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Prvotisak latiničnih molitvenika iz 1490: Venecija, Dubrovnik ili Kosinj?

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Sažetak: U radu se obrađuju povijesna saznanja o prvotisku dvaju latiničnih molitvenika dubrovačke jezične provenijencije, koji su korišteni u ženskim dubrovačkim samostanima. Danas imamo sačuvan po jedan primjerak obaju molitvenika, koje treba nazivati ovako: Oficij B. D. Marije (uz koji dolazi i Sedam psalama pokornih) te Oficij sv. Krsta (uz koji dolazi i Oficij sv. Duha). Sačuvani primjerci uvezani su u jednu knjigu, pa se ponekad pogrješno prikazuju kao jedna umjesto kao dvije različite inkunabule – iz iste tiskare. Digitalizirani primjerci dostupni su javnosti na internetskim stranicama Vatikanske biblioteke, ali nažalost nisu cjelovito sačuvani. Nedostaju stranice s mogućim kolofonom i podatcima o mjestu i vremenu tiskanja, pa se već dugo u literaturi pretpostavlja da su otisnuti oko 1490. To je, kao i u slučaju hrvatskoga Prvotiska iz 1483., otvorilo nekoliko prijedloga za moguće mjesto njihova tiskanja: od Venecije, koja se najčešće navodila, do Dubrovnika, predloženoga u novije vrijeme. Danas ih se u literaturi često naziva Prvi tiskani dubrovački molitvenik, što ih ne samo pogrješno interpretira kao jednu inkunabulu, nego i tiskanje u Dubrovniku predstavlja kao najizgledniju znanstvenu činjenicu. U ovome se radu otklanja svaka mogućnost tiskanja latiničnih molitvenika u Dubrovniku. U stručnoj je literaturi potvrđen tiskar papinske oprostnice, pape Siksta IV. iz 1475., na temelju koje Valentin Putanec pogrješno i neutemeljeno određuje mladoga Dobrića Dobrićevića kao tiskara te oprostnice u Veneciji, a posredno i kao tiskara latiničnih molitvenika u Dubrovniku. Pitanje mjesta tiskanja tih molitvenika ostaje otvoreno, ali neke povijesne indicije mogu upućivati na Kosinj i Kosinjsku tiskaru. Takva je mogućnost zasad potpuno na razini radne hipoteze, ali se prema trenutačnim spoznajama pokazuje uvjerljivijom od Venecije.

Ključne riječi: latinični molitvenici iz 1490., Venecija, Dubrovnik, Kosinj, Valentin Putanec, Krištofor Dubrovčanin, Incunabula Croatica, Kosinjska tiskara

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The First Printed Latin-script Prayer Books from 1490: Venice, Dubrovnik, or Kosinj?

Abstract: This paper examines historical findings concerning the first printing of two Latin-script prayer books of Dubrovnik linguistic provenance, which were used in women's convents in Dubrovnik. Today, one copy of each prayer book survives, and they should be referred to as follows: the *Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (accompanied by the *Seven Penitential Psalms*) and the *Office of the Holy Cross* (accompanied by the *Office of the Holy Spirit*). The surviving copies are bound together in one volume and are therefore sometimes incorrectly presented as one, rather than as two distinct incunabula produced by the same printing house. Digitised copies are publicly available on the website of the Vatican Library, but unfortunately the surviving originals are incomplete. The pages containing a possible colophon and information about the place and date of printing are missing; consequently, the scholarly literature has long assumed that they were printed around 1490. As in the case of the First Printed Croatian Book of 1483, this has given rise to several proposals concerning their possible place of printing: from Venice, most frequently cited, to Dubrovnik, suggested more recently. They are now often referred to in the literature as *First Printed Dubrovnik Prayer Book*, which not only incorrectly interprets them as a single incunable, but also presents their printing in Dubrovnik as the most plausible scholarly fact. This paper rules out any possibility that the Latin-script prayer books were printed in Dubrovnik. Scholarly literature has established the identity of the printer of Pope Sixtus IV's papal indulgence of 1475, on the basis of which Valentin Putanec erroneously and without grounds identifies the young Dobrić Dobrićević as the printer of that indulgence in Venice and, indirectly, as the printer of the Latin-script prayer books in Dubrovnik. The question of the place where these prayer books were printed remains open, but certain historical indications may point to Kosinj and the Kosinj Printing House. For the time being, this possibility remains entirely at the level of a working hypothesis, but, according to current knowledge, it appears more convincing than the hypothesis of printing in Venice.

Keywords: Latin-script prayer books from 1490, Venice, Dubrovnik, Kosinj, Valentin Putanec, Christophorus de Ragusio, Incunabula Croatica, Kosinj Printing House

INTRODUCTION

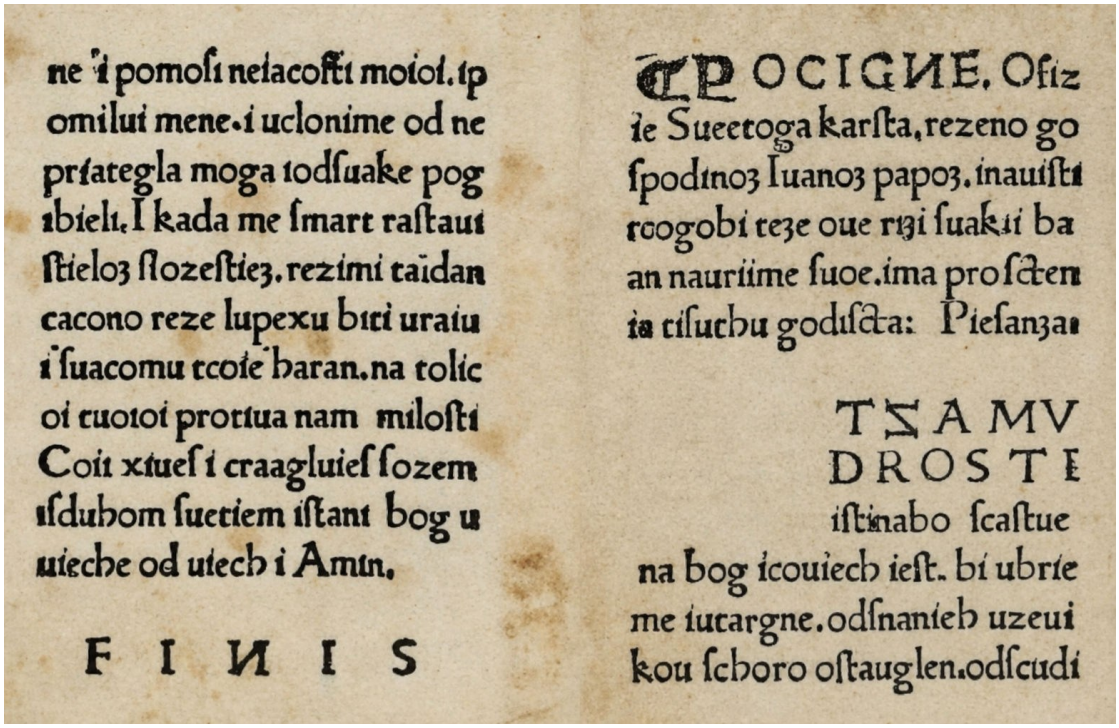
The Croats have nine incunabula printed in the Croatian language, six in the Glagolitic script and three in the Latin script. The first two Latin-script incunabula are two small prayer books now held by the Vatican Library, bound together in a single volume. We know neither when nor where they were printed, but researchers assume that this may have been around 1490. While some assign them to Venice without any evidence, claiming, as they do for our First Printed Croatian Book of 1483, that they were printed there, others claim, entirely without grounds, that they were almost certainly printed in Dubrovnik. Thus, the name *First Printed Dubrovnik Prayer Book* has become established in the literature, incorrectly suggesting printing in Dubrovnik and referring to one rather than two physically distinct books, produced at the same time and in the same printing house.

The aim of this paper is to provide a historical overview of previous research efforts to establish the historical circumstances surrounding these two Latin-script prayer books and to offer other proposals which, in the light of current knowledge, might be more objective than those favouring Venice or Dubrovnik.

