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### ON THE ROLE OF THE CLERGY IN THE COMPOSITION OF SERBIAN MEDIEVAL ROYAL CHARTERS\*

**Abstract:** The paper presents and analyses the evidence found in Serbian medieval royal charters about members of the clergy as participants of diplomatic production. The topic is examined in light of the key role of priests and high prelates in the chancery practice of European rulers, which has been confirmed in western European diplomatic studies. Due to the relatively scarce research potential of domestic documentary sources and other comparable material, the examples in Serbian charters are interpreted on the basis of explanatory models of the document making practice of medieval rulers, presented by contemporary European diplomats.

**Keywords:** Serbia, clergy, royal charters, royal chancery, recipients, scribes, composers, arenga, Hilandar.

The question of participants in the diplomatic production of medieval Serbian rulers presents itself as an interesting field of research, especially since the scope of earlier analyses was quite limited.<sup>1</sup> Charters

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<sup>1</sup> Both of those analyses are parts of broader studies: С. СТАНОЈЕВИЋ, Студије о српској дипломатици 14 (“Дијак, граматик, нотар, канцелар, номик, логотет”), *Глас Српске краљевске академије* 106 (1923) 50–96, стр. 82–93 [S. СТАНОЈЕВИЋ, *Studije o srpskoj diplomatici* 14 (“Dijak, gramatik, notar, kancelar, nomik, logotet”), *Glas Srpske kraljevske akademije* 106 (1923) 50–96]; Ж. ВУЈОШЕВИЋ, *Српска владарска канцеларија у средњем веку. Студија из упоредне дипломатике*,

themselves offer only sporadic and mostly incomplete information about the persons who composed, wrote and validated these most important documents in legal and diplomatic affairs. Therefore, an ostensibly simple task of gathering evidence about the “authorship” and writing activity of the clergy in the Serbian diplomatic corpus turns into the challenge with which medievalists are so often faced: reaching conclusions on the basis of sparse source material. In such circumstances, the comparison with explanatory models of similar historical phenomena in other milieus is mostly useful. In light of the evidence offered by contemporary western European diplomatics about the key role of the clergy in the chancery practice of rulers in central and western Europe, and partly also in Byzantium, the question is asked whether such model can be recognised in Serbia as well.<sup>2</sup>

The main comparative models for interpreting the Serbian material discussed here are the Frankish and German imperial-royal chanceries in the early and high middle ages and the Byzantine imperial chancery of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The relatively well-examined charters of these political subjects can be regarded as functional counterparts of the documents issued by medieval Serbian rulers. Moreover, it can be assumed that the circumstances of the development of Serbian medieval diplomatic production roughly correspond to the initial stage of

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Београд 2016 (необјављена докторска дисертација) 190–215 [Ž. VUJOŠEVIĆ, *Srpska vladarska kancelarija u srednjem veku. Studija iz uporedne diplomatike*, Beograd 2016 (unpublished doctoral dissertation)].

<sup>2</sup> For the role of the clergy in central and western European diplomatic production see among others: H.-W. KLEWITZ, *Kanzleischule und Hofkapelle*, *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters* 4 (1941) 224–228; W. HUSCHNER, *Die ottonische Kanzlei in neuem Licht*, *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 52 (2006) 353–370; further the works of O. GUYOTJEANNIN, *Actes royaux français – Les actes des trois premiers Capétiens (987–1060)*, J. DOUFOUR, *Typologie des actes de Philippe I (1060–1108) et de Louis VI (1108–37)* and R.-H. BAUTIER, *Les actes de la chancellerie royale française sous les règnes de Louis VII (1137–1180) et Philippe Auguste (1180–1223)* in the conference volume *Typologie der Königsurkunden*, hgg. von J. BISTRICKY, Olmütz 1998, pp. 43–59, 65–89 and 101–113 respectively for the French diplomatics, or A. KUBÍNYI, *Königliche Kanzlei und Hofkapelle in Ungarn um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts*, *Festschrift Friedrich Hausmann*, Graz 1977, 299–324 for the Hungarian diplomatics. For Byzantium see C. GASTGEBER, *Rhetorik in den Schreiben der Byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei*, *La langue des actes. Actes du XI<sup>e</sup> Congrès international de diplomatique (Troyes 2003)* - <http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/CID2003/gastgeber> (accessed in December 2019) and in general N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *La chancellerie impériale de Byzance du 13<sup>e</sup> au 15<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Revue des études byzantines* 43 (1985) 167–195.

the “age of charters” in western Europe, which apparently began much earlier than in Byzantium.<sup>3</sup>

Evidence about clerics as participants in the documentary practice in Serbia are present only in documents issued up to the proclamation of the Empire (1346). They are sometimes direct and clear, while in some cases they leave some dilemmas about the role of named persons.

