

Early cyrillic printed books and the migration of decorative forms between the Adriatic and the Danube around 1500*

Vladimir Simić**

Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia

UDC 766:655.285](497.16Cetinje)"1493/1500"
761.1:76.04]"14"

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2298/ZOG2044189S>

Оригиналан научни рад

The article focuses on the artistic transfer of the early printed books from the Cetinje printing shop, between the Mediterranean and the Danube region in the late medieval and early modern period. The master-printer Makarije made these books under the influence of the Italian, German and Slavonic printers operating in Venice. He later traveled throughout Southeastern Europe, spreading their influence to the Wallachian principality. The paper analyzes and compares the decorative elements in these books in order to understand their origin. The migration and the reception of the artistic elements of Makarije's incunabula allow us to discover artistic dissemination routes.

Keywords: Cetinje, printing shop, Cyrillic books, Mediterranean, Danube area, Wallachia, migration in art, cultural transfer

At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, Venice was the main printing center of Europe. As it was one of the largest markets for manuscripts where one could find both grand libraries and numerous and rich book collectors, as well as buy high-quality paper, skilled artists and artisans from around Europe naturally flocked to this city. In addition, Venice's maritime position allowed books, together with other goods, to be transported by sea around Europe.¹ Since establishing a printing shop in the Ottoman Empire was an extremely expensive and difficult undertaking, a steady stream of enterprising individuals came to Venice in an attempt to organize the production of printed books for the Orthodox Slavs who lived in the Balkans under Ottoman domination. They brought with them new stimuli and art forms that further enriched Renaissance Venice, and added to its growth and prosperity. Simultaneously, these people took back to their countries not only printed books and the knowledge of printing technologies, but new artistic forms and influences. Cultural transfer

between Venice and South-Eastern Europe had its intermediaries, first and foremost the printers and book merchants, but also the books themselves, through which ideas, artistic forms and decorative order were transferred.² Both sites — Eastern and Western — were altered during this complicated process, adapted to the new circumstances, and transformed.³ The focus of this essay is the analysis of one such process and the migration of an artistic idea from Venice, via Cetinje printers and their books to the wider space of South-Eastern Europe. The technology and the art which were disseminated through their work created a cultural bridge between the Mediterranean and the Danube basin, demonstrating that the distances were not always a limiting factor.⁴

*

In the period around 1500, Venice was a very attractive place for the Orthodox Serbs, who gathered around

² The economic exchange between the two Adriatic coasts existed from ancient times, and it intertwined in Venice. Immigrants from the eastern Adriatic coast and hinterland were usually referred to as "Schiavoni" or named after the town they came from. The largest population that arrived there was from Dalmatia and belonged to the Roman Catholic faith. The extensive literature on that subject with a comprehensive reference list is given in: J. Gudelj, *Visualizing past in a foreign country: image(s) of Schiavoni/Illyrians in early modern Italy*, in: *Visualizing past in a foreign country: Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternities and colleges in early modern Italy in comparative perspective*, ed. G. Capriotti et al., Macerata 2018, 10–13; L. Čoralić, *Prisutnost doseljenika sa istočnojadranske obale u Veneciji od XIII do XVIII stoljeća*, Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest 26/1 (Zagreb 1993) 39–78; B. de Maria, *Becoming Venetian: immigrants and the arts in early modern Venice*, New Haven 2010, 18–27.

³ S. Sander-Faes, *Kultureller Austausch zwischen Italien und dem Donauraum: Perspektiven der Frühneuezeitforschung*, in: *Barocke Kunst und Kultur im Donauraum I*, ed. K. Möseneder et al., Petersberg 2014, 186–189; C. Dondi, *The Venetian booktrade: a methodological approach to and first results of book-based historical research*, in: *Early printed books as material objects*, ed. B. Wagner, M. Reed, Berlin 2010, 219–227.

⁴ W. Schmitz, *Südslavischer Buchdruck in Venedig (16.–18. Jahrhundert): Untersuchungen und Bibliographie*, Giessen 1977, 153; S. Pelusi, *Libri e stampatori a Venezia: un ponte verso i Balcani*, in: *Ponti e frontiere*, ed. A. Bonifacio, Venezia 2005, 61–78.

* The paper is a result of the research on the project *Representations of identity in art and verbal-visual culture of the Modern era* (No. 177001) supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

** vmsimic@f.bg.ac.rs

¹ L. V. Gerulaitis, *Printing and publishing in fifteenth-century Venice*, Chicago 1976; A. Nuovo, *The book trade in the Italian Renaissance*, Leiden–Boston 2013, 21–45.



Fig. 1. Vignette, *Octoechos* (Tones 1–4), Cetinje 1494 (photo documentation: The National Library of Serbia, Department of Archeography)

the Greek Orthodox church of San Giorgio dei Greci. This small community was very diverse, and parishioners were merchants, adventurers, men of letters, and also members of the old noble families who had left the Balkans for political reasons.⁵ The Venetian government granted privileges to the local printing shops which made possible the production of Cyrillic books for the Orthodox population in the Balkans whose supply of liturgical books was cut off by the wars. For this reason, several printers and publishers were given a monopoly over the production of Cy-

⁵ E. C. Burke, *The Greeks of Venice, 1498–1600: immigration, settlement, and integration*, Turnhout 2016, 113–134; F. Mavroidi, *I Serbi e la confraternita Greca di Venezia*, *Balkan Studies* 24/2 (1983) 511–529; L. Čoralić, *Prisutnost doseljenika sa istočnojadranske obale u Veneciji*, 40–46. I would like to express my gratitude to my dear colleague Miroslav Lazić on his very useful and generous support during the writing of this article.

rillic books and their sales in different markets. This was so beneficial to the Venetian economy that the city magistrates turned a blind eye even to the religious arguments put forward from Rome, which urged the control of the content of Orthodox books.⁶ From the beginning of the sixteenth century, some Venetian printing shops started printing books in Serbian-Slavonic, the language used by the majority of Orthodox people in Southern-Eastern Europe, with the exception of the Greeks.⁷ This was important as it offered an alternative to manuscripts which took longer to produce and were affected by mistakes and inaccessible to wider circles of readers.⁸

Precisely at this time, around 1490, Djuradj Crnojević, the lord of Zeta (1490–1496) arrived in Venice and displayed an interest in printed books, as well as in opening a printing shop at Cetinje. The Crnojević family already had close contacts with Venice – Ivan Crnojević, Djuradj’s father, lived there from 1479 to 1481, balancing the independence of his country, squeezed in between the unreliable Venetian Republic and the mighty Ottoman Empire.⁹ Crnojević’s domains also had a direct border with the Republic since the largest part of the Adriatic coast was under Venetian rule. Young prince Djuradj was educated in Venice, and in 1490 married Elisabetta Erizzo, daughter of the Venetian noble Antonio Erizzo, a political marriage that was meant to ensure good relations between Zeta and the Republic of St. Mark. The wedding was described by Cardinal Pietro Bembo in his book *Historia Veneta* published in 1551.¹⁰ Djuradj was very interested in replenishing the depleted collections of Cyrillic books in the Orthodox churches in his fatherland, and in 1493 he probably brought a printing press from Venice and founded a Cyrillic printing shop in his capital city of Cetinje. This was the first such workshop among the South Slavs, and only the second Cyrillic printing shop in the world: an earlier one was founded by Sweipolt Fiol in Krakow in 1491. It published Cyrillic liturgical books for the Russian markets.¹¹ Unfortunately, Djuradj Crnojević remained in power only until 1496, when the Ottoman forces conquered Zeta. In December of 1496, he fled to Venice, with all the pomp of a ‘Byzantine’ ruler, and settled with his family in the home of

⁶ M. Fin, *Venecija i srpska knjiga*, *Glas biblioteke* 19 (Čačak 2012) 80–81; I. Borozan, *Ikona Nerukopisanog obraza i predstavljanje višeslojnog identiteta Božidara Vukovića*, *Zograf* 39 (2015) 152–155.

⁷ J. Grković-Mejdžor, V. Savić, *Srpski molitvenik iz 1512. godine*, in: *Srpski molitvenik: spomenica Milanu Rešetaru: 1512–1942–2012*, ed. J. Grković-Mejdžor, V. Savić, Beograd 2016, 117–119.

⁸ S. Pelusi, *Il libro liturgico veneziano per serbi e croati fra Quattro e Cinquecento*, in: *Le civiltà del libro e la stampa a Venezia. Testi sacri ebraici, cristiani, islamici dal Quattrocento al Settecento*, ed. eadem, Padova 2000, 44–49.

⁹ On Ivan’s migration to Italy v. V. Živković, *The Vow of Ivan Crnojević to the Virgin Mary in Loreto under the Shadow of the Ottoman Conquest*, *Balkanica* 48 (2017) 21–23; I. Božić, *Vladavina Crnojevića*, in: *Istorija Crne Gore II/2*, ed. D. Vujović et al., Titograd 1970, 333–347.

¹⁰ P. Bembo, *Historia Veneta*, Venezia 1551, 11; *Sazdanje Cetinja: izvori i legende*, ed. R. Rotković, Titograd 1984, 81.

¹¹ M. Pešikan, *Leksikon staroslovenskog štamparstva*, in: *Pet vekova srpskog štamparstva: 1494–1994*, ed. M. Pantić, Beograd 1994, 206–208; S. K. Zimmer, *The beginning of cyrillic printing, Cracow, 1491: from the Orthodox past in Poland*, ed. L. Krzyzanowski et al., Boulder 1983, 153.