OFFICE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY AND OFFICE OF THE HOLY CROSS

There are inconsistencies even in the name of these Latin-script prayer books, so in this paper we shall refer to them as the First Printing of the Latin-script Prayer Books (hereafter: PLM). As stated in the introduction, they are now preserved bound together in one volume and are publicly available in digitised form on the Vatican Library website.[1] They were first brought to public attention by Ciro Giannelli, who provided an analysis[2] and a complete transcription[3] in a book by Franjo Fancev. In his analysis, Giannelli clearly states that there are two books, not one, explaining this by the large printed letters FINIS at the end of the first prayer book.[4]

[1] Inc.VI.33 | DigiVatLib, 2015. https://digi.vatlib.it/view/Inc.VI.33 (accessed 23 August 2026).
[2] His analysis has rarely been consulted subsequently, although it is a highly expert account of the PLM. Fancev and Giannelli, 1934.
[3] Fancev and Giannelli, 1934, pp. 251–288 in the appendix.
[4] 'Rather, it seems very likely that the prayer book now brings together two items which were originally separate, although they were undoubtedly printed at the same time, with the same type and even on the same paper. I consider, namely, that the final sheet (quire, author's note), containing the *Office of the Holy Cross* and the *Office of the Holy Spirit*, should be regarded as an independent booklet which could be, and was, sold separately, independently of the larger book containing the *Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary* and the *Seven*



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uieche od uiech i Amin.

F I N I S

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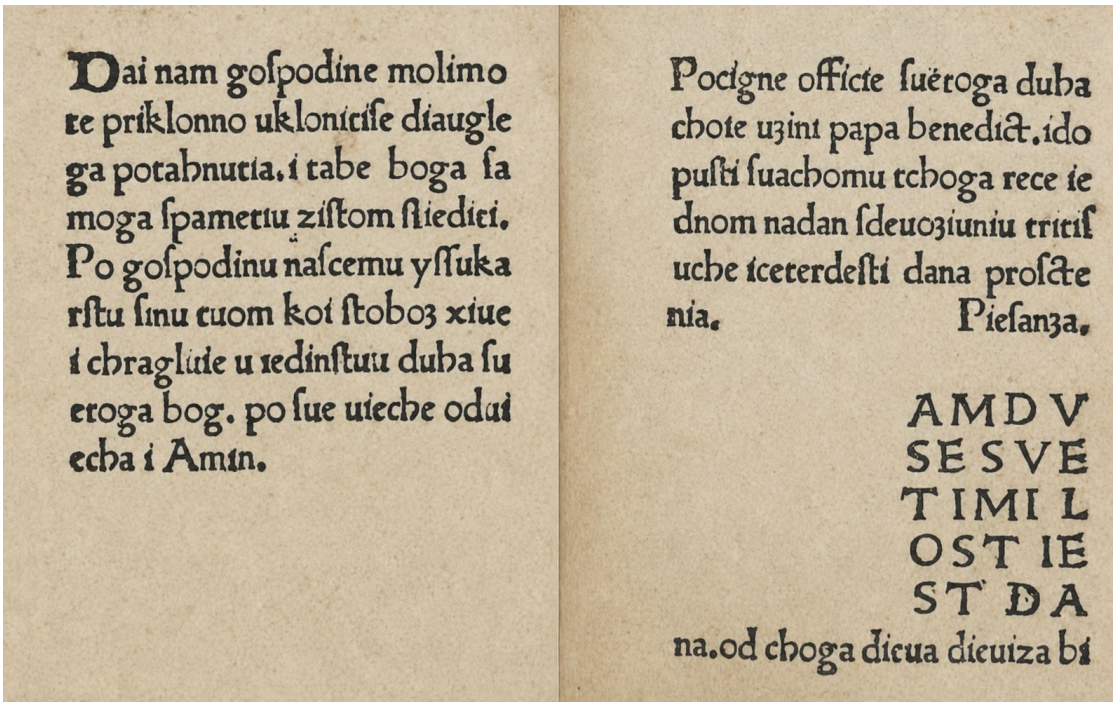
Figure 1. The end of the first and the beginning of the second prayer book[5]



Dai nam goſpodine molimo
te priklonno ukloniciſe diaugle
ga potahnutia. i tabe boga ſa
moga ſpametiu ziſtom ſliedici.
Po goſpodinu naſcemu yſſuka
rſtu ſinu tuom koi ſtobo3 xiue
i chraglide u iedinſtuu duba ſu
eroga bog. po ſue uieche odui
echa i Amin.

Pocigne officte ſuëroga duba
chote uzini papa benedict. ido
puſti ſuachomu tchoga rece ie
dnom nadan ſdeuoziuniu tritiſ
uche iceterdeſti dana proſcte
nia. Pieſanza.

AMDV
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Figure 2. The end of the Office of the Holy Cross and the beginning of the Office of the Holy Spirit in the second prayer book[6]

Penitential Psalms and the other prayers at the end of the first part, which, in their spirit and content, are closely connected with the preceding office. That this was indeed the case, I infer from the fact that the word finis, printed in large letters, appears on the last page of the prayer book proper, whereas there is nothing at the end of the following sheet, as is natural at the end of a small booklet comprising only eight leaves.' Fancev and Giannelli, 1934, pp. XXXII–XXXIII.

[5] Inc.VI.33 | DigiVatLib, 2015, fol. 101v–102r. https://digi.vatlib.it/view/Inc.VI.33 (accessed 23 August 2026).

As we can see in Figure 1, the *Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary* ends (its beginning has unfortunately not survived) with the large printed letters F I N I S, while the *Office of the Holy Cross* likewise begins with the large printed letters P O C I G N E ('begins', author's note). In Figure 2, on the other hand, we see that the Office of the Holy Cross ends without a prominent typographical ending, and the Office of the Holy Spirit likewise begins in small letters. These are clear features of the printing which, pending new findings, require us to treat these prayer books as two distinct books, probably bound together in one volume at some point because they were damaged and incomplete. The first prayer book should therefore be entitled *Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, accompanied by the *Seven Penitential Psalms*, and the second should be entitled *Office of the Holy Cross*, accompanied by the *Office of the Holy Spirit*.

It is very important to note that Giannelli had already emphasised the Dubrovnik provenance of the PLM, not only in linguistic terms,[7] but also as the most likely area in which they were used.[8] Nevertheless, Giannelli clearly states that printing the PLM in Dubrovnik is out of the question,[9] although a will drawn up in 1501 and opened in 1502 records the somewhat later presence in Dubrovnik of a printing press, punches for 'lettera schiaua' and other tools.[10]

[6] Inc.VI.33 | DigiVatLib, 2015, fol. 105v–106r. https://digi.vatlib.it/view/Inc.VI.33 (accessed 23 August 2026).
[7] 'As for the place of printing, the circumstances are even more complicated, since, as the experts to whom I gave the book for examination unanimously informed me, its types (printing types, author's note) correspond neither to those then used in the well-known Venetian printing houses (and who would not immediately think of Venice as the home of Serbo-Croatian editions of the late fifteenth century?) nor to those used by the famous Dubrovnik printer Dobrić Dobričević (Boninus de Boninus). The latter might be suggested to some extent by the fact that, linguistically, the book represents a Dubrovnik adaptation, not always consistent, of Chakavian-Ikavian source texts, as can also be observed in the older Vatican Croatian Prayer Book.' Fancev and Giannelli, 1934, pp. XXX–XXXI.
[8] 'The book is now held in the Vatican Library under the shelfmark Inc[unaboli] VI. 33 (formerly: Stamp. Barb. C I 20), having arrived there in 1902, when Pope Leo XIII purchased the rich family library of the Barberini princes. It had been in that library almost from its very beginnings, as is evident from its inclusion in the oldest inventories. Taking this into account, it naturally occurs to us that our prayer book may have reached Rome by the same route as the Vatican Prayer Book (manuscript Barb. lat. 370), which is now known for certain to have been presented to Cardinal Fran Barberini the Elder (1597–1679) by the Archbishop of Dubrovnik, Bernardino Larizza. Indeed, when I first had the Croatian Prayer Book (PLM, author's note) in my hands and noticed, on the page preceding the book's present beginning, a note briefly describing its contents, I immediately recalled manuscript Barb. lat. 1808, which contains numerous letters from Archbishop Bernardino to Cardinal Fran. By comparing them with the note, I was able to conclude that it too was undoubtedly in Bernardino's own hand.' Fancev and Giannelli, 1934, p. XXXI.
[9] 'It must by no means be assumed that our prayer book might have been printed in Dubrovnik itself by someone not yet sufficiently skilled in printing. Although very early attempts to introduce printing to the city are known, and even the presence there of printing tools (Cyrillic ones!), it is not known whether these tools, or any others intended for printing in the Latin script, were ever used, which at present is not at all likely.' Fancev and Giannelli, 1934, p. XXXI.
[10] From a will of the priest Luka Radovanović, chaplain of the Benedictine convent and Church of St Mary of the Castle (Sancte Marie de Castello), dated 15 October 1501 and opened on 15 July 1502, the day after his death,

