

# FRA MATE MIKIĆ-KOSTRČANAC AND THE TURKISH LANGUAGE: MANUSCRIPTS, COPYISTS, AND THE TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY\*

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## ABSTRACT

This article discusses manuscripts about the Turkish language, their copyists, and the transfer of knowledge in Bosnia during the second half of the nineteenth century. It takes as an excellent example of these practices the life and work of Fra Mate Mikić, who was a model of the Bosnian Friar, eager for knowledge and dedicated to the spreading of that knowledge. Mikić completed his Turkological manuscripts by the age of 21, and during his short life, he finished his studies in philosophy and theology and served as a friar in several Bosnian monasteries. Through his activity in the Franciscan order and his manuscripts, which were obviously copied and used even after his death, Mikić avoided complete oblivion thanks primarily to Babić's (1988) article about his work. Although Babić addresses Mikić and his written legacy from an altogether different point of view and approach, Babić's evaluation of Mikić's work coincides to a great degree with the opinions of the author of this article. Babić summarizes the extent of Mikić's work as a copyist in the following way: "It can be reliably stated that Mikić did not accomplish a superb range of works. However, his work, as observed in the continuity of the events and great changes in the middle of the past [i.e., nineteenth] century, sheds light on the cultural work of the Franciscans on the territory of Ottoman Bosnia" (Babić, "Autographum Vocabula Latino-Turcica," p. 126). To all of this we can also add his humanistic activities. Besides his service as a priest, Mikić was also a naturalist, a poet, a historian, a lexicographer, a geographer, and a translator from Turkish. In short, Mate Mikić was a student and follower of the humanistic ideas of Fra Martin Nedić, from whom he learned the Turkish language.

*Keywords:* Bosnian Franciscans, Turkish texts in Latin transcription, knowledge transfer in the 19th century.

## I. INTRODUCTION

In the mid-nineteenth century, unfavorable political circumstances which resulted in a ban on the education of Bosnia's prospective friars in Italy, and subsequently in Austria as well, accelerated the realization of the idea that Catholic seminaries should be established in Bosnia. In 1851 the first such educational institutions were opened in Fojnica and in Kraljeva Sutjeska.<sup>1</sup> By the early 1880s, the Franciscans had

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<sup>\*</sup> To Nenad Moačanin, conceptual founder of the Section for Turkology and professor whose teaching and research has contributed greatly to the education of generations of Croatian Turkologists and Ottoman scholars.

<sup>1</sup> Conditions in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. were more liberal with regard to the opening of religious and educational institutions thanks to the Tanzimat reforms, when

seminaries in Livno, Fojnica, Plehan, Kraljeva Sutjeska, Kreševo, Tolisa, Guča Gora, and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

In the nineteenth century, marked by the Muslim population's noticeable intolerance towards the Sultan and the Tanzimat reforms, interest in the Turkish language quickly rose among the Franciscans of Bosnia. The reasons for this were pragmatic, as Fra Petar Bakula states indirectly when listing the languages that Franciscans in Bosnia must know: (1) *Latin* for the Holy Mass; (2) *local Slavic* for sermons, the singing of the Gospel, festivals, processions, formal blessings, and public prayers; (3) *Italian* for services in "Italian regions" (i.e., neighboring Dalmatia); (4) *Turkish*, because everyone considers it the language of the state; and (5) often *German* and *French* as well.<sup>3</sup>

Considering direct communication with the Ottoman authorities to be very important for defending Franciscan interests before government authorities, in sharia court, or even at the Sublime Porte, the Franciscans introduced Turkish as a mandatory subject in the curricula of their colleges. Leading this trend was the Monastery of the Holy Spirit in Fojnica, where, for the purposes of teaching, the most copies were made of Turkish dictionaries and grammars published in Europe.<sup>4</sup> That these works were used specifically for the purpose of teaching is clear from their titles: *Compendiosum Lexicon Latino-Turcicum, pro Studiosa Iuventute Conventus Fojnicensis Concinnatum*. Studio et Opera P. Francisci Sitnich // Iis Magistri Novitiorum 1833;<sup>5</sup> *Compendium Syntaxeas Linguae Turcaicae ex Grammatica*

