

Words and Swords: The Liturgical Printed Books for the Serbs through the 15th and 16th Centuries

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“The greater part of the history of Serbian printing is in fact the story of the struggle of culture against various difficulties in the history of the nation”¹.

The years that hailed what proved to be one of the most significant technological revolutions in the history of mankind, the invention of printing, were, also, decisive in the process that completed the conquest of Serbia by the Ottomans: it was precisely at the time when the famous forty-two lines Bible of Gutenberg was printed that Novo Brdo fell, in 1455. Kosovo came under definitive Ottoman control just a few years later, and the same happened with the then Serbian capital Smederevo, that fell in 1459. In the last decade of the fifteenth century – Bosnia also fell in 1483, only Stara Crna Gora (ancient Montenegro) of the noble family of the Crnojević remained free territory: it was there, in Cetinje, that the Serbian press began its winding journey through the centuries.

¹ P. Ivić, M. Pešikan, *Serbian Printing*, [in:] *The History of Serbian Culture*, Edware Middlesex 1995, s. 137.

In 1490, the *gospodar* (ruler) of Zeta, Ivan Crnojević², oversaw the passage of his kingdom to his son Đurađ³, who would, also, inherit the remarkable instrument of cultural irradiation his father⁴ had managed to import from Venice a few years ago, by the end of his exile in Italy: a printing press, owing to which Montenegro would achieve a valuable historical first, i.e.: the first book printed by the South Slavs⁵, the famous *Oktoih Prvoglasnik*⁶ of 1494. Montenegro thus had the first state-owned print shop to use Cyrillic letters, and the second ever, after Szwajpolt Fiol in Poland⁷. Between 1493 and 1496, five

² Son of Stevan, first of the Crnojević dynasty, he was the last ruler of Zeta and the founder of Cetinje: the end of Zeta's reign was in fact identified with the foundation of Cetinje, in 1482; the event conventionally marks the beginning in modern history of the independent state of Crna Gora or Montenegro. For a profile of the Montenegro of the time, see S. Clissold, *Storia della Jugoslavia. Gli Slavi del Sud dalle origini a oggi*, Torino 1969; Redakcija za istoriju Crne Gore, *Istorija Crne Gore*, knj. 2, tom 2, Titograd 1970; Redakcija za istoriju Crne Gore, *Istorija Crne Gore*, knj. 3, tom 1, Titograd 1975; J. Erdeljanović, *Stara Crna Gora*, Beograd 1978; A. Sbutega, *Storia del Montenegro*, Catanzaro 2006.

³ His ascension had actually begun while his father was still alive and while in Italy, bestowed upon him the regency.

⁴ See S. Clissold, op. cit. Here, indications are found of Đurađ as the author of the purchase and indications of both Durad and Crnjojevic having bought printing presses for which there would be two printing works, one in Obod and one in Cetinje (S. Gopčević, *Geschichte von Montenegro und Albanien*, Gotha 1914), and thus we would need to account for two print shops, one in Obod and one in Cetinje. However, even in this case, the hypotheses diverge and it may well have been a single device, operating first in Obod, and transferred afterwards to Cetinje. Although five centuries have passed, historiography has not yet been able to resolve the issue: apart from the indications given in the fore- and afterwords accompanying the liturgical books issued by the press (or the presses) in Montenegro, there is no evidence the Crnojević press ever existed.

⁵ Primacy strongly opposed by Romanian scholar V. Molin, in his extensive contribution *Venise, berceau de l'imprimerie glagolitique et cyrillique*, "Studi Veneziani", VIII, Firenze 1966, s. 347–446.

⁶ On the Obod-Cetinje Octoechoes, see E. L. Nemirovski, *Oktoih prvoglasnik Đurđa Crnojevića iz 1494*, Cetinje 1987.

⁷ Szwajpolt (Schweipolt) Fiol (Neustadt an der Aisch 1450/60, Krakow 1525/26) was in fact the first to use the Cyrillic characters for his *Октоихъ првогласник* (*Oktoih prvoglasnik*), which came out of his shop in Krakow, in 1491. For Fiol's print shop, see Sz. K. Zimmer, L. Krzyzanowski, I. Nagurski, K. M. Olszer, *The Beginning of Cyrillic Printing: Cracow, 1491. From the Orthodox Past in Poland*, New York 1983, s. 255–277; E. L. Nemirovskij, *Die slawischen Inkunabeln in kyrillischer Schrift. Die Geschichte ihrer Erforschung und die noch erhalten Exemplare*, "Beiträge zur Inkunabelkunde", Vol. III, no. 4, Berlin 1969, s. 81–111. See also E. L. Nemirovskij, *Makarije Wołoski i Giorgio Rusconi*, vol. 2, 152, [in:] *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift*, Baden-Baden 1997.

