

SUMMARY

WHAT IS CROATIAN LITERATURE?

Croatian literature is a collection of texts compiled in Croatian languages from Baščanska ploča (The Baška Tablet) until today (from the 11th to the 21st century). Two types of periodization are used in its scientific research: study and critical. In terms of the study type, Croatian literature is divided into medieval (11th-14th century), old Croatian literature (15th-19th century) and modern Croatian literature (19th-21th century). According to the critical type, Croatian literature is divided into seven main epochs, that is stylistic formations: Renaissance (15th century), Baroque (17th century), Enlightenment (18th century), Romanticism (19th century), Realism (19th century), Modernism (19th-20th century) and Postmodernism (20th-21th century). The study models of Croatian literature are mutually different with regard to time, space, medium, script, language, genre, authorship and European cultural context.

Medieval Croatian literature includes texts written in the period from the 11th to the 15th century in the coastal area (Dalmatia, Istria, the Croatian Littoral, the islands). They are written on natural material (stone, parchment) in Glagolitic, Latin and Cyrillic script in chakavian, štokavian, kajkavian and Old-Church-Slavic languages. These morally-didactic texts were compiled mainly by anonymous authors and produced for liturgical or profane needs (poems, epigraphs, anecdotes, statutes, rules, constitutions, seaman's books, legends, apocryphs, visions, debates, miracle plays etc.), belonging to a specific Mediterranean, south-European cultural area which formed in the interaction with Latinism and Byzantinism (Glagolitism).

WHAT IS MODERN CROATIAN LITERATURE?

The process of creating modern European nations encouraged by the industrial and French civil revolution in the 18th century also inspired the Croatian National Revival (1790-1848). It's active phase under the Illyrian name (the Illyrian movement, 1836-1843) was lead by Lj. Gaj (1809-72). Gaj is the author of *Kratka osnova horvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisanja* (*Short basis of Croatian-Slavic orthography*, 1830), through which he implemented the orthographic reform of Croatian language. He launched the first national newspaper (Novine horvatzke / Croatian newspaper, 1835, since 1836 Novine ilirske / Illyrian newspaper) and the first literary magazine (Danica horvatzka, slavonzka y dalmatinzka / Croatian, Slavic and Dalmatian Danica, 1835, since 1836 Danica ilirska / Illyrian Danica). Gaj is the author of the most popular patriotic song – hymn of the Illyrian movement *Horvatov sloga i zjedinjenje* / *Croatian togetherness and unity* (*Još Horvatska ni propala... / Croatia still isn't ruined...*). The revival in Croatia was led by Father M. Pavlinović, in Istria by bishop J. Dobrila, in Bosnia and Herzegovina by Father G. Martić and Father I. F. Jukić, and among Bačka-Croatian and Burgenland Croats priest I. Antunović and lawyer A. Šarčević. The main achievement of the revival is obtaining national cultural identity – a uniform language, literature and national institutions (Matica ilirska / Illyrian Matica in 1842, JAZU / Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1866, the University in 1874).

As far as literary integration is concerned, the national literary heritage, oral folk literature and contemporary European literature were considered important by the members of the Croatian revival. The predominant literary genre was lyric poetry, while a younger generation of Croatian revivers in the 1850-ies and 1860-ies valued narrative forms and play more highly. The most significant work of the Croatian Revival literature (literature of the Illyrian Movement; Croatian Romanticism) is an epic *Smrt Smail-*

age Čengića / The Death of Smail-aga Čengić (1846) by I. Mažuranić. The most popular work of the pre-revival Croatian literature (old Croatian literature) was *Osman* by I. Gundulić; I. Mažuranić wrote its 14th and 15th canto. Magazines such as *Danica* (Zagreb, 1835-1849), *Kolo* (Zagreb, 1842-53), *Zora dalmatinska* (Zadar, 1844-48), *Neven* (Zagreb/Rijeka, 1852-57/1858), *Slavonac* (Požega, 1863-65) and the first Croatian (literary) magazine in Bosnia and Herzegovina *Bosanski prijatelj* (Zagreb, 1850-51, 1861) published by Father Ivan Jukić had the principle media function in the revival and in the creation of the national literary canon.

CROATIAN LITERATURE OF THE 19th CENTURY

LYRIC POETRY

Lyric poetry was a predominant literary form in the first period of Croatian Romanticism. Patriotic and battle songs were popular during the Illyrian movement, then also elegies, ballads, romances, epic poems as well as gazelle poetry, epigrams, sonnets and sonnet sequences of amorous, religious, reflective, humorous and satiric atmosphere. In formal terms, Croatian poets set higher and higher metric and versification requirements. The most important poets were I. Mažuranić, S. Vraz and P. Preradović. Mažuranić is the author of the epic *Smrt Smail-age Čengića / The Death of Smail-aga Čengić* (1846) which merges romantic, classicist and realistic features and is the first classic work of the Croatian Revival literature. Vraz introduces personal motifs, his *Đulabije* (1837) are romanticist lyric poems in which love towards a woman is raised in love towards homeland and mankind. He introduced the oriental gazelle poems, wrote romances and

ballads and renewed the sonnet. He also introduced reflective themes, was fascinated by his language, love towards his homeland and longing for it, but also by mystical faith in the unity of the Slavs and its messianic role. The most important poets in the second generation of the revivers, that is during the 1850-ies and 1860-ies, were M. Bogović, L. Botić, I. Filipović, J. Tombor, I. Okrugić Srijemac, M. Stojanović and I. Trnski, and in the 1870-ies A. Šenoa. Poet Šenoa achieved recognition by “povjestic” / poetic narratives (“historical ballads”) in which he in his original way shaped either historical or folk tradition themes, providing his own perception of the past occurrences and events.

In the period of realism, the most notable poets were F. Mažuranić, A. Harambašić and S. S. Kranjčević. Mažuranić is the author of the sketch collection *Lišće* (*Leaves*, 1887), poetic prose inspired by Turgenev and his prose poems. In his poetry Harambašić distinguished himself by verses permeated by Party-of-Right freedom-loving spirit of Croatianism and rebelliousness as well as love towards an ideal woman. By his first poem collection *Bugarkinje* (1885) Kranjčević introduced social motifs (poems *Radniku* / *To the worker*, *Iseljeniku* / *To the emigrant*), and in the rest (*Izabrane pjesme* / *Selected Poems*, 1898, *Trzaji* / *Twitches*, 1901, *Pjesme* / *Poems*, 1908) he is a proto-modernist poet relying on cosmic and biblical symbols. In the manner of a misunderstood and lonely, sometimes even sarcastic genius, this poeta-vates also came down upon the mysterious cosmic force bringing disharmony to the world. That is the reason why modernists at the end of the century considered him to be their role model.

