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Venezia, Archivio di Stato, 12-13 novembre 2018

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M I R O S L A V A. L A Z I Ć

VENICE AND EDITIONS OF EARLY SERBIAN PRINTED BOOKS

Before Božidar Vuković (Dionisio della Vecchia) began his publishing activities in Venice at the end of the second decade of the 16th century, the capital of the Republic of Venice played a key role in the emergence and evolution of early printed books in the Serbian recension of Old Slavonic, which was – due to orthographical similarities between the various recensons of the Old Slavonic language – in use not only in the Serbian but also in the wider South Slavic space.¹ In view of the developed political, economic and cultural ties between Zeta and Venice as the leading commercial and bookmaking center of Europe at the time,² as well as the close ties of its ruler, Đurađ Crnojević, who was married to Isabetta (Elisabetta), the daughter of the Venetian noble Antonio Erizzo,³ it is hardly surprising that it was precisely in Cetinje that the first Cyrillic printing house in Southeastern Europe was founded.

Established in the capital of Zeta under the patronage of Đurađ Crnojević, from early 1494 to late 1496 the Cetinje typography – judging by the surviving copies – seems to have published four different editions of liturgical books printed in the Cyrillic script and the Serbian recension of Old Slavonic: *Octoechos*, *Mode 1-4* (Oktoih prvoglasnik), *Octoechos*, *Mode 5-8* (Oktoih petoglasnik), *Psalter with Appendices* (Psaltir s posledovanjem), and *Prayer Book – Eucho-*

1. M. Lazić, «Serbian Printed Book Decoration in the 15th and 16th Centuries: Centres and Creative Production», *Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art I-III – Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, Belgrade 2016, pp. 485.

2. Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, Leiden - Boston 2013. Generally on Venice and the development of Serbian printing: Моника Фин, «Венеција и српска књига», *Глас библиотеке* 19 (2012) 79-100.

3. И. Божић, «Владавина Црнојевића», *Историја Црне Горе* 2/2, Titograd (Podgorica) 1970, pp. 335-336.

logion (Molitvenik/Trebnik).⁴ There is, however, a view based on a later inscription found in the handwritten *Gospel of Buđanovci* (Buđanovačko jevanđelje) suggesting that the Cetinje typography had also printed a *Tetraevangelion* which was purportedly used as the model for the *Gospel of Buđanovci*, but there is no surviving copy or fragment to confirm its existence.⁵

On the orders of Đurađ Crnojević, hieromonk Makarije, who was in charge of printing activities, seems to have acquired a printing press and the necessary typographic equipment from the capital of the Republic of Venice;⁶ in addition, the influence of Venice as the leading cultural and bookmaking center whose ideas and influences reached, among other places, the area of Southeastern Europe, can also be seen in the stylistic-morphological and iconographical characteristics of the editions produced at the Cetinje printing house. They clearly show an amalgamation of Late Gothic and Renaissance influences with the South Slavic manuscript tradition of book decorating, which suggests that, in addition to other pieces of typographical equipment, woodcarved templates had also been produced in a Venetian workshop based on suitable models.⁷ Although intimated in the *Octoechos, Mode 1-4*, the first Cetinje incunabula, the influence of Venice in the visual and graphic shaping of Cetinje editions became particularly apparent in the *Psalter with Appendices* (1495) and the *Octoechos, Mode 5-8* (1496?).⁸ For example, the graphic repertoire of the *Psalter with Appendices*, in addition to traditional ones, contains initials executed in the tradition of Erhardt Ratold, including the faces and depictions of small nude winged putti, birds, fantastical beasts, cornu copiac, and other popular Renaissance motifs.⁹

4. Е. Љ. Немировски, *Црногорска библиографија, I/1, Издања Ђурђа Црнојевића 1494-1496*, Cetinje 1989; Е. Л. Nemirovskij, *Gesamtkatalog der frühdrucke in kyrillischer schrift*. Bd. I, *Inkunabeln*, Baden - Baden 1996; Е. Љ. Немировски, *Почеци штампарства у Црној Гори (1492-1496)*, Cetinje 1996.

5. Ђ. Сп. Радојичић, «О штампарији Црнојевића», *Гласник Скопског научног друштва* 19 (1938), 133-172.

6. Д. Медаковић, *Графика српских штампаних књига*, Belgrade 1958, p. 66.

7. М. Лазић, «Издања цетињске штампарије: између традиције и иновације, функције и форме», *Између традиције и иновације: 520 година од прве ћирилске књиге штампане на српскословенском језику*, Belgrade 2014, pp. 25-37. For the view that the conceptual origin of the illustrations is to be sought primarily in Dubrovnik (Ragusa): В. Симић, «О могућим изворима и ауторима дрворезних илустрација Октоиха петогласника (1494)», *Зограф* 40 (2016) 159-176.

8. On questions pertaining to the dating of the *Octoechos, Mode 5-8*: М. Лазић, «О времену штампања цетињског Октоиха петогласника: прилог хронологији издања штампарије Црнојевића», *Рукописна и стара штампана књига: зборник радова са XII стручно научног скупа Библионет 2018*, Belgrade - Novi Sad 2018, pp. 115-133.

9. Медаковић, *Графика српских*, pp. 92-97.

On the other hand, in the *Octoechos*, *Mode 5-8* – an edition known to us based on several surviving fragments, with the most extensive one being the 38-sheet copy from the Dečani Monastery – contains a number of illustrations imprinted using two engraved wooden templates, one inserted into the other.¹⁰ The surviving fragments bear evidence to only six of these illustrations, and their central compositions (*Choir of Incorporeal Angels*; *Council of St. John the Fronrunner* (fig. 1); *Betrayal of Judas*; *Council of the Apostles with St. Nicholas*; *Harrowing of Hell*; and *Three Holy Hymnographers*),¹¹ with the exception of some details and stylistic characteristics, mostly follow Eastern Christian iconographical formulations. In contrast, the ornate frame was almost completely made in the spirit of Renaissance visual poetics, comprising a thick lattice of stylized vine leaves with flowers; images of winged putti and real and fantastical animals are woven into the vines; the symbols of the Evangelists are depicted in the corners; the center of the bottom part shows the Crnojević coat of arms upheld by winged putti.¹²

On a sidenote, after Đurađ Crnojević's Cetinje editions, in 1512 Frano (Francesco) Micalović of Dubrovnik printed a Cyrillic *Prayer Book* (Molitvenik) at Giorgio Rusconi's printing shop in Venice; this was the first book in the Serbian vernacular («in littera et idiomate serviano») intended for the South Slavic adherents of the Roman Catholic faith.¹³

The crucial influence of Venice in the earliest stage in the development of Serbo-Slavonic Cyrillic printing is also attested by the example of the so-called Goražde printing house, founded by the brothers Teodor and Đuro, the sons of Božidar of Goražde (Božidar Goraždanin). It published three liturgical books: a *Hieratikon* (1519), which appeared almost at the same time as Božidar Vuković's edition of the same name; a *Psalter with Appendices* (1521); and a *Prayer Book – Euchologion* (1523).

According to Teodor's statement in the afterword to the *Hieratikon* – entitled «Đuro Ljubavić's entreaty to the honorable presbyter»¹⁴ – on the orders of his

10. Немировски, *Почеци штампарства*, p. 371.

11. Медаковић, *Графика српских*, pp. 97-110; С. Петковић, «Илустрације и књижни украс у српским штампаним књигама XV-XVII века», *Пет векова српског штампарства 1494-1994*, Belgrade 1994, pp. 27-28.

12. *Ibid.*

13. П. Ђорђић, *Историја српске ћирилице. Палеографско-филолошки прикази*, Belgrade 1971, p. 191; J. Грковић-Мејџор – В. Савић (eds.), *Српски Молитвеник. Споменица Милану Решетару 1512-1942-2012*, Belgrade 2016.

14. Ђ. Трифуновић, «Мољеније Теодора Љубавића», *Зборник Музеја примењене уметности* 11 (1967), 55-57; М. Пешикан, *Пет векова српског штампарства 1494-1994*, Belgrade 1994, p. 220.

