

ONE FRANCISCAN AND HIS EPITAPH

The inscription of Franciscan Angel Zvizdović

The inscription is incised onto a limestone slab (57 x 39,5 x 5cm) in an inscription field (47 x 27,5cm) surrounded by a double moulded frame. It is composed of 174 letters in monumental Latin capitals arranged in seven lines. The transfer of the bones of Fr Angel is referred to in six of the lines carved on the inscription field. The year when this occurred is carved above the inscription field on the outer frame. The inscription is carved between two parallel lines in letters 2.5cm high. Seventeen letters (1 cm high) are inscribed above the upper line, while the one at the end of the first row of the inscription field is pressed up against the inner moulding of the inscription field. The wavy lines marking the abbreviation of words are carved above the words at the end of the fourth, at the beginning of the fifth, and in the middle and at the end of the sixth rows. Other abbreviations are marked by points incised towards the base of the words that they refer to. The inscription is quite legible (fig. 1), thanks to the fact that from when it was first placed until 1905, when it was replaced by a new version, it was located in the Monastery church. After that, it was stored in the museum of the Franciscan Monastery of the *Holy Spirit* in Fojnica.

Latin text

Acta S(anc)t(i) A(nni) D(omi)ni † MDCCLX.

Hic v(enerabilis) s(ervi) Dei p(atris) f(ratris) Ang(eli) Zvizdovich

ab Herbosa Or(dinis) M(inorum) Ob(servantiae) Pr(ovinciae) Bo(snae)

Arge(antinae)

reposita) jac(ent) ossa que ex humil(liori) in

hunc dec(orio)rem sarcophagum trans(la)ta su(n)t

il(l)ust(rissi)mo d(omino) ep(isco)po f(ratre) Paulo Draghichievich

et non(n)ul(l)is Prov(incia)e r(everendibus) p(atribus) pr(a)esentibus.

English translation

It happened in the Holy Year of Our Lord † 1760.

Her lie the re-interred bones of the



Sl. 1. Natpis sa spomenom prijenosa kostiju fra Andela Zvizdovića

Fig. 1. Inscription mentioning the transfer Fr Angel Zvizdović bones

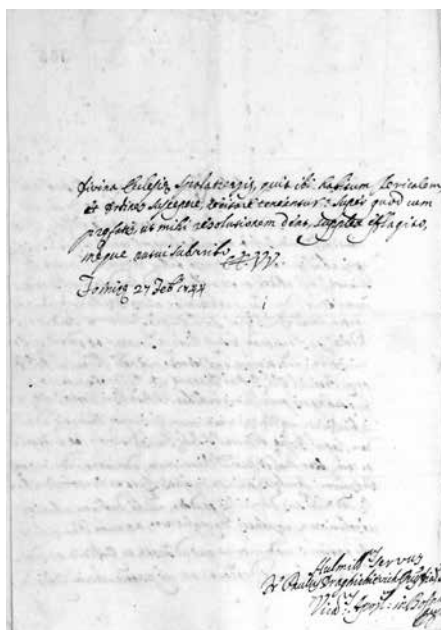
venerable servant of God, the father and brother Angel Zvizdović of Herbosa, of the serving order of Friars Minor, of the Province of *Bosnia Argentina*, which were transferred from a simple stone coffin to this more decorated sarcophagus, in the presence of his excellency the bishop Fr Paul Dragičević and certain prominent fathers of the Province.

Analysis

The event noted in the first line of this inscription is dated to 1760. Vigilius Greiderer dated it to the 11th of August 1759 in his *Germania Franciscana*:¹ “This inscription can be seen at this site. These burnt bones such as can be seen (in the large garden of the Monastery) – sought at the request of the much respected provincial and certain other brothers of the province and at the discretion of this Monastery – were found without any other added inscription at that spot in the atrium where the wall protrudes out from the direction of the altar of

¹ VIGILII GREIDERER, *Germania franciscana, seu Chronicon geographo-historicum ordinis S. P. Francisci in Germania, Tomus I. Germania franciscana orientali-australis, seu Chronicon geographo-historicum Ordinis S. P. Francisci in Germania orientali-australi*, Oeniponte, 1777, 216: *In loco novo haec inscriptio obviat: Ossa haec adusta ita, ut conspicantur (in concrematione forte quondam hujus Conventus) ad instantiam M(ulti) R(everendi) P(atris) Provincialis, et nonnullorum aliorum P(atrum) Provinciae, et discretorum hujus monasterii, quaesita in eo loco atrii, ubi prominet murus e regione forinfeca Altaris Concept(ione) B(eatis) V(irginis) M(ariae) sub illo lapide eminentiori, nulla licet Scriptura associata reperimus: ea tamen Venerabilis Patris Angeli Zvizdovich ab Herbosa (aliis Verbosa) esse non dubitaverimus; nam ex perpetua traditione habitum est, ea ibi fuisse reposita. Angelusque vocitatur locus ille in hodiernum usque. Quem hic inter parietem, et Altare S(anctae) Apolloniae (vulgo S(ancti) Thomae) utpote ad locum decentiorem transferri, inque hac capsula caementato muro obmurari curavimus. Hac die 11. Augusti 1759. F(rater) Paulus Draghichevich Episcopus Diuimensis, et Vicarius Apost(olicus) in Bosna M(anu)p(ro)pria.*

the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary under the stone that juts out furthest. There is no doubt that they are the bones of the venerable father Angel Zvizdović of Travnik (according to others from Vrhbosna); according to the continuing traditions it had been considered that they had been preserved here. And this place has been called Angel to the present day. We saw to it that the bones were transferred to a spot between the wall and the altar of St. Apollonius (called St. Thomas among the people) as a more honorable place, and that this small casket would be immured there within a mortared wall. On the day of the 11th of August 1759, Fr Paul Dragičević, bishop of Dium (Macedonia) and apostolic vicar of Bosnia, by his own hand.”² Greiderer’s notes confirm that the inscription was not contemporaneous to the event it marked. In the last two lines of the inscription, it was noted that the transfer of the bones of