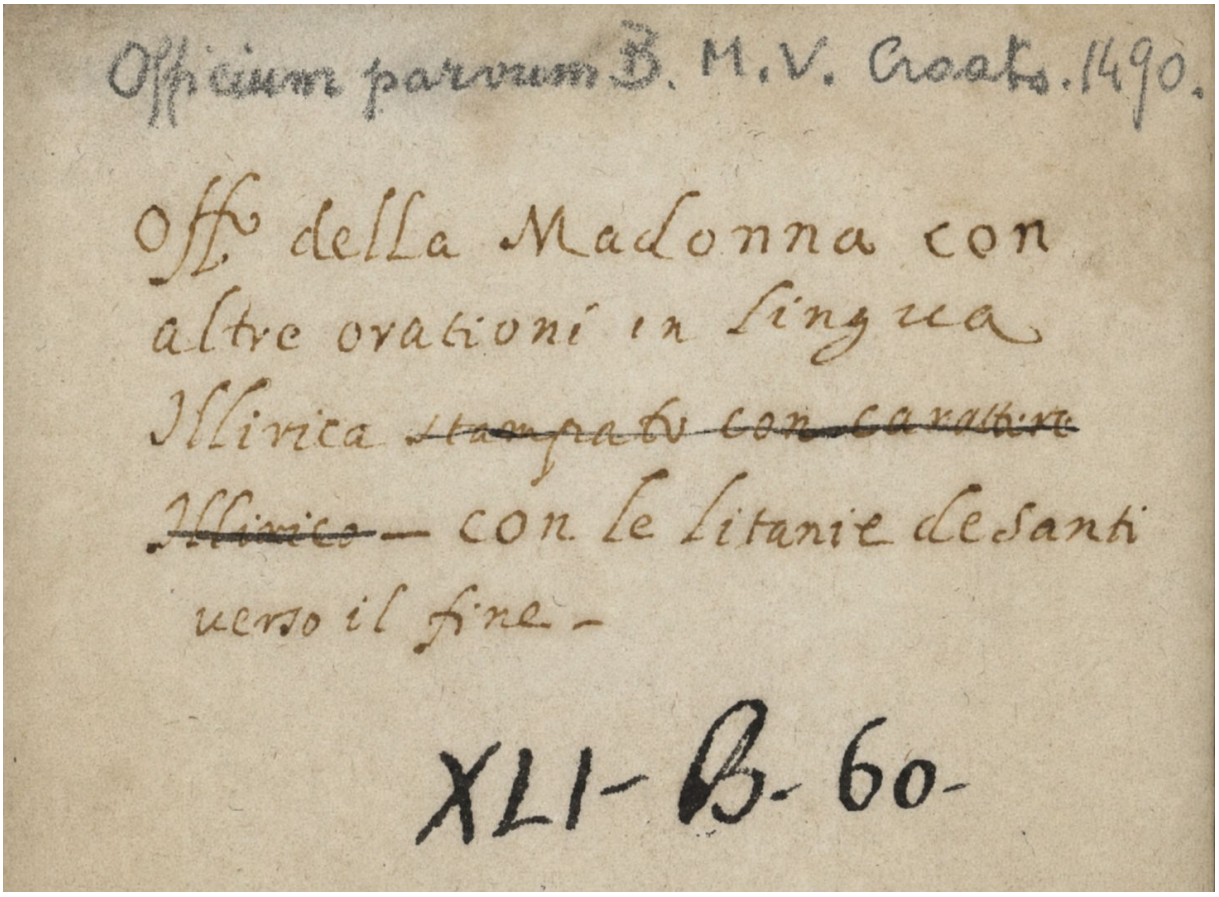


Figure 3. The note by Bernardino Larizza, Archbishop of Dubrovnik, at the beginning of the PLM[11]

we learn the following: 'I leave to Lord Pavle, son of the late Vukašin, an unbound breviary on good paper, and a press for printing books with all its punches (ponzoni) for Slavonic letters (*lettera schiaua*) and all its implements which are found in my house.' Jagić, 1899, p. 508.

This passage tells us that the Reverend Luka Radovanović did indeed have a printing press, auxiliary tools and, importantly, punches rather than cast type in his house in Dubrovnik. Firstly, these punches are described as 'lettera schiava', which may sometimes refer to the Glagolitic script or, in the Dubrovnik context, to Bosnian Cyrillic, but certainly not to Latin-script type. See, for example, Runje, 2007, p. 179, n. 159.

Secondly, the Reverend Radovanović had punches, not cast type. This information points to the acquisition of printing tools, an order placed with one of the larger printing centres (Venice or Rome), in other words, preparations for a printing house. Punches are struck into a softer material to produce letter matrices, which are then placed in Gutenberg's hand mould for casting type; molten lead alloy is used to cast the letters. Thus, shortly before drawing up his will, the Reverend Radovanović had probably only just obtained printing materials, intending to cast Glagolitic or Bosnian Cyrillic type himself and enter the printing trade. Thirdly, his will was drawn up on 15 October 1501 and opened on 15 July 1502, the day after his death. We may assume that the Reverend Radovanović planned to establish a printing house and print liturgical books. He acquired the necessary equipment, but illness probably compelled him to write a will, shortly after which he died. As far as we know today, the heir to the printing equipment, the Reverend Pavle Vukašinović, who is sometimes described in the literature as a bookseller or librarian, printed nothing on this press. 'Paulus Vuccassinouich, presbiter, librarius, cappellano di St Luca, Podstraine'. Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, 2021.

[11] The note by Bernardino, Archbishop of Dubrovnik, reads: 'Off(icio) della Madonna con / altre orationi in lingua / Illirica stampato con carattere / Illirico — con le litanie de santi / verso il fine.' Translated: Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary with other prayers in the Croatian language, printed in the Croatian script, with the litanies of the saints towards the end (of the book). It is followed by an old shelfmark from the library of the Barberini princes, written in a different hand; for some reason, the librarian also crossed out the words stampato con carattere / Illirico. Inc.VI.33 | DigiVatLib, 2015. https://digi.vatlib.it/view/Inc.VI.33 (accessed 23 August 2026). XXVIIr.

The PLM were subsequently mentioned by several authors, particularly in analyses of the watermarks in their paper,[12] but after Giannelli it was Valentin Putanec who devoted the most attention to them. His research is analysed in the following sections.

VALENTIN PUTANEC AND THE PRINTING OF THE PLM IN DUBROVNIK

Here we shall draw attention to the problems in the historical and typographical interpretation of the PLM put forward in the research of Valentin Putanec, the first to propose that they were printed in Dubrovnik.[13] His analysis was subsequently adopted uncritically by some researchers as the most credible scholarly answer to the question of where the PLM might have been printed. Putanec's work contains a whole series of inaccuracies and erroneous interpretations which would require a separate critical review; we shall not undertake that here. We shall confine ourselves to his conclusion that the PLM were printed in Dubrovnik by Dobrić Dobrićević around 1470–1475,[14] and to the analysis by which he arrived at that conclusion.

Putanec correctly establishes that the PLM were used in a convent, citing examples of feminine grammatical forms in both books from Giannelli's transcription ('nisam dostojna, znam da sam velika grišnica, usliši me grišnicu'—'I am not worthy, I know that I am a great

[12] 'Nevertheless, there is no doubt that these are the types of the same printing house and that both booklets came from the same workshop. That the booklets were indeed printed in the fifteenth century is demonstrated not only by the signatures themselves, but also by the rather primitive printing technique and the other equipment of the printing house. The paper itself dates from the fifteenth century. No watermark can be identified in these incunabula, only some three or four primitive and indistinct fragments of watermarks which in no way display characteristics of sixteenth-century paper, as shown by the joint research of M. Bošnjak, V. Hofman and V. Putanec.' Bošnjak, 1970, p. 63.

[13] Putanec, 1985.

[14] 'Thus, everything suggests the possibility that Dobrićević printed the First Printing of the Croatian Latin-script Prayer Book in Dubrovnik around 1470–1475 for the convent of the nuns of the Castle, and left the press and type in Dubrovnik on that occasion, either because they were worn out or for some other reason, so that this material was subsequently mentioned in Luka Radovanović's will of 1501.' Putanec, 1985, p. 41. Without new evidence and without a sound methodological basis, Putanec insists on Dobrićević in order to locate the printing of the PLM in Dubrovnik through him, although Giannelli clearly excludes Dobrićević as the printer and Dubrovnik as the place of printing. There is a record of a printing press and punches for the Glagolitic script or Bosnian Cyrillic (cast type is not mentioned, nor is Latin-script type) in a Dubrovnik will of 1501. Inferring from this, without any additional evidence, that Latin-script books were printed in Dubrovnik thirty years before that record, at a time when printing was only beginning in Venice, is entirely unfounded. Johannes de Spira (Johann von Speyer) printed Cicero in Venice in 1469 as the first Venetian incunable, and in the same year, on 18 September, received a privilege from the Venetian Senate to print in Venice. Placing Dubrovnik, for which there is no evidence of incunabula printing, on the same footing as Venice is not serious scholarly reasoning. Johannes of Speyer's Printing Monopoly, Venice (1469), 1469. https://www.copyrighthistory.org/cam/tools/request/showRepresentation.php?id=representation_i_1469 (accessed 23 August 2026).

