

Vladimir Vukašinić and Jovana Pavlović

Regula morum et ordinum sacerdotalium: Latin Manuscript Contemporary to the Metropolitan Vinćentije Jovanović

Abstract: The article explains the Church legal document *Regula morum et ordinum sacerdotalium* influence on spiritual life in the Archdiocese of Belgrade and Karlovci organization in 1732. Textual and paleographic analyses provide internal evidence that Latin manuscript is actually a transcription of unpreserved original. The Forty precepts disciplinary organize various aspects of the parochial clergy life bringing testimonies significant for the Orthodox Church History. The first critical edition from a single based manuscript with introductory note.

Key words: Church legal documents, Archdiocese of Belgrade and Karlovci, critical edition, Vinćentije Jovanović

Povzetek: ***Regula morum et ordinum sacerdotalium*: Latinski rokopis iz dobe metropolita Vinćentija Jovanovića**

Članek razloži vpliv cerkvenega pravnega dokumenta *Regula morum et ordinum sacerdotalium* na organizacijo duhovnega življenja v nadškofiji Beograd in Karlovci leta 1732. Tekstne in paleografske analize so priskrbele notranje dokazno gradivo, da je latinski rokopis dejansko prepis neohranjenega izvirnika. Štirideset disciplinskih pravil je organiziralo razne vidike življenja župnijske duhovščine, to pa prinaša pomembna pričevanja za zgodovino pravoslavne Cerkve. To je prva kritična izdaja na podlagi rokopisa z uvodnimi opombami.

Ključne besede: cerkveni pravni dokumenti, nadškofija Beograd in Karlovci, kritična izdaja, Vinćentije Jovanović

The Archdiocese of Belgrade and Karlovci lasted from 1726 to 1739 as the result of Belgrade and Karlovci diocese union caused by military and political changes in the first half of the 18th century. It was governed by metropolitans Mojsije Petrović (1726–1730) and Vinćentije Jovanović (1731–1737).

Metropolitan Vinćentije represents one of the most significant Serbian *praelatus* actively working on organizing clergy and monastic life during his rule in Karlovci and Belgrade Archdiocese. His well-known *Sacerdotal rules* were issued for the purpose of organization improvement, and its Latin version, edited in Novem-

ber 1st 1732 – *Regula morum et ordinum sacerdotalium* (ASANUK, MPA, A 1732, 75) – is edited in the article. Vinčentije's antecessor, Mojsije Petrović was also occupied with the regulation of clergy life in parishes and for that purpose he delivered his own Sacerdotal rules (Točanac Radović 2001, 149), but it was Vinčentije who took one step forward. How it manifested?

Metropolitans in Karlovci endeavored to regulate the spiritual life of the parochial clergy and monks by special Church legal and disciplinary documents – The Rules. On one side, there are based upon ancient Christian Church tradition familiar to such forms and types of the clergy life regulation, but, on the other side, The Rules appearance predominantly follows contemporary practice promoted by the spiritual reform of the Russian czar Peter the Great (1672–1725) and archbishop Theophan Prokopovič, (1681–1736) finding its essential fulfillment in *Duhovnyj Regulament'* (Benešević 1914), the central legal document defining The Russian Orthodox Church status in the so-called *Synodal period* (from 1721 to 1917). This fact should be particularly applied to metropolitan Vinčentije Jovanović who governed Karlovci and Belgrade Archdiocese contemporarily to Teofan Procopovič redirecting spiritual life and reorganizing the Russian Church. The relationship between reformatic actions of metropolitans in Karlovci and *Duhovnyj Regulament'* has already been questioned several times in Serbian historiography. After Tihomir Ostojić (1907) and Mita Kostić (1958), Vladimir Vukašinović (2010) and Vladislav Puzović (2014) dealt with this issue, the latter providing detailed analysis of the *Duhovnyj Regulament'* influence upon sacerdotal and monastic rules.

Concerning the Rules contemporary to Vinčentije Jovanović (in further text: *REGULA 1732*), their historical and theological analysis shows that metropolitan attempted to disciplinary organize the parochial clergy life in the various aspects of their service. Behind the obligatory clergy suit standardization (6) or endeavor to carefully conduct the administrative affairs such as keeping the registers of the baptized, married and the deceased (53) or the protopresbyteric system enforcement in order to regulate parochial service (38) lies the awareness that without well-organized diocese structure, the Church service and mission would encounter great difficulties.

Disciplinary endeavors of *REGULA 1732* aren't meant for the clergy only. They see to lay people regular service attendance (20) as well as controlling monks charity raisers' patronage, monks seeking charity interrogation about episcopate in charge blessing (32). Source *REGULA 1732* is predominantly concerned with parishioners' and priests' Eucharistic life. Firstly, metropolitan insists on liturgy order and altar component precise definition as well as impeccable cleanliness (14 and 15). Besides, he determines the quality of bread and wine offerings during liturgy (11) and defines who is allowed to offer Eucharist (10) and where and how to preserve the mystery for the sake of the sick (12 and 13).

