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BETWEEN AN IMAGINARY AND A HISTORICAL FIGURE:
BOŽIDAR VUKOVIĆ'S PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

Božidar Vuković – known in Venice as Dionisio della Vecchia¹ – is widely seen both in the general and the professional and academic public primarily as a printer, an image defined already in the early historiography of the 19th century due to literal interpretations of the colophons of his editions, which in multiple places refer to him as the person who printed those books and also cast the letter moulds. Already Dositej Obradović in the foreword to his *Ethics* (*Etika*) loosely describes him as a patriot who, in an act of selflessness for the benefit of the Orthodox church and his homeland, began printing church books, thereby tending the flame of national edification and facilitating the nation's imminent revival.² Building on Dositej's views, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski claimed, among other things, that after his relocation to Venice Božidar Vuković established “the first permanent Slavonic printing house”.³ In his *History of Serbian Literature* (*Istorija srpske književnosti*) Stojan Novaković praised Božidar Vuković as “the most deserving of Serbs” in the field of early Serbian printing, adding that, besides having “printed the largest number of books”, he also cast letter moulds.⁴ A not insignificant role in the elaboration of Vuković's image as a printer was played

(¹) Мирослав А. Лазич, *Од Божидара Вуковића до Дионизија дела Векије: идентитет и псеудоним у култури раног модерног доба*, in *Scala Paradisi: Академику Димитрију Богдановићу у спомен 1986-2016*. Београд 2018, pp. 165-186.

(²) Досітєй Обрадєвичъ, *Етика или философія наравоучителна по системи г. профессора Соави*. Венеція 1803, p. 7.

(³) Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski, *Tiskari jugoslavenski XV. i XVI. veka*, “*Arkiv za povēstnicu jugoslavensku*”, 1 (1851), pp. 130-132.

(⁴) Стојан Новаковић, *Историја српске књижевности*. Београд 1867, p. 54.

by Pavel Rovinsky, who saw him as a continuator of the “Obod printing house”.⁵ The seed of some additional misconceptions, which would go on to have a strong impact on the emergence of various ideological constructs, was sown by Ilarion Ruvarac, who proposed – albeit very cautiously – that the identity of Ivan Crnojević’s former logothete Božidar the Greek (Grk) might be hidden behind the figure of Božidar Vuković.⁶ With some corrections, similar views on Vuković’s professional life were advocated by Ljubomir Stojanović.⁷ However, these hypotheses reached their peak in the interwar period, particularly at the very outbreak of the Second World War, during the commemoration of the 400th anniversary of Božidar Vuković’s death. To mark the occasion, a monument was erected in a park in Podgorica, and a Commemorative Book was published with a few appropriately patriotic texts. Particularly noteworthy among them is a text by Sava Vuletić where he, among other things, hypothesizes the existence of a printing house owned by Vuković in Podgorica and founded even before the one in “Obod”. In addition, he offers a series of groundless assumptions about Božidar Vuković and his professional engagement, ranging from the claim that immediately after his arrival in Venice he “committed himself to studying printing” and spent his entire life “working in the field of typography”, to the statement that it was “thanks to his efforts and funds” that the first “Slavonic Cyrillic letters” were made at “his own typesetting shop”, also suggesting that Vuković’s type was used in the printing of Crnojević’s editions.⁸ In the postwar period, the largest contribution to the research of early Serbian printing was given by Dejan Medaković, who authored the first monograph on the subject and whose views almost became the norm among academic circles and experts. Analyzing the nature of early Serbian

(⁵) Павел А. Ровински, *Ободска штампарија на Ријеци Црнојевића у Црној Гори и њен значај на словенском југу*. Цетиње 1893, р. 12.

(⁶) Руварац 1899, *Монтенегрина. Прилозици историји Црне Горе*. Земун 1899², рр. 36-37.

(⁷) Љубомир Стојановић, *Старе српске штампарије*, “Српски књижевни гласник”, 7 (1902), рр. 282-284.