Sl. 2. Vlastoručni potpis biskupa Dragičevića

Fig. 2. Signature of Bishop Paul Dragičević

Fr Angel took place in the presence of bishop Fr Paul Dragičević and “several honorable Franciscans” of the Province of *Bosnia Argentina*. Dragičević was the Apostolic Vicar in Ottoman Bosnia from 1741 to 1767. The composer of the inscription failed to note that the transfer of the bones of Fr Angel occurred with the participation of the Provincial of the Franciscan Province of *Bosnia Argentina* and the guardian of the Fojnica Monastery, as was recorded in Greiderer’s work. At that time, the Franciscan Province of Bosnia Argentina was headed by Fr Mark Dobretić Jezerčić (1757.-1762.)³ – later bishop of the Apostolic Vicarate in Ottoman Bosnia (1773-1784),⁴ while the guardian of the Fojnica Monastery was Fr Lawrence Ojdanić from Ivanjska (1757-1760).⁵ As there was no space on the inscription field for their names, the composer of the inscription placed them among the “several honorable fathers of the Province”

² Miro VRGOČ, Fra Anđeo Zvizdović (1420./?-1498.). Uoči petstote obljetnice smrti! *Bosna franciscana: časopis Franjevačke teologije Sarajevo*, V/7 (1997) 198. Phrase *ab Herbosa (Verbosa)* should be translated as: *from Herbosa (Verbosa)*.

³ Anto Slavko KOVAČIĆ, *Biobibliografija franjevaca Bosne Srebrene. Prilog povijesti hrvatske književnosti i kulture*. „Svjetlost Sarajevo“ – „Narodna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine“ – „Franjevački provincijalat ‘Bosne Srebrene’“, Sarajevo, 1991, 113.

⁴ Marko SEMREN, Franjevci Bosne Srebrene kao biskupi. *Bosna franciscana: časopis Franjevačke teologije Sarajevo*, X/16 (2002) 117.

⁵ List of the guardians of the Franciscan Monastery of the *Holy Spirit* in Fojnica. *Archive of the Franciscan Monastery of the Holy Spirit in Fojnica* (Addendum No. 1).



Sl. 3. Natpis o mjestu pokopa kostiju fra Anđela Zvizdovića iz 1905. g.

Fig. 3. Inscription on the place of Fr Angel Zvizdović bones from 1905 year

(*nonnulli Provinciae reverendi patres*). This term covered various prominent Franciscans, i.e. former provincials of the Franciscan Province *Bosnia Argentina*, their assistants, and the guardians of the monasteries at Fojnica, Kreševo, and Kraljeva Sutjeska, and so forth. Judging from the fact that on the inscription the bishop's name was carved just as he signed it on the documents that he issued (*Dragichievich*) (fig. 2), it is not unreasonable to assume that the text of the inscription was composed by a Franciscan close to bishop Dragičević or by bishop Dragičević himself. In the fifth line of the inscription, it was noted that Fr Angel's bones were placed in a sarcophagus (*sarcophagum*), meaning a stone coffin (*capsula*), while Greiderer refers to a small coffer mortared with cement (*caementato muro*). The inscription was not carved on the structure in which the bones of Fr Angel were placed, rather it was an inscription tablet subsequently fastened to the wall in which the bones were immured. It remained in that position until 1905, when it was replaced by a new more luxurious inscription (fig. 3).⁶

Place of birth

The authors conducting research into Fr Angel Zvizdović, variously seek his place of birth on the basis of the cited *ab Herbosa* or *ab Verbosa* in central Bosnia near Sarajevo, near Blažuj west of Sarajevo, in Sarajevo itself, near or in Travnik, and in Fojnica.⁷ On the basis of Fr Angel's last name, the settlements are cited of Zvizd near Kreševo in central Bosnia and Zvizde near Uskoplje (Gornji Vakuf) in the western part of central Bosnia.⁸ *Herbosa* and *Verbosa* are

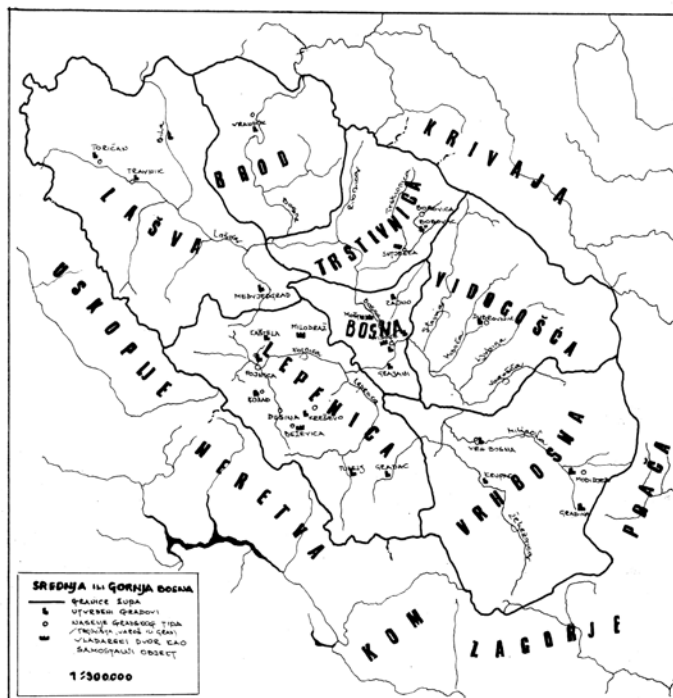
⁶ *Posmrtni ostanci bl. / Fr. Angela – Zvizdovića / Umro oko 1498 nanovo / postavljeno 1905!* (Relic of Fr Angel – Zvizdović / Deceased about 1498 newly / placed 1905!).

