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Common Culture and Particular Identities:  
Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Ottoman Balkans

Editors: Eliezer Papo • Nenad Makuljević

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# Jews in Serbian Medieval Written Sources

Dušan I. Sindik

Belgrade

In one of his early works, Sima M. Ćirković,<sup>1</sup> a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, was the first to devote attention to the mention of Jews in the sources of the medieval history of Serbs.<sup>2</sup> I now take this opportunity to present information in Serbian medieval written sources of a legal-historical nature that speak of the Jews in any way. I am doing this without a lengthy introduction to the topic, since that would require much more space and time. In this paper, there will be no mention of liturgical or literary works, because they would have to be put in theological and literary-historic context, which is beyond the scope of the present article.

It has been long observed that there Jews are seldom mentioned in written sources about the history of the medieval Serbian state. Particularly noticed by Jews with a legal and historical educational background was that such mention does not occur in Dušan's Code.<sup>3</sup> Possibly that which was written in the Nomocanon of St.Sava and Syntagma of Matthew Blastares, which originated earlier than Dušan's Code, was considered sufficient in the Serbian medieval state.

The sources in which Jews are mentioned in medieval Serbia can be classified into two groups: (1) archival materials (decisions of town authorities, notary records, and charters); (2) church legal and legislative compendiums. The first group contains a

1 I dedicate this paper to Sima M. Ćirković with deep, cordial respect and reverence.

2 Sima Ćirković, "Jevrejski danak u vizantiskim oblastima" (Jewish tribute in Byzantine regions), *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 4 (1956), pp. 141-147.

3 Lavoslav Šik, "O potrebi povjesnice Jevreja u Jugoslaviji", *Jevrejski Almanah 1* (On the need for history of Jews in Yugoslavia, Jewish Almanac I), Vršac 1925, mentions Jews in Dušan's Code, in which he probably had in mind Dušan's overall legislation where the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares also belongs and which also frequently mentions the Jews.

small amount of information, sometimes scanty and probably not sufficiently reliable, but also data that are considered commonplace. The second group includes more data, which, although most often is of a general character, are also important because these are valid medieval legal norms. A division can be made on the basis of language as well, i.e., sources written in Latin, Italian, Greek, or Serbian-Slavic languages. Notary documents from the coastal towns were written in Latin and Italian. This time we have Kotor in mind as the only coastal town that was for almost two centuries under the supreme power of the Serbian medieval state and whose archives have been partly preserved. Some documents of the Serbian rulers written in Greek also mention Jews. Other documents were composed in the Serbian-Slavic language, i.e., charters of the Serbian rulers, canon and other legal codes.

When we speak of the sources written in the Serbian-Slavic language, we must add a proviso that ever since the Nomocanon the following terms were used equally for Jews: Hebe, Hebrews, Israelites, Jews, Judaists, Jewry, which are accompanied by corresponding possessive adjectives and, rarely, verbs, such as to Judaize. Here I have cited solely excerpts from the sources mentioned, so as to show where they are located and to gather them together in the greatest possible number, all with the aim of gaining a general overview of the past of the Jews in our lands.

The oldest known information that indirectly attests to the Jews inhabiting the territory of medieval Serbia is the decision by the Kotor town council from January 1186, which mentions a slave that “observes Sabbath” (*seruus qui habet sabbatum*).<sup>4</sup>

4 The document has long been known and published several times. The place mentioned, however, caused confusion, because the publications until now have been prepared according to the *Zbornik Arhiva Hrvatske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* (Collected Papers of the Archives of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts) II b 21, where the scribe misread and wrote *jubbatum* instead of *sabbatum*. The corrected text was first published in Dušan Sindik (ed.) in cooperation with Gordana Tomović, *Pisci srednjovjekovnog latiniteta* (Authors of Medieval Latinity), series Književnost Crne Gore od XII do XIX vijeka (Literature of Montenegro from the Twelfth to the Nineteenth Century), vol. 1, Cetinje 1996. See also Dušan Sindik, “Stefan Nemanja i Kotor”, in Jovanka Kalić-Mijušković (ed.), *Stefan Nemanja – sveti Simeon Mirotočivi, istorija i predanje* (Saint Simeon the Myrrh—streaming, history and heritage), Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Scientific Gatherings, vol. 94, Department of Historic Sciences, vol. 26, pp. 116-117 nn. 6 and 7.

