

Paweł Cholewicki

**THE ROLE OF THE FRANCISCANS IN THE KINGDOM OF BOSNIA
DURING THE REIGN OF KING STJEPAN TOMAŠ (1443-1461)**

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

November 2017

**THE ROLE OF THE FRANCISCANS IN THE KINGDOM OF BOSNIA DURING
THE REIGN OF KING STJEPAN TOMAŠ (1443-1461)**

by

Paweł Cholewicki

(Poland)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary
Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

Examiner

Examiner

**THE ROLE OF THE FRANCISCANS IN THE KINGDOM OF BOSNIA DURING
THE REIGN OF KING STJEPAN TOMAŠ (1443-1461)**

by

Paweł Cholewicki

(Poland)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in
Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

External Reader

Budapest
November 2017

**THE ROLE OF THE FRANCISCANS IN THE KINGDOM OF BOSNIA DURING
THE REIGN OF KING STJEPAN TOMAŠ (1443-1461)**

by

Paweł Cholewicki

(Poland)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in
Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

External Supervisor

Budapest

I, the undersigned, **Paweł Cholewicki**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, ____ . January

Signature

Abstract

My thesis aims to understand the role of the Franciscans during the reign of the penultimate king of Bosnia, Stjepan Tomaš, whose reign was a period of major progress of Catholicism. This work problematizes activities of the Franciscans of the Bosnian vicary across their missionary action, the Observant reform, their role at the royal court, the organization of an anti-Ottoman crusade and the frequent political reconfigurations of the mid-fifteenth century. The reign of the Stjepan Tomaš was essentially the time of the Franciscan triumph over the heretical Bosnian Church, the traditional spiritual pillar of political power in Bosnia. The spheres of life that these two organizations were competing to dominate were fully taken over by the friars and after a phase of gradual decline, the king ultimately expelled the Bosnian Church. The papacy also included Bosnia in an anti-Ottoman front, giving the friars the floor to present their ruler as an exemplary Christian and to preach the crusade. At the same time, the expansion of the Observant movement contributed to partition of the large Bosnian vicary among the local, Apulian, Dalmatian and Hungarian Observant communities. The conflict between them and their Observant superiors went on during the entire reign of Tomaš and brought together the monarchy and the vicary. The thesis discusses the source material issued during the crisis, and this material is a great help in understanding the lifestyle and aspirations of the friars of the Bosnian vicary.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor Gábor Klaniczay whose continued support allowed for completion of this thesis. Special thanks to Zsuzsanna Reed for her help with my drafts as well as her assistance during the academic year.

I am also grateful to organizers and participants of the summer school in Jajce 2016: *Demitologizacija nacija i identiteta – Bosna u evropskom srednjem vijeku*. My stay in Jajce was the time that allowed me to structure my knowledge about the Bosnian Middle Ages. Here I would like to thank Dženan Dautović for his irreplaceable help with the literature. I also would like to thank Dubravko Lovrenović for an opportunity to personally and informally inquire the author of books and articles that I read. His death stroke me during the writing process of this thesis and left me in a great grief.

Last but not least, I would like to thank all my CEU professors and colleges who on different occasions helped me with sources, literature, language and more during my research in Budapest. You all contributed to the completion of this thesis.

Table of contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1 - The Franciscan mission to Bosnia before the reign of Tomaš	9
1.1 The beginnings of the confessional controversy	9
1.2 The Kotromanići between the Bosnian Church and the vicary	19
1.3 The Vicary between Observant nonconformism and Missionary pragmatism: James of the Marches in Bosnia (1432-1438)	29
Chapter 2 - The reign of Stjepan Tomaš in Bosnia.	37
2.1 The first difficult years of rule, the progress of Catholicism, and the Coronation controversy	37
2.2 An alleged conflict between Tomaš and the Franciscans	49
2.3 The Ottoman expansion and Kosača's war against Dubrovnik	55
2.4 The fall of Smederevo and the new confessional reconfigurations	58
Chapter 3: The Bosnian vicary during the reign of Stjepan Tomaš.	64
3.1 Bosnian vicary between Tomaš, the papacy and the Observant superioirs	64
3.2 Franciscans and the royal court of Stjepan Tomaš	75
3.3 Bosnia as <i>Antemurale Christianitatis</i> , Tomaš as <i>miles Christi</i> and the Franciscans	86
Conclusion	95
Bibliography	99

List of Figures, Tables or Illustrations

Figure 1 Map of thirty-nine Franciscan convents/churches/houses in pre-Ottoman Bosnia.	24
Figure 2 Bosnia in the mid-fifteenth century.	39
Figure 3 Two coins issued by King Stjepan Tomaš.	48

List of Abbreviations

AB	<i>Acta Bosnae</i>
BF	<i>Bullarium franciscanum</i>
CD	<i>Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae</i>
DAD	Drzavni arhiv u Dubrovniku [State archive of Dubrovnik]. <i>Acta Consili Rogatorum</i>
JAZU	<i>Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti</i>
MH	<i>Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia</i>
MSM	<i>Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia</i>

Introduction

The Franciscan order has been present in Bosnia for over seven centuries, and if one wants to look for any institution with continuity from the Middle Ages up until present in this country, the friars are the only such example. The order outlived the medieval Bosnian kingdom, the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian rule and two Yugoslav states over the turmoils of Bosnian history. The friars managed to adapt to a number of political reconfigurations. In many ways, Franciscans influenced Bosnian culture and at the same time were themselves suffused with its culture.

The reign of Stjepan Tomaš in Bosnia (?-1461, king 1443-1461, also referred to as Stephen Thomas in the English literature), followed by shorter reign of his son, Stjepan Tomašević (1461-1463) represents at first sight, very favorable (if not the most favorable) times for the Franciscan ministry in the history of this country. There was no moment when Bosnia on its own had a better relationship with the papacy. Indeed, the king and his wife, Queen Catherine of Bosnia (bos. Kraljica Katarina Kosača; 1425-1478), favored the Catholic Church in their realm. My thesis aims to understand the role of the Franciscans during this time by problematizing their activities across their missionary action, their role at the court, the organization of an anti-Ottoman front and the frequent political reconfigurations of the mid-fifteenth century, a time when history indeed “accelerated” and led to fall of the Kotromanić dynasty and the Bosnian kingdom. I will reveal the challenges that the Bosnian Franciscans had to face by outlining the general political difficulties Stjepan Tomaš had to overcome and by emphasizing the rise of the Franciscan observance reform with the reorganization of the order. In this light I will be able to understand a variety of roles that the Franciscans already had or newly obtained in this time.

Sources of local provenance relevant for this thesis are very few and fragmentary. Most of the Franciscan documents fell victim to the turbulent Bosnian history. Franciscan convents in Kraljeva Sutjeska, Fojnica and Kreševo were in flames several times, a similar fate befell on the archive of apostolic vicariate for Bosnia in Brestovsko and the archive of convent in Guča Gora.¹ Documents issued by Bosnian royal chancellery as well as the chancelleries of the aristocratic houses are no less unfortunate.

Scholars studying the medieval Bosnian Franciscans in general are dependent on sources of foreign provenience, that are documents issued by the Papal chancellery (mainly bulls), Dubrovnik chancellery and general documents of the Franciscan order.² Such sources are strictly formalized and present the reality from the perspective of the outsiders. However, the reign of Stjepan Tomaš, due to his turn to Catholicism is marked by the intensification of the royal correspondence with the papacy. What is available for scholars is mostly its papal part preserved in the Vatican archives in the form of registers. The surviving correspondence and other relevant documents were published in several source editions.³

Another group of materials of smaller relevance for this thesis are the narrative sources, both those extensive works done by foreigners that dealt sporadically with Bosnia and number chronicles written by the Franciscans themselves up until the late eighteenth century, such as

¹ Gregor Čremošnik, "Ostaci arhiva bosanske franjevačke vikarije" [The remains of archives of Bosnian Franciscan vicary], *Radovi* 3 (1955): 5; Jozo Džambo, "Povijest mentaliteta: Jedan historiografski pristup fenomenu bosanskog franještva" [History of mentality: A historiographical approach to the phenomenon of the Bosnian Franciscans], in *Sedam stoljeća bosanskih franjevaca 1291-1991*, ed. Marko Karamatić (Samobor: Franjevačka teologija – Sarajevo, 1994), 245-46.

² Jozo Džambo, "Povijest mentaliteta," 247. The collection preserved in Dubrovnik is very valuable for the Bosnian Middle Ages since it contains privileges for Ragusan merchants, peace treaties and a variety of other documents.

³ Relevant publications include Augustin Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, vol. 1-2 (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1859-1860; *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, vol. 1 (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1863). A source edition containing sources of various origin, dedicated to the Bosnian history was published in 1892 by Euzebijje Fermeđžin (1845-1897). A peculiar feature of this edition is that some of the sources are abbreviated: Euzebijje Fermeđžin, ed., *Acta Bosnae* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1892). Sources can also be found in a previously cited Čremošnik, "Ostaci arhiva bosanske franjevačke vikarije."

the chronicle of Bernardino of Aquileia, a more general compilation *Cronica seu origo fratrum minorum de observantia Bozne et Hungarie Christo Iesu militantium* (henceforth *Cronica*) or the chronicles written in the convents of the Bosnian vicary, such as those in Fojnica or Sutjeska.⁴ Multi-volume work on the general history of the Franciscan order, the *Annales Minorum* written by the Irish friar, Luke Wadding (1588-1657), published in the eighteenth century, contains the author's occasional comments about the Bosnian friars.⁵ A similar work, *Illiricum Sacrum* authored by the Venetian Jesuit Daniele Farlati (1690-1773), contains a substantial part on Bosnia written in majority by friar Filip Lastrić (1700-1783).⁶ A very important source for this thesis, an alleged letter of Eugene IV to legate Tomassini that informs about the refusal of sacraments to Tomaš by the Franciscans is to be found only in Farlati's work.⁷ I dedicated a small subchapter to the problem of its authenticity and the events that it describes.

⁴ (Aquilanus) B. *Bernardini Aquilani Chronica fratrum minorum observantiae*. (Ex codice autographo primum ed. Leonardus Lemmens. Rome 1902.) Bernardino of Aquileia was the first vicar of the unified vicary of Bosnia and Dalmatia. His comments about differentiation of lifestyle between the two groups of friars are very valuable for this thesis. Ferenc Toldy, *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae historicorum literariorum maximum inedita* (Pest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1872): 213-315. The *Cronica* was also used by Fermendžin in his *Chronicon Observantis Provinciae Bosnae Argentinae Ordinis s. Francisci Seraphici*. The manuscript used by Fermendžin was from the library of the Franciscan convent in Gyöngyös, which suggests that Fermendžin was unaware of the already existing edition by Toldy; Euzebije Fermendžin, ed., "Chronicon Observantis Provinciae Bosnae Argentinae Ordinis s. Francisci Seraphici," *Starine* 22 (1890): 1-67; The relevant part of *Cronica* was compiled in the mid-sixteenth century by an anonymous Franciscan based on an earlier work by Basilus de Zalka (Bosnian vicar 1420-25) and oral tradition. The author of this work aimed to impugn some misconceptions about the installation of the Bosnian vicary. Although the *Cronica* does not contain information about the relations between the friars and the Bosnian court, it provides some valuable comments on the friars' way of life in the medieval vicary. The question of the precise date of the compilation of the *Cronica* remains open, see Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000), 31-32. Ćiro Truhelka, ed., "Fojnička kronika" [The chronicle of Fojnica], *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine* 21 (1909): 443-57; Julian Jelenić, "Ljetopis franjevačkog samostana u Kr. Sutjesci" [The chronicle of the Franciscan convent in Kraljeva Sutjeska] *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine* 25 (1923): 1-30; The chronicles of Sutjeska and Fojnica are compiling fragmentary information about the life of Stjepan Tomaš, and his alleged murder by his own son Stephen Tomašević and his brother Radivoj. The Chronicle of Fojnica also presents a forged charter of Stephen Tomašević, at that time the newly elected king: Fine, *The Bosnian Church*: 81. Modern Franciscan chronicles written in Bosnia are of little use for understanding the Middle Ages.

⁵ Luke Wadding, *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, 25 vols. (Florence: Ad Claras aquas Quaracchi, 1932-35).

⁶ Or, as it is mentioned in the work, Filip of Očevja. Daniele Farlati *Illyricum Sacrum*, vol. IV, 38.

⁷ Daniele Farlati *Illyricum Sacrum*, vol. IV, 257-58.

The Bosnian Franciscans received significant attention from researchers of different disciplines. Scholarship relevant for this thesis, in short, can be divided into two groups, that of central interest in medieval Bosnia (either in its political history or any other dimension) and that of the medieval Franciscans. Studies in the former group usually point out Stjepan Tomaš's turn to Catholicism and conclude that during his reign the role of the Franciscans increased both in the royal court and in the rest of the kingdom. The latter group presents the last years predating the Ottoman conquest as a crisis for the Bosnian vicary due to its territorial decline. This raises the issue of two important reconfigurations that the Bosnian friars faced during the reign of Stjepan Tomaš, and given the dynamism of the period, there were more. Attentive readers may encounter them in a number of brief descriptions scattered across scholarly works, both comprehensive monographs and shorter articles.

One group of scholars who contributed to the topic were friars themselves. Bosnian Franciscans displayed an interest in their own history already during the Middle Ages, and this tradition seamlessly transformed into professional scholarship in the nineteenth century, especially through Vjenceslav Batinić (1846-1912).⁸ Another individual who deserves particular recognition in the early period of scholarship is Julijan Jelenić (1877-1931) whose work *Kultura i bosanski franjevci* was published in two volumes in 1912 and 1915, the Middle Ages being the subject of the first one.⁹ Dominik Mandić's *Franjevačka Bosna* written during

⁸ Mijo Vjenceslav Batinić, *Djelovanje franjevaca u Bosni i Hercegovini za prvih šest vjekova njihova boravka* [The work of the Franciscans in Bosnia and Hercegovina throughout the first six centuries of their stay] (Zagreb: Tiskom Dioničke tiskare, 1881).

⁹ Julijan Jelenić, *Kultura i bosanski franjevci* [Culture and the Bosnian Franciscans], vol 1 (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1990). The same author published several editions of primary sources. Jelenić explained that his motivation to write his work was to answer the denial of the historical merits of the Franciscans, spread by Serbian newspapers after the Austro-Hungarian Empire entered Bosnia and Hercegovina in 1878. After over hundred years Jelenić's work is still considered to be a milestone not just in the research on the Bosnian Franciscans but for Bosnian historiography in general. Jelenić conceptualized the history of the Bosnian Franciscans through the lens of their activities in five fields of culture, that is preaching and unification of churches, ministry, social and political activity, schools, science and art. Though the contemporary understanding of the term culture is much wider than these fields, they covered exactly the center of the Franciscan activity in Bosnia. (Dubravko Lovrenović, *Bosanska kvadratura kruga* [Bosnian quadrature of a circle] (Sarajevo–Zagreb: Dobra knjiga – Synopsis, 2012), 405.)

his political exile and published in 1968 in Rome, is still considered by many to be the best synthesis of the medieval history of the Bosnian friars.¹⁰ Although his occasional lack of criticism seems striking for a contemporary scholar, his chronologically ordered set of sources in *Franjevačka Bosna* remains a valuable contribution to the scholarship.

A number of valuable publications that contain new contributions and questions to already existing scholarship were written contemporary friars Ignacije Gavran (1914-2009), Bazilije Pandžić (1918-), Marijan Žugaj (1919-2000), Andrija Zirdum (1937-), Stanko Josip Škunca (1937-), and others.¹¹ While the scholarly contribution of the friar-historians is undisputable, their approach to the sources sometimes raises significant questions. Even contemporary works by friars have a positivist tendency.

Academic researchers who dealt with the Franciscans in medieval Bosnia were and are representatives of Bosnian, Croatian, to a lesser extent Serbian, and to a far lesser extent non-former Yugoslavian academia.¹² Comments on the Franciscan activity in Bosnia can be found in seminal contributions in the Bosnian scholarship as well as in small thematic articles dedicated either to the Franciscans or to other important topic of the Bosnian Middle Ages, for example, the Bosnian Church or mining.¹³ For the timeframe of this thesis, a great deal of

¹⁰ Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna* [Franciscan Bosnia]. (Rome: Hrvatski Povijesni Institut, 1968.)

¹¹ Bazilije Pandžić, “Bosna i sabor u Mantovi (1459- 60.)” [Bosnia and the Council of Mantua 1459-60], *Bosna franciscana* 10 (1998): 101-11; “Djelovanje franjevaca od 13. do 15. st. u Bosanskoj državi” [Activities of the Franciscans from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century in Bosnia], in *Kršćanstvo srednjovjekovne Bosne*, ed. Želimir Puljić (Sarajevo: Vrhbosanska visoka teološka škola, 1991), 241-68; “Jakov Markijski vicar Bosanske vikarije” [James of the Marches, Vicar of the Bosnian vicary], *Bosna Franciscana* 7 (1997): 155-66. Marijan Žugaj, “Bosanska vikarija i franjevci konventualci” [The Bosnian vicary and the Conventual Franciscans] *Croatica christiana periodica* 24 (1989): 1–26; Andrija Zirdum, “Franjevci i Bosansko-Humski Krstijani” [Franciscans and Bosnian-Hum Christians], *Bosna Franciscana* 19 (2003): 50-78; Stanko Josip Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa u Dalmaciji i Istri: opservantska obnova i samostani Provincije sv. Jeronima u 15. St* [The Franciscan renaissance in Dalmatia and Istria: Observance renewal and convents of St. Jerome Province in fifteenth century] (Zadar–Split: Franjevačka provincija sv. Jeronima u Dalmaciji i Istri, 1999)

¹² To mention a few notable authors in the latter category: Jozo Džambo, *Die Franziskaner im mittelalterlichen Bosnien* [The Franciscans in medieval Bosnia] (Werl: Dietrich-Coelde, 1991; Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *Les Franciscains Observants hongrois de l'expansion a la debacle, vers 1450-vers 1540* [The Hungarian Observant Franciscans from expansion to dissolution 1450-1540]. (Rome: Istituto storico dei cappuccini, 2008) and also John Fine’s work dedicated to the Bosnian Church.

¹³ Journals that deserve special emphasis in this matter are *Glasnik zmealjskieg muzeja* issued by Zemaljski Muzej Bosne i Hercegovine (Земаљски музеј Босне и Херцеговине) in 1888/1889, *Croatica christiana periodica*

relevant material comes from relatively recent scholarship, mainly publications by Franjo Šanjek (1939-),¹⁴ Pejo Ćošković (1952-),¹⁵ Dubravko Lovrenović (1956-2017),¹⁶ and Emir Filipović.¹⁷

Though Stjepan Tomaš is an important figure in Bosnian history and his reign triggered rapid political, social and confessional changes, comprehensive work dedicated to him was published in the contemporary scholarship only recently.¹⁸ At the same time his wife, Queen Catherine of Bosnia became the subject of a number of scholarly publications dedicated to her.¹⁹ She is certainly one of the most famous and beloved character of the Bosnian Middle Ages. In Bosnia she is frequently (and erroneously) named “the last queen of Bosnia” and there

issued in 1977 initially by a few Croatian enthusiasts of church history, and finally *Bosnia franciscana* issued by the Bosnian friars themselves in 1993.

¹⁴ Especially: Franjo Šanjek, “Heterodoksko kršćanstvo u našim krajevima u Kapistranovo doba” [Heterodox Christianity in our countries during the Capistran period], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 11 (1987): 83-94; *Bosansko-humski krstjani* [Bosnian-Hum Christians] (Zagreb: Krscanska sadašnjost, 1975); “Kršćanstvo Bosne i Hercegovine” [The Christianity of Bosnia and Herzegovina] *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 16, no. 30 (1992): 119-52.

¹⁵ Especially: Pejo Ćošković, *Bosanska kraljevina u prijelomnim godinama 1443-1446* (Banjaluka: Institut za istoriju u Banjaluci, 1988); “Tomašev progon sljedbenika Crkve bosanske 1459,” in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina* (Sarajevo: 1990), 43-50; and several other works dedicated to the Bosnian church.

¹⁶ Especially second part of his *Krist i Donator* that deals with reigns of Tvrtko II, Stephen Thomas and his son: Dubravko Lovrenović, “Krist i Donator: Kotromanići između vjere rimske i vjere bosanske, 2: Konfesionalne posljedice jednog lokalnog crkvenog raskola” [The Kotromanići between the Roman and the Bosnian faith, 2: Confessional consequences of a local church schism], in *Tristota obljetnica stradanja samostana i crkve u Olovu (1704-2004)*, ed. Marko Karamatić (Sarajevo: Franjevačka teologija – Sarajevo, 2008): 17-54; *Utjecaj Ugarske na odnos Crkve i države u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni* [The influence of Hungary on the relation between the church and the state in medieval Bosnia], in *Sedam stoljeća bosanskih franjevaca 1291-1991*, ed. Marko Karamatić (Samobor: Franjevačka teologija – Sarajevo, 1994): 37-93; Lovrenović, *Na klizistu povijesti*, and more.

¹⁷ Especially his works regarding the relations between Bosnia and the Ottomans: Emir Filipović “The key to the gate of Christendom? The Strategic importance of Bosnia in the struggle against the Ottomans”, in *The crusade in the fifteenth century: Converging and Competing cultures* (ed.) Norman Housley, London – New York, 2016, 151-168; Emir Filipović “*Exurge igitur, miles Christi, et in barbaros viriliter pugna...*”: The Anti-Ottoman Activities of Bosnian King Stjepan Tomaš (1443–1461)” in *Holy War in Late Medieval and Early Modern East-Central Europe*, eds. Janusz Smołucha, John Jefferson, and Andrzej Wadas, Ignatianum and WAM, Cracow, 2017, 201-242. The latter article was published on author’s academia.edu page when first draft of this thesis was completed, including third subchapter of the third chapter, was finished.

¹⁸ Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska kraljevina sredinom XV vijeka-kralj Stjepan Tomaš* (Zagreb: Bošnjačka nacionalna zajednica za Grad Zagreb i Zagrebačku županiju, 2016). This work in a book form was published during the writing process of this thesis.

¹⁹ For an overview of the vast literature about the Queen Catharine see Esad Kurtović, “Prilog bibliografiji radova o bosanskoj kraljici Katarini (1425-1478): U povodu 525 obljetnice smrti” [Contribution to the bibliography of works on Bosnian Queen Katarina (1425-1478): On the occasion of the 525th anniversary of her death], *Bosna franciscana* 22 (2005): 201-11; Krešimir Regan, *Bosanska kraljica Katarina: Pola stoljeća Bosne 1425-1478* [Queen Catharine of Bosnia: Half a century of Bosnia 1425-1478]. Zagreb: Naklada Breza, 2010; Emir Filipović, “Was Bosnian Queen Catherine a Member of the Third Order of St. Francis?” *Radovi - Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 47 (2015): 165-82.

are various traditions, songs and legends dedicated to her. She is there perceived as a good queen whose life was marked with suffering because she lost her children, husband and the kingdom.²⁰ Even though no beatification process was ever conducted in Rome, she is revered as such in Bosnia to this day. Her cult was initiated and promoted by the Bosnian friars during the Ottoman period.²¹

While the medieval Bosnian Franciscans is a topic frequently researched by scholars of different disciplines and backgrounds, their situation in the last years of the Bosnian kingdom remains a topic within wider narratives. In most cases the description of the general situation of the Franciscans in the last years of the kingdom is very brief, which strongly suggests that the topic, focusing on the friars in the given timeframe, has not been adequately problematized thus far. Thus existing scholarship reveals only fragments of a very complex issue. My thesis aims to comprehensively approach this problem through the lens of their missionary activity, the Observant movement, role at the royal court and their role in the inclusion of Bosnia into the anti-Ottoman front. Analysis of this variety of the Franciscan action requires applying different sets of research questions for each one of them. Answering those questions located in particular sections of this thesis will allow me to grasp the role that the Franciscans played in the most important historical events and processes of the reign of Stjepan Tomaš as well as in the fields they newly obtained due to the recent political reconfigurations.

Since most of this material comes from institutions of the Roman Church, the present thesis places an emphasis on the trilateral interaction of the Franciscans, Tomaš and the papacy. Juxtaposing the interests and needs of the king, the papacy and the friars with the rapid contemporary changes in Southeastern Europe, in the Kingdom of Bosnia and in the Franciscan

²⁰ Emir Filipović, “Was Bosnian Queen”, 165.

²¹ Queen Catharine is referred to as beatified in the *Martyrologium Franciscanum* from 1638. Krešimir Regan, *Bosanska kraljica Katarina*, 72-75.

order, the thesis will reveal their mutuality as well as tensions between them and the foreign powers. In this vein, I will analyze the functions that the Bosnian Friars already had or newly obtained during the reign of Stjepan Tomaš. This context will shed light on the role of the Franciscans in Bosnia more comprehensively and in new light.

Chapter 1 - The Franciscan mission to Bosnia before the reign of Tomaš

*See what we have observed in districts of Bosnia, Croatia and Dalmatia near to Hungary: because of the Antipope it cannot be doubted that the delay in the coming of antichrist will be shortened, as the new Lucifer swollen with the poison of fresh arrogance endeavors to establish his seat in the parts of the north.*²²

Cardinal Conrad of Porto, papal legate in southern France, 1223.

The creation of the Bosnian vicary in 1340 was the result of a deep confessional controversy Bosnia struggled with from as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Franciscan order, made up of many effective preachers, quickly became instrumentalised by the papacy in its anti-heretical policy and missionaryism. The exemplary lifestyle of the Franciscans that emphasized poverty, was an effective counter-weight against thirteenth-century heresies that subscribed to various forms of dualism and accused the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches of amassing wealth. The order presented and offered a life of poverty and simplicity without clashing with the ecclesiastic authority. Over the Middle Ages members of the Franciscan order were also inquisitors, though they did not propel this institution as much as the Dominicans. More than two hundred Franciscans had served as inquisitors prior to 1517.²³

The missionary activities of the friars were extensive throughout the Middle Ages.²⁴ The friars managed to win the confidence of distant and different centers of power (schismatic,

²² Janet Hamilton and Bernard Hamilton, eds. *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World c. 650-1450* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 264.

²³ Petr Hlaváček, "Bohemian Franciscans between Orthodoxy and Nonconformity at the Turn of the Middle Ages," *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 5, no. 1 (2004): 167.

²⁴ In the missionary lands the friars were granted more permissions than those who worked inside Latin Christendom. For example, the bull "Cum hora undecima" issued by Pope Gregory IX in June 1239, granted the Franciscans in "the lands of Saracens, pagans, Greeks, Bulgarians, Cumans and other infidels" the privileges to administer the sacraments, to baptize, to appoint priests, to celebrate the mass, to build churches, to grant indulgences and to absolve excommunicated priests. The privileged position was quickly desired by the Franciscan in Bosnia after the creation of the vicary.

Saracen or pagan alike) with which they established permanent agreements. The temporal success of this undertaking, approximately in the mid-fourteenth century established the Franciscan order as an organization thus far unseen in history, uniting places and individuals at the great distance of thousands of kilometers from one other. The friars usually organized their convents in the lands inhabited by infidels or schismatic into vicaries, while those lying inside the Latin Christendom into provinces, with the right to autonomously elect their provincials.²⁵ While analogies between medieval missionary vicaries lying in such distant and different places can be useful, the Bosnian vicary simply possessed a number of peculiar features exclusively on its own. In certain ways these were the results of the confessional exceptionality of the Bosnian Middle Ages.

1.1 The beginnings of the confessional controversy

The borders of modern Bosnia west from the river Drina, south from the river Sava and with a relatively small access to the Adriatic Sea largely correspond to the territories of the medieval kingdom of the Kotromanić dynasty (1377-1463) that had developed out of a significantly smaller Bosnian banate of the thirteenth and fourteenth century. What is peculiar about the Bosnian geography is its situation in the area of so-called Skadar Meridian, which is the historic boundary line between the Eastern and Western Roman empires, Greek and Latin languages, Catholic and Orthodox Christianity. Therefore Bosnia was an area of interweaving of outside influences. This position manifested itself in Bosnia in confessional dichotomy already in the early Middle Ages. Bosnia until the mid-thirteenth century was under a strong influence of the Roman church because of its links to the archbishoprics of Split, Dubrovnik

²⁵ At the beginning of their order the Franciscans divided their convents into provinces. The decision of the General Chapter in 1239 forbade the creation of new provinces, and their number was fixed at 32. In 1264 Bologna and Greece were added as provinces, otherwise, territories where the order later expanded were organized as vicaries. Marijan Žugaj, "Bosanska vikarija i franjevci konventualci" [The Bosnian vicary and the Conventual Franciscans], *Croatia christiana periodica*, 24 (1989): 6.

and Bar. At the same time, Bosnia was under the influence of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition because in the mid-ninth century it was a regional ecclesiastic province under the jurisdiction of Saint Methodius, archbishop of Sirmium²⁶.

Because of a scanty and often unreliable source material little is known about the territories of Bosnia before the twelfth century²⁷. In mid twelve century Bosnia under Ban Borić entered into vassalage under Hungary in the mid-twelfth century. From this moment the political histories of both countries, Hungary and Bosnia entered a close relation, with the latter being under various levels of vassalage under the former and the former having various pretensions to the latter, sometimes manifesting in a military offensive.²⁸

Meanwhile in the mid twelfth century the dualist heresy started to spread throughout the Latin Christendom. Sources of Roman Catholic provenance report that the heretics established a church of Slavonia in the region.²⁹ Pessimist worldview of the dualists questioned not only the traditional structures of the Catholic Church, but the whole existing social system and therefore the church took severe steps against them. The Council of Split in 1185 repeated the condemnations that the council in Verona in 1184 issued against the Cathars, the Poor Men of Lyons, the Patarenes and many others.³⁰ In 1199 Vukan, župan of Duklja, sent an alarming

²⁶ Dubravko Lovrenović, “Krist i Donator,” 194.

²⁷ On the formation of the medieval Banate of Bosnia, see Julius Pauler, “Wie und wann kam Bosnien an Ungarn” [How and when Bosnia came to Hungary], *Separat-Abdruck aus Wissenschaftlichen Mittheilungen aus Rosnien und der Hercegovina*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Bosnisch-Herzegowinisches Landesmuseum in Sarajevo, 1894), 162; Sima Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države* [History of medieval Bosnia] (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1964). Anto Babić, “O pitanju formiranja srednjovekovne Bosanske države” [On the question of the formation of the medieval Bosnia], in *Iz Istorije Srednjovekovne Bosne*, ed. Anto Babić (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1972), 49-80; Nada Klaić, *Srednjovekovna Bosna*: 5-69.

²⁸ Relationship between medieval Bosnia and Hungary has its own historiography, see Lajos Thallóczy, *Studien zur Geschichte*; Nada Klaić, *Srednjovekovna Bosna*; Dubravko Lovrenović, *Na klizištu Povijesti* and others.

²⁹ Dualism was the most significant heresy in the Latin Christendom in twelfth and thirteenth centuries, thought it had much earlier and non-Christian roots. Dualism existed under various names and forms. Its doctrine was presenting the entirety of the universe as a struggle of two principles, the Good, the spiritual and the Evil, the bodily. In its Christian form dualism manifest itself in a belief in two Creators, the Good God of the New Testament and the Evil, usually identified with Old testament’s Jehovah.

³⁰ Franjo Šanjek, “Papa Inocent III (1198.-1216.) i Bosansko-humski krstijani” [Pope Innocent III (1198.-1216.) and *Krstijani* of Bosnia-Hum], In *Fenomen “Krstijani” u Srednjovekovnoj Bosni i Humu*, ed. Franjo Šanjek (Zagreb – Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu and Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2005), 425.

report about the rapid spread of heresy in Bosnia, including the conversion of its contemporary ruler, Ban Kulin (? – 1204).³¹ The Intervention of the papal legate John of Casamare ended by signing an abjuration in Bilino polje.³²

The information provided in the abjuration of Bilino polje in the light of the context of its creation does not clarify the exact origin of the *Krstjani* community.³³ The use of heretic terminology against them, however, have to be understood in the context of a political plot to blackmail the archbishop of Dubrovnik and the Bosnian ruler by their opponents. This mechanism of political exclusion of Bosnia achieved by the (ab)use of heretical vocabulary was used for the first time by Vukan and it was repeated by his Bosnian neighbors, albeit in other forms and usually in periods of political pretentions to the Bosnian Banate/Kingdom.

