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Lakuš, Jelena

Source / Izvornik: **Knygotyra, 2016, 66, 66 - 85**

Journal article, Published version

Rad u časopisu, Objavljena verzija rada (izdavačev PDF)

<https://doi.org/10.15388/Knygotyra.2016.66.10018>

Permanent link / Trajna poveznica: <https://um.nsk.hr/um:nbn:hr:142:459619>

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Download date / Datum preuzimanja: **2024-11-28**



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# IN THE SPIRIT OF TRADITION, RELIGION AND MORAL EDUCATION: BOOK PRODUCTION IN DALMATIA OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

Jelena Lakuš | Department of Information Sciences  
Faculty of Philosophy, University of J. J. Strossmayer  
L. Jägera 9, 31000 Osijek, Croatia  
E-mail: jlakus@ffos.hr

*The aim of this article is to investigate the character of book production in Dalmatia from 1815 when Dalmatia became an integral part of the Austrian Empire until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the period dominated by the repressive politics of Chancellor Metternich (1809–1848) and his severe system of censorship. At the time, the publishing business still overlapped with the printing activity and it was limited to only five publishing houses situated in Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik. The article shows the results of the extensive research made according to two criteria: the intensity and (dis)continuity of book production as well as its subject and genre variety and/or uniformity. The analysis is based on a database resulting from archival research as well as from consulting many bibliographical sources and library catalogues. It shows that compared with the Western European countries of the age, whose annual production was expressed in thousands, book publishing in Dalmatia was quite restricted not only in numbers but also in the variety of subjects and genres. Metternich's rigorous censorship, which constrained and regulated not only book production but also the entire system of dissemination and consumption of the printed word, as well as a religious revival that the Catholic Church in Dalmatia experienced at the time, were undoubtedly the most important causes for such a traditional and conservative character. The religious authorities claimed that moral education and spiritual knowledge was still the main purpose assigned to the printed word, considering it to be their sacred duty to safeguard the purity of faith and take care of the moral of their faithful, while the state authorities wished to direct beliefs and attitudes of their citizens, keeping them within an acceptable moral and political framework that led towards loyalty and obedience.*

KEYWORDS: Dalmatia, book production, publishing, 19<sup>th</sup> century, Dalmatia, Austrian Empire.

Book publishing in the Kingdom of Dalmatia, the most south-eastern Austrian crownland,<sup>1</sup> started at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when in 1783 the Venetian Carlo Antonio Occhi established the first printing house in Dubrovnik.<sup>2</sup> According to the most common opinion, one of the most important reasons for such late beginning of the printing activity lies in the fact that the Venetians who governed most of Dalmatia until 1797 wished to preserve their monopoly in printing and publishing business.<sup>3</sup> For that reason, works written by Dalmatian authors were throughout centuries printed and published mostly in Venice, but also in many other European printing and publishing centres (Ancona, Milan, Vienna, Budim, Pest, etc.).<sup>4</sup> It was the practice not abandoned even when the printing and publishing activity started developing in the region in the course of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At that time book publishing was limited to only five printing and publishing houses situated in Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik, which was a small number compared with some European countries of the age. Amsterdam, for instance, could boast 270 printers and booksellers in the last quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century

1 Dalmatia became an integral part of the Austrian Empire *de facto* already in 1813/14, and *de iure* by a decision of the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Today an integral part of the Republic of Croatia, Dalmatia was at the time administratively separated from Croatia and Slavonia. It remained an Austrian crownland until the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918.

2 The first printing houses in the region were established already by the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. These were the printing house in Kosinj (not all researchers share the same opinion about its existence) and the printing house in Senj, the latter one established in 1494. However, these printing houses were established outside the territory considered the Kingdom of Dalmatia in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For that reason, in this article, the first printing house in Dalmatia has been considered the one established in 1783 in Dubrovnik. Although at the time of its establishment the city of Dubrovnik was a centre of an independent republic known as the Republic of Ragusa (1358–1808), at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Ragusa and the territories of the former Republic were made part

of the crownland of the Kingdom of Dalmatia, ruled by the Habsburgs.

3 See for instance: GALIĆ, Pavao. Knjige prvog zadarskog tiskara Fracassa u Naučnoj biblioteci u Zadru. *Bibliotekarstvo*, 1963, vol. 9, no. 2, p. 9; ČUČIĆ, Vesna. Prvi tiskari u Dubrovniku s popisom tiskane grade. *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske*, 2005, vol. 48, no. ¾, p. 109 [accessed 10 January 2016]. Access through Internet: <<http://www.hkdrustvo.hr/vbh/broj/91>>.

4 Moreover, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, there were printers from Dalmatia working in Venice and some other European cultural centres. For instance, Andrija Paltašić from Kotor moved to Venice in the 1470s where he became one of the first printers, active from 1476 to 1492. At the time, Kotor was part of the Venetian Albania, which was in 1814 included in the Austrian Kingdom of Dalmatia. In 1478 Bonino de Boninis (also known as Dobrić Dobričević) from the island Lastovo in the Republic of Ragusa joined Andrija Paltašić. However, he also ran his business in Verona, Brescia and Lyon. Books published in their printing houses, as well as many other books printed abroad, were imported to Dalmatia, too.

while in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the number was even greater.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, by 1790 St. Petersburg had 30 publishing houses.<sup>6</sup> In addition, more than 1,000 printers and booksellers made a living in France in 1781.<sup>7</sup>

The longest-running operating printing house in the period was the one run by the family Martecchini in Dubrovnik, first by Antonio Martecchini (1802–1835) and then by his son Pietro Francesco Martecchini (1835–1878).<sup>8</sup> The printing house of the Battara family in Zadar operated for almost an entire century as well, first run by its founder Antonio Luigi Battara (1803–1817), then by his widow Marina Battara (1817–1831), then by their sons Pietro Antonio Battara and Francesco Napoleon Battara (1831–1873) and finally shortly by their inheritors (1873–1874). In addition, from 1823 there was in Zadar the printing house Demarchi, afterwards Demarchi-Rougier (1838–1873), whose owner Giovanni Demarchi moved from Split where he had first run his business (1812–1823).<sup>9</sup> Beside his printing house, there existed in Split the printing house of the family Piperata, first run by Giovanni Antonio Piperata and his son (most likely from 1824 when there was recorded the first printed book until the beginning of the 1840s), then by Bernardo Piperata (1840s–1850), his widow Maria Petrini Piperata and their son (1850–1856), and finally by Andrija Piperata (1850s–1861). In addition, from the beginning of the 1840s there existed in Split the printing house Oliveti, which operated independently until the end of the 1840s.<sup>10</sup> At the beginning of the 1850s, Oliveti started a joint business with Giovannizi. Their joint effort in printing and publishing continued until the beginning of the 1860s. From that time onwards, Giovannizi printed independently.<sup>11</sup>