After the period of Romanticism, lyric poetry regained its privileged status in Modernism. The most important poets were A. G. Matoš, V. Vidrić, D. Domjanić, M. Begović, V. Nazor, J. Benešić, Lj. Wiesner, J. Polić Kamov and F. Galović. This poetry shares several thematic-motive spheres: antiquity (Hellenistic, Roman, Jewish-biblical, Slavic and Old-Croatian motifs),

landscape, erotica and love, homeland with archaic-mythological and pseudohistorical adoration, auto-thematization of the poet and the act of creation. Formally, modernist poetry is characterized by contrasts, gradation and repetition. On all text levels there is an obvious tendency towards aestheticizing with the aim of producing atmosphere (“Stimmung”), that is the illusion of harmony and beauty. This is the reason why in Modernism the sonnet will regain its privileged place and in space stylization flower (“floral”) elements of the Art Nouveau style. Modernist poets restored the interest for creation in dialects (kajkavian and chakavian). The tonal (accentual) versification finally prevailed in Modernism.

DRAMA

The origins of dramatic literature in Croatia are related to medieval church ceremonies and occasional plays in Latin from which religious plays with motifs based on saints’ lives (*prikazanja / miracles*) emerged. The Renaissance pastoral drama and comedy reached their highest point in the works by M. Držić and baroque drama in the works written by I. Gundulić and J. Palmotić. Under the Jesuitic influence drama also develops in the continental parts of Croatia, new comedy and tragicomedy in the 17th century in Dubrovnik, and in the 18th century the adaptations of Molière’s comedies (*frančezarije*). Since the Jesuit order ban, in continental Croatia drama is cultivated in Franciscan monasteries in Slavonia, mostly with religious topics following the example of Italian works, the only authentic kajkavian comedian being T. Brezovački.

Since the 19th century, the dramatic literature evolves within the Croatian National Revival and the formation of the national theatre (I. Kukuljević Sakcinski *Juran i Sofija ili Turci kod Siska / Juran and Sophia or the Turks near Sisak*, 1839 – the first pro-

fessional theatrical performance in Croatian language). In his preface to *Dramatička pokušnja* (1838) D. Demeter perceives drama and theatre as the main instrument of political upbringing and education in the development of the national culture, therefore drama will become the creator of national theatre (1861) and the moderator of a young middle-class society. By his classicist-romanticist tragedy *Teuta* (1844) Demeter announced a type of historical play which will be prevalent until the very end of the century – from M. Bogović (*Matija Gubec*, 1859) and F. Marković (*Karlo Drački*, 1872) to H. Dragošić (*Posljednji Zrinjski / The Last Zrinjski*, 1893) and A. Tresić Pavičić (*Katarina Zrinska*, 1899).

The comedy-writing tradition has been continued by A. Nemčić (*Kvas bez kruha ili Tko će biti veliki sudac? / Leaven without Bread or Who is going to be the great judge?*, 1854), A. Šenoa (*Ljubica*, 1866) and J. E. Tomić (*Novi red / New Order*, 1881) with the type of urban comedy and J. Rorauer (*Maja*, 1883) and I. Vojnović *Psyche* (1889) with the drawing-room comedy type. However, the most popular dramatic works during the 19th century were folk theatrical plays, pieces including “singing and dancing” (J. Freudenreich, *Graničari*, 1857) based on the example of Viennese folk comedy, and will also appear in the 20th century (M. J. Zagorka).

In Modernism, dramas and comedies pushed into the background a politically determined tragedy and verse which until then dominated over the national historical play based on the model of the European tragedians. The same authors also wrote veristic and artistic pieces, and drawing-room conversation and erotica, lyrical raptures and visions as well as male-female relations became the main dramatic preoccupations. Modernism in the national play began with Vojnović’s *Ekvinocij (Equinox)*, by its premiere performance in 1895 in the new theatre building, continued with Vojnović’s paradigmatic *Dubrovačka trilogija / The Dubrovnik Trilogy* (1902), veristic-naturalistic pieces by S.

Tucić (*Povratak / The Return*, 1898) and J. Kosor (*Požar strasti / The Fire of Passion*, 1911) and artistic-aestheticist dramatic texts by M. Begović (*Gospođa Walewska / Mrs. Walewska* and *Venus victrix*, 1906) and M. Ogrizović (*Hasanaginica*, 1909). J. Polić Kamov made a first step towards antiaestheticism by his plays *Orgije monaha / Monk's Orgies* and *Mamino srce / Mother's Heart* written in the period of Modernism, but published posthumously, and in 1914 young M. Krleža made his debut by his expressionistic *Legenda / Legend*.

In Modernism drama has taken a prominent position in modern Croatian literature.

PROSE

Short story

In Croatian literature short story establishes its continuity with the appearance of magazines (Lj. Vukotinović, *Ivan Vojković*, *Danica* 1835). The first Croatian short story writers were Lj. Vukotinović, I. Kukuljević Sakcinski, D. Demeter and D. Jarnević, then A. Starčević, A. Veber Tkalčević, M. Bogović, I. Trnski, I. Filipović etc.

In the beginning, our short story writers imitated techniques employed by folk storytellers, relatively long action narratives bringing short story closer to novel prevail, famous battles against Turks and Mongols, heroism of the Croats and Slavic interconnectedness are used as subjects, and they are characterized by intense emotionality, ideal of woman and homeland and the dominance of trivial romanticist techniques (letters, intrigues, kidnappings, revenges, duels, loves at first sight etc.). An important part in the short story affirmation belongs to A. Šenoa and J. Jurković, J. E. Tomić, I. Perkovac, V. Korajac, R. Jorgovanić

and others who shift the short story in the direction of realistic narration with contemporary social subjects.

From the 1870-ies, the short story shows formal genre completeness and the first theoretical and literary-historical works appear (J. Hranilović, *O noveli / On short story*, 1883), while realism, apart from the novel, also favoured the short story. Our realist writers (A. Kovačić, E. Kumičić, K. Š. Gjalski, J. Kozarac, V. Novak, J. Draženović, J. Turić) wrote under Šenoa's influence and under the influence of French and Russian narrators. Some of them wrote their best literary pages in the short story form (Gjalski, *Pod starim krovovima / Under the Old Roofs*, J. Kozarac, *Tena, Oprava / The Dress...*).