Fig. 2. Three Hymnographers, Octoechos (Tones 5–8), Cetinje 1494
(photo documentation: The National Library of Serbia, Department of Archeography)

Alvise Pasqualin (today known as Casa Zaguri), near the bridge of St. Maurizio, which leads towards the church of Santa Maria Zubenigo (Santa Maria del Giglio). However, after numerous confrontations with the Venetian authorities, described in great detail by Marino Sanudo,

he fled Venice, leaving his family behind, and returned to Zeta.¹² He managed to obtain the protection of sul-

¹² *Sazdanje Cetinja*, 113. The information about Crnojević's time in Venice was left in the diaries written by his contemporary, historian Mario Sanudo. The diaries were only published at the end of

tan Bayezid II, most likely after converting to Islam, and lived as a Turkish feudal lord until his death somewhere in Anatolia in the 1520s.¹³

During the period between 1493 and 1496, while Djuradj Crnojević's printing shop was active, its principal was hieromonk Makarije 'of Montenegro' as he was called in the preface to one of his books.¹⁴ To date, Makarije's life has remained almost completely unknown, and everything we know about him comes from his notes in the colophons and margins of the books he printed.¹⁵ We do not even know where he learned the mobile typeset printing technique, although many historians assume he could have acquired the skill from his countryman Andrija Paltašić from Kotor (Andrea Iacobi de Cattaro) who owned a printing shop near the church of Santa Maria Formosa in Venice in 1476. There are indications that, for his part, Paltašić learned printing from the well-known French printer Nicholas Jenson. During the two decades from 1479 to 1499, Paltašić's printing shop published thirty-eight books on religious, legal, and historical topics.¹⁶ Paltašić offered his services to other printers as well (e.g. Octavian Scott), and we know that he also worked with South Slavonic printers like Dobrić Dobrićević from Dubrovnik (Boninus de Boninis de Ragusa).¹⁷

Paltašić and Dobrićević were not the only South Slavs from the Adriatic coast who were engaged in the printing business in Italy. We know of several others, like Grgur Dalmatinac (Grgur Senjanin), Bartolo Pelušić from Kopar or Šimun Paskvalić from Zadar (Simon Pasqualis).¹⁸ It is not inconceivable that Makarije became interested in printing while he worked as a scribe and a clerk at Crnojević's court and managed to convince his master of the profitability and usefulness of a printing shop. At that time, many printers in Italy and Germany thought similarly, and looked for sponsors and partners among rich noblemen.¹⁹ When Djuradj Crnojević left Zeta for Venice in 1496 he probably took Makarije with him. His will tells us that they took church silver, icons, and "scriptures" from Cetinje monastery, where the printing shop was located.²⁰

It has been shown that fifteenth-century printers had to prepare everything they needed for their work. That involved making type by pouring molten metal into

matrices which had previously been made by driving punches of the type into a soft metal like copper. The type punches were made according to the draft drawings of the letter design. Goldsmiths, who had extensive experience in smelting metal, were often hired to do this part of the work.²¹ The Cetinje printing shop most probably had two printing presses, which would also mean having two typesetters, two printers, one person to mix colors (ink), and one person to do all other tasks in the workshop.²² The printing presses and paper, as well as punches or types, were most probably bought in Venice, but it is highly likely that Makarije hired local goldsmiths and woodcarvers to make the decorative elements for the books – the illustrations, vignettes and ornaments. It was only a little while earlier that the first Italian Renaissance decorative elements appeared mixed with older Gothic art forms in the nearby coastal cities: first in Dubrovnik in the middle of the fifteenth century, in the work of sculptor Pietro di Martino from Milan.²³ Djuradj Crnojević hired Makarije as a supervisor of the whole project, relying on the practical knowledge he must have acquired in Venice, as well as his erudition and overall knowledge of the language, texts, orthography and theology.²⁴ Makarije monitored and edited the texts, made decisions on the appearance and the distribution of illustrations, and took care of the issues related to type making and the press and all other technical matters. He led and monitored the main part of the operation, while the helpers, who worked under his supervision, did the bulk of the physical work.

The Glagolitic printing press founded in 1493 by Blaž Baromić in the Dalmatian city of Senj operated in a similar manner. Baromić had also learned printing in Venice, in the workshop of Andrea Torresani.²⁵ Makarije most probably knew Baromić from Venice, because they were there at similar times, and trained in the printing business in the same way. Moreover, they faced the same problems in starting printing shops and casting typesets that were equally rare and specific to both the Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets. The Senj printing shop remained open until 1508, and it is not difficult to imagine that the two master printers exchanged experiences, especially as the Glagolitic typeset was made in Senj by Blaž himself. Moreover, the Missal printed in Senj in 1494 contains a depiction of 'The Crucifixion of Christ,' the first wood-carved illustration in a Glagolitic printed book, while

the nineteenth century: *I diarii di Marino Sanuto I*, ed. F. Stefani et al., Venezia 1879, 402, 421, et passim.

¹³ E. Lj. Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva u Crnoj Gori (1492–1496)*, Cetinje 1996, 226, 479; D. G. Wright, *The first Venetian love letter? The testament of Zorzi Cernovich*, *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 9/2 (2006) 1–10.

¹⁴ M. Lazić, *Venice and editions of early Serbian printed books*, *Thesaurismata* 48 (Venezia 2018) 162.

¹⁵ Pešikan, *Leksikon*, 137–139; N. R. Sindik, *Smereni sveštenik mnih Makarije ot Črnije Gori*, Podgorica 1995, 11–12.

¹⁶ M. Milošević, *Andrija Paltašić Kotoranin*, Cetinje 1994, 15–22; Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva*, 170–178.

¹⁷ Bonini (Boninis), *Bonino*, in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 12, ed. A. M. Ghisalberti, Roma 1970 (A. Cioni) (http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bonino-bonini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/); M. Pelc, *Ilustracije u tiskopisima Dobrića Dobrićevića (Boninus de Boninis)*, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 24 (2000) 135–136.

¹⁸ Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva*, 182; D. J. Martinović, *Portreti: bio-bibliografski pregled*, Cetinje 1983, 15.

¹⁹ B. Richardson, *Print culture in Renaissance Italy: the editor and the vernacular text, 1470–1600*, Cambridge 2004, 19–27.

²⁰ Wright, *The first Venetian love letter*, 11–20.

²¹ H. F. Brown, *The Venetian printing press: an historical study*, New York – London 1891, 17–26; R. Olocco, *The archival evidence of type-making in 15th-century Italy*, *La bibliofilia* 119/1 (Firenze 2017) 38–52.

²² D. Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga XV–XVII veka*, Beograd 1958, 43; T. L. De Vinne, *Notable printers of Italy during the fifteenth century: illustrated with facsimiles from early editions and with remarks on early and recent printing*, New York 1910, 147.

²³ Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 65–66; C. Fisković, *Petar Martinov iz Milana i pojava renesanse u Dubrovniku*, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 27/1 (1988) 89–100; V. Simić, *O mogućim izvorima i autorima drvoreznih ilustracija Oktoiha petoglasnika (1494)*, *Zograf* 40 (2016) 172–174.

²⁴ D. Romano, *Aspects of patronage in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Venice*, *Renaissance Quarterly* 46/4 (New York 1993) 712–714; Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva*, 200–203.

²⁵ A. Nazor, *Kulturnopovijesno značenje izdanja glagoljske tiskare u Senju g. 1494–1508.*, *Slovo* 21 (Zagreb 1971) 417–428; M. Pantelić, *Kulturni ambijent djelovanja Blaža Baromića, pisca i štampara glagoljskih knjiga*, *Senjski zbornik* 6/1 (1975) 31–36.

