

achieving what Niko Besnier calls the “symbolic associations” (1995, 8-9). These were values of the Croatian countryside, small-town dweller, and peasant. The role of the almanac as a medium used by the church, and its connection with didacticism and ideological discourse persist in the almanacs of the twentieth century.

Edition sizes are difficult to reconstruct systematically, and the preceding discussion has only cursorily addressed the almanac trade in Croatia in the broader context of almanac distribution. Somewhat more systematic figures on the circulation of almanacs are available through current bibliographies for the period after 1948, although the “typical” edition size for the almanac varies not only from title to title, but also year by year.<sup>88</sup> The record of reading practices in the nineteenth century gives an insight into how almanac literacy is constructed historically. For example, a contemporary record of the reception of *Obći zagrebački koledar*<sup>89</sup> is found in the Illyrianist paper *Danica ilirska* (23 (1846): 91), indicating the phenomenal popularity of the almanac among the middle and lower classes. The great popularity of this title is due to the addition of civil lists (Schematismus), but also to texts typically transmitted in oral culture. Although not read by the largely illiterate peasants (Zečević 1982, 71-72), the almanac builds a special bridge between literacy in the vernacular and the orality of the countryside. Namely, the editors of this almanac title explicitly recommend reading the calendar aloud as the best method of transmitting it among illiterate peasants (cf. *Danica ilirska* 42 (1846): 168, quoted in Zečević 1982, 72). That this practice is common, not only for almanac reading but reading of newspapers throughout the century, is also demonstrated in an editorial in an 1891 issue of *Pučki list*, in which the same technique of reading is recommended (*Danica ilirska* 42 (1846): 168, quoted in Zečević 1982, 72). Reading aloud, or oral performance of literary texts, enriched by gesture, tone, and probably improvisation, has a significant impact on how the “symbolic associations” (Besnier 1995, 8-9) and literacy practices associated with particular genres are built into the genre features even when these practices become obsolete.<sup>90</sup>

### **Reception**

The connection of almanacs to a particular class of readers or reading practices may be ascertained from their linguistic features, affiliation, format, and subject matter. The patterns of reception were identified from the bibliographic descriptive information and annotations, and the

wording of the title, which explicitly connects the titles to their intended readership.<sup>91</sup>

The linguistic patterns and intended audiences make a connection with the reader base of these almanacs in terms of the parallel traditions of literacy existing in Croatia. Although the majority of these almanacs is written in Croatian,<sup>92</sup> sufficient representation of other languages indicates that the almanac trade in Croatia is multilingual. As shown in Table 5, almanacs in languages other than Croatian are issued either by ethnic minorities or for a specific class of readers, reflecting the bilingual and multilingual nature of Croatian literacy in Latin, German, and Italian. Bilingual and polyglot almanacs are only natural in such a linguistic environment. Using language as a focus, the features of the almanac trade in Croatia may be seen as a reflection of the changing political circumstances, which are irrevocably tied to the nineteenth-century process of national differentiation. Further exploration of this issue is needed, using a more precise chronological breakdown, to link the changes in patterns in language production to the political context.

The almanacs in Italian are more numerous than those issued in German.<sup>93</sup> Yet the impact of Italian almanacs is limited to the towns of the Croatian coast, and to a time period between 1837 and 1868; they are most numerous in the 1860s. Although five titles in Italian are published continuously throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth

TABLE 5. Croatian Almanacs, by Language

LANGUAGE	NO. OF TITLES	RATIO %	CUMULATIVE %
<b>Monolingual</b>			
Croatian	547	84.1	84.1
German	24	3.6	87.7
Italian	37	5.7	93.4
Latin	7	1.2	94.6
Hungarian	1	0.1	94.7
Serbian	20	3.0	97.7
Ukrainian	1	0.1	97.8
<b>Bilingual &amp; Polyglot</b>			
Croatian and German	5	0.8	98.6
Croatian and Hebrew	1	0.2	98.9
Croatian and Hungarian	1	0.2	99.0
Czech and Slovak	2	0.3	99.3
South Slavic	4	0.6	99.9
TOTAL(S)	650	100	99.9

century,<sup>94</sup> Italian almanacs were in general short-lived.<sup>95</sup> Even without examining their contents, it is possible to say that their popularity reflects the division in Dalmatia in the nineteenth century between the pro-Italian *Autonomaši* and the Illyrianists. The wording of titles suggests their intended audience. They commonly include "cattolico-ebraico," "cattolico e greco," "cattolico, greco ed ebraico," etc., in their titles, in reference to the Catholic, Jewish, and Greek Orthodox calendars included in the almanacs. Their regional character (limited to the coastal parts of Croatia, the Dalmatian Coast) is emphasized by the inclusion of "dalmatino" (or "dalmato," etc.) in the title. In some cases, local coverage is emphasized in the adjectival derivations "zaratino," "spalatino,"<sup>96</sup> "fiumano," and "di Sebenico," found in the titles of these publications, referring to Zadar, Split, Rijeka, and Šibenik, respectively.

Almanacs in German correspond to the administrative network of the Habsburg Monarchy and are not regional in character. More than half of these titles did not survive five years,<sup>97</sup> but at least ten titles lasted for decades. Almanacs in German were issued from 1827 on, and more systematically beginning in 1837. Not surprisingly, they all but disappear in 1915, although some are still published until 1925.<sup>98</sup> Many of these almanacs are diaries, planners, or pocket calendars ("Taschen-," "Schreib-," etc.). In addition to the calendar instructions, their regular features are civil lists and administrative directories (*Schematismus*) with names of individuals in public office. They are aimed at the diverse religious population of the Habsburg Monarchy. In many titles this is explicitly indicated with a listing of "Katholiken, Protestanten, Griechen, Juden und Türken" (even Hindus, if a statement included in one of them has any authenticity: "Kalender-Angaben für Katholiken, Griechen, Russe, Inden und Türken"). Phrases such as "für alle Stände" (for all classes), "für Stadt- und Landleute" (for city and country folk), "Volks-Kalender" (people's calendar), "Haus Kalender" (calendar for the home), "für Christlicher Haus" (calendar for a Christian home), etc., are also commonly found. A number of German almanacs are associated with a specific town, similar to their counterparts in Italian. Strikingly, nearly half of all titles have an adjectival designation that refers to an urban area, in most cases Zagreb and other towns in the Croatian northeast such as *Varaždin*, *Osijek*, and *Bjelovar*, which might be indicated by the adjectival phrases "Warasdiner," "Agramer," "Esseger," and "Bjelovar Bote," respectively. Military almanacs are a distinct group among German-language almanacs, presumably issued for officers in *Vojna krajina* (the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier) and for the Navy in Dalmatia.

Almanacs in German, such as the almanac issued by the Zagreb Society for Human Rights,<sup>99</sup> indicate the official character of German as the language of administration and bureaucracy. Almanacs in German as a group have the character of an administrative, official instrument and informative tool. They are successors of the Latin almanac discussed earlier, reflecting Germanization in the Croatian North. Of the two eighteenth-century almanacs in Latin, one ceases in the first decade of the nineteenth century, while the other continues as an anachronism until the mid-nineteenth century. In addition to these, Latin is the language of five calendars for ecclesiastical use.

The fifth distinct linguistic group of almanacs are those of ethnic groups, such as those in Church Slavic and Serbian (issued in 1851 and 1852), which are issued by different Serbian societies (national, sports, charitable, and women's groups). A number of these almanacs are popular, religious, and humorous publications. Their production becomes systematic after 1900, although half of all titles in this group are published after 1918. The almanacs in Ukrainian, Czech, and Slovak are aimed at these sizable ethnic groups. They are published after the 1930s, joining ranks with other ethnic almanacs aimed at the Italian and German minorities, and continue after World War II. In spite of the intense Magyarization in the nineteenth century, none of the titles in this corpus are in Hungarian, except one bilingual almanac in Croatian and Hungarian issued for silkworm breeders at the turn of the century in Legrad, a bilingual region of Medjimurje. An almanac for ethnic Hungarians was published in 1925.