Upon returning from his mission, papal legate John of Casamare informed Pope Innocent III that the Bosnian bishopric had no bishop and suggested to appoint a follower of Latin liturgy to reorganize the Bosnian diocese.³⁴ The confessional “peace treaty” of Bilino

³¹ The letter in Latin and Croatian translation in: Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 70-71. Vukan wrote his letter to the pope while he was plotting against the archbishopric of Dubrovnik, presenting its irresponsible policy in Bosnia, in order to elevate Bar into the rank of metropolis. The political motivation behind the accusation is therefore clear.

³² Pope Innocent shared his concerns to the archbishop of Split, Bernard, and to legate John of Casamare, in which he called those accused of heresy in Bosnia as Cathars. Franjo Šanjek, ed. *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 72-73. The abjuration is a normative text in which the undersigned individuals in the name of their community renounce the heresy, stating that they have never been part of any and express their unity with the Roman Church. The Bilinopolje document provides interesting but questionable details about the character of the community itself. One of the first pieces of information found in the text is that members of this community were calling themselves Christians. In subsequent lines of the document the leaders of the *Krstjani* obliged themselves to observe certain practices and regulations. Certain features of the *Krstjani* suggest that they were already organized in a semi-monastic community, possibly even being an offshoot of one. The character of obligations issued for them suggests that the papacy attempted to regulate their life according to the rules of established Catholic monastic communities and by the act of the abjuration the community of *Krstjani* and their religious practices were legitimized in the bosom of the Catholic Church. (Franjo Šanjek, “Papa Inocent III,” 436.) Modern regional historians refer to this community as *Krstjani* (pl. of *Krstjanin*), which in the Bosnian language means Christians. In this thesis, I will use the Bosnian term, as “Christians” would be misleading for the reader. Most authors distinguish the *Krstjani* from the Bosnian church created later. Whether to identify this with the community of *Krstjani* of Bilinopolje is another scholarly issue.

³³ Srećko Džaja, and Dubravko Lovrenović, “Srednjovjekovna Crkva bosanska,” 6.

³⁴ The papal legate suggested to reorganize Bosnia into three or four dioceses. It seems that this advice was not implemented and in 1209 the archbishop of Dubrovnik, Leonard, appointed Dragdigna (Dragonja), a follower of Slavic liturgy, as a bishop of Bosnia. By this act the archbishopric of Dubrovnik continued the Cirilo-Methodian tradition of nominating followers of the Slavic liturgy for the episcopal seat in Bosnia. Known names of the

polje was therefore a short-lived resolution. Bosnian bishopric was targeted again in Pope Gregory IX's letter where he expresses his deepest embarrassment caused by the bishop of Bosnia.³⁵ The papal legate James of Pecoraria intervened and in 1233 replaced the follower of the Slavic liturgy with John of Wildeshausen (?-1252), former Dominican provincial of Hungary, who later became the fourth General of the Dominican Order.³⁶

With his establishment the Bosnian bishopric entered a process of reorganization in accordance to the norms of Latin Christianity prevailing at the time. This process was conducted to a large part by John's brothers in the order: the Dominicans.³⁷ The Dominicans never established any province or vicary in Bosnia, therefore the friars present there in the mid-thirteenth century were members of either the Hungarian Dominican province or the Dalmatian vicary. The location of two of their convents mentioned by Petrus de Bodrogh in his *Commentariolum* remains in the sphere of speculation.³⁸ Besides an active support of the crusade, the Dominican order produced a significant amount of writings against dualists,

Bosnian bishops from the twelfth and thirteenth century clearly point to the existence of the Cirilo-Methodian tradition in Bosnia (Franjo Šanjek, "Papa Inocent III," 436)

³⁵ CD III, 362. In this letter the pope accuses the bishop of Bosnia of being uneducated, a public defender of the heretics and that his appointment as a bishop was the result of simony. The later letter *Humanae conditionis* confirms only the first accusation. The mission of the papal legate, James of Pecoraria, to Bosnia revealed that the bishop was indeed uneducated, which presumably refers to his orientation towards Slavic liturgy. Because of this in his letter *Humanae conditionis* Pope Gregory IX ordered to dismiss the incumbent bishop of Bosnia. (*MH I*, 113.)

³⁶ *MH I*, 113. Besides ordering the dismissal of the Bosnian bishop in *Humanae conditionis*, Gregory IX also ordered to reorganize the diocese into two, three or four units, as was suggested by John of Casamare, respecting the rights of the archbishopric of Dubrovnik. However, only the former command was implemented by legate James of Pecoraria.

³⁷ Some historians date the first encounter of the Dominicans with Bosnia in for 1222. (Stjepan Krasić, "Djelovanje dominikanaca u srednjem vijeku" [Dominican activities in the Middle Ages], in *Kršćanstvo srednjovjekovne Bosne* (Sarajevo: Radovi simpozija povodom 9 stoljeća spominjanja Bosanske biskupije (1089-1989), 1991), 180.) The first direct mention of this mendicant order in Bosnia in the sources appears in a letter of Pope Gregory IX on October 10, 1233 (*MH I*, 120).

³⁸ "Commentariolum de originibus provinciae Hungariae Ordinis praedicatorum" (written before 1260). The fragment in Latin and Croatian translation is available in: Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 134-35. The author was a prior in the convent in Bodrog. He describes the Dominicans' work as preachers in Bosnia in the context of Coloman's crusade.

including the “heretics” of Bosnia. It is apparent that the Dominicans did not approach them as separate community, a new phenomenon that made their texts rather biased.³⁹

The interference of the foreign power was met with the resistance. On 17 October 1234, Pope Gregory IX called for a crusade by promising indulgences to prospective crusaders and entrusted the younger son of King Andrew II, Coloman (1208 – 1241), who was already given Bosnia as a fief by King Andrew II, to lead the expedition.⁴⁰ Therefore the crusade, besides being the physical suppression of “heresy,” also has to be understood as a maneuver of Hungarian expansionism.

In spring 1235 Coloman entered Bosnia with his crusaders and although he met resistance, between 1237/38 he took over most of its territories. The Banate of Bosnia therefore entered into a critical state for a few years. Because of the military offensive Bosnian bishop John of Wildeshausen left his diocese before spring 1237 and another Dominican, Ponsa, was appointed in his place in April 1238.⁴¹ For the spread of heresy in Bosnia Ponsa accused the archbishopric of Dubrovnik and he pulled Bosnia out of this archdiocese in 1238, to be transferred to the archbishopric of Kalocsa by Pope Innocent IV in 1247.⁴² While the military force occupied most of the country, the Dominicans were preaching Catholicism and they were

³⁹ They applied the wider experience of the western church to the *Krstjani*, which they acquired while interacting with other heretical movements, placing the accused into a Europe-wide network of dualist heresies. Among the Dominican authors writing against Bosnia over the thirteenth century, during and after the course of events described above, are Moneta of Cremona, Paulus Hungarus, Raynerius Sacconi, and Anselmus of Alexandria. Dominican texts certainly contributed to the Catholic clergy’s biased perceptions of heresy in Bosnia, and it is very likely that those texts were among of the Franciscans’ sources of information about Bosnia at the start of their mission in the fourteenth century. Relevant fragments of these texts in Latin and Croatian translation were published by Franjo Šanjek.

⁴⁰ AB, 9; Slavko Slišković, “Dominikanci i bosansko-humski krstjani” [Dominicans and Bosnian-Hum Christians], in *Fenomen “Krstjani” u Srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu*, ed. Franjo Šanjek (Zagreb-Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu and Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2005), 489; Fine, *Bosnian Church*, 126, 132.

⁴¹ Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 18-19.

⁴² CD IV: 322-323, Bishop Ponsa was also in charge of the construction of the cathedral over 1238/39 for a new Latin seat in Ban Brdo. It was supposed to be dedicated to St. Peter but it was probably never finished. Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 19. AB, 11-12; Džaja, and Lovrenović, “Srednjovjekovna Crkva bosanska,” 6.

not reluctant to call for physical force, including punishment of at stake, as we can read in *Commentariolum*.⁴³

The Hungarian army had to leave Bosnia during the Mongol invasion and Coloman died in the Battle of Muhi. The Hungarian retreat enabled Ninoslav to restore control over most of Bosnia. Meanwhile Bishop Ponsa moved to his possessions in Đakovo, where direct evidence confirms his presence in 1252, sealing the permanent establishment of the Catholic bishopric of Bosnia up until 1773 when it was merged with the bishopric of Srijem by the bull *Universi orbis Ecclesiis*. After the Mongol withdrawal from the Kingdom of Hungary there were few attempts to organize crusade or military campaign against the heresy in Bosnia but none of them actually took place.⁴⁴

The deposition of the bishop follower of Slavic liturgy in Bosnia, followed by the severance of the connections between Bosnia and the archbishopric of Dubrovnik had very far-reaching repercussions. Slavic bishops could no longer be ordained canonically.⁴⁵ The failed attempts to reform Bosnian bishopric by diplomatic and military means led to the separation of the canonical Bosnian bishopric inside Hungarian kingdom, in Đakovo. There the Catholic bishop of Bosnia became part of the Hungarian establishment but his control over Bosnia was purely nominal.

This act removed the Catholic institutions from Bosnia until the creation of the Franciscan vicary in 1340, and the Catholic diocesan structures up until the Austro-Hungarian

⁴³ Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 134-35. They were supported in their actions by Pope Gregory IX whose letters from this period encouraged regional landlords and abbots to help the Dominicans in Bosnia. [AB, 11-12; Slišković "Dominikanci i bosansko-humski krstjani," 490-92.]

⁴⁴ In 1246 Pope Innocent IV urged the archbishop of Kalocsa to undertake another crusade already in 1246 and in January 1247 he sent the similar letter to King Béla IV, who was already engaged in a serious quarrel with Ninoslav. Fortunately for Bosnia in March 1247 the pope suspended the crusade before any military action was conducted. (CD IV, 299,310-11.) Papacy urged to root out the heresy in Bosnia with help of *brachii secularis* again in the fourteenth century but its efforts were fruitless due to entirely different political situation at that time.

⁴⁵ Srećko Džaja, and Dubravko Lovrenović, "Srednjovjekovna Crkva bosanska," 7.

annexation of Bosnia in 1878, except for a short period of time when the Visoko- Srebrenica bishopric existed in the first half of fifteenth-century.⁴⁶ The tradition of an unreformed Slavic liturgy, pushed out of the Catholic Church by the crusaders and the Dominicans, but never fully eradicated, filled the ecclesiastic gap created by the translocation to Đakovo.⁴⁷ In this way, Christianity in Bosnia, snatched from the community of the universal church, entered a process of developing its own alternative and independent ecclesiastic structures that appeared as fully fledged in one of the few surviving documents of local origin dated between 1326/29.

There was much written on the subject about what form of Christianity was created in this process and therefore what term to use when describing it. For a long time regional scholarship was engaged in the narrow discussion whether it was heretical/dualist or orthodox in its beliefs, researching mainly its doctrine.⁴⁸ This discussion was framed in dichotomy due to the contradictory character of Catholic and Orthodox sources with the local ones. Notably, the accused did not use any of these “heretical” labels to define their confessional affiliation. They used simple expressions such as Christians, Bosnian faith, our faith and so on, and the “Bosnian Church” to refer to the whole community.⁴⁹ Thus, the term “Bosnian Church”

⁴⁶ John Fine. “Mysteries about Newly Discovered Srebrenica-Visoko Bishopric in Bosnia (1434-41),” *East European Quarterly* 8, no. 1, (1974): 29-43, Dubravko Lovrenović, “Krist i Donator: Kotromanići između vjere rimske i vjere bosanske – II: Konfesionalne posljedice jednog lokalnog crkvenog raskola” [The Kotromanići between the Roman and the Bosnian faith, pt. 2, Confessional consequences of a local church schism], in *Tristota obljetnica stradanja samostana i crkve u Olovu (1704-2004)*, ed. Marko Karamatić (Sarajevo: Franjevačka teologija, 2008), 21-24.

⁴⁷ Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 18-19.

⁴⁸ The quarrel was initiated by two books published almost simultaneously: Božidar Petranović, *Bogomili: Crkva bosanska i krstjani: Istorička rasprava* [Bogomils, the Bosnian church and the Christians, historical discourse] (Zadar: Demarki-Ružier, 1867) and Franjo Rački, *Bogomili i Patareni* (Zagreb: Rad JAZU, 1869). The basis for their contradictory conclusions was that the authors conducted research on two different sets of sources. While Rački was working with Latin sources in the Vatican archive, Petranović was working on sources of local provenance, mainly written in Slavic. Both authors had followers, who integrated their own ideas to various extent and modifying the original theses. They dedicated much discussion to the problem of the origin of the Bosnian Church as well as to the problem of outside influences that shaped it. Contemporarily the most prevailing explanations point at eighter Dualist movements or at the tradition of Eastern Christian monasticism as crucial elements in the Bosnian Church’s formation. Besides doctrine, the internal organisation of the Bosnian Church known from charters and biblical manuscripts was also an element discussed very extensively.

⁴⁹ The inhabitants of Dubrovnik, well acquainted with the situation in Bosnia, used term “Bosnian faith” as opposed to “Roman faith.” Lovrenović, *Bosanska kvadratura kruga*, 237. *Crkva Bosanska* in Bosnian. A parallel term used to describe the new phenomenon is “Bosnian-Hum Christians” (hr. *Bosansko-humski krstjani*) often accompanied with the adjective “heterodox”. It is used frequently by Franjo Šanjek and it is widely accepted in

became established in contemporary historiography, pushing “Bogomils and Patarens” out of use as outdated.⁵⁰

The Bosnian Church, according to a glossa of *Srećkovićevo evanđelje* perceived itself as the true Church and challenged the teachings of the Catholics about the indulgences, accusing them of leading to the condemnation of the souls of the faithful.⁵¹ The Ritual of *Krstjanin Radosav* indicates that Dualist movements had influences upon and contacts with the Bosnian Church.⁵² However, the preserved biblical manuscripts and other local Slavonic sources show that teachings of the Bosnian Church on the Trinity and Christ’s redemptory mission, and so on, were orthodox.⁵³

the scholarship. However, this term must be used with caution due to its geographical connotations: the term “Bosnian and Hum Christians” cannot be used to refer to this community for the period prior to Hum’s incorporation into Bosnia by Ban Stephen II in the 1340s.

⁵⁰ During its existence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Bosnian church was labelled with variety of heretical affiliations, most frequently Patarens. Interestingly, the term Bogomil so frequently identified with the Bosnian church even today was not associated with it until the nineteenth century. Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 19-20

⁵¹ Glossae in the Manuscripts of the Bosnian Church are on their own a fascinating subject. Some authors perceive them as explicitly Dualistic and therefore as the most important source for the Bosnian church’s doctrine (e.x. Solojev A.). The glossa that exemplify animosity against the Franciscans come from the collection of the Srećković Gospel (hr. Srećkovićevo evanđelje), written at the end of the fourteenth century but now lost. The author of the glossae referred to the Parable of the Shrewd Manager (Luke 16:1-11) and turned its meaning around by identifying the pope as Shrewd Manager and the Franciscans as dishonest debtors, saying that by absolving sins they were actually corrupting the souls of men. Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani i katarsko dualistički pokret*, 150-54; Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 333-37.

⁵² The Ritual of *Krstjanin Radosav* is incorporated into a codex written during the reign of King Tomaš. It is inserted after the Book of Revelations. It contains a sequence of prayers that correspond to the Cathar ritual of Lyon. The ritual starts with the Lord’s prayer, continues with the Cathar adoration of the hierarchy, and ends with Apostol Paul’s call for modest life from the Epistle to Titus (2,12-13). The last part is written in Glagolitic and the author also included the Glagolitic alphabet for his reader. Paleographic analysis shows that *Radosav* was not an expert in contemporary Glagolitic writing technique and copied Glagolitic letters from an older template. The ritual that was the template to *Radosav*’s ritual was dated to the twelfth or the thirteenth century. According to Šanjek it illustrates dualist influences in the practice of baptism among the Bosnian *krstjani*. The text of *Radosav*’s ritual in Old Church Slavonic and in modern Croatian is available in: Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 338-48. Today the codex is kept in the Vatican library „Codice Borgiano illirico”, fols. 56-59. The *Depositio Iacobi Bech de Cherio*, a testimony made in front of inquisitorial court, speaks of personal contacts between western dualists and the Bosnian heretics. Available in Latin and Croatian in: Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani* 140-45.

⁵³ Sources of Catholic provenance, that is normative documents, anti-heretical treatises and correspondence, accuse Bosnian heretics of holding Dualist views. Sources of Orthodox origin also accuse Bosnia of Dualism. However, limited number of sources created in the bosom of the Bosnian church, primarily the illuminated manuscripts of the Holy Scripture, indicate that the Bosnian church recognized almost all parts of the apostolic creed, that is belief in the Holy Trinity, the maternity of the Mother of God, the original sin, etc. Bosnian Christians practiced fast, worshiped saints, observed feast days and recognized both the Old and the New Testaments. The decorations of the manuscripts of the Bosnian church debunk any argumentation of the Bosnian church having a sort of iconoclast approach to art. Manuscripts of the Bosnian church contain depictions of both Old and New

The Bosnian Church offered a sacral legitimacy to Bosnian rulers, thus becoming a spiritual pillar of the political order.⁵⁴ Its members were entrusted as guarantors and keepers of the ruler's charters, contractual arrangements and as mediators in conflicts that involved Bosnian kings, Bosnian noblemen or even the Ragusan republic which tolerated their presence out of political necessity.⁵⁵ The leader of the Bosnian Church, called *Djed*, entered into the inner circles of the Bosnian court and become one of the most trusted advisors of Bosnian rulers.⁵⁶ In this way, by substituting the canonical bishopric "in exile" through the sacralisation of the Bosnian monarchy, the Bosnian Church expressed its resistance against Hungarian expansionism and papal universalism. Some would say that the nature of the break with Rome was therefore ecclesiological, not Christological.⁵⁷

Testament characters, including John the Baptist. Srećko Džaja and Dubravko Lovrenović, "Srednjovjekovna Crkva bosanska," 11-12; John Fine *Bosnian Church*, 86-88, 181; Franjo Šanjek, "Krcanstvo Bosne i Hercegovine", 134-35.

⁵⁴ Its role in sacralisation of the monarchy is clearly visible in the invocations of the eastern saints in charters. The cults of Gregory the Miracle-Worker and Gregory the Theologian were promoted by the Bosnian Church. In a charter from 1326/29, Stephen II claimed himself to be the incarnation of Gregory the Miracle-Worker. "Az sveti Gr'gur' a zovom ban' Stipan' ... po milosti b(o)žiei g(ospo)d(i)n vsim' zemlam' bosan'skim" [I, saint Gregory (the Miracle-Worker) called Ban Stephen ... by God's grace lord of all the Bosnian lands]. Lovrenović, "Krst i Donator I," 197. Translations from Old Church Slavonic to English are mine, unless stated otherwise. Later intitulations that invoked the saint clearly distinguished between him and the ruler. In a charter issued in 1351 for Vuk and Pavle Vukoslavić, Ban Stephen II calls himself *Az' ban' Stipan' a zovom s(ve)t(o)ga Gr'goura rab* [I, Ban Stephen, called servant of St. Gregory]. The new stylization and resignation from earlier mysticism could be a reflection of the ban's turn to Catholicism, and at the same time shows that the confessional balance was still oscillating. Notably, intitulations invoking eastern saints were used exclusively for "internal" purposes. Tvrtko I, in charter from October 11, 1366, calls himself *Az' rab boži i svetoga Gr'gura a zovom' ban' Tvr'tko* [I, servant of God and of St. Gregory, called Ban Tvrtko]. Intitulations cited in: Dubravko Lovrenović, "Krst i donator I," 203, 207; AB, 34.

⁵⁵ To name a few: The agreement between Dubrovnik and Voivod Petar Pavlović was signed by *starac* Radosav and *gost* Radosav Bradievik. In 1404 Djed Radomer announced to the Ragusans that he mediated peace between King Ostoja and Voivod Pavao Klesić. Gost Miaš in 1423 mediated between Dubrovnik and Sandalj Hranić over the sale of Konavlje to the republic. Activities of Gost Radin will be discussed in later chapters, since he was active mainly during the reign of Stjepan Tomaš. Anto Babić, "Hereticka crkva i bosanska država" In ed. Anto Babić, *Iz Istorije Srednjovjekovne Bosne* [From the history of the Medieval Bosnia]. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1972: 280; Franjo Šanjek, "Krcanstvo Bosne i Hercegovine", 135-37.

⁵⁶ According to Dubravko Lovrenović, the *Djed* was also a person who crowned Tvrtko I as the first king of Bosnia. Therefore in the years following the elevation of banate to kingdom, the Bosnian Church acquired a set of new functions related to the ruler and to the crown. Dubravko Lovrenović, "Proglašenje bosne kraljevstvom 1377" [Proclamation of the Bosnian Kingdom in 1377], *Forum Bosnae* 3-4 (1999): 245.

⁵⁷ Srećko Džaja, and Dubravko Lovrenović, "Srednjovjekovna Crkva bosanska," 13.

1.2 The Kotromanići between the Bosnian Church and the vicary.

The fates of the Franciscan order and Bosnia began to intertwine already before the creation of the vicary.⁵⁸ The presence of the Franciscans in Bosnia was legally established for the first time due to intense contacts between Pope Nicolas IV and the Serbian monarchy, when the latter entered a phase of rapprochement with the papacy mainly due to marriages of the Nemanjić rulers with Catholic princesses. Popes Nicolas IV and Boniface VIII issued the bulls giving the inquisitorial jurisdiction over Serbia, Rascia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Istria and the neighboring lands to the Franciscan province of *Sclavonia*.⁵⁹ Although these and many later documents granted and confirmed the vicar's inquisitorial prerogatives, there is no source to confirm the existence of inquisitorial courts in Bosnia.⁶⁰

The progress of Franciscan activity in Bosnia triggered a Dominican resistance, since the order perceived this country as being under their jurisdiction. It is not clear when Pope Gregory IX entrusted the inquisitorial rights in Bosnia to the Dominicans, who in 1234-1239 cooperated with Coloman's crusaders.⁶¹ Both Franciscans and Dominicans appealed to John XXII asking him for the confirmation of their sole inquisitorial rights for Bosnia, pushing the papal curia to issue bull's inconsistently, but ultimately the Franciscans got the upper hand.⁶²

⁵⁸ The first documented Franciscan to visit Bosnia most likely resulted in the suspension of the crusade preparation in 1248. John Fine *The Bosnian Church*, 132-33.

⁵⁹ Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 41

⁶⁰ Šanjek, Franjo. "Kršćanstvo Bosne i Hercegovine", 140.

⁶¹ Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani i katarsko dualistički pokret*, 78; Slavko Slišković, "Dominikanci i bosansko-humski krstjani" [Dominicans and Bosnian-Hum Christians], in *Fenomen "Krstijani" u Srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu* ed. Franjo Šanjek (Zagreb-Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu and Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2005), 495-96.

⁶² On February 1, 1327, the Dominican Matthias of Zagreb came to Avignon and won a bull guaranteeing inquisitorial rights for Hungary, Bosnia and Slavonia for his order. In early summer of the same year Franciscan Fabijan from Motovun turned to Pope John XXII with bulls of Nicolas IV (1291) and Boniface VIII (1298) and John XXII himself. In consequence John XXII recalled his bull of February 1 by limiting the rights of the Dominicans to Hungary and to crusade preaching against heretics in Transylvania, Bosnia and Croatia. Most likely the Dominicans attempted to revert the situation in their favor. The four bulls issued during the process by John XXII that were certifiably kept in the Franciscan convent in Zadar in 1587, are not preserved in any form. Marijan Žugaj "Bosanska vikarija i franjevci konventualci," 6.

Meanwhile in the 1320s King Charles Robert conducted a major campaign to settle the unruly Croatian aristocracy and favored the newly established Ban Stjepan II Kotromanić (?-1353), a member of a dynasty restored in Bosnia during the new political reconfiguration in the region, who already in this time had contact with the Franciscans, and who warmly welcomed Minister General Gerard Odonis (1285-1349) in 1339.⁶³ In this way, with inquisitorial rights won and the favor of the secular rulers earned, the ground was prepared for the establishment of the permanent presence of the Franciscans in Bosnia. After his visit in Bosnia in 1339/40, on June 4, 1340, at the General Chapter of the Franciscan Order in Assisi Minister General Gerard Odonis (1285-1349), established the Bosnian vicary.⁶⁴ Bosnia did not become a Franciscan province in the Middle Ages and from the beginning its vicar was appointed and coordinated directly by the Minister General. Gerard Odonis entrusted Peregrine of Saxony as the first vicar of Bosnia.

The creation of the Franciscan vicary, from the ban's perspective, was a political compromise. In the background of this important decision was the necessity to open diplomatic relations with the Angevins of Hungary and the Avignon papacy. Ban Stephen II had supported the Franciscans from the first time they came to Bosnia as preachers. One of the reasons was that they would not physically threaten the Bosnian church, towards which the ban remained tolerant due to its strong influence on the nobility and a number of its crucial political functions.

To finally settle the issue between the two orders, John XXII on March 16, 1330, asked the archbishops of Zadar and Split to send an educated representative of each mendicant order to Avignon, where he would make his final decision. The outcome of this mediation was not preserved, but in 1337 Benedict XII urged several Croatian dukes to support Franciscan inquisitors in Bosnia and in the region, which indicates who the winner of the controversy was.

⁶³ CD X, 525-528.

⁶⁴ For the most detailed analysis of the vicary's creation see: Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 33-53. From his correspondence with the pope it can be inferred that the creation of the vicary was not the original purpose of his visit. This idea must have taken shape after the general talked to the ban and the Franciscans who were already staying in Bosnia in person. Marijan Žugaj, "Bosanska vikarija", 7.

The appearance of the Franciscans elevated the international diplomatic position of Bosnia, tarnished with past confessional controversy.⁶⁵ When considering the level of political involvement of Peregrine of Saxony in Bosnia, Mijo Batinić named him the Bosnian “minister of foreign affairs”.⁶⁶ Peregrine’s presence at the Bosnian court and his close relations with the republic of Venice also allowed Bosnia to finally, after almost one hundred years, maneuver ecclesiastical matters in its favor. Upon the insistence of the Bosnian ban, backed by Venice at the Avignon court, Peregrine became bishop of Bosnia and moved to Đakovo in 1349.⁶⁷

The Franciscans in Bosnia worked on the territories under the jurisdiction of the Bosnian bishopric in Đakovo and, to a lesser extent, on several other territories. Thus, from the beginning of their presence in Bosnia, Franciscans did not use their authority as missionaries.⁶⁸ In addition, the task became even more challenging because of the inconsistent number of friars in the territory under their responsibility. It was also difficult for the Franciscans to sustain themselves depending solely on the ban’s material support, in a “heretical” country where the Bosnian church had a strong position as the spiritual pillar of the social and political order.⁶⁹ An early controversy regarding the right to collect tithes in the Banate was triggered by the Franciscan attempt to overcome their problems with their material sustainability.⁷⁰ This set of challenges was pronounced in a letter that Ban Stephen Kotromanić sent in 1347 to the pope, confirming that the Franciscans found a strong ally in the Bosnian monarchy.⁷¹

⁶⁵ While the city of Zadar was besieged in 1345/46 by Louis the Great, Ban Stephen II, vassal of the Hungarian king, failed to support his sovereign due to his rapprochement with Venice. During the whole process Vicar Peregrin played the role of mediator between the ban and the republic, for which Venetian officials rewarded him with 100 ducats. Anto Babić, “Diplomatska služba”, 87.

⁶⁶ Mijo Batinić, “Utjecaj franjevaca na političke prilike u Bosniji” [The influence of the Franciscans on the political affairs in Bosnia] *Glasnik bosanskih i hercegovačkih franjevaca*, no. 2 (1887): 24, 26.

⁶⁷ AB, 30.

⁶⁸ Andrija Zirdum, “Franjevci i Bosansko-Humski Krstijani” [Franciscans and Bosnian-Hum Christians], *Bosna Franciscana* 19 (2003): 62.

⁶⁹ Dubravko Lovrenović, “Utjecaj Ugarske”, 63.

⁷⁰ Dubravko Lovrenović, “Utjecaj Ugarske”, 62-63.

⁷¹ The author of the letter made several pleas, asking the pope to allow the Bosnian vicar to receive missionaries who speak the vernacular, regardless of their ordination. Moreover, the ban asked the pope to allow the Bosnian vicar to recruit secular priests for the ministry of sacraments in Bosnia. The author also asked the pope to allow

Many modern studies on the Bosnian Middle Ages presume that the Bosnian rulers were predominantly Catholic.⁷² Presumptions in regard to royal confessionality usually take into account the rulers' warm relations with the Bosnian Franciscans. The successor of Stjepan II, Tvrtko I, called Peregrine, at that time Bosnian bishop, as his "spiritual father".⁷³ In 1370 Tvrtko was also called by Pope Urban V as his "beloved son."⁷⁴ Tvrtko's confessional pragmatism was applied during his expansion to Catholic Dalmatia.⁷⁵ However, at the same time the Bosnian monarchy did not ultimately break its relations with its traditional ally, the Bosnian church. The same Tvrtko I in his charters from 1366 invokes St. Gregory the Miracle-worker, in another, issued for Rajković brothers after 1366 he handed Stephen Rajković "to the *Djed's* faith and all of the Bosnian Church, so that he shall not forsake the Christian faith."⁷⁶ In 1377 the Franciscans reported that Tvrtko I attended their masses in the company of "heretics".⁷⁷

A pragmatic attitude was beneath this tolerance, simply because the "heretical" Bosnian church remained very popular in Bosnia. In this way, in the second half of the fourteenth century the vicary and the Bosnian church became supporters of legitimization of the Bosnian monarchy in two ways: the former for the Catholic world outside, and the latter for subjects

the Bosnian vicar to send those converted to Franciscan convents outside the Bosnian Banate for education in the Catholic teachings and to allow the vicar to establish new friaries outside Bosnia under his direct jurisdiction. This letter also contained a plea to allow the Bosnian Franciscans to use the same privileges and authorities as their brethren who conducted a mission among the "Tatars, infidels and other schismatics". (AB, 28; Bazilije Pandžić, "Djelovanje franjevacu od 13. do 15. st. u Bosanskoj državi" [Activities of the Franciscans from the 13th to the 15th century in Bosnia], in *Kršćanstvo srednjovjekovne Bosne*, ed. Karamatić Marko (Sarajevo: Vrhbosanska visoka teološka škola, 1991), 247.)

⁷² According to Nada Klaić and Dubravko Lovrenović, Bans Kulin and Borić, as well as a number of their predecessors unknown by name, were Catholic. (Nada Klaić, *Srednjovjekovna Bosna*, 81-86; Dubravko Lovrenović, "Krst i Donator," pt. 1, 195.) John Fine presumed that all Bosnian kings, besides King Ostoja (r 1398-1404 and 1409-1418), were Catholics. John Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 228, 242.

⁷³ Dubravko Lovrenović, "Utjecaj Ugarske," 64.

⁷⁴ Dubravko Lovrenović, "Krst i Donator," pt. 1, 207.

⁷⁵ In August 1390, Tvrtko entered into an agreement with the archbishop of Split, where he was presented as a Catholic. The king confirmed the rights and regulations from the times of the Louis I and stressed the need for generosity for churches of the Catholic faith and to his clergyman-subjects. (CD XVII, 312-13.)

⁷⁶ "U veru dedinju i vse C'rque Bosanske [...] da mu se ne more sv'rći vera k'rstjanska" Cited in: Dubravko Lovrenović, "Krst i Donator," pt. 1, 207.

⁷⁷ Dubravko Lovrenović, *Kvadratura kruga*, 120.

inside Bosnia. Therefore, it is very difficult to reach a clear conclusion about the confessionality of the Bosnian rulers after the arrival of the Franciscans: due to their pragmatic approach the Kotromanići were maneuvering between the vicary and Bosnian Church. The confessionality of the Bosnian rulers, as well as of many Bosnian noblemen rested on the principle of confessionality balance and compromise.⁷⁸ In contemporary sources the same person could flexibly present oneself as an adherent of different rites depending on the context and the audience.⁷⁹ The ability of the ruler to oscillate between the Bosnian and the Roman faith was indispensable for a successful government.