The oldest information of this type known to us can be found in the charter of King Uroš I (1243–76) to the Monastery of the Holy Apostles on the river Lim, issued between 1254 and 1263.<sup>4</sup> The auctor first mentions the primary deed of donation taken away by the Bulgarians at the time when they plundered the church, stressing that it was “established” and “set up” (“оутврѣдиль”; “поставиль”) by his father Stefan Nemanjić (grand župan 1196–1217, king 1217–27?) together with the Archbishop St Sava, Stefan’s brother. The King then explains that he now “composed and established” (“съставихъ и оутврѣдихъ”) a new chrysobull with Archbishop Arsenije.<sup>5</sup> Sava Nemanjić’s participation in the creation of the first charter may be considered highly probable, particularly regarding his authorship of some arengas, to which we shall return later. As described in the “re-issued” document, on the King’s invitation Archbishop Arsenije was to confirm, together with Bishop Sava of Hum, the contents of the lost charter, that is, the list of estates in possession of the recipient.

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<sup>3</sup> On the transition from the „age of acts“ to the „age of charters“ in general and especially for the Frankish Kingdom, see P. CLASSEN, Kaiserreskript und Königsurkunde. Diplomatische Studien zum römisch-germanischen Kontinuitätsproblem, *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 1 (1955) 1–87 (part I) and *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 2 (1956) 1–115 (part II) and T. KÖLZER, Kulturbruch oder Kulturkontinuität? Europa zwischen Antike und Mittelalter. Die Pirenne-These nach 60 Jahren, *Das Mittelmeer. Die Wiege der europäischen Kultur*, hgg. von K. ROSEN, Bonn 1998, 208–227. Concerning Byzantium it should be mentioned that there are no preserved original charters issued by the Byzantine emperors before 1025, and that they become continuously available only from the 13rd century: A. E. MÜLLER, Imperial Chrysobulls, *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, eds. E. JEFFREYS – J. HALDON – R. CORMACK, New York 2008, 129–135. For the beginning of the “age of charters” in Serbia see Ж. ВУЈОШЕВИЋ, *Српска владарска канцеларија*, 26–28; cf. Đ. BUBALO, *Pragmatic Literacy in Medieval Serbia*, Turnhout 2014, 87–103.

<sup>4</sup> Edition and diplomatic description: *Зборник средњовековних ћириличких повеља и писама Србије, Босне и Дубровника I*, прир. В. МОШИН – С. ЋИРКОВИЋ – Д. СИНДИК, Београд 2011, н<sup>о</sup> 64, 225–231 [*Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćiriličkih povelja i pisama Srbije, Bosne i Dubrovnika I*, eds. V. MOŠIN – S. ĆIRKOVIĆ – D. SINDIK, Beograd 2011].

<sup>5</sup> *Зборник I*, 227–228.

Despite mentioning them only as witnesses in preparing the new document, the possibility that they, like Arsenije's predecessor Sava, dictated or even wrote the text should not be excluded.

Similarly to Sava, Arsenije and maybe Sava of Hum as probable authors of the arengae of the above documents, we could interpret the mention of yet another Sava, hegumen of Studenica, in the charter of King Milutin to the monastery of St George near Skopje from 1299/1300. In addition to Sava, a scribe ("диакъ") named Dabiša and a certain Nikola Opareša are named as participants in the preparation of the document.<sup>6</sup> While the role of Sava and Nikola is not specified, for Dabiša it is explicitly said that the auctor gave him an order to "write" the chrysobull "with his own hand".<sup>7</sup> One may also think that the charter to Hilandar concerning the village of Ulijari, ascribed to King Milutin (1282–1321), also contains information about the participation of clerics in the form of the auctor's statement that he "wrote" the charter upon the order of Archbishop Nikodim.<sup>8</sup> However, that "charter" was revealed as a forgery, a compilation from the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century based on Milutin's biography written by Nikodim's successor Danilo, leaving this mention with no value as a direct source.<sup>9</sup>

Chronologically placed among these several notifications of indirect character, there is an important record in the marriage contract between Vladislav, the son of King Stefan Dragutin (reigned 1276–1282, until 1316 in northern regions), and the Venetian noblewoman Constanza Morosini from August 24, 1293.<sup>10</sup> The Serbian version of this document,

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<sup>6</sup> Edition and diplomatic description: *Зборник I*, n° 92, 315–329.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, 328.