Parallel editions in Roman and Cyrillic are issued by the same publisher in some cases,<sup>100</sup> and a number of almanacs that are either partially or entirely bilingual, such as those in Croatian and German, Hebrew, or Hungarian, demonstrate other notable patterns related to language. Although it is impossible to give more precise linguistic analysis of the corpus without inspecting the runs, the openness to bilingualism/polyglossia and bigraphism as a feature is evident in these almanacs. Combination of languages and scripts found in some diaspora almanacs associated with the Socialist movement is an ideological device, promulgating South Slav unity by focusing on the linguistic similarity of the South Slavs. Their counterparts are Croatian nationalist almanacs that also employ dialect and orthography as identity markers, using ikavian dialect and etymological orthography.<sup>101</sup> In contrast, the use of dialect in regional almanacs is not as clearly politicized.

Almanacs published in Croatia are often explicitly directed to a particular social group. These groups range from ethnic to religious to occupa-

tional. An examination of the ratios in audience category in Table 6 demonstrates that almanacs aimed at an occupational group are by far the single best-represented category. Most numerous among them are agricultural almanacs for improving farming. Many of them are issued at the end of the nineteenth century by Hrvatsko-slavonsko gospodarско društvo (Croatian-Slavonian Agricultural Society) and later by *Gospodarska sloga* and other peasant associations in the 1920s and 1930s. Some of them specialize in the farming of silkworms, wine-growing, bee-keeping, dairy- or chicken-farming. Others deal with organizational issues and improvement of farming methods.

First appearing in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, agricultural almanacs flourish in the 1920s and practically disappear after 1950. Other occupational almanacs are those aimed at the trades, merchants, landlords, hunters, gamekeepers, foresters, innkeepers, restaurant owners, firefighters, pensioners, mountaineers, bakers, tobaccoists, apprentices, and the professions (lawyers, public service employees, doctors and veterinarians, engineers, typographers, psychologists, priests, and teachers). Some are aimed at those involved in specific sectors (e.g., police, post and telecommunications, railway workers). Most numerous after agricultural almanacs are military almanacs, followed by those for teachers and priests, maritime workers, firefighters, and clerical staff almanacs.

Military almanacs were aimed at officers in the Austrian army and professional soldiers, war veterans, and war invalids. The military almanac has a long tradition; it dates from the early nineteenth century. In the 1830s, two titles were published, one of them continuing until the end of the nineteenth century. Military almanacs are found in all peri-

TABLE 6. Croatian Almanacs, by Intended Audience

AUDIENCE TYPE	NO. OF TITLES	RATIO %
Occupational	158	24.3
Class-determined (Workers, Peasants, Youth)	42	6.5
Ethnic-Religious Communities	63	9.7
Religious (Catholic) Communities	34	5.2
Regional	61	9.4
Common reader ("pučki," "narodni")	56	8.6
Special interest groups (e.g., Masonic)	2	0.3

NOTE: The last column expresses the ratio of titles intended for particular audiences to the total number of titles in the database (N = 650). "Pučki" and "narodni" (popular, people's) indicate general audiences. Discrepancy between the title totals presented here and the 650 titles in the database is due to the selected categories not being exhaustive, due to the limitation of evidence (i.e., using information from bibliographic sources: titles, imprints, etc.).

ods, with a large number of titles concentrated during World War I, doubtlessly intended to popularize conscription, which was one of the reasons for high emigration from Croatia. A number of these almanacs are illustrated, a feature adding to their marketability. Like magazines with war-reportage, they relate war news and analysis in a glorified and sensationalized fashion;<sup>102</sup> others are entertaining.<sup>103</sup>

Almanacs aimed at peasants and workers represent a special category, although they may be considered to belong to an occupational group. In fact, they are class-directed and more general than the specialized occupational almanacs. Peasant almanacs appear in the mid-nineteenth century and continue into the twentieth century. Most of the peasant ("seljački") almanacs are concentrated in the 1920s and 1930s, at a time of great popularity of the Croatian Peasant Party and its cultural organization, *Seljačka sloga*. This type of almanac disappears after 1957. Workers' almanacs are issued beginning at the turn of the century and reflect the transformation of the socialist and workers' movement throughout this period. They are particularly strongly represented from the first decade of the century until the end of World War I. Censorship measures had a strong impact on this category of almanac in the inter-war period.

Ethnic almanacs include those issued by Croats in Voivodina, Hungary, and Austria,<sup>104</sup> those published for the refugees from *Julijska krajina* in the 1930s, and those issued by ethnic minorities—Serbian, Czech, Slovak, Ukrainian, Italian, and German. Almanacs aimed at specific religious groups such as Catholics, Greek-Catholics (Uniate), Jewish, Muslim, and Orthodox are also noted as a distinct and sizable group of almanacs, a specialization which is not surprising, given the close ties of the almanac to the calendar. Regional almanacs include local publications aimed at the readers in these regions. They are therefore local in distribution and scope. Nevertheless, these local publications serve as representative compilations of cultural distinctions of these regions, a showcase of what Vansina calls "second hand traditions" (1961, 33) or ethnographic descriptions of customs, festivals, and popular beliefs and practices which maintain a connection with the oral tradition. There is a strong folkloric element in many such late twentieth-century almanacs. Regional almanacs from Slavonia and Dalmatia are most prominent in this group. However, especially in the period of dialectal renaissance in the 1960s, the folkloric element was prominent in almanacs from *Međimurje*, *Istria*, *Lika*, *Posavina*, *Žumberak*, *Zagorje*, and *Banija*. Some of these almanacs are identified by local dialect, such as the "kaikavian" almanac *Kaj*, which is a literary magazine aimed at a literate audience.

Other types of regional almanac in the twentieth century are identified by town or micro-region: *Varaždinski*, *Osječki*, *Požeški*, *Ivanečki*, and *Krčki kalendar* are representative of this trend. There are several reasons for the prominence of the regional almanac and strong regionalism in the historical provinces of Croatia (especially Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Istria). Regionalism precedes the process of national differentiation in the nineteenth century. The regional scope of the almanacs of the late twentieth century is related to the maintenance of group identity and the archaicism of the almanac as a genre. In the political climate of Socialist Yugoslavia, the expression of national sentiment in public life was strongly discouraged. Regional identities, on the other hand, were a legitimate way of expressing cultural distinction and historical continuity.

While some almanacs explicitly define their audience by limiting it to an occupational, religious, or ethnic group, others were intentionally inclusive. For example, those which indicate in their titles that they are aimed at all social groups ("za sve staleže") or that they are the people's ("pučki" or "narodni"; "Volks-Kalender" in German) almanacs are aimed at a homogenized audience. The emphasis on the fact that the almanac is a popular text for the common reader, accessible in form and content, is at the root of such efforts. The first such almanac appears in 1847 (*Koledar za puk*),<sup>105</sup> but many others are issued throughout the nineteenth century. The term "narodni" prevails in the twentieth century to refer to the same grassroots appeal.

### *Content*

The almanac as a genre of print is primarily an entertaining and popular text. Specialized content is introduced as well, determined by the need to communicate to the group for which a distinct title is intended. The generalist, encyclopedic character is the norm for an almanac, although special content almanacs and occasional publications are also found throughout the period considered here. It is not possible to develop a typology by subject without examining the publications themselves. Based on information from the titles, several categories include general entertainment almanacs, specialized humor or satire, sports, statistics, literature, music, theatre, and cinema, as shown in Table 7.

