

Franciscans in the Works of Nobel Laureate Ivo Andrić

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Aim: Ivo Andrić (1892–1975) was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1961. He was born and lived in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and forged particularly deep connections with the Franciscans, addressed by the people of Bosnia as “uncles”. This article presents all mentions of Franciscans in Andrić’s publications and his characterization of them.

Methods: We studied all available literary works of Ivo Andrić.

Results: Andrić was born in small town of Travnik in today’s Bosnia-Herzegovina, a Catholic surrounding in which Franciscan monks provided the religious needs of the parish. Therefore, Andrić developed friendships with Franciscans and cherished it all until his life. His first close Franciscan friend, Fra Alojzije Perčinlić, was the Pastor of Ovčarevo; the last Franciscan friend he made was Fra Ljubo Hrgić, a writer from Zenica. Andrić regularly referred to the Franciscans in his works, from his first book – *Ex ponto* – published in 1918, to his *Omer Pasha Latas*, a novel published posthumously in 1976. He used fifteen Franciscan works and monastic annals as major sources for his doctoral dissertation entitled *The Development of Spiritual Life in Bosnia under the Influence of Turkish Rule*, which he defended in 1924 at the University of Graz. The dissertation described how the Franciscans lived, the role they played in people’s life, and the work they did in Bosnia and Herzegovina over a period of six hundred years. In his dissertation he named more than thirty Franciscans, and a total of 44 in his works.

Conclusion: Andrić was well acquainted with the lives, virtues, accomplishments, and human flaws of the Bosnian Franciscans. Few writers presented the Franciscans as favorably as Ivo Andrić did in his doctoral dissertation and other works. Human flaws that he found in “uncles” were mere “a drop in the ocean” of his favorable accounts about the order.

Keywords: Ivo Andrić; Nobel Prize; Franciscans; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Ottoman conquests; catholic faith

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Introduction

Bosnia and Herzegovina has two Nobel laureates. Its first Nobel Prize winner was Ivo Andrić, winning a Nobel Prize in Literature in 1961 (Hawkesworth, 2002). The second laureate was Vladimir Prelog (1906–1998), who won a Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1975 (Rae, 2017; Mislow, 1998). Thanks to them, Bosnia and Herzegovina currently ranks the 35th out of 193 countries on the list of Nobel Prizes by country (World Population Review, 2023). As a writer, Ivo Andrić built a world of his narratives in the “interspace” between several “fixed” patterns of identity (Škvorc & Lujanović, 2010). The identity of Bosnian Franciscans was present at every stage of Andrić’s writing. He used real Bosnian Franciscans as characters in his fictional works, referred to their writings in his doctoral dissertation (Andrić, 2017), wrote about their literature in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and regularly forged friendships with friars. Beginning in 1291, the long history of the Franciscan mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina has left an indelible mark on the diversity of Bosnia and Herzegovina – a homeland Andrić knew intimately and regularly depicted in his works (Karamatić, 1991).

The aim of this study was to analyze the mention of the Franciscans in the literary works of Ivo Andrić. We read Andrić’s available literary works (Table 1), as well as relevant documentation related to the life of Andrić and his interactions with the Franciscans.

Brief biography of Ivo Andrić

The birth and baptism of Nobel Laureate Ivo Andrić were entered in the Matica krštenih Župe sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Travniku (Register of Baptisms of the Parish of St. John the Baptist in Travnik) (Župa sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Travniku, 1892). He was born and baptized as Ivan on Sunday, 9 October 1892. According to the Register, his father was Antun Andrić (a janitor) and his mother was Katarina, née Pejić, who were both Roman Catholics (Figure 1).

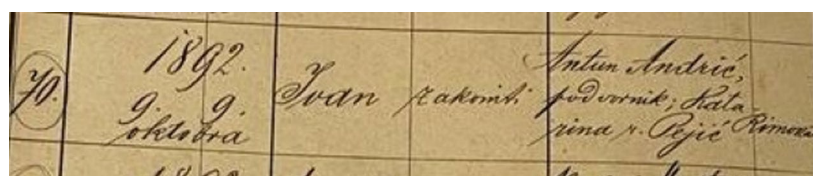


Figure 1. The record of baptism for Ivo Andrić from the Parish of St. John the Baptist in Travnik, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1892.

The “Godfather” section lists Tadija Antunović (a janitor), and the baptizer was Rev. Juraj Pušek, Pastor of Travnik. The “District”, “Subdistrict”, “Address”, and “House Number” sections listed Travnik, Zenjak, and Sarajevo Jurisdiction, respectively (Župa sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Travniku, 1892).

He lost his father, Antun, in his second year of life. His mother moved the small family to Višegrad, to live with his father’s sister, Ana, and her second husband, Ivan Matkovcsik, whom Andrić viewed as his guardian (Karaulac, 1980). He attended elementary school in Višegrad. From 1903 to 1912, he attended high school in Sarajevo. Dr Tugomir Alaupović,

his professor in Sarajevo, remained a lifelong great friend to him, because they shared both a hometown (Travnik) and a successful collaboration. His first poem, *U sumrak* [At Dusk], was published in *Bosanska vila* in 1911. On 14 November 1912, he enrolled in the Faculty of Philosophy of the Royal University of Zagreb on a scholarship from the Napredak Croatian Cultural Association (Musa, 2011). He studied in Vienna as well as Krakow. His studies in Krakow were cut short due to war and his subsequent return to his homeland. However, once back, he was arrested for high treason against Austria-Hungary (Perišić, 2012), and transferred to prisons in Split, Šibenik, and then Maribor, to serve his sentence. On 22 March 1915, he was placed under house arrest at a Parish House of Ovčarevo, near Travnik. During his home confinement in Ovčarevo, and then Zenica, Andrić met and forged lifelong connections with the Franciscans – he maintained these ties until his death, as well as in his writing (Skoko & Stipić, 2020).

In 1918, he reenrolled at the University of Zagreb but had to move to Krapina and Crikvenica to convalesce. He expounded his miserable state in a letter he sent on 27 September 1919 to Dr Tugomir Alaupović, Minister of Religion in Belgrade (Karaulac, 2003): “You can understand that I am troubled by this uncertainty and that I can hardly wait for your reply and appointment. Life here is impossibility. I don’t have kith nor kin – I must go to Belgrade, whatever the cost...”