While the Bosnian monarchy aimed to use the two institutions for its own benefit, the Franciscans and the Bosnian church were far from passive objects of royal or foreign policy. By willingly offering their services they were actively competing to dominate the spiritual life in Bosnia. The actual interaction between the vicary and the Bosnian Church remains a debated issue in scholarship.⁸⁰ It is important in this regard that both parties applied a top-down strategy of conversion. Therefore both parties aimed to dominate the royal court and ultimately, to win over the souls of the Kotromanići.

The top-down strategy of the Franciscans was reflected in the spatial distribution of their friaries in Bosnia. Bartholomew of Pisa, in his list of convents and custodies of the Franciscan order, mentions about ten *domi* after four decades of the vicary's existence in the

⁷⁸ Known sources make it possible to identify seven powerful noble houses in Bosnia that had connections with the Bosnian Church. Certainly there were others, less important and thus not named in the sources. John Fine in his monograph repeated the common generalization that while the Bosnian kings (besides Ostoja) were Catholics, the nobility were adherents of the Bosnian faith. Naturally, the Bosnian Church had almost a century to strengthen its influences before the arrival of the Franciscans, but nevertheless, confessionality of at least several noblemen is no less complex issue than that of the rulers. John Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 225-27). This oscillation between the Bosnian and Roman faiths can be seen in the case of Sandalj Hranić, Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić, Stjepan Vukčić Kosača and more. Dubravko Lovrenović, "Utjecaj Ugarske," 74-75.

⁷⁹ Dubravko Lovrenović "Krst i Donator," pt. 1, 197.

⁸⁰ Interreligious and inter-confessional interactions are a difficult subject of research even for scholars of modern history. While many sources describe horrible atrocities between believers of different faiths for various reasons, the ways of nonviolent inter-confessional interaction, taken for granted by contemporaries, is frequently ignored by the authors of the sources.

“Bosnian historical region.”⁸¹ Visoko, Kraljeva Sutjeska and Lašva were created in centers of royal power. The Franciscan church of St. Gregory in Kraljeva Sutjeska itself was incorporated into the structure of the royal residency and served as royal chapel.⁸² The other places where Franciscans located their *domus* in Bosnia were centers of mining and trade. Olovo, mentioned by Bartholomew of Pisa, certainly qualifies as such, so do later creations in Srebrenica, Soli, Zvornik, Podvisoki, Kresevo, Fojnica and more.⁸³

It is not clear how many *domi* mentioned by the Bartholomew possessed the legal status of convents and how many of them were just temporary stations. This uncertainty also applies



Figure 1 Map of thirty-nine Franciscan convents/churches/houses in pre-Ottoman Bosnia.
Source: Džambo, *Die Franziskaner im mittelalterlichen Bosnien*, 168.

⁸¹ Chapter 1.11 in Bartholomew of Pisa, “De conformitate vitae b. Francisci,” in *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. 5, 555. Jozo Džambo, *Die Franziskaner im mittelalterlichen Bosnien* [The Franciscans in medieval Bosnia] (Werk: Dietrich-Coelde, 1991), 167.

⁸² Pavao Anđelić, “Pogled u Franjevačko graditeljstvo XIV. i XV. vijeka u Bosni.” [An overview of Franciscan architecture in the fourteenth and fifteenth century in Bosnia], in *Radovi simpozijuma “Srjednjovjekovna Bosna i Evropska kultura”* (Zenica: 1973), 204.

⁸³ Andrija Zirdum, “Franjevci i Bosansko-Humski Krstijani” [Franciscans and Bosnian-Hum Christians], *Bosna Franciscana* 19 (2003), 63.

to the later *domi* of the Franciscans created in Bosnia sometime after Bartholomew's list but before the Ottoman conquest of the country. Their number grew enormously in the fifteenth century. Jozo Džambo confirms the existence of thirty-nine Franciscan convents/churches/houses in pre-Ottoman Bosnia (Fig. 1).⁸⁴ No foundation document was preserved for any of these places and the only information about many of them comes from single mentions in a source.⁸⁵ Eight churches were excavated archeologically, five were identified as convent churches (Mile, Srebrenica, Vranduk, Jajce, and the "Great Church" at Bobovac). Two were court chapels (Kraljeva Sutjeska, Bobovac) and one was a town church (Bakići).⁸⁶

It is not clear how the Bosnian Church responded to the growing Franciscan influence in Bosnia. It also remains unanswered how the Bosnian church did conduct pastoral, missionary and counter-missionary work, if at all.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, it is clear that the Bosnian church was firmly established and, as some members indicated in certain *glossae* in their manuscripts, they accused the Roman church of corrupting the souls of Christians by their policy of indulgences. No martyrdom was recorded for medieval Bosnia until its conquest by the Ottomans in 1463.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ List and the map available in: Jozo Džambo, *Die Franziskaner*, 167-69.

⁸⁵ Jozo Džambo, *Die Franziskaner*, 181.

⁸⁶ The classification of the chapel in Bobovac, constructed in 1356 and not mentioned by Bartholomew of Pisa, is problematic. See: Dubravko Lovrenović "Krst i donator," pt. 1, 210-11. In Jajce there were two churches belonging to the Franciscans, St. Mary and St. Catharine. The ruins of the latter were most likely uncovered during the 1959 construction of a post office and house of culture in the Hrvoja Vukčića Hrvatinića Street in Jajce, but were not properly excavated. There are also different opinions among scholars on this issue. (Pavao Anđelić. "Pogled u Franjevačko graditeljstvo," 201-6; Krešimi Regan, *Bosanska kraljica Katarina*: 60.

⁸⁷ Many scholars assume that lifestyle of the Bosnian Church was a contemplative one rather than active-preaching, and therefore their interaction with the community of the faithful may have been limited. It is difficult to state how and to what extent did the Bosnian Church influence popular beliefs. Srećko Džaja and Dubravko Lovrenović, "Srednjovjekovna Crkva bosanska," 13.

⁸⁸ In considering issue of martyrdom and "heretical" Bosnia, a friar Nikola Tavelić needs to be taken into consideration. He spent twelve years in Bosnia, and afterwards, in 1384 he went to the Holy Land where he was martyred. It is impossible to say whether and when Nikola developed a desire for martyrdom, but story of his life displays is that Bosnia was not a right place to look for it. Another relevant case of martyrdom was the one recorded in the *Cronica*. It took place in Kovin, outside of the medieval Bosnia, where five brothers of the Bosnian vicary were martyred on the bank of Danube in 1369. The only known manifestation of physical violence by "Patarens" in Bosnia against the Franciscans was recorded for May 4, 1465, when five brothers were killed in Mile. The circumstances of this incident remain unclear. Ferenc Toldy, *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae*, 235-36; John Fine, *Bosnian Church*, 278; Mladen Ančić, "Pobožnost franjevac," 112; Adrija Zirdum, "Franjevci i

The actual efficiency of the Franciscans as preachers is difficult to gauge. According to the Franciscan sources, their mission was conducted surprisingly successfully.⁸⁹ Mladen Ančić, examining the content of Franciscan sermons, expressed doubts about spectacular Franciscan successes, at least at the early stage of their work in Bosnia.⁹⁰ Their relative advantage was their knowledge of language. It is likely that part of the liturgy in Franciscan services was in the vernacular, especially given already strong Glagolitic tradition in the region. Traces of Slavic liturgy are found in more peripheral regions of the vicary, in Lipava near Arad and in Galatia in Apulia, where Slavic liturgy was perceived as unusual and therefore noted.⁹¹

The process of securing the legal and material position of the vicary was challenging. Conflicts with bishops about the right to administer sacraments or collecting tithes, as well as the problem of insufficient number of missionaries, flared up with varied intensity at various points of time. The uncertainties that the Franciscan community faced in Bosnia were approached comprehensively by Vicar Bartholomew of Alverna (vicar 1366-1375, 1378-1408). He successfully approached the papacy to secure the position of the Franciscan community in Bosnia at an early stage of his government.⁹² He contributed significantly to the

Bosansko-Humski Krstijani,” 71-72. The article was also published in *Fenomen Krstijani u Srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu*.

⁸⁹ Peregrin of Saxony was credited with converting Ban Stephen II who warmly welcomed him to Bosnia. Pope Urban V informed Louis I about the Franciscans' success as preachers in Bulgaria, Raška and Bosnia. (CD XIV, 148.) According to the *Cronica* the number of missionaries in Bosnia was insufficient to baptize all those willing. A letter attached there stated that “Patareni et Manichaei sunt amplius solito dispositi baptizari.” Ferenz Toldy, *Analecta monumentorum*, 232-33. Boniface IX in the bull “Ex iniuncto nobis” from 1402, referring to reports from Bartholomew of Alverna, estimated those converted and baptized by the Franciscans of the Bosnian vicary at 500,000. Andrija Zirdum, “Franjevci i Bosansko-Humski Krstijani,” 74. During one of the sessions of the council of Basel in 1434, Franciscan Nicolas of Trevizo, former bishop of Nin who had been to Bosnia in person, talked about the possibility of the conversion of Bosnians from Manichean errors. Franjo Šanjek “Franjevci i Bosansko-Humski Krstijani,” 74. A papal legate to Bosnia, Thomas Thomassini, wrote to John Capistran in 1451 that wherever the friars went, the heretics “fade away like wax in the sun.” (“Franjevci i Bosansko-Humski Krstijani,” 75.) John Capistran himself informed Pope Calixtus III in a letter sent on July 4, 1455, that those “Patarens” who heard the word of God were converted to the Roman faith.

⁹⁰ Mladen Ančić, “Pobožnost franjevaca,” 118.

⁹¹ Andrija Zirdum, “Franjevci i Bosansko-Humski Krstijani,” 71-72.

⁹² In the 1369 bull “Odor vestrae famae laudabilis,” Urban V granted the Bosnian Franciscans the same privileges that had been given in 1321 to the missionaries in the east by John XXII in the bull “Hora iam undecima”: they were allowed to use “auctoritates apostolica” for ministry of mass and confession without the permission of a bishop. The same pope in the same year issued bull “Excolentes” to secure the material needs of the community in Bosnia, where he allowed them to receive alms outside Bosnia, for example, in Hungary, Dalmatia and Croatia.

legal and material development of the vicary, including its territorial expansion up to Bosnia, southeastern medieval Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bulgaria and Serbia, i.e. a large part of Southeastern Europe.⁹³ Vicar Bartholomew of Alverna composed twenty-three questions regarding the missionary work and submitted them to Avignon. The document issued by special theological commission that provided answers is known as *Dubia ecclesiastica*.⁹⁴

Permanent structures of the Franciscan order in Bosnia presented an opportunity for the ministry of the holy sacraments, the central object of Catholic devotion, in Bosnia after a very long period of vacuum. The vicary attracted and encouraged Dalmatian and Hungarian merchants, craftsmen, artists, Saxon miners and more to come to Bosnia.⁹⁵ The influx of wealthy and skilled people willing to receive sacramental ministry contributed materially to the Bosnian vicary. The urbanization of Bosnia, its economic upturn and the strengthening of the vicary are clearly interrelated.⁹⁶ The Bosnian vicary intensified Bosnia's acculturation into the wider European space by becoming a "bridge" between Latin Christendom and the "land

Vicar Bartholomew also faced the problem of insufficient number of missionaries in the territory under the vicary's jurisdiction. Bartholomew influenced Pope Gregory XI, who in the bull "Salvatoris" asked provincials and custodes of the Franciscan order to send sixty missionaries, secular priests and secular brethren". In 1378 the papacy also granted that books belonging to missionaries who die in Bosnia, were to be kept in the vicary. (AB, 36. Gregor Čremošnik, "Ostaci arhiva bosanske franjevačke vikarije" [The remains of archives of Bosnian Franciscan vicary], *Radovi* 3 (1955): 21-24.)

⁹³ During the vicariate of Bartholomew of Alverna the Bosnian vicary significantly expanded outside of Bosnia. Bartholomew of Pisa in his list of Franciscan convents noted that the Bosnian vicary had jurisdiction over 400 missionaries and 35 *domus* organized into seven custodies. In 1391 Pope Boniface IX issued the bull "Pia vota fidelium" which granted to the Bosnian vicar the Franciscan convent of St. Catherine in Galatina, south Apulia, St. Catherine would serve the vicary to take care of its old and sick brethren. (Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 75.) In this way the Bosnian vicary set foot in Southern Italy and was present there until 1446. Besides founding its own convents in the vast regions under Angevin rule or areas of their expansionist interest, the Bosnian vicary frequently took jurisdiction over convents belonging to neighboring administrative units of the order for its missionary needs. Different regions of the territorially vast vicary developed their own particular functions and dynamics.

⁹⁴ Pope Gregory XI by the bull *Ad procurandam salute animarum* issued on 22 of June 1372, appointed a committee of theologians and lawyers chaired by Gaudrido Lemarheco, bishop of Quimper, to resolve the "uncertainties" of Bartholomew of Alverna. The questions of Bartholomew of Alverna known from *Dubia* concern Franciscan relations with secular clergy (8-10), Glagolithic priesthood (1), Orthodox (1-3, 16) members of the Bosnian Church (1,4, 11-13, 18-22), called in the document *heretici* or *infidels*, marriage issues (4, 11,12, 20) and few other points. Text in Latin and Croatian translation in: Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 254-81.

⁹⁵ The seventh question of the *Dubia ecclesiastica* confirms that the Franciscans indeed provided pastoral care for those "Latins" who came to Bosnia. Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 271-72.

⁹⁶ Jozo Džambo, *Franziskaner*, 167.

of the infidels and schismatics.” In this way, the vicary was a silent pillar Bosnia’s economic, cultural and in consequence, a political growth. In this way Franciscans disrupted traditional confessional duality in their own favor.

1.3 The Vicary between Observant nonconformism and Missionary pragmatism: James of the Marches in Bosnia (1432-1438).

The income of the merchants and the miners was essential for the material sustainability of the vicary. Apparently, not only did the system secure the vicary but it actually contributed to the relative wealth of the community.⁹⁷ Tensions about the strict/relaxed rule become highly politicized during the pontificate of Pope John XXII who excommunicated the friars known as Spirituals for their teachings about the poverty of Christ. But the aims for the literal observation of the Rule were not rooted out for good.⁹⁸ A small community of Franciscans was allowed to settle in Brugliano in 1368 to maintain in a literal observation of the rule and started to attract more and more followers. This is considered to be the beginning of the Observant movement, which in the late fourteenth and more so in the fifteenth century brought back the tensions regarding the strict observation of the Rule into the main discourse within the order.⁹⁹

The history of the Observant movement is closely correlated with the Bosnian Franciscans. The first Observant brethren appeared in Bosnia at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The first Observant convents in Hungary and in Dalmatia were under the Bosnian vicary's jurisdiction and were initially disciplined by the *Custos domus Bosnensis*, and later by the vicars themselves.¹⁰⁰ The general chapter assembled in 1430 in Assisi and decided to maintain the unity of the order and framed a general reform program influenced by John of

⁹⁷ Jozo Džambo, *Die Franziskaner*, 169-70.

⁹⁸ Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Medieval Franciscan Order: From Saint Francis to the Foundation of the Capuchins* (Rome: Capuchin historical institute 1995), 423.

⁹⁹ Marijan Žugaj, "Bosanska vikarija," 11.

¹⁰⁰ *Custos domus Bosnensis* appeared for the first time in bull "Rationi congruity" issued in 1432. Before the rise of the Observance, the Bosnian vicary already had significant possessions both in Hungary and in Dalmatia. The first Observant convents in the Kingdom of Hungary under the jurisdiction of the Bosnian vicary were Ozera (1418), Nagy-Kanizsa (1423), Visegrad (1425), Felfal (1426). In Dalmatia supporters of the reform were moving to convents under vicary's jurisdiction. Observant convents of the Bosnian vicary in middle Dalmatia were organized into the custody of St. Jerome mentioned for the first time in 1436, with its seat in Ugljan. Marijan Žugaj, "Bosanska vikarija," 11; Stanko Josip Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa* 43- 50.

Capestrano.¹⁰¹ In 1432 James of the Marches (1391-1476) as *commisarius* of Minister General, William of Casale, started to reform the Bosnian community, and in 1434 the Council of Basel on insistence of Emperor Sigismund, issued the decree *Universalis Ecclesia* ensuring that the following Bosnian vicars would be Observants.¹⁰² In 1435, James became the vicar of Bosnia.

The relation between the Observant movement and the Bosnian vicary is frequently raised in historiography. Some Franciscan chronicles tell a story about the original “Observant character” of the Bosnian vicary, even considering it as the first Observant jurisdiction in the Franciscan order.¹⁰³ Dominik Mandić, in his *Franjevačka Bosna*, argued that in order to successfully convert the Bosnian “heretics,” the Franciscans had to remain in strict observation of their rule from the beginning of their mission. He believed that they managed to preserve it through the difficult times of the Western Schism due to the merits of the Vicar, Bartholomew of Alverna.¹⁰⁴ Pioneers of the Observance such as Paoluccio de Trinci or John of Stronccone had contacts with Bosnia.¹⁰⁵ To highlight the Bosnian role in the early phase of the Observance, the author of the *Cronica* tells a story of the friar Johannes Restori who spent thirty years in Bosnia and after returning to Siena he became an inspiration for many young friars, including Bernardino of Siena.¹⁰⁶ Vicar Blasius of Szalka opposed the Conventuals when they wanted to suppress the Observants on the General chapter in Forlì.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, according to many authors, to follow the Observant branch of the order was a “natural” development for the

¹⁰¹ The chapter decided to prohibit the friars to have landed property, and obliged them to refrain from handling money. It was decided that every vicary was to be incorporated into neighboring, already existing structures of the Order. The exception was made for the Bosnian vicary. AB 127-30; Pavo Živković, 318. Soon after the chapter ended many friars looked for papal dispensation from the oaths taken in Assisi, among them William of Casale, the Minister General. Pope Martin V in the same year issued the bull *Ad statum*, which permitted the friars to have personal property. John Moorman, *A history*, 446-48.

¹⁰² AB, 141-42; Marijan Žugaj, “Bosanska vikarija,” 13.

¹⁰³ The author of the sixteenth-century *Cronica* was an Observant who aimed to propagate superiority of his branch of the Franciscan order to his contemporaries. He was convinced that the Bosnian vicary was instituted in 1339 as the first Observant vicary in the entire world, which was a clear exaggeration since the Observance movement did not exist at that time. Ferenc Toldy, *Analecta monumentorum*, 236-37

¹⁰⁴ Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 79-80.

¹⁰⁵ Stanko Andrić, *Miracles*, 20.

¹⁰⁶ Ferenc Toldy, *Analecta monumentorum*, 236-37.

¹⁰⁷ Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 85-86.

vicary.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, several objections to these views were presented by Marijan Žugaj and Srećko Džaja.¹⁰⁹

Meanwhile, the sustainability system of the Bosnian vicary, aimed to maintain the large vicary in the lands of the “heretics and schismatics,” was largely based on the legal exception of the vicary and economic support from outside. The economic aspect of the Bosnian vicary is revealed by the sources of the Dubrovnik archive.¹¹⁰ The material confirms that the Bosnian Franciscans were supported by alms, both in kind and in money, by Ragusan citizens. The Franciscan community in Bosnia continued to receive coins, horses, lands, vineyards, Church vestments, chalices and even a certain percent of mined ore from them.¹¹¹ Several individuals contributed financially to the construction of Franciscan churches and houses.¹¹² Citizens of Dubrovnik who lived in Bosnia also left financial and material attachments for the Bosnian Franciscans in testaments for the salvation of their souls.¹¹³ Contents of their last wills defined the purpose of their donations. Leprosaria which in medieval Bosnia were almost exclusively in the hands of the Franciscans, were also supported by the citizens of Ragusa, in money and also in cloth.¹¹⁴ Even Ragusans who did not live in Bosnia supported the Bosnian Franciscans,

¹⁰⁸ To name few: Josip Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa*; Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*; Zirdum, “Franjevci i Bosansko-Humski Krstijani”; Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *Les Franciscains Observants hongrois de l'expansion a la debacle, vers 1450-vers 1540* [The Hungarian Observant Franciscans from expansion to debacle, ~1450-1540]. Rome: Istituto storico dei cappuccini, 2008, 34.

¹⁰⁹ Srećko Džaja coined the phrase “Conventual spirit in an Observant uniform” to describe the Franciscan community in Bosnia. Džaja, “Svijet politike i Franjestvo u Europi 14. stoljeća, in *Sedam stoljeća bosanskih franjevaca 1291-1991*, ed. Marko Karamatić (Samobor: Franjevačka teologija - Sarajevo, 1994), 35.

¹¹⁰ Mladen Ančić, “Pobožnost franjevaca Bosanske vikarije u drugoj polovici XIV stoljeća” [The devotion of the Franciscans of the Bosnian vicary in the second half of the fourteenth century], in *Sedam stoljeća bosanskih franjevaca 1291-1991*, ed. Marko Karamatić (Samobor: Franjevačka teologija Sarajevo, 1994), 109-24.; Pavao Živković, *Iz srednjovjekovne povijesti Bosne i Huma* [From the history of medieval history of Bosnia and Hum] (Osijek: Hrvatsko kulturno društvo Napredak, 2002), 310-23.

¹¹¹ For example, Petko Pribojević gave the Franciscans one tenth of his income, Radko Pribojević every week gave them one bucket of the best ore that was mined in his mine. Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, *Gradska naselja srednjovjekovne bosanske države* [Urban settlements in medieval Bosnia] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo 1978), 285-87; Živković, *Iz srednjovjekovne povijesti*, 311.

¹¹² For example, Marin Bunić in 1407 left 100 coins for Franciscans in Mile for the building a dormitory for the brethren. Pavao Živković, *Iz srednjovjekovne povijesti*, 311.

¹¹³ For example, Peter Ilić in his last will and testament gave to the Franciscans in Zvornik his small vineyard and land. Pavao Živković, *Iz srednjovjekovne povijesti*, 312.

¹¹⁴ Jozo Džambo, *Die Franziskaner*, 173.

who collected alms there and in other cities of Dalmatia. Pavao Živković gives examples of the Franciscan's personal contributions to the Bosnian economy.¹¹⁵ Some authors also point out the gradually increasing acceptance of locals as an explanation for their deep involvement in local economy, a general decrease in observation of the Rule.¹¹⁶

It is notable that both the contacts with the “first Observants” and the development of the sustainability system were largely the contributions of the vicar, Bartholomew of Alverna.¹¹⁷ And while he might have not seen anything contradictory in his actions, the above mentioned elements of lifestyle struck James of the Marches who was an Observant idealist. After his arrival to Bosnia, he opposed the friars' residing in private properties rather than in convents, their sustenance relying on regular income and alms collected outside Bosnia (especially those in the form of money), and the friars' practice of serving as chaplains and confessors to various courts in all parts of the vicary.¹¹⁸ James introduced harsh measures against any opposition, including expulsion. James must have been exceptionally harsh since even the Minister General rebuked him to go easier on the Bosnian community.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Pavao Živković, *Iz srednjovjekovne povijesti*, 312

¹¹⁶ Entering the ranks of the Bosnian Franciscans must have meant something very different for locals than it was for the foreigner missionaries, since assuming the Franciscan habit opened new perspectives for them. Mladen Ančić, “Pobožnost franjevac,” 119-21, Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *Les Franciscains Observants* 36.

¹¹⁷ Marie-Madeleine de Cevins. *Les Franciscains Observants* 34.

¹¹⁸ According to Wadding, James found the worst situation in Jajce. Apparently, the friars there lived in private houses and in villages instead of a convent. They justified this and their material livelihood by stating that it is impossible to live among the heretics in a different way. A similar statement was addressed to James by King Tvrtko II, based on the advice of Bosnian Franciscans. Gregor Čremošnik, “Ostaci arhiva,” 32-35. James's reform is also reflected in sources coming from Dubrovnik, see: Živković, *Iz srednjovjekovne povijesti*, 314-15. With regard to the Franciscans' presence at the court, upon James's plea, the Minister General annulled any existing concession for “kings, lords, counts [...] and other noblemen, archbishops, bishops, abbots and all others [...]” to employ Bosnian friars serving as their chaplains, confessors or being entrusted with other issues, except for the emperor. Given generic nature of the Minister General's statement it is difficult to estimate the scale of the phenomenon inside and outside of Bosnia. During James's term the Frankopan counts employed Bosnian friars as their confessors. Dominik Mandić who considered the Bosnian Church as Bogomils, explained the phenomenon in Bosnia as having its roots in the Bosnian nobility's custom that required two *Krstjani* for *consolamentum* in urgent cases. When the nobility began to convert to Catholicism, the two *Krstjani* were replaced with two Franciscans. Besides the Bogomil assumption, the problem with Madnić's interpretation is that the source material simply does not confirm it. AB 149-50, Dominik Mandić *Franjevačka Bosna* 107.

¹¹⁹ AB 149-50.

The introduction of James's reform to Bosnia meant the abandonment of the essential elements of the missionary strategy. The expulsion of *infames et turbatores* were contradictory to the earlier policy of overcoming the problem of the insufficient number of missionaries. Even the strong position at court was, in a peculiar way, a missionary adaptation, a part of the "top-down Christianization" strategy. The Bosnian community resisted and asked Tvrtko II for protection. He tried to forbid James of the Marches to implement changes in the Franciscan lifestyle by force.¹²⁰ On this occasion, and at other times when James of the Marches encountered opposition in Bosnia, he travelled to the court of Sigismund in the Kingdom of Hungary. There James earned Sigismund's attention by accusing the king of Bosnia of heresy and conspiracy. With the reactivation of Hungarian pretensions, Tvrtko II was left with no other choice than to ultimately allow James to have his way in 1436.¹²¹

James remained unpopular in Bosnia. In the spring of 1438, the majority of Bosnian Franciscans were gathered and claimed that James's authority as vicar of Bosnia was illegitimate from that point onwards.¹²² James responded by excluding all participants of this assembly from the order. As a result, many brothers left Bosnia for Varaždin where former Bosnian vicar, Ivan of Korčula, was bishop. Others left for the Frankopans of Senj and Dubrovnik.¹²³ When he came to Cetina at the end of September, a certain Friar Dominic, most likely the guardian of the local convent, scandalized James, his superior, by banning him from entering the church of St. Mary to give a sermon.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ AB 139; Pavao Živković, *Iz srednjovjekovne povijesti*, 313.

¹²¹ AB 149-50.

¹²² It is important to add that their right to elect their own vicar was guaranteed by the bull *Eximia vestrae devotionis integritas*, issued in 1437. Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 103.

¹²³ AB 166-68; Pavao Živković, *Iz srednjovjekovne povijesti*, 321. In this way, tensions emerged between the Frankopans and the Minister General, who urged the Croatian aristocrats to remove Bosnian Franciscans from their possessions, excluding the two whom they employed as the family's confessors. Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 103.

¹²⁴ Dominic was summoned by the Minister General to be tried for what he did in Italy. On January 1, the Ragusan senate asked General William of Casale to forgive Dominic and to appoint him as the superior of one of the Ragusan convents. AB 168; Ivan Botica, "Franjevački samostan i crkva Sv. Marije u podgrađu Cetini pod Sinjem

In the Kingdom of Hungary, James began to engage in the fight against the Hussites present in the southern parts. In fact, James of the Marches displayed more interest in fighting the Hussite heresy than in work in Bosnia.¹²⁵ In 1435 he expressed his will to preach in Bohemia rather than be the vicar of Bosnia to the minister General William of Casale, but the general rejected this request.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, both the geographical spread of the vicary and Sigismund's favor allowed James to follow his anti-Hussite ambitions. The bull *Licet ubilibet* named James inquisitor in Hungary and Austria.¹²⁷ James spent the autumn and winter of 1436/37, and later the summer of 1437, as an inquisitor in Hungary proper, Sirmia (Cpem/Srijem) and Slavonia.¹²⁸

James also started to restructure the spatial and human distribution of the vicary by favoring its northern and western parts.¹²⁹ James was allowed to replace missionaries he expelled, probably those who adapted to the local environment and knew the language, with Observants coming from the "Catholic provinces."¹³⁰ These measures of re-orientation and re-

(primjer povijesnoga diskontinuiteta)" [The Franciscan friary and the Church of St. Mary in the Sinj suburb of Cetina: An example of historical discontinuity], *Povijesni prilozi* 38 (2010): 20; Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 105.

¹²⁵ James interest in the Hussite movement was definitely more pronounced than that in the Bosnian Church. Nevertheless, he referred to the Bosnian situation on several occasions. The most important one is his *Dialogus contra Manichaeos in Bosna*, now lost. Its existence is known due to a short description written by Johannes Bapt. Lucini and Johannes Bapt. Barberio for the purposes of James's canonization process in 1697. This surviving abbreviated version presents the Bosnian heretics as dualists who did not build churches, and baptized with the book rather than water. He asserts that they rejected marriage, the holy cross, and the Old Testament; and believed that the matter is creation of Satan and that human souls are demons that fell from the sky. James of the Marches indeed stayed in Bosnia and possibly encountered members of the Bosnian Church. Nevertheless, the validity of his judgment is problematic given his lack of knowledge of the vernacular and that of any interest in this "heresy" as opposed to the Hussites. The text in Latin and Croatian translation is available in: Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 286-89. At the court of Sigismund in 1435 James accused King Tvrtko II of allowing "Manicheans" to stay in his country and urged him to organize a military campaign that, according to him, would succeed in six months. Pavao Živković, *Iz srednjovjekovne povijesti*, 317; Gyorgy Galamb "San Giacomo della Marca e gli eretici di Ungheria" in ed. Silvano Bracci, *San Giacomo della Marca nell'europa del '400*, Padua 1997. 216-218.

¹²⁶ AB 149; Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 99.

¹²⁷ AB 153.

¹²⁸ Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 99.

¹²⁹ In 1436 he was allowed to relocate Bosnian brethren to newly created convents in Bohemia, Hungary and Austria. AB 154. In 1437, when the Ottoman Turks destroyed sixteen churches and houses of the vicary, most likely predominantly located in Bosnia, James was allowed to receive seven new ones under his jurisdiction in Hungary in their place. AB 161. However, in 1438, the minister general urged James to repair destroyed convents instead of asking for new ones in Hungary. AB 166.

¹³⁰ AB 146-47

prioritization from Bosnian to Hungarian affairs triggered a process sometimes called “Magyarization” of the Bosnian vicary, which would last until the eventual division of the vicary in 1445/47.¹³¹

The reforms of James of the Marches can hardly be considered successful. James was quick to give up on his task when he encountered resistance. He attempted to combine the functions of the vicar, the preacher and the inquisitor all at the same time. Such an approach resulted in his frequent travels between Bosnia, Italy and Hungary. Most of his time spent as the vicar of Bosnia he resided in the southern parts of medieval Hungary due to his previously noted interest in the presence of Hussites.¹³² James’s contribution to the vicary is the number of bulls that he negotiated on behalf of the Bosnian vicary.¹³³

The clash between James and the Bosnian community had its roots not only in James’s personal nonconformism but it was also a manifestation of a deeper discrepancies between different understandings of the Franciscan lifestyle. The idealism brought up by the Observant movement was confronted in Bosnia with a missionary pragmatism. Observance was born in the context of urbanized, merchant, Catholic Italy. In the early phase of their movement, Observance focused on bringing the order back to strict poverty and humility by significantly reducing its means of livelihood. The Observants thought that the presence of the friars among the believers should be limited, maintaining a balance of solitude and preaching in the Franciscan lifestyle.¹³⁴ The lifestyle developed by the Bosnian missionaries was described by

¹³¹ Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *Les Franciscains Observants*, 42.

¹³² Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 109., Gyorgy Galamb “San Giacomo della Marca” 219-20.

¹³³ Under his term, clerics in the Bosnian vicary were allowed to be ordained at the age of twenty-two. The Bosnian jurisdiction over convents in Dalmatia was also ensured. James also brokered the aforementioned bull *Eximia vestrae devotionis integritas* which guaranteed Bosnian brethren the right to elect their own vicar, superseding the older *Dudum siquidem* which reserved this right exclusively to the Minister General of the Order. AB, 160

¹³⁴ The Observants believed that a sermon can install one’s faith and their sermons were full of persuasive theatrics, including mimicry, impersonations and jokes, to evoke emotional reaction among inhabitants of the city, frequently gathered at the *piazza*. Apparently, the preachings of the Franciscan Observants were very successful in various Catholic countries despite the linguistic barrier, but their methods could hardly be applied for

later sources—the *Chronicle* of Bernardino of Aquileia and the *Status locorum vicariae Bosnae*—as one that centered on pastoral ministry among the people and a deep involvement in the secular sphere, including handling money. Thus, the tension described can be framed by Observant nonconformism and missionary pragmatism.