The popularity of the illustrated almanac, although its distinction is one of format rather than content, lasts from the turn of the century to the late 1930s. The ratio of these almanacs in relation to the overall al-

TABLE 7. Croatian Almanacs, Content Features

CONTENT FEATURES	NO. OF TITLES	RATIO %
<u>Subject Focus</u>		
Entertainment (no particular focus)	164	25.2
Humor/satire	19	2.9
Finance/economics/management	15	2.3
Other (sports, music, literature, theatre, cinema, statistics)	12	1.8
<u>Special Focus (Function)</u>		
Charitable	11	1.7
Official publication	3	0.5
Commemorative	2	0.3
Astrological	2	0.3
Astronomical	1	0.2

NOTE: The last column expresses the ratio of titles with a particular subject focus to the total number of titles in the database (N = 650). Discrepancy between the title totals presented here and the 650 titles in the database is due to the selected categories not being exhaustive, due to the limitation of evidence (i.e., using information from bibliographic sources: titles, imprints, etc.).

manac trade (almost six percent of all almanacs published) is shown in Table 8.

The popularity of illustrated almanacs is due to the use of lithography, photogravure, and collotype, by which photographic images were duplicated. The fascination of these almanacs is in their visual content, which accomplishes a unique documentary function by providing precise images. The annual rhythm of the almanac made it possible to do this with fewer resources than the contemporary newspaper required. The economy of scale involved in such production was inherent to the almanac, which was aimed at a general audience, and thus had a broader distribution pattern than a newspaper. The illustrated almanac became an outlet for the documentary-historical image.

The connection of the almanac with the calendar continues to be prominent in nineteenth- and twentieth-century almanacs. For example, throughout the nineteenth century, terms, such as "upisnik," "Schreib-Kalender," and "bilježnica" (all terms indicating a notebook), "ročištnik" (meeting planner), or "adresar" (address book) in the title indicate the prominence of that function, in which the almanac is integrated into the daily (and annual) rhythm. In the astrological almanacs of the seventeenth century, these diaries are integrated with the almanac for their owners to use in maintaining financial records and memorializing the daily rhythm of the household in a given year. The nineteenth- and es-

TABLE 8. Croatian Almanacs, by Special Features Related to Form or Purpose

SPECIAL FEATURE/ SUBJECT FOCUS	NO. OF TITLES	RATIO %
Illustrated	37	5.7
Pocket	34	5.2
Planner	33	5.1
School Diary	19	2.9
Ecclesiastical Calendar	9	0.9

NOTE: The last column expresses the ratio of titles with special features to the total number of titles in the database (N = 650). Discrepancy between the title totals presented here and the 650 titles in the database is due to the selected categories not being exhaustive, due to the limitation of evidence (i.e., using information from bibliographic sources: titles, imprints, etc.).

pecially the twentieth-century almanac separate those functions of almanac and calendar. In the twentieth-century almanacs, ruled blank spaces for notes are retained near the calendar register, but these spaces are rarely filled. A distinct ephemeral form develops to serve the function of an independent daily diary—the ubiquitous planner or engagement calendar (“rokovnik” in Croatian). Truly ephemeral, these genres of written communication (combining manuscript and print) are distributed in large editions by firms and businesses in Croatia.

### CONCLUSION

The history of the almanac in Croatia reveals important facts about the genre and its changing communication roles. The rudimentary features of the almanacs are already seen in calendars added to service and devotional works beginning in the eleventh century. The popular diffusion of calendar literacy during the Catholic Reformation and its attempts to spread the Gregorian calendar brought about the rise of the annual almanac in Croatia. The seventeenth-century astrological almanacs are the first known annual almanacs in Croatia. They establish an annual pattern of publishing and use, the association of the almanac with a popular book for the house, and the interactive use of the almanac as a diary, where blank interleaved spaces are reserved for readers to insert manuscript notes. Early association of the almanac with literacy in the vernacular is also significant in the Croatian context. The eighteenth-century almanac establishes, in many respects, a connection with the newspaper as a medium for transmission of news. These almanacs

may be understood to serve as the precursor to an established newspaper trade. The format in which the news is transmitted follows the patterns of an existing oral tradition. The news is not only information, but is used to consolidate public opinion in Croatia at the time of the Ottoman withdrawal from Croatia. This period in the history of the Croatian almanac has a strong impact on defining the generic traits of the almanac.

In the eighteenth century, the almanac becomes a medium which secular and ecclesiastical intellectual elites use to consolidate public opinion. A reliance on established genres of oral communication to shape the memory of recent events in the process of identity-building is tied to the tradition of the genre as noted in eighteenth-century practices. The spreading of didactic and ideological material associated with the Franciscan almanacs of the eighteenth century is a link that survives between the almanac and its uses by the church to inform and indoctrinate. In addition to the association of the almanac with genres of oral communication (such as the epic and decasyllabic verse) through the Franciscan almanac of the eighteenth century, it is also associated with informal genres of everyday communication such as gossip. This link is preserved through the popular almanacs in *kaikavian* dialect known as "šoštari," which also maintain the link of the almanac with fairs where news is exchanged, and the flourishing of the chapbook trade.

The popular, grassroots character of the almanac, aimed at rural and urban audiences, reflecting small-town, conservative values prevailing in the countryside, is maintained in nineteenth-century almanacs. An association with localized and regional cultural context is noted in the nineteenth-century almanac trade. Although the majority of the almanac trade is concentrated in Zagreb, it also has a strongly provincial element. The nineteenth century is the century of growth of the almanac, especially after 1850, when a number of new roles emerge for the genre. The almanac retains its popular character, aimed at the common reader, but it also becomes a medium of communicating specialized content to a limited audience. At the end of the nineteenth century the almanac trade in Croatia is flourishing. It remains very active until World War II. During the war the almanac trade all but disappears and does not recover in the post-war period. This demise of the popular almanac in Croatia is part of a broader social and political change in which marginalization of the countryside and small towns is matched by the growth of industrial centers as a result of internal migrations. This pe-

riod also coincides with the period of intense emigration overseas, especially between 1948 and 1953 (Nejašmić 1991, 147). In the last stage of its development in Croatia after 1960, the almanac gradually disappears, retaining the character of a specialized publication in the form of regional, religious, and diaspora almanacs.

## NOTES

1. The complete quote in the original reads: Gdje u kući nema dobrog koledara, tamo ima dosta i jada i kvara! Stara je to riječ, i bilo bi suvišno, da ti ja, dragi prijatelju, poblizhe tumačim. I sam vrlo dobro znaš, koliko puta u životu treba posegnuti za koledarom, koliko puta treba u njega potražiti upute i savjet. Kao nijedna druga knjiga koledar je prijatelj u svakoj kući. On je ciele godine svjedok svih radostnih i žalostnih obiteljskih događaja. On poučava mladež, razblažuje muževe i žene iza teška rada, tješi starost. Po nedjeljama i blagdanima, pa osobito za dugih zimskih večeri-i staro i mlado. The complete quote in English translation reads: The home without a good almanac is prone to bitterness and sorrow! The house without a good almanac is prone to sorrow and spoil! This is an old saying that requires no comment, my friend. You know yourself how many times you have to reach for the almanac in your life, how many times you need to ask its advice and instruction. As no other book, the calendar is a friend to every home. It is the witness during the whole year of the family's joyful and sorrowful events. It teaches the youth, it soothes the men and women after hard work, it is the comfort of old age. On Sundays and holidays, and especially during long winter evenings—for old and young.