works were printed in the Obod-Cetinje shop: the *Oktoih Prvoglasnik*⁸ (1493, completed on 4 January 1494), *Oktoih Petoglasnik* (1494), *Psaltir* (1495), *Trebnik* (or *Molitvenik* 1495/6), and *Četvoroevangelje*⁹. All are liturgical books the titles of which are representative of the medieval canon¹⁰ that establishes the need of the sacred books in the daily life of orthodox Christians. Among these books, some contain liturgies, prayers and services that accompany the faithful throughout their life, from baptism to funerals, others contain hymns and services pertaining to specific dates in the Christian calendar, or memoirs related to great events and figures of saints and martyrs of the Church¹¹. The choice of texts printed in the shop of Obod-Cetinje renders manifest the programmatic intent of Đurađ Crnojević's endeavour: that of preserving and perpetuating the spiritual and cultural heritage of Montenegro, in an attempt to safeguard the identity of a people that would be restrained within the boundaries of an empire inspired by different values and traditions. That would be an incitement to resistance, too: when Montenegrins could no longer avoid military conquest, their opposition to Turkish dominion would be a confessional one. Indeed, even though "the sons of Hagar" had laid to waste churches and holy books, they would not have deprived Montenegrins of their religious consciousness. Thus Đurađ Crnojević, a man of vast culture, whose interests ranged from literature through geometry to astronomy, successfully managed to set in motion, in the last three years of his reign, a great cultural operation,

⁸ The *Октоих првогласник*, containing the first four voices or tones of the Octoechoes, is characterized by its high quality of printing and very valuable decorations. It was realized in Renaissance style, while retaining elements of the ancient local manuscript tradition. The art and the beauty of its graphic elements seem to mirror Venetian productions of the time: Makarije is supposed to have acquired the techniques of printing and decoration directly in Venice, in the shop of the famous Andrea Torresani, father-in-law and partner of Aldo Manuzio, whose work he carried on. Torresani is also remembered in the history of printing for the southern Slavs for his works in Glagolitic and in Latin for the Dalmatians.

⁹ There is no extant specimen of the *Gospels*. It is mentioned in a note at the end of a writ from 1548 by the presbyter "Vuk u Buđanovcima u Sremu", which reads: "Си извод от форми Црнојевић от сложенија Макаријева".

¹⁰ See S. Cirković, *I serbi nel medioevo*, Milano 1992, s. 113–117; A. Naumow, *Idea – Im-magine – Testo, Studi sulla letteratura slavo-ecclesiastica*, ed. K. Stantchev, Alessandria 2004, s. 29–30.

¹¹ In some Serbian texts of canon law, the books that each Orthodox priest must possess are specifically indicated: the Epistle, the Gospel, the Liturgy, the Triodion, the Nomocanon, the Psalter and Octoechos, as well as "the Service for the Feasts of the Lord and readings for the teaching of the faithful" (Cirković, *I serbi nel medioevo*, s. 113).

almost surprising, given the dark prospects faced by himself and his country¹². By that time, his political position was too weak to withstand the already uncontrollable Ottoman pressure, he, nonetheless, seized the opportunity the new technology was bestowing on him¹³: the possibility to offer his subjects access to an abundance of liturgical books. Thanks to this powerful instrument, the written word would not only comfort his people, but would also be a way to better preserve its culture, where the sword had failed. And, thus once more in the history of this part of the Balkans, the unifying and life-bearing element that would, for a long while still, infuse people with the desire to restore their lost states, was found in orthodoxy.

In December 1496, Đurađ Crnojević, now deposed by the Ottomans from his kingly status, with the complicity of his own brother, Stefan – who was keen to succeed him to the throne¹⁴ –, had to flee to Venice, together with his wife Jelisaveta (or Isabeta, the daughter of Venetian aristocrat Marco Antonio Erizzo) and his suite. With it ended the first wave of the church books press in Cyrillic intended for the Serbs. It would flourish once again twenty-three years later, in the City of Doges, in the print shop of Božidar Vuković, the very place where, in the 16th century, it would find its highest artistic realization.

¹² Naturally, Đurađ Crnojević was not alone in carrying out his project. The soul of the typography was hieromonk Makarije, who commanded over seven other workers, as can be inferred from the peritextual apparatus of the books printed in Obod-Cetinje. Up to this day, we do not have much biographical information on the maestro of the Crnojević printing press, whose expertise shaped high-quality printing and artistic value of works, and whose decorations were copied across borders. However, it appears certain that hieromonk Makarije of Crna Gora is, in fact, the same as Makarije, founder of the first print shop with Cyrillic in Wallachia, in the town of Târgoviște, where he worked between 1507 and 1512. On Makarije, see Đ. Radoičić, *Makarije od Crne Gore (oko 1463–posle 1533)*, [in:] *Biografsko-bibliografski leksikon jugoslovenskih pisaca*, 15/b, Novi Sad 1962.

¹³ Unlike Constantinople, where the advent of the press was met with diffidence, the Serbian church welcomed the new invention. The Sublime Porte was manifestly opposed to it since replicating words – especially the word of God – was seen as demonic. It even seems that Bayezid II in 1483, and his son Selim I in 1515, had decreed the death penalty for anyone who printed, owned or read a book printed in Arabic script; the provision though was not enforced on those who should print in a different alphabet, such as the Jews of Constantinople, who since 1493 had permission to print and trade prints in Hebrew characters. See S. Faruqi, *L'Impero ottomano*, Bologna 2008, s. 32; A. Barbero, *Il Divano di Istanbul*, Palermo 2011; D. Tanasković, *Gli ebrei nell'ecumene ottomana*, [in:] *Storia religiosa degli Ebrei d'Europa*, Milano 2013, s. 155–178.

¹⁴ In fact, he administered the principality for the next two years, and we have no knowledge of him until 1499, when he became a monk. He died the same year.