(⁸) Саво П. Вулетић, *Војвода Божидар Вуковић*, in *Споменица војводе Божидара Вуковића Подгоричанина*. Подгорица 1939, рр. 19-58.

printing houses, Medaković concludes that Vuković's printing house was "originally founded as his endowment, although it gradually acquired an increasingly commercial character". On the other hand, discussing Božidar Vuković's role and participation in the printing process, Medaković argues that Vuković "was not merely the patron and founder of the printing house, but also a figure that personally participated in a series of preparatory technical tasks associated with bookmaking, although he was not himself an active printer".⁹ The authority of Medaković's conclusions about Vuković's professional identity was not meaningfully challenged in the ensuing decades, regardless of the fact that this period saw the publication of a large number of source documents related to Božidar Vuković which have shed more light on other aspects of his public life – from his trading business, to being appointed the first custodian (*gastaldo*) of the Scuola di San Nicolò dei Greci, to his political and other activities.¹⁰ Božidar Vuković continued to be seen primarily as a printer or, more specifically, the "founder and owner of the most important Serbian printing house in the 15th century".¹¹

This perception of Vuković, shaped under the direct influence of the colophons of his books, which repeatedly refer to him as the person who not only printed them but also "cast the matrices for the letters", has come to be accepted as a historical given rather than a construct first established by Vuković himself and then by many scholars who, conditioned by the historical time in which they lived, consciously or unconsciously built their own ideological, political,

⁽⁹⁾ Дејан Медаковић, *Графика српских штампаних књига XV-XVII века*. Београд 1958, pp. 30, 48.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Corrado Marciani, *I Vukovic tipografi-librai Slavi a Venecia nel XVI secolo*, "Economia e Storia", 19 (1972) 3, pp. 342-362; Аника Сковран, *Војвода Божидар Вуковић – Dionisio della Vecchia, гасталд Братства св. Ђорђа грчког у Венецији*, "Зограф", 7 (1977), pp. 78-85; Милош Милошевић, *Нови извори которског, ватиканског и млетачког архива о дјелатности Вуковића, штампара и књижара XVI вијека*, in *Штампарска и књижевна дјелатност Божидача Вуковића Подгоричанина*. Титоград 1986, pp. 215-333; Мирослав Лазивић, *Божидар Вуковић између стварности и конструкције: од штампара до српског деспота*, "Црквене студије", 15 (2018) pp. 17-39.

⁽¹¹⁾ Митар Пешикан, *Лексикон српскословенског штампарства*, in *Пет векова српског штампарства 1494-1994*. Београд 1994, pp. 76-82.

cultural, methodological and other conceptions and beliefs into his image.

The texts contained in the colophons of early Serbian printed books essentially continue the manuscript tradition of forewords (“predslovlje”) and afterwords (“posleslovlje”), as well as that of chronicles and similar autobiographical writings.¹² However, unlike the manuscript tradition, where only the basic bibliographical information about the book is provided, usually with the use of quotations and general topoi, inscriptions in Crnojević’s and later Vuković’s editions are incorporated into texts with complex theological contents¹³ highly reminiscent of Serbian medieval charters in terms of both structure and content. This link is hardly surprising in view of the fact that, from the standpoint of Christian soteriology, publishing religious books represented a form of benefaction or endowment, just like building churches or donating liturgical and other practical items to them.

Although inscriptions in forewords and afterwords are usually written in the first person, this does not necessarily mean that the formal signatories were also their real authors. That this was primarily a literary stylization characteristic of the poetics of Eastern Orthodox medieval literature is evidenced by some examples in *Đuro Ljubavić’s entreaty to the honorable presbyter*, printed in the foreword to the Goražde edition of the *Hieratikon*, and the foreword to the Belgrade *Tetraevangelion*, whose printing was begun by *knez* Radiša Dmitrović and completed by Trojan Gundulić. Regardless of the fact that the formal signatories of these notations died while the book was in the process of being printed, speaking from the standpoint of eternity both Đuro and Dmitrović provide not only bibliographical data about their books but also information on the “arrival of their hour of death” and on the events that followed afterwards.

(¹²) Надежда Р. Синдик, *Књижевне одлике предговора и поговора у издањима Божидара Вуковића*, in *Штампарска и књижевна дјелатност Божидара Вуковића Подгоричанина*. Титоград 1986, pp. 117-130.