2. *Kalendrier des bergers* is the first French popular almanac found in numerous manuscript and print editions; its numerous adaptations, and translations arise from the original fifteenth century text attributed to Nicolas le Rouge of Troyes. *Kalendrier des bergers*, or, the *Shepherd's Calendar*, is an almanac of the perdurable type. Among its first printed versions is Guy Marchand's 1491 Paris edition of *Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers* (revised in 1493). Also known are Geneva editions (of 1480? and Jean Belot's 1497 edition). Subsequent editions appear throughout this and the next century in Troyes (1510, 1529, and 1541), Lyons (1551), Paris (1499, 1589), etc. The first English edition was issued by Richard Pynson in 1506, followed by 1508 (Wynkin de Worde), 1518 (Julian Notary), and 1580 (Ihon Wally) editions. Not only its broad radius of dissemination but also its sustained popularity is confirmed by compilations prepared throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Guy Marchand's 1493 edition is representative of this type of work which bridges a gap between Latin, clerical literacy, and popular literacy in the vernacular. Its preface, "Prologue de l'acteur qui a mis le compost et kalendrier des bergiers en forme de liure comme il est," indicates a strong connection with oral tradition. Marchand is a representative of scholastic literacy but, in this text, he assumes a mediating role, writing down in the form of a book the texts of oral knowledge. *Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers* is, by explicit association, a text handed down in a cycle of transmission of popular, non-literate knowledge of the calendar, medicine, physiognomy, phlebotomy, astrology, and anatomy of the "shepherds," written in the languages in which they themselves communicate—French and Latin. By his own admission, Marchand transforms in written form

the knowledge circulated in oral tradition in the idiom of those non-literate segments of the population. The authorship of imaginary shepherds relates to this tradition of orality. The calendar calculations, theological doctrines, and theories of Christian morality belong to an established medieval repertoire.

3. Latin "calendarium" is not used in contemporary meaning until the eighteenth century (Dukat 1923, 15). It first appears in Germany between 1440 and 1450, designating the duties of a well-managed household in the course of twelve months (*idem*). In Ivan Belostenec's *Gazophyllacium* (1740), a Latin-Croatian dictionary, the term "calendarium" is translated in čakavian, kaikavian and štokavian dialects in the meaning of a "register." The term "almanak" is used in approximately the same sense as today, denoting a "book or learning determining the order of days and years." In Andrija Jambrešić's school dictionary of 1742, the calendar ("kalendar") is used in the sense of the annual almanac, a "book of all months of the year with listing of all days." Older Croatian names for the almanac are "kalendarium," "koledar," "kolendar," "meszecsnek," "zoroast," "svetodanik," and "hižna knjižica," to name a few. Older names for the almanac are German "Lasszettel" and "Practica" in addition to "Almanach" (emphasizing it as a source of useful knowledge); in Italian, we find "lunario" (or a book of lunations) in addition to "almanacco." The term "ephemerides," indicating a specialized astronomical almanac from an early time, is confirmed in many European traditions.

4. The etymology of the term almanac ("al-manakh") is of medieval Arabic origin. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1987 ed., s.v. "almanac," gives a precise history of the term in medieval Arabic. According to its interpretation, the term originally indicated "the place where camels kneel; it later came to mean a campsite or settlement and, finally, the weather at the specific site." The often quoted etymology of the word as "book of the weather" (Andries 1989, 203) is spurious because this meaning is a later derivation. Almanac is "the only word for weather" in modern Arabic. The term was introduced in the fourteenth century through Spain and used in Western Europe in the fifteenth century to denote calendars with astronomical tables. Before it assumed its present meaning, however, the term experienced several semantic shifts in Arabic. That is why there is some confusion as to its actual meaning. Different sources derive the etymology of the term *almanac* both from the medieval and the present meaning of the term in Arabic, even though the latter presents an anachronism and therefore is not correct. The true significance of the Arabic cultural influence is less related to etymology than to the fact that the almanac became associated with weather prognostication and astronomical phenomena through Arabic methods of weather prognostication. In the climate of Sub-Saharan Africa, the weather could be determined from the position of the stars. While transferring this method to a climate in which this method is invalid and therefore has no practical application, its borrowing brought about an important association of astrology and the calendar. Namely, through borrowing Arabic achievements in astronomy, weather prognostication by position of the stars is also absorbed into medieval Europe.

5. The calendar in the first Croatian incunabula, a Glagolitic Missal from 1483, is analyzed by Pantelić (1971). There are a number of works dealing with the early Croatian Glagolitic calendars, mainly concerned with their philological and liturgical aspects (Gregov 1952; Štefanić 1951).

6. Calendar reform was officially introduced through a papal bull, "Inter gravissimas," by Gregory XIII in 1582. Its adoption varied according to the cultural-religious domain, with the Catholic states of Germany (including Croatia), France, Italy,

Portugal, and Spain adopting it immediately. In the Protestant realm, on the other hand, it was not introduced before the eighteenth century (Denmark adopted it in 1700, England in 1752, and Sweden in 1753). Among the peoples practicing the Orthodox faith, the Julian calendar is still used for liturgical purposes. It was increasingly employed for secular purposes after its adoption by the Russian Republic in 1918. Popular resistance and the enforcement of the Gregorian calendar in the countries where it had been officially used was often tied to the religious controversies of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations.

7. German has different connotations during this period, and so does literacy in Latin. Namely, German assumes three different roles as a literary language in Croatia. It is a lingua franca during Josephinian reforms, the language of urban migrants in the second half of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, and the language of administration and symbol of upward mobility in the nineteenth century. Latin is a neutral administrative language in the beginning and throughout the eighteenth century, gradually diminishing in importance in the mid-nineteenth century. The literary vernacular based on štokavian becomes official in 1848. From that time it is under the constant pressures of forced Magyarization. Language and literacy are complementary, but the former is far narrower than the latter, and reducing one to the other is a mistake that overlooks the actual behavior of historical readers. The political struggle of the nineteenth century in Croatia was focused on language, but looking at this period from the current perspective while locked into the same Herderian notion of the identity of language and nation, which was a moving force for the protagonists of these political struggles over language on all sides, would prevent one from seeing the issue of literacy in its totality.

8. The database is based on standard bibliographies, both retrospective and current, with coverage throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. Among them, the retrospective bibliography *Građa za hrvatsku retrospektivnu bibliografiju knjiga 1835-1940* was the most exhaustive. Also used were *Bibliografija Jugoslavije* (1945 to 1991) and the bibliography compiled by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Bibliografija hrvatska, pt. 1, Tiskane knjige* (Zagreb: D. Albrecht, 1860). Bibliographic control for ephemera is problematic, because the ratio of preserved to lost copies is always uncertain. The validity of the bibliographies used in the compilation of this database was complemented by the use of secondary sources in interpreting the almanac trade. The database was built using Pro-Cite bibliographic software.

9. Krajačević is the compiler of *Sveti Evangelijomi* (Graz, 1651), also intended for kaikavian audiences. This work has a calendar but it is the type of perpetual calendar added to service and prayer-books. The reference to *Zagreb. Kalendarium* is found in Krajačević's calendar, next to April 4th; Ambreus Doctor is also found in *Kaikavian Almanac for 1653*.

