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**A TRUE PIECE OF CULTURAL HYBRIDITY:  
GINAMMI'S *PSALTIR S POSLEDOVANJEM* OF 1638**

**Abstract:** *The paper focuses on the activity of the Venetian printing house Ginammi, which printed books in Serbian and Croatian for the great part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, thus acquiring undisputed primacy in the Balkan market. In 1638, house Ginammi published a Psaltir s posledovanjem, the last book in slavenosrpski to be published in Venice, which can also be regarded as a true specimen of the universality of the Baroque culture. In the first part, the paper outlines the history of house Ginammi, with reference to the Venetian printing context. In the second part, Ginammi's Psaltir s posledovanjem of 1638, its text and its illustrations are analysed, thus showing how the finished work functions as a curious amalgamation of Medieval Serbian, Renaissance and Baroque elements.*

**Keywords:** *Venice, Ginammi, Serbian books, Psaltir, illustrations, universal Baroque, cultural hibridity*

In the end, it needs to be pointed out that the Venetians, regardless of the motifs behind their role in the development of the Serbian publishing, helped us a great deal. Primarily to be among the peoples who used the art of printing already in 1490s, and secondly that in the circumstances of Ottoman occupation, the printing of books enabled us to preserve our integrity and to develop our literacy, our spiritual and secular culture (Plavšić 1959: 220).

With these words Serbian historian Lazar Plavšić summarised the role that Venetian publishing had for the history of Serbian literature and culture. With its printers and publishers, its cultural openness, its political autonomy and especially with its strategic geo-economical position, the Republic of Venice always acted as a sort of cultural bridge for the territories in the Balkans. In these territories, the development of the print faced many obstacles, primarily those created by the Ottoman occupation. Consequently, the Republic of Venice became the publishing centre for the Slavic populace in the Balkans, and directly influenced the development of culture among the Balkan nations.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> According to Miroslav Pantić (1992: 53), between 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries more than 200 Serbian and Croatian books were published in Venice. They were published in three languages (Latin, Italian, Serbo-Croatian) and in three alphabets (Glagolitic, Cyrillic and Latin).

The history of Slavic book in the City of San Marco commenced just a decade after the printing of the Gutenberg Bible, at the very dawn of Venetian publishing, when in 1477 Adamo da Rotweill published Juraj Šižgorić's Latin poetry (Pantić 1992: 51).<sup>2</sup> In the case of Serbian books, the connections with Venetian printers initiated as early as the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and continued in the centuries to come, in diverse forms and with extraordinary outcomes. Without making an overstatement, it could be rightfully claimed that without the contribution of Venetian publishers, the Serbian culture and literature would have an entirely different development and would be greatly impoverished. Apart from influencing the spiritual climate and the modern thought that characterised Serbian culture between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, Serbian books printed in Venice constitute even today an invaluable heritage. They also give an undisputed testimony of the skill and art of Venetian publishers, and the quality of books they printed in the City of San Marco.

In order to reconstruct the history of Serbian book in Venice, scholars (particularly Serbian) have put great emphasis on the work of two families of printers, Vuković and Theodosios, whose printing shops, active in Venice between 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, were undoubtedly the most successful in production and distribution of Serbian books. The Vuković printing house, founded in 1519 by the Montenegrin duke Božidar and handed over to his son Vincenzo in 1546, was active for over 40 years. Their work was mainly based on the (re)printing of the liturgical and devotional books in Church Slavonic (*srpskoslovenski*), that were in general use in the Serbian Orthodox Church at the time. Even today, Vuković's editions remain unsurpassed by their beauty and the quality of print, which is clearly visible in the books held by the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.<sup>3</sup>

A brief interruption in the development of Serbian book printing in Venice occurred when papacy endowed the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith the sole right to publish liturgical books destined for the Orthodox in Venetian Dalmatia. Venice resumed its primacy in this area only in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, greatly due to the initiative of Demetrios Theodosios, who established a print shop with "Illyric" (Cyrillic) characters. Commencing in 1758, and continuing for the next half a century, the publishing house of Theodosios issued more than 40 volumes in different Slavic languages. As a consequence, Venice quickly reprised its supremacy in the production of books for the Serbian audience, thus rivalling the newly founded printing houses of Vienna and Buda.<sup>4</sup>

Besides Vuković and Theodosios, however, several Venetian printers devoted themselves to the publishing and distribution of Slavic books. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, for instance, the Venetian printing houses Bindoni, Rampazetto, Guerra, Bariletto and Torresani (among others) released books in Cyrillic and Glagolitic, whilst in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the houses Pezzana and Ginammi became the most prominent in this field.<sup>5</sup> This paper focuses on the latter.

House Ginammi printed books in Serbian and Croatian for the great part of the seventeenth century, and acquired, at the time of Marco Ginammi (1620-1654), a primacy in the market for Orthodox books. In 1638, the Ginammi printing house issued an invaluable

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2 About Venice as a publishing centre specialised in the production of books in Slavic languages see (among others) M. Pantić (1960, 1992), E. Nemirovskij (1993), L. Čurčić (2006) and in Italy: S. Pelusi (2000, 2005) and M. Fin (2015). To these it is important to add the bibliographies edited by W. Schmitz (1977) and B. Marinković (1989-1992), which are still paramount for their thoroughness and abundance of data.

3 For the bibliography, see Marinković 1989, as well as studies by Pantić 1990, Nemirovskij 1993 and Čurčić 2006.

4 On Demetrios Theodosios and his publishing house see Ploumidis 1969 and Fin 2015: 152-173.

5 For a bibliography on house Rampazetto see Marinković 1989: 187-205.

*Psaltir s posledovanjem*, which is generally considered the last book in the Serbian recension of Church Slavonic to be published in Venice. The book is also noted for the quality of its illustrations, which presented a direct influence of Italian Renaissance and Baroque cultures. Considering the importance of this unique work, Ginammi's *Psaltir s posledovanjem*, its text and its illustrations, would present a focal point of this study.

### **The publishers: Marco and Bartolo Ginammi**

Throughout several centuries Venice was a specific liminal space where cultures of geographically removed nations flourished and enriched themselves. Everything that was politically or confessionally too dangerous to be printed in the realms of Ottoman or Austrian Empires - was published in Venice. The Most Serene Republic indeed functioned as a peculiar cultural transmitter that produced works for foreign audiences through out the Renaissance and Baroque world.

Regardless of the aforementioned crisis, that struck Venetian printers and publishers in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Venetian printers found a new market on the opposite shore of the Adriatic Sea. Following the disintegration of very few publishing and printing houses that existed in the Balkans during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the South Slavic populace were left without any possibility to publish their books.<sup>6</sup> In comparison to their European colleagues, Venetian printers had an advantage of this "new market", as the Most Serene Republic offered the intellectual and financial means needed for this endeavour. Consequently, many Venetian printers and editors decided to embark upon the venture of printing books for the Slavic market. Among those, as presumed, was the Ginammi family.<sup>7</sup>

Ginammi publishing house was founded in 1590 upon the initiative of Bartolomeo Ginammi. Coming originally from Lavenone, a small town near Brescia, Bartolomeo moved to Venice hoping to gain a fortune in the publishing trade.<sup>8</sup> Although in the official documents he is always mentioned as Ginammi, in the first years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Bartolomeo commenced to sign the title pages of his books with the double name Alberti-Ginammi. This was most probably done in order to mark an affiliation or a marriage to the Alberti family, one of the oldest and most renowned families of Venetian printers (Napoli 1990: 13).