(¹³) Александар Наумов, *Теологија у списима Ђурђа Црнојевића и Божидара Вуковића*, in *Scala Paradisi: академику Димитрију Богдановићу у спомен 1986-2016*. Београд 2018, pp. 227-238.

This clearly shows that neither Đuro nor Dmitrović could have possibly been the real authors of these inscriptions;¹⁴ instead, autobiographical notes were understood from a theocentric point of view, where the category of time was seen through an eschatological perspective rather than through the prism of palpable reality.¹⁵

Taking into account this understanding of religious book publishing as an act of benefaction or endowment, it becomes clear that many formulations were simply adopted from charter arengae. Hence the authors of the forewords and afterwords of Vuković's editions should be sought among the persons who are formally identified as printers and who not only dealt with technical tasks but also served as editors, redactors and proofreaders. Like in the case of charter texts, they were again mostly members of the clergy, who needed to have the necessary theological knowledge to be able to select appropriate writings and shape the structure of a theological book in line with the liturgical and devotional needs it was meant to cater to.¹⁶ When it comes to Vuković's editions, these persons were first hieromonk Pahomije and later Mojsije, Teodosije and Genadije.

In addition, it should be borne in mind that this was a period dominated by the patronage system, in which the leading role belonged to the patron rather than the real author. Hence the person who was the sponsor of a particular project or work had a heavy influence on its content, which is also evident in charter texts. Not unlike colophons, these were also written from the narrative point of view of the author, whose signature and seal served as the guarantee of the legal act, regardless of the fact that the text was usually formally worded by professional clerks or logothetes. Although Božidar Vuković did not personally compose the forewords and afterwords of

(¹⁴) Жарко Војновић, *Додатни текстови старих штампаних књига у контексту почетака српског издаваштва*, "Читалиште", 26 (2015), pp. 67-69.

(¹⁵) Димитриј С. Лихачов, *Поетика старе руске књижевности*. Српска књижевна задруга, Београд 1972, pp. 324-332.

(¹⁶) Миланка Убипарип, Владан Тријић, *Зборници параклиса у српскословенској традицији*, "Археографски прилози", 37 (2015), pp. 89-95; Жарко Војновић, *Додатни текстови старих*, cit., pp. 67-69; Ратко Хрваћанин, *Историјско-богословска анализа српских штампаних Литургијара XVI века*. Београд - Врњци 2017, pp. 102-103.

his palaeotypes, as the sponsor of the publishing project he certainly controlled and decided their contents. This is clearly evident not only from the fact that he is formally represented as the narrator of these texts but also from some interpolations that interfere with the stylistic-morphological cohesion of the colophon structure, such as a report about the coat of arms conferred upon Vuković by Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, in recognition of his services to the court.

Although the first mention of Božidar Vuković in Venice refers to *Scuola di San Nicolò dei Greci* (Greek Brotherhood of St. Nicholas, also known as the Greek Brotherhood of Venice) and dates from 1516, when he was registered as its member under the Italianized name of Dionisio della Vecchia, there is no doubt that already at that time Božidar and his brother Nikola belonged to the circle of prominent merchants in Venice. Besides Greeks and Ragusans, this circle also included Andreja of Zeta (Andrea de Zeta/Andreja Zećanin), Nikola the Serb (Nikola Srbin) and Marco Xilla (Marko Ksila), who already occupied important positions in the Greek Brotherhood of St. Nicholas.¹⁷ Božidar Vuković's close cooperation with these persons is confirmed by the last will and testament of Nikola the Serb, which names Božidar, along with Andreja of Zeta and Marco Xilla, as one of Nikola's trade representatives in the Adriatic area.¹⁸

Božidar Vuković's status as a reputable merchant is also evidenced by a later statement of Lope de Soria, the Spanish ambassador to Venice. Informing Charles V of Vuković's ideas about the liberation of Skadar (Scutari), Lope de Soria concisely described Vuković as "an honorable man that can be trusted, a competent merchant who is widely seen as such".¹⁹ Further evidence that Božidar and Nikola Vuković had become well-established merchants in Venice already by the 1510s is indirectly provided by the fact that Nikola Vuković married Dionora Gabiano, the daughter of Giovanni

(¹⁷) Fani Mavroidi, *I Serbi e la confraternita Greca di Venezia*, "Balkan Studies", 24 (1983) 2, pp. 511-529.