Some twenty years later (1202-1215?), a female named Judea is mentioned in Kotor.<sup>5</sup> The next mention was made in the 1230 charter of King Stefan Radoslav: come scrive nel suo Evangelio san Zuane el documento de Jesu Christo alli Zudei vegnando da lui li ammaestrava la salute nostra dizando: “Se vui observarete li miei precepti, per certo sarete li miei discipuli”.<sup>6</sup>

At the beginning of the Serbian translation of the chrysobull of Emperor Andronicus II from 1299, Israelites are mentioned as not being the only ones on whom God has not cast his mercy: † Паки же чюд[ε]сєдъ и савѣ Б(ог)ъ помаза (сѣ)шихъ в(о)ж(ь)ствомъ, не тъкмо Израилѣти единѣ, ѣже сѣтъ прѣвнѣи ждрѣки ѣго, нъ собачѣ и ѣзикоу показати свое ча(о)в(ѣ)колюбие и сп(а)сеннѣ.<sup>7</sup>

In St. Stefan's chrysobull (1313-1316): ѿна же ѣго ѡбещаннѣа ап(о)с(то)ломъ проповѣдающею, не вѣрнѣи жидове каменнѣю побивахоу Стефана.<sup>8</sup>

The variant of the name Judea, Judah, wife of Bogdan Ogić, is recorded in Kotor in 1334.<sup>9</sup> After the data from Kotor, more specific information on Jews who lived in Serbian territory can be found in the charters of King Stefan Dušan in the Treskavac Monastery (1337)<sup>10</sup> and in the Monastery of John the Forerunner at Mt. Menikej<sup>11</sup>

5 Dušan Sindik, “Jevreji u srednjovekovnom Kotoru” (Jews in Medieval Kotor), *Zbornik Jevrejskog muzeja u Beogradu* (Jewish Studies of the Jewish Museum in Belgrade), 7 (1997), pp. 102-104.

6 Tadija Smičiklas (ed.), *Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije (Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae)* III, 332-334, No 292; Vladimir Mošin, Sima Ćirković, Dušan Sindik (eds.), *Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćirilčkih povelja i pisama Srbije, Bosne, Dubrovnika* (Collected papers of Medieval Cyrillic Charters and Letters of Serbia, Bosnia, Dubrovnik), vol. 1, 1186-1321, Beograd 2011, No 24, 1, 20.

7 Louis Petite and Basile Korablev, “Actes de Chilandar, Actes slaves”, *Vizantijskij vremennik*, 19 (1915), p. 391, No 7; Vladimir Mošin and Krasimira Ilievska (eds.), *Spomenici za srednjovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija* (Monuments relatifs à l'histoire médiévale et moderne de la Macédoine), vol. 1, Skopje 1975, pp. 278-279

8 *Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćirilčkih povelja*, vol. 1, No. 125, f. 36 (Note 6).

9 Predrag Palavestra, *Jevrejski pisci u srpskoj književnosti*, (Jewish authors in Serbian literature) Beograd 1982, 21; Antun Mayer, *Kotorski spomenici, druga knjiga kotorskih notara* (Monumena catarsensia, vol. 2, Liber notariorum catarsensium II), year 1329, 1332-1337, 200, No 809: cum domo Iude, uxoris Bogdani Ogich.

10 A few toponyms that are mentioned in the charters of Treskavac Monastery could attest to the assumption that in the medieval time Jews lived on the territory of Prilep: ...доу еврѣиски ...до рѣчица еврѣискаго... (Jewish valley ... to the Jewish riverbed (SIC!) Stojan Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici srpskih država srednjega veka* (Serbian Medieval Legal Sources), Beograd 1912, 668.

as well as in the chrysobull of Emperor Stefan Dušan of November 1348 in the Monastery of Holy Mother in Licusada in Thessaly,<sup>12</sup> indikt II: Ioudaion ton Anamerhn onomazomenon (a Jew named Anamer), and some time later in the chrysobull of Emperor Stefan Uros (1361) in the Great Lavra of St. Athanasius the Athonite on Mt. Athos.<sup>13</sup> Occasionally, some Jewish individuals appear as officials of the feudal lords or as businessmen. Thus, Dubrovnik documents recorded the name of Franko Josifovic, a Jew in the service of Lady Rugina.<sup>14</sup> The name of a tenant of the Glam silver customs in Serbia and Priština or Novo Brdo is unknown, but it has been written that he was a Jew.<sup>15</sup> Abraham from Syria (Abraam Siriano) traded with the citizens of