A short overview of the development of printing activity in Dalmatia of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century suggests several important things. First, at the time printing activity and publishing business were still overlapped. Second, as almost the rule, printing and publishing was the family business. Third, all of those engaged in book production were Italians who, having conducted business on the opposite coast of the Adriatic Sea, decided to venture into business in Dalmatia, too. Obviously, an underdeveloped literary market in Dalmatia offered promising opportunities. Furthermore, some of them, such as the Battara and Rougier families in Zadar, Martecchini in Dubrovnik or Piperata in Split, gained considerable success in bookselling, too, which means that all of them were involved both in the business of production and dissemination of books. Such business, however, had to face the repressive politics of Chancellor Metternich (1809–1848) and his severe system of censorship, which affected, though not always with complete effectiveness,<sup>12</sup> the entire system of production, dissemination and consumption of the printed word all over the Austrian Empire, including Dalmatia.<sup>13</sup>

The aim of this article is to investigate the character of book production in Dalmatia from 1815 when Dalmatia became a part of the Austrian Empire till the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (the period dominated by censorship) by examining, analysing statistically and discussing the issues of book production intensity and (dis)continuity as well as its subject and genre variety and/or uniformity. The analysis is based on a database resulting from archival research as well as from consulting many bibliographical sources and library catalogues.<sup>14</sup>

5 HOUSTON, Robert Allan. *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: culture and education 1500–1800*. 1st. ed. London and New York, 1988, p. 142.

6 Ibid., 157.

7 Ibid., 158.

8 More about the history of the printing house see in: MULJAČIĆ, Žarko. O prvoj dubrovačkoj tiskari. *Anali Historijskog Instituta u Dubrovniku*, 1956, vol. 4–5, p. 583–612; MULJAČIĆ, Žarko. O drugoj dubrovačkoj tiskari. *Anali Historijskog Instituta u Dubrovniku*, 1966, vol. 10–11, p. 309–332; ČUČIĆ, Vesna. Prvi tiskari u Dubrovniku s popisom tiskane građe, p. 108–158.

9 More about the history of printing in Zadar see in: BERIĆ, Dušan. Prvi štampari i prve hrvatske knjige u Zadru. *Narodna knjiga*, 1949, vol. 2, no. 8, p. 26–30; GALIĆ, Pavao. Knjige prvog zadarskog tiskara Fracassa u Naučnoj biblioteci u Zadru, p. 37–41; DEŠPALJ, Mario. Zadarski tiskar Antonio Luigi Battara, *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske*, 1972, no. 18, p. 119–123; GALIĆ, Pavao. *Povijest zadarskih tiskara*. 1st ed. Zagreb, 1979.

10 Some bibliographical sources record books published in the printing house Oliveti as early as 1836. See, for instance: *Programma dell' I. R. Ginnasio completo di prima classe in Zara alla fine dell'anno scolastico 1860–1861*. Zadar, 1855–, *Programma dell'i .r. Ginnasio Superiore di Zara pubblicata dalla direzione ginnasiale alla fine dell'anno scolastico 1899–1900*, Zadar, 1880–.

11 More about the history of printing in Split see in: BARAS, Frano. Dva dokumenta o prvoj splitskoj tiskari. *Kulturna baština*, 1978, no. 7/8, p. 81–84; *Tiskarska i izdavačka djelatnost u Splitu 1812–1918: katalog izložbe privedene u Pinakoteci Franjevačkog samostana Gospe od Zdravlja do 29. rujna do 7. listo-*

*pada 1992*. 1st ed. Split, 1992. p. 25–63.

12 Private libraries' stocks, censorship documents and wills are sources which perhaps best suggest that books of forbidden content landed into the hands of Dalmatian readers as well. For those who were determined enough, it was always possible to get desired books in spite of censorship. It has to be kept in mind that the geostrategic position and fairly well-developed maritime relations with other countries undoubtedly made Dalmatia a fertile soil for the development of illegal channels through which forbidden books were often being imported into the region, and then deep into the Danube area, Vienna and Pest. More about censorship and forbidden books in Dalmatia see in: PEDERIN, Ivan. *Austrijska cenzura od 1810. do 1848. i njezin utjecaj na razvitak knjižnica u Dalmaciji*. *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske*, 1987, no. 30, p. 19–44; PEDERIN, Ivan. *Austrijska cenzura i nadzor nad tiskom u Dalmaciji*. 1st ed. Zadar, 2008.

13 Books should not diffuse liberal and revolutionary ideas, ideas of socialism, deism and materialism, irreligious inclinations and beliefs, etc. In short, nothing could be published which might threaten accepted morality, political and religious authority. More about the attitude of the Austrian authorities towards various political ideologies and philosophical ideas as well as various genres of literature see in: PEDERIN, Ivan. Odnos austrijske cenzure prema evropskim književnostima, filozofiji, novinstvu i političkoj ideologiji. *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i jezik*, 1984, vol. 32, no. 2, p. 201–228.

14 Sources were collected in a single bibliography: LAKUŠ, Jelena. *Izdavačka i tiskarska djelatnost u*

## BOOK PRODUCTION IN NUMBERS

Compared with some European countries, book publishing in Dalmatia was quite restricted in numbers. It was oscillating ranging from about 10 or even less to around 30 or 35 titles per year, reaching only twice more than 35 titles. The early 1820s witnessed particularly low production. While in 1819, 18 titles were published, in 1820, only 6 titles were recorded, which was most likely a result of the censorship imposed by the authorities, frightened by the danger of the revolutionary Carbonari movement<sup>15</sup> on the Apennine peninsula that affected Dalmatia as well.<sup>16</sup> From the middle of the 1820s, book publishing grew significantly witnessing even 36 titles in 1826 and 39 titles in 1838 (Chart 1). However, in comparison with most of the Western European countries of the age, book production in Dalmatia was still quite poor. For instance, towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century somewhere between two and five million of books a year were printed in Germany alone.<sup>17</sup> The number of books published each year in England during the period 1800 to 1870 was expressed in thousands and it even reveals an impressive upward curve to the mid-1850s, ranging from around 2,000 titles in 1800 to more than 8,000 titles in the 1850s.<sup>18</sup> France could boast about 900 titles in 1785 while in 1798 the recorded production was as many as 1,500 titles.<sup>19</sup> Dalmatia did not reach that number even throughout the long period of 35 years from 1815 to 1850, producing less than 1,000 titles during the entire period. Therefore, while in most of Western Europe book production began to grow significantly towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, maintaining such tendency in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as well, book production in Dalmatia was still quite limited.