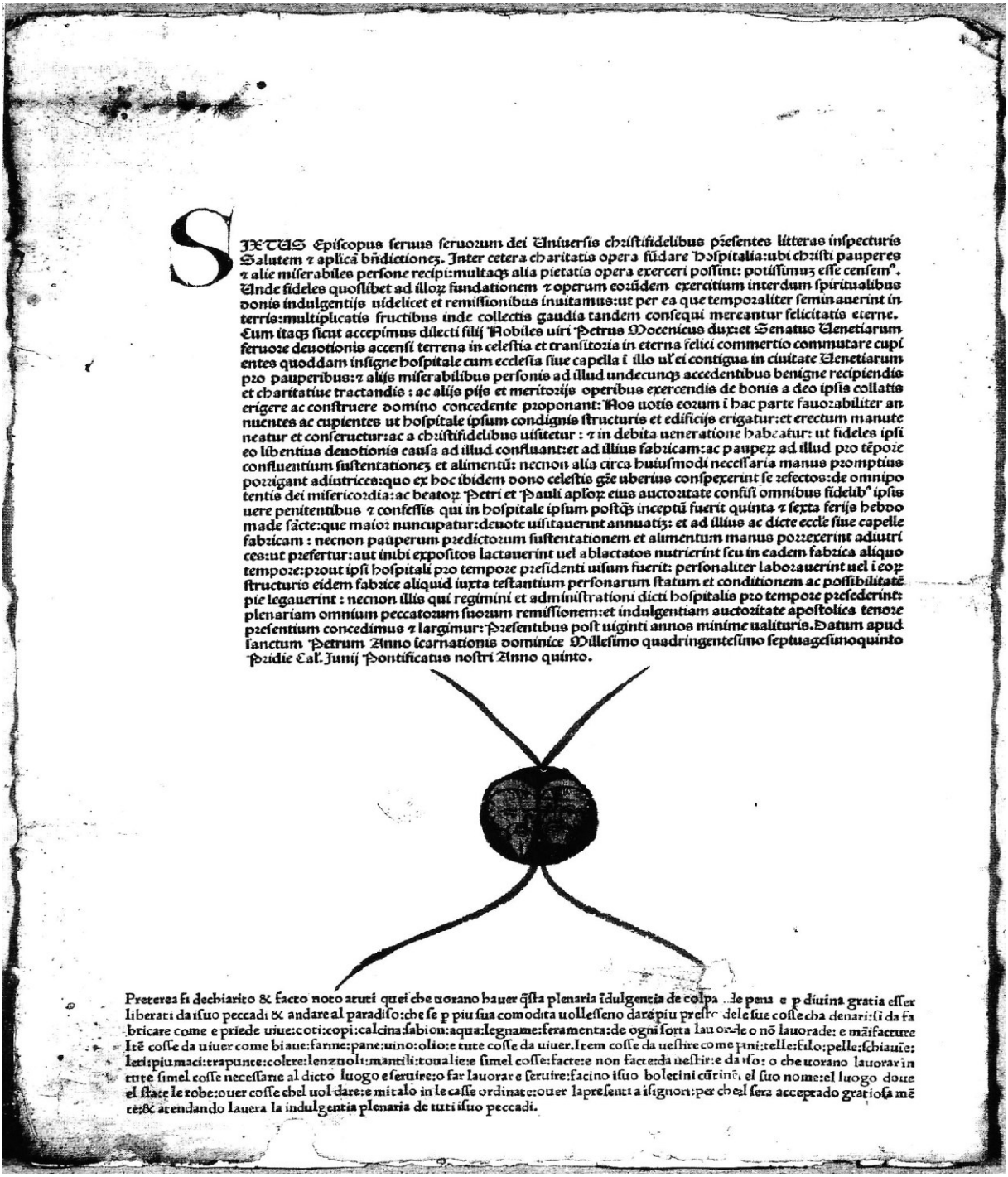
sinner, hear me, a sinner').[15] Thereafter, his analysis takes an uncritical and methodologically unsound direction, which makes it unacceptable as a serious scholarly analysis.

Putanec analyses a single leaf from the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU), shelfmark D-XV-99. It is an indulgence issued by Pope Sixtus IV on 31 May 1475. Putanec examines this single sheet of paper, measuring 39 × 30 cm, one side of which is blank, while the other contains Pope Sixtus IV's indulgence in Latin, printed in the Latin script, specifically in Gothic type. Beneath it is an explanation of the indulgence in the classical Latin script (Roman type), in Italian and the Venetian dialect. Putanec provides a transcription of the text[16] and two incomplete photographs of the indulgence.[17]

Several dozen master printers were working in Venice and could have printed this indulgence in their workshops for use in Venice itself, but Putanec uncritically dismisses all Venetian printers and claims to have proved that Dobrić Dobrićević printed the indulgence.[18] However, he offers no evidence for this, nor can such a claim be made on the basis of an analysis of a few letters and the elimination of two registers of incunabula types dating from the early twentieth century. It should be noted that he merely cites these registers, without offering any typographical analysis.[19]

How does Putanec arrive at Dobrićević? By comparing the letters of the papal indulgence with individual incunabula printed by Dobrić Dobrićević, he finds similarities in the Gothic type, not throughout the text, but only in the letters M, D, P and A. In his view, this alone 'clearly proves that this indulgence was printed by Dobrić Dobrićević'.[20] Furthermore, in the sheet under discussion, Putanec identifies similarities between several letters of the Roman typeface and the letters of the PLM. He is nevertheless aware that such an analysis is problematic, since even these few letters cannot reliably point to Dobrićević's printing house.

[15] Putanec, 1985, p. 33.
[16] Putanec, 1985, pp. 34–35.
[17] It remains unclear why Putanec did not provide a complete photograph of the indulgence, given that it consists of one page of text in a format that is not particularly large. Putanec, 1985, pp. 55–56.
[18] Putanec's reasoning is marked by an extreme lack of objectivity and unfounded conclusions, without the necessary scholarly restraint and interpretative caution. 'Since we have proved with considerable plausibility that Boninis-Dobrićević and his workshop printed Indulg. 1475, which contains the indulgence of Sixtus IV from 1475, and since, consequently, the Roman type of this Indulg. 1475 also belonged to the same workshop, it follows that the additional text on Indulg. 1475 was also printed by Boninis-Dobrićević. The Conspectus generalis clearly shows that these are the types seen in the printed works of Boninis-Dobrićević.' Putanec, 1985, p. 38.
[19] Putanec, 1985, pp. 36–37.
[20] Putanec, 1985, p. 37.



SIXTUS Episcopus seruus seruorum dei Uniuersis christifidelibus presentes litteras inspecturis Salutem et aplicam bñdictionem. Inter cetera charitatis opera fūdare Hospitalia: ubi christi pauperes et alie miserabiles persone recipi: multaq; alia pietatis opera exerceri possint: potissimum esse censem⁹. Unde fideles quoslibet ad illorum fundationem et operum eorūdem exercitium interdum spiritualibus donis indulgentijs uidelicet et remissionibus inuitamus: ut per ea que temporaliter seminauerint in terris: multiplicatis fructibus inde collectis gaudia tandem consequi mereantur felicitatis eterne. Cum itaq; sicut accepimus dilecti filij Nobiles uiri Petrus Mocenicus dux: et Senatus Uenetiarum feruore deuotionis accensi terrena in celestia et transitoria in eterna felici commertio commutare cupientes quoddam insigne hospitale cum ecclesia siue capella i illo ul' ei contigua in ciuitate Uenetiarum pro pauperibus: et alijs miserabilibus personis ad illud undecunq; accedentibus benigne recipiendis et charitatiue tractandis: ac alijs pijs et meritorijs operibus exercendis de bonis a deo ipsis collatis erigere ac construere domino concedente proponant: Nos uotis eorum i hac parte fauorabiliter annuentes ac cupientes ut hospitale ipsum condignis structuris et edificijs erigatur: et erectum manute neatur et conseruetur: ac a christifidelibus uisitetur: et in debita ueneratione habeatur: ut fideles ipsi eo libentius deuotionis causa ad illud confluant: et ad illius fabricam: ac pauperum ad illud pro tēpore confluentium sustentationem et alimentū: necnon alia circa huiusmodi necessaria manus promptius porrigant adiutrices: quo ex hoc ibidem dono celestis gr̄e uberius conspexerint se refectos: de omnipotentis dei misericordia: ac beatorum Petri et Pauli aplorum eius auctoritate confisi omnibus fidelib⁹ ipsis uere penitentibus et confessis qui in hospitale ipsum postq̄ inceptū fuerit quinta et sexta ferijs hebdomade sācte: que maior nuncupatur: deuote uisitauerint annuatim: et ad illius ac dicte eccle siue capelle fabricam: necnon pauperum predictorum sustentationem et alimentum manus porrexerint adiutrices: ut prefertur: aut inibi expositos lactauerint uel ablactatos nutrierint seu in eadem fabrica aliquo tempore: prout ipsi hospitali pro tempore presidenti uisum fuerit: personaliter laborauerint uel i eorum structuris eidem fabrice aliquid iuxta testantium personarum statum et conditionem ac possibilitatē pie legauerint: necnon illis qui regimini et administrationi dicti hospitalis pro tempore presederint: plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem: et indulgentiam auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium concedimus et largimur: Presentibus post uiginti annos minime ualituris. Datum apud sanctum Petrum Anno icarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimoquinto Pridie Cal. Junij Pontificatus nostri Anno quinto.