- 11 October 1345, indikt XIV, A. Solovjev – V. Mošin, Grčke povelje srpskih vladara (Diplomata graeca regum et imperatorum Serviae), SKA, *Zbornik za IJK srpskog naroda*, Beograd 1936, pp. 12-13, l. 90: Οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ ἐντὸς τῶν Ζαγυῶν.
- 12 Ibid., Hrisovulja cara Stefana Dušana manastiru Bogorodice u Likusadi, u Tesaliji (Chrysobull of Emperor Stefan Dušan in the Monastery of Holy Mother in Licusada in Thessaly, November 1348, indikt II, 158-159, l. 79).
- 13 The Greek chrysobull of Emperor Uroš to the Monastery Great Lavra at Mount Athos attests to the Jews from the vicinity of the place/toponym Konstantinou who paid the tax “telos” to the Monastery of Saint Athanasius the Athonite: ... πλησίον τοῦ Ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου τόπος ἐν ᾧ καὶ κάθηται Ἑβραῖοι διδόντες κατ’ ἔτος τὸ τεταγμένον αὐτοῖς τέλος. Cf. Paul Lemerle et al. (eds.), *Actes de Lavra III* (de 1329 a 1500), Paris 1979, No 140, p. 85, l. 17-18. On the question of the existence and function of the “Jews tax” on the Balkans, see Ćirković (Note 2), pp. 141-147. I am thankful to Mirjana Živojinović, member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, who drew my attention to the Greek document. It is also preserved in the Old Church Slavonic translation of this chrysobull: а нзѣ ѿкѣтаго Констандина мѣсто на нѣмѣ же сѣдѣтъ ѿврен, дающе на всако лѣто оу законни тѣмъ телосѣ. Cf. St. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici srpskih država srednjega veka*, 494.
- 14 ...по своємѣ(ь) глѡвѣ(ѣ)къ по Франкѣ Нѡсифѡвѣнкѡу Юкрѣ(н)нѣ. Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* (Old serbian charts and letters) I-1, 405, No 410. Ćirković, “Jevrejski danak”, p. 141.
- 15 Desanka Kovačević – Kojić, “Priština u srednjem vijeku”, (Priština in Middle Ages) *Istorijski časopis XXII* (1975) p. 68 n. 103. Reprinted in Desanka Kovačević Kojić, *Gradski život u Srbiji i Bosni* (City life in Serbia and Bosnia), (XIV-XV vijek), *Studia Historica collecta II*, Beograd 2007, p. 85 n. 103: la gabella delli argenti di glama de Schiavonia di certi Zenovexi et uno Zudio i quali l, anno comprata dallo Turcho. Lett. di Lev. XIII, f. 84r-84v. V.: Momčilo Spremić, op. cit. 749. Cf.: Desanka Kovačević – Kojić, “Dubrovačka naseobina u Smederevu u doba Despotovine”, *Oslobodjenje gradova u Srbiji od Turaka 1862-1867* (Dubrovnik settlement in Smederevo at times of Despotate, Liberation of the towns in Serbia from the Turks) Beograd 1970, p. 119. Ibid., p. 106, Kovacević-Kojić noting merchants with nicknames Zudio and Juda.



Dubrovnik in Smederevo and borrowed money from them.<sup>16</sup> During the Turkish siege of Belgrade in 1456, Holy Father fra Ivan Kapistran (Johannes Capistrano) called the Jews to also join in the defense of the town.<sup>17</sup>

Jews are mostly mentioned in the Nomocanon and the Syntagma. These compendiums are most probably a compilation or translation of corresponding Byzantine church-legal collected papers, which is why their data can be taken as simply historic assumptions, though this is not necessarily the case.

The Nomocanon was published integrally in a phototypeset at the beginning of the twentieth century and then, for the time being, partially, with translation into modern Serbian, so that its ecclesiastic-legal standards have become available as a whole to both the academic as well as the general public.<sup>18</sup> The Syntagma, however, has been known for a whole century, which is why facts from it have been known to those who read them scrupulously and studied them.

Data on Jews in the Nomocanon and the Syntagma can be classified into two groups: (a) those that according to the Christian teachings speak about taking over or neglecting certain values from the Old Testament; (b) those speaking about relations between the members of the two religions, which implied corresponding behavior by the Christians.