⁷ VRGOČ, Fra Andeo Zvizdović, 169-172.

⁸ VRGOČ, Fra Andeo Zvizdović, 169-172; Ante ŠKEGRO, Uskoplje – zavičaj fra An-

Sl. 4. Najstarije bosanske župe

Fig. 4. Map of the Bosnian oldest parishes



identified as the area encompassing the broad Sarajevo region, corresponding to the medieval parish of Vrhbosna. This parish also contained a fortress of the same name (fig. 4).⁹ If Fr Angel was from the area of this parish, he could have come in contact with the Franciscans at Mile (Arnautovići) near Visoko, which from 1340 was the center of the Bosnian Franciscan vicarate, and the site of the coronation and memorial (burial) church of the Bosnian rulers.¹⁰ The site of Bosnia (*civitas Bosna*) was also in the Visoko vicinity, where on the 8th of April 1203 the heads of the Bosnian Church renounced heresy and undiscipline before the envoys of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216).¹¹ Accordingly, *Herbosa* or *Verbosa*, which is identified as Vrhbosna (*civitas Vrhbosna*),¹² would also be located in this same area. If one starts from Fr Angel's last name, then his

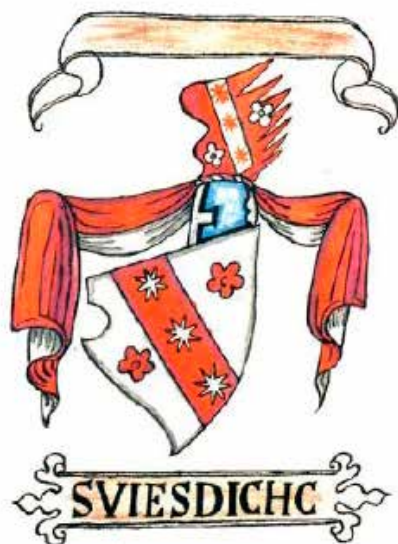
đela Zvizdovića. *Zbornik radova sa Znanstvenoga skupa u povodu 500. obljetnice smrti fra Andela Zvizdovića, Sarajevo, 16. i 17. listopada 1998.* „Franjevačka teologija Sarajevo“ – „Franjevački samostan Fojnica“, Sarajevo – Fojnica, 2000, 135-144.

⁹ Pavo ANDELIĆ, *Srednji vijek – doba stare bosanske države*. U: Pavo Anđelić – Ivo Bojanovski, Borivoj Čović, Brunislav Marianović, *Visoko i okolina kroz historiju, I. Prethistorija, antika i srednji vijek*, „Skupština opštine Visoko“, Visoko, 1984, 106.

¹⁰ ANDELIĆ, *Srednji vijek – doba stare bosanske države*, 192-252.

¹¹ Ante ŠKEGRO, Bilino Polje: primjer jedne historiografske kontroverze. *Fenomen 'Krstjani' u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu*, „Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu“ - „Hrvatski institut za povijest Zagreb“, Sarajevo – Zagreb, 2005, 351-370.

¹² Marko VEGO, *Civitas Vrhbosna. Naše starine: godišnjak Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Bosne i Hercegovine*, 13 (1972) 85-96.



Sl. 5. Grb *Sviesdichc* koji se pripisuje rodu *Zvizdović*

Fig. 5. Coat *Sviesdichc* from The Fojnica coats of arms which is attributed to the genus *Zvizdović*

have come from *Zvizda* near *Prijepolje*, as in this area no Franciscan monasteries have been registered where he could have come in contact with Franciscans and joined the Franciscan Order.¹³ Accordingly, it must be noted that not one of the cited places can be claimed with certainty as the settlement from which *Fr Angel* came. The origins of this Franciscan are also not uncovered by the only source from his time that mentions him, along with his two brothers *Domša* and *Milutin*. This was a *buyruntu* (document) of the Bosnian sanyak-beg *Skenderpasha* that was issued in Bosnian Cyrillic in 1486 to *Fr Angel*. It is apparent from this source that the cited brothers of *Fr Angel* were dukes (fig. 5), and that they were in service to the Ottomans (fig. 6; add. 2).¹⁷ It is more likely that *Fr Angel* was called *Zvizdović* (*Sviesdichc*) due to the stars which are found on his family's coat of arms preserved in *Fojnica coats of arms*.

¹³ Village *Zvizd* is located in the district of the Franciscan monastery in *Kreševo*, and village *Zvizde* in the *Fojnica* monastery district.

¹⁴ ŠKEGRO, *Uskoplje – zavičaj fra Andela Zvizdovića*, 135-144.

¹⁵ *Sumarni popis Sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine*, „Islamski kulturni centar“, Mostar, 2008, 124, nr. 1828.

¹⁶ *Andrija ZIRDUM, Karta srednjovjekovnik crkava na tlu Bosne i Hercegovine. Bosna franciscana: časopis Franjevačke teologije Sarajevo*, IX/15 (2001) 161-219; *Andrija ZIRDUM, Dopunjena karta srednjovjekovnih crkava u BiH do 1463. godine. Bosna franciscana: časopis Franjevačke teologije Sarajevo*, XX/39 (2013) 163-175.