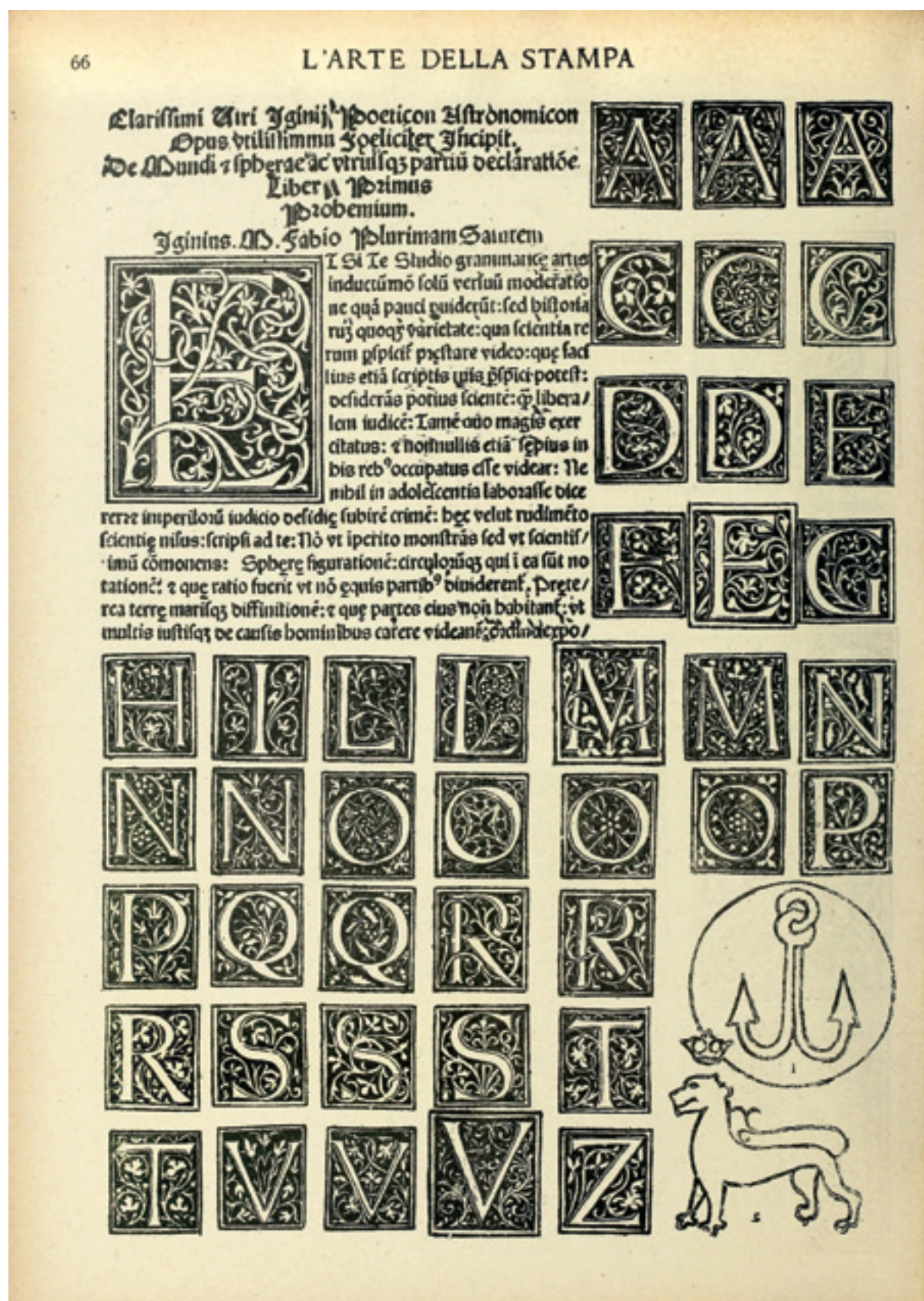


Fig. 3. Decorative Initials, Erhard Ratdold, *Hygini Poeticon Astronomicon*, Venice 1482 (illustration source: Ferdinando Ongania, *Early Venetian printing illustrated*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons 1895)

the first illustrations in a Cyrillic book appear in the Octoechos of the Fifth Tone printed in Cetinje in the same year.²⁶

²⁶ M. Ubiparip, *Petoglasnik Đurđa Crnojevića*, in: *Oktoih petoglasnik: izdanje Đurđa Crnojevića*, ed. S. Jančić, Cetinje – Beograd – Manastir Visoki Dečani 2014, 26–31; M. Pelc, *Od primanja do stvaranja: hrvatska grafika 15. i 16. stoljeća*, *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* 48/3–4 (2005) 24–25.

The Cetinje printing press was founded in order to produce necessary liturgical books by means that would speed up and replace the old and slow process of copying books. Although this does indicate some innovative and emancipatory attitudes, the good state of the Church was the motivation for medieval rulers who saw themselves as the protectors of the Christian faith. Thus, this founding act of Djuradj Crnojević needs to be seen at least partly



Fig. 4. Decorative Initials, Psalter, Cetinje 1495 (photo documentation: The National Library of Serbia, Department of Archeography)

as an act of piety by which he recommended his soul to God.²⁷ At his request, Makarije printed several Orthodox liturgical books over a period of three years: Octoechos of the First Tone, and then of the Fifth Tone (1494),²⁸

²⁷ M. Lazić, *Izdanja cetinjske štamparije između tradicije i inovacije, funkcije i forme*, in: *Između tradicije i inovacije: 520 godina od prve ćirilske knjige štampane na srpskoslovenskom jeziku*, ed. S. Jančić, Beograd 2014, 26–29.

²⁸ Idem, *O vremenu štampanja cetinjskog Oktoiha petoglasnika: prilog hronologiji izdanja štamparije Crnojevića*, in: *Rukopisna i stara štampana knjiga*, ed. S. Radulović, Beograd – Novi Sad 2018, 123–129; Lj. Puzović, *Počeci srpskog štamparstva: izdanja štamparije Đurđa Crnojevića*, in: *Između tradicije i inovacije: 520 godina od prve ćirilske knjige štampane na srpskoslovenskom jeziku*, ed. S. Jančić, Beograd 2014, 13–18. The Octoechos is one of the most important liturgical books in the Orthodox church. It was originally organized as one book which contained hymns in all eight tones (collections of melodies) used in the Orthodox services. As the number of hymns in each tone increased, the book was later (not before the fourteenth century) divided into two volumes. Among the Slavs, the first volume was called “Prvoglasnik” (of the First Tone) and the second one “Petoglasnik” (of

the Psalter with the Additions (*Psaltir s posledovanjem*) (1495),²⁹ and the *Prayerbook* (*Molitvenik*) (1495/6).³⁰

* *

It was exactly during the last thirty years of the fifteenth century that a significant change in the graphic design of books took place in Venice: more and more often the Venetian printers decorated their texts with richly ornamented Renaissance frames and attempted to introduce colors into printed books.³¹ In 1469, Giovanni and Vendelino da Spira (Ger. Johann and Wendelin of Speyer) introduced a new round, uncluttered, and readable letter type – Roman, which was subsequently improved by another well-known printer – Nicholas Jenson.³² Numerous other Italian artists also worked on illustrations and graphic ornaments for books, but it was Erhard Ratdold, a Venetian printer of German origin, who pioneered a new concept for the decoration of books by introducing wood carved illustrations, ornaments and initials with a characteristic combination of Gothic and Renaissance elements. His intention was to create a printing technique that would imitate the quality and decorations of manuscripts.³³ In contrast to modern printers, there was a division of jobs among printers in fifteenth-century workshops: they had to obtain the manuscript they intended to print, and ideally procure a second copy in order to double-check the content and the structure, notice and correct all the mistakes which the copyists might have made, and complete the editor’s work before they could send the manuscript over to the typesetter. This process required considerable funds, time and knowledge.³⁴

the Fifth Tone). Numerous manuscripts of the octoechos have been preserved, but they all differ slightly, either by the recension of Old Slavonic they were written in, or by the order of hymns they contained. Cf. Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva*, 364–365; V. J. Ivošević, *Dogmat-ski značaj i liturgijska uloga oktoiha u životu pravoslavne crkve*, in: *Pet vjekova Oktoiha: prve štampane ćiriličke knjige na slovenskom jugu*, ed. M. Babović, M. Pantić, Podgorica 1996, 96–102.

²⁹ Lazić, *Venice and editions of early Serbian printed books*, 162–163. The Psalter with Additions is an extended type of psalter which includes various other texts: the book of hours, troparia and kontakia, in calendar order, for the feast days of different saints. Twenty five examples (or fragments) of the Crnojević edition of the psalter from 1495 have been preserved: E. L. Nemirovski, *Hronologija izdanja Đurđa Crnojevića*, Bibliografski vjesnik 15/3 (1986) 160; M. Ubiparip, V. Trijić, *Zbornici paraklisa u srpskoslovenskoj tradiciji*, *Arheografski prilozi* 37 (2015) 86–97.

³⁰ The general prayer book is an important liturgical book that was often reprinted. It contains general prayers, short services, hymns and canons. The order of texts and services is organized to follow the course of human life, from birth to death. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Serbian printers most commonly called this book a prayer book. Crnojević’s prayer book has only been preserved in fragments: Pešikan, *Leksikon*, 146; Đ. Trifunović, *Azbučnik srpskih srednjovekovnih književnih pojmova*, Beograd 1990, 350–351.

³¹ Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 62–63; A. W. Pollard, *Early illustrated books: a history of the decoration and illustration of books in the 15th and 16th centuries*, London 1893, 82–109; A. F. Butsch, *Die Bücherornamentik der Renaissance*, Leipzig 1878, 153.

³² De Vinne, *Notable printers of Italy*, 33–36, 66, 74–78.

³³ G. R. Redgrave, *Erhard Ratdolt and his work at Venice*, London 1894, 9–17; A. W. Pollard, *Italian book illustrations: chiefly of the fifteenth century*, London 1894, 5–53.

³⁴ De Vinne, *Notable printers of Italy*, 102; C. F. Bühler, *The fifteenth century book: the scribes, the printers, the decorators*, Philadelphia 1960, 48–57.