The largest part of the provisions from Nomocanon and Syntagma speak about the prohibition of maintaining religious relations between Christians and Jews. Accordingly, irrespective of whether individual social phenomena have explicit religious or lay characteristics, the corresponding provisions basically result from affiliation with different religions. It should be emphasized that sanctions specified for individual religious violations are given only for members of the Christian denomination. They were expressly of religious character, starting with the prohibition

16 Jovanka Kalić-Mijusković, *Beograd u srednjem veku* (Medieval Belgrade), Belgrade 1967, 140.

17 Dr Miodrag Petrović, *Zakonopravilo ili Nomokanon svetoga Save (St. Sava's Nomocanon). Ilovički prepis 1262. godine*, (1262 Transcript of Ilovica). Gornji Milanovac 1991 (phototype issue; further on: Petrović, *Zakonopravilo*).

18 Stojan Novaković, *Matije Vlastara Sintagmat: Azbučni zbornik vizantijskih crkvenih i državnih zakona i pravila – slovenski prevod vremena Dušanova* (Syntagma of Matthew Blastares, Alphabetical Compendium of church and state laws and rules – Slav translation of the Dušan times), SKA, *Zbornik za istoriju jezika i književnost srpskog naroda*, Prvo odeljenje, vol. 4, Belgrade 1907.

of Communion up to excommunication from the Church if the offender failed to give up bad customs. One example of sanctions against Jews was seen, namely, in a case when a Jew would circumcise a Christian or diverted him from Christianity in any way, but without any mention of the specific type of sanction that applied. But, if a Jew who owns a slave would circumcise him, the owner would be punished by capital punishment.

The strongest impression is made by the provision which explains the name of Jesus. It is evidently meant for the Serbian reader, which is why we can trust that it was written under the direct influence of St. Sava, and it is quite possible that he actually worded it and first wrote it down: "Jesus is a Judean name, which is in Hellenic language Sotir, and in our language Sotir is Salvation. And he is called Salvation because he saves and keeps sane all those believing in Him".

With a careful reading of Serbian-Slavic texts appearing below (a small part of which come from the Baranja Compendium, published here for the first time), it is easy to observe phenomena which in a way caused the establishment of corresponding church-legal norms contained in the Nomocanon, Syntagma and Baranja Compendium.<sup>19</sup> The following examples demonstrate this:

- Jews are mentioned on the same level with heathens (meaning Hellenes, Greeks), heretics, Manichaeans (Syntagma: and Agarens), even though they are clearly identified as different from these other non-Christian groups.
- Jews have been imputed to have a custom of crucifying criminals.
- In ancient times it seems that frequently priests, as well as bishops and laymen, would come to synagogues during holidays (most frequently during Passover), where they would celebrate together, pray, receive blessings, take prosphora, which is why in this regard provisions have been adopted against those who violate Christian rules: bishops, priests and laymen, who were excommunicated or separated from the church.
- Everyone who renounced the teachings of Christ in fear of the Jews, ungodly persons, or heretics, as well as those who behaved in accordance with Hellenic

19 Boško Petrović, PhD, was the first to introduce the Baranja Compendium to academe. From the Old Serbian Literature (*Iz stare srpske književnosti*), Sremski Karlovci 1913, pp. 41-74. Church-legal provisions important for daily life of the Serbian Orthodox Church and Serbian Medieval state are in the second part of the Baranja Compendium.

fables and Jewish customs, were excommunicated. This was seen as a step into the world of darkness, so that the joint marking of holidays and taking of matsot (Judaic dough raw, not dead) even if the matsot bread was made in one's own home, was prohibited.

