

Media and Literature  
in Multilingual Hungary  
1770–1820

Edited by  
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# History of Journalism in the Croatian Lands from the Beginnings until the Croatian National Revival\*

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the first newspapers started to be published in the Habsburg Monarchy. At this time, according to the accepted socio- and cultural-historical interpretations, the Croatian lands were “a battlefield, a solitary province of European civilization”.<sup>1</sup> The war between the Croatian Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire, which lasted around a hundred years, began after the battle of Krbava Field in 1493.<sup>2</sup> This created extremely unfavourable political, economic and cultural circumstances in the area, but at the same time military emergencies gave rise to a need for news to be disseminated.<sup>3</sup> This provided the main impulse for the future development of journalism in the Croatian lands, in a way similar that it had in other early modern European societies. While in these societies, reporting news became important mainly due to trade interests,<sup>4</sup> in Croatia it was mainly war that prompted the birth of the news. At first, the way news was transmitted in the Croatian lands was quite primitive. Warnings about Ottoman invasions came via beacons, smoke signals, bells and certain alarm sounds, and these took about four hours to travel from

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1 Josip HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske 1771–1939*. [History of Croatian Newspapers 1771–1939], ed. Mirko Juraj MATAUŠIĆ (Zagreb: Golden marketing, Tehnička knjiga, 2003), 28.

2 See for example: Trpimir MACAN, *Hrvatska povijest: pregled* [Croatian History: An Overview] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2004), 79; Neven BUDAČ, *Hrvatska i Slavonija u ranome novom vijeku* [Croatia and Slavonia in the Early Modern Ages] (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2007), 16.

3 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 28.

4 See for example: Martin CONBOY, *Journalism: A Critical History* (London – New Delhi: Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, 2006), 7.

the Bosnian border to Venice.<sup>5</sup> But from the seventeenth century onwards the postal system started to be used to get news out.<sup>6</sup> This is significant because the postal system was also an important factor in the “communications revolution”,<sup>7</sup> and it held the “preeminent position in the transmission of information relating to commerce and public affairs”<sup>8</sup> before other forms of communication emerged. In the early modern period, Karlovac was the postal centre of the Croatian lands, which connected the Croatian Military Borderline with Ljubljana, Graz and Italian cities.<sup>9</sup>

The first periodical press in Croatia came in the form of calendars, which started to be published after the Council of Trent in 1582, after the Gregorian calendar was established.<sup>10</sup> They were printed in Latin and Croatian, and along with religious content, they contained articles on health, food, agriculture, markets, traffic, history and astrology, and some of them also contained folk proverbs.<sup>11</sup> They functioned as a substitute for newspapers and magazines,<sup>12</sup> or as a form of folk magazine<sup>13</sup> during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>14</sup>

5 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 29.

6 Ibid.

7 Richard R. JOHN, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge–London: Harvard University Press, 1998), vii.

8 Ibid.

9 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 29.

10 *Hrvatska enciklopedija [Croatian Encyclopaedia]*, ed. August KOVAČEC, Svezak 5 [Volume 5] (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2003), 443.

11 Ibid. See also Aleksandar STIPČEVIĆ, *Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata. Knjiga II: od glagoljskog prvotiska (1483) do hrvatskoga narodnog preporoda (1835) [Social History of the Book in Croatia. Volume II: From the Glagolitic First Print (1483) to the Croatian National Revival (1835)]* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005), [173]–[180].

12 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 29.

13 STIPČEVIĆ, *Socijalna povijest...*, [173].

14 On the history of calendars in Croatian culture see for example: Vladoje DUKAT, “Iz povijesti hrvatskoga kalendara” [“From the History of the Croatian Calendar”], *Narodna starina* (1923): 15–38; Miroslava DESPOT, “Kalendar, njegov postanak i razvoj” [“Calendar, Its Emergence and Development”], *Kaj* 12 (1972): 22–34; Miroslava DESPOT, “Vrchtva’ sakojačka i ‘znamenya’ u hrvatskim kalendarima 17. stoljeća” [“Various ‘Sorceries’ and ‘Auguries’ in the Croatian 17<sup>th</sup> Century Calendars”], *Kaj* 12 (1972): 92–101; Wolfgang KESSLER, *Buchproduktion und Lektüre in Zivilkroatien und -slawonien zwischen Aufklärung und ‘Nationaler Wiedergeburt’ (1767–1848): zum Leseverhalten in einer mehrsprachigen Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Buchhändler-Vereinigung, 1976), 413–418; Divna ZEČEVIĆ, *Pučko književno štivo u hrvatskim kalendarima prve polovice 19. stoljeća: 1. i 2. dio [Folk Literary Reading in the Croatian Calendars of the First Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: Parts 1 and 2]* (Samobor–Osijek: Izdavački centar „Revija”–Radničko sveučilište „Božidar Maslarić”, 1982); Stjepan HRANJEC, “Pučki kalendari u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj” [“Folk Calendars in