Scholars have for a long time, in retracing the biographical details of the famous printer Božidar Vuković¹⁵, accorded credibility to pieces of information that Vuković himself had inserted in the long fore- and afterwords¹⁶ that supplemented the books he printed. It has been only over the second half of the 20th century that significant progress was made in this particular area, that occurred at a rather distant moment in time. In 1956, Jorio Tadic¹⁷ discovered two wills, by Božidar Vuković and his brother Nikola: we thus came to know that, while in Venice, he was addressed by the name Dionisio dalla Vecchia / a Vetula. Later on, Anika Skovran¹⁸ found, in 1970, that the printer played an important role while being in service to the Scuola dei Greci in Venice. New sources were brought to light by Miloš Milošević¹⁹ from the archives in Kotor, in the Vatican and in Venice: these owe considerably to research previously conducted by Ciro Giannelli²⁰ and may be related to some previously pub-

¹⁵ For an almost complete overview of the studies on Božidar Vuković and Vičenco, starting from 1728 up to 1988, see Б. Маринковић, *Библиографија о нашем ћириличном штампарству, штампарцијам и књигама XV, XVI и XVII столећа*, 2: *Божидар и Вићенцо Вуковић*, Цетиње 1989.

¹⁶ For an analysis of the paratextual apparatus of the volumes printed by Vuković, see Н.Р. Синдик, *Књижевне одлике предговора и поговора у издањима Божидара Вуковића, Штампарска и књижевна дјелатност Божидара Вуковића, Подгоричанина*, Титоград 1986, s. 117–130; С. Алексић, *Уметност штампаних књига Божидара Вуковића*, “Црквене студије”, 15, Ниш 2018, s. 41–52. For an analysis particularly focused on their theological aspect, also see A. Naumow, *Teologiczny aspekt druku (na materiale najstarszych wydań cerkiewnosłowiańskich, [w:] Najstarsze druki cerkiewnosłowiańskie i ich stosunek do tradycji rękopiśmiennej*, Materiały z sesji Kraków 7–10 XI 1991, Kraków 1993, s. 79–92; idem, *Kwestie teologiczne w przedmowach i posłowiach wydań Bożidara Vukovicia*, “Latopisy Akademii Su-praskiej”, vol. 7, Białystok 2016, s. 37–49.

¹⁷ J. Тадић, *Извештај дописника – о раду за време студиског боравака у Италији у августу у септембру 1956 г.*, “Гласник САН”, бр. VIII, 2, Београд 1957, s. 246; idem, *Тестаменти Божидара Вуковића, српског штампара XVI века*, “Зборник Филолошког факултета”, VII, 1, 1963, s. 337–360.

¹⁸ A. Skovran, *Un opera ignota del pittore Giovanni Apakas*, “Θησαυρισματα”, VII, Venice 1970, s. 111–116; also in Serbian: A. Vukčević-Skovran, *Непознато дело зографа Јована Апакe*, “Зограф”, Vol. 4, Београд 1972, s. 42–47; *Војвода Божидар Вуковић – Dionysus della Vecchia, гасалд Братства св. Ђорђа грчког у Венецији*, “Зограф”, 7, Београд 1977, s. 78–85.

¹⁹ М. Милошевић, *Нови извори Которског, Ватиканског и Млетачког архива*, [in:] *Штампарска и књижевна дјелатност Божидара Вуковића Подгоричанина*, Титоград 1986, s. 215–332.

²⁰ C. Giannelli, *Documenti inediti sullo stato di alcune comunità cattoliche della Serbia meridionale nel 1578*, “Ricerche slavistiche”, II, 1953, s. 29–59.

lished documents, although not entirely, by Corrado Marciani²¹. The documents from the General Archive of Simancas – comprising a number of letters by Vuković addressed to the emperor Charles V – about which Matei Cazacu wrote since as early as 1990²² were inexplicably overlooked until about ten years ago²³, and are nowadays being revised in the latest works of Miroslav Lazčić²⁴. They all contributed to shedding new light upon Vuković, a character of exception in his own time, of whom they create a portrait of a tireless worker pivoting round three dimensions: the entrepreneur, the religiously devout and the politically engaged. These discoveries retrace, by means of the documentary sources produced, the political activity of the exiled nobleman of Dioclea²⁵, printer of books in Venice, *gastaldo* of the Scuola dei Greci, and “informatore imperiale, despota serbo mancato” (imperial informant and almost despot of Serbia)²⁶. His attempts to restore the Serbian despotate against

²¹ C. Marciani, *I Vuković tipografi-librai slavi a Venezia nel XVI secolo*, “Economia e Storia”, 3, Milano 1972, s. 342–363.

²² Presented at the Conference held in Paris at the Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais between 7 and 10 March 1990 and published two years later by the title *Projets et intrigues serbes à la Cour de Soliman (1530–1540)*, [in:] *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, Paris 1992, s. 511–528.

²³ I also mention this in my Ph.D. thesis, defended in March 2009, by the title *Stampatori di libri per i Serbia Venezia tra il XVI e il XIX secolo – il loro contributo alla formazione della coscienza culturale e nazionale in Serbia*. This paper stems from the research then started.

