

BYZANZ
UND DAS ABENDLAND VII.
Studia
Byzantino-Occidentalia



BYZANZ UND DAS ABENDLAND VII.
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Stanoje Bojanin

The Byzantine Penitential Nomocanon in the Serbian and South Slavic Early Modern Printed and Manuscript Book

I.

The learned French theologian, professor of Greek language at the Collège Royal in Paris and meticulous scholar of Greek manuscripts, Jean-Baptiste Cotelier (Johanes Baptista Cotelerius), decided to publish in his first collection *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta* (Paris, 1677), among a variety of different texts, an unusual and rare “book”.¹ Along with the Greek text, his Latin translation was printed in parallel, which was the regular practice of scholarly publications at the time. This was the penitential nomocanon which belongs to the wider family mediaeval *libri poenitentiales*. The book is thematically divided into 547 chapters and includes different canonical and non-canonical legal materials intended for the pastoral practice of the Church. It carries the characteristic title Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ νομοκανόνας. Κανόνες τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων περὶ ἀρχιερέων, ἱερέων, μοναχῶν μεγαλοσχημῶν, καὶ ἄλλων μοναχῶν, καὶ λαϊκῶν,² intended to accentuate its importance through the reference to the authority of the Apostles, Holy Fathers and Ecumenical Councils. Nevertheless, its basic text does not include official canons, at least not in significant numbers. At hand is a text of an unofficial and apocryphal nature intended for the wider population, as the title says, from bishops to ordinary monks and lay people,

¹ COTELERIUS, J. B., *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta I*. Paris 1677, 68–158. For Cotelier's biography, see *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 4. New York 1913, 421.

² *Cum Deo principium Nomocanonis. Canones sanctorum Apostolorum, & septem Synodorum oecumenicarum; de Pontificibus, Sacerdotibus, Monachis magni habitus, aliis Monachis, necnon Laicis*, COTELERIUS (n. 1) 68. Cf. ZACHARIÄ VON LINGENTHAL, K. E., *Die Handbücher des geistlichen Rechts aus den Zeiten des untergehenden byzantinischen Reiches und der türkischen Herrschaft*. (Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de Saint-Petersbourg, 7,28,7) Saint Petersburg 1881, 23; PAVLOV, A., *Nomokanon pri Bolšom Trebnike*. Moskva 1897² (the first edition 1872) 41.

which was significantly adjusted in line with contemporary practices. The book begins with a characteristic list of working and non-working days within the context of the weekly and annual cycle which represents the reworked text of the *Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions*.³ Unlike the text from the early Christian period where Saturday and Sunday are both presented equally as non-working days, in the Nomocanon of Cotelier Sunday is the only feast and non-working day in the week. The form of celebrating Sunday was to be transferred to other major Christian holidays of the year, which are listed individually.⁴ In the Greek manuscript heritage, this type of penitential nomocanon is rarely present. The well-known legal historian Zachariä von Lingenthal was not familiar with its copies,⁵ while contemporary scholarship is only aware of several similar, albeit not identical Greek texts of Cotelier's type of Nomocanon.⁶

However, Cotelier could not have known, at least judging by his training and education, that the said type of Penitential Nomocanon was printed some 150 years earlier and, what is more, in Slavic version. The reasons were not philological and bibliographical, but practical, as the text was printed for socio-religious reasons. The Slavic version of Cotelier's type of Nomocanon was printed in 1523 in the liturgical book of the Trebnik (the Prayer book), in the Ljubavić workshop at the Church of St George in Goražde, on the Drina River.⁷ The book was intended for the needs of the parish life of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire. Following the publication of the Leitourgikon (Služabnik) in 1519 and Psalter with Appendices in 1521, this was the third and last book to come out of this family printing shop for a longer period of time.⁸

³ FUNK, F. X. (ed.), *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum I*. Paderbornae 1905, 538–539.

⁴ COTELERIUS (n. 1) 68–69. Cf. BOJANIN, S., *Zabave i svetkovine u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji (od kraja XII do kraja XV veka)*. Beograd 2005, 47–48; BOJANIN, S., *Nedelja kao neradni dan u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*. In: RUDIĆ, S. (ed.), *Spomenica akademika Sime Ćirkovića*. Beograd 2011, 311–314.

⁵ ZACHARIÄ VON LINGENTHAL (n. 2) 23–24.

⁶ PAVLOV (n. 2) 42; ALMAZOV, A., *Zakonopravil'nik pri ruskom Trebnike*. S.-Peterburg 1902, 81. Cf. NAJĐENOVA, D., *Južnoslavjanskaja rukopisnaja tradicija Nomokanona Kotelera (slavjanskij Psevdozonar)*. In: ŽEŇUCH, P. – BELJAKOVA, E. V. – NAJĐENOVA, D. – ZUBKO, P. – MARINČÁK, Š., *Užhorodský rukopisný Psevdozonar. Pravidlá mníškeho a svetského života z prelomu 16.–17. storočia – Užgorodskij rukopisnyj Psevdozonar. Pravila monašeskoj i svetskoj žizni rubeža XVI–XVII vv.* Bratislava – Moskva – Sofia – Košice 2018, 100f, 227.