The Ottoman onslaught was finally suppressed at the end of the seventeenth century and this is when publishing activities in Croatia really started to develop.<sup>15</sup> The first significant figure in this field was the prominent Croatian polymath Pavao Ritter Vitezović (1652–1713), a writer of literary, historical and publicist works, who provided the technical infrastructure for publishing books and periodicals.<sup>16</sup> In 1664 he founded the first printing house in Zagreb, where he started to publish religious writings, political leaflets, and calendars, both his own and by other authors.<sup>17</sup> He also worked on Croatian orthography, tried to establish a unitary Croatian language, and attempted to start a newspaper.<sup>18</sup> His printing house received the status of a state institution and Vitezović was nominated as its head by the Croatian parliament.<sup>19</sup> Vitezović's literary and historical works had strong symbolic content as they provided an "ideological platform or programmatic foundation for the concrete national-emancipation political praxis".<sup>20</sup> However, the Croatian public at the time was not ready for this socially, politically or culturally. Because of this Vitezović's "publicist innovation" was doomed to fail.<sup>21</sup> The impact of Vitezović's ideas was limited because the capacity and opportunities for his publishing project were also limited. However, the project did provide a model for the future "publicist and newspaper practice" in Croatia.<sup>22</sup> In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when the Croatian lands were divided between Austrian, Venetian and Ottoman rule, and Croatian society was strongly divided by class and largely illiterate,<sup>23</sup> the

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North-Western Croatia"], *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU*, Varaždin 6–9 (1996): 149–153; Mladen IVEZIĆ, *Hrvatski kalendari [Croatian Calendars]* (Zagreb: Hrvatski forum, 1997).

15 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 29.

16 Ibid. For more on Vitezović's life and works see Vjekoslav KLAJČIĆ, *Život i djela Pavla Rittera Vitezovića (1652.–1713.) [The Life and Work of Pavao Ritter Vitezović (1652–1713)]* (Zagreb: Matrica hrvatska, 1914); more specifically on Vitezović's publicist activities in Zagreb see for example Lelja DOBRONIĆ, "Vitezovićeva tiskarska djelatnost u Zagrebu" ["Vitezović's Printing Activity in Zagreb"], *Senjski zbornik* 21 (1994): 117–126; Lelja DOBRONIĆ, "Pavao Ritter Vitezović u Zagrebu" ["Pavao Ritter Vitezović in Zagreb"], *Senjski zbornik* 22 (1995): 171–178; Josip BRATULIĆ, "Pavao Ritter Vitezović utemeljitelj Hrvatske zemaljske tiskare u Zagrebu" ["Pavao Ritter Vitezović, the Founder of the Croatian Land Printing House in Zagreb"], *Senjski zbornik* 22 (1995): 179–186.

17 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 29–30.

18 Ibid., 30.

19 Ibid., 29–30.

20 Zrinka BLAŽEVIĆ, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma [Illyrism before Illyrism]* (Zagreb: Golden marketing, Tehnička knjiga, 2008), 318.

21 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 30.

22 Ibid., 29.

23 See for example: Nikša STANČIĆ, *Hrvatska nacija i nacionalizam u 19. i 20. stoljeću [Croatian Nation and Nationalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries]* (Zagreb: Barbat, 2002), 97; MACAN, *Hrvatska*

Croatian parliament eventually rescinded Vitezović's governance of the printing house.<sup>24</sup> After that, Zagreb printing houses were run by various individuals, and during the eighteenth century they occasionally issued religious and didactical publications, as well as school textbooks in Latin, German and in the literary language of North Croatia.<sup>25</sup> The social stratification of Croatian culture gradually became less strict. This was especially true in the first half of the nineteenth century, when the bourgeois public started to coalesce into a reading public, according to Jürgen Habermas's explanation of this process.<sup>26</sup> Although Habermas's theory of the public sphere is not immune to criticism,<sup>27</sup> it is undoubtedly relevant because of his "concept of media as a system (including newspapers, cafés, clubs and salons) in which different elements function together".<sup>28</sup> According to Habermas, it was in or through these systems, as "early institutions of the public sphere", that the bourgeois public was established, less on social, class, or economic grounds and more on the principles of the "equality of the educated".<sup>29</sup> The bourgeois public thus emerged from the "reading public".<sup>30</sup>

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*povijest*, 79–117; BUDAČ, *Hrvatska i Slavonija...*; Maja KATUŠIĆ, "Hrvatske zemlje u 18. stoljeću: opći pregled državno-političkih, gospodarskih, društvenih i kulturnih prilika" ["Croatian Lands in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century: An Overview of the State-political, Economic, Social and Cultural Circumstances"], in *Ljudi 18. stoljeća na hrvatskom prostoru: od plemića i crkvenih dostojanstvenika do težaka i ribara*, ed. Lovorka ČORALIĆ, Ivana HORBEC, Maja KATUŠIĆ, Vedran KLAUŽER, Filip NOVOSEL and Ruža RADOŠ, 13–32 (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2016).

