

**SERBIAN MONKS AS DOCUMENTED BY THE  
HANDWRITTEN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE EARLY PRINTED  
CYRILLIC SLAVONIC BOOKS FROM THE TERRITORY  
OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX EPARCHY OF BUDA<sup>1</sup>**

The largest portion of the specimens of early Slavonic book printing in the Cyrillic script were brought to Hungary by Orthodox monks moving north from Mediaeval Serbia subjugated to Turkish occupation.<sup>2</sup> The marginalia accommodated in these precious antiquated printed copies supply information not only on the manner in which the books arrived in Hungary but also on their possessors.

The present paper aims to explore the provenance of these early printed books transported to the Kingdom of Hungary by Balkan monks, as well as the afterlife thereof in Hungary. At the same time, by focusing on the handwritten inscriptions in the respective books, an effort is made to contribute to the study of the cultural history of the Serbian communities of Hungary. The investigation is primarily concerned with some of the hitherto unprocessed early printed books written in Slavonic<sup>3</sup>, five of which is owned by the Serbian Eparchy of Buda, currently kept in the library of the Serbian Parish of Pomáz (Помаз), Hungary. In addition, certain Serbian-related marginal notes made in early printed books held by the Eparchial Library of Szentendre (Сентандреја), Hungary, have not been thoroughly processed beforehand.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the re-

---

<sup>1</sup> The English translation of this paper was sponsored by the Serbian Institute of Budapest, which I am grateful for.

<sup>2</sup> More on this topic: К. Мано-Зиси, *Српске штампане књиге XVI–XVII века*. In Н. Р. Синдик – М. Гроздановић-Пајић – К. Мано-Зиси, *Опис рукописа и старих штампаних књига библиотеке Српске православне епархије будимске у Сентандреји*. Београд–Нови Сад 1991. 365–408. 367–372.

<sup>3</sup> Only prints from the 16th century are analysed, though it should be noted that in Serbian bibliographical history, the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries is not regarded to be so clear-cut a boundary as it is in its Hungarian counterpart. According to the general view in relevant Serbian scholarship, books printed in the first half of the 17th century are seen as ‘old Serbian books’ (better known as *србуља* in Serbian).

<sup>4</sup> At this point, the project does not include the period prints which are found in the various churches of the Eparchy of Buda. The number of the respective copies is marginal; the 1990 Eparchy Census indicated early printed books in only in a handful of parishes, with

search is also complemented by the analysis of the inscriptions about the Serbs living in Hungary in the early printed books of the National Széchényi Library processed by Kálmán Bor.<sup>5</sup> Besides the books found in Hungary at present, early printed books containing inscriptions proving that previously they had been to Hungary and are therefore indicators of early monastic migrations should also be mentioned. For the interpretation of heritage items found in Hungary and their inscriptions, considerable contextual information was provided by the books and their marginalia returned to Serbia from Hungary during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Serbian Orthodox monks from the territory of Serbia and Bosnia, the coastal regions by the Adriatic Sea, as well as from Athos had visited the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary prior to the most significant wave of Serbian migrations, the 'Seoba' of 1690. Their temporary or prolonged presence in the historic Kingdom of Hungary may be associated with the 'Rác' (*Ratzen/Raize* in German, *Rasciani* in Latin) communities (of Slavic and Macedo-Vlachian origin, professing Orthodoxy) established during the Middle-Ages or the Early Modern Age.<sup>6</sup> It is safe to speak about the relocation of a compact monastic community in the case of the Serbian Monastery of Grabovac (Grábóc in Hungarian), founded in 1585 by the monks of the Dragović Monastery in Dalmatia, having settled in the valleys of the hills of Tolna County in Western Hungary initially temporarily and, subsequently, permanently in 1619.<sup>7</sup>

Monks from the Balkans, however, also arrived in Hungary individually or in smaller groups. Oftentimes they would transit the country, bound for the Russian Empire, from where they expected continued support for their monasteries experiencing destitution under Turkish occupation. Others would sojourn for a year or two, mainly providing for the pastoral needs of previously established 'Rác' parishes during their stay. Such communities primarily included the 'Rác *šajkaš*' (*sajkás* in Hungarian: small-boat) crews serving in the sloop-of-war regiments of the Hapsburg Empire in the towns of Komárom and Győr.

Out of these, the Orthodox community of Komárom (Serbian: Коморан, Hungarian: Révkomárom, currently: Komárno, Slovakia) established in 1511 deserves special attention from a historical bibliography-, as well as cultural history-related point of view. The 'Rác' of Komárom played a prominent role

---

a single specimen in each place, for example, in Villány (Виљан) and Pécs (Печуј). The parish of Pomáz is outstanding in terms of the number of its historic books.

<sup>5</sup> K. Bor, *Старе штампане ћирилске књиге из Земаљске библиотеке Сечењи и Универзитетске библиотеке у Будимпешти*. Археографски прилози 28 (2006) 201–278.

<sup>6</sup> There are no reliable 16-17th century data on the monks of the earliest Serbian community, founded in Ráckeve in 1440. The church functioned as a monastery between 1711 and 1777.

<sup>7</sup> Concerning the previously published inscriptions of the nine 16th century prints from the library of the Grabovac Monastery, it is sufficient to remark that they do expose their provenance. They only furnish accounts of the temporary resettlement of the monastic community to Slavonic areas (to the monastery of Šišatovac) during Rákóczi's War of Independence. (Library of the Eparchy of Buda, Гр 54. Синдик – Гроздановић-Пајић – Мано-Зиси, *Опис рукописа и старих штампаних књига библиотеке Српске православне епархије будимске у Сентандреји*, 7.)

in the history of the Serbs settled in the north of the country, particularly in the 16<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Orthodox small-boat leaders, the ‘Rác’ ‘*obervajdas*’ of Komárom, having obtained letters patent of nobility for their military service, represented the chief diplomatic link between the Arsenije III, Patriarch of Ipek, and the imperial leadership of the Hapsburgs around 1690 as well, the time of the arrival of additional groups of Balkan refugees.<sup>8</sup>