²⁴ In particular, M. Лазић, *Између патриотизма, побожности и трговине: мотиви издавачке делатности Божидача Вуковића*, “Археографски прилози”, 35, Београд 2013, s. 49–101; idem, *Од Божидача Вуковића до Дионизија дела Векије: идентитет и псеудоним у култури раног модерног доба*, [in:] А. А. Турилов, Т. Суботић-Голубовић, Ирена Шпадијер, Н. Драгин, Д. Грдић, К. Ман-Зиси, *Scala Paradisi: академику Димитрију Богдановићу у спомен (1986–2016)*, Београд 2018, s. 165–185; idem, *Божидар Вуковић између стварности и конструкције: од штампа до српског деспота*, “Црквене студије”, 15, Ниш 2018, s. 17–40. As for the Italian studies on Vuković, in particular the recent study and description of the Marciana library collection, see S. Pelusi, *La civiltà della stampa a Venezia, Testi sacri ebraici, cristiani, islamici dal Quattrocento al Settecento*, (Civiltà Veneziana, Studi), 51, Padova 2000; eadem, *Il Meneo liturgico slavo ecclesiastico della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Cod. Or. 228 = 181)*, “Miscellanea Marciana”, XVIII, 2003, s. 19–46; eadem, *Libri e stampatori a Venezia: un ponte verso i Balcani*, [in:] *Ponti e frontiere. Atti della Giornata interdisciplinare di studi, Venezia, 20 ottobre 2004*, ed. A. Bonifacio, Venezia 2005, s. 61–78; eadem, *Edizioni in cirillico dei secoli XVI e XVII in Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*, “Црквене студије”, 15, Ниш 2018, s. 117–158.

²⁵ Duklja, or Diokletija, as Božidar Vuković writes in the *Oktoih petoglasnik* of 1536, came to an end on 27 July 1537.

²⁶ S. Cirković, *I Serbi nel medioevo*, s. 246.

Turkish interests, by maintaining a network of friendships and alliances at the highest level, from the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia to the high clergy in Serbia, and up to the emperor Charles V, all while stealthily passing through the secret quarters of the Ottoman administration, reveal the second nature of the printing mission of Vuković and the true measure of its ambitions. Commerce, naturally, played its due part in it, as the Podgorica nobleman was a skilled businessman: Vuković carried out personally the sale of luxury goods he was dealing in (fabrics, gemstones and spices), and supervised tightly the distribution of his precious volumes all over the Balkans. He was a partner in a company together with his brother Nikola, brother-in-law Gasparo and Girolamo Trevisan. The transit point of the company's traffic lines was in the Dalmatian city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), where most books were sorted and sent to their final destinations. In his capacity as partner, Vuković was taken as far as Constantinople²⁷, but now we are aware that such voyages were not for the sake of commerce alone.

The beginning of his publishing activity, the issue of the *Psaltir s posle-dovanjem*, dates back to 7 April 1519. In the same period, Vuković also commits himself to lobbying for the foundation of a print-shop back in his country, at Goražde²⁸, not far from the Sopotnica monastery, founded by another Božidar, namely Božidar Goraždanin, of the Ljubavić family (in the past he was mistaken for Vuković). The print shop in Goražde was the first of its kind by the South Slavs to become operational in the Balkan territories of the Ottoman Empire. This episode gives us a glimpse into what were, beyond commercial activity, the deep reasons why Božidar Vuković chose to become a printer: he

²⁷ Angela Nuovo, who discovered in 1987 the only surviving copy of the famous Koran printed by Paganino and Alessandro Paganini dated 1537/8, while discussing the relations of the Paganini brothers with the powerful family of merchants and booksellers Gabiano and of the latter with the Vuković brothers (Nikola, whom she erroneously identifies as Božidar's son, was married to Dianora Gabiano), suggests that the copies of the Koran were brought to Constantinople via the commercial network of the Vuković family. Those copies were later burned publicly by order of the Sultan. See A. Nuovo, *La scoperta del Corano arabo, ventisei anni dopo: un riesame*, "Nuovi Annali della Scuola speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari", XXVII, Roma 2013, s. 9–24.

²⁸ See E. L. Nemirovskij, *Die Druckerei von Bozidar Gorazdanin in Gorazde und Venedig. Die erste Druckerei von Bozidar Vukovic in Venedig*, [in:] *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift*, vol. 2, Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana 152, Baden-Baden 1997, vol. 4, Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana 170, Baden-Baden 2001, s. 301–306. See also idem, *Die zweite Druckerei von Božidar Vuković in Venedig in Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift*, vol. 6, Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana 187, Baden-Baden 2003.

actually perceived such activity as a true mission, a contribution to preserving the spiritual and cultural heritage of his own country, while contemplating his goal of setting Montenegro free from Ottoman rule. That is why, when one thinks of his print shop “треба пре свега видети меценатску и ктиторску делатност која се очекивала од богатог и угледно човека, као и његову несумњиву оданост православљу и српској духовној традицији”²⁹.

The military resistance of the Serbs was shattered for a long period to follow, and to maintain spiritual and ethnic self-awareness. Only Orthodox religious books were printed, because they were the most significant resistance to programmatic Turkish Islamization, the most important way to safeguard the Orthodox Church and faith. According to one of the oldest printers, the books were meant to keep the faith of those enslaved by the Turks alive – I know that the Turkish Empire would have a myriad of enemies within³⁰.