Ginammi's headquarters were in Marzaria San Salvador, one of the oldest streets in Venice, close to the Church of Our Saviour (Schmitz 1977: 299). The organisation of work

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6 In the territories under Ottoman rule, it was difficult, but not impossible, to establish publishing and printing houses: as a matter of fact, during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries several print shops opened in this area, and printed books for the needs of the Serbian clergy. Some of these centres used technology, equipment and skills imported from Venice (Fin 2015: 146-152). For a bibliography on Medieval Serbian printers see Marinković 1988-1992.

7 The most complete monograph pertaining the Ginammi printing house was published by Maria Napoli in 1990. Since it clearly outlines the history of the publishing house and its activity, we shall often refer to this study in the following paragraphs. On the other hand, the studies produced by Croatian and Serbian scholarship regarding the Slavic books issued by the Ginammi family are still scarce; for a bibliography, see Marinković 1989: 205-234.

8 Scholars have provided contrasting opinions on the origins of the Ginammi family. For example, Serbian and Croatian historians (B. Marinković, V. Horvat and A. Stipčević) claimed the Croatian origin of the family, giving as a main argument the fact that Bartolomeo Ginammi signed himself as „Bartolomeo Albertovich“ in a book published in 1613. Much more plausible seems the argument of M. Napoli, who states that Bartolomeo came from Lavenone, near Brescia. This hypothesis is affirmed by the intense commercial exchanges between Ginammi and other publishers from Brescia between 1622 and 1630 (Napoli 1990: 48). Further research of the archival documents may bring the final proof.

was very strict and since it was a family owned firm, all members of the family took part in the printing process, each with a different task. The manager, for instance, was responsible for the proofs and usually dealt with promoting the books. A letter by Marco Ginammi, Bartolomeo's elder son, allows us a glimpse into the work of the Venetian printing shop, which is described as

a large room paved with shingles [...] and flat tiles, so that if the letters fall on the ground they don't get lost among the spaces between the bricks. Because we kept all the material in the same place, there were boxes [...] arranged one next to the other; next to them, there were the tools for storing the matrixes when we would not use them; they were arranged according to the size of the types and the languages [...]. On one side, there was a place to wet the paper. The work revolved around a single printing press (Napoli 1990: 33).

Like other Venetian printers oriented towards foreign markets, the Ginammi had vast commercial relations and used their Venetian bookshop only as a point of reference and coordination. The firm always functioned both as a print shop and a bookshop, selling not only their own editions, but also books issued by other publishers.

The Ginammi catalogue comprised works in Italian, Latin, Croatian and Serbian. The books, mainly in *quarto* or in *ottavo* format, were destined to large and varied audiences. Among them, the most numerous were literary works, followed by treatises and religious works; the latter were more prized and were often decorated with the engravings by Francesco Valesio. Rather prolific were also the translations of important European authors, including Michel de Montaigne, Nicolas Caussin and Bartolomeo de Las Casas.

After Bartolomeo's retirement, the running of the workshop went into the hands of his son Marco, who enrolled in the Guild of book printers and book sellers of Venice in 1620.<sup>9</sup> Regardless of the limited resources – they had only one printing press that they shared with another printer and relied almost entirely on family help in the workshop – under Marco's guidance (1620-1653) the Ginammi family became “the greatest among small publishers, or maybe the only small publisher among the greatest” (Napoli 1990: 6). In the 1630s, particularly, they printed a large number of new volumes, including some important political works and ecclesiastical writings by Pietro Aretino.

In the early 1650s Marco Ginammi probably left the running of the firm to his sons Bartolomeo, Giovanni Antonio and Tommaso. Their fortune started to decline during the mid-1660s, forcing them to limit the production mainly to reprints. Finally, in 1668 the firm was bought by another Venetian publisher, Francesco Brogiolli, who later reprinted some of Ginammi's editions, leaving them basically unaltered.<sup>10</sup>

As regards Slavic books, we know that the founder of Ginammi publishing house, Bartolomeo, bought the entire printing equipment (the printing press, Cyrillic fonts and matrixes) from Jerolim Zagurović, a clergyman from Bocche di Cattaro who had come to Venice in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and eventually set up a printing workshop. In the

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9 As it was pointed out by M. Napoli (1990: 26-29), Marco was rather active in the Guild of printers and achieved some rather prestigious titles: he was first elected President in 1633-34, he then became Prior in the spring of 1638, and, finally, he served again as President in 1641-43.

10 An inventory, compiled in 1678, lists the titles of the books that were found in the storage and in the house of Francesco Brogiolli at the time of his death; it reports the number of unsold copies for each edition, as well as their price. The inventory also comprises several works published by Ginammi, which later passed on to Brogiolli when he bought the print shop some years prior to his demise. Among the Ginammi editions there are 32 works in Slavic languages. For more information on this document and for the complete list of Slavic titles see Stipčević 2008.

following decades, Zagurović had published several books in Slavic alphabet, including a psalter in 1569.<sup>11</sup>

When Bartolomeo Ginammi decided to embark on his publishing venture, he knew that the distribution of Slavic, predominantly ecclesiastical, books throughout the Venetian Adriatic was an inviting business opportunity that secured a decent profit. His choice proved to be a successful one: indeed, throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Ginammi continued Zagurović's vocation and published tens of Slavic books.<sup>12</sup> Among those, there were several devotional treatises, as well as collections of epistles and psalms; there were moderately priced and modest editions, as well as expensive, prized books, some of which are nowadays held by the most important European libraries.<sup>13</sup> As many other Slavic books printed in Venice, Ginammi's editions were well renowned for their quality and largely popular among the reading public, so much that in 1858 Marco Ginammi was still remembered as "Marco Ginammi illirico, stampatore a Venezia" by fellow printers Baseggio from Bassano (Napoli 1990: 36).

In the mid Thirties, Marco's eldest son Bartolomeo (also known as Bartolo, or Barto) began helping his father in managing the Slavic market. In order to prepare for this venture, during the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (particularly in the 1630s) Bartolo had spent considerable time in the Balkan region and the Middle East, learning Slavic and Turkish language – that would make at least part of the negotiations easier.<sup>14</sup> In the 1640s, he attended all major European book fairs, in order to research the needs of his potential audience.

Between 1614-1657, under the joint supervision of Marco and Bartolo, Ginammi publishing house released twenty-four Slavic books: among their most prominent authors are Marko Marulić, Nikša Ranjina, Hanibal Lucić, Dinko Zlatarić, Marin Držić, Ivan Gundulić, Bartol Kašić, Petar Hektorović and Matija Divković. Four of them, particularly, were edited by young Bartolo: *Psaltir s posledovanjem* (1638), Petar Hektorović's *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje* (1638), Matija Divković's *Nauk krstjanski* (1641) and Franjo Glavinić's *Cvritih zvetih* (1657).

### **The last of its kind: Ginammi's *Psaltir s posledovanjem* (1638)**

Re-publishing of books was a common endeavour in Venice among small publishing houses, since the production, or even translation, of new titles demanded considerable funds that only big publishing houses and printers could afford. As most of their colleagues in

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11 See Leschinkohl 1957: 116-121 and Schmitz 1977: 287. For the sources on J. Zagurović and his publishing house see also Marinković 1989: 123-163.