Although perhaps culturally most developed, with the literary tradition dated back to the age of the Renaissance, Dubrovnik, with its share of 22 percent (198 titles) in the total book production and on average only 5 to 10 titles produced per



Chart 1. Intensity of book production in Dalmatia (1815–1850)

year, was not the leading printing and publishing centre. It is even more astonishing, having in mind that it was here that the first printing house in the region was established.<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, in spite of the fact that in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Dubrovnik began losing the status of the principal literary and cultural centre on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, in the 1820s its cultural importance revived to a certain extent. One sign of this was that its printing house of the family Martecchini, the only printing house in Dubrovnik, started to publish the most valuable works of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries Croatian, mainly Dubrovnik, literary heritage, beginning in 1826 with Ivan Gundulić (1589–1638), widely recognized Croatian Baroque poet and dramatist, “whose epic poem *Osman* <...> first published in 1826 <...> was the outstanding achievement of the Renaissance and Baroque flowering of art and literature that gave Dubrovnik the name of the “South Slav Athens”.<sup>21</sup> Martecchini had been considering the idea of publishing *Osman* for more than twenty years and then, in 1826, he had finally decided to do so, encouraged also by the trustworthy intellectuals of the age.<sup>22</sup> In addition to *Osman*, in 1826, 17 titles more were recorded. It was predominantly the panegyric poetry. In 1828, 12 titles were recorded, and in 1838, 13 titles, which were in addition to 1826 the peak years of book production in Dubrovnik. These were also primarily the panegyric verses to which we can only add several works by Ivan Gundulić and a few booklets of spiritual provenance. In general, however, except these three years (1826, 1828 and 1838), the publishing output in Dubrovnik was very modest in numbers, witnessing only a few books per year.

*Dalmaciji (Zadar, Split i Dubrovnik) u prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća (1815–1850): bibliografija monografskih i serijskih publikacija – građa.* 1st ed. Split, 2005. However, the bibliography comprises only books. Proclamations, advertisements and leaflets, existing in great numbers, are not included.

15 CARBONARI: Italian secret society members. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica* [accessed 15 December 2015]. Access through Internet: <<http://www.britannica.com/topic/Carbonari>>.

16 OBAD, Stijepo. O karbonarima u Dalmaciji. *Zadarska revija*, 1975, vol. 24, no. 1, p. 96–99.

17 HOUSTON, Robert Allan. *Literacy in Early Modern Europe*, p. 157.

18 SECORD, James A. *Victorian Sensation. The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*. 1st ed. Chicago and London, 2000, p. 31.

19 DHOMBRES, Jean. Books: Reshaping Sci-

ence. In DARNTON, Robert and ROCHE, Daniel. *Revolution in Print. The Press in France 1775–1800*. Berkeley, 1989, p. 178.

20 As mentioned, the first printing house in Dubrovnik was founded by the Venetian Carlo Antonio Occhi in 1783. When in 1787 he went bankrupt and died, his typographer, Andrea Trevisan, took over his business. When in 1801 Andrea Trevisan died, the printing and publishing business in Dubrovnik started the family Martecchini who ran that business till the 1870s.

21 CRNKOVIĆ, Gordana P. Gundulić, Ivan. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica* [accessed 15 December 2015]. Access through Internet: <<http://www.britannica.com/biography/Ivan-Gundulic>>.

22 *Letteratura Slava: versione libera dell'Osmanide, poema illirico di Giovanni Fr. Gondola, patrizio di Ragusa, colla di lui vita scritta del Padre Francesco Maria Appendini*. Dubrovnik, 1827, p. 5–6.

Therefore, the leading printing and publishing centre was Zadar, the administrative and political centre of the region, with its share in the total book production of almost 60 percent (544 titles). From 1823, when Giovanni Demarchi, unsatisfied with his business in Split, moved to Zadar, the two printing houses (Battara and Demarchi) were being competitors fighting for the place on the publishing market.<sup>23</sup> However, in general, book production of the Battara printing house was larger than that one of the Demarchi printing house. During most of the period, the production levels in Zadar ranged from about 10 to 20 titles per year. The largest number of titles (26) was published in 1838, as well as in 1839, 1840 and 1846 when the production levels reached 23 titles. These years witnessed that not only panegyric poetry was still popular in publishing, but also dramas intended for performing in the theatre, a few pastoral letters and a few books that glorified national history and culture, the last being slightly increasing in the 1840s. These were the beginnings of the national revival that Dalmatia and the neighbouring Croatia and Slavonia were experiencing at the time.<sup>24</sup>

Finally, although Split possessed three printing houses, of which two worked simultaneously (Piperata and Oliveti), its book production was far more limited than that of Zadar or of Dubrovnik, comprising only around 15 percent (137 titles) of the total book production in Dalmatia. Books printed in the printing house of the Piperata family, established in the early 1820s, comprised more than a half of the total book production in Split. The Oliveti printing house's production output was much smaller, which was a result of the fact that it started the business only in the early 1840s, at the end of the period covered by this research. Overall, the annual production level in Split was extremely low, ranging from only 1 to 5 titles

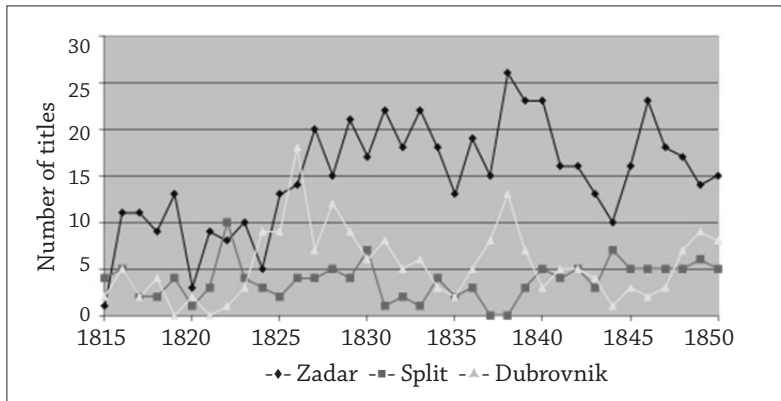


CHART 2. Intensity of book production in Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik (1815–1850)



per year, reaching only in 1822 10 titles, of which a half of that number was the panegyric poetry.