He was appointed secretary of the Ministry of Religion, and later transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1920. His first diplomatic mission was to the Holy See (Vatican). He would also be deployed to Bucharest, Trieste, and Graz. On 15th June 1924, he defended his doctoral dissertation (Andrić, 2017), entitled *Die Entwicklung des geistigen Lebens in Bosnien unter der Einwirkung der türkischen Herrschaft* [The Development of Spiritual Life in Bosnia under the Influence of Turkish Rule] in Graz. Further, he served in Belgrade, Marseille, Paris, Madrid, and Brussels. In 1930, he served in Geneva. In 1933, he worked as a consultant at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade. In 1937, he was promoted to Assistant Minister. In 1939, he became Ambassador Extraordinary to Berlin. In 1941, he and all other embassy officials were recalled from Berlin and had to return to Belgrade (Skoko, 2021).

On 26 October 1961, Andrić received the Nobel Prize in Literature for his historical novels. He was a member of various societies and won countless awards. He died in Belgrade, on 13 March 1975, at the age of 83. His major works are presented in **Table 1**.

Franciscan Province of “Silver Bosnia” (Bosna Srebrena)

According to popular belief, the first Franciscans to set foot in Bosnia were the Split Provincial of the Order of Friars Minor and Bishop Filip of Senj. Pope Innocent IV dispatched them to Bosnia, in 1248 (Džaja, 2012). The date of Fra Martin and Fra Cyprian’s missions to Bosnia, 3 March 1291, is seen as another starting point of the Franciscan life and mission in what is today Bosnia and Herzegovina (Barun, 2021). The Bosnian Vicariate was founded between 1339 and 1340 by Gerald Odonis (Eudes or Ot), the General of the Franciscan Order. Fra Peregrin Saxon was installed as its first vicar (Barun, 2008). The first friary in the region was built in the 14th century, during the reign of Ban Stephen

Table 1. Major literary works of Ivo Andrić

Original title [English translation]	Place and year of the first publication
<i>Ex Ponto</i>	Zagreb, 1918
<i>Nemiri</i> [Unrest]	Zagreb, 1920
<i>Put Alije Đerzeleza</i> [Đerzelez Alija's Journey]	Belgrade, 1920
<i>Pripovetke I.</i> [Short Stories 1]	Belgrade, 1924
<i>Pripovetke</i> [Short Stories]	Belgrade, 1931
<i>Njegoš kao tragični junak kosovske misli</i> [Njegoš: The Tragic Hero of Kosovan Imagination]	Belgrade, 1935
<i>Pripovetke II.</i> [Short Stories 2]	Belgrade, 1936
<i>Znakovi pored puta</i> [Signs by the Roadside]	Belgrade, 1936
<i>Gospođica</i> [The Woman from Sarajevo]	Sarajevo, 1945
<i>Na Drini ćuprija</i> [The Bridge on the Drina]	Belgrade, 1945
<i>Travnička hronika</i> [The Travnik Chronicle]	Belgrade, 1945
<i>Rzavski bregovi</i> [The Rzav Beys]	Sarajevo, 1947
<i>Nove pripovetke</i> [New Short Stories]	Belgrade, 1948
<i>Priča o vezirovom slonu</i> [The Vizier's Elephant: A Novella]	Zagreb, 1948
<i>Sjeme iz Kalifornije</i> [California Seed]	Sarajevo, 1948
<i>O Vuku kao piscu, o Vuku kao reformatoru</i> [On Vuk as Writer, on Vuk as Reformer]	Belgrade, 1950
<i>O Gavru Vučkoviću i povodom njega</i> [A Portrait of Gavro Vučković]	Belgrade, 1952
<i>Prokleta avlija</i> [Devil's Yard]	Novi Sad, 1954
<i>Lica</i> [Faces]	Zagreb, 1960
<i>Zapisi o Goji</i> [Notes on Goya]	Novi Sad, 1961
<i>Žena na kamenu</i> [The Woman on the Rock]	Belgrade, 1962
<i>Omerpaša Latas</i> [Omer Pasha Latas]	Sarajevo, 1976

II, in Mile near Visoko. The sprawling Bosnian vicariate spanned from Southern Italy to the Black Sea (Andelić, 1980). Over the next fifty years, the Vicariate gained seven custodies and 35 friaries. The great Vicariate produced the Custody of Apulia the Hungarian Vicariate, and the friaries of the Dubrovnik Republic and Dalmatia. In 1463, the Ottomans conquered Bosnia. In 1514, the Great Bosnian Vicariate split into two smaller vicariates: Bosna Hrvatska ("Croatian Bosnia", comprising friaries free from the Ottoman overlords) and Bosna Srebrena ("Silver Bosnia", comprising friaries under Ottoman occupation) (Andelić, 1973).

The period between 1521 and 1524 was particularly trying for the Franciscans in what is now Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1524, during the Ottoman reign, many friaries were razed to the ground, including those in Fojnica, Kreševo, Sutjeska, Visoko, and Konjic (Živković & Palić, 2007).

The period of the War of Vienna, between 1683 and 1699, saw great shifts as Catholics fled Bosnia en masse to escape the deteriorating political climate and droves of Muslim immigrants pouring in from lost territories (Gavran, 1990). Only three friaries remain today, one each in Fojnica, Sutjeska, and Kreševo. In 1735, the Province of the Most Holy

Redeemer, seated in Split, was disunited from Bosna Srebrena. In 1554, the Province of Bosna Srebrena was partitioned into the Custody of Holy Cross in Bosnia and the Province of St. Capistrano, including the Trans-Sava region. In 1758, Bosnia Srebrena regained the status of a province. The same year, the “Mother Province of Bosnia Srebrena” had 150 friars, three friaries (in Kreševo, Fojnica, and Kraljeva Sutjeska), six residences, 30 parishes, and 50,000 devotees (Gavran, 2001).

The Franciscan Province of Herzegovina was the youngest “Daughter Province” of the “Mother Province of Bosnia Srebrena”. The Franciscan Custody of Herzegovina, founded in 1852, gained the status of a province in 1892. Today, there are two Franciscan provinces in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena, based in Sarajevo, and the Franciscan Province of Herzegovina, based in Mostar (Mandić, 2020).