Komárom, however, maintained intensive ties with the Old Homeland even prior to the Great Serbian Immigration. The parish would be visited by religious priests from Serbia and Athos, a fact substantiated not only by archival records (e.g. the *Protocollum* of the parish of Komárom) but also by liturgical objects.<sup>9</sup> Jovan, Proigumen of Mileševo, visited Komárom as many as three times as evidenced by inscriptions made in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century *Apostle* manuscript transferred to the Eparchial Library in Szentendre.<sup>10</sup> In 1648 he concluded his one-and-a-half year long priestly service and he went to Komárom in 1660 for the third time.<sup>11</sup> Jovan served there during the golden age of the parish of Komárom when the second (according to some other sources, the third) Orthodox church of Komárom was built in 1648, its most precious works of art and icons becoming the earliest heritage items of the Eparchy of Buda.<sup>12</sup> Jovan’s inscription commemorates the greatest donator of the church, Nikola Földváry, as well as the fact that, following his departure, the priestly service would be taken over from him by Father Panarufj from the Monastery of Sopočani. It was in the same book that, in 1683, an inscription was entered by a monk from the Monastery of Kovilj, hieromonk Ignatije Kobilac, visiting Komárom already for the second time, probably fleeing the latest Turkish war. In his inscription, special mention is made of the siege of Fülek (Fil’akovo, Slovakia) and Kassa (Košice, Slovakia).<sup>13</sup> Monks not only from the monasteries of Central Serbia

<sup>8</sup> Д. Давидов, *Срби у Коморану у XVI и XVII веку*. Ibid. *Споменици Будимске епархије*, Београд 1990. 105–125 (first published *Balkanica* XII, 1981, 59–87; with previous historical literature).

<sup>9</sup> An example of note is the epitaphios from Komárom embroidered by hieromonk Makarije in 1693 (Давидов, *Срби у Коморану у XVI и XVII веку*, 119–120). Its creator was probably the same monk from Chilandar as the one whose presence in Komárom in 1673 may be evidenced (Давидов, *Срби у Коморану у XVI и XVII веку*, 115. cf. А. Фотић, *Света Гора и Хиландар у Османском царству*, Београд 2000. 431).

<sup>10</sup> Reference Nr.: БУР 2.

<sup>11</sup> Синдик – Гроздановић-Пајић – Мано-Зиси, *Опис рукописа и старих штампаних књига библиотеке Српске православне епархије будимске у Сентандреји*, 7; kat. 92. 140–142.

<sup>12</sup> On the artefacts of the church and the history of the parish, see Давидов, *Срби у Коморану у XVI и XVII веку*, 105–125. For more on the artistic artefacts of the Age of the ‘Seoba’, see also Golub X., *Kelet és Nyugat párbeszéde: posztbizánci művészet Magyarországon 1700 körül*. *Napút* 9 (2014) 52–62. For the icons of zographos Georgios in the Serbian church of Komárom see Nagy M., *Georgiosz zograf ikonjai a komáromi szerb templomban*. *Limes* 4 (1992) 19–28.

<sup>13</sup> Синдик – Гроздановић-Пајић – Мано-Зиси, *Опис рукописа и старих штампаних књига библиотеке Српске православне епархије будимске у Сентандреји*, 142.

and Syrmia but also from Chilandar on Mount Athos would come to Komárom and Győr (Serbian: Ћуп, German: Raab), the latter functioning as an affiliated parish of the former already in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>14</sup>

The Old Slavonic books of Komárom are significant for the history of scholarship in a unique way as they were among the first specimens from the material heritage of the Serbian community of Hungary to be made available to a wider academic audience. A considerable portion of the period items from Komárom were added to the collection of the Serbian Learned Society (currently, the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts) as early as the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, thanks to Gavriilo Vitković's (1829–1902) engagement in systematic collection.<sup>15</sup> In 1870 Vitković offered 38 books – a number of manuscripts and a few Serbian early printed books (*srbuljas*) issued in Venice, Gorazde and Mileševo – to the Learned Society for purchase, as a selection from the heritage items he had acquired from the Serbs living in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, during his first collection trip.<sup>16</sup> In 1882 Vitković returned to Komárom as a delegate of the Society, taking seventeen manuscripts (three 14<sup>th</sup> century parchments) and six early printed books to Belgrade.<sup>17</sup> The Slavonic

<sup>14</sup> Much similar data has already been published in previous studies, mostly in line with Lj. Stojanović (Љ. Стојановић, *Стари српски записи и натписи. Књ. I. Зборник за историју, језик и књижевност српскога народа. књ. I. Прво одељење. Споменици на српском језику. књ. I. Београд 1902.*) At the time of the Great Immigration, Igumen Vasilije of Studenica and Aksentije, a monk from Hopovo, visited Komárom. Teofan, a monk from Hopovo, was in Győr in 1690. In connection with the monks of Chilandar, besides hieromonk Makarije, who visited Komárom, Ignjatije Hilendarac, who was in Győr in 1689 and Jefrem, who was in Pécs in 1699, should also be mentioned (Д. Ј. Поповић, *Велика сеоба Срба 1690: Срби сељаци и племићи*, Београд 1954. 45–47. Cf. М. Павић, *Гаврил Стефановић Венцловић*. In Р. Горјанац – П. Милошевић, *Сеоба Срба 1690*, Београд 1990. 199–215. 202.).

<sup>15</sup> For more on the collection trips of Vitković between 1857 and 1883 and the history of researching the Serbian relics in Hungary, see Д. Медаковић, *Изучавања српских старина у Мађарској*. Летопис Матице српске. Год. 150. 1974. Књ. 413, св. 1. 87–101. On the controversial welcome of the collector Vitković, see also: Д. Е. Стефановић, *Један спис о српској цркви у Коморану крајем XIX века*. Споменица епископу шумадијском Сави. Зборник радова поводом 40. годишњице архијерејске службе др. Саве (Вуковића), епископа шумадијског, Нови Сад 2001, 291–305. 293–294. For more recent sources on the famous Serbian Vitković family of Eger, see Bor K., *Vitkovics Mihály könyveinek sorsa*. In Csepregi K. – Bor K., *Könyvüm az én fiam*, Budapest, 2014. 11–19.