12 The first Slavic book published by Ginammi is *Zarcalo Duhovno od početka is far he života čoviečanskoga*, a translation of a work by Angelo Elli (not "Nelli", as was wrongly presented by Cronia 1939: 48 and Napoli 1990: 63), which was entitled *Specchio spirituale del principio, et fine della vita humana* (Brescia 1600). The translation "iz jezika talijanskoga u dubrovačku", as it is stated in the title, was done by the Benedictine monk Mauro (Mavro) Orbini and published by Marco Ginammi firstly in 1614, and re-printed in 1621 (Schmitz 1977: 73).

13 In 1633 Marco Ginammi edited a catalogue of the Slavic books printed by his firm, as an appendix to A. Komulović's work *Zarcalo od ispoviesti*. The list, entitled "Libri illirici stampati da Marco Ginammi alla libreria della Speranza", comprises 32 works (see Štefanić 1933 and Žic 1935). For a list of the Slavic books published by the Ginammi printing house see Schmitz 1977: 73-77 and 82-84, as well as Stipčević 2008.

14 Bartolo's "apprentice" in the Balkan region is mentioned by both M. Napoli (1990: 34) and V. Horvat (1998): the former writes that Bartolo learned Slavic languages in Dalmatia, while Horvat claims that he was sent by his father Marco to study among the Franciscans of Bosnia.

Venice, then, Ginammi alternated the books that had a great cultural impact, but were laborious from the financial and commercial point of view, with the volumes published on commission. The production for the Slavic market could guarantee secure income, due to its destination (religious colleges and churches) or due to its low cost and vast distribution (particularly the devotional books); thus, the Ginammi managed to even out the insecurities connected to more demanding editions. Matija Divković's books, for instance, were printed several times, as Croatian clergymen used to buy them in Venice and distribute them among the people of Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, modest, inexpensive little books of religious content quickly found their way among the ecclesiastical institutions (monasteries, churches) of the Balkan Peninsula, as well as being popular with the wide audience.<sup>16</sup>

One of the most renowned Slavic books ever printed by Ginammi publishing house is our *Psaltir s posledovanjem* from 1638.<sup>17</sup> The book, in *quarto* format, comprises 276 pages (i.e. title page + 1-275 main text) of 22 lines each, printed on both sides in red and black ink.

A small number of copies of Ginammi's *Psaltir* are currently held by the most prominent Serbian libraries: the Serbian National Library and the "Svetozar Marković" University Library in Belgrade both hold one copy, whilst the Matica Srpska Library holds 7 copies; among them there is the one we used for the present study (R Sr II, 7.1). In Italy, two copies of the *Psaltir* are currently held by the Marciana National Library in Venice, as part of the Old and rare books collection. One of these two copies (RARI VEN. 0722. 001) originally belonged to the private library of historian Giuseppe Praga; it comprises two works bound together, i.e. Ginammi's 1638 *Psaltir* and part of another psalter, a very rare edition printed in Mileševa monastery in 1557 (Reviron 1961: 113).

As we said at the beginning of this essay, most scholars consider Bartolomeo Ginammi's *Psaltir s posledovanjem* to be the last book printed in Venice in *srpskoslovenski*, the Serbian recension of Old Church Slavonic, using Old Cyrillic fonts. Before it, psalters were published by Božidar and Vincenzo Vuković (1519, 1529, 1546 and 1561) and by Jerolim Zagurović. Some bibliographies, however, also mention an *in folio* psalter which was supposedly printed in Venice by an unknown editor in 1658. The book was first registered by Vasilij S. Sopikov in his *Opyt Rossijskoj Bibliografii* (1813 I: CV, 280). In 1865, it was included in Pavle J. Šafarik's *Geschichte der serbischen Literatur* under the "title" *Psaltir s prilozima* (2004<sup>3</sup>: 198-199). Šafarik, though, points out that there are no surviving copies of this book (at least to his knowledge), thus marking it as a "doubtful" edition and concluding that Sopikov probably made a mistake in reporting the date (1658 instead of 1638). Finally, in 1977 the 1658 psalter was also listed by Werner Schmitz in his thorough bibliography of Serbian books printed in Venice (pag. 90, n. 228); to this day, however, no copies of this edition have surfaced.<sup>18</sup>

Be it as it may, there is no doubt that Ginammi's *Psaltir* would certainly attract a wide readership, especially among the Orthodox Serbs in the entire Dalmatia under Venetian rule. The importance of this edition becomes even greater when we take into consideration the historical and political *milieu* in which our *Psaltir* was issued, particularly with reference to the Counter-Reformation. From the archival documents, we learn that in December 1637 the

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15 On the Croatian diaspora in Venice (particularly from Dubrovnik) see Čoralić 1994.

16 V. Horvat (1998) writes that "(Marko Ginammi) Suradivao je s Kongregacijom za širenje vjere radi izdavanja hrvatskih knjiga". Actually, among the books printed by Ginammi that were noted upon the death of Brogiolli, in 1678, there were very few religious books, which indicates that they were already sold and much sought after (see Stipčević 2008).

17 For further sources, see Šafarik 2004: 197-198, Medaković 1958: 221-222 and Nemirovskij 1993: 28.

18 For further insight on the matter, see Marinković 2007: 7-68.

apostolic nuncio in Venice tried to stop, or at least to postpone, the release of the *Psaltir* by the house of Ginammi, apparently with poor results (Radonić 1950: 124-125).

Ginammi's 1638 *Psaltir* appeared as an elaborated and improved version of the previous edition by Jerolim Zagurović from 1569.<sup>19</sup> Because it was a reprint, Marco and Bartolo Ginammi enjoyed almost complete freedom in editing the book, so that our *Psaltir* features some significant differences when compared with the one printed by Zagurović.

First of all, the 1638 *Psaltir* is the first, as well as the only, old Serbian book which features a title page: in creating it, the editor chose to include only the title of the book, i.e. "Psaltir Dav(i)d(o)v", thus reprising a typographic tradition which dated back as far as the early printed books. Secondly, the Ginammis chose to number the pages of the book using Arabic numerals, which appear only on *recto* pages, in the top right corner. Contrary to that, Zagurović had employed Roman numerals, thus keeping in line with previous tradition. Another difference regards the ornate initials, for which the Ginammis employed both Latin and Cyrillic letters. Finally, Marco and Bartolo decided to include a table with the letters of the Cyrillic alphabet, which was placed at the end of the book.

Overall, however, Ginammi's *Psaltir* was printed using Zagurović's printing matrixes, thus keeping the textual and visual elements of the previous edition. The foreword, the afterword to the first part and the colophon are virtually identical, with the exception of the editor and printer's names, which were obviously changed. As a consequence, Zagurović was substituted by Marco Ginammi, while Bartolo replaced Jakov Krajkov, the printer who used to work with Zagurović. For instance, the colophon ends with the following note signed by Bartolo:

сѡврѡшн сын Ѳсалтирь господинь Барто Гинамми иположи свои белегы (Psaltir 1638: 274v)  
азъ барто марковъ сынъ ѿ места нарицаемъ Венеѳїа сынъ сынъ сынъ Ѳсалтирь въ лѣто 1638 аѡ  
роженїа хѣба тисоуцьш ишесть и тридесетьи Венеѳїа (Psaltir 1638: 275r)

As we can see, Bartolo kept with tradition in counting the years starting from Christ's birth. Moreover, in the foreword to the *Psaltir* he asks his Readers to pray for Marco Ginammi, as well as for himself and his whole family; he also invites the Readers to call upon his publishing house in case they need other religious books. Here is an excerpt from the text:

господинь марко гинамми книгарь ѡ млетцѡне ѡ марцарини виде стїе црквы ѿскоуднѣ бжствѡнїе  
книгы иже недостатчнѣ бывше прѣжде ѿродителѣи его воевода, гюрга црїевику и господина  
божидара и того ради приде въ вѣнетскїи градъ и ѡбѣрѣтѣ стары купари ѿродитель его  
бартоломеа и състави ихъ воедино тако да ѡбъноветсе старихъ писмена и да испльнет се стїе  
црквы разьлични кнїгами и того ради моли всѣхъ васъ поменуѡте господина марка  
вмѡлтѡухъ и бартола гинамми марковъ сынъ ѿ места зовомъ Венеѳїа ѡ марцарини. И ѿ господина  
марка поставлѣн бехъ насѣе дело неого ради молю всѣхъ васъ колѣнома касанюсе, идишеу днѣ  
седѣю тако аще що погрѣшнхъ роуконо или езыхомъ авїи простите [...] и аще котори пожелантѣи  
кнїги ѿ брещѣи вароуце истога гна марка гинамми въ граде Венеѳїи оу великомоу троговнцоу  
(Psaltir 1638: 1r-1v).

As can be seen from this excerpt from the Foreword to the 1638 *Psaltir*, Bartolo insists on the connection between the Ginammi family and the forefathers of Serbian book printing, i. e. Đurđe Crnojević, who released the first printed book in the history of the

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19 A thorough description of Zagurović's *Psaltir* is provided in Pantić 1994: 173-174.

Southern Slavs, and Božidar Vuković. Evidently, by calling them „родителѣи“, Bartolo wanted to carve the Ginammi name in the Serbian printing tradition.

### The illustrations

The *Psaltir s posledovanjem* by Bartolo and Marco Ginammi from 1638 is a peculiar book; it is a hybrid work and a true specimen of the universality of the Baroque culture. Although modestly illustrated, it possesses all constituting elements of those precious works that fuse several cultural idioms into one, novel, Baroque creation.

The Baroque was the first culture that could be rightfully seen as a movement of pluralities, a movement that could appropriate elements of different cultures and create an entirely hybrid cultural idiom. It evolved in the most remote surroundings, perpetually re-creating the established cultural model and developing a number of local variations. It was an entirely open system, where each of its elements could be re-combined in order to accommodate novel surroundings and audiences.

Therefore, it became the first culture and the only style in the early modern period that could be rightfully called „global“: it spread from Rome to Mexico, from Valladolid to Macao and Kiev, from China to the Archbishopric of Karlovci or the Orthodox populace in Venetian Dalmatia. Each of these cities represented an autonomous Baroque capital in its own right, worthy of scholarly interest in equal measure as the more commonly known centres of the Baroque world such as Rome, Paris or Salamanca.<sup>20</sup>

A combination of an Orthodox Serbian psalter with Renaissance and Baroque imagery could be created only in the age of the Baroque, where it was perceived not as a compendium of conflicting, but of mutually enriching elements, in a single work of art. Furthermore, the Republic of Venice was a fertile territory for the creation of hybrid works as Ginammi's *Psaltir*. Due to its position between East and West, the Catholic and the Orthodox, the Catholic and the Ottoman, Venice could play the role of the mediator, both mercantile and cultural.<sup>21</sup> It was essentially a trading city, a place of exchanges and fusions where everything could be traded for anything else. But it was not only the goods that came from all corners of the world: the Most Serene Republic also traded in knowledge, cultures and ideas. Moreover, being a mercantile crossroad, Venice was a highly tolerant city to different confessions and influences. It could accommodate any idea and turn it into a lucrative commodity.

In Ginammi's *Psaltir* the cultural hybridity of the Baroque age functions on several levels. The edition establishes a successful cultural dialogue between the Catholic and the Orthodox, between the Renaissance and the Baroque. As we already mentioned, Bartolo Ginammi kept all the important textual and visual elements from Zagurović's 1569 edition, while improving the quality of the illustrations and adding his own *impresa* at the beginning of the book. The finished work is thus a curious amalgamation of Medieval Serbian, Renaissance and Baroque visual imagery that co-exist together in a rather specific work of the Baroque universe.

One of the most conspicuous examples of this cultural and visual bi-linguality is the initial that stands at the opening of the psalms and is exclusive of the 1638 edition (Fig. 1).<sup>22</sup> At the beginning of the text, written entirely in Cyrillic, the Ginammi is placed a highly ornate

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20 For more information on the idea of the Universal Baroque see Davidson 2007 and Todorović 2014.

21 For the history of Venice see also Rosand 2001.

22 All pictures from Ginammi's *Psaltir* of 1638 were taken from a copy currently held at the Matica Srpska Library in Novi Sad (shelf mark Rsr II 7.1). We would like to give our sincere gratitude to the staff of the library of Matica Srpska for giving us reproduction rights and images for this text.



letter “H” from the Latin alphabet, which was clearly designed for some other book written in Italian or Latin. The letter “H” is situated in panoply of floral ornaments with a cheerful putto in its midst, and looks rather at odds with the rest of the Cyrillic text. As the Latin “H” resembles the letter “N” of the Cyrillic alphabet, which serves as the initial letter in that sentence, the Latin symbol could be easily appropriated. This letter most probably was a part of Ginammi’s printing fund, and they possibly considered it decorative enough to be used in the *Psaltir*, regardless of the fact that it does not belong to the Cyrillic alphabet.

The predominant visual element in both editions of *Psaltir*, however, was the geometric ornament that meandered throughout the book (Fig. 2), which reminds the reader of the lavish linear decorations that adorned Serbian Orthodox manuscripts in 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>23</sup> The type of labyrinthine interwoven lines, often painted and gilded in manuscripts, was adopted for the first Serbian printed books produced in Cetinje in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Their presence was meant to introduce the reader to the precious medieval legacy of Serbian literature, and to give to the predominantly monochrome printed volumes a fragment of the luxurious aura that enveloped the illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages.

Beside these examples, Ginammi’s *Psaltir* possesses other forms of visual material, which greatly differ in kind and function, thus adding further proof to the hybridity of the piece. The first stands at the beginning of the Psalms, fittingly representing the image of *King David* (Fig. 3), while the second (Fig. 4), bearing a representation of *Hope* – the official *impresa* of Ginammi publishing house – embellishes the opening of the publisher’s preface and asserts the identity of the publishing house. A third element, a vignette depicting *Christ carrying the Cross* (Fig. 5), is placed at the closing of the publisher’s afterward. The first illustration, taken from Zagurović’s edition of the book, was rendered in the visual language of the Renaissance, while the latter two revealed different influences.

The illustration of *King David* at the beginning of the psalms (Fig. 3) displays all the elements of the Renaissance visual language. The Old Testament king is positioned in a simple room, rendered in a correct linear perspective, with a small window in the background. On the floor of the room, flanking the enthroned king, are a viola and a bow, denoting the music for which he was also renowned. His throne is a true specimen of Renaissance art, with classical decoration and enhanced perspective, which create the illusion that the throne and the king sitting on it are more prominent and thus virtually closer to the edge of the picture plane. The proud figure of King David, with a scroll upon his lap and a halo around his head, is enveloped in manifold layers of billowy drapery, which indicate its Renaissance origins in equal measure as his prominent throne. Amidst this Renaissance composition, almost unexpectedly, on the scroll in the King’s lap and around his head, there are Cyrillic letters identifying him and presenting the first lines of the psalms. Special attention was given to these lines, as they ought to appear in every Orthodox psalter and represented part of an important ecclesiastical tradition.