It has already been noted that fifteenth-century incunabula sometimes hardly differed from manuscripts, which often caused confusion among contemporary readers: the formats were identical (the most common formats were octavo, used for the octoechos, and quartos used for the psalters and general prayer and service books), the books did not have title pages or page numbers (only the folded sheets were numbered with letters on the first and the last side), formulaic texts at the beginning and the end of the books were taken over from the manuscript tradition.³⁵ Yet, the books from Cetinje introduced a whole range of new elements adopted from contemporary Renaissance literary production. Thus, Makarije's initials belonged to the group of Renaissance initials created under the influence of Venetian printed books. Makarije used the same type of vignettes and initials for both the octoechos and the psalter, but he varied their sizes to suit the formats of the book. A tribute to his skill was the praise he received from Ludovico Pasquali, chancellor of the Latin Chancery in Dubrovnik, who petitioned the authorities to grant him the permission to open a printing shop in the city which would print books similar to those printed by the Crnojević's, using the type that had been used by Serbian monks in their churches ("in lettere rassiane, al modo che usano il calogeri della religione rassiana in loro chiese").³⁶ The Psalter contained the largest number of initials of all his editions. Despite these resemblances, the way these vignettes were used was taken from the manuscript tradition. Thus, for example, the illustration from the Octoechos of the First Tone from 1494 (Fig. 1) does not have a parallel among earlier Serbian miniatures, although under the influence of this book such motifs later appeared in sixteenth-century manuscripts. Renaissance motifs were copied from books belonging to various Venetian printers; for example, D. Medaković discovered the source for a small angel's head with schematic wings among the initial letters of Venetian printer Bernardino di Novara.³⁷ Two vertical ornaments set to the left and right of the vignette are braided with the ends in the shape of stylized leaves, which corresponds to the medieval decorative plaster ornaments of the Moravan architecture and decoration school, and which can also be found in the early manuscript tradition. This example indicates that the printers from Cetinje reinterpreted traditional decorative motifs, and without any qualms incorporated new elements from Renaissance printed books into them. In this process they displayed a high level of creativity. Angels and putti were standard motifs in the Venetian printed books of that period, especially in depictions of heraldic images where a wreath or a shield with a noble family's coat of arms was often carried by two heavenly creatures. The motifs on the ivy that fills the rectangular space of

³⁵ Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 85–87; S. Radojčić, *Stare srpske minijature*, Beograd 1950, 153; W. L. Schreiber, *Der Initialschmuck in der Druckwerken des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* 5/1 (1901–1902) 216–217.

³⁶ K. Jireček, *Beiträge zur ragusanischen Literaturgeschichte*, *AFSPH* 21/3-4 (1899) 433; Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva*, 153; M. Pantić, *Srpska knjiga u Goraždu i Dubrovniku do sredine 16. veka*, in: *Goraždanska štamparija 1519–1523*, ed. D. Barać, Beograd 2008, 20–21.

³⁷ Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 88–89; F. Ongania, *Early Venetian printing illustrated*, Venice – New York 1895, 60.



Fig. 5. Vignette, *Psalter*, Cetinje 1495 (photo documentation: The National Library of Serbia, Department of Archeography)

the vignette correspond to the textile ornament characteristic of Venetian manufacturers.³⁸

The second volume of the Octoechos is the most richly decorated of all books printed in Cetinje.³⁹ It contains at least six xylographic illustrations, all of which are above average in the quality of their artistic decoration (Fig. 2). Each of these ornaments was printed as two templates that complement one another: one template is an ornamental frame with an arch, within which the second template is an inserted illustration. It appears that there was only one copy of this frame, which displays all the characteristics of the Quattrocento, and it was used until it literally started to fall apart.⁴⁰ However, the in-

³⁸ Ongania, *Early Venetian printing*, 20. About similar processes in the context of the art of the Mediterranean: A. Payne, *Renaissance sgraffito facades and the circulation of objects in the Mediterranean*, in: *Synergies in Visual Culture*, ed. M. De Giorgi et al., Munich 2013, 235–241.

³⁹ M. Lazić, *Serbian printed book decoration in the 15th and 16th centuries: centres and creative production*, in: *Byzantine heritage and Serbian art II. Sacral art of the Serbian lands in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Vojvodić, D. Popović, Belgrade 2016, 485–487; Simić, *O mogućim izvorima i autorima*, 162.

⁴⁰ It is very likely that besides these six known xylographies of the Cetinje Octoechos there were others which have not been preserved. In the ideal reconstruction of the book, created on the basis of

side illustration was routinely changed. The ornamental frame consisted of white lines on a black background, and was composed of stylized plants intertwined with figures of winged putti, birds and animals, both real (lions) and imaginary (griffons). The symbols of the four evangelists occupy the corners, while the coat of arms of the Crnojević family – a two-headed eagle in a wreath held by two putti and birds – was placed in the middle of the lower part of the frame. The eagle is surrounded by Djuradj Crnojević's monogram. The same coat of arms can be found in the first volume of the *Octoechos*, except that the version from the second volume contains a crown at the top of the wreath, which is not present in the earlier book.⁴¹

Some researchers, like Pavel J. Šafarik, noticed that the Cetinje typeset shows the influence of the Latin Antiqua font, and sometimes even of Gothic type. Based on that, they concluded that Makarije did not cast the typeset for the books himself, but that it was done by an Italian master in Rome or Venice.⁴² Many others agreed that the presence of the double stylistic influence in the Cetinje books proved that the initials and ornaments were carved in Venice and then bought as finished products. In time, however, the conclusion that prevailed was that the ornaments were created in local shops on the coast and in Cetinje itself. By closely analyzing the *Octoechos* and the *Psalter*, E. L. Nemirovski established that Makarije replaced the worn-out or broken letters from the first set with letters that were modified, improved and cast from the matrices in Cetinje. In this way, the typeset of the Cetinje incunabula was constantly improved and redefined to follow the shapes of the Venetian Renaissance letter.⁴³

One characteristic of the Cetinje initials is that they are contained within rectangular frames and printed on a black or red background. Special wood-carved templates for printing initials were used for the first time by the Venetian printer Erhard Ratdold.⁴⁴ Until Ratdold's times, initials were hand painted in spaces that the printer had prepared. Initials usually contained a rectangular red or black background on which a white letter was intertwined with stylized white vine branches (Fig. 3). Ratdold's technique was quickly accepted, and by the end of the fifteenth century this method of printing and decorating initials was frequently used in Venice. It can be seen in the works of numerous printers such as Philip de Piero (1477), Franz Renner of Heilbronn (1478), and Johann Herbert of Heiligenstadt (1483).⁴⁵ This method for printing initials remained dominant until the 1520s, and the initials printed in Cetinje workshop fully belong to this group of Venetian printing techniques.

analogies with the internal structure of the book, it has been estimated that it contained thirty-one or thirty-two engravings: Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 67; V. Jagić, *Ein Nachtrag zum „ersten Cetinjer Kirchendruck vom J. 1494“*, AfSPH 25 (1903) 630–632; Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva*, 371–374.

⁴¹ Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva*, 371. Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 98.

⁴² Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva*, 330–332.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 346–347, 367–368, 433–434; J. Tomić, *Crnojevići i Crna Gora (1479–1528): istorijska rasprava*, Beograd 1901, 86.

⁴⁴ Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 93.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 94. A detailed biography of Franz Renner of Heilbronn is given in: Renner, Franz, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* XXVIII, Leipzig 1889, 228 (J. Braun).

The Cetinje printers did not simply copy existing shapes; they also decorated Cyrillic letters using the abovementioned initials as models. This is most apparent in the initials “K”, “Л” and “Б”, which contain not only stylized leaves and flowers, but also naked winged putti, birds, animals and cornucopia (Fig. 4).⁴⁶ Octavian Scott, a well-known Venetian printer, is considered a major influence behind the appearance of initials where figural representations and children's faces were added to the stylized vegetal ornament of the letter. These initials rapidly reached exceptional complexity and beauty, at first when painted on a light background, and gradually on a black background as well. Letters decorated with children and animals appeared first in the books of northern printers and quickly became known as “Kinderalphabet” in the work of Hans Holbein.⁴⁷ Thus, we can assume that the Cetinje printers learned how to create this initial by combining Scott's and Ratdold's works, which shows that they closely followed the latest developments in printing techniques in Venice.⁴⁸ The letters and ornaments in books produced in Cetinje resemble the ornaments in the aforementioned Venetian books, but an exact copy is nowhere to be found. This indicates that someone, most probably Makarije, created drawings of letters, ornamental initials, and vignettes based on ornaments from the Venetian incunabula, but also adapted them to the existing manuscript tradition. This part of the work was most probably done in Venice where it was possible to find a large number of early printed books by different printers.⁴⁹

* * *

Due to the variety of initials and the beauty of ornaments and illustrations, books from the Cetinje printing shop had a strong effect on printing in the Balkan hinterland. This was mostly due to the *spiritus movens* of the Cetinje printing shop – hieromonk Makarije. After the printing shop closed, we lose track of him in sources until ten years later, in 1508, when he reappears in the Principality of Wallachia, on the banks of the Danube. He was engaged there as a printer, and published several books: *Prayerbook* (1508), *Octoechos* (1510) and the *Four Gospels* (1512), all of which contain his remarks in the colophons. The reason why Makarije decided to move to this distant principality can be found in the links between the Crnojević family and the Wallachian rulers: specifically, in their shared Orthodox religion and in the common Church-Slavonic language that was used at the time in Romanian churches.⁵⁰ Radu cel Mare succeeded his father, Vlad IV Călugărul, on the throne of the Principality

⁴⁶ Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 93–94; Ongania, *Early Venetian printing*, 37–54.

⁴⁷ Schreiber, *Der Initialschmuck in der Druckwerken*, 217.

⁴⁸ Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 95, 97; L. Čurčić, *Udeo jeromonaha Makarija u štampanju cetinjskih inkunabula*, in: *Pet vjekova oktoiha: prve štampane ćirilčke knjige na slovenskom jugu*, ed. M. Babović, M. Pantić, Podgorica 1996, 138–140.

⁴⁹ De Vinne, *Notable printers of Italy*, 148–154.

⁵⁰ K. Olar, *Makarije u rumunskoj istoriografiji*, in: *Crnojevića štampanija i staro štamparstvo*, ed. J. M. Milović, Podgorica 1994, 106–111; A. Erich, N. Vărgolici, *Controversy regarding the printing of the first book in the Romanian space. The liturgy book (1508)*, *Studii de Biblioteconomie și Știința Informării* 13 (2009) 166–172.