24 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 33.

25 Ibid. On the history of Zagreb printing houses until the early nineteenth century see for example Velimir DEŽELIĆ, "Biskupska a zatim Novoselska tiskara u Zagrebu (1794.–1825.)" ["Episcopal and then Novosel Printing House in Zagreb (1794–1825)"], *Narodna starina* 10 (1925): 96–110; Daniela ŽIVKOVIĆ, "Publicistika na njemačkom jeziku u Zagrebu u drugoj polovici 18. stoljeća" ["Publicist Writing in the German Language in Zagreb in the Second Half of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century"], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta* 22 (1989): 46–69, esp. 52–61; Tatjana PUŠKADIJA-RIBKIN, "Kaptolska tiskara u Zagrebu" ["Kaptol Publishing House in Zagreb"], *Kaj* 6 (1994): 52–63.

26 Jürgen HABERMAS, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, mit einem Vorwort zur Neuauflage 1990* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1990), 69–107.

27 See for example Asa BRIGGS and Peter BURKE, *Socijalna povijest medija od Gutenberga do interneta [A Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet]*, translated by Marko GREGORIĆ (Zagreb: Pelago, 2011), 75–76; *After Habermas: New Perspectives on the Public Sphere*, ed. Nick CROSSLEY and John Michael ROBERTS (Oxford–Malden: Blackwell Publishing – The Sociological Review, 2006).

28 BRIGGS–BURKE, *Socijalna povijest...*, 75.

29 HABERMAS, *Strukturwandel...*, 92.

30 Ibid., 81.

The first newspaper in the Croatian lands began publication in 1771 under the title *Ephemerides Zagrabenses*, and was published in Latin, which was the official language of Croatian politics until 1847, but also the traditional language of private communication between Croatian noblemen and church, political and cultural elites.<sup>31</sup> The title formula of this publication was common in the Habsburg Monarchy at the time (for example: *Ephemerides Austriacae Vindobonenses* and *Ephemerides Budenses*)<sup>32</sup> and it was published in the Zagreb printing house owned by Antun Jandera, a printer of Czech origin.<sup>33</sup> Jandera's interests were primarily financial, but this newspaper may also have been politically motivated, as an attempt to counteract the institutionalization of the German language in Croatia, undertaken by the government of Maria Theresa.<sup>34</sup> There are no surviving issues of this newspaper and the only information on it can be found in a calendar, *Calendarium Zagrabense*, published in Zagreb at around the same time.<sup>35</sup> Jandera's newspaper eventually went out of print because its only writer (who was also the editor) stopped working on it.<sup>36</sup> The newspaper had a small readership anyway, probably around 200 people, as it was limited to the Zagreb area, where only about 2,500 people lived, most of whom were illiterate.<sup>37</sup> We do not know the identity of the author-editor of this newspaper, but it could have been the Croatian historiographer Baltazar Adam Krčelić (1715–1778), who is known for his annals *Annuae sive historia*, in which he noted “contemporary world events”, but also “daily excitements”.<sup>38</sup>

31 See for example Ivo HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine i časopisi do 1848: hrvatske sudbine [Croatian Newspapers and Magazines until 1848: Croatian Destinies]* (Zagreb: Ex libris, 2005), 16; Zvezdana SIKIRIĆ ASSOULINE, “Latinitet u hrvatskom društvu prve polovice 19. stoljeća” [“Latin Culture in the Croatian Society of the First Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century”], *Radovi*, Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta sveučilišta u Zagrebu 1 (2009): 257–265.

32 Valentin PUTANEC, “Dva priloga za našu bibliografiju: I. O Vrančićevu rječniku (1595). II. O prvom časopisu u Hrvatskoj ‘Ephemerides Zagrabenses’ ili ‘Nova Latina’” [“Two Contributions to Our Bibliography: I. On Vrančić’s Dictionary (1595). II. On the First Magazine in Croatia ‘Ephemerides Zagrabenses’ or ‘Nova Latina’”], *Grada za povijest književnosti Hrvatske* 21 (1951): 255–261, esp. 261.

33 On this newspaper see for example PUTANEC, “Dva priloga...”; KESSLER, *Buchproduktion...*, 418–419; HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 31–36; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 14–16; STIPČEVIĆ, *Socijalna povijest...*, [156].

34 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 33–34; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 16.

35 PUTANEC, “Dva priloga...”, 259–260; HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 31.

36 PUTANEC, “Dva priloga...”, 260–261; HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 31.

37 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 34.

38 *Ibid.*, 35.

