almost the eight-century-long presence of the Franciscans in the area of today's Herzegovina and their pastoral/religious and socio-cultural/charitable work. As early as in the 13<sup>th</sup> century the Franciscans brought from Dubrovnik the first experiences from the period of the so-called monastery medicine, and they soon erected five monasteries with special rooms for the pharmacy, which were designed for the needs of the brethren and the neighbouring population.*

*Although in the Turkish period they lived and worked in difficult circumstances the Franciscans were helping everybody regardless of faith; a Decision of the Congregation "De propaganda fide" defined the medical treatment of the Catholic and non-Catholic (Muslim and Orthodox) population. Apart from the Franciscans who had been practicing traditional folk treatment, since the 18<sup>th</sup> century there have appeared a number of Franciscans with proper medical education acquired at the faculties in Italy, Austria and Hungary. Some of them won recognition as authors of valuable medical books.*

*In medicine and pharmacy the Franciscans have been present in Herzegovina up to date.*

**Key words:** history of medicine, 13-20<sup>th</sup> century period, ethno-medicine, Franciscans, Herzegovina

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## INTRODUCTION

During their almost eight-century-long presence among their flock in the area of today's Herzegovina, the Franciscans, in addition to their pastoral-religious work, have been developing socio-cultural-charitable work as well. Following the merchants of Dubrovnik, the Franciscans were extending their activities first from the area of Dubrovnik. With the help of their friends they used to build habitations, churches and monasteries in the area of Hum, Zahumlje, the Land of Hum (Herzegovina) and there they would make their abode. So the Franciscans are a living institution that, with its faithful flock, proudly lives the present for the history of the Catholic Church and the Croatian people here at the beginning of the third millennium as well [1]

Respecting the will of their founder St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226), who in his *Regula* (Rule) orders the brethren: "... *Et secure manifestet unus alteri necessitatem suam, quia, si mater nutrit et diligit filium suum carnalem, quanto diligentius debet quis diligere et nutrire fratrem suum spiritualem? Et, si quis eorum in infirmitatem ceciderit, alii fratres debent ei servire, sicut vellent sibi serviri.*" (... *And let them without fear disclose to each other their need, for if a Mother feeds and loves her corporal son, with how much more care must everyone love and feed their spiritual brother? And should one of the brethren become ill, other brethren are obliged to take care of him as they would like to be taken care of.*") (Chap. VI. – cf. Mt 7,12). In line with the regulation to take care of the sick and infirm brethren with motherly love, from the very beginning the Franciscans have been founding *pharmacies*, and internal monastery hospitals in their monasteries. This is what the Franciscans throughout Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Bosnia, Northern Croatia and Albania were doing. The pharmacy of the Friars Minor in Dubrovnik is one of the oldest in Europe. According to the Dubrovnik documents, mention is made of the processing and sale of various kinds of drugs as early as in the year 1272, and in the year 1317 the Franciscan pharmacy in Dubrovnik was in place.

With this study I was anxious to depict the Franciscan apothecary heritage, the visions of pharmacists and of others involved in this field, in the atmosphere of cultural tradition and historical events. The presented elements of the Franciscan pharmacy in the light of study of this special part of history and life in general, enrich human knowledge, but also incite to thinking. With their cosmopolitanism and multilingualism some Franciscans, maybe on the foundations of the experience and achieve-

ments of a Dubrovnik, as well as of Herzeg-Bosnia, have been weaving a multi-tiered net of communications in the profession and along with profession. By their activity and contributions to science and profession, especially in the hard circumstances such as prevailed in Herzeg-Bosnia through the full four centuries of the Turkish occupation and manifold oppression, such home pharmacists are worthy to stand side by side with Paracelsus in front of the University Hall in Basel [2].