In addition to their chief objective of proclaiming and living the Gospel, the Franciscans have always been the architects of civilization in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Beyond their role in construction, the founding of monastic libraries, and decorating churches with valuable works of art, the Franciscans in Bosnia and Herzegovina were pioneers in several respects:

- 1) In 1544, they founded the Bosna Srebrena Archive, the first archive in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, 2021);
- 2) In 1611, Fra Matija Divković wrote and published the first book in Bosnia and Herzegovina, entitled *Nauk krstjanski* [Christian Doctrine]; subsequently, in the same year, he also produced *Sto čudesa* [One Hundred Miracles] (Horvat, 2017);
- 3) In 1765, Fra Filip Lastrić Očevac (1700–1783) published *Epitome vetustatum provinciae bosnensis* in Venice and founded the study of historiography in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Hoško, 2010);
- 4) The first journal in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Bosanski prijatelj* [Bosnian Friend], was published by Fra Ivan Franjo Jukić in 1850 (Harni, 2008);
- 5) The first elementary school in Bosnia and Herzegovina was founded by Fra Ilija Starčević in 1823 in Tolisa near Orašje in Bosanska Posavina (Karamatić, 1991; Dubravac, 2008);
- 6) Fra Mato Nikolić was the first medical graduate in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He completed his studies of medicine in Feldsberg in 1807. In 1795, Fra Franjo Gracić authored the first medical book in Bosnia and Herzegovina that was published in Padua (Karamatić, 2013);
- 7) In 1884, a museum was founded in the Franciscan monastery in Humac near Ljubuški, under the auspices of Fra Anđel Nuić (1850–1916) (Pandžić, 2001; Leka, 2017).

Today, the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena spans the territory of Bosnia. Its members also actively work in Croatia, Austria, Germany, Belgium, Serbia, Kosovo, Australia, and participate in missions to Rwanda and Kenya.

Andrić's "uncles"

The Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena has been the only place in the world to address its friars as "uncles". The word reflects the intimate relationship between the sons of Francis and the Bosnian congregation. In *Pregled starina Bosanske provincije* [An Overview of the Antiquities of the Bosnian Province], Filip Lastrić wrote about the friars donning civilian clothes: "Poor monks, mostly in disguise, had to hide in village houses and were very rarely allowed to show themselves in public." (Lastrić, 2003). Even today, Catholics in Bosnia call their friars "uncles." Andrić lived with the Franciscans in the Parish of Ovčarevo. He gained intimate knowledge of their way of life, their mutual relationships, relationships with the congregation, as well as other peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Andrić often referred to friars as "uncles," and described them in his works as: Fra Nikola, Fra Marko Krneta, Bishop Fra Marijan Bogdanović, Fra Mijo (Ivan) Subašić, Fra Petar Jaranović, Fra Mijo Grgić, Fra Julijan Knežević, Fra Nikola Kezić, Fra Marijan, Fra Stjepan Matijević, Fra Mijat Kolarović, Fra Stjepan, Fra Martin, Fra Petar aka Džambas, Fra Petar aka Tufegdžija, Fra Filip Bravadžić, Fra Nikola Granić, Chaplain Fra Stanko from Ovčarevo, Fra Filip, Fra Stjepan Ramljak, Fra Ilija Zloušić, Fra Mijo Kozina, Sarajevo Pastor Fra Grgo, Fra Serafin Begić aka Beg, Fra Luka Bošnjak, Fra Rafo Kustudić, Fra Dominik Kudrić, Fra Petar Đuđut, Fra Ivo Krešić, Fra Ljubo Tadić, Fra Mijo Josić, Fra Ratislav, Fra Tadija Ostojić, Fra Rafo, Fra Ivo Janković, Fra Julijan Pašalić, Fra Mijat Kolar, Fra Mijat Baković, Fra Ivo aka Musevir, Fra Luka Dafinić aka Likar, Fra Martin Dembić aka Dembo, Fra Mijo Kovačević, Fra Grgo Martić, and Fra Ivan Franjo Jukić. In his work, Andrić paid special notice to three Franciscans: Fra Marko Krneta, Fra Petar aka Tufegdžija, and Fra Grgo (Martić).

In general, when writing about the Franciscans, Andrić expressed the following sentiment (Karaulac, 2003):

"I am saddened when I reflect on the old, sensual Bosnia, perishing daily as there is no one to record and salvage the grim beauty of the old way of life... And I am saddened when I think that a verse dies with every old woman and a history is buried with every friar..."

Bosnian Franciscans as characters in Andrić's literary works

In his works, Ivo Andrić frequently referred to and described the Franciscans of Bosnia and Herzegovina. **Table 2** lists the friars with the highest number of references in Andrić's works. The table also provides titles and summaries of the works.

Franciscans in Andrić's doctoral dissertation

Ivo Andrić's career in diplomacy was launched in March 1920, with the help of Dr. Ante Trumbić, the first Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (1864–1938) (Trogrlić, 2019). On 13 June 1924, he received his PhD in Graz, with a dissertation on *Die Entwicklung des geistigen Lebens in Bosnien unter der Einwirkung der türkischen Herrschaft* [The Development of Spiritual Life in Bosnia under the Influence of Turkish Rule]. He referred to Franciscans in every chapter of the dissertation, except the *Appendix*, where he dealt with the literature of Bosnian Muslims (today's Bosniaks).

Table 2. The most frequently mentioned Franciscans in Ivo Andrić's works

Franciscan priest	Work title	Comments
Fra Marko Krneta	<i>In musafirhani</i> (short story) <i>In zindanu</i> (short story) <i>Ispovijed</i> [Confession] (short story) <i>Kod kazana</i> (short story)	Andrić introduced him as the vicar of the Franciscan Friary of St. Catherine in Kreševo, one of the three major friaries in Bosna Srebrena.
Fra Petar aka Tufegdžija	<i>Prokleta avlija</i> [Devil's Yard] (novel) <i>Trup</i> (short story) <i>Čaša</i> (short story) <i>U vodenici</i> (short story) <i>Šala u Samsarinom hanu</i> (short story)	Fra Petar was nicknamed Tufegdžija because he liked to fix things, especially watches. His real name was Fra Petar Alović (1717–1813) and he was the Guardian of the Friary of Kreševo in 1765. According to Andrić, he was a skillful storyteller.
Fra Grgo Martić (1822–1905)	<i>Proba</i> (short story) <i>Mara milosnica</i> (short story) <i>Na latinskoj ćupriji</i> (short story) <i>Omer-paša Latas</i> (novel)	Fra Grgo Martić published several independent works in prose and verse, translated several works from French and Italian, collected and published folk songs, and adapted numerous works by other authors. Titles: <i>Osvetnici</i> , <i>Posvetnici</i> , <i>Zapamćenja</i> , <i>Osmanida</i> (<i>izgrislji je miševi</i>), <i>Početni zemljopis za katoličke učionice u Bosni...</i> He contributed to the herald <i>Glasnik bosankohercegovačkih franjevac</i> (Barun, 2008).
Fra Ivan Franjo Jukić (1818–1875)	<i>Omerpaša Latas</i> (novel)	Andrić mentioned Fra Ivan Franjo Jukić in the chapter titled <i>Februar mesec</i> [February]. Angered by gossip, Omer Pasha persecuted Christians and banished Fra Franjo – who was innocent – to Asia Minor. A short chapter on Fra Ivan Franjo Jukić was discovered in the legacy of Ivo Andrić.
Pastor Fra Ivo Janković from Dolac, Pastor Fra Mijat Kolar and Chaplain Mijat Baković from Orašje and Guča Gora Friary, Guardians Fra Martin Dembić and Fra Mijo Kovačević , and Chaplains Fra Julijan Pašalić and Fra Luka Dafinić	<i>Travnička hronika</i> (novel)	The novel features seven Franciscans from the Guča Gora Friary and parishes near Travnik.
Fra Stjepan	<i>Napast</i> (short story)	Fra Stjepan did not move very often. He spent thirty-one years in one of his friaries. Other friars called him "Scourge".
Fra Mato Mikić	<i>Priča o vezirovu slonu</i> (short story)	Fra Matko Mikić was the Pastor of Doc, a village near Travnik. He exchanged letters with a Guardian of the Friary of Guča Gora, at the foot of the Vlašić Hill.
Fra Nikola	<i>Ex ponto</i> (lyrical reflections)	A mother comforts her starving, weeping child. Wanting to quieten the child, she tells the story of Fra Nikola coming over to their house, bearing a stick.