Fifteen years after the publication of the first Zagreb newspaper in Latin, in 1786, the *Agramer deutsche Zeitung* was published. Like the *Ephemerides Zagrabienses*, none of the issues of the *Agramer deutsche Zeitung* survive, but its publication was noted in the *Merkur von Ungarn oder Litterarzeitung für das Königreich Ungarn und dessen Kronländer*, which was published in Pest. The *Agramer deutsche Zeitung* is believed to have been a mouthpiece for the absolutist pro-German politics of Joseph II and its publisher was most probably Johann Thomas von Trattner, a court printer and printing magnate who had printing houses in Vienna, Pest, Trieste, Innsbruck and Linz.<sup>39</sup> His interests were primarily financial and we can assume that the low sales of the Zagreb newspaper were the main reason for its termination.<sup>40</sup> However, the situation was soon to change due to the Ottoman-Russian War, in which Austria was also involved. In 1789 Trattner started publishing *Kroatischer Korrespondent*, which was issued twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays and later Thursdays and Fridays because most readers wanted to have their copies, which came by post, on Sunday.<sup>41</sup> This newspaper usually comprised of four, but sometimes also six or eight pages, depending on the quantity of news. Its target readership was soldiers, but included engineers, arms merchants and officers who were interested in military movements. The paper mostly brought news on war operations, as well as the news from the court, official advertisements and reports on “church, political events, and generally everything that could be called unusual.”<sup>42</sup> It is interesting that this newspaper also published news on social and cultural events in Zagreb that were unconnected with the war.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, its war reports required it to have numerous correspondents across the Habsburg Monarchy where the army was stationed. Views on the extent to which this newspaper was controlled by the court vary. While Ivo Hergešić claims that the *Kroatischer Korrespondent* was strongly subordinated to the interests of Austrian politics,<sup>44</sup> Josip Horvat

39 On Johann Thomas Trattner and his publicist activities see for example Ivan KOSIĆ and Alojz JEM-BRIH, *Tiskovine u riznici Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice [Printed Materials in the Treasury of the National and University Library]* (Zagreb: Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, 1999).

40 See for example HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 36–38; STIPČEVIĆ, *Socijalna povijest...*, [156]; on the *Agramer deutsche Zeitung* see also KESSLER, *Buchproduktion...*, 419; ŽIVKOVIĆ, “Publicistika...”, 62.

41 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 39–40; on the *Kroatischer Korrespondent* see also KESSLER, *Buchproduktion...*, 419; ŽIVKOVIĆ, “Publicistika...”, 62–65; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 17–24.

42 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 40.

43 Ibid.; ŽIVKOVIĆ, “Publicistika...”, 64; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 20.

44 HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 20–24.

believes that it did not seem to have been subject to censorship.<sup>45</sup> Its correspondents were mostly officers who received the newspaper for free in return for their work.<sup>46</sup> Their names were probably withheld for security reasons. We do know, however, that they were erudite, since their writing was of fairly high quality. There was probably an editor as well, as the articles were uniform in style.<sup>47</sup> The news from other parts of Europe outside the Habsburg Monarchy was rarer and selective.<sup>48</sup> In this context, it is interesting that the only mention of the fall of the Bastille described it as “an unusual event”.<sup>49</sup> It is not known how long this newspaper was published for, but probably until most operations were relocated to Serbia and soldiers started to leave Croatia.<sup>50</sup>

After the death of Joseph II the Croatian parliament ruled that Hungarian should be introduced as one of the languages in Croatian schools and this provoked some protest in Croatia. The actions of the Croatian scholar Mirko Danijel Bogdanić can be viewed in this context, because he tried to start a newspaper in Croatian. In 1792 he received court permission for a weekly magazine for Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, in Latin and Cyrillic script.<sup>51</sup> The court supported his request because it was in line with its tactic of suppressing Hungarian political ambitions. The official letter of confirmation from the court indicates that Bogdanić wanted to publish articles on agriculture and the economy, but also on national history, language and culture. However, even before Bogdanić started to publish his newspaper, Francis II ascended to the throne and Austrian politics took a strong reactionary turn. The circumstances thus became unfavourable for publishing the newspaper Bogdanić had in mind and the project was shelved.<sup>52</sup>

45 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 41.

46 Ibid., 40; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 20.

47 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 40–41.

48 Ibid., 41; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 21–22.

49 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 41.

50 Ibid., 42.

51 Ibid., 42–44.

52 Ibid., 44; see also Jaroslav ŠIDAK, Vinko FORETIĆ, Julije GRABOVAC, Igor KARAMAN, Petar STRČIĆ and Mirko VALENTIĆ, *Hrvatski narodni preporod: ilirski pokret [The Croatian National Revival: The Illyrian Movement]* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1990), 203; on Bogdanić's project see also Franjo FANCEV, “10. Još o Bogdanićevim ‘Novinama’ od g. 1792.” [“10. More on Bogdanović's ‘Newspaper’ from the year 1792”], *Grada za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 13 (1938): 314–315; Slavko GAVRILOVIĆ, “Pokušaj Franje Bogdanića oko izdavanja narodnih novina 1792–1793” [“An Attempt by Franjo Bogdanić to Publish a Folk Newspaper in 1792–1793”], *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu* X (1967): [133]–142; KESSLER, *Buchproduktion...*, 420–421; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 24–25; STIPČEVIĆ, *Socijalna povijest...*, [157]–[159].