⁷ *Molitvenik 1523*. Facsimile reproduction. Beograd – Istočno Sarajevo 2008, 265^v–295^v. Cf. NEMIROVSKIJ, E. L., *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift. Band IV: Die Druckerei von Božidar Goraždanin in Goražde und Venedig; Die erste Druckerei von Božidar Vuković in Venedig*. Baden-Baden 2001, 377–387.

⁸ The contents of two Slavic books, the Služabnik ("Liturgija", the Leitourgikon) and the Trebnik

It is my intention to present, using the example of a printed edition of one of the Slavic versions of Cotelier's type of Nomocanon, in basic terms, the reach of the printed book in the context of transferring knowledge and texts within the written culture of Serbs and Orthodox South Slavs during the 16th century. This phenomenon can be understood fairly well through the work of the Ljubavić printing shop which, of all the existing Serbian printing shops in Venice and the Ottoman Empire first printed the Slavic penitential book. Through this the printing shop offered a certain model of not just the penitential edition, but the Trebnik in its entirety. This model proved relatively successful in imposing a certain standard, whether it was later reproduced through reprinting (Trgovište 1545 and Mileševa 1546) or transcription in manuscript form.⁹ Our research indicates a non-linear process of transferring knowledge and content – from manuscript to printed book and back to manuscript. In this sense, it is in line with the more recent views of scholars towards the relationship between the written and printed book during the first century of the printed word. As noted by David McKitterick “it is misleading to speak of any transition from manuscript to print as if it were a finite process” and “its progress was irregular, and its effects were variable, even erratic”.¹⁰ The existence of a reversible process “with print the source and script the outcome”¹¹ is more and more often the subject of scholarly examination in the study of books and communication. There is ever more attention being paid to “their lingering co-existence, interaction and symbiosis” in exploring the relationship between the manuscript and printed book.¹² Nevertheless, in the Roman Catholic and Protestant countries of Europe in the long term printing is recognized as an “irreversible process”, which has been described in scholarly works through the memorable term “the printing revolution”.¹³ On the other hand, after the

(Molitvenik, the Prayer Book) make up one Greek Eucholgion. All three of Ljubavić's editions have been available to scholars since they were published as facsimile reproductions, *Goraždanska štamparija 1519–1523*, Vol. I–III, Beograd – Istočno Sarajevo 2008.

⁹ BOJANIN, S., Epitimijski nomokanon Goraždanskog molitvenika (1523) u svetlu štampane i rukopisne knjige. *Crkvene studije* 15 (2018) 181–203.

¹⁰ MCKITTERICK, D., *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830*. Cambridge 2003, 47.

¹¹ CRICK, J., The Art of the Unprinted: Transcription and English Antiquity in the Age of Print. In: CRICK, J. – WALSHAM, A. (eds), *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*. Cambridge 2004, 119.

¹² WALSHAM, A. – CRICK, J., Introduction: Script, Print and History. In: CRICK, J. – WALSHAM, A., *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*. Cambridge 2004, 4.

¹³ EISENSTEIN, E. L., *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge 2005² (the first edition 1983) 333–334. The second edition of Elizabeth Eisenstein's book contains a new

unsuccessful introduction of printing presses during the 16th century which was above all else peripheral and non-systematic, Serbian written culture was marked by a reversible process and generally speaking non-existence of printing activities all the way to the end of the 18th century.¹⁴

II.

The Ljubavić printing shop was established approximately twenty years after the printing press at the Court of Duke George Crnojević ceased working, which disappeared together with the fall of the Duke's state in Zeta under Ottoman rule in 1496.¹⁵ Towards the end of the second decade of the 16th century, two printing shops were established in Venice by wealthy Serbian families which had arrived from the Ottoman Empire – the Ljubavić brothers from Goražde on the Drina river and Božidar Vuković from Podgorica. With them began a new wave of printing in the Serbian – and hence South Slavic – written culture. The brothers Đura (George) and hieromonk Teodor (Theodore), financed by the money of their father, the entrepreneur Božidar Ljubavić of Goražde, were trained in Italy in the technique of printing, before opening their own printing shop in Venice. During the course of printing the first book in 1519 Đura died, which most probably led to the transfer of the printing press to the home town of Goražde where the printing shop continued with its work.¹⁶ The new medium retained its religious and liturgical use,

chapter titled “Afterword: Revisiting the Printing Revolution” (pp. 313–358) where she has discussed the critical views on the reference “the printing revolution” in the recent historiography of printing, considering that printing has “given rise to an ever-expanding knowledge industry that is unlike anything that was sustained by hand copying over the course of millennia”, *Ibid.*, 334. MCKITTERICK, D., *The Beginning of Printing*. In: ALLMAND, C., *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. VII c. 1415 – c. 1500*. Cambridge 2006, 297, describes this process as “fundamental and irrevocable change.”