10. This item is in the Archive of HAZU (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts).

11. Original title reads. *Novi kalendarivm od Chrisvssevoa Poroda Rachunaussi na leto 1653, a od poche[?] szuéta lét 1602, od potopa 3965, od pochetia Rimszkoga varosya 2405, potlamye Ponoulien Rimszki Kalendarium 71, od szadasnye linie Czeszarszke Austrianszke 215, od izebrania na Czeszarsztuo, sza dosnyega nassega szuetloga Czesara Ferdinanda tretoga 17, potlamie Vugerszky kraly 27, Cheskem kraljem 26, Med bosichem Fassankom bude poldenet taiedan letosnia Nedelnia literaie E.* In typical baroque manner, it is presented as "New Kalendarium From the Beginning of Christ's Birth Calculating for the Year 1653, and From the Beginning of the World 1602, From the Deluge 3965, From the Beginning of the Roman City [Urbis Romae]

2405, After that the Repetition of the Roman Kalendarium 71 [?], From the Contemporary Austrian Dynasty 215, From the Selection of Ferdinand III, Our Current Luminous Emperor, as King, Who is the 27th Hungarian King, 26th Czech King . . .”

12. The copy is laminated due to extreme deterioration of the original, which literally survived in pieces. This copy is now in the Rare Books Collection of the National and University Library in Zagreb (RII D-16 -85). It is printed on 24 leaves (16 × 10 cm.).

13. The manuscript notes in this almanac deserve further attention, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. The leaves are filled out with manuscript notes in contemporary cursive, in flowing handwriting, and probably all written by one hand. The dialect of the inscriptions is not only kaikavian, the dialect of the almanac itself, but seems to be a mixture of kaikavian-ekavian and štokavian-ikavian. The inscriptions are lists of things (to buy?) like salt, bread, etc., various calculations, and a diary on lending and borrowing or leasing (equipment, money?) with the names of those involved, as well as notes that look like veterinary advice. Reference to the names of months in the inscription are in Latin (Aprilis, Junij), while the calendar uses the popular form in the vernacular (Veliki travan) and Latin together. Most inscriptions are dated and indicate the pattern of use in the year for which the almanac is published. The place of its publication is not known because the title page is missing. It consists of the calendar portion for each month in a standardized format.

14. In comparison to a collection of seventeenth century English almanacs, for example, such as those in the Palmer Collection in Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library (University of Toronto).

15. Determining times to perform such actions as letting blood and cutting hair and nails according to the auspicious or inauspicious potential of a particular day of the year. The variables include the type of action, the character of the person on which the action is performed (melancholic, sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic), and the movement of the planets that determine general conditions. Connection of *praktika* with popular beliefs of medieval origin is obvious and uniformly present in many European traditions.

16. E.g., “nije dobro krv puštati, treba taj mjesec papreno jesti i dobro vino piti” (It is not good to let blood, instead eat very hot food and drink good wine).

17. Original text reads: . . . otkuda pokehdoh u nassem horvackom v szlovenszkom orszagu, naibolyu lettinu dersimo i . . . Psenicza pokehdob da ima nepryatele Merkuruša y Venuša, letosz hodie vechkuara biti u nyoy, nego u osztaleh szetvah . . .

18. Cf. Katarina Ana Zrinski, *Putni tovaruš* (1661) and Ivan Bandulavić, *Pištrole i evandelja* (1613).

19. Or letting of blood for diagnostic purposes.

20. When compared to the manuscript notes in contemporary English almanacs in the Palmer Collection (Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto), an identical pattern of use (in how manuscript notes are related to the printed text) is noted. These almanacs are distant geographically but not in genre features.

21. Alternative titles of this run are: *Zoroast hervacki: za leto 1692, Kalendarium iliti Miszechnik horvatzki: za leto 1695, Zoroast hervacki aliti meszecznik i dnevnik goszpodscki i goszpodarscki, na vse godische, kojese pise od porojenja goszpodna nassega 1698, and Miszecznik hervacki goszpodi, goszpodarom, i vsake verszti lyudem obojega sztana i szpolla, za vsako vreme priliku i shelu kruto hasnovit, i potriban Za leto goszpodna nassega MDCCV.*

22. In the Rare Books Collection of the National and University Library in Zagreb, as RII D-8 -200 (copies for 1692, 1698, 1699, and 1705). The copy for 1695 is probably in HAZU (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts). Their format is slightly larger than the earlier one (22 × 17 cm.), with 12 to 22 pages. The issue for 1692 has been bound with another work, with pagination added by hand. Gatherings are marked in each issue. The 1692 issue is not the first of this run, as indicated in the prologue issued regularly at the time.

23. It is called "Kazilacz: za poznati pravu dugochu dneva i nochi, izhoda i zahoda szunchnega u kotaru Zagrebecskomu" (1692, 192) and refers to the meridian of Zagreb of 46 degrees, "K' poludanyu Okicskomu ztub 46 pomnuivo zracsunan" (1698, t.p.).

24. The wording of the heading for each month of the calendar lists not one or two but a number of known forms of the name of each month. The heading for December reads: *proszinecz, szueshnyi, velikobosichnyak, decembr;* for January, it reads: *szicsan ledeny, mali boshichnyak, januarius.*

25. E.g., for the first two days of January, it reads "Blagosslovi nam Bog trude / Da za ludo ki ne bude."

26. In the Rare Books Collection in the National and University Library, as RII D-16 -12, *Priricsnik aliti razliko mudrozti cvitje spravleno po Pav. Vitezovichu, Zlat. Vitezu, Ces. i Kral. Szvitlost Vichnik* (Zagreb, 1703). The rhymed verses are in a style similar to his *Lado horvatzki illiti Sibilla*, a social game or divination book ("knjiga gatalica").

27. The statement of ending is found in another medium, the film, and especially the silent film, which combines the text of the intertitle and the moving image.

28. These publications were not preserved, or researched, but a closer pursuit of "šoštari" would reveal the patterns of the chapbook trade in Croatia.

29. This term continues to be used in almanac titles in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

30. From an economic point of view, it was very important for any marketplace town or one with a status of a free royal city to keep and renew their privileges to hold fairs. Added to this is a less tangible benefit, namely that fairs were also information marketplaces where goods and information circulated together.

31. The polemics of Juraj Rapić and the Older Reljković (Vodnik 1913, 349) vividly record this debate.

32. "Satir" or satyr, a wild-man, is a Slavonian in the aftermath of Turkish occupation.

33. The Turks have been present in the European imagination from their arrival on the scene in the fifteenth century, but the differences in how the stereotyping has evolved among different cultural groups have been enormous. In Croatian tradition, this myth is not a central myth that determined boundaries of a group and guides the process of national differentiation as it is, for example, for the Serbs and their central myth of the Battle of Kosovo.

34. It went through at least fifty-one Croatian editions and many editions in other languages. Jurišić (1983, 33-57) lists all known printed editions of this work but mentions the existence of manuscript copies both in the original and in translation. Matić (1954) researches the history of its editions as well, listing an American version, the editor of which is Ivan Meštrović, a famous Croatian-American sculptor.

35. For example, the war of Bavarian succession in 1778 and 1779 appears as a popular epic only a year after the actual event. Cf. Josip Pavišević's *Polazenje na vojsku prusku-bavarsku* (Osijek, 1799), quoted in Vodnik (1913, 342).

36. He notes that such new orality has "striking resemblances to the old in its participatory mystique, its fostering of a communal sense, its concentration on the present moment, and even its use of formulas"; this new orality "is essentially a more deliberate and self-conscious orality, based permanently on the use of writing and print" (Ong 1982, 136).

37. The type of archaic epic poetry used to comment on contemporary events of the Turkish-Austrian war from the end of the eighteenth century were written by Antun Ivanošić, in rhymed decasyllabic verse to be performed with tambura (string instrument), using the epic formula (Bošković-Stulli and Zečević 1978, 226-227); Dalmatian and Bosnian Franciscans, such as Tomo Babić, Lovro Šitović, are typical of the tradition (ibid., 222-223). Apart from the texts of Franciscan writers, the secular reformers also relate to the popular oral tradition in a similar fashion (ibid., 225). Matija Antun Relković, a Slavonian reformer, also assumes the style of oral tradition in ikavian štokavian dialect and decasyllabic verse, relying on proverb and formulaic verse (ibid., 225).