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non-Muslims were given the right and the incentive to build churches and open new schools as well as the right to elect their own representatives in government (local councils and the like). Bringing to life the Tanzimat regulations led to intensive contact between Ottoman authorities and representatives of Christian communities, which accelerated the building of new churches. According to Staka Skenderova, *Ljetopis Bosne, 1825–1856* [The Bosnian Chronicle, 1825–1856], writes that Huršid-Paša issued a ferman for ten [Orthodox] churches, and even more for Catholic churches. For more detailed accounts, cf. H. J. Kornrumpf, "Einige osmanische Dokumente zum Neubau von Kirchen in Bosnien," *Südost-Forschungen* 53 (1994), 151–152; Prokopije Čokorilo, Joanikije Pamučina, and Staka Skenderova, *Ljetopisi* [Chronicles] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1976), 227; Zafer Gölen, *Tanzimat Döneminde Bosna Hersek Siyasî, İdarî, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durum* (Ankara: TTK, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> Marko Karamatić, *Franjevci Bosne Srebrene u vrijeme austrougarske uprave 1878–1914* [The Franciscans of Bosna Srebrena during the Austro-Hungarian administration 1878–1914] (Sarajevo: Svjetlo riječi, 1992), 101.

<sup>3</sup> Petar Bakula, *Hercegovina prije sto godina ili šematizam fra Petra Bakule* [Hercegovina one hundred years ago, or the schematism of Fra Petar Bakula; translated from Latin into Croatian by V. Kosir] (Mostar: Provincijalat hercegovačkih franjevaca, 1970), 26–27.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ekrem Čaušević, "Latin-script Turkish manuscripts from Bosnia and Herzegovina, 19th century" in *Spoken Ottoman in Mediator Texts*, ed. É. Á. Csató, A. Menz and F. Turan, *Turcologica* 106, ed. Lars Johanson (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016), 77–88.

<sup>5</sup> "Short Latin–Turkish dictionary for use by students at the Monastery in Fojnica, compiled by the diligence and work of Franjo Sitnić, teacher of students enrolled in 1833."

*Meninskiana. Extractum. In usum Auditorum L. L. Orientalium 1847*;<sup>6</sup> *Compendium Grammaticae Turcicae pro non Auditorum Linguae Turcicae concinatum. Ternio secundus. Anni 1847*.<sup>7</sup> Although it is not clear exactly what the latter title refers to,<sup>8</sup> the educational purpose of that manuscript cannot be doubted for a second.

## II. FRA MATE MIKIĆ-KOSTRČANAC

We know about the Franciscan manuscripts thanks to Professor Vančo Boškov of Sarajevo (1934–1984), author of a catalog of Turkish manuscripts held at various Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>9</sup> For unknown reasons, however, Boškov did not visit all the Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina, so that even after his catalog was published, there were still some Franciscan manuscripts in Bosnia that remained unknown. Boškov was probably unaware that the archives of the Franciscan Monastery in Tolisa in Bosanska Posavina (northern Bosnia) housed an autograph entitled *Vocabula Latino-Turcica et alia nonnulla usui et utilitati Auditorum Linguarum Orientalium plurimum necessaria*<sup>10</sup> (hereinafter: *Vocabula Latino-Turcica*), whose author was Fra Mate Mikić-Kostrčanac (1826–1862).

The only article on the autograph dictionary *Vocabula Latino-Turcica* was published by Marko Babić,<sup>11</sup> but even after its publication in 1988, no Turcologist has studied the philological material contained in that manuscript. From Babić's exhaustive and excellent article, we learn that Ivo (his given name) Mikić was born in Kostrč, near Tolisa, on 19 April 1826. He attended primary school in Tolisa. Since he was a gifted pupil, after completing primary school, the Franciscans of Tolisa sent him for further education in Kraljeva Sutjeska. It was there that, on 31 January 1842, he joined the Franciscan order, on which occasion he chose Mate as his mo-

<sup>6</sup> "Compendium of syntax of the Turkish language from the Grammar of F. M. Meninski. Extract. For use by students of Oriental languages in 1847."

<sup>7</sup> "Compendium of Turkish grammar for non-students of Turkish." This is also an extract from the well-known grammar of F. M. Meninski.