By impressionistic-symbolistic experience of the world, Modernism found an ideal form in the short story. Thus, short story writers such as J. Leskovar, A. G. Matoš, D. Šimunović, M. C. Nehajev, V. Nazor and J. Polić Kamov raised the short story to a high artistic level and ensured for it the until then highest reputation and popularity.

Novel

The prehistory of Croatian novel is marked by the translations of French and Italian novels of chivalry (*Rumanac trojski*, *Aleksandrida*, *Barlaam i Josafat* and others) during the 13th and 14th century, then by a pastoral novel *Planine / Mountains* by P. Zoranić from the 16th century and a few novels by Croatian authors in Italian language from the 17th to the 19th century.

However, the tradition of the original national novel with a continuity starts with the Revival, that is Romanticism. Until Šenoa's works, there were several of them published: historical novel for adolescents *Štitonoša (Esquire)* by Lj. Vukotinović (1844), an unfinished novel by A. Nemčić *Udes ljudski (Human Fate*, Neven, 1854), "our first original novel" *Požeški đak*

(*Požega's student*, 1863) by M. Kraljević, *Dva pira* (*Two Wedding Feasts*) by D. Jarnević (1864), *Severila* by Ivan Krstitelj (1866) and *Ispovijest* (*Confession*) by Blaž Lorković (1868).

By his romanticist-realistic historical novels (*Zlatarovo zlato* / *Goldsmith's Gold*, 1871, *Čuvaj se senjske ruke* / *Pirates of Senj*, 1875, *Seljačka buna* / *Peasant's Revolt*, 1877, *Diogenes*, 1878, *Kletva* / *The Curse*, 1880-81) and novels portraying contemporary life (*Mladi gospodin* / *A Young Gentleman*, 1875, *Vladimir*, 1879, *Prosjak Luka* / *Beggar Luka*, 1879, *Branka*, 1881) A. Šenoa canonized and popularized the novel, created by it the reading public and middle-class taste and established the language standard. The most important upholders of Šenoa's novel type were F. Becić and J. E. Tomić.

During realism the novel flourishes with the growing production and interest of audience, critics and theory, and regarding Kumičić's essay *O romanu* / *On the Novel* (Hrvatska vila, 1883) there was a first polemic over novel and over the type of our realism. The novel is thematically disintegrated, becoming a leading literary genre. The most prominent authors were A. Kovačić with his satirical novel *Fiškal* / *Lawyer* (1882) and a protomodernistic one *U registraturi* / *In the Archives* (1888), E. Kumičić with his social novels *Olga i Lina* / *Olga and Lina* (1881) and *Gospođa Sabina* / *Mrs. Sabina* (1883) and historical ones *Urota zrinsko-frankopanska* / *The Zrinski-Frankopan Conspiracy* (1892-93) and *Kraljica Lepa* / *Queen Lepa* (1902), K. Š. Gjalski with his political novel *U noći* / *In the Night* (1886) and character novels *Janko Borislavić* (1887) and *Radmilović* (1894), and he also wrote several historical novels (*Osvit* / *Daybreak*, 1892, *Za materinsku riječ* / *For the Maternal Word*, 1906). In the novel, Slavonija was represented by J. Kozarac (*Mrtvi kapitali* / *Dead Capitals*, 1889, *Među svjetlom i tminom* / *Among Light and Darkness*, 1891, *Živi kapitali* / *Live Capitals*, 1903 – unfinished), while our most prominent realistic narrator was V. Novak (*Pavao Šegota*, 1888, *Dva svijeta* / *Two Worlds*, 1901, *Tito Dorčić*, 1906)

– the author of the most representative novel of Croatian realism *Posljednji Stipančiči / The Last Stipančič's* (1899).

At the turn of the 19th and the 20th century Croatian novel adapts to the sensitivity and taste of a modern man, plot and social analysis are pushed to a position of secondary importance, while focus is shifted to psychological motivation and associative narration. The novel adjusts to a wide readership and different types of entertainment novels appear. In Modernism, the novel had a relatively prominent position in the literary system, with several important authors and characteristic socio-psychological, pseudohistorical, adventure, crime, children's, even avant-garde novels: M. Cihlar Nehajev (*Bijeg / Escape*, 1909), I. Kozarac (*Đuka Begović*, 1911), D. Šimunović (*Tuđinac / Stranger*, 1911), M. Jurić Zagorka (*Kneginja iz Petrinjske ulice / Princess from Petrinjska Street*, 1910; *Grička vještica / The Witch from Grič*, 1912-14; *Kći Lotrščaka / The Daughter of Lotrščak*, 1921), I. Brlić-Mažuranić (*Čudnovate zgode šegrta Hlapića / The Brave Adventures of a Shoemaker's Boy*, 1913), J. Polić Kamov (*Isušena kaljuža / The Dried Up Mire*, 1906-09; published in 1957).

Most Croatian novels from the 19th century have been published in magazines.

Travel literature

Apart from the short story, novel and their derivatives, travel writings and biographies also had its place in the genre system of the 19th century Croatian prose, and marginally also autobiography, memoirs, essay and feuilleton. All these concepts have some general and particular meanings, and in principle they are characterized by a degree of mimetism, that is the relationship towards reality and textual indications pointing to it and which in these nonfictional forms are expected.

Although in Zoranić's *Planine* we may find characteristics of travel writing discourse, travel writing becomes independent as a separate genre owing to print and establishes itself in the 19th century - the so called golden century of travel. The tradition of modern Croatian travel literature was started by M. Mažuranić by a book *Pogled u Bosnu / View into Bosnia* (1842), Stanko Vraz by his travel "reportage" in *Danica* in 1844 *Put u gornje strane / A Voyage to Upper Places* and Antun Nemčić by his *Putositnice* (1845) as one of the best prose works of our Romanticism.

After the travel pieces by I. F. Jukić, I. Kukuljević, M. Pavlinović and A. V. Tkalčević, then also A. Šenoa, J. Jurković, I. Kršnjavi and F. Mažuranić, this genre was continued by a generation of modernists headed by A. G. Matoš who also reformed it. For Matoš, travel literature is "one of the most beautiful and most modern literary forms", and a travel writer can be "a scholar and a joker, a painter and a psychologist, a dreamer and a realist, a poet and a storyteller". By this, the genre focus was shifted from the up to then didactic-patriotic function to the travel subject, that is to his moods and space experience.