A well-known fact, the titles published by Božidar Vuković are ten: *Psaltir* (1519), *Služabnik* (1519), *Molitvenik* (1520)³¹, *Psaltir s posledovanjem* (1520), *Molitvenik* (1521), *Zbornik za putnike* (1536)³², *Oktoih petoglasnik* (1536–1537),

²⁹ “One should first of all see the patron’s and *ktitor*’s activity which was expected from a rich and respectable man, as well as his undoubted loyalty to Orthodoxy and Serbian spiritual tradition”, *Пет векова српског штампарства: 1494–1994. Раздобље српскословенске штампе: XV–XVII в.*, ed. приредили М. Пешикан, К. Мано-Зиси, М. Ковачевић, Београд-Нови Сад 1994, s. 79.

³⁰ P. Ivić, M. Pešikan, *Serbian Printing*, s. 139.

³¹ “The *Miscellany for Travelers* was one of Vuković’s earliest releases and, as we shall presently see, his most successful publication.” See V. Izmirlijeva, *All the names of God*, Chicago 2008, s. 132. In this book, Valentina Izmirlijeva examines two lists of God’s names: one from *The Divine Names*, the treatise by Pseudo-Dionysius, and the other from *The 72 Names of the Lord*, “an amulet whose history binds together Kabbalah and Christianity, Jews and Slavs, Palestine, Provence, and the Balkans”. In this essay we find therefore a surprising analysis of the text of the 72 names of God contained in Vuković’s *Molitvenik* – *Zbornik za putnike*. See also S. Novaković, *Apokrifi iz štampanih zbornika Božidara Vukovića*, *Starine* 16, Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1884, s. 57–66. In this article Novaković edited the group of texts that Izmirlijeva discusses in her book, including the amulet itself.

³² In the very recent article by Nicola Madaro *Un testo liturgico greco-slavo di Božidar Vuković (1536)*, “Црквене студије”, 15, Ниш 2018, s. 61–74, that “highlights some phonetic phenomena relevant to the evolution of Greek in modern times” and “presents some variants of the liturgical text” s. 74, N. Madaro writes: “Božidar Vuković, alias Dionisio della Vecchia, per l’edizione del testo, che molto probabilmente utilizza il modello di un manoscritto ancora da individuare” (Božidar Vuković, alias Dionisio della Vecchia, for the edition of the text, which most

Oktoih petoglasnik “vukovički drugi” (1537), *Minej praznični* (1538) and *Molitvenik ili Trebnik* (1539–40). The production of church books issued in the print shop of Vuković is closely related to that of the print shop in Obod-Cetinje by Đurađ Crnojević. Unlike the shop in Obod-Cetinje, though, where typically Balkan ornamentation has been preserved despite a general inflow of Venetian Renaissance preferences, Božidar Vuković favours the use of motifs more reminiscent of medieval calligraphical impressions, taken from ancient Serbian manuscript books: they reflect the highly conservative cultural mindset of the printer, who was explicitly intent on defending tradition. His famous engravings stimulated the production of a body of illustrations that were later copied over a vast area of the Balkan and Slavic world, from the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, going all the way up through Russia, and back to the Ukraine of the first decades of the XVIIth century. Moreover, beyond book illustration, the graphic pieces by Božidar Vuković echoed in the mural painting tradition in Serbia and Montenegro. The tome issued in the shop of Vuković viewed as a model was the *Минеј празнични* of 1538; it is considered, even to this day, one of the finest ancient illustrated books ever in the history of printing in the entirety of the erstwhile Yugoslav area.

The fall of the despotate in Serbia at the hands of Mehmed the Conqueror, resulted in the impairment of both the status and very existence of the patriarchy of Peć³³, the last surviving institution of the now lost Serbian

likely uses the model of a manuscript still to be identified), see s. 66. A possible solution is contained in the work of E. Turdeanu, *Études de littérature roumaine et d'écrits slaves et grecs des Principautés Roumaines*, Leiden 1985, in which Turdeanu indicates as author the monk “Philothée [...] ancien logothète de Mircea Voévode”, *ibidem*, s. 48. “La plus ancienne édition du *Zbornik za putnike* date 1520, mais le répertoire de Philothée ni figure qu’à partir de l’édition de 1536. L’identité entre l’écrit de Philothée et le répertoire d’hymnes paru dans le livre de Vuković est passée inaperçue jusqu’ici. L’explication en réside probablement dans la liberté qu’a prise Vuković de modifier le titre de l’ouvrage.” See E. Turdeanu, *Études de littérature roumaine...*, s. 46–47.

V. Izmirlieva also quoted Turdeanu’s work, this time about the problem of the sources: “The pseudo-epigraphon is documented by two Greek recensions, one long and one short, both in Schmidt’s *Le Testament grec d’Abraham*. Slavonic, Romanian, Coptic and Ethiopian versions are also extant. For the manuscript tradition of the Slavonic and the Romanian versions (with a complete bibliography of the editions available), see E. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains*, 201–38”, quoted by V. Izmirlieva, Chicago 2008, s. 183, see also E. Turdeanu, *Études de littérature roumaine...*, s. 226–242. For the reference to Schmidt, see F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d’Abraham*, Tübingen 1986.