<sup>8</sup> Does this perhaps refer to different programs of study then offered at the seminary in Fojnica? Was the former grammar intended for students who took Oriental languages as a mandatory subject, and the latter for those who attended the class as an optional course? Or could the phrase "pro non Auditorum Linguae Turcicae" perhaps refer generally to non-students?

<sup>9</sup> Vančo Boškov, *Katalog turskih rukopisa franjevačkih samostana u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Catalogue of Turkish manuscripts in the Franciscan monasteries of Bosnia and Herzegovina] (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1988).

<sup>10</sup> "Latin-Turkish dictionary and other useful things necessary for those who study Oriental languages."

<sup>11</sup> Marko Babić, "Autographum Vocabula Latino-Turcica et alia nonnulla usui et utilitati Auditorum Linguarum Orientalium plurimum necessaria fratris Matthaei Mikić et eiusdem curriculum vitae," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 37 (1988): 119–130.

nastic name. Because of the constellation of relations within the order, as well as the political situation in the Ottoman Empire, he was not able to go abroad for further studies (at the time, Italy and Hungary were the usual destinations), for which reason he was quite disappointed. In 1848, however, he was sent to Italy after all, to study in Ancona, but there he was disappointed with the quality of the lectures. Upon completion of his studies, he returned to the monastery in Kraljeva Sutjeska, where he performed various religious and administrative services. He then served as parish priest in Tuzla (1858–1861) and Ulice in northeastern Bosnia (1861–1862), where he fell ill and died on 13 December 1862. He was buried in the cemetery of that town, where his grave can still be found today.<sup>12</sup>

Mikić's personal papers, containing four volumes of manuscripts, are held at the Archives of the Monastery in Kraljeva Sutjeska. Except for a copied grammar of the Turkish language and an extensive Latin-Turkish dictionary, these papers contain approximately one hundred pages of natural science, poetry, and geographic texts, translations of documents from Turkish, and a three-volume manuscript entitled "Kronika Bosne Srebrene" [Chronicle of (the Franciscan Province of) Bosna Argentina]. Mikić's chronicle is the result of his compilation and transcription of other Franciscan chronicles with the addition of his own personal reports. In spite of this, the chronicle provides valuable material documenting the history of the province and the biographies of Bosnian Franciscans (vols. I–III), as well as the history of the monastery in Sutjeska (volume IV).<sup>13</sup>

### III. MANUSCRIPTS, COPYISTS, AND THE TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH C.

Mikić's papers are held in the archives of the Franciscan monasteries in Tolisa and Kraljeva Sutjeska, as well as, Babić assumes, "in other Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina."<sup>14</sup> While researching archival material, we<sup>15</sup> confirmed that Mikić's grammar is indeed kept in the library of the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Kraljeva Sutjeska. It is filed under reference number IV. Rk 41, and the title of the autograph (*Gramatica turcica pro usu fratris Matthaei Mikić, anno 1847. Ex prelectionibus professoris M. P. Martini Nedić*<sup>16</sup>) clearly tells us that it was origi-

<sup>12</sup> Babić, "Autographum Vocabula Latino-Turcica," 123.

<sup>13</sup> "Samostanska knjižnica – Kraljeva Sutjeska" [Monastery library – Kraljeva Sutjeska], Franjevačka provincija sv. Križa – Bosna Srebrena, accessed 21 October 2019, <https://www.bosnasrebrena.ba/node/608>.

<sup>14</sup> Babić, "Autographum Vocabula Latino-Turcica," 124.

<sup>15</sup> Ekrem Čaušević and Marta Andrić, "Novootkriveni rukopisi bosanskih franjevaca na turskome jeziku" [Newly discovered manuscripts of Bosnian Franciscans written in Turkish], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 58 (2009): 167–178.

<sup>16</sup> "Turkish grammar written by Fra Mate Mikić, 1847. Notes from the lectures of Professor (and) Most Respected Father Martin Nedić."

nally based upon the lectures of Mikić's professor, Fra Martin Nedić. The physical dimensions of the manuscript are 22 cm x17 cm. It is bound in a hard cardboard binding, the pages are unnumbered, and there are empty sheets. On the first page of the autograph is a remark stating that the grammar was completed in 1847.