(¹⁸) Веселин Костић, *Дубровник и Енглеска 1300-1650*. Београд 1975, pp. 492-493.

(¹⁹) Ненад Фејић, *Извештаји шпанских амбасадора у Млецима о рату Свете лиге (1537-1540)*, "Историјски часопис", 34 (1987), p. 89.

Bartolomeo da Gabiano, the head of one of the most prominent merchant and bookmaking families in Venice, with branches in Lyon and Flanders.²⁰ There can be little doubt that the match was made for business reasons, as was usually the case in the early modern period, to allow the Gabiano family to extend their commercial network towards Constantinople and the Levant, and the Vuković brothers to expand theirs towards Flanders and London.

It is almost certain that in the 1530s, together with Božidar's *padrino* Venturino della Vecchia, the Vuković family owned a bottega called *Della Vecchia*,²¹ obviously named after the surname used by the Vuković brothers in Venice and located near the Rialto Bridge, the most elite center of trade at the time.

In this elaborate international trade network, in which the Vuković family had a significant part, particularly noteworthy are urban seaports on the eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea. Important centers included Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and Kotor (Cattaro), as well as towns in Dalmatia, which can be seen from the example of Vincenzo Vuković's trade business. While a reference to Dubrovnik appears in the last will and testament of Božidar Vuković, where he instructs the executors of his will to transport printed books to this city for sale, there are many more extant sources that mention the Vuković brothers' ties to Kotor. Especially noteworthy among them are those that reveal Vuković's business relations and ties with the old and prominent patrician family of Bolica. One of the earliest documents from this group dates from 1530 and mentions a dispute about the payment of a debt of eighty ducats, the profit from a sale of textiles.²² The lively and highly developed business ties between the Vuković brothers and the members of the Bolica family are also attested by later sources. One of these is a document dated 19 January 1537, which informs us that in late 1536, after the death of Vicko Bolica,

(²⁰) Corrado Marciani, *I Vukovic tipografi-librai*, cit., pp. 342-362; Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*. Brill, Leiden-Boston 2013, pp. 71-80, 165-170.

(²¹) Blake De Maria, *Becoming Venetian: Immigrants and the Arts in Early Modern Venice*. Yale University Press, New Haven 2010, pp. 37-38, 200.

(²²) Милош Милошевић, *Нови извори которског...*, cit., p. 234.

Božidar Vuković, “a citizen of Venice”, signed a settlement with Bolica’s heirs and testamentary executors.²³

That the commercial network of the Vuković brothers stretched from the shores of the Adriatic to the Levant and Constantinople is also confirmed by documents dating from the time after their death and pertaining to the recovery of remaining debts. As mentioned above, Lorenzo Aliprandi and Giovanni Francesco da Gabiano, as the trustees of Dionora Gabiano, the wife of the late Nikola Vuković, employed Domenico Tirabosco to “collect funds in Pera and other parts of Constantinople, especially from Giacomo Leoncini” on their behalf.²⁴ Similarly, on 14 December 1546 Božidar’s son Vincenzo authorized Giovanni Braggiani of Herceg Novi (Castelnuovo) to “charge and collect taxes in Dalmatia, Constantinople and other areas in the East”.²⁵ Another two documents date from the following year, more specifically from 21 March 1547. The first of these informs us that Vincenzo Vuković authorized his father-in-law Pietro Antonio de Pagnano to collect debts from a certain weaver called Giovanni Andrea del Torno, based on a document compiled on 14 October 1539²⁶ when Božidar was still alive. On the same day Vincenzo Vuković ceded his rights to debt collection in Venice and beyond to Bartolomeo Agostino da Schio, with whom he had a year earlier applied for privileges for printing Serbo-Slavonic books.²⁷

The Vuković family, like other major Venetian businessmen and merchants, seems to have traded in other goods besides textiles and books, as suggested by a piece of information dating from 1533 and published in the *Diarii* of Marino Sanudo. Here Nikola Vuković, *alias* Nicolo dalla Vecchia, is mentioned as a grain merchant.²⁸ Another document suggests that, together with Venturino della Vecchia, Božidar Vuković also traded in precious stones.²⁹ Some stipulations

(²³) *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 266-267, № III.