### 1. COMING OF THE FRANCISCANS TO HERZEGOVINA

Through almost eight centuries the Franciscans acting in the Land of Hum – from 1448 onwards called Herzegovina – belonged to different centres, monasteries and provinces [3]. Administratively, the Franciscans belonged to the Croatian Province founded in 1232 that had its monasteries in Southern Croatia. They used to visit Herzegovina especially from the monasteries in the Dubrovnik Custodia and the Split Custodia, that is to say from the monasteries in Dubrovnik, Ombla, Daksa, Ston and Slano, then in Kotor, Konavle and Cavtat, as well as from Split and Trogir. In the course of the time the Franciscans erected their monasteries in Herzegovina: Novi near Čapljina, Ljubuški, Bišće, Mostar, Konjic and Blažuj near Tomislavgrad, and probably Čerin and Police in Ružići. According to the testimony of the documents from the Historical Archives in Dubrovnik, it seems that Franciscan monasteries existed in Bišće and in Blagaj – the town fortress. Later in 1340 the Bosnian Vicary was founded, which later (1514) was named the Province of Bosna Srebrena (*Bosna Argentina*). Since the Province sprawled over a large territory, and the monasteries in Herzegovina were destroyed, the Franciscans transferred their seats to Zaostrog, Živogošće and Imotski, and continued their activity from there. After the War of Vienna, when the border between the Turkish Empire and the Republic of Venice divided Herzegovina from Dalmatia, the Franciscans from Bosnian monasteries, especially from Kreševo, Fojnica and Sutjeska, went on pastorising the people in Herzegovina. In 1844 the Franciscans native of Herzegovina founded their separate community, which in 1852 was legally proclaimed *custodia* and in 1892 Province of Mary's Assumption in Herzegovina.

About the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century the Franciscans from the Republic of Dubrovnik, where monastery medicine had already been developed, started coming for pastoral visits to the Land of Hum – from

1448 Herzegovina. With the help of benefactors, in the Middle Ages the Franciscans built at least five already mentioned monasteries in the Land of Hum for the needs of the Catholic population and their own community. In these monasteries they used to have separate rooms for a *pharmacy*, arranged on the model of the *pharmacy* of their brothers in Dubrovnik. Like elsewhere, these pharmacies were designed for the needs of monastic brethren and the neighbouring population. It was a godsend for the people of that time, so it is no wonder that at the very beginning the Franciscans won the overall favour of the people.

## 2. FRANCISCAN PHARMACY

The Franciscan pharmacy in Herzegovina started as early as in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and was lasting intensively until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At first the Franciscans made use of codes, books and apothecary supplies from Italy and the Republic of Dubrovnik, but later they themselves wrote or copied books (folk medicine books) and prepared drugs. The medieval culture and medicine spread from the Littoral and the Republic of Dubrovnik inland (Bosnia) via Herzegovina. The following pages deal with the traces of pharmacy and medicine, and with the Franciscans who, as far as we know, busied themselves with medicine in Herzegovina [4].

*“St. Francis’ motto ‘do not live only for yourself, but be useful to others’ has been hovering before the eyes of the Herzegovinian Franciscans through centuries. That is why they have performed those brilliant works of their missionary activity, which the world admires even today. They were tireless labourers in the Lord’s vineyard – which bears the honourable name of Herzegovina Franciscana (The Franciscan Herzegovina). Their main vocation was the religious education of their people and the preservation of the holy faith of their forefathers. But it may be well known to you that they were the only schooled sons among their people. So they had to reach out for other fields of human culture, lest their people should remain barbaric, but that they should keep abreast with other peoples of the Christian West. Their activity was manifold in this field indeed, and the fruits indelible” [5].*

Due to the lack of written documents it is very difficult to pin down the historical encounter of the Croatian people and the Franciscans with science, and their acquisition of knowledge in the long-past centuries. Instead of that, other sources bear witness: ethnographic heritage, words and archaeological objects. The difficulties in recognising this knowledge

spring from the fact that the (hard) times – especially during the Turkish occupation of Herzeg-Bosnia – have been destroying what the Franciscan culture has been writing. These voids are partly filled in by oral tradition, popular customs and the mysteriousness of legends and myths.

The oldest preserved treatise *De medicis et medicina et praesertim de claricis volentibus medicari* was written in 1451 by fra John of Capistrano (1385–1456), defender of Belgrade against the Turks. The work was preserved in two manuscripts. One is stored in the Bishop's Library in Maribor, and the other in the Court Library in Vienna. The treatise speaks of how one should behave in the difficult times of the plague ravaging, then generally of the duties of doctors, and especially of deontological problems of clerics busying themselves with healing. Although this work is one of the firstlings in the field of medical ethics, it has remained almost unknown in the history of medicine. Fra John of Capistrano used this work of his when writing his book *Speculum conscientiae*. The moral speculations of St. Ivan Kapistran have preserved their value up to date, and this only as a historic document.

According to the experience doctors maintain, John of Capistrano says, that the best prescription in the times of the plague is: fast, far and late. To run as fast as possible, as far as possible, and return as late as possible! This general view is opposed by Christ's teaching: the good shepherd gives his life to preserve his sheep. According to these words a parish priest should not leave his flock even in case of death danger. Fra John of Capistrano resolves this dilemma by introducing a distinction, which is a good confirmation of his mastery of scholastic argumentation. Priests may flee the plague and leave the flock entrusted to them if there is somebody to replace them. If there is nobody else to confer sacraments, a priest must not flee [6]. Namely, he must fear more the perdition of the souls of his faithful than the perdition of his own body. The advice of a doctor is not something absolute, for it concerns only the health of this life's body common to man, flies and fleas, and not the salvation of the soul, the eternal life after the earthly death [7].