Who was this professor of Mikić's – Fra Martin Nedić (1810–1895)? Nedić was one of the most famous Bosnian Franciscans, renowned not only for his religious work but for his writing as well. He finished primary school in Tolisa and secondary school at the Monastery in Kraljeva Sutjeska. He studied philosophy and theology in Hungary and was ordained as a priest in 1833. From 1836 to 1839, he served in Ovčarevo (near Travnik) as chaplain of Fra Marijan Šunjić. Nedić was allegedly sent there to learn Turkish from Šunjić (who had studied Oriental languages in Vienna) and subsequently perfected his knowledge of the language in Bologna. Various sources state that Nedić learned Turkish so well from Šunjić that his contemporaries called him *turkuša u habitu*.<sup>17</sup> According to Jelenić, while in Tuzla, Nedić's knowledge of the Turkish language improved even more, and because of this, he was favored by the pasha and other Ottoman officials. After Tuzla, Nedić taught Turkish in Kraljeva Sutjeska until 1848. For his merits he received a commendation from the Sublime Porte. In addition, he translated Ottoman documents kept in the archives of the monastery in Kraljeva Sutjeska and on two occasions represented the interests of the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena (Lat. *Bosna Argentina*) in Istanbul.<sup>18</sup>

Nedić originally learned Turkish from Fra Marijan Šunjić (1798-1860), one of the most prominent Bosnian friars of that time. In 1821, Šunjić and two other Bosnian friars had been sent by the Franciscan Province of Bosnia Srebrena to the Oriental Academy in Vienna, where they studied Oriental languages for three years. They returned to Bosnia in 1824 “as the first educated Bosnian Orientalists.” During his studies, Šunjić had perfected his language skills so well that, not long after returning to Bosnia, he was offered the opportunity to perfect his Turkish language skills under the tutelage of Giuseppe Mezzofanti, the renowned university librarian, professor, and later cardinal who allegedly knew 52 languages. Šunjić spent eight months with Mezzofanti, and after his return from Bologna, “he compiled the Turkish grammar and dictionary that are kept in Guča Gora, near Travnik.”<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> i.e., “Turkuša in a habit.” Bosnians usually referred to ethnic Turks as “Turkuše” or “Osmanlije,” but their name for Bosnian (i.e., Slavic-speaking) Muslims was *Turci*, which simply means “Turks.”

<sup>18</sup> Julian Jelenić, *Kultura i bosanski franjevci* [Culture and Bosnian Franciscans], vol. 2 (Sarajevo: Prva hrvatska tiskara Kramarić and M. Raguz, 1915), 442, 483, 507; Andrija Zirdum, *Pisma bosanskih franjevacā 1850–1870* [Letters of Bosnian Franciscans 1850–1870] (Plehan: Slovoznak, 1996), 314.

<sup>19</sup> Jelenić, *Kultura*, 492. Since the library and archives of that monastery were damaged in a fire in 1945 and again in 1993, during the Bosnian war, the fate of this manuscript is unknown. I assume that no one ever paid any attention to it, since we were not able to find out when the monastery actually lost track of it.

All of this clearly indicates that the Franciscans had a solid knowledge of Turkish and that they gained this knowledge in Fojnica, the “first school of Oriental languages in Bosnia.”<sup>20</sup> At the end of their philosophical-theological studies, they would go out to serve in other monasteries within the jurisdiction of the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena. Since they took their manuscripts (notes, dictionaries, grammars, etc.) with them, a large number of these papers are kept today in the archives of monasteries other than where they were written. For example, Mikić’s Turkish grammar is kept in the library of the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Kraljeva Sutjeska, where Mikić was in service for a period of time; similarly, the Turkish grammar of Fra Mate Oršolić, completed in Đakovo (Croatia) in 1859,<sup>21</sup> is kept in the library of the same monastery. *Gramatica latino-turcica cum vocabulario*, written by Bonaventura Mihačević and completed in 1856 at the monastery in Đakovo, is now at the Franciscan monastery in Kreševo (Bosnia and Herzegovina), while the undated Turkish grammar (*Turcica Gramatica*, sic!) of Dobroslav Drežnjak, the place of origin of which is unknown, is kept today at the Monastery of St. Anthony in Ljubuški (today Bosnia and Herzegovina). Even Mikić’s manuscript, entitled *Vocabula latino-turcica et alia nonnulla usui et utilitati auditorum linguarum orientalium plurimum necessaria*, completed in 1847 at the Monastery of the Holy Spirit in Kraljeva Sutjeska, is now kept at the Franciscan monastery in Tolisa, where Mikić subsequently took it. This leads us to the conclusion that Turkish was taught not only at the monastery in Fojnica, and that these transcriptions and/or manuscripts played a major role in the transfer of knowledge.