¹⁷ ČIRO TRUHELKA, *Isprava Skender-baše od godine 1486. Glasnik Zemaljskog mu-*

place of birth could be either *Zvizd* near *Kreševo* or *Zvizde* near *Uskoplje* (*Gornji Vakuf*). Neither was far from the Franciscan monasteries in which *Fr Angel* could have come into contact with the Franciscans and joined the Franciscan order.¹³ If, however, *Herbosa* or *Verbosa* is identified with the *Vrba* river, then it is more probable that *Zvizde* near *Uskoplje* (*Gornji Vakuf*) would be the settlement from which *Fr Angel* came, as it is located in the vicinity of this river. Lately, *Zvizde* has been preferred as the site of *Fr Angel's* birth.¹⁴ However, neither *Zvizd* near *Kreševo* nor *Zvizde* near *Uskoplje* (*Gornji Vakuf*) are mentioned by any sources from the time of *Fr Angel*. An Ottoman list of the Bosnian sanjak from 1468/1469 registered the village of *Zvizda* (*Izvizda*) in the vilayet of *Hersek* (*Herzegovina*) in the area of *Prijepolje* in southwestern Serbia.¹⁵ Nonetheless, it is hardly likely that this prominent Bosnian Franciscan would

Form 11 – Ver. 0.6 24.01.2012.



Institut „Ruđer Bošković“
Zavod za eksperimentalnu fiziku
Laboratorij za mjerenje niskih radioaktivnosti

Fra Nikica Vujica, gvardijan
Franjevački samostan Duha svetoga Fojnica.
Ul. Fra Andela Zvizdovića 4
71270 Fojnica
Bosna i Hercegovina

Izveštaj o rezultatima mjerenja

Naš znak: LNA-14/13

Vaš znak:

Datum: 9.05.2013.

Poštovani,

Šaljemo Vam rezultate ^{14}C analiza starosti papira dokumenta Fojnička ahdnama (2 uzorka) i tkanine plašta fra Andela Zvizdovića. ^{14}C analize napravljene su AMS tehnikom.

Br.	Naziv	Konvencijska ^{14}C starost (BP)	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰)	Kalibrirana starost (cal AD)	median cal AD
Z-5124 A628 GU30373	Samostan Fojnica, Ahdnama, gornji dio dokumenta	215 ± 30	-25	1650 – 1799 (55,9%)	1773
Z-5125 A629 GU30374	Samostan Fojnica, plašt, platno (Fra Andelo Zvizdović)	360 ± 30	-23,6	1469 – 1625 (68,2%)	1542
Z-5126 A630 GU30375	Samostan Fojnica, Ahdnama, donji dio dokumenta	410 ± 25	-24,1	1443 – 1484 (68,2%)	1466

Obrada uzoraka:

Spaljivanje:
Ekstrakcija kolagena:
Taloženje karbonata:
Karbonizacija:
Otaпанje u kiselini:

Mjerenje:

Tekućinski scintilacijski brojač: (priprema benzena, B oznaka)
Tekućinski scintilacijski brojač: (apsorpcija CO_2)
Akceleratorska masena spektrometrija (AMS, A oznaka):

Objašnjenje tablice:

Konvencijska ^{14}C starost: Apsolutna starost u godinama računana „od sadašnjosti“ (*BP – before present*), a kao relevantna godina uzima se 1950. Rezultat je izračunat uz konvencijski usvojeno vrijeme poluraspada izotopa ^{14}C od 5570 godina, s pogreškom od 1σ . Zaokruživanje zadnjih znamenki u skladu je s preporukama časopisa *RADIOCARBON*; ^{14}C AMS mjerenja (GUoznaka) rade se u suradnji sa SUERC Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory, East Kilbride, Škotska.

Kalibrirana starost: Starost izražena u povijesnim godinama (cal AD/BC), određena na osnovi dendrokronološke kalibracijske krivulje IntCal09 (Reimer & al., *RADIOCARBON* 51:(4) p.1111-50) pomoću programa OxCal (Bronk-Ramsey, *RADIOCARBON*, 37, 1995, p.425-430 i <http://www.rlaha.ox.ac.uk/orau/oxcal.html>, inačica 4.1.7 iz 2010). Na grafičkom prikazu kalibracije (prilog na idućoj stranici) dani su i intervali starosti uz odgovarajuće vjerojatnosti.

Median: Median raspodjele kalibriranih starosti, cal AD/BC, prikazan je i grafički.

✉ Poštanski pretinac 180, Bijenička 54, 10002 ZAGREB

☎ +385-1-46 80 219

☎ +385-1-46 80239

🌐 Internet: <http://www.irb.hr/zef/c14-lab>

✉ E-pošta: nada.horvatincic@irb.hr

Opći uvjeti korištenja rezultata

Naručitelj se obvezuje da će prilikom publiciranja rezultata ^{14}C i ^3H analiza navesti da su te analize izvršene u Laboratoriju Instituta "Ruđer Bošković". Suradnici Laboratorija imaju pravo publicirati popis rezultata analiza (tzv. *Radiocarbon Data List*) uz podatke o uzorcima prema dogovoru s naručiteljem.

Institut (Izvršitelj), niti bilo tko od njegovih zaposlenika ili predstavnika, nije odgovoran za bilo kakvu daljnju upotrebu rezultata provedenih analiza, kao ni za posljedice koje bi mogle nastati kao rezultat njihovog korištenja.

Ime Instituta smije se koristiti od strane trećih osoba u promotivne i slične svrhe u medijima, brošurama, na WEB stranicama itd. samo uz pismenu suglasnost Instituta.

