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Serbian-Romanian Relations in the Typographical Activity of the 16th–18th Centuries

The relationship between the Serbs and the Romanians from the Middle Ages until the early modern era has repeatedly elicited interest on the part of researchers of both nationalities. This is in no small measure due to the nearly complete lack of military conflict between the various Serbian states and the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, since, as noted by Đorđe Sp. Radojičić, “in thirteen centuries not even once was there a military confrontation between them”, in what may be considered a “rare example of peaceful cohabitation between peoples”.¹ Radojičić goes on to qualify this statement as referring strictly to the relationship between the Serbian and Romanian *states*, discounting the cases in which either side was part of a foreign, suzerain army (most notably in the Battle of Velbazhd of 1330 and the Battle of Rovine in 1395),² but it is doubtless that there were strong – sometimes dynastic – ties between these Orthodox lands. Nevertheless, this research is concerned with neither military nor political connections, but with the mutual support offered by Serbs and Romanians in the development of typographies from the earliest printing presses of the 16th century to the joint efforts made under Austrian rule in the 18th century.

The present study is therefore divided into four subsections: the first will discuss the role played by the first Serbian typographer, Makarije of Cetinje (modern-day Montenegro), in the printing of the first Wallachian Slavonic books between 1508 and 1512. The second subsection refers to Dimitrije Ljubavić from Goražde (modern-day Bosnia), whose efforts ensured the resumption of typographical culture in the Romanian Principalities in the fifth decade of the 16th century, and whose books contain the first clear mention of the actual place where they were printed. The third subsection refers to a particular book printed under Matei Basarab, namely the Triodion of 1649, which is notable for containing what is believed to be the first use of the Polish alexandrine verse in Serbian literature. The final part of this study is dedicated to an important milestone in the history of Serbian culture and of Serbian-Romanian relations, namely the printing of Russian primers and

1 Đ. Sp. Radojičić, “Srpski-rumunski odnosi XIV-XVII veka”, *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu*, I, 1956, p. 13.

2 Radojičić, “Srpski-rumunski odnosi”, p. 13.

grammars at the press of Râmnic during the Austrian rule of Oltenia (1718–1739) and in the decades that followed, which helped endow the newly founded Serbian school of Sremski Karlovci with manuals. This series of printed books would contribute to the introduction of Russian Church Slavonic elements in the Serbian language, which in turn would evolve into Slaveno-Serbian (a mix of Serbian Slavonic, Russian Slavonic and vernacular Serbian) in the latter half of the 18th century, followed by the thorough orthographic reform of the Serbian literary language by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864).

1 The First Printing Press in Wallachia and Its Vicinity: Makarije of Cetinje

The name of the hieromonk Makarije is tied to the beginnings of printing in both Serbia and one of the Romanian Principalities, namely, Wallachia. Born in Montenegro, Makarije studied the art of printing in Venice, from where the voivode of Zeta, Đurađ Crnojević, bought a printing press, which he placed in the capital city of Cetinje. In Cetinje, Makarije prints the *Octoechos* (1494), which is the first printed book in Serbian, followed by the *Psalter* in 1495. The activity of this press was cut short by the fall of Zeta under Ottoman rule in 1496.³

Makarije's arrival in Wallachia around 1507 was likely tied to that of the former despot of Serbia, Maksim Branković,⁴ whose strong ties to the Wallachian prince Radu IV the Great had earned him his election as metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia and may have led to Makarije being charged to print the first books in the Romanian Principalities (although one should not discount the fact that Radu's wife may have been a member of the Crnojević family).⁵ In his press, Makarije would print three books under four different rulers: the *Book of the Divine Liturgies* (1508), which he starts under Radu the Great and finishes under Mihnea the Wrongdoer, the *Octoechos* (1510) under Vlad V the Young, and the *Tetraevangelion* (1512) under Neagoe Basarab. For illustrative purposes, we provide here a transcription of the Slavonic text containing information on who ordered the book, who worked on it, and when it was printed:

3 G. Mihăilă, "Epilogurile celor trei cărți tipărite de ieromonahul Macarie (1508–1512)", in G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Liturghierul lui Macarie 1508/2008 – Studii introductive și traducere*, Târgoviște, 2008, p. 178.

4 P. P. Panaitescu, *Contribuții la istoria culturii românești*, ed. S. Panaitescu, Bucharest, 1971, p. 57.

5 M. Cazacu, "Dimitrije Ljubavić (c. 1519–1564) et l'imprimerie slave dans l'Europe du Sud-Est au XVI^e siècle. Nouvelles contributions", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol” din Iași*, XXXII, 1995, p. 190.

Почеше са сіе стѣж книги, глѣмыа Лутоургіа· повелѣніемъ г(с)подина Іѡ Ра(д)ула воеводѣ, емѹже бѣди вѣчнаа памать. И съврѣши са сіа книга повелѣніемъ въ Хѣ Бѣа блговѣрнаго и Хблюбиваго и Бѣw(м) хранимаго и прѣсвѣтлаго г(с)подара Іѡ Михнѣ великаго воеводы вѣсеж Земли Оутровлахїискои и Подоунавїю, снѣ великаго Іѡ Влада воеводы, въ прѣвое лѣто господ(с)тва его. Трoуди же са w семь смѣренїи мни(х) и сїценникѣ Макаріе. Въ лѣто ·зѣї· кржгѣ слнцоу ·ѣї·, лоунѣ ·е·, индиктїwnѣ ·аї·, мсца ноемврїа, ·ї· днѣ.⁶

These holy books, named the Liturgy, were started at the order of the ruler Io[an] Radul voivode, may his memory be eternal. And this book was finished at the order of the pious, Christ-loving, and by God protected ruler Io[an] Mihnea, the great voivode of the entire land of Ungro-Wallachia and Podunavia, son of the great voivode Io[an] Vlad, in the first year of his rule. The humble hieromonk Makarije strove to achieve this. In the year 7016 [1508], solar cycle 16, lunar cycle 5, *indiction*⁷ 11, the month of November, the 10th day.⁸

As can be seen, the first book printed by Makarije after his arrival in Wallachia was only finished almost seven months after the death of Radu the Great (1495–1508), in the early days of the short-lived reign of his successor, Mihnea the Wrongdoer, who would be overthrown the following year. Makarije does not specify anything about himself other than the fact that he is a hieromonk.

The second book printed by Makarije for the Wallachian prince is the Octoechos (1510):

Понеже иже въ [sic] трoици покланѣмїи бѣ блгоизволи црковѣ своа исплѣнїти различными книгами въ славословіе и ползж прочитаащи(м). Сего ради и азъ въ Хѣ ба блговѣрнии и Бѣw(м) храними и самодрѣжавни г(с)пдарѣ Іѡ Вла(д) велики воевода и гнѣ вѣсее земле Оутровлахїискои и Подѹнавїю, снѣ великаго и прѣдобраго и мл(с)тиваго гѣа, Іѡ, Влада воеводи, възревновахъ поспѣшенїемъ Стго Дѣа и любовїа еже къ бж(с)тѣвни(м) и стї(м) црквамѣ и написахъ сіа дшесп(с)нжа кнугѹ wсмогла(с)никѣ, въ исплѣненїе славословію трислнечнаго въ единѣствѣ покланѣмаго бж(с)тва. [...] Повелѣніемъ г(с)пдара Іѡ Вла(д) великаго воеводи. азъ Хѹ рабѣ сїценноинокѣ макаріе

⁶ The Slavonic text is transcribed after the final two pages of the facsimile version of 2008, published alongside G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Litughierul lui Macarie 1508/2008 – Studii introductive și traducere*, Târgoviște, 2008. I have opted to write superscript letters between parentheses and leave the original Slavonic abbreviations.

⁷ The *indiction* was a cycle of 15 years, beginning on September 1, 312. While it was originally used as a tax cycle, it was ultimately adopted by the Byzantine Orthodox Church. See Anthony Bryer, “Chronology and Dating”, in R. Cormack, J. Haldon, E. Jeffreys (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford, 2008, p. 33.

⁸ All the English translations from Slavonic are my own.

трудо(х) се в семь и съвршихв(м) сїе книги. Въ лѣто ·зйі· кржгъ слнцу ·йі· луні ·з· индиктиwn, вї· мѣца августѣ ·кs· днѣ.⁹

Because God who is worshipped in the Trinity willed to fill His church with various books so that its readers may speak words of praise and use them, it is for this reason that I, the autocratic ruler who believes in Christ and is protected by God, Io(an) Vlad, great voivode and lord of the entire land of Ungro-Wallachia and Podunavia, son of the very good and merciful ruler, the voivode Io(an) Vlad, have desired at the urging of the Holy Spirit and with love towards the divine and holy church and have written this soul-saving book, the Octoechos, to fulfill the praising of the thrice-shining Divinity, worshipped as one [...]. On the order of Io(an) Vlad, the great voivode, I, the servant of Christ, the hieromonk Makarije, strove for this and we finished these books. In the year 7018 [1510], solar cycle 18, lunar cycle 7, *indiction* 12, the month of August, the 26th day.

The voivode who patronized the printing of this second book was Vlad V the Younger (1510–1512), the son of Vlad IV the Monk (1481, 1482–1495), while Makarije, once again, has relatively few words to say about himself, although one might want to draw attention to the manner in which the Wallachian prince explains the motivation for the printing of this church book. This, as shall be seen, may perhaps be contrasted with Dimitrije Ljubavić, who claims to have printed the Acts of the Apostles (Apostolos) after having seen *for himself* that the available books were very few.

The third book was printed only a few months after the end of Vlad V's reign and the beginning of the reign of Neagoe Basarab (1512–1521).