It is a common view that, until the French Revolution, European newspapers were mostly informative, and that after the Revolution they started to become increasingly political.<sup>53</sup> At the time of Napoleon, leaflets had replaced newspapers, and in Croatia such leaflets were published in Italian, German and Croatian. At that time there were no newspapers in Zagreb, probably because intellectuals who might have led such projects, like Bishop Maksimilijan Vrhovac, who owned a printing house in Zagreb from 1794 until 1796, supported liberal ideas, which the Austrian court mainly found unacceptable.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, leaflets were often printed illegally, to avoid censorship.<sup>55</sup> In the post-revolutionary period, the bilingual magazine *Il regio Dalmata-Kraglski Dalmatin* [*Royal Dalmatian*] was published in Dalmatia, in the south of Croatia, which was under Napoleonic government from 1806 until 1813. The magazine was published in Zadar and aimed to popularize Napoleon's politics. It had a circulation of 600 copies. As a rule, the original articles were written in Italian, and were then translated into Croatian.<sup>56</sup> The *Il regio Dalmata* was started by a decree of the Italian viceroy Eugène Rose de Beauharnais. Its editor was the Italian writer Bartol Benincasa and Franciscan Paško Jukić and Dominican Dominik Budrović did the translations into Croatian.<sup>57</sup> This newspaper was published from 1806 until 1810, and it is interesting that some rare texts mentioned the usefulness of the Illyrian, that is the Croatian language,<sup>58</sup> and noted an ode to

53 See for example HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 45.

54 On Maksimilijan Vrhovac see for example Velimir DEŽELIĆ, *Maksimilijan Vrhovac (1752.–1827.)* (Zagreb: Tisak C. Albrechta (Jos. Wittasek), 1904); Franjo Emanuel HOŠKO, *Biskup Vrhovac između baroka i liberalizma [Bishop Vrhovac between Baroque and Liberalism]* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2007); Josipa DRAGIČEVIĆ, “Maksimilijan Vrhovac i slobodno zidarstvo u 18. stoljeću” [“Maksimilijan Vrhovac and Freemasonry in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century”], *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 66 (2010): 49–60.

55 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 46, 49–50.

56 Ibid., 46; on the *Il regio Dalmata-Kraglski Dalmatin* see also Rudolf MAIXNER, “Nešto o listu ‘Regio Dalmata-Kraglski Dalmatin’ i njegovu uredniku Benincasi” [“Something on the Newspaper ‘Royal Dalmatian’ and Its Editor Benincasa”], *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 3 (1952): 113–128; KESSLER, *Buchproduktion...*, 421–422; Pavao GALIĆ, *Povijest zadarskih tiskara [History of Zadar Printing Houses]* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko bibliotekarsko društvo, 1979), 23–25; Mirjana ŠOKOTA and Mirjana VUJANIĆ-LEDNICKI, *Kraglski Dalmatin: bibliografija [Royal Dalmatian: Bibliography]* (Zadar: Narodni list, Filozofski fakultet, 1989); HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 26–32; *Kraljski Dalmatin / Il Regio Dalmata: 1806.–1810. Peti svezak: Knjiga o Kraljskom Dalmatinu [Royal Dalmatian: 1806–1810. Volume Five: The Book on the Royal Dalmatian]*, ed. Tihomil MAŠTROVIĆ (Zagreb: Erasmus naklada, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu, Sveučilište u Zadru, 2011).

57 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 48.

58 MAIXNER, “Nešto o listu...”, 123–124; on the use of the term “Illyrian” in the Croatian lands at the

Napoleon written only in the Croatian language and in the style of Croatian folk poetry.<sup>59</sup> Still, most contributions consisted of advertisements and instructions or texts on the economy because the Napoleonic government viewed Dalmatia as an underdeveloped province that needed to be reformed.<sup>60</sup> However, contrary to the editors' expectations, the articles in Croatian were not widely read, because the majority of Croatian people were of lower social status and often illiterate, while the wealthy bourgeois public spoke Italian.<sup>61</sup> When the Napoleonic Illyrian Provinces were established with their centre in Ljubljana, *Il Regio Dalmata-Kraglski Dalmatin* went out of print and was replaced by the *Telegraphe*.<sup>62</sup> This was published from 1810 until 1813 in Ljubljana, in French-Italian and in German. An Illyrian edition was also planned but did not come to fruition.<sup>63</sup> The content of this magazine was exclusively bureaucratic until 1813, when the French writer Charles Nodier took over the editorship and started to publish news on domestic topics, such as Dalmatian cultural and political issues, folk customs, history, language and literature. Nodier also mentioned a Slavic edition, although there is no evidence that it was ever published.<sup>64</sup> The Illyrian Provinces ceased to exist in the same year, and so the *Telegraphe* went out of print too.<sup>65</sup>