¹⁴ BOJANIN (n. 9). Although they bring outdated information on some printing shops, FEBVRE, L. – MARTIN, H.-J., *The Coming of the Book. The Impact of Printing 1450–1800*. London 1976, 204, described correctly, albeit in generalized fashion, the state of printing in sixteenth century Serbian lands: “the printer-monks were hampered by their growing poverty... they had not the resources to print more than a handful of books and were soon forced to go back to the ancient method of reproducing manuscripts in their scriptoria”.

¹⁵ On the printing shop of duke Crnojević and its books, see PEŠIKAN, M. – MANO-ZISI, K. – KOVAČEVIĆ, M., *Pet vekova srpskog štamparstva 1494–1994: razdoblje srpskoslovenske štampe XV–XVII veka*, Beograd 1994, 155–159, 165f, 206–208; NEMIROVSKIJ, E. L., *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift. Band I: Inkunabeln*. Baden-Baden 1996, 7–63, 167–255.

¹⁶ On the printing shop of Ljubavić, see PEŠIKAN – MANO-ZISI – KOVAČEVIĆ (n. 15) 92–98; NEMIROVSKIJ (n. 7) 73–101 (in German); 165–191 (in Russian).

which was in line with the relatively low level of literacy in lay environment. The owners of printing shops sought to reach out mostly to the ordinary priests as the most numerous users of their books. This is very well illustrated in the *Petition of Đura Ljubavić to the Honourable Priests (Molba Đura Ljubavića časnim prezviterima)*, a text composed on behalf of the deceased Đura by his brother Teodor and published in the *Leitourgikon* in 1519.¹⁷

In the next half century, several Serbian printing shops were established in the Ottoman Empire. During those decades several editions of the *Leitourgikon*, *Trebnik*, *Psalter with Appendices*, *Octoechos*, *Tetraevangelion* (Gospel book), *Triodion*, *Menologion*, *Apostolos* were printed.¹⁸ Unlike the Cetinje printing shop which enjoyed the patronage of the locally ruling Duke Crnojević, the owners of the new printing presses producing Orthodox liturgical books were affluent merchants and entrepreneurs, who could also be Roman Catholics, as with the Dubrovnik book merchant Trajan Gundulić who inherited the Belgrade printing press and published the *Tetraevangelion* in the mid-16th century.¹⁹ The owners of printing shops and printers were not alone in their printing endeavours. Clerics – mainly hieromonks – played an important role in choosing books to be printed and organizing their content. In this way, at a certain historical moment, representatives of the merchant and entrepreneurial class on the one hand and priests who had taken monastic vows and were not burdened with daily parish duties on the other found themselves on the same task of introducing new technologies in the service of the written word. During this period, several printing shops were founded in the major Balkan trading centres (Goražde, Belgrade, Skadar) and lesser monasteries.²⁰

In line with their commercial interests, entrepreneurs viewed their printing shops as any other workshop and its products as a regular commodity. At the same time, their colophons presented them as esteemed benefactors who were ready to tackle the scarcity of Church books in the period following the Ottoman conquests. This was the most common topos in the afterwords of

¹⁷ NEMIROVSKIJ (n. 7) 237–238. Cf. TRIFUNOVIĆ, Đ., *Moljenije Teodora Ljubavića. Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umetnosti* 11 (1967) 55–57.

¹⁸ PEŠIKAN – MANO-ZISI – KOVAČEVIĆ (n. 15) 98, 136.

¹⁹ PEŠIKAN – MANO-ZISI – KOVAČEVIĆ (n. 15) 76, 105; MANO-ZISI, K., *Beogradsko četvoroevanđelje. Pogovor*. In: *Beogradsko četvoroevanđelje 1552*, Facsimile reproduction. Beograd 2000, III–XVIII. Cf. KESTERČANEK, F., *Inventar prvog beogradskog tiskara Trojana Gundulića. Dokumenta dubrovačke kancelarije od 30. XII 1563. Anali Historijskog instituta u Dubrovniku* 1 (1952) 197–205.

²⁰ For an overview of old Serbian printing in the 16th century, see MEDAKOVIĆ, D., *Grafika srpskih štamparih knjiga XV–XVII veka*. Beograd 1958, 41; PEŠIKAN – MANO-ZISI – KOVAČEVIĆ (n. 15).

Serbian printed books from the period of the Duke's printing shop in Cetinje. The Ljubavić brothers and Božidar Vuković also adopted the same model. Vuković pointed to another aspect of his investment: his wish to produce "our Serbian and Bulgarian" printed books, just like those of the Franks, Greeks and other nations.²¹

However, all of the mentioned printing shops were active for a relatively short time and in the best case able to produce only a few different editions. It seems that the new technology was not accepted by the high clergy of the Serbian Orthodox Church even after the reestablishment of the Serbian Patriarchate in Peć (1557), hence the printing press never truly found its place at episcopal and metropolitan seats or in the main monasteries and traditional scribal centres.²²

III.