(²⁴) Corrado Marciani, *I Vukovic tipografi-librai*, cit., p. 360, № XVIII.

(²⁵) *Ivi*, p. 357, № VII.

(²⁶) *Ibid.*, № IX.

(²⁷) *Ibid.*, № IX.

(²⁸) Аника Сковран, *Војвода Бождар*, cit., p. 83; Милош Милошевић, *Нови извори которског*, cit., p. 260.

(²⁹) Corrado Marciani, *I Vukovic tipografi-librai*, cit., p. 362, № XXV.

in Božidar's will of 1539 also reveal that the Vuković family traded in spices and gemstones. Providing for the members of his immediate family, among other things Božidar bequeathed "a dowry of one thousand ducats in spices" to his daughter Jelena and a dowry consisting of a jewel he owned jointly with his *padrino* Venturino di Cornovi and brother-in-law Gasparo to his daughter Lucia, as well as "a large ruby".³⁰ Nikola also seems to have traded in gemstones, as suggested by a document dated 24 March 1540, stating that a disagreement had arisen between the representatives of Nikola Vuković's estate and Gasparo, Božidar's brother-in-law. The dispute was quickly settled, but the document reveals that the late Nikola Vuković had made two thousand ducats from the sale of a ruby to a certain Marco De Nicolo and the Caorlini family.³¹

Like the Gabianos and other wealthy merchant families, both Božidar and Nikola Vuković made a share of their profit by giving out loans. Although multiple sources confirm this, all of them date from the time after the death of the Vuković brothers rather than from their lifetime. For instance, in 1548 Božidar Vuković's widow Apollonia authorized a certain Bartolomeo di Saledo to demand payment of debts from the Chamber of Loans (Camera degli imprestidi).³² A document dated 25 August 1552 refers to a debt owed to Nikola Vuković by the municipality of Vicenza.³³

Other noteworthy reports about Božidar Vuković's business dealings include the information that in 1536 he owned a vessel of the barque type.³⁴ Interestingly, in the same year he appears as a supplier of the Knights of Rhodes, with whom he also had some kind of financial dispute.³⁵

In addition to their maritime trade network, the Vuković family also developed a continental one, spreading across the hinterlands of

(³⁰) Јорјо Тадић, *Тестаменти Божидара Вуковића, српског итампара XVI века*, "Зборник Филозофског факултета", 7 (1963) 1, pp. 342-343, 357.

(³¹) Милош Милошевић, *Нови извори которског*, cit., pp. 317-320.

(³²) Corrado Marciani, *I Vukovic tipografi-librai*, cit., p. 355, № III.

(³³) *Ivi*, p. 361, № XIX.

(³⁴) Аника Сковран, *Војвода Божидар Вуковић*, cit., p. 83.

(³⁵) *Ibid.*

Southeastern Europe. One of the important centers of Vuković's trade, particularly when it came to books, was the Mileševa Monastery. In addition to being one of the most revered Serbian shrines of its time and the resting place of Sava I, the founder of the autocephalous Serbian church, Mileševa also represented a junction of continental routes leading from Dubrovnik to the interior of the Balkan Peninsula.