When two or more priests are at the service in the same church, they can serve the matines and vespers regularly, but the Holy Liturgy in this case could be served every day (9).

Manuscript *REGULA 1732* provides various approaches to the Sacrament of Confession and Penance, making it obligatory for the clergy as well as pious flock (3). Pastoral discerning and the basic knowledge of psychology is expected of a priest during confession of believers (21) who are supposed to be given so-called *Confessional note* (Lat. *Schedula spiritualium*) as a proof that their spiritual duty is fulfilled. Priests were not allowed to offer the Holy Communion to the believers without notes (27). Besides, document establishes special Eucharistic discipline for those who avoid Confession and Communion preventing them from entering the Church (30), whereas encouraging Eucharistic life of those without spiritual hindrance (31). The regular annual confessions are allowed to be heard only by the spiritual fathers who have special sacramental blessing for that purpose (32), while in death case all the clergy is permitted.

According to *REGULA 1732*, before receiving the Sacrament of Holy Matrimony, a priest had to examine if bride and bridegroom know the essential truths of the Christian Faith, more exactly, the basic Confessional texts (19).

Besides Confessional notes, there was also marriage note proving available marital status of a candidate as well as his consent to the marriage (33). *REGULA 1732* discourage practicing *Matrimonia mixta* (34). The Sacrament of Baptism and Holy Matrimony should be performed only in churches, that's what *REGULA 1732* says, assuming immersion, not soaking to be recommended and desirable form for the Baptism (18).

Metropolitan Vinčentije dedicates special attention to the rites associated with the Christian death of the diocesan flock emphasizing the role given to the parochial clergy in this events. Priests were obliged to provide Confession, Anointing and Communion for dying parishioners (17). The Holy Eucharist is carried to the sick in the solemn procession, preceding the two ministers holding the candle, followed by the priest (16). The deceased were buried out of the church, either in portal or in special tombs (28), and so *REGULA 1732* fails not to describe their grave cross description (29).

Moreover, *REGULA 1732* also regulates education of both prospective and active male clergy. Children of the clergy have the privilege of religious education on the path to honorifics and titles (23). The priesthood must regularly read the main religious books and manuals, so-called *Five mandatory books*, uttering-reading them repeatedly along the year (1).

This was particularly related to liturgical issues since Vinčentije Jovanović was promoting the new »style« of liturgy in order to be establish among the priesthood in the Archdiocese of Belgrade and Karlovci (24).

The method of repeated readings, in other words, same text repetition resulting in memorizing its content, was also intended for believers who were read the Texts of Confession of Faith after the liturgy (2). In the end, it should be mentioned that the priesthood was commanded to read and memorize *REGULA 1732* (40).

Political realities exist in *REGULA 1732*. They reflected in Church's intention to prepare believers through pastoral guidance not only for the service to the Holy Roman Empire but also to give their lives for the emperor (39).

The preceding chapters provide theological interpretation introducing the first edition of the important Church Legal Document. Concerning editorial principles, the primary criterion for scribal features preservation presents contemporary orthography manuscript congruence. Codicological analysis indicate the document containing no page numbering and stable page format. This was a doubtful point where decision was made to carefully follow the chapter division of the manuscript and its single line spacing between each section. Vertical line (||) marks the end of original page.

Abbreviations were expanded without indications in the text. Emendations suggested by the editor were marked by pointed brackets < >. The document was revisited and numerous orthography corrections were made. Nota bene, word *gasam* in chapter five is rewritten as *gazam* in order to conform the standard orthography and pronunciation. Similar example was found in chapter six where the form *sarcitas* was emendated by crossing out syllabus *–Ci*. Only the correct form appears in the edition. The predicate omission makes a sentence in chapter five unclear. It originally reads: *Ad haec singulares canones suos, quo ad orandum Dominum Deum nunquam omittant*. Lacuna is indicated by three asterisks in pointed brackets <***> since it was based on deficiency of sentence sense.

The document delivery to the archbishop of Belgrade in 1732 is quoted in the colophon on the last page. It reads as it follows:

+Publicatum est in congressu nostro Belgradi, datumque in residentia nostra Archiepiscopo metropolitana belgradiensi Novembris 1, Anno Domini 1732.

Published at our Belgrade council in our archbishop's metropolitans residence in Belgrade on 1st of November, in the year of our Lord 1732.

Two scribal hands wrote the *REGULA 1732* in Latin cursive script (Thompson 1899) using only black tint without any calumniations. The first scribe wrote most of the document. The second scribe appears only at the end of the chapters 19 and 39 presumably in order to temporarily replace the first scribe. The abovementioned deficiency of sense in chapter five indicates not only lacuna, yet the typical scribal error highly unlikely to be made by the creative author concerned about the main idea of the sentence. Therefore, it is very probable that the manuscript *REGULA 1732* is transcription of unsaved Latin original. The annotation affixed to the document is written by the third scribe. It could be discussed if this was later interpolation in the text. Chronological congruence between the colophon and the descriptive annotation provides internal evidence for placing the document in its historical context. The scribal features, orthography as well as syntax and lexical analysis of *REGULA 1732* provides evidence for graphic and stylistic pattern defining. The results should be used in future research at SASA Archives in Sremski Karlovci (Arhiv SANU u Sremskim Karlovcima).