<sup>16</sup> К. Мано-Зиси, *Старе ћириличке штампане књиге у Архиву Српске академије наука и уметности*. Археографски прилози 6–7 (1984–1985) 291–325. 292. From this pool of memories 22 are kept in the Archives of SANU (Синдик – Гроздановић-Пајић – Мано-Зиси, *Опис рукописа и старих штампаних књига библиотеке Српске православне епархије будимске у Сентандреји*, 3.). The most valuable manuscripts are the works of the scribes from the Rača monastery in Szentendre, and of Gavril Stefanović Venclović (1680–1749?). The erudite monk and versatile baroque preacher and poet worked as a pastor in Komárom and Győr for several years. His 7000-page long manuscript heritage illustrated by himself was produced precisely there. Recent items from the rich literature on the activities of the Rača scribes and Venclović with points of relevance to the Hungarian context: Ф. Бикар, *Сентандреја у огледалу прошлости*, Нови Сад, 2003. 181–183. Т. Јовановић – Д. Е. Стефановић, *Венцловићев сентандрејски буквар 1717*, Будимпешта–Београд, 2013.

<sup>17</sup> Мано-Зиси, *Старе ћириличке штампане књиге у Архиву Српске академије наука и уметности*, 292–293. Vitković claimed to have collected approximately 200 'srbuljas',

early printed books originating in Komárom transferred to the Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts were described by Katarina Mano-Zisi in 1984–1985.<sup>18</sup>

It is actually its inscriptions that render the three copies of the first full Old Church Slavonic Bible form 1581 found in Hungary, issued by Ivan Fjodorov in Ostrog, Volyn Oblast noteworthy. Albeit East- and not South-Slavic-scripted early printed books, all three of them may be linked to the Serbian minority of Hungary as they were in the possession of the ‘Rác *šajkaš*’ communities of Komárom and Győr for a while.<sup>19</sup>

The Ostrog Bible of the National Széchényi Library was owned by the Orthodox parish of Komárom from the thirties of the 17th century to 1789, when Juraj Ribay (*Jiří/György Ribay* 1754–1812), the famous bibliophile from Upper-Hungary purchased it from the Serbian parish priest.<sup>20</sup> The inscriptions of this Bible are further proof for the appearance of Longin Branković Serbian bishop (and later metropolitan) of Jenopolje (currently Ineu, Romania; Borosjenő in Hungarian), in the midst of the nobility of the Orthodox Church of Komárom during the 17th century.<sup>21</sup> As referred to previously by the literature, Longin Korenić-Branković could represent a special tie between the monasteries in Komárom and of Chilandar on Athos.<sup>22</sup> The Ostrog Bible of the National

---

or old Serbian books (Синдик – Гроздановић-Пајић – Мано-Зиси, *Опис рукописа и старих штампаних књига библиотеке Српске православне епархије будимске у Сентандреји*, 3.) in 1882. In 1883 an exhibition of the objects collected 1870–1882 was organised, for which Vítковић prepared a printed catalogue (Г. Витковић, *Списак изложених историјских, књижевних и уметничких споменика српских*, Београд, 1883). There are 178 old prints in the catalogue, currently kept in the Archives of SANU. For their description, see Мано-Зиси, *Старе ћириличке штампане књиге у Архиву Српске академије наука и уметности*.

<sup>18</sup> Мано-Зиси, *Старе ћириличке штампане књиге у Архиву Српске академије наука и уметности*.

<sup>19</sup> The copy of the Ostrog Bible acquired by the Archives of SANU as a gift from Đura Stanković of Buda is also of Hungarian provenance (Мано-Зиси, *Старе ћириличке штампане књиге у Архиву Српске академије наука и уметности*, 1984–1985, kat. 49). In Hungary there are two more copies of the Ostrog Bible at Saint Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College in Nyíregyháza. In this regard, see E. Ojtozi, *Az Osztrogi Biblia két példánya a Nyíregyházi Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola Könyvtárában*. Könyv és könyvtár. 13 (1982) 121–135; E. Ojtozi, *A Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola könyvtárának szláv és román cirillbetűs könyvei*, Debrecen, 1985. kat. 1–2.

<sup>20</sup> Ant. 989. E. Soltész – C. Velenczei – A. W. Salgó, *Catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum, qui in Bibliotheca Nationali Hungariae Széchényiana asservantur: Editiones non Hungarice et extra Hungariam impressae*. Budapest–Szeged 1990. Kat. V. 503; Бор, *Старе штампане ћириличке књиге из Земаљске библиотеке Сечењи и Универзитетске библиотеке у Будимпешти*, kat. 43. It must be noted here that the approximately 30 Serbian early printed books of the National Széchényi Library were typically acquired through purchases by famous Hungarian bibliophile collectors and, for that reason, they are not inherently connected with the Serbian community of Hungary.

<sup>21</sup> The figure and adventures of Longin Korenić Branković is best described using original historical data in the study of Radmila Tričković: Р. Тричковић, *Митрополит Лонгин Бранковић*. Историјски часопис 34 (1987) 139–166.

<sup>22</sup> On the close ties between Longin Branković, the Chilandar monastery and Komárom see also Стојановић, *Стари српски записи и натписи*. Књ. I. kat. 6808 and pp.