In his efforts to expand his network Božidar Vuković used personal contacts and political ties with Radu Paisie, Prince of Wallachia, and Petru Rareș, Prince of Moldavia. Besides these rulers, who enjoyed a degree of autonomy despite being Turkish vassals, Božidar Vuković maintained contacts with the senior clergy not only in Wallachia and Moldavia but also in neighboring Bulgaria. Owing to these political and ecclesiastical channels, Vuković significantly expanded his trading and bookselling network, which now covered large parts of Southeastern Europe. On the other hand, pursuing trade in these areas allowed Vuković unimpeded movement through them and at the same time represented a cover for the intelligence activities he did for Charles V.³⁶

Allying himself with the Gabianos on one side and the prominent Greek and Serbian merchant and entrepreneurial families who held high positions in the Greek Brotherhood of St. Nicholas on the other, Božidar Vuković joined the most elite circles of international trade and found himself in another lucrative economic sector, which was particularly well-developed in Venice – publishing and bookmaking. From the very outset he modeled his publishing business after the publishing projects of the major merchant families in Venice, as evidenced by Božidar's statement that he decided to take up bookmaking having seen that Greeks and Franks were printing books.³⁷ By establishing familial ties with one of the largest entrepreneurial families in Venice, which had a well-developed international commercial and bookselling network throughout Europe and

⁽³⁶⁾ Мирослав Лазич, *Бождар Вуковић између стварности и конструкције...*, cit., pp. 17-39.

⁽³⁷⁾ Надежда Р. Синдик, *Издавачи, штампари, преписивачи*. Цетиње 1996, pp. 51-52.

by becoming a member of an influential society in the Greek and Serbian Orthodox community, Božidar Vuković found himself in a very favorable position to launch his own publishing project. In view of the fact that, like trading in other types of goods, the printing and publishing business was also conducted in the framework of familial relations and friendships, there are sufficient grounds to assume that Božidar Vuković would have had no difficulty in procuring the necessary typographic equipment and printing material through Giovanni Bartolomeo da Gabiano and his closest business partners, such as Paganini or another close associate. This seems even more likely in view of the fact that the Gabiano and Paganini families had a well-established bookmaking and wholesaling system already in the second decade of the 16th century, controlling and covering all stages in the bookmaking process, from paper production to punchcutting and matrix-making for type casting to printing and product placement. On the other hand, a not insignificant role in the launching of Vuković's publishing business was played by his contacts and ties with prominent Greek entrepreneurs and publishers, who were in Venice gathered around the Greek Brotherhood of St. Nicholas. Although Vuković's editions of the *Hieratikon* (Služabnik) and *Psalter with "Posledovanje"* (Psaltir sa posledovanjem) appeared a little before Cunadis's *Psalter*, Vuković must have known of Manutius's and Calliergis's editions of Greek liturgical books, printed before that, and he must have also been aware of Cunadis's publishing enterprise, which was successfully continued by Damiano di Santa Maria after the former's death.³⁸

At the time of launching his publishing business Vuković did not necessarily need to establish his own printing company and could have instead invested in suitable typographic equipment and paid to have the printing itself done at another typographic workshop. As the sources offer no information on this, a suggestive example could be the *Prayer Book* (Molitvenik) of Francesco (Franjo) Micalović printed in Cyrillic for the needs of Roman Catholic believers. Judging by its colophons, the *Prayer Book* seems to have been printed at

⁽³⁸⁾ Evro Layton, *The sixteenth century Greek book in Italy: Printers and Publishers for the Greek world*. Venice 1994, pp. 337-354.

the typography of Giorgio Rusconi in August 1512 in Venice “after master Francesco Ratković of Dubrovnik”, as stated in the first colophon, or “Francesco Ratkov of Dubrovnik”, as stated in the second. Although the colophon refers to him as a master, not unlike Božidar Vuković, Micalović seems to have been the publisher and project leader, as attested by his emblem and suggested by other surviving sources.³⁹

Besides Micalović’s case, the hypothesis that the printing could be done at the workshops of professional printers, who could usually also produce suitable type, is additionally supported by sources dating from the 1470s, when the market for Latin type first emerged⁴⁰ and when the sources for the first time mention the production of Greek letters in typographic workshops. For instance, in 1476 in Vicenza, the German printer Johannes de Reno signed a contract for the production of 110 punches of a Greek type, copper matrices and a mould to cast letters.⁴¹ The fact that this system was in place in an even more developed form at the time of Božidar Vuković’s and later Vincenzo’s publishing activity is also suggested by the fact that many well-known Venetian printers produced type for various scripts and languages which were foreign to them and which they most certainly did not personally know. For example, Alessandro Paganini – who was, interestingly, married to Giorgio Rusconi’s daughter – made type for printing texts in Greek, Hebrew and even Arabic. Another example is provided by the organization of the publishing business led by Cunadis and Damiano di Santa Maria, which the latter inherited after the death of his son-in-law. Both Cunadis and Damiano di Santa Maria are known to have employed professional Venetian typographers for the printing of their editions. For more than fifteen years Santa Maria’s editions were printed at the typography of the Nicolini da Sabbio brothers, who had learned their trade at the printing house of Andrea Torresani. After parting ways with the Ni-