In the same year, a former lawyer and professor at the Zagreb Academy, Antun Nagy, who was also a censor for school books in Buda, tried to obtain permission to publish a political-cultural magazine in Croatian. The magazine was to bear the title *Slavonski Feniks [Slavonian Phoenix]* and Nagy planned to include articles on agriculture, the economy and engineering, but also on history and philology and other disciplines for "amusement and advice". Nagy's application was declined at first, but he tried again, accentuating that this magazine was aimed at a bourgeois audience, including craftsmen, merchants, engineers and officials who only spoke Croatian. This time Nagy received authorization, and following its provisions, decided to publish the magazine in Buda. He was ready to publish it under censorship and to take political news solely from the *Wiener*

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beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century see for example Joanna RAPACKA, *Leksikon hrvatskih tradicija [Lexicon of Croatian Traditions]*, translated by Dalibor BLAŽINA (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2002), 77.

59 MAIXNER, "Nešto o listu...", 124–125; HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 47.

60 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 47–48.

61 Ibid., 48.

62 Ibid., 48–49; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 34–38.

63 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 48; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 34–36.

64 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 49; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 37–38.

65 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 49; STIPČEVIĆ, *Socijalna povijest...*, [160]–[162].

*Diarium* or the *Österreichischer Beobachter* as this was required under the permit as well. However, this project also failed because the Austrian government lost interest after Napoleonic rule ended.<sup>66</sup>

Four years later, three medical students who were studying in Vienna, Đuro Matija Šporer, Aleksa Praunsperger and Aleksa Vancaš, made plans to publish a newspaper for the Croatian lands. The main figure in this project was Šporer, who had obtained court permission to publish a newspaper in Illyrian in Latin script. Šporer was supported by an influential Slavist of the time, Slovene Jernej Kopitar, who advised him to publish a newspaper for all Southern Slavs. Šporer, on the other hand, primarily had in mind the Croatian lands: Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia and Istria, and the court saw his enterprise as a good occasion to influence Eastern Orthodox Southern Slavs who read Russian Cyrillic books.<sup>67</sup> Having obtained court permission, the three students published an advertisement for their newspaper, *Oglasnik Ilirski [Illyrian Advertiser]*. They were influenced by enlightenment ideas and by the projects of national identification in other European cultures.<sup>68</sup> Šporer agreed to publish his newspaper in Vienna, following the model of the Viennese *Der Wanderer*, and under censorship. On the other hand, he wanted to work on national identification and to edit the publication as a “folk newspaper” (Volksblatt), in which people of all social classes could find something interesting.<sup>69</sup> He wanted to publish articles on economy and politics, but also literary texts and articles on national history and culture.<sup>70</sup> However, his language politics was amateurish and not properly elaborated. He planned to borrow various elements from different Croatian idioms but without setting adequate orthographic rules.<sup>71</sup> Šporer tried to gain the support of Bishop Vrhovac, who warned him that Croatia was not mature enough for such a project.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, nobody replied to Šporer’s advertisement. A few years later, in 1823, Šporer published the *Almanah Ilirski [Illyrian Almanac]* in Karlovac. This

66 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 50–51; on Nagy’s attempt at publishing a Croatian newspaper see also KESSLER, *Buchproduktion...*, 420–421; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 38–39.

67 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 52–54; on Šporer’s publishing project see also Ferdo ŠIŠIĆ, “O Šporerovim novinama: literarno-historijska rasprava s prilogima” [“On Šporer’s Newspaper: A Literary-Historical Study with Supplements”], *Grada za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 7 (1912): [49]–94; KESSLER, *Buchproduktion...*, 421; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 43–52; STIPČEVIĆ, *Socijalna povijest...*, [159].

68 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 54.

69 HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 46.

70 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 54; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 43.

71 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 54–55.

72 *Ibid.*, 55; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 47.



almanac, which emphasized the role of a national language, distributed for free, which meant it was not cost effective, leading Šporer to finally give the project up.<sup>73</sup>