Biography

Although the prehistory of Croatian biography can be traced from medieval hagiographies and numerous bibliographic notes on Dubrovnik and other Dalmatian writers from the 16th to the 18th century, systematic work on biography in Croatia started in the 19th century. It was in accordance with positivism and patriotic aspirations of the National Revival, so the biographers insisted on the reconstruction and description of a general social background.

In 1856 *Biografski rječnik znamenitih muževa Dalmacije / Biographical Dictionary of Notable Dalmatian Men* by Š. Ljubić was published, and I. Kukuljević Sakcinski compiled *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih / Dictionary of Yugoslav Artists* (1858-60), first such work among the South Slavs, and *Bibliografija hrvatska / Croatian Bibliography* (1860-63), which makes him the pioneer of Croatian scientific bibliography. He compiled two more (literary) lexicons and “a series of biographies” *Glasoviti Hrvati prošlih vjekova / Distinguished Croats from the past* (1886). L. Ilić published Trenk’s biography in 1845, Đ. S. Deželić published *Sbirka životopisah slavni jugoslovenskih muževah / A Collection of Biographies of Famous Yugoslav Men* in 1861 and F. K. Kuhač *Ilirski glazbenici / The Illyrian Musicians*. The largest number of biographies was published in Academy’s publications or by Matica. The end of the 19th century was marked by *Album zaslužnih Hrvata XIX. stoljeća / Album of Meritorious Croats of the 19th Century* (1898-1900) by M. Grlović including 150 biographies.

At the beginning of the 20th century eminent historical individuals are still a topic of writing in the form of a biographical portrait – studies, papers and essays. A special place belongs to V. Deželić senior, the progenitor of modern national biographical editions, author of not only noted biographies but also of the first proposal for the publication of general national biographical lexicon and the author of 1114 biographies in *Znameniti i zaslužni Hrvati 925-1925 / Notable and Meritorious Croats 925-1925* (1925, editor E. Laszowski).

Autobiography

Although Croatian culture begins autobiographically, *I* being the first word on Baščanska ploča (The Baška Tablet) and autobiographical texts more or less frequently appearing since the 15th century (J. Šižgorić, I. Česmički, I. Crijević, V. Pribojević, A. Vrančić, M. Vlačić, F. Petrić, B. Kašić, M. A. de Dominis, P. R. Vitezović, M. Magdić, M. P. Katančić, M. A. Reljković), Croatian autobiography also establishes its continuity in the revival period. From that time it is possible not only to notice a regular production of one specific family of texts, but also the first signs of its theoretical organization and positioning in the literary system (P. A. Kazali, 1845).

After Gaj's *Vjekopis (Biography)* written in 1851 and autobiographical travelogue *Odziv iz prošlosti (Echo from the Past, 1863)* by M. J. Šporer published in *Obzor's* feuilleton, by the end of the century several more autobiographies have been published, mostly in magazines, by P. Preradović, A. V. Tkalčević, M. Stojanović, J. Freudenreich, S. Kranjčević, M. Krešić, K. Šandor Gjalski, J. Kozarac, and then at the beginning of the 20th century by A. G. Matoš, V. Bukovac, Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić, M. J. Zagorka etc. The majority of them was written for a specific occasion and used as an appendix to the editions of author's works with complete reliance in the credibility of their content.

Stating an opinion that our autobiographical literature primarily comprises "short texts used as supplements to almanacs and anthologies, and the rest of it are obituary notices", as a Croatian exception T. Ujević points out A. G. Matoš, who brought down the diversity of autobiographical texts to two main types – confessional and apologetic. Ujević also brought attention to the central problem of this genre that is to the relativity of each identity and to its constructivist nature.

Memoir

Together with auto/biographies and travel books, memoirs are among the oldest texts, sharing many characteristics and often relegated to the same group of texts due to their expected referentiality and factional features as well as genre contamination which they easily succumb to. Hence their unstable status in literary systems.

Although memoirist writings date from the ancient times, as a genre memoirs under their present name took hold in the Middle Ages, and in the 17th and 18th century the writing and publication of memoirs becomes a literary fashion. Magazines and newspapers significantly contributed to the memoirist writing popularization. During the 19th century, memoirs tend to deal less with scandals, assuming the status they have generally kept until today. On the one hand they aim at objectivity, even scientific approach in the outline of historical events, and on the other at a well-shaped story which attempts to revive the past in a narrative manner through public or private anecdotes.

Traces of memoirist literature in Latin and Italian in Croatian culture can be found relatively deeply in the past (P. Pavlović, K. Čipiko, I. Katalinić and others), but they achieved continuity in Croatian language only recently. In the Revival, several autobiographical-memoirist texts in Croatian, but also in German (E. Breier, I. Tkalac) and Slovene language (J. Trdina) emerged, having an important part in the subsequent historiographical reconstruction of this period. Apart from Lj. Vukotinović, I. A. Brlić and A. T. Brlić, memoirs were written by V. F. Mažuranić, I. Prodan, S. Radić, E. Kumičić, I. Kršnjavi, M. Šenoa, father G. Martić, V. Jagić, I. Trnski, J. Kempf, Č. Truhelka, A. G. Matoš, young T. Ujević and Ivo Andrić etc. Many of these texts remained unpublished.

Journals are also sometimes included in this family of texts. Apart from journals by M. Vrhovac, D. Rakovac, I. Kukuljević,

S. Mlinarić, A. T. Brlić and a journal by the Austrian minister of police J. F. Kempen (*Das Tagebuch des Polizeiministers Kempen 1848 bis 1859*, Vienna, 1931), the most popular from this period is *Dnevnik (Journal)* by D. Jarnević. It is a type of an intimate diary kept by the author from 1833 to 1847, first in German and then in Croatian language, partly published as late as 1958 under the title *Život jedne žene / Life of a Woman*, and in a complete, integral version only in 2000 under the original title. M. Jurić Zagorka also kept a journal (*Iz dnevnika jedne žene / From a Woman's Diary*, Obzor, 1900). Many of them are still in manuscript.

Essay

Even though it showed indications of development even before the revival, an essay becomes more and more important with the emergence of newspapers and magazines as a popular part of their contents, while it became prevalent in the 20th century magazines. A French writer M. de Montaigne (*Essais*, 1580-88) is considered to be the progenitor of essay, influencing many European writers. Essay reached its highest points during the 19th and in the first decades of the 20th century. In Croatian culture it is possible to find traces of essay in the Renaissance authors' epistles and in the comments of some authorial books, but the national essay literature tradition in the modern sense cannot be discussed before the Illyrian period and the emergence of periodicals.