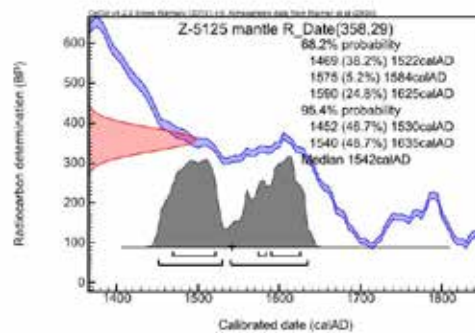
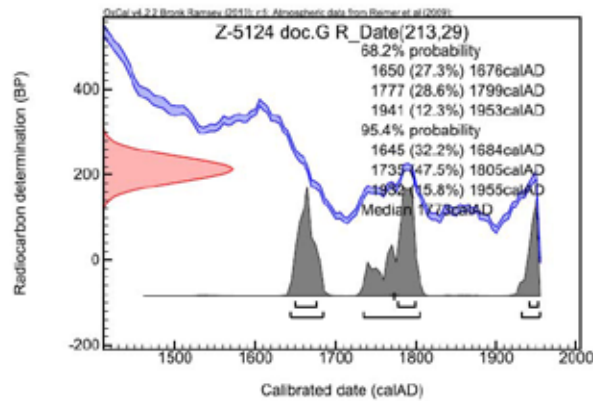
Uz srdačne pozdrave

Voditeljica
Laboratorija za mjerenje niskih radioaktivnosti

Mrs. Kajačević Zorica

Kontrola: _____

Dr.sc. Nada Horvatinčić

Prikaz kalibracija

Postovani Fra Nikica Vujica,

U prilogu Vam saljem rezultata 14C starosti Fojnicke ahndname, gornji i donji dio dokumenta, te plastu za koji se pretpostavlja da je pripadao Fra Andjelu Zvizdanovicu. Ja cu o tim rezultatima detaljno pricati u svom predavanju u utorak. Kao sto vidite, iz rezultata se moze zakljuciti, prema dobivenim kalendarskim godinama, kalibrirana starost u godinama AD (prikazano kao raspon godina s određenom vjerojatnoscu) da je donji dio ahndname originalan i mogao bi potjecati iz perioda 1463. godine. Gornji dio ahndname je mladi skoro 200-300 godina, sto znaci da se dokument iz nekog razloga restaurirao/obnovio s papirrom iz tog mladeg razdoblja. Plast, za koji se pretpostavlja da je pripadao Fra Andjelu Zvizdanovicu, je takodjer nesto mladi od pretpostavljene starosti.

Eto, za sada imamo te rezultate, koji su vrlo zanimljivi, a o njima cu detaljnije pricati na Vasoj Akademiji.

Uz srdacne pozdrave

Nada Horvatincic

Dr.sc. Nada Horvatincic,
senior scientist

Rudjer Boskovic Institute

POB 180, Bijenicka 54, 10002 ZAGREB, Croatia

Tel.: 385-1-4560-943; Fax: 385-1-4680-239

URL: <http://www.irb.hr/zef/c14-lab/>

Sl. 6. Analiza *Ahdname* koja se pripisuje fra Andelu Zvizdoviću

Fig. 6. Analysis of *Ahdnama* attributed to Fr Angel Zvizdović

His religion prior to joining the Franciscan Order

Almost all the authors who have written about this Franciscan on the basis of the above *bayruntu* of the sanyak-beg Skender-pasha claim that he came from a Greek-Eastern, i.e. Orthodox, family.¹⁸ This is based on the names of his two mentioned brothers. There is almost no doubt that in terms of the religious affiliation of the family from which Fr Angel came, Fr Leo Petrović (1883-1945) is right in his belief that the aforementioned claim has no foundation. "It is often argued, certainly without reason, that Fr Angel was born, baptized, and raised in Orthodoxy. There is no evidence for this, nor even probability. In all likelihood, the reasons for this wrong opinion are the names of Fr Angel's brothers, Domša and Milutin... In the period of Fr Angel, the Orthodox Church had not spread to central Bosnia. It barely had reached the Drina valley and part of Travunia. His ancestors and certainly his parents were Christians of the Catholic Church or 'Christians of the Bosnian Church'... "Therefore, it must be considered that Fr Angel from the very beginnings of his childhood had been raised Catholic in some Franciscan school, and that his parents had been Catholic from birth or

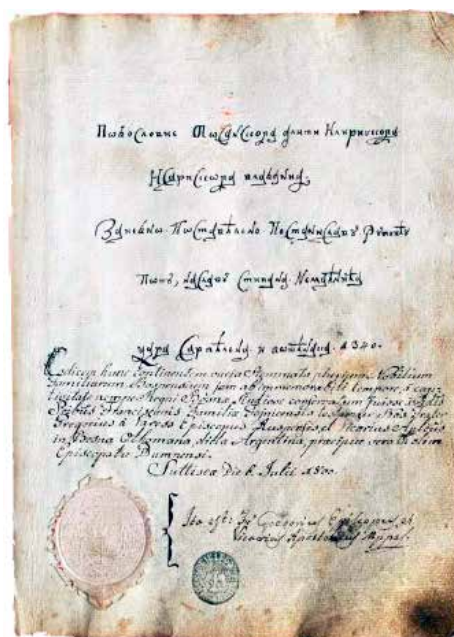
zeja u Bosni i Hercegovini, 6 (1894) 609-610; ĆIRO TRUHELKA, Eine Urkunde Skender Paschas vom Jahre 1486. *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina*, 4 (1896) 393-395; ЈОСИП МАТАСОВИЋ, *Fojnička regesta*, „Споменик Српске краљевске академије, Београд, 1930, 104.

¹⁸ VRGOČ, Fra Andeo Zvizdović, 173-175.



Sl. 7. *Buyruntija* sandžak-bega Skenderbaše izdana fra Anđelu Zvizdoviću 1486. g.