«parent» Božidar of Goražde¹⁵ together with his brother Đuro he «made forms on the alien shores of Italy». Although the colophon does not explicitly state the place where the *Hieratikon* was printed – unlike the *Psalter and Prayer Book* (Euchologion), which state that they were printed at the Church of St. George on the Drina River,¹⁶ in Goražde¹⁷ – the established view in scholarship is that this book was printed in Venice in its entirety,¹⁸ although the available sources offer no evidence to confirm this. The only evidence to support this hypothesis is Teodor's testimony which informs us that, after his brother's sudden death (on 2 March 7027/1519),¹⁹ he was left alone to finish the task which would be completed a mere four months later – on 1 July of the same year.²⁰ However, if we assume that the *Hieratikon* was printed at a typographic workshop in Venice the possibility that the other two editions were also printed in the Venetian capital should not be entirely discarded, particularly in view of the widespread practice of the fictional citing of printing locations in book colophons.²¹

Besides the Goražde typography, whose typographic equipment and characters were inherited by Dimitrije Ljubavić,²² printing houses founded in the Serbian ethnic, cultural and spiritual space later also used printing equipment imported from Venice. For instance, this is evidenced by afterwords to the editions

15. A document dated 26 November 1496 mentions Božidar Ljubavić together with his business partner Radonja Miljenović of Dubrovnik and describes the former as a merchant: М. Пантић, «Српска књига у Горажду и Дубровнику», *Горажданска штампарија 1519-1523*, Belgrade - East Sarajevo 2008, pp. 18-19. On the other hand, Božidar Ljubavić is believed to have been a descendant of Vukosav Ljubavić, a prominent merchant from Goražde and a *knez* (count) in the mid-15th century: З. Кајмаковић, *Тирилица код Срба и Муслимана у османско доба. Писана ријеч у Босни и Херцеговини*, Sarajevo 1982, p. 155; Д. Бараћ, «Горажданска штампарија – прва међу штампаријама у Херцеговини и српским земљама у 16. веку», *Горажданска штампарија 1519-1523*, Belgrade - East Sarajevo, 2008, p. 42.

16. Катарина Мано-Зиси, «Књиге горажданске штампарије (1519-1523)», *Горажданска штампарија 1519-1523*, Belgrade - East Sarajevo 2008, p. 188.

17. Пешикан, *Пет векова*, p. 93; Б. Летић, «Књижевност у Херцеговини у првој половини 16. века», *Горажданска штампарија 1519-1523*, Belgrade - East Sarajevo 2008, pp. 84-85; Мано-Зиси, «Књиге горажданске штампарије (1519-1523)», p. 204.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170.

19. Пешикан, *Пет векова*, p. 93.

20. Мано-Зиси, «Књиге горажданске штампарије (1519-1523)», pp. 165-166.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 188-189, 204.

22. Корнелија Олар, «Штампарија Димитрија Љубавића из Трговишта у румунској историографији», *Годишњак Библиотеке Матице српске за 1991*, Novi Sad 1992, pp. 109-122. On Dimitrije Ljubavić see: 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* 32 (1995), 187-207.

of the Mileševa printing house – a *Psalter* (1544) and a *Prayer Book* (Euchologion – 1546). Here hieromonk Danilo, the hegumen of the Mileševa Monastery, states that he sent hieromonks Nikanor and Sava, together with the hegumen of Banjska hieromonk Mardarije, to the «Italian lands» and the «famous» city of Venice to procure the necessary typographic equipment.²³ A younger, third edition of the Mileševa printing house – the *Psalter with Appendices* printed in 1557 – also suggests Venetian influence, albeit indirect. Namely, as its graphic model this edition used Đurađ Crnojević's *Psalter with Appendices* (1495). Among other things, it also fairly crudely copied its square initials with numerous Renaissance motifs, in which the Cetinje edition abounded.

*

Božidar Vuković began publishing books at the end of the second decade, almost concurrently with the printing of the Ljubavić *Hieratikon*. Vuković was the pioneer and most prominent representative of Serbo-Slavonic Cyrillic printing in Venice²⁴ and was locally known as Dionisio della Vecchia. He founded a printing shop and commissioned the necessary typographic equipment, which was used by various other publishers and typographers after his death.

Generally speaking, Božidar Vuković was a prosperous and wealthy merchant originally from Podgorica, more specifically the Skadar area, who settled in Venice with his brother Nikola. After having settled in Venice, following the common practice of adapting newcomers' names to their new milieu, Božidar and Nikola Vuković began using the surnames della Vecchia or a Vctula – a pseudonym constructed by translating and adapting the toponym of Starčeva Gorica using well-known Italian or Latin words.²⁵

The date when the Vuković brothers settled in the capital of La Serenissima cannot be reliably established, but we do know that the first reference to Božidar Vuković in Venice dates from 1516. This is the year when Božidar Vuković first appears as Dionisio della Vecchia as a member of the Greek St. Nicholas Brotherhood of Venice (*Scuola di San Nicolò dei Greci*). He is known to have

23. Катарина Мано-Зиси, *Милешевско штампарство 1544-1557. 450 година од оснивања штампарије у манастиру Милешевци*, exhibition catalog, Пријеполје 1994, pp. 13-14; Д. Бараћ, «Горажданска штампарија – прва међу штампаријама у Херцеговини и српским земљама у 16. веку», *Горажданска штампарија 1519-1523*, Belgrade - East Sarajevo 2008, pp. 50-53.

24. Пешикан, *Пет векова*, pp. 76-82.

25. М. Лазић, «Од Божидача Вуковића до Дионизија дела Векије: идентитет и псеудоним у култури раног модерног доба», *Scala paradisi*, академику Димитрију Богдановићу у спомен 1986-2016, Belgrade 2018, pp. 165-186.

become its gastaldo in 1536 and to have remained at its head for the following three years,²⁶ until he fell ill and died shortly thereafter.²⁷

After having moved to the capital of the Republic of Venice with his brother Nikola, Božidar Vuković of Podgorica (Podgoričanin) – as he was usually signed in the colophons of his books – consolidated his high social status by establishing marital and professional ties with prominent Venetian merchant families such as the Gabbiani, Cornovi and others.²⁸ Having married Apolonia, who also seems to have come from a merchant family, through his brother Nikola's marriage to Dionora, the daughter of Giovanni Bartolomeo da Gabbiani, he managed to establish familial ties to one of leading merchant families in Venice – the prominent Gabbiani family, which was headed by Nikola's father-in-law Giovanni Bartolomeo and under his leadership rose to become one of the leading publishing and bookselling companies in Venice and Europe, with familial and business ties in Lyon and Flanders.²⁹

Božidar Vuković developed his business network by establishing contacts with other Serbs and Greeks – primarily wealthy merchants, stratioti, publishers and other prominent citizens of Venice. Notable examples include Andreja of Zeta and Nikola the Serb, as well as Greeks Andreas Kunadis, Markos Samariaris, Vassilios Varelis and other important personages, most of whom held prominent positions in the Greek brotherhood *Scuola di San Nicolò dei Greci*.³⁰

Besides his trade business, primarily trading in cloth, spices and precious stones, with a commercial network that stretched from England to Venice to Constantinople and the Levant, following the example of other Italian and Greek merchants and entrepreneurs, Božidar Vuković or Dionisio della Vecchia invested considerable funds in book production. Led by patriotic and religious as well as

26. Fani Mavroidi, «I Serbi e la confraternita Greca di Venezia», *Balkan Studies* 24/2 (1983) 523-529; Аника Сковран, «Војвода Божидар Вуковић – Dionisio della Vecchia, гасталд Братства св. Ђорђа грчког у Венецији», *Зограф* 7 (1977), 78-85.

27. Сковран, «Војвода Божидар Вуковић – Dionisio della Vecchia, гасталд Братства св. Ђорђа грчког у Венецији», 84.

28. Blake de Maria, *Becoming Venetian: Immigrants and the Arts in Early Modern Venice*, New Haven - London 2010; Лaziћ, «Од Божидара Вуковића до Дионизија дела Векије: идентитет и псеудоним у култури раног модерног доба», pp. 165-186.

29. C. Marciani, «I Gabiano, librai italo-francesi del XVI secolo», *La Bibliofilia: Rivista di storia del libro e di bibliografia*, 74 (1972), 191-213; Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, Leiden - Boston 2013, pp. 71-81.

30. Mavroidi, «I Serbi e la confraternita Greca di Venezia», 511-529; Ersie C. Burke, *The Greeks of Venice, 1498-1600: Immigration, Settlement, and Integration*, Brepols 2016, pp. 100-103, 116-121; E. Layton, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy. Printers and Publishers for the Greek World*, Venice 1994, pp. 513-544.

economic and other motives,³¹ with the help of hieromonk Pahomije in editorial and technical tasks,³² from 1519 to 1520/1521 Vuković published three paleotypes of various contents: the *Hieratikon*, *Psalter with Appendices*, and *Prayer Book*³³ known in scholarship as the *Miscellany for Travelers*.³⁴

Božidar Vuković began his publishing activities by printing the *Psalter*, but his publication plan changed during preparatory work on this book. More specifically, after having completed the first part of the *Psalter*³⁵ – which contained selected troparia along with the appropriate songs – he began printing the *Hieratikon*, which was to become the first edition in his publishing opus.³⁶ The *Hieratikon* is a liturgical book containing, among other services, the two most widely used liturgies in the Eastern Orthodox Church – the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom and the Divine Liturgy of St. Basil the Great.