Thus, knowledge about the Turkish language was transferred from professor to student (as in the case of Šunjić → Nedić → Mikić), and the students’ notes were probably written down by means of their professor’s dictations. We know this because the manuscript Turkish grammars in question are all quite similar to each other in terms of their organization, examples, and methodology. Of course, this similarity could also have been influenced by the fact that the Franciscans copied

<sup>20</sup> Jelenić, *Kultura*, 490. Jelenić explicitly states that these friars attended the Viennese (diplomatic, E. Č) academy for three years, that in the end of 1824 they returned to Bosnia “as the first educated Bosnian Orientalists,” and that during their studies there, “they excelled so much in Eastern languages that in Bosnia they opened the first school of Eastern languages.” Since schools for dragomans in the Ottoman Empire were for Europeans who were sent to be educated as official translators of their countries, the “schools” at Fojnica and other Bosnian Franciscan Monasteries were, as far as the author of this article knows, the first educational institutions in the Ottoman Empire where Turkish as a non-native language was studied “at home.”

<sup>21</sup> Thanks to Croatian politician and bishop of Đakovo Josip Juraj Strossmayer, from December 1852 to September 1876, Franciscan students of philosophy and theology were educated in Đakovo (today part of Croatia). See Marko Karamatić, “Biskup Strossmayer i školovanje bosanskih franjevacu u Đakovu 1853–1876” [Bishop Strossmayer and the education of Bosnian Franciscans 1853–1876], *Diacovensia* 1 (1995): 200–209.

from a limited number of original printed grammars of the Turkish language written in Latin and Italian, and most frequently from the grammar of the renowned philologist and lexicographer F. M. Meninski.<sup>22</sup>

However, because there is a lack of data about the authors, it is not possible to reconstruct who the mediators in the transfer of knowledge about the Turkish language were in the period before the mid-nineteenth century. In the library of the Monastery of the Holy Spirit in Fojnica, for example, we found the oldest known manuscript Turkish grammar with vocabulary, which is filed under reference number V. Rk. 71.<sup>23</sup> This manuscript by an unknown author (probably an autograph) was completed in 1815. It is bound in 14.5 x 10 cm leather bindings, which are damaged in places, as are the leaves. The manuscript is written in a relatively legible hand and contains some blank, unnumbered pages. It consists of two parts: (1) a Turkish-Latin vocabulary in two columns and (2) a grammar of the Turkish language in Italian, indicating that it is probably a transcription. The grammar ends with a reader, several analyses of Ottoman texts, and shorter texts of varying content. It is possible that Mikić's professor, Martin Nedić, used this Turkish grammar as well.

#### IV. MIKIĆ'S PERSONAL PAPERS IN TURKISH

Babić divides Mikić's personal papers held in the Franciscan monastery at Tolisa into four groups: (1) lexicographical, (2) historical, (3) literary, and (4) miscellaneous writings. Although he died in his 37th year, the young friar, who was also a naturalist, a poet, a historian, a lexicographer, a chronicler, and a geographer, left behind hundreds of handwritten pages.

Mikić's autograph *Vocabula Latino-Turcica* is preserved as a hardcover book, 21 x 17 cm in size. It has 444 pages and is in very good condition. It was written in Kraljeva Sutjeska in 1847, as can be seen on the title page. The autograph's pages were not numbered (although Mikić did sporadically mark quire numbers), but each page was marked with the first two letters of the first and last Latin words on that page. In 1985, Babić paginated the manuscript himself.

<sup>22</sup> Francisci à Mesgnien-Meninski, *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium*, (Vienna, 1660; 2nd ed. 1780); Mesgnien-Meninski, *Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae, institutiones seu Grammatica Turcica* (Vienna, 1680; 2nd ed. 1756). In the libraries of Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a small number of printed dictionaries and grammars of the Turkish language have survived. Besides Meninski's, these also include the following: J. Th. Zenker, *Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch*, I-II (Leipzig, 1866); C. C. de Carbognano, *Primi principi della Grammatica Turca ad uso dei missionari apostolici di Constantinopoli* (Rome, 1794). After finishing their education abroad, Franciscan friars would often receive such books as presents, since they were indispensable handbooks for working in the "Turkish provinces."

