ARTICLES

Architectures of Knowledge and Literary Tradition: A History of the Almanac in Croatia
Marija Dalbello

ABSTRACT. The history of the almanac in Croatia is reconstructed through primary research in bibliographic and archival sources. The almanac is a vehicle for knowledge communication in informal contexts, engaging both oral tradition and literary forms traceable to medieval literacy and ways of structuring knowledge. The history of the almanac in Croatia reflects the changing context of the book trade, literacy, and the evolution of language. Four main stages are identified: (1) the beginning of the annual almanac in the seventeenth century; astrological almanacs reflecting the sensibility of the Baroque period; (2) the Enlightenment’s stimulation of almanac publishing in the spirit of contemporary secular reforms in agriculture and education; (3) nineteenth- and twentieth-century almanac trade, showing complex and overlapping networks for the production, distribution and appropriation of

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printed almanacs; (4) roughly the end of World War II, when the almanac slowly moved out of the role of a popular mass medium and into specialized niches represented by regional, diaspora, and religious almanacs. [Article copies available for a fee from The Haworth Document Delivery Service: 1-800-HAWORTH. E-mail address: <getinfo@haworthpressinc.com> Website: <http://www.HaworthPress.com> © 2003 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved.]

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Gdje u kući nema dobrog koledara, tamo ima dosta i jada i kvara!
(The home without a good almanac is prone to bitterness and sorrow!)

—From Veliki ilustrovani zabavni koledar 1913

Ever since the seventeenth century, the almanac was associated with knowledge transmission in the context of domestic life, closely related to oral tradition and popular lore. At the time of its appearance in the seventeenth century, the annual almanac combined the features of the broadside calendar and book-length compilations of useful knowledge popular in the fifteenth and the sixteenth century. The farmer’s almanac and the annual compendia of data and statistics are specialized publications now. While the farmer’s almanac places the human world in the context of a natural cycle, the annual compendia of data and statistics provide an encyclopedic vision of the world built from facts—the ephemeral units of information that recombine to recreate successive architectures of rationality from year to year. The knowledge worlds that the almanacs brought to their readers over centuries changed along with the conditions in which the almanacs were created, distributed, and read. In one such reconstruction, this history of the almanac in Croatia also tells the history of the Croatian book trade, literary development, and the history of communication; it also reflects on the political, demographic, and social conditions that shaped Croatian textual traditions.

THE CROATIAN ALMANAC TRADITION

In Croatian, the term “kalendar” is commonly used to denote an almanac. The Croatian “kalendar” denotes an annual accompanied by a
calendar, as distinct from a yearbook, a gazetteer, a city directory, or a literary collection that gives an overview of the annual production of a literary movement. Almanacs designated for truly popular use do not appear in Croatia before the mid-seventeenth century, although they are found as part of service books and various miscellanies from the eleventh century on in the form of an expanded calendar. Calendars are also found in books of hours and prayer books intended for personal use as a result of the movement for the popularization of the calendar, tied to the Catholic Reformation and that movement’s attempts to spread the Gregorian calendar. The popular almanac flourishes in the nineteenth century as a surrogate of the daily press and mass-information media aimed at the common reader. In the twentieth century, the almanac undergoes a process of specialization, becoming targeted to a specific audience of readers.

Croatian literary tradition is fragmented by the modality of language. Namely, in addition to literacy in Latin, literature is written and published in three literary vernacular dialects (that some linguists consider to be distinct languages)—the Croatian kaikavian, ćakavian, and štokavian dialects. German as the language of administration is another strong linguistic modality for the Croatian literary tradition, as is Italian. These modalities have defined the networks of production, distribution, and consumption of texts. The almanac literacy is found within all of these modalities. In addition to that, the almanac has a long-standing connection to the contexts of textual transmission. The almanacs have come to symbolize textual tradition in which the boundary between orality and literacy is not distinct. Structuring of narrative to integrate oral genres and allow for recycling of texts into the genres of oral communication, reliance on visual displays, of lists, matrices, and registers, in addition to the generous use of images make these almanacs accessible to individuals at different levels of reading competence. One may identify four phases roughly corresponding to the four centuries of popular almanac publishing in Croatia:

- the annual almanacs in the seventeenth century
- the beginning of systematic publishing in the eighteenth century
- the golden age of the popular almanac in the nineteenth century
- the period of decline of the almanac in the twentieth century

This history of the Croatian almanac excludes the history of the Glagolitic calendar, and the calendar found as part of service books and miscellanies, which starts with the seventeenth century. The broadside,
the expanded calendar found in service books, and the perdurable and perpetual calendars, are also excluded from this discussion, which focuses on the almanac as we know it today, a book-like annual aimed at popular consumption. The earlier traditions are mentioned when they are considered relevant for understanding the almanac trade in a particular period.

The evidence for reconstruction of these periods in the almanac trade in Croatia comes from authoritative secondary sources, research of relevant collections, and a statistical analysis of the nineteenth and the twentieth century almanac trade. The early history of the almanac focuses on individual titles and publishers (due to the low preservation rates of the almanacs in general that prevent the study of trends and patterns based on bibliographical data). In contrast, a large number of titles issued in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries and the complexity of the almanac trade at that time called for a different strategy than the case study approach applied to the almanac trade of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Trends and patterns in the almanac trade were interpreted, using a database as a research tool. The database consisted of 650 titles compiled from authoritative bibliographic sources. Compiling the bibliographic data in a database format enabled outputs of indexes of trends and patterns, which were presented in the form of tables, and other reports to support the analysis for the almanacs of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. This study does not claim to be a comprehensive bibliographic overview of the almanac trade. Reliance on authoritative bibliographic sources and an extensive use of secondary sources ensured that the patterns of the almanac trade emerging from this data can be used to understand the general trends in Croatian book trade, literacy and the transmission of knowledge in a historical perspective.