³³ Sava Nemanja obtained the autonomy of the diocese of Peć from Constantinople in 1219; it became metropolia of the Nemanjić state from 1220 on and patriarchy in 1346, at a time

state³⁴. In 1528–1529, the patriarchy was merged into that of Ohrid, presided over at the time by the industrious patriarch Prohor (1524–1550)³⁵; the act created a strong contradiction between the church and the lay Serbians, who broadly viewed it as “une étape supplémentaire vers la disparition des derniers vestiges de l’entité politique serbe” (an additional step towards the disappearance of the last vestiges of the Serbian political entity)³⁶. The laity attempted repeatedly, between 1528 and 1537, to establish again the Serbian Patriarchy of Peć³⁷. However, its efforts were met with fierce opposition by Prohor, who was supported by the majority of the Serbian clergy as he was widely regarded as the best defence against the hegemonic tendencies of the Greek Patriarchy of Constantinople. Prohor enacted a series of measures³⁸ to stop the rebellion he called “the schism” (*raskol*). On the issue, Cazacu notes that “il s’agissait d’un conflit entre deux visions de l’orthodoxie: l’une, nationale, serbe (et, en général slave), et l’autre, supranationale, tendant à la création d’une ‘nationalité orthodoxe’ (selon l’expression de C. Andreescu) (it was a conflict between two visions of orthodoxy: one, national, Serb (and, in general Slavic), and the other, supranational, tending to the creation of an ‘orthodox nationality’)”³⁹. Although the author does not share the point of view it expresses, she nevertheless quotes here a passage from a paper by A. Molnár that, as insidious as it might be, successfully exemplifies the role of the Serbian church through the events mentioned⁴⁰:

Stefan Dušan proclaimed the Empire of the Serbs and the Bulgarians. In 1459–63, the patriarchate became vacant upon abolishment by the Ottoman Empire but was restored in 1557 (and abolished again in 1766).

³⁴ M. Cazacu, *Projets et intrigues serbes...*, s. 512.

³⁵ Ibidem.

³⁶ Ibidem.

³⁷ Highlighted by Petar Kostić, *Dokumenti o buni Smederevskog episkopa Pavla protiv potčinjavanja Pečke patrijaršije arhiepiskopiji Ohridskoj*, “Spomenik srpske kraljevske Akademije”, 56, Beograd 1922, s. 32–39.

³⁸ They ranged from gifts to the Ottoman dignitaries and the patriarch of Alexandria to (imaginative) pretensions on the metropolises of Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as on the Romanian bishoprics of Transylvania.

³⁹ M. Cazacu, *Projets et intrigues serbes...*, s. 513 and n. 15.

⁴⁰ “The Serbian Patriarchy ceased to exist for a century until 1459 (according to some historians only in 1532), the hierarchy ended under the juridical authority of the archdiocese of Ohrid. Only in 1557 was its autonomy restored, thanks to the efficient lobbying by the great vizir Mehmed Sokolović, a Bosnian Serb in origin. Later, the patriarchy of Peć became the strongest Christian ecclesiastical institution in the whole Balkan peninsula. To explain the in-

Il patriarcato serbo ha cessato di vivere per un secolo nel 1459 (secondo alcuni storici soltanto nel 1532), la gerarchia è finita sotto l'autorità giuridica dell'arcidiocesi di Ohrid. Soltanto nel 1557 è stata ripristinata l'autonomia grazie all'efficace sostegno del gran visir Mehmed Sokolović, d'origine serbo-bosniaca. In seguito il patriarcato di Peć divenne l'istituzione ecclesiastica cristiana più forte di tutta la penisola balcanica. Per spiegare la forza interna e il dinamismo della Chiesa serba ortodossa dobbiamo cogliere due fondamentali peculiarità: l'uniformarsi della vita religiosa alla religiosità del popolo e la sopravvivenza dell'ecclesiologia politica d'origine medievale. Del primo fenomeno abbiamo un'immagine plastica dai resoconti dei missionari cattolici che riferiscono dell'ignoranza del clero ortodosso e dei suoi fedeli. La messa in secondo piano dell'istruzione e della teologia, il passaggio in prima linea della liturgia e in particolare delle usanze paraliturgiche, la particolare simbiosi del mondo delle credenze popolari e dell'insegnamento ecclesiastico ufficiale ha allontanato in maniera fondamentale la mentalità dell'ortodossia sotto gli ottomani dalla cristianità occidentale rinnovata e diventata più intellettuale grazie alla riforma protestante e cattolica. Col passaggio del paese sotto la dominazione ottomana la Chiesa serba è rimasta l'unica depositaria dello stato medievale serbo, il più grande fattore della creazione della coscienza nazionale serba.

Around the beginning of 1532–1533 one notices a new political factor that further complicates the conflict arisen within the Orthodox Church: namely the projects of subversion and restoration of the despotate by Božidar Vu-

ternal strength and dynamism of the Orthodox Serbian Church we must understand two fundamental specifics: the harmonization of religious life with the religiousness of the people and the survival of political ecclesiology of medieval origin. On the first phenomenon, we have a plastic image from the reports of Catholic missionaries who account of the ignorance of the Orthodox clergy and their faithful. The secondary importance given to education and theology, the prime importance given to liturgy and, most importantly, customs that went along the liturgy, the specific symbiosis of popular beliefs and official teachings of the church has fundamentally created a gap between the mentality of orthodoxy under the Ottomans and that of the renewed Western Christianity, which become more intellectual thanks to the Protestant and Catholic reforms. Once the country went under Ottoman rule, the Serbian Church remained the sole repository of the Serbian medieval state, the single most important factor in the creation of Serbian national consciousness.” See A. Molnár, *La Chiesa ortodossa serba e i tentativi d'unione nel XVII secolo*, [in:] *Da Roma in Hungaria. Atti del convegno nel terzo centenario della morte di Giovanni Giuseppe De Camillis, vescovo di Munkács/Mukačevo (1689–1706)*, (Collectanea Athanasiana – I. Studia), 2, ed. T. Végheš, Nyíregyháza 2009, s. 28.