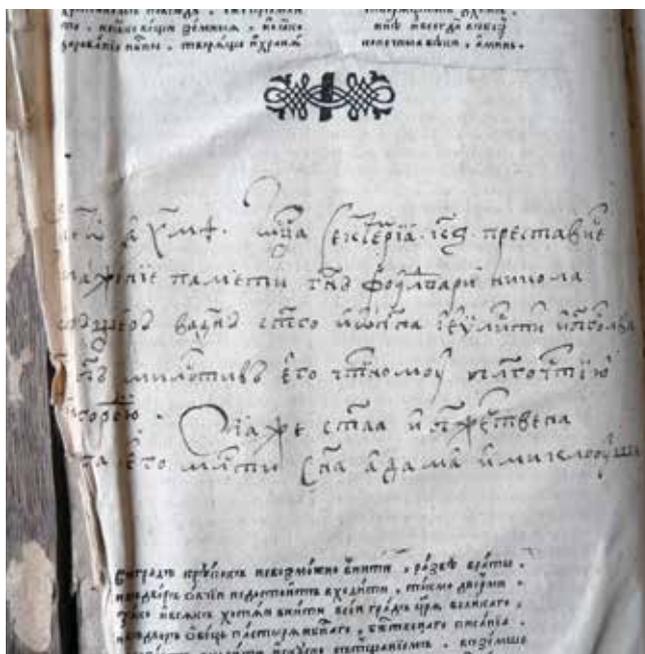


Fig. 1 Inscription in the Ostrog Bible (Ivan Fedorov, 1581) from the Orthodox church of Győr, Hungary. Serbian Orthodox Ecclesiastical Museum, Library and Archives, Szentendre, Hungary

Сл. 1 Запис у Острошкој Библији (Иван Фјодоров, 1581) из православне цркве у Ђуру. Музеј Српске православне епархије будимске, Сентандреја

Széchényi Library was brought to Hungary from Galicia by Branković himself, where – according to his previously published inscription – he received it from Archbishop Josif, and subsequently he presented it to the parish of Komárom.<sup>23</sup> Though these inscriptions do not include dates, from the date of the marginal of another Ostrog gift of Longin to Komárom, it may be inferred that the Bible of the National Széchényi Library must also have been transferred to Komárom around 1636. A book also related to Longin, the Komárom copy of Saint John Chrysostom's collection of homilies entitled *Margarit* (Ostrog, 1595) arrived at the Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade through the efforts of Vitković. The acquisition of these books was presumably in conjunction with Bishop Longin's second trip to 'the Land of Lithuania'. The Bishop of Transylvania enjoyed the hospitality of Josif Ruts kij (Йосиф Рутський 1613–1637), the Uniate Metropolitan of Kiev for three months.

A further copy of the Ostrog Bible has recently been recovered from the antiquated books of the parish of Pomáz. One of the inscriptions of various ages was by Simeon Dimitrijević (?–1799), the parish priest of Preobraženska Church in Szentendre, recording that the Bible was in his possession in 1765. Another inscription records that the Bible was in Komárom in 1788. It is probable that the book was taken to Komárom by Dimitrijević, who was a priest there from 1768 to 1792.<sup>24</sup> It was at that time that the copy in the National

167–169; Давидов, *Срби у Коморану у XVI и XVII веку*, 115.

<sup>23</sup> Бор, *Старе штампане ћирилске књиге из Земаљске библиотеке Сечењи и Универзитетске библиотеке у Будимпешти* 2006, 258.

<sup>24</sup> М. Дујмов, *Листа свештеника Српске православне епархије будимске*. Будимпешта, 2013. 140.

Széchényi Library was bought by Ribay from the parish priest of Komárom, so it is reasonable to assume that Simeon Dimitrijević sold this copy to Ribay because it came to be seen as a duplicate as the 'Pomáz Copy' was still in Komárom in that period.

The third Ostrog Bible found in Hungary, of relevance to the Serbian community, the hitherto bibliographically undescribed specimen of the Eparchial Museum of Szentendre, belonged to the Orthodox church of Győr.<sup>25</sup> Though Lazar Mirković included the book in the inventory for Győr, he omitted to mention the inscription testifying to the fact that the Bible had been donated to the church of Győr in 1649 by the sons of Nikola Földváry, the well-known *ktetor*, in memory of their lately deceased father.<sup>26</sup> (Fig.1) In addition to the copy of the Ostrog Bible referred to previously, Mirković recorded six other early printed books during the 1939 census.<sup>27</sup> He considered the inscription of a 1546 Venetian psalter noteworthy, in which the hieromonk of the Monastery of Zografou of Athos, Joanikij, records his visit to Győr in 1715.<sup>28</sup>

It is common knowledge that the largest monastic communities settled in Hungary, particularly in the area of Szentendre, during the Great Immigration in 1690, also known as the 'Seoba'. It was in the Szentendre region that several sizeable Serbian monastic communities, such as those from the monasteries of Ravanica, Rača, or Krušedol and Hopovo monasteries, the latter two founded in Fruška Gora in the late Middle Ages, found refuge. Although, by the last years of the 17th century and during the 18th century as Serbian territories were reclaimed, most of these communities returned or found their new homes in the monasteries of Syrmia after the Turkish occupation ended, part of their old books remained in Hungary.

The famous Monastery of Rača from the banks of the Drina River earned itself a place in bibliographical history thanks to its scriptorium also moved to Szentendre. The workshop was established next to the building of the St Luke's wooden Church on the banks of the Danube. Its head was Kiprijan Račanin.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the presence of monks from the Rača Monastery is also evidenced in Eger (Јерпа: Isaija Račanin) and Dunaföldvár (Фелдвар) in the 1690s.<sup>30</sup> In this regard, it is to be remarked that the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade holds manuscripts from Feldvar, written by Jerotej Račanin, active

<sup>25</sup> The book is on permanent display at the Museum. This might explain why it was omitted in the catalogue of the Eparchy.

<sup>26</sup> Л. Мирковић, *Црквене старине у српским црквама и манастирима Баната, Румуније и Мађарске*. Споменик ХСІХ. Одељење друштвених наука. Н. с. 1. Београд 1950. 1–20. 16–17. However, the inscription in the book from 1779 is mentioned. Two subsequent inscriptions document the names of the local parish priests, Jovan Mihajlović from 1780 and Manuil Malešević from 1802.

<sup>27</sup> Мирковић, *Црквене старине у српским црквама и манастирима Баната, Румуније и Мађарске*, 16–17.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Синдик–Гроздановић–Пајић–Мано–Зиси, *Опис рукописа и старих штампаних књига библиотеке Српске православне епархије будимске у Сентандреји*, 377.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Footnote 14.

<sup>30</sup> Поповић, *Велика сеоба Срба 1690: Срби сељаци и племићи*, 46.