**THE RISE OF THE ANNUAL ALMANAC IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

The preserved copies of Croatian baroque almanacs do not suggest systematic production and a full-fledged almanac trade. Instead, they point overwhelmingly to the fact that the almanacs produced in Croatia were in all respects typical of their time and the broader European almanac tradition in their outward appearance, content, function, and patterns of use. Although the calendar remains part of service books, and is circulated in the oral tradition at this time, calendar literacy is circulated
in the annual almanacs, of which the first preserved are the *Kaikavian Almanac for 1653* and Vitezović’s Zoroast. Dukat (1923, 25) mentions another title, *Zagrebečki Kalendarium*, issued from at least 1650 by Nikola Krajačević (according to Krajačević’s own statement), but the existence of this title is not confirmed otherwise. The *Kaikavian Almanac for 1653*, as the first known title, may have been one of many issues. A chance finding of a wall calendar for 1697 as printer’s waste used in a binding for one of Vitezović’s manuscript works (Despot 1972, 28) indicates the existence of wall calendars as part of the seventeenth-century almanac trade in Croatia.

*Kaikavian Almanac for 1653* is an early almanac discovered at the end of the nineteenth century (Seger 1898; Laszowski 1904). This title is a unique historical document not only as an exemplar of the astrological almanac, but because of the inscriptions on blank, interleaved leaves in the extant copy. This almanac is identical in structure to astrological almanacs published elsewhere in Europe. The major distinction in comparison to other calendars of that period is a table with interpretation of symbols and abbreviations preceding the calendar. The calendar register for each month features a vignette with labors of the month on the top of each page, and information on the number of days in the month. For each day in the month, we find information on the dominical letter, the name of the saint it is devoted to. Holidays were rubricated and the almanac also provided information on daily astrological omens, weather prognostication, symbols for medical procedures auspicious on that day (*praktika* in Croatian) and scriptural proverbs in the last column. Summary *praktika*, with instructions on blood-letting and diet, are added for each month. In addition to the calendar portion, there is astrological information and a zodiac, and a prognostication titled, “*Diskursus za ovo novo letto 1653*” (Discourse for this New Year), followed by “Zemlia hodie szvoi szád ovako roditi y dati” on leaf 22 (The Earth will Yield and Give the Following). Aside from agricultural notes, there are no political pronouncements, neither is the style particularly subjective or directed specifically to the Croatian reader. A reference to crops yielding “good harvest in Croatian and Slavonian lands this year with the exception of wheat whose enemies Mercury and Venus may have a negative effect” are local. The narrative segment of the almanac includes a section on lunar eclipses (very much like the contemporary calendar-almanacs added to prayer-books) and instructions for phlebotomy, which the reader is directed to use with the calendar portion.
That the almanac was actually used, as business log and diary of transactions, is clear from the inscriptions in čakavian on interleaved portions. Such interactive readings are typical for contemporary almanacs.20

Vitezović's Zoroast21 appears toward the end of the century, showing that curiously little has changed in the contents of the annual almanac in almost half a century. This title comes from the printing shop of an innovator in orthography and language, historian and a colorful printer figure, Pavao Ritter Vitezović. The preserved copies of Zoroast show that it was issued regularly at least between 1692 and 1705.22 Calculations in this almanac are for the meridian of Zagreb.23 In many ways, it resembles the earlier kaikavian almanac, although it also reflects the distinct style of Vitezović. In the spirit of his period, Vitezović dedicates each volume to a contemporary figure whose patronage he hoped to win. Baroque sensibility is noted in the style of expression: an excess of wordy titles, verbose headings for the months,24 and convoluted arguments in the texts of the almanac. It is very difficult to imagine what practical use this title may have had at the time of its issue. Its entire text consists of weather prognostication and advice based on arbitrary astrological explanation. The issue for 1692 features:

- the editorial that is retained in later issues (titled "Kratak razgovor")
- advice given as to good and bad days for bleeding
- personal hygiene (cutting hair and nails, bathing)
- auspicious days for marriage or for the beginning of any task, such as moving to a new home, traveling, weaning a baby; as well as "farming rules" on sowing and planting
- "and other things that the master of the house needs to know" (1692, 210-211).

Some of the information thus conveyed is spuriously attributed to Venerable Bede ("Pise Beda postuvani . . . ," or, "as honorable Beda wrote"). The content of this almanac does not reflect the cultural context in which it is created, and it contains very little factual information, except in the brief informative sections dealing with the calendar and astronomical phenomena (lunar eclipses, the four seasons, the twelve months). This section is similar in structure to the calendars added to contemporary prayer books in Croatia (e.g., Putni tovarus), or contemporary almanacs in general, and is very similar to the Kaikavian Almanac for 1653. The distinction is the addition of Vitezović's literary compositions: a versified, octosyllabic rhymed couplet with a thought
for the day for each day of the month (or sometimes extending over a
couple of days) is added to the register of the issue for 1698. This col-
umn is titled “Priricsnik” (literally, an “addition,” but also “hand-
book” in later usage).

“Priricsnik” was reissued separately in 1703, as a collection of say-
ings without the calendar. In the issue for 1699, Vitezović also in-
cluded a genealogy of the Croatian kings titled, “Red i verszta Kralyev
hrvatskikh pocsamis od Osztrivoja” (Order and Kinds of Croatian
Kings Starting With Ostrivoj). Evidently, he planned to continue it in
future issues of the almanac. This text is not subordinate to calendar
chronology or praktika but is expressly aimed at instruction, although it
is also structured as a chronology. The last preserved issue of Zoroast
is the issue for 1705. The format is changed and a section on the inter-
pretation of symbols is introduced. This is also probably the last issue be-
fore Vitezović leaves Zagreb a year later when his printing office is
destroyed in a fire (Vodnik 1913, 294).