After having published the *Hieratikon*, with the direct involvement of hieromonk Pahomije – who is certain to have overseen the printing process and selected the appropriate liturgical compositions included in the *Appendices* («Posledovanje»), which among other things contained menologium troparia, Great Lent troparia and a horologion) – Vuković returned to the *Psalter*. After the printing of the *Appendices* was completed, the book was bound together with the previously printed *Psalter*. Due to the fact that the psalter and appendices were eventually combined into a single volume but had not been printed in direct succession, Vuković's edition of the *Psalter with Appendices* contains two afterwords:

31. М. Лазић, «Између патриотизма, побожности и трговине: мотиви издавачке делатности Божидара Вуковића», *Археографски прилози* 35 (2013), 49-101.

32. Ж. Војновић, «Додатни текстови старих штампаних књига у контексту почетака српског издаваштва», *Читалиште* 26 (2015), 67.

33. Е. Л. Немировски, *Црногорска библиографија*, I-2, Сетинје 1993; Е. Л. Nemirovskij, *Gesamtkatalog der frühdrucke in kyrillischer schrift*. Bd. IV, *Die Druckerei von Božidar Goraždanin in Goražde und Venedig. Die erste Druckerei von Božidar Vuković in Venedig*, Baden-Baden 2001; For a bibliography of Božidar and Vicenzo Vuković's publications see: Б. Маринковић, *Библиографија о нашем ћириличком штампарству, штампаријама и књигама XV, XVI и XVII столећа*, Друга књига. Божидар и Вићенцо Вуковић (XVI), Сетинје 1989.

34. С. Новаковић, «Божидара Вуковића Зборници за путнике», *Гласник Српског ученог друштва*, XLV (1877), 129-167.

35. Л. Чурчић, «Псалтир Божидара Вуковића из 1519-1520. године», *Зборник Матице српске за књижевност и језик* XXII/3 (1974), 463-486; Пешикан, *Пет векова*, pp. 167-168. For an analysis of changes to Božidar Vuković's planned publications, see: М. Убипарић – В. Тријић, «Зборници параклиса у српскословенској традицији», *Археографски прилози* 37 (2015), 89-92.

36. Пешикан, *Пет векова*, pp. 193-195.

the first at the end of the *Psalter* text and the second after the *Appendices*, at the very end of the book.

However, the *Hieratikon* and the *Psalter with Appendices* have similar graphic decorations, which – besides undulated initials – include a few headpieces with the monogram «Bož» (fig. 2) and a modest number of vignettes.³⁷

Unlike the *Hieratikon* and *Psalter with Appendices* as books intended for liturgical purposes, the *Miscellany for Travelers* (*Zbornik za putnike*) was printed in a concise and an extensive version³⁸ and, along with liturgical texts, contains various dogmatic and educational, religious and didactic as well as devotional compositions, and therefore became rather popular among the wider readership instead of being limited to the clergy. Besides its small format, which made it easy for the user to have it on his person in every occasion, the elaborate visual and graphic decoration of the book must have also contributed to its popularity. In addition to a handful of headpieces and vignettes, thirteen different woodcut templates were made and used to imprint its illustrations. These templates usually contain images of the most popular Christian saints³⁹ (fig. 3) or depictions of key events in Biblical and Christian history. Besides illustrating the text and completing it, the woodcut imprints also served as an important aid in prayer, allowing the illiterate public to use them.⁴⁰

It was this book that in the mid-thirties marked Božidar Vuković's return to publishing and the beginning of his second publishing cycle, when its extended version appeared in 1536.⁴¹ In this cycle, in addition to the abovementioned *Miscellany for Travelers*, he published another three Cyrillic paleotypes in the Serbian recension of Old Slavonic: the *Octoechos, Mode 5-8* (1537), *Festal Me-naion* (1538), and *Prayer Book – Euchologion* (1538-1540).⁴²

The sources inform us that, besides pursuing his trade ventures, in the 1530s Božidar Vuković played a prominent role in the secret diplomacy network of Charles V, whose activities reached their climax during preparations for the

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 167-168, 192-193.

38. Катарина Мано-Зиси, «Зборници за путнике Божидача Вуковића у светлу сачуваних примерака», *Штампарска и књижевна дјелатност Божидача Вуковића Подгоричанина*, Titograd (Podgorica) 1986, pp. 151-171.

39. S. Petković, «Greek Influence on Illustrations in Serbian Books Printed in Venice in the 16th Century», *Metabyzantina Charakterika* (1995), 11-20.

40. Лазић, «Између патриотизма, побожности и трговине: мотиви издавачке делатности Божидача Вуковића», 88-90.

41. Пешикан, *Пет векова*, p. 122.

42. E. L. Nemirovskij, *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift*. Bd. 6, *Die zweite Druckerei von Božidar Vuković in Venedig*, Baden-Baden 2003.

imminent war between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy League (1538-1540), an alliance led by the Holy Roman emperor and Pope Paul III.⁴³ At the height of these political developments, after having received a confirmation of his aristocratic title,⁴⁴ Božidar Vuković requested from Charles V the title of the Serbian despot and some privileges for the «Serbian patriarch», but seems not to have received them.⁴⁵ As these events took place during the printing of the *Octoechos, Mode 5-8* and the *Festal Menaion*, the key role in the preparation of these books for printing and shaping their structure must have been played by his associates – hierodeacon Mojsije and priest-hermits Teodor and Genadije.⁴⁶

Since there was no need to reprint the *Octoechos, Mode 1-4* as Crnojević's edition of the book had been published in a large number of copies, Božidar Vuković published only the *Octoechos, Mode 5-8*. This is a hymn book containing chants for the variable parts of the liturgical weekly cycle (propers), grouped from the first to the fourth tone.⁴⁷ Besides having its text arranged in two columns, Božidar Vuković's *Octoechos, Mode 5-8* is also distinctive for its visual and graphic design. In this regard, the figural headpiece showing the Three Hymnographers is particularly notable (fig. 5), as well as the headpiece with the coat of arms of «Count» Božidar Vuković (fig. 4),⁴⁸ which was later reprinted in the *Festal Menaion*. In addition, the entire page separating the text of the afterword from the Paschal table contains four grouped images (*Virgin with Christ, Archangel Michael, St. Nicholas* and *St. Demetrios*), imprinted using woodcut templates made for the illustration needs of the first edition of the *Prayer Book (Miscellany for Travelers)* of 1520/1521.

43. М. Лазих, «Божидар Вуковић између стварности и конструкције: од штампара до српског деспота», *Црквене студије* 15 (2018), 17-39.

44. Ј. М. Миловић, «Додјелјивање племићке титуле и грба Божидару Вуковићу и његовим потомцима од стране шпанског краља и римско-њемачког цара Карла V (1500-1558)» *Штампарска и књижевна дјелатност Божидара Вуковића Подгоричанина*, Титоград (Podgorica) 1986, pp. 13-26.

45. М. Cazacu, «Projets et intrigues à la Cour de Soliman (1530-1540)», *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, Paris 1992, p. 520, n. 27; Лазих, «Божидар Вуковић између стварности и конструкције: од штампара до српског деспота», 27-28.

46. Р. Хрваћанин, *Историјско-богословска анализа српских штампаних литургија-ра из XVI века*, Belgrade - Vrnjci 2017, pp. 102-103.

47. Ђ. Трифуновић, *Азбучник српских средњовековних књижевних појмова. Друго допуњено издање*, Belgrade 1990, pp. 221-224.

48. Božidar Vuković's coat of arms was also imprinted on the icon of the Holy Mandylion kept at the National Museum in Belgrade: И. Борозан, «Икона нерукотвореног образа и представљање вишеслојног идентитета Божидара Вуковића», *Зограф* 39 (2015), 151-159.

These woodcut templates were used once again in the illustration of the *Festal Menaion (Anthologion)*⁴⁹, Vuković's most opulent book, which in terms of its contents can be described as a hymnographic anthology (containing services dedicated to the Lord and the Virgin, as well as for the feasts of the most highly venerated Christian saints). Besides repeating the illustrations from the *Prayer Book (Miscellany for Travelers)*, Božidar Vuković commissioned new woodcut templates for the visual and graphic decoration of his *Festal Menaion*. Among the 32 imprinted illustrations, the two depicting national saints were a special novelty;⁵⁰ the first shows the founders of the Serbian state and church – St. Simeon of Serbia and St. Sava of Serbia, while the second composition shows St. Nicholas bringing King Stefan of Dečani (1321-1331) to Christ (fig. 6). On a sidenote, the latter quickly became a widely used iconographic model both in monumental church painting⁵¹ and in works of applied art.⁵²

The last book in Božidar Vuković's publishing opus was the *Prayer Book (Euchologion)*.⁵³ This religious book contains sacramentals and prayers intended for the devotional needs of individual parishioners.⁵⁴ As no extant copy includes the sheets with colophons, the publication date of this paleotype remains unknown. It is usually dated to the period 1538-1540, most frequently to 1539, although there is no mention of this book among the editions listed in Vuković's last will and testament of 6 November 1539.⁵⁵ A particularly noteworthy element in the graphic decoration of this edition is a cascading headpiece comprising interwoven knots, rooted in the Serbian manuscript tradition.