From the history of the Croatian population years are known when the plague was especially rife. Among those who died of plague, the names of some Franciscans were mentioned. Frequent outbreaks of the plague in the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in the Republic of Dubrovnik, the Southern Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina used to half the number of people there. After their Samaritan work in

Herzegovina the Franciscans also used to die of plague together with their flock. Only some names of the friars who died of plague are known: On 4 November 1732 fra Ljudevit Miletić in Duvno, on 4 August 1815 fra Andrija Anušić in Rakitno, on 24 July 1851 fra Mijo Slišković in Široki Brijeg [8].

## 2.1 FRANCISCAN MEDICINE IN THE TURKISH PERIOD

With the coming of the Turks to Herzeg-Bosnia, hard times both for the Franciscans and the Christian people set in. But in spite of that, the Franciscans did not give up either in their missionary, educational, literary, scientific and charitable work or in offering medical and pharmacist aid. On the contrary, the Franciscans cured their faithful with equal care as the Muslim population, whose numbers were on the increase through Islamization.

From the documents about the Franciscan care of the sick it can be seen that they helped everybody regardless of faith. Only for the cure of seriously ill Muslims a permission of the Turkish authorities was needed. That was the only difference in the medical treatment of the Catholic and the non-Catholic (Muslim and Orthodox) population.

### DECISIONS OF THE CONGREGATION “DE PROPAGANDA FIDE”

Among the Turkish documents we find, as early as in 1538, a permission of the Turkish authorities for the Franciscans to cure. With the time the number of such documents increased. It must be noted here that no permission was asked for numerous good neighbourly relations, illnesses and emergencies. It used to be asked for and obtained in dangerous situations and suspicious environments. Furthermore, as missionaries the Franciscans used to get permissions and suggestions to cure also from the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith after its foundation in 1622.

In contrast to the precise instructions of the Congregation and the adequate permits by the Turkish authorities, on several occasions the Church dignitaries did not look benevolently at the Franciscan medical activity and their giving of amulets. Such disagreements were recorded, for example, in Albania by the bishop fra Grga Ilijić in 1800, and in a report of the archbishop dr. Josip Stadler from 1882. The Congregation used to send adequate answers to all of them. From the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century these answers are mainly reiteration of a Decision of the Congregation of 11 December 1749. Here are the contents of that answer in short.

At the General Congregation of the Roman Inquisition, held on 11 December 1749 in the presence of Pope Benedict XIV, after having read the letter of the bishop of Skadar Peter Campsi, the following became known: *“There is an old custom in all parts that in their illness the infidel have been resorting and still resort to the Catholic priests, who used to read certain psalms over such patients, which psalms are cited in the Roman Book of Rites, where it is spoken about visiting and caring for the sick. Psalm 90 is quoted ‘You who dwell in the shelter of the Most High’. The prayer ends with the reading of a passage from the Gospel: When Jesus entered Capernaum... Over the Christian patients the whole text from the Book of Rites is read while with the non-Catholics some parts are left out. St. Anthony’s Responsory with appropriate prayer is recited over them all. The said bishop says that patients are also given amulets with appropriate texts, but missionaries are fighting the magic that has taken root among married Turks and Christians. At the end the bishop puts a plea: “Should your Eminences not approve of the said, I warmly beg you to indicate other prayers that could be used both for Christians and the Infidel, for should we exclude these, this might give rise to many a trouble, as Your Eminences may well suppose.”*

After having heard the cardinals’ opinion, the Pope ordered that the following answer be sent to the bishop of Skadar: *“When missionaries or other priests are invited to bless sick infidels, or if they are asked to give them the said amulets to take with them, in the first place they should warn those they are blessing that they cannot infallibly promise them health or the desirable effect with these – they should especially warn thereof persons bound by the bonds of marriage – but rather they should tell them they will pray, and that they should also pray to the Lord that He may deign to hear them. Apart from that they should also warn them no to believe in any empty things, such as the number of words, or whether they are written on new paper, whether they are to be worn at a specific hour, or to be tied with such and such thread, in this or that form or folder, or to be worn in this or that way and the like superstitions that are of no importance.”* In his further message the Pope goes on to say. *“Besides, they should take care that no other words or signs or empty signs, unknown or superstitious, are mixed with holy words and the sign of the cross on such amulets, and that the faithful do not misuse them and that there should be no danger of contempt or superstition, that infidels might do with them.”* This is followed by prayer formula for spouses.