There are used underlined Arabic numerals with two small lines on the right side in order to signify the passage numeration (e. g. 10//). In comparison to that, the ordinary numbers in the text were written combining Arabic numeral with the appropriate case ending. Both components stand in the same line with a dash

beneath (v.g. 2da parte for *secunda parte*, 35). This characteristics wasn't preserved in the edition. The standard Latin abbreviations are expanded in the interest of contemporary reader: v. g. (Lat. verbi gratia »for example«, 29), and *9bris* (Lat. Novembris »November«, 40).

Abbreviations occur in *Nomina Sacra* (Traube 1907), enclitic *-que*, conjunction *vel* (abb. v), particle *non* (n) and preposition *per* (p). The word *Dominus* »Lord« was regularly contracted and denoted by slightly curved vertical line as a general abbreviation sign (v. g. Dñi for *Domini*, 1; Dño for *Domino*, 1; Dñum for *Dominum*, 5). Truncation of the final syllabus *-UM* is progressive feature: *mysterior(um)*, 1; *sacramentor(um)*, 1; *maritor(um)*, 19. Supralinear ligature is used to signify truncation. Enclitic *-QUE* is written as a ligature formed by letter Q and the subscribed mark resembling Arabic number 3. The word *caeteror(um)q(ue)* (9) presents an illustrative example of supralinear ligature and subscribed mark combination. The Arabic number 3 also marks syllabus *-UR* truncation (Capelli 1982, 20): *celebret(ur)*, 9. We found one case of superscript vowel that stands only for itself (*virtūsa*, 10). This is the result of later text emendation that shouldn't be confused with abbreviations.

The editor's sole intention was not to intervene the orthography *per se*, because Latin document *REGULA 1732* is extant in a *codex unicus*. Closer examination of the orthography indicates high level of Classical Latin (in further text: CL) norm appliance (Herman 2000, 31). The consistent preservation of CL norm through avoiding of diphthong reduction (ae> e, oe>e) was observed in the following examples: *poenitentia* (1, 21), *poena* (3, 5, 40), *oecumenicus* (20); *caeruleus* (6, derivated from *caelum* »sky«), *saepenumero* (3, 40), *saepissime* (34), *praecceptum* (x5), *praesertim* (3, 14) *praesupposita* (8), *aeternam* (9), *praeter* (16), *saecularibus* (20), *praedicandi* (20), *praedicet* (20), *praedicent* (34), *miseri cordiae* (x3), *aequalis* (24), *praeseferentes* (31), *praesumant* (33), *praestare* (40), *Caeseroregia* (39), *caeteris* (40), *memoriae* (40). The diphthong AE was signified as a ligature. Nonstandard spelling such as *caeterorum* (9) and *caeteris* (40) also appears as the result of diphthong reduction absence. Although *ceterus*, *a*, *um* standard form, the original feature is also correct and therefore remains unchanged in the edition.

It is clear that the author aimed at classical orthographic norm since few cases of Y>I vowel change noticed. Frequently used theological terms such as *mysterium* (x5), *presbyter* (x44) and *symbolum* (8, 19) were written following CL rule and, therefore, conforming to the Greek model (cf. Gr. μυστήριον, πρεσβύτερος and σύμβολον). The pattern is confirmed in *hapax legomenon* such as *Apocalypseus liber*, 1 (ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις) and *synaxeus*, 27 (σύναξις). Scribe persistently hesitates between *liturgia* (20) and *lyturgia* (x2) causing coexistence of both graphic forms within the document. However, overwriting of *liturgia* repeated more than once (2, 9) indicating that the form *lyturgia* was conceived as more erudite and correct. This example could be explained as orthographic hypercorrection case (cf. Gr. λ ε ι τ ουργία) that certainly reveals basic tendency towards CL precept appliance. At this doubtful point editor decided to uniform orthography in order to conform to the rule and to avoid confusion.

It is most likely that writing mistakes such as *stamnea vasa* (13, correct form: *stannea* or *stagnea* »an alloy of silver and lead«), *diecaesibus* (40, instead of *diocesibus*, cf. Greek διοίκησις) and *Euhilogii liber* (1, instead of *Euhologii liber*, cf. Greek Εὐχολόγιον) appeared due to pronunciation or simple neglect. The spelling *Tipycon* (24) and *qualemanque* (31) were unconscious omissions that should have been replaced with *Typicon* (Gr. Τυπικόν) and *qualenamque*. In the eight chapter grammatically incorrect Gerund form *oretendi* appears in the following sentence: ut sciant o r e t e n d i Pater noster; Ave Maria: 12 articulos symboli Orthodoxae fidei, et 10 praecepta decalogi. Editor's suggests emendation *orationes* (Niermeyer and Kief 1976, 742) placing it in the pointed brackets.