Fig. 6. Three Hymnographers, Octoechos, Wallachia 1510 (photo documentation: The National Library of Serbia, Department of Archeography)

of Wallachia in 1495, and ruled until 1508. In order to strengthen his international position, he married Catalina Crnojević, about whom we know little except that she was either a sister or a daughter of Djuradj Crnojević. Radu and Catalina had several children, one of whom, Radu de la Afumați, became the next Wallachian ruler. Another link was Maxim Branković, who arrived in Wallachia from Venice in 1504. Using this opportunity to get rid of his opponent metropolitan Nifon, prince Radu appointed Maxim Branković as the new metropolitan. He was a very suitable candidate for this position because he belonged to the old Serbian ruling family, could trace his ancestors back to the Byzantine Paleologan dynasty, and was a relative of Princess Catalina and Duke Djuradj Crnojević.⁵¹ It is not impossible that Prince Radu wanted Maxim Branković to reorganize relations within the Orthodox church in Wallachia, and to reform the clergy. The presence of these important personalities at the Wallachian court points to the reasons why Makarije came to work for the Wallachian rulers. Radu ruled successfully until 1508, the year in which Makarije printed the *Prayerbook*, the first Wallachian printed book.⁵²

Apart from the common publisher, these three books have many textual elements that point to links with the Cetinje printing shop: the high quality of printing which would very rarely be achievable in the decades that followed, the uniform prefaces and conclusions in both *Octoechos*, a very similar text structure, and the mention of Serbian saints Sava and Simeon in the *Prayerbook*.⁵³ The visual elements also point to direct links between these works and Cetinje: the decorative vignettes used in the *Psalter* printed in Cetinje in 1495 are repeated on the first page of the 1508 *Prayerbook*. The *Four Gospels* printed in Wallachia in 1512 also contains one decorative vignette from the Cetinje incunabula. It consists of a braided ornament inside a rectangular frame which, apart from its decorative function, also represents a Greek cross at the center of which is a black two-headed eagle as a reference to the Crnojević family (Fig. 5).⁵⁴ This was a common motif since the fourteenth century not only in the decorations of Serbian manuscripts, but also on objects

meant for everyday use, such as the carved single doors in Slepče monastery near Bitola (Macedonia), produced in the sixteenth century.⁵⁵ Thus, it is not surprising that Cetinje printers decided to include it as well. A similar type of braid was used in the *Four Gospels*, except that the coat of arms in the middle contained a black raven with a crown on its head and a cross in its beak, the coat of arms of Prince Radu cel Mare.⁵⁶

This migration of influences between the Mediterranean and the Danube region is also confirmed by the similarity of another illustration that appeared in both of Makarije's editions of the *Octoechos* – the Cetinje book from 1494 and the Wallachian book from 1510. Before the text for the service of Little Vespers on Saturday evening, the Cetinje book contains an illustration of the Holy Hymnographers, the authors of the hymns from the *Octoechos*: St. Joseph the Hymnographer, St. John Damascene and St. Theophanes Graptos. In the background is an unknown church, which for a long time was the object of many speculations about whether it could be the church built by Ivan Crnojević in Cetinje.⁵⁷ Above the composition is God's hand, which blesses the church while the hymnographers celebrate God through their hymns. It is very unusual to see a miniature depicting the Holy Hymnographers together, and so it is assumed that the original of this composition is to be found on frescoes where they often appear in the composition called "All Creation Rejoices in Thee" based on the hymn attributed to St. John Damascene. From the sixteenth century onwards, this composition appears on the frescoes throughout the Balkans, including the monasteries Gračanica and Ravanica in Serbia, Humor and Sucevița in Romania as well as in Molivoklissia on Mount Athos, to name just a few.⁵⁸ As the original drawing for this illustration has not been preserved, we cannot determine the identity of the person who combined the portrait with the illustration of a hymn to the Mother of God.⁵⁹ We also do not know who did the engraving for this illustration, but the unknown engraver could most probably be found among the woodcarvers and goldsmiths from Dubrovnik and Kotor, whom Makarije could have easily hired. Like the Slavonic painter from the coastal region, we know that these artisans were familiar with both the Byzantine tradition and the new decorative visual language of the Renaissance. This is clearly visible in the examples of the

⁵¹ S. Tomin, *Vladika Maksim Branković*, Novi Sad 2007, 34–39 (with older bibliography); *Liturgierul lui Macarie: 1508*, ed. P. P. Pănaiteșcu, București 1960, XXXI–XXXIV.

⁵² R. Ș. Vergatti, *Le règne de Radu le Grand*, in: *Lucrările simpozionului internațional: Cartea. România. Europa*, ed. F. Rotaru, București 2009, 162–163. The founder's composition of Prince Radu cel Mare and Princess Catalina is shown on the west wall of the narthex in Govora monastery: *Istoria României II*, ed. A. Oțetea et al., București 1962, 618.

⁵³ Additional arguments, based on linguistic analysis, in support of the opinion that the Cetinje and Wallachia printers of the same name were indeed the same person, are presented in: V. Savić, *Dva značajna zapisa o štamparu Makariju*, PKJIF 78 (2012) 101–106; Idem, *Zapisi štampara sveštenomaha Makarija. Jezik, pismo i pravopis*, in: *Srpsko jezičko nasljedje na prostoru današnje Crne Gore i srpski jezik danas*, ed. J. Stojanović, Nikšić 2012, 159–179; E. L. Nemirovskij, *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift II. Die Druckereien des Makarije in der Walachei und von Giorgio Rusconi in Venedig*, Baden–Baden 1997, 15–17.

⁵⁴ Z. Rakić, *Zastavice četvorjevandjelja br. 33 i 69. u biblioteci Manastira Hilandara*, in: *ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΣ II*, ed. B. Miljković, D. Dželebdžić, Beograd 2015, 489–490. For additional literature on this type of ornament cf. M. Živković, *Ornamenti Beogradske Aleksandride*, *Saopštenja* 47 (2015) 38, n. 69.

⁵⁵ P. Momirović, *Ikono grafija duboreznih vrata manastira Slepča*, ZLUMS 6 (1970) 62–63.

⁵⁶ Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 173–174; Nemirovskij, *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke*, 28–29.

⁵⁷ Although this has been a topic of debate for more than a century, we still do not have a final answer, as shown by the extensive literature on this subject: B. Borozan, *Sakriveni iskaz gravure iz Cetinjskog oktoihia*, *Matica* 44 (Cetinje–Podgorica 2010) 614–616; V. Đurić, *Umjetnost*, in: *Istorija Crne Gore II/2*, ed. D. Vujović et al., Titograd 1970, 492.

⁵⁸ Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 153; *O Tebje radujetsja*, in: *Enciklopedija pravoslavija II*, ed. D. M. Kalezić, Beograd 2002, 1351–1352 (M. Tatić–Đurić); J. Nikolić–Novaković, „*O tebe radujetsja*“ u zidnom slikarstvu kasnog srednjeg veka u Makedoniji, *Niš i Vizantija* 2 (2004) 345–347; Gerov G., *O Tebe raduetsiā, v balkanskata živopis ot XV–XVIII vek*, *DI* 17 (1995) 220–228.

⁵⁹ Pešikan, *Leksikon*, 104–105.



Fig. 7. Three Hymnographers, Octoechos, Gračanica 1539
(photo documentation: The National Library of Serbia, Department of Archeography)

floral ornaments, symbols and figurines which appear throughout the Cetinje Octoechos.⁶⁰

This same composition can be found in the Wallachian edition, but as the frontispiece of the book (Fig. 6). The alterations are negligible: the position of the Holy Hymnographers is different because the central place is given to Theophanes Graptos rather than St. John Damascene; their names are not written on the halos; and they hold scrolls instead of books. The composition is less strict than in the Cetinje edition, while the elongated tambours of the domes indicate that the background church belongs to the Wallachian type of architecture. However, scholars have not been able to determine precisely which monastery is depicted. It seems logical that the monastery in the picture would be the one that hosted the printing shop, which various monasteries did, like Govora, Dealu, Snagov or Bistrica near Tîrgoviște, the see of the Wallachian ruler. However, it is not impossible that the church in the picture was from Tîrgoviște itself, because right at that time, the 1540s, another Serb, Dimitrije Ljubavić from Goražde, opened a printing shop attached to the Wallachian princes' court. Judging by the watermarks, the paper for Makarije's books arrived from different parts through merchants from Sibiu, a common practice at that time.⁶¹

After several years, Makarije left Wallachia for the Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos, of which he became the abbot shortly after he settled. He maintained ties with the Wallachian princes, who became patrons of the Hilandar monastery, granting charters and sending financial help every year. In a few of these charters, kept in Hilandar monastery but issued in Tîrgoviște between 1522 and 1529, Makarije is named as the abbot. Radu IV had already sent substantial gifts to the monasteries of Mount Athos and Sinai; for example, in 1498 he sent a large sum of money, around 5,000 aspras, to the Hilandar monastery.⁶² Radu V sent 10,000 aspras to Hilandar, 1,000 of which were intended for the abbot Makarije personally.⁶³ One of the charters issued by the Moldovan duke Petru Rareș on 13 March 1533 tells us that Makarije was at that time in Moldova, and that he had secured the duke's support for Hilandar. Makarije also preserved his ties with Dubrovnik, whose officials also sent money to the same monastery. Thus, the Hilandar delegation that arrived in Dubrovnik in 1526 received financial aid from the city's authorities in the amount of 1,000 denarii. At the same time, between 1526 and 1529 – perhaps influenced by his life abroad – Makarije compiled a small geographic essay

about Wallachia and Moldova, entitled *Tlkovanije o zemljah dakijskih* (An Essay on Dacian Lands).⁶⁴ The technical merits of Makarije's editions made them, from a technical point of view, the best printed books in Romania, although they were of lesser quality in comparison to the books that were printed in Cetinje. Over the decades that followed, the high technical standard of these books became the measuring stick for new master printers.