Preterea si dechiarito & facto noto atuti quei che uorano hauer q̄sta plenaria īdulgentia de colpa de pena e p diuina gratia esser liberati da isuo peccadi & andare al paradiso: che se p piu sua comodita uollesseno dare piu presto dele sue cosse cha denari: si da fabricare come e priede uiue: coti: copi: calcina: sabion: aqua: legname: feramenta: de ogni sorta lauorade o nō lauorade: e māifacture Itē cosse da uiuer come biaue: farine: pane: uino: olio: e tute cosse da uiuer. Item cosse da uestire come pani: telle: filo: pelle: schiauīe: leti: piumaci: trapunte: coltre: lenzuoli: mantili: toualie: e simel cosse: facte: e non facte: da uestir: e da uso: o che uorano lauorar in tute simel cosse necessarie al dicto luogo e seruire: o far lauorar e seruire: facino isuo boletini cūtinē el suo nome: el luogo doue el state le robe: ouer cosse chel uol dare: e mi talo in le casse ordinate: ouer lapresenti a isignori: per che el sera acceptado gratiosa mēte: & atendando lauera la indulgentia plenaria de tuti isuo peccadi.

Figure 4. The indulgence issued by Pope Sixtus IV on 31 May 1475[21]

Starting from the poor, almost amateurish printing of the PLM—which is certainly an accurate observation—he concludes, on the basis of an insufficient analysis of the letters, that Dobrićević may have acquired this type for a particular occasion at an earlier date, when he

[21] Fattori, 2000, p. 255.

was a young apprentice with Paltašić. On this basis, Putanec further concludes that, before his apprenticeship with Paltašić, Dobrićević, a native of Dubrovnik, learned the printing trade there between the ages of twenty and twenty-five, around 1470–1475, when he supposedly used borrowed type to print the PLM in Dubrovnik for a particular occasion and supplied them to the city's convents.[22] According to this assumption, the entire printing workshop would then have remained unused until 1501, when it is mentioned in Luka Radovanović's will, but this time with punches for Bosnian Cyrillic rather than the Latin script. When we examine the Gothic and Roman typefaces in Sixtus IV's indulgence and visually compare its lower text (in Roman type) with the letters of the PLM, to paraphrase Putanec, the only thing that is clear is that these sources cannot be compared in the way he proposes.

Putanec's analysis constitutes an unfounded, unscholarly and uncritical interpretation of the sources. Given the inaccurate and unverified comparisons and the unfounded conclusions drawn from them, it may be assumed that the analysis was directed solely towards a predetermined, desired conclusion. One such example is his identification of a Cyrillic capital I in the PLM, intended to strengthen the connection between Dobrićević's supposed printing house for Latin-script prayer books in 1475 and the press and punches for Western Cyrillic (Bosančica) mentioned in the will of 1501.[23] Let us examine the following image, in which we used artificial intelligence to rotate the third letter in the word FINIS, with explicit instructions not to change the appearance, composition, position or shape of these five letters, but only to mirror the third letter. The image clearly shows a Latin capital N which, for a reason unknown to us, the printer mirrored across its vertical axis. This rotation of the capital N appears in several places in the PLM, but is the only typographical example of this kind in them. There can therefore be no question of any set of Cyrillic type, as Putanec attempts to suggest through a tendentious and unfounded interpretation.

[22] 'However, given that Boninis-Dobrićević maintained good connections with his homeland until his death, and that the First Printing of the Croatian Latin-script Prayer Book was intended for the restricted use of a Dubrovnik convent ("livres d'heures"), one might think that Boninis-Dobrićević could have carried out this amateurish work on the spot in Dubrovnik during his youth, on a visit to his homeland. … The poorer quality of the paper also points to the earliest phase of his printing work, if finer paper was too expensive for the printer in those earliest years of his youth.' Putanec, 1985, p. 40.

[23] 'Recently, thanks to the kindness of Dr Stjepan Krasić, I received a photocopy of the entire Dubrovnik Croatian Latin-script Prayer Book (Vaticana VI-33) and established that the printing house which printed it did indeed possess Latin and Cyrillic type. In many places, when the printer runs out of the character for the capital N of the Gothic (rotunda) type, he substitutes (see image) a Cyrillic capital I (H). The printer thought that this letter resembled a Latin N, but failed to notice that the central diagonal line does not run from the upper left to the lower right (N), but from the lower left to the upper right (H). If the printer possessed this Cyrillic capital letter, we can readily conclude that he possessed a complete set of the Cyrillic alphabet.' Putanec, 1985, p. 41.

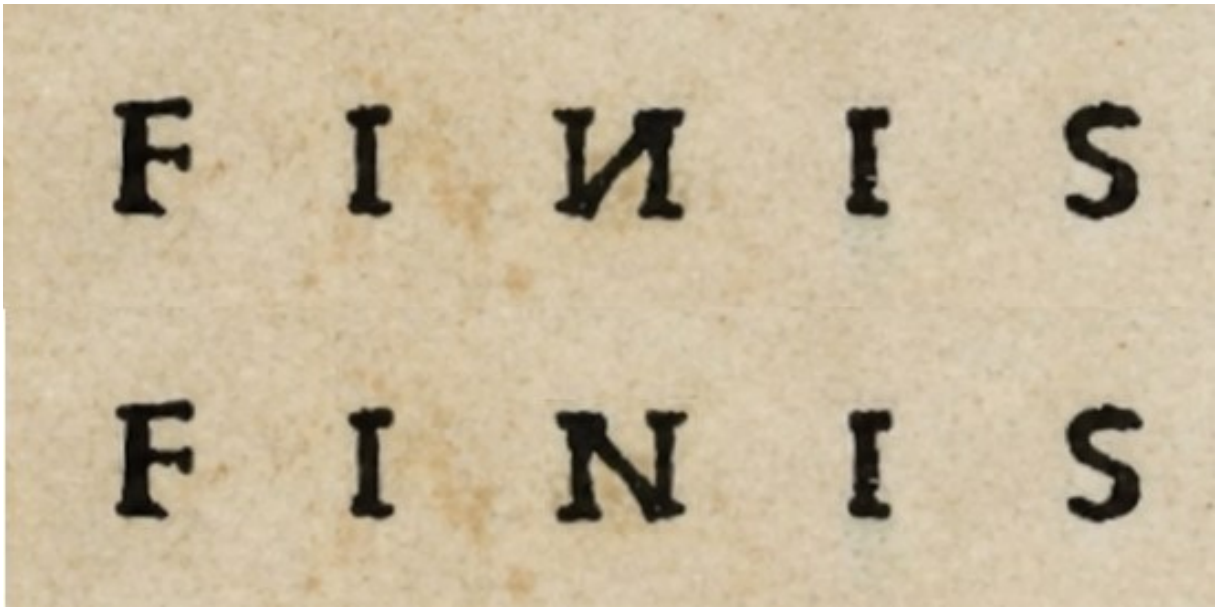


Figure 5. The original word FINIS above and the same word with the third letter mirrored below.[24]

Besides the insufficient and tendentious analysis, there is a whole series of other historical problems which, in the light of current knowledge, rule out the possibility that incunabula were printed in Dubrovnik. Let us consider some of them.

The Kosinj Printing House was probably supported by the highest ranks of the Croatian nobility, primarily Anž Frankapan Brinjski and the Pauline monks of Kosinj, and directly by the lords of Kosinj, the Lacković family of the Stupić clan.[25] The Senj Printing House was supported by the Diocese of Senj, the Senj Cathedral Chapter and the gentlemen of Senj, led by Blaž Baromić.