Greek loanwords with aspirated consonant TH and CH were spelled according to the artificial CL norm: *Virtutes theologicas*, 2 (cf. Gr. θεολογικός), *Timotheum*, 7 (Τιμόθεος), *Orthodoxae fidei*, 8, 37 (ὀρθόδοξος); *Christus* x5, *Christiani* x3 (Χριστός, Χριστιανοί), *Catechisim librum*, 1 (Κατήχησις), *Euchilogii*, 1 (Εὐχολόγιον), *eucharistia*, 1, 10 (εὐχαριστία), *scholam*, 23 (σχολή), *archiepiscopus* x5, *archiepiscopalis*, 24 (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος), *schedula* x4 (σχέδος). On the contrary, in few examples deviation from conservative norm was observed: *blasfemia*, 37 (CL *blasphemia* or *blasphemium*, Gr. βλασφημία), *parohus* x5 (CL *parochus*, Gr. πάροχος) and *monahus*, 32 (CL *monachus*, Gr. μοναχός).

Consonant substitutions, palatalization and CT>T reduction (Eliot 1997, 4) never occurred in *REGULA 1732* (v.g. baptizaverit, 35, sanctus x19, interrogazione, 19).

The original punctuation is adequately clear even for modern scholars. Capitalization of Divine persons in The Holy Trinity as well as personal names, titles and places is taken from the source. The New Latin precise distinction between vowel I and consonant J along with vowel U and consonant V reflected upon graphia of *Evangelium* (2) and *eucharistia* (1, 10) as well as frequently used *ejus* and *etiam*. Consonant generalization was observed only once in the form *etjam* (21) and this original orthography feature is preserved.

The long S (ſ) appears only in medial position forming ligature with the following letter S (e. g. inceſanterque, 1). The edition is without the mark. Assuming the accuracy of the estimate just made, we discover the scholar highly proficient in Latin behind the transcription.

Conclusion

The Church-Legal Document *Regula morum et ordinum sacerdotalium* (*REGULA 1732*) that provides the vivid reconstruction of clergy life and its organization during 18th century could be transcription of unsaved Latin original and, therefore, further research in The SASA Archives in Sremski Karlovci is necessary. The hypothesis is based on the typical scribal errors observed as well as lacunas requiring conjecture. Although codicological analyses indicate the document lacking stable format along with the Vinčentije's original seal and signature omission, the

editor still believes the data provided in the colophon on the last page to be trustworthy since chronological congruence between the colophon and the descriptive annotation observed. Manuscript *REGULA 1732*, therefore, should be considered as formal document providing reliable evidence of Vinčentije Jovanović's reform and the new »style« of liturgy promotion. Interest in *REGULA 1732* probably goes beyond Vinčentije's epoch since the third scribal hand was identified in the annotation affixed to *REGULA 1732*. Besides the parishioners' and priests' Eucharistic life, the rites associated with the Christian death of the diocesan flock were also most carefully described which could indicate the high mortality rate in turbulent times especially of infants and children (chapters 16 and 17). It seems that the manuscript surpasses the spiritual life and the clergy organization reconstruction since it bears historic evidence of internal relations between the Holy Roman Empire and Vojna Krajina (*Militärgrenze*) as well as religious antiques in the early 18th century.

Regula morum et ordinum sacerdotalium, quibus debent presbyteri et diaconi instrui, ac dirigere vitam suam, fungique officio suo sacerdotali, prouti intra et extra ecclesiam in domo propria, ita etiam in omni loco.

1. In primis, debent presbyteri et diaconi, ut ministri Christi, et dispensatores mysteriorum ejus, semper timorem Dei in corde suo habere, incessanterque diu et noctu erudiant, lege Divina, qua continetur in Scriptura Sacra, ut possint bene et intelligenter universam cognoscere legem Domini, ac interrogantibus se de lege et ritu recte, nec non audacter respondere queant. Ad hoc etiam omnino requiritur ac necessarium est, ut quisquis presbyter si non plus tunc hos 5 libros habeat: 1. novum testamentum, quod debet totum per annum unum 9 perlegere vicibus, cum conclusione libri Apocalypseos. 2. Catechisim librum, quem etiam perlegere debet unum per annum 12 vicibus. 3. Decalogum cum explicatione, quod pariter perlecturus est in annum 26 vicibus. 4. Missale cum explanatione, ubi docetur quomodo deberet presbyter et diaconus semet ipsum prae-parare ad celebrationem sacramentoris, praecipue sacrosancta Eucharistia, et hunc librum sapissime legat, recentique teneat memoriā, necesse est. 5. <Euchologii liber> ubi scribuntur cum quadam explicatione omnia sacramenta numero septenario; scilicet: baptismus, confirmatio, eucharistia, poenitentia, extrema unctio, ordo, matrimonium, expressa, et a Christo Domino constituta.
2. Omnis presbyter et diaconus, clericus etiam atque quisque particeps servitii ecclesiastici, sciat 10 praecepta decalogi memoriter, similiter 10 praecepta ecclesiastica, 3 consilia evangelica, 7 sacramenta superius enumerata, quorum etiam sacramentorum materiam et formam perbelle calleat: 3 virtutes theologicas; 4 virtutes evangelicas sive cardinales; 7 dona Spiritus Sancti; 9 etiam fructus Spiritus Sancti; 7 opera misericordiae carnalis, pariter etiam 7 etiam opera misericordiae spiritalis; 7 peccata in Spiritum Sancti, et illis 7 contrapositas venerabiles Virtutes; 6 peccata in Spiritum Sancti; 4 etiam peccata clamantia in caelum; 9 beatitudines evangelicas; 5 sensus externos et internos; 4 novissima. Et hac omnia