Paradoxically, at the same time, the missionarism of the vicary and its geographical expansion may explain the appearance of the first Observant houses in Dalmatia and Hungary under their jurisdiction in the first half of the fifteenth century. While the jurisdiction over the Bosnian vicary allowed the Hungarian and Dalmatian Observants to conduct their reformed lifestyle, the Bosnian Franciscans still thought of these possessions in terms of mission and sustenance. They collected alms for missionary duty, for the retirement of their elderly and sick brothers, as well as for the education of young missionaries. Tomassini, in a letter from 1451 referred to the Dalmatian convents as those providing wine, oil, clothes and other necessities.¹³⁵ Such “secondary” position inside the Bosnian vicary could not satisfy the Hungarian and Dalmatian parts.¹³⁶ This kind of division between geography and aspirations, combined with the recent “Magyarization” of the vicary and the involvement of secular powers in its affairs triggered separatist tensions inside the vicary’s ambit.

missionary purposes in predominantly rustic Bosnia. It took some time before the Observants developed their own missionary strategy, primarily based on the already existing experience-base of the order. Carolyn Muessig, “Bernardino da Siena and Observant Preaching as a Vehicle for Religious Transformation,” in *A Companion to the Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. James Mixson and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 186.

¹³⁵ In 1459, once the large part of the vicary was already taken, Pius II guaranteed that Bosnian friars could provide themselves with wine, wheat, wood and other necessities, which they were apparently deprived of after the division of the vicary. AB 239.

¹³⁶ Marijan Žugaj, “Bosanska vikarija,” 12.

Chapter 2 - The reign of Stjepan Tomaš in Bosnia.

[...] *Carissimus in Christo filius noster Thomas Stephanus Rex Bosne Illustris, ac eius uxor, et etiam quamplures barones, nobiles, milites et alie utriusque sexus persone divina illustrate gratia, quoscumque Paterenorum heresis deponentes errores, ac veritatis lumen recognoscentes, quod mater omnium et magistra sancta Romana ecclesia tenet et profitetur [...].*¹³⁷
Pope Nicolas V to legate Tomassini, 1452.

The reign of Stjepan Tomaš was a period of radical confessional upheaval in Bosnia. Tomaš's weak position in the initial years of his reign compelled him to seek strong allies. The papacy, in the process of reinstating its Universalist power and building a single anti-Ottoman front, reached out to Tomaš with an offer of cooperation and support. The two sides tightened their relationship and the achievements of Catholicism in Bosnia at that time were indeed remarkable. As a result, his son ascended the throne as a fully-fledged Catholic king.

2.1 The first difficult years of rule, the progress of Catholicism, and the coronation controversy.

Despite strong claims of his brother Radivoj, and Ulrich II, count of Celje (1406 – 1456), Stjepan Tomaš ascended the throne of Bosnia in late 1443, after the death of the heirless Tvrtko II. At the very beginning of his reign, Tomaš faced several problems regarding his legitimacy. He was an illegitimate child, the son of king Stjepan Ostoja (?-1418, king in 1398-1404, 1409-1418). He was raised in the Bosnian faith and before he was entrusted with the government of the kingdom he had already been married to Vojača (1417-1463), a woman

¹³⁷ MH II, 264

coming from the lower stratum of the nobility, with whom he had two children. Additionally, by the time when he ascended the throne, central power in the kingdom had significantly weakened in general.¹³⁸ In the first decades of the fifteenth century, the power of the regional lords of Bosnia was so great that some of them rejected their obedience to the currently ruling kings and proclaimed their own candidates, leading Bosnia into crises whereby Bosnian kings and “anti-Kings” were engaged in a series of wars. The members of the Bosnian church contributed to this de-centralization process through their service to the powerful aristocrats.

Stjepan Vukčić Kosača (?-1466), successor of Sandalj Hranić and certainly one of the most powerful lords of the realm, rejected to recognize the new king in favor of the king’s brother, Radivoj, who a decade earlier had already been promoted as “anti-king” by Sandalj and the Turks.¹³⁹ Kosača’s act of disobedience drove Bosnia into yet another civil war over the Bosnian throne at the beginning of Tomaš’s reign.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Bosnia, after the death of Tvrtko I in 1391, entered a phase of losing its central power in favor of the regional lords’ (bos.[pl.] Rusaške gospode) ambitions for independence. They included “tepčija” Batalo, Pavao Radinović, Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić, Sandalj Hranić and more. To properly balance, and actually overbalance the royal power, these individuals engaged members of the Bosnian Church in roles such as warrantors, arbitrators, mediators, negotiators and envoy. In this way, intentionally or unintentionally, the Bosnian Church became a factor in the decentralization process. Pejo Čosković, “Krstjanin Vlatko,” 51.

¹³⁹ He ruled from the Lima and Drina rivers across the Neretva in Dalmatia to Imotski. See fig. 2.

¹⁴⁰ Stjepan Vukčić Kosača adopted quite a successful policy of confessional balance and was able to earn a positive image in the eyes of Bosnian *Krstjani* as well as among the Catholics and Orthodox. The Patriarch of Constantinople Gennadius Scholarius perceived Kosača as being “Orthodox in his soul.” In 1448/49 Kosača reassured Pope Nicolas V about his “filial devotion.” In 1452, in a desperate situation he approached Pagaminus, bishop of Ulcinj, assuring him that he wanted to become Catholic. At the same time, members of the Bosnian Church were frequently to be found at his court, among them the famous Gost Radin. Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko Humski Krstjani*, 29. Kosača must have appreciated the Franciscans as well. In 1454, he asked for a few friars from Alfonso V of Aragon to be sent to his domain. Sima Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan*, 215. While authors still debate whether he would actually identify himself with any of these confessions, he was undoubtedly able to instrumentalise them in order to profit his own government.



Fig. 2 Bosnia in the mid-fifteenth century. Map available in Regan, *Bosanska kraljica Katarina*, 24.

As if the “internal” problems were not enough, Bosnia in the fifteenth century, like many other countries of Southeast Europe faced the threat of the Ottomans. The first Ottoman invasions against Bosnia began in 1386 and intensified parallel to their expansion further and further into the southeastern part of the continent.¹⁴¹ In 1415 the Bosnian kingdom was forced to yield as tributary to the Ottomans.¹⁴² Given its strategic position, Bosnia was used as a passage for further raids of the Ottomans to Dalmatia and the southeastern part of the Hungarian kingdom. Some of those raids were combined with incursions into Bosnia.¹⁴³ It was

¹⁴¹ Ottomans were not only the invading force but sometimes also the allies of the Bosnians, when for example they supported Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić against Sigismund.

¹⁴² Emir Filipović, “The Key to the Gate of Christendom? The Strategic importance of Bosnia in the struggle against the Ottomans,” in *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century: Converging and Competing Cultures*, ed. Norman Housley (London – New York: Routledge, 2016), 157.

¹⁴³ Emir Filipović, “The Key to the Gate of Christendom,” 157.

clear that Bosnia was not able to withstand the Ottoman Empire on its own, and would be ultimately defeated if it would be left alone.

While the Ottomans were expanding, the Roman church re-activated its contacts with the Churches that had lost their union with Rome. In 1417, the Council of Constance (1414–1418) elected Pope Martin V, essentially ending the Western schism. The Council of Basel (1431–1449), preoccupied with the reform of the Church, also aimed at the reunification with the representatives of non-Catholic Christian confessions. In the Council's proceedings the proposal was presented to include not only the Orthodox Church in the reunification plans, but also Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Manicheans and Patarens of Bosnia.¹⁴⁴

Pope Eugene IV, displeased with the conciliarist orientation of Basel, summoned his own council, initially in Ferrara, and later in Florence. Eugene IV made use of the re-unification policy to confirm the papal authority over the “anti-council.” After a compromise were reached in 1439, the document *Laetentur Caeli* was signed by Patriarch Joseph II of Constantinople and many Eastern bishops, which temporarily re-united the Roman Catholic Church with the Eastern Orthodox Churches.

The new trend in the Church reached Bosnia as well. Dominican Ivan Stojković (1395-1443), a doctor of the University of Paris and an individual of great influence at the council of Basel, called on Emperor Sigismund and the Ragusan representatives to convince the Bosnian church to dispatch representatives to the Council of Basel.¹⁴⁵ Ragusa sent its envoys to Bosnia but they were unsuccessful and on 5 October 1433 the Ragusan senate informed Ivan Stojković that the Bosnian Church excused themselves on account of the current threats to their

¹⁴⁴ Johannes Haller, *Concilium Basiliense*, vol. 1 (Basel, 1896), 357.

¹⁴⁵ The optimism about the conversion of Bosnian “Manicheans” was also presented by Nicolas of Treviso, former Bishop of Nin, who spoke at the council in September. Adrija Zirdum, “Franjevci i Bosansko-Humski Krstijani,” 74.

homeland.¹⁴⁶ Even though Stojković's initiative ultimately failed, Pope Eugene IV kept his interest in confessional Bosnian affairs. Eugene must have also realized the strategic position of Bosnia in his anti-Ottoman plans.¹⁴⁷

The individual who became the mediator between the papacy and the Bosnian monarchy, and also contributed to the tightening of this bond, was Thomas Tomassini (?-1462), dispatched to Bosnia as papal legate in 1439. Tomassini, the bishop of Hvar, a Venetian Dominican learned in theology. He was a firm ally of Eugene in his conflict with Basel and he had undoubted influence on the papal views on Bosnian affairs.¹⁴⁸

In the second period of Tvrtko's II reign (1420–1443), the king was maintained the policy of confessional balance. His advocacy of the Bosnian community in the face of James of the Marches's harsh reforms clearly reflected his close relations with the vicary. The Bosnian Church retained its strong position in the kingdom and its *Djed* was confirmed to be part of the inner circle of the king's most trusted men.¹⁴⁹ The best evidence of Tvrtko's confessional pragmatism comes from the Ragusan chancellery. In 1442, the duke of Dubrovnik (lat. *Rector*, hr. *Knez*) promised King Tvrtko II that his deposit of silver in the city would be available to him whenever he would send an envoy with a sealed letter written "in the presence of monks

¹⁴⁶ Franjo Šanjek, "Heterodoksno Krscanstvo," 85. The registers of the Basel proceedings from 1434/35 reveal that optimism about the conversion of the Bosnian heretics was not extinguished after the rejection. At the plenary session of the Basel Council on June 10, 1434, Ivan Stojković expressed his belief in the historic opportunity to convert whole Kingdom of Bosnia from the heresy of the "Manichaeans and Arians": "*Quia gracia Jhesu Christi offertur facilis occasion reductionis regni Bosne, quod [...] fuit infectum heresy Manicheorum et Arianorum [...]*." Johannes Haller, *Concilium Basiliense*, vol. 3 (Basel, 1900), 417; Franjo Šanjek, *Heterodoksno Krscanstvo*, 86.

¹⁴⁷ Eugene's successor, Pius II, described Bosnia as the "natural stepping stone" for the Ottoman expansion, which would threaten Hungary and Italy afterwards. Book 9, in Pope Pius II, *The Comentaries of Pius II*, trans. Gragg Florence, ed. Gray William and Faulkner Harold (Northampton: Smith College Studies in History, 1936/1937), 741.

¹⁴⁸ Stjepan Krasić, "Toma Tomassini: Hrvatski biskup, teolog i diplomat (1439-1462)" [Toma Tomassini: Croatian bishop, theologian and diplomat (1439-1462)], *Starine* 63, (2005): 106

¹⁴⁹ Dubrovnik appealed several times to the *Djed*, asking him to mediate in favor of the Ragusan merchants at the royal court. On the eve of Tvrtko II's marriage to Dorothy Garai in 1428, Ragusa obliged its envoys to present one of the republic's charter to the *Djed* and other courtiers. Pavao Živković, *Tvrtko II*, 187; Dubravko Lovrenović, "Krist i Donator [II]," 24.

either of the Roman or the Bosnian faith.”¹⁵⁰ There is a source reporting that in September 1443 Tvrtko II dispatched an envoy accompanied by legate Tomassini to Rome, where in public consistory the envoy, in the name of the entire kingdom he rejected the Manichean teachings and embraced the Roman Church.¹⁵¹ However, the authenticity of this source is questionable.¹⁵²

From the beginning of his reign, geopolitical and internal circumstances pushed Tomaš towards Latin Christendom and the pope.¹⁵³ For Tomaš’s Bosnia the embrace of Catholicism presented an opportunity of inclusion into Latin Christendom. It is also possible that Tomaš realized the influence of the Bosnian Church on decentralization process of the monarchy. It is not clear when exactly Stjepan Tomaš officially declared himself to be converted to Catholicism.¹⁵⁴ He was baptized by Carvajal significantly later, in 1457.¹⁵⁵ However, on May 29, 1445 Pope Eugene IV issued bulls in his support. The pope removed “defectum natalium” from Tomaš and dissolved his marriage to Vojača.¹⁵⁶ Possibly the offer of official conversion to Catholicism was supplied with an offer of papal justification over those most troublesome obstacles for his government. At the same time, the pope must have taken for granted Tomaš’s conversion or believed in his will to do so in the future. Therefore the declaration of conversion must have happened before the bulls were issued. On 30 of July 1446 Pope Eugene IV

¹⁵⁰ Ljubomir Stojanović. *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, vol. I., (Beograd – Sremski Karlovci, 1929.), 516.

“Monks” was not unusual word to describe clergy of the Bosnian Church in Dubrovnik. Franjo Šanjek. *Bosansko-humski krstjani i katarsko dualistički pokret*, 90-92.

¹⁵¹ Pejo Čošković, *Bosanska kraljevina*, 181-182.

¹⁵² John Fine, *The Bosnian Church*. 60-61.

¹⁵³ In 1444 Tomaš confirmed his vassal position to the Kingdom of Hungary to receive a confirmation for his rule, and in the same year he unsuccessfully offered his kingdom to the Republic of Venice. Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen* 286-88; Emir Filipović, ““Arde ante oculos opulentissimum regnum...”: Venetian reports about the Ottoman Conquest of the Bosnian Kingdom, A.D. 1463,” in *Italy and Europe’s Eastern Border (1204–1669)*, ed. Iulian Mihai Damian et al. (Frankfurt/ Main: Eastern and Central European Studies, 2012), 139.

¹⁵⁴ Krsić argued that it must have happened before September 1444 when Eugene IV sent a letter to Gdańsk, informing about his progress with different Christian confessions in favor of the union, i.e. stating the the King of Bosnia returned to the faith. The Bosnian king referred to in Eugene’s letter was most likely Tvrtko II who sent an envoy to Rome, officially declaring conversion of himself and of the kingdom. AB, 185.

¹⁵⁵ Vilim Fraknoi, “Kardinal Karvajal,” 10.

¹⁵⁶ AB 198; Stjepan Krsić, “Toma Tomassini,” 114.

announced that Stjepan Tomaš after *long disputes* with Tomassini finally became a true Catholic Christian.¹⁵⁷ The contribution of the friars to the conversion is not confirmed in the sources.¹⁵⁸

Tomaš used the occasion of dissolved marriage to put an end to the civil war and married the daughter of Stjepan Kosača, Catharine. She grew up in a religiously heterogeneous environment. While her father's confessional affiliation is difficult to establish, her mother, Jelena Balšić, the granddaughter of the Serbian Prince Lazar (?-1389) was Orthodox. However, Catharine had to accept Catholicism before she married Stjepan Tomaš.¹⁵⁹ After she became queen of Bosnia there is ample evidence for her personal relationship with the Catholic Church, particularly with the Franciscans, especially from the period of her exile in Rome.¹⁶⁰

The ceremony most likely took place on May 21/22, 1446. According to the Ragusan envoys, preparations were made for a coronation with the papal crown in Mile simultaneously.¹⁶¹ This presented an opportunity to finally emancipate Bosnia into the Latin Christendom. On July 20, 1446, in front of witnesses, Tomassini took the papal crown from the treasury of the church of St. Dujam in Split. Unfortunately the crown vanished without a

¹⁵⁷ "Stephanum Thomam, regem Bosnae [...] post multos diversosque tractatus cum [...] episcopo Pharensi [...] per septennium ibidem legato, tandem factum esse catholicum christianum." AB 202.

¹⁵⁸ There is an advanced opinion about the Franciscans converting Tomaš. Lašvanin in his chronicle accredited James of the Marches with the conversion of Tomaš. This could not be so since James of the Marches was not in Bosnia at that time. Filipović, "Bosansko srednjovjekovlje u domaćim franjevačkim kronikama," 129. Jelenić also credited the Franciscans with the conversion of Tomaš, as ones who prepared the ground for his conversion. On the same basis, victories are credited to generals rather than to soldiers, as Julijan Jelenić argues in his *Kultura i bosanski franjevci*: Julijan Jelenić *Kultura i bosanski franjevci* [Culture and the Bosnian Franciscans] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1912,) 80.

¹⁵⁹ Nicolas V in a bull from July 18, 1447, granting her two Franciscans as court chaplains, stated: *Devotionis tue sinceritatis quam ad nos et Romanam geris ecclesiam, prout nuper etiam opere demonstrasti, dum te ad orthodoxe fidei unitatem sponte cum Christifidelibus reduxisti* [...] Reg. Vat 406. ff 66r-66v; Stjepan Krasić, "Toma Tomassini," 116.

¹⁶⁰ After the Ottoman conquest, Queen Catharine sought refuge in Rome and lived on a papal pension until she died in 1478. The better known Roman period of her life portrays the queen as a person of deeply Catholic spirituality and devotion to the Franciscans. There is a commonly accepted opinion that she became a member of the Franciscan Third Order at some point during her life, however, as Filipović argues, there are no contemporary sources to confirm it. Emir Filipović, "Was Bosnian Queen," 166, 173, 177-78.

¹⁶¹ Dubravko Lovrenović, "Krist i Donator [II]," 31.

trace after this point in time.¹⁶² There are several different factors that might have led to the failure of the coronation attempt. According to Pius II's *Commentaries*, in 1461 he received envoys with a message from Stjepan Tomašević, who explained that his father could not accept the papal crown due to the Turkish and "Manichean" danger.¹⁶³

The factor that might have played a role was the Hungarian pretensionary policy to Bosnia.¹⁶⁴ A letter sent on 07 June 1460 by Pope Pius II to King Matthias Corvinus in response to the king's protest against yet another dispatch of the papal crown to Bosnia and the creation of bishopric(s) in the country, displays how this pretensionary policy functioned.¹⁶⁵ The Hungarian king perceived the coronation as being against his legal claims. Džaja and Lovrenović argue that the Hungarian factor was crucial in preventing the coronation.¹⁶⁶ The Hungarian pretension reappeared when Stjepan Tomašević managed to be successfully crowned by the papal crown in Jajce in 1461.¹⁶⁷

Hungarian interference might have also played a role in the disappearance of the Visoko-Srebrenica bishopric, which happened approximately at the same time. The two issues

¹⁶² The royal crown sent to Grad Duke of Lithuania, Vytautas disappeared without a trace in similar circumstances.

¹⁶³ "Your predecessor Eugenius offered my father the crown and wished to build pontifical churches in Bosnia. My father refused in order not to draw upon himself the hatred of the Turks, for he was newly a Christian and had not yet expelled the Manichaeans from his kingdom." Book 11 in Pope Pius II, *The Commentaries of Pius II*. trans. Florence Gragg, ed. William Gray and Harold Faulkner (Northampton: Smith College Studies in History, 1936/1937), 740.

¹⁶⁴ What indirectly proves that this opposition was present is that on July 30, 1446, Pope Eugene IV recommended Stjepan Tomaš as a confirmed Catholic to Hungarian prelates and nobility. AB, 202.

¹⁶⁵ "From the letter that we have recently received, it seems that your highness forbade us '[...]' to lightly allow to [have] own bishops and to give crown to Tomaš.' [...] We know that it has to be thoroughly considered to re-establish the bishoprics in places, where there are none. We also remember well, that this same crown [the Bosnians] requested multiple times from our predecessors, but it was never granted, however if we would for any reason decide to give it nevertheless, we would never do so without respecting your consent, [you] who have legal claim for it [the crown]. [My translation] Bosnian translation in: Srećko Džaja, "Bosansko srednjovjekovlje kroz prizmu bosanske krune, grba i biskupije" [The Bosnian Middle Ages through the prism of the Bosnian crown, coat of arms and the bishopric], *Jukić* 15 (1985): 98-99.

¹⁶⁶ Dubravko Lovrenović, "Krst i Donator [II]," 33.

¹⁶⁷ To pacify the dissatisfied Matthias, in January 1462 Pope Pius II sent him a letter justifying his decision. Matthias responded surprisingly later, at the end of May. He took the coronation as the appropriation of his prerogatives and therefore as treason, and stated that he was ready to wage war to prove his rights. He also urged Pius: "For all these reasons we steadfastly require your holiness not to support, in their gentleness, the arrogance of this man [Tomašević] so if the apostolic legates did anything outside their authorization, may it be proclaimed invalid [...]" Bosnian translation in: Srećko Džaja, "Bosansko srednjovjekovlje," 99-100.

appeared together as disputable between the papacy and the Kingdom of Hungary in the above quoted letter and in other sources coming from correspondence between Matthias and Pius II. The plea for both was also inseparable in Tomašević's message as presented in *Commentaries*.¹⁶⁸

Confusion in regard to the bishopric's identification lies in the variability of its names: mentioned for the first time in 1434 it was referred to as "biduanensis et visocinensis" and "capirinensis et visocinensis, and in 1440 as "srebrinicensis et visocinensis."¹⁶⁹ There are different explanations with regard to different compound names, but the bishopric's connection to Visoko—the location of the seat of the Bosnian vicary—remained stable. Pope Eugene IV ordained Stjepan Radošević as head of the bishopric in 1434, and Thomas Matić in 1440, both Franciscans. The two were mentioned as suffrages of the Archbishopric of Dubrovnik, which signifies a return to the conception of the early thirteenth century when Bosnia was not a missionary region but was attached to the diocesan structure.¹⁷⁰ Ultimately the goal was to finally re-introduce diocesan structures to Bosnia under its traditionally friendly archbishopric. Another relevant question concerns the relationship between the bishopric in Đakovo and Tomaš but the surviving material does not offer any satisfactory answers.¹⁷¹

Unfortunately little is known about the function of the Visoko-Srebrenica bishopric itself. Its existence is known only through a few papal documents, a remark by Farlati in his *Illiricum Sacrum*, and the Book of Obligations. The Book of Obligations, listing taxes owned by various episcopal sees, portrayed the Visoko-Srebrenica bishopric as a relatively poor and

¹⁶⁸ Tomašević wrote: "I pray you [Pius II] to send me the crown and consecrated bishops." Pope Pius II, *The Commentaries*, 740.

¹⁶⁹ Dominik Mandić, *Srebrenicko – visocka biskupija* (Rome, 1963), 483-490.

¹⁷⁰ Dubravko Lovrenović, "Krst i Donator [II]," 22.

¹⁷¹ The bishops of Đakovo at that time were Josip de Bezza, Rafael Herczeg de Zekchev (Szekcső), a certain Mihajlo, Filip Gathal, and a certain Pavao. What is known about the bishopric in Đakovo in 1443-1461 is mainly its relations with the regional nobility and its possessions being frequently pillaged by the Turks. Ive Mažuran, "Đakovo i Bosansko - đakovačka biskupija od 1293. do 1536" [Đakovo and Bosnia: The Đakovo bishopric from 1293 to 1536], *Diacovensia* 1 (1995): 134-35.

little known diocese.¹⁷² Farlati referred to a certain “Frater Thomas pretensus Episcopus Srebernize” (Thomas Matić?), who in 1441 was supposedly occupied a church of a certain Jacob in Brestranova and other places in the Archdiocese of Split and appropriated various belongings.¹⁷³

Scholars still argue about the reasons behind the bishopric’s creation and dissolution. The towns under the bishopric’s jurisdiction (Visoko, Srebrenica, Jajce, Fojnica, Kreševo and others) were all strong Franciscan centers and its two known bishops were Franciscans. The appearance of the bishopric in the sources coincides chronologically with the James of the Marches stay in Bosnia and its disappearance with the vicary’s territorial division after the phase of “Magyarization” of the vicary.¹⁷⁴ The legal concessions of the vicary allowed the Bosnian friars for an effective ministry outside of the diocesan structures in general, however, during the phase of “Magyarization,” this could have become problematic. Therefore, the creation of this bishopric can be considered as an attempt to emancipate the Bosnian Franciscans from this new trend.¹⁷⁵

“Bottom-up” Catholicization continued into the 1440s. Most importantly, members of the most powerful noble houses showed attraction to Catholicism. Petar Vojsalić (?-1456),¹⁷⁶ the voivod of Donji Kraji, Radivoj, the king’s brother, Sladoj Semković, royal secretary Pavao

¹⁷² The fragment of the Book’s register, quoted and translated by John Fine, states: “Bishop of Srebrenica and Visoko of the Province Ragusa. The present debts are not known. 6 February 1440, 33 1/3 florins more or less as is discovered from information from the regions.” Nothing more was stated about the bishopric, no earlier or later tax obligations. For a comparison, the bishopric in Đakovo was regularly owed 200 florins. John Fine, “Mysteries about Newly Discovered Srebrenica-Visoko Bishopric in Bosnia (1434-41),” *East European Quaterly* 8, no. 1, (1974): 35.

¹⁷³ In his complaint, Jacob cited a letter in Slavic script where Thomas presented himself as “By the grace of God bishop of Srebrenica (Srebreniza) and Visoko (Vissochi). Farlati, *Illiricum Sacrum*, vol. 4, 408; Fine, “Mysteries,” 35-36.

¹⁷⁴ More about the Hungarisation of the vicary in the next subchapter.

¹⁷⁵ Dubravko Lovrenović “Krist i Donator [II],” 22.

¹⁷⁶ Petar Vojsalić was a member of Hrvatinić family and was the voivod of Donji Kraj, the region known also as *Olfeld* [=Alföld] in Hungarian or as *Partes inferiores* in Latin (today’s Bosanska Krajina). Vojsalić maintained good relations with the Roman curia and with the Bosnian Franciscans. In 1446 Eugene IV called him the only Catholic prince in Bosnia. AB, 203; MH II, 235.

from Jajce, and royal *protovestijar* Restoje, were all taken under papal patronage in the late 1440s, with Franciscan involvement confirmed in one instance.¹⁷⁷ George Tardislavić, a noble from Hum was reported to be a Catholic.¹⁷⁸ Ivaniš Pavlović was also attracted to Catholicism at that time, but in 1448 Nicolas V wrote that Ivaniš, after confessing the true faith, returned to heresy.¹⁷⁹ In 1448/49 Kosača reassured Pope Nicolas V about his “filial devotion.”¹⁸⁰ Turn of the major noble houses to Catholicism prompted the Franciscan action in Bosnia.

Some researchers argue that these gains of Catholicism in the kingdom were the consequence of the Council of Konjic in 1446, which was supposed to centralize the pro-Catholic politics of the kingdom. However, the only piece of direct information about this council comes from a forged decree.¹⁸¹ Besides recent re-orientation of the royal confessional policy, nobility’s extensive contacts with their western neighbours and simple pragmatic reasons certainly influenced those conversions as well.¹⁸² The Catholicization process had its reflection even in numismatic material.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁷ Dubravko Lovrenović “Krist i Donator [II],” 34. Sladoj Semković was taken under papal protection upon the mediation and recommendation of the Franciscans. MH II, 236.

¹⁷⁸ John Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 245.

¹⁷⁹ Stjepan Krasić, “Toma Tomassini,” 118-19; Dubravko Lovrenović, *Kvadratura kruga*, 53; Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 79.

¹⁸⁰ Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko Humski Krstjani*, 29

¹⁸¹ The issue is going to be discussed in the next subchapter.

¹⁸² John Fine, *The late medieval Balkans*, 578.

¹⁸³ Tvrtko II and Tomaš in the first years of his reign were issuing coins with an image of St. Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 329 – 390), a father of the Eastern Church who had a cult among the Catholics, the Bosnian Church, and among the Orthodox as well. This saint was chosen because of the aforementioned policy of confessional balance of Bosnian rulers. After Tomaš had officially accepted Catholicism he started to issue coins with image of St. Gregory the Great (c. 540 – 604); doctor of the Church and one of the Latin Fathers. An image of a pope with mitre on his head and in western vestments replaced an earlier image of an eastern bishop without the mitre. Dubravko Lovrenović, *Bosanska kvadratura kruga*, 29.



Fig. 3 Two coins issued by King Stjepan Tomaš. The one on the left displays St. Gregory of Nazianzus and on the right St. Gregory the Great. The coins are part of a permanent medieval exhibition in Zemaljski muzej in Sarajevo.

The royal couple was engaged in the foundation of new Catholic churches and friaries. The state of the sources discussed does not allow to properly estimate the scale of this initiative, however, the papal bulls granting indulgences do provide some insight.¹⁸⁴ Those issued on July 18, 1447 granted indulgences to the visitors of churches in Vranduk and in Vrila, specifying that the former was built by Tomaš and the latter by Catharine.¹⁸⁵ On the same day indulgences were given to the churches in Jezero and Greben.¹⁸⁶ The Franciscan church of St. Catharine in Jajce was most likely founded by the queen.¹⁸⁷ Indulgences for its visitors were granted on certain feast days in 1458 and were extended in 1461.¹⁸⁸ Ragusan sources from 1449 mention

¹⁸⁴ Tomassini's letter from March 19, 1451 mentioned "numerous" Franciscan convents built by Tomaš. Stjepan Krsić, "Toma Tomassini", 145.

¹⁸⁵ MH II, 233-34.

¹⁸⁶ MH II, 234. It is commonly accepted that both churches were founded by the royal couple. Meanwhile, in 1437 Juraj Vojsalić (father of Petar Vojsalić; d. 1437) was permitted to build a Franciscan convent and a church in Greben. Some authors also ascribe to him the church in Jezero based on the patron saint of the church, St. George. AB, 160-61.

¹⁸⁷ The ruins of the Church of St. Catharine were most likely uncovered during the 1959 construction of a post office and cultural center in the Hrvoja Vukčića Hrvatinića Street in Jajce, but were not properly excavated. There are also different opinions among scholars on this issue. Anđelić identified the aforementioned church of St. Catharine with the Church of St. Mary in Jajce, which was also used by the Franciscans and which was excavated in 1961. The walls of this church still stand in the town. Pavao Anđelić, "Pogled u Franjevačko graditeljstvo" 202-203.

¹⁸⁸ MH II, 318, 373; Kresimir Regan, *Kralica Katarina*, 126-29. The second bull mentions the relics of St. Luke placed in the church.

construction works of a “habitation house” for the Franciscans in Bobovac and in 1453 some works were mentioned for Srebrenica.¹⁸⁹ In 1449 the convent in Kreševo is mentioned for the first time.¹⁹⁰ The nobility also made new foundations at that period. Radivoj founded the church of St. George in Tešanj, and the pope granted indulgences for its visitors in 1458.¹⁹¹ Effectively, before the Ottoman conquest the friaries and the Franciscan churches in Bosnia were located not only in the major centers of power and/or mining but covered almost the entire Bosnian kingdom, with their largest concentration in the royal domain.¹⁹² Those places have drawn cultural influences from Dalmatia and Central Europe to Bosnia manifested in Gothic architecture and painting.¹⁹³

2.2 An alleged conflict between Tomaš and the Franciscans.

There is a strong evidence that the official conversion of Tomaš did not put an immediate end to the policy of confessional balance. The royal charter from 1446 which gave the town of Ključ to the sons of Voivod Ivanis Dragišić was guaranteed by *Djed* Miloje.¹⁹⁴ Krstjanin Radosav, the author of Radosav’s manuscript (Bos. *Radosavljev zbornik*) dated his work to “the days of king Tomaš and Djed Ratko.” In 1448, the pope was warned that many heretics were still present in Bosnia, including the highest layers of nobility. He obliged

¹⁸⁹ In 1449, Ragusan merchant Radič Mišetić, who died in Fojnica, left five ducats for the construction of a residential house for the Franciscans in Bobovac. While Srebrenica was founded long before reign of Tomaš, the “Great church” (Bos. Velika crkva) in Bobovac might have been his foundation. Only the foundations of the “Great Church” were constructed, but it is enough to see features of Franciscan architecture. Pavao Anđelić, “Pogled u Franjevačko graditeljstvo, 203, 205; *Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska: Stolna mjesta bosanskih vladara u XIV. i XV. stoljeću*, (Sarajevo: Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe, Veselin Masleša, 1973), 142.

¹⁹⁰ Jozo Džambo, *Franziskaner*, 181.