Понеже иже въ троици покланѣмїи бѣ блгоизволи црковъ svoj исплнїти сѣимїи книгами въ славословіе и полсж прочитаѣмїи(м). Сего ради и азъ въ Хѣ ба блговѣрнїи и Бгомъ хранимїи и самодрѣжавни господарь Іw Басараба великїи воевода и г(с) пдїнь вѣсей земли Оугровлахїискои и Подоунавїю, снѣ прѣдобраго и великаго г(с) пдїна, Іw Басараба воеводѣ, възревновахъ поспѣшенїемъ Сѣго Дѣа и любовїа еже къ бж(с)твнїи(м) и сѣи(м) црквамъ· написахъ сїа дшесп(с)нѣа кнугъ, четвороблговѣстїе· аже дѣхъ сѣи ап(с)льскими оустї ѿригнѣ въ познанїе и исплнѣнїе славословію трислнечнаго въ єдинствѣ покланѣмаго бж(с)тва. [...] Повелѣнїемъ г(с)пдара Іw Басараба великаго воеводы. азъ Хбу рабъ сїценноинокъ Макаріе трудо(х) се в семь и съвршихомъ сїе книги. Въ лѣто ·зк· кржгъ слнцу ·к· луни ·ѣ· индиктїwnъ, дї· мѣца іоунїа ·кe· днѣ.

Because God who is worshipped in the Trinity willed to fill his church with holy books so that its readers may speak words of praise and use them, it is for this reason that I, the autocratic ruler who believes in Christ and is protected by God, Io(an) Basaraba, great voivode and lord of the entire land of Ungro-Wallachia and Podunavia, son of the very good and great lord, the voivode Io(an) Basaraba, have desired at the urging of the Holy Spirit and with love

⁹ The Slavonic text is transcribed after the final page of the facsimile version of 2010, published alongside G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Octoiul lui Macarie 1510/2010. Studii, Târgoviște*, 2010.

towards the divine and holy church and have written this soul-saving book, the Tetraevangelion, which the Holy Spirit spoke through the mouths of the Apostles to know and to fulfill the praising of the thrice shining Divinity, worshipped as one. [...] On the order of Io(an) Basaraba, the great voivode, I, the servant of Christ, the hieromonk Makarije, strove for this and we finished these books. In the year 7020 [1512], solar cycle 18, lunar cycle 7, *indiction* 12, the month of June, the 25th day.¹⁰

The title applied to each of his Wallachian patrons has elicited comments from Romanian historians, as the reference to their control over Podunavia was inconsistent with any of the contemporary chancery documents. P. P. Panaitescu notes the presence of Podunavia *and* the absence of the titles pertaining to Amlaș and Făgăraș (in Transylvania) and goes on to build the argument that the reference to Podunavia was due to Makarije having encountered older documents (as a result of his working in some monastery) from the time of Mircea I the Great (1386–1394; 1397–1418), which still referred to the Danubian possessions in Dobrogea and to Chilia.¹¹ Ion-Radu Mircea, however, argued against Panaitescu's assertion that the title "Prince of Podunavia" was completely absent from the titles of contemporary Wallachian princes, as he cites examples from documents from the time of Neagoe Basarab (1512), Radu of Afumați (1525), Radu Paisie (1536), and Mircea the Shepherd (1551). Instead of Makarije having taken the title from the old documents of Mircea I, it is suggested that this title was in fact one of the Serbian elements included in Makarije's Wallachian prints (aside from references to Saints Simeon and Sava Nemanjić in the Book of the Divine Liturgy), as the title "Prince of Podunavia" was also used by Serbian despots in the 15th century.¹² Damaschin Mioc argued for the Serbian origin of this title, believing it to be mutually exclusive with Panaitescu's assumption.¹³ In a recent study, Marian Coman suggested that the two hypotheses were rather complementary and that Makarije would not have included the Serbian Podunavia in the title of the Wallachian princes had it not been used by their predecessors.¹⁴ On the other hand, Coman discusses the geographical identification of Makarije's Podunavia, arguing against the generic meaning of "Danubian shores," instead, considering that it represented more likely the same geographical

10 The Slavonic text is transcribed after the final page of the facsimile version from 2010, published alongside G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Tetraevangeliiarul lui Macarie 1512/2012. Studii*, Târgoviște, 2012.

11 Panaitescu, *Contribuții la istoria culturii românești*, p. 281–282.

12 I.-R. Mircea, "Relations culturelles roumano-serbes au XVI^e siècle", *RESEE*, 1, 1963, 3–4, p. 402.

13 D. Mioc, "Date noi cu privire la Macarie tipograful", *Studii. Revistă de Istorie*, XVI, 1963, 2, p. 429–440.

14 M. Coman, "Podunavia și relațiile sârbo-muntene în secolele XIV–XVI", in R. Păun, O. Cristea (eds.), *Utopie amintire și proiect de viitor. Studii de istorie oferite Profesorului Andrei Pippidi la împlinirea a 65 de ani*, Iași, 2013, p. 255.

territory as the Serbian Podunavlje that Lazar Hrebeljanović conquered from the Rastislalić family, which was later claimed by Stefan Lazarević and Mircea I the Great. As for the reasoning for the adoption of Makarije's formula in Wallachian court documents, Coman links it to the question of Wallachia's patronage over Athonite monasteries.¹⁵

Another visible common trait of the epilogues of all three books is that no mention is made of the exact *place* they were printed in, which led to some debate among researchers as to whether the press was in Wallachia. Đorđe Radojičić believed that the church that was drawn on the opening pages of the Octoechos was, in fact, a representation of the printing press in the Wallachian capital of Târgoviște, following the argument that Makarije had done similarly with the image of Cetinje Monastery in the Octoechos of 1494, and that another example of similar practices was to be found in the Octoechos of Gračanica Monastery (1538/1539), which showed a drawing of this monastery.¹⁶

The origin of the letters used by Makarije was an important factor in this debate, as Virgil Molin attempted to demonstrate that not only were they of Venetian origin, but the typographical process itself took place in a Venetian printing press, namely that of Andrea Torresano and Aldo Manuzio, which also specialized in Glagolitic prints. Molin goes on to claim that Makarije did not work in Wallachia or in the Cetinje printing presses, but instead acted as a liaison between Venice and the Orthodox world of the Balkans.¹⁷ This line of argumentation was countered by Lajos Demény and Lidia A. Demény, who noted that it would be difficult to believe that a commercial printing press like that of Torresano and Manuzio would have limited itself to printing three Cyrillic books before dismantling the printing press (even assuming that the books had been a special order from the Wallachian princes). Demény instead followed the opinion expressed by Hasdeu, Hodoș, Iorga, and Panaitescu, namely, that the letters used by Makarije were produced locally in the Romanian Principalities, based on Wallachian and, possibly, Moldavian manuscripts.¹⁸ Be it as it may, the question of where exactly Makarije printed his books remains open, with a recent study by Doru Bădără narrowing the possibilities suggested in the currently available bibliography to two: the Dealu Monastery near Târgoviște and the Bistrița Monastery in Oltenia.¹⁹

15 Coman, "Podunavia", p. 256–257.

16 Đ. Sp. Radojičić, "Srpski-rumunski odnosi", p. 20.

17 L. Demény, L. A. Demény, *Carte, tipar și societate la români în secolul al XVI-lea*, Bucharest, 1986, p. 36.

18 Demény, Demény, *Carte, tipar și societate*, p. 42–43.

19 D. Bădără, "The Beginning of Printing and Print Culture in the Romanian Principalities", in R. Dipratu, S. Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond. First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, p. 123.

The circumstances in which Makarije's printing activity in Wallachia stopped have raised just as many questions and answers among researchers. P. P. Panaitescu assumed that Makarije had simply died shortly after printing the Tetraevangelion, as "only this way could one explain how the press ceased its activity under Neagoe Basarab, a culture-loving prince".²⁰ This opinion is followed by G. Mihăilă, who argues, based on Mircea Păcurariu's assumption that Makarije was born around 1450–1455, that the typographer was already quite old and that it was not at all unexpected that he died in the first year of Neagoe Basarab's rule, in 1512, shortly after having printed the Tetraevangelion.²¹

Ștefan Ciobanu, on the other hand, asserted that Makarije probably became metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia under Neagoe Basarab, a high position that may have prevented him from continuing to edit and print books in his typography, which would have struggled to function during the internal conflicts that shook Wallachia between Neagoe's death and the rule of Radu Paisie (1535–1545).²² Mircea Păcurariu follows the line of argument that Makarije is to be identified with the Metropolitan Macarie II and that following the four years after the death of the previous metropolitan, Maksim Branković, he would have been preoccupied with organizing the Wallachian Orthodox Church and he did not have any disciples who could continue his typographical activity in his stead (which results from Makarije not mentioning anyone else as having worked with him on the three books he printed in Wallachia). Păcurariu also points to Neagoe Basarab's own construction projects having taken their toll on his treasury, so that he would have been unable to cover the costs of printing new books.²³

The theory that the Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia was to be identified with the printer Makarije was questioned in 1967 by Petre Ș. Năsturel, who believed that this was instead Macarie, abbot of the Bistrița Monastery (a position attested in a document from 1494), who might have become Bishop of Râmnic around 1504 (likely due to his ties with the Craiovescu family), before being appointed by Neagoe to the Metropolitan See at the beginning of his rule.²⁴ This hypothesis is described as being "justified" by Dan Zamfirescu in the chronological study preceding the edition of Neagoe Basarab's works published in 2020, arguing that it is this Macarie – and not

20 Panaitescu, *Contribuții la istoria culturii românești*, p. 333.

21 Mihăilă, "Epilogurile celor trei cărți", p. 179.

22 Ș. Ciobanu, "Tiparul în țările românești", in G. Dumitrescu (ed.), *Tetraevangheliarul lui Macarie*, p. 113–114.