49. Пешикан, *Пет векова*, pp. 144-145; Петковић, «Илустрације и књижни украс у српским штампаним књигама XV-XVII века», pp. 33-35; idem, «Порекло илустрација у штампаним књигама Божицара Вуковића», *Зборник за ликовне уметности* 12 (1976), 119-135.

50. Idem, «Илустрације и књижни украс у српским штампаним књигама XV-XVII века», p. 34; idem, «Ликови Срба светитеља у српским штампаним књигама XVI века», *Зборник Матице српске за ликовне уметности* 26 (1990), 139-158.

51. З. Кајмаковић, «Утицаји старе српске графика на живопис зографа Василија», *Зборник за ликовне уметности* 2 (1966) 233-242; С. Петковић, «Утицај илустрација из српских штампаних књига на зидно сликарство XVI и XVII века», *Старинар* 17 (1966), 91-96; idem, «Илустрације и књижни украс у српским штампаним књигама XV-XVII века», pp. 48-49.

52. Бојана Радојковић, «Илустрације српских штампаних књига XVI века као приручници старих српских златара», *Зборник Музеја примењене уметности* 11 (1967), 59-73.

53. Пешикан, *Пет векова*, pp. 147-148.

54. *Ibid.*

55. Ј. Тадић, «Тестаменти Божицара Вуковића, српског штампара XVI века», *Зборник Филозофског факултета* 7/1 (1963), 337-360, 342, 357.

Following the example of the printing production of reputable publishers and booksellers in Venice, Božidar Vuković and later his son Vicenzo⁵⁶ printed some copies of their books for bibliophiles on special types of paper and on parchment.⁵⁷ One of these extant codices is the *Festal Menaion* from Pakrac printed on blue paper.⁵⁸ However, we also know of many copies of different editions that were colored later on, with one of the earliest examples being the *Prayer Book (Miscellany for Travelers)* from the heritage of Giuseppe Praga, now kept at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice.⁵⁹ Similarly, there is a surviving colored copy of the *Octoechos, Mode 5-8* in the collection of early printed books of the Krka Monastery.⁶⁰ However, by far the most representative of all surviving examples is the *Festal Menaion* printed on parchment and colored later on, which once belonged to the National Library in Belgrade. This copy was lost during evacuation in World War One and under mysterious circumstances made its way to the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, where it is still kept.⁶¹ Another similarly representative copy of the same edition is referenced in Vuković's will. Concerned for the salvation of his soul, he bequeathed a parchment menaion, «leather-bound and gilded», to the «main monastery of the Serbs on Mount Athos».⁶²

After Božidar Vuković's death, his son Vicenzo continued his trading business in various goods as well as his publishing and bookselling of liturgical and religious books. From 1546 to 1561 he published at least five editions: *Psalter with Appendices* (1546) (fig. 7), *Prayer Book – Miscellany for Travelers* (1547), *Hieratikon* (1554), *Prayer Book – Miscellany for Travelers* (1560), and

56. Катарина Мано-Зиси, «Пергаментни одломак Зборника за путнике Вићенца Вуковића из 1560. године», *Црнојевића штамарија и старо штампарство*, Podgorica 1994, pp. 57-66.

57. Ђ. Сп. Радојичић, «Књиге на пергаменту из штамарије Божидача Вуковића», *Историјски записи* III, VI/7-9 (1950), 355-356.

58. Л. Чурчић, «Саборник – Празнични минеј – Божидача Вуковића из 1536-8. на плавој хартији», *Зборник Матице српске за славистику* 41 (1991) 161-164; В. Вукашиновић – Н. Јоцић, *Старе штампане књиге библиотеке Славонске епархије у Паkraцу*, Belgrade 2016, pp. 103-108.

59. Р. Вујошевић, «О неким биографским подацима о Божидару Вуковићу Подгоричанину и о Молитвенику – Зборнику за путнике из Марцијане», *Штампарска и књижевна дјелатност Божидача Вуковића Подгоричанина*, Titograd (Podgorica) 1986, pp. 41-45; S. Pelusi, «Edizioni in cirillico dei secoli XVI e XVII in Biblioteca nazionale Marciana», *Црквене студије* 15 (2018), 120, 121, 150.

60. Радојичић, «Књиге на пергаменту из штамарије Божидача Вуковића», 355-355.

61. В. Мошин, «Рукописи бивше београдске Народне библиотеке у Даблину и у Загребу», *Библиотекар* XX/5 (1968), 349-350.

62. Тадић, «Тестаменти Божидача Вуковића, српског штампара XVI века», pp. 337-360, 341-343.

Psalter with Appendices (1561).⁶³ These are, in fact, reprints of his father Božidar Vuković's editions, which mostly literally repeat information from the original prefaces and afterwords, usually only changing the dating and replacing Božidar's name with Vicenzo's. Admittedly, in some of his father's reprinted editions Vicenzo copied their entire colophons verbatim, without even changing the dating.⁶⁴ One of these is the *Octoechos, Mode 5-8*, a reprint of Božidar's edition from 1537 which, based on its watermarks, seems to have been reprinted in 1560.⁶⁵ Besides insignificant typographic inconsistencies, the reprint of this book differs from Božidar's edition in some details of its visual and graphic decoration. The most distinctive of these is the one on fol. 1v, which shows a depiction of the *Imago pietatis* (fig. 10) instead of the headpiece with Božidar Vuković's coat of arms.⁶⁶

Generally, the most important differences between Božidar's and Vicenzo's editions are found in their visual and graphic design, primarily in the *Psalter with Appendices* of 1546 and the *Prayer Book (Miscellany for Travelers)* of 1547.⁶⁷ In these paleotypes the text is framed by four vignettes; in both editions the bottom vignette is slightly wider than the top and side ones and contains the appropriate figural representations. The *Psalter with Appendices* contains medallions with Christ, the Virgin and the most prominent Christian saints, executed in the tradition of Late Byzantine iconography.⁶⁸ In contrast, vignettes imprinted in the same place in the *Miscellany for Travelers* of 1547 contain a total of 16 scenes, whose composition, style and iconography reflect the influence of Western Christian art.⁶⁹ Along with these scenes, notable elements include two rectangular vignettes depicting the Holy Trinity and the Veil of Veronica (fig. 9), both executed in the same iconographic and stylistic manner, which also appear in the reprinted *Prayer Book*

63. E. Љ. Немировски, *Црногорска библиографија, I/2, Издања Божидача и Вићенца Вуковића, Стефана Мариновића, Јакова од Камене Реке, Јеролима Загуровића, Јакова Крајкова, Ђованиа Антониа Рампацета, Марка и Бартоломеа Ђинамиа*, Сетинје 1993.

64. Пешикан, *Пет векова*, pp. 89-91.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 175-177.

66. М. Лазић, «Збирка старих штампаних књига Народне библиотеке Србије: обнова и развој након 1941. године», *Археографски прилози* 37 (2015), 174-175.

67. С. Петковић, «Илустрације Meditationes vitae Christi од Псеудо-Бонавентуре у једној српској штампаној књизи XVI века», *Зборник Светозара Радојчића*, Белград 1969, pp. 253-265.

68. Idem, «Порекло илустрација у штампаним књигама Божидача Вуковића», pp. 121-135; idem, «Илустрације српских штампаних књига XV-XVII века између Истока и Запада», *Црнојевића штампарија и старо штампарство*, Podgorica 1994, pp. 72-73.

69. Idem, «Илустрације Meditationes vitae Christi од Псеудо-Бонавентуре у једној српској штампаној књизи XVI века», pp. 253-265; idem, «Илустрације српских штампаних књига XV-XVII века између Истока и Запада», 73.

(*Miscellany for Travelers*) of 1560. Finally, another noteworthy element is Vicenzo's coat of arms (fig. 8), which in his early editions – the *Psalter with Appendices* and the *Prayer Book (Miscellany for Travelers)* – kept the basic structure of Božidar Vuković's coat of arms with the heraldic motifs of lion and eagle, but with newly added Western elements such as a crest with a human figure and the text *Everything for the Faith* or a depiction of the pope with a tiara.