Fig. 7. *Buyruntu* of the Bosnian sanyak-beg Skender-pasha issued to Fr Angel Zvizdović on 1486



Sl. 8. Prva stranica Fojničkog grbovnika s posvetom u čast cara Stipana Nemanjića

Fig. 8. First page of Fojnica Coats of Arms with a dedication in honor of Emperor Stephen Nemanjić

converts from the 'Bosnian church'.¹⁹ It is apparent from the research by Boris Nilević (1947-1999)²⁰ and other authors that the Orthodox Church was not present in the time of Fr Angel in the region of central Bosnia.²¹ Hence Fr Angel could not have come from an Orthodox family in the area of central Bosnia.

¹⁹ Leo PETROVIĆ, Fra Anđelo Zvizdović. *Glasnik blaženog Nikole Tavelića*, 2 (1944) 174, 175.

²⁰ Борис НИЛЕВИЋ, *Српска православна црква у Босни и Херцеговини до обнове Пећке патријаршије*, „Веселин Маслеша“, Сарајево, 1990, pass.

²¹ Marko BABIĆ, There was no orthodox religion in mediaeval Bosnia. *Encyclopaedia moderna*, 14 (1993) 3(43) 222-234; Marko BABIĆ, Bosna srednjovjekovna – bez pravoslavlja. *Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik*, (1994) 137-147; ADEM HANDŽIĆ, *Studije o Bosni historijski prilozi from osmansko-turskog perioda*, „Research Centre for Islamic History“ – „Art and Culture“, Istanbul, 1994, pass.

For the history of Christianity in Bosnia, it is not crucial whether or not Fr Angel Zvizdović came from an Orthodox family or not. His services were unsurpassable considering that he stepped forward before the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed el Fatih, who had conquered his county, executed his king, and destroyed most of the Bosnian-Hum nobility, and asked him to protect the surviving population. The aristocratic background of Fr Angel and his position as head of the Bosnian Franciscan Custody represented additional motifs for standing before the Ottoman sultan who had conquered the capital of the Byzantine Empire – Constantinople ten years earlier. In the heart of the conquered Kingdom of Bosnia and Hum at Milodraž near Kiseljak Fr Angel received a charter (*Ahdnama*) from the Ottoman sultan and religious head of all muslims on the 28th of May 1463), which enabled the surviving Catholics to practice their faith according to the newly established Islamic religious-legal norms (add. 3). The analysis using the radioactive isotope carbon (¹⁴C) carried out in 2013 by the ‘Ruđer Bošković’ Institute in Zagreb confirmed that the oldest part of the *Ahdnama* kept in the Franciscan Monastery of the *Holy Spirit* in Fojnica as that which had been received by Fr Angel from Sultan Mehmed El Fatih was from around 1466 (fig. 6). This analysis has confirmed the tradition that this was the actual document that Fr Angel had been given by the Sultan. If the Franciscans had preserved the memories of this event for centuries, it is reasonable to assume that the same diligence with which they had preserved the *Ahdnama* would equally be applied to preserving Fr Angel’s bones in the same Monastery in Fojnica.

Conclusion

The head of the Franciscans of *Bosnia Argentina* during the tragic time of the destruction of the Kingdom of Bosnia and Hum by the Ottomans in 1463 was Fr Angel Zvizdović. Although the Catholic Church never officially canonized him, the Franciscans of the Province of *Bosnia Argentina* revere him as one of the most deserving members of their order and as blessed. There is no doubt that this Franciscan belongs among the most important individuals ever from Bosnia. His main merit was to have obtained from the conqueror of the Kingdom of Bosnia and Hum permission for the local population to practice their faith and hence the survival of Catholicism. Whenever Catholicism was threatened, or they were themselves, the Franciscans resorted to the *Ahdnama* and sought and mainly found protection. Hence it is not surprising that this document is carefully kept in the same Fojnica Monastery where the bones of Fr Angel Zvizdović are kept. It is no coincidence that the same Monastery also preserves the Armorial Roll of the Bosnian-Hum aristocracy, dedicated by the priest Stanislaus Rubčić in 1340 “to the glory of Stephen Nemanjić, Emperor of Serbia and Bosnia” (fig. 8).²²

²² „Rodoslovje Bosanskoga, aliti Iliričkoga i Serpskoga vladania; zajedno postavljeno po Stanislavu Rubčiću popu. Na slavu Stipana Nemanjića, cara Serbljena i Bošnjaka 1340.“ (Genealogy of Bosnian or Illyric and Serbian rulership; composed by the priest Stanislaus Rubčić. On the glory of Stephen Nemanjić, Emperor of Serbs and Bosniacs in 1340).

Addenda

No. 1

List of the guardians of the Franciscan Monastery of the *Holy Spirit* in Fojnica²³

	Name	Entry into the service of the guardian service
1.	Jacob Vonjić	1521.
2.	John [----]	1550.
3.	Mathew Vuković	1573.
4.	Anthony Jurišić	1594.
5.	Anthony Milanović	1597.
6.	Peter from Travnik	1601.
7.	Thomas Sakarat from Tješilo near Fojnica	1604.
8.	Anthony Alaupović from Fojnica	1607.
9.	George from Mokronoge near Duvno	1613.
10.	Nicholas Brnković	1616.
11.	George Mihović	1619.
12.	Francis Sakarat Glević	1622.
13.	Mathew Rikavčanin	1625.
14.	Lowrence Bilavić	1628.
15.	Andrew Tomanović from Kamengrad near Sanski Most	1631.
16.	Mathew Jakšić	1634.
17.	Marinus Ibrišimović	1636.
18.	Mathew Benlić	1637.
19.	Marinus Ibrišimović from Požega in Slavonia	1640.
20.	Andrew From Jajce	1643.
21.	Augustine From Fojnica	1646.
22.	Andrew From Jajce, again	1649.
23.	Francis Dobretić	1651.
24.	John from Kamengrad near Sanski Most	1655.
25.	Angel Dobretić	1656.
26.	Francis Miletić	1658.
27.	Francis Prudlija	1662.
28.	Andrew Crnčić from Cetina	1665.
29.	John Ratković from Majdan near Prijedor	1666.
30.	Francis Prudlija, again	1669.
31.	John Grković	1672.