Andrić also mentioned some unnamed Franciscans in his works ([Table 3](#)).

Table 3. Unnamed Franciscans in the works of Ivo Andrić

<i>Mustafa Madžar</i> (short story)	Andrić was inspired to write this story after reading <i>Ljetopis franjevačkoga samostana</i> [The Annals of a Franciscan Friary] by Fra Bone Benić in Kraljeva Sutjeska. The story's namesake is the main character, Mustafa Madžar from Dobož. His strength and skills were decisive in several battles. He won glory but remained lonely and strange. He was haunted by nightmares. On his way to Sarajevo, he tortured and killed two innocent friars from the Kraljeva Sutjeska Friary. Sarajevo devolved into chaos. Mustafa was murdered by a Roma man with a piece of scrap metal while he was fleeing, half-naked, from an angry mob.
<i>Za logorovanja</i> [While camping] (short story)	This short tells a story of a pasha who traveled from Travnik to Constantinople via Sarajevo and Višegrad. Pasha regarded the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina as being without honor and dignity. He despised Bosnian Muslims, describing them as "ignorant, uncouth, incredibly limited people, who babble and prattle on with such fanfare and gravitas." He despised the Serbs and characterized them as "a shaggy, gloomy, fanatical rabble, who so foolishly struggle against great old institutions and blindly hurtle to their deaths, trading a 'comfortable life' for empty dreams and lies." He also despised what he saw as masses without honor and dignity including devout Jews, bearded priests, and cunning friars. Of friars, he proclaimed, "When the whole world and all its countries collapse and sink, believe me, these friars will swim, like oil on water."
<i>Put Alije Đerzeleza</i> [The path of Alija Đerzelez] (short story)	Alija Đerzelez made a name for himself as a brave warrior in countless battles, but he was inept at conversation and everything else. He traveled across the empire, "unlucky, glorious, and ridiculed." He wreaked havoc and became a laughing stock in Višegrad. While there, he met "two friars from Kreševo who were headed to Istanbul for a trial or something of the sort."

In the first chapter, *Prehistory – Spiritual life in Bosnia before the Turkish conquest*, in the section on the *Catholic Church*, Andrić stated that the Franciscans had been the proselytizers of Catholicism in Bosnia during the reign of Stjepan Kotromanić. He also described them as the only guardians of the Catholic faith in Bosnia in the 15th century (Andrić, 2017). The friars petitioned to the pope against the king, accusing the king of “failing to persecute the Bogomils.” He made a note of the first friaries in Olovo, Kreševo, and Fojnica, as well as Franciscan expatriates who served in Bosnia, including Fra Gerald Odonis and Fra Peregrinus the Saxon.

In the second chapter on *The spread of Islam as a direct consequence of Turkish rule*, Andrić wrote about the Turkish conquest of Bosnia. Islam spread swiftly following the fall of Jajce in 1528. In this chapter, quoting Fra Ivan Franjo Jukić, Andrić claimed that some Bosnians converted to Islam to keep their lands. From 1467 onward, Muslim rulers imposed the so-called “blood tax.” This involved abducting Christian children, who were then forcibly taken to Constantinople to be trained as soldiers (Andrić, 2017).

Andrić claimed that Mehmed Hurshid Pasha endowed the Sarajevo Pastor, Fra Grgo Martić, with a signet ring. The Turks designated Sunday as their fair day to trick Christians into neglecting their religious rites. In 1850, Fra Ivan Franjo Jukić petitioned against this proviso, asking to have Sunday fairs replaced by fairs on the second day of the week. He also beseeched a new printing house to be set up for Christians. The chapter also discusses the hard task of building and maintaining churches and friaries. In 1640, Apostolic Visitor Fra Paolo de Rovignio made a tour of the Franciscan friaries and reported on their dismal state. In note No. 234 in his doctoral dissertation (Andrić, 2017), Andrić quoted a part of Fra Paolo’s 1960 report from Rovinj: “*Very devout Christians live in these parts as well as across Bosnia. When people catch a glimpse of friars, they rush to kiss their hands and being so devout they spend all day walking so they can come and listen to Holy Mass.*” In 1515, the Fojnica Friary requested a travelers’ inn (*musafirhana*) to be built. This was a room adjacent to the friary that enabled the friary to provide free lodging and food to Muslims, especially janissaries. Reference was also made of the levies imposed on the friars. In 1801, the Fojnica friars acquired an organ. Fra Grgo Martić in 1860 requested and gained permission in 1870 to install bells in Kreševo and Sarajevo. Andrić also reported on Fra Ivan Franjo Jukić and Fra Petar Bakula’s thoughts on roads. On the topic of Turkish viziers and governors, Andrić cited Fra Ivan Franjo Jukić and Fra Ante Knežević. He also included a quote from chronicles by Fra Marijan Bogdanović and Fra Bona Benić.