Although Vicenzo verbatim repeated the colophons his father's editions in his reprints, in the *Psalter with Appendices* of 1546 and its reprint of 1561 he also included a new text titled the *Epistle of Mr. Vicenzo Vuković*.⁷⁰ This is a remarkably important text where, besides reporting the transfer and burial of Božidar's earthly remains in the Church of the Holy Savior in Starčeva Gorica, Vicenzo also offers a construed genealogy of his ancestors. Interestingly, according to this genealogy, the Vuković family «is descended from a tribe of pious rulers of the Serbian lands, from Constantine the First, beginning with the devout first Christian emperor, to the time of the illustrious Despot Vuk, as stated in the genealogy of Serbian kings and emperors».⁷¹

In addition to Božidar's and Vicenzo's aforementioned editions of the *Psalter*, there is another edition, but the identity of its publisher has not been reliably established. Based on a filigree analysis it has been dated to the mid-16th century and is therefore likely to have been printed by Vicenzo Vuković. Only two fragments from this *Psalter* are known: the longer, 42-page one is kept at the Library of Matica srpska;⁷² and the eighth page of the eighth quaternion of this book is kept in the Collection of Early Printed Books of the National Library of Serbia.⁷³

Despite the fact that Vicenzo was not formally signed in their prefaces and afterwords, the editions published by his successors – Stefan of Skadar, Jakov of Kamena Reka, Jerolim Zagurović and Jakov Krajkov⁷⁴ – were printed using the typographic equipment that had once belonged to Božidar and Vicenzo Vuković.

70. С. Новаковић, «Псалтир и епистола Виценца Вуковића од 1546 године», *Годишњица Николе Чуића IX* (1887), 200-213.

71. Н. Р. Синдик, *Издавачи, штампари, преписивачи*, Сетинје - Obod 1996, p. 87.

72. Д. Грбић – К. Минчић-Обрадовић – К. Шкорић, *Ћирилицом штампане књиге 15-17. века Библиотеке Матице српске*, Нови Сад 1994, pp. 76-77; Д. Грбић, «Збирка штампаних Србуља у Библиотеци Матице српске», *Колекције у библиотекама: формирање, заштита, богаћење, одржавање, ревизија и коришћење*, Крушевац 2008, p. 135.

73. Лазич, «Збирка старих штампаних књига Народне библиотеке Србије: обнова и развој након 1941. године», 174-175.

74. For a bibliography of the publishing activities of Vuković's successors, see: Б. Маринковић, *Библиографија о нашем ћириличком штампарству, штампаријама и књигама XV, XVI и XVII столећа, трећа књига: следбеници Божидара и Вићенца Вуковића*, Сетинје 1989.

Their typographic characters later came into the possession of other printshops, for instance Antonio Rampazzeto's, where hieromonk Stefan of Paštrovići printed an *Anthology* (1597), or Bartolomeo Ginammi's, which published a *Psalter with Appendices* (1638). These printshops mostly reprinted the books published by Božidar and Vincenzo Vuković, although they also offered some new editions, such as the *Lenten Triodion* of 1561 and the *Pentecostarion* which appeared two years later (1563).

Based on information provided in its colophon, the *Lenten Triodion* was printed owing to the efforts of Stefan of Skadar and completed on 6 January 1561. The headpiece from Božidar Vuković's *Festal Menaion* of 1538 was repeated at the beginning of this book, with the Vuković coat of arms replaced by the year of publication – 1560 «from the birth of Christ». Below the headpiece with a cross there is the inscription «Vicence de gospodin Božidar Vukoje od Starea»,⁷⁵ which clearly suggests Vincenzo Vuković's participation in the printing process, although the circumstances of his involvement cannot be reliably reconstructed.

There is more unclarity and uncertainty concerning the contents of the colophon of the *Pentecostarion*,⁷⁶ whose afterword states that the book was printed owing to the efforts of Stefan of Skadar at Camillo Zanetti's typography on 24 December 1563 in Skadar. However, since Camillo Zanetti was a distinguished calligrapher, copyist and typographer from a prominent family of Venetian printers who mostly published Greek liturgical books,⁷⁷ it is more likely that the *Pentecostarion* was printed at the Zanetti typographic workshop in Venice⁷⁸ and Skadar named as the place of publication to obscure the true location for unclear reasons, which was not an uncommon practice at the time. Vincenzo Vuković's characters were used in the printing of this *Pentecostarion*, while a few of his templates were used to decorate the *Psalter with Appendices* of 1546.⁷⁹ On the other hand, Zanetti's involvement is confirmed by a headpiece with floral ornaments placed at the very beginning of the volume, a distinctive element in some of his editions of Greek liturgical books.

In the closing years of the seventh decade of the 16th century, Jerolim Zagurović, a descendant of an old and prominent family of Roman Catholic nobles

75. There is, however, another version of the first leaf besides this one: Пешикан, *Пет векова*, pp. 198–199.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

77. E. Layton, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy. Printers and Publishers for the Greek World*, Venice 1994, 513–544.

78. Л. Чурчић, «Неки проблеми прештампаних издања Божидача и Вићенца Вуковића», *Штампарска и књижевна дјелатност Божидача Вуковића Подгоричанина*, Титовград (Podgorica) 1986, pp. 187–190.

79. Пешикан, *Пет векова*, p. 201.

from Kotor, published three Serbo-Slavonic paleotypes: the *Psalter with Appendices*,⁸⁰ *Prayer Book – Euchologion*⁸¹ and *Hieratikon*,⁸² which are essentially reprints of the same editions published by Božidar and Vicenzo Vuković. Although he mostly copied the text of Vuković's book word-for-word, while illustrating these volumes Zagurović's printer Jakov Krajkov included some graphic elements of contemporaneous Western European editions; notable examples include the figure of Matthew the Evangelist in the *Hieratikon* and the image of King David in the *Psalter with Appendices* which was later reprinted by the renowned Venetian typographer Bartolomeo Ginammi in his own *Psalter with Appendices*⁸³ of 1638, which was itself a copy of Zagurović's book of the same name. However, a notable innovation in Zagurović's and Ginammi's editions was the use of their own printing emblems, which are markedly different from the heraldic bearings of Božidar and Vicenzo Vuković.

The influence of Vuković's publications on the book production of his successors is also apparent in the example of small popular anthologies with miscellaneous texts⁸⁴ that catered to the everyday devotional needs of individual believers and were mostly modeled after Vuković's *Travelers' Anthologies*. This is particularly true of the *Anthology* printed by Jakov of Kamena Reka and, to a slightly lesser extent, the anthologies published by Jakov Krajkov and Stefan of Paštrovići. According to the book colophon, besides using «old moulds» that had once belonged to Božidar and his son Vicenzo, Jakov of Kamena Reka made two new templates with woodcut depictions of the *Cave of Elijah* (fig. 11) and *Palm Sunday*. The other two anthologies – Jakov Krajkov's (1572)⁸⁵ and the one printed by Stefan of Paštrovići (1597)⁸⁶ – are less reliant on the composition of Vuković's *Travelers' Anthologies*, as evidenced by their twice smaller format (16°). The anthology «For various needs» (*Različnije potrebi*) was independently published by Jakov Krajkov, originally from Sofia, who had previously worked on the

80. Л. Чурчић, «Псалтир из 1569. и Трбник из 1570. Јеролима Загуровића», *Сусрети библиографа* 84 (1985) 54-73; Пешикан, *Пет векова*, pp. 173-174.

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-196.

83. M. Fin – J. Todorović, «A True Piece of Cultural Hybridity: Ginammi's Psalter s posledovawem of 1638», *Црквене студије* 15 (2018), 151-171.

84. Трифуновић, *Азбучник српских*, pp. 94-95.

85. Маријана Цибранска-Костова, *Сборникът «Различни потреби» на Яков Крайков между Венеция и Балканите през XVI век*, Sofia 2013. In the phototype edition of this book Axinia Džurova published a bilingual study on it in Bulgarian and Italian: Аксиния Джурова, *Яков Крайков, Сборник «Различни потреби» (книга за пътника)*, Sofia 2014.

86. A phototype edition has been published: *Молитвослов. Фототипско издање. Објављено поводом четири века од првог издања*, Џаџак 2009.

printing of Jerolim Zagurović's edition. Despite the fact that Jakov Krajkov was an ethnic Bulgarian, the book was printed in the Serbian recension of the Old Slavonic language. Interestingly, owing to the efforts of hieromonk Sava of the Dečani Monastery, at the typography of Giovanni Rampazetto hieromonk Stefan of Paštrovići printed an *Anthology*, adding a *Bukvar* (Primer) to this edition. This composition was printed in the same format as the *Anthology*, with a concise version on two sheets and a more extensive version on four.⁸⁷

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Broadly speaking, the influence of Venice as the leading printing center of early modern Europe on the evolution of Serbian early printed books was at least two-fold: on one hand, the majority of editions were printed in Venice and the needed typographic equipment was procured in the city; on the other hand, its influence is also apparent in terms of their morphology, more specifically book decoration.