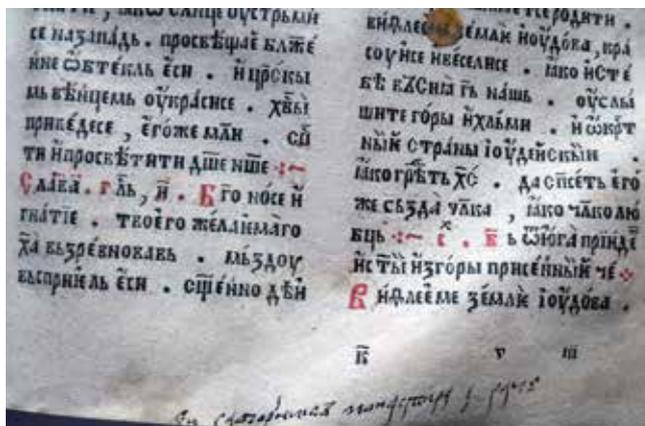


Fig. 2 Inscription from the Monastery of Rača in the *Sabornik* (Božidar Vuković, 1538) of Siklós, Hungary. SOEMLA

Сл. 2 Запис из манастира Раче у *Саборнику* (Бождар Вуковић, 1538) из православне цркве у Шиклушу. МСПЕБ

from 1698 to 1699.<sup>31</sup> The continuation of Serbian manual scripting in Hungary (well until the 1740s!) was also reinforced by the fact that in 1698 the request of Patriarch Arsenije III to Leopold I for the establishment of a Cyrillic press next to the monastery and school at his first seat, Sečuj (Dunaszekcső in Hungarian), was rejected.<sup>32</sup> This explains why the number of manuscripts in the 18th century would still exceed that of the printed books.<sup>33</sup> According to its inscription, it was the Monastery of Rača wherefrom the *Sabornik* (1538) of Božidar Vuković, printed in Venice, arrived – apparently indirectly – at the Serbian church of Siklós (Шиклуш) as a donation of a ‘Mr Stojan’ in 1703.<sup>34</sup> (Fig. 2)

Copying was also practiced in Szentendre by monks from the Ravanica Monastery. They brought along the remains of the treasures of their monastery set on fire in 1687–1688, among which were the relics of the holy martyr of the Battle of Kosovo, King Saint Lazarus the Serb. To house these relics, they built the Church of St Luke on the bank of the Danube. Their book inscriptions documenting their stay in Szentendre among other things have long been known.<sup>35</sup> In the present discussion, only a lesser known entry in a book that has left Hungary and is now kept in the National Library of Ukraine will be pointed out.<sup>36</sup> The inscriptions in the 1562 *Tetraevangelion* (*Četverojevanđelje*) from

<sup>31</sup> Синдик – Гроздановић-Пајић – Мано-Зиси, *Опис рукописа и старих штампаних књига библиотеке Српске православне епархије будимске у Сентандреји*, 4.

<sup>32</sup> Д. Давидов, *Српски културноисторијски споменици Сентандреје*. In Д. Медаковић – Д. Давидов, *Сентандреја*. Београд, 1982. 69–156. 72.

<sup>33</sup> Мано-Зиси, *Српске штампане књиге XVI–XVII века*, 368.

<sup>34</sup> Currently in the Library of the Eparchy of Szentendre, Nr. Шик ст. шт. 1. Н. Р. Синдик, *Приновљене рукописне, старе и ретке штампане књиге у библиотеци Српске православне епархије будимске у Сентандреји*. Археографски прилози 22–23 (2002) 401–443. p. 414–415.

<sup>35</sup> Стојановић, *Стари српски записи и натписи. Књ. I*. Кат. 1944, 1996. On the stay of the Ravanica monks in Hungary, see also: М. Ђоровић-Љубинковић, *Даскал Стефан – поводом шесте годишњице оснивања Раванице*. In Манастир Раваница: споменица о шестој годишњици. Београд 1981. 165–176.

<sup>36</sup> М. Шамрай, *Маргиналії в стародруках кириличного шрифту 15–17 ст. з фонду Національної бібліотеки України імені В. І. Вернадського*. Київ, 2005. Кат. 489.

the Serbian press of Mrkšina Crkva report the Ravanica monks' flight to Buda in 1689. On the basis on the further inscriptions, it is also possible to reconstruct the volume's route to Kiev. In the 1840s it was possessed by Jovan Vitković (1785–1849), the parish priest of Buda – the father of Gavriilo Vitković, to wit – , and it was evidently through him that it was acquired by the Russian chapel of Ūröm (Ирма), maintaining good relations with the Serbs.<sup>37</sup> According to the donation note from 1904, this rare Serbian early printed book was presented to the Archaeological and Ecclesiastical History Society of the Theological Academy of Kiev by the Prefect of Sepulchral Chapel of Duchess Alexandra Pavlovna.<sup>38</sup>

The monks of Ravanica travelled extensively even during their settlement in Szentendre. In 1692 they went to Russia to collect donations, and their oldest brother, called Stefan *daskal*, even visited the Slavonian Monastery of Orahovica in 1696.<sup>39</sup> In 1697 they also found shelter on the Fruška Gora and re-established the monastery of Vrdnik under the name 'New Ravanica'. They took the relics of Great Martyr Lazar, Prince of Serbia with them from Szentendre to the Church of St Luke, subsequently demolished in the time of Bishop Dionisije Popović (1791–1828).

The inscriptions by monks from the Monastery of Mileševo can be found in several volumes that either used to be or still are in Hungary. The stay of Jovan, the Proigumen of Mileševo in Komárom has been mentioned previously. However, the fact that Mileševo, an important religious centre in mediaeval Serbia on account of the relics of the Church Founder, Saint Sava the Serb, had a press as early as the 16th century also commands attention.<sup>40</sup> The products of this press made their way to Hungary as well; the early printed books of Pomáz include an *euchologion* (Молигвеник–Требник) dating from 1564.<sup>41</sup>

In 1688, the monastic community of Mileševo was also forced to escape.<sup>42</sup> A note of possession referring to the monastery of Mileševo is found in the *Sabornik* from the Venetian press of Božidar Vuković (1538), currently displayed at the permanent exhibition of the Serbian Ecclesiastical Museum

<sup>37</sup> The priests taking care of the tomb of Duchess Alexandra Pavlovna and the spiritual needs of the local Russian community were in good relations with Serbian parish priests during the 19th century. From the register of the Serbian church of Pomáz, it becomes obvious that the Russian priests of Ūröm were often related to the local Serbian priests through shared godfatherhood (Б. Чобан-Симмић, *Корени 1. Свеигтеници и народни учитељи у Помазу 1752–1895*. S.l., s.a.)