23 M. Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, Bucharest, 1991, p. 445–446.

24 P. Ș. Năsturel, "Recherches sur les rédactions gréco-roumaines de la « Vie de Saint Niphon II, patriarche de Constantinople »", *RESEE*, 5, 1967, 1–2, p. 56.

the printer – whom Neagoe is addressing in his *Letter to the Bones of His Mother Neaga*, given that the Wallachian prince had studied under his guidance at Bistrița.²⁵

Đorđe Radojičić²⁶ suggests that Makarije the printer left Wallachia and became abbot of the Hilandar Monastery at some point before 1525, when he travelled once more to Wallachia in order to obtain the annual help for the Athonite monastery (for which he would also travel to Moldavia in 1533). Radojičić also refers to Makarije as having penned a geographical work between 1526 and 1529, in which he also refers to the “Dacian lands”.²⁷ Năsturel questions this theory (which had also been mentioned by Damaschin Mioc in 1963),²⁸ arguing that the documents in the chancery of Radu of Afumați, the Wallachian prince at the time of his visit in 1525, referred to him in the donation acts neither as “our Father, the abbot kyr Macarius, former metropolitan”, nor as “our Father, the hieromonk Macarius”, which would have been inconceivable if the Athonite abbot had been the Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia.²⁹

2 “The Grandson of Božidar”: Dimitrije Ljubavić’s Printing Press in Târgoviște

The second typographical center founded on South Slavic territory after the Crnojević typography in Zeta was established in 1519 at the Church of Saint George in Sopotnica, near Goražde, an important commercial center on the Drina during the rule of the Grand Duke of Bosnia, Sandalj Hranić (1392–1435). Its founder was Božidar Ljubavić, a prominent merchant whose activity is attested in the year 1496 in archival documents from Dubrovnik (under the name *Boxus Gliubauich de isgorasda, partium Turchie*), although the trade he engaged in according to that document did not involve buying or selling books. His commercial activity would have a role to play in his decision to start his own press, as during his travels through Dubrovnik and across various Serbian territories under Turkish rule he would have personally seen the serious “lessening of holy and divine books” in monasteries and churches.³⁰ In 1518, Božidar Ljubavić sent his two sons, Đurađ and the hieromonk Teodor, to Venice, where they would buy a printing press and learn

25 Neagoe Basarab, *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Teodosie*, ed. D. Zamfirescu, I. Mihăilă, Bucharest, 2020, p. CXIV.

26 Radojičić, “Srpski-rumunski odnosi”, p. 20.

27 Radojičić, “Srpski-rumunski odnosi”, p. 20–21.

28 Mioc, “Date noi”, p. 431–432.

29 Năsturel, “Recherches sur les rédactions”, p. 56–57.

30 M. Pantić, “Српска књига у Горажду и Дубровнику до средине 16. века”, in D. Barać, *Горажданска штампарија 1519–1523*, Belgrade, 2008, p. 17–18.

the art of printing. Đurađ, however, died in Venice in March 1519, an event that is recorded by his brother in the epilogue to the first printed book of the Goražde printing press, the Book of Divine Liturgies (*Služabnik*) finished in the month of June of the same year, with two further books printed in 1521 (the Psalter) and 1523 (the *Molitvenik*).³¹

Following the closing of the press in Goražde in 1523, another member of their family, Dimitrije Ljubavić, moved to Wallachia before 1544, when, as a logothete, he would establish a printing press in Târgoviște. In his printed books, he refers to himself as “the grandson of Božidar”, which has prompted the question as to whether he was related to the more famous typographer of that time, Božidar Vuković. For instance, Agnes Terezia Erich describes him as “the grandson of Božidar Vuković, who had found refuge in Venice, where he edited multiple books in Church Slavonic between 1518–1540”, but also as “the son of Teodor Ljubavić (who had printed a Liturgy, a Psalter and a *Molitvenik* in Goražde Monastery in Herzegovina, between 1519–1523)”.³² In this, she follows Mircea Păcurariu’s assumptions concerning Dimitrije’s ascendance,³³ which are likely based on the argument that the Božidar that Dimitrije referred to in his prints had to have been the famous Serbian typographer and that his father had to equally be the other known printer in his family (in other words, the key argument appears to have been that of fame and relevance). Similarly, Matei Cazacu argues in favor of Božidar Vuković being Dimitrije’s grandfather (an opinion also held by Emil Turdeanu),³⁴ despite Dimitrije not featuring in Božidar’s testaments of 1531 and 1539. He proposes instead that the Goražde Liturgy of 1519 referred to Božidar *Vuković* (and not Božidar Ljubavić of Goražde) as the typographer’s parent.³⁵ It is, however, more probable that he was the son of Đurađ Ljubavić, or someone else, and, more importantly, the grandson of the founder of the Goražde press, Božidar Ljubavić.

The first book printed after Ljubavić’s arrival was the *Molitvenik* (1545), based on the last book printed in the typography of Goražde. This book was ordered by the Wallachian ruler Radu VII Paisie, the son of Radu IV (although it should be noted that he is referred to in the *Molitvenik* by his baptismal name, as “Petru, the son of Radu”).

31 D. Barać, “Горажданска штампарија – прва међу штампаријама у Херцеговини и српским земљама у 16. веку”, in D. Barać, *Горажданска штампарија 1519–1523*, Belgrade, 2008, p. 42–43.

32 A. T. Erich, “Dimitrie Liubavici and the Printing Art of Târgoviște”, *Journal of Romanian Literary Studies*, 5, 2014, p. 361.

33 Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, p. 540–541.

34 E. Turdeanu, “Din vechile schimburi culturale dintre români și jugoslavi”, *Cercetări literare*, 3, 1939, p. 161.

35 Cazacu, “Dimitrije Ljubavić”, p. 191–192.

Повелѣніємъ г(с)подара, Іѡ Петроу великааго Воеводѣ азъ грѣшныи и мѣнші въ сѣценноинокухъ Мѡѡси· троудихъ се въ семь писанію· съ мадрами Димитра Любавику· и начехъ при всѣхъ въ сѣценномъ митрополите Влашкоу, куръ Варлаамъ· а съвършихъ при всѣхъ въ сѣценномъ митрополите Влашкоу Ананіе. ѡ бытіа въ лѣто 7311· ѡ рождѣства Х(с)ва тисѹща, 7мѣ· кроуѣ слѣдоу, 8мѣ· лоу, 11мѣ· ѡемеліе, 31мѣ· златѣ число, 3, индиктѣ ѡ(н), 1, м(с)ца, ге(н), 1, дѣнь. Въ настѣлныи градь Тръгѣвище.³⁶

On the order of the ruler, Io(an) Petru, the great voivode, I, the sinful and humble among hieromonks Moise, strove for this work with the matrices of Dimitar Ljubavić, and I started in the time of the all-holy Metropolitan of Wallachia kyr Varlaam, and I finished in the time of the all-holy Metropolitan of Wallachia Anania. In the year of creation 7053, the year 1545 from the birth of Christ, solar cycle 25, lunar cycle 4, *themelion*³⁷ 17, golden number³⁸ 7, *indiction* 3, the month of January, the 10th day. In the capital city of Târgoviște.

In 1547, Dimitar Ljubavić also printed the *Acts of the Apostles*, based on a template in the Serbian recension, although he used the local Middle Bulgarian orthography for this version. Four copies of this book are conserved in the Library of the Hilandar Monastery, under call numbers 17, 18, 19 and 20. Serbian scholars expressed their disagreement concerning the differences between these copies; however, in 1896, Sava Hilandarac argued that the four copies belonged to two different editions, one printed during the rule of the Wallachian prince Mircea V the Shepherd (call numbers 17 and 18), the other printed for Ilie III of Moldavia and his mother, Jelena Branković, Petru Rareș's wife. Conversely, Dejan Medaković, the author of the *Katalog ćirilskih rukopisa manastira Hilandara*, argued in 1978 that all four copies were printed in the press of Dimitrije the Logothete, with the help of his disciples Oprea and Petre, during Mircea's rule. Miroslav A. Lazić, who cites the two descriptions in his study on these four copies, expresses surprise at Medaković's statement that this was one and the same edition without mentioning any of the differences, even though he had noted them twenty years earlier in *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*. Lazić also refers to the description of the *Acts of the Apostles* of

³⁶ The Slavonic transcription was made after the facsimile provided in C. Olar, "Штампарија Димитрија Љубавића из Трговишта у румунској историографији", *Годишњак Библиотеке Матице Српске* за 1991, Novi Sad, 1992, p. 121.

³⁷ Known in Western Europe as *epactae lunares*, *epactae minores*, and *adiectioes lunae*, the *themelion* is a chronological element that, in Wallachian documents, shows the age of the moon at a particular date of the year. See I. Ionașcu, "Cronologia documentelor din Moldova și Țara Românească", in *Documente privind istoria României. Introducere*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1956, p. 427.

³⁸ The *numerus aureus*, a 19-year cycle, is identical to the lunar cycle in Western European chronologies but has a different value in Wallachian prints and documents, as it starts in 1 BC, as opposed to 3 AD for the lunar cycle. See Ionașcu, "Cronologia documentelor", p. 427.