An interesting feature of Vitezović’s almanacs are their formula-
ica endings: each of the almanacs concludes with a versified note
and an explicit statement of ending: “S tim csinimo dospitak;
BOGU HVALA” (Vitezović 1699) (With this we reach the ending;
God bless [literally, “dospitak” means “arrival” or “reaching the goal”]
or simply, “BOGU HVALA” (Thank God) (1692; 1705); or, “AMEN”
(1698). Formulaic ending (or beginning) belongs to oral traditions, and
is also retained in literate forms. This trait of residual orality originates
from practices of reading texts aloud, such as letters and accounts which
were audited rather than read silently (still surviving in modern notarial
practice of reading a will) (Burke 1985, 102). Such texts would end
with the word “valete” (goodbye) (ibid., 102). This device or its equiva-
Ients, have also survived in oral forms such as a prayer, which ends
formulaically with Amen. Clearly, such devices enforcing the closure of
the text as a unit, as a protocol of reading for this type of almanac, are
archaic and originate from an oral interaction with the text. Although
the indication of ending disappears completely in the twentieth century,
it is found in early cinematography, resolving the same problem of the
boundaries of the text (the visual text of the film, and the narrative of the
intertitles).

The statements of ending in the baroque almanac in Croatia also
make the whole issue look as if it is written in one breath, as something
with a beginning and an end, enforcing the linearity of literacy. The
texts of almanacs from this period enforce linearity through such proto-
cols, paralleling the daily progression of the calendar within a year; in-
terleaving of calendars with manuscript diaries adds emphasis on the rhythm of daily progression. In other words, the reading process reflects a pattern of use that is linear but punctuated by the pages of the diary, which suggests a chronological progression. Reading in which linearity is not important, such as the modern magazine or twentieth-century almanac, is different from those recognizable in seventeenth-century almanacs. This change is partly due to the typographic organization introduced by the nineteenth century newspaper, which uses various devices in order to enable fast reading and absorption of text (Tschichold 1998, 212).

THE BEGINNING OF SYSTEMATIC ALMANAC TRADE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The secularism and rationalism of the eighteenth century supplanted the irrepressible spirituality of the Baroque. In the period known as the Aufklärung (or, the Enlightenment), the monarchy was strengthened through the reformatory efforts of Maria Theresa (1717-1780) and Joseph II (1741-1790, emp. 1765-90). The Austrian Education Statute of 1777 regulated the position and education of teachers; this concluded the process of the secularization of the school system that began in the mid-eighteenth century. The schools in Croatia became more or less independent of the church and scholasticism (Katičić and Novak 1989, 113).

Many Croatian almanacs of the eighteenth century are reformatory. Typically didactic, they suited the various needs, tastes, and levels of literacy of the Croatian society. The Franciscans and secular reformists in Slavonia recognized the potential of the almanac for reaching broad audiences in their reformatory efforts. The Enlightenment efforts of the Franciscan Order, distinct from the rest of the reformatory spirit of the century, were aimed to enter a cultural vacuum created by the Ottoman withdrawal from Slavonia after a century-long occupation. Their goal was literally to “de-Ottomanize” Croatians in Slavonia and in Hungary. The reformist almanacs were instrumental in forming popular opinion; they addressed the masses in the written idiom that was close to oral forms.

Apart from the almanacs of secular reformers and the Franciscans, the publication of almanacs included popular almanacs known as “šoštari.” Without a political or ideological agenda, these almanacs are primarily entertaining.28 “Šoštari” (singular of “šoštari”) is a corrupt
form of German *Schuster* (or shoemaker): the term and its association with the almanac is through fairs held in marketplace towns and in the royal cities that served as distribution points for popular almanacs. Hrvatski Šoštarški Sbor, for example, is such an ancient fair, held by shoemakers’ guilds in Varaždin (Valdec 1913). Fairs were places where circulation of goods, news, and chapbooks occurred, where trade connections were established, and news and goods brought back to towns and villages. While “šoštar” (in the kaikavian dialect of the Croatian northwest) addresses primarily citizens (*Bürger*) of Northern Croatian towns, the Franciscan almanac in štokavian dialect (specifically, ikavian, spoken in Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia) is aimed at a broader audience in the countryside, especially in Slavonia and Hungary. Latin almanacs aimed at the educated classes represent yet another almanac tradition.

The linguistic variety among these distinct types of almanacs reflects distribution networks and markets for popular print; this variety is a reflection of parallel literary cultures. Brozović identifies the eighteenth century as the third period in the history of Croatian literacy (1978, 21). This is the last stage of the process in which the focus of literary activity moves from the coastal regions (of Dalmatia and Istria with the islands and the littoral) to the provinces of northwestern Croatia and Slavonia. Regional literatures gained ground in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century; at that time, štokavian and kaikavian emerged as literary languages based on spoken languages in these areas, while Latin continued as a literary and administrative language throughout the eighteenth century. The second half of the eighteenth and first decades of the nineteenth century are marked by the process of standardization of a kaikavian literary language. It is also the time of its orthographic stabilization. Ikavian and išekavian štokavian variants came to prevail in the southeast; another development is the predominance of Roman script and the disappearance of Western Cyrillic or “bosančica” (Brozović 1978, 22). The rise of German—both through Josephinian reforms and, toward the end of the century, through mass settlement of foreigners in Croatian towns—is another development affecting literary culture. Zagreb is a good example of a change that happened at the time. Đeželić (1901) and Andrić (1900) estimate that Germanization of Zagreb is complete by 1770. Publishing in German is well developed in the second half of the eighteenth century (Živković 1989), although other scholars (Hergešić 1956) argue that the process of Germanization does not happen before the beginning of the nineteenth
century. Notably, the only German almanac of the late eighteenth century was *Deutscher Militär- und ökonomischer Schreibkalender für die Königeiche Kroatien, Dalmatien und Slawonien* (published in Zagreb from 1795 to 1891). During the period of intensive Germanization in the nineteenth century, reading and literary production, theatrical life, and other cultural forms in German flourish; and bookstores with mostly German stock are found in many Croatian towns (Barac 1954, 22). Therefore, the almanac trade was as varied as the overlapping eighteenth century literary cultures. Language is a useful criterion for understanding the distinct traditions of almanac publishing in the eighteenth century.