<sup>8</sup> Edition and commentary: *Споменици за средновековната и поновата историја на Македонија II*, ур. В. МОШИН, Скопје 1977, 339–354 [*Sptomenici za srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija II*, ed. V. MOŠIN, Skopje 1977]. See also: *Зборник I*, n° 147, 531–545.

<sup>9</sup> On the tradition of the document С. ЋИРКОВИЋ, *Биографија краља Милутина у Улијарској повељи, Архиепископ Данило II и његово доба*, Београд 1991, 53–68 [S. ЋИРКОВИЋ, *Биографија краља Милутина у Улијарској повељи, Архиепископ Данило II и његово доба*, Београд 1991, 53–68]. However, the role of Nikodim, hegumen of Hilandar (1311–1317) and Archbishop (1317–1324), in the diplomatic production is strongly indicated in other charters, twice as issuer himself and several times as probable compiler: see Д. М. ЖИВОЛИНОВИЋ, *Архиепископ Никодим I, Историјски часопис* 60 (2011) 97–112, p. 100, and our concluding lines further [D. M. ŽIVOLINOVIĆ, *Archiepiskop Nikodim I, Istorijски časopis* 60 (2011) 97–112].

<sup>10</sup> Edition and commentary: Н. ПОРЧИЋ – Н. ИСАИЛОВИЋ, *Документи средњовековних владара Србије и Босне у венецијанским збиркама*, Београд 2019,

known today only through an Old Italian translation, was written by Bratko, a priest of the King (“Bratico, prete del re Stefano”).<sup>11</sup> He probably wrote it upon the dictate of the Bishop Vasilije (of Bosnia?), who was also in the King’s service and who appears in the first person as the auctor, that is, the contract guarantor.<sup>12</sup>

A priest in the role of a scribe and recognoscent (validator) – the individual who, similarly to the variously titled chiefs of the “chanceries” of western European and Byzantine rulers, provided documents with validation means – appears in our records for the first and perhaps the only time in the confirmation of the estates of the Žaretic family from Bar, issued by King Milutin near Veles in northern Macedonia, probably in the summer of 1316 [figure 1].<sup>13</sup> It mentions monk Antonije, who is said to have “written and sealed” the charter. By inspecting the available documents, we tried to compare the handwriting of the charter preserved in the original with other autographs from the period, but could not find a similar style and ductus in that small sample.<sup>14</sup> The question remains open whether Antonije was in the permanent scribal service of the ruler, or acted only on this occasion.

Highly valuable information is contained in the charter of King Dušan to the monastery of Hilandar about the donation of the noblewoman Radoslava, issued in 1337(?) [figure 2].<sup>15</sup> According to the note at the end of the text, Arsenije, the hegumen of Hilandar, wrote the document and the King signed it.<sup>16</sup> This is a unique piece of direct evidence of the joint effort of the auctor and the addressee in the process of creation

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432–437 [N. PORČIĆ – N. ISAILOVIĆ, *Dokumenti srednjovekovnih vladara Srbije i Bosne u venecijanskim zbirkama*, Beograd 2019].

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, 434–435.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, 433.

<sup>13</sup> Edition and commentary: Н. ПОРЧИЋ, *Документи српских средњовековних владара у дубровачким збиркама. Доба Немањића*, Beograd 2017, 186–187 [N. PORČIĆ, *Dokumenti srpskih srednjovekovnih vladara u dubrovačkim zbirkama. Doba Nemanjića*, Beograd 2017].

<sup>14</sup> Cf. ibidem, 121.

<sup>15</sup> Edition, commentary and photograph: С. МАРЈАНОВИЋ-ДУШАНИЋ – Т. СУБОТИН-ГОЛУБОВИЋ, Повеља краља Стефана Душана манастиру Хиландару. Потврда о поклону Манастира Св. Ђорђа и села Уложишта који је Хиландару приложила Милшина жена Радослава, *Стари српски архив* 9 (2010) 63–73 [S. MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ – Т. SUBOTIN-GOLUBOVIĆ, Povelja kralja Stefana Dušana manastiru Hilandaru. Potvrda o poklonu Manastira Sv. Đorđa i sela Uložišta koji je Hilandaru priložila Milšina žena Radoslava, *Stari srpski arhiv* 9 (2010) 63–73].