⁽³⁹⁾ Јасмина Грковић-Мејдор, Виктор Савић, *Српски молитвеник из 1512. године*, in *Српски молитвеник: споменица Милану Решетару 1512-1942-2012*. Београд 2016, pp. 122-123.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Riccardo Olocco, *The archival evidence of type-making in 15th-century Italy*, “La Bibliofilia”, CXIX (2017) pp. 62-66.

⁽⁴¹⁾ *Ivi*, p. 61.

colini da Sabbio brothers, Damiano di Santa Maria worked with other well-known typographers such as Cristoforo Zanetti and Francesco Rampazetto.⁴²

Isolated examples clearly show that Božidar Vuković could have commissioned Cyrillic type and other needed equipment from any of the better Venetian typographic workshops, which were hardly few at that time. In addition, he would not have even needed to own his own printing workshop; having suitable typographic equipment – consisting of punches, matrices and moulds for casting Cyrillic type, and woodcut templates for producing graphic decorations, the last being the most expensive and intricate part of the typographic inventory – would have sufficed. Vuković also would not have needed to own a printing press, the simplest part of a printing house at the time,⁴³ if he paid to have his books printed in another typographic workshop, in line with the widespread practice among many contemporary businessmen involved in publishing.

However, what Vuković did need to have – besides the appropriate privilege granted by Venetian structures – was a person with a theological education to oversee the entire prepress process. In addition to drawing designs for producing Cyrillic type, this person also performed editorial and proofreading tasks. Unlike other participants in the printing process, who did not necessarily need to be of Serbian origin, for editing and proofreading Božidar Vuković had to hire a person from the Serbian lands; in addition to being learned in theology, this person would have also needed to be highly proficient in the Serbian recension of Old Slavonic and the Cyrillic script. As a suitable person for this job Vuković hired hieromonk Pahomije from “Montenegro of Reka” (“Crnije Gori ot Reke”), who led Vuković's first publishing cycle from 1519 to 1521. In the second cycle (second half of the 1530s), these duties were performed by hieromonk Mojsije of Dečani and priestmonks Teodosije and Genadije. A suggestive example is the publishing activity of Damiano di Santa Ma-

(⁴²) Evro Layton, *The sixteenth century Greek book in Italy*, cit., pp. 28-30, 337-354.

(⁴³) Martin Lowry, *Svijet Aldusa Manutiusa: Preduzetništvo i učenjaštvo u renesansnoj Veneciji*. Zagreb 2004, p. 11.

ria, where a special place belonged to editors, redactors and proofreaders, all of whom were among the finest connoisseurs of the Greek language in Venice. Thus, for instance, several reputable Greek scholars who occupied prominent positions in the Greek Brotherhood of St. Nicholas worked in the aforementioned jobs. After the death of Paleocapa, who had become an associate already in Cunadis's time, subsequent editors and proofreaders included Ercole Ghirlandi, Vittore Fausto, Demetrios Zenos, Andronicos Noukios, Vassilios Varelis and others.⁴⁴

Along with investing in his own typographic equipment, in the 1530s Božidar Vuković also seems to have used the services of other printing houses. Such a choice would have made more sense from the financial point of view since Vuković's publishing activity was not continuous; in addition, this hypothesis is supported by the fact that most Vuković's editions, besides the usual Old Slavonic alphabetic numerals, also used Latin numerals for signature marks, and in the *Festal Menaion* and *Prayer Book (Euchologion)* Gothic type too.