- Under an apostolic rule everything should be done in the glory of Lord, and not to the blasphemy of Jews and Hellenes.
- In Armenia, following the customs of the biblical Israelite priesthood, only those who were of clerical origin were admitted to clergy, which Christianity forbids and allows every man worthy of it to become a priest;
- In principle, the laws of Moses did not need to be respected, but not only had much of it been taken over from the Old Testament, but it was also recommended apply it, such as, for example, mourning the dead according to rules written in Psalms and holding a memorial service for the dead each year, just like the Jews keep the memory of Moses, or the rule that a deaf or blind man could not be a bishop, and the rule that one could not speak against a prince of one's people.
- False accusations against the Jews, jesters and other heretics were not accepted. The Judaic bread (maces) was rejected, and anyone asking help of their physicians or washing with them in a bath was rejected by the church.
- Some Jews cooked meat in sanctuaries, which was unacceptable;
- Each Christian should worship on Sundays, not Saturdays. If a Christian would observe Saturday, he would be considered Judaizing.
- Prayers should be also said at the sixth hour since that is when wicked Jews crucified the Lord;
- Solomon's psalms should not be read, but it is allowed to read specifically mentioned parts of the Old Testament (Torah): Genesis, Exodus, Book of Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Jesus Navin, Judges, Ruth, Esther, etc. The Book of Prophets has also been mentioned: Isaiah, Jeremy, Ezekiel, Daniel, etc. From the New Testament, among the Apostle Paul's letters his Epistle to Jews is also mentioned. The following books have not been canonized, but were read: Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobias, called Book of Apostles and the Shepherd. It is not clear why is the Book of Esther is mentioned in both groups. In some parts this list differs from the one in the Baranja Compendium;
- Jews should not be admitted to communion (Eucharist) or prayer, if they do not prove themselves honest followers of the Orthodox Christianity. A Jew could not be admitted to Christianity if he was doing it just to avoid paying a debt, that is, namely, he first had to pay his debt and then atone for his sins;

- One should not fight another man's anger with wrath and roughness, which is why it emphasizes the behavior of David, a man courageous in war exploits and meek and steady in answering to his enemy's evil, as was Moses who rose in anger against the sinner against God, but endured blows against himself with meek spirit.
- Returnees to the faith in Christ have the time of their life to repent.

The Baranja Compendium for returnees to Christianity envisages a special procedure of repentance and anointment before once again having access to the holy secrets.

Most of the Syntagma repeats or retells provisions contained in the Nomocanon, with some having been expanded with explanations contained in the works of the holy fathers. A source is specified for each interpretation, so that interpretations of several holy fathers are sometimes given for the same norm, which is not always the case in Nomocanon. New here is prohibiting Jews from holding slaves and prohibiting marriages between Christians and Jews as well as a special recommendation not to celebrate the Passover before the vernal equinox.

It is clear from all the above that the Jews were in a way isolated, the same as all others who did not live by the canons of the Christian church, but it is not evident that they were persecuted because of their religion.

Excerpts from the St. Sava's Nomocanon according to the 1991 printed issue.<sup>20</sup>

P. 33, fol. 14a. Jesus is a Judean name, which is in Hellenic language Sotir, and in our language is called Salvation. And he is called Salvation because he saves and keeps sane all those believing in Him.

P. 39, f. 15b. [B]ut was also crucified by us the Jews under Pontius Pilate...The Jews had a custom of crucifying criminals...And the Church says that the Jews have destroyed his body at his own will, because had the Lord not willed so the Jews would not have crucified him. Since the Jews destroyed the Church, i.e., the body of our Lord, he was resurrected on the third day. That is why we believe in him.

P. 52-53, f. 23b. Chapter 3. About preserving Church customs and the law also by unwritten tradition, and about no need to keep the commandments of the Law of Moses.

20 About publication of St. Sava's Nomocanon, cf. note 17.

P. 65, f. 26a Chapter 15. About bishops and priests that associate and pray with heretics or Jews and about those who command to be served and their sacrifice to be received.

P. 71, f. 28b Chapter 3. About those who bear gifts to Jewish meeting places or churches of other nations.

P. 95, f. 37b. Branch 12, below in Chapter 18 on Heretics and on Jews and Hellenes (= Greeks polytheists)

P. 97, f. 38a. About bishops and clergymen who receive blessing or prosphora from heretics or from Jews and pray in churches and monasteries of heretics and (other) nations, namely heathen or those who mark Saturday or observe with Jews, or bring all things to their meeting places.

P. 103, f. 40a Chapter 15. About true believers who receive blessings from heretics or prosphora or worship with Jews or fast with them, and about how unfitting it is to observe Saturday as a holiday....

P. 114, f. 44b (48). About speaking of the God-given law to Israelites through Moses.

P. 147, f. 53a, 54a. Interpretation. If a clergyman denounces the name of Christ out of human, Jewish, Hellenic or heretic fear, he should be rejected by the Church.

P. 153-154, f. 56a. Canon 78. Let no one who is deaf nor anyone who is blind be made a bishop, not on the ground that he is deficient morally, but rather to prevent disorders in the church affairs.