I do not know what the Congregations replied to the complaint of archbishop Stadler, but the just quoted view of the Congregation from 1749, which I attach to his Report signed in Sarajevo on 18 November



1882, makes it probable that a copy of the above quoted text with attached prayers was sent to the archbishop for orientation. Archbishop Josip Stadler obviously did not like this activity, so he addressed it in his Report from the year 1882 [9].

## 2.2 CURE OF THE CATHOLICS

Since the Franciscans used to study philosophy and theology outside Hercegovina and Bosnia already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, on their return to the homeland the Franciscans used to bring a medical book or two with them. Owing to this fact, in the Franciscan Library at Humac today we can find numerous and bulky volumes dating back to 1598 and up to date – more than 500 books in all. In the Library in Mostar especially rich is the fund of medical books: more than 1,500 books for the past 200 years, while in Široki Brijeg – in this oldest Franciscan Library in Herzegovina – older books are a rarity because two years after World War II, that is in March 1947, the Communists burnt all books, manuscripts, even the parish Registers of Birth, Marriage and Death [10].

Apart from medicine books, that the Franciscans used to put on the shelves of their newly built houses, every Franciscan seems to have had his own folk medicine book or “*Adnotationes quaedam medicinales necessariae omni Curatori animarum tam in Conventu quam extra degeneti...*” as found in the *Grab-bag* of fra Ilija Vidošević from 1826. It was his *Vade mecum* (Go with me) during his whole priestly life, which later came in useful to the brethren coming after him [11].

At the beginning of his Popular Medicine Book, written at Široki Brijeg in 1868, fra Mijo Nikolić welcomes the reader with these words: “*Receive, dear reader, this little work of mine that I undertook, not for human praise or worldly profit, but because of the misfortune of my people, unhappy and miserable as they are, who dwell in darkness, without any enlightenment, science or good physicians; who have an awful time, suffer, and without any medical help lose their dear life and go to the grave without attention. Considering this for a long time already, I started trying to read and gather various books and medical manuscripts. I gave all the help I could to those who asked me. Now, from my experience and everyday exercise I have put together a few medicines in this volume.* Further in the text the writer encourages the users of his Medicine Book with these words: “*If you find (a drug) and tries it and if it does not have any effect do not despair immediately but rather continue the cure especially in diseases of long duration, for there is an old say-*



ing: *Principiis obsta, sero medicina paratur. Do not think that you can cure every disease with this drug, for people say: Contra vim mortis, non est remedium in hortis, there is no remedy against death. But why die if we can be cured? Many times we can help our neighbour* [12].

### 2.3 CURE OF MUSLIMS

Several Turkish documents have been preserved in Franciscan archives related to the cure of members of non-Catholic faith on the Turkish territory. Here are some of them: *Among Turkish documents from as early as the year 1538 we find a permission of the Turkish authorities allowing the Franciscans to cure. With the time the number of such documents was becoming greater and greater, only for numerous good neighbourly relations, illnesses and emergencies such permission was not asked for. End May 1633 the naib (judge) of Ljubuški, Seter, wrote to the Catholic priest from Zajezërje that the latter is allowed to cure Mustafin, son of Muhamed, reis from the fort of Ljubuški. (Namely, for the cure of Muslims, especially in their areas, the Franciscans had to have Turkish permission). About the same time a certain clerk, Mehmed, invites the Franciscan father Ivan to come to Ljubuški and cure Ahmed's son Muhamed. Fra Pavao from Rovinj testifies in 1640 that by means of a medicinal herb Bosnian Franciscans very successfully cure very serious cases of calculus* [13]. The medicinal herb is called *pinpinella salvatica*. In an undated document the Aga of Imotski gives a pass to the Franciscan father Luka that he may come and cure Hasan-aga. In the opinion of dr. fra Karlo Jurišić, this information probably refers to Hasan-aga Arapović who was killed on 17 March 1669 near Zadvarje, and who is believed to have been husband of Hasanaginica – after whom the well known folk poem was named [14]. In a testimony from the year 1679 the kadi from Gabela, Husein, issues a murasela (permission) to fra Bono Perkov(ić?) that the latter is allowed to cure Jusuf ćehaja Selimagić. In the distant past, the favourite pastoral hobby of the Franciscans in Herzegovina was to busy themselves with medicine and pharmacy, a hobby that cost them a lot of sacrifice and effort [15].

The said cases confirm the supposition that permission for individual medical interventions of the Franciscans was not always asked for, or possible to obtain. This is especially true of the areas far from Franciscan monasteries, which had their archives. It could be said that the Franciscans in their regular activity, “*secundum loca et tempora*”, also took

care of the soul and body of all those who were in need of their service and who asked for the Franciscan help.