²³ Unpublished list of the guardians of the Franciscan Monastery of the *Holy Spirit* in Fojnica. Archive of the Franciscan Monastery of the *Holy Spirit* in Fojnica.

32.	Mathew from Fojnica	1675.
33.	Anthony from Travnik, former provincial of Provincia <i>Bosnia Argentina</i>	1678.
34.	Philip from Kamengrad near Sanski Most	1681.
35.	Stephen Margitić from Jajce	1689.
36.	Nicholas Bogić from Kozarac near Prijedor	1693.
37.	John Jaranović from Jajce	1698.
38.	Augustine From Jajce	1712.
39.	Jacob Dobretić	1713.
40.	Georg Mršić - Kordić	1718.
41.	Michael [----]	1720.
42.	Stephen Džepinović from Jajce	1723.
43.	Peter Markvić from Travnik	1730.
44.	Mathew Momčinović from Fojnica	1733.
45.	John Gabrić	1736.
46.	John Kmetović	1739.
47.	Mathew Kmetović	1741.
48.	Paul Lozić	1743.
49.	John Gabrić, again	1745.
50.	Anthony Vučević from Fojnica	1747.
51.	Mathew from Lašva	1749.
52.	Nicholas Glavočević	1751.
53.	Mathew Momčinović, again	1752.
54.	Bonaventure Benić	1753.
55.	Lawrence Ajdanić from Ivanjska near Banja Luka	1757.
56.	Thomas Matijević from Kotor (Varoš)	1760. ¹
57.	Philip Gabrić from Lašva	1760.
58.	Lawrence Šimić from Jajce	1763.
59.	Luke Doratović from Jajce	1766.
60.	Anthony Lepad from Dobrošin near Skopje (Gornji Vakuf)	1770.
61.	John Skočibušić from Duvno	1772.
62.	Peter Raić from Livno	1774.
63.	Anthony Lepad, again	1777.
64.	Mathew Ivekić from Varcar (Mrkonjić Grad)	1779.
65.	John Skočibušić, again	1782.
66.	Stephen Trogrančić from Fojnica	1784.
67.	Philip Šimić from Jajce	1787.
68.	Stephen Margitić junior from Jajce	1790.

69.	Nicholas Golubović from Ivanjska near Banja Luka	1792.
70.	Peter Raić, again	1793.
71.	Philip Šimić, again	1795.
72.	Joseph Barić from Bišće near Bihać	1799.
73.	Elias Glavočević from Fojnica	1800.
74.	Peter Kozić	1803.
75.	Paul Radulović – Brnjić from Jajce	1806.
76.	Mark Šekimić from Fojnica	1810.
77.	Michael Dujić from Livno	1813.
78.	Stephen Markvić from Travnik	1815.
79.	Peter Vukadin from Duvno	1816.
80.	Mark Ostojić from Fojnica	1819.
81.	Michael Dujić, again	1822.
82.	Lawrence Tucić from Ivanjska near Banja Luka	1823.
83.	John Skočibušić junior from Duvno	1826.
84.	Lawrence Tucić, again	1829.
85.	Peter Vukadin, again	1832.
86.	Angel Jelić from Bišće near Bihać	1835. ²
87.	Francis Sitnić from Fojnica	1838.
88.	Lawrence Karaula from Livno	1842.
89.	Lawrence Tucić, again	1844.
90.	Mark Palinić from Skopje (Gornji Vakuf)	1848.
91.	Anthony Tuzlančić from Dolac near Travnik	1849.
92.	Michael Kutleša from Livno	1852.
93.	Jacob Baltić from Guča Gora near Travnik	1854.
94.	Anthony Vladić from Rama	1857.
95.	Nicholas Krilić from Fojnica	1860.
96.	Michael Gujić from Fojnica	1861.
97.	Paul Vukadin from Duvno	1865.
98.	Stephen Martić from Skopje (Gornji Vakuf)	1868.
99.	Jerome Barbarić from Fojnica	1872.
100.	Bonaventure Barišić from Fojnica	1873.
101.	Marianus Miličević from Fojnica	1874.
102.	Bonaventure Milišić from Rama	1877.
103.	Dominic Gojsilović from Fojnica	1880.
104.	Mark Ostojić junior from Fojnica	1885.
105.	John Vujičić from Brestovsko near Kiseljak	1888.
106.	Michael Wenceslaus Batinić from Fojnica	1893.