Thus, book production in all three printing and publishing centres was similarly restricted in numbers oscillating throughout the entire period. However, the publishing output in Zadar, as the administrative and political centre of the region and the centre of the Zadar archbishopric, outnumbered the other two publishing centres (Chart 2).

## IN A TRADITIONAL FRAME: BOOK PRODUCTION, SUBJECTS AND GENRES

Book production was, however, restricted not only in numbers but also in the variety of subjects and genres, remaining in a traditional frame. The analysis according to subjects<sup>25</sup> shows that the humanities, comprising literature

23 Having moved from Split in 1823, Giovanni Demarchi was trying to gain from the government the permission to take over the publishing duties given to Antonio Luigi's widow, Marina Battara, convinced that she was not capable of running the printing business as good as his husband. Eventually, he was successful in his continual requests and in 1825 his printing house became „governmental“, in spite of Marina Battara's attempts to prolong her contract with the government. That year Giovanni Demarchi ran the business with quite a success. Simultaneously, no single title was published in the Battara printing house. It is possible that the Battara printing house was even closed for a short period of time. It seems, however, that in the early 1830s the Battara printing house began recovering and soon gained its previous status. As Galić claimed, the government was not inclined to monopolization of the printing and publishing business and thus decided to make contracts with both printing houses. GALIĆ, Pavao. *Knjige prvog zadarskog tiskara Fracassa u Naučnoj biblioteci u Zadru*, p. 27–30, 39–40, KATIĆ PILJUŠIĆ, Mirisa. *Izdanja tiskare Marine Battara od 1817. do 1824. godine. Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 2007, no. 49, p. 526 [accessed 30 December 2015]. Access through Internet: <<http://hrcak.srce.hr/index>

*php?show=clanak&cid\_clanak\_jezik=42268*>.

24 STANČIĆ, Nikša. *Narodni preporod u Dalmaciji*. In GROSS, Mirjana. *Društveni razvoj u Hrvatskoj od 16. stoljeća do početka 20. stoljeća*. Zagreb, 1981, p. 231–281.

25 For the purpose of analysis books were in the database put in several subject categories, mostly scientific disciplines: natural sciences, medical sciences, technical sciences, biotechnical sciences, social sciences, humanities, society and culture (comprising, for instance, library and reading room rules or confirmation of noble status), military (national guard or police rules and regulations), entertainment (gambling rules and regulations), other (not belonging to any of these categories) and unknown (difficult to identify). Geography, as the discipline which is forming a bridge between the natural and social sciences, was put in the natural sciences. Division used in the database is, of course, rough because sometimes it was difficult to determine in what category we should put some books. For instance, a book *La Dalmazia descritta...: con 48 tavole miniate rappresentanti i principali costumi nazionali* by Francesco Carrara was put in ethnology (humanities) although it could be put to geography (natural sciences) as well. Therefore, the decision about where to put each such book was determined

(490), religion, theology and philosophy (112), history (21), philology and language (15), rhetoric (8) archaeology (5), and ethnology (5), made up more than 70 percent of the overall production, while all other disciplines, appeared in insignificant percentages. For instance, technical sciences with only 1 title in architecture made up only 0.1 percent of the total book production, natural sciences, comprising geography (4), physics (3), biology and botany (2), geology (1), and mathematics (1), made up 1.2 percent and biotechnical sciences, comprising agriculture and cattle breeding (14), made up 1.6 percent of the overall production. Only medical sciences, consisting of medicine and health (34) and pharmacy (4), with 4.2 percent, acquired a more significant place in the book production. These were mostly different medical texts and health advice intended for the large segments of the population, giving them information that might be of use in their everyday life and care for their health. Social sciences, comprising economics (45), education (36), law (27) and politics (7), accounted for 12.7 percent of the total book production, of which education (mainly primers, school textbooks and conduct books) was represented in a significant number. Almost equally represented works dealing with economic issues were usually taxes and customs inspections, regulations and statutes for the savings banks and pawnshops, regulations dealing with the market issues, etc. Only 7 publications belonging to the field of politics testify to the strength of the censorship mechanism, which disabled the free expression of thoughts (Table 1).

More detailed examination of the humanities, however, shows that literature, at almost 55 percent, made up more than a half of the overall book production

TABLE 1. Book production according to subjects (1815–1850)

	Zadar	Split	Dubrovnik	Unknown	Total	Total in %
Natural Sciences	8	1	2	–	11	1.2
Medical Sciences	31	2	3	2	38	4.2
Biotechnical Sciences	11	2	–	1	14	1.6
Technical Sciences	1	–	–	–	1	0.1
Social Sciences	91	14	6	4	115	12.7
Humanities	354	110	177	15	656	72.7
Society and Culture	12	4	5	–	21	2.3
Military	4	–	1	–	5	0.6
Entertainment	–	1	–	–	1	0.1
Other	24	1	–	1	26	2.9
Unknown	8	2	4	–	14	1.6
Total	544	137	198	23	902	100

TABLE 2. Book production in humanities (1815–1850)

Humanities								
	History	Archaeology	Ethnology	Literature	Philology and Language	Religion, Theology and Philosophy	Rhetoric	Total
Zadar	9	3	4	267	8	57	6	354
Split	5	2	–	76	3	23	1	110
Dubrovnik	6	–	–	137	4	29	1	177
Unknown	1	–	1	10	–	3	–	15
Dalmatia	21	5	5	490	15	112	8	656
%	2.3	0.6	0.6	54.3	1.6	12.4	0.9	72.7

(Table 2). It was mostly the poetry (43 percent of the total book production), particularly the panegyric poetry and the “court” panegyric poetry celebrating the Austrian Emperor and all other members of the royal family on the occasion of their birthdays or other important family events. Such verses, often without any artistic value and often written at the request of the authorities (thus not necessarily expressing the authors’ personal beliefs and convictions), made up even 38 percent of the total book production. However, the panegyric poetry shows its decline from the middle of the 1840s.<sup>26</sup> Drama, usually intended for performing in the theatre, was represented with around 7 percent, suggesting a vivid theatre life. However, dramas were also often dedicated to the Austrian Emperor.<sup>27</sup> Biographical studies, although only at 2 percent of the overall book production, deserve to be mentioned as well. Focusing on the lives of important persons, mostly from Croatian history and mostly literary men, biographies testify to who at the time was

on a case-by-case basis. If it was not possible to put a book in any of these subject categories, such book was put in the category “other” or sometimes “unknown”, if it was not seen *de visu*.