Political brochures written by the members of Croatian National Revival are in fact essays, and the same applies to Vukotinović's paper *Ilirisam i kroatizam (The Illyrian Ideas and Croatianism)* and, even more to his feuilleton *Zimske misli (Winter Thoughts)* in *Ilirske narodne novine* from 1842, where the author in an easy-going manner writes about his contemporaries

and makes comments on pressing matters and occurrences, including the situation in literature. Such are some of the papers published by Vraz in Kolo, by Demeter, Babukić, Šulek and Nemčić in Danica and by Kuzmanić, Kazali, Brlić and Š. Starčević in Zora dalmatinska etc. Many contributions in magazine sections, gradually differentiated in order to follow the most interesting current events and happenings (*Směsice, Tobolac, Svaštice, Smotra, Pošurice, Podlistak, Listak, Feuilleton*) are of essayistic character. Among them are *Hrvati Mađarom* (1848) by I. Mažuranić, Starčević's *Poslanica pobratimu* which outlines the foundations of Party-of-Right ideology, and one of the major contributions to this literary genre is Starčević's *Pisma Magjarolacah* (1879).

Šenoa's *Dopisi iz Praga (Letters from Prague)* and *Zagrebu-lje*, and also feuilletons by A. Kovačić are considered to be the best examples of our 19th century essay literature. Ironizing authority and current social events culminated in essays – a combination of prose and verse – *Iz Bombaja / From Bombay*, published by Kovačić in Sloboda (Sušak, 1879-80 and 1884). Merit also goes to R. F. Jorgovanić, J. Čedomil, M. Šrepel, A. Petravić, D. Politeo, I. Despot, as well as to a number of modernists (M. Dežman, M. C. Nehajev, M. Marjanović, V. Lunaček, B. Livadić, K. Hausler). Among them are Kamov's causerie's in Pokret, later collected in the book *Ćaskanja / Chattings* (1914).

However, among them all, Matoš left the most profound imprint, consistently standing on his principle that every artistic work, also including journalistic, is distinguished by style. Until that time, Matoš was not only our most productive essayist, but also the first who published a book under that title (*Ogledi / Essays*, 1905).

Feuilleton

The emergence of feuilleton (*feuilleton* in French, *podlistak* in Croatian) is most closely connected with the appearance of magazines and newspapers. On the one hand, it is a magazine or newspapers section, and on the other a short, usually narrative contribution dealing with topical events, which are, regardless of their subject, always displayed in an interesting, light and simple manner, so the audience gladly read them (*the feuilleton style*).

The first such feuilleton in Croatian culture – Vukotinović's *Zimske misli* – appeared in Gaj's newspaper in 1841. In it, the author discusses different topics from everyday life such as Illyrian ideas and ethnicity, the relations between Croatia and Slavonia, the youth, balls, literature, language, German theatre repertory and other such matters – all in the spirit of the revival patriotism, often in a witty and critical manner. After Starčević's contributions in Neven's feuilleton *Tobolac* 1853, feuilleton became the main part of the central national newspaper *Pozor/Obzor* (1861-1941), in which almost all cultural workers from that period contributed (Kukuljević, Veber, Crnčić, Marković, Rački, Klaić, Smičklas and others).

Aside from reviews and discussions on different subjects, travel literature was dominant, and the "only exclusively feuilleton author" (J. Horvat) was *Petrica Kerempuh* i. e. August Šenoa with his *Praški listići* (*Prague papers*) published in 1862 in *Pozor*, that is *Zagrebulje* printed in 1866 in *Obzor*. *Obzor* soon started to fill its feuilleton's space with novels, creating first bestsellers. Authors of feuilletons were also V. Korajac, J. Jurković and R. Jorgovanić. Feuilleton writer in Party-of-Right newspaper was A. Kovačić and in *Narodne novine* Janko Ibler (Desiderius). *Obzor*'s female feuilleton writer was M. J. Zagorka, who published her first novels in the feuilleton of *Hrvatske novosti*. After a rich experience that he gained as a full-time feuilleton writer in Belgrade newspapers as well as in *Hrvatska sloboda* and other

Party-of-Right papers, from 1912 to 1913 A. G. Matoš also published contributions in the eminent *Obzor*.

In Matoš's opinion, literature "has already identified with quality journalism", and for Ujević, feuilleton signifies the entrance of literature into journalism, but also "the installation of journalism in the midst of literature".

Criticism

The emergence of Croatian literary criticism is also connected with the appearance of newspapers and magazines. The first piece of criticism was published by Lj. Vukotinović in *Letopis Matice srpske* in 1834, and in his feuilletons and in the essay *Tri stvari knjiženstva: ukus, sloga, kritika / Three matters of literature: taste, unity, criticism* (1843) he argued for criticism in accordance with the revival function of literature. The founder, however, is considered to be S. Vraz who, under the pseudonym Jakob Rešetar, managed the literary criticism section in *Kolo*. For Vraz, the aim of criticism was to determine the artistic value of the Illyrian period literature and the direction in which Croatian literature should develop. Papers dealing with literary criticism were also presented in *Neven*, among them a comprehensive critical discussion by A. Veber Tkalčević on the play *Mejrima* by M. Ban (1852) and *Moja o kazalištu / My Opinion on Theatre* (1855) by J. Jurković, where realism was supported for the first time.

A. Šenoa, the leading critic in the 60-ies and 70-ies, in his paper *Naša književnost / Our Literature* (1865) argued for the thesis that literature should be tendentious and social, which means that an author should deal with current ideas and draw inspiration from real life. Šenoa wrote literary and theatrical reviews for newspapers (*Pozor*) and magazines, mostly for his *Vienac* by which he shaped literary life. V. Jagić also wrote on the then literature (*Kratak priegled hrvatsko-srbske književnosti u posljed-*

nje dvie-tri godine / A Short Survey of Croatian-Serbian Literature in the last two or three years, 1866), and theatrical and literary criticism during the 70-ies and 80-ies was also published by F. Marković, the first Croatian aesthetician, in *Vienac* and *Obzor*.