107.	Stephen Martić, again	1896.
108.	Dragutin Šumanović from Fojnica	1898.
109.	Augustine Tadić from Fojnica	1901.
110.	Marianus Lovrić from Podcintonja near Fojnica	1903.
111.	Dominic Gojsilović, again	1906.
112.	Angel Franjić from Brestovsko near Kiseljak	1909.
113.	John Vujičić, again	1911.
114.	Leonhard Čturić from Otigošće near Fojnica	1912.
115.	Mark Trogrančić	1916.
116.	Michael Gujić from Selakovići near Fojnica	1917.
117.	Mathew Luke Vujičić from Brestovsko near Kiseljak	1921.
118.	Emile Miličević from Bilalevac near Kiseljak	1924.
119.	Silverius Franković from Fojnica	1928.
120.	Leonard Čturić, again	1931.
121.	Anselm Alaupović from Busovača	1934.
122.	Fidelis Kulier from Fojnica	1938.
123.	Miroslav Džaja from Kupres	1941.
124.	Tvrtko Gujić from Bakovići near Fojnica	1942.
125.	Leonhard Čturić, again	1944.
126.	Thomas Ostojić from Fojnica	1945.
127.	Nenad Dujić from Busovača	1949.
128.	Thomas Ostojić, again	1951.
129.	Thomas Dusper from Bugojno	1955.
130.	Branko Krilić from Fojnica	1958.
131.	Bonaventure Šapina from Bugojno	1961.
132.	Marianus Brkić from Rama	1964.
133.	Charles Kujundžić from Tešanj	1965.
134.	Francis Mušura from Bugojno	1967.
135.	Miroslav Krajnović from Fojnica	1973.
136.	John Alilović from Busovača	1979.
137.	Francis Miletić from Fojnica	1985.
138.	Nicholas Miličević from Fojnica	1991. ³
139.	Francis Miletić from Fojnica, again	1994.
140.	Janko Ljubos from Busovača	1997.
141.	Michael Majdandžić from Busovača	2003.
142.	Nicholas Vujica from Busovača	2009.

No. 2

Bayruntu of the Bosnian sanyak-beg Skender-pasha issued to Fr Angel
Zvizdović on August 20th 1486²⁴

Through the Mercy of God and by the charter of the great lord and great Emir-Sultan Emperor Bayezid-beg, we Lord Skender-pasha, ruler of Bosnia, let each and every man know who is depicted and before whose face is our ledger opened with our marker of the Lord, to have mercy on the honorable custodian Fr Angel, so that he can walk freely throughout the dominions of the Lord Emperor; and outside the dominions of the Lord Emperor if he wishes, as per their laws, that no one do harm to the servant of the Lord Emperor, neither Turk, nor infidel, nor militiaman, nor any man. Show him favor, as he is an honest monk and his brothers are our servants, Duke Domša and Duke Milutin, as they also hold the books of the Lord Emperor. That is his faith and the word of our lord, and he should not be calumniated as long as he rightfully and faithfully holds to the path. In this his faith and the word of our lord and all our books opened. Written in the year 1486, on the 20th day of the month of August.

No. 3

*The Fojnica Ahdnama (English translation)*²⁵

He (i.e. God) is the only helper.

Mehmet, the son of Murat Khan, always victorious!

The order of the honorable, high and sublime sultan's emblem (nishan) and the shiny imperial seal (tugra) of the conqueror of the world is as follows:

I, the sultan Mehmet-Khan, make it known to all of common and noble people that the holders of this imperial edict (ferman), the Bosnian Franciscans, found my great favor; therefore I order that:

Let no one trouble or disturb the mentioned ones nor their monasteries. (Let them live in peace in my empire. And let those who ran away and went into exile be protected and safe, so if they return, let them live without fear in all the countries of our empire).

Let them settle down in their monasteries and let no one – nor my high majesty, nor any of my viziers, nor any of my servants, nor any of my subjects, nor any of the subjects of my empire – disturb and endanger them and their lives, their properties and their monasteries.

And if they want to bring the foreigners into the countries of my empire, let it be allowed.

Therefore, to the mentioned ones, the emperor's edict is generously granted.

²⁴ МАТАСОВИЋ, *Fojnička regesta*, 104.

²⁵ Srećko M. DŽAJA, *Fojnička Ahdnama u zrcalu paleografije, pravne povijesti i politike. Kontekstualizacija Ahdname bosanskih franjevacu. Bosna franciscana: časopis Franjevačke teologije Sarajevo*, XVII/31 (2009) 111.

I take my great oath: so help me the Creator of the earth and heaven who feeds all creatures, and so help me seven musafas (sacred books), and so help me our great Prophet, and so help me 124,000 prophets, and so help me the saber I gird on myself.

Let no one oppose this that is written, as long as they serve me and obey my orders.

Written on the 28th of May (1463) in the military camp of Milodraž.

Ante Škegro

JEDAN FRATAR I NJEGOV NATPIS

U muzeju Franjevačkog samostana *Duha Svetoga* u Fojnici u središnjoj Bosni nalazi se i ploča s natpisom, kojom je obilježen prijenos kostiju franjevca Andela Zvizdovića (oko 1420.-1498.) iz nekog skromnijeg u urešeniji sarkofag. Prema ovome natpisu to se zbilo 1760. g. u nazočnosti biskupa fra Pavla Dragičevića (1740.-1767.) i nekih uglednijih franjevaca Provincije *Bosne Srebrene*. Zvizdović je bio poglavar Bosanske franjevačke kustodije kada je osmanlijski sultan Mehmed II. el Fatih (1451.-1481.) osvajao Kraljevstvo Bosne i Huma 1463. g., pogubio njegovog kralja Stipana Tomaševića (1461.-1463.) te posmicao glavninu bosansko-humskog feudalnog sloja. Kao njihov jedini relevantni predstavnik, fra Andeo je katolicima u okupiranom Kraljevstvu od sultana ishodio povelju (*Ahdnama*) kojom im je tolerirano ispovjedanje vjere a franjevcima njihova duhovna pastorizacija. Sporno je mjesto fra Andelovog rođenja kao i vjerska pripadnost roda iz kojega je ponikao. Premda za to nema potvrde u vrelima, većina autora koji su o njemu pisali smatra da je potekao iz grčko-pravoslavnog roda s područja srednje Bosne.