¹⁹¹ MH II, 373.

¹⁹² Srećko Džaja, “Katoličanstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini od Kulina bana do austro-ugarske okupacije” *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 16/30 (1992), 164-65.

¹⁹³ The problem was extensively discussed by Planinka Mikulić in her article therefore I will not go into further detail here. Planinka Mikulić, “Franjevački samostani kao centri culture na prijelomu 15. stoljeća” [The Franciscan convents as centers of culture in mid fifteenth century], *Znastveni skup u povodu 500. obljetnice smrti fra. Adela Zvizdovića* (Sarajevo – Fojnica: Franjevačka teologija Sarajevo, 2000.), 85-107.

¹⁹⁴ “I s timi sa vsim’ vise pisanim’ pridasmu ih’ gospodinu didu Miloju i didu kon’ dida u ruke crk’kovne.” [And this and all that is written above we deliver to the Lord *Djed* Miloje and to all other *Djeds* who shall succeed him in the hands of the Church] Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica*, 440. Translation by John Fine. John Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 242-43.

Tomassini to compel those who had lapsed from Catholicism under the threat of excommunication.¹⁹⁵ In a letter from 1451, John Vitéz de Zredna, bishop of Varaždin reminds Tomaš's tolerance of the heresy to Nicolas V.¹⁹⁶ There is an advanced opinion in the scholarship that Tomaš's tolerance towards heresy resulted in conflict with the Franciscans already in 1445, who refused to administer the Holy Communion to him.

The conflict is described by only one source, a letter of Eugene IV to Tomassini sent on 3 November 1445, as incorporated into *Illyricum Sacrum* vol. IV (pages 257-58). *Illyricum Sacrum* is known to include both authentic and forged material. Since the discussed letter was sent from the pope to his legate, it should be preserved in the registers of the Vatican archive, however, modern editors of the Vatican archive's materials did not include this relatively extensive letter into their source editions.¹⁹⁷ From literature I used for this thesis only John Fine expressed doubts about the source and the event.¹⁹⁸ My study of this document also led me to doubts about its authenticity and consequently, to question whether the conflict between Tomaš and the Franciscans had actually happened. However, because at this stage of research I am not able to resolve the question of its authenticity, in this subchapter I will only speculate on this problem in order to pave path for further research.

According to the letter, Eugene IV ordered Tomassini to investigate the refusal of the communion by the Franciscans to the king. Tomaš send an envoy to Rome who explained that

¹⁹⁵ Emir Filipović, "Exurge igitur", 222-23.

¹⁹⁶ Dubravko Lovrenović "Krist i Donator [II]", 35; *Na Klizistu Povijesti* 318-19.

¹⁹⁷ Edition *Monumenta privilegiorum* by Nedić (pages 81-83) is also referred to in the literature. Unfortunately, it is hardly accessible and therefore I could not verify this hint. It is very likely that the author took the source directly from Farlati.

¹⁹⁸ John Fine, *The Bosnian Church* 61-62, 240-41. The works that assume that the refusal happened are, but not limited to: Kniewald, *Vjerodostojnost*, 155; Šanjek *Bosansko Humski Krstijani i katarsko*, 129; Lovrenović „Krst i Donator” II, 33-34; Dominik Mandić *Bogomilska crkva* 494-96; Stjepan Krasić, "Toma Tomassini" 121; Pejo Čošković, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 138; Emir Filipović "Exurge igitur", 222. Emir Filipović dates the document for 11 November and says that the document was previously wrongly dated on 3 of November. Unfortunately no further details are provided, only citation of two works where the source is dated for 3 November. Does that mean that the author actually had the access to the original? I hope to inquire the author about this case in the future.

his king honored the heretical *primariis* for the sake of the kingdom's stability, because the Manicheans were strong and numerous in Bosnia. Eugene asked Tomassini that if he would found Tomaš to be the true Catholic that tolerates the heretics only out of political necessity, Tomassini was to compel the Franciscans to again administer the sacrament to Tomaš. At the same time the pope ordered that Tomaš should be obliged to bear in his heart the decision to force to heretics to accept Catholicism and to expel those reluctant, when he would become strong enough.¹⁹⁹ In its later part the letter also informs that mentioned heretics believed in an absolute form of Dualism.²⁰⁰ This would classified this letter as an outstanding since none other papal correspondence source is giving any inside into the Bosnian church's actual belief system.²⁰¹

Right after the quoted letter ends, *Illiricum Sacrum* continues with description of the council of Konjic (bos. Sabor u Konjicu) and quotes forged decree of king Tomaš, known as *Stephani Thomae regis decretum*.²⁰² Proximity of Eugene's letter with this forgery should increase researcher's caution, since both documents may have been taken by Lastrić from the same place.²⁰³ There is also one odd comment supposedly made by Eugene. In the beginning

¹⁹⁹ Dominik Mandić, *Bogomilska crkva*, 495; Stjepan Krsić "Toma Tomassini" 121.

²⁰⁰ *Ipsi sunt, qui ministerium divina Incarnationis simulatorium fuisse contendunt, ita ut incarnatio Filii Dei, passio, resurrectio non vere sed apparenter credantur exhibita; de quibus dicti Joannes Apostolus solventibus verum ministerium Jesu Christi [...] Hi sunt qui Diabolo parem omnipotenti Deo exhibent principatum, duponentes prima principia, unum malorum, alterum bonorum [...]* Daniele Farlati, *Illiricum Sacrum* IV, 257.

²⁰¹ John Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 61.

²⁰² The contemporary historiography found strong proves that the *decretum* is a modern forgery. The *decretum* was supposed to be issued on 24.06.1446 and it was a document concluding alleged Council of Konjic that was supposed to happen that year and to deal with nobility (mainly Petar Vojsalić) upset about recent political reconfiguration that followed Tomaš's marriage with Katarina Kosača. The decree settled several internal political and legal affairs of the kingdom and it provided the Catholic hierarchy with the evidence of Tomaš's determination to take steps against the Bosnian Church (e.g. that no new „Manichean temples” would be constructed). While *decretum* was defined as forgery and there is no other contemporary source to confirm the council of Konjic, there is nevertheless an argument among the historians whether this council could have actually happened. The most extensive position on this matter was presented by Čošković, who argued that it is highly possible and that the forger of *decretum* had access to the authentic documents of kings Tomaš and Tomašević. Pejo Čošković, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 133-154.

²⁰³ John Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 61. John Fine proposes that the Eugene's letter might have been forged in order to provide more reliability to the forged decree of the council of Konjic.

of the letter the pope reminds that Tomaš was educated in Catholicism from his youth.²⁰⁴ However, Eugene's documents from May 1445 and later from July 1446 indicate that the Roman curia was certainly well aware that this was not the case.²⁰⁵

These are all relevant arguments to become skeptical about the letters authenticity, at least in the form given by *Illiricum Sacrum*. However, without further research in the Vatican archive I am not able to make a conclusion in this matter.²⁰⁶ It is difficult to imagine that discussed extensive letter would not be based on an authentic document(s). The mentioned letter of John Vitez de Zredna from 1451 urges the pope to influence Tomaš so that he would maintain in his decision to exterminate the heretics.²⁰⁷ So while this letter confirms that the decision to expell the heretics was forced upon Tomaš earlier on, the question remains if it was predated by any quarrel with the friars, which is not hinted in this or any other source but the one given by Farlati. According to *Dubia* from 1372, the Bosnian Franciscans were allowed to administer the sacraments to the "protectors of heretics" if they would not display this "protection" publically.²⁰⁸ If they did so publically, they should be publically rebuked. Soon afther *Dubia* were published, the Franciscans of the Bosnian vicary refused to serve masses to Ban Tvrtko I who attended them in company of "patarens and heretics" who were under his protection.²⁰⁹ As the discussed letter tells us, Tomaš did not hide his close relations to the heretics.

²⁰⁴ *Exposuit autem regem suum vere, et sincere de christiana religione sentire, in qua a tenera infantia fuerit educatus [...]* Daniele Farlati, *Illiricum Sacrum* IV, 257, Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 495.

²⁰⁵ MSM, 388, 395.

²⁰⁶ It should be noted that forged documents are usually not products of forgerer's luxuriant imagination but are actually based on authentic material(s) to which the forgerer made modifications. Ingerations into the historical material are usually made to channel hidden, identified or unidentified purposes of the forgerer while traces of the original(s) are incorporated intact in order to give more reliability to the forgery. If such would be the case, the forgery cannot be used to "reconstruct" the original document but it might actually contain reliable information about certain events. Pejo Čošković, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 133-135.

²⁰⁷ Dubravko Lovrenović, *Na klizistu*, 318-19; Emir Filipović „Exurge igitur” 226-27

²⁰⁸ Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko-Humski krstjani*, 275.

²⁰⁹ Aloysius Tautu, "Acta Gregorii P.P. XI (1370-1378)," in *Fontes*, Ser. 3, Vol. 12 (Rome: 1966), 459; Dubravko Lovrenović, *Kvadratura kruga*, 120.

The question remains why would the Franciscans turn against the king of Bosnia so soon after Tomaš established good relations with the papacy and after all these years of Bosnian policy of confessional balance, displayed for example during the reign of Tvrtko II? The explanation suggested by the text is that the continuation of the tolerance of heresy after received papal concessions could be interpreted as apostasy.²¹⁰

It is not a secret that the Franciscans wanted to eliminate the Bosnian church from the political life of the kingdom. Their radical measure may be an indicator that they felt that with the ascension of a king who was overcoming his weak position mainly with the papal support, it was the right moment to press him further and to eliminate influences of the Bosnian church from the court for good. However, even given such temptation to swiftly complete the “Catholicization” of Bosnia, would the Franciscans indeed step against relatively non-threatening confession and violate good relations with the monarchy? The “Magiarisation” of the vicary might be a factor that contributed to the conflict, since the Hungarian Observants of the Bosnian vicary would not care much for their relations with the Bosnian court, and the legal Bosnian vicar at that time was Fabian Kenyeres of Bačka. The text suggest however that the Franciscans who refused the sacraments were actually close to the Bosnian court, and those individuals were traditionally on friendly terms with the monarch.

Franciscan presence in Dubrovnik in August 1445 as Tomaš’s envoys indicate at their good relations at that time.²¹¹ In summer 1447 the king asked for the Franciscan chaplains. Refusal of the communion to Tomaš would mean a break of warm relations in the times most difficult for both the monarchy and the vicary. The term of James of the Marches as the vicar of Bosnia actualized friar’s need for the royal support against threats coming from within their own order. At the same time when the Franciscans were supposed to refuse the communion,

²¹⁰ Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani i katarsko dualistički pokret*, 129-30.

²¹¹ John Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 240.

the separatist tendencies in the vicary were already far developed and in less than three years its territory would be effectively reduced to Bosnia and several convents in Dalmatia.²¹²

Accordingly to the letter, it was Pope Eugene who displayed deeper understanding of the Bosnian internal affairs and showed more flexibility than the friars.²¹³ The examples where the Observant friars proved to be more radical than the popes in interconfessional matters can be counted of course, for example, Capistran displayed more zealotry than the popes themselves in regard to the Orthodox.²¹⁴ However, the Bosnian friars, particularly those closest to the court, also opposed radical measures of the Observants in the past.

Since I am not able to decide on the letter's authenticity nor on the refusal of the communion I need to consider the consequences of both eventualities for my narrative. If the letter is not authentic then I doubt that the refusal of the communion had ever happened since other sources indicate at good relations of Tomaš and the Franciscans from Bosnia at that time. However, even if the quarrel would have occurred, then in light of other sources it could not last for long. The discussed letter tells us that the Eugene IV sought reconciliation of both sides through mediation of Tomassini, who due to his legate's authority was certainly able to achieve that. In 1447 the king receives permission for two Observant Bosnian friar chaplains, whom he was allowed to choose. At the same time the crisis of the integrity of the vicary would compel the Franciscans to find reconciliation with Tomaš on their own. Therefore, whether because of

²¹² This will be discussed in extent in the next chapter.

²¹³ Stjepan Krsić "Toma Tomassini" 121.

²¹⁴ For example he criticized the bull that Nicolas V issued for Despot, where he stated that his faith is blameless and granted him right to establish nine monasteries in Hungary. Stanko Andrić, "Saint John Capistran and George Branković", 206. Pope Nicolas V sent a letter to Carvajal, where the pope complains for Capistran who was forcibly re-baptizing the Orthodox in the Kingdom of Hungary. It should be noted that the Pope found those reports about Capistran hard to believe. In any case, he expressed concerns about Capistran's zealotry because it would damage the Christian cause in wars with Turks. At the same time the Pope asks Carvajal to make an investigation, since „all things have their time”. Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 31.

mediatory skills of Tomassini or out of political necessity, the vicary and the monarchy were compelled to find common ground.

2.3 The Ottoman expansion and Kosača's war against Dubrovnik

The marriage of Tomaš and Catharine successfully ended the civil war but not for long. Both the Turks and their vassal, Serbian despot Đurađ Branković (1377–1456), were displeased with the apparently successful peace treaty. While in previous years the Turks invaded the royal domain but left Kosača's territory untouched, in 1448 they plundered both. By improving relations with Branković, Kosača aimed to re-establish his relations with the Turks. In this context, Kosača assumed the title *herceg* of St. Sava, after a famous Serbian Orthodox saint.²¹⁵ Kosača and Branković improved their relations when in 1448 another war started between Serbia and Bosnia for the control over Srebrenica, and Kosača supported the Serbian side. The rich silver deposits of Srebrenica were desired by all powers in the region.²¹⁶

While Tomaš, Branković and the Kosača were at each other's throats, the Ottomans were gradually extending their power in the Balkans. They were also increasing the tributes demanded from both the king and the herceg. While the king still controlled the mines in the central part of Bosnia, the economic situation of Kosača was very weak. While he had access to the Adriatic Sea, Dubrovnik's and Kotor's monopolies in this part of Eastern Adriatic trade route were a huge obstacle for profiting from this access. Kosača promoted the town of Novi

²¹⁵ The elevation of St. Sava, the founder of the Serbian Church in 1219, into the official title of the herceg can be seen as a manifestation of his rapprochement with the Serbian despotate and Orthodoxy. John Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 578.

²¹⁶ In the fifteenth century Srebrenica changed hands many times. The Turks assumed control over Srebrenica in 1439/1440 when Murad II conquered Serbia. In 1443 Bosnia took advantage of Warneńczyk's campaign but in 1444 the Peace of Szeged restored Serbia and later the sultan recognized Srebrenica as part of it. The peace treaty with Kosača allowed Tomaš to his advantage and took Srebrenica in 1446 from the Serbs. Before the end of the year both sides reached an agreement to split the income from silver mining. Neither of them was satisfied with this solution. In 1448 war broke out again and the herceg backed the Serbs with military aid. Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska kraljevina sredinom XV vijeka-kralj Stjepan Tomaš* [The Bosnian kingdom in mid XV century- king Stjepan Tomaš] (Zagreb: Bošnjačka nacionalna zajednica za Grad Zagreb i Zagrebačku županiju, 2016, 76-78, 95).

(today's Herceg-Novi) by issuing various privileges to its inhabitants in the hopes of developing its port facilities.²¹⁷ The tensions between the herceg and Dubrovnik increased and eventually led to war in June 1451.²¹⁸

The armed conflict involved an unexpected number of turning points and sides involved. While his armies were invading Konavli, Kosača's difficult character drove him into a very unpleasant political position at the very beginning.²¹⁹ Tomaš made an alliance with Dubrovnik, while the herceg was backed by military expeditions launched by the Ottomans and the Venetians. The war lasted until April 1454 and while it did not bring about significant political changes it devastated the whole region, especially the herceg's domain. In 1452/53 a plague swept across Bosnia.²²⁰ While the war itself is not of direct interest here, there were a number of documents issued during its course that reflect the contemporary roles of the prominent Bosnian Franciscans. They will be explored in detail in the subchapter dedicated to the Franciscans' role at the court.²²¹

In the early 1450s the Ottomans started to annex parts of the Bosnian territories, particularly the domains of the Pavlovići. In 1451, they established themselves permanently in

²¹⁷ John Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 579; Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska kraljevina*, 101. With the help of the kingdom of Naples he established weaving industry, challenging the contemporary monopoly of Dubrovnik. He also challenged Dubrovnik's salt trade by opening his own salt market and by issuing prohibitions against domestic and foreign merchants. Spahić, *Bosanska kraljevina*, 100.

²¹⁸ Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska kraljevina*, 100-1.

²¹⁹ A girl from Siena, claimed to be of noble birth, was brought to the herceg's court as proposed bride for his son, Vladislav Hercegović Kosača (?-1490). While her beauty impressed Vladislav, the herceg made her his mistress. This led to a family quarrel with his son and wife, who left his court. They were approached by the envoys of Dubrovnik, and Vladislav was persuaded to lead a military rebellion against his father. In November 1451 Tomaš allied himself with Dubrovnik and joined the war on their side but encountered opposition inside the ranks of his own nobility. John Fine *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 580.

²²⁰ Many sought refuge on Dubrovnik's territories and the republic took actions against them. Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 160.

²²¹ The war period is also important for researchers of the Bosnian church. At that time the Ragusan Republic, a party well informed about Bosnia and usually tolerant towards confessional affairs in Bosnia, in a letter to Hungary sent in 1452, portrayed Kosača as perfidious heretic and Pataren, who was destroying churches of God or turning them into stables, and whose men and horses were defiling crucifixes by trampling on them. This example aptly illustrates the function of the previously discussed confession-based language of political exclusion. John Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 253.

Vrhbosna and in the neighboring fortress of Hodidjed.²²² In 1450 or 1451 Serbian control was restored over Srebrenica with Ottoman help.²²³ This “unstoppable” march was finally held up in Belgrade in the summer of 1456. The victory in this battle boosted the morale of the entire Latin Christendom.

At a glance, the spectacular failure of the Ottomans was a very favorable turn of events for Tomaš. However, at that moment Mehmet II realized that further expansion into the Kingdom of Hungary would be very challenging. Instead of pushing through the Hungarian defenses on Danube, the Ottoman expansionism now targeted the weaker southeastern neighbors/vassals of Hungary. Given the critical relationships of the Serbian Despotate and the Bosnian Kingdom with Hungary, they quickly fell victim to the new policy.

The situation was particularly difficult in Serbia. After the death of Đurađ Branković, in December 1456 the despotate entered a phase of dynastic struggles with Ottoman and Hungarian involvement. While the dynastic turmoil in Serbia further increased with the death of Lazar Branković in 1458, Tomaš took part of the Serbian territories along the Drina, including Srebrenica.²²⁴ Shortly afterwards, he entered into a peace treaty with Helen Branković who ruled Serbia after the death of her husband, and she offered her eleven-year-old daughter, also named Helen, to Stjepan Tomašević in marriage. In early 1459 at the gathering of the Hungarian nobility in Szeged, Matthias permitted both this marriage and Tomašević’s rule over Smederevo. The wedding took place in April 1459 and Tomašević assumed the title of despot.

²²² John Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 249; Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 112.

²²³ John Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 579.

²²⁴ John Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 581.

2.4 The fall of Smederevo and the new confessional reconfigurations.

The Ottomans did not allow the Bosnian dynasty to rule in Serbia for long. On June 20, 1459, they seized Smederevo and Tomašević with his wife fled to Bosnia. At the time when this event took place, Pius II invoked a council in Mantua that aimed to organise a great military campaign against the Ottomans. According to *Illiricum Sacrum*, the envoys of the Bosnian king clashed with those of Matthias on that council. The Bosnian envoys requested from Pius II the royal insignia for their king and to establish two or three bishoprics in their kingdom. The Hungarian envoys protested these requests, saying that both were sole prerogatives of the Hungarian king and accused Tomaš of betraying the Christian cause by conspiring with the Ottomans, to whom he sold Smederevo.²²⁵

The story of Tomašević's perfidy spread across Christendom.²²⁶ Contemporary scholarship rejects the existence of a Bosnian-Ottoman conspiracy and this accusation is to be found only in the sources of Hungarian origin.²²⁷ What happened in Smederevo was most likely not a result of ill will but of a necessity; that is, the stronghold was surrendered in the face of an overwhelming enemy.²²⁸ Pius II decided to examine this accusation.²²⁹ Judging from subsequent events the pope was ultimately convinced by the Bosnians.²³⁰ A letter sent by Pius

²²⁵ Daniele Farlati, *Illiricum sacrum* IV, 73.; Tomo Vukšić, "Papa Pio II", 279-80.

²²⁶ Pius II in his *Commentaries* noted "Stephen [Tomaš] who sent ambassadors to Mantua was crafty and shift. Shortly before this [...] he had gone to Matthias, King of Hungary, and concluded a treaty with him, making many promises of aid against the Turks and telling even more lies. At that time the Rascians were having difficulty in resisting the attacks of the Turks and therefore the King of Hungary allowed Stephen's son to take over the defense of strongly fortified town of Smederevo on the Danube. A few months after he entered it he called in the Turks and sold them the town for great weight of gold. [...] The Bosnian envoys however had left Mantua before the betrayal was generally known and it was reported first to the Hungarian ambassadors." Book 3 in Pius II, *Commentaries*, 201.

²²⁷ John Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 575-76.

²²⁸ The Serbian Orthodox inhabitants also might have been unhappy with the introduction of the Bosnian and Catholic dynasty. Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko Humski Krstijani*, 110-13.

²²⁹ On January 18, 1460, Pius II sent a letter to Tomassini urging him to investigate the accusations about Tomaš's contacts with the Turks, and should he find him guilty he was allowed to excommunicate the king. Tomassini received the same letter with a short addition again on April 15, 1460. AB 240-41; Toma Vukšić, "Papa Pio II," 283.

²³⁰ Toma Vukšić, "Papa Pio II," 287-88.

II to Matthias from June 7, 1460, indicates that indeed, new attempts were made for a coronation with the papal crown and the introduction of bishopric(s) to Bosnia.²³¹ As an argument supporting the king's sincerity, constantly challenged by Matthias, the pope both in the aforementioned letter to Matthias and in the *Commentaries* pointed out at the recent expulsion of heretics from Tomaš's realm.²³²

The fall of Smederevo and the expulsion of the Bosnian Church by Tomaš are interrelated. An accusation of the betrayal of the Christian cause particularly at that moment was a heavy burden for Tomaš. In this light the expulsion of the Bosnian Church was an act of desperation to save his reputation in Latin Christendom rather than religious fanaticism. Another possible reason hinted by some Ottoman sources may have been king's desire to seize the lands of those expelled.

The expulsion of the Bosnian Church earned its own place in scholarship.²³³ It raised questions concerning its dating, duration, reasons and the numbers of those expelled. Much discussion was dedicated to three Bosnian "Manicheans" sent in chains to Rome by the bishop of Nin. Pius II in the *Commentaries* described them as "leaders of this heresy, men prominent at court," which was contested since their names are not present in any sources that would

²³¹ Srećko Džaja, "Bosansko srednjovjekovlje," 98-99.

²³² From the *Commentaries*: "the King of Bosnia to atone for having surrendered Smederevo to the Turks and to give proof to his religious faith (or, as many thought, to cloak his avarice), forced the Manicheans, who were very numerous in his kingdom, to be baptized or to emigrate leaving their property behind them. About 12,000 were baptized; forty, or a few more, persisted in their heresy and fled to their comrade in perfidy, Stephan [Kosača], duke of Bosnia. Three of the leaders of this heresy, men prominent at court, were sent in chains to the Pope by the bishop of Nona. [...] He [Giovanni, Cardinal of San Sisto] sent them back reconciled to the King. Two remained steadfast in the Faith; the other, like a dog returning to his vomit, escaped on the way and fled to Stephan." Pius II, *Commentaries*, 366.

²³³ Anto Babić, "Opadanje i Nestanje hereticke crkve" [Decline and disappearance of the heretical Church], in *Iz Istorije Srednjovjekovne Bosne* [From the history of the Medieval Bosnia], ed. Anto Babić (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1972), 287-95; Pejo Ćošković, "Tomašev progon sljedbenika Crkve bosanske 1459" [Tomaš's expulsion of the Bosnian Church in 1459], in *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu; Institut za proučavanje nacionalnih odnosa Sarajevo, 1990), 43-50; Dubravko Lovrenović "Krst i Donator [II]," 36-39; and more.

reflect upon their lives in Bosnia.²³⁴ In Rome they had to renounce fifty errors ascribed to their confession, written up as an abjuration document by Juan de Torquemada (1388 – 1468).²³⁵

The expulsion of the Bosnian Church from its motherland was an effective blow against this institution. *Krstjani* that were not willing to be baptized in the Catholic rite escaped to the herceg's domain. In 1466, Gost Radin was allowed to stay in Venice with "fifty or sixty members of his sect".²³⁶ However, after the expulsion and the subsequent conquest of Bosnia in 1463, the Bosnian Church gradually declined and ultimately disappeared.²³⁷ With the decline of the Bosnian Church the Franciscan vicary and the Serbian Orthodox church both wanted to take advantage of this reconfiguration and effectively both institutions clashed inside the vacuum left by the Bosnian Church. Tomassini in March 1451 wrote to John Capistran that wherever the Bosnian friars go, the heretics "fade away like wax in the sun" and that with sufficient amount of friars Bosnia would be purified of the errors of the Manichaeans'.²³⁸ Gennadius Scholarius in his letter to the monks of Sinai also speaks of the Franciscans converting *kutrugers*: that is the heretics.²³⁹ However, as the letter tells us, David, the

²³⁴ Juraj Kučinić, Stojšav Tvrković and Radovan Vječinić. John Fine, *Bosnian Church*, 270.

²³⁵ The document, known as *Symbolum veritatum fidei romanae ecclesiae pro informatione manichaeorum regni Bosnae*, was written in 1461. The text available in Latin and Croatian translation in Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 294-99. The cardinal interrogated the accused three but he was more willing to rely on the existing ecclesiastic tradition of anti-heretical writings. He also inquired some friars. While the Franciscans seem an obvious choice, some authors raised possibility that those were actually Dominicans, see: Stjepan Kراسić, "Djelovanje dominikanaca" 222-224. The document suggests that the three confessed Dualism in its "strict" form, namely that the Good and the Evil God's are equal to each other in power. This led some authors to believe that in the mid-fifteenth century the Bosnian church modified its beliefs from "moderate Dualism" into its "absolute" form. A few years later Gost Radin wrote his testament, preserved until today in the Dubrovnik archive. The text of the testament, frequently commented upon by the scholars, does not display signs of dualist beliefs. The document gives insight into the internal structure of the Bosnian Church and indicates that Gost Radin believed in "almighty God," the "Indivisible Trinity," and asks to pray for Lord's mercy for his soul. Catholic believers are urged to pray for him as well. The text available in Latin and Croatian translation in Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 359-67.

²³⁶ Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, 118-19.

²³⁷ Until the late sixteenth century there are indications of certain "Krstjani" in Bosnia in Ottoman sources.

²³⁸ "Laboravit et laborat contiuo praedictus Vicaritus cum Fratibus suis ... Et hoc milabile dico P(aternitati) V(estrae) et valde notandum, quod in locis ocupatis per haereticos statim ut Fratres sunt, evanescent haeretici sicut cera a facie ignis." Andrija Zirdum, "Franjevci i Bosansko-Humski Krstijani," 75. "[...] et indubie sperandum est, quod si illi provisum fuerit de religiosis Fratibus, totaliter regnum illud [Bosnae] purgabitur ab erroribus illis Manichaeorum, et illuminabitur fidei veritate." Franjo Šanjek "Kapistranovo doba," 89.

²³⁹ Franjo Šanjek, *Krstjani crkve Bosanske*, 427.

metropolitan of Mileševa, also worked at the court of Kosača to convert *kutrugers* to Orthodoxy.²⁴⁰

A letter sent by John Capistran to Pope Calixtus III on July 4, 1455, illustrates these major confessional reconfigurations.²⁴¹ Capistran protested against Đurađ Branković whom he met in person in Győr, where the plans for a single anti-Ottoman front were prepared. Capistran writes that the despot started to forcibly re-baptize Catholics to Orthodoxy in his lands, including his granddaughter Elizabeth of Celje (1441–1455).²⁴² This and other complaints of Capistran on the actions and beliefs of the Serbs were attached to the letter in the form of eighteen articles. The second point stated that many heretics who heard the Word of God were converted, however, the Serbian metropolitan prevents them from accepting Catholicism and many of these are willing to die without the faith rather than to accept this of the Serbs.²⁴³ In his letter Capistran defined his source of information as “trusted informers,” presumably friars of the Bosnian vicary, thus presenting views that they had on the regional confessional affairs.²⁴⁴ Notably, Capistran identified the Serbian Orthodox as the main antagonists in the region while the Bosnian heretics were seen as predisposed to be faithful Catholics and, thus, as victims of the persecution.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ Franjo Šanjek, *Krstijani crkve bosanske*, 427.

²⁴¹ The text of the letter in Latin and Croatian translation in: Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstijani*, 110-13. Other articles made by Capistran concerned his negative views of the Serbs on Catholic sacraments, feast, feastdays, indulgences, etc.

²⁴² This statement by Capistran is somewhat pretentious. Hunyadi, whose son, Matthias was betrothed to Elizabeth, made an agreement with the despot that Elizabeth will remain Orthodox even after she marries Matthias. Stanko Andrić, „Saint John Capistran and Despot George” *Byzantinoslavica – Revue internationale des études byzantines*, 2016, 208.

²⁴³ “Many of these Bosnian heretics who had followed the faith of the Patarians, on hearing the word of God, converted to the Roman faith, but were prevented from so reconciling by the Metropolitan of the Rascians [Serbians], among others, many of them dying outside of the faith, preferring to do so than to take the faith of the Rascians.” Translation in: Rusmir Mahmutćehajić, *The Praised and the Virgin* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 621.

²⁴⁴ Stanko Andrić, „Saint John Capistran and Despot George”, 205.

²⁴⁵ Stories of plentiful conversions usually appeared when the Franciscans wanted to secure their legal or material situation, playing a role of the argument of persuasion. These sources did not just present Franciscans as particularly gifted preachers but also present “heretics” as surprisingly inclined to be converted. They became a counterargument against the political exclusion and suppression of Bosnia, based on the premise that the medieval Church did not penalize the confessional errors of individuals, whatever they may be, but their persistence in them. The actual efficiency of the Franciscans as preachers is of course difficult to gauge.

After they took Smederevo, the Turks continued their expansion against Bosnia, occupying more places. In April 1460 they demanded from Tomaš military access through his territories. In the face of his difficult relations with Matthias, Tomaš once again turned to Venice, offering his kingdom.²⁴⁶ His offer was rejected but he obtained a promise of support in weapons. At the same time, the Turks pillaged the lands of the herceg, who also asked Venice for help. Venice and the papacy continued its unsuccessful attempts to influence the king and the herceg to broker a peace treaty.²⁴⁷

King Tomaš died in the second half of 1461 and was buried in Bobovac, which is confirmed by archeological excavations.²⁴⁸ There has been much debate on the precise date of his death and circumstances. A story of assassination by his son Tomašević and brother Radivoj spread after his death.²⁴⁹ Current scholarship contests this version of events. A document confirming that in June 1461 Tomaš sent for a doctor to Dubrovnik suggests natural reasons of his death.²⁵⁰

Late in 1461, Stjepan Tomašević ascended the Bosnian throne and was crowned in Jajce with the papal crown by the legate Nicholas of Modruš. The Bosnian monarchy as a political entity was finally included into the sphere of Latin Christendom. On November 7, upon the request of the new king, Pius II established St. Gregory the Miracle Worker as a patron of Bosnia, a saint venerated previously by the Bosnian Church.²⁵¹

It was ironic that a major confessional change in Bosnia was quickly followed by another one. In 1463 the Turks invaded Bosnia and quickly occupied most of the country.

²⁴⁶ Emir Filipović, "Ardet ante", 137, 140.

²⁴⁷ Toma Vukšić, "Papa Pio II.," 289.

²⁴⁸ The tombstone with his coat of arms was discovered by Pavao Anđelić, *Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska*, 207.

²⁴⁹ Orbini tells a story of the alleged cordial relations between Tomaš and the Turks. He wrote that Queen Catharine asked Mehmet II to intervene in the name of her dead husband, a story difficult to believe in light of contemporary sources. Mauro Orbini, *Kraljestvo Slavena*, 187.

²⁵⁰ Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 215.

²⁵¹ MH II, 371.