*Slavonian Reformist Almanacs in Štokavian: Inventing History, Spreading the Enlightenment*

The two extremes of the Enlightenment are acted out in debates between secular reformers and Franciscan reformers in Slavonia. Although they value universal literacy and economic reforms, the Franciscans seem to have primarily a didactic-religious function, which informs their publishing activities; they issue school catechisms and lives of the saints for popular distribution. Other reformers in Slavonia rally in opposition to the clergy and what they considered the peril of religious narrow-mindedness. The literary models these two reformist traditions follow are distinct but both of them draw on the existing popular forms. While the Franciscans are promoting the popular decasyllabic verse productions of Kačić and others, which are based on an autochthonous popular poetic form and the epic tradition, Antun Reljković’s *Satir, ili divji čovik* (1762) (literally, Satyr, or a Wild Man) embodies all the ideals of secular Enlightenment. Also written in decasyllabic verse, *Satir* attacks astrology and uses satire and humor to address the issues of its time, becoming the most popular book in Slavonia. Secular priests writing at this time, such as Antun Kanižić, also offered a vision different from the Franciscans and fit within the secular reformist tradition.

Astrology disappears from the reformist Slavonian almanacs after being attacked by both Franciscan and secular reformers. Often mentioned in a negative context by both groups are many practices of communal village life, the same ones that will be glorified during the national awakening a century later. It is evident that reformative strategies are aimed at changing not only the individual but social customs;
reformists are involved in the articulation of social change. Significantly, these reformers use the forms of oral tradition to present a new vision of history. The interpretation of the recent past by literate élites is pursued with a distinct goal of eradicating what they considered to be the ignorance brought about by the century-long Turkish rule in Slavonia that they seek to overcome.

Representations of the Turks as a Christian alter-ego have been an undercurrent in European thought since the fifteenth century. A very significant role in this period of “de-Ottomanization” is played by successful revisionist strategies conveyed in almanacs. The propagator function of almanacs, far from implementing ideology from above, articulates the process from within. By using popular print to convey and articulate their messages, the reformers create representational systems and cultural myth. Their aim is to model collective experience. The almanacs present evidence of that process of refinement, stylization, and structuring of the collective experience of the past, with a focus on the Turkish occupation. The “Turk” is cast in the role of the universal Other at a time when the immediate experience of Ottoman rule has disappeared. This idealized Other becomes a fossilized representation that ultimately joins the repertoire of Croatian national myths and shared cultural themes often recycled in Croatian myths of identity. The degree to which these themes contrived with express political and ideological agendas is clear when considering the popularity of Kačić’s Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga (1756) which exemplifies such processes of cultural engineering. “Kačić” is not only the single most popular book of the eighteenth century but an all-time Croatian steady-seller.

Conventional interpretations in existing literature agree that this type of work catered to a high demand for material and the popularity of subjects dealing with the Turkish wars. Popular interest in contemporary war campaigns resulted in a number of works employing decasyllabic verse published throughout the century. They are not restricted to Turkish campaigns but deal with current military events of interest. Popular decasyllabic verse is aimed at the specific information requirements of a particular type of historical reader, but it also exemplifies a method of information transfer that combines the techniques of literate and oral transmission. Namely, text read in the book uses the popular technique of epic composition in order to enter the oral cycle of transmission. Franciscan and secular reformers exploited the potential for instruction and popular education which almanacs with such texts offered by virtue of their dissemination and use patterns. Thus almanacs combine the roles of education, reform, and newspaper-substitute. Although the
model for reception of the Franciscan almanacs and reformist decasyllabic verse is Kačić’s Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga, the earliest of these almanacs predate his work. Nevertheless, this connection is evident because the almanacs carry excerpts from his work (as an example of a contemporary tie-in) and enter the same cycle of transmission. The significance of Kačić is that his work was not only popular in different social groups, but in regions that were not štokavian, initiating a communication micro-shift in which patterns of purely oral transmission are transformed in order to be subordinated to and initiated by a printed text. This process is comparable to what Ong calls secondary orality of the electronic age (1982, 136). The dissemination of decasyllabic verse in popular printed works (including almanacs) is a new communication technology serving the purpose of propagating the ideas of Franciscan reformers. Nevertheless, it is a step away from primary orality because it employs print to enter the cycle of transmission of secondary orality.

Many works issued in the beginning to mid-eighteenth century written by Franciscan reformers in Slavonia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia, use the popular medium of decasyllabic verse originating from the technique of oral composition that is well established in this region. The primary technique of composition in oral epic is rhapsodizing (literally, “stitching”), used in connection with the techniques of oral composition, as formulaic expressions are stitched together by means of rhythmical structures at the moment in which they are performed orally by bards. The structure of these epic compositions is not stable, but the clichés from which they are composed are relatively stable. The technique of “bricolage” in structuralist theory (Lévi-Strauss 1966, 17) refers to the intellectual rather than structural combination of such elements. Bricolage refers to the associative, impressionistic nature of cultural myths that are built from cultural fragments. The formulaic texts rely on familiar themes presented in a familiar fashion, which does not exclude creativity and innovation. The Franciscans used the technique of traditional epic composition, offering texts of high relevance to popular audiences. Unlike the epics which were spoken (or, more precisely, sung, with the accompaniment of gusle, a traditional stringed instrument used by the performing bards), these printed editions standardized the texts of the oral tradition. Many studies have shown that these printed works have become the source for new oral performances, especially Kačić’s Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga (literally, A Pleasurable Conversation of the Slavonic People), which becomes a “book that speaks and is spoken” (Frangčić 1987, 120). This creates a
creativity loop in which orality and literacy are merged through such
textual traditions. Unlike the tradition of primary orality, which is local
in character, the reach of “Kačić” is increased and its effect standard-
ized through dissemination of identical versions.

The Slavonian Franciscan Almanacs

In 1743 the Franciscans start issuing annual almanacs aimed at the
Catholic population in Slavonia and Hungary, first in Budim and later in
Osijek. Central to these almanacs is the educational-entertainment sec-
tion; the calendar is subordinate.