38. Milman Parry (1971) and Albert B. Lord (1960) rely on these as models for the explanation of the Homeric paradox. Researchers of oral culture now widely accept these theories in the explanation of traditionalism and creativity, of the individual and community contribution in oral traditions.

39. Distinguished by the absence of textual canon and textual authority in the context of oral transmission and on the Internet (Fowler 1994).

40. In popular usage, this work is referred to as "Kačić." Thereby, the book/text is literally anthropomorphized, becoming a printed equivalent of the quintessential bard.

41. NSB RII E-8°-194.

42. Issued in Budim by L.F. Landerer (16 × 7 cm.). The translation of the title reads: "'Kalendar' or ordered presentation of Sundays and feasts, and a story in song about Knight Gjuro Kastriotić or Skenderbeg, with annual events and fairs for the year and for the conversation of Illyrians written for the year 1766."

43. "Slide nike majstorie, i likarie . . . za uzderžati vazda dobar vid, za izbaviti se stucavice . . ."

44. Also issued under the title *Novi y sztari kalendar horvatzki : za potrebu i zabavu naroda*. There are eleven known issues of this title, from 1813 to 1923. Some of them are known from bibliographies, and two are found in the National and University Library (NSB RII E-8°-191; NSB RII D-16°-93; NSB 24.905). They were published in Budim and Pešta (Buda and Pest) by M. Trattner, Ucsena Peshtanska Skupina slovih (Vugerska Mudra Vuchne Kupcina szlovih), and A. Landerer. The sizes of these publications change: octavo or sixteenmo are both found.

45. Issued from 1792 to 1857. The preserved issues, for 1839, 1842, and 1848, are found in the National and University Library (NSB RII E-8°-76, and NSB RII D-8°-130). They were issued jointly by I. Gyurian and M. Bago (in Osijek and Buda-pest).

46. "Hiža" in kaikavian means house. "Knjižica" is often used in the sense of a manual at that time. Therefore, we find "molitvena knjižica" (prayer-book), "knjižica od baratanja s finki," etc. "Knjižica" is a diminutive of "knjiga" (book).

47. This term is used in the title of John Jones' almanac published in London in 1852: *The Perdurable Almanack Available for Twenty Years*. It indicates an almanac covering one or more Metonic cycles of 19 years (i.e., running from 19 to 78 years). Such cycles were represented in many calendars issued with service and devotional works. It was considered justifiable to introduce this term as a precise designation of

this type of calendar and in order to distinguish it from the perpetual calendar. The first popular almanacs were issued for more than one year, belonging either to the perdurable or the perpetual type, much like those added to liturgical works or the popular Shepherds' Calendar.

48. E.g., *Hisna knisicza, vu koje vszakojaka vrach-tva tuliko duhovna, kuliko szvetszka domacha Kalendar czirkveni, poleg razlucheny rimzkoga martyrologiuma*, 246 p. 1783. Vu Zagrebu: Stampana po Ivanu Thomasu Pl. od Trattnerov, c. kr. ap. sz. stampar, 1783. (National and University Library holdings, NSB RII D-16°-53) and *Hisna knisicza, vu koje vszakojaka vrach-tva tuliko duhovna, kuliko szvetszka domacha zadersavajusze oszebujno, kak jeden hisni gozpodar proti Bogu, y szamomu: ykak tulikajsse vu szvo-jeh poszluwanyeh morasze ponassati Na hvala Bòsju, y na haszen vszeh hisneh gozpodarov verno zku pa zpravlyena. . . . Z dopuschenyem vissejsseh Kalendar czirkveni, poleg razlucheny rimzkoga martyrologiuma* (Zagreb: Novoszszel, 1797, 14 × 10 cm.) (National and University Library holdings, NSB RII D-16°-38).

49. In the first edition the calendar runs from 1783 to 1800; in the second, between 1797 and 1819. The calendar portion includes a perpetual calendar for those years and month-by-month martyrologium for the year.

50. It is difficult not to associate this with a form currently found in popular magazines, especially women's magazines, namely texts which explore dimensions of one's personality. This self-examination using the basis of psychology uncovers truths about oneself, and one's relationship with the world and other people. These questionnaires are not focused on the doctrines of the Church, but they are self-directed, which does not preclude a genre transformation.

51. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Latin compendia combining the perpetual calendar with practical information on popular medicine and home and rural economics, such as *Calendarium oeconomicum & perpetuum* by Johannes Colerus or Mauritius Knauer's Latin perpetual calendar of 1652, are absorbed in the Croatian tradition of *stoljetni kalendar* via German almanacs. The path of transmission confirms this direction of borrowing. For example, Moritz Knauer's calendar is quoted as a source for the 1860 edition by Josip Vitanović (*Stoljetni koledar, planetar, ratarska pravila, kakovo će biti vrijeme, gospodarstveni koledar, zdravstveni koledar, obračunavanje kamata*. Po Mavri Knaueru složio prof. Josip Vitanović, 1860-1960. (Zagreb: Hartman, 1860)) and as a source of another edition published in 1857. Anton Rožić, compiler of the first "stoljetni kalendar" (*Horvatzki stoletni kalendar od leta 1818 do 1919* by Anton Rožić (Zagreb: Novoszszel, 1818)) advertises the fact that it is based on the "best German almanacs" ("iz najbolshch Nemskeh ztoletneh kalendarov skupzlosen" (*Horvatzki stoletni kalendar od leta 1818 do 1919*, by Anton Rožić (Zagreb: Novoszszel, 1818)). Dukat (1925) also considers that Knauer's almanac is not only the model for Rožić but also an edition that appears about the same time—issued by a well-known kaikavian author Tomaš Mikloušić (*Ztoletni kalendâr iliti Dnevnik Ztòletni Horvâtski do leta 1901 kasuchi*. Po Thom Mikloushichu, plebanushu vu Ztenyevczu ispiszan, y na szvetlo vân dân (Vu Zagrebu, nalosen, y pritzkan vu Novoszszelskoj Szlovârnizi, 1819)). Tropsch (1901) identifies Knauer as a source of an eighteenth-century work, Reljković's *Kučnik*, thus confirming the long-standing popularity and familiarity of this source among Croatian almanac compilers. Some nineteenth-century German "hundertjähriger Kalender" also used Knauer's almanac as prototype. Two titles, one published in 1850 and the other in 1856, state this explicitly. Published around the same time are Baron von Ehrenkreutz's *Neuer hundertjähriger Jagd- und Forstkalender* (Ulm, 1859), M. Katzenellebogen's *Hundertjähriger*

*Kalender vom Jahr der Erschaffung der Welt 5532-5632 in Vergleich mit der deutschen Zeitrechnung* (Frankfurt, 1856) as well as the *Neu bearbeiteter 100jähriger Hauskalender vom Jahre 1851-1950* (Vienna, 1857), all of which could have been used for cut and paste operations of Croatian almanac compilers. There are altogether eleven Croatian editions of *stoljetni kalendar*, all but four of which were published in the nineteenth century. Two of them were issued in the beginning of the nineteenth century and five in the mid-nineteenth century, when they seem to be at the peak of their popularity. All except Vitanović's 1860 edition are written in kaikavian literary dialect and all but two editions are attributed to Tomaš Mikloušić. An English-language title from the nineteenth century is *The 100 Years Anglo-Chinese Calendar, 1st Jan. 1776 to 25th Jan. 1876: ... Together with an Appendix Containing Several ... Tables and Extracts* (By P. Loureiro (Shanghai, 1872)), a colonial almanac aimed at the English community in Shanghai. This title is not representative of a trend in English-language almanac publishing, but it appears about the same time as its German and Croatian counterparts and loosely fits into the same definition. One striking difference is that this "calendar" counts the hundred years, but in reverse (retrospectively). It runs from 1776 to 1876 and would have become obsolete four years after its publication. Most importantly, such inversion shows the connection of the calendar and the chronology.