By contrast, the assumption concerning Dobrić Dobrićević's printing house in Dubrovnik—that, as a young man of about twenty, he learned the printing trade there by printing the PLM—places such activity in Dubrovnik at approximately the same time as printing was only

[24] The instruction to OpenAI Codex, used under a ChatGPT Pro subscription, was explicit: In the graphic reproduction of the final word FINIS, mirror the third letter across its vertical axis. The position, size and appearance of all the letters, the background and the image dimensions must remain unchanged.

[25] The Kosinj Printing House was recently the subject of historical research defended at doctoral level at the University of Zagreb, after which a book of the same name was published. The research presents a whole series of new and previously unpublished arguments strengthening the case for the printing of the Missal of 1483 in Kosinj. One of the most important pieces of material evidence is blind press—relief printing without ink—first discovered by Zvonimir Kulundžić in 1960 and thoroughly and comprehensively examined and interpreted by Ivan Mance. It consists of 340 letter markings, produced when the First Printed Croatian Book was printed, appearing in nine positions on five pages of that book. All point to Ambroz Kacitić of Kosinj, his name days, his signature and his membership of the Pauline community in Kosinj. Mance, 2023.

beginning in Venice, and years before Kosinj and Senj. This is a highly unconvincing argument which raises a whole series of unanswered questions.

Who financed Dobrićević? How did he transport the printing press, paper and ink? Who financed the very costly and time-consuming cutting of the type punches, and who cut them? How could the young Dobrićević have mastered such a demanding task before any documented entry into the printing trade? Who was the compositor, and who were the other assistants and collaborators? Where are the historical traces of the PLM in the Dubrovnik printing house, of its other books, publications and activities, or any other evidence of its existence, if the first documented book produced in the first printing house in Dubrovnik was printed in 1783, almost three hundred years after Putanec's hypothetical Dubrovnik workshop?[26]

It is entirely clear that sensitive historical questions, such as identifying where the PLM were printed or locating the printing of incunabula in Dubrovnik, cannot be resolved by a methodologically insufficient analysis based on a limited number of indications, unproven assumptions and predetermined interpretative expectations. In the light of current knowledge, there is no scholarly basis for claiming that the PLM were printed in Dubrovnik. Putanec's analysis of the indulgence, based on correspondences between only a few of its letters and those of the PLM, and on a predetermined assumption about Dobrićević and his youthful printing workshop in Dubrovnik, cannot be accepted as a serious scholarly interpretation.

Today we know who printed Pope Sixtus IV's indulgence thanks to Daniela Fattori's research and her precise, documented comparison of the type used throughout the indulgence with the verified and catalogued types of Venetian printers. The printer was Nicolò Jenson of Venice, whose Gothic type is catalogued as 106 G and whose Roman type is catalogued as 112 R.[27] The entry for the indulgence in the scholarly digital database *Ius Commune Online* (ICo)

[26] 'The Collection also holds many publications by Dubrovnik printers: Carlo Antonio Occhi from the eighteenth century, Andrea Trevisan from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the printers Antun and Petar Franjo Martecchini from the nineteenth century. These include the first book printed in the first printing house in Dubrovnik, that of Carlo Antonio Occhi, a work by Sabo Bobaljević Mišetić and Miho Monaldi, Rime del nobil uomo f. Savino de Bobali Sordo e del signore Michele Monaldi: dedicate all'eccelso Senato della Repubblica di Ragusa, Ragusa, 1783.' Zbirke | Dubrovačke knjižnice, 2020. https://znanstvena.dkd.hr/zbirke (accessed 5 September 2026).

[27] The translation into Croatian in this paper was produced using *OpenAI Codex* under a *ChatGPT Pro subscription* and in *Goal* mode. *Codex* was used to transcribe and translate the text, including footnotes and quotations, and the final translation was subsequently reviewed and editorially revised. 'In the first part of the text, it was not difficult to recognise the same Gothic type used by Nicolò Jenson in those years (106 G), while the Roman type is 112 R, which Jenson began using in 1475.' Fattori, 2000, p. 257.

attributes it to the master printer Nicolò Jenson on the basis of Fattori's analysis.[28] The question of where the PLM were printed, which could not have been resolved by comparing their letters with those of the papal indulgence of 1475, therefore remains open, awaiting new sources or indications that might guide researchers towards a solution.

Some Croatian authors have generally accepted Putanec's analysis uncritically as an almost proven scholarly fact,[29] while the present research has identified only one paper which correctly presents printing the PLM in Dubrovnik as a hypothesis and accurately sets out the differing scholarly positions.[30] Nevertheless, over the past three decades the term *First Printed Dubrovnik Prayer Book* has become established in the literature, potentially suggesting a Dubrovnik printing house rather than merely the obvious Dubrovnik linguistic provenance.[31] It is particularly concerning that, even twenty-five years after Fattori identified Nicolò Jenson as the printer of Sixtus IV's indulgence—thereby also ruling out Putanec's proposal concerning Dobrićević and Dubrovnik—and in the age of digital humanities, Croatian literature still fails to take her research into account. The latest instance occurs in the exceptionally important Croatian monograph *Incunabula Croatica*. Published in 2025, this book resulted from a multi-year project of the National and University Library in Zagreb (NSK), funded on several occasions from the state budget of the Republic of Croatia. The Prime Minister of the Republic of Croatia, Andrej Plenković, recently presented this book to the Holy Father, Pope Leo XIV.[32] The editor-in-chief of *Incunabula Croatica* is evidently unfamiliar with Daniela Fattori's research and continues to name Dubrovnik incorrectly as the most probable place where the PLM were printed.[33]

[28] IVS Commune, 2000. https://www.iuscommuneonline.unito.it/db/public/preview/previewtexts/ideditions/3571 (accessed 5 September 2026).
[29] Particularly noteworthy among them is Dragica Malić, who was the first to accept Putanec's analysis without any qualifications and to reproduce it in several of her papers. Here we cite her most direct interpretation, in which she refers specifically to Putanec: 'Chronologically, these two prayer books are followed by the oldest printed Croatian prayer book, also owned by the Vatican Library, which is assumed to have been printed sometime between the 1470s and the 1490s, probably in Dubrovnik itself, and may be the oldest Croatian book printed in the Latin script.' Malić, 1996, p. 64.
[30] Prijatelj Pavičić, 2011, p. 217.
[31] Inkunabula | Struna | Hrvatsko strukovno nazivlje, 2015. https://struna.ihjj.hr/naziv/inkunabula/53080/ (accessed 23 August 2026).
[32] Kundić, 2025. https://www.novilist.hr/novosti/hrvatska/plenkovic-danas-u-posjetu-papi-lavu-xiv-poklonit-ce-mu-knjigu-incunabula-croatica/ (accessed 5 September 2026).
[33] 'Besides the Glagolitic script, incunabula in the Croatian language were also printed in the Latin script. The first work among these is the incompletely preserved Prayer Book printed around 1490, most probably in the Dubrovnik area.' Tomić, 2025, pp. 17–18.

KRIŠTOFOR DUBROVČANIN, BISHOP OF KRBAVA OR MODRUŠ

Krištofor Dubrovčanin[34] (Latin: *Christophorus de Stoycho*, also *de Stoicis*), whose name is modernised in Croatian literature as Kristofor Stojković,[35] was born in Dubrovnik in the first half of the fifteenth century and died in Novi on 29 January 1499.[36] He is assumed to have been a Franciscan, although this has not yet been confirmed in the literature. Older Hungarian sources, however, describe him as a Franciscan. Bishop[37] Mile Bogović has gone furthest in this respect, proposing a historically rather well-grounded interpretation of Krištofor's possible membership of the Franciscan order. Krištofor is documented in the literature as a doctor of canon law, and Pope Sixtus IV appointed him Bishop of Krbava-Modruš on 29 May 1480.[38]

Invoking the royal right of patronage, Matijaš Korvin appointed the Dominican Antun Zadranin Bishop of the Diocese of Krbava or Modruš,[39] while Pope Sixtus IV, as already noted, appointed Krištofor Dubrovčanin to the same diocese. The disagreement between the pope and the king over the appointment of the new bishop was quite intense.[40] Most probably,

[34] The following forms are recorded in the literature: Christophorus de Ragusio; Cristofori de Ragusio; Christophorus de Ragusa; Cristofori de Ragusa; Christophorus Ragusinus; Christophorum Ragusinum; Christophorus natione Ragusiensis; Christophori decretorum doctoris presbiteri Ragusini; Cristophorus de Stoycho; Cristophorus de Stoicis; Cristophorus de Stoico; Cristoforo de Strocis; Cristoforo Raguseo; Cristoforo da Ragusa; Mons. Cristoforo Raguseo; Raguzai Kristóf; Christophorus episcopus Modrusiensis; Christophorus Modrusiensis; Christoforo Modrusiensi. Cf. Lonza, 2010, pp. 26–30.