The next period of publishing activities in Zagreb was primarily marked by German periodicals, which made sense as most of the literate bourgeois public in Zagreb spoke and read German.<sup>74</sup> The first such periodical after *Agramer deutsche Zeitung* (1786) and *Kroatischer Korrespondent* (1789) was the *Agramer Theater Journal* (1815), edited by Andreas Joseph von Guttenberg, the director of a visiting German theatre group. Only its first issue survives, which contains theatre news, critical articles and short literary texts.<sup>75</sup> The next magazine, *Luna*, primarily focused on entertainment too. This magazine followed the tradition of the eighteenth century moral weeklies and integrated it into the culture of Biedermeier.<sup>76</sup> Its first issue was published in 1826 and its official editor was Franz X. Stauduar. The co-editor was Ferdinand Rosenau, a Viennese playwright.<sup>77</sup> *Luna* published news from other European areas, didactical writings, literary texts and literary criticism, but also local cultural news and articles on national history and language.<sup>78</sup> Although this magazine was loyal to the politics of the Austrian court,<sup>79</sup> it is interesting that it occasionally published texts in Croatian and even some articles that promoted national ideas.<sup>80</sup> Some of the authors whose writings were published in *Luna* were important Croatian writers, including the Kajkavian Enlightenment writer Tomaš Mikloušić (1767–1833),<sup>81</sup> but also Ljudevit Gaj, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Mirko Bogović, Matija Mažuranić, Stanko Vraz and Petar Preradović, who were the most prominent representatives of the Croatian National Revival.<sup>82</sup> It is interesting that the first issue of *Luna* contained a Croatian (Kajkavian) poem by Mikloušić,

73 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 55.

74 See for example *ibid.*, 56; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 41; STIPČEVIĆ, *Socijalna povijest...*, [159].

75 See for example HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 55–56; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 41–42.

76 See Ljerka SEKULIĆ, *Njemačka "Luna" u kulturnom životu Hrvatske [German "Luna" in the Cultural Life of Croatia]* (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, 1968), 4–9; on *Luna* see also KESSLER, *Buchproduktion...*, 422–423; HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 58–62; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 52–57; STIPČEVIĆ, *Socijalna povijest...*, [159].

77 SEKULIĆ, *Njemačka "Luna"...*, 10–16; HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 58.

78 See for example SEKULIĆ, *Njemačka "Luna"...*

79 See for example *ibid.*, 6–9.

80 See for example HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 58–60; SEKULIĆ, *Njemačka "Luna"...*

81 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 58.

82 SEKULIĆ, *Njemačka "Luna"...*, 17–53.

which hailed “the sons of the homeland” who started to publish newspapers. This poem was translated into German in the same issue.<sup>83</sup> From 1830 *Luna* was published as a supplement to the *Agramer politische Zeitung*, which printed news taken from Viennese newspapers. Unlike *Luna*, the *Agramer politische Zeitung* did not contain any local features and was actually a German informative newspaper in Croatia that was issued until the breakdown of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918.<sup>84</sup> It had a high circulation and was profitable because the Zagreb cultural elite were oriented towards German culture, not only in the first half of the nineteenth century, but later on as well. On the other hand, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, Croatian society and culture were modified in the way in which Jürgen Habermas interprets the processes of transformation of information newspapers (Nachrichtenpresse) into public opinion newspapers (Gesinnungspresse).<sup>85</sup> During this process, according to Karl Bücher, newspapers, which had been “bare institutions for publishing the news also became carriers and leaders of public opinion, fighting agency of party politics”, while the newspaper editor, who had hitherto only been a “purveyor of the news”, now became the “purveyor of public opinion”.<sup>86</sup> One of the main characteristics of the public which was created in this way from the late eighteenth and during the early nineteenth centuries was its focus on national identification, and in this sense, the key publication for Croatian culture proved to be the first Croatian newspaper *Narodne novine* [*People’s Newspaper*] and its literary supplement *Danica*, which was edited by the leader of the Croatian National Revival (1835–1848), Ljudevit Gaj.<sup>87</sup>

83 HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 58.

84 Ibid., 60–62.

85 HABERMAS, *Strukturwandel...*, 275.

86 Ibid., 275–276.

87 See for example Suzana COHA, *Medij, kultura, nacija: poetika i politika Gajeve Danice* [*Medium, Culture, Nation: Poetics and Politics of Gaj’s Danica*] (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, Filozofski fakultet – Periodica croatica, 2015); on Gaj’s periodicals see also ĐURO ŠURMIN, *Početak Gajevih novina: prilog kulturnoj pov[i]jesti Hrvatske* [*The Start of Gaj’s Newspaper: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Croatia*] (Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke tiskare, 1905); KESSLER, *Buchproduktion...*, 423–427; HORVAT, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske...*, 75–107; HERGEŠIĆ, *Hrvatske novine...*, 60–74; *Bibliografija hrvatskih književnih časopisa 19. stoljeća. Svezak 1: Danicza (1835)–Dragoljub (1867)* [*Bibliography of the Croatian 19<sup>th</sup> Century Literary Magazines. Volume I: Danicza (1835) – Dragoljub (1867)*], ed. Vinko BREŠIĆ (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet – Periodica croatica, 2006), 83–233; Aleksandar STIPČEVIĆ, *Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata. Knjiga III: od početka hrvatskoga narodnog preporoda (1835.) do danas* [*Social History of the Book in Croatia. Volume III: From the Beginning of the Croatian National Revival (1835) to Present Day*] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2008), [172]–[175].