Almost two thirds of all Serbo-Slavonic Cyrillic liturgical and religious editions issued from 1519 to 1638 were published in the capital of La Serenissima. Most of these were printed by Božidar Vuković and his son Vincenzo, as well as their successors (Stefan of Skadar, Jakov of Kamena Reka, Jerolim Zagurović, Jakov Krajkov, hieromonk Stefan of Paštrovići and Bartolomeo Ginammi), who mostly used the characters and other typographic equipment from Vuković's repertoire for their own printing needs. As in the case of the general printing production in Venice – a milieu where the book was, among other things, seen as a lucrative item and where this new industry attracted wealthy merchants and entrepreneurs – Serbo-Slavonic early printed books appeared in similar circumstances. Thus, following the usual business practices of Venice and the example of other affluent Venetian entrepreneurs of various ethnicities (including Greek),⁸⁸ Vuković launched his bookprinting project. In addition to personal piety and patriotism, which are cited as

87. M. Kiћoviћ, «Први српски буквар», *Библиотекар* IV, 3-4 (1952), 97-108; Карарина Мано-Зиси, «Први штампани српски буквар из 1597. године», *Буквари и букварска настава код Срба*, Belgrade 2010, 13-25. Two phototype editions of the *Bukvar* have been published based on the copy belonging to the Collection of Early Printed Books of the National Library of Serbia (И 37): *Буквар. Фототипско издање. Објављено поводом четири века од првог издања*, ed. P. Марковић Риђанин, Џаџак 2009; *Буквар Инока Саве Дечанца и игумена Стефана од Паштровића из 1597. године*, ed. Будимир Алексић, Buljarica 2016.

88. In the Afterword to the *Prayer Book (Miscellany for Travelers)* of 1520/1521, Božidar Vuković says that, after having arrived in Venice, he saw «Franks, Greeks and other nations» printing religious books and «with all his heart» wished to print Serbian and Bulgarian ones: Н. Р. Синдик, *Издавачи, штампари, преписивачи*, Cetinje - Obod 1996, pp. 51-52.

his only motives in the colophons of his books, other reasons are also evident: from representation and memorization to financial gain. The important role of personal profit, along with other factors, is apparent in the fact that Vuković's successors who published Serbo-Slavonic liturgical books intended for use in the Orthodox church and the wider South Slavic space also included members of the Roman Catholic Church, for instance Jerolim Zagurović and Bartolomeo Ginammi.

On the other hand, unlike manuscript books, printed books as a new mass medium allowed faster information exchange, understandably leading to quicker cultural communication between different milieus. Although these were liturgical and religious books primarily intended for followers of the Orthodox rite, they did not entirely prevent the spreading of other ideas which were not fully in line with the teachings of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Hence, the stylistic-morphological and iconographical features of the visual and graphic design of Serbo-Slavonic incunables and paltotypes reflect an amalgamation of elements rooted in the rich manuscript tradition of the South Slavs and the contemporary Renaissance book and its decoration. This combination can be traced back to the very beginning of Serbo-Slavonic printing, beginning with the Cetinje incunables, and are particularly apparent in the square initials of the *Psalter with Appendices* and the illustrations of the *Octoechos, Mode 5-8*. Later on, in the mid-16th century, unlike Božidar Vuković's editions which show virtually no deviations from established traditional models, Vicenzo Vuković's books reveal the most intensive influx of Western iconographic formulations. This is particularly evident in the *Prayer Book (Miscellany for Travelers)* of 1547, an edition intended for a wider circle of believers, where the vignettes comprising the bottom part of the frame hold 16 scenes fully executed in the spirit of Western iconography. The influence of Western iconographic formulations is also very apparent in the composition of Vicenzo Vuković's coat of arms, whose elements even include an image of the pope with a tiara.

Generally speaking, all of this seems to suggest that the Serbian early printed book was not an isolated phenomenon and that its visual and graphic decoration reflects various factors, directly or indirectly. And although the graphic decoration of these editions – printed in black or red using the woodcut technique – was essentially rooted in their conceptual and functional context, it was not entirely dependent on it. Important roles were played by the social setting as well as the political, economic and cultural circumstances in which it emerged. On the other hand, the artistic and esthetic taste and skill of the illustrator and woodcutter must have also been important contributing factors in the shaping of book decorations, but in the patronage system of late medieval and early modern Europe the decisive role belonged to the technical editor of a particular edition and, even more so, to its commissioner, in this case the publisher, who had the final say in the design of the book.

Appendix 1

List of Serbo-Slavonic Cyrillic editions printed in Venice⁸⁹

1. *Hieratikon (Liturgikon)*, Božidar Vuković's edition, Venice, printer/editor: hieromonk Pahomije; place of publication: Venice; date of publication: according to the colophon, printing was completed on 7 July 1519 AD, or in 7028 (1520) from the creation of the world; volume: 240 leaves, format: 4°

2. *Psalter with Appendices*, Božidar Vuković's edition, printer/editor: hieromonk Pahomije; place of publication: Venice; date of publication: according to the colophon, the printing of the first part of the book (the Psalter) was completed on 7 April AD, or in 7028 from the creation of the world, and the printing of the second part (Appendices) was completed on 12 October 1520 AD, or in 7029 from the creation of the world; volume: 352 leaves; format: 4°

3. *Prayer Book (Miscellany for Travelers)*, Božidar Vuković's edition, printer/editor: hieromonk Pahomije; place of publication: Venice; date of publication: according to the colophon, printing was completed on 6 March 1520 AD, or in 7029 from the creation of the world; volume: 176 leaves (concise version); volume: 272 leaves (extended version); format: 8°

4. *Prayer Book (Miscellany for Travelers)*, Božidar Vuković's edition (reprint of Vuković's extended version of 1520/1521); printer/editor: hierodeacon Mojselj; place of publication: Venice; date of publication: according to the colophon, printing was completed on 26 April 1536 AD; volume: 312 leaves; format: 8°

5. *Octoechos, Mode 5-8*, Božidar Vuković's edition, printers/editors: hieromonks Teodosije and Genadije; place of publication: Venice; date of publication: according to the colophon, printing was completed on 27 July 1537 AD or 7045 from the creation of the world; volume: 162 leaves; format: 2°

6. *Festal Menaion (Anthologion)*, Božidar Vuković's edition, printers/editors: hierodeacon Mojselj; place of publication: Venice; date of publication: accor-

89. The list does not include the edition of the *Hieratikon* published by the Goražde printing house, which is also believed to have been printed in Venice. Judging by their colophons, the other two editions of this printing house were printed at the Church of St. George in Goražde.

ding to the colophon, printing was completed on 19 January 1538 AD or 7046 from the creation of the world; volume: 432 leaves; format: 2°

7. *Prayer Book (Euchologion)*, Božidar Vuković's edition; place of publication: Venice; date of publication: 1538-1540 (no surviving copy contains a colophon); volume: 280 leaves; format: 4°

8. *Psalter with Appendices*, Vincenzo Vuković's edition (reprint of Božidar Vuković's book of the same name from 1519/1520, but with added decorative frames), place of publication: Venice; date of publication: 1546 (according to the colophon); volume: 308 leaves; format: 4°

9. *Prayer Book (Miscellany for Travelers)*, Vicenzo Vuković's edition (reprint of Božidar Vuković's book of the same name from 1536, but with added decorative frames), place of publication: Venice; date of publication: according to the colophon, printing was completed on 1 June 1547; volume: 311 leaves; format: 8°

10. *Hieratikon (Liturgikon)*, Vincenzo Vuković's edition (reprint of Božidar Vuković's book of the same name from 1519/1520), place of publication: Venice; date of publication: 1554 (according to the colophon); volume: 240 leaves; format: 4°

11. *Prayer Book (Miscellany for Travelers)*, Vicenzo Vuković's edition (reprint of Vicenzo Vuković's book of the same name from 1547, but without the decorative frames), place of publication: Venice; date of publication: 1560 (according to the colophon); volume: 311 leaves; format: 8°

12. *Psalter with Appendices*, Vincenzo Vuković's edition (reprint of Vincenzo Vuković's book of the same name from 1546, but without the decorative frames), place of publication: Venice; date of publication: 1561 (according to the colophon); volume: 284 leaves; format: 4°

13. *Octoechos, Mode 5-8*, Vincenzo Vuković's edition (reprint of Božidar Vuković's book of the same name from 1537); place of publication: Venice; date of publication: c. 1560 (based on the watermarks); volume: 162 leaves; format: 2°

14. *Lenten Triodion*, edition of Stefan of Skadar, place of publication: Venice; date of publication: according to the colophon, printing was completed on 6 January 1561 AD; volume: 256 leaves; format: 2°

15. *Pentecostarion*, edition of Stefan of Skadar, place of publication: Venice (the colophon names Skadar as the place of publication); date of publication: according to the colophon, printing was completed on 24 December 1563 AD; volume: 224 leaves; format: 2°

16. *Prayer Book (Miscellany)*, edition of Jakov of Kamena Reka; place of publication: Venice; date of publication: according to the colophon, printing was begun on 15 May and completed on 30 August 1566; volume: 268 leaves; format: 8°

17. *Psalter with Appendices*, Jerolim Zagurović's edition (reprint of Vincenzo Vuković's book of the same name from 1561); printer/editor: Jakov Krajkov; place of publication: Venice; date of publication: according to the colophon, 7078 from the creation of the world (1569/1570); volume: 276 leaves; format: 4°