Tomašević surrendered in Ključ and soon after was beheaded. Queen Catharine managed to escape but her and Tomaš's children were taken captive by the invaders: Sigismund and Catharine were subsequently converted to Islam and Sigismund, as Ishak-bey Kraloğlu, made a career as a high-ranking Ottoman statesman.²⁵²

According to Nicholas of Modruš, the conquest of Bosnia was supported by forcibly baptized Manicheans.²⁵³ An account recounted in the *Commentaries* tells the story of the betrayal of Bobovac by a certain “Radak Manichee.” The story was taken by many Bosnian scholars as an explanation for the supposed mass conversion to Islam of the members of the Bosnian Church pressured by Tomaš, which would explain the phenomenon of the relatively successful Islamisation of Bosnia. This ultimately gave rise to the concept of the “Bogomil betrayal,” more a national myth than a scholarly hypothesis.²⁵⁴

²⁵² Krešimir Regan, *Bosanska Kraljica*, 37.

²⁵³ Giacomo Mercati, “Note varie sopra Niccolò Modrussiese,” in *Opera Minori* 4, *Studie Testi* 79, 218.

²⁵⁴ The islamisation of Bosnia was a longer process which involved all three Christian confessions and not just the Bosnian Church. Additionally, a similar “betrayal” story can be found in one of the Turkish sources from 1465. However, this source speaks of islamised Christians from the Jajce area, who turned on the Turks when king Matthias took Jajce. A year later, Gost Radin was also looking for asylum for himself and other members of the Bosnian Church in Venice.

Chapter 3: The Bosnian vicary during the reign of Stjepan Tomaš.

*But whenever there is anything hard or dangerous
to be done the Curia thinks at once of the Friars minor.*

*Afterwards it forgets all about them and what they
have succeeded in doing. Ah well, we are only Lesser Brothers,
sheep's fit for the slaughter-house.*

John Capistran's letter to Bernardino of Siena, 1440.²⁵⁵

Tomaš's turn towards Catholicism was a harbinger of a flourishing period for the Bosnian Franciscans. New churches and friaries were built and the relationship of the Bosnian monarchy with the papacy was cordial. The previous chapter already dealt with the contribution of the Franciscans to the progress of Catholicism in Bosnia. The presence of the Franciscans in the royal court increased and their high-ranked representatives appeared in the sources in roles previously held by members of the Bosnian Church. The Franciscan order also worked to include Bosnia into a single anti-Ottoman front. However, at the same time, during the first years of the reign of Stjepan Tomaš the Bosnian vicary faced separatist tendencies that challenged its integrity and effectively ripped it apart. This chapter will explore these developments.

3.1 Bosnian vicary between Tomaš, the papacy and the Observant superiors.

The crisis of the vicary was related to the expansion of the Observant movement. The term of James of the Marches as vicar exposed differences between the lifestyle and pastoral ministry in Bosnia and those demanded by the Italian reformers. While James of the Marches

²⁵⁵ John Moorman, *A history*, 469

was resisted by the pragmatic Bosnian Friars, the Dalmatian and the Hungarian parts of the vicary developed strong Observant tendencies.

The involvement of foreign political powers in the vicary's affairs increased the separatism further. Sigismund was eager to use the Bosnian vicary to his own ends. The opportunity arose with the term of James of the Marches.²⁵⁶ The document *Universalis Ecclesiae* was issued upon Sigismund's urge and in 1436 he forced Tvrtko II to allow James of the Marches to work freely. The vicary received numerous privileges at the time when the Visoko-Srebrenica bishopric was still extant in Bosnia, giving potential for overlaps in competition between the two institutions.²⁵⁷ In this way, by exploiting the weakness of the new bishopric, as well as the quarrels of the friars close to the Bosnian court with their own vicar, the Observant movement became Sigismund's instrument of pressure on Bosnia.²⁵⁸

The vicars who followed James of the Marches, John of Waya (vicar in 1438-1444) and Fabian Kenyeres of Bačka (vicar in 1444-1447), continued the Hungarian oriented policy. Their prerogatives as inquisitors were confirmed in documents from 1439, 1445 and 1446, directing them against Hussites in the Kingdom of Hungary and Moldavia.²⁵⁹ The bull *Prae cunctis* from 1446 directed the incumbent vicar, Fabian Kenyeres, against some priests in Hungary who taught that sexual act between unmarried is not a sin.²⁶⁰ The Bosnian vicars fought against the "errors of the Hussites" in the Kingdom of Hungary and Moldavia rather

²⁵⁶ Sigismund was not the first Hungarian ruler to use the friars of the vicary for his own purposes to a greater extent. Louis the Great had a similar attitude, wanting the Bosnian Franciscans to preach in the territories of southeastern Europe under his influence. A story of martyrdom of the five Bosnian friars in Vidin is related to that ambition.

²⁵⁷ The most crucial concessions to the vicary were given in bulls *Piis Fidelium* from 1436, (AB, 156-57), *Sacrae religionis* from 1445 (BF I, 416) and *Dum Salubria* from 1446. These bulls confirmed the missionary privileges that the vicary had already obtained and the right of its friars to elect their vicar. Moreover, the Bosnian vicars were given the prerogatives of the minister general over the Bosnian community, and were allowed to found parish churches and other necessary structures. Secular priesthood was not allowed to disturb the Bosnian friars in their work and were to obey them on the territory of their mission. Bazilje Pandžić, "Djelovanje franjevaca", 259-60.

²⁵⁸ The sermon given by Ivan of Korcula, at that time Bishop of Varazdin, at Sigismund's burial confirms his close, personal ties with the vicary. Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 80.

²⁵⁹ AB, 171; MH II, 223; Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 113.

²⁶⁰ Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 113.

than “errors” of the Bosnian Church. Concessions for new convents were given for Hungarian rather than Bosnian territories. There were even instances that Slavic friars were replaced with Hungarians, a tendency that extended even to Dalmatia and disturbed Doge Francesco Foscari.²⁶¹

These reconfigurations were unacceptable for the Bosnian friars. The bull from January 1445 reports that major conflict broke out in the vicary between the Bosnian and “Sclavi” friars on one side and the Hungarian on the other.²⁶² Each side elected their own vicar and the Hungarians proclaimed their independence. The bull from January 1445 annulled the self-proclaimed Observant Hungarian vicary but it confirmed Fabian Kenyeres of Bačka, favored by the Hungarian side, as the vicar of Bosnia.²⁶³

Meanwhile, the mid-fifteenth century was a period of intensified Observant-Conventual struggle in the order. The Conventuals and the Observants become effectively two separate Franciscan communities. The Conventuals accused the Observants of destroying the order’s integrity while the Observants accused Conventuals of dissent from the original Rule. Representatives of the two branches of the order clashed at the Council of Basel. The papal proposal to appoint Alberto of Sarteano, a determined reformer, on general chapter at Padua in 1443, as the new minister general ended up in a scandal.²⁶⁴ In the same year, Pope Eugene IV nominated two Observant vicar generals, Cismontane John of Capestrano and Ultramontane

²⁶¹ Stanko Josip Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa*, 56.

²⁶² MH II, 225. The author of the *Cronica* reports the conflict in 1444. Bosnian vicar John of Waya was supposed to ask the Hungarian Franciscans to postpone the vicary’s local chapter to elect a vicar, due to an alleged war between Bosnia and Hungary, although no contemporary source confirms a war between Bosnia and Hungary at that time. The Hungarians did not accept his request and one of them, Mijo de Szond, took the vicar’s seal by force. In this way the Hungarian Franciscans proclaimed their independence and elected Fabian Kenyeres of Bačka as their vicar. Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 111.

²⁶³ Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 112. Up until this point Eugene IV favored the integrity of the Bosnian vicary. He also confirmed a number of bulls privileging the vicary during the term of James of the Marches and he vetoed the Hungarian separatism in 1445. It should be noted that from 1441 he had a Bosnian friar as a personal chaplain. Dominik Mandić, *Bogumilska crkva*, 208.

²⁶⁴ John Moorman, *A History*, 451.

John Maubert. The mentioned bull of Eugene IV from January 1445 subjugated the Bosnian vicar under the Cismontane branch.²⁶⁵ The bull *Ut sacra* from 11 January 1446 established those vicars permanently.²⁶⁶

In 1446, on the chapter of the Cismontane Observants in Aracoeli in Rome, James Primadizzi replaced Capistran as the vicar general of this branch of the Observance and he held the office until 1449. Pope Nicolas V wrote him that the Bosnian vicary requires reform so that the Observance would not be extinguished there.²⁶⁷ Primadizzi broke with the policy of maintaining the Bosnian vicary's integrity and took steps in favor of the separatists. During his term as a vicar, the Apulian, Dalmatian and ultimately Hungarian parts of the vicary were removed from the vicary. Primadizzi rendered them to support local Observant communities, possibly taking it as his contribution for the sake of the spread of the Observant movement.

The first part to be taken away was Apulia, where the vicary had custody of St. Catharine. Its convent in Galatina was supplied with a hospital that provided the vicary with places for its elderly and sick brethren from 1391. James Primadizzi decided to transfer this custody to the newly organized Apulian Observant vicary of St. Nicolas. The decision was confirmed by Pope Eugene IV in the bull *Ex iniuncto nobis* issued in August 1446.²⁶⁸ At the end of 1446 or at the beginning of 1447, urged by János Hunyady, Eugene IV also confirmed the Hungarian Observant vicary, giving a legal frame to what was most likely already reality by then.²⁶⁹ In time this new Observant vicary became *Provincia SS. Salvatoris*.

²⁶⁵ AB 189; Stanko Josip Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa* 36-37.

²⁶⁶ John Moorman, *A History*, 452.

²⁶⁷ BF I, 1119; Stanko Josip Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa*, 37.

²⁶⁸ BF I, 446, Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 114; Baziljje Pandžić, "Djelovanje franjevaca", 254-56.

²⁶⁹ The bull establishing the Hungarian vicary by Eugene IV did not survive. Mandić dated the bull to the end of 1446 or the beginning of the 1447. There is a reference to it in the bull of Nicolas V from 10 February 1448, which confirmed the existence of the Hungarian vicary. BF I, 591; Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 116. Approximately a third of Hungarian Observant convents had their roots in the Bosnian vicary. Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *Les Franciscains Observants*, 33.

With the change on the papal throne from Eugene IV to Nicolas V (r. 1447-1455), the Bosnian Franciscans attempted to re-establish their jurisdiction over the lost Hungarian convents.²⁷⁰ Nicolas V, influenced by the Bosnian Franciscans and Legate Tomassini, an irreplaceable ally of the Bosnian friars present at that time in Rome, issued the bull *Cupientes* which stated that the vicary includes the Kingdom of Bosnia and the neighboring lands between the Adriatic and the Drava river.²⁷¹ Moreover, Nicolas V confirmed the earlier privileges that the Bosnian vicary had obtained from his predecessors, including the right to elect their vicar. Tomassini was also confirmed in his duty as a papal legate.²⁷² The Hungarian Observants also wanted the confirmation from Nicolas V, and he confirmed the existence of the Hungarian vicary stretching between the Black Sea and the Sava river.²⁷³ In this way the jurisdiction of both vicaries overlapped between the Sava and the Drava rivers.

On the Adriatic coast the Bosnian vicary had larger and more important possessions than in the Kingdom of Hungary. Its several Dalmatian Observant friaries were organized into the Custody of St. Jerome with its seat in Uglian, mentioned for the first time in the sources in 1436. It also had several friaries on the territory governed by the republic of Ragusa.²⁷⁴ The reform of friaries in Dubrovnik and in nearby Daksa was started by James of the Marches and until 1446 they were governed directly by the Minister General. The custody of St. Jerome developed a strong separatist tendency due to its secondary position in the vicary and the activities of Nicolas of Trogir. Their ambition was to make the Dalmatian Observants

²⁷⁰ Judging by the documents that Nicolas V issued during his pontificate, the new pope did not ascend the papal throne with an established policy regarding the ongoing conflicts between the vicary and the Cismontane vicar. Nicolas's decisions are sometimes internally inconsistent, which may suggest that he was trying to achieve a compromise between the fighting sides, an agenda that in general marked his pontificate. Unfortunately, for the Bosnian friars, from a longer perspective his pontificate sealed the territorial decline of the vicary.

²⁷¹ AB, 203-4.

²⁷² MH II, 237.

²⁷³ BF I, 591.

²⁷⁴ These were located in Ston, Kočrula, Rožat, Slano, Konvalie, Pridvorje. Stanko Josip Škunca. *Franjevačka renesansa*, 126-29.

independent from the Bosnian vicary. Also, in December 1446, the convents in Dubrovnik and Daksa appealed to the pope for not being transferred to Bosnian jurisdiction.²⁷⁵

Initially, Eugene IV in 1437 prohibited the removal of the Dalmatian friaries from Bosnian control, and in 1446 he confirmed the vicary's jurisdiction over five convents in Ragusan republic and Dalmatia.²⁷⁶ However, James Primadizzi managed to convince Nicolas V of his plans and on September 27, 1447, the pope issued the bull *Apostolica nobis* that put the same five convents directly under the Cismontane vicar, as well as any convents that were to be founded there in the future.²⁷⁷ Those convents become a core for future Observant province of St. Jerome.²⁷⁸ The bull indicates that Nicolas V was aware of the role which the Dalmatian convents, especially Dubrovnik, played in the Bosnian vicary's system of provisions and sustenance and in it he assured the right of the vicary to collect alms in Dalmatia and even compelled friars from Dubrovnik to give up part of their income in favor of the Bosnian friars.²⁷⁹

The Bosnian Franciscans protested against this decision and in December 1447 Nicolas V appointed Tomassini to mediate between the sides in the conflict over the five convents and judging from Tomassini's attitude, he was going to return the convents to the Bosnian vicary.²⁸⁰ However, at the beginning of 1448 the pope changed his position and ultimately left the decision to James Primadizzi.²⁸¹ In this way, at the beginning of 1448, the Bosnian vicary's jurisdiction—with much of its possessions in the Catholic lands taken away and many of its

²⁷⁵ Stanko Josip Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa*, 190-91.

²⁷⁶ AB, 160; Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 113. These five convents were Dubrovnik (St. Francis) Daksa (St. Sabina), Zadar (Holy Cross), Kotor (St. Nicolas) and Kampiona on the island of Rab (St. Euphemia).

²⁷⁷ The bull available in Latin and in Croatian translation in: Stanko Josip Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa*, 192-96.

²⁷⁸ Stanko Josip Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa*, 57.

²⁷⁹ Stanko Josip Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa*, 195-96.

²⁸⁰ BF I, 579.

²⁸¹ MSM I, 402; AB 207.

Balkan convents lost to the Turks—was effectively reduced to the Kingdom of Bosnia and a few possessions in Dalmatia.

With the integrity of the vicary broken, the sustainability issues reappeared. Discussed indulgences issued for several Franciscan churches during the reign of Tomaš certainly helped the vicary. King Tomaš issued a special tax for his subjects to be paid for the vicary *vel voluntarie vel invite*.²⁸² In the beginning of 1453 Cismontane vicar Marko of Bologna assembled Bosnian and Dalmatian brethren in convent of the Holy Cross in Zadar in an attempt to reconcile them and to discuss the new challenges to the vicary's sustainability.²⁸³ On 26 January he sent a letter informing the king that according to their rule, the Franciscans can accept only alms given voluntarily.²⁸⁴

The question of jurisdiction over several convents remained open. While those north of the river Sava were out of the Bosnian reach, several individual friaries in Dalmatia became object of quarrel between Bosnian and Dalmatian Franciscans. Apparently some friars in the convent of Dubrovnik remained loyal to the Bosnian vicar and the senate accused them of the usurpation of the convent in the city. The senate also accused vicar Michael of Zadar of seizing two convents with the help of the King of Bosnia. On 9 of July 1452 the pope ordered to unite the convent in Poljud with the vicary and he also allowed it to accept all willing friars of either Observant or Conventual branch, since apparently recent losses of the vicary caused it shortages of missionaries.²⁸⁵ On the 19th of the next year's July, with the mediation of Tomassini, the convents in Dubrovnik and Daksa were (re)united with the Bosnian vicary, and

²⁸² It is debatable who was an author of this idea. I think that the friars of the Bosnian vicar should not be excluded from the picture.

²⁸³ Stanko Josip Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa* 76.

²⁸⁴ AB 217-18; Dominik Mandić *Franjevačka Bosna* 120.

²⁸⁵ Stanko Josip Škunca, *Franjevačka renesansa* 75.

the later choice of friar Philip of Dubrovnik as vicar of Bosnia in 1457 could have been an attempt to reassure the belongings of those two to the vicary.²⁸⁶

These decisions led to further and stronger tensions with the Ragusan friars and officials. Popes Callixtus III in 1455 and Pius II forbade in 1460 taking these friaries away from the Bosnian vicary.²⁸⁷ The Cismontane vicar, Baptist Tagliacarne, presented the issue of the Bosnian vicary's possessions on the Adriatic coast at the Observants' general chapter in Osimo.²⁸⁸ The chapter debated the problem but could not reconcile Bosnia with Dalmatia.

The quarrel continued after Tomaš died in 1461 and was further amplified in 1462, when the Ragusan republic decided to get involved by seizing control not only over the friaries in Dubrovnik and Daksa but over all the others that the Bosnian vicary had on the republic's territory.²⁸⁹ Seeing this development Pius II ordered in 1463 that the Dalmatian and Bosnian vicaries, together with all Ragusan friaries, are to be ultimately united into one vicary at the upcoming Observant chapter in Assisi.²⁹⁰

The first vicar of the united vicary, Bernardino of Aquileia (Bosnian-Dalmatian vicar 1464-67), wrote a chronicle which contains his reflections on the internal strife between Dalmatian and Bosnian friars.²⁹¹ Though at the time of writing Bosnia was taken by the Ottomans and the author assumed a hostile perspective to the Bosnian Franciscans, his chronicle is a valuable reflection on the differences between the two communities and confirms

²⁸⁶ MH II, 266; Dominik Mandić *Franjevačka Bosna* 120; Bazilje Pandžić, "Djelovanje franjevaca 258. This vicar established an educational center for the Bosnian friars in Dubrovnik. Stanko Josip Škunca. *Franjevačka renesansa* 82.

²⁸⁷ Bazilje Pandžić, "Djelovanje franjevaca" 258.

²⁸⁸ BF II, 458.

²⁸⁹ Bazilje Pandžić, "Djelovanje franjevaca", 259.

²⁹⁰ The pope ordered the new Bosnian-Dalmatian vicary to be subject to the Cismontane Observant vicar and governed by the Italian Observant (AB 251-52). The new vicary was created in 1464 at the Observant chapter in Pašman. Its vicar was Bernardino of Aquileia. The Franciscans of the Ragusan convents were prohibited to attend the chapter by the republic even though they were also included in the newly created vicary. The vicary (re)united friars of very different lifestyles and aspirations, was torn by strong internal tensions and ultimately broke up. Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna* 128-31; Bazilje Pandžić, "Djelovanje franjevaca" 261-63.

²⁹¹ More about Vicar Bernardino in: Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 128-31.

assumptions on lifestyle differences as a source of conflict.²⁹² He describes the Bosnian Franciscans as dedicated to pastoral care among the people due to lack of any other priests in their region and closer to the secular sphere, in comparison with friars of Dalmatia who followed teachings they received in Italy and avoided such personal relationship—presumably because they followed Observant teachings on solitude.²⁹³ The author also concludes that a well-functioning union between Bosnia and Dalmatia is impossible because of these differences, and indeed, the history of the united vicary was very turbulent and it collapsed in 1469.

In the course of the “Primadizzi’s offensive,” the Franciscans of the Bosnian vicary even temporarily detached themselves from his authority. Bad experiences with the Observant superiors and conflicts with their Hungarian and Dalmatian brethren certainly contributed to antagonistic views against the Observant authority among the Bosnian friars, especially those closest to the royal court. Already the bull *Eximiae devotionis* from 1446 temporarily exempted the friaries on Vojsalić’s territories from the governance of the Bosnian vicar Fabian Kenyeres and transferred them under that of the legate Tomassini.²⁹⁴ The bull hints at an unspecified conflict between Vojsalić and the vicar.

In spring 1448, after Primadizzi took all three parts out of the vicary, the Bosnian Franciscans took a radical step against him and his Observant office. They sent a list of

²⁹² He described the Bosnian Franciscans as *vires duplices et suspecti*. Bernardino of Aquila, *B. Bernardini Aquilani Chronica fratrum minorum observantiae: Ex codice autographo primum*, ed. Leonard Lemmens (Rome, Vatican, 1902), 104.

²⁹³ “Bosnenses sunt in partibus illis parochiales, et ideo saecularibus continuo conversantur; et ideo, quando ad partes Dalmatiae veniunt, statim totam percurrunt civitate, et hominum et mulierum cito familiaritatem capiunt. Dalmatini vero, qui ad mores Italiae educati sunt, tales familiaritates fugiunt.” *Bernardini Aquilani Chronica*, 104-6; Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna* 107; Jozo Džambo, *Franziskaner*, 247-48. The described lifestyle is consistent with the information provided in *Status locorum vicariae Bosnae*, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

²⁹⁴ MH II, 231; Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna*, 114-15.

complaints against him to Nicolas V.²⁹⁵ They wrote that Primadizzi did not care about them, that he took their convents that played a crucial role in their sustainability and took away many of their learned friars to his newly created “vicary” in Dalmatia.²⁹⁶ They asked the pope to allow them to elect a new vicar that would be directly under the jurisdiction of the general of the order, at that time Antonio Rusconi, a Conventual himself.²⁹⁷ Nicolas V gave Tomassini the authority to inquire about the issue and to do what the friars were asking if he would found their claims justified. Most likely he put the newly elected vicar, Michael of Zadar, under the jurisdiction of Antonio Rusconi.²⁹⁸

In May 1449 the Observant chapter assembled in Florence, and Capistran replaced Primadizzi as the Cismontane vicar. In the following month the general chapter of the Franciscan order assembled in Florence and vicar Michael of Zadar was required to be present. Apparently on that occasion some sort of compromise was reached and Michael accepted Capistran as his superior and in this way the vicary was returned under the jurisdiction of the Cismontane vicar. This is confirmed by Wadding who reports that he had access to a letter inviting Capistran to Bosnia by Michael of Zadar and another letter from February 1451 by Tomassini to Capistran where the latter is referred to as a superior of the Bosnian vicar.²⁹⁹

Apparently the reconciliation with Capistran did not mean radical restrictions of lifestyle for the Bosnian friars. The *Status locorum vicariae Bosnae*, written by the friar Francis de Ageopolo for Pope Nikolas V, gives an insight into the economic situation of the Bosnian

²⁹⁵ The complaints of the Bosnian Franciscans are mentioned by Nicolas V in his letter to Tomassini on 24 October 1448. MH II, 250.

²⁹⁶ “Idemque vicarius [...] nullam erga fratres dictae vicariae Bosnae diligenciam adhibuit, quinimo nonnullas domos dictae vicariae ab eorum praesidio et adiumento subtraxit et regimini fratrum Italiae aggregavit ac in detrimentum eiusdem vicariae aliam in Dalmatia, ex qua multa eis pro sustentatione fratrum et domorum in partibus infidelium existientium commode proveniebant, novam constituit vicariam, fratres quoque nonnullos doctrina verbi partier et exemplo pollentes quibus maxime indigebant, ad alias partes pro voto trasmisit.” MH II, 250.

²⁹⁷ Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna* 115-16; Bazilje Pandžić, “Djelovanje franjevaca”, 58.

²⁹⁸ Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna* 117.

²⁹⁹ Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna* 118.

Franciscans at that time.³⁰⁰ The Bosnian ruler granted them subsidies each year in money and sometimes they borrowed from the nobles as well. They owned oxen and horses and sold flowers and oil in the markets. They employed peasants (*jobagiones fratrum*) too for physical labour. The mining centers are confirmed to have played a crucial part in the vicary's sustainability system in this report. The friars visited seven mining centers inhabited by Catholics and on certain days collected alms in the form of mined ores. The *procuratores* then sold this silver and bought clothes and food for the friars.³⁰¹

The election of Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce (1425 – 1495) as vicar of Bosnia in 1454 illustrates that the tension with the Observant superiors did not vanish.³⁰² In 1454 Roberto spent some time as a preacher in Dalmatia and in the autumn of the same year the Bosnian Franciscans elected him as their vicar. The questionable obedience of Roberto to the Observance might have even been a reason for his election because of Bosnian Franciscan's past troubles with this branch of the Order. However, when the representatives of the Bosnian vicary came to Rome to ask for confirmation for Roberto, they were opposed in the Roman curia by Philip de Massa, an influential Observant.³⁰³ Eventually, Cismontane vicar Mark of Bologna annulled the choice of Roberto. On 16 January 1455 he sent a letter to the vice-vicar

³⁰⁰ Lajós Thallóczy, *Studien*, 411-12.

³⁰¹ Branislav Đurđev, "Rudarstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini u srjedjem vijeku" [Mining in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Middle ages]. In *Radovi sa simpozijuma Rudarstvo i Metalurgija Bosne i Hercegovine od prahistorije do početka XX vijeka*, Zenica: Izdanja muzeja grada zenice, 1999: 198-99; Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *Les Franciscains Observants*, 36-37. De Cevins writes: "En d'autres termes, tout en se disant observants, les frères de Bosnie étaient aussi immergés dans le siècle, sinon plus, que les franciscains conventuels." I would personally rephrase this statement from chronological into geographical terms, stating that both Observants and Conventuals were "immersed in Bosnia" rather than "in the secular world."

³⁰² Roberto started his Franciscan career in his hometown where the Bosnian vicary had the Convent of St. Mary. He was trained there in preaching and early on he presented himself as a devoted Observant. His ambitions grew as well. When in 1452 at the Observant chapter in Aquileia he did not receive the position he wanted, he turned his back on the Observants and became a Conventual, putting his talents in the service of their cause and actually fighting against the Observants. Dominik Mandić *Franjevačka Bosna* 122; John Moorman, *A history*, 483.

³⁰³ One of this representatives was Elia of Požega.

of Bosnia and to the Bosnian friars stating that Roberto's past disobedience to Observant superiors does not allow him to become the vicar of Bosnia.³⁰⁴

The failure of the short-lived Bosnian-Dalmatian union confirms that the missionary pragmatism still obscured the Observant nonconformism in Bosnia. The difference of lifestyle described by Bernardino of Aquileia in his chronicle can be used to understand not only the failure of Bosnian-Dalmatian union but also earlier quarrels and separatist tendencies of the Hungarian and Dalmatian parts of the vicary. The lifestyle based on pastoral ministry and sustainability based on privileged position were both missionary adaptations developed in time and aimed at an ultimate return of Bosnia to the Catholicism and salvation of the souls of those who inhabit it. That was the core of the Franciscan mission in Bosnia and it was something they did not want to give up even in face of the harsh consequences.

3.2 Franciscans and the royal court of Stjepan Tomaš

The royal court was the administrative center of the monarchy. It was a place where the ruler and his entourage made crucial decisions about the country, its policy, economy and other developments. The general changes in Bosnian policy during the reign of Tomaš reflect the changes at the Bosnian court. The court's increased contact with the Roman curia and the Catholic powers required the presence of people capable of mediating between the parties. Moreover, the king's official conversion to Catholicism and its recurrent contestation by his Catholic neighbors required significant changes made to the policy of representation. At the

³⁰⁴ The mentioned vice-vicar is not known by name. Since Roberto was rejected, a vice-vicar was placed to govern the Bosnian vicary as *Commissarius* until the new vicar would be elected by the Bosnian brethren on their next local chapter. Vice-vicar is also referred to in bull *Humilibus supplicum* from 1455. According to Mandić, he was in the office from 1455 until 1457 and was replaced by vicar Philip of Dubrovnik elected that year. Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna* 121-23.

same time the papacy was channeling its influence on the king through people loyal to this institution.

Franciscans were given an opportunity to play an important role at the Bosnian court during the reign of Tomaš.³⁰⁵ Midhat Spahić in his major contribution to the reign of Stjepan Tomaš dedicates a subchapter to the Bosnian court during this reign, though the Franciscans are not explored in particular.³⁰⁶ Anto Babić dedicates a part of his “Diplomatska služba u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni” to the increasing role of the Franciscans at the court, hinting at the idea of replacing Bosnian Church’s members by friars in some of the vital functions for the Bosnian monarchy.

Active diplomacy was one of the most important preoccupations of the royal court. Due to the very nature of this activity, its traces largely survive in material of foreign origin and therefore it is better known than the domestic activities of the Bosnian court. A general problem with the exploration of Bosnian diplomacy, however, is the lack of available information about the diplomats themselves. While Bosnian envoys are frequently mentioned in Ragusan and Venetian material by name, such accounts rarely provide any further personal details.³⁰⁷

Bosnia, like many other medieval monarchies, did not have a permanent organization of diplomatic service.³⁰⁸ The court employed suitable individuals on occasions when it needed them for this service. Various foreign Catholic powers felt comfortable with the Bosnian friars as mediators for their interest in Bosnia itself. The roles of the Bosnian vicars in such cases of mediation was discussed in the previous chapter. The Bosnian monarchy also used friars as diplomatic envoys and sent them to different foreign courts and countries. The first Franciscan

³⁰⁵ Dominik Mandić, *Bogomilska crkva*, 230.

³⁰⁶ Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 223-228.

³⁰⁷ Anto Babić, *Diplomatska služba*, 129.

³⁰⁸ Anto Babić, *Diplomatska služba*, 96.

known from surviving sources, sent by the Bosnian king as an envoy, was friar Stjepan who in 1418 was on a mission in Dubrovnik.³⁰⁹ King Tomaš naturally had his own “professional” diplomats at his service, such as Restoje Milohna or Nicola Testa, but he frequently entrusted Franciscans with diplomatic missions as well.³¹⁰

An initial obstacle in the friars’ co-operation with Tomaš on the level of politics may have been Minister General William of Casale’s 1435 decision to annul any existing concessions for kings, lords, counts and others to have Bosnian friars serving as their chaplains, confessors, or other officials during James of the Marches’ term as vicar.³¹¹ It is not clear how this decision actually affected Bosnia, but whatever the situation was when Tomaš ascended the throne, a legal permission for the friars’ presence at the royal court was reinstated by Pope Nicolas V on June 18, 1447. On the same day, the pope issued three bulls addressed to Petar Vojsalić, King Tomaš and Queen Catharine. The permission praised them for their affection toward Catholicism and upon their request permitted them to employ two friars from the Bosnian vicary to serve as their chaplains.³¹² The friars were permitted to administer the holy

³⁰⁹ Anto Babić, *Diplomatska služba*, 113; John Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 197.

³¹⁰ Restoje Milohna served Tvrtko II and Tomaš until 1451, he was a chancellor and in 1444 was promoted for *protovestiar*. He was sent on diplomatic missions to Hungary, Venice, Dubrovnik. He maintained warm relations with the Roman curia and in 1448 Restoje was taken under the papal patronage. Anto Babić, *Diplomatska služba* 138-140; Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska kraljevina*, 224. Nicola Testa was one of the most experienced and most active diplomats of medieval Bosnia. He was many times entrusted with urgent missions to find international support for Bosnia. He was dispatched to Hungary, Venice, the Roman curia, Milan and more. He probably arranged the assembly in Dobor in 1457. Anto Babić, *Diplomatska služba*, 141-46. There were of course more individuals active at Tomaš’s court, most of them mentioned in Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 224-25.

³¹¹ AB, 149-50.