1547 in the *Bibliografia românească veche* by Ioan Bianu and Nerva Hodoș,³⁹ noting that they had reconstructed the text of the colophon of the edition intended for the Wallachian prince based on the remarks of Šafarik, Karataev, and Picot, on the one hand, and on the news they had recently received of a version of these *Acts of the Apostles* with the Moldavian coat of arms preserved at the Royal Serbian Academy. As a result of this development and following their consultation of Sava Hilandarac's aforementioned catalog, they concluded that two editions were printed, one for the Wallachian prince and the other for the Moldavian prince.⁴⁰

Miroslav Lazić went further and achieved a comparative typographical and morphological analysis of the Hilandar copies of these two editions (which are well preserved), concluding that the differences consist in the contents and structure of the colophon and in certain graphical elements (most notably, the headpieces featuring the coats of arms of Wallachia and Moldavia, respectively), with one edition intended for Mircea IV of Wallachia and the other ordered by Ilie III of Moldavia and his mother.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the books were printed with the same type and the same date features in the preface of both editions.

Исписаше се сїе стїе и бжѣствнїе книги глїеми· прази Въ днї блго вернаго и бгѣмь рханимаго и самодръ жавнаго Іѡ Мирча воеводе и г(с)подарь вьсои земли Оугровлахи искои и Подѹнавїю· снѣ великагѡ и прѣдобраго· Ра(д)ула воеводи. Темже ѹбо азъ грѣшнїи· и мнѣше въ члѣвцехъ· Димитриѣ лѡгофетѣ вьнѹкже· Божидаровѣ· видевшеже ѹмаленїе Сты(х) и бж(с)твнїихъ книги вѣжделѣхъ трѹдолюбьзно. Елико ваьзмогохъ оумо(м) постигохъ бгоу поспешествѹющѹми сьписахъ и сьвршы(х) дїе пользные книги сїе прази еже оубо дхо(м) стїи(м) ап(с)лы наоучише и проповѣдаше, и просїаше· вьсьи вьселенїи конце землїнїе. Троудихсе ѡ семь и сь оученикїи моимы· Опрѣ и Петрь· [...] ѡ бытїа в лѣто *жнѣ· а ѡ ро(ж)дства Х(с)ва тисѹща, фмз· кроугъ слнцѹ, кз· лоунъ, ѕ· златѡ число, ѳ· индитїѡ(н), ѕ· ѳемелїе бї· епахѳа, ё Почеше се сїе стїе книги писати м(с)ца авгѹста, йї· днѣ а сьвршышесє м(с)ца мр̄ йї днѣ въ настолие гра(д) Трьгови(шт). ичслзѣнѹчсѡвѣцїинѹчѹлесѹхѹчѹм⁴²

These holy and divine books called the *Acts of the Apostles* were written in the days of the faithful and God-protected and sole ruler Io(an) Mircea, voivode and prince of the entire land of Ungro-Wallachia and Podunavia, son of the great and most good voivode Radul. And so, I, the sinful and humble among men, Dimitrije the logothete, grandson of Božidar, having seen the lessening of the holy and divine books, yearned industriously. As much as I could, I suc-

39 BRV I, p. 514–516.

40 M. A. Lazić, “Прилог познавању штампарства Димитрија Љубавића”, *Археографски прилози*, 36, 2014, p. 93–94.

41 Lazić, “Прилог познавању”, p. 97.

42 The Slavonic transcription was made after the facsimile of folios 1r and 1v of copy 17 at Hilandar Monastery, provided in Lazić, “Прилог познавању”, p. 106 and 108.

ceeded due to my mind and, with God's help, wrote and finished these books that are useful to the spirit, the *Acts of the Apostles*, which, thanks to the Holy Spirit, taught and preached and illuminated the Apostles to the whole world to its ends. I strove for these books with my disciples, Oprea and Petre [...], in the year of Creation 7055, and from the birth of Christ 1547, solar cycle 27, lunar cycle 6, golden number 9, *indiction* 6, *themelion* 19. These books started to be written in the month of August, the 18th day, and were completed in the month of March, the 18th day, in the capital city of Târgoviște. ичслтнхуѣсвѣщцѣдлинчѹлесѹхѹчѹм

Once again, Dimitrije Ljubavić clearly specifies that the book was printed in Târgoviște, which has contributed to a less ambiguous view of his activity in Wallachia (unlike in Makarije's case, where questions were raised as to whether his books were even printed in the Romanian Principalities). Nevertheless, one will have to draw attention to a peculiar feature of this colophon, namely the seemingly random sequence of Cyrillic letters at the bottom of the page (right after the date and place of printing). As noted by Ioan Bianu and Nerva Hodoș in the earlier fascicles that would form *Bibliografia românească veche*, this passage is most certainly a cryptogram that could not, however, be deciphered with any of the known Slavonic keys.⁴³ A much-needed update on its decryption was provided in the addenda,⁴⁴ as the authors referred to the partial success of Aleksandr I. Yatsimirsky⁴⁵ in 1898 and Ljubomir Stojanović⁴⁶ in 1901, both of whom were only able to decipher, with a Greek key, the first two thirds, as ВѢ ДОМѢХЪ ДИМИТРОВѢХЪ (corrected by the latter scholar as въ домехъ ДИМИТРОВЕХЪ, which is the form cited by Bianu and Hodoș as well), i.e., “In the houses of Dimitrije”. Conversely, the last part (ѸлесѸхѸчѸм) was incompatible with the Greek key identified for the first part and was thus considered to be “incomprehensible”. Stojanović's reading – which has the benefit of making sense on its own, as it states that the book was printed in Dimitrije's establishment – is still cited by Serbian historiographers,⁴⁷ without many other attempts being made to read the remainder of the line.

Nevertheless, in 1913, Dragutin Kostić⁴⁸ argued that the undeciphered part might not even have been encrypted, and that it could be read quite literally as *У лесу Хуциум*, “in the Hucium forest,” which had the disadvantage that the toponym is completely unattested, as demonstrated by Alexandru Mares.⁴⁹ Aside from this

43 *BRV* I, p. 30.

44 *BRV* I, p. 514.

45 A. I. Yatsimirsky, *Новый трудъ по старой славянской библиографии*, St. Petersburg, 1898, p. 20.

46 Lj. Stojanović, "Zur altserbischen Bibliographie", *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XXIII, 1901, p. 311.

47 See, for instance, Lazić, “Прилог познавању”, p. 99.

48 D. Kostić, "Тajно писање у јужнословенским ћириловским споменицима", *Глас Српске Краљевске Академије*, ХСН, 1913, р. 52.

49 A. Mares, "Considerații pe marginea unei criptograme", *Limba română*, XL, 1991, 1-2, p. 65-66.

literal reading, the Serbian researcher suggested that the consonants may have been written in reverse order in each word, leading to a possible reading of Ψ сел Ψ М Ψ ч Ψ х as “in the village of Muciuх,” with a further permutation being proposed for the final word as Х Ψ мч Ψ , “Humciu.” Kostić believed that the location of Dimitrije Ljubavić’s press might be identified based on one of the combinations he proposed, following a collation with a detailed map of Târgoviște and its surroundings. Emil Vârtosu mentioned Kostić’s attempt at deciphering the final part of this cryptogram, citing the Serbian scholar’s efforts and, puzzlingly, summarizing his conclusion in terms of this being “a cryptogram of the name of the city of Târgoviște”, without directly explaining the solutions he applied.⁵⁰

In 1991, however, the Romanian researcher Alexandru Mareș proposed a new solution for the undeciphered part, arguing that it *was* encrypted, albeit with a different code – the Tarabaric code⁵¹ – wherein the first ten consonants of the Cyrillic alphabet were replaced by the last ten and vice-versa (without any inversions between the vowels, which is similar – even if only in principle – to some of the solutions proposed by Kostić). Thus, the final part would read Ψ сел Ψ Ж Ψ г Ψ р, “in the village of Jugur”, which led the Romanian scholar to the initial conclusion that the entire cryptogram had to be read as a part of the final sentence, starting from “Почеше се”, thereby making it a more detailed indication of the place where the book was printed. This place was theoretically identifiable as a village located around 60 kilometers from the Wallachian capital, which would make the entire sentence describing the “writing” (i.e. printing) and “completion” of the book sound contradictory: how could the typographical activity have taken place in two relatively distant places at the same time?

One possible answer is provided in the corresponding passage from the copies of the *Acts of the Apostles* that were intended for the Moldavian prince Ilie II Rareș:

Повеленіємъ г(ѣ)подара Іѡ Ілїнашко воево(д)и· и мѣрыи его, Г(ѣ)пожде Еленыи. Азъ оубо грѣшныи и мѣнші въ чловецехъ, Димитріе Логѡфеть· вѣноукже Бжжидаровъ· Трѣдихсе о семь съписанїи еликѡ възмѡгохъ, оумѡмъ постигнути бѣоу поспешствѡющѣ мы доспехо(м) до съвршенїе сїи стѣе книги ѡ бытїа в лѣто *ѣнѣ· а ѡ ро(ж)дства Х(ѣ) ва тысѣща, фмз· кроу(г) слѣнѣ, кѣ· а лоунъ, ѣ· златѡ число, ѡ· индитѡ(н), ѣ· еемелїе бї· епахта, ѣ почешесе сїе стѣе книги писати м(ѣ)ца ау(г), ѣи· днѣ а съвршишесе м(ѣ)ца мѣ ѣи днѣ. ичслзнѣчсвзвѣцлннѣчѣлесѣхѣчѣм⁵²

50 E. Vârtosu, “Din criptografia românească”, *Studii teologice*, XVIII, 1966, 5–6, p. 282.

51 See E. Kalužniacki, “Beiträge zur älteren Geheimschrift der Slaven”, in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 102, Wien, 1883, p. 289–290, and A. Mareș, *Scrierea tainică la români*, Bucharest, 2007.

52 The Slavonic transcription was achieved based on the facsimile of folio 1v of copy 20 at the Hilandar Monastery, provided in Lazić, “Прилог познавању”, p. 109.