52. This volume was issued in Osijek by Divald, a publisher-printer who issued other works dealing with agricultural reforms.

53. "... iz starih kućnikah povadih ..."

54. Original annotation reads: *Šoštar kalendar*. Sbirka ovih kalendarčićah, koja se velikim brojem u knjižnici Gajevoj nalazi, dokazuje, da se s ovimi dnevnici, o kojih se svetcu i vremena hieroglifičkim znakovi bilêze, prosti puk naš već oko sto godinah zabavlja; prijatelju pako književnosti domaće pruža njihov sadržaj, navlastito pësmice i pripovëdke dosta znatnih podataka sveudilj pokvarena ukusa u knjižestvu hërvatskom podnarëčja bezjačkoga, koje se je u novije vreme bez kritičnoga razloga počelo nazivati "kajkavskim," dočim i nehërvatski Slovenci govore i pišu "kaj." To o šoštarih. L.G.

55. This bibliography is considered the first attempt at compiling a national bibliography in Croatia.

56. Gaj's annotation with entries for the runs he allegedly owned at the time (i.e., in the 1830s) (e.g., *Varaždinski, Zagrebački, and Karlovački šoštar*) is misleading because none of the extant copies was found in the Rare Books Collection of the National and University Library that owns Gaj's personal library, nor were they mentioned in the published inventory of the collection (Gaj 1875).

57. The editors and compilers of *Novi kalendar* were Juraj Maljevac and Toma Miklošić. It was printed in Zagreb by Josip Karlo Kotsche. Dukat (1923, 37) and Despot (1973, 24-31) have written about this publication. J. Maljevac is the first editor of this almanac. A later editor was Thomaš Mikloušić. Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for years 1786, 1789, 1803-1804, and 1806).

58. Its other titles were *Horvatzi kalendar* (after 1821) and *Zagrebečki kalendar*. It was printed in Zagreb by Novoszelska tiskara (until 1826), Jos. Rossy (from 1827), and Franya Suppan. Despot (1973, 24-31) gives a history of that title. Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for years 1801, 1803-1806, 1808-1816, 1818-1821, 1823-1836, 1839, 1840, 1843-1845, and 1847-1848).

59. Trattner's almanac switches to štokavian dialect when it is officially introduced in schools.

60. Cf. Dukat (1915).

61. *Narodni koledar* (Zagreb: Nakl. knjižare Franje Župana (Albrecht i Fiedler), knjigotiskarna Dragutina Albrehta, 22 cm.). Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for 1868).

62. *Zagrabiense Calendarium* (Other title: *Varasadinense Calendarium*) (Varaždin, Zagreb: Toma Trattner; Antun Novoszel; Franciska Novosel; Josip Rossy; Franja Suppan). Ref.: Dukat (1923, 31-36); Gaj (1875, 60-61).

63. In the nineteenth century, they are followed by almanac-directories of towns, societies, regions, and even various "interest groups" (gastronomists, caricaturists, etc.) and predate the current almanac-fact book, yearbook, directory—the contemporary types of almanac defined by Katz (1987, 224-228).

64. Almanac researchers note the connection between the newspaper and the almanac in the context where the newspaper is not yet an established medium of communication. *Kraljski Dalmatin = Il Regio Dalmata* is the first newspaper in Croatia. It is actually bilingual, issued between 1806 and 1810 as a regime newspaper aimed at promoting the liberal values of the French Revolution during the time of Napoleonic rule in Dalmatia. With circulation of 600—which is a standard circulation of contemporary French newspapers (Sgard 1987, 97)—it still does not have any popular impact beyond a limited class of people (Horvat 1962, 64-67). The Croatian text is a very crude and literal translation from the Italian, and that is why it has a very ambiguous place in the syntheses of Croatian literary history. The first newspaper in Croatia is known to be issued by Antun Jandera in Latin, *Ephemerides Zagrabenses* in 1771, but none of the issues are preserved (ibid., 46); it is followed by German newspapers.

65. They were specifically printed for particular fairs, appearing between 1583 and 1597, and their name, *Messrelationen* or "fair reports" establishes the connection with a fair (Horvat 1962, 39).

66. For example, Kotsche's, Landerer's, and Jandera's Latin almanac.

67. The contemporary Catholic almanac *Danica* still features this section in the late 1980s. Today, the fairs are strictly local, village festivities and community rituals gathering the local village community. They are focused on a patron saint's day, attracting an occasional curious tourist or folklorist.

68. The technologies of information collection and attack-alert centers, as well as circulation of broadsides with the latest news from the battlefield, are discussed by Horvat (1962, 43-45).

69. Notably, *Gospodarsko društvo* (or The Agricultural Society).

70. The nineteenth and the twentieth century almanacs were represented in a ratio of 1 to 3. The flexibility of a database for searching on a particular variable is used to support generalizations. This approach has its limitations. Because the data is collected in bibliographies and based on the holdings of collections, it also reflects the gaps in these collections. The Royal Academy Library (National and University Library), for example, received the right to legal deposit in 1816, but its enforcement becomes systematic only in the 1840s (Verona 1987, 217-236). This could skew the data with regard to the first four decades of the century. Still, the hope is that this database is as complete as the institutional memory it depends upon. In any case, it represents a historical sample of what has been preserved.

71. The problem of missing evidence is usually encountered with ephemera research, where the ratio of preserved to lost copies is always uncertain.

72. This variable is prone to misinterpretation because it reflects a bias based on source and state of preservation.

73. Among them are five titles in Croatian. This period is one of an increase in native-language almanac production beginning in the 1860s. Accordingly, the language ratio changes in favor of native-language almanacs.

74. For example, twenty titles cease publication in 1911. A third of them are single-issue almanacs that were published and expired in the same year. Between 1930 and 1938, over one hundred titles cease to be published. Forty-seven among these disappear between 1933 and 1935. A little less than half of those (fifty-three) are almanacs that were published and expired in the same year. When compared to the eighty-five that ceased publication in the five years between 1940 and 1944, the period just before and during World War II, it is clear that the latter period indicates a downward trend. Among them, a third were titles issued for a single year, i.e., thirty-one titles. Eighty-one percent (sixty-nine titles) ended between 1940 and 1942.

75. A cursory examination shows a notable disappearance of small-town almanac publishers catering to local audiences. There are many reasons for this, including the reorganization of publishing in the era of socialist modes of production and the impact of state ideology on popular culture forms, of which the almanac is a notable example.

76. The Bay of Boka Kotorska was annexed to Montenegro after 1945.

77. Voivodina was added to Serbia after the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy.

78. Z. Čuković and I. Horvat worked in Virovitica in the late 1930s and early 1940s, and Vinko Vošicki in Koprivnica in the 1920s and 1930s.

79. For example, Crikvenica, Daruvar, Đakovo, Grubišno Polje, Kraljevica, Kutina, Legrad, Nova Gradiška, Pazin, Petrinja, Poreč, Pula, Samobor, Senj, Sinj, Slavonski Brod, Šibenik, Vinkovci, Vukovar, and Županja.

80. This phenomenon should be studied further, using the secondary sources dealing with the book trade and applying an in-depth analysis of the sample of 650 titles used in this article. This was, however, beyond the scope of the study. Comparing fluctuations in production in each of the locations and integrating them with the map of printers and publishers in each location would uncover the dynamics of the almanac book trade in greater detail. The patterns could be interpreted in terms of social and cultural dynamics of the society at large.