diebus dominicis et festivis post matutinum et liturgiam divisim ae explicabiliter populo enarret.

3. Presbyteri et diaconi ut habeant suos cpirituales rite ordinatos, et sapenumero conscientiam suam coram illis mudent, praesertim vero quadrupliciter 4 jejuniis per annum unicum, quisque presbyter et diaconus coram spirituali suo confiteatur, alias enim disgradationi et poena ecclesiastica omnino subibit.
4. Presbyteris, diaconis, et clericis, nullo modo permittitur, imo fortiter interdicitur inhonesta et crapulosa non solum loca visitare, verum et domi sua, etsi quis pro prandio invitaverit, nimio potu uti ne audeant, per plateas etiam et prandia aliena, licetsi quis petiverit; absque necessitate ne vagentur.
5. Presbyteri dum omnes sunt domi, mox primum post pulsum ante omne initium celebrationis orationum ecclersiatricarum adeant ecclesiam; ibique cum omni timore, pietate, ac modestia usque ad finem perseverent, nequaquam exeundo ex ecclesia: Si vero quis absque gravi necessitate exiverit, subibit etiam poena in fine scripta, ad gazam scholasticam juxta proportionem regularum conscriptarum. Ad haec <***> singulares etiam canones suos, quo ad orandum Dominum Deum nunquam omittant.
6. Vestes suas externas, et pileos parvos ac magnos presbyteri et diaconi ut habeant unius coloris caerulei, et fimbrias non habeant scissas sed sartas sicuti iam inceptum sarcivi et portari.
7. Verba omnes presbyteri et diaconi ut sint absque vitio, sobrii, non crapulosi, non percussores, non contentiosi et: sicuti prima ad Timotheum capite tertio et ad Titum capite primo: satis Sanctus Apostolus Paulus instruxit et erudit.
8. Praesupposita propria sui correctione et instructione; instruant etiam domesticos suos omnes, in timore Dei ut vivant semper, et edoceant illos ut sciant <orationes> Il Pater noster; Ave Maria: 12 articulos symboli Orthodoxae fidei, et 10 praecepta decalogi abque explicatione: explicationem enim eorundem praeceptorum semper duabus elapsis septimanis ipsis perlegere debent.
9. Post emendationem quo ad salutem aeternam domi sua; de ecclesia Dei et mysteriis sanctis, salute etiam populi ita ut provideant. ubi sunt 2 vel 3 presbyteri, ibi ut celebretur liturgia sancta qualibet die sabbati et dominica, diebus etiam festorum Christi Domini, Beatissimae, caeterorumque sanctorum sigularium: ubi vero plures quam 3 sunt presbyteri, ibi qualibet die ut sit liturgia, immutabiliter.
10. Prosporphas, seu panem pro consecratione sacrosanctae Eucharistiae, ab illis tantum modo accipiant, qui sunt vita pura, virtuosa, et non suspiciosa.
11. Prosporphae sive panis ut sit purus, et ex pura triticea farina egregie pictus, nullasque in se ab igne habeat rugas, et ut sit in illo signum bene expressum sanctae crucis et nominis Jesu. Vinum pariter ut sit saporis optimi non acidum, neque vase sordescat, sed prouti potest eligi, eligatur melius.