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, 66.

of rulers' documents in medieval Serbia. Only one more original document of King Dušan for Hilandar has been preserved from the years of Arsenije's period as a hegumen (1336–1345).<sup>17</sup> However, as this document was written in a different type of script, the comparison of handwritings could not provide additional evidence of such practice in Hilandar during his time. On the other hand, the case of Antonije's charter presents an example of a more or less established model of producing documents by the beneficiaries themselves in the Serbian diplomatics.

Particularly interesting is the case of the Metropolitan of Skopje Jovan, whose name is found in three Greek charters of Emperor Dušan for the Athonite monasteries of Xeropotamou, Esphigmenou and Vatopedi, issued in April 1346 at the assembly in Skopje on the occasion of the imperial coronation.<sup>18</sup> On the back of those documents, his mention is preceded by the words Διά τοῦ, whose meaning in Byzantine imperial charters is interpreted by scholars in two opposing ways, as intercession with the auctor on behalf of the recipient or as validation (recognition) of the document.<sup>19</sup> Due to the seemingly different script in both presented

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<sup>17</sup> It is the charter issued in February 1340 concerning the church St George in the village of Pološko. Edition, commentary and photograph: С. МАРИЈАНОВИЋ-ДУШАНИЋ – Т. СУБОТИН-ГОЛУБОВИЋ, Повеља краља Стефана Душана о поклону Хиландару цркве Св. Ђорђа и села Полошко, *Стари српски архив* 6 (2007) 55–67 [S. MARIJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ – T. SUBOTIN-GOLUBOVIĆ, Povelja kralja Stefana Dušana o poklonu Hilandaru crkve Sv. Đorđa i sela Pološko, *Stari srpski arhiv* 6 (2007) 55–67]. On Arsenije as the hegumen of Hilandar: В. МОШИН – М. ПУРКОВИЋ, *Хиландарски игумани средњег века*, ур. М. ЖИВОЈИНОВИЋ, Београд <sup>2</sup>1999, 68–75, 107 [V. MOŠIN – M. PURKOVIĆ, *Hilandarski igumani srednjega veka*, ed. M. ŽIVOJINOVIĆ, Beograd <sup>2</sup>1999].

<sup>18</sup> Editions and diplomatic descriptions: А. СОЛОВЈЕВ – В. МОШИН, *Грчке повеље српских владара*, Београд 1936, 86–92 (Xeropotamou); 96–102 (Esphigmenou) [A. SOLOVJEV – V. MOŠIN, *Grčke povelje srpskih vladara*, Beograd 1936]; *Actes de Vatopédi II, de 1330 à 1376*, Archives de l'Athos 22, eds. J. LEFORT – V. KRAVARI – С. GIROS – K. SMYRLIS, Paris 2006, 198 (Vatopedi). See also Д. М. ЖИВОЈИНОВИЋ, Регеста грчких повеља српских владара, *Мешовита грађа-Miscellanea* 27 (2006) 57–99, pp. 72–74 [D. M. ŽIVOJINOVIĆ, Regesta grčkih povelja srpskih vladara, *Mešovita građa-Miscellanea* 27 (2006) 57–99].

<sup>19</sup> To follow the discussion see: F. DÖLGER – J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre* I, München 1968, 37–38; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, Chancellerie, 178; J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, Zu den “διά-Vermerken” der byzantinischen Kaiserurkunden, *Documenti medievali greci e latini*, eds. G. DE GREGORIO – O. KRESTEN, Spoleto 1998, 203–232. According to Dölger and Karayannopoulos, the term denotes influential interveners, who did not take part in direct preparation of documents, while Oikonomidès believes these were in fact document validators.