81. *Almanach Illirski*, compiled by Jure Matić (Karlovac: J.N. Prättner); *Svetodanik illiti Kalendar illyrički* (other titles: *Novouredjeni ilirski kalendar iliti svetodanik*, *Novouredjeni naški kalendar iliti svetodanik*, *Novouredjeni horvatsko slavonski kalendar iliti svetodanik*, *Novi i stari kalendar slavonski*) (Osijek, Budim, Pešta: M.A. Divald; Ivan Gyurian-Martin Bagó). Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for years 1836-1854; 1856-1857); *Narodni koledar novi i stari*, compiled by J. Sundečić, Antun Šimonić, Stjepan Buzolić, Kažimir Lubić, Mate Nekić, Nikola Šimić (Zadar: Izdan o strošku Društva Matice dalmatinske, tiskom Demarchi-Rougierovim, Brzotiskom "Narodnoga lista," 18 cm.). Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for years 1/1863-8/1870; 10/1872-18/1885; 20/1882-36/1898).

82. *Hrvatski kalendar*, compiled by Ante Starčević (Zagreb: Karlo Albrecht, 22 cm.). Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for the year 1858).

83. Zečević (1978, 1988, 1982) gives an invaluable insight into the almanacs preceding and during the Illyrian Revival and the studies of individual publishers of nineteenth century almanacs. Adam Filipović Heldentalski and his Slavonian almanac issued from 1822 on are discussed by Ilešić (1916a and 1916b) and Dukat (1914). Discussion of the two popular nineteenth century almanacs, *Kolendar za puk* (Compiled by Dragutin Rakovac. Zagreb: Društvo gospodarsko horvatsko-slavonsko; Ljudevit Gaj (13 cm.). Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for years

1/1847-4/1850)), and *Hrvatski koledar* (issued by Mijo Krešić), is found in Despot (1975 and 1974).

84. The Illyrianist newspaper *Danica ilirska* regularly publishes calls for subscription and includes the price and method of acquisition for the publications it announces in its regular supplement "književni poziv" (literary call) or "književne vijesti" (literary news).

85. The postal service in Croatia was well organized from the second half of the sixteenth century on, due to the proximity of the Austrian-Ottoman frontier and the need for efficient transfer of news and communications. Distribution of letters with newspapers is noted beginning in the seventeenth century, and broadsides with news from the frontier circulated beginning in the sixteenth century (Horvat 1962, 44). Whether this network was used for the distribution of early almanacs is not known.

86. For example, an advertisement for *Česka pčela* for 1838 in *Danica ilirska* (1837, vol. 3, no. 50: 50) indicates that in those bookstores where it could be delivered without *štempl*, it sold for 4 crowns, compared to 10 crowns when the stamp was included.

87. Compared to popular catechisms and almanacs, the editions of Gaj's Illyrianist paper fluctuate in size but are smaller overall. They run from 464 to 255 between 1836 and 1842. *Kolo*, another Illyrianist literary periodical, reached circulation of 700 in 1842, dropping to 300 a year later (Barac 1954, 141-142, 62).

88. The typical editions of the regional almanacs are from 2,000 to 4,000 copies. For example, *Lički kalendar*, *Slavonski narodni kalendar*, and *Varaždinski kalendar* are typically published in 2,000 copies and *Banijski kalendar*, *Žumberački kalendar*, *Narodni koledar za Istru Jurina i Franina*, and *Slavonski godišnjak* are issued in somewhat larger editions of 3,000. *Istarski zbornik* and *Veliki međimurski kalendar* are more successful with a common edition size of 4,000. An exception is the 1972 edition of *Kajkavski kalendar*, which is issued in 12,000 copies, the cultural spillover of the Croatian Spring in 1971.

89. *Obći Zagrebački kalendar* (other title: *Obći zagrebački koledar*), compiled by Slavoljub Verbančić, Vladislav Vežić, Marko Radojčić, and Andria Torkvat Berlić. (Zagreb: Lavoslav Župan (Franjo Suppan), 24 cm.). Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for years 1846-1851, pt. 1, 2; 1852-1853).

90. Reading aloud as a form of group entertainment is not uncommon. Bible reading, for example, or reading in church in general, continues such practices of textual transmission.

91. Without examination of the primary source, the intended readership and its correspondence to an actual readership is disputable.

92. This includes the čakavian, kaikavian, and štokavian dialects of Croatian.

93. One should distinguish between the Italian (or German) almanacs issued for the Italian (or German) minority in Croatia and almanacs issued in Italian (or German) as a language of Croatian literacy (an extension of multi-lingual patterns of communication in the society). In the first category is *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Volksgruppe im Unabhängigen Staate Kroatien* (other title: *Jahrbuch der Deutschen im Unabhängigen Staate Kroatien*), compiled by Andreas Nikolaus Stötzer and Andreas Kuhn (Osijek: Hrg. *Die Volksgruppenführung der Deutschen Volksgruppe im Unabhängigen Staate Kroatien*, Deutscher Verlag und Druckerei; Druckerei und Verlag der Deutschen Volksgruppe in Kroatien). There are only almanacs issued after 1945 for the Italian minority.

94. Three of them expire between 1913 and 1915 and one in 1941, while one expires in 1888.

95. Most of them (twenty-nine out of thirty-seven titles) existed for less than five years. Regardless of how preservation patterns may have impacted what is found today, the pattern is too strong to be ignored.

96. Found in eight and nine titles, respectively.

97. Fourteen out of twenty-four.

98. Only two titles (in addition to an ethnic title) are issued after this date (Cf. *Jahrbuch: Seinen Lesern gewidmet vom "Morgenblatt"* (other title: *Morgenblatt: Jahrbuch*) (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska štampa, Christlicher Volks-Kalender; Osijek: Hrsg. von der Verwaltung der "Christlichen Volkszeitung," Druck der Ersten kroatischen Aktiendruckerei).

99. Cf. *Kalender des Agrar Humanitäts-Vereines* (Zagreb: Druck und Verlag von J. Hühn). A parallel edition in Croatian is published in the same year.

100. Cf. parallel editions in Cyrillic of *Sretna 1911 godina! Kalendar Prvog bjelovarskog trgovačkog dioničarskog društva* (Bjelovar: Štamparija M. Mladjana u Novoj Gradiški) and *Sremski kalendar* for 1867 (Vukovar: Izd. Aleksandar Vagner, knjižar, Tiskom Ognjoslava Merdešickog, 20 cm.). Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for year 1 (1867)).

101. Although it is also spoken in Slavonia and in Dalmatia, ikavian dialect is used as an identifying feature of Croats in Bosnia to assert national ideology based on historical right. Combined with etymological orthography, as another symbolic marker of linguistic identity, these features of language reflect the debates on language and orthography that go back to the fiery and controversial polemics initiated by Gaj's linguistic and orthographic reforms in the first half of the nineteenth century (Banac 1991, 62-63).

102. *Veliki ratni kalendar* (Zagreb: Tisak i nakl. knjižare L. Hartmana (St. Kugli), 22 cm.). Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for years 1/1917); *Veliki ilustrirani kalendar Svjetskog rata* (Zagreb: Tisak i nakl. Umjetničko-nakladnog zavoda "Merkur," 23 cm.). Preserved copies are in the National and University Library (for year 1917).

103. *Jurek s Bajganetom: Vojnički šaljivi kalendar* (Zagreb: Tisak i nakl. Umjetničko nakladnog zavoda "Merkur").

104. The appellations Šokci, Bunjevci, and Gradišćanski Hrvati are found in titles of these publications, to denote these Croatian enclaves in Voivodina and Austria, respectively.

105. For the history of this title, see Despot (1975).

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