On the order of the ruler Io(an) Iliașco, the voivode, and his mother lady Elena, I, the sinful and humble among men, Dimitrije the logothete, nephew of Božidar, strove for this writing as much as I could, in order to succeed due to the mind, and, with God's help, we managed to complete these holy books in the year of Creation 7055, and from the birth of Christ 1457, solar cycle 27, lunar cycle 6, golden number 9, *indiction* 6, *themelion* 19. These books started to be written in the month of August, the 18th day, and were completed in the month of March, the 18th day.

The final sentence, containing the information pertaining to the dates when the printing of the book started and ended, respectively, is essentially identical between the two versions, with the only differences being formal (i.e., the abbreviation of the word for August in the Moldavian version versus its writing *in integro* in the Wallachian version). On the other hand, however, while no mention is made of the capital city of Târgoviște in this second version, the cryptogram itself is preserved at the bottom of the page. Mareș underlines its presence in both versions as a strong point in favor of it containing a geographical indication.⁵³

If Jugur is to be considered the actual place where the two versions of the *Acts of the Apostles* were printed, one would have to raise the question of why Dimitrije Ljubavić did not continue his activity in Târgoviște. Alexandru Mareș proposes an answer based on the political context of Mircea the Shepherd's reign, notably his massacre of the boyars in the spring of 1545 and the attack of the exiled boyars in August 1546 – the very month when, as stated, the *Acts of the Apostles* started to be printed. These events secured Mircea the Shepherd a negative reputation among contemporary writers, with one Bulgarian hagiographer even qualifying him as “the new Julian the Apostate”. It would be in these troubled and unstable times that Dimitrije Ljubavić would have chosen to move to the more secluded village of Jugur, from where he could have escaped to Transylvania, should the political situation have worsened even further.⁵⁴

Conversely, Mareș mentions two objections that could be raised, based on the research of previous scholars: first, Nicolae Iorga had argued that the reason for Ljubavić receiving the book order from the Moldavian prince should be tied to the fact that Mircea the Shepherd's wife was Chiajna, the daughter of Petru IV Rareș (albeit from his first marriage, which made her the stepdaughter of Elena Rareș and the stepsister of Iliaș), which would then help construct an image of Mircea the Shepherd's positive relations with his Moldavian neighbors, and Petru Rareș's family in particular and, on the other hand, it would also place doubt on the argument that Dimitrije Ljubavić had lost the favor of Mircea the Shepherd. Mareș, however, finds this application of Iorga's argument doubtful in this context, as it would still fail to

⁵³ Mareș, “Considerații”, p. 69.

⁵⁴ Mareș, “Considerații”, p. 70.

explain why the Serbian typographer moved away from the capital and, additionally, why he failed to mention Chiajna's patronage in his books.⁵⁵ Yet another theory was proposed by Matei Cazacu, who identified Dimitrije Ljubavić with the Serbian deacon Dimitrije, a later collaborator of the Moldavian prince Despot Vodă, whom he supposedly met in Braşov in 1558.⁵⁶ Unlike in the above cases, it is quite difficult to ascertain whether this is still the same grandson of Božidar and, furthermore, it does not clarify *why* his printing press (or presses) was closed in 1547.

The books printed by Dimitrije Ljubavić, aside from their obvious use in the two Romanian Principalities, also circulated across the *Slavia Orthodoxa*: as pointed out by Emil Turdeanu, copies were found in Russia and at Mount Athos, and yet another copy was found in Serbia, in the Hopovo Monastery.⁵⁷ Ljubavić's contribution to the history of Romanian typography also consisted in his influence on Deacon Coresi, who learned his trade from him, and later used his type to print the Small Octoechos in Braşov, in 1557, with the help of Oprea the logothete, another one of Ljubavić's disciples.⁵⁸

3 With Rhyme and Reason: the Triodion Printed in Târgovişte in 1649

Meanwhile, the 17th century was a considerably more difficult time for Serbian typography, as the last Serbian printing press in Venice was closed in 1638, following the publication of the Psalter by Bartolo Ghinami. Nevertheless, Romanian printing presses would go on to benefit from the services of typographers and monks throughout the 17th century. Such is the case of Meletije the Macedonian from the Athonite monastery of Zograf, who had studied the art of printing in Russia and ended up contributing – as hegumen of the Govora Monastery in Wallachia – to the printing of the Horologion in 1638. In 1643, an Anthologion was printed in Câmpulung, this time through the efforts of Stefan, a Serbian typographer (likely Stefan of Ohrid, who had contributed to the printing of the Horologion in 1638), and Ivan Kuntovich, a Russian typographer.⁵⁹ Radojičić draws particular attention⁶⁰ to the

55 Mareş, "Considerații", p. 71.

56 Cazacu, "Dimitrije Ljubavić", p. 197.

57 Turdeanu, "Din vechile schimburi", p. 161.

58 L. Ćurčić, "Видови и огранци раног словенског штампарства", in M. Pantić (ed.), *Пет векова српског штампарства 1494–1994. Раздобље српскословенске штампе XV–XVII в.*, Belgrade, 1994, p. 20.

59 Ćurčić, "Видови и огранци раног словенског штампарства", p. 20.

60 Radojičić, "Srpski-rumunski odnosi", p. 26.

Slavonic Triodion printed in Târgoviște in 1649, by order of Matei Basarab's wife, Elena:

Триѡдїѡн, си есть трипѣснець, сѣѡи великои Пїетдесїеницы, пентикостарїѡн, еже есть пїетдесїетница нареченый. ѿ двѡю писменоу сею, ж а. по обычаю и блговолномоу раченїю сръбскаго народа, ѡпа(с)нѡ изчищеный. Повелѣнїем и иждивенїем Всесвѣтлыѣ Книгины Елены Бжїею Мл(с)тїю, нача(л)ницы и вл(д)цы зе(м)ле вла(ѣ) коїе, Соупроужницы Пресвѣтла(ѣ) госп(д)ра Іѡ Маѡеа Басарабы въ Господарской их тѣпографїи наже в столечним град Терговищи. Въ лѣто бытїа мїра 7157. ѿ рож Хва *ахмѡ⁶¹

The Triodion, which is to say the book of three odes of the holy Pentecost, the Pentecostarion, which is to say, “the Fifty,” which was carefully cleansed of these two letters, ж and а, following the customs and the good-willing endeavor of the Serbian people. On the order and with the money of the most illustrious princess Elena, by the mercy of God the mistress and lady of the Wallachian land, the wife of the very illustrious ruler Io(an) Matei Basarab, in their princely typography that is in the capital city of Târgoviște. In the year of Creation 7157, from the birth of Christ 1649.

The title page emphasizes that the text had been corrected and adapted to the needs of a Serbian readership, reflected in the elimination of the two nasal vowels of Old Slavonic, which were conserved with relative consistency in the Romanian recension of Slavonic, but had been replaced by denasalized vowels in the Serbian recension. This task was undertaken by a Bosnian Athonite monk:

Трудих же са о семь съписанїи, азъ грѣшный и меншїй въ иноцѣхъ Іѡаннѣ іеромонах, сѣгорец ѿ Босны, ѿ мѣста Каменградъ, монастыра же Гѡмиѡнїцы, въ немже прїехъ иноческїй образъ. Възлюбленїи о Хѣ ѡци и братїа и чѣстнїи господїе молим вы Бга ради и кольнома касаю са чѣтѣщїи сїю книгу, аще что бѹдетъ погрѣшенно, дѹхомъ кротости исправляйте. [...] Хрстолюбїе же ваше блгодатное млимъ вси тѹдившеса о семь дѣлѣ, Прока Тѹпарникъ съ вѣсьми прочими своими тѹдолюбци аще что всїехъ нако члци дѣлавше погрѣшихом или добрѣ не тѹпарисахом, прощенїю иїїа насъ грѣшнихъ сподобыте.⁶²

I, the sinful and lesser among monks, Jovan the Athonite, a hieromonk from Bosnia, from the place called Kamengrad, hailing from Gomionica Monastery, where I also took the monastic vows, strove for this work. Beloved fathers and brothers in Christ and honorable lords, we pray you in God's name and I beg you on my knees that, should there anything mistaken be [found] when you read this book, you shall correct it with consideration. [...] We, who strove for this work, namely Proca the typographer and all his other coworkers, ask of your Christ-

61 The Slavonic transcription is from *BRV* I, p. 171.

62 The Slavonic transcription is from *BRV* I, p. 173–174.

loving good will that if we, who worked like all men, made any errors or did not print well, you will deem us sinners worthy of forgiveness.

As can be seen, a clear distinction is made between the corrector of the Serbian text (Jovan Svetogorac) and the typographer himself (Proca), as they ask for the readers' forgiveness for their own respective mistakes separately from one another, on the same final page dedicated to the reader.

It would be worth drawing attention to one particular feature that has attracted the attention of Serbian researchers, namely, the poem on the verso of the title page, under the coat of arms of Wallachia. This *Эпиграмма (Epigram)* is dedicated to the meaning of Elena's name:

Знаменати чѣмъ хоцетъ има се Елена
В дѣши мои възыскахъ и бысть въбрѣтена
ѣже оу грекъ Елеус, казаема млѣтъ.
Добрѣ рече иногда, Платонская хитрость
Именѣ положенію, не по воли быти
По вещиже естествоу, сказанье носити.
Виждѣ какъ согласнѣ са бо съчетаваеъ,
Елена съ Елеус, еуже бываетъ,
Млѣтъ нѣѣ Тракіскимъ, всѣмъ црквамъ толика
Памать еиже безсмертна, ѡнихъ и велика.
Пентикостар пат десатъ, число съврѣшенно,
Инословнѣ реченно, и преукрашенно,
Бѣсловомъ превышномъ, тѣмъ бо печатаса
Иею блго въбразнѣ, и оуготоваса⁶³

What does this name Elena mean?
I searched my soul and there it was revealed
That in Greek it is *Eleos*, which means mercy.
Well spoke once Plato's wisdom
That names are given not by will
But through the essence of things
See how the agreement and matching is
Between Elena and *Eleos*
For such is her mercy towards all Thracian churches
And their memory of her is undying and great.
Penticostar means fifty, a perfect number
Spoken in other words and with great beauty
By the great theologian. And that is why it was printed
And it was prepared to be in good form.

