

Le Louvre des Antiquaires  
2 Place du Palais-Royal  
75001 Paris (France)  
tel. +33 (0)1 42 60 15 58 • fax. +33 (0)1 40 15 00 25  
info@lesenluminures.com

2970 North Lake Shore Drive  
Chicago, IL 60657 (USA)  
tel. +773 929 5986  
fax. +773 528 3976  
chicago@lesenluminures.com

*Nomokanon "πάνυ ὠφέλιμον καὶ πλουσιώτατον,"* or *Exomologetarion* (Confessor's Manual)

In Greek, manuscript on paper  
Greece, c. 1805 AD

166 folios on paper, modern foliation in pencil, top, outer corner, recto, (collation, i-ii<sup>4</sup> iii-xx<sup>8</sup> xxi<sup>7</sup> [-8, cancelled with no text loss], xxii<sup>7</sup> [-8, cancelled with no text loss]), no quire signatures, catchwords in the lower right corner of every page, paper folded in 8° (ff. 1-152) and in 4° (ff. 153-166), chain-distance 30 mm, watermarks generally similar to Eineder no. 1005 Venice 1805 and Nikolaev no. 924 Istanbul 1807 (ff. 1-8 bear a different watermark which I cannot identify), 14 lines per page, (justification 110 x 70 mm.). Bound in blind-tooled dark green leather over pasteboard, with two raised bands, three of the originally four (ii + ii) flyleaves cut off, pastedowns original. Dimensions 148 x 106 mm.

Composed in vernacular Greek, this list of penances prescribed for various sins is an interesting source for the daily life of Christians in the late Ottoman period. Few such manuscripts exist in Western libraries, and they have received relatively little attention from scholars. The earliest collections of this sort (less extensive than the present one) date from the second half of the sixteenth century. The text of four of them has been edited and extensively commented upon. A modern critical edition would need to account for the other still-unedited codices.

## TEXT

The original spelling of the MS has been retained.

ff. 1r-7v, Table of Contents (*Πίναξ τοῦ παρόντος νομικοῦ*): lists 105 §§ (§§ 145-154 occur in the text itself, but are not listed in the table of contents);

f. 8r-v blank;

ff. 9r-11v, Preface (*Προοίμιον καὶ ἐρμινεία περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ὑπάρχειν τὸν πνευματικὸν καὶ ἐρμενεύει ἀκωλύτως τοὺς ἐ [sc. εἰς] αὐτὸν εἰσερχομένους ἐξομολογηθῆναι*), Inc. Ὁ δεχόμενος τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, des. καὶ ὅσα ἔλυσε καὶ ἔδησεν, ἀδιόρθοτά εἰσιν (ed. Pavlov 1897, 83-86);

ff. 11v-13r, Beginning of the Confession Rite (*Ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐξομολογίσεως*), Inc. Προσφέρει ὁ πνευματικὸς πατὴρ τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξομολογηθῆναι, des. καὶ οὕτως ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὸν ἐν

πρὸς ἓν, καὶ καρτερεῖ αὐτὸν ἕως οὗ ἀποκριθῇ, καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτως· (ed. Pavlov 1897, 86-88);

This section is followed by questions that the father confessor ought to ask about various sins, the required penance being specified in each case:

ff. 13r-34v, Men's Sins (§§ 3-34): masturbation, homosexuality, fornication, incest, murder, theft, swearing, deceit, astrology or divination, abusing one's parents, feud, eating meat from dead animals, not fasting (during Lent, on Wednesday or on Friday), abusing and cursing one's neighbour, drunkenness, belief in vampires, abandoning one's child, denying Christ, magic, robbing a grave, robbing a church, bigamy, fornication with one's fiancée's relatives, unseemly wedding revelries, mutual masturbation, letting one's child die unbaptized, deterring one's children from entering a monastery, becoming a monk out of cowardice, withdrawing gifts given to a church or a monastery, neglecting one's children, not swallowing the Communion gifts and giving them to one's cattle or bees, oral sex, setting one's neighbour's barn or house on fire;

ff. 34v-47r, 48r-50r, Women's Sins (§§ 35-51): masturbation, anal sex, fornication, incest, premarital intercourse with one's fiancé, murder, giving magic potions to one's children (cf. Pavlov 1897, 196-199), letting one's child die unbaptized, theft, swearing, deceit, astrology or other divination, abusing one's parents, eating meat from dead animals, cursing or blasphemy, belief in vampires, robbing a grave, robbing a church, bigamy, trigamy, intercourse during menstruation, deterring one's children from entering a monastery, quitting a monastery after having taken the veil, withdrawing gifts presented to a church or monastery, giving one's husband love potions;

f. 47v blank;