Interpretation. Commandment given to the Israelites through Moses requires that the body be healthy and that among them, priests shall have no defects, so that no one who has a bodily impairment can be admitted to clergy. But, if upon receiving the clerical order a priest happens to damage a limb or some part of the body, he shall withdraw from the clergy. And, among us, for the one who wants to be ordained as bishop, a bodily defect shall not affect this prohibition; it has been commanded that he should have a pure soul.

P. 156, f. 57a. Interpretation. The Moses Law said: Thou shalt not speak ill of thy people's ruler.

P. 161, f. 59a. Canon 12. Expose him who is giving heed to Hellenic fables and Jewish customs and does not denounce them.

P. 164, f. 60a [T]he Christ was crucified at the sixth hour and at the ninth the earth did quake and the rocks rent before the crucified Lord for the insolence of the accursed Jews ...

P. 165, f. 60a, 60b. Canon 14. On the third day, for the lifted up hold a three-day memorial for the deceased in your psalms and prayers, on the ninth day in memory of those who are still here and for the dead on the 40th day under the old law, such as the Jewish people mourned Moses, and hold them a memorial each year...

P. 175-176, f. 64a. About this, see the 12th Canon of the Fourth Council of Chalcedon, which is why the Holy City of Aelia was called Shalem in ancient times, thereafter Jevus to be later called Jerusalem, And when the Romans came, they plundered and demolished it. After that the Roman Emperor Adrian, called Aelius, built a city not calling it Jerusalem, but Aelia after his own name.

P. 198, f. 72a. Interpretation. Since [the] impure was excommunicated in the Law of Moses, accordingly the rule is that he who defiles himself with a foolish one shall be considered unclean ...

P. 227, f. 82a. Interpretation. This has been said in the seventh canon of holy apostles: a clergyman who worships Passover with the Jews should be excommunicated. This has been said in the seventh canon of the holy apostles: if any clergyman partakes with Jews in the celebration of the Passover he shall be excommunicated. The same Canon commands that if laity transgresses the ordained Passover custom and together with Jews or at some other time worship the Passover, they shall not receive communion and be rejected by the church.

P. 256, f. 92a. Canon 29. Each Christian should observe Sunday, not Saturday.  
Interpretation. Should a Christian observe Saturday and not work, he is feasting with Jews and is Judaizing. That is why work should be done on the day of Saturday, but not working on Sunday, which should be observed.

P. 258-258, f. 92b. [O]thers who for other reasons and especially with Judaists worship and have some special debates and incomprehensible words that speak untrue of God's writing (= the Scriptures).

P. 259-260, l. 93b. Canon 37. With Jews and heretics no one should feast and accept what is called festive among them.

Interpretation. There is no communication with the world of darkness. That is why Christians should not feast with heretics and Jews nor worship their feast day making matsot (bread) or similar.

P. 268, l. 94b. Canon 59. Other's psalms should not be read in church. Other's psalms are Solomon's and somebody else's. Fathers did not command that they be spoken in the church nor that their books and canons should be observed, only the said canons of the Old and New Testaments. And which are fit for reading the Old and New Testament. Those are Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Jesus Navin, Judges, Ruth, Esther, the Four Kingdoms, Paralipomena—two books of Ezra, two books of psalms, 150 stories of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Job, Twelve prophets, Isaiah, Jeremy, Baruch's crying and epistle, Ezekiel and Daniel.

And the New Testament books are: ...epistle to Jews...

P. 342, f. 115a-b. Canon 24. Nothing but the named books are recognized in the church, according to rules, in the name of divine writings. And named in the canons these are the books of the Old Testament: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Jesus Navin, Judges, Ruth, the Four Kingdoms, two books of Paralipomena, Job, Psalter, five books of Solomon, Books of twelve prophets: Isaiah, Jeremy, Ezekiel, Daniel, Tobias, Judith, Esther, two books of Esdras. From the New Testament ...

P. 405-406, f. 136a, 136b. Canon 129. Accusations against slaves and freedmen unacceptable by public judgment shall not be admitted from a jester either, nor Hellen, nor heretic or a Jew.

Interpretation. According to the sixth canon of the Second Ecumenical Council in Constantinople, no accusation or statements against bishops and clergymen shall be admitted without examination.