63 The Slavonic transcription is from *BRV I*, p. 172.

In 1910, Pavle Popović analyzed this poem and noted that its verses were in a thirteen-syllable meter known as the Polish alexandrine (the *trzynastozgłoskowiec*, in Serbian literature – the *poljski trinaesterac*). This metrical choice attracted even more interest from the Serbian scholarship due to its frequent use in Serbian poetry in the 18th century, which raised the question of whether the author was Serbian. Milorad Pavić⁶⁴ argues that this is the first known use of the *trinaesterac* in Serbian literature, later used more and more often by Serbian poets, doubtlessly also in conjunction with the inclusion of numerous poems using this meter in several school manuals of Russian origin that were brought to Serbian schools after 1730. The view that the *trinaesterac* was first used in the Wallachian Triodion of 1649 is equally reflected in more recent studies, such as Miloslav Ž. Čarkić's overview of Serbian-Polish relations, published in 2018.⁶⁵

Despite the relative absence of a doubt among Serbian researchers that this is the first known use of the *trinaesterac* in Serbian literature, the question of the Serbian *authorship* of these particular verses is far from having received a definitive answer. Lazar Čurčić, who presents the 1649 Triodion as “the most Serbian book in the Romanian typography of the 17th century”,⁶⁶ refers to Jovan Svetogorac as having composed the *Epigram* himself (in addition to the aforementioned editorial work that is referred to *expressis verbis* in the opening lines of the Triodion), once again citing Pavle Popović's study on this first use of the *trinaesterac*. Meanwhile, Đorđe Sp. Radojičić includes the *Epigram* in his anthology of Old Serbian literature published in 1960,⁶⁷ but opts to separate the author of the verses from the figure of Jovan Svetogorac, referring to him instead as *pesnik iz Trgovišta*, “the poet of Târgoviște”. In his brief note on the author, Radojičić mentions Udriște Năsturel's translation of *De imitatione Christi* from Latin to Slavonic, printed at the Dealu Monastery two years earlier, in 1647. The Serbian historian notes that Năsturel was a logothete and a relative of Elena Basarab's and wonders whether, given that the translation of 1647 was also accompanied by verses in the opening pages, it would not be possible to identify him as “the poet of Târgoviște”.⁶⁸ The question of author-

64 The entirety of Milorad Pavić's treatise on the Serbian Baroque has been digitized and is accessible on the website of the Rastko project. The chapter pertaining to Serbian poetry and, therefore, to the specific case of the *Epigram* of 1649 can be accessed at http://www.rastko.rs/knjizevnost/pavic/barok/barok_tokovi.html#_Toc514838183 (accessed on June 20, 2024).

65 M. Ž. Čarkić, “O serbsko-polskich kontaktach (krótki chronologiczny przegląd do końca XIX wieku”, *Przegląd Wschodnioeuropejski*, IX, 2018, 1, p. 89.

66 Čurčić, “Видови и ограници раног словенског штампарства”, p. 20.

67 Đ. Sp. Radojičić, *Antologija stare srpske književnosti (XI-XVIII veka)*, Belgrade, 1960, p. 271.

68 Radojičić, *Antologija stare srpske književnosti (XI-XVIII veka)*, p. 361.

ship remains unanswered in the recent contribution of Svetlana Tomin and Ivana Ivanić dedicated to Jovan Svetogorac.⁶⁹

Nicolae Iorga argues, with conviction, that only Udriște Năsturel could have written this epigram containing references to Plato's wisdom and the Thracian churches of the Serbs, especially within the context of the dedicatory preface he penned for the same book (which was not reproduced by Bianu and Hodoș and whose Slavonic text was provided by Iorga himself), which equally contains numerous allusions to Greek literature.⁷⁰ Panaitescu follows the same line of argumentation, pointing out that this introductory letter, with its mythological references, "was written so unintelligibly that it did not even make sense in many places", thus underlining the pedantic character of Udriște Năsturel's style, which was addressed to an élite, not to the ordinary people that would have benefited from a printed book.⁷¹ Virgil Căndeia, who published a French translation of the *Epigram* and the dedicatory preface in 1968, asserted he found no basis for refuting the attribution made by Iorga and Panaitescu, noting instead that Năsturel – who had penned other prefaces for printed books during the reign of Matei Basarab – could not reject his sister's request to do the same for the Triodion she had sponsored. Căndeia argues that the Slavonic erudition, the customary rhetoric of Năsturel's works, as well as the abovementioned circumstances force us to accept the opinion of Iorga and Panaitescu as being correct.⁷²

Finally, Dan Horia Mazilu, the author of a monograph on Udriște Năsturel, refers to him as the author of the verses in the Prayer Book printed in Câmpulung (1635), in the Govora *Code of Law* (1640), and the Triodion (1649), also citing G. Călinescu's description of him⁷³ as *primul stihuitor cult din literatura română*, "the first literary versifier in Romanian literature".⁷⁴ Nevertheless, he disagrees with Călinescu's assessment that the concept of accompanying the patrons' coats of arms with verses was of Greek origin (by a South Slavic intermediary), suggesting that this source could be found in Ukrainian printed books (possibly via a Polish intermediary).⁷⁵ Mazilu also underlines the remarkable discipline Năsturel showed

69 S. Tomin, I. Ivanić, "Јован Светогорац из Гомионице", in Z. Nikitović (ed.), *Српско писано наслеђе и историја средњовековне Босне, Хума и Травуније*, Banja Luka, 2021, p. 461–478.

70 N. Iorga, "Doamna Elina a Țerii-Românești ca patroană literară", *AARMSI*, S. III, t. XIII, 1932, p. 62.

71 P. P. Panaitescu, *Începuturile și biruința scrisului în limba română*, Bucharest, 1965, p. 194.

72 V. Căndeia, "L'humanisme d'Udriște Năsturel et l'agonie des lettres slavonnes en Valachie", *RESEE*, 6, 1968, 2, p. 259–260.

73 G. Călinescu, *Istoria literaturii române de la origini până în prezent*, Bucharest, 1941, p. 52.

74 D. H. Mazilu, *Udriște Năsturel*, Bucharest, 1974, p. 73.

75 Mazilu, *Udriște Năsturel*, p. 80–81.

in his use of the long, thirteen-syllable verse in the translation of the *De imitatione Christi*, with a consistent caesura after seven syllables.⁷⁶

4 Serbian Books and Books for Serbs Printed in Râmnicu Vâlcea

The fourth and final episode of the Serbian-Romanian collaboration in book printing takes place in the first half of the 18th century, in a time of political and administrative upheaval for the Serbian lands and for a part of Wallachia. As bishop of Râmnic, Antim the Iberian founded a press in Râmnicu Vâlcea in the year 1705, having brought typographic material and typographers from Snagov. However, its activity stopped in 1708, once he became metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia and moved the press from Râmnic to Târgoviște, from where it was once again moved to the Metropolitan See in Bucharest in 1715.⁷⁷ The Bishopric of Râmnic, on the other hand, was a part of Oltenia, the territory that was ceded to the Austrian Empire following the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, thereby entering the jurisdiction of the Serbian Metropolitan See of Karlovci. Nevertheless, Antim the Iberian's successor, Damaschin Voinescu, resumed the typography's activity in 1724 with the printing of a Romanian book on the Seven Sacraments.⁷⁸

Less than two months after the Treaty of Passarowitz, the Metropolitan of Belgrade Mojsije Petrović (1677–1730), having realized that the Austrian state would not be the like-minded Christian savior he had hoped for, decided to send a letter to the Russian tsar Peter the Great, dated September 1, 1718, in which he asked for support for the Serbian people and the Serbian Orthodox Church. This letter, however, received no answer, which eventually prompted Mojsije Petrović to write a second letter, on October 20, 1721, sending it, accompanied by a copy of the first letter, to the tsar himself. Among his many requests, one may note matters such as the construction of a Serbian cathedral, with Peter the Great as its founder, or the Belgrade eparchy's need for concrete items that were required for the divine liturgy (including priestly vestments), but the questions that are most relevant to the present research pertain to the lack of church books and the absence of teachers of the Latin and Slavonic languages.⁷⁹ In order to ensure that this letter reached

⁷⁶ Mazilu, *Udriște Năsturel*, p. 85.

⁷⁷ A. Andreescu, *Cartea românească în veacul al XVIII-lea*, Bucharest, 2004, p. 27–28.

⁷⁸ BRV II, p. 22.

