

THE HIDDEN AUTHOR FORMS OF AUTHOR'S "I" ON THE EARLY MODERN FRONT PAGES

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this essay is to investigate three aspects of authorial practices in the 18th century. Firstly, could the author's name alone authorise the contents of the early modern religious books published in Croatian vernacular; in this context, the models for placing the author's name on the title page will be investigated. Secondly, was the title page the place where author's "I" searched for recognition; in this perspective it will be shown that instead on the title page, reserved for saints and patrons, the author's "I" could speak in prefaces and dedications. Thirdly, was the book which is today considered anonymous, thus unauthored, and also anonymous for the literary community at the time when it was published.

KEY WORDS:

author, authorisation, religious vernacular books, paratextuality.

The Catholic Church resolved at the Council of Trent the question whether the author should be hidden or visible in a printed book. At its 4th session, incited primarily by the growth of evangelist publications, it was ordered that in future all books on sacred matters should be examined, approved, and finally, they should all, without exception, display the names of the author, censor and printer.

"And wishing, as is just, to impose a restraint, in this matter, also on printers, who now without restraint, – thinking, that is, that whatsoever they please is allowed them, – print, without the license of ecclesiastical superiors, the said books of sacred Scripture, and the notes and comments upon them of all persons indifferently, with the press oftentimes unnamed, often even fictitious, and what is more grievous still, without the author's name; and

also keep for indiscriminate sale books of this kind printed elsewhere; (this Synod) ordains and decrees (...) that it shall not be lawful for any one to print, or cause to be printed, any books whatever, on sacred matters, without the name of the author; nor to sell them in future, or even to keep them, unless they should have been first examined and approved of, by the Ordinary; (...) And the said approbation of books of this kind shall be given in writing, and for this end it shall appear authentically at the beginning of the book.”¹

What were the reasons that such a decree was frequently neglected in the country that was well-known for its faithfulness,² and where the authors wrote that

“we must often humbly praise the Lord for great