ff. 50r-80r, Canonical Prescriptions for Clerics/Συνοδικοὶ κανόνες τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου (§§ 52-85; cf. Pavlov 1897, nos. IV.1-2, 4, 195, 176-177, 175, 5, 4, 3, 6, 10, 28b, 45, 53, 61, 122, x, 134, 137, 139-144, 146-149, 153-154, 158-174, 178-190, 192-194, 196-201, 206-210, 213-218, 220-228). Prohibitions against: ordaining in another bishop's diocese, simony, beating someone, ordaining a monk who has unlawfully left his monastery, vanity, ordaining at the insistence of secular authorities, beating someone (*sic*), acting as surety, insulting a bishop, stealing, fornication, perjury, marrying relatives, masturbation, letting laymen into the sanctuary, enmity, consulting Jewish physicians, usury, drunkenness, charging for Communion, making a lector or another non-ordained person serve Communion, not giving Communion to one's wife, forgetting a liturgical day, taking another cleric to a secular court of law, conspiracy, breaking an episcopal ban, receiving in one's diocese a priest who is under a ban, baptising a Turkish (Muslim) child, joint prayer with heretics, spilling the Communion Elements, dropping the *asteriscos*, spoiling the Communion Elements, celebrating the Liturgy after a nocturnal pollution; prescriptions for: administering unction (cf. Pavlov 1897, 305-313), giving last Communion, commemorative services for the departed, incubation and burial in church; prescriptions against: loud psalmody, performing burial rites for suicides, performing burial rites for adulterers, marrying relatives, third marriage, second marriage of priests; obstacles and preconditions for ordination;

prescriptions for: ablution after celebrating the Liturgy, disposing of baptismal water, baptising, preparing the liturgical breads, observing the fasts, receiving Communion;

ff. 80-91r, Canonical Prescriptions for Monks and Nuns (§§ 86-100; cf. Pavlov 1897, nos. IV.77-78, x, x, 79-82a, x, x, x, 85-89, 91, 90, 92-101, x, 107-109, 111-115, 117-120): celibacy, chastity, proper preparation, regular prayer, seriousness, seclusion, sobriety, honesty, stability, poverty, obedience;

ff. 91v-98r, Instructions for the Father-Confessor (§§ 101-103; cf. Pavlov 1897, pp. 94-103; Goar, p. 540);

ff. 98v-103r, Proscriptions against different sorts of divination, pagan feasts, sacrifices and demon worship (ed. Pavlov 1897, nos. IV.20, 23a-b, 24);

;

f. 103, Injunction to subsequent copyists to copy the foregoing texts in full: Εἰ τις τοὺς παρόντας αντιγράψῃ κανόνας, πρόσχες μὴ ἀφήσῃ ἀπ' αὐτοὺς τίποτε, etc.;

ff. 103v-105r, Two model reference letters from the father-confessor of one who is to be ordained priest/Συμμεταρτυρία πνευματικοῦ πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἱεροθεῖναι, Ἐτέρα συμμαρτυρία (§ 104);

ff. 105r-109v, Prayer to be said by one's spiritual father after Confession and before Communion (§ 105; Goar, pp. 536-537);

ff. 109v-120r, Various passages about the usefulness of praying and of charity: *Περὶ ποῖα ἁμαρτήματα συγχωροῦνται μετὰ θάνατον, διὰ τῶν λειτουργιῶν καὶ τῶν ευχῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐλεημοσυνῶν ὅπου γίνονται διὰ τοῦς ἀποθαμένους· ἀπόκρισις Διονυσίου, τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτου. Inc. Περὶ τοῦτων ὁ μέγας Διονύσιος λέγει, ὅτι ἂν εἶναι μικρὰ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀποθαμένου, λαμβάνει ὠφέλειαν διὰ τῶν λειτουργιῶν, etc. Ὅτι οὐ μόνον εἰς τοῦς ἀποθαμένους εἶναι ὠφέλεια καὶ ἀφεςις ἁμαρτιῶν αἰθεῖναι λειτουργίαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοῦς ζωντανούς [...]. Ἀπόκρισις Γρηγορίου τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πάπα Ρώμης, τοῦ Διαλόγου. Inc. Ἐὰν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅπου ἀπόθανε δὲν εἶναι συγχωρημένα, etc. Περὶ τῶν διδομένων λειτουργιῶν τῶν ἱερέων, καὶ διὰ τα παραντάρια· τοῦ ὁσίου Ἡσαΐου μοναχοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ ἐνγκλείστου. Inc. Ἀπόθανε ἓνας ἄρχων εἰς τὴν Νικομήδειαν, etc. Περὶ ἐλεημοσύνης τί ἀγαθὰ λαμβανῇ ἐκεῖνος ὅπου καμνῇ αὐτήν· τῆς Θείας Γραφεῖς. Inc. Λέγει ἡ Θεία Γραφή, ποιήσατε ἐλεημοσύνην, τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν τοὺς μετερχομένους ταύτην ἀναβιβάζουσιν, etc. Ἀκούσατε ἱστορίαν θαυμαστὴν περὶ ἐλεημοσύνης. Inc. Ὁ Ζήνων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφθειρε μίαν κόρη παρθένον, etc. Διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐνταφιασθῇ κάμνουν αὐτοῦ λειτουργίας εἰς τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας, εἰς τὰς ἐννέα καὶ εἰς τὰς μ' Νικηφορος πατριάρχου Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως. Inc. Ὡσὰν ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ταφῇ εἰς τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ ἢ ὅποια εἶναι ἡ γῆ, etc.;*