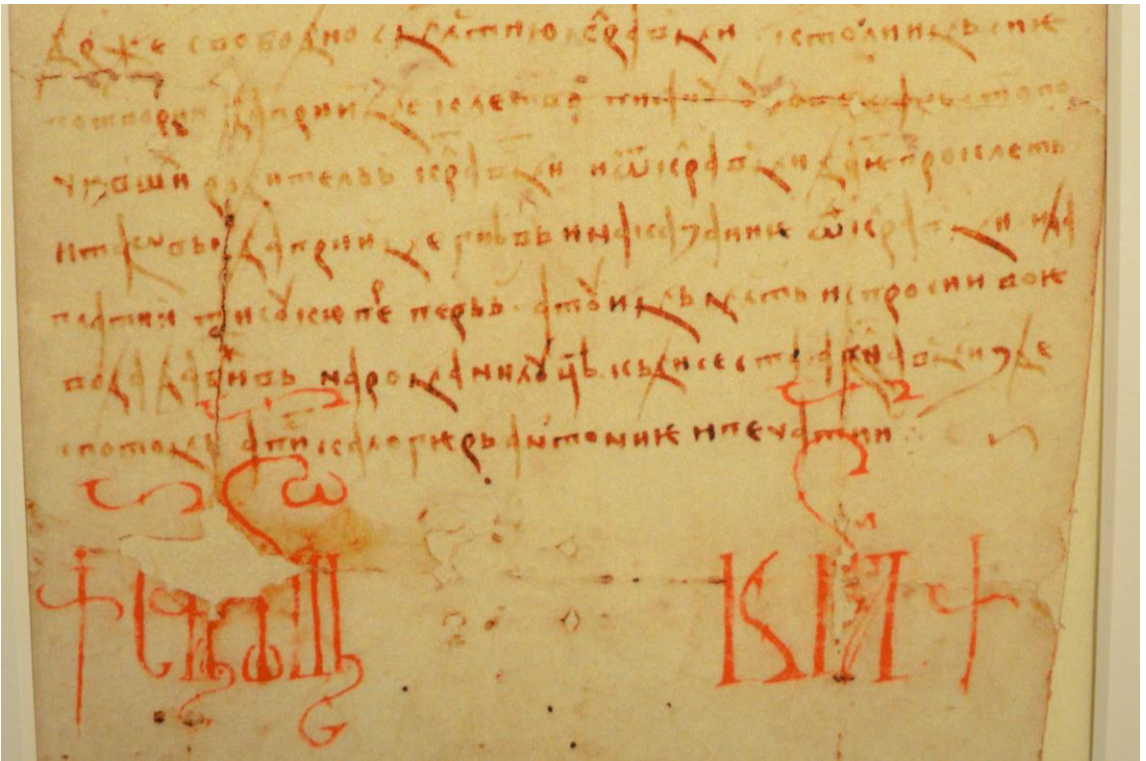


Figure 1: Detail of the charter of King Milutin for Žaretić family, 1316(?);  
(Dominican monastery, Dubrovnik; own photograph)

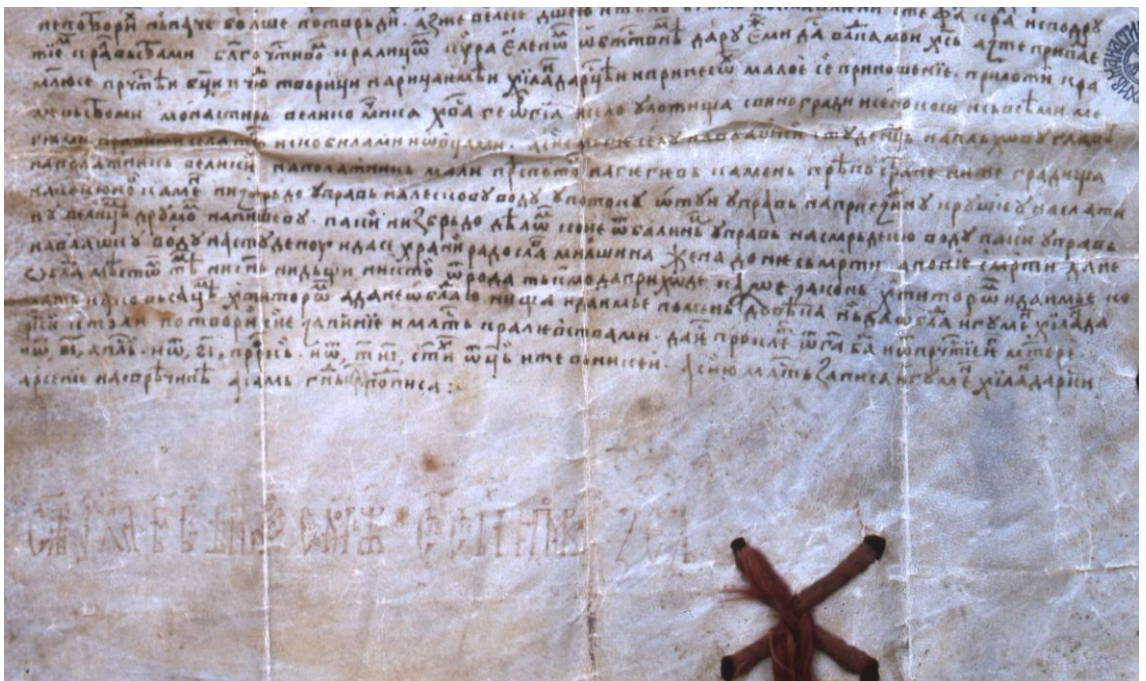


Figure 2: Bottom part of the charter of King Dušan for the monastery of Hilandar, 1337(?);  
(Hilandar monastery; microfilm of the Archives of Serbia)