Unlike in Byzantium, the Nomocanon published by Cotelier was in much wider circulation in the Slavic languages, in the parishes of the Orthodox Slavic world. Numerous Southern- and Eastern- Slavic manuscripts from the 14th to the end of the 17th century testify to this. The appearance of the first Slavic texts represents the *terminus ante quem* of the emergence of Coleterus' Greek text, while the mention of the Bogomils (Balkan heretics) in it determines the *terminus post quem* in the 12th century.²³ The oldest South Slavic text can indirectly be dated at the end of the third decade of the 14th century,²⁴ while the oldest preserved transcriptions in ecclesiastical legal volumes also originate from the end of the first half of the same century.²⁵ We know of around fifteen

²¹ NEMIROVSKIJ (n. 7) 304, 350. Cf. LAZIĆ, M., Između patriotizma, pobožnosti i trgovine: motivi izdavačke delatnosti Božidara Vukovića. *Arheografski prilozi* 35 (2013) 49–102.

²² Among the exceptions can be counted Nikanor, the Metropolitan of Novo Brdo, an important mining town, who helped the printing of just one book, the *Octoechos of the Fifth Mode* (1538/1539), and the Mileševa Monastery which was located at the juncture of roads towards the eastern coast of the Adriatic which was ruled by Venice.

²³ PAVLOV (n. 2) 40.

²⁴ This is the book in Bulgarian recension of the Church Slavonic language whose content was preserved in a later 14th century transcription, cf. NAJĐENOVA (n. 6) 229.

²⁵ Six copies from the 14th century are known, five in the Bulgarian, NAJĐENOVA (n. 6) 102f, 229, and one in the Serbian recension of Church Slavonic, BELJAKOVA, E. V., Užgorodskij Psevdozonar i vostočnoslavjanskaja cerkovno-pravovaja rukopisnaja tradicija. In: ŽEŇUCH, P. – BELJAKOVA, E. V. – NAJĐENOVA, D. – ZUBKO, P. – MARINČAK, Š., *Užhorodský rukopisný Psevdozonar. Pravidlá mnišského a svetského života z prelomu 16.–17. storočia – Užgorodskij rukopisnyj Psevdozonar. Pravila monašeskoj i svetskoj žizni rubeža XVI–XVII vv.* Bratislava – Moskva – Sofia – Košice 2018, 78f, 203f.

South Slavic copies prior to the first printed edition from 1523. The Slavic version of Cotelirer's type of the Greek Penitential Nomocanon is known in scholarly circles as the (Penitential) Nomocanon of Pseudo-Zonaras, since it had been wrongly attributed by Russian clerics to John Zonaras, the Byzantine 12th century legal scholar. The Slavic version was incorporated more directly into the pastoral practice of the Church by incorporating it into the Trebnik, most often complementing the sacrament of confession.²⁶ The oldest known Trebnik with the Nomocanon of Pseudo-Zonaras is of the Serbian recension from the first third of the 15th century.²⁷ The title of the Slavic text is somewhat longer than the Greek – *The Rules of the Holy Apostles and Holy Seven Councils of Our Reverend and God-bearing Fathers on Bishops and on Priests and on Monks and on Laymen, All Commandments and the Constitution and the Tradition of the Saints*²⁸ – while the greatest part of the contents also differs from Cotelier's version. For the most part, the themes dealt with in the Nomocanon correspond to the every-day life and needs of the medieval parish and its rural surroundings. Some respected Russian scholars, such as Suvorov and Almazov, have expressed a not particularly complimentary opinion regarding the contents of the Greek and Slavic texts, vividly described by Almazov as a "Nomocanon" designed for communities far from "the centre of civilization" i.e. for "the rural environment".²⁹

During the first century of printing, one person could often be the owner of a printing shop, the printer (with his apprentices), publisher, editor, redactor, and bookseller.³⁰ In the printing shop in Goražde, hieromonk Teodor was in charge of almost everything. In the colophon of the Trebnik the name of his assistant – *diak* (scribe) Radoje – is preserved.³¹ Teodor's intervention in the

²⁶ BOJANIN, S., Predstave o prazniku i praznično ponašanje u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji. *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju* VIII/3 (2001) 183. The Penitential nomocanon consists of the second part of the Trebnik book as it was applied later in the Goražde workshop. This type of the liturgical book is called the Trebnik with Penitential Nomocanon.

²⁷ MOŠIN, V., *Slovenski rukopisi vo Makedonija, Arhiv na Makedonija*. Skopje 1971, №45, 116–120; cf. BOJANIN (n. 9) 188, n. 44.

²⁸ Cf. BAN (Bulgarian Academy of Science) №53, 101'. Cf. PAVLOV (n. 2) 41; NAJĐENOVA (n. 6) 218.

²⁹ SUVOROV, N., *K voprosu o zapadnom vlijanii na drevne-russkoe pravo*. Jaroslavl' 1893, 81–82; ALMAZOV (n. 6) 82.

³⁰ STEINBERG, H. S., *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, With a Foreword by B. Warde. New York 2017 (the first edition 1955) 20–21.