Polemics which was stirred over Kumičić's essay *O romanu / On the Novel* (1883) arguing in favor of naturalism, established a name for several critics, critical profession and criticism as a relatively autonomous literary practice. J. Ibler (Desiderius) professionally wrote on all significant matters in Croatian and foreign literatures and also revalued Croatian authors from earlier periods. J. Pasarić confronted naturalism with "healthy realism" inspired by Turgenev and J. Hranilović has a similar attitude, who, following the example of F. Marković, was against superficial criticism and modern art, pleading for an integration of realism and idealism. As leader of "the old" and follower of Brunetière's neo-idealism, D. Politeo was against naturalism, Art Nouveau and decadent spirit of modern art. He argued for the Christian principles, the same as J. Čedomil (Jakov Čuka), so both of them shall be considered the predecessors of the *Catholic Modernism*. Čedomil was against naturalism and impressionistic method, he evaluated our criticism as superficial and biased, pointed out the ideological and social function of literature as well as categories of ethics and truthfulness, insisted on tradition and context and on the harmonious relation between form and content. Due to his critical systematic quality, high standards and inclination to theory drawing on Roman role models (P. Bourget, F. Brunetière, A. Saint-Beuve, H. Taine, De Sanctis and others), Čedomil was proclaimed the first modern Croatian critic and an inaugurator of scientific literary criticism.

Modernist movement also brought disintegration in literary criticism. New generations form literary views and ideas outside of national literary mainstream (Prague, Vienna, Paris) and oppose the views of old(er) critics via newspapers. As much as they mutually polemized, following the example of other European

literatures, they all argue for freedom, individualism and following European trends. Among about ten most active young modernist critics – M. Dežman Ivanov, M. Šarić, P. Skok, I. Krnic, M. Cihlar Nehajev, B. Livadić, V. Lunaček, M. Nikolić and others – the most significant are M. Marjanović, as one of the leaders of the Modernist movement and A. G. Matoš as the most influential and at the same time first freelance critic. “Croatian Bjelinski” Marjanović argued for the knowledge of immediate literary past (*Iza Šenoae / After Šenoa*, 1906) and related Slavic and Nordic literatures, understanding literature as an instrument for the promotion of advanced ideas and universal national goals under the influence of a Danish theoretician G. Brandes. As opposed to Marjanović’s utilitarianism, Matoš argued for formal aestheticism and literary autonomy, style is the main category of art so the critic’s duty is to write on the authorial style, and impressionism is the most suitable critical method.

The polemic between Marjanović and Matoš titled *Artizam i realizam / Formal aestheticism and realism* published in *Savremenik* in 1911 marked the culmination in the modernist criticism.

Polemic

Polemic may be considered as a part of criticism in a broad sense. The notion refers to the type of texts in which one’s own views are fiercely and irreconcilably defended, while critically disputing the opponent’s with the purpose of winning the public’s favour. Instead of *ad rem* arguments, in polemics through a fictitious dialogue arguments *ad personam* become dominant. Originated from the ancient social practice that included skills and special oratorical figures, polemics in today’s meaning functions since the Middle Ages, from the time of Christian apologists and their score-settling with heretics and adversaries of the

Church. Of such character are also some Latin works written by our later authors M. Vlačić, M. de Dominis and bishop N. Modruški. However, Croatian polemic and its continuity are studied along with the revival press and disputes in the center of which on the one side were the Illyrians and those who from the positions of Germanization and Hungarization attempted to compromise them, and on the other controversies regarding language and orthography and the directions of literature. Since the Revival, polemic has become a generator of all essential changes in the poetics and world views of the leading authors, who were at the same time the leading polemicists.

The first polemic was initiated by Gaj with the founders of Kolo *Rak*, *Vuk* and *Vrag* by making a parody of his own poem, a hymn of the Illyrian Movement *Još Horvatska ni propala* (*Croatia still isn't ruined*). Polemical qualities are also implied in Vraz's poem *Odgovor bratji, što žele, da pjevam davorie* (*Reply to brothers who want me to write patriotic poems*) published in *Danica* in 1837, in which its author expressed his opposition to literary amateurism and the dominant patriotic literary model. In Šenoa's time polemics between the Croatian Party of Right members and *Obzor*'s contributors started, as well as polemics on the aesthetic evaluation of Gundulić's *Osman* and polemics regarding the historical background of Mažuranić's *Smail-aga Čengić* etc. In the eighties, the polemic between the Zagreb philologists emerged, in which, among others, participated T. Maretić as the main representative of the so called "Croatian vukovci". A polemic that started regarding Kumičić's paper *O romanu / On the Novel* (1883) was of particular importance for criticism, novel and our realism. Polemics flaring up at the turn of the century between the old and the young generation resulted in the establishment of special magazine polemics' sections.

One of the most productive polemicists among modernists was Matoš, whose conception of literature includes a polemic, because, as he wrote, "literatures that live without a fight are in

big trouble". Matoš was also the first who compiled a book of polemics (*Dragi naši savremenici / Our Dear Contemporaries*).

Historiography

After the first Latin and Italian miscellanies in manuscript on the Ragusan authors during the 18th century, the beginnings of national historiography are connected with the 19th century and the lexicographic work of I. Kukuljević, the founder of modern Croatian historiography. After the first attempts and literary-historical surveys of Croatian and foreign authors, for example *Ogledalo književne poviesti jugoslavjanske / The Mirror of Yugoslav Literary History* (1864-69) by Š. Ljubić and *Geschichte der südslavischen Literatur* (1864-65) by P. J. Šafárik, in 1867 the first volume of *Historija književnosti naroda hrvatskoga i srbskoga / The History of Literature of Croats and Serbs* by V. Jagić was published containing a survey of medieval literature; that is considered to be the beginning of Croatian literary historiography. By the end of the century some ten more different literary-historical, mostly textbook overviews were published, and at the very end of it also the first complete *Povjest književnosti hrvatske i srpske / The History of Croatian and Serb Literature* by Gj. Šurmin (1898).

Interest in the Ragusan literature at the beginning of the 20th century resulted in a number of authorial surveys, and documentary research of the revival in Gj. Šurmin's *Hrvatski preporod / Croatian Revival* (1903-04) in two volumes. In 1906 N. Andrić published a popular monograph *Pod apsolutizmom / In the Reign of Absolutism*, and M. Marjanović his study *Iza Šenoae / After Šenoa*.

The most important literary-historical publications in modernism were surveys *Slavonska književnost u XVIII. vijeku / Slavonian Literature in the 18th Century* (1907) by Branko Vodnik

(Drechsler) and *Povijest hrvatske književnosti od humanizma do potkraj XVIII. stoljeća* / *The History of Croatian Literature from Humanism until the End of the 18th Century* (1913). Unlike his predecessors, Vodnik was not a mere philologist-positivist, but also considers important an aesthetic evaluation of authors and works based on modern criticism which should also include history of literature. He was also the first to focus attention on the literary reception and argued for the introduction of “comparative literature” (comparative studies).