⁷⁹ A. Mladenović, *Историја српског језика. Одабрани радови*, Belgrade, 2008, p. 177–178.

its destination, he relied on the services of the secretary of the Metropolitan See, who is known in Serbian historiography as “Vladul Malaescu.”⁸⁰

This secretary, whose name betrays his Romanian origins, has been identified as Vlad Boțulescu of Mălăiești,⁸¹ while the name used in Serbian historiography stems from his depiction in the autobiography of Partenije Pavlović, who remembers him from their days at the Princely Academy in Bucharest, where they studied rhetoric and Aristotelian philosophy together.⁸² As noted by Emil Turdeanu, Vlad Boțulescu had likely left Wallachia in 1716, following the execution of the Wallachian prince Ștefan Cantacuzino, and had been recommended to the Metropolitan of Karlovci Vikentije Popović by Mojsije Petrović himself (then, metropolitan of Belgrade and future successor of Vikentije in the newly established Metropolitan See of Belgrade and Karlovci). In his letter of recommendation, Mojsije Petrović refers to Boțulescu as a former logothete of the late “bey” of Wallachia, Ștefan Cantacuzino,⁸³ although he ultimately ended up personally hiring him as secretary. Given that Vlad Boțulescu could find in Petrograd boyars of the Cantacuzino family and, naturally, Dimitrie Cantemir, the question has been raised as to whether his possible connections at the Russian court were significant in Mojsije Petrović’s decision to entrust him with this second and final attempt to obtain the Russian help his Church and people required. Emil Turdeanu notes that no extant document expressly confirms this hypothesis, which is, in his own words, “nevertheless tempting”.⁸⁴

Whether or not Vlad Boțulescu’s personal relations directly contributed to the subsequent events, it is a fact that Mojsije Petrović’s second letter did not fall upon deaf ears, as Peter the Great made the decision to help the Serbian Orthodox Church through the efforts of the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church. As a result, Vlad Boțulescu returned to Serbia in 1724, bringing the church books and items requested for the twelve churches mentioned by the Serbian metropolitan. More importantly, the Russian Synod sent Maxim Suvorov – who would later become the director of the Moscow Synod printing press – as a professor of Russian Slavonic and Latin. Suvorov brought with him ten copies of the *Slavonic-Greek-Latin Dictionary* of Fedor Polikarpov-Orlov (published in 1704), 70 copies of Meletios Smotrytsky’s

⁸⁰ Mladenović, *Историја српског језика*, p. 177.

⁸¹ Mălăiești is a toponym indicating where he came from, although Romanian researchers are not certain as to where that was. Nevertheless, according to the editors’ introduction to the 2013 edition of the *Life of Skanderbeg* penned by Vlad Boțulescu of Mălăiești, it is assumed that this place was in Prahova. See Vlad Boțulescu de Mălăiești, *Scrieri. I. Viața lui Scanderbeg*, ed. E. Timotin, O. Olar, Bucharest, 2013, p. 14.

⁸² Boțulescu de Mălăiești, *Scrieri*, p. 14–15.

⁸³ Turdeanu, “Din vechile schimburi”, p. 184.

⁸⁴ Turdeanu, “Din vechile schimburi”, p. 185.

Slavonic Grammar (namely, the edition published by the same Polikarpov in 1721), as well as 400 copies of a book titled *First Teaching for Children* (*Первое учение отроком*), a primer penned by the Russian Archbishop Theophan Prokopovich in 1722. Mojsije Petrović expressed his gratitude towards his Russian benefactors in a letter dated August 27, 1726, and, from October 1 of the same year, Maxim Suvorov started his activity at the newly founded Slavonic school in Sremski Karlovci.⁸⁵

However, these 400 copies of the Russian primer were likely insufficient for the needs of this new school, thereby prompting the need for a reprint. It was in this context that Mojsije Petrović requested and funded the printing of the *First Teaching* in 1726 in Râmnic. As noted by Cornelia Olar, a number of Serbian scholars (including Đorđe Rajković, Jovan Bošković, Jovan Skerlić, and Milorad Pavić) considered that this choice may have been prompted by the fact that the only other Cyrillic typography in the Austrian Empire was in Trnava (modern-day Slovakia), which was, however, Greek Catholic by design, and thus would have been unfit for Mojsije Petrović's needs.⁸⁶ Furthermore, Lazar Čurčić assumes that asking the Russian Empire for more copies may have been out of the question following the death of Peter the Great in 1725, as the Russian Synod did not endorse the export of Prokopovich's primer to the same extent as the late emperor – who had been the Serbian metropolitan's staunchest supporter – most certainly had.⁸⁷

Unlike its model, this edition of the *First Teaching* also contained a *testo a fronte* in Romanian, although the text of the colophon and the preface remain exclusively in Russian Slavonic:

Первое учение отрокомъ, в немже Буквы, и Слоги. Также Краткое толкование законнаго Десатословіа, Млтвы Г(с)на, символа Вѣры, и девати Блженствъ. Напечатаса же повелѣніемъ, и блгословеніемъ, и всакимъ издженіемъ Преч(с)тнѣйшаго, и Превосвѣщеннѣйшаго Г(с)дна Мввсца Петровича Православнаго Архіеп(с)копа и Митрополита Белиграда и инныхъ странъ, въ еп(с)копіи Римнической. Лѣто Г(с)дне: ·ѡѣкс. Иліа ѿ Чернаводы: Типографъ.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Mladenović, *Историја српског језика*, p. 179.

⁸⁶ С. Олар, “Епископска штампарија у Римнику у XVIII веку”, in L. Čurčić, С. Olar et al., *Штампарија у Римнику и обнова штампања српских књига 1726. Tipografia din Râmnic și reluarea tipăririi cărților sîrbești la 1726*, Novi Sad, 1976, p. 25–27.

⁸⁷ L. Čurčić, “Обнова штампања и издавање српских књига у 18. веку у епископској штампарији у Римнику”, in Čurčić, Olar et al., *Штампарија у Римнику и обнова штампања српских књига 1726*, p. 51.

⁸⁸ The Slavonic text was transcribed from the scanned copy accessible in the Digital Library of the Matica Srpska: <http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/view/731> (accessed on June 20, 2024).

The *First Teaching for Children*, in which there are letters and syllables, and then a short interpretation of the Ten Commandments, of the Lord's Prayer, of the Symbol of Faith, and of the Nine Blessings. It was printed on the order and with the blessing and with the money of the Most Venerable and the Most Holy Master Mojsije Petrović, the Orthodox Archbishop and Metropolitan of Belgrade and other parts, in the Bishopric of Râmnic. The year of the Lord 1726. Ilia of Chernavoda: typographer.

The identity of the Romanian translator remains uncertain: Emil Turdeanu expresses skepticism towards the possibility of Vlad Mălăescu himself undertaking this task, suggesting instead that it was perhaps achieved by the abbot of the Govora Monastery, who would become bishop of Râmnic that same year, as Damaschin Voinescu's successor.⁸⁹ The book was reprinted twice, in 1727 and 1734, although neither of these editions contained Romanian counterparts for the original Slavonic text. It has been assumed that the first edition had been intended for Serbian *and* Romanian schools, although it is not entirely clear whether the change in direction one year later was politically motivated (possibly stemming from the Romanians' reluctance to rely on Russian primers).⁹⁰ While the 1727 edition was reprinted on Mojsije Petrović's orders, the 1734 edition was ordered by his successor, Vikentije Jovanović (1731–1737):

Первое учение отрокомъ, в немъ же буквы, и слоги: Таже Краткое толкованіе законнаго Десатословіа, Млѣтвы Г(Ѹ)ни, Символа Вѣры, и девати Блженствъ. Повелѣніемъ и блгословеніемъ, и всакимъ иждивеніемъ Превосщеннѣйшаго Г(Ѹ)на, Г(Ѹ)дна Викентіа Іванновича, Православнаго Архіепископа, и митрополита Бѣль Градскаго. и совѣтника Цесарскаго. Напечатана въ Епископїи Ры(м)ниче(Ѹ)кой. Лѣтъ Г(Ѹ)дне-афлд, м(Ѹ)ца Се(п).⁹¹

The *First Teaching for Children*, in which there are letters and syllables, and then a short interpretation of the Ten Commandments, of the Lord's Prayer, of the Symbol of Faith, and of the Nine Blessings. On the order and with the blessing and with the money of the Most Holy Master Vikentije Jovanović, Orthodox Archbishop and Metropolitan of Belgrade and imperial councilor, this book was printed at the Bishopric of Râmnic. The year of the Lord 1734, the month of September.

Even though Oltenia was returned to Wallachia after 1739, the Serbian ties with the press of Râmnic continued many years after the possible jurisdictional obligations had ceased to exist. Thus, following the printing of the various editions of the *First*

⁸⁹ Turdeanu, "Din vechile schimburi", p. 186.

⁹⁰ Ćurčić, "Обнова штампања", p. 51.

⁹¹ The Slavonic text was transcribed from the scanned copy accessible in the Digital Library of the Matica Srpska: <http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/view/128> (accessed on June 20, 2024).

Teaching, Pavle Nenadović, metropolitan of Karlovci from 1749 to 1768, would rely on the services of the printing press in Râmnic twice more, in 1755 and 1761.

The first of them was Meletios Smotrytsky's *Slavonic Grammar*, which was reprinted in Wallachia for the first time since Antim the Iberian's edition of 1697. The introduction specifies, however, that the Râmnic edition was intended "for Serbian children".

Во славу стѣа единосущна, животворащѣа и нераздѣлимыа Троицы, Оца, и Сѣа, и Стагу Дѣа: Настояніемъ Прильжаніемъ: и иждевеніемъ Превосищеннѣйшагу и превосходителнѣйшагу Архіеп(с)копа Карловачкагу, и всегу в державѣ ихъ Цесаро Кралевскагу Величества вбрътающагусѣа Славенно, Сербскагу, и Валахійскагу Народа Митрополита, и обоихъ ихъ Цесаро Кралевскихъ Величествъ Тайннагу Совѣтника, и прв(ч): Г(с)дина ПАУЛА НЕНАДОВИЧА, Книга сѣа Грамматика в по(л)зѣ и оупотребленіе втроквѣ Сербски(х) желающихъ вснователнагу наущеніа Славенскагу діалекта. Напечатасѣа в Еп(с)копїи Рымнической. Лѣта Г(с)дна *афше.⁹²

For the glory of the Trinity, one in being, life-giving and undivided, of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Through the insistence, diligence and the money of the All-Holy and Most High Archbishop of Karlovci and the Metropolitan of the Slavonic Serbian and Wallachian people in the lands of his Imperial Majesty and Privy Councilor of both Imperial Majesties, etc., Pavle Nenadović, this book, the *Grammar*, to the benefit and use of the Serbian children who desire a fundamental learning of the Slavonic dialect, was printed in the Bishopric of Râmnic in the year of the Lord 1755.