12. Sacrosanctum corpus Christi in pixide propter infirmos conservatum, tenetur et debent soli tantum modo presbyteri, saepe cum omni devotissima veneratione per cultum latria secunda vel tertia die aspicere, ne aliquo species ab humore vel aliqua alia causa destruantur.
13. Vasa pro conservatione sacrosancti mysterii propter infirmos si impossibile esset, ut sint aurea, vel argentea, <Stagnea> fiant, arborea vero aut argillosa, aut ex vitro nequaquam amplecti audeant.
14. Ecclesiam presbyteri ut teneant pure, absque pulveribus et araneis: praesertim altare, et in altare idiotis introitum non permittere, minister vero qui inservit altari, candelas accendit, ut sit electus, puris, et absque ullo peccato mortali.
15. In mensa sacra presbyteri prorsus nil ponant: praeter Evangelium, Missale, crucem, mysteria sancta, et caeteras sacras vestes.
16. Cum presbyteri iverint ad infirmos communicatum eos: induant apparatus, et habeant praeuntes sibi duos candeliferos vel saltem unum cum candela accensa vel lampade. Aliter vero nequaquam praeter necessitatem callus inopinata mortis faciant. Ad hac etiam ut instruant populum cum viderint sacerdotem sacrosanctum mysterium ad infirmum portantem, pileos moveant, et maxima cum devotione prona fronte cultum latia coram calice praestent.
17. Enarrent Presbyteri parohis suis et inculcent hoc, ut semper significant illis, de mortuis ante summam debilitatem eorum, ne aliquis moriatur sine confessione et comunione: partier etiam et infirmos pueros vel maxime recenter natos, debiles manifestent sacerdotibus, ne aliquis absque baptismo quod avertant superi fati cedat.
18. Baptismus infantibus extra ecclesiam ne exhibeatur, nisi summa mortis urgeret necessitas, neque debent abluere tantum infantem, sed totaliter submergere ter, in nomine sanctissima Trinitatis.
19. Pariter etiam et matrimonium extra ecclesiam nequaquam porrigatur, post prandium etiam et absque omnimoda interrogatione et inquisitio ne utriusque persona maritorum, ut fiant perfectum consensum, dum confessionem non absolverent, aut nescirent: Pater noster. Salutationem angelicam, Symbolum fidei, et 10 praecepta Decalogi, non perficiatur; et hoc, saepenumero presbyteri populo in ecclesia explicant, quia si hoc non explent ut supine scriptum est, matrimonium non consequuntur.
20. Omnino omnes debent presbyteri praecipue pagienses, quibus vero mandare, movere et cogere parohos suos, non solum senes, aut juvenes sed et parvos pueros utriusque sexus, ut diebus dominicis, et tempore festorum adeant ecclesiam: resistentes vero nomine nostro commonefacere, et iudiciis saecularibus urgere et impellere; post matutinum autem et liturgiam hac 4 dicant illis sacerdotes Pater noster; Ave Maria: Credo in unum Deum: et decem praecepta decalogi: etiam edoceant eos quomodo se cruce sancta signaturi essent. Si insuper sacerdos habuerit donum Dei praedicandi, ergo qualibet die dominica et festi-

va praedicet populo verbum Dei; prouti et synodi 6tae Oecumenica canon 19 dicit.

21. Debent presbyteri scire vel maxime hoc, quomodo in confessione cum poenitentiam agentibus procedendum sit? si enim viderint aliquem frigidum in amore Dei, et absque ulla contritione cordis accedentem ad se, tunc tali debent horrendum tribunal Dei proponere: si autem viderint aliquem dubitantem et ad desperationem declinabilem, talem debent erigere et confirmare spe infinita clementia et misericordia Divina: et sic deinceps, debent instruere quomodo peccator peccaminosum suum frangeret habitum, faceretque dignos fructus penitentia? quomodo visitare et consolari infirmum? quomodo confortare sermone suo moribundum? quomodo denique capite damnandis etjam ad mortem ducendis in ultimo agone vitae, etiam infinitam misericordiam et spem in Deo ponendam proponendum sit? Certe enim hac sunt, vel maxime necessaria debita presbyteris.
22. In quolibet castello partier ac in quolibet fossato ut sint 4 candeliferi, rure autem quolibet sint 2 candeliferi, et dum inserviunt celebrationi ecclesiastica, induant stolas sibi proprie ad hoc munus factas.
23. Protopresbyteri et Presbyteri mittant filios suos propter studendum libris ad scholam, qua invenitur penes Residentiam Episcopalem, et ut instruant eos in scientia, virtute, et pietate, ut et illi cum pervenerint ad perfectionem vitae, fiant digni suscipere ordinem; ad alios vero labores mundanos, non promoveant eos.
24. Presbyteri qui nesciunt ordinem ecclesiasticum et ritum, licetsi et senes fuerint, mox, dum mandabitur, illis ad archiepiscopo vel episcopo, ut absque omni excusatione sint parati venire ad residentiam archiepiscopalem vel episcopalem, et hic ni comuni et publica ecclesia instruantur perficere ordines et canones ecclesiasticos, nec non celebrare sacramenta ut per omnes ecclesias aequalis fiat celebratio juxta <Typicon>; ast non juxta suum arbitrium.
25. Benedictio aqua ut sit in ecclesia quolibet mense prima die mensis librarii, non caelestis novilunii: et hac aqua benedicta ut semper inveniatur in ecclesia, et in domo sacerdotali, propter nascendos infantes, et aspergenda coinquinata vasa.¶
26. Etiam oleum sanctum ut habeat quisque presbyter in sua ecclesia, idque ideo, ut olim confessus fuerit infirmum, et comunicaverit illum, videritque illum jam moriturum, statim post confessionem et comunione cum oratione ungat infirmum, ne aliquis Christianorum, sive dives, sive pauper, absque illa extrema unctione moriatur.
27. Dum accedunt Christiani in ecclesia ad participationem Sacra synaxeos, presbyteri exquirant ab illis schedulas spiritualium testificatorias illorum confessionis; utrum sint digni suscipere? necne? absque schedula vero neminem communicare ullo modo liceat.