<sup>38</sup> Шамрай, *Маргиналије в стародруках кириличног шрифту 15–17 ст. з фонду Національної бібліотеки України імені В. І. Вернадського*, 247–248. There is another inscription in the print, without a date and featuring the name of Matei Hilandarac.

<sup>39</sup> Ђоровић-Љубинковић, *Даскал Стефан – поводом шесте годишњице оснивања Раванице*, 170.

<sup>40</sup> On the 1544–1545 and 1557 periods of the press, see Д. Медаковић, *Графика српских штампаних књига XV–XVII века*. Београд, 1958. 32, 52–53.

<sup>41</sup> On the Mileševo prints of the National Széchényi Library, see Бор, *Старе штампане ћирилске књиге из Земалске библиотеке Сечењи и Универзитетске библиотеке у Будимпешти*, 201–278. кат. 13, 23.

<sup>42</sup> On the dispersion of their treasures, see Д. Медаковић, *Ризница манастира Милешеве*. In Idem, *Изабране српске теме*. Београд, 1996. 71–83.

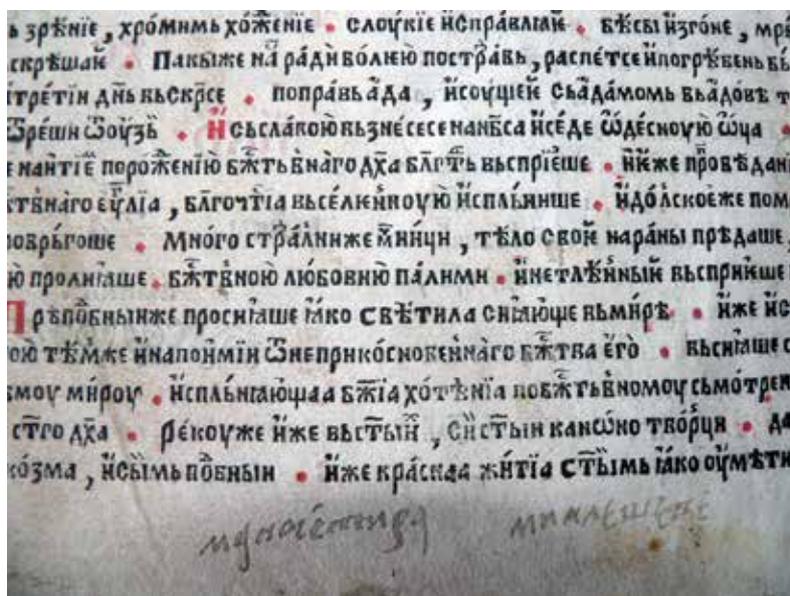


Fig. 3 Inscription from the Monastery of Mileševa in a *Sabornik* (Božidar Vuković, 1538), probably from the Serbian church of Pest. SOEMLA

Сл. 3 Запис из манастира Милешево у *Саборнику* (Бождар Вуковић, 1538) из православне цркве у Пешти. МСПЕБ

of Szentendre.<sup>43</sup> (Fig. 3) From one of the early printed books of the church of Pomáz, another inscription about Mileševo has been recovered. In the Serbian psalmody (*Psaltir*, 1561) printed by Vićenco Vuković in Venice, fragments of the possessor's name, Timotije Mileše[vac], from 1719 may be deciphered. More information on his person is afforded by the marginal of another Božidar's *Sabornik* from 1538, once the possession of Opovačka Church, Szentendre, now held in the Eparchial Library of Szentendre.<sup>44</sup> According to the marginal about monk Timotije, the hieromonk from Mileševo received the book in 1703 from Mihailo for the spiritual salvation of 'duhomnik(!)' Silivester. (Fig. 4) The inscription made by Father Silvester in 1699 in the margin of a manuscript gospel he had had rebound was known previously as well.<sup>45</sup> According to this marginal, the monk 'lived 65 years' in Mileševo (though it is more accurate to surmise that he left there when he was 65) and another ten in Szentendre. More

<sup>43</sup> The book used to be in the Serbian church of Pest, see С. Вујичић – Б. Иванић, *Благо Срба у Мађарској*. Београд, 1989. кат. 58.

<sup>44</sup> Reference Nr.: СА ст. шт. 3. Синдик – Гроздановић-Пајић – Мано-Зиси, *Опис рукописа и старих штампаних књига библиотеке Српске православне епархије будимске у Сентандреји*, 375, kat. 6. In 1743 the book was in the possession of Opovačka Church in Szentendre, together with another 16<sup>th</sup> century print. For its inscription from 1733 see: Синдик – Гроздановић-Пајић – Мано-Зиси, *Опис рукописа и старих штампаних књига библиотеке Српске православне епархије будимске у Сентандреји*, 374, kat. 5.

<sup>45</sup> Стојановић, *Стари српски записи и натписи*. Књ. I, kat. 2063.