³¹ *Molitvenik* (n. 7) 296'. Cf. NEMIROVSKIJ (n. 7) 100, 384; MANO-ZISI, K., *Knjige Goraždanske štamparajie (1519–1523)*. In: BARAĆ, D. (ed.), *Goraždanska štamparija 1519–1523*. IV. Beograd – Istočno Sarajevo 2008, 222.

choice of contents of books gains in significance if we keep in mind that mediaeval liturgical books and prayer books were not of a uniform content, with a precisely defined number of rituals and prayers and that there were several types of trebniks and ecclesiastical legal collections. Teodor did not opt to print the ecclesiastical legal text which belongs to the official, canonical law, such as the Nomocanon of 14 Titles (the Nomocanon of St. Sava of Serbia), whose shorter compilations – and even some more recent translations – are often found in the trebniks. Nor was his choice the Penitential Nomocanon (*Kanonarion*) of John the Faster which was long present in the pastoral practice of the Greek and Slavic Churches. Teodor also passed over shorter penitential texts which arose under the influence of the Faster's Nomocanon and other penitential texts – such as the Frankish penitential translated into the Slavic language in the Cyrillo-Methodian epoch³² – which could more easily be incorporated into larger manuscripts and were popular in the Serbian trebniks of the 14th and 15th centuries.³³ Teodor opted for the material which was richer in content, better organized and with an adaptable structure which could be more easily incorporated into printed books whose scope was limited by financial circumstances. The Penitential Nomocanon of Pseudo-Zonaras is made up of several thematic units divided into separate chapters, forming micro-texts that could easily be combined. A relatively free approach to the content was made possible by its non-canonical status. There are longer and shorter version of the text in the Slavic handwritten tradition as well as clusters of some chapters which were included in various other ecclesiastical legal compilations. One of its versions was published in the Goražde printing shop.³⁴

Besides the fact that it represents a specific compilation, the Nomocanon of hieromonk Teodor has a slightly different title from previous Slavic versions:

³² On Old Church Slavonic translation of the *Poenitentiale Merseburgense*, see SUVOROV, N., *Sledy zapadno-katoličeskogo cerkovnogo prava v pamjatnikah drevnego russkogo prava*. Jaroslavl' 1888, Priloženje №1; MAKSIMOVIČ, K.A., *Zapovědi svjatyh ot'c': latinskij penitencijal VIII veka v cerkovnoslavjanskom perevode. Issledovanie i tekst*. Moskva 2008.

³³ On those shorter compilations, see BOJANIN, S., Penitencijalni sastavi u dečanskim trebnicima № 68 i № 69. In: SUBOTIN-GOLUBOVIĆ, T., *Dečani u svetlu arheografskih istraživanja*. Beograd 2012, 163–181.

³⁴ BOJANIN (n. 9) 188. The classification “penitential nomocanon” or “shorter nomocanon” is common in the description and inventory lists of manuscript books, such as, for example in BOGDANOVIĆ, D. *Inventar ćirilskih rukopisa u Jugoslaviji (IX–XVII veka)*. Beograd 1982, 32, 108–107. This term is pretty imprecise and does not indicate a particular type of ecclesiastical legal or penitential book. This is understandable because until recently the issue of Slavic penitential nomocanons had been almost completely neglected.

*With God We Are Beginning the Rule of the Holy Apostles and Holy Reverend and God-bearing Fathers of Ours of the Seventh Council on Priests and Lay People – Commandments of Every Kind.*³⁵ Its purpose is narrowed down to priests and “lay people” and the reference to a higher authority is stylized to mention the Seventh rather than all seven Ecumenical Councils. The majority of characteristic chapters of the Penitential Nomocanon of Pseudo Zonaras were included in the Goražde compilation. Hieromonk Teodor deemed that the following chapters were of the greatest importance for Church life in the Orthodox parishes: the chapter on the weekly and yearly non-working holidays, “on Church offering” and “a word on the Holy Communion”, several chapters on legal and forbidden marriages, different types and degrees of kinship, affinal relatives, as well as topics “on the spiritual father” (confessor), “on cadavers which are not edible”, “on the commemoration of the dead”, “a word on drunkenness”, and special chapters “on the women’s sins” and transgressions of priests (“commandments to the priests”).³⁶

For the most part, the Goražde Nomocanon contains penances (epitimia) and prohibitions, with detailed instructions to priests concerning the sacrament of confession and other types of lectures. More than half of the content is concerned with defining kinship, family ties, marriage and incest. Other chapters deal with the issue of non-working days, diet, the proper time within the annual cycle for organisation of commemorations for the deceased, relations between the faithful and clergy, decent behaviour of parishioners and priests in the parish, or women’s sins such as abortions, sorcery and poisoning of husband.³⁷ The list of titles of the Penitential Nomocanon of Pseudo-Zonaras reveals the different spheres of societal life of the parish and lay culture in which the Church had the intention to impose its views and attitudes. In the case of the Goražde book, formulating those views did not originate from the members of the higher church hierarchy, but the local priest, monk and printer, well acquainted with Church practices and various texts of rituals and prayers present in the South Slavic liturgical books. Publishing his version of the Trebnik with the Penitential Nomocanon, Teodor Ljubavić provided his fellow priests an indispensable manual in carrying out their daily pastoral care.

³⁵ *Molitvenik* (n. 7) 265°. Cf. NEMIROVSKIJ (n. 7) 384; MANO-ZISI (n. 31) 221.

³⁶ *Molitvenik* (n. 7) 265°–295°. Cf. NEMIROVSKIJ (n. 7) 384; MANO-ZIS (n. 31) 221f.