The Ginammi borrowed this entire scene from Zagurović’s edition, but also inserted some minor improvements. Contrary to what was stated by previous scholarship, Ginammi’s version is undoubtedly an enhancement of Zagurović’s (Fig. 6).<sup>24</sup> In the first instance, these two images seem identical, but upon closer analysis the 17<sup>th</sup> century improvements come to light. The illustration of *King David* was definitely re-cut by an engravers’ workshop in order to give a more polished look, appropriate for this re-print of the *Psaltir*. Considering that the quality of the letters used throughout the psalter was also improved in comparison to Zagurović’s edition, the Ginammi probably redid this illustration as well.

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23 For more information see Pantić 1994.

24 For former interpretations see Pantić 1994: 389, footnote 115/1.

All the lines in Ginammi's *Psaltir* appear softer and more natural, which is particularly evident on the flowing drapery of King David's robes. His entire body has more volume and thus more presence. Another element where these improvements are evident is the image of the viola lying on the ground. Like the body of the King, it appears more voluminous in the 1638 edition, and even the shadow it casts on the ground has a distinct solidity.

The border that flanks the image of King David is a new addition in comparison to Zagurović's edition, but alas not an improvement. Instead of the composite ornamental border of the older edition, which is made of two elements – one geometrical for the lower and one floral for the upper part of the border – the Ginammi used a fully ornamental border that flanks the scene with King David. However, the borders in the book from 1638 do not match, so it might indicate that the Ginammi reused the printing blocks destined for some other editions (or inherited from other publishers), as they did for the initial "H" placed at the beginning of the *Psaltir*.

The other prominent image in the book is the plate with Ginammi's *impresa* (Fig. 4), which introduces the Baroque visual idiom to the *Psaltir*. It is an allegory of Hope, designed in the Baroque manner and placed in a medallion with the motto "In Deo Est Spes Mea". The figure of a woman in a landscape, leaning on an anchor with her hands clasped to her breast and her gaze turned heavenwards, is clearly resembling the usual representation of this theological virtue in early modern iconography.<sup>25</sup> The entire allegory is surrounded by the motto and placed in a richly decorated frame, with figures and masques that clearly recall decorative cartouches used in books and prints throughout the Baroque world. Such an ornate *impresa* was quite common in 17<sup>th</sup> century publishing and was used to present the publisher's identity; it was meant to be not only the adornment of the book, but also the symbolic portrait of its maker. According to Marianna Iafelice (2006), in the 17<sup>th</sup> century it was habitual to use a symbolic or allegorical image for the publisher's mark (like one of the theological or cardinal virtues, a classical deity, a saint, an animal, etc.), so that Ginammi's Hope is clearly a part of that tradition.<sup>26</sup> Apart from our *Psaltir*, the same *impresa* appears on a large number of their editions that were published in Venice in 1630s.<sup>27</sup>

Beside the publisher's mark printed in the 1638 *Psaltir*, during their career the Ginammi used seven other versions of the same *impresa*, as was usual practice at the time.<sup>28</sup> Each of them displayed the allegory with its right attribute (an anchor), accompanied with the same motto (with the exception of one case). The main changes concerned the background and the position of the allegory.<sup>29</sup> The use of such plurality of versions was customary to other publishers who, like the Ginammi, modified the design of their marks quite often. They

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25 For the Baroque allegory of Hope see Ripa 1603: 63-4.

26 For an overview on the characteristics of the marks used by 17<sup>th</sup> century publishing houses see Zappella 2009. A quite good study on the subject, which comprises a description of each mark and their analysis, is provided in Iafelice 2006. Also useful is the monograph by D.B. Land (1958).

27 For example, this particular *impresa* appears in *Saggi di Michel Sig. Di Montagna*, printed by Marco Ginammi in 1633, as well as in *Istoria o della brevissima relatione della distruzione della India Orientale* di Monsig. Reverendis, printed by Marco Ginammi in 1630. This exact version of Ginammi's *impresa* is catalogued under no. 169 at Archivio MAR.T.E. (Marche Tipografiche Editoriali - Marche Tipografiche Editoriali) a large database on publishers' marks, which was compiled by the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma. The catalogue is available online at <http://193.206.215.10/marte/intro.html>.

28 For more description of Ginammi's *impresa* see M. Napoli (1990).

29 Out of the eight versions, only one differs significantly from the described templet. This mark represents an entire scene, in which Hope resides amidst a city of plenty, with big a stone tied to her robes. Also, this is the only version which does not have a motto inscribed. This particular version is catalogued under no. 171 at Archivio MAR.T.E.

changed it according to the format of the book, to the importance of its subject matter and often due to the occasion upon which the volume was printed.<sup>30</sup>

To further complicate the matter, during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the allegory of Hope was a favoured choice for publishing houses, not only in the Republic of San Marco, but throughout the other Italian states. Among the publishers that in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, like the Ginammi, chose to use the allegory of Hope as their *impresa*, were Bartolomeo Zanni from Cremona, Giuseppe Imberti from Venice, Giacomo Facciotti and Piero Antonio from Rome, Angelo Tamo from Verona and many others.<sup>31</sup> Some of them, like Angelo Tamo, even used a similar motto (“*Spes Mea in Deo Est*”) and an almost identical iconography to the *impresa* printed in our *Psaltir*. Angelo Tamo’s allegory of Hope was also represented in a landscape, as a young woman with her hands clasped to her breast and with her face turned towards the sun.<sup>32</sup>

However, the real reason which led the Ginammi to choose the allegory of Hope as their *impresa* still remains a complex and entirely open question. According to Maria Napoli, both Ginammi and Zagurović had inherited a printing and publishing house of long standing (Napoli 1990: 33). In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the workshop belonged to the order of the “Nuns of Hope” (Suore della Speranza). Using the allegory of Hope (Speranza) for a monastic publishing house was not unusual at all. Often, Ginammi publishing house was referred to as “Della Speranza” or “Alla Speranza”, which obviously meant that the establishment was widely known under that name. Together with Ginammi’s, many other publishing houses in Venice had the bookshops devoted to the allegory of Hope, as many also had this renowned allegory upon their *impresa*.

While the real meaning of the allegory of Hope in Ginammi’s mark is still highly contested among scholars, some conclusions are more plausible than others. Most likely, this allegorical *impresa* was meant to indicate the divine patronage of the publishing house, but also to refer to its deeper Venetian origins (Napoli 1990: 17). However, there is one, quite specific image that the Ginammi’s *impresa* could have echoed – the allegory of Hope by Jacopo Sansovino.<sup>33</sup> Sansovino’s statue of the allegory of Hope, very similar to the one used by Ginammi, is placed on the tomb of the Doge Francesco Venier in the Church of Our Saviour in Marzaria San Salvador, one of the oldest streets in Venice. The church was situated near the Ginammi’s headquarters, so it is possible to assume that the family had close ties to its community. In addition, both allegories of Hope have clasped hands to indicate her humility and underline her supplicant nature. Although it is impossible to prove the absolute connection between the two figures, it is probable that the statue in the local church was well known to the family and could have served as an inspiration.