ff. 120v-129r, Canonical regulations concerning betrothals: *Περὶ μνηστείας, ὅτι νὰ εἶναι τὸ ἀρσενικὸν χρόνων ἰδ' καὶ τὸ θυληκὸν δώδεκα· νεαρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ*. Inc. *Λέγει γὰρ Ἀρμόδιος ὑπάρχει ὁ καιρὸς τῆς μνηστείας καὶ τοῦ γάμου, ὅταν τὸ ἀρσενικὸν εἶναι χρόνων δέκα τεσσάρων*, etc., followed by ten further texts;

ff. 129r-146v, Degrees of consanguinity in which marriage is prohibited (§§ 147-150; cf. Pavlov 1887, 240-290);

ff. 146v-156v, Degrees of relation by adoption or baptism in which marriage is prohibited (§§ 151-153; cf. Pavlov 1887, 309-311, 292-306, 325-328, 314-317);

ff. 157r-166v, Tables illustrating the degrees of consanguinity (§ 154; cf. Pavlov 1887, 242-256, 260-290).

Composed in vernacular Greek, this list of penances prescribed for various sins is an interesting source for the daily life of Christians in the late Ottoman period. Few such manuscripts exist in Western libraries, and they have received relatively little attention from scholars (see Literature below). The earliest collections of this sort (less extensive than the present one) date from the second half of the sixteenth century. The text of four of them (London, British Library, MS Harley 5548, ff. 14-69, s. XVI<sup>2</sup>; Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Mb 25, pp. 11-173, s. XVI<sup>2</sup>; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici gr. 24, ff. 137-220, a. 1613; Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS Cl. III. 8, a. 1629) has been edited and extensively commented upon by Pavlov 1897, pp. 81-439. Other comparable codices are Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1545, s. XVI, as well as, in all likelihood, the as yet catalogued MSS Vatic. gr. 2524, 2525, 2532, 2535, 2584, and 2615. Comparison between Greek and Latin (and vernacular) penitential manuals would constitute an interesting project on the history of spirituality.

## LITERATURE

### I. On the Text

Goar, J., ed. *Euchologion, sive Rituale Graecorum*, 2nd ed., Venice, 1730; repr. Graz, 1960; on-line at [books.google.com](http://books.google.com)

von Lingenthal, K. E. Zachariae. "Die Handbücher des geistlichen Rechts aus den Zeiten des ununtergehenden byzantinischen Reiches und der türkischen Herrschaft," in: id., *Kleine Schriften zur römischen und byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1973, II:15-59 [first published in 1881]

Pavlov, A. S. *50-ia glava Kormchei knigi kak istoricheskii i prakticheskii istochnik russkago brachnago prava*, Moscow, 1887.

Pavlov, A. S. *Nomokanon pri Bolshom Trebnikie*, 2d ed., Moscow, 1897; on-line at [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org).

Πολίτης, Α. *Οδηγός καταλόγου χειρογράφων*, Athens, 1961, 86-87.

Τρωϊάνος, Σ. Ν. "Νομοκάνων «πάνυ ωφέλιμον και πλουσιώτατον». Ο υπ' αριθμόν 8 κώδιξ της Λίνδου", *Αρχεῖον Εκκλησιαστικὸν και Κανονικὸν Δικαίον* 23 (1968), 38-53, 97-118, 162-176; 24 (1969), 35-55

Μανάφης, Κ. "Νέον χειρόγραφον νομοκάνονος του τύπου «πάνυ ωφέλιμον και πλουσιώτατον», *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 37 (1969-1970), 466-472

Τσάγκαρης, Α. Α. "Νομοκάνων "πάνυ ωφέλιμον και πλουσιώτατον." Η παρουσίαση ενός μεταβυζαντινὸν Εξομολογηταρίου", *Αρμενόπουλος* 24 (2003), 95-122

## II. On the Watermarks

Eineder, G. E. J. *The Ancient Paper-Mills of the Former Austro-Hungarian Empire and Their Watermarks*, Hilversum, 1960.

Nikolaev, V. *Watermarks of the Ottoman Empire: Watermarks of the Medieval Ottoman Documents in Bulgarian Libraries*, Sofia, 1954.

## ONLINE RESOURCES

Goar, J., ed. *Euchologion, sive Rituale Graecorum*, 2nd ed., Venice, 1730; repr. Graz, 1960; [books.google.com](http://books.google.com)

Pavlov, A. S. *Nomokanon pri Bolshom Trebnikie*, 2d ed., Moscow, 1897; on-line at [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org).

TM 509