* * *

The influence of the Cetinje printing shop on the South Slavonic printers was felt long after it shut down, not only in the Balkans but also among those who continued to work in Venice. Božidar Vuković, a Venetian printer of Cyrillic books, mentioned Djuradj Crnojević in his works' colophons, giving him credit as the first printer. He followed him in the printing and replacing of the holy books that the Ottomans destroyed. The forewords to Crnojević's books had a noticeable impact on the forewords in Vuković's editions. What is more, already in his *Prayerbook for Travellers* (*Zbornik za putnike*) from 1520, on which he worked with the printer Pahomije from Montenegro, Vuković expressed his wish to transfer the printing shop to his homeland (Montenegro). His wish was not fulfilled due to the wars and general insecurity which forced him to remain in Venice, but in the meantime, in 1537 he printed the second volume of the *Octoechos* (Tones 5–8).⁶⁵ In comparison to the Cetinje edition, Vuković's book contains a simpler version of the depiction of the three hymnographers.⁶⁶

The influence of Makarije's *Octoechos* was also noticeable in another edition of the second volume of the *Octoechos*, printed in the Gračanica monastery in 1539, deep in the interior of the Balkans under the patronage of Nikanor, the metropolitan of Novo Brdo. The printing itself in this case was done by a printer by the name of Dimitrije, while the bishop Nikanor was the supervisor of the whole process. That he was an exceptionally learned man is clearly visible from his biography and the catalogue of his personal library.⁶⁷ Although the text of the *Octoechos* differs from the Cetinje and the Venetian editions, the influence of the Cetinje book is visible in the use of framed initials. The printer in Gračanica in part copied them directly, and in part made some innovations (Fig. 7).⁶⁸ An even stronger link to the Cetinje edition is signaled by the illustration of the Holy Hymnographers (St. Kosmas of Maiuma, St. John Damascene,

⁶⁰ Jagić, *Ein Nachtrag zum „ersten Cetinjer Kirchendruck vom J. 1494“*, 630–632; Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 153; Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva*, 371–374. Based on one preserved will from 1503, Dejan Medaković opened the possibility that Cetinje printers cooperated with the artists from Senj when working on wood carvings, as there already was a Glagolitic printing shop in Senj: D. Medaković, *Prilozi istoriji kulture u Boki Kotorskoj*, Spomenik SAN 105 (1956) 16; V. Živković, *Religioznost i umetnost u Kotoru: XIV–XVI vek*, Beograd 2010, 282–288.

⁶¹ Olar, *Makarije u rumunskoj istoriografiji*, 105; Đ. Sp. Radojičić, *Stare srpske povelje i rukopisne knjige u Hilandaru*, Arhivist 2/2 (1952) 77.

⁶² Vergatti, *Le règne de Radu le Grand*, 167–168.

⁶³ *Documenta Romaniae Historica: B. Tara romaneasca II*, ed. M. Berza et al., București 1972, 435–442. Cf. Nemirovskij, *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke*, 47.

⁶⁴ Đ. Sp. Radojičić, *Književna zbiljanja i stvaranja kod Srba u srednjem veku i u tursko doba*, Novi Sad 1967, 344–346; Olar, *Makarije u rumunskoj istoriografiji*, 109–111.

⁶⁵ *Izdavači, štampari, prepisivači*, ed. N. R. Sindik, Cetinje 1996, 71–72. In his will he left the old manuscripts to the monasteris on Lake Skadar: Pešikan, *Leksikon*, 81; M. Lazić, *Između patriotizma, pobožnosti i trgovine: motivi izdavačke delatnosti Božidara Vukovića*, Arheografski prilozi 35 (2013) 56–62.

⁶⁶ Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 110.

⁶⁷ R. Grujić, *Prva štamparija u Južnoj Srbiji 1539. godine na Kosovu Polju u manastiru Gračanica*, Glasnik SND 15–16 (1936) 84–86; R. Ljubinković, *Dve gračaničke ikone sa portretima mitropolita Nikanora i mitropolita Viktora*, Starinar 5–6 (1954–1955) 134.

⁶⁸ Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 160.

and St. Joseph) beneath a clearly recognizable depiction of Gračanica monastery, the see of the metropolitan of Novo Brdo. The representation of the three hymnographers is combined with the emblem of the printing shop and its founders, whose names are given at the top and the bottom of the page.⁶⁹ It is precisely this illustration that connects this edition of the *Octoechos* with the earlier books printed in Cetinje, Venice and Wallachia. The mentioned image achieved its final composition through compilation: the upper part of the illustration with the monastery in the background was created based on the ideas of the *Octoechos* books from Cetinje and Wallachia, while the portrait of the hymnographers was inserted separately from a special template created from the illustration in Vuković's Venetian *Octoechos* printed in 1537.⁷⁰ There were, however, some changes in the way the illustration was used as the frontispiece of the book, as was the case in the Wallachian edition. Technically, the illustration is of lesser quality than the previous two, but it is of great value as it shows how this new iconographic model was transformed from a minor decorative element to a standard emblematic image in this type of early printed book.

The reproduction of the illustration from the Cetinje books was widespread in the printing shops founded in the cities and monasteries all around the Balkans – in Goražde, Gračanica, Mileševa, Belgrade and Mrkšina

⁶⁹ Pešikan, *Leksikon*, 99–101.

⁷⁰ As someone's feet and a sole are visible at the bottom of the picture, it is clear that a different figure was originally portrayed in this place. Based on the analogy with some icons from Gračanica, monastery we can assume that the illustration depicted the Mother of God enthroned (she was the patron of the church) and metropolitan Nikanor who offered the book as a votive: S. Petković, *Nesačuvani portret novobrdskog mitropolita Nikanora iz 1538/1539. godine*, SKM 9 (1989–1990) 74–85.

crkva.⁷¹ This phenomenon contributed to the creation of numerous unreliable stories and legends tied to the Cetinje printing shop. Thus, Jerolim Zagurović, a printer from Kotor, wrote in the preface to his *Psalter* printed in Venice in 1579 that he had found the original typeset from the Cetinje printing shop, abandoned at Cetinje by Djuradj Crnojević at the time when he went into exile.⁷² Marco and Bartol Ginami, Venetian booksellers and printers, also evoked Djuradj Crnojević's printing shop in the preface to their *Psalter* from 1638.⁷³ Even much later there were claims that the printing shop had remained in Cetinje until the end of the seventeenth century when it was destroyed at the time of the Venetian-Ottoman war, and that the letters from its typeset could be found in other places in Montenegro.⁷⁴ All of these rumors created significant confusion among historians, but at the same time they contributed to the prestige of the Cyrillic incunabula printed in Cetinje during the last decade of the fifteenth century. This marked even more clearly the routes of cultural transfer between the Mediterranean coastal regions and the continental interior of the Balkans over a long period of time. The decorative transformations the books underwent along this route are a strong testimonial to the creativity of the Serbian early printers. The migration of Renaissance influences and the dissemination of Venetian visual ideas were greatly dependent on the local traditions, and reflected the fine differences between the artistic tastes of the populations of South-East Europe.

⁷¹ Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 105, 113, 160–166.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 69, 154; Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva*, 16–17.

⁷³ Pešikan, *Leksikon*, 175; Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva*, 17.

⁷⁴ R. Raspopović, *Jedan arhivski dokument o sudbini štamparije Crnojević nakon pada Zete pod tursku vlast*, Glasnik Narodnog muzeja Crne Gore 5 (Cetinje 2000) 8–9.

ЛИСТА РЕФЕРЕНЦИ – REFERENCE LIST

- Bembo P., *Historia Veneta*, Venezia 1551.
- Borozan B., *Sakriveni iskaz gravure iz Cetinjskog oktoiha*, Matica 44 (Cetinje–Podgorica 2010) 613–638.
- Borozan I., *Ikona Nerukopisanog obraza i predstavljanje višeslojnog identiteta Božidara Vukovića*, Zograf 39 (2015) 151–159.
- Božić I., *Vladavina Crnojevića*, in: *Istorija Crne Gore II/2*, ed. D. Vujović et al., Titograd 1970, 333–371.
- Braun J., *Renner, Franz*, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie XXVIII*, Leipzig 1889, 228.
- Brown H. F., *The Venetian printing press: an historical study*, New York – London 1891.
- Butsch A. F., *Die Bücherornamentik der Renaissance*, Leipzig 1878.
- Bühler C. F., *The fifteenth century book: the scribes, the printers, the decorators*, Philadelphia 1960.
- Burke E. C., *The Greeks of Venice, 1498–1600: immigration, settlement, and integration*, Turnhout 2016.
- Cioni A., *Bonini (Boninis), Bonino*, in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 12, ed. A. M. Ghisalberti, Roma 1970 – [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bonino-bonini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/\[09.08.2020\]](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bonino-bonini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/[09.08.2020]).
- Čoralčić L., *Prisutnost doseljenika sa istočnojadranske obale u Veneciji od XIII. do XVIII. stoljeća*, Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest 26/1 (Zagreb 1993) 39–78.
- Čurčić L., *Udeo jeromonaha Makarija u štampanju cetinjskih inkunabula*, in: *Pet vjekova oktoiha: prve štampane ćirilličke knjige na slovenskom jugu*, ed. M. Babović, M. Pantić, Podgorica 1996, 129–142.
- De Maria B., *Becoming Venetian: immigrants and the arts in early modern Venice*, New Haven 2010.
- De Vinne T. L., *Notable printers of Italy during the fifteenth century: illustrated with facsimiles from early editions and with remarks on early and recent printing*, New York 1910.
- Documenta Romaniae Historica: B. Tara romaneasca II*, ed. M. Berza et al., București 1972.
- Dondi C., *The Venetian booktrade: a methodological approach to and first results of book-based historical research*, in: *Early printed books as material objects*, ed. B. Wagner, M. Reed, Berlin 2010, 219–228.
- Đurić V., *Umjetnost*, in: *Istorija Crne Gore II/2*, ed. D. Vujović et al., Titograd 1970, 492.
- Fin M., *Venecija i srpska knjiga*, Glas biblioteke 19 (Čačak 2012) 79–99.
- Erich A., Vargolici N., *Controversy regarding the printing of the first book in the Romanian space. The liturgy book (1508)*, Studii de Biblioteconomie și Știința Informării 13 (2009) 158–176.
- Fisković C., *Petar Martinov iz Milana i pojava renesanse u Dubrovniku*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 27/1 (1988) 89–144.
- Gerov G., *O Tebe raduetsiā, v balkanskata živopis ot XV–XVIII vek*, Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo 17 (1995) 220–228.