26 More about the panegyric poetry (its character and language, as well as its share in each printing and publishing centre) see in: LAKUŠ, Jelena. Hrvatska pisana baština kao povijesni izvor: prigodna poezija i Austrijsko Carstvo u I. pol. 19. st. u Dalmaciji. *Kroatologija*, 2010, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 135–152 [accessed 30 December 2015]. Access through Internet: <[http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id\\_clanak\\_jezik=106824](http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=106824)>.

27 Theatre pieces were written primarily by the Italian authors. The most popular were Felice Romani, Salvatore Cammarano, Paolo Pola, Gaetano Rossi, Giacomo Ferretti, Luigi Romanelli, Giovanni Emmanuele Bidera, Carlo Pepoli, Gian Carlo Casanova, Andrea Leone Tottola, and Domenico Gilardoni. Two of them were Croats – Ivan Gundulić and Junije Palmotić. The majority of their works were published in Zadar (in the printing house Demarchi in particular), some in Dubrovnik, and only four in Split.

considered important enough by both authors and publishers to deserve published biography.<sup>28</sup> As the novels concern, only two were recorded<sup>29</sup> (Table 3).

TABLE 3. Literature by printing and publishing centres (1815–1850)

	Literature						Total
	Poetry	Epic poem	Drama	Biography	Novels	Itinerary	
Zadar	206	6	43	9	2	2	267
Split	68	2	4	2	–	–	76
Dubrovnik	107	8	13	8	–	–	137
Unknown	9	–	1	–	–	–	10
Dalmatia	390	16	61	19	2	2	490
%	43.2	1.8	6.8	2.1	0.2	0.2	54.3

In addition to literature, only works on religion, theology and philosophy constituted a significant part (around 12 percent) of the book production (Table 4). These were mostly catechisms and prayer books, as well as religious sermons and pastoral letters whose number even slightly increased in the 1840s. Religious revival that was in all over Europe of the time at its sunset towards the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>30</sup> among Catholics in Dalmatia continued,<sup>31</sup> primarily manifesting itself in an extensive pastoral activity.<sup>32</sup> However, it also manifested itself in publishing works of religious and spiritual provenance, which served to revive religious life: prayer books,<sup>33</sup> pastoral letters,<sup>34</sup> and even some biographies.<sup>35</sup> The authorities, both religious and secular, did not miss any possible opportunity to remind the population that the Gospels and other religious and moral works in every possible sense threw shade light on each secular product of man's mind.<sup>36</sup>

TABLE 4. Religion, theology and philosophy by printing and publishing centres (1815–1850)

	Religious Sermons and Pastoral Letters	Religious and Theological Essays	Prayers, Prayer Books and Catechisms	Total
Zadar	21	7	29	57
Split	6	5	12	23
Dubrovnik	10	–	19	29
Unknown	2	–	1	3
Dalmatia	39	12	61	112
%	4.3	1.3	6.8	12.4

28 These were, for instance, a Dubrovnik poet Ivan Gundulić (1589–1638), archbishops and writers Andrija Zmajević (1628–1694) and Vicko Zmajević (1670–1745), a Croatian Franciscan Toma Babić (1680–1750), a historian Ivan Katalinić (1779–1847), an Italian scholar living in Dubrovnik Francesco Maria Appendini (1768–1837), poets and translators Tommaso Chersa (1782–1826), Đuro Ferić (1739–1820) and Bernard Zamanja (1735–1820), and many other prominent Croatian individuals. Among them, there were also, for instance, a holy woman from Tyrol Maria von Mörl (1812–1868) or Maria Malibran (1808–1836), one of the most famous opera singers of the 19th century.

29 The first one is a novel based on the legend of the Kaštela (*Kaštela* is an agglomeration of seven small towns in Dalmatia, located northwest of the city of Split) fiancées Miljenko and Dobrila and their romantic love (Zadar, 1833) by Marko Kažotić (1804–1842), known as “Dalmatian Walter Scott”. The other is a historical-romantic novel *Il notturno assalto dei sessanta contro tre seguito in Dobrota di Cattaro nel mese di Maggio 1847: racconto storico-romantico* (Zadar, 1848) by Marko Antun Vidović (1795–1868), known also as a translator of Gundulić’s *Osman* into Italian.

30 The revival already began, as opposed to the ideas of the Enlightenment, in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. JEDIN, Hubert (ed.). *Velika povijest Crkve VI/1. Crkva između revolucije i restauracije*. 1st ed. Zagreb, 1987, p. 80–81, 105, 238–239.

31 HOŠKO, Franjo Emanuel. *Negdašnji hrvatski katekizmi*. Zagreb, 1985, p. 158–159.

32 For instance, in late 1824 it was announced that a “Holy Year” begun. All Catholic believers were invited to make a spiritual journey to Rome. By his pastoral letter the Zadar archbishop Josip Frane Paula Novak (1823–1843) invited the faithful to visit Holy Rome in order to revive their faith. He also declared the beginning of the Holy Season, which would last for six months. In that period, all believers were obliged to visit the Church at least once a day per fifteen days in order to gain liberation from the sins committed. NOVAK, Josip Frane. *Josip-Francesco Novak po milosti Boxjoj, i*

*svetoga sidalista apostolskoga arkebiskup od Zadra svomu poljubljenomu staddu pozdrav i blagoslov*. Zadar, 1826.

33 For instance, in 1836 there was published in Zadar *Novena e preghiere in onore dell’immacolata concezione di Maria detta la Medaglia Miracolosa*. It was based on the story of a Catholic nun who had during the prayer a revelation in which she was told to make a medal in the honour of the Holy Mother. A medal was to be modelled according to a very detailed description given to her for the purpose of “reviving the faith so much weakened in this century.” A series of descriptions of how this miracle changed the lives of individuals served to inspire all the faithful. *Novena e preghiere in onore dell’immacolata concezione di Maria detta la Medaglia Miracolosa*. Zadar, 1836.