By the knowledge of medicine they acquired and possessed, the ancient Franciscan physicians could be divided into two basic groups: popular and qualified physicians.

### 3. FRANCISCANS – POPULAR PHYSICIANS

As popular doctors rank those who drew their medical knowledge from the tested life experience. Among such doctors – Franciscans – there were a large number of those who used to carefully test and note down the ways of the inherited popular healing, and then bequeathed them to the posterity in specially formulated medical collections called *ljekaruše* (folk recipies).

It should be said that the Franciscans purged their popular healing from all superstition, unlike the members of other religions. In his “Bosanski prijatelj” (Bosnian friend) fra Franjo Jukić notes that Muslims and the Orthodox, when the amulets of their autodidacts failed to help would come to the Franciscans for amulets. True, the Franciscans “*would give them amulets, but would also advise them and give them some medicine in addition – that is why Franciscan amulets help best!*”

It was by this that their method was distinguished from that of others, as we can see in the case of lady Kadira when she got seriously ill. Her brother Ahmed went to the Islamic code (*sharia*), and at his request and on the basis of exposition a *mürasele* (permission) was written to cure lady Kadira. *You may cure lady Kadira, but beware of what is contrary to the Islamic Code. Proceed according to the mürasele.* 1207., Ramadan 11. (1793) [16].

Summarising the data from the *Regesta of Fojnica*, Risto Jeremić, figured out that from 1663 to 1878 the Franciscans treated 61 Muslim men, 52 Muslim women, three Muslim children and one Orthodox child, and one gypsy. In the Archives of Fojnica only a total of 111 documents have been preserved related to the medical treatment of non-Catholics. It is obvious that this documentation does not include all such cases. Certainly there were much more medical treatment than that. It is a well-known fact that some pashas selected their personal doctors from among the Franciscans, but this is not recorded in the documents preserved [17].

#### 4. FRANCISCANS – QUALIFIED PHYSICIANS

To the group of trained doctors belong those Franciscans who studied medicine and graduated from a School of Medicine at renowned universities, or those who with private diligence rose considerably above ordinary popular physicians. Some of them won even doctor's degree in medical sciences, while others wrote noted medical books. To these belong the following Franciscans: fra Mijo Jelavić (17<sup>th</sup> century), fra Petar Bustrović and fra Franjo Gracić (18<sup>th</sup> century). Bustrović finished medicine in Italy in 1708, while in 1795 Gracić published a professional medical work under the title *Sacerdotis viatoris analysis theoretico – practica de viribus febriferi, atque serpentini, de plerisque aliis morbis, eorumque praecipuis antidotis, et aliis quibusdam miscellis* in which, among others, he discusses fever, plague and snake's bite. So it is, for example, known that fra Petar Bustrović finished medicine in Rome about the year 1710. Our Franciscans studied medicine, at that time and later, at other Italian universities, too, as well as in Hungary and Austria, more prominent among them being Franjo Gracić (1720 – 1799), author of a paper in Latin on plague germs, fra Tadija Lagarić (1761 – 1840), fra Nikola Ilijić (1767 – 1840) and fra Mato Nikolić (1784 – 1844), the physician of the whole Bosnian Franciscan Province, fra Mijo Sučić, won his doctor's degree in medicine in Padova (+1857). They all were especially prominent in controlling plague, which on several occasions in the 18<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century mercilessly ravaged Herzeg-Bosnia. But the path for these medically trained Franciscans was beaten by the unknown “uncles” (a popular nickname for a Franciscan priest), who through the long centuries had been helping the sick in need, often not only with scanty means but also with scanty knowledge [18].

In spite of that they undoubtedly were successful and appreciated. Not only their faithful but also Muslims used to resort to them, even Muslim notables. The sick were usually treated in monasteries or at parish fêtes. Using today's vocabulary, one could say that these were consulting rooms and clinics of the ancient times. It is well known that the Franciscans often used to give the sick a garlic potion whose ingredients are used in pharmacy for various purposes even today. They used to fight plague by recommending cleanliness and isolating the patient from other members of the family. They also administered remedies against fever as well as laxatives and purgatives. If needed, they would cut out plague pustules (buboes) and let blood. Grounding their fight against the plague mainly on the quarantine and isolation, they would smoke churches and houses

with burning spruce-wood, which is an effective disinfectant. But in spite of that many Franciscans also fell victim to the plague, so it is believed that the said fra Franjo Gracić, unselfishly fighting the plague as an 80-year-old, fell victim to it after all.