- Gerulaitis L. V., *Printing and publishing in fifteenth-century Venice*, Chicago 1976.
- Grković-Mejdžor J., Savić V., *Srpski molitvenik iz 1512. godine*, in: *Srpski molitvenik: spomenica Milanu Rešetaru: 1512–1942–2012*, ed. J. Grković-Mejdžor, V. Savić, Beograd 2016, 117–121.
- Grujić R., *Prva štamparija u Južnoj Srbiji 1539. godine na Kosovu Polju u manastiru Gračanica*, Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva 15–16 (1936) 82–96.
- Gudelj J., *Visualizing past in a foreign country: image(s) of Schiavoni/Illyrians in early modern Italy*, in: *Visualizing past in a foreign country: Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternities and colleges in early modern Italy in comparative perspective*, ed. G. Capriotti et al., Macerata 2018, 9–21.
- Istoria României II*, ed. A. Oșetea et al., București 1962.
- Izdavači, štampari, prepisivači*, ed. N. R. Sindik, Cetinje 1996.
- Ivošević V. J., *Dogmatski značaj i liturgijska uloga oktoihia u životu pravoslavne crkve*, in: *Pet vjekova oktoihia: prve štampane ćirilčke knjige na slovenskom jugu*, ed. M. Babović, M. Pantić, Podgorica 1996, 91–104.
- Jagić V., *Ein Nachtrag zum „ersten Cetinjer Kirchendruck vom J. 1494“*, Archiv für slavische Philologie 25 (1903) 628–637.
- Jireček K., *Beiträge zur ragusanischen Literaturgeschichte*, Archiv für slavische Philologie 21/3–4 (1899) 399–542.
- Lazić M., *Izdanja cetinjske štamparije između tradicije i inovacije, funkcije i forme*, in: *Između tradicije i inovacije: 520 godina od prve ćirilске knjige štampane na srpskoslovenskom jeziku*, ed. S. Jančić, Beograd 2014, 23–37.
- Lazić M., *Između patriotizma, pobožnosti i trgovine: motivi izdavačke delatnosti Božidara Vukovića*, Arheografski prilozi 35 (2013) 49–101.
- Lazić M., *Serbian printed book decoration in the 15th and 16th centuries: centres and creative production*, in: *Byzantine heritage and Serbian art II. Sacral art of the Serbian lands in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Vojvodić, D. Popović, Belgrade 2016, 485–493.
- Lazić M., *O vremenu štampanja cetinjskog Oktoihia petoglasnika: prilog hronologiji izdanja štamparije Crnojevića*, in: *Rukopisna i stara štampana knjiga*, ed. S. Radulović, Beograd – Novi Sad 2018, 115–133.
- Lazić M., *Venice and editions of early Serbian printed books*, Thesaurismata 48 (Venezia 2018) 161–192.
- Liturgierul lui Macarie: 1508*, ed. P. P. Panaitescu, București 1960.
- Ljubinković R., *Dve gračaničke ikone sa portretima mitropolita Nikanora i mitropolita Viktora*, Starinar 5–6 (1954–1955) 129–138.
- Martinović D. J., *Portreti: bio-bibliografski pregled*, Cetinje 1983.
- Mavroidi F., *I Serbi e la confraternita Greca di Venezia*, Balkan Studies 24/2 (1983) 511–529.
- Medaković D., *Prilozi istoriji kulture u Boki Kotorskoj*, Spomenik Srpske akademije nauka 105 (1956) 13–26.
- Medaković D., *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga XV–XVII veka*, Beograd 1958.
- Milošević M., *Andrija Paltašić Kotoranin*, Cetinje 1994.
- Momirović P., *Ikonografija duboreznih vrata manastira Slepača*, Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti 6 (1970) 55–69.
- Nazor A., *Kulturnopovijesno značenje izdanja glagoljske tiskare u Senju g. 1494–1508.*, Slovo 21 (Zagreb 1971) 415–442.
- Nemirovski E. L., *Hronologija izdanja Đurđa Crnojevića*, Bibliografski vjesnik 15/3 (1986) 157–162.
- Nemirovski E. Lj., *Počeci štamparstva u Crnoj Gori (1492–1496)*, Cetinje 1996.
- Nemirovskij E. L., *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift II. Die Druckereien des Makarije in der Walachei und von Giorgio Rusconi in Venedig*, Baden–Baden 1997.
- Nikolić-Novaković J., *„O tebe radujetsja“ u zidnom slikarstvu kasnog srednjeg veka u Makedoniji*, Niš i Vizantija 2 (2004) 343–350.
- Nuovo A., *The book trade in the Italian Renaissance*, Leiden–Boston 2013.
- Olar K., *Makarije u rumunskoj istoriografiji*, in: *Crnojevića štamparija i staro štamparstvo*, ed. J. M. Milović, Podgorica 1994, 97–114.
- Olocco R., *The archival evidence of type-making in 15th-century Italy*, La bibliofilia 119/1 (Firenze 2017) 33–79.
- Ongania F., *Early Venetian printing illustrated*, Venice – New York 1895.
- Pantelić M., *Kulturni ambijent djelovanja Blaža Baromića, pisca i štampara glagoljskih knjiga*, Senjski zbornik 6/1 (1975) 31–42.
- Pantić M., *Srpska knjiga u Goraždu i Dubrovniku do sredine 16. veka*, in: *Goraždanska štamparija 1519–1523*, ed. D. Barać, Beograd 2008, 17–24.
- Payne A., *Renaissance sgraffito facades and the circulation of objects in the Mediterranean*, in: *Synergies in Visual Culture*, ed. M. De Giorgi et al., Munich 2013, 229–241.
- Pelc M., *Ilustracije u tiskopisima Dobrića Dobričevića (Boninus de Boninis)*, Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti 24 (2000) 135–154.
- Pelc M., *Od primanja do stvaranja: hrvatska grafika 15. i 16. stoljeća*, Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske 48/3–4 (2005) 16–49.
- Pelusi S., *Il libro liturgico veneziano per serbi e croati fra Quattro e Cinquecento*, in: *Le civiltà del libro e la stampa a Venezia. Testi sacri ebraici, cristiani, islamici dal Quattrocento al Settecento*, ed. eadem, Padova 2000, 43–52.
- Pelusi S., *Libri e stampatori a Venezia: un ponte verso i Balcani*, in: *Ponti e frontiere*, ed. A. Bonifacio, Venezia 2005, 61–78.
- Petković S., *Nesačuvani portret novobrdskog mitropolita Nikanora iz 1538/1539. godine*, Starine Kosova i Metohije 9 (1989–1990) 71–86.
- Pešikan M., *Leksikon staroslovenskog štamparstva*, u: *Pet vekova srpskog štamparstva: 1494–1994*, ed. M. Pantić, Beograd 1994, 71–231.
- Pollard A. W., *Early illustrated books: a history of the decoration and illustration of books in the 15th and 16th centuries*, London 1893.
- Pollard A. W., *Italian book illustrations: chiefly of the fifteenth century*, London 1894.
- Puzović Lj., *Počeci srpskog štamparstva: izdanja štamparije Đurđa Crnojevića*, in: *Između tradicije i inovacije: 520 godina od prve ćirilске knjige štampane na srpskoslovenskom jeziku*, ed. S. Jančić, Beograd 2014, 9–21.
- Raspopović R., *Jedan arhivski dokument o sudbini štamparije Crnojevića nakon pada Zete pod tursku vlast*, Glasnik Narodnog muzeja Crne Gore 5 (Cetinje 2000) 5–16.
- Radojčić S., *Stare srpske minijature*, Beograd 1950.
- Radojčić Đ. Sp., *Stare srpske povelje i rukopisne knjige u Hilandararu*, Arhivist 2/2 (1952) 47–78.
- Radojčić Đ. Sp., *Književna zbivanja i stvaranja kod Srba u srednjem veku i u tursko doba*, Novi Sad 1967.
- Rakić Z., *Zastavice četvorjevandjelja br. 33 i 69. u biblioteci Manastira Hilandara*, in: ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΣ II, ed. B. Miljković, D. Dželebdžić, Beograd 2015, 485–493 (Rakić Z., *Zastavice četvorjevandjelja br. 33 i 69. u biblioteci Manastira Hilandara*, in: ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΣ II, ed. B. Miljković, D. Dželebdžić, Beograd 2015, 485–493).
- Redgrave G. R., *Erhard Ratdolt and his work at Venice*, London 1894.
- Richardson B., *Print culture in Renaissance Italy: the editor and the vernacular text, 1470–1600*, Cambridge 2004.
- Romano D., *Aspects of patronage in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Venice*, Renaissance Quarterly 46/4 (New York 1993) 712–733.
- Sander-Faes S., *Kultureller Austausch zwischen Italien und dem Donauraum: Perspektiven der Frühneuezeitforschung*, in: *Barocke Kunst und Kultur im Donauraum I*, ed. K. Möseneder et al., Petersberg 2014, 186–193.
- I diarii di Marino Sanuto I*, ed. F. Stefani et al., Venezia 1879.
- Savić V., *Zapisi štampara sveštenomonahe Makarije. Jezik, pismo i pravopis*, in: *Srpsko jezičko nasljeđe na prostoru današnje Crne Gore i srpski jezik danas*, ed. J. Stojanović, Nikšić 2012, 159–179.
- Savić V., *Dva značajna zapisa o štamparu Makariju*, Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor 78 (2012) 101–112.
- Sazdanje Cetinja: izvori i legende*, ed. R. Rotković, Titograd 1984.
- Schmitz W., *Südslavischer Buchdruck in Venedig (16.–18. Jahrhundert): Untersuchungen und Bibliographie*, Giessen 1977.
- Schreiber W. L., *Der Initialschmuck in der Druckwerken des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde 5/1 (1901–1902) 209–221.
- Simić V., *O mogućim izvorima i autorima drvoreznih ilustracija Oktoihia petoglasnika (1494)*, Zograf 40 (2016) 159–176.
- Sindik N. R., *Smereni sveštenik mnih Makarije ot Črnije Gori*, Podgorica 1995.
- Tatić-Đurić M., *O Tebje radujetsja*, in: *Enciklopedija pravoslavlja II*, ed. D. M. Kalezić, Beograd 2002, 1351–1352.
- Tomić J., *Crnojevići i Crna Gora (1479–1528): istorijska rasprava*, Beograd 1901.
- Tomin S., *Vladika Maksim Branković*, Novi Sad 2007.
- Trifunović Đ., *Azbučnik srpskih srednjovekovnih književnih pojmova*, Beograd 1990.