Although Gaj's periodical can be seen as a new chapter in Croatian culture, which marked the beginning of modern Croatian national history and modern Croatian literature, it also has clear connections to the earlier publishing practices in the Croatian lands.<sup>88</sup> Along with the efforts to publish periodicals in the Croatian language (Vitezović, Bogdanić, Nagy, Šporer), the ground for accepting and supporting Gaj's project was prepared by the publishing and reading practices of Latin, German and Italian periodicals. Moreover, the reading public of Gaj's periodicals originated from those who read calendars, which were partly aimed at the clergy, aristocracy and officials, but partly at country people and people from lower social classes as well.

By connecting different layers of Croatian society and different Croatian regions and their linguistic, cultural and literary traditions, Gaj's periodical played a crucial role in the formation of a modern Croatian national identity.<sup>89</sup> The new political and cultural context which supported the processes of the Croatian National Revival, whose main ideas were promoted in Gaj's periodicals, was the result of the social transformations that shaped the history of other European cultures in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as well, grounded especially on the principles established by the French Revolution<sup>90</sup> and the Enlightenment and Romantic cultures in general. Gaj's periodical was not only governed by such political and cultural changes; it had great influence on them too. Much like other late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century European processes, his newspaper, as an influential form of media, was the "cause and consequence"<sup>91</sup> of significant cultural, social and political changes. As influential theoreticians of nations and national identities, as well as theoreticians of media have shown,<sup>92</sup>

88 Similar aspects were also accentuated in the most important reviews of Croatian periodicals, such as Ivo HERGEŠIĆ's *Hrvatske novine*, first published in 1936, and Josip Horvat's *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske 1771–1939*, first published in 1962. See also Vinko BREŠIĆ, *Čitanje časopisa: uvod u studij hrvatske književne periodike 19. stoljeća [Reading Magazines: Introduction to the Study of the Croatian 19<sup>th</sup> Century Literary Periodicals]* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2005), 29.

89 See for example COHA, *Medij, kultura, nacija...*

90 See for example Aleksandar STIPČEVIĆ, *Povijest knjige [History of the Book]* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2006), 604.

91 BRIGGS–BURKE, *Socijalna povijest...*, 102.

92 See for example Benedict ANDERSON, *Nacija: zamišljena zajednica: razmatranja o porijeklu i širenju nacionalizma [Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism]*, translated by Nata ČENGIĆ and Nataša PAVLOVIĆ (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1990), 38–41; Ernest GELLNER, *Nations and Nationalism*, intr. John BREUILLY (Malden–Oxford–Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 121–122; Marshall McLUHAN, *Razumijevanje medija: mediji kao čovjekovi proizvođači [Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man]*, translated by David PRPA (Zagreb: Golden marketing–Tehnička knjiga, 2008), 158–159.

one of the main results of this kind of popularization of the (periodical) press was the emergence of nationalism which, however, was the product of an earlier background. The anonymous mass society, which provided the basis for a national society,<sup>93</sup> was created during the “long revolution”, as defined by Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, following Raymond Williams.<sup>94</sup> In this process, changes in the way the media presented content, and the nature of this content, as well as of the structure and functions of the reading public, were interconnected.<sup>95</sup> Or, as the editors of the book *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, Laurel Brake, Bill Bell and David Finkelstein accentuated, “the importance of media to the construction of identities” did not begin in “the nineteenth century”<sup>96</sup> but we can trace it “from the transformation of medieval reading practices, to the printing press as an agent of cultural change after Gutenb[e]rg, to the rise of the public sphere and emergence of a new [...] reading public in the eighteenth century”.<sup>97</sup> Relying on the existing body of research, I have tried to present some of the key stages of this “long revolution”<sup>98</sup> significant for Croatian culture, or, in other words, the “continuities that exist in the History of Media”<sup>99</sup> from the beginning until “the first age of mass culture”.<sup>100</sup> In this way, we can also confirm Martin Conboy’s claim that, when studying journalism, “we must always keep in mind” its “multiple relationships” with “society, with the economy, with politics also as a relatively autonomous cultural practice in its own right with its own traditions”.<sup>101</sup>

93 ANDERSON, *Nacija: zamišljena...*, 139–141; GELLNER, *Nations and Nationalism...*, 122; McLuhan, *Razumijevanje medija...*, 155.

94 BRIGGS–BURKE, *Socijalna povijest...*, 29.

95 Ibid.

96 Laurel BRAKE, Bill BELL and David FINKELSTEIN, “Introduction”, in *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, 1–7 (Basingstoke–New York: Palgrave, 2000), 7.

97 Ibid.

98 BRIGGS–BURKE, *Socijalna povijest...*, 29.

99 BRAKE–BELL–FINKELSTEIN, “Introduction”, 7.

100 Ibid.

101 CONBOY, *Journalism...*, 4.