³⁷ Cf. BOJANIN (n. 9) 190–193.

IV.

The structure of the text of Teodor's Goražde Nomocanon is different from the structure of the versions of the Penitential Nomocanon of Pseudo-Zonaras from the manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries. Our earlier research has suggested that from the period in which it was printed, over the span of some twenty years, six copies have been preserved which differ from the "Goražde Nomocanon" in the title of the penitential, in the number of chapters and their ordering in the text.³⁸ If we were to broaden our time horizon to the first half of the 16th century, we can say that – of the ten South Slavic copies known to us today – none are similar to Teodor's edition.³⁹

The format of the Trebnik with the Penitential Nomocanon which was compiled by Teodor Ljubavić was accepted in printing circles. The book was reprinted by a second generation of printers from the Ljubavić family – by Dimitrije, the grandson of Božidar of Goražde, in Trgovište, in Romania in 1545,⁴⁰ while in the next year it was also published in the printing shop of the monastery of Mileševa.⁴¹ Although these were all small printing shops with just a few editions and small number of copies – which amounted to no more than several tens or probably hundreds of copies – the format of the Trebnik had a certain influence.

The popularity of the Goražde version of the Prayer book and Penitential Nomocanon can be seen from the number of its handwritten copies. The most significant example is the manuscript book BSP (Library of the Serbian Patriarchate) №32, which was most probably created in the 1560s, which is a complete transcription of the Trebnik of hieromonk Teodor Ljubavić.⁴² It is not an ordinary

³⁸ BOJANIN (n. 9) 189.

³⁹ The group of ten copies includes six earlier identified (see previous note) and following four copies in manuscripts MSPC (Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church) №229, MSPC №246, BAR (Biblioteca Academiei Române) №421, MSPC-Grujč Z-I-68; for BAR №421, see PANAITESCU, P. P., *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*. II. ARAMĂ, D.-L. (ed.), București 2003, 237–242.

⁴⁰ ČURČIĆ, L., Goraždanska štamparija u Trgovištu u Rumuniji. In: BARAĆ, D. (ed.), *Goraždanska štamparija 1519–1523*. IV. Beograd – Istočno Sarajevo 2008, 335–361.

⁴¹ NEMIROVSKIJ, E. L., *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift, Band VII: Die Klosterdruckereien in Ružno und Gračanica. Die erste Druckerei im Kloster Mileševa*. Baden-Baden 2007, 249–262.

⁴² BOJANIN (n. 9) 195–196; BOJANIN, S. – UBIPARIĆ, M., Od štampane ka rukopisnoj knjizi: prepis Trebnika Goraždanske štamparije u rukopisu Biblioteke Srpske Patrijaršije №32. *Prilozi za jezik, književnost, istoriju i folklor* 84 (2018) 3–18.

transcription, as the manuscript contains several printed pages: 30 leaves from the Trebnik and four from the Leitourgikon, or rather 8.5 preserved printed sheets (one sheet is a set of two bifolia), which is around 11.5% of the leaves of the book. Given that we are talking about sheets (rather than preserved book leaves) whose printed pages have wide margins, it is possible to conclude that those sheets were never before bound into a book and trimmed.⁴³ The leaves of the new handwritten quires were “tailored” around them. The used printed sheets from the Leitourgikon contain the same text which had been printed in the Trebnik, and was now incorporated into the handwritten version of this book. The planned merging of the written and printed text into a single codex meant transposing the contents and ordering of the texts and their passages in line with the printed Trebnik. This did not represent a simple endeavour, as the same number of lines and their length could not be maintained during the copying of the handwritten quires. In order to ensure the best possible “tailoring” with the preserved printed sheets, in the places where the “tailoring” needed to take place the scribe reduced or increased the number of lines per page, while sometimes he wrote out lines which could not be fitted in the upper margin of the printed page. The described procedure would not have been possible had the copyist not had the printed copy of the Trebnik in front of him.⁴⁴ What is being described here is a very rare, if not unique, example of the symbiosis of a printed and handwritten Cyrillic South Slavic book.⁴⁵

As has been said, several transcriptions of the Goražde Trebnik have been preserved. They can be recognized at first glance based on the Goražde layout of rites and prayers (which are marked as separate chapters in the Goražde book), some unusual headings and the “Goražde Nomocanon”. The use of the unusual “Goražde title” for usual Trebnik prayer reveals its diverse application in practice which, probably, was practiced by the editor and printer of the book, as he was a priest.⁴⁶ The copies known to us today are, for the most part, not identical versions, as certain prayers and rites were, at times, left out

⁴³ On this, see BOJANIN – UBIPARIP (n. 42) 9–10. Books were for the most part stored and transported as unbound sheets, FEBVRE – MARTIN (n. 14) 105. The very well preserved sheets in the manuscript BSP №32 open up the question of storage and distribution of the Goražde books and the books of the other Serbian printing shops of the time.

⁴⁴ BOJANIN – UBIPARIP (n. 42) 6–8.

⁴⁵ In most cases the situation was the opposite: it was used printed books which were repaired with new added handwritten leaves or sheets.