- Ubiparip M., *Petoglasnik Đurđa Crnojevića*, in: *Oktoih petoglasnik: izdanje Đurđa Crnojevića*, ed. S. Jančić, Cetinje – Beograd – Manastir Visoki Dečani 2014, 21–55.
- Ubiparip M., Trijić V., *Zbornici paraklisa u srpskoslovenskoj tradiciji*, *Arheografski prilozi* 37 (2015) 69–105.
- Vergatti R. Ş., *Le règne de Radu le Grand*, in: *Lucrările simpozionului internațional: Cartea. România. Europa.*, ed. F. Rotaru, București 2009, 161–176.
- Wright D. G., *The first Venetian love letter? The testament of Zorzi Cerovich*, *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 9/2 (2006) 1–20.
- Zimmer S. K., *The beginning of Cyrillic printing, Cracow, 1491: from the Orthodox past in Poland*, ed. L. Krzyzanowski et al., Boulder 1983.
- Živković M., *Ornamenti Beogradske Aleksandride*, *Saopštenja* 47 (2015) 23–42.
- Živković V., *Religioznost i umetnost u Kotoru: XIV–XVI vek*, Beograd 2010.
- Živković V., *The Vow of Ivan Crnojević to the Virgin Mary in Loreto under the Shadow of the Ottoman Conquest*, *Balkanica* 48 (2017) 19–32.

Ране ћириличке штампане књиге и преношење декоративних облика између Јадрана и Подунавља око 1500. године

Владимир Симић

Филозофски факултет, Универзитет у Београду, Београд, Србија

Крајем XV и почетком XVI века Венеција је била главни европски штампарски центар, у који су готово непрекидно долазили појединци покушавајући да ту организују производњу штампаних књига за православне словенске народе на Балкану. Културна размена која се одвијала између Венеције и југоисточне Европе имала је своје посреднике, а то су пре свега били штампари и трговци књигама, али и саме књиге као покретни предмети којима су се преносиле идеје, уметнички обрасци и декоративни елементи. Управо у то време, око 1490. године, у Венецији се појављује Ђурађ Црнојевић, господар Зете (1490–1496), заинтересован за штампању књигу и преношење штампарске технологије из Венеције на Цетиње. Сматрајући да треба попуњити оштећене књижне фондове у православним црквама у отаџбини, он је 1493. године из Венеције донео штампарску пресу и у својој престоници на Цетињу основао ћирилску штампарију. То је била прва таква радионица у јужнословенском свету, а тек друга која је штампала књиге на ћирилици. Између 1493. и 1496. док је та штампарија била активна, у њој је као главни мајстор радио извесни јеромонах Макарије „од Црне Горе“, како се именовоао у предговору једне књиге. Макаријева биографија је до данас остала готово потпуно непозната, а све што се о њему зна саопштио нам је он сам у колофонима својих штампаних књига. Макарија је Ђурађ Црнојевић ангажовао као руководиоца и надзорника читавог издавачког подухвата. За то место су га предодредила практична знања о штампарској вештини која је вероватно стекао у Венецији, као и ученост, познавање језика, правописа и теологије. Он је контролисао и редиговао текст, одређивао изглед и распоред илустрација, договарао се око слова, пресе и свих техничких појединости, водио и надгледао главни део посла, док су помоћници под његовим надзором обављали највећи део физичког рада.

Управо у последњој трећини XV века у Венецији се одвијала драматична промена у графичком обликовању штампаних књига: млетачки штампари су све чешће украшавали текст богато орнаментисаним ренесансним графичким оквирима и покушавали да уведу колорит у књиге. Многи италијански уметници радили су на илустровању и украшавању књига, али је Ерхард Ратдолт, венецијански штампар немачког порекла, донео 1476. ново схватање књижне декорације уводећи дрворезне илустрације, орнаменте и иницијале с карактеристичном мешавином готичких и ренесансних елемената. Његова намера је била да освоји штампарску технику која ће што верније подражавати квалитет и декорацију рукописних књига.

Јеромонах Макарије је током три године одштампао неколико књига намењених православном богослужењу: *Окѿоих осмоіласник* (1494), *Псалѿиир с ѿоследовањем* (1495) и *Молиѿивеник* (*Требник*, 1495/1496). Већ је примећено да се инкунабуле XV века скоро ни по чему нису разликовале од рукописних књига. Цетињска издања, међутим, донела су и низ нових елемената, преузетих из савремене ренесансне књижне продукције. Тако су Макаријева иницијална слова припадала скупини ренесансних иницијала насталих под утицајем венецијанске штампане књиге. Макарије је и за *Окѿоих* и за *Псалѿиир* користио исте заставе и иницијале варирајући њихову величину у зависности од формата књиге. Ренесансни мотиви су преузимани од различитих италијанских штампара, што указује на то да су цетињски штампари приступили интерпретацији традиционалних декоративних мотива, те да су прихватили нове елементе ренесансне штампане књиге.

Захваљујући разноврсним иницијалима, лепим орнаментима и илустрацијама, књиге Цетињске штампарије имале су снажног утицаја на штампарство дубоко у унутрашњости Балкана. За то је

првенствено био заслужан њихов творац – јеромонах Макарије, чија је судбина после одласка с Цетиња остала непозната све до 1508. Те године се појавио у Влашкој кнежевини у Подунављу као штампар неколико књига – *Служабника* (1508), *Октоиха* (1510) и *Четворојеванђеља* (1512) – о чему је оставио сведочанство у колофонима. Разлоге Макаријевог одласка у ту далеку земљу треба најпре тражити у везама владарске породице Црнојевић с влашким кнежевима, у православној вери која их је повезивала, као и у црквенословенском језику употребљаваном у богослужењу у румунским црквама. Поред тога што су дело истог штампара, у све три поменуте књиге могу се уочити елементи који их доводе у везу са цетињским издањима: висок квалитет штампе, ретко достизан у каснијим временима, идентичан предговор и поговор у оба октоиха, сличан склоп текста, док се у *Служабнику* помињу српски светитељи Сава и

Симеон. И графички елементи указују на непосредне везе између тих дела. Макаријева издања се убрајају у технички најбоља остварења румунског штампарства, иако по квалитету и облику заостају за цетињским.

Утицај Цетињске штампарије на јужнословенске штампаре осећао се дуго потом не само на Балкану већ и код оних који су посао наставили да развијају у Венецији. Црнојевића је као првог издавача помињао у колофонима својих издања и венецијански штампар ћириличких књига Божидар Вуковић, који је продужио његовим трагом попуњавајући манастирске књижне фондове уништене од Турака. Понављање мотива Цетињске штампарије уочава се и у потоњим штампаријама осниваним у градовима и при манастирима широм Балкана – у Горажду, Грачаници, Милешеви, Београду или Мркшиној цркви. Књиге Цетињске штампарије и у наредним деценијама остале су за штампаре на Балкану мерило највишег квалитета.