<sup>23</sup> Čaušević and Andrić, "Novootkriveni rukopisi," 175.

The autograph *Vocabula Latino-Turcica* can be divided into four chapters, of which only one has a title:

A Latin-Turkish vocabulary, pp. 3–209;  
 Turkish loanwords commonly used in everyday speech, pp. 210–213,  
 followed by blank pages from 214 to 262;  
 Grammar, pp. 263–327, followed by blank pages from 328 to 372;  
 A Turkish–Latin vocabulary of words that are used most frequently  
 (*Vocabula Turcica quorum maximus et frequentissimus usus est in scriptis  
 eorumdem*), pp. 373–437.

The most voluminous chapter of the manuscript is the Latin–Turkish vocabulary. The first column from the left is a list of Latin words: nouns in nominative singular (without the usual genitive ending or indication of gender), adjectives in their nominative masculine singular forms, and verbs in the infinitive. No accents are indicated for the Latin words. The second column contains Turkish equivalents of the Latin words, written in Ottoman script, and in the third column one finds Latin transliterations of the Turkish words, often in a form typically used in the Bosnian variety of the Turkish language. Given that there are roughly thirty Latin words on each page, Babić estimates that the entire dictionary contains more than six thousand headwords.<sup>24</sup>

The chapter containing common Turkish loanwords in everyday speech has no title at all, and one could even say that it was never even completed. Here, Mikić lists only 59 words on four pages (210–213), while leaving pages 214 to 262 blank, as mentioned earlier. Babić assumes that, chronologically speaking, this part is youngest – that it was written after all work on the Grammar and the Turkish-Latin dictionary had been completed, since it “differs in the color of the ink and in the handwriting” from the rest.<sup>25</sup>

Even the Turkish grammar, the third chapter in Mikić’s autograph, has no specific title. It is also written in Latin, in very legible, beautiful Latin and Ottoman handwriting. The philological material and examples indicate that this text contains excerpts taken from the aforementioned grammar of F. M. Meninski.

Mikić titled the fourth chapter “*Vocabula Turcica quorum maximus et frequentissimus usus est in scriptis eorumdem*” (pp. 373–437). It was completed in 1848, and in total, it contains about two hundred Turkish words and expressions that, in terms of their vocalism and grammatical errors, are typical of the Bosnian

<sup>24</sup> Babić, “Autographum Vocabula Latino-Turcica,” 120.

<sup>25</sup> Babić, “Autographum Vocabula Latino-Turcica,” 120. After comparing the handwriting from the chapter “Most common Turkish loanwords used in everyday speech” with the handwriting from the “*Vocabula Latino-Turcica*,” Babić concludes that this chapter was written by the same person as the other chapters.



variety of Turkish,<sup>26</sup> while its half-empty and blank pages were probably reserved for additional entries. Thus, like the second chapter, this one remained unfinished as well.

It seems unbelievable that Mikić was able to complete several hundred pages of Turkological manuscripts by the age of 21. According to Babić, Mikić perfected his Turkish by translating as well as through his contacts with Turkish officials. This is supported by a quote from the manuscript of Fra Bono Nedić (Archives of the Franciscan monastery at Tolisa), in which Nedić wrote the following about Mate Mikić: “In the Turkish language, he spoke, read, and translated quite correctly. He also translated many different Turkish documents into Croatian (...).” Babić also mentions a letter by Fra Ilija Čavarović (Kraljeva Sutjeska, 31 Dec. 1869) to Fra Martin Nedić, in which he asks Nedić to see to it that Mikić’s manuscript is preserved and points out that there is another manuscript of his grammar, “which somehow got into the hands of the students in Fojnica.”<sup>27</sup>