34 For instance, already mentioned pastoral letter *Josip-Francesco Novak po milosti Boxjoj, i svetoga sidalista apostolskoga arkebiskup od Zadra svomu poljubljenomu staddu pozdrav i blagoslov* by the Zadar archbishop Josip Frane Paula Novak (Zadar, 1826).

35 For instance, *Dogodovstjeno povidjenje xivota Mariè Mörl iz Kaldara* (1841), a biography of a holy woman from Tyrol, Maria von Mörl (1812–1868), who was shown as a model of deeply religious life. RICCARDI, Antonio. *Dogodovstjeno povidjenje xivota Mariè Mörl iz Kaldara*. Split, 1841. Originally, it was a work *Relazione storica di Maria Morl di Caldaro scritta da proposto Antonio Riccardi* (Milan, 1836). It was translated from Italian into Croatian by Andrija Stazić (1801–1872), a Croatian writer, lexicographer, linguist, teacher and adherent of Croatian national revival.

36 More on this see: LAKUŠ, Jelena. Čuvari javnog ćudoreda: crkveno-vjerska i pedagoška nastojanja oko oblikovanja čitateljskih navika hrvatske mladeži 19. stoljeća. *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 2013, vol. 71, p. 103–127 [accessed 30 December 2015]. Access through Internet: <[http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id\\_clanak\\_jezik=160238](http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=160238)>.

Finally, except literature (around 55 percent) as well as religion, theology and philosophy (around 12 percent), all other humanistic subjects (history, archaeology, ethnology, philology and language, rhetoric) were represented with less than 5 percent in the overall book production.

Such book production, confined to panegyric poetry, books of religious provenance, dramas, and some important works of the Croatian literary heritage, was typical for all three publishing centres. A closer look at the book production in Zadar showed that the panegyric poetry, particularly the “court” panegyric poetry, was predominant, making up almost 40 percent of the total production in the city.<sup>37</sup> It was followed by the works of religious and spiritual provenance (mainly pastoral letters, religious sermons, prayer books and catechisms) with around 10 percent, accounting for a half of the total production of religious works in Dalmatia. It is not surprising since from 1828 Zadar became the ecclesiastical centre of the region and was raised to the level of the archbishopric. It certainly induced production of works of spiritual, devotional and religious nature. It was a common practice for archbishops, for instance, to address by published pastoral letters to the faithful on the occasion of their promotion to archbishops or in some other occasions they were considered significant enough to be dealt with, usually for the purpose of keeping and/or reviving the faith of the faithful or for giving them religious and moral instructions.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, various secular instructions made up around 9 percent, dramas (mostly dedicated to the Austrian Emperor) around 8 percent,<sup>39</sup> and secular works around 6 percent.<sup>40</sup> Secular works, increasing in the 1840s and glorifying national history, language and culture in general, were published in spite of Metternich’s censorship because Metternich was neither against the development of Croatian patriotism nor against Croatian literature but he only feared the development of leftist patriotism, being aware that the issue of language and literature was closely connected with the liberal ideas of the age, as well as with too close a relationship between Croatian liberals and Italian ones, who were considered particularly dangerous.<sup>41</sup> Finally, in general, book production in both printing and publishing houses (Battara and Demarchi) was very similar with only minor differences. These differences, however, without consulting additional sources (for instance, documents on business operations of both printing houses, if exist) and more in-depth research cannot be completely explained.

Furthermore, book production in Dubrovnik was quite similar, although possessing some peculiar and interesting characteristics. Panegyric poetry with its share of even 54 percent made up the largest portion of the production, too.<sup>42</sup> However, unlike the practice in Zadar, where panegyric poetry was focused on the Emperor and members of the royal family, in Dubrovnik it was dedicated to

members of the Dubrovnik highest noble social circles on the occasions of their birthdays, marriages, deaths or other important events related to their families. It was most likely a result of the strong memory of its population of the independent Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) which had ceased to exist in the nearest past (1808). Around 15 percent of the total book production in Dubrovnik was based on the works of religious and spiritual provenance, then dramas with around 7 percent and secular works (mostly linguistic) with around 5 percent.<sup>43</sup> As mentioned above, in 1826 *Osman* by Ivan Gundulić came to light. *Osman* was also published in Italian, in 1827 and 1838. Martecchini hoped that the Italian version will be widely accepted by the Italians for the beauty of the language and the content itself.<sup>44</sup> However, the Italian version was probably also read by those Croats who possessed a better command of the Italian language and were not able to read the Croatian original, which was at the time very often the case. In the following years,

37 The most popular authors were Vlaho Getaldić (1788–1872), one of the most fruitful Croatian Latin authors of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, well-known as a translator of *Osman* by Ivan Gundulić from Croatian into Latin hexameters, and Nikola Jakšić (1762–1841), also known as a translator of *Osman* from Croatian into Italian.

38 For instance: NOVAK, Josip Frane. *Josip Frane od Paule Novak po millosti Boxjoj i apostolskoga sidalista arkibiskup zadarski carkovnjacim i svemu puku provovirnomu pocimljujuchi vladanje naddarxave svoje Godista Gospodinova 1823 na 25. miseca svibnja*. Zadar, 1823; NOVAK, Josip Frane. *Josephus Franciscus de Paula Novak dei et apostolicae sedis gratia archiepiscopus Jadrensis ad Clerum et populum suum fidelem quum suae archidioeceseos gubernationem anno Dom. 1823. die 25. mensis maji auspicaretur*. Zadar, 1823; NOVAK, Josip Frane. *Josip Frane od Paule Novak po millosti Boxjoj i apostolskoga sidalista arkibiskup zadarski carkovnjacim i svemu puku provovirnomu pocimljujuchi vladanje naddarxave svoje Godista Gospodinova 1823 na 25. miseca svibnja*. Zadar, 1823.

39 Among authors one can find, for instance, Giovanni Franceschi, Felice Romani, Geatano Rossi, Salvatore Cammarano, Giuseppe Ferrari-Cupilli and many others.

40 These were, for instance, *La Dalmazia descritta* (1846, 1849) by a historian and archaeologist

Francesco Carrara (1812–1854), a work that refers to Dalmatia and its people from various aspects – historical, ethnographical and geographical, then an ethnographic work *Običaji kod Morlakah u Dalmacii* (1846) by a historian and archaeologist Šime Ljubić (1822–1896), *Il Mare Adriatico descritto ed illustrato con notizie topografiche, idro-geologiche, fisiche, etnographiche e storiche* (1848) by Guglielmo Menis (1793–1853), Carrara's collection of Dalmatian national poems *Canti del popolo dalmata* (1849), etc.