The fourth chapter was titled *The spiritual life of Catholic folk during Turkish rule, in its customary incarnation: the literary and cultural enterprises of the Franciscans*. Citing Fra Luka Wading, several sources claim that the Franciscans first came to Bosnia in the first half of the 13th century. Other sources, favored by Fra Julijan Jelenić (1877–1931), place their arrival in the 14th century, with the founding of the Bosnian Franciscan Vicariate in 1340. Franciscan influence in Bosnia was on the rise during the reign of the last two Bosnian kings. The Kingdom of Bosnia vanished with the Turkish conquest of Bosnia; according to Andrić, “*the organization of the Catholic Church*” crumbled in its wake. Andrić expounded on the role of Fra Anđelo Zvizdović and an imperial treaty (*Ahd-name*) he procured. In 1573, at the request of the Franciscans, the pope appointed Bishop Fra Anton Matković. He hinted at conflicts between the Franciscans and the bishop, although the bishop himself

was a Franciscan. Bishop Fra Nikola Ogramić and Fra Luka Ibrišimović are lauded for participating in battles against Turkish forces, especially in Slavonia. Fra Filip Laštrić played a crucial role in 1758, while Bosnia was cut up and divided into new provinces. Through his efforts, Bosna Srebrena regained its status of a province. The Franciscans themselves suffered schisms, specifically between a fraction that completed their studies in Hungary and those who had studied in Italy. The “Hungarian students” ushered in new ideas, such as the philosophy of Enlightenment and the Illyrian movement. Those students returning from studies in Italy, led by Fra Rafo Barišić, stood in staunch opposition to the nationalist movement. The clash between the two fractions was long lasting and profound. Andrić concluded that the centuries of circumstances and hardships had left a lasting mark on the friars in Bosnia and Herzegovina and “*engendered a unique and peculiar archetype in the Franciscan order and spirituality of the Catholic Church in general.*” According to Andrić (2017), the Franciscan mission in Bosnia ended when Austria-Hungary occupied Bosnia in 1878. He exalted the Franciscans as exemplars for the global Catholic clergy:

“Premised on the almost unanimous judgment of every visitor, the Bosnian Franciscans, with their selfless efforts and endurance in pastoral care as well as their unsullied existence and strong influence over the faithful, may serve as a shining example to the Catholic clergy around the world.”

He drew attention to their love for the Catholic Church and unprecedented advocacy for the rights of the Mother Province of Bosna Srebrena. Starting from the 16th century, the Franciscans often donned secular attire to avoid persecutions. According to the author, Bishop Fra Anđeo Kraljević (1807–1879) used to ride his horse clad in secular garb to avoid being recognized. Common people addressed the Franciscans with “Uncle,” conveying a familiarity and connection. They used to have permission to carry arms. In 1686, Bishop Fra Nikola Ogramić requested permission to carry arms from the Congregation. However, Andrić was critical of what he saw as their failure to preserve folk songs and stories. On the other hand, he wrote: “Nevertheless, over their six-hundred-year-long enterprise in Bosnia, the Franciscans set a rare and beautiful example of cultural work and Christian spirituality.” (Andrić, 2017).

Andrić also made ample use of the chronicles and other works of Franciscans from Bosnia and Herzegovina in his dissertation (Table 4).

Table 4. Franciscan works as cited in Andrić's (2017) doctoral dissertation

- Jelenić, J. (1912). Kultura i bosanski franjevci. *Bogoslovska smotra*, 3(4), 450–450.
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- Martić, G. (1906). *Zapamćenja (1829-1878), Po kazivanju autorovom zabilježio Janko Koharić*. Zagreb: Nakladom Gjure Trpinca.
- Bakula, P. (1862). *Martirii nella Missione Francescana Osservantein Ercegovina*, Rome: Monaldi Press.
- Glavaš, R. (1900). *Život i rad fra Rafe Barišića*. Mostar: Hrvatska dionička tiskara.

In his doctoral dissertation (Andrić, 2017), Andrić split Franciscan literature in Bosnia and Herzegovina into two periods, starting from the 16th century. According to Andrić, the first period comprised the following Franciscans:

1. Fra Matija Divković (1536–1631) (Mušija, 2006). *Nauk krstjanski* [Christian Doctrine] and *Sto čudesa* [One Hundred Miracles], published in Venice in 1611. Second Extended Edition of *Nauk krstjanski* and *Besjede* [Sermons] published in 1616. He described Divković as “a creature with a noble and virtuous core that strives for education and progress”;
2. Fra Stjepan Matijević (1580–1654) was from Tuzla. He translated a 1630 booklet on confession from Italian (Pavešić, 1968);
3. Fra Pavao Posilović (1597–1657) was from Glamoč. He became Bishop of Skradin in 1642. He published two works on pious life (Alilović, 1986);
4. Fra Pavao Papić (1593–1649) translated a 1619 work, *Le sette trombe* (Marjanović, 2001);
5. Fra Stjepan Markovac or Margi(e)tić (1650–1730) was the last friar to write in Cyrillic. The Franciscans disagreed regarding the use of the Cyrillic script. Margi(e)tić published *Ispovid krstjanska* [Christian Faith] in 1704 and *Falu ot sveti* in 1708. Due to its numerous editions, that book was dubbed *Stjepanuša* (Pranjković, 2005);
6. Fra Ivan Bandulović from Uskoplje published *Epistole i evangelija za cijelu godinu* [Epistles and Gospels for the Whole Year] in Venice in 1613 (Pranjković, 2005);
7. Fra Ivan Ančić (1624–1685) wrote *Ogledalo misničko* [A Mystic Mirror], *Vrata nebeska i život vicchini* [The Gates of Heaven and Eternal Life] i *Svitlost karstianska i nasladjenje duhovno* [Christian Light and Spiritual Enjoyment] (Čvrljak, 2013);
8. Fra Tomo Babić (1680–1750) wrote *Cvit razlika mirisa duhovnoga* [The Different Flowers of Spiritual Scent] (Kolumbić, 1996);
9. Fra Lovro Šitović (1682–1729) was from Ljubuški (Stolac, 2009). He wrote *Latinsko-ilirsku gramatiku* [A Latin-Illyrian Grammar] and *Nauk krstjanski* [Christian Doctrine];
10. Fra Filip Laštrić (1700–1783) was from Očevija. He wrote *Epitomevetustatis*. He published a book of sermons *Nediglnik Dvostruk* (Antunović, 2017);
11. Fra Jerolim Filipović published *Nauk krstjanski* [Christian Doctrine] in Budim in 1769 (Hoško, 1984);
12. Fra Marko Dobretić-Jezerčić (1707–1784) (Loud & Juricic, 1991);
13. Fra Luka Vladimirović (1718–1788) (Knezović, 2005);
14. Fra Vince Vicić published a songbook (Karamatić, 2006);
15. Bishop Fra Grgo Ilić (1736–1813) (Česković, 2005);
16. Bishop Fra Augustin Miletić (1763–1831) (Knezović, 2015);
17. Fra Juraj Dobretić (Dragišić) (ca. 1445–1520) (Banić-Pajnić, 2004);
18. Fra Ivan Tomo Mrnavić wrote *Nauk krstjanski* [Christian Doctrine] and several dramas. He was appointed bishop in 1631 but did his service outside of Bosnia (Premerl, 2018).