[35] Lonza, 2010, p. 26.

[36] A note by the priest Filip on the death of Krištofor Dubrovčanin in the Novi Missal: 'The venerable father and lord, Lord Hrštof, Bishop of Modruš and Krbava and other places, who was born in Dubrovnik, died … on •I•Z• (=29) January, in the year of Our Lord •Č•U•P•Z• (=1499), and his body was honourably buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles Philip and James.' Vitković, 2022, p. 502.

[37] In his transcription of a letter from King Matijaš Korvin to Krištofor Dubrovčanin, Vilmos Fraknói gives the letter the following heading: 'August 1480. To Krištofor of Ragusa, **a friar of the Order of St Francis**, whom the pope appointed Bishop of Modruš. [The king] declares that he will not allow him to take possession of the episcopal see of Modruš.' Fraknói, 1895, p. 41.

[38] 'Today our most holy lord, Lord Sixtus IV, pope by divine providence, in his secret consistory, as is customary … provided for the Church of Modruš—which, through the death of the late Nikola, its last bishop … had been left without a pastor—by appointing the venerable man, Lord Krištofor, doctor of decrees and priest of Ragusa. He appointed him bishop and pastor of the same Church of Modruš, fully entrusting to him its care, governance and administration in spiritual and temporal matters.' Špoljarić, 2013, pp. 257–258.

[39] 'Therefore, lest such a dispute should give occasion for further evil or any scandal should arise from it, having learned what is being done by Your Holiness contrary to my right and the ancient liberty of my kingdom, I have chosen for the aforementioned Church of Modruš, on the basis of my right of patronage over it, as over the other churches of my kingdom, the venerable religious man, Brother Antun of Zadar, confessor to my most illustrious wife, the queen.' Fraknói, 1895, pp. 40–41.

[40] 'Your Holiness could have known, or, if you do not know yourself, could have heard from others, the spirit and customs of our Hungarians: rather than allow the ecclesiastical benefices of this kingdom to be conferred at the Apostolic See without election and presentation by their kings, they would sooner abandon the Catholic faith for a third time and join the ranks and community of the unbelievers.' Fraknói, 1895, p. 40.

the two bishops governed the diocese concurrently, but they too were in conflict.[41] Despite the death of Pope Sixtus IV and the election of a new pope,[42] the conflict between the Holy See and King Matijaš Korvin over the appointment of the bishop was probably not finally resolved until the death of Antun Zadranin in 1489,[43] after which Krištofor assumed control of the entire diocese.

Furthermore, Krištofor is documented at the Roman Curia on 12 December 1491 and 3 January 1492. Together with Cezar, Bishop of Amelia, he acted as a papal commissioner in a case concerning the construction of houses on the properties of the hospice of St Jerome.[44] The hospice belonged to the 'Venerable Confraternity of Slavs in the Suburb of St Peter', a community of Croatian clergy and laypeople from northern Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia and Dalmatia gathered in Rome.[45]

Following the Ottoman devastation of Modruš in 1493, Bishop Krištofor took refuge in Novi with the senior canons, establishing his residence and episcopal seat in the Church of St Philip and St James.[46] As already stated, he died on 29 January 1499, and his funerary monument was made by the well-known Dubrovnik artist Feliks (Brutus) Petančić.[47]

[41] It appears that in 1483 Krištofor initiated canonical proceedings seeking the imposition of ecclesiastical coercive measures against the rival royal party, that is, Antun's candidacy. On 16 July 1483 Pope Sixtus IV informed Matijaš Korvin that, at the request of the bishop-elect of Modruš, letters imposing ecclesiastical censures had been issued against the king's candidate for the Diocese of Modruš. Theiner, 1860, p. 485.
[42] Pope Sixtus IV died on 12 August 1484. Sixtus IV, 2000. https://www.vatican.va/content/vatican/en/holy-father/sisto-iv.html (accessed 8 September 2026). The new pope, Innocent VIII, was elected on 29 August 1484 and enthroned on 12 September 1484. Innocent VIII, 2000. https://www.vatican.va/content/vatican/en/holy-father/innocenzo-viii.html (accessed 8 September 2026).
[43] Runje, 2011, p. 19, and Krasić, 1975, p. 221.
[44] Črnčić, 1867, p. 98.
[45] Crkva – Papinski Hrvatski Zavod Svetog Jeronima, 2005. https://sveti-jeronim.org/crkva-2/ (accessed 8 September 2026).
[46] A note by Petar Vidaković, parish priest of Novi, in the Novi Missal: 'In the year •Č•U•P•V• (=1493), the town of Modruš was devastated, plundered and burned by the Turks; from it the venerable Lord Krištofor, Bishop of Modruš or Krbava, fled with several senior canons. Having come here to the town of Novi in Vinodol, he settled here and established his residence and seat in the Church of the Apostles St Philip and St James …' Vitković, 2022, p. 502.
[47] The tombstone, still in the Church of St Philip and St James in Novi Vinodolski, bears the inscription: 'XToPHORO EPISCoPO MODRVSIENSI FELIX PETANCiVS De RAGVSIO PATRI(n)O F(ilius) OB AMOREM PIENTISSIM(um) EI(us) POSVIT M.D.XVII.' Lonza, 2010, p. 30.

THE WORKS OF KRIŠTOFOR DUBROVČANIN

Franjo Glavinić[48] provides information in one of his letters about unknown printed works of Krištofor Dubrovčanin. Glavinić was a Franciscan directly involved in organising the printing of new liturgical missals and breviaries in accordance with the Council of Trent. He was chosen for this role as an outstanding expert on printed liturgical books and the printing achievements of Croatian Glagolitic priests before Trent. The information Franjo Glavinić provides when discussing printed books and printing conditions in Croatia is highly informative and fairly credible. In a letter to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, written in Rijeka on 10 April 1626, Glavinić discusses printing activities and Croatian printed books, mentioning the 'works' of Monsignor Krištofor Dubrovčanin[49]—meaning books printed in the Croatian language.[50] Glavinić, however, provides no more precise information about these works. For now, this is the only known trace linking Bishop Krištofor Dubrovčanin with possible printing activities.

Some authors, particularly Valentin Putanec,[51] immediately included the Missal of 1483 and the *Kosinj Breviary* of 1491 among these supposed printed works of Bishop Krištofor Dubrovčanin. In the light of current knowledge, the First Printed Croatian Book, the *Missal* of

[48] Franjo Glavinić, a Franciscan, writer and historian (Kanfanar in Istria, 23 June 1585 – Trsat, 6 December 1652), is an exceptionally important historical figure for understanding Croatian printing in the early seventeenth century and his attempt to organise a new Croatian printing house in Rijeka. Unfortunately, his concept of an unadulterated Croatian Glagolitic book was not accepted. The very opposite happened. In an attempt to draw Orthodox believers towards the West, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith decided to print 'Russified' Glagolitic missals and breviaries in Rome, prepared by Rafael Levaković and subsequently edited and reprinted by Ivan Paštrić. These liturgical books were not accepted by the Croatian people, as a result of which Croatian Church Slavonic and the Glagolitic script were slowly but surely abandoned in the liturgy and Croatian liturgical books. Ćošković, 1998. https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/6928 (accessed 23 August 2026).

[49] 'In this respect too (begging pardon for the length), I shall cite some examples, not to disparage their valuable works, which I esteem, but to show how limited their circulation really is. Thus, the Illyrian Missal, revised in accordance with the Roman Missal by the most reverend Monsignor Ivan Kožičić, Bishop of Zadar, the works of Marko Marulić of Split, Budinić's psalms, and the *works of Monsignor Kristofor Dubrovčanin* are neglected among the Croats, Slavs, Istrians, Carniolans and Bezjaks (Kajkavian speakers of north-western Croatia, author's note), since they are considered too inclined towards Dalmatian and Dubrovnik speech.' Fermendžin, 1891, p. 12.

[50] In his letter, Glavinić refers exclusively to printed books, so it may be assumed with a high degree of probability that by Krištofor's 'works' he also means printed books. All the books he lists were printed in Croatian or, in his words, in the Illyrian language. This is clear from his observation that Croats from other regions do not accept them because of dialectal differences, specifically the Dalmatian and Dubrovnik speech found in those books.

[51] Here too, Putanec uses excessively categorical and methodologically incautious formulations ('it is clear', 'it has been proved', 'it follows', 'it is evident', and the like). Such claims should not be made in scholarly work without solid sources and unequivocal arguments based on them, particularly in medieval research, where this degree of demonstrability is rare: 'It is clear that by Kristofor's works Glavinić means the Missal of 1483 and the Breviary of 1491.' Putanec, 1989, p. 310.