One the Herzegovinian Franciscans who occupied themselves with medicine in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the prominent Franciscan fra Petar Bakula. He finished a course in medicine in Italy and on coming back he not only cured ordinary people but was also the personal doctor of the famous Ali-pasha Rizvanbegović. Later he was replaced in this service by fra Paško Kvesić. Other Franciscans belonging to this group were fra Mijo Nikolić Jr. and fra Ilija Vidošević. The *Ljekaruša* (folk recipes) of these two have been preserved [19].

While abroad the Franciscans used to buy and bring home modern medical books, and probably older manuals from medicine as well. Some of them are still kept in Franciscan libraries. Here are some of the titles: *Commentarii in VI. liberos Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazacbei de medica materia* from 1598, 1604 and 1712 (three editions), *Novi flores medicinales* from 1675, and *Avvertimenti al popolo sopra la sua salute del Sig. Tissot* from 1678. For easier reference and forced by the restricted space and the circumstances they lived in, every Franciscan, in addition to medical books, had his own *ljekaruša* (folk recipes) or own hand-written copy of “*Adnotationes quaepliam medicinales necessariae omni Curatori animarum tam in Conventu quam extra degeneti...*” compiled and noted down in his *Grab-bag* by Ilija Vidošević in 1826 [20].

Three young Franciscans from the Monastery of Kreševo, fra Tadija Lagarić, fra Nikola Ilijić and fra Mijo Nikolić devoted themselves especially to the study of surgery. They were active in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Nikolić was rated as “a very useful doctor” and so in 1913 the Seniority of the Province declared him doctor of all brothers of our Province” He wrote the book: *Formularum medicinalium antiquiorum et diversis autoribus compilata*, Ossovea 1842. (manuscript). The following Franciscans studied medicine in Vienna and Padova: fra Petar Marešević and fra Mijo Sučić. Marošević was promoted to doctor of medicine thanks to his work *Dissertatio inauguralis medico diaetetica exhibens canones hygienes generales ad tuendam et prologandam vitam sanam...* 1836 [21].

## INSTEAD OF AN EPILOGUE

As in the last one hundred years medicine has been developing more and more, parallel with it the hospital network has been expanding and the number of qualified medical staff increasing. So the Franciscans have been gradually surrendering medical service to civilian doctors and pharmacists more and more. But in out-of-the-way regions and distant villages the Franciscans were offering medical aid to people even during the whole of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In more recent times the following Franciscans pursued medicine and pharmacy: fra Petar Bakula, fra Franjo Bašadur, fra Alfonz Čurić, fra Cvitan Dodig, fra Klemo Doko, fra Bariša Drmić, fra Damjan Gadža, fra Stjepan Hromić, fra Nikola Ivanković, fra Stjepan Naletilić, fra Dominik Šarac, fra Ante Šola, fra Andrija Vidović and others. And not only that: in various periodicals the Franciscans have been warning their readers of various diseases and the ways of their treatment, and referring them to appropriate health offices and consulting rooms.

## SOURCES AND LITERATURE

1. ARCHIVES OF THE PROPAGANDA IN ROME, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 262, ff.191rv – carries the information that the Franciscans converted the population in Herzegovina fifty years after the death of St. Francis (1181.-1226.): “... li frati di S. Francesco, quali hanno convertito sudette parti dopo cinquanta anni della morte di S. Francesco, che saranno da 350 anni in circa stando in governo sempre di quelle anime..” Fra Petar Bakula, on the contrary, writes that the friars came to the Land of Hum some twenty years after the foundation of the Order, that is to say about the year 1240. The fact is that the Franciscans, before they strengthened the people in Herzegovina in the Catholic faith, must have been acting among them for quite a time. So the year 1240 could be taken as the starting year of the programme and many-sided activity of the Franciscans in the Land of Hum, Zahumlje, that is Herzegovina. ANDRIJA NIKIĆ, Medicina – slavna prošlost franjevac, Mostar, 2000., p. 9.-11
2. A. NIKIĆ, Medicina – slavna prošlost franjevac, Mostar, 2000., pp. 11.
3. A. NIKIĆ, Lučonoše vjere i uljudbe – Mrtvoslovník hercegovačkih fratara, Mostar, 2004., pp. 21.-97.
4. ARCHIVES OF THE PROVINCE IN MOSTAR, medicus domesticus by fra Duje Ostojić. The manuscript has about 1000 pages. The first pages carry names and family names of the Franciscans and laymen – including brief curricula vitae – who occupied themselves with medicine and pharmacy in the past.