## V. CONCLUSION

This study of Turkological material kept in the libraries and archives of Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina provides interesting information about how knowledge of the Turkish language was transferred from professors to students at Franciscan seminaries founded in the second half of the nineteenth century. That transfer of knowledge took place not only within the seminaries but outside of those institutions, as well. One example of extra-institutional teaching was the informal language instruction that Fra Marijan Šunjić gave to Fra Martin Nedić in Ovčarevo, while Nedić was serving as Šunjić’s chaplain from 1836 to 1839. From articles on the history of Franciscan seminaries as well as surviving documentation which includes autoreferential texts, a high level of motivation was noted among professors, who, continuing the tradition of their own teachers, copied or (less often) compiled dictionaries and grammars of the Turkish language for teaching purposes and the needs of students. Their success in the transfer of knowledge of not only spoken Turkish but also the Ottoman language for higher-level written and spoken communication, even without sufficient knowledge about methods of teaching foreign languages or the necessary literature – which had existed as far back as the seventeenth century in European schools for dragomans (i.e., interpreters) – speaks to the knowledge, skill, and efforts of professors to pass on such specific knowledge to their students. In addition, there were some friars who, on several occasions, copied grammars and dictionaries that were hundreds

<sup>26</sup> Examples: *Alaisi versi* ‘za ljubav Boga’ [for the love of God]; *Baka beri* ‘pazi ovde’ [take note!; listen!]; *Čik mejdane* ‘izadi na dvor’ [go outside!]; *Jarali oldum* ‘bih izranjen’ [I was wounded]; *Šujle buyle* ‘amo tamo’ [here and there], *Tamašan* ‘čudan’ [strange], *Ulmis* ‘mrtav’ [dead], etc.

<sup>27</sup> Babić, “Autographum Vocabula Latino-Turcica,” 121.

of pages long (!) because, when departing for a new post, they would leave their manuscripts in the libraries of the monasteries where they had just served. Therefore, even their manuscripts dedicated to the Turkish language, which made up for the lack of published foreign grammars, lesson books, and dictionaries, had a significant role in the process of teaching the Turkish language and the transfer of knowledge. The practice of copying foreign printed books<sup>28</sup> continued up until the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, as evidenced by Mikić's massive manuscript legacy. Why this lasted so long is not entirely clear. Perhaps it was because of Ottoman censorship, as the government, fearing enemy propaganda, forbade the importation of foreign books and monitored the mails coming in from abroad; on the other hand, it could have been due to the desperate economic circumstances, which would have prevented them from ordering books from abroad.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> One exception is the grammar *Kavâid-i Osmaniye ili Pravila otomanskoga jezika* [Kavâid-i Osmaniye, or Rules of the Ottoman language], which was translated by Josip Dragomanović and published in 1873 in Sarajevo.

<sup>29</sup> These problems were even discussed by Bosnian Franciscans in their private letters. See Andrija Zirdum, *Pisma bosanskih franjevaca 1850–1870* [Letters of Bosnian Franciscans 1850–1870] (Plehan: Slovoznak, 1996).

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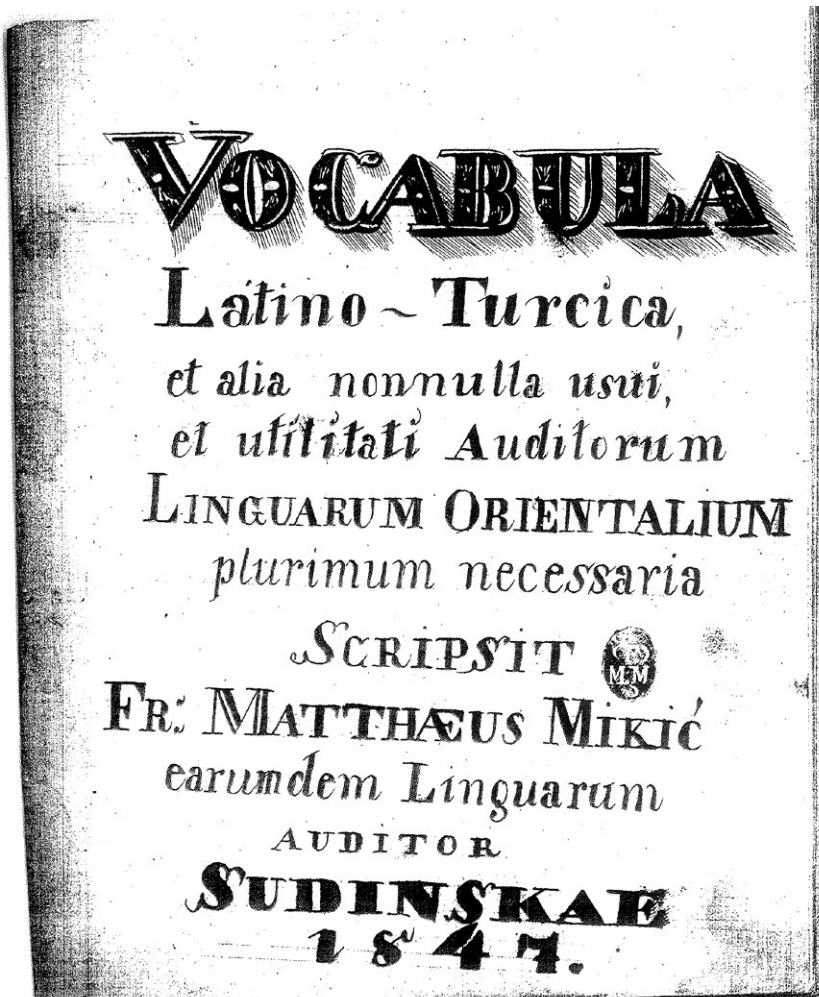
## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1