The last image in the *Psaltir* and the one which closes the publisher’s afterword (p. 275r), i.e. the little vignette with the representation of *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Fig. 5), is another curious example of cultural hybridity and of an adaptation of “Catholic”, inherited

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30 For the custom of a publishing house to have several versions of one mark at the same time see Iafelice 2006: 247-248.

31 In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the allegory of Hope was one of the common motifs for publishers to use as their *impresa*: in the second half of the century, for example, it was representative (in different designs) of more than 17 publishers. At the time of the publishing of Ginammi’s *Psaltir* at least 10 publishing houses throughout the Italian states used this allegory as their mark. For more details see Archivio MAR.T.E. (<http://193.206.215.10/marte/intro.html>).

32 See Archivio MAR.T.E. image no.297.

33 This idea of the figure of Hope being appropriated from Sansovino’s statue was first argued by M. Napoli (1990: 33). Although it is a loose hypothesis, it still gives one possible answer to the real reason of using this particular virtue.

material in an Orthodox ecclesiastical book. It represents Christ carrying the Cross, enclosed in an oval medallion made of floral motifs, which was prolific in book decoration of the Renaissance. The style of the figure represented is very coarse, almost resembling popular print common in Renaissance and Baroque humbler works of art. Flanking the figure itself, as integral part of the print, appear two letters in the medallion: S. and A. Such placing of the letters would indicate the identity of the figure represented as St. Andrew, yet the style of the cross is not the one usually represented with this saint. As a matter of fact, in usual iconographic treatments of the subject St. Andrew is represented with the X shaped cross, in order to deliberately distinguish it from the one carried by Christ, both in the Western and Eastern iconography.<sup>34</sup>

The presence of these letters misled previous scholars to wrongly interpret the figure as St. Andrew<sup>35</sup>. Most probably, this figure was previously *indeed* used to denote St. Andrew, but it assumed an entirely different role in the 1638 *Psaltir* and was not placed accidentally at the end of the publisher's afterward. Not unlike the initial "H" previously discussed, this little vignette testifies of the same process of cultural appropriation and amalgamation which was so current in the age of the Baroque. As the "H" before it, this image was most likely part of the material that the Ginammi family inherited from Zagurović and then used for their own needs. The re-interpretation of this little vignette was done very directly, by printing on its sides the Cyrillic letters "IS HS" (ИС ХС), which were used by the Orthodox Church to denote Christ's name starting from Byzantine times.<sup>36</sup>

The prominent position of these letters leaves no doubt of the identity of the figure and the intention of the publishers. The figure was to be interpreted as Christ and as such recognised by the Orthodox audience. However, the remaining letters S.A. and their interpretation in the new context leave an open field for discussion.<sup>37</sup> The presence of Christ in the *Psaltir* could be interpreted dually. On the one hand, the image of Christ going to Calvary is the image of the Saviour, just as the image of King David indicates him as Christ's precursor; on the other hand, the image of the Saviour refers to the Church of Our Saviour, to which the Ginammis were particularly close, and from which the image for the allegory of Hope of their *impresa* might derive. Further research would shed more light on many questions left open in this text (the previous usage of visual material, the real meaning of the allegory of Hope for the Ginammis, etc...), as well as look into the reception of our *Psaltir* by its Orthodox audience.

Ginammi's *Psaltir s posledovanjem* is a telling proof that some of the most powerful examples of the cultural hybridity were created on the very borders of the Baroque world, where the process of amalgamation was at its strongest. Unlike previous styles in the history of art, Baroque possessed a high level of permeability that allowed the influences of different cultures and styles to be seamlessly incorporated into a new entity, as polyvalent as the visual imagery present in this book.

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34 Among famous examples we would like to recall the *Crucifixion of St. Andrew* by Mattia Preti (Basilica di Sant'Andrea della Valle, Rome), which is part of an entire cycle devoted to the saint, as well as El Greco's *St. Andrew and St. Francis* (Prado museum, Madrid) and the sculpture by Francois Duquesnoy at the crossing in St. Peter's basilica in Rome. In the Eastern tradition the saint is often present with the X shaped cross behind the saint, like in the frescoes of St. Andrew's chapel at the Royal Compound in Belgrade.

35 For former interpretations see Pantić 1994: 389, footnote 117.

36 For former interpretations see Pantić 1994: 389, footnote 117.

37 The letters however could not be erased as it would damage the vignette, so they had to remain as they are.

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зволкнїемъ ѿца и поспѣше  
никмъ сна и свершенїемъ  
стго дха • иже ѿ небытіа  
въ бытіе словомъ приведн  
въ сачьская създав члѣка  
и плсжн иго въран пищїи  
бжественнїи паслаждатнсе • пакыже прѣ  
строупльша и ѿвержена бѣвша • и въ стѣмъ  
родомъ иже понемъ бѣвшнмъ и схода та и  
и бѣ видѣти рода члѣка ѿ діавола мочн  
маа • нъ създавн не ѿстави • езданїе  
своє до конца погѣбноути • пррѣкы по  
сла прорещн того во прншьствїе иже прѣ  
даше намъ писанїа • въ ннхже и зещнѣн  
шїи црже и бго ѿць пррѣокъ двѣдъ • прншь  
ствїемъ стго дха въспрнємъ • темже  
и прѣдасть намъ дше спсною сїю кннгоу  
глімїи ѿ алтнрь • славо словнги сїнмъ  
иже въ тронцн бѣ • ксть бо сїа кннга цѣ  
ло мочдрїю наставннкъ • и тѣлесннмъ  
и дшекннмъ , страстемъ • и сѣлнтель

Fig. 1: Psaltir s posledovanjem (Psaltir Davidov), Venezia: Bartolomeo Ginammi, 1638.  
Biblioteka Matice Srpske, Rsr II 7.1, 126v