28. Intra ecclesiam mortuos sepelire nequaquam permittitur, nisi in porticu, circa ecclesiam et in sepulchris communibus, et hac sepulchra ne sint procul a pagis et castellis, sed penes, sintque fortiter circumsepta, habeantque januas cum clausula et unicam in medio magnam crucem bene affixa terra, sicuti et quodlibet sepulchrum potest habere suam crucem.
29. Cruces sepulchrorum ad instar harum, sicuti hac exemplaria monstrant, constituentur, virilis ergo ita verbi gratia , muliebris autem  exprimentur: ast non ita, sicut hactenque simplices arbores cum quibusdam coloribus infgebantur.
30. Si aliquis Christianorum cuiusque ordinis et sexus quolibet anno saltem bis non confiteretur coram spirituali suo, et non communicaretur, talibus presbyteri introitum ad ecclesiam non permittant, et cum illis non conversentur, quo usque resipiscent et poenitentiam agent; debent itaque Christiani confiteri 4 vicibus per unicam annum et hoc 4 jejuniis ab ecclesia institutis.
31. Sciant etiam hoc presbyteri, quo ad omnes Christiani fidei et ecclesia nostra nullum obicem praeseferentes, imo pie ac devote viventes, coram spirituali suo peccata absolventes, tam senes, quam juvenes utriusque sexus, si confessarius dignos eos judicaverit participare, participant, et communicentur, infantes etiam propter fidem offerentium sacrosancta Eucharistia participes fiant. Indigni autem habentes <qualenamque> abicem comunionis nullo modo accedent: et presbyteri eis hoc sacratissimum sacramentum sufferre debent. Il
32. Jeromonahi qui propter expetendam eleemosinam ambulant per <dioeceses> si non habuerint ab ordinario episcopo scripto tenus datam sibi facultatem suscipere homines confitendos confiteri non audeant, imo talibus presbyteri non permittant, inficias autem euntes episcopo significant: nec hoc solum sed et qui absque testimonio episcopali monahi eleemosinam petunt, actutum in residentiam episcopalem sub aresto dimittant.
33. Non praesumant presbyteri vinculo matrimonii aliquem ligare, donec adtulerit ab episcopo suo vel ejus vicario schedulam, qua testificaret rituale matrimonium fore, imo obtenta schedula non dimittant puellam vel viduam illigatam; propter multos ex eis coincisuros casus; insuper autem si aliquis venerit pro filio, vel pro fratre, vel pro cunquo affine suo expetere puellam vel viduam absque specie ejus, qui vult eam pro muliere sibi acceptare, non permittant presbyteri talem fieri consensum, quia non esset firmus.
34. Praedicent presbyteri suis parohiis ut a Romano Catholicis pullas vel viduas nullo modo petant, neque sibi pro mulieribus acceptent, neque contra; suas etiam puellas vel viduas ipsis pro mulieribus dent; idque ideo, quia ex eo multa sapissime confusiones nostram inter, et illorum ecclesiam Sanctam aborta errant, ne ergo imposterum fiant, omnino expleatur id.
35. Omnes presbyteri sine ulla distractione temporis faciant suos catalogus seu protocol librum, illumque dividant in 4 partes; in prima quidem inscribant nomina baptizatorum infantium, parentum etiam as sponsorum, nec non annum

mensem et diem, locumque ubi natus fuerit, deinde ipse presbyter qui baptizaverit; in secunda eorum qui matrimonium contraxerunt, partier nomina parentum, testium, annum, mensem, et diem locumque: unde? et ubi? illud acceperunt sacramentum in posterum ipse ministrans sacerdos semet ipsum ut inscribat. In tertia: nomina propria vivorum parohorum suorum et mortuorum utriusque sexus ae etiam crescentiae mensem annum et diem, mortis, locumque unde? et ubi? insuper autem absolvitne peccata sua confessione? et utrum communicaverit? utrumque extremam unctionem participaverit ultimo agone vita? necne? significare et inscribere debent.