P. 425, f. 142b. Canon 11. Jewish bread is rejected and he who invites their shaman and bathes with them shall be denounced.

Interpretation. There is no communication between the Christians and Jews, at all. So anyone found to eat their bread or calling their shaman for treatment or bathing with them in a spa or otherwise gets close with them, should be excommunicated if he is a clergyman or shall have to decide if a layman.

P. 425-426, f. 143a. Interpretation. The fifth canon of the Apostles ... Said the divine apostle: Do all in the name of the Lord. Do not be blasphemous to Judaists or Hellenes nor church of God, just as I try to please all persons ...

P. 439, f. 147b. Following the Judean customs, only those from the clerical order are admitted to clergy in Armenia.

P. 472, f. 159. Canon 99. Some like Jews roast meat in sanctuaries. If someone allows that or receives anything from them, he is not a clergyman.

P. 481, f. 163a. Canon 8. The Jews, i.e., Judeans, should not be admitted to communion or prayer or to church, if they do not prove themselves to be truly and wholeheartedly addressing our true faith.

P. 558-559, f. 190a. ... (whoever) fights another man's sin with wrath and is rigid towards people shall find David, a man courageous in war exploits and meek and steady in answering to his enemy's evil. Such is Moses who rose in great anger against the sinner against God, but endured blows against himself with meek spirit.

P. 575-576, f. 196a-b. Athanasius the Great from the ninth epistle about canonized books. The Old Testament has 22 books as many as there are letters in the Judean grammar: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Jesus Navin, Judges, Ruth, the Four Kingdoms—two books, Paralipomena—two in one book, Esdras—two in one book, Psalms, Stories, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Job, Twelve prophets—one book, and then Isaiah and Jeremy with Baruch, Crying and Prophet's letter, Ezekiel, Daniel. And these books were not canonized in the rules, but are read: the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobias called Teaching (Didache) of the Apostle's and Shepherd.

P. 577, f. 197a. 32. From the sermon of Gregory, the theologian, on these same books. The first—Genesis, and then Exodus and Leviticus, in addition Numbers, and then Deuteronomy, followed by Jesus Navin, Judges; Ruth eighth and ninth and tenth book—part of the Kingdoms and Paralipomena. And in the end you have Esdras. In verse there are five, out of which the first is Job, then David, three Solomon's, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Stories and Crying, also of prophetic spirit. In other words, there are twelve in one document: Osiah, Amos and the third Micah, and with them Joel, then Jonah and Obadiah, then Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah, Haggai and then Zechariah and Malachias. So, one and the other, Isaiah's and then in childhood called Jeremiah, thereafter Ezekiel and Daniel, as godsend. Thus I enclosed twenty-two books of the Old Testament.

P. 578-579, f. 197a-b. St. Amphilochius Seleuk on these same books. The books of the Old Testament: Genesis, after that Exodus, and you have the book Leviticus in



the middle. After them come the Numbers, and then Deuteronomy, and with them enclosed Jesus Navin and the Judges, followed by Ruth and the Four Kingdoms. And Paralipomena in two books and with them Esdras—the first and second book. After that I cite five books in verse: Job crowned with exploits, and the books of Psalms which are the careful healing of the soul, speak certainly the stories of the Wise Solomon, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs. Add to these the Twelve prophets: Osiyah and the other one, then Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah and Tobias, Jonah—picture of three-day suffering and after them Nahum, then Habakkuk, the ninth Zephaniah and Haggai, and then again Zechariah, two-named angel Malachias. With them, also know the four prophets: the bold and great Isaiah and pleasant Jeremiah, secretive Ezekiel and the last Daniel. And some add Esther.

P. 580, f. 196a-197b. Epistle of the Apostle Paul to Jews—one.

P. 581, f. 198a. Canon 1. He who by denouncing the faith of Christ becomes a Jew or idolater or Manichaeon, or grows to like some other such form of godlessness, and then admonishing and re-examining himself converts, shall his whole life have the time to repent.

P. 604, f. 206. From the first epistle of the Bulgarian Archbishop Leont on Jewish bread. Those who celebrate matsot on Saturday and say they are Christians, neither Jews nor pure Christians they are; they are similar to a lynx skin ...

P. 706, l. 243a. From the fourth branch of the novels, Chapter 7. If wanting to avoid guilt or some debt, a Jew wants to convert to Christianity, he should not be admitted until he is proven innocent and pays his debt.