According to existing bibliographic sources, it seems that these al-
manacs are earlier than their kaikavian equivalents, “šoštari.” Dukat
(1923) notes that they are issued beginning in 1743 and so does
Kukuljević (1860, 140), listing titles for 1743 and 1744 of Kalendari
litirski, issued in Budim by Juraj Rapić in his bibliography. The preserva-
tion rate for these almanacs is low. The extant copies allow us to under-
stand the style and the tone of a typical Franciscan Slavonian almanac.
One such Franciscan almanac in the National and University Library is
titled Kalendari ili Uregijena prikazanje nediljah i svetkovinah, kakono i
pripovidka s pismama od vitez Gjure Kastriotića ili Skanderbega, s go-
dišnjima dogadjaji i vašarih na razgovor Illyrah za godište 1766 upi-
san. It contains a cycle of verses dealing with the exploits of Jure
Kastriotić, or Skanderbeg, who is the central figure of the first period
of Turkish wars prior to 1453. This text is the most popular excerpt from
Kačić’s Razgovor ugodni. This work is a bestseller in its own right pub-
lished separately on many occasions. This thin, narrow octavo volume
is a perfect pocket-book that also contains information on popular rem-
edies for preserving eyesight or getting rid of hiccups or earaches, reci-
pes for preparing home medicine, and a listing of fairs in Slavonia and
Hungary.

Although these Franciscan almanacs are a natural expression of eigh-
teenth-century spirit, they remain popular well into the nineteenth century.
Among their later editors are Antun Nagy, whose Novi stari Illyrički
kalendari continues in the same tradition. An issue for 1817 includes
some astrology, notes on the customs of Slavonians “and their ancient
heathen religion,” curiosities from around the world such as a note on
“Bengal and Brahmans,” and a listing of fairs in Slavonia and Srijem,
as well as stories and songs. The volume for 1818 also features a
Schematismus (list of bishops). They maintain the same physical form:
miniature editions that fit into a palm or a pocket. Another title in this
tradition is Novouredjeni ilirski kalendar ili Svetodanik, edited by Ignjat Alojzije Brlić and Adam Filipović Heldentski.

The Slavonian Reformists' Book for the House

"Hižna knjižica" (book for the house) is a non-serialized, perdurable almanac. This type of work reflects an orientation to the household economy and self-improvement. It prescribes both rules of behavior and farming rules, and provides guidance on how to manage a household both in practical and moral terms. Linguistically, it belongs to the kaikavian dialect (spoken not in Slavonia but around Zagreb). Puškadija-Ribkin (1991) writes about a 1743 edition of this type of work, Kukuljević (1860, 51) mentions one from 1756, and two more were identified in the collection of the National and University Library, issued in 1783 and 1797 from the same printing office, which explains their identical appearance. The preface and content are the same, while the calendar is for the current year. They are intended for the master of the house as a compendium of advice including practical and moral prescriptions, divided into sixteen chapters, each of which focuses on a single theme. One of them includes a catechism listing questions and answers which one could use to examine one’s own and others’ correct understanding of the Catholic faith (“Kratka izpitavanja, y odgovarjanya jedine prave vere katolichanskze”). Another focuses on how a master of the house should behave toward his lawful wife (“Gopodar hise kaksze mora proti szvoje zakonkze sene ponassati”) and his children, and yet another discusses how to entertain the family with various games, proverbs, puzzles, and riddles (“Hisni razveselitelye, kade vzi turbni gospodari hisni razbративиsze, могу z-nekulikemi zagankami napervi donessemi”). Some are devoted to popular magic; others present litanies and prayers appropriate for a particular patron saint. All of this content is presented on some 250 pages of a sextodecimo. The tradition of a book for the house, a compendium of useful knowledge, is continued by “stoljetni kalendar” (literally, hundred-years calendar) in the nineteenth century.

This type of almanac is connected to the reformist tradition exemplified by Kučnik, a secular didactic work dealing with reform of the rural economy. Issued by Reljković the Younger, one such Kučnik (1796) is a rhymed house encyclopedia intended for a prosperous farmer. In its title, it addresses this “gazda” (master of the house), providing guidance on what to do in every month of the year—in the field, in the mountain, in
the garden, with cattle and poultry, around the house and in the house, and how to preserve health. Reljković’s Kućnik is organized around the annual cycle, but does not contain an annual calendar; it appears in consecutive editions for 1796 and 1799 (Vodnik 1913, 346), a reflection of its popularity. Reljković states, with the title of kućnik, that his sources were old “kućnici” (plural of kućnik), which were used as a basis for this compilation. This reference is probably related to another type of work that has only recently been recognized as a type of popular almanac—the “hižna knjižica.”

**Kaikavian Almanacs: The Popular Šoštari**

These almanacs epitomize the popular kaikavian almanacs published in the eighteenth century. A reference to these almanacs is found in a bibliographic annotation signed by Ljudevít Gaj (L.G.). This annotation appears in the bibliography compiled by Kukuljević (1860). In this comment, Gaj refers to his own, presumably sizable, collection of these popular almanacs as containers of “songs and stories and various other pieces of information satisfying corrupt taste” (L.G.; in Kukuljević 1860, 228). Because these almanacs were written in the spoken regional dialect of Zagreb and environs, this judgment is not surprising, coming from one of the most prominent nineteenth-century language reformers in Croatia, who worked on the introduction of a non-regional standard language for Croatia. This annotation is also informative because it refers so matter-of-factly to the long-standing popularity of Šoštari: “with these diaries that register holidays and weather in hieroglyphic symbols, our common people have been entertaining themselves for a hundred years already” (ibid., 228).

Several almanacs are identified that correspond in their features to Šoštari. Josef Kotsche’s Novi kalendar, was published in Zagreb from 1769 to 1806, although the preserved copies run from 1786 (Despot 1972, 29-31). Another run of kaikavian almanacs started under the same name by Trattner around the turn of the century. Kotsche’s and Trattner’s almanacs have often been mistaken for a single run (e.g., by Dukat 1923), probably because they catered to the same reading public and therefore used similar techniques of marketing and presentation. In Kotsche’s almanac, the calendar is subordinated to textual entertainment sections. Dukat (1923) attributes this to the influence of German almanacs. The editors of Kotsche’s Novi kalendar, Juraj Maljevac (Peter Gregur Kapucin) and Tomaš Mikloušić are kaikavian popular
writers and versifiers. The didacticism that is so pronounced in the Franciscan Slavonian almanac is not absent from the kaikavian, where current events are also presented in popular verse.