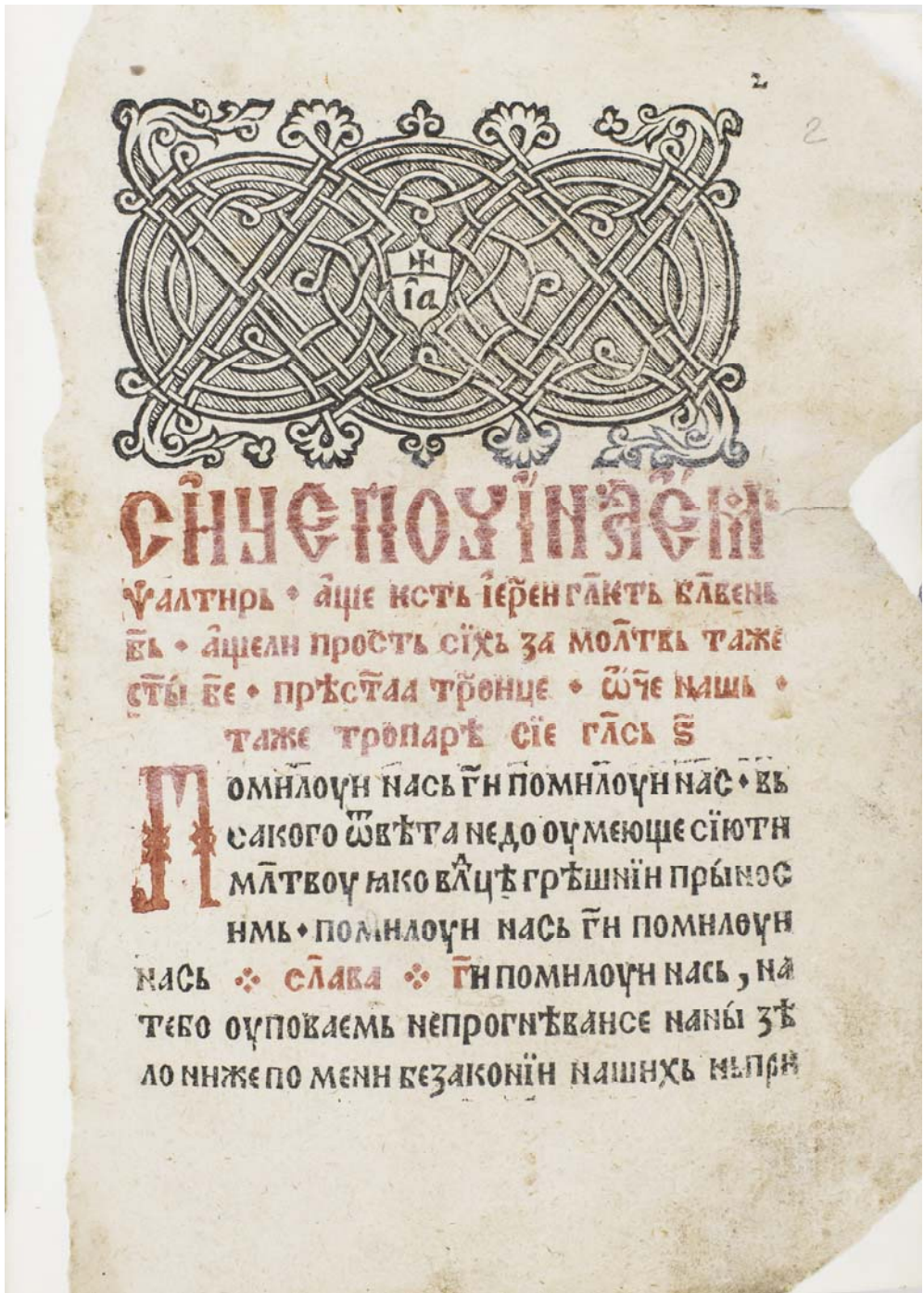


Fig. 2: Psaltir s posledovanjem (Psaltir Davidov), Venezia: Bartolomeo Ginammi, 1638. Biblioteka Matice Srpske, Rsr II 7.1, 2r



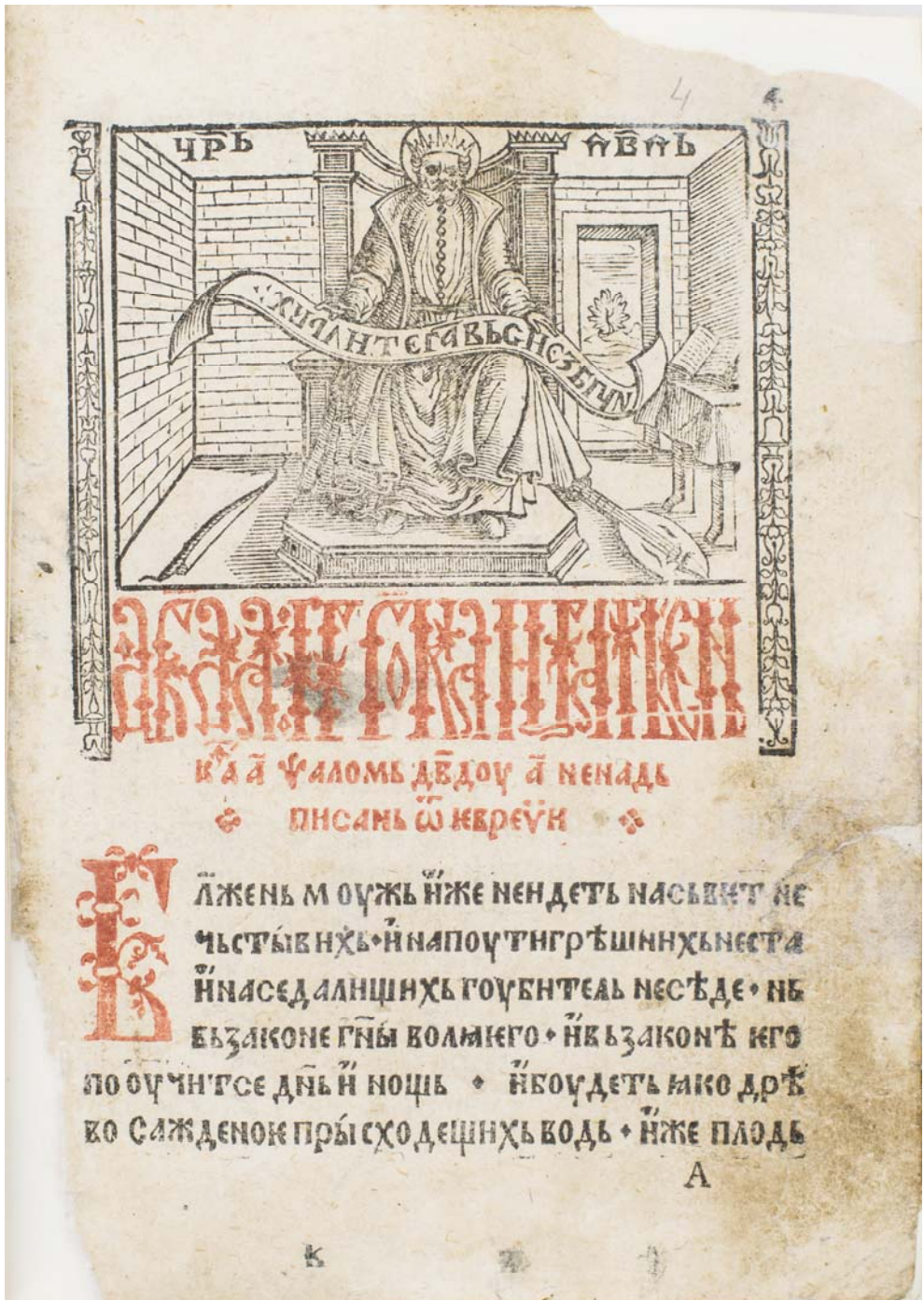


Fig. 3: Psaltir s posledovanjem (Psaltir Davidov), Venezia: Bartolomeo Ginammi, 1638. Biblioteka Matice Srpske, Rsr II 7.1, 4r

**Б**ГѢ ДВО НЕ ПРѢЗРИ НАСЪ ГРѢШНИХЪ , ТРѢ  
 БЮЮЩИ ТВОЮ ПОМОЩН НѢТВОРГО + ЗА  
 СТОУПАНІА НА ТЕБѢ ОУПОВА ДШЕ НАШЕ • НПО  
 МНОУН НАСЪ ОУПОВАНІЕМНѢ БѢ ННАДЕЖДАМИ  
 ХС ПОКРОВИТЕЛМН БѢ ДХЪ СѢБІ ТРОНЦЕ СѢАА  
 СЛАВА ТЕБѢ ❖ ДОСѢННОЕ Н ѿПОВ ❖



СЪБЕРШИ СЫН ѿАЛТИРЬ ГОСПОДНЬ БАРТО  
 ❖ ГИНАММИ НПОЛОЖИ СВОИ БЕЛСЪ ❖



Fig. 4: Psaltir s posledovanjem (Psaltir Davidov), Venezia: Bartolomeo Ginammi, 1638.  
 Biblioteka Matice Srpske, Rsr II 7.1, 274v