The second wave includes six Franciscans:

1. Ivan Franjo Jukić (1818–1857), who published *Zemljopis i poviestnicu Bosne* [Geography and History of Bosnia] in Zagreb, under the penname Slavoljub Bošnjak (Mihaljević & Selak, 2009). He dedicated it to Ljudevit Gaj. Andrić commended Jukić by describing that, “unlike other Franciscan writers, Jukić was a revolutionary of unrestrained and keen spirit, resourceful and diligent at the same time. Something like an apostolic call to zeal filled his whole being for the benefit of his people. Gifted in spirit and strong in body, he was always, throughout his short life, guided by the idea of leading the simple folk out of the darkness of ignorance into the light of truth.” (Andrić, 2017).

In Mrkonjić, he founded a school for all children. He launched the magazine *Bosanski prijatelj* in 1850. He published his *Zemljopis i poviestnica Bosne* [Geography and History of Bosnia] in Zagreb, in 1851. On page 134 in the first issue of *Bosanski prijatelj*, he reported that thirty Catholic (eighteen boys and twelve girls) and seventeen Orthodox children (three of whom were children of married deacons) were attending his school. In 1877, friars ran 33 public schools.

2. In 1835, Fra Martin Nedić (1810–1895) published his *Razgovor koga vile ilirkinje imadoshe u premalitje godine 1835* [A Conversation among Illyrian Fairies in the Spring of 1835] (Švoger, 2012).
3. Nedić published *Pokret godine 1848. i 1849.* [The 1848/49 Movement] in collaboration with Fra Marijan Šunjić (1789–1860). Nedić described him as a collector of folk songs and founder of schools (Nedić, 1851).
4. Andrić described Fra Grgo Martić (1822–1905) as an extremely skilled communicator: “He spent most of his life serving as a pastor in Sarajevo, working transparently at the head of the Franciscan agency and, to an extent, representing not only the Franciscans but also the Bosnian Catholics. An apt linguist, agile and diligent, he was always skilled in keeping good relations with foreign consuls and sultan’s governors, and thus he was of the greatest service to his order and the faithful.” *Osvetnici* [Avengers] is thought to be his magnum opus. Mice made short work of his epic manuscript of *Osmanida* [The Ottomans], which he had hidden in a barn, away from Turkish officials. *Početni zemljopis za katoličke učionice u Bosni* [Primer in Geography for Catholic Classrooms in Bosnia] was published in Sarajevo in 1871. His *Zapamćenja* [Memoirs] were published in Zagreb in 1906.

5. Fra Petar Bakula (1816–1873) described him as a poet and chronicler (Knezović, 2013).

Andrić believed that the second wave of writers failed to attain quite the “wide reach and influence among the people as the first wave of works.”

In his dissertation (Andrić, 2017), he stated: “Beyond these authors, many a Bosnian Franciscan made minor literary contributions. Some even composed and published theological treatises and occasional poetry in Latin.” The fourth chapter ends with the following words: “It is precisely this popular move, this aspiration to be of service to and lead the people, that is a common thread in the overall literary production of the Franciscans, from Divković to Jukić, this being their most exquisite legacy as well as their greatest merit.”

He was also sympathetic to the Franciscans in the fifth chapter on the Serbian Orthodox Church. Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha re-established the Peć Patriarchate. He appointed his brother, Makarije, as patriarch, and his nephew, Antonije, as the Bishop of Herzegovina. Unlike their Catholic counterparts – who penned monastic chronicles, records from meetings of the Bosna Srebrena Definitory, and visitors' and bishops' reports, it was impossible to give a comprehensive account of the life of the Orthodox clergy during the Turkish occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the chapter, Andrić cited Fra Ivan Franjo Jukić's article on Serbian Orthodox schools from the first issue of *Bosanski prijatelj*. He believed the organization of Serbian Orthodox schools of the time to be better than their Catholic counterparts. He then reiterated his stance on the richness of the Franciscan literary production. The chapter ends with the words: "*Fostering consistent relations with the European West under Turkish rule was, therefore, to the credit of the Catholic Church and Franciscans as its proxies; on the other hand, the merit and importance of the Serbian Orthodox Church was its nurturing of vital forces among the people, salvaging the unbroken tradition, and survival of the spiritual life of the people for the age to come.*"

Andrić's references to Franciscans beyond Bosnia and Herzegovina

In his works, Andrić also referred to Franciscans from other countries.

1. *Goja, and Razgovor sa Gojom [Conversation with Goya]*

Andrić's service in Madrid, from April 1928 to January 1930, undoubtedly inspired the writer to pen two essays on the Spanish painter Goya – Francisco José de Goya Lucientes, 1746–1828 (Vidaković-Petrov, 2021).

His first essay was titled *Goja*, and the second *Razgovor sa Gojom* [Conversation with Goya] (Andrić, 2011). He wrote *Goja* to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the death of the great painter and a founder of Impressionism. Andrić believed that Goya was unlike other artists because once beheld, his works were difficult to forget. He also stressed the role of a friar in the life of this great artist: "*It is said that a friar observed little Francisco while he was struggling to paint the outline of a piglet ambling around the yard on a wall. Taking notice of the boy's talent, the friar took him to the Saragossa painter Jose Luhan.*"

2. *Legenda o Lauri i Petrarki [The Legend of Laura and Petrarch]*

Andrić wrote a short story about the Italian writer Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374) (Andrić, 1981), falling in love with Laura in the Church of St. Clare in Avignon on Good Friday, 6 April 1327. Petrarch's infatuation with the beautiful Laura inspired him to compose poems. He composed one of the world's most famous collections of sonnets, *Il Canzoniere* (the collection contains 317 sonnets, 29 canzones, 9 sestinas, 7 ballads, and 4 madrigals. It took Petrarch 40 years to complete his huge opus, from 1327 to 1368). According to Andrić, Laura died at the age of 41 of the plague in the spring of 1348, and was buried in a Franciscan church, but the site of her grave is unknown (Andrić, 1981). Unable to flee from

his love, Petrarch fashioned a shield of verses. This was the origin story of the world's most beautiful verses on love.

3. *Most na Žepi [The Bridge over Žepa]*

Andrić tells a short story of the life of Ibrahim Jusuf from Žep, a town near Višegrad in Bosnia. As a high official, he decided to build a bridge where the Žepa River flows into the Drina. He entrusted the job to a skilled builder from Italy. The bridge was completed, but the Italian builder fell ill with the plague on his return to Constantinople. He was admitted to the Constantinople Hospital which was run by the Italian Franciscans, and died there in the arms of a Franciscan friar. The town of Žepa and the beautiful new arch bridge were an ill match: *“But the landscape was at odds with the bridge, and the bridge with the landscape. Seen from the side, its white and gallantly curving arch always seemed isolated and apart, and bemused the traveler as an unusual idea, stranded and snared amongst the karst and wilderness.”* (Andrić, 1967). It was first published in *Srpski književni glasnik* [Serbian Literary Gazette] in Belgrade, in 1925 (Andrić, 1925).