36. Ubi sunt in pagis et fossatis 2, 3 vel plures presbyteri nunquam tamen die casis sive parohia dividatur; sed omnia ecclesiastica munera, fiant ipsis communia, sic enim cum usi fuerint nunquam invidiam, contentionem et quamcunque malitiam inter se habebunt.
37. Si in pagis et fossatis a quocunq proveniret aliqua disordinatio, objurgatio et blasfemia contra fidem ordinem et ritum ecclesiae nostrae orthodoxae, qua indigeret correctione subsidio et emendatione archiepiscopi, vel episcopi, absque ulla mora et depositione debent presbyteri protopresbyteri et igumeni archiepiscopo vel episcopo proprio sui; significare.
38. Protopresbyterum suum presbyteri ut habeant in digna ipso veneratione, obediendo ipsi et parendo in omnibono, absque ulla excusatione et controversia; qui autem contrariabuntur illi severe admonendi futuri sunt.
39. Super hac omnia qua ad commune quasi officium sacerdotale spectare videntur; singularem quodammodo omnes igumeni, protopersbyteri, presbyteri, diaconi et clerici toa denique cohors ecclesiastica in pagis, castellis, fossatis, et ubique locorum existens, omnino tenentur et debent in primis ipsi fidelitatem, veritatem, et justitiam ejus CaesaroRegia sacratissima majestati, Augustissimi Romani Imperatoris invicti, conservare, praestare, et actuali operatione manifestare; simul juxta veba Divi Apostoli Pauli de omnibus quicunque in potestatibus sunt praelati et ordinati fideles ejus sacratissima Majestatis vasali et subditi fideles, Dominum Deum toto ex corde orent, de majore securitate temporum et valetudine ejusque Augustissima Majestatis majus et majus bonum ad successum crescente fortuna. Tandem commissum sibi populum adeantemque fidelitatem commoveant instruant et erudiant, ut omnem obedientiam submissionem obsequium usque ad ultimam sanguinis effusionem pro ejus Sacratissima Majestate populous effudiat ut pote pro suo legitimo Imperatore etiam mortem ipsam subire ne vereantur. Ad hoc, etiam erudire populum ab Illo malo opera abominabili Deo et ejus Sacratissima Majestatis aliquo defectum importante totum omnino populum eruditione sua avertant? Et ad virtutes colendas moveant et stimulent diligentissime.
40. Omnes has regulas sive puneta et omnia in iisdem expressa omnino tenentur et debent protopresbyteri, presbyteri, etiam diaconi totus denique clerus ecclesiasticus observare et explere non sub parva poena et castigatione spiritali

mandamus: caeteris etiam saepenumero reetitare, parlecta autem memoria mandare, mandata ver memoria recenter tenere, et hac eademque ipso actu explere, praestare, et exequi immutabiliter, presbyteri tenentur et debent, ideoque propter immutabilem conservationem horum punctorum, et dignam fide observantiam propria nostra manu subscripsimus, sigilloque nostro munivimus.

Publicatum est in congressu nostro Belgradi, Datumque in Residentia nostra Archiepiscopo Metropolitana Belgradiensi Novembris 1, anno Domini 1732. Sicuti nostris ambabus Eparchiis, ita et caeteris <dioecesibus> Episcopalibus vero mandamus, ut secundum hac omnia puncta superius praescripta ecclesia Dei ducatur, ordinetur, atque perficiatur; totum denique Sacerdotium ut omnino ita semet ipsum dirigat, gerat et teneat immutabiliter, volumus et mandamus.

References

- Benešević, Vladimir N.** 1914. Duhovnyj Regulament' i stojaščie s' nim' v' tesnoj svjazi dokumenty. In: *Sbornik pamjatnikov po istorii cerkovnago prava, preimuščestvenno russkago, končaja vremenem Petra Velikago*, 89–250. Petrograd: Kul'tura i Znanie.
- Capelli, Adriano** 1982. *The elements of abbreviations in medieval Latin paleography*. Kansas: The University of Kansas Printing Service.
- Eliot, Goddard Alison.** 1997. A Brief Introduction to Medieval Latin Grammar. In: Joseph Pucci, ed. *Medieval Latin*, 1–53. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Herman, Józef.** 2000 [1967]. *Vulgar Latin*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press.
- Kostić, Mita.** 1958. Duhovni regulament Petra Velikog (1721) i Srbi: prilog istoriji našeg racionalizma. *Rad vojvođanskih muzeja* 7:61–91.
- Niermeyer, Jan Frederic, and Kief Cor Van De.** 1976. *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Ostojić, Tihomir.** 1907. *Dositej Obradović u Hopovu: studija iz kulturne i književne istorije*. Novi Sad: Matica srpska.
- Puzović, Vladislav.** 2014. Uticaj Duhovnog Regulamenta (1721) na sveštениčka i monaška pravila Mitropolita beogradske-karlovačkog Vićentija (Jovanovića). *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju* 90:37–54.
- Thompson, Edward M.** 1899. *Paleografia graeca e latina*. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli.
- Točanač Radović, Isidora.** 2001/02. Propisi mitropolita Mojsija Petrovića za sveštenike i parohijane. *Istorijski časopis* 48:147–164.
- Traube, Ludwig.** 1907. *Nomina sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung*. München: C. H. Beck.
- Vukašinović, Vladimir.** 2010. *Srpska barokna teologija: Biblijsko i svetotajinsko bogoslovlje u Karlovačkoj mitropoliji XVIII veka*. Vrnjci-Trebigne: Manastir Tvrdoš.