Božidar Vuković's publishing activity was neither continuous nor did it cover a larger part of his career. He had two distinct publishing cycles, the first lasting from 1519 to 1521 and the second from 1536 to his death in 1539/1540. Over the course of two decades, Božidar Vuković published a total of seven editions, six of which were different titles. For Serbian circumstances of the time this was by no means an insignificant amount, but in comparison with other notable printers and publishers in contemporaneous Venice – both Greeks and Franks – it was certainly a modest output. However, regardless of the fact that Božidar Vuković pursued publishing for only seven to eight years of his career, in the historiography – and through it, in the cultural memory – of the Serbian people he is remembered as a printer. There is no doubt that the decisive role in this was played by the contents of the colophons of his editions – a course of events which their compilers would have been aware of when selecting testimonies that would shape posterity's memory of them.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Evro Layton, *The sixteenth century Greek book in Italy*, cit., pp. 337-354.

Although Božidar Vuković was long believed to have directly participated in the printing process, like other wealthy Venetian merchants and businessmen he was in fact the sponsor of a publishing project which – owing to his commercial network across South-eastern Europe and his political ties and contacts with secular rulers and church leaders – supplied this entire market with liturgical and religious books intended for the Orthodox church and its flock under Ottoman occupation. That Božidar Vuković did not directly take part in the printing process, either in preparing his editions for printing or in type casting, is also evident from the fact that during his second publishing cycle he was busy with other duties. Among other things, he is known to have headed the Greek Brotherhood of St. Nicholas from 1536 to 1539 and to have served the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, managing his intelligence network and devising political plans for the liberation of the Serbs and other occupied peoples in the wider area of Southeastern Europe.⁴⁵ His preoccupation with activities of general geopolitical importance is vividly illustrated by a statement made by his brother Nikola, who claims in his testament that he is loath to burden Božidar (Dionisio) with duties concerning the execution of his will as he “knows that he has many affairs and things to attend to”.⁴⁶

Finally, it should be noted that, although he financed the printing of seven editions of Serbo-Slavonic books, Božidar Vuković was not established as a publisher in the modern sense of the word, because at that time the persons who worked in this industry neither professionally nor socially formed a distinct group⁴⁷ and for him, like other Venetian merchants and entrepreneurs, publishing and bookmaking represented just one segment of their business.

САЖЕТАК

Издавачка делатност Божидара Вуковића није текла у континуитету нити се он њоме бавио током већег дела свог радног века. Могуће је издвојити два

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Мирослав Лазић, *Божидар Вуковић између стварности и конструкције...*, cit., pp. 17-39.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Јорџо Тадић, *Тестаменти Божидара Вуковића*, cit., pp. 344, 358.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Martin Lowry, *Svijet Aldusa Manutiusa*, cit., p. 17.

Вуковићева издавачка циклуса, од којих је први трајао од 1519. до 1521, а други од 1536. до његове смрти 1539/1540. године. У раздобљу дужем од две деценије Божидар Вуковић је укупно објавио седам издања, с тим што је једно било поновљено. За оновремене српске прилике ово није било мало, али у поређењу с другим тадашњим познатим штампарима и издавачима у Венецији, био је то скроман учинак. Но, неовисно од тога што се Божидар Вуковић током свог живота издаваштвом бавио свега седам до осам година, он је у историографији, а преко ње и у културном памћењу српског народа, остао овековечен као штампар. Свакако да су одлучујућу улогу у томе имали садржаји колофона његових издања, чега су били свесни и њихови састављачи, који су одабиром одговарајућих сведочанстава обликовали и сећања будућих нараштаја о Вуковићу.

Иако се дуго сматрало да је Божидар Вуковић непосредно учествовао у самом штампарском процесу, он је заправо, попут осталих богатих венецијанских трговаца и предузетника, био финансијер издавачког пројекта. Користећи своју трговачку мрежу широм југоисточне Европе, као и политичке везе и контакте које је одржавао како са световним тако и с црквеним поглаварима, снабдевао је читаво то тржиште богослужбеним и верским књигама намењеним Православној цркви и њеној пастви под османском окупацијом.