❖ а б в г д е ж з і н к л м н  
 о п р с т у ф х ь ѿ ѿ ѡ ц ч ш  
 щ ѣ ѱ ю к ѣ ѣ ѵ і і ❖

а се сіе колнко коє слово дръжнтъ наєрон  
 а в г д е з н ѣ і аі ві гі ді еі  
 сі зі ні ѣі к ка кв кг кд ке кс кз  
 кн кѣ л м н ѣ о п х р с т оу ф

х ѿ ѡ ц а ❖ сіе дозлѣ тнсоуць ❖  
 нпакн дроуга слова знамена покннзѣ ❖  
 а іс н п ы ы ч ш ц ѣ  
 ѡ л ка ко у п ѿ конць ❖

азь барто марковъ снѣ  
 ѿмѣстна рнцаємъ Венеѣіа ❖

сыпнсахъ сын ѡалтирь ❖

вѣлѣто • а х л н • а ѡроженіа хѣа • тнсоуць  
 ишесеть и тридесеть • н • Венеѣіа ❖



• IC •

• XC • *Венеѣіа*

Fig. 5: Psaltir s posledovanjem (Psaltir Davidov), Venezia: Bartolomeo Ginammi, 1638. Biblioteka Matice Srpske, Rsr II 7.1, 275r

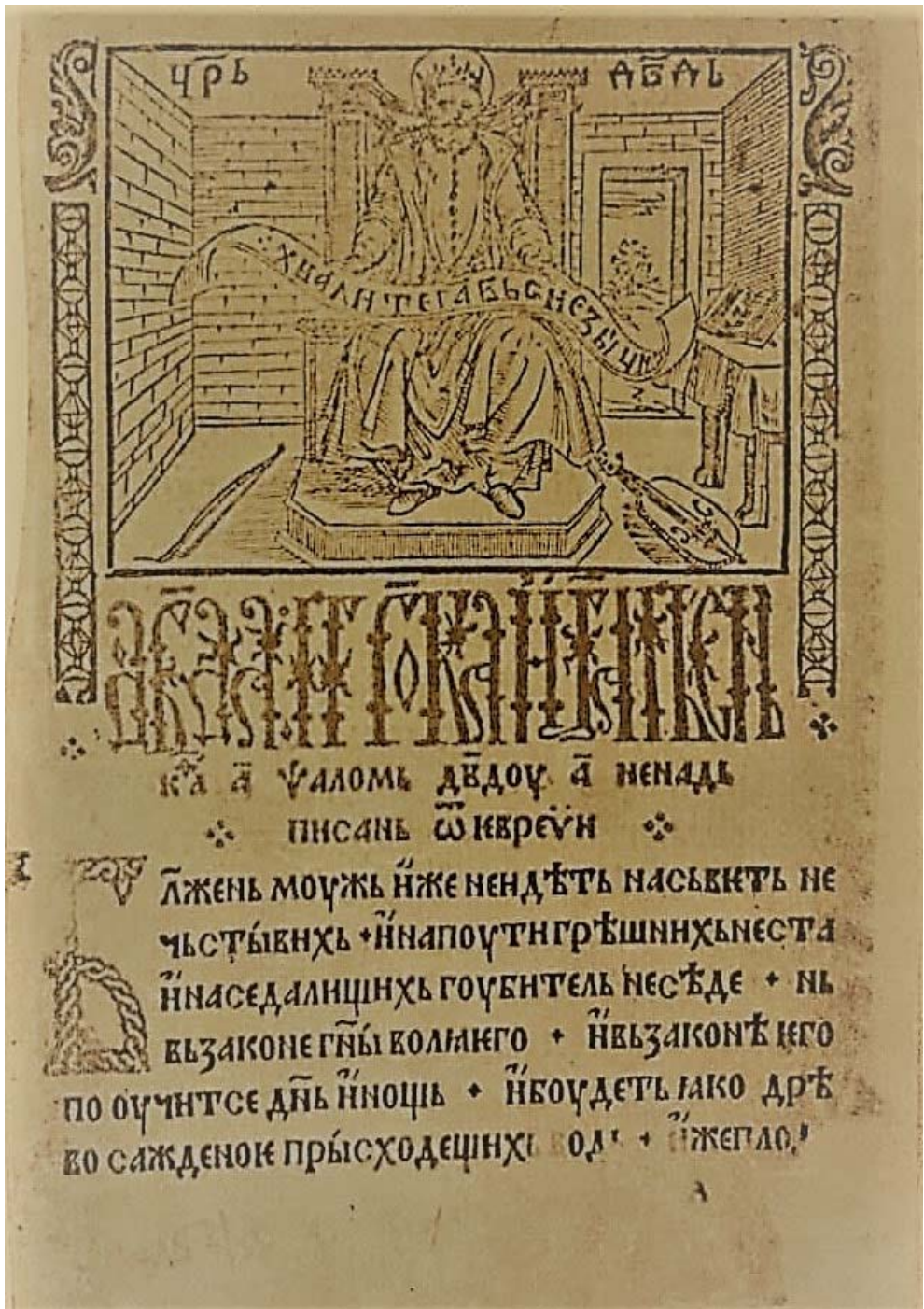


Fig. 6: Psalter s posledovanjem, Venezia: Jerolim Zagurović, 1569.

Miroslav Pantić (ed.), *Pet vekova srpskog štamparstva 1494-1994*, Beograd: SANU, 1994, p. 353

**ПРАВО ДЕЛО ХИБРИДНЕ БАРОКНЕ КУЛТУРЕ:  
ЋИНАМИЈЕВ ПСАЛТИР С ПОСЛЕДОВАЊЕМ ИЗ 1638.**

Већ од 15. века, Венеција је постала главни центар штампарства за Словене са подручја Балкана. Кад су у питању српске књиге, веза са венецијанским издавачима и штампарима је почела већ крајем 15. века и наставила се у наредним вековима са великим успехом. Поред тога што су имале велики утицај на духовну климу и развој модерне мисли у српској култури 16-19. века, српске књиге штампане у Венецији представљају драгоцену културно наслеђе и сведоче о умећу венецијанских штампара. Поред породица Вуковић и Теодосије, чије су штампарије биле једне од најуспешнијих у продукцији и дистрибуцији српских књига у 16. и 18. веку, многи други мањи венецијански штампари су били једнако успешни на том пољу.

Овај рад је посвећен венецијанској штампарији куће Ћинами, која је кроз велики део 16. и 17. века штампала књиге на српском и хрватском и имала неоспорни примат на балканском тржишту. Године 1638. штампарија Ћинами је објавила драгоцену књигу, *Псалтир с последовањем*, која се сматра последњом штампаном српском књигом на славеносрпском објављеном у Венецији. Ћинамијев *Псалтир* је необична књига, то је хибридно дело и прави пример универзалности барокне културе. Он поседује све елементе оних драгоцених дела која сажимају неколико културних идиома у једно, ново, барокно дело. Ово дело је посебно важно због својих илустрација које сведоче о директном утицају италијанске ренесансне и барокне културе.

Први део овог текста разматра делатност куће Ћинами током 17. века, и сагледава је у контексту венецијанског штампарства. У другом делу анализирају се текст и илустрације *Псалтира с последовањем* из 1638, и показује се како је настао овај чудни амалгам средњовековне српске, ренесансне и барокне визуелне културе.