⁴⁶ As the Goražde type of title we can cite *Molitva ježe blagosloviti vino kiselo. ili olovinu ili medovinu ili kupus* – a prayer through which wine, beer, mead and sour cabbage were blessed. This is actually a widely present prayer for new wine in Greek Euchologion and Slavic Trebnik.

or presented according to a slightly different order. Such transcriptions could later be used as a new template for copying. This phenomenon can be seen as probable, as there were no new reprints after the Mileševa edition (1546). In some cases, the book could be expanded with additional content. Aside from BSP №32, two other trebniks of the Goražde type – BSP №7, which is significantly damaged, and MSPC (Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church) №1, in which the Goražde chapters have not been copied in the same order – exist and originate, at the earliest, from the end of the sixth or the seventh decade of the 16th century.⁴⁷ Among the Goražde type of Trebniks we can include the following five manuscripts: NBIV (The National Library “Ivan Vazov”) №84 from 1592,⁴⁸ HAZU (JAZU) (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, former Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts) IIIa 34, the last third of the 16th century,⁴⁹ CIAI (Ecclesiastical Historical and Archival Institute of the Patriarchate of Bulgaria) №55 from 1610/20,⁵⁰ MSPC Grujić №86 from 1622⁵¹ and PMH (Croatian History Museum) №21 from 2/4 of the 16th century.⁵²

However, the “Goražde Nomocanon” was copied independently of the Trebnik of the Goražde type. Several copies of it have been preserved in trebniks of a different structure and content and in different Church books. An identical text of the penitentials is contained in SANU (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts) №79, which came into existence in the ninth decade of the 16th century.⁵³ The same text has a manuscript *Cod. Kop.* (Kopitar’s collection of Slavic codices) №26 with watermarks from the 1560s, which differ from the printed ones in terms of length, as the material is laid out beyond the “Goražde framework.”⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Cf. BOJANIN (n. 9) 195; BOJANIN – UBIPARIP (n. 42) 13.

⁴⁸ The stated claim is based on the detailed description of the manuscript in TSONEV, B., *Slavyanski rukopisi i staropechatni knigi na Narodnata biblioteka v Plovdiv*. Sofia 1920, 52–53.

⁴⁹ Cf. MOŠIN, V., *Ćirilski rukopisi Jugoslavenske Akademije. I dio: Opis rukopisa*. Zagreb 1955, 233–234.

⁵⁰ The stated claim is based on the description of the codex in SPROSTRANOV, E., *Opis na rakopisite v bibliotekata pri sv. Sinod na Balgarskata tsarkva v Sofia*. Sofia 1900, 88. Cf. STANKOVIĆ, R., *Datiranje srpskih rukopisnih knjiga u sofijskom Crkvenom istorijsko-arheološkom muzeju III. Arheografski prilozi* 21 (1999) 224.

⁵¹ Cf. MOŠIN, V. – VASILJEV, Lj. – BOGDANOVIĆ, D. – GROZDANOVIĆ-PAJIĆ, M., *Rukopisi Muzeja Srpske pravoslavne crkve. Zbirka Radoslava M. Grujića*. Beograd 2017, 131.

⁵² Cf. MOŠIN, V., *Ćirilski rukopisi u Povijesnom muzeju Hrvatske. Kopitareva zbirka slovenskih rukopisa i Cojsov ćirilski odlomak u Ljubljani*. Beograd 1971, 57–58.

⁵³ MANO-ZISI, K., *Stare ćiriličke štampane knjige u Arhivu Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti. Arheografski prilozi* 6–7 (1984–1985) 304.

⁵⁴ Cf. MOŠIN (n. 52) 177–178.

It seems that among the clergy it was not only the Goražde Trebnik and its penitential that were popular, but also the Psalter with Appendices printed in Goražde two years earlier. Although it was not reprinted again, recently a manuscript book was discovered which, for the most part, represents the transcription of a printed Goražde book from the sixth or beginning of the seventh decade of the 16th century.⁵⁵

The said transcriptions of the printed books should be seen in the wider context of the attitude towards the newly-introduced medium in the realm of the written word. There are several indicators which suggest that the Serbian printed book was not isolated in the world of the handwritten book. In fact, it was incorporated into it. This is an important fact which should be kept in mind when considering the influence of the printed text in a culture and society in which a book was reproduced through transcription. This phenomenon has, until now, been little noticed in scholarly research into old printed Cyrillic books. To the extent that it has, this research has been a function of identifying the contents of a manuscript or in search of a “lost” printed edition. In this way, on the basis of a colophon in a handwritten Gospel book from 1548 we learn that it represents the transcription of the now lost printed Crnojević Tetraevangelion.⁵⁶ Something similar applied to the printed Crnojević *Octoechos of the First Mode*, whose transcription is preserved in the manuscript dated to 1518,⁵⁷ or to selected texts from printed books, such as the transcription of the computus (*pashalija*) from the Crnojević Psalter.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ This is the Monastery of Hilandar manuscript №98. Aside from the same arrangement of texts in the Psalter, the second part of the book, ‘the appendices,’ contains also several typical compositions from the Goražde book, including the list of non-working days unusual for this kind of book and the annals with a note on Suleiman’s conquest of Belgrade and Srem (Syrmia) in 1521 compiled by Teodor himself.