THE MEDIA

The principle print medium of Croatian literature until the 19th century were books and calendars, and since the Illyrian Movement (1836-43) and the appearance of Gaj's *Novine* and *Danica ilirska* in 1836, and especially since the publication of the first issue of Vraz's *Kolo* in 1842 – that role was assumed by newspapers and magazines. The first Croatian magazine in Dalmatia was *Zora dalmatinska* (1844), in Slavonia *Slavonac* (1863), and in Bosnia and Herzegovina *Bosanski prijatelj* (1851). The only magazine published during the “Bach regime” was *Neven* (1852-58), which initiated the process of canonization of national literature.

The first scientific journal was *Književnik* (1864), established in order to prepare personnel for the future academy, and the first children's magazine was *Bosiljak* (1864-68). *Matica ilirska/hrvatska* and *JAZU* (Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts) founded *Vienac* (1869-1903), made by his most famous editor A. Šenoa a central magazine. The canonization process of young national literature was successfully ended with *Vienac*. Party-of-Right magazines, among which the most relevant is *Hrvatska vila* (1882-85), had an important role in the formation of our realism.

The generational conflict between the old and the young during the modernist movement (1895-1903) and a campaign for the modernization of national literature, culture and politics took place via many magazines. The Prague group of the young came together around *Hrvatska misao* (1897), the Vienna group around *Mladost* (1898) and the Zagreb group around *Nova Nada* (1897). *Nada* published in Sarajevo (1895-1903) and edited by S. S. Kranjčević also had a significant function. One of the results of the modernist movement was the foundation of the Society of Croatian Writers (1900) with *Savremenik* (1906-41), the central magazine of the young. At the same time, Catholic youth published its magazine *Luč* (1905-42).

Magazines and newspapers appeared as a new and to the very end of modernism dominant medium. They played a key role in the modernization of Croatian society, in the creation and formation of new Croatian literature, its genre, stylistic and thematic renewal and in the development of new professions, traditions and a cultural model based on text.

INSTITUTIONS

After the Renaissance academies (for example, *Akademija složnih / the Academy of the Unanimous* and *Akademija ispraznijeh / the Academy of the Empty* in Dubrovnik) the first aspects of organized modern literary life are connected with revival public reading-rooms.

The Illyrian reading-room in Zagreb was the generator of all changes in national life, primarily its institutionalization in basically all areas. All the main, mostly even today active economic, cultural, scientific, literary and other trade associations emerged or were conceived in this period: *Hrvatsko-slavonsko gospodarsko društvo / Croatian-Slavonian economic society* (1841), *Matica ilirska / Central Illyrian Cultural and Publishing Society* (1842),

Narodni muzej / National museum (1846), Društvo za jugoslavensku povjestnicu i starine / Society for Yugoslav History and Antiques (1850), Hrvatsko narodno kazalište / Croatian National Theatre (1860), Matica dalmatinska / Central Dalmatian Cultural and Publishing Society (1862), Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti / Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (1866), Društvo Sv. Jeronima / Saint Jerome's Society (1868), Hrvatski pedagoški-znanstveni zbor / Croatian pedagogical-literary association (1871), Sveučilište / University (1874) and Sveučilišna biblioteka / the University Library (1875), Društvo umjetnosti / Art Association (1878), Hrvatsko naravoslovno društvo / Croatian Natural-Science Society (1885), Društvo hrvatskih književnika / Croatian Writers' Society (1900) and Hrvatsko novinarsko društvo / Croatian Press Association (1910).

One or more members of the Croatian National Revival were directly involved in all of them.

Matica's purpose was to publish old classics and promote "Croatian belles lettres", Academy's to further scientific research, St. Jerome's Society's to print folk and religious works and Croatian Writers' Society's to promote Croatian literature and protect the interests and reputation of the literary class.

EUROPEAN AUTHORS AND TRANSLATORS

Moving to the north, Croatian literature entered the area of influence of Germanic and Slavic cultures. The revivers looked up to German and Austrian authors, and one of the most popular was F. Schiller. The translators were mostly rendering *adaptations* that is linguistic "adjustments" of original texts. Under the influence of Viennese folk humour a theatrical folk play appeared in Croatia, Šenoa based his understanding of literature on R. Gottschall's theory, translating his works to German trying to affect

his own European reception. Until the end of the century German kept its leading mediating role.

Pan-Slavist spirit directed the revivers towards close relations with the Slavic cultures, in the first place with Czech and Slovak reformers (P. Šafárik and J. Kollár), later also the romanticists (K. H. Mácha, J. K. Tyl, Lj. Štur), and that relationship will grow stronger again during the modernist movement. Mickiewicz was one of the most popular Polish authors, among the Russian authors it was Pushkin and among the Ukrainian Gogolj, but the central place was held by Turgenev. During the eighties, Lermontov was intensively translated, and then Gončarov and Tolstoj. Owing to Harambašić's efforts the Croatians also got acquainted with Čehov, while Dostojevski became popular in the 20th century.

Apart from Shakespeare, the classic, and romanticist Byron, who will remain popular until the modernist period, particularly influential was a Scottish writer W. Scott, whose historical novel model was used by Šenoa to establish a novel and create domestic readership generally used to reading German fiction. Our realist authors were also inspired by the English culture (A. Smith, J. S. Mill, S. Smiles, Ch. Darwin) and Shelley was popularized by modernists.

The revivers were also familiar with French authors (Rousseau, Lamartine, Béranger, Barbir) and translated their works. By his editorial work in Vienac, Šenoa set the guidelines for the francophonic direction of Croatian literature, Kumičić argued in favor of Zola's naturalism and Ivo Vojnović was also a French disciple, close to an Italian Manzoni, too.

In the 19th century Italian classics Petrarca, Dante, Ariosto and Tasso enjoyed a high status in Croatian literature, the revivers show interest for the romanticist G. Leopardi, I. Mažuranić, raised in Italian, translated Savioli, S. Vraz also translated some Italian authors and Preradović tried his skill by translating Dante's work (fragments of *Inferno*), as well as Manzoni and Vittorelli.

In criticism, Croatian authors relied on the methods and techniques of European, primarily French critics such as P. Bourget, F. Brunetière, A. Saint-Beuve and H. Taine, Russian V. G. Bjelin-ski, Danish G. Brandes and Italian F. de Sanctis.

In the modernist movement, the young argue in favor of European orientation and the establishment of a direct contact with foreign literatures without the mediation of German or other languages. The cause was the young generation's studies in Prague and Vienna, where they were influenced by Masaryk's Czech realism that is the Viennese secessionistic formal aestheticism. An important part belongs to Matoš, who happened to be in Paris, contributing to Croatian magazines from the very source of modernism. Matoš was keeping track of the French symbolists' work, translated Baudelaire, and through French introduced into Croatian culture an American author E. A. Poe. That is the reason why modernism from a literary-historical view was assessed as the period of "turning to Europe" (A. Barac).