*Map. The Apostolic Vicariate in Bosnia at the Turn of the 18th and 19th Centuries*  
 Source: Srećko M. Džaja: *Katolici u Bosni i zapadnoj Hercegovini na prijelazu iz 18. u 19. stoljeće* [Catholics in Bosnia and Western Herzegovina at the Turn of the 18th and 19th Centuries], Kršćanska sadašnjost, Zagreb 1971.)

APPENDIX 2



*Latin-Turkish vocabulary*



## APPENDIX 5

210

Adak - običaj.  
 Akar - stala.  
 Ala'i-i vevci - za gulan boga.  
 As'ik - zabavljen, zabavljen.  
 Baka beri - pazi ovde.  
 Basaka - na stranu.  
 Benden giti - ubegloje od mene.  
 Benden gitmi - propao je.  
 Bonum nehum - naly duh.  
 Bonum zanunum - moja duša.  
 Capdak - gornja soba.  
 Cafir - nevjera.  
 Celbia - Gospodar.  
 Çik m'ydane - kadi na dvor.  
 Coban - pastir.  
 Çerbi - juha.  
 Çul - pokrivač od kožne.

Feris - turski pop.  
 Delis - junak.  
 Djaur nevjernik, čovik kojice kralj.  
 Djel - oči.  
 Zanunum - duša.  
 Džigier - pluća.  
 Džurekuk - ljepota.  
 Džurek - lič.  
 Džure solum - hvrimose.  
 Hain Muhammedu - odmatnik.  
 Hamalg - Gubotni Lis.  
 Horamis - ugrabitelj - bijava.  
 Hosap - račun.  
 Hic - vala - nimala noga.  
 Hodav - učitelj.  
 Israli oldum - bih isranjem.  
 Jasak - uskarbuja, zabranu od

Turkish loanwords commonly used in everyday speech

## APPENDIX 6

2 112

Tokmije  
 Kaduna - gospođa  
 Kadun - sudan.  
 Kas - mnog košni  
 Kaplan - bigeršini - Egipci  
 Kan d'ria - kolniti  
 Kustel'ien - oslobodis samac.  
 Kurban - posvetiliste - alder  
 Mahamud - ostruga.  
 Medci - mitosnje.  
 Melek - angje, duh, nobeski.  
 Medicmo - sudionica, - Magistral  
 oglan džukel - lič bex brade.  
 Soimago - Pipelo.  
 Samazan post tunka; my'ccini.  
 Sijle bujle - ama tamo

Samazan - ćudan.  
 Saman - ni d'ladu manje, olo vicije  
 Seia - Samostan (Manastir) sam  
 Seferi - kucica u vrtu (kucica)  
 Septis - Mroto id'v'janje.  
 Ubrisi - vrtov.  
 Vala - Boga mi  
 Zan ol di - zaludu, bedava.  
 Zulum - nasilje, sila, ~~vala~~ (Coac

Turkish loanwords commonly used in everyday speech