⁵⁶ The colophon was published in the scholarly literature, while the manuscript, the supposed transcription of the printed Tetraevangelion, as well as the Crnojević printed book have not been preserved to the present, cf. PEŠIKAN – MANO-ZISI – KOVAČEVIĆ (n. 15) 208–210; TOMIN, S., O Četvorjevandeljju, petoj inkunabuli iz štamparije Crnojevića. Nekoliko napomena. In STOJANOVIĆ, J. (ed.), *Srpsko jezičko i književno nasljeđe na prostoru današnje Crne Gore. Srpski jezik i književnost danas*. Podgorica – Novi Sad – Banja Luka 2019, 557–572.

⁵⁷ MEDAKOVIĆ (n. 20) 183.

⁵⁸ GRBIĆ, D., Dva prepisa pashalije iz „Cetinjskog psaltira” u srbuljskim rukopisnim knjigama. In: *Crnojevića štamparija i staro štamparstvo*. Podgorica 1989/1994, 127–138. For some more examples, see GRBIĆ, D. – ŠKORIĆ, K., O Detlačkom evhologionu iz 1550/1560 i 1628 godine. In: KUZMANOVIĆ, R. (ed.), *Kulturno-istorijski kompleks Detlak*. Banja Luka 2015, 277–278.

V.

Teodor had an excellent knowledge of the contents of the books he was editing. He did not opt for one manuscript book which he then reproduced using a new technology. Instead, he worked carefully on creating the content of his books, collating the texts he was planning to publish. In addition to this, he did not spare any labour nor material costs. He informs us of this in his Psalter when he points to several texts which he chose for this book at the Hilandar Monastery of Mount Athos.⁵⁹ His editorial endeavour can be seen fairly clearly even when the editor does not point us in its direction explicitly. Through comparison of the same texts printed in different books, such as the Leitourgikon and Trebnik, it can be seen that the better or more complete version found its place in the later published book.⁶⁰

Cotelier's Nomocanon gained its full importance not in the period when it was created (Byzantium) or printed (seventeenth century Paris), but in later scholarly research into its Slavic version. The printed Trebnik of Teodor Ljubavić, with a limited number of copies and reprints, presented the Penitential Nomocanon of Pseudo-Zonaras as an important book in the pastoral practice of the South Slavic and Walachian Churches in the first centuries of Ottoman rule. The attractiveness of the Goražde type of Penitential Nomocanon of Pseudo Zonaras can be recognized in the fact that it did not remain merely a part of the Trebnik (which does or does not retain the "Goražde structure"), but was instead transposed into other types of manuscript books (*Cod. Kop.* №26). This phenomenon represented an important change, at least in the circles of the Serbian clergy, judging by the dominance of other ecclesiastical legal texts in the Serbian manuscript books until the beginning of the 16th century. Aside from this, the version of the Nomocanon of Pseudo Zonaras from the Goražde Trebnik is, at once, the oldest known such version, which poses the question of Teodor's possible active composition of the penitential compilation. A positive answer is little likely, bearing in mind the poor state of preservation of medieval manuscripts, hence such a version could, in principle, have arisen earlier.⁶¹ What is evident and provable at present is that the version of the Penitential Nomocanon which Teodor printed in the Trebnik became widely accessible and thus an important part of the Trebnik with the

⁵⁹ NEMIROVSKIJ (n. 7) 365.

⁶⁰ BOJANIN – UBIPARIP (n. 42) 8, n. 21. My recent, still unpublished research, pointed to some other texts of the Leitourgikon (78^r–81^r) and Trebnik (248^r–250^r).

⁶¹ BOJANIN (n. 9) 194.

Penitential Nomocanon from the second half of the 16th and first decades of the 17th centuries. This could truly be considered a success of the short-lived Ljubavić printing shop which through a small number of printed copies ensured that one model of the text became more widely present and that it served as a template for new variants of the copies. Furthermore, it is possible that the decision of the one-time Venetian printer and owner of the Goražde workshop contributed to ensuring that the Pseudo Zonaras Nomocanon would survive for a longer period of time as an important book of penitential practice in the South-Eastern Europe, despite the appearance of the Slavic translation of a different, fairly popular, Greek Penitential Nomocanon in the 16th century, which came to dominate in South Slavic manuscript books during the next century.⁶² That other book is well known in scholarly circles thanks to its publisher and scholar of Byzantine law, Aleksej Pavlov⁶³ and the title which it carried in Pavlov's edition – "Nomocanon Accompanying the Great Trebnik".⁶⁴

⁶² BOJANIN (n. 9) 196.

⁶³ The book was printed several times during the 17th century in Eastern Europe and was later added to the Trebnik by the Patriarchs of Moscow, PAVLOV (n. 2) 55-60. ZACHARIÄ VON LINGENTHAL (n. 2) 24, named it as „der von Pawloff herausgegebene Nomokanon“.

⁶⁴ PAVLOV (n. 2).

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