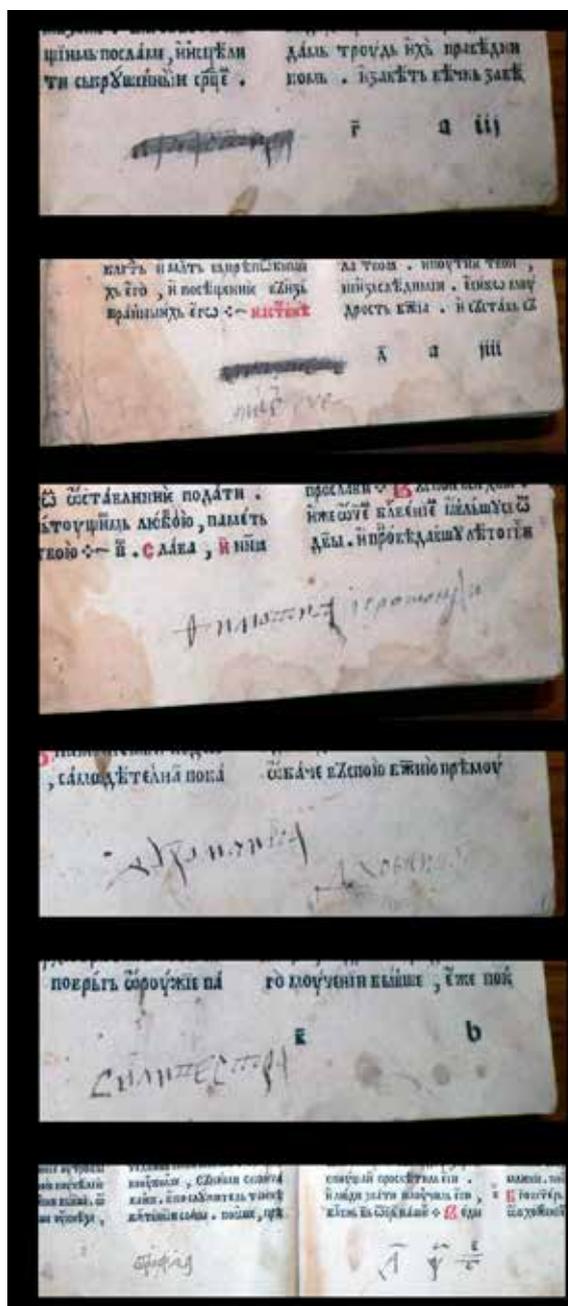


Fig. 4 Details of a Mileševa-related inscription in the *Sabornik* (Božidar Vuković, 1538) of the Oprovačka Church, Szentendre. SOEMLA

Сл. 4 Детаљи из записа милешевских монаха у *Саборнику* (Бождар Вуковић, 1538) из Оповачке цркве у Сентандреји. МСПЕБ

can be uncovered about the fate of Timotije Mileševac from the inscriptions of an *Oktoih petoglasnik* (printed by Božidar Vuković, Venice, 1537) brought to Belgrade by Gavriilo Vitković, but, ultimately, of uncertain provenance: the

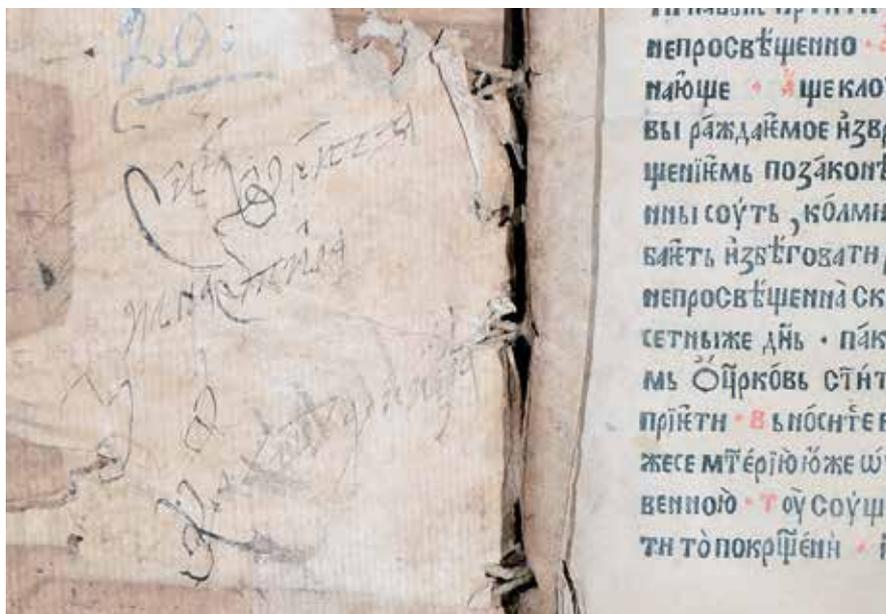


Fig. 5 Inscription from the Monastery of Krušedol in a *Trebnik* (Mileševa Monastery Print, 1546). Serbian Orthodox church, Pomáz, Hungary

Сл. 5 Запис из манастира Крушедол у Требнику милешевске штампе (1546). Српска православна црква у Помазу

book was in the possession of Timotije in both 1718 and 1722.<sup>46</sup> A further inscription from 1724 reports the death of Timotije in Szentendre. Thus, Timotije, unlike many of his fellow monks, did not return to his homeland.<sup>47</sup>

It is well worth alluding here to the *Evhologion* (Moscow, 1662) acquired by Matica Srpska in Novi Sad, previously also emerging in Hungary, contain-

<sup>46</sup> Мано-Зиси, *Старе ћириличке штампане књиге у Архиву Српске академије наука и уметности*, 301, kat. 163.

<sup>47</sup> For further research, it might be interesting to examine the inscriptions dated around 1700 of the early books associated with the Slavonic monasteries. Numerous artefacts were moved to the treasuries of the monasteries of Slavonia from the areas of Serbia, Bosnia and Macedonia by the monastic communities fleeing the ever continuing Turkish occupation of the northern Balkans (for example, at the time of the Great Exile of 1690). Juxtaposition with the relevant materials available in Hungary is also advisable because the monastery of Pakra was most probably founded by the same Mileševo monks who also happened to be in Szentendre. This supports the idea that the elderly 'starec of Mileševo', mentioned in the books found in Hungary, should be identified with Silvester, whose silver cross dating from 1671 was described in the Slavonic monastery of Pakra by Radoslav Grujić presumably in the 1920s. (P. M. Грујић, *Пакрачка епархија: историјско-статистички преглед*. In *Споменица о Српском православном владичанству пакрачком*. Уред. Слободан Милеуснић. Београд 1996. 53–54.) Moreover, Grujić recorded 109 volumes of 'srbulja', South Slavic prints from the 15–17th centuries (28 different publications) in 37 churches in the territory of the former Eparchy of Marča (Грујић, *Пакрачка епархија: историјско-статистички преглед*, 126).