**The Latin Almanacs: The Official Publications of the Educated Elites**

At the same time as those various almanacs and titles are published in a more or less systematic fashion, we find an almanac restricted to the Latin-speaking intelligentsia. Dukat (1923, 31-36) gives a comprehensive account of a complicated printing history for two Latin almanacs issued continuously between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century. The Latin almanac is already issued regularly at the time of the appearance of popular "šostari" and reformist almanacs in the 1740s. Two Latin almanacs are Ivan Weitz's (later Antun Jandera's) Zagrabiense Calendarium,61 published in Zagreb between 1745 and 1808, and Trattner's Varadinense Calendarium, later Zagrabiense Calendarium,62 published in Varaždin and later in Zagreb between 1774 and 1847. The two titles are in competition from 1776, when Trattner moves his operation to Zagreb, until the expiration of Weitz-Jandera's almanac in 1808.

The Latin almanac survived well into the nineteenth century, when it clearly represented an anachronism. In its latest form it was no more than a directory (schematismus), since the world in which Latin dominated as the language of communication for administrative purposes had disappeared. The Latin almanacs are similar to the European tradition of a periodical annual review containing a schematismus, a genealogy of rulers, and a compilation of facts. The prototype for this tradition is the extremely popular Almanach royal issued from 1734 to 1791 and Almanach de Gotha: annuaire généalogique, diplomatique et statistique, which began with the issue for 1764 and continued at least until 1869 (cf. entries in NUC pre-1956, s.v.).63 Saffroy (1959) traces these administrative, ecclesiastic, and military annuals with genealogies of nobility that flourished during the ancien régime, to the fifteenth century. Croatian almanacs in Latin are reduced to this type of annual in the last period of their publishing history. In the early period they are popular publications. They fulfill the function of a surrogate for newspapers because they first introduce the news, summarizing a year in retrospect in the form of a chronology. In that sense, they follow the European trend in the rise of periodical press at the end of the eighteenth century.
Conclusion

The three distinct types of eighteenth century almanacs have much in common even if their primary audiences and communicational purposes are different. The reformist almanacs, "šoštari," and Latin almanacs all respond to high demand for news on current affairs, filling a niche in the absence of the newspaper; the newspapers serve this function later in the century. The annual rhythm and easy-to-produce pamphlet form of the almanac combine features of a broadside (relation) or newspaper, such as immediate release of the former or regularity of issue of the latter genre, with more ephemeral genres of communication realized in the context of fairs.

Burke notes the importance of fairs for communication outside and between local communities, for eighteenth-century villagers from France to Sweden. Fairs were places where the circulation of messages, performances, and artifacts intertwined, "where one could buy an almanac as well as a grandfather’s clock" (1981, 218). Broadsides reporting on particular current events were also disseminated at fairs. The almanac genre has retained its connection with fairs in textual forms which feature news from afar, of distant lands and places, and including the collections of odd, unusual, and fascinating facts which are similar to travelers’ stories. These features were transformed into the entertainment sections of nineteenth- and twentieth-century almanacs, which carried news from exotic lands and unusual peoples, and reports on curiosities from far-away lands. These texts reflect elaboration of symbolic boundaries, conveying a sense of community and recognizable vestiges of local orientation typical of European peasant communities. Lists of fairs are a regular feature of Croatian almanacs in the eighteenth century, which is continued in the nineteenth- and even the twentieth-century almanacs.

The Latin almanac and popular almanacs issued in Slavonia continue in the tradition of war reporting that has been established in Croatia ever since it became a frontier-land at the end of the fifteenth century. Telling news in print, and printing something to be spoken, recycled back in the oral genres of communication, is a characteristic of the almanac that has been preserved to the present day. Similarly, the almanac operates in a gray area between oral and written communication. In eighteenth-century almanacs, this anomalous position with regard to oral and written tradition is reflected in the style in which these publications address their readers. It determines patterns of reading that are unique to the almanac. The gossipy tone of "šoštari," or the instruc-
tional tone of the reformist almanac, operates within the same common context of reception, at the crossing of oral and literate modes of textual transmission, relating the almanac to another modern-day genre, the tabloid. In format, tone, and effect, the popular almanacs reflect that connection of orality and literacy that was explored by Elizabeth Bird in her study of supermarket tabloids (1992, 8-12).

FROM THE GOLDEN AGE TO THE DECLINE:
THE NINETEENTH AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
ALMANAC TRADE IN CROATIA

It is not possible to claim that the almanac had made it easier for an audience to receive the first newspapers in Croatia for the simple reason that literacy, even in the nineteenth century, was not widespread among all social classes in Croatia. Even so, almanacs seem to be among the most accessible and widely read publications of that period. Vereš (1962, 176 1a) considers that they represented the only reading to reach the peasant masses. Although some almanacs may have become the surrogate of the newspaper in the countryside, the values projected in almanacs published in the first part of the nineteenth century are those of small-town and urban readers (Zečević 1982). Almanacs published as part of organized attempts to bring agricultural improvements to the village specifically target the peasant.