5. *Circular of the provincial dr. fra Mate Čuturić*, Kršćanska obitelj 22/1939., pp. 106. – 107.
6. Cf. M.D. GRMEK, *Rasprava vol. Ivana Kapistrana o zaštiti od pošasti i dužnostima liječnika*. Acta facultatis medicae fluminensis, 17/1992., No. 3-4., pp. 109-117. The whole of the Collected Papers is devoted to the topics of the Proceedings of the Scientific Colloquium for the 700<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Shrine of the Mother of God of Trsat: The Church in the History of Health and Culture.
7. M. D. GRMEK, *Rasprava vol. Ivana Kapistrana...* pp. 110.-112.
8. ARCHIVES OF THE PROVINCE, *Nekrologium*, No. 20., 93. i 141. *Necrologij fra Duje Ostojića - Martyres fratres.*; A. NIKIĆ, *Mučenici franjevačke provincije Bosne Srebrene između 1530. i 1613.* Tavelić, 21/1981., pp.38-41; A. NIKIĆ, *Mučenici franjevačke provincije Bosne Srebrene od 1631. do 1878.* Tavelić, 22/1982., No. 1., pp. 9-12.; A. NIKIĆ, *Hercegovački franjevački mučenici 1524.-1945.* Mostar 1992. A. NIKIĆ, *Franjevci - zaštitnici naših katolika pod osmanlijskom vlašću do godine 1597.* Tavelić, 21/1981., No. 1., pp.9-18. i M. D. GRMEK, *Izvjestaji triju liječnika o putovanjima po Bosni i Hercegovini u XVIII. stoljeću.* Anali Historijskog instituta u Dubrovniku 1959., No. 6-7., pp. 97-113. and ANDRIJA NIKIĆ, *Medicina – slavna prošlost franjevaca*, Mostar, 2000., pp. 13.-17.
9. In his letter archbishop Stadler advised the Congregation to study this practice, and this is how the opinion stated here was arrived at. The Archivist examined all the ancient files and found that missionaries stuck to the instructions published by the Congregation as early as on 28 November 1641. Here the conditions were defined under which missionaries may cure and occupy themselves with surgery. ARCHIVES OF THE PROPAGANDA in Rome, *Acta S. Congregationis De propaganda fide*, vol. 229., f. 371r-374v. Later (1778) the bishop of Sappa was allowed to select three or four missionaries to occupy themselves with healing (f. 374r, note 1.) Cf. *Acta* 1865. I 1874.). The archbishop of Sarajevo, dr. Josip Štadler, complained to the Congregation of the Franciscans occupying themselves with medicine and pharmacy in Bosnia. The Congregation examined this case, too: *Scrittura riferite nei Congressi, Bosnia*, vol. 17, ff. 427v., 419r – 421v – 429. A. NIKIĆ, *Stanje na Kosovu od 1840. do 1890. godine. Prilog albanskim istraživanjima* (6.-7. V. 1977.). Kačić, 12/1982., pp. 271-272.
10. For more on this subject see: A. NIKIĆ, *Drevno liječništvo hercegovačkih franjevaca*, *Naša ognjišta*, 11/1981, 4, 18; A. NIKIĆ, *Franjevci u Hercegovini u doba fra Matije Divkovića (1563.-1631.)*. Mostar 1985., pp. 34-35.; A. NIKIĆ, *Stanje na Kosovu...*, pp. 271-272; A. NIKIĆ, *Karitativna djelatnost franjevaca u Hercegovini u 19. Stoljeću*. Kačić, 14/1982., pp. 184.-194.; J. JELENIĆ, *Kultura i bosanski franjevci*, vol. 1, 107, 236 – 238; vol. 2, 447 – 461.).
11. ARCHIVES P., F. R., No. 1, *Svaštenjak fra Ilije Vidoševića*, pp. 113. Cf. S. SIELSKI, *Stari turski i arapski medicinski rukopisi u Bosni i Hercegovini. Iz hrvatske medicinske prošlosti*, (Zagreb) 1954., pp. 168-181. S. PITO, *Jevrejski hećimi i atari u Bosni u turskog doba*. Medicinski arhiv, 7/1954., pp. 93-98B. PRAŠEK-

CALCZYNSKA, *Memoari jedne liječnice. Prilog građi za historiju medicine Bosne i Hercegovine*. Medicinski arhiv, 12/1958., pp. 69-113.