ing the names of the monks of Mileševo inscribed by themselves.<sup>48</sup> Amongst its possessors were Avesalom Mileševac in 1687, then Proigumen Aksentije, and finally, as of 1687, Visarion Mileševac. Another inscription states that the book was purchased by the priest Manuil Malešević (1766–1835) in the city of Buda in 1802.<sup>49</sup>

During the times following the ‘Seoba’, out of the monasteries of Syrmia, it was Krušedol, founded by the Branković family affording several saints, that played the most important role and was the seat of the Patriarch in the first third of the 18th century. The inscription preserved in the *euchologion* (*Molitvenik–Trebник*) published in Mileševa in 1546 and preserved in the Pomáz congregation suggests that this liturgical book might have been possessed by Krušedol. (Fig. 5) The monks of Krušedol and Patriarch Arsenije III arrived in Szentendre in 1690.<sup>50</sup> It was the monks of Krušedol who built the predecessor of the church now standing at the main square of Szentendre to the relics of the Branković saints they had brought with them from Syrmia. Such inferences may be made from the document issued by Igumen Silvester of Krušedol in Szentendre in the year 1696.<sup>51</sup>

Furthermore, the relics of Saint Theodore Tyron were probably temporarily kept in Opovačka Church founded by the monks who had fled from the Syrmian Monastery of Hopovo. However, similarly to the transfer of the Branković relics, this fact was for some reason rather soon erased from the memory of the local Serbian community.<sup>52</sup> Out of the sources providing accounts of the origins of the churches of Szentendre, it is worth highlighting the 1721 memoirs of Cyril, the Igumen of Hopovo in which he mentions the “patriarchal church”, to be identified with the Church of Dormition of the Theotokos, the current Episcopal Cathedral.<sup>53</sup> This time around Komárom also received a monk from Hopovo, a certain Ansitej, who left his signature in an *oktoechos* rebound by himself in 1690.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>48</sup> This book arrived at the Library of Matica Srpska through a purchase in 1969, but it we cannot be ascertained when and how it found its way back to the Old Homeland (Д. Грбић – К. Минчић-Обрадовић – К. Шкорић, *Ћирилицом штампане књиге XV–XVII века Библиотеке Матице српске*. Нови Сад 1994. 166–167.)

<sup>49</sup> Malešević, born in Székesfehérvár, was ordained deacon in Pomáz in 1793, where he worked for three years. He served as a parish priest in Buda between 1794–1801, in Győr between 1802–1809 and in Székesfehérvár from 1809 until his death in 1835 (Дујмов, *Листа свештеника Српске православне епархије будимске*, 185.).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Стојановић, *Стари српски записи и натписи*. Књ. I., kat. 1989.

<sup>51</sup> Д. Е. Стефановић, *Из прошлости гробних места и њихових обележја у Сентандреји*. In *Саборно гробље у Сентандреји: прошлост и натписи*. Уред. В. Становчић, Д. Е. Стефановић. Београд 2012. 11–25. 14–15.

<sup>52</sup> For more on this, see Стефановић, *Из прошлости гробних места и њихових обележја у Сентандреји*, 14.

<sup>53</sup> Стефановић, *Из прошлости гробних места и њихових обележја у Сентандреји*, 14–15.

<sup>54</sup> Мано-Зиси, *Старе ћириличке штампане књиге у Архиву Српске академије наука и уметности*, 302, kat. 10.

The inscriptions in the early printed Slavonic books from Hungary and their movement across the country clearly reveal that by the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, these old books were frequently regarded unnecessary by the parishes concerned. This might also be related to the fact that the Serbian communities of Hungary became stronger and they had the opportunity to obtain more recent liturgical books printed in Ukraine and Russia. The replacement of the early printed books printed in South Slavic areas was also expedited by the measures taken by Vičentije Jovanović, Archbishop of Sremski Karlovci (1731–1737), aimed at granting official status to the Russian recension of Church Slavonic in the territory of his Metropolia, in lieu of the previously employed Serbo-Slavic (*Srbuljski*) language.<sup>55</sup> Thus, the early printed books initially brought to Szentendre during the Great Immigration would be transferred to the smaller parishes of the town and the surrounding areas, as illustrated by the books of Pomáz, Üröm and the Opovačka Church in Szentendre.<sup>56</sup> At the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, enlightened people appreciating the historical value of early printed liturgical books also appeared in the Eparchy of Buda. Among the leaders of the Eparchy of Buda, it is apposite to remember the name of Bishop Arsenije Stojković (1852–1892), who was the first to initiate the collection of valuable liturgical objects, among them books, from the parishes located in Hungary, with considerably shrunken congregations.<sup>57</sup>

Ксенија Голуб  
СРПСКИ МОНАСИ У ЗАПИСИМА СТАРИХ ШТАМПЕНИХ КЊИГА СА  
ПОДРУЧЈА БУДИМСКЕ ЕПАРХИЈЕ

Већина старих ћирилицом писаних књига су донели на подручје Српске православне епархије будимске монаси-избеглице са Балкана. У раду се расправља о записима Срба-монаха манастира Милешеве, Раванице, Раче на Дрини, Крушедола, Хопова и Свете Горе, остављеним на маргинама књига до сада не запажених или мање обрађених српских и руских штампаних књига XVI века које се данас чувају на територији Мађарске (у епархијском музеју у Сентандреји и парохијалној цркви у Помазу) или су везане за некадашње српске заједнице у Угарској (углавном у градовима Коморан и Ђур).

<sup>55</sup> For more on this see Ђ. Слијепчевић, *Историја Српске православне цркве. Књ. II*. Минхен, 1966. 94.

<sup>56</sup> For this conclusion I am grateful to Dimitrije E. Stefanović.

<sup>57</sup> Circles of Stojković included a certain Georgije Golub, parish priest from Pomáz (1886–1925), whose handwriting is also preserved, amongst others, in the Ostrog Bible kept in the town. Golub was at first the parish priest of the Ópovačka of Szentendre, and then of Preobraženska Church between 1876 and 1886 (Дујмов, *Листа свеитеника Српске православне епархије будимске*, 130–131).