Curiously, the almanac genre was not associated with the most significant cultural force in the nineteenth century, responsible for the process of national differentiation in Croatia, the Illyrianist Movement. Similar to social movements elsewhere in Europe, the Illyrianist Movement addressed issues of universal education and literacy. Although this movement romanticized the peasant and the village as cultural symbols, it did not target peasants for its programs but rather the bourgeoisie. Similarly, the tools of the Illyrianist Movement were the newspaper, the Illyrianist reading room, and other forms of political, social, and cultural interaction, but not the almanac. In fact, the notable publishers of nineteenth-century almanacs were all opponents of Illyrianism and Gaj's linguistic reforms (e.g., Mikloušić, Kristjanović, and Rakovac). Evidently, almanacs were not seen as vehicles of the new and reformationist ideas of the nineteenth century. They were informative tools aimed at entertainment rather than the business of politics. The almanacs represented traditionalist values rather than the high po-
litical aspirations of the century. Almanacs remained on the sidelines of the revolutionary political struggles of the nineteenth century. Neverthe-
less, almanac publishing reflected the concerns of everyday life and grassroots culture.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the almanac loses its function as a surrogate mass medium that has a level of literacy more accessible than the newspaper. This role is taken over by the newspaper, and the almanac increasingly becomes restricted to special groups and specialized content. Almanacs aimed at a particular group of specialized readers emerge at the end of the nineteenth century. In contrast to the nineteenth-century almanacs, almanacs published in the first half of the twentieth century demonstrate a strong link with diverse political movements and the clericalist press. The Croatian diaspora almanacs are a logical evolutionary step in the overall development of the almanac genre in Croatia, continuing these established functions even after the almanac in Croatia becomes an obsolete form, and before it resurfaced in the 1960s in the form of the regional almanac.

Method of Analysis

A different strategy of presenting material, identifying patterns and trends instead of cases, is adopted for the section that follows. Publishing patterns were identified by means of a database of 650 titles compiled from authoritative bibliographic sources. They include standard bibliographies, both retrospective and current, with coverage throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. Among them, the retrospective bibliography Gradja za hrvatsku retrospektivnu bibliografiju knjiga 1835-1940 is the most exhaustive. Validating the trends identified via bibliographies were secondary sources. Both of these sources inform the interpretation of the almanac trade that follows. The following sections interpret the dynamics of the almanac trade in Croatia, focusing on the fluctuations in the number of almanacs, the centers of production, and the institutional contexts, methods of distribution, and reception.

Production Dynamics

Based on the average of new titles produced in a particular period, it was possible to identify several distinct stages in the almanac trade. They show that the growth of almanac publishing at the turn of the century is preceded by a steady increase throughout the second half of the
nineteenth century. A surge in the production of almanacs between 1922 and 1935 is followed by a gradual decline; this decline accelerates after 1960. Table 1 shows the time frame and the length of these periods, with the number of new titles issued in each.

The average new titles established in the nineteenth century is over two titles per year, while the average for titles that cease publication during the same period is one per year. This pattern is more or less uniform, without major fluctuations until the second half of the century, when the number of titles that expire each year increases to two. Actually, the typical number of titles published each year, beginning in 1850, is three. A special case is presented by the period between 1867 and 1869, when twelve titles cease publication (more than half of these are single issues: they are initiated and expire in the same year). In spite of this, an overall trend in nineteenth-century almanac trade is one of stable production. This is indicated by the number of new titles, which is greater than the number of titles that expired. Therefore the trend is one of growth. In the twentieth century new titles are established in large numbers, as is the number of those that cease publication. Throughout the period the almanac trade is vigorous but not very stable. As shown in Table 2, almost half of the titles did not survive beyond the first issue.

Table 1. Fluctuations in the Almanac Trade in Croatia: New Titles Published Between 1800 and 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIOD</th>
<th>LENGTH OF PERIOD (IN YEARS)</th>
<th>NO. OF NEW TITLES</th>
<th>AVERAGE OF NEW TITLES (PER YEAR)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800-1850</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851-1885</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-1899</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1911</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912-1921</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922-1935</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-1942</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-1958</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-1994</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>646</td>
<td>3.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The discrepancy of title totals, i.e., 646 vs. 650 titles in the database, is due to the exclusion of four of the almanacs continued from the eighteenth century.
TABLE 2. Croatian Almanacs, by Duration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LENGTH OF RUN</th>
<th>NO. OF TITLES</th>
<th>RATIO %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single Issue</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Issues or More</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>646</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The discrepancy of new title totals (i.e., 646 vs. 650 titles in the database) is due to the exclusion of four of the almanacs continued from the eighteenth century.

Fifty percent of the titles survived to their second or later issue, which means that even more titles would have been published for only a few years. A short-lived almanac rather than the steady runs of the nineteenth century is the model in the twentieth century almanac trade.

High activity in the production of new titles at the beginning of the century is reversed in the 1930s, when mortality rates for titles reach the levels of production of new titles, overtaking them in the 1950s. An overall diminishing of the almanac trade in the 1950s is another variable to consider. In the aftermath of World War II, this change is significant. That the end of the war marked the end of the era of the popular almanac in Croatia does not contradict historical sources and demographic studies that indicate this period as the end of the "peasant era" (Nejašmić 1991).

Evidently, the popular almanac as an accessible and widely read book for peasants and small-town populations suddenly becomes obsolete in the post-World War II era. In the period that follows the end of World War II, almanacs are still produced but their character changes. They are aimed at specialized niches of the reading public, with regional and religious almanacs prevailing in Croatia and diaspora almanacs among Croats abroad.

In terms of literary history, the phenomenon of the regional almanac is tied to the last stage in linguistic standardization. Namely, these almanacs are written in dialectal variants, when the dialects are no longer written. According to Brozović, consolidation of a standard on the basis of new stokavian as the single Croatian literary language in the twentieth century, has also resulted in the emergence of new-čakavian and new-kaikavian literature (1978, 22), for which these regional almanacs represent an outlet. The evolution of the regional almanac with written dialects reflects the last developmental stage of the almanac and its specialization.
Prior to the nineteenth century, almanacs are produced in Osijek, Zagreb, and Varaždin; Budim (Budapest) was the center of activity for the Franciscan order and, consequently, the production center for their almanacs. Other locations outside Croatia include Graz, Venice, and Rome. A strong local almanac trade is characteristic of the nineteenth century. Almanacs were produced in Austria and Hungary, intended for Croatian populations there, as well as in Italy, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kotor in Montenegro, Belgrade, and in Novi Sad, Sombor and Zemun in Voivodina.

The distribution by place of publication, presented in Table 3, indicates that Zagreb is the leading center of production, with over fifty percent of the almanacs published there, followed by other major Croatian towns: Osijek, Split, and Zadar. Bjelovar, Virovitica, and Koprivnica represent the small-town almanac traditions, where such printers of popular materials as Z. Čuković, Vinko Vošicki, and I. Horvat are located.