1483, was most probably printed in the Kosinj Printing House,[52] while Kosinj (Bočać) belonged to the Diocese of Krbava or Modruš at that time.[53] However, the Missal's colophon is exceptionally brief: apart from the date of its completion,[54] it provides no other information. At that time, it was customary for the colophons of manuscript and printed Glagolitic books to name printers and other collaborators, and sometimes financial backers, members of the nobility or bishops. Had Bishops Krištofor or Antun participated in this undertaking in any way, that would probably have been indicated in some form. There are more than enough such examples, and no need to list them individually here.

Furthermore, in 1483 Bishop Krištofor was in all likelihood involved in proceedings under canon law against Bishop Antun Zadranin. This would certainly not have been the case had he been able to carry out his episcopal duties and govern the diocese unhindered. For all these reasons, the *Missal* of 1483 is certainly not one of the printed 'works' of Bishop Krištofor Dubrovčanin.

Once the First Printed Croatian Book is excluded from Bishop Krištofor's possible works, the question arises as to what else can be proposed in the light of current knowledge. The Croats have nine incunabula in the Croatian language, printed between 1483 and 1496. The possible place of printing of the first four incunabula[55] is still debated, while for the remaining five[56] it has now been resolved: it has either been established by recent research or is explicitly stated in their colophons. It is important to recall that Krištofor Dubrovčanin could govern the entire diocese without interference only after the death of Bishop Antun Zadranin, sometime around 1489. All Croatian printed books produced after Krištofor's death in 1499 must also be excluded from consideration. The Senj Printing House is likewise excluded, since it was situated within the Diocese of Senj, over which Krištofor had no jurisdiction. Nor is there any

[52] Cf. Mance, 2023; Mance, 2025.
[53] In a fragment of the *Kosinj Manuscript Missal* of 1374, we find a note which states, among other things: 'And Petar was a good bishop.' This refers to Bishop Petar de Colda, who had difficulties taking possession of the Diocese of Krbava, but was recorded as Bishop of Krbava by the Hungarian royal chancery in 1373. Mance, 2023, pp. 106–107, and Bogović, 2017, p. 77.
[54] The colophon of the First Printed Croatian Book reads: In the year of Our Lord 1483, in the month of February, on the 22nd day, these missals were completed.
[55] These are, in order: the *Missal* of 1483, the two Latin-script prayer books from 1490 referred to in this paper as the PLM, and the *Kosinj Breviary* of 1491.
[56] These are, in order: *Ispovid*, or the *Lost Incunable*, which we now know from Daniela Fattori's research to have been printed in Venice in 1492. Fattori, 2003. It is followed by *Baromić's Breviary*, printed in Venice in 1493; the *Senj Missal,* printed in Senj in 1494; the *Lectionary of Bernardin of Split*, printed in Venice in 1495; and *Spovid općena,* printed in Senj in 1496.

need to emphasise that Krištofor is not mentioned in any publication of the Senj Printing House.

Thus, if we consider books printed in the Croatian language during Krištofor's episcopate, in whose production he may have participated in some way—which would explain why Franjo Glavinić calls them his 'works'—the only possibilities are the PLM, the two Latin-script prayer books from 1490, and the Kosinj Breviary of 1491. Hypothetically, one might also consider Croatian incunabula now unknown to us, printed before his death in 1499.

CONCLUSION

Nothing can be proposed on the basis of a single word—'works'—not even a possible place of printing for the PLM. Here we merely draw attention to several facts clearly established in this paper. The PLM were printed for use in convents and written in the Dubrovnik dialect, and there were more than enough convents in Dubrovnik at the time. However, these circumstances alone, or the exceptionally problematic work of Valentin Putanec, whose conclusions we have refuted beyond any doubt in this paper through Daniela Fattori's more recent research, cannot provide a basis for accepting the assumption that the PLM were printed in Dubrovnik. This was a city with no traces of printing activity apart from a press and punches for Bosnian Cyrillic mentioned in a will of 1501, and where the first printed book was produced almost three hundred years after the PLM. Such an interpretation is unacceptable in scholarly discourse. Nevertheless, even the most important Croatian literature today names Dubrovnik as the most likely place where the PLM were printed.

On the other hand, there are clear traces of the Kosinj Printing House. It has the greatest number of indirect and direct indications pointing to a real possibility that the First Printed Croatian Book was printed in Kosinj, and it alone has material traces in the form of blind press, present in that book as the work of Ambroz Kacitić of Kosinj. Kosinj, or Bočać, was then an integral part of the Diocese of Krbava or Modruš and under the direct jurisdiction of Bishop Krištofor. The *Breviary* of 1491 was also most probably printed in Kosinj and is often referred to in the literature as the *Kosinj Breviary*.[57] Although neither of the two surviving copies preserves its colophon, we have a historical source of primary importance—the *Opis*

[57] Twenty-four sources from 1968 to 2022 have been identified which use the term *Kosinj Breviary* for the Breviary of 1491. Mance, 2023, pp. 668–671.

Like i Krbave of 1695[58]—which explicitly states that the Glagolitic priests in the then newly liberated regions of Lika and Krbava used Glagolitic breviaries for their daily prayers, and that the colophons of these breviaries testified that they had been printed in the town of Kosinj. The colophons of all other Croatian Glagolitic breviaries survive, and we know who printed them and where, with the exception of the aforementioned first and oldest *Breviary* of 1491. Following this argument, in the light of current knowledge it should be accepted that the *Opis Like i Krbave* of 1695 refers precisely to this breviary. For example, the academician Eduard Hercigonja has no doubt about this.[59] There is also a newly identified indication that Ambroz Kacitić of Kosinj may have worked on the *Kosinj Breviary*, on which new research will soon be published.

If the colophon of the Kosinj Breviary is found one day, we shall be able to establish its contents, confirm or refute Kosinj as the place of printing, and determine who is mentioned in it. Until then, we must proceed from the available historical information, analysing the broader historical context and all the circumstances connected with Kosinj and the Kosinj Printing House.

Strictly at the level of hypothesis, when considering printed works in the Croatian language which might be associated with Bishop Krištofor Dubrovčanin, the possibilities, as already noted, would be the *Kosinj Breviary* and the PLM, or the PLM alone, since there are two prayer books rather than one. Given that Anž Frankapan Brinjski very probably remained in the town of Kosinj until November 1491,[60] and that Ambroz Kacitić may also have worked on the *Kosinj Breviary*, we are more inclined to consider the PLM alone as possible works of Krištofor Dubrovčanin. If Dubrovnik has been ruled out in this paper as the place where the PLM were printed, if there is no indication pointing to Venice—just as there is none for the printing of the First Printed Croatian Book in Venice—[61] and if Giannelli ruled out Venice

[58] The Opis Like i Krbave of 1695, previously disputed without justification, was first comprehensively examined from historical, geographical and textual perspectives in the book *The Kosinj Printing House*. This source must be taken into account when interpreting the *Breviary* of 1491. Mance, 2023, pp. 184–194 and Appendix 5.
[59] 'It should be noted that, as regards Kosinj as the location of the workshop, there is no longer any doubt today, thanks to precise comparative textual research, that the Glagolitic *Breviary* of 1491 was indeed printed here.' Hercigonja, 1975, p. 213.
[60] Cf. Mance, 2023, pp. 137–138.
[61] From the notorious Jernej Kopitar, promoter of the idea that the First Printed Croatian Book was printed in Venice, to the present day, there is not a single piece of evidence or indication pointing to Venice as its place of printing. On the contrary, all indications and analyses suggest precisely the opposite. Nor is such evidence provided by the latest book by our typographical expert Frane Paro, who, on the basis of Daniela Fattori's

and Dobrićević as early as 1934, what remains to be proposed as a possible location for the printing of the PLM? Is it really impossible to assume that Krištofor used the existing Kosinj Printing House in his diocese to print Latin-script prayer books for the nuns of Dubrovnik, and that these are precisely the works referred to by Franjo Glavinić? The printing of the PLM itself shows awkwardness, haste and characteristics of non-professional printing; it seems to have been undertaken by inexperienced craftsmen, perhaps, given the script and language, from Dubrovnik and Krištofor's circle, rather than by the experienced Glagolitic priests of Kosinj.

Be that as it may, we are still far from answering the question of where the PLM were printed. In the light of current knowledge, Dubrovnik and Venice are certainly out of the question, while Kosinj may remain a working assumption and a proposal for further consideration, rather than—to paraphrase Putanec—a 'clear fact' or the most likely historical reality, as was claimed without grounds for Dubrovnik before this paper.

entirely erroneous analysis concerning the *Kosinj Breviary*—in a paper presenting new information about Ispovid of 1492—reasons incorrectly about Venice as a possible place of printing for the First Printed Croatian Book. Cf. Mance, 2023, pp. 63–68; Paro, 2025; Mance, 2026.

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