ković's that "de 1532 à 1539 n'a cessé de comploter pour le rétablissement du despotat serbe, a la tête du la se voyait investi par la grâce de Charles Quint et avec l'accord – ou la complicité – du *lobby* serbe d'Istanbul" (from 1532 to 1539 he did not cease plotting for the re-establishment of the Serbian despotate, at whose head he saw himself invested by the grace of Charles V and with the agreement – or complicity – of the Serbian lobby of Istanbul)⁴¹. Such words are mirrored in the documentary evidence with the General Archive of Simancas, where the correspondence of the Spanish ambassadors to Venice during the reign of Charles V is preserved, and where we find that the person charged with the maintenance of relations with the Serenissima during the time of Vuković was the noble Don Lope de Soria. The documents in the personal archives of Don Lope de Soria, now preserved at the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, correlates with the other sources, and thus one can observe that the Montenegrin printer, under the name of Dionisio della Vecchia (or "dela Vecha", as Lope de Soria has noted) had maintained, through the years, a written correspondence with said Don Lope de Soria and even directly with Emperor Charles V, in which his plans for Montenegro appear manifest. Although we are unable to determine when and in what circumstances Božidar Vuković / Dionisio della Vecchia first met de Soria and the Emperor, we can nonetheless tell precisely that on 24 February 1530, the day Charles V was crowned in Bologna, our printer was there⁴². Two years later, Božidar Vuković began to overwhelm Charles V and his ambassadors with letters, in which he tried to persuade the emperor to put into practice the plan to liberate Stara Crna Gora. The printer's ambition seemed, for a brief moment between 1537 and 1538, almost on the brink of materializing, but then the plan simply went to waste. The plan itself was to unfold rather simply as follows: a Spanish fleet sent by the Emperor was to take possession of Scutari, a territory Vuković knew all too well, since he owned a warehouse there, and where, above all, he had allies and associates willing to support him, like *sandžak-beg* Holoman (Oleman)⁴³. Once the

⁴¹ M. Cazacu, *Projets et intrigues serbes...*, s. 514.

⁴² Ibidem, s. 520, n. 24, quotes: "El dicho Dionisio dela Vecha es uno que fue a Bologna y beso los manos a Vostra Magestà" (AGS – Archivo General de Simancas, Estado Venecia, 1312, f^o 121).

⁴³ Ibidem, s. 514. Moreover, s. 520, n. 25, quotes from a letter from Domingo de Gaztelù to the commander de Leon, dated 26 November 1536: "el dicho Dionis yra tambien a Scutari por tomar amicitia con el baxa Holoman Bey che nuovamente acci es venido, desqual (por el

operation would have been successful, Vuković would have sent word to Serbs and Bulgarians who were to come to arms and, under the flags of Vuković himself, would have re-established the despotate of Serbia under the leadership of Božidar Vuković as its *voivode* and palatine count. Vuković was certain he could muster support from thousands of Christians⁴⁴ ready to serve the cause. His network of supporters included secret agents in the region, in Istanbul and north of the Danube, in Moldavia and Wallachia. He could count among his most committed allies, besides Patriarch Prohor, the Moldavian prince Petru Rareș (1527–1538 and 1531–1546), who would, in turn, begin exchanging letters with Charles V, Ferdinand of Austria⁴⁵ and the prince of Wallachia Radu Paisie (1535–1545). The letters of Dionisio della Vecchia tell undeniably that his plans were favourably met by these princes, who were united in their desire to go against the empire of Suleiman the Magnificent and to come under the protection of Charles V. The title of *comes palatinus* was bestowed on him in 1533, the same year when, “sous couvert de négoce”, he went to Constantinople. Since an important mission is not without risks, it is now that Vuković has his first will written. The missions in Constantinople we know of are twofold, of which the second takes place in 1536. About this second mission, Domingo de Gaztelu⁴⁶ recounts some friendly conversations with the great vizier “Hâyas Pasha” (Hâyas Paşa), who we thus discover was a relative of Vuković⁴⁷. It is during this second mission that Vuković secretly met the Wallachian prince Radu Paisie, who happened to be in Constantinople, and who agreed to join the anti-Ottoman coalition. The conspiracy grew larger in the following years (1539), when the Morlacchi of Hercegovina would enter the scene, led by

consejo del Turco) entendera algo de los desegnos del dicho Turco...” (AGS, Estado Venecia, 1313, n° 36). *Sandžak*: region, administrative unit during Turkish rule and its head (beg).

⁴⁴ Cazacu writes “un nombre impressionnant de chrétiens, qu’il n’hésitait pas à chiffrer en millions!” Nonetheless, we could not verify this hyperbolic assertion.

⁴⁵ M. Cazacu, *Projets et intrigues serbes...*, s. 515 and s. 520, n. 28.