4. *Legenda o svetom Francisku iz Asizija [The Legend of St. Francis of Assisi]*

Andrić wrote his essay on St. Francis in 1926, to commemorate the 700th anniversary of the death of this Umbrian saint (Andrić, 2003). At the very beginning of the essay, Andrić praised St. Francis as the great mystic and anchorite of the Catholic Church and one of the “most striking phenomena in the spiritual life of the world.” For Andrić, there was something eternal and universal in St. Francis’s spiritual feat, transcending both the Catholic Church and Italy. For St. Francis and his original brethren, preaching the Gospel was not so much “an ecclesiastical ceremonial” as “a program for life.” As stated by Andrić, St. Francis’ “asceticism was a personal renunciation of the world and, at the same time, reconciliation with everything in the world; rather than a private feat, it was a social factor and a powerful means toward the realization of Christ’s kingdom on earth. By virtue of his humane, active, and joyful asceticism, Francis’ work has a special significance, stands out from all similar occurrences, and is familiar and accessible even to those who are far removed from him in all other respects. For, according to him, renunciation does not spell the death of the joy of life, but its exponential growth within the bounds of the Christian life according to the Gospel.”

For Andrić, St. Francis was the first Christian to bridge the gap between nature and faith. He loved nature and all creation. He saw God’s goodness in everything. Andrić was fascinated by St. Francis’ withdrawal into prayer, contemplation, and solitude as well as his stigmata, which he received on La Verna. For Andrić, Francis’ poem *Brother Sun* encompassed the “sum total” of Francis’ life. The essay closes with a list of Franciscan virtues as lived by St. Francis and left to his contemporaries and successors: “poverty, patience, chastity, love, and forgiveness.”

Andrić's friendships with the Franciscans

In the summer of 1910, as high school students from Sarajevo, Ivo Andrić and his school peers visited the Franciscan Friary of St. John the Baptist in Kraljeva Sutjeska. After his imprisonment in Split, Šibenik, and Maribor, Andrić was transferred and confined to the Parish House of Ovčarevo near Travnik. He arrived in the Ovčarevo Parish on 22nd March 1915, which was at the time headed by Pastor Fra Alojzije Perčinlić. Andrić's mother Katarina (Kata) ran the household of the parish house. In a letter to Evgenija Gojmer Andrić dated 29th April 1915, Andrić wrote: "*Yesterday, I helped clean the meadow; now, I have blisters on my palms. These days, I have been helping the pastor with teaching village lads and lasses to sing the Passion of Jesus. Sundays here resemble Ljubo's or Milković's sonnets: 'all roads leading to the church teem with old peasant women clad in white, a small bell tolls, plowed fields, my mother clucks at chickens and scolds the servant...'*" (Andrić, 1986b).

Fra Alojzije was the Pastor of Zenica from 1915 to 1922. Ivo's mother also ran the parish household in Zenica for a time. Ivo joined them in Zenica and he used his time under house arrest as an opportunity to meet and have countless conversations with friars. This gave him access to their written legacy.

In September 2010, Prof. Perina Meić discovered Andrić's postcard, and a 1922 letter addressed to Fra Augustin Čičić in the archives of the Kreševo Friary (Meić, 2015). Andrić addressed the card to his friend, a friar from Bucharest: "*Dear friend, I did everything as you asked and as I thought best for you. Mr. Lanović thinks well of you. Now see to it that you move things along through your good and ... friends. Well wishes and greetings from yours truly, Ivo Andrić.*" (Meić, 2015). He befriended Fra Augustin Čičić, Fra Josip Markušić, Fra Ratislav Drljić, Fra Rudo Jablanović, Fra Ljubo Hrgić, and others.

Fra Augustin Čičić (1889–1955) (Lončarević, 2018; Mrkonjić, 2005) earned his doctorate in Vienna. He was a poet and a critic. His works include: *Proljetni stihovi* [Spring Verses] (1918), *Monografija o fra Grgi Martiću 1822. – 1905.* [A Monograph on Fra Grgo Martić, 1822–1905] (1930), *S Vardara na Soču* [From Vardar to Socha] (1935), and *Imenik Osvetnika fra Grge Martića* [A Directory of Fra Grga Martić' Avengers] (1940) (Lončarević, 2018).

Josip Markušić was born in Kotor Varoš in 1880 and died in 1965 (Bojić, 2018). He studied theology in Kraljeva Sutjeska and Budapest. He was ordained as a priest in 1904. He taught at a high school in Visoko. He served as a guardian in Jajce, Sarajevo, and Belgrade. He headed the order in Bosna Srebrena for three terms. His works, inter alia, include *Život i rad Ivana Frane Jukića* [The Life and Work of Ivan Frane Jukić] (Bojić, 2018).

Fra Ratislav Drljić (1900–1976) studied theology and Slavic studies in Ljubljana and Belgrade. He defended his doctoral dissertation on the topic of Fra Martin Nedić. He taught Croatian at the Franciscan Classical Gymnasium of Visoko for forty-three years (Gavran, 1990).

Fra Ljubo Hrgić (1908–1976), penname Hrvoje Bor, was friends with Andrić for many years (Marjanović, 2001). After World War II, he was indicted and sentenced to eight years in prison and served four. He published a collection of poems *Molitva pred odlazak* [A Prayer before Departure] in Zagreb in 1970. On 25 February 1970, his journal entry read: "*What is Ivo Andrić, my honorable friend, doing at this hour, in the night, alone, his wife dead,*

the sleepy old fellow, without the consolation of a warm Christian word? Does he hear ardent words from anyone?" On 2 March 1970, in his retelling of the occasion when he received financial aid from Isidora Sekulić, who used to receive visits from both Šop and Andrić, he remarked, *"Ivo Andrić (helped me) in the same manner, from the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He sent it while I was in Paris. Should all this be forgotten?"*

On 31 March 1922, Andrić wrote to his high school teacher and friend Dr Tugomir Alaupović (1870–1958) (Alaupović, Tugomir, 2021): *"How are you getting on? Do you have free time to rest and write? Are you planning to visit Bosnia? I have long wished to visit Fojnica and Kreševo and gather some material, but it seems now that this desire, as modest as it may be, shall remain unattainable to me, and my dream of a great fraternal drama shall remain but a dream."* (Karaulac, 2003). In the summer of 1926, he paid a visit to the Franciscans of Central Bosnia, alongside Alaupović.

In a letter to Fra Augustin Čičić, he asked: *"If you come across any document (chronicle, letter, deed) describing general circumstances or anyone's destiny, transcribe it and save it or send it to me, and I shall be very grateful."* (Meić, 2015).

The chronicles that left a lasting impression on the Nobel laureate Andrić included *Ljetopis kreševskog samostana* [Kreševo Friary Chronicle] by Marijan Bogdanović (Bogdanović, 2003), *Ljetopis sutjeskog samostana* [Sutjeska Friary Chronicle] by Bone Benić (Benić, 2003), *Pregled starina, Bosanske provincije* [An Overview of the Antiquities of the Bosnian Province] by Filip Lastrić (Lastrić, 2003), *Ljetopis* [Chronicle] by Nikola Lašvanin (Lašvanin, 2003), and *Godišnjak od događaja i promine vrimena u Bosni 1754–1882* [Annals of Events and Changes in Bosnia between 1754–1882] by Jako Baltić (Baltić, 2003).

Conclusion

The very fact that his works feature characters of more than 40 Franciscans affirms Andrić's familiarity with the Franciscans, especially Bosnian "uncles" and their lives. In addition to live meetings and friendships with the Franciscans of Bosna Srebrena, this Nobel laureate was also influenced by the Franciscan written legacy, especially the annals of friaries.

Did Andrić realize his dream of writing *"a great fraternal drama"* and *"a fraternal novel"*? After fifty years of writing about friars in short stories, novels, his dissertation, and essays, this question can only be answered in the affirmative. In his works, Andrić emphasized the Franciscans' love for their people and homeland and highlighted their cultural merit and heritage, ecumenism, and openness to religious dialogue, as well as their environmentalist spirit.

According to Andrić, the Franciscans never lost sight of their key mission: proclaiming the Gospel, and spreading and perpetuating the teachings of the Catholic Church. Over time, they became both the disseminators of culture as well as architects of identity. For almost two hundred years, they had to pay the annual *džulus* tax in exchange for the permission to perform their pastoral work and celebrate the sacraments, on top of levies imposed upon the arrival of a new vizier.

Andrić knew that the Franciscans loved the people, their country, homeland, and Mother Province. Their love for their homeland is best reflected in the novel *U Musafirhani*, in Fra Marko's writing from Rome: "*Deliver me; I cannot make heads or tails of this world.*" (Andrić, 2013). His only desire was to revisit Kreševo. In his novel *Čaša*, the character of Fra Nikola cautions a theology student, Fra Petar, that there is no place for him – a Bosnian Franciscan – in the world or in Germany; a friary in Bosnia is where he belongs (Andrić, 1986a).

The old Uncle Fra Stjepan Matijević wrote in Fra Marko's obituary: "*He loved the friary as his very soul. For the record.*" (Andrić, 1986a). According to Andrić, the Franciscans are heralds of God's mercy. This is especially prominent in his novella *U musafirhani* when Fra Marko Krneta attempts to convert the dying janissary Osmo Mameledžija before his death. The friar coaxes the janissary to mouth "*Savior, help us!*" When he concludes that Osmo is beyond speech, he brings a cross to his mouth for him to kiss it. Osmo spits on the cross. After regaining his bearings, Fra Marko proclaims, "*I knew that you never forget, neither the stuttering Fra Marko nor the sinful Osmo Mameledžija. He who spits on your cross is only struggling through a bad dream. There is room for everything on your ship. Even that crazy Kezmo, if he hadn't left.*" (Andrić, 2013).

In his doctoral dissertation (Andrić, 2017), Andrić described the cultural merit and heritage of the Franciscans in Bosnia and Herzegovina, from Fra Matija Divković to Fra Grga Martić. He relied mostly on Franciscan sources to write his dissertation. Of all prisoners in *Prokleta avlija*, only Fra Petar noticed a book in his prison cell and rejoiced (Andrić, 1977). In *Mustafa Madžar*, Andrić wrote about the Franciscans bringing books to their friary (Andrić, 2013). Franciscan monasteries always had a library.

In his works, Andrić clearly shows that the Franciscans strived to nurture ecumenism and religious dialogue. This is evident, for example, in his account of Fra Grgo's meetings and conversations with Archimandrite Sava in Sarajevo. He also reported that Fra Luka befriended the Jews David and Mord Atijas in Travnik. According to Andrić, friars approved of these friendships: "*But the friars have long grown accustomed to this friendship between the Old and New Testaments.*" (Andrić, 1986b). Fra Petar, a character from *Prokleta avlija*, was a peculiar case of someone willing to have a conversation with anyone, especially the young Turk Ćamil and Jew Haim (Andrić, 1977). Orthodox children attended a school in Varcar that was founded by Pastor Fra Ivan Franjo Jukić.

Andrić described the Franciscan environmentalist spirit in the novel *Travnička hronika* and novella *U musafirhani*. Fra Luka aka Likar, one of the seven Franciscans mentioned in *Travnička hronika*, trapped mice that ate his medicine and medicinal herbs at night. When he managed to catch a mouse, he would take the trap outside, open the door, and release the mouse under stacked wood. When he finished planting cabbage, Fra Marko addressed God with the words: "*Well, I have finished planting; now send your caterpillars to feast on it, like last year.*" (Andrić, 2013).

For Andrić, ending one's earthly life in the arms of a friar was an unparalleled way to go, indeed. Three of his characters died in the arms of friars. The builder of the Žepa bridge fell ill with the plague on his way back to Istanbul. He was admitted to a hospital run by Italian friars: "*And the next day, at the same time, he died in the arms of a friar.*" (Andrić,

2013). In the novel *Kod kazana*, we learn that the earthly existence of Fra Marko Krneta ended in the arms of the Guardian Fra Petar Jaranović (Andrić, 1986a). The Guardian of the Friary of Guča Gora, Fra Martin Dembić, aka Dembo, died in the arms of Fra Luka, a medicine man: “Finally, Dembo was so lucky, like so many others, to die in the arms of Fra Luka.” We may conclude that Andrić used “dying in the arms” to emphasize the intimacy and attachment to the dying person.

Regardless of the genre and theme, the common denominators of all Andrić’s works are his love for Bosnia and Herzegovina and his grief over the adversities suffered by its people. With the voice of Fra Mate Mikić in the short story *Priča o vezirovu slonu* (Andrić, 2014), Andrić sorrowfully concluded that “Bosnia, as disordered and lawless as ever, stumbles on and shall go on stumbling perhaps until the day of judgment” [Latin: “Et sic Bosna ut antea neuregiena sine lege vagatur et vagabitur forte do sudgnega danka”]. The Franciscans remain in his beloved country today, firmly convinced that its suffering will not be as long lasting.

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