The most important translators during the 19th century were mostly authors, editors and critics themselves. From the rest of them, Š. Dimitrović Kotoranin, V. Vežić, S. Buzolić, P. Budmani and V. Dukat were prominent in the translational domain. Dukat was one of the founders of the English and comparative studies in Croatia, developed within the national literary historiography based on the work by V. Jagić, M. Šrepel, N. Andrić, K. Pavelić, M. Sabić, T. Matić and B. Vodnik.

PUBLISHING TRADE, BOOKTRADE AND READERS

In Croatia, pious books in Croatian language and in all three scripts were published on the model of German protestantism. An important part was played by the printing plants in Nedelišće and Varaždin and then also in Zagreb, where in 1684 the Croatian

Parliament handed over Zemaljska tiskara / Zemaljska printing plant to P. R. Vitezović. After that, a state printer and bookseller J. T. von Trattner was active in Croatia, whose printing plant was bought by bishop M. Vrhovac. Since 1808 a printer and bookseller F. Župan was active, who in 1840 founded a letter foundry, printed German and Croatian newspapers and also initiated Zabavna čitaonica / An entertainment reading-room. In 1838 Gaj opened his Narodna tiskara / National printing plant, since 1856 L. Hartman was engaged in printing and bookselling, and afterwards also K. Albrecht, the founder of the first Croatian lithographic institute for which Šenoa in 1873 compiled *Vienac izabranih djela hrvatskih i srbskih* (*An Anthology of Selected Croatian and Serb Works*) on the occasion of the world book show in Vienna and was awarded a prize.

In 1875 Hartman was joined by Albert Deutsch and later by Stjepan Kugli. Since 1882 they were publishing a magazine *Književni vjesnik* and launched Hrvatska biblioteka / Croatian book collection in which almost all important works of Croatian literature were printed. Occasionally they printed catalogues, distributed Academy's and Matica's editions, in 1898 published Šurmin's luxurious *Povijest* (*History*), in 1899 Maretić's *Gramatika i stilistika* (*Grammar and Stylistics*) and started with the publication of Klaić's *Povijest Hrvata* (*History of Croats*). Apart from the big publishers – Matica, Academy and St. Jerome's Society – since the end of 1871 Dionička tiskara / Dionička printing plant was also active. It was equipped with the then state-of-the-art electrical machines, it was the first to introduce rotary press and created the first professional journalists.

The publishing-bookselling activity developed in other Croatian cities, too. In Osijek it was managed by I. M. Divald, in Dubrovnik by respectively K. A. Occhi and A. Martecchini, who in 1826 was the first to publish Gundulić's *Osman*, in Rijeka it was the family of L. Karletzki, in Zadar a bookseller A. Bubalini, that is publishers and printers D. Fracasso and A. L. Battara, in

Varaždin, besides Trattner, there were several more people, in Split I. Demarchi and later the Piperat family, in Karlovac I. N. Prettner, who in 1832 published Drašković's *Disertacija* (*Dissertation*), then A. Lukšić and I. Sagan, and in Požega M. Kraljević who in his printing office in 1861 published a magazine *Slavonac* and in 1863 "our first authentic novel" *Požeški đak*. The publishing network was joined by the Croatian Writers' Association as well as a series of private publishing bookshops, and the first professional antiquarian M. Breyer appeared. By the middle of the 19th century there was about ten and at the beginning of the 20th century some hundred bookshops. Concurrently, bookbinder shops were opened (in Dubrovnik at the end of the 15th century, in Zagreb at the beginning of the 16th century) – their work was considered artistic and bookbinders were viewed as artists.

The first bestsellers were the Illyrian *Pěšmarica* (*Book of Poems*) and *Domorodne pověsti* (*Patriotic stories*) by D. Jarnević, Preradović's *Pervenci* (*Firstlings*) were sold out in a few months and Mažuranić's *Smrt Smail-age Čengića* (*The Death of Smail-age Čengić*) became popular only after its author became a vice-roy. Freudenreich's *Graničari* (*Frontiersmen*) were distributed in as many as 3000 copies. Becić's romance novel *Kletva nevjere* (*The Curse of Infidelity*) was a real bestseller, and very successful in bookselling sense were Harambašić's *Ružmarinke* (*Rosemary Poems*), Dragošić's *Crna kraljica* (*Black Queen*), Domjanić's *Kipci i popevke* (*Pictures and Poems*), lyric poetry by M. Nikolić and V. Nazor, D. Šimunović's stories and others. The majority of other books were printed on the average of 300 to 600 copies. School books and religious literature were printed in the largest number of copies, sometimes even up to a hundred thousand.

The period from 1874 to 1903 was especially productive for bookselling, with Matica hrvatska being in the forefront with its numerous branch-offices. While the printing of trade associations amounted to 700 copies to the utmost and Academy's from 700

to 2000 copies, Matica's publications were distributed in the editions as high as 6000 copies. At the beginning of the 20th century low-priced newspapers intended for the broadest readership began to emerge. The first such cheap newspaper were *Novosti* (1907) in which Zagorka published her *Kneginja iz Petrinjske ulice* (*Princess from Petrinjska Street*). Even then, however, the newspaper printings were between 1000 and 1500 copies.

The Illyrian books and nicely bound magazines were advertised as "a decoration for a woman's formal dress", public lectures for "the fair sex" were held for the commercial purposes, and reading novels was for a long time considered to be a female business. The Illyrian authors offered their manuscripts for publication mostly without a fee, and they were not only authors, proof-readers, language editors and editors, but often also publishers and salespersons of their own books. At the beginning of the 20th century the reading public's taste became the key for the book popularity and a trigger for the increasing genre stratification of literary, publishing and bookselling work. The number of readers ranged from 500 to 600 permanent consumers for the so called belles lettres and magazines, and several thousand for folk literature including calendars. This means that there were at least two types of readership that largely overlapped. The readers were mainly intellectuals, that is primarily those who created Croatian nationalism of the 19th century. In most cases they descended from the families of peasants, small craftsmen or office workers, rarely noblemen and aristocracy.

Modernism called into question writing and reading as a patriotic duty. It was yet another proof that the revival matrix was used up and that the first period of new Croatian culture and its literature ended.

(Translated by Ana Batinić)