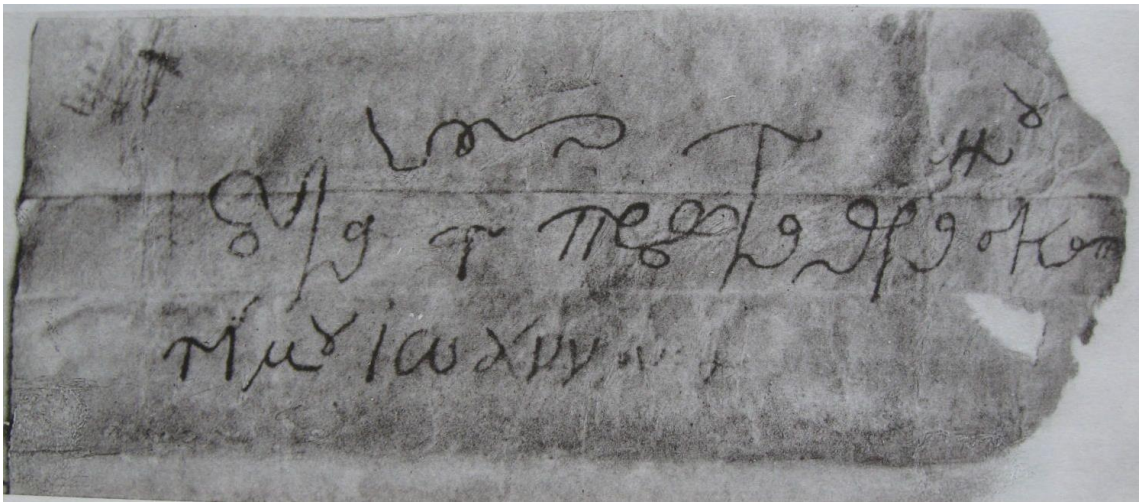


Figure 3: Dorsal note on the charter of Emperor Stefan Dušan  
for the monastery of Xeropotamou  
(Xeropotamou monastery; photo: *Archives de l'Athos 3.*  
*Actes de Xéropotamou*, ed. J. BOMPAIRE, Paris 1964)

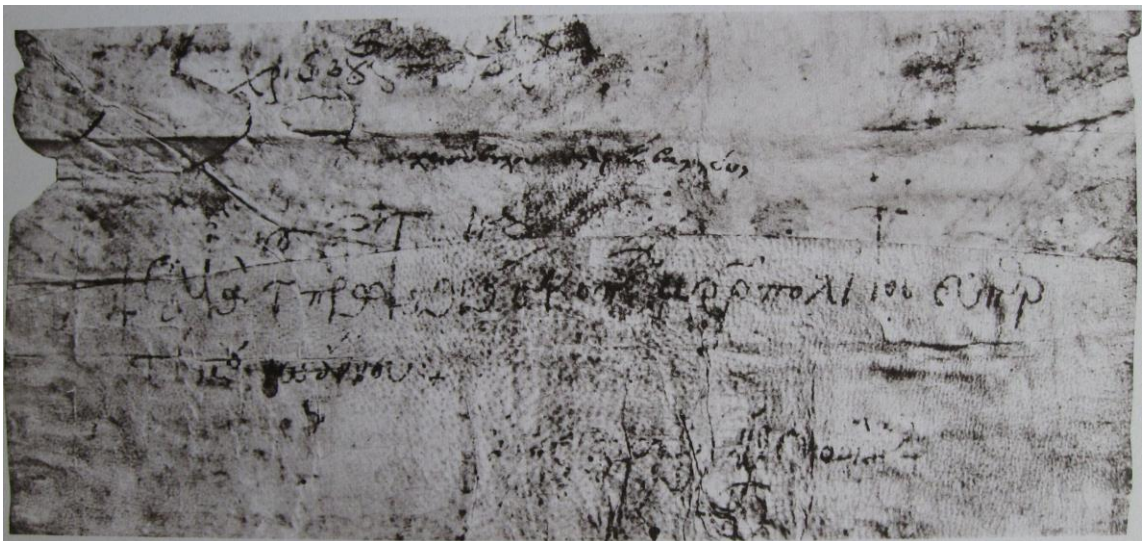


Figure 4: Dorsal note on the charter of Emperor Stefan Dušan  
for the monastery of Esphigmenou  
(Esphigmenou monastery; photo: *Archives de l'Athos 6.*  
*Actes d'Esphigmenou*, ed. J. LEFORT, Paris 1973)