18. *Prayer Book (Euchologion)*, Jerolim Zagurović's edition (reprint of Božidar Vuković's book of the same name from 1538-1540); printer/editor: Jakov Krajkov; place of publication: Venice; date of publication: according to the colophon, 7078 from the creation of the world or 1570 AD; volume: 281 leaves; format: 4°

19. *Hieratikon (Liturgikon)*, Jerolim Zagurović's edition printed in two versions (reprint of Vincenzo Vuković's book of the same name from 1554, with the dating repeated); place of publication: Venice; date of publication: c. 1570 (?) and 1580 (?); volume: 240 leaves; format: 4°

20. *Miscellany (Različnije potrebi)*, Jakov Krajkov's edition; place of publication: Venice; date of publication: according to the colophon, printing was completed in 7080 from the creation of the world (1572); volume: 128 leaves; format: 16°

21. *Prayer Book (Miscellany)*, edition of hieromonk Stefan of Paštrovići (printing house of Giovanni Antonio Rampazetto); printer/editor: hieromonk Sava of Dečani; place of publication: Venice; date of publication: according to the colophon, printing was completed on 19 May 7105 from the creation of the world or in 1597 AD; volume: 152 leaves; format: 16°

22. *Bukvar [Primer]*, edition of hieromonk Stefan of Paštrovići (printing house of Giovanni Antonio Rampazetto); printer/editor: hieromonk Sava of Dečani; place of publication: Venice; date of publication: 20 May 1597 (version 1), 25 May 1597 (version 2); volume: 2 leaves (version 1), 4 leaves (version 2); format: 8° (version 1), 16° (version 2)

23. *Psalter with Appendices*, Bartolo Ginammi's edition (reprint of Jerolim Zagurović's book of the same name of 1569); place of publication: Venice; date of publication: 1638 (according to the colophon); volume: 276 leaves; format: 4°

24. *Psalter*, edition of an unknown printing house; place of publication: Venice; date of publication: mid-16th century (based on the watermarks); volume: ?; format: 4°

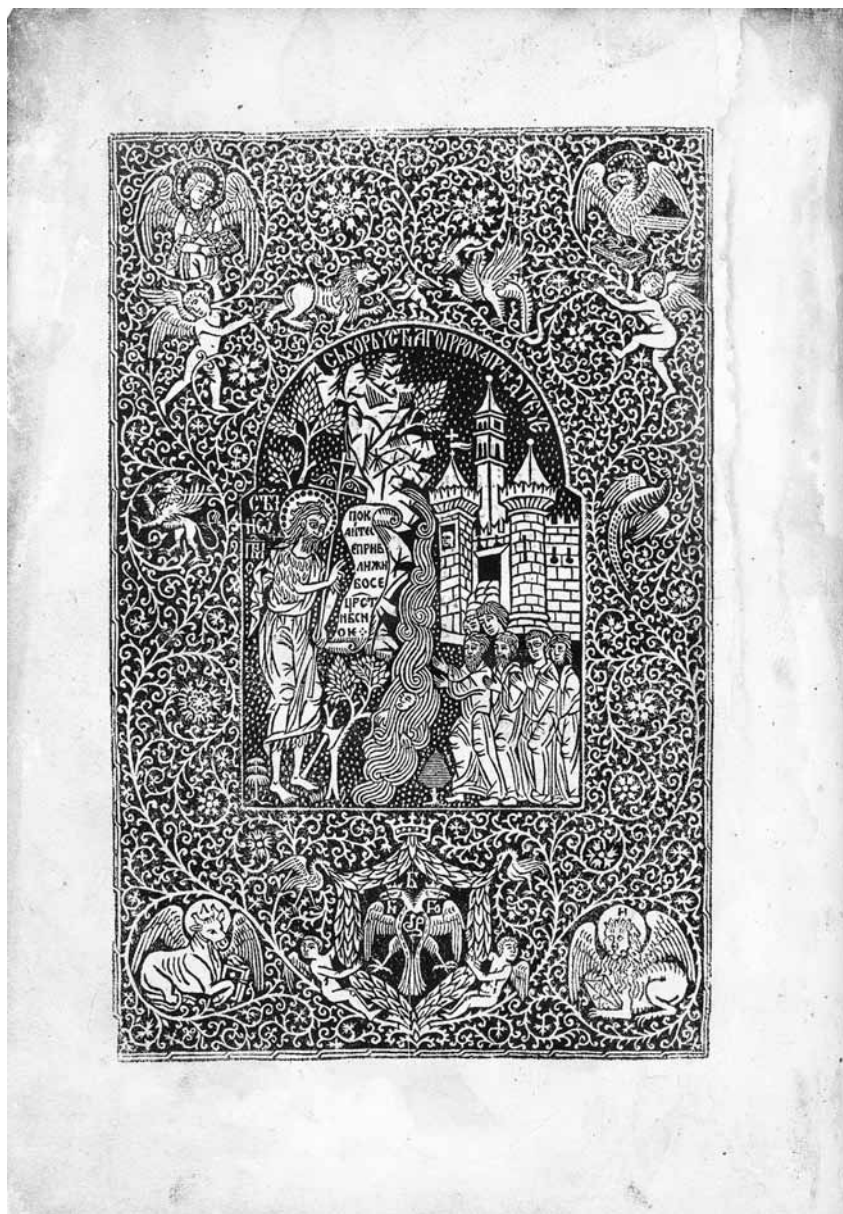


Fig. 1. Synaxis of the Prophet John the Forerunner, *Octoechos*, *Mode 5-8*, Djuradj Crnojević's edition, Cetinje, 1496 (?), Dečani Monastery, Dečani 156, fol. 18v (20v).



Fig. 2. Headpiece with the monogram 'Bož', *Hieratikon (Liturgikon)*, Božidar Vuković's edition, Venice, 1519, NLS, И 32, fol. 3.

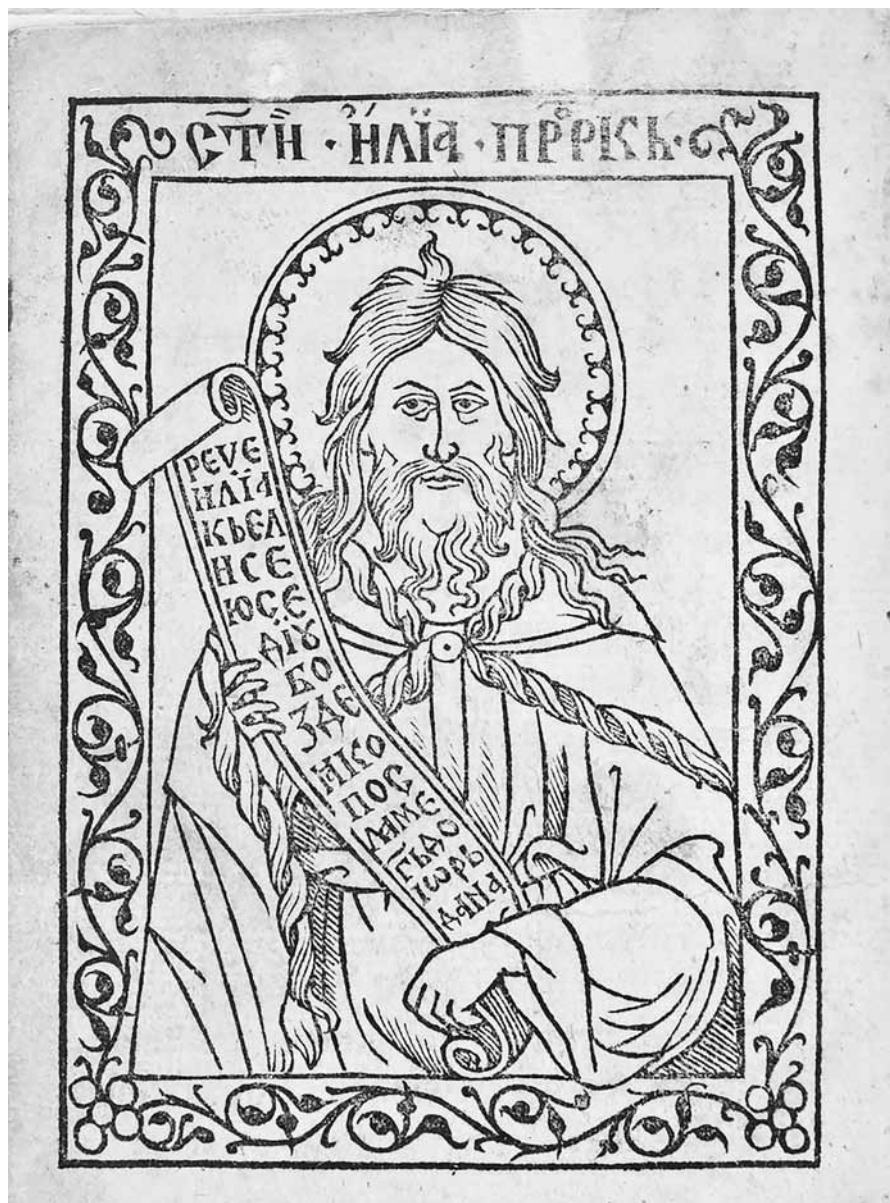


Fig. 3. Prophet Elijah, *Prayer Book (Miscellany for Travelers)*, Božidar Vuković's edition, Venice, 1536, LMS, PCp I 3.1, fol. 182v.