41 PEDERIN, Ivan. Odnos austrijske cenzure prema evropskim književnostima, filozofiji, novinstvu i političkoj ideologiji, p. 201–228.

42 The most significant authors of such verses were Ivan Bizar (1782–1833), Antonio Chersa (1779–1838), one of the last members of the Dubrovnik circle of Latin authors, a Dubrovnik Franciscan Albertino Beninj (1789–1838) and Luka Stulli (1772–1828).

43 For instance, a grammar of “Illyrian” (Croatian) language *Principj elementary della grammatica illirica premesi al dizionario italiano-latino-illirico* (1837) by a Jesuit and lexicographer of Italian origin Ardelio Della Bella (1655–1737) and *Grammatica della lingua illirica* (1808, 1828, 1838, 1848) by Francesco Maria Appendini (1768–1837).

44 *Letteratura Slava: versione libera dell'Osmanide*, p. 5–6.

some other Gundulić's works came to light, all of them in Dubrovnik, and some of them even several times,<sup>45</sup> as well as the works of other equally significant Croatian authors.<sup>46</sup> In spite of that, generally speaking, the publishing output in Dubrovnik was very modest in subjects and genres.

Very similar to the book production in Dubrovnik and Zadar was the book production in Split where the "court" panegyric poetry prevailed as well (around 50 percent). Since the panegyric poetry began its decline in the 1840s, when the Oliveti printing house was established, it was more typical for the Piperata printing house. Next came the works of religious provenance, at around 17 percent, and secular works at around 9 percent.<sup>47</sup>

Although a number of secular works, particularly those that glorified national history and culture, grew towards the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in all three printing and publishing centres, their number was still very limited. By contrast, Europe at the time witnessed the growth of secular works and rapid decline of works on theology and religion already from the beginning of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Simultaneously, the percentage of modern secular subjects such as geography, natural history, politics, and above all *belles-lettres* increased. A similar pattern occurred almost everywhere in Western Europe. The Leipzig book fair catalogue in Germany, for instance, indicates that in 1740, 19 percent of titles were of the religious character, in 1770 it was 11 percent, and 6 percent in 1800. On the other hand, in 1740 *belles-lettres* had constituted only 6 percent of books at the fairs, while in 1770 it increased to 16.5 percent, and by 1800 to 21.45 percent. This increase was most obvious in the case of the novel, whose market share increased from 2.6 percent of the book supply in 1740 to 11.7 percent in 1800. Novels, dramas and poetry together increased from 6 to 16 percent and then reached 21 percent in 1800.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, while the books of liturgy and piety and all other similar categories made up a half of the total production of Paris printers at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in the 1780s they comprised only a tenth of the total production. The proportion of law, history and *belles-lettres* remained fairly stable while the share of the arts and sciences doubled between 1720 and 1780.<sup>49</sup> Finally, although the appeal of religious material remained steady between 1746 and 1780, entertaining literature increased in popularity in England as well.<sup>50</sup> Religious publications were thus seriously outnumbered by other secular topics in most of Western Europe. The trend emerging at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century continued in the early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, too. However, such a trend, with only a few exceptions, bypassed Dalmatia. Its book production remained in a traditional framework. Panegyric poetry in particular, as well as religious and moral topics, continued to prevail suggesting that moral education and spiritual knowledge were still the main purposes assigned to books.<sup>51</sup> Such purpose



was in particular supported by the ecclesiastics who were traditionally taking care of the moral and faith of their flock and who were thus often expressing their fears that heretical, anti-clerical, lascivious (immoral) or merely secular books would lead to a general process of secularisation and de-Christianisation of society.<sup>52</sup> The state (secular) authorities were, however, equally concerned about the issue. They believed that the secularisation and the crisis in ethics led the faithful from the demands of the deeper religious life, teaching them to be disobedient not only to God but also to the secular rulers.<sup>53</sup>

45 These were, for instance, a poem *Suze sina razmetnoga* (1828, 1838), religious verses *Pjesan od veličanstva bosciéh* (1828, 1838) and *Sedam pjesnji pokornieh* (1828, 1838), a drama *Ariadna* (1829, 1837), a collection of love poetry *Ljubovnik sramežljiv* (1829, 1838), panegyric verses *Pjesan visini privedroj Ferdinanda II. velikoga knesa od Toskane* (1829, 1838), an elegy *U smart Marije Kalandrice* (1829, 1837), dramas *Diana i Armida* (1837), *Dubravka*, (1837) and *Proserpina* (1843).

46 These were, for instance, a poet Ignjat Đurđević (1675–1737) with his poems *L'Ombra di Ovidio* (1826) and *Marunko* (1839), a Franciscan Toma Babić (1680–1750) with his spiritual and devotional songs, observations and moral maxims collected in the work *Czvit razlika mirisa duhovnoga*, published for the first time in Venice in 1726 and then republished many times in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The first edition in Dalmatia was published in Dubrovnik in 1829, followed by two others, one dated from 1839, published in Dubrovnik, and the other from 1849, published in Zadar. Of equal importance are Andrija Kačić Miošić's (1704–1760) works *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* (1826, 1831, 1838, 1839, 1846, 1850) and *Korabljica* (1833, 1836). *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga*, written in prose and verses and dealing with the history of the Slavic peoples from the antiquity to his age, was published for the first time in Venice in 1756. However, in the following decades, it gained throughout Croatian-speaking lands such an enormous popularity that was reprinted many times, in Dubrovnik in 1826, 1831, 1839 and 1850, and in Zadar in 1838 and 1846.

47 These were, for instance, historical works

*Memorie degli avvenimenti successi dopo la caduta della Repubblica Veneta* (1841) by Ivan Katalinić, *Epoche storiche di Spalato* (1844) and *Salona e Spalato* (1848) by Francesco Carrara, or a biographical work *Uomini illustri di Spalato* (1846).

48 WITTMANN, Reinhard. Was there a Reading Revolution at the End of the Eighteenth Century? In CAVALLO, Guglielmo and CHARTIER, Roger. *A History of Reading in the West*. Amherst, 1999, p. 302; HOUSTON, Robert Allan. *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: culture and education 1500–1800*, p. 190; BLACK, Jeremy. *18<sup>th</sup> century Europe 1700–1789*. 1st ed. London, 1992, p. 257.