12. R. FILIPOVIĆ – FABIJANIĆ, “*Domaći Liekar*” iz 1868, godine sa Širokog Briega, Glasnik ZM, Etnologija, 26/1971, 117 – 120, the text follows from page 121 to page 178.
13. S. ZLATOVIĆ, *Izvjestaj o Bosni god. 1640. oca Pavla iz Rovinja*. Starine JAZU, 23/1890., pp. 20-25. Apart from medicinal herbs, the Franciscans also used spiritual means in healing: prayer, amulets and exorcisms. The Turks called the Franciscans to heal on several occasions. The documents in the Turkish Language by which the Franciscans are invited or permitted to cure the Muslim population are stored in the archives of the Franciscan monasteries at Fojnica, Sutjeska, Mostar, Zaostrog, Makarska, Dubrovnik... which confirms almost the regular practice that the Franciscans of the Bosna Srebrena used to cure the sick all over Herzeg-Bosnia, Dalmatia, Northern Croatia, and Albania regardless of their religion. On the contrary, the Franciscans were widely known by their medical skill and by their medicine books. In the Turkish times almost every Franciscan pastoral worker was at the same time both a doctor and a pharmacist, and parish homes were the first mobile clinics, and Franciscan monasteries the first hospitals. In the Littoral of Makarska the following Franciscan physicians are mentioned: fra Ivan, fra Luka, fra Bono Perković(ić?), fra Mijo Jelavić (+1676.) and fra Petar Bustrović. Cf. K. JURISIĆ, *Katolička crkva na biokovsko-neretvanskom području u doba turske vladavine*. Zagreb 1972., pp. 167-168.
14. ARCHIVES OF THE FRANCISCAN MONASTERY IN ZAOSTROG, *Acta Turcarum*, br. 432. – In the first half of the XVIIth century a certain Mehmed, a clerk, calls the friar - *paḩax Ivan*, to come to Ljubuški and cure Muhamed, son of Ahmed. In an undated document the Aga of Imotski gives a pass to father Luka that he may cure Hasan-aga. ARCHIVES OF THE FRANCISCAN MONASTERY IN MAKARSKA, *Acta Turcarum*, br III.-19. Cf. K. JURISIĆ, *Katolička crkva.*, pp. 168.
15. ARCHIVES OF THE FRANCISCAN MONASTERY IN ZAOSTROG, *Acta Turcarum*, No. 340 and 343. In an undated document the Aga of Imotski gives a pass to father Luka that he may cure Hasan-aga. Cf. K. JURISIĆ, *Katolička crkva.*, pp. 168.
16. FRANCISCAN ARCHIVES, *Acta Turcarum*, 1/25. Cf. A. NIKIĆ., *Drevno liječništvo hercegovačkih franjevaca*, *Naša ognjišta*, 11/1981., No. 4. p. 18.
17. A. NIKIĆ, *Drevno liječništvo.*, p. 18; J. JELENIĆ, *Kultura i bosanski franjevci*, vol. 1. Sarajevo 1912., pp. 107, 236 – 238; vol. 2. Sarajevo 1915., pp. 447 – 461. For more data it is also necessary to study *Acta Turcaruma* in the Franciscan monasteries at Zaostrog, Živogošće, Makarska, Omiš, Imotski and Mostar.
18. ARCHIVES OF THE PROVINCE IN MOSTAR, *Franjevački Rukopisi*, No. 1, Svaštenjak fra Ilije Vidoševića, p. 113, or folium 56r.; R. FILIPOVIĆ – FABIJANIĆ, “*Domaći Liekar*” iz 1868, sa Širokog Briega, Glasnik ZM, Etnologija, 26/1971, 117 – 120.



19. R. JEREMIĆ, Prilozi istoriji zdravstvenih i medicinskih prilika Bosne i Hercegovine pod turskom i austro-ugarskom. Beograd 1951., p. 26. J. MATASOVIĆ, *Fratri bosanski prema muslimanima 'za ličit bonike'*. Liječnički vjesnik 1931., pp. 411-419.; L. THALLER, *Bosanska medicina*. Liječnički vjesnik, 64/1942., 143-144. This could be probably connected with the practice that the Muslims used to invite the Franciscans to bless their houses and say Holy Mass in Muslim houses in Mostar and elsewhere. A. NIKIĆ, *Slavljenje svetih misa u muslimanskim kućama*. Dobri Pastir, 23/1973., p. 279-294.
20. ARCHIVES OF THE PROVINCE, Franjevački Rukopisi, No. 1. Svaštenjak fra Ilije Vidoševića, f. 56 and A. NIKIĆ, *Umro je naš liječnik. Povodom smrti fra Kleme Doka*. Brat Franjo, 2/1978., No. 2., pp. 81-83.
21. A. NIKIĆ, *Franjevci i liječništvo u Hercegovini*, Mostariensia, No. 10. (1999.), University of Mostar, 1999, pp. 127.-158. and A. NIKIĆ, *Medicina...*, pp. 42.-43.

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