³¹² “Devotionis tue sinceritas, quam ad nos et Romanam geris ecclesiam, prout semper etiam opere demonstrasti dum te ad orthodoxe fidei unitatem sponte cum Christi fidelibus tui regni reduxisti promeretur, ut petitionibus tuis, quas ex devotionis fervore prodire conspicimus, favorabiliter annuamus. Tuis itaque in hac parte supplicationibus inclinati, devotioni tue, ut duos fratres ordinis Minorum de Observantia regulari ubicunque te illos in vicaria Bosne reperire contigerit, quos ad hoc duxeris eligendos, in tuos Capellanos, quotiens opus fuerit, recipere, illosque apud te tanquam tales in servitiis tuis ad celebrandum missas et alia divina officia tenere, nec non eos ad civitates, villas et loca quecumque, etiam Romanam Curiam, superiorum suorum dicti ordinis licentia non requisita, pro tuis et regni tui necessitatibus libere et licite ducere ac transmittere possis, dictisque fratribus, ut servitiis tuis insistere aliaque singula premissa facere possint et valeant, tenore presentium indulgemus.” The three documents are almost identical. There is no mention of sending the friars to the Roman curia in the bull to Vojsalić. The pope referred to him as being the only Catholic *princeps* in Bosnia, while the royal couple was praised for their conversion. MH II, 235; the bulla for a queen only in Reg. Vat 406. ff 66r-66v.

sacraments and other divine offices and be sent to various places for the benefit of the kingdom, without the permission of their superiors.³¹³

One of the Franciscans promoted as a chaplain, most likely on this very occasion, can be identified. Friar Marino Pribasinović (*Probasinovich*) was an individual very much trusted by King Tomaš and he was actively involved in his service. He appeared as a custos (warden) and chaplain in the document sealing the alliance between Tomaš and Dubrovnik against the herceg in December 1451.³¹⁴ Earlier in 1451 Dubrovnik sent a certain friar to Bosnia to indirectly examine the king's plans and to influence him according to Ragusan interests. The friar was told to contact Marino Pribasinović if he were present at the court.³¹⁵ Friar Marino was also dispatched as an envoy to Dubrovnik earlier in 1451 and then again in 1452, 1455, and 1460.³¹⁶ His missions to Dubrovnik were recorded by the chancellery but unfortunately these documents are inaccessible for me, and therefore remain a subject of further research. In October 1458 Mario was sent to Buda together with Nicolas Testa and king's brother Radivoj to discuss the action against the Ottomans and Tomašević's marriage with Helen.³¹⁷ Most likely he also helped to broker the peace treaty between Tomaš and Petar Vojsalić in summer 1452.

Besides Marino, there were other friars entrusted with diplomatic tasks of different political importance by the king. Friars from the Bosnian vicary served the king as envoys in September 1445 and in May 1460 in Dubrovnik.³¹⁸ In 1456, Tomaš sent friar Elia of Požega,

³¹³ Its a question whether special phrasing regarding no requirements for the superior's permission does not reflect earlier tensions between Tomaš and the „Magyarised” vicary.

³¹⁴ Franz Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica*, 449-50.

³¹⁵ Anto Babić, *Diplomatska služba*, 114.

³¹⁶ DAD, Cons. Rog. XII, fol. 170, 15. XI 1451; Cons. Rog. XIII, fol. 38, 22. VI 1452 and 122, 14. XII 1452; Cons. Rog. XIV, fol. 208, 20. IX 1455; Cons. Rog. XVI, fol. 152, 25. VI 1460; Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 225; Dubravko Lovrenović, *Krist i Donator* [II], 35-36.

³¹⁷ AB, 237; Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 194.

³¹⁸ DAD Cons. Rog. IX. 170, 172, 18.VIII 1445., Cons. Rog. XVI., 137., 6. V. 1460. Again, because of inaccessibility I did not have an opportunity to obtain any details about their missions.

custos of Bosnia to meet with John of Capestrano.³¹⁹ In 1457, friars “Britio de Pannonia” and “Demetrio de Albania” were sent by Tomaš to Callixtus III to obtain the banner of the Holy See and the holy cross.³²⁰

Foreign powers realized the increasing influence of the Franciscans in Bosnia. They chose their own loyal friars to become diplomats in Bosnia. Given their general mobility, the friars were suitable agents and they could avoid unwanted attention. Sometimes foreign friars simply functioned like spies. In this way or another, foreign Franciscans became frequent diplomatic guests at the Bosnian royal court. In 1446 King Alfonso V of Aragon, plotting to seize the Hungarian crown, dispatched two Franciscans who on their way to Hungary asked Tomaš to give Drijeva to Alfonso to secure his access to the Hungarian kingdom.³²¹ In 1451 the Ragusan republic was looking for allies against the herceg and dispatched Friar Mihailo, who pretended to be uninformed about the current political situation, tried to make Tomaš reveal information about his current relations with Kosača.³²² In 1456 the Ragusans sent Friar Ilija Bogišić to Tomaš as a secret envoy, urging the king to take care of Vlatković who was expelled from his domains.³²³ The person put in charge of organizing and preaching the crusade in Bosnia in 1457 was an Observant, Mario of Siena. Also the Franciscans of the Bosnian vicary were likely to be engaged in the diplomatic moves that dealt with Bosnia only indirectly, for example, in 1452 the vicar of Bosnia was sent to Dubrovnik as an envoy of Pietro Talovac.³²⁴

³¹⁹ AB 227-28. The purpose of Friar Elia remains unspecified in the preserved letter. Spahić argues that given the circumstances, it could be about the Tomaš's attitude towards the Ottomans. Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska kraljevina*, 173.

³²⁰ MH II, 296-97.

³²¹ Sima Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan*, 91.

³²² DAD Lett. di Lev. XV, 172, 1451; Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska kraljevina*, 119.

³²³ Sima Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan*, 224.

³²⁴ Dubravko Lovrenović, *Na klizistu*, 308.

The Franciscan role at the royal court during the reign of Tomaš was not limited to participation in diplomatic missions as envoys to foreign countries. Unfortunately, further research is dependent on scanty material and speculations. Sources from the time of the war that started in 1451 between Dubrovnik and Herceg Kosača shed light on further Franciscan involvement in Bosnian politics. It is this material that suggests that high-ranking Franciscans in the vicary, in cooperation with the papal legates, took on roles that were traditionally the responsibility of the Bosnian Church: that is mediation between the ruler and his noblemen (or Dubrovnik) and as guarantors of charters.³²⁵

The Bosnian Church, by mediating the content of the charters and by guaranteeing their fulfillment, positioned itself as a pillar of the political stability in Bosnia. Given its discrimination as heretical it could not serve as mediatory in the foreign policy of Bosnian rulers. Dubrovnik, however, tolerated Bosnia's confessional dissent for the sake of its mediatory potential. The Franciscan vicary, by gradually gaining trust in the court and among the Bosnian nobility, presented itself as a substitute to the Bosnian Church in this field. As evidenced in the sources, during the reign of Tomaš, Franciscans dominated over the Bosnian Church in cases of mediation between the kingdom and Dubrovnik.

The willingness of both institutions to play the role of the guarantor in the mid-fifteenth century is indicated by the previously discussed deposit of silver available upon a document signed by the “monks either of the Roman or the Bosnian faith.”³²⁶ In 1434—so before Tomaš ascended the throne—vicar Ivan of Korčula guaranteed the document issued by Juraj Hrvatinić that rendered the territories west of the Neretva taken by Sandalj Hranić to the Jurjević brothers.³²⁷ There is little doubt that this role became an object of actual rivalry between the

³²⁵ Anto Babić, “Hereticka crkva”, 284. The two roles are naturally interrelated.

³²⁶ Ljubomir Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje*, 516.

³²⁷ Franz Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica* 377-79; Dominik Mandić *Bogomilska crkva*, 489.

two organizations. According to surviving material, the Bosnian Church acted as a guarantor of the royal charter for the last time in 1446.³²⁸ However, because of the confessional changes there was less and less room left for the Bosnian Church to manoeuvre. It could no longer maintain its former functions in the monarchy. The vicary remained a suitable organization to take this role. To explore this phenomenon I will examine the documentation coming from the period of war that started between Dubrovnik and the herceg.

The sources examined are the alliance treaty signed between Tomaš and the Ragusan republic from December 1451,³²⁹ two papal documents confirming the peace treaty negotiated in spring 1452 between Tomaš and Vladislav Klesić and Petar Vojsalić,³³⁰ the peace treaty between the herceg and his family from July 1453,³³¹ and finally the peace treaty between the herceg and Dubrovnik from April 1454.³³² I will not discuss the significance of these documents with regard to the course and the consequences of the war but I will focus on role of the Catholic and the Bosnian Church's clergy in their creation.

Chaplain Marino Pribasinović was one of the main authors of the alliance between Tomaš and Dubrovnik. In November 1451 he participated in negotiations in Dubrovnik where he managed to get consent for some conditions made by Tomaš.³³³ The document sealing the alliance was signed on December 18, 1451, in Bobovac, and Tomaš and his son made an oath to fulfill its articles—to enter war without hesitation, to call to war all his subjects, and to force

³²⁸ Franz Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica*, 440.

³²⁹ Franz Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica*, 447-50.

³³⁰ MH II, 265-66.

³³¹ Franz Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica*, 457-60.

³³² Franz Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica*, 465-69.

³³³ DAD, Cons. Rog. XII, fol. 170, 15. XI 1451; Anto Babić, "Diplomatska služba" 114.

territorial concessions from Kosača —“in the presence of the father legate bishop of Hvar and the father *custos* and the chaplain Marino.”³³⁴

However, Tomaš was initially reluctant to join the war and two of his noblemen, Vladislav Klesić and Petar Vojsalić abandoned him. This disagreement led to war among them but it was quickly put to an end via the mediator of Tomassini and the Bosnian Franciscans. A peace treaty was reached and in the end, the two nobles confirmed their vassalage to Tomaš and joined him in the war against Kosača.³³⁵ On July 1, 1452, the pope issued two documents confirming peace treaties, one with Vladislav Klesić and the other with Petar Vojsalić.³³⁶ The latter reveals valuable information about the circumstances of this reconciliation. Tomassini and friars Nicolas of Apulia and Mario de Canali persuaded Voivod Petar Vojsalić to come to Tomaš in person.³³⁷ Vojsalić confirmed his fealty before his king and the assembled Bosnian nobility and invoked Tomassini and both Franciscans as guarantors (*fideiussores*) of his oath. In the same document the pope entrusted Tomassini, the Bosnian vicar, the aforementioned *custos* of Bosnia and their successors to secure and to maintain the peace treaty by any means necessary.³³⁸

While Tomassini and the Franciscans were involved in peace negotiations, as well as its guaranteeing and observance in the service of the king, the Bosnian Church fulfilled the

³³⁴ “Koi zapis’ mi gospodin’ Stipan’ Tomaš’ kral’ više rečen i sin’ mi knez’ Stipan’ zavezasmu se i rotismo prid’ otcem’ ligatom’ biškupom’ hvar’skim’ i prid’ ot’cem’ kuštodom’ i kapelanom’ Marinom’.” Franz Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica*, 447-50.

³³⁵ MH II, 265-66; Dominik Mandić, *Franjevačka Bosna* 119; Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 140-41.

³³⁶ MH II, 265-66.

³³⁷ Marino de Canali mentioned in the document was most likely Marino Pribasinović, since he is referred to as *custos Vicariae Bosne*. Nicolas of Apulia also appeared in a source when he was appointed as a deputy of Vicar Philip of Dubrovnik. MH II, 291. The pope credited the Franciscans in particular, writing “[...] custodibus Vicarie Bosne iuxta morem dicti ordinis, id procurantibus, pacem et concordiam inter se muerunt et fecerunt.” MH, II, 265.

³³⁸ “Mandamus insuper Episcopo, Vicario Bosne ac custodibus predictis, eorumque successoribus, quatenus ipsi vel aliqui seu aliquis eorum per se vel alium seu alios, quotiens pro parte dictorum Regis, comitis Stephani et Petri, vel alicuius eorum desuper fuerint requisiti, seu aliquis eorum fuerit requisitus, pacem, concordiam et contenta per censuram ecclesiasticam, et alia iuris remedia auctoritate apostolica inviolabiliter observari faciant.” MH II, 266.

same functions in the service of Herceg Kosača.³³⁹ The herceg signed a peace treaty with his family in July 1453 which guaranteed a return to *ante bellum* conditions. It was guaranteed by the “Lord Djed of the Bosnian Church and the twelve *stroiniks*, among which *stroiniks* would be Gost Radin for his lifetime.”³⁴⁰ Some scholars argue that the service of the Bosnian Church for the herceg indicates that the persecution initiated by Tomaš had already taken place by this time, and the leaders of the Bosnian Church had been expelled from Bosnia and found shelter in the herceg’s domain.³⁴¹ This opinion, however, is frequently considered to be outdated in favor of connecting the persecution to the fall of Smederevo. Ultimately, the herceg sought a peace treaty with Dubrovnik to end the war. Already in spring 1453 Radin was sent there to negotiate. In August of the same year Gost Radin was rewarded with 400 ducats by the Ragusan council for his mediatory role. The transfer of such a great sum has led some scholars question Radin’s loyalty to the herceg.³⁴² The agreement restoring the *ante bellum* conditions was eventually signed in April 1454.³⁴³

Other than the expulsion of the Bosnian Church from the royal domain, the clear division between the Catholic and the Bosnian Churches on both sides of the conflict may indicate the intentional removal of the latter from its former functions in the kingdom in favor of the Franciscans.³⁴⁴ This shift should be understood as part of Tomaš’s policy regarding his

³³⁹ Anto Babić, “Hereticka crkva” 285.

³⁴⁰ Translation of this part of the document in John Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 254.

³⁴¹ Anto Babić, “Otpadanje i nestanak hereticke crkve”, 292.

³⁴² In November 1455, Gost Radin was granted a house in Dubrovnik as well. Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 257. Some researchers, usually those who give credit to the Dualist interpretation of the Bosnian church, argue that activities of Gost Radin are a manifestation of a decadent atmosphere in the Bosnian church in its last years.

³⁴³ Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica*, 465-69. It should be noted that this and the document from 1453 contains invocations of Christ. In a document from 1453 the herceg swore on the “Lord God almighty father and the son and the holy spirit and in the pure Mother of God, holy virgin Mary and in the strength of the pure and life-giving Lord Christ” [zaklinam se v’ gospodina Boga vsedržitelja ot’ca i sina i svetago duha i v’ prečistu ego Bogomater’ svetu dievu Mariju i v’ silu č’stnago i zivotvoretago Kr’sta gospodina.] The opening of another document, from 1454, clearly contains an orthodox confession: “God [...] sent his only son to great suffering so that his [people] shall be saved from sins” [Bog’ [...] poslao svoga edinago sina u velicneh’ mukah, da svoe izbavi iz grieha]. While Radin was involved in the creation of this document, it should be noted that neither he nor any member of the Bosnian Church is actually mentioned in the document. Franz Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica*, 465-69; John Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, 256.

³⁴⁴ Anto Babić, “Hereticka crkva”, 284-85.

reputation among the Catholic rulers, while the herceg—by maintaining the “traditional” policy of the confessional balance—used the situation to profit from the “resources” that Tomaš could no longer use. It should not be forgotten that the diplomatic service of Radin saved the herceg from a very difficult situation.

During Tomaš’s reign there was some room for both the vicary and the Bosnian Church to serve as mediators on the level of local nobility. In this case the involvement of the vicary or the Bosnian Church depended on whether the parties that were involved in mediation mutually trusted either of them. Both of them are documented as mediating important agreements for royal subjects.³⁴⁵

At the end of this subchapter I will examine one more role that the Bosnian Franciscans could undertake in the royal court, namely, working as confessors. In the Middle Ages it was very popular to employ friars as permanent confessors in royal houses. It is difficult to imagine Tomaš’s turn towards Catholicism without receiving sacraments, including confession. It is also difficult to imagine that the Franciscans would not attempt to introduce this function permanently.

Unfortunately, while exploring previous roles was at least supported with scanty material, finding out more about the confessors remains speculative. No sources indicate directly whether Tomaš had any permanent confessor or not. The papal document from 1447, which allowed the king to employ two Observant chaplains, allowed them to celebrate masses and *alia divina officia* in the royal service.³⁴⁶ However, neither this document nor any other

³⁴⁵ Early in November 1451 Friar Francesco mediated between Bartol Gučetić, Danjan Sorkočević and Ivaniš Vlatković in Ston. Sima Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan*, 170. In 1454, Gost Radosav Bradljević guaranteed an agreement between Petar Pavlović and the Ragusans. Dominik Mandić, *Bogomilska crkva*, 232.

³⁴⁶ MH II, 235.

ones accessible for me mention confessors. It should be noted that in the Middle Ages the same person could be both chaplain and confessor.³⁴⁷

The sacrament of personal confession is an almost intimate one, requires mutual trust between the confessor and penitent. It was a great elevation to become a royal confessor and at the same time, the confessor had a powerful influence on penitent. Such bond of trust manifested itself many times outside the context of the ministry of the sacraments. For example, Gabriel de Paly, vicar of the Hungarian Observants and confessor and trusted adviser of King Matthias, is confirmed to have been enlisted for diplomatic tasks too.³⁴⁸ Considering the active role that Marino Pribasinović played in the royal diplomacy, the possibility that he was a royal confessor should not be excluded. Further research in the Dubrovnik archive is necessary to support this speculation with evidence.

The increasing role of the Franciscans at the royal court was interrelated with Catholicism's spectacular advances in Bosnia during Tomaš's reign. Members of the order clearly participated in shaping and conducting the royal policy. Within the temporal scope of this thesis, the Franciscans, together with Legate Tomassini, won over the roles traditionally ascribed to the Bosnian Church at the court. Royal chaplain Mariono stands out as being a particularly influential individual at the royal court. Not only was he frequently entrusted with diplomatic missions but the importance at least of two of them—the mediation in forming the alliance with Dubrovnik in 1451, and his mission in Buda in 1458—is indicative of the utter political importance of Tomaš's reign.

³⁴⁷ John Mooman, *A history*, 364.

³⁴⁸ Norman Housley, *Crusading and the Ottoman threat 1453-1505* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 137.

3.3 Bosnia as *Antemurale Christianitatis*, Tomaš as *miles Christi* and the Franciscans.

The organization of the crusade that would put an end to the Ottoman expansion in the continent was one of the major projects of fifteenth-century papacy.³⁴⁹ To materialize its efforts, the Curia needed people capable to kindle the crusading zeal to increasingly cynical or indifferent Catholic lords and princes. The lower layers of Christian society were also addressed by calls for Crusade in the fifteenth century.³⁵⁰ The papal court considered the Franciscan Observants as being best suited for the task. Initially, the Observants were reluctant to commit themselves to this cause but the need for papal support in their struggle against the Conventual brethren and in some other contemporary controversies compelled them to take up the crusading task. As early as in 1443 Eugene IV put Bernardino of Siena in charge for the collection of revenues to finance papal naval expenses.³⁵¹

The efforts increased significantly after the fall of Constantinople, and even more so when Alfonse de Borja took the papal throne as Calixtus III (1378 – 1458, pope from 1455). Calixtus III, a pope of Valentinian origin, believed that the Crusade was the solution to defeat the Muslim armies. He organized the papal navy and issued the bull *Cum his superioribus* (or *Bulla Turcorum*) to promote the crusading cause through the Catholic liturgy. More importantly, surviving papal briefs suggest that a few weeks after he ascended the papal throne

³⁴⁹ While speaking of Bosnia in 1444, Pope Eugene IV realized the necessity of a crusade in securing the unification efforts. Two letters by Eugene IV from January 25 and April 17, 1444 in: Čošković, *Bosanska kraljevina*, 183-87.

³⁵⁰ The Church in the fifteenth-century was aware that it could not solely depend on kings and princes in their crusading plans so preachers turned to lower layers of the Christians society. The army brought by John Capistran to Belgrade consisted mainly of commoners. Such crusaders would not only strengthen the ranks of the Christian armies but would also press their ruler to ultimately fulfill their crusading promises.

³⁵¹ Norman Housley, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat*, 136.

he began to organize an enterprise of crusade propagation based on preaching, publications and collections, and he entrusted it largely to the Franciscan Observants.³⁵²

In 1455 he wrote to the Observant chapter of Bologna and ordered them to elect six friars responsible to preach the Crusade. From this point on more appointments as legates, nuncios and collectors were made from among the ranks of the Franciscans and they were sent to different parts of the Catholic world.³⁵³ In time, each of the four “pillars of the Observance” preached the crusade, including the initially reluctant John Capistran, whose efforts largely contributed to the victory in the Battle of Belgrade.³⁵⁴ In August 1456 Cismontane vicar Baptista de Levante was nominated as commissioner to ensure the sustenance of the brethren who have taken the cross, and in 1458 he was entrusted to work out how to reconcile the transgression of the Franciscan rule with this papal initiative.³⁵⁵

The recent Bosnian turn to Catholicism and its “bulwark” position on the Ottoman frontier conceptualized Bosnia as the *antemurale* of Christendom.³⁵⁶ It is ironic that the country which experienced such confession-based exclusion now became the “shield” of Latin Christendom. The strategic importance of Bosnia in Ottoman-Catholic struggles became an important part of the rhetoric used by the promoters of the crusade in the fifteenth century, above all, by the papacy.

³⁵² Norman Housley, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat*, 138-40.

³⁵³ John Moorman, *A History*, 519.

³⁵⁴ Norman Housley, “Giovanni da Capistrano”, 94-95.

³⁵⁵ Norman Housley, *Crusading and the Ottoman threat*, 137-40.

³⁵⁶ *Antemurale* was a concept applied to Christian countries positioned on the border zones between the “Christian commonwealth” and expansive non-Christian superpowers, such as the Mongols or the Ottomans. In diplomacy the *antemurale* concept was usually enlisted to mobilize fellow Catholic powers to help their bulwark brethren. It exploited the sense of threat that the expansion would not stop at the “current” *antemurale* countries but would progress beyond, to other parts of the Christendom in a “domino effect.” Not many studies have been done on the Bosnian position as an *antemurale* kingdom in the Middle Ages, or what this meant for Bosnia in theory and in practice. In time the diplomatic *antemurale* conceptualization of medieval Bosnia as “shield” changed to “gate.” On the significance of this change see: Emir Filipović, “The Key,” 156.

Tomaš did not remain indifferent to the power of the *antemurale* concept and instrumentalised it into his own diplomatic rhetoric. The Ragusans who kept him informed about the progresses of the Catholic fleet already perceived him as part of the Anti-Ottoman front.³⁵⁷ In light of the fight against “unbelievers and heretics,” Tomaš bought himself the favor of the papacy.³⁵⁸ Tomaš’s efforts to portray himself as the defender of Christianity played a double role. On one hand, it was an attempt to mobilize Catholic military aid, inherent to have any chance in fighting with the Ottomans; on the other hand it still has to be understood in the light of Bosnian confessional emancipation, contested by Tomaš’s opponents. Persuading the Catholic world about the sincerity of his faith was one of the main priorities for Bosnian diplomacy.

In the meantime, the Turkish pressure on Tomaš was increasing. After the conquest of Constantinople the sultan increased the required annual tribute to 160 000 ducats.³⁵⁹ In the summer of 1456 the sultan was preparing for a major invasion against Hungary and he expected that Tomaš would join him with his army and that he would give him four towns of strategic location in his kingdom.³⁶⁰ The sultan’s defeat in the Battle of Belgrade did not relieve his pressure on Bosnia for long. On the contrary, Tomaš’s absence on the sultan’s side in the battle worsened their relations. At the beginning of 1457 the Ottomans already garrisoned the frontier with significant army and artificers.³⁶¹ It was clear that the policy of delaying the Ottomans by

³⁵⁷ Dubravko Lovrenović, *Na klizistu*, 287.

³⁵⁸ For his efforts against the “Manichean heretics” and Turks 1450 Tomaš received concessions for his army that were reserved for the crusaders and in 1455 he obtained papal protection for himself, his successors and their possessions. The Holy See’s protection for his dynasty was granted by Calixtus III, and on the same day (April 30 1455) he also secured the belongings of several Dalmatian friaries for the Bosnian vicary. MH II, 256, 271-72.

³⁵⁹ Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska kraljevina*, 181.

³⁶⁰ According to the letter sent on February 1456 to John Capistran by János Koroghi, ban of Mačva, the sultan planned a great invasion against Belgrade and summoned Tomaš together with Herceg Kosača and Petar Vojsalić to support his army, but none of them came. The author also stated that Tomaš was the source of his information. The demand for four towns was a particularly heavy burden for Tomaš, which was manifested in his diplomacy and used in *antemurale* narrative, since their strategic location could define them as „gates” to Christendom. One of them was Bistrički, one day away from Split. Béla Pettkó, ed. *Kapisztrán János levelezése a magyarokkal* [John of Capistran’s correspondence with the Hungarians] (Budapest, 1901), 193-94; Anto Babić, “Diplomatska služba,” 94-95; Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 174.

³⁶¹ Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 179.

paying tribute would soon lead to the annexation of the whole of Bosnia. The Battle of Belgrade increased the belief that the crusade was the solution that would reconfigure the political situation in Southeastern Europe.

The information about military preparations in Bosnia, brought to the Roman curia by friar Nicolas of Šibenik, stoked the interest of Calixtus III. On April 23, 1457, the papal legate in Hungary, Juan Carvajal, was ordered to meet Tomaš.³⁶² According to this papal letter, Tomaš was willing to enter into war with the Ottomans and asked Calixtus III for the crusading banner and the holy cross for the Christian army.³⁶³ The same request was repeated in June 1457 by friars Britio de Pannonia and Demetrio de Albania.³⁶⁴ Tomaš's ambition to organize the ultimate crusade against the Ottomans, at least as presented in papal sources, clearly surpassed the military potential of Bosnia but it made a good impression on the pope who, in the letter from June, called Tomaš *miles Christi*.³⁶⁵

In these mediations between the royal court and the Roman curia, the Franciscans played a significant advocating role in favor of the Bosnian monarch, contributing to his positive image among the promoters of the crusade. Friars Marino of Siena and Paulo of Ragusa assured the pope about the sincerity of the decision to dispatch his army in September and Britio de Pannonia and Demetrio de Albania also spoke of him in a positive tone.³⁶⁶ Although they were not the friars of the Bosnian vicary themselves, their opinions about Tomaš's

³⁶² MH II, 292.

³⁶³ I assume that the symbolic meaning of this cross was the same as the one blessed by Calixtus III "with the greatest devotion and floods of tears" and given to Capistran by Carvajal on 14 February 1456 in Buda, together with the commission to raise crusaders: Norman Housley, "Giovanni da Capistrano," 97. Carvajal was ordered to examine the case and decide about the cross and the banner.

³⁶⁴ MH II, 296.

³⁶⁵ MH II, 298-99; Dubravko Lovrenović, "Utjecaj Ugarske," 86.

³⁶⁶ "Britio de Pannonia et Demetrio de Albania [...] missi in Christo filio nostro Rege Bosne illustri, et multa nobis retulerunt de fide et devotione ipsius Regis erga nos et religionem christianam, et de de optimo ac laudabili proposito sue Serenitatis prodeundi viriliter in Turcos." MH II, 296-97.

sincerity were certainly influenced by their contacts with it. The necessity for king's support for the vicary's legal claims at least partly stood behind all this verbal praises.

In the summer of 1457, Tomaš met with Carvajal in Dobor. The assembly was documented by Venetian envoy Petrus Thomasy and it is his report that gives insight into how Tomaš used the *antemurale* rhetoric in his negotiations with the legate. Tomaš complained about his own difficult situation, telling the legate that the sultan demanded four major towns, the pillars of the Bosnian kingdom, one of which was described as a key to Hungary and the other as a key to Dalmatia, because he considered his realm to be *la principal porta de christiani*.³⁶⁷ On that occasion, according to Pius II, Tomaš was also baptized in a Roman rite by the cardinal.³⁶⁸ Tomaš most likely made a good impression on Carvajal, but shortly afterwards he had to abandon his task in the region and begin to work on the peace between Hungary and the Roman Emperor.³⁶⁹ During the same summer, Tomaš send Nicolas Testa to Rome, Naples, Venice and Milan to announce the threat that the Turks would become to them if the Bosnian kingdom fell.³⁷⁰

The diplomatic efforts ultimately proved to be fruitless. The Kingdom of Hungary was torn up by internal conflicts soon after the Battle of Belgrade and Venice decided not to get involved in a war with the Ottomans for the sake of Bosnia. In July, Calixtus III wrote to the Venetian doge Francesco Foscari about the necessity of military aid for Bosnia and ordered the money collected in Dalmatia for crusading cause to be sent to Tomaš for his fight with the Ottomans. In September, he ordered that money already collected in Dalmatia for the crusade

³⁶⁷ Vilmos Fraknói, "Kardinal Karvajal u Bosni 1457" [Cardinal Carvajal in Bosnia in 1457], *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu*, 1 (1890): 9-12; Filipović, "The Key," 156.

³⁶⁸ Vilmos Fraknói, "Kardinal Karvajal," 10.

³⁶⁹ Vilmos Fraknói, "Kardinal Karvajal," 10; Lino Gómez Canedo, *Don Juan de Carvajal, cardenal de St. Angelo legado en Alemania y Hungaria (1399??-1469)*, [Juan Carvajal, Cardinal of St. Angel, legate in German and Hungary (1399??-1469)] (Madrid: Instituto Jeronimo Zurita, 1947), 185.

³⁷⁰ Anto Babić, "Diplomatska služba," 95.

thus far should be divided among the Kings of Hungary and Bosnia and Sandenberg.³⁷¹ However, when Nicola Testa was in Venice, the republic declined his request for money.³⁷²

In this way, help from the Catholic countries ultimately materialized neither in military nor in material form. In April 1458, Petrus Thomasy reported to Venice that Tomaš made peace with the sultan and paid tribute.³⁷³ In October 1457, Calixtus III called James of the Marches to urge the kings and electors of the empire to send their envoys to Rome and discuss anti-Ottoman plans.³⁷⁴ The plans for a united council of Catholic rulers that would conclude a grand plan to destroy the Ottomans was taken over by Pope Pius II in Mantua, where Bosnian envoys were present. However, the council ultimately proven to be the greatest disappointed of Pius II's pontificate because the Catholic rulers were too reluctant to form any joined military action.³⁷⁵

It is questionable whether Tomaš was actually ready for personal participation in military operations at any point. Tomaš's military forces in different periods were primarily preoccupied in actions directed against the king's nearest enemies, Kosača and Despot Đurađ, both vassals of the Sultan. Tomaš obviously hoped for the defeat of the Turks but the fear that the crusade would fail to materialize or succeed, bringing about the wrath of the Turks, was a justifiable worry of King Tomaš. That the king was not willing to enter into war on his own is confirmed in a report of questionable dating sent to Carvajal by the Dominican Nicolas Barbucci, who visited Jajce.³⁷⁶ Nicolas reported that the king would not attack the Turks on his

³⁷¹ MH II, 297; MSM I, 426; Emir Filipović, "Exurge igitur," 235.

³⁷² The only thing actually achieved by the Bosnian diplomacy in Venice was that the republic would allow the royal family to find refuge on its territory in case of the large scale Ottoman invasion. Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 185.

³⁷³ MSM I, 114.

³⁷⁴ AB, 233-34.

³⁷⁵ Tomo Vukšić, "Papa Pio II", 278.

³⁷⁶ The report does not contain a date and therefore the dating remains speculative. Thalloczy dated it to 1457-60 but Ćirković identified the visit of the Ragusan envoys at Tomaš's court mentioned in the report to May 1456, so before Carvajal visited Bosnia in person. Spahić dates it to May 1458. Lajós Thalloczy, *Studien*, 415-16; Sima

own because he feared the “Manicheans” who were in majority in his kingdom and who preferred the Turks over the Christians. This report completes the image illustrating how Tomaš exploited a complex confessional and difficult strategic situation of his kingdom to optimize his diplomatic position and at the same time avoid bowing too much “before the rank”.³⁷⁷ Therefore Tomaš’s *antermurale* rhetoric needs to be understood in light of raising external support rather than readiness for personal commitment, as was the case for most of the contemporary southeastern Hungarian landowners and officials.³⁷⁸

During the reign of Tomaš different tasks in crusade matters were given to various papal representatives of different legal status, including Iohannes de Gradis,³⁷⁹ Marino of Siena,³⁸⁰ John of Navarra,³⁸¹ Archbishop of Split Lovre,³⁸² and of course Juan Carvajal. The concessions relevant for the present discussion, were those granted to Marino of Siena in 1457 and renewed in 1459. He was commissioned to preach and to collect money for the crusade in Bosnia and

Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države* (Beograd: SKZ, 1964), 312, 381; Midhat Spahić, *Bosanska Kraljevina*, 173-74.

³⁷⁷ Emir Filipović argues that Tomaš’s crusade against the Ottomans did not materialise primarily because financial support was refused to him. But even if he had received aid, Tomaš’s military power could not match the Turks, and he was certainly aware of that. Emir Filipović, “Exurge igitur”, 234-35.

³⁷⁸ Norman Housley, “Giovanni da Capistrano”, 110.

³⁷⁹ Iohannes de Gradis was a soldier from Dubrovnik. At the beginning of 1457 he was sent to Hungary and Bosnia where he had to act in matters of crusade and he was carried various papal bulls for this end. These were taken from him when he was taken captive by a Bosnian nobleman called *Tuercho Stanzith* (Tvrtko Stancić?) in the source. Callixtus ordered Tomaš to release Iohannes, and Bosnian vicar Philip of Ragusa to take care of him. MH II, 290-91; Antonin Kalous, *Plenitudo potestatis in partibus?: papežští legáti a nunciové ve střední Evropě na konci středověku (1450-1526)* [Papal legates and nuncii in Central Europe at the end of the Middle Ages (1450-1526)] (Prague: Matice moravská, 2010), 190-91. The fact that Tomaš had the power to have him released and that the vicar was called on to get involved, may suggest a potential tension between the papacy and the Bosnian kingdom—the latter, as argued above, reluctant to actually start the crusade.