49 CHARTIER, Roger. *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*. Durham; London, 1991, p. 71; DHOMBRES, Jean. *Books: Reshaping Science*, p. 177–202.

50 FERGUS, Jan. Provincial servants' reading in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. In RAVEN, James, SMALL, Helen and TADMOR, Naomi. *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*. Cambridge, 1996, p. 217.

51 MANGUEL, Alberto. *A History of Reading*. Flamingo and London, 1996, p. 114–115.

52 WITTMANN, Reinhard. Was there a Reading Revolution at the End of the Eighteenth Century?, p. 295.

53 More detailed discussion of the issue see in: LAKUŠ, Jelena. *Cultivating Obedient Citizens and Good Christian Families: Church and Austrian Empire in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century*. In FAUVE-CHAMOIX, Antoinette and BOLOVAN, Ioan. *Families in Europe between the 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries: From the Traditional Model to the Contemporary PACS*. Cluj-Napoca, 2009, p. 555–574.

As seen, book production in Dalmatia in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century still remained both in numbers and content behind much of Western Europe. With the predominant panegyric poetry, particularly the “court” panegyric poetry, dedicated to the Emperor and other members of the royal family, and a considerable amount of prayer books and catechisms, pastoral letters and religious sermons, book production in Dalmatia still remained in a traditional frame. Publishing the most admirable works of Croatian literary heritage and some historical and linguistic works of national importance, owners of the printing offices and publishing houses, all Italians, undeniably proved that they were adjusting their publishing strategy to a new age of the revived national sentiment beginning in the 1840s. Except that, however, there was no other significant publishing initiative. Metternich’s rigorous censorship which constrained and regulated not only book production but also the entire system of dissemination and consumption of the printed word was undoubtedly one of the most important reasons for such poor publishing output. The other reason was certainly a fact that the religious revival, which was in Europe at its sunset towards the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, continued among Catholics in Dalmatia in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, primarily manifesting itself not only in vivid pastoral activity but also in publishing the various works of religious and spiritual provenance. As mentioned, the religious authorities claimed that moral education and spiritual knowledge should be the main purpose assigned to the printed word, considering it to be their sacred duty to safeguard the purity of faith and to take care of the moral of their faithful. The state authorities wished by means of the printed word to direct beliefs and attitudes of their citizens, keeping them within preferred moral and political framework that led towards loyalty and obedience. Finally, although statistical data do allow us to draw some conclusions about the character of book publishing in Dalmatia of the time, consulting some other sources, such as archival documents about the publishing business of each printing and publishing house (if exist), would certainly give a more complete account of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century book production in Dalmatia and reasons that led to such a traditional and conservative character.

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## TRADICIJU, RELIGIJOS IR DORINIO AUKLĖJIMO ĮTAKA XIX AMŽIAUS PRADŽIOS DALMATIJOS KNYGŲ LEIDYBAI

Jelena Lakuš

### Santrauka

Šiame straipsnyje nagrinėjamos knygų leidybos ypatybės Dalmatijoje nuo 1815 m., kai šalis tapo integralia Austrijos imperijos dalimi, iki XIX a. vidurio. Šiuo laikotarpiu buvo įsigalėjusi represinė kanclerio Klemenso Meternicho (1809–1848) politika, pasižymėjusi ypač griežta cenzūra. Leidybos verslas vis dar buvo susipynęs su spausdinimo veikla. Leidybos darbai buvo riboti – jie vyko

tik penkiose leidyklose, įsikūrusiose Zadare, Splite ir Dubrovnike. Straipsnyje pateikiami išsamaus tyrimo, vykdomo pagal du kriterijus – leidybos intensyvumą ir (ne)nutrūkstumą bei jos objektų ir žanrų įvairovę ir (ar) vienodumą – rezultatai. Atlikta analizė grindžiama duomenų baze, gauta archyvinio tyrimo būdu. Buvo remiamasi ir daugeliu bibliografinių šaltinių bei bibliotekų katalogais. Tyrimas parodė, kad, lyginant su to paties laikotarpio Vakarų Europos šalimis, kuriose metinė knygų leidybos apimtis siekė tūkstančius leidinių, leidybos skaičiai Dalmatijoje buvo gana menki. Knygų čia buvo leidžiama mažai, o ir jos nepasižymėjo dalykine ir temine įvairove. Vyraavo panegirinė poezija, ypač „rūmų“, skirta imperatoriui ir kitiems karališkosios šeimos nariams. Nemažai buvo leidžiama ir religinio bei dvasinio pobūdžio kūrinių (ganytojų laišakai, religinės knygos, maldaknygės ir katekizmai). Tai rodo, kad knygų leidyba Dalmatijoje vis dar nebuvo išsiveržusi iš tradicinių rėmų. Tokia konservatyvi tendencija neabejotinai turi būti siejama su griežta Meternicho cenzūra, kuri ribojo ir reguliavo ne tik knygų leidybą, bet ir visą spausdintinio žodžio platinimo ir vartojimo sistemą, taip pat religinį krašto Katalikų bažnyčios atgimimą. Bažnyčios institucijos teigė, kad dorinis auklėjimas ir dvasinės žinios vis dar išlieka pagrindiniu spausdintinio žodžio tikslu, o siekis apsaugoti tikėjimo grynumą ir rūpintis savo tikinčiųjų dora ir toliau išlieka šventa Bažnyčios pareiga. Kita vertus, valstybės institucijos siekė kreipti savo piliečių įsitikinimus ir požiūrius, kad šie nesikirstų su valstybei priimtina moralės ir politikos sistema, galiausiai užtikrinančia lojalumą ir paklusnumą. Autorė apibendrina tyrimą teigdamą, kad nors statistiniai duomenys ir leidžia daryti tam tikras išvadas apie nagrinėjamo laikotarpio knygų leidybos Dalmatijoje ypatybes, kitų šaltinių, pavyzdžiui, archyvinių dokumentų apie leidybos verslą kiekvienoje iš tuo metu egzistavusių spaustuvių ir leidyklų, paieška (jei tokių dokumentų yra) neabejotinai padėtų susidaryti išsamesnį vaizdą apie XIX a. knygų leidybą Dalmatijoje ir priešastis, lėmusias tokį tradicinį ir konservatyvų leidybos pobūdį.

*Įteikta 2016 m. vasario 19 d.*

*Priimta 2016 m. balandžio 16 d.*