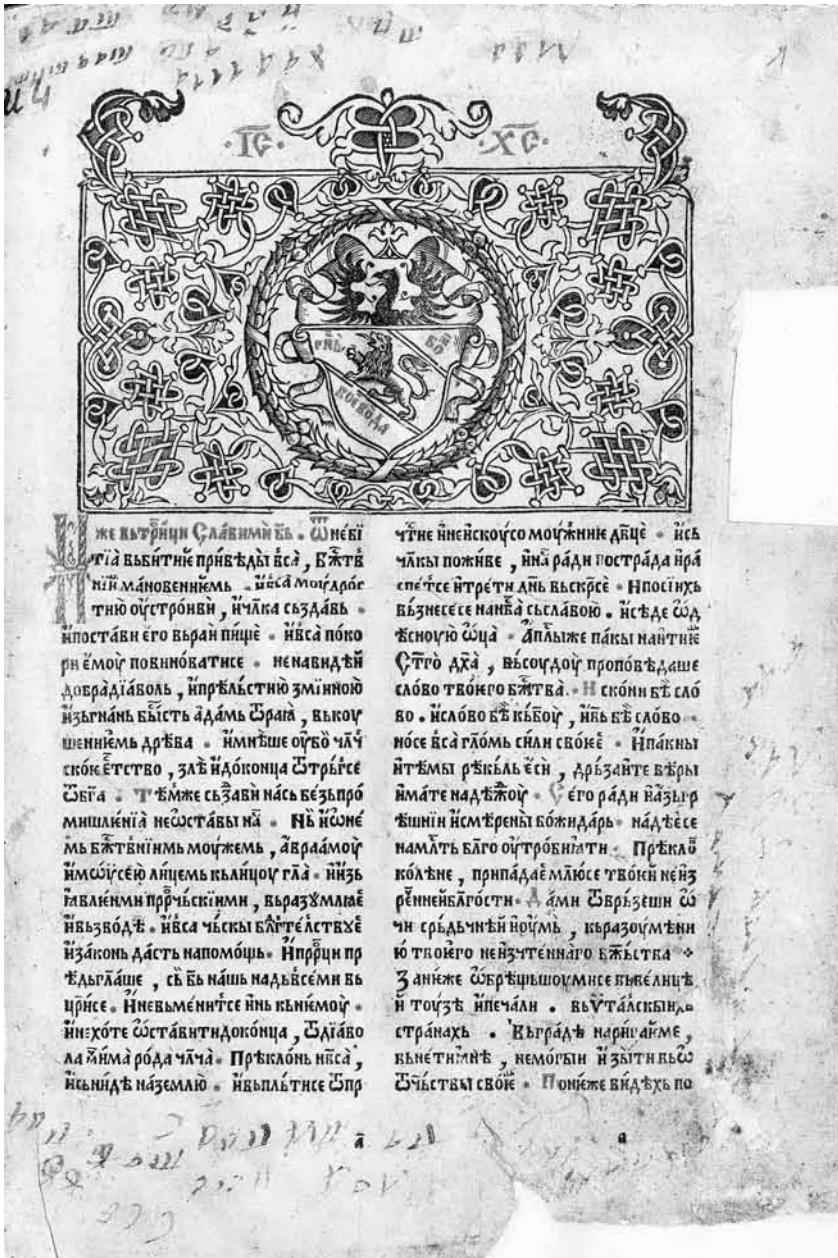


Fig. 4. Headpiece with the coat of arms of Božidar Vuković, Octoechos, Mode 5-8, Božidar Vuković's edition, Venice, 1537, NLS, И 4, fol. 1



Fig. 5. Three Hymnographers, *Octoechos*, Mode 5-8, Božidar Vuković's edition, Venice, 1537, Krka Monastery, fol. 2.



Fig. 6. St. Nicholas bringing King Stefan of Dečani to Christ, *Festal Menaion* (*Anthologion*), Božidar Vuković's edition, Venice, 1538, CBL, W 149, fol. 79v (80v).

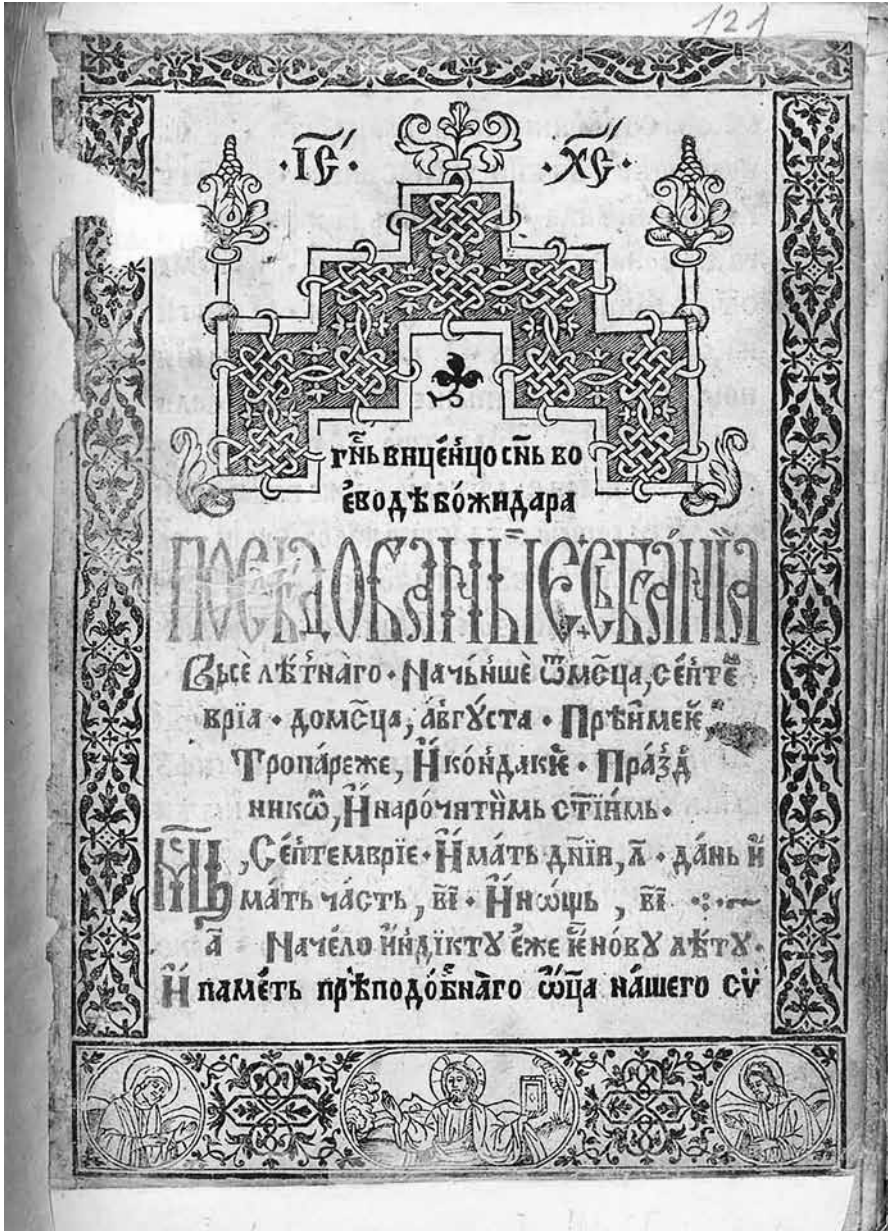


Fig. 7. Headpiece with the inscription of Vincenzo Vuković, *Psalter with Appendices*, Vincenzo Vuković's edition, Venice, 1546, NLS, И 15, fol. 121.



Fig. 8. Coat of arms of Vincenzo Vuković, *Psalter with Appendices*, Vincenzo Vuković's edition, Venice, 1546, Nikoljac 66, fol. 1.



Fig. 9. Vignette with the Veil of Veronica, *Prayer Book (Miscellany for Travelers)*, Vincenzo Vuković's edition, Venice, 1547, RSL, № 18, fol. 264v.



Fig. 10. *Imago pietatis*, *Octoechos*, Mode 5-8, Vincenzo Vuković's edition, Venice, c. 1560, NLS, II 5, fol. 1.



Fig. 11. St. Elijah in the Cave, *Prayer Book (Miscellany)*, edition of Jakov of Kamena Reka, Venice 1566, NLS, И 98, fol. 76v (83v).