examples [figures 3 and 4], it could be more probable that the Metropolitan Jovan was not the document validator, but mediated with the Emperor in the interest of Athonite monasteries.<sup>20</sup> If the former possibility is adopted, that would be the only direct mention of participants in document preparation in any charter issued by Serbian rulers in the Greek language.

Finally, in the corpus of diplomatic sources, but outside of ruler's documents, there is one more mention of a priest as a "chancellor" in service of Serbian monarchs. It concerns "Petrus, archidiaconus Antibaren-sis", who in 1307 received a letter from pope Clement V, addressing him as "cancellarius" of Queen Jelena, widow of King Uroš I (1243–1276).<sup>21</sup>

The sparse evidence of Serbian diplomatic records that we managed to present nonetheless gives an insight into the main models of the clergy's participation in the preparation of rulers' documents – models confirmed by numerous examples, most notably in western European tradition – also indicating a variable documentary practice, characteristic for chanceries all around Europe. We may conclude that clergymen were active as scribes in the ruler's permanent service (priests Bratko and Petrus, perhaps monk Antonije), but also as composers (dictators) in his permanent or occasional retinue (Archbishops Sava, Arsenije and Nikodim, hegumen Sava, Bishops Sava and Vasilije). Members of the clergy could be engaged probably both as scribes and validators (monk Antonije and perhaps Metropolitan Jovan). Finally, as representatives of addressees, clerics dictated and wrote on their own the documents submitted to the ruler for validation (hegumen Arsenije).

In light of the fact that other participants of diplomatic production mentioned in Serbian documents (diaks, logothetes, holders of court titles such as protovestiarios Nikola Bucchia, other members of the nobility) were laymen, including Dušan's logothete who was appointed archbishop in early 1338, the question is whether and to what extent the role of the clergy in the chancery practice of Serbian rulers was dominant as was notably the case in central and western Europe.<sup>22</sup> Foreign researchers have recognized such a dominant role not only based on a general conclusion about the clergy as the intellectual elite of the Middle Ages and

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<sup>20</sup> As the original of the Vatopedi charter has been lost (see above, note 18), the photograph of the preserved copy is not given here.

<sup>21</sup> Edition: A. THEINER, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia* I, Roma 1863, 124–125.

<sup>22</sup> For details about all known participants in the document making practice of medieval Serbian rulers, see Ж. ВУЈОШЕВИЋ, *Српска владарска канцеларија*, 190–215.

the only class capable of composing, writing and decorating official documents in the ruler's name, but also based on an analysis and comparison of handwriting and scripts in a relevant historical context.<sup>23</sup> It has been shown, on the one hand, that the origin of the ruler's chancery was in fact the court chapel, while on the other hand, the charters for monasteries and bishoprics were most often composed by the recipients themselves, that is, bishops and abbots. It may well be expected that this dominant role of the clergy also existed in Serbia, but the far smaller research potential of domestic sources, with scarcity of comparative material in the form of records and absence of autographs of prominent members of the clergy of the Serbian Middle Ages, unfortunately makes it impossible to reach firm conclusions in that respect.

It seems, however, that the exclusive role of the clergy in the preparation of charters for church addressees can be confirmed by strong evidence. The primary indicators pointing to the conclusion that the composers of those charters were members of the ecclesiastic order are the arengae, present in about 80% of all documents of that type, with their theological content, Biblical quotes and liturgical language. Based on direct and indirect proofs, we can continuously follow the authorship of the arengae by prominent church prelates, primarily from the Hilandar circle, up to the time of despot Stefan Lazarević (1389–1427, despot since 1402).<sup>24</sup> Among those prelates we can recognize, with more or less certainty, Archbishop Sava I (1219–33/34), the Hilandar hegumens and later heads of the Serbian Church Nikodim I, Danilo II and Sava IV (Patriarch 1354–1375), as well as the already mentioned hegumen Arsenije and some other persons such as the Metropolitan of Serres Jakov (mid

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<sup>23</sup> Numerous examples of this fruitful comparative analysis are provided by W. HUSCHNER, *Transalpine Kommunikation im Mittelalter. Diplomatische, kulturelle und politische Wechselwirkungen zwischen Italien und dem nordalpinen Reich (9.–11. Jahrhundert)* I–II, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 52, Hannover 2003, who recognizes high-ranking members of the clergy as key actors in writing, composing and arranging imperial charters, among others Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona (961–972?), pp. 510–592, Adalbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg (968–981), pp. 662–666, Willigis, Archbishop of Mainz (975–1011), pp. 161–168, or Kadeloh, Bishop of Naumburg (1030–1045), pp. 856–913.