The almanacs issued by these printers are small, local-market almanacs; they typify mass production of the popular almanac during the peak of its popularity in the first half of the twentieth century. They are not long-term operations, like the centers of localized almanac trade in such towns as Čakovec, Dubrovnik, Karlovac, Križevci, Slavonska Požega, Rijeka, Sisak, and Varaždin. Towns in which one to five titles are published are market centers and account for the fewest titles. Geographic distribution of publishers reflects Croatia’s urban network, with major towns, regional centers, and smaller towns hierarchically ordered in terms of their participation in the overall almanac trade. The majority of the trade is concentrated in the cultural centers of Zagreb, Osijek, Split, and Zadar, but the trade is evenly distributed elsewhere, at least during the first half of the twentieth century. Of course, this distribution does not reflect changes over time or finer distinctions in output by region. The almanac trade in Croatia is made up mostly of almanacs of local significance. This is obvious from the adjectives derived from names of towns in the wording of their titles. Given the smaller contribution of local centers and towns in comparison to Zagreb, Osijek, Split, and Zadar, as noted in distribution, it is predictable that migrations from the countryside after World War II would cause a disproportionate disappearance of small-town publishing centers.
TABLE 3. Geographic Distribution of Publishers and Their Activity in the Almanac Trade, 1800-1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION OF PUBLISHER</th>
<th>NO. OF TITLES</th>
<th>RATIO %</th>
<th>CUMULATIVE %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50-100 titles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zagreb</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-50 titles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osijek</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Split</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zadar</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>75.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20 titles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virovitica</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bjelovar</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koprivnica</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>82.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10 titles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubrovnik</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavonska Požega</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varaždin</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Čakovec</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krk</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rijeka</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Split</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karlovac</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>92.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5 titles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vukovar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pula</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šibenik</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinkovci</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daruvar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Gradiška</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senj</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavonski Brod</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crikvenica</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Đakovo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grubišće Polje</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraljevica</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kupina</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legrad</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pazin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petrinja</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poreč</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samobor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinj</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Županja</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorski Kotar-Šuma</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Javornica</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>98.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL(S)</td>
<td>571</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of titles excludes those published outside of Croatia.
Almanacs have been issued as occasional publications by different societies and firms, and as annual supplements to periodicals, as shown in Table 4.

Citizens' associations and political parties have also published almanacs, particularly in the inter-war period. Among those issued by political parties are workers' and socialist almanacs as well as those tied to the activities of the Croatian Peasant Party, The Party of Rights, the Croatian Christian Socialists, and the Communist Party. The earliest political party almanacs are the Illyrianist almanacs published from 1823 and *Hrvatski kalender*, issued in 1858 by Ante Starčević (1823-1896), a Croatian nationalist and the ideologue of The Croatian Party of Right, who espoused the Croatian state right. The paramilitary organizations Ustashe and the Liberation Army both published their own almanacs during World War II.

**Distribution**

Although case studies of the nineteenth century almanac trade point to some patterns, the picture is rather sketchy. Distribution methods and edition sizes depend on infrastructure, notably the postal system, and outlets through which reading material was available, as well as other constraints of the environment (literacy, linguistic criterion for distribution). The conventional outlets for books in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were designated bookstores where subscribers could pick up their copies of a publication. Often readers were prompted by a printed announcement poster or advertisement in the newspaper to find a bookstore that carried the publi-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFFILIATION</th>
<th>NO. OF TITLES</th>
<th>RATIO %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Society</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Party/Social Movement</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidary to a Newspaper</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firm</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: The last column expresses a ratio of titles issued by a particular body that acted as publisher 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.).
cation. In the nineteenth century, almanacs, books, and newspapers were distributed primarily by subscription. Subscriptions could be handled by bookstores and post offices (Horvat 1962, 104), or by locally appointed distributors—usually local teachers or lawyers. Franjo Župan’s (or Fr. Suppan’s) bookstore was the outlet for a number of house-printed almanacs; this shop was among the best supplied bookstores in the 1830s. Other bookstores that carried almanacs were Milan Hiršfeld’s bookstore in Zagreb and Brothers Battara’s in Zadar. Although it was possible to order almanacs by mail, to be delivered by prepaid service or stage coach, that method was less secure, according to the announcements which reiterated that bookstores were the safest means of obtaining printed materials. They were also the cheaper choice, because postal regulations and rates for distribution of printed materials varied from region to region in the Habsburg Monarchy. The prices for obtaining an almanac with and without a stamp could differ by a factor of two or more. Illyrianist Reading Rooms were another outlet for book distribution and promotion of new editions, including almanacs (Barac 1954, 276).

The Stamp Tax (šтемп in Croatian) and censorship influenced the almanac trade in the nineteenth century. A first-hand account of the problems of censorship and distribution by subscription which faced an almanac publisher at that time is found in Dragutin Rakovac’s diary (1922), where he mentions the edition size for his almanac. While the edition of Dragutin Rakovac’s Koledar za puk in 1847 is over 6,000 copies (Filipović 1867, 27-28) which is phenomenal for that period, he also issued a catechism in 1,000 copies (Barac 1954, 200), a standard size for editions of popular works. According to Šurmin (1913, quoted in Barac 1954), edition sizes in 1830 show large discrepancies, notably between Croatian and foreign-language materials. While editions in the first category (mostly literature) are very small, ranging from 250 to 400 copies, the usual run for publications in Latin and German is 1,000. Other data about edition sizes for almanacs show more typical print runs, such as Antun Nagy’s Novi i stari kalender horvatski for 1818, which is issued in 700 copies, of which he succeeds in selling only half (Barac 1954, 9). Obviously, publishing is not a secure business, and an audience for the almanac in the Croatian vernacular has yet to be established. Nevertheless, it is also significant that both the catechism and the almanac represent a noteworthy exception in this general state of the book trade in Croatian, preserving links with the tradition of vernacular literacy. The almanac came to symbolize the traditionalist culture,