It is worth mentioning that the Serbian interest in grammatical texts had some influence on the printing policy of the Râmnic printing press, given that in 1787, Ianache Văcărescu would go on to print his own Romanian grammar in Vienna and Râmnic.⁹³ Văcărescu's grammatical treatise, unlike that of Dimitrie Eustatievici Brașoveanul's unpublished manuscript (1757), was not based on Smotrytsky's, but on a number of Italian and Greek grammars, thus creating a morphological terminology that was closer to the modern Romanian one.⁹⁴

Finally, it should be noted that one copy of the 1755 reprint of Smotrytsky's *Grammar* was presented in September of the same year to Rafail, a monk at the

⁹² The Slavonic text was transcribed from the scanned copy accessible in the Digital Library of the Matica Srpska: <http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/view/746> (accessed on June 20, 2024).

⁹³ I. Văcărescu, "Observații sau băgări-de-seamă asupra regulilor și orândueleuror grammaticii rumânești", in Poetii Văcărești, *Opere*, ed. C. Cîrstoiu, Bucharest, 1982, p. 27.

⁹⁴ This is a subject I discussed in my article "Staico's Grammar: A 17th-Century Romanian Translation of a Grammatical Treatise in a Bilingual Manuscript", soon to be published in *Scripta & e-Scripta*, in which I compared the two 18th-century grammars of the Romanian language with Staico's translation of a fragment from Smotrytsky's *Slavonic Grammar*.

Hurezi Monastery, by his older brother, Ștefan. Rafail was studying Slavonic at the time, which, as noted by Daniar Mutalâp, can be seen from his note on the inner cover of the *Slavonic-Romanian Lexicon* of Mardarie of Cozia (Rom. MS 450 in the Library of the Romanian Academy). Mutalâp equally notes that Rafail's progress must have been quite rapid, as in the same year 1755, the monastery's archimandrite, Dionisie Bălăcescu, entrusted him with collating and correcting a “badly written copy” of the *History of Russia* and the *Life of Peter the Great* at the Bishopric of Râmnic. Thereafter, in 1763, Rafail becomes a sacristan of the Bishopric and – more importantly from the point of view of the present research – he was appointed corrector at the typography of Râmnic, where he proofread the Romanian Octoechos printed there the same year.⁹⁵ Even though the *Grammar* circulated in various forms – including printed – in Wallachia, this edition intended for the “Serbian children” was the one that was used for the formation of a Romanian proofreader at the printing press that had provided to the Serbian Metropolitan See a much-needed help.

The last Serbian book to be printed in Râmnic was the so-called *Srbljak* (or *Prayer Rule of the Holy Serbian Enlighteners*), in 1761, once again with the blessing of Pavle Nenadović and at the request of the Bishop of Arad, Sinesije Živanović:

Во славу стѣа единосущнаа, животвораща и неразделимаа Тр(б)цы, Оца, и Сѣа, и Стагѣ дѣа: Книга сѣа ПРАВИЛА МОЛЕБНАА стѣхъ сербскихъ Просвѣтителей в себѣ содержаща: По Блгословенію Превосищеннѣйшаго и превосходителнѣйшаго Г(с)дна ПАУЛА, Православнаго Аріепис(с)кпа Карловачкаго, и всегѣ в державѣ ихъ цесарокра(с)а: величества вбрътающаго сѣа славеносербскаго и валахійскаго народа Митрополита и обоихъ цесарокралевскихъ величествъ тайнаго совѣтника. Трудомъ и всакимъ прилѣжнымъ тѣаніемъ собранаа и по возможности во всемъ исправленаа неменше же и настоаніемъ и иждивеніемъ Превосищеннаго Г(с)дна СУНЕСІА, Православнаго Епис(с)кпа Арадскаго, Іеополскаго, Великоварадскаго и Халмадскаго: и цесарокралевскаго величества дворнаго совѣтника. Въ честь стопоманѣтыхъ стѣителей, в ползу же и бгомолство стѣхъ обителей и црквей сербскихъ, во воспоминаніе же и подражаніе православнаго сербскаго рода: напечатаса во епис(с)кпії Рымнчской въ лѣто ѿ сотворенія міра: 7360: ѿ рж(с)тва же по плоти бѣа слова, 7457: При Архіереи тожде стѣйшиа Епис(с)кпії Кв(р) ГРИГОРІЙ.⁹⁶

To the glory of the Holy Trinity, one in being, lifegiving and undivided, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, this book containing the *Prayer Rule* of the Holy Serbian Enlighteners, with the blessing of the Most Holy and Most Excellent Lord Pavle, the Orthodox Archbishop of

⁹⁵ D. Mutalâp, “Viața și opera monahului Rafail de la Mănăstirea Hurezi (I)”, *Revista istorică*, XXXIII, 2022, 4–6, p. 364.

⁹⁶ The Slavonic text was transcribed from the copy available in the Digital Library of the Matica Srpska: <http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/view/169> (accessed on June 20, 2024).

Karlovci and Metropolitan of the entire Slaveno-Serbian and Wallachian people residing on the lands of His Imperial Highness and Privy Councilor of both Imperial Majesties. Gathered with the effort and the entire diligent endeavor, and corrected, as much as possible, in all things, and, not least of all, with the perseverance and money of the Most Holy Lord Sinesije, the Orthodox Bishop of Arad, Ieud, Oradea, and Hălmagiu, and Court Councilor of His Imperial Highness. Dedicated to the Enlighteners of Holy Memory, for the use of the Serbian holy monasteries and churches, to the reminder and incentive of the Orthodox Serbian people, this book was printed at the Bishopric of Râmnic, in the year of Creation 7270, and in the year from the bodily birth of God the Word 1761, in the time of the bishop of the same Bishopric, Kyr Grigorie.

Once again, the contents of the book are directly intended for a Serbian monastic and ecclesiastic readership. While the previous books printed at Râmnic were essentially reprints of Russian grammars and primers, the *Prayer Rule* focuses on the saints hailing from the Serbian lands, thereby continuing a tradition as old as the sanctification of the first Serbian archbishop (Sava Nemanjić), the first king (Stefan Prvovenčani), and their father (Stefan Nemanja). As noted by Lazar Čurčić, this is the first printed book that set the Serbian religious service apart from Greek and Russian Orthodox Church rituals.⁹⁷ The manuscript used by Sinesije as the base for the Râmnic edition is believed to be the *Srbljak* composed in the Rakovac Monastery in Srem in 1714. This final Serbian print at Râmnic would be reprinted four years later in Venice.⁹⁸

5 Conclusions

The strong ties between the Serbs and their neighbors in the Romanian Principalities are reflected both in the Serbian contribution to the earliest printed books on Romanian territory and in the support offered by the Romanian press of Râmnic in disseminating teaching material for Serbian pupils residing in the Austrian Empire. This collaboration is also reflected, to some extent, in the existence of the bilingual edition of the *First Teaching for Children*, although the change in editorial policy shows that there was probably not as high a demand for the Russian teaching material in Romanian schools as there was in the newly founded Serbian schools.

The Russian linguistic influence on the Serbian texts of the 18th and early 19th centuries led to the rise of Slaveno-Serbian, a blend of Serbian Slavonic,

⁹⁷ Čurčić, “Обнова штампања”, p. 69.

⁹⁸ G. Mihăilă, *Între Orient și Occident. Studii de cultură și literatură română în secolele al XV-lea – al XVIII-lea*, Bucharest, 1999, p. 177.

Russian Slavonic, and vernacular Serbian, which, according to the introduction to the *Slavenosrpski magazin* composed by Zaharije Orfelin in 1768, was intended to be a means of helping the Serbian readership understand Russian Slavonic words that would have felt foreign to them, either phonetically or lexically.⁹⁹ While the inconsistent introduction of Russian words in the Serbian language would ultimately be condemned and corrected by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić's substantial orthographic reform of the Serbian language, one would have to agree with Aleksandar Mladenović's assessment that Mojsije Petrović's initiatives in the third decade of the 18th century were vital in the development of the modern Serbian language as it exists today.¹⁰⁰ It is in this context that one would understand the role played by the Romanian typographers of Râmnic in the metropolitan of Belgrade's endeavors: indeed, without the long tradition of Serbian-Romanian collaboration in typography, it is quite possible that the development of Serbian written culture and schools in the 18th century would have encountered even more obstacles. As it stands, Râmnic was the place where *Serbian* printing resumed after nearly one century, and it was there that the valuable books brought to Serbia by Vlad Boțulescu were reprinted for the school in Karlovci, later followed by Smotrytsky's *Slavonic Grammar*, and, more importantly, for the Serbian national identity, the *Srbljak*. The history of Serbian-Romanian relations is doubtlessly a vital part of the history of printed culture in both Serbia and the Romanian Principalities, which, in turn, had long-term consequences in the construction of their respective literary languages in the Age of the Enlightenment and beyond.

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⁹⁹ Mladenović, *Историја српског језика*, p. 181.

¹⁰⁰ Mladenović, *Историја српског језика*, p. 182.

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