<sup>24</sup> On this occasion we would refer to the detailed survey based on the comparative analysis of the arengae and the narrative sources such as the biographies of Serbian rulers and church prelates: Ж. ВУЈОШЕВИЋ, *Српска владарска канцеларија*, 252–267.

14<sup>th</sup> century) and Patriarch Spiridon (1379–1389).<sup>25</sup> Thus, the clergy from the ruler's retinue, including those from the monastic milieus that received donations, were the real bearers of internal legal communication up to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, from which the documents for church addressees were preserved in the largest degree. In addition, they also probably had a significant role in the communication with other entities predominantly of laymen status.

Жарко Вујошевић

**О УЛОЗИ СВЕШТЕНСТВА У САСТАВЉАЊУ  
СРПСКИХ СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНИХ  
ВЛАДАРСКИХ ПОВЕЉА**

Резиме

У раду су представљена и анализирана сведочанства српских владарских повеља средњег века о учешћу припадника свештеничког стањења у састављању, писању и оверавању докумената. Духовна лица у овој улози помињу се само у исправама до проглашења царства (1346), а и до тада су сразмерно и можда неочекивано малобројна, поготову ако се има у виду да је доказана њихова кључна улога у канцеларијским пословима средњовековних владара централне и западне Европе, делом и Византије. Додуше, страни истраживачи су ту улогу могли да препознају тек посредним путем, тумачењем обимне грађе, тј. поређењем диктата и писма релевантних извора у одговарајућем историјском контексту. Далеко мањи истраживачки потенцијал домаћег материјала не дозвољава доношење сигурних закључака у том, и у случају Србије очекиваном правцу, али допушта да се препознају основни модели ангажмана свештенства у изради владарских докумената.

Анализом расположиве документарне грађе могли смо да препознамо припаднике свештенства као писаре у сталној владарској служби

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<sup>25</sup> Serbian prelates also issued their own charters, of which several are preserved (issued by Sava I, Nikodim I, Sava IV, Spiridon and Nikodim II) – listed in Ж. ВУЈОШЕВИЋ, *Стари завет у аренама средњовековних српских и бугарских повеља*, Београд 2008 (необјављена магистарска теза) 73–75 [Ž. VUJOŠEVIĆ, *Stari zavet u arenama srednjovekovnih srpskih i bugarskih povelja*, Beograd 2008 (unpublished magisterial thesis)].

(свештеници Братко краља Драгутина и Петар краљице Јелене, можда монах Антоније краља Милутина), као састављаче (диктаторе) текстова повеља у сталној или повременој владаревој пратњи (архиепископи Сава, Арсеније и Никодим, игуман Студенице Сава око 1300, епископи Сава хумски и Василије из друге половине XIII века), а неки су истовремено преузимали улоге писара и рекогносцената (поменути монах Антоније и можда митрополит скопски Јован). Коначно, као представници дестинатара, црквена лица су састављала и писала документе који су затим подношени владару на потпис (игуман Хиландара Арсеније).

Кључну улогу свештенства у изради повеља за црквене дестинатаре свакако потврђује анализа аренги, присутних у око 80% докумената овог типа. Континуирано ауторство истакнутих прелата, пре свега из хиландарског круга, у аренгама се може посредно пратити све до времена деспота Стефана Лазаревића, при чему се горњи списак актера дипломатичке продукције у том смислу проширује именима архиепископа Данила II, патријараха Саве IV и Спиридона, као и митрополита серског Јакова. Изнета разматрања показују да су клирици из владареве пратње, као и они из манастирских средина које су дариване повељама, уз припаднике високе јерархије све до XV века били главни носиоци „унутрашњег“ правног саобраћаја, али су вероватно имали значајан удео и у комуникацији са спољним факторима претежно световног статуса.

**Кључне речи:** Србија, свештенство, владарске повеље, владарска канцеларија, дестинатари, писари, диктатори, аренда, Хиландар

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