⁴⁶ Secretary of Ferdinand of Austria was a friend and collaborator of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. He was active in Venice as a translator (A. Juan, *Opera chiamata della Confusione machometana* [...] Tradotta in italiano per Domenico di Gaztelù, Venezia 1541?), and editor; see A.M. Gallina, *L’attività editoriale di due spagnoli a Venezia nella prima metà del ‘500* (Gaztelu e Delicado), “Studi Ispanici”, I, 1962, s. 69–91.

⁴⁷ AGS, Estado Venecia, 1312, n° 161. On Hâyas Pacha, a grand vizir of Albanian origin, former head of the Janissaries at the time of the dynastic struggle between Bayezid II and Cem, see J. Chesenau, *Le voyage de Monsieur d’Armon*, Paris 1887, s. 238.

local noblemen and voivodes⁴⁸ who went further to ask Charles V to help them against the Ottomans.

We are not exactly aware of the date Božidar Vuković passed away, but it should have in all likelihood occurred by the end of 1539 or the beginning of 1540. In his second will, dated 6 November 1539, he set precise orders to be buried at Starčevo Gorice, in a monastery on a small island of Lake Scutari⁴⁹, to which he also left his own collection of manuscripts, as well as an endowment in money. In his last wishes, he did not fail to mention the monastery of Mileševo, to which he entrusted his banner, and specified an endowment of fifteen ducats for the construction of what was to be the church of San Giorgio dei Greci in Venice. Immediately after his death, an emissary of the Patriarch Prohor arrived in Venice to request the Spanish ambassador to speed up the preparations for the planned landing in Scutari. The hour, though, was late for the Serbs, as it was for Božidar Vuković himself: the spring of plots and conspiracies had passed, and the Serbs of the Ottoman Empire were to accept for a long while the new establishment against which the Montenegrin printer had fought.

Vuković pursued his dream to free Montenegro throughout his life and did so with the ambition of a warlord. His greatest legacy is, however, in the books he printed, tangible witnesses of his passing through history and monuments of culture forever entwined with his name: they remain his true glory. It is in these precious tomes that still amaze with their beauty and perfection of form that the message he intended carries on, the message he learned from the lesson the printing shop in Crnojević voiced: resist. Resist time, resist misfortunes, resist adversities.

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⁴⁸ See M. Cazacu, *Projets et intrigues serbes...*, s. 521, n. 34.

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Słowa i miecze. Drukowane księgi liturgiczne dla Serbów w XV i XVI wieku: między obroną własnej kultury a działaniem politycznym

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Dzieje cyrylicznego drukarstwa dla Serbów zaczynają się w dawnej Czarnogórze w końcu XV wieku, gwałtownie przerwane podbojem także tej części Bałkanów przez państwo osmańskie, pod panowaniem którego regularny rozwój piśmiennictwa w regionie stał się niemożliwy. Od tego momentu historia serbskich wydawnictw będzie się rozwijać przede wszystkim na emigracji, a szczególne miejsce przypadnie Wenecji, głównemu ośrodkowi drukarstwa w Europie. Serenissima stała się na długi okres centrum produkcji i rozpowszechnienia ksiąg cyrylicznych, zwłaszcza liturgicznych, wpływających na kształtowanie i umacnianie kulturowej i narodowej świadomości Serbów. Począwszy od inkunabułów pochodzących z drukarni na Cetinju poprzez imponującą aktywność drukarni Bożidara Vukovicia w Wenecji w XVI w. księgi religijne pełniły funkcje obrony tożsamości kulturowej i politycznej. Misja wydań *gospodara* Zety Đurađa Crnojevicia i Bożidara Vukovicia, „cesarskiego informatora, niedoszedłego despoty Serbów” (Cirković 1992), wynikała z pilnej potrzeby walki o zachowanie własnego dziedzictwa kulturowego i religijnego. Dla Vukovicia księga liturgiczna oprócz funkcji czysto duchowej, obrzędowej miała także konkretny wymiar materialny

jako środek umożliwiający trwanie i realizację idei wyzwolenia swojej ojczyzny i swego narodu spod nieprzyjacielskiego jarzma.

**Слова и мечи. Сербские печатные литургические книги
в XV–XVI вв.: между защитой собственной культуры
и политической деятельностью**

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Ключевые слова: старинное сербское книгопечатание, литургические книги, Венеция, Божидар Вукович, православное наследие, политическая деятельность

История сербского кириллического книгопечатания начинается в Старой Черногории ближе к концу XV века. Раннее начало было прервано османским завоеванием Сербии и Черногории, которое фактически сделало невозможным регулярное развитие кириллической печати в регионе. С тех пор история сербского книгопечатания почти полностью происходила в эмиграции. Венеция, известный европейский печатный центр, в этом отношении, сыграла ключевую роль. На протяжении веков она являлась основным местом производства и распространения кириллических книг, что способствовало развитию и формированию сербского культурного и национального сознания. Начиная с первых инкунабул из типографии Цетине и с новой силой продолжая в типографии Божидара Вуковича в Венеции в XVI веке, литургические книги были мощным инструментом сопротивления, как культурного, так и политического. Миссия книгопечатания Джураджа Црноевича (Черноевича), господаря Зеты, и печатника Божидара Вуковича, „имперского информатора, несостоявшегося сербского деспота” (Циркович 1992) была обусловлена необходимостью сохранения своего культурного и конфессионального наследия. Литургические и религиозные книги для Б. Вуковича, помимо их духовного значения, станут также материальным источником и средством, гарантирующим выживание идеи освобождения своей страны и своего народа от османского ига.