³⁸⁰ Marino of Siena was a Franciscan Observant. In June 1457 was given a responsibility to organise the crusade in Hungary, Bosnia, Serbia, Dalmatia and Dubrovnik. Friars Paul of Dubrovnik and Nicolas of Šibenik were called upon to help him in his task and he could also nominate individuals to help him with preaching and collection from among other friars, secular priests or laymen. He was also allowed to give absolution in cases reserved for the papacy. All of his activities were subject to Juan Carvajal. All money collected in Bosnia was to be consigned to the King of Bosnia, who was individually instructed about Marino’s concession in a separate letter written in the hope that Tomaš will start the war soon. Antonin Kalous, *Plenitudo potestatis*, 191-92; MH II, 298-99. Marino’s commission was renewed by Pius II in 1459, MH II, 327.

³⁸¹ He was responsible to divide money collected in Dalmatia into three equal parts for the kings of Hungary and Bosnia, and to Skanderberg. MSM I, 496.

³⁸² In February 1461 he was ordered to promulgate the bull for Crusade in the event of the Turks attacking Bosnia. MH II, 374.

other countries and he was allowed to call on the help of the local friars, suggesting the Bosnian friars' possible participation in the initiative.³⁸³

While the documents granting concessions to Marino of Siena are evidence that Pope Calixtus III included the Bosnian vicary in his crusading plans, they are insufficient to estimate the actual reception of this initiative in Bosnia. Bosnian Franciscans, given their localization and their Observant affiliation, were naturally perceived as suitable promoters of the crusading idea. In 1437, Sigismund asked the incumbent vicar of Bosnia, James of the Marches, to send him six to eight friars to accompany his campaign against the Turks.³⁸⁴ There is also evidence of Bosnian participation in Warneńczyk's campaign, however, there is no such proof for the Battle of Belgrade.³⁸⁵

The Ottomans had little appeal for the Bosnian Franciscans. Their expansionism endangered recent Catholic gains in Bosnia and the Franciscan houses were frequently devastated during their incursions. However, the adaptability that the Bosnian Franciscans demonstrated after the Ottoman conquest must not be neglected in the present discussion. It should be noted that the Ottomans had good reasons to make an agreement with the friars after acquiring a significant amount of new Catholic subjects. Nevertheless, Friar Anđeo Zvizdović, who was raised in Franciscan spirituality in Bosnia while Tomaš and Calixtus III were planning their crusade, is credited by a majority of historians as an individual who negotiated the famous *Ahdname* of Milodraž, the document that safeguarded the rights of the Franciscans in Bosnia.

³⁸³ "ut videbitur quodque ad tue persone et agendorum auxilium, ac pro predictis a te substituendis et deputandis, quoscumque tui ordiuis fratres et alios clericos sive laicos semel et pluries, prout necessarium fuerit et opportunum videbitur" MH II, 298.

³⁸⁴ AB, 157.

³⁸⁵ Petar Kovač Dinjičić, a noble from eastern Bosnia, led six or seven hundred men in Warneńczyk's campaign. Pavao Živković, *Tvrsko II*, 207.

To what extent did the friars of the Bosnian vicary represent the pragmatism and adaptability of Friar Anđeo remains an unresolved question.

Conclusion

The reign of Stjepan Tomaš was a period of the most spectacular Catholic progress in Bosnia. His weak position in the initial years of rule compelled him to maintain close ties with Rome. In the mid-fifteenth century, the papacy, in the process of restoring its universal power and observing the “unstoppable” expansion of the Ottomans, turned its attention to Bosnia. The Franciscan vicary, the only successful Catholic structure in Bosnia was a natural beacon for the increasing Catholic influence. The changes in royal policy and new ambitions of the popes created very favorable conditions for the Franciscans in Bosnia. The reign of Stjepan Tomaš was essentially the time of their triumph.

This period was the final act of the struggle between the vicary and the Bosnian Church in the vacuum left by the “exiled” canonical bishopric. The spheres of life that these two organizations were competing to dominate from 1340 onwards were fully taken over by the friars during this time. The prominent members of the Bosnian Church faded from their roles being replaced by high ranking Franciscans of the Bosnian vicary and papal legates. The royal court was dominated by people loyal to the papal cause, who monopolised their access to the “ear of the king.” Nevertheless, at least in my opinion, Tomaš’s kingship was that of a “traditional” Bosnian ruler, balancing between the “Roman” and the “Bosnian” faith, rather than that of a newly converted religious zealot. The ongoing changes simply allowed less and less maneuvers.

Legal concessions granted by papal bulls, especially those issued by Eugene IV, allowed the Bosnian vicary an effective pastoral ministry independently from Đakovo and in this way, the Catholicism was allowed to flourish through the efforts of the friars. Friaries and churches gradually spread to places less significant than major centers of power and/or mining, and the friars themselves made progress in converting the believers of the Bosnian Church.

Several high ranking Franciscans, especially friar Marino Pribasinović, were personally involved in the most important political initiatives taken by Tomaš during his reign. Paraphrasing Mijo Batinić, it can be said that Pribasinović became a quasi “minister of the foreign affairs” for Tomaš.

The role of the friars in the expulsion of the Bosnian Church remains problematic. They competed with them to dominate the confessional life of Bosnia, they accused each other of leading the souls of the faithful to the damnation, but there is little and uncertain proof of radical measures taken by either side. I agree with those authors who argue that the fall of Smederovo and the accusation of conspiracy with the Turks that followed triggered the decision about the expulsion. The resolution of the authenticity issue of Eugene’s letter would shed more light on the case of the refusal of sacraments for the monarch as a form of pressure on the central power to take measures against the Bosnian Church. However, even this source, if taken as authentic, suggests that the papacy was behind the idea of expelling the heretics.

The Franciscan action in Bosnia was prompted and bolstered by the papacy and the Bosnian monarchy. The papacy included the Bosnian Franciscans in two of its major fifteenth-century projects: the re-unification policy and the organization of the Anti-Ottoman Crusade. Eugene IV counted Bosnia among the countries recently added to the Catholic family, and Callixtus III and Pius II recognized the strategic importance of Bosnia in their plans to organize a single Anti-Ottoman front and urged Tomaš to enter the ranks of the Christian army. Several individuals were given different tasks in regard to the organization of the crusade in Bosnia, among them, most importantly, the Observant Franciscan Marino of Siena.

The sources regarding the potential crusade illustrate the pragmatic motivation behind Tomaš’s cooperation with the vicary. The king’s self-representation as a Catholic ruler, even as a defender of Christendom, was necessary, whenever external help for his kingdom was to

be materialized. The Franciscans, closest to the royal court, worked on cleansing Tomaš's name and confirm his Catholicism during their diplomatic missions. Legate Tomassini also proved to be an indispensable ally of Tomaš in this matter. This, and many other cases where the Franciscans had a profitable impact on Bosnia, discussed at length in this thesis, certainly stood behind the king's support of the vicary, particularly visible in his efforts to preserve its integrity at the time of crisis and in his support of the Bosnian friar's claims for some of the Dalmatian houses.

Different parts of this thesis dealt with the activities of the Franciscans of the Bosnian vicary across their missionary action, the Observant reform, their role at the court, the organization of the crusade and the anti-Ottoman front. Even though the Franciscan action in Bosnia was diversified to this extent at the time, a common denominator was conspicuous in everything they did. Whether it was the pastoral lifestyle described by Vicar Bernardino of Aquileia, the maintenance of the vicary's sustainability system as described in *Status locorum vicariae Bosnae*, trying to maintain the vicary's integrity in vain, or their persistent pursuit to dominate the royal court, all these actions originated in their missionary foundations and were justified by their "dream" of a Catholic Bosnia.

The crisis of the vicary that preoccupied the Bosnian Franciscans during the reign of Tomaš cannot be understood without the missionary foundations of the vicary. When Bosnia was legally handed over to Observant jurisdiction, such understanding of the "paradigms" of the Franciscan lifestyle lay at the bottom of the conflict with their new Italian superiors and gave rise to separatism inside the ambit of the large vicary. I illustrated how the demands for the strict observation of the Franciscan rule, vocally expressed primarily by James of the Marches, and meant resignation from some of the essential missionary adaptations developed by the Bosnian vicary. During the first years of Tomaš's reign these tensions, not without

interference of external political powers, effectively ripped the vicary apart, stripping it of *domi* of essential significance for the vicary's sustenance—a development no doubt ironic considering the Bosnian vicary's contribution to the Observant movement in its initial phase.

My research certainly did not exhaust the subject. Further research in the Dubrovnik and Vatican archives is necessary, and I marked several particular cases. My personal hope is to resolve the problem of Eugene's letter given by Farlati, which should be possible to resolve with further research in the Vatican archives and with the sources collected by Farlati for his *Illyricum Sacrum*. The part of my research that in my opinion necessitates a subtler examination is the relationship between the Observant expansion and the rise of the separatist tendencies in the vicary from a broader chronological perspective. Further research that approaches the Bosnian vicary as a whole, large, and internally diversified entity, could give a more differentiated insight into the role that the different regions played in the vicary and the diversification of the vicary through the prism of its particular regions' predisposition to the Observant reform. Such nuanced view of the region is still required to produce a more comprehensive examination of the relations and mutual dependencies between the separatist crisis of the Bosnian vicary and the progress of the Observant reform. This would help us better understand the Bosnian confessional dynamic predating the Ottoman conquest.

Bibliography

Unpublished primary sources

Historical archive in Zadar, writings of the Zadar's notaries, Artictius de Rivignano, Busta II, fasciculus 4, fol 32, 19,08 1389

Drzavni arhiv u Dubrovniku [State archive of Dubrovnik]. *Acta Consili Rogatorum*.

Published primary sources:

(Aquilanus) *B. Bernardini Aquilani Chronica fratrum minorum observantiae*. Ex codice autographo primum ed. Leonardus Lemmens. Rome, 1902.

Čremošnik Gregor, "Ostaci arhiva bosanske franjevačke vikarije" [The remains of archives of Bosnian Franciscan vicary], *Radovi* 3 (1955).

Fermendžin, Euzebije, "Chronicon Observantis Provinciae Bosnae Argentinae Ordinis s. Francisci Seraphici." *Starine*, 22 (1890): 1-67.

———. ed. *Acta Bosnae*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1892.

Frankóí, Vilim. "Kardinal Karvajal u Bosni 1457" [Cardinal Karvajal in Bosnia in 1457], *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu*, I (1890): 9-12.

Hamilton Janet and Bernard Hamilton, ed. *Christian dualist heresies in the Byzantine world c. 650-1450*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998.

Jelenić, Julijan, ed. "Necrologium Bosnae Argentinae – prema kodeksu franjevakog samostana u Kr. Sutjesci" [Necrologium Bosnae Argentinae – according to codex of the Franciscan

convent in Kraljeva Sutjeska]. *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine*, 28 (1916): 337-357.

———. “Dva Ljetopisa Bosne Srebrene” [Two chronicles of Bosna Srebrena]. *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine*, 30 (1918): 115-128.

———. “Ljetopis franjevačkog samostana u Kr. Sutjesci” [The chronicle of Franciscan convent in Kraljeva Sutjeska]. *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine*, 25 (1923): 1-30

Miklosich, Franz, ed. *Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii*. Vienna: Viennae Braumüller, 1858.

Orbini, Mauro. *Kraljevstvo Slovena* [The Kingdom of Slavs]. Eds. Zdravko Šundricam, Sima Ćirković and Franjo Barišić, Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1968.

Pau Joseph and Caesar Cenci eds., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, nova series, vol. I-IV. Rome, 1939-90.

Pettkó Béla, ed. *Kapisztrán János levelezése a magyarokkal*. Budapest, 1901.

Pope Pius II. *The Comentaries of Pius II*. trans. Gragg Florence, ed. Gray William and Faulkner Harold, Northampton: Smith College Studies in History, 1936/1937. Books 3,5 and 11 are relevant for the thesis.

Smičiklas, Tadija ed. *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti vol. 2-15, 1904-1934.

Šanjek, Franjo, ed. *Bosansko-humski krstjani u povjesnim vrelima (13.-15 st.)* [Bosnian-Hum Christians in the historical sources (13-15 c.)]. Zagreb: Barbat, 2003.

Thallóczy, Lajos *Studien zur Geschichte Bosniens und Serbiens im Mittelalter*.
Munich/Leapsich: Duncker und Humbolt, 1914.

Theiner, Augustino, ed. *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*. Rome:
vol. 1-2, Vatican, 1859-1860.

———. *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*. Rome: vol. 1,
Vatican, 1863.

Thuróczi, János. *Chronicle of the Hungarians*. Eds. Mantello Frank and Engel Pál,
Bloomington: Reaserch Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1991.

Toldy, Ferenc. *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae historicorum literariorum maximum
inedita*. Budapest: 1872: 213-315.

Tautu Aloysius, *Acta Gregorii P.P. XI (1370-1378)*, in: *Fontes*, Ser. III, Vol. XII, Rome 1966.

Truhelka, Ćiro, ed. “Fojnička kronika” [The chronicle of Fojnica]. *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja
Bosne i Hercegovine* , 21 (1909): 443-457.

Wadding, Luke. *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, 25 vols.
Florence: Ad Claras aquas Quaracchi, 1932-35.

Secondary literature:

Andrić, Stanko. *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*. Budapest: Central European University
Press, 2000.

———. „Saint John Capistran and Despot George Branković: An Impossible
Compromise” *Byzantinoslavica – Revue internationale des études byzantines* , 2016: 202-227.

Anđelić Pavao. "Pogled u Franjevačko graditeljstvo XIV. i XV. vijeka u Bosni." [Overview of the Franciscan architecture in 14th and 15th century in Bosnia]. In *Radovi simpozijuma "Srjednjovjekovna Bosna i Evropska kultura."* Zenica: 1973: 201-206

———. *Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska, Stolna mjesta bosanskih vladara u XIV i XV stoljeću* [Bobovac and Kraljeva Sutjeska, the seats of the bosnian rulers in 14th and 15th century]. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1973.

———. "Doba srednjovjekove bosanske države" [Age of the medieval Bosnia]. In *Kulturna istorija Bosne i Hercegovine od najstarijih vremena do pada ovih zemalja pod osmansku vlast.* Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1984: 435-587.

Ančić, Mladen. "Pobožnost franjevaca Bosanske vikarije u drugoj polovici XIV stoljeća" [The devotion of the Franciscans of the Bosnian vicary the second half of the 14th century]. In ed. Karamatić Marko. *Sedam stoljeća bosanskih franjevaca 1291-1991*, Samobor: Franjevačka teologija Sarajevo, 1994: 109-124.

Babić, Anto. "O pitanju formiranja srednjovjekovne Bosanske države" [On the question of the formation of the medieval Bosnia]. In ed. Anto Babić, *Iz Istorije Srednjovjekovne Bosne* [From the history of the Medieval Bosnia]. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1972: 49-80.

———. "Diplomatska služba u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni" [The diplomatic service in the medieval Bosnia]. In ed. Anto Babić, *Iz Istorije Srednjovjekovne Bosne* [From the history of the Medieval Bosnia]. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1972: 81-167.

———. "Hereticka crkva i bosanska drzava" In ed. Anto Babić, *Iz Istorije Srednjovjekovne Bosne* [From the history of the Medieval Bosnia]. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1972: 279-286

———. “Opadanje i nestanje hereticke crkve” In ed. Anto Babić, *Iz Istorije Srednjovjekovne Bosne* [From the history of the Medieval Bosnia]. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1972: 287-295.

Batinić, Mijo Vjenceslav. *Djelovanje franjevaca u Bosni i Hercegovini za prvih šest vijekova njihova boravka* [The work of the Franciscans in Bosnia and Hercegovina in first six centuries of their stay]. Zagreb: Tiskom Dioničke tiskare, 1881.

———. „Utjecaj franjevaca na politicke prilike u Bosnia”, Sarajevo: *Glasnik bosanskih i hercegovačkih franjevaca*, I/2, 1887.

Botica, Ivan. “Franjevački samostan i crkva Sv. Marije u podgrađu Cetini pod Sinjem (primjer povijesnoga diskontinuiteta)” [Franciscan friary and the church of St. Mary in the Sinj suburb of Cetina: an example of historical discontinuity] *Povijesni prilozi* 38 (2010), 9-29.

Canedo, Lino Gómez. *Don Juan de Carvajal, cardenal de St. Angelo legado en Alemania y Hungaria (1399?-1469)*, [Juan Carvajal, Cardinal of St. Angel, legate in German and Hungary (1399?-1469)] Madrid: Instituto Jeronimo Zurita, 1947.

de Cevins, Marie-Madeleine. *Les Franciscains Observants hongrois de l'expansion a la debacle, vers 1450-vers 1540* [The Hungarian Observant Franciscans from expansion to debacle, ~1450-1540]. Rome: Istituto storico dei cappuccini, 2008.

Ćirković, Sima. *Herceg Stefan Vukčić Kosača i njegovo doba* [Herceg Stefan Vukčić Kosača and his age]. Belgrade: Posebno izdanje SANU 176, 1964.

———. *Istorija srednjovjekovne bosanske države* [History of the Medieval Bosnia]. Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1964.

Ćošković, Pejo. *Bosanska kraljevina u prijelomnim godinama 1443-1446* [The Bosnian kingdom during the groundbreaking years 1443-46] Banjaluka : Institut za istoriju u Banjaluci, 1988.

———. “Tomašev progon sljedbenika Crkve bosanske 1459”. [Tomaš’s expulsion of the Bosnian Church in 1459] In *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina*, 1990: 43-50.

———. “Krstjanin Vlatko Tumurlić i njegova doba (1403-1423.)”. In *Croatica christiana periodica* 35 (1995), 1-54.

Dobre, Claudia Florentina. *Mendicants in Moldavia: Mission in an Orthodox Land (Thirteenth to Fifteenth Century)*, Daun: AUREL Verlag und Handel GmbH, 2008.

Džaja, Srećko. “Noch eine fragliche Interpretation der bosnischen mittelalterlichen Konfessionsgeschichte”, in ed. Rudolf Trofenik, *Münchener Zeitschrift für Balkankunde*, vol. 1., München, 1978.

———. “Bosansko srednjovjekovlje kroz prizmu bosanske krune, grba i biskupije“ [Bosnian Middle Ages through the prism of the Bosnian crown, coat of arms and the bishopric]. *Jukić* 15 (1985), 81-162.

———. “Katoličanstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini od Kulina bana do austro-ugarske okupacije” *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 16/30 1992, 153-178.

———. ”Svijet politike i Franjestvo u Europi 14. stoljeća” In ed. Karamatić Marko. *Sedam stoljeća bosanskih franjevaca 1291-1991*, Samobor: Franjevačka teologija - Sarajevo, 1994: 27-36

Džaja, Srećko and Dubravko Lovrenović. “Srednjovjekovna Crkva bosanska” [Medieval Bosnian Church]. *Svijetlo rjecči*, 25 (2007).

Džambo, Jozo. *Die Franziskaner im mittelalterlichen Bosnien* [The Franciscans in medieval Bosnia]. Werl: Dietrich-Coelde, 1991.

———. “Povijest mentaliteta – Jedan historiografski pristup fenomenu bosanskog franještva” [History of mentality - One historiographical approach to the phenomenon of the Bosnian Franciscans] In ed. Karamatić Marko. *Sedam stoljeća bosanskih franjevaca 1291-1991*, Samobor: Franjevačka teologija - Sarajevo, 233-252.

Đurđev, Branislav. “Rudarstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini u srjedjem vijeku” [Mining in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Middle ages]. In *Radovi sa simpozijuma Rudarstvo i Metalurgija Bosne i Hercegovine od prahistorje do početka XX vijeka*, Zenica: Izdanja muzeja grada zenice, 1999: 185-210.

Engel, Pál. “Neki problemi bosansko-ugarskih odnosa” [Some problems regarding the Bosnian-Hungarian relations]. *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za Povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 16 (1999).

———. *Realm of St. Stephen: a history of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526*, London – New York, I.B. Tauris& Co Ltd, 2001.

Esad Kurtović, “Prilog bibliografiji radova o bosanskoj kraljici Katarini (1425-1478) (U povodu 525 obljetnice smrti)” [Contribution to the bibliography of works on Bosnian queen Katarina (1425-1478) (In occasion of the 525 anniversary of her death)] *Bosna franciscana* 22 (2005), 201-211.

Farlati, Daniele. *Illyricum sacrum* vol. 4, Venice: 1769: 37-90.

Filipović, Emir.” Ardet ante oculos opulentissimum regnum. . . Venetian reports about the Ottoman Conquest of the Bosnian Kingdom, A.D. 1463” in *Italy and Europe’s Eastern Border (1204–1669)* ,ed. Iulian Mihai Damian et al. (Frankfurt/ Main 2012), 135–55.

———. “Was Bosnian Queen Catherine a member of the Third Order of St. Francis?” *Radovi - Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 47 (2015): 165-182.

———. “The key to the gate of Christendom? The Strategic importance of Bosnia in the struggle against the Ottomans”, in *The crusade in the fifteenth century: Converging and Competing cultures* (ed.) Norman Housley, London – New Yourk, 2016, 151-168.

———. “*Exurge igitur, miles Christi, et in barbaros viriliter pugna...*’: The Anti-Ottoman Activities of Bosnian King Stjepan Tomaš (1443–1461)” in *Holy War in Late Medieval and Early Modern East-Central Europe*, eds. Janusz Smołucha, John Jefferson, and Andrzej Wadas, Ignatianum and WAM, Cracow, 2017, 201-242.

Fine, V.A. John, Jr. “Mysteries about newly discovered Srebrenica-Visoko Bishopric in Bosnia (1434-41)” *East European Quaterly* VIII/1, (1974): 29-43.

———. *The Late Medieval Balkans: a Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*. Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1994.

———. *The Bosnian Church, Its place in the state and society from thirteen to fifteen Century, a new interpretation*. London: SAQI, The Bosnian Institute, 2007.

Galamb, Gyorgy. “San Giacomo della Marca e gli eretici di Ungheria” [Saint James of the Marches and the heretics of Hungary] in ed. Silvano Bracci, *San Giacomo della Marca nell’europa del ‘400*, Padua 1997. 213-20.

Gavran, Ignacije. *Fellow travelers of Bosnian history*. Sarajevo: Svjetlo riječi, 2001.

Gidžiunas, Victor “De missionibus fratrum minorum in Lituania (Saec. XIII et XIV)” *AFH* 42 (1949) 3-36.

Golubovich, Girolamo. *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Francescano*, 1-2, Quaracchi 1913.

Hlaváček, Petr. “Bohemian Franciscans Between Orthodoxy and Nonconformity at the Turn of the Middle Ages”. *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 5, no. 1 (2004): 167-189.

Housley, Norman. *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

———. “Giovanni da Capistrano and the Crusade of 1456” in: *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century message and impact*, ed. Norman Housley, Palgrave Macmillan 2004, 94-115.

———. *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat, 1453-1505*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2012.

Jelenić, Julijan. *Kultura i bosanski franjevci* [Culture and the Bosnian Franciscans]. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1912.

Kalous, Antonin. *Plenitudo potestatis in partibus?: papežští legáti a nunciové ve střední Evropě na konci středověku (1450-1526)* [Plenitudo potestatis in partibus?: papal legates and nuncius in Central Europe in the end of the Middle ages (1450-1526)]. Pague: Matice moravská, 2010.

Klaić, Nada, *Srednjovjekovna Bosna. Politički položaj bosanskih vladara do Tvrtkove krunidbe (1377. g.)* [Medieval Bosnia: political position of the Bosnian rulers until the coronation of Tvrtko (1377)]. (Zagreb: Eminex, 1994).

Kovačević-Kojić, Desanka *Gradska naselja srednjovjekovne bosanske države* [Urban settlements in Medieval Bosnia] Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo 1978.

Krasić, Stjepan. "Djelovanje dominikanaca u srednjem vijeku" [Dominican activities in the middle ages], *Kršćanstvo srednjovjekovne Bosne*, (Sarajevo: Radovi simpozija povodom 9 stoljeća spominjanja Bosanske biskupije (1089-1989), 1991).

———. "Toma Tomassini: Hrvatski biskup, teolog i diplomat (1439-1462)" [Toma Tomassini: Croatian bishop, theolog and diplomat (1439-1462)] *Starine* 63, (2005): 91-162.

Lovrenović, Dubravko. *Utjecaj Ugarske na odnos Crkve i države u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni* [Influence of the Hungary on the relation between the church and the state in medieval Bosnia]. In ed. Karamatić Marko. *Sedam stoljeća bosanskih franjevaca 1291-1991*, Samobor: Franjevačka teologija - Sarajevo, 1994: 37-93.

———. "Proglašenje bosne kraljevstvom 1377" [Proclamation of the Bosnian kingdom in 1377]. *Forum Bosnae* 3-4 (1999): 227-287.

———. "Medieval Bosnia And Central European Culture: Interweaving and Acculturation". *Forum Bosnae*, 15 (2002): 207-237.

———. "Krist i Donator: Kotromanići između vjere rimske i vjere bosanske – I. (Konfesionalne posljedice jednog lokalnog crkvenog raskola)" [Kotromanići between the Roman and the Bosnian faith –I. (Confessional consequences of a local church schism)]. In ed. Franjo Šanjek *Fenomen "Krstijani" u Srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu* Zagreb – Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu and Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2005: 193-239.

———. *Na Klizistu Povijesti Sveta Kruna Ugarska i Sveta Kruna Bosanska 1387-1463*. [At the landslide of history, Holy Crown of Hungary and the Holy Crown of Bosnia 1387-1463]. Sarajevo – Zagreb: Synopsis 2006.

———. “Krist i Donator: Kotromanići između vjere rimske i vjere bosanske – II. (Konfesionalne posljedice jednog lokalnog crkvenog raskola)” [Kotromanići between the Roman and the Bosnian faith – II. (Confessional consequences of a local church schism)]. In ed. Marko Karamatić *Tristota obljetnica stradanja samostana i crkve u Olovu (1704-2004)* Sarajevo: Franjevačka teologia, Sarajevo 2008: 17-54.

———. *Bosanska kvadratura kruga* [Bosnian quadrature of a circle]. Sarajevo–Zagreb: Dobra knjiga – Synopsis, 2012.

Mandić, Dominik. *Bogumilska crkva bosanskih krstjana* [The Bogumil Church of Bosnian Christians]. Chicago: Croatian Historical Institute, 1962.

———. *Franjevačka Bosna* [Franciscan Bosnia]. Rome: Hrvatski Povijesni Institut, 1968.

Mažuran, Ive. „Đakovo i Bosansko - đakovačka biskupija od 1293. do 1536.” [Đakovo and Bosnian- Đakovo bishopric from 1293 to 1536] *Diacovensia*, 1/1995.

Mikulić, Planinka. “Franjevački samostani kao centri culture na prijelomu 15. stoljeća” [The Franciscan convents as centers of culture in the mid fifteenth century], *Znastveni skup u povodu 500. obljetnice smrti fra. Adela Zvizdovića* (Sarajevo – Fojnica: Franjevačka teologija Sarajevo, 2000), 85-107.

Moorman, John. *A history of the Franciscan order: From its origins to the year 1517* New York: Oxford university press, 1998.

Muessig, Carolyn “Bernardino da Siena and Observant Preaching as a Vehicle for Religious Transformation”. In James Mixson and Bert Roest, eds. *A Companion to the Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*. (Leiden: Brill, 2015): 191-213.

Nimmo, Duncan. *Reform and Division in the Medieval Franciscan Order. From Saint Francis to the Foundation of the Capuchins*, Rome: Capuchin historical institute 1995, 415-429.

Pandžić, Bazilije. “Djelovanje franjevaca od 13. do 15. st. u Bosanskoj državi” [Activities of the Franciscans from the 13th to the 15th century in Bosnia]. In *Kršćanstvo srednjovjekovne Bosne*, Sarajevo: Vrhbosanska visoka teološka škola, 1991: 241-268.

———. “Franjevački misionari na Balkanu u tursko doba” [Franciscan missionaries in the Balcans during the Turkish period] *Sedam stoljeća bosanskih franjevaca* Samobor: Franjevačka teoloija - Sarajevo 1994, 95-108.

———. “Bosna i sabor u Mantovi (1459- 60.)” [Bosnia and council of Council of Mantua (1459-60.)]. *Bosna franciscana*, 10 (1998): 101-111.

———. “Jakov Markijski vicar Bosanske vikarije” [James of the Marches, Vicar of the Bosnian vicary] *Bosna Franciscana* 7 (1997), 155-166.

Petrović, Leon. *Kršćani bosanske crkve* [The Christians of the Bosnian church] Sarajevo, 1953.

Rački, Franjo *Bogomili i Patareni* [The Bogomils and patarens] Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1869.

Raukar, Tomislav. *Hrvatsko Srednjovjekovlje* [The Croatian middle ages]. Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1997.

Regan, Krešimir. *Bosanska kraljica Katarina: pola stoljeća Bosne 1425-1478* [Bosnian queen Catharine: half a century of Bosnia 1425-1478]. Zagreb: Naklada Breza, 2010.

Romhányi, F. Beatrix “Mendicant networks and population”. In *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective: From Frontier to lands in focus* eds. Jaritz Gerhard and Katalin Szende, London and New York: Routledge 2016.

Slišković, Slavko. “Dominikanci i bosansko-humski krstjani” [Dominicans and Bosnian-Hum Christians]. In ed. Franjo Šanjek *Fenomen “Krstijani” u Srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu* Zagreb-Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu and Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2005: 479-498.

Spahić, Midhat *Bosanska kraljevina sredinom XV vijeka-kralj Stjepan Tomaš* Zagreb: Bošnjačka nacionalna zajednica za Grad Zagreb i Zagrebačku županiju, 2016.

Šanjek, Franjo. *Bosansko-humski krstjani i katarsko dualistički pokret u srednjem vijeku* [Bosnian-Hum Christians and the Cathar Dualist movement in the Middle Ages]. Zagreb: Krscanska sadašnjost, 1975.

———. “Heterodoksno kršćanstvo u našim krajevima u Kapistranovo doba” [Heterodox Christianity in our countries during the Capistran period]. *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 11 (1987): 83-94.

———. *Kršćanstvo na hrvatskom prostoru: pregled religiozne povijesti Hrvata (7-20 st.)* [Christianity in the Croatian area: overview of the religious history of the Croats (7-20 c.)]. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1991.

———. “Kršćanstvo Bosne i Hercegovine” [The Christianity of Bosnia and Herzegovina]. *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, vol. 16, No. 30, 1992: 119-152.

Škunca, Stanko Josip. Franjevačka renesansa u Dalmaciji i Istri: opservantska obnova i samostani Provincije sv. Jeronima u 15. St [Franciscan renaissance in Dalmatia and Istria: Observance renewal and convents of the st. Jerome Province in 15th century]. Zadar – Split: Franjevačka provincija sv. Jeronima u Dalmaciji i Istri, 1999.

Vaucher, Andre (ed.) *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*. Ed. Barrie Dobson and Michael Lapidge Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2000.

Vukšić, Tomo. “Papa Pio II. i Kralj Stjepan Tomaš” [Pope Pius II and king Stephen Thomas]. In ed. Franjo Šanjek *Fenomen “Krstijani” u Srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu* Zagreb-Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu and Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2005: 296-308.

Zirdum, Andrija. "Franjevci i Bosansko-Humski Krstijani" [Franciscans and Bosnian-Hum Christians]. *Bosna Franciscana*, 19 (2003), 50-78.

Živković, Pavo. *Tvrtko II Tvrtković: Bosna u prvoj polovini XV stoljeća* [Tvrtko II Tvrtković: Bosnia in the first half of the 15th century]. (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 1981.)

———. *Iz srednjovjekovne povijesti Bosne i Huma* [From the history of medieval history of Bosnia and Hum]. (Osijek: Hrvatsko kulturno društvo Napredak, 2002.)

Žugaj, Marijan. “Bosanska vikarija i franjevci konventualci” [Bosnian vicary and the Conventual Franciscans]. *Croatica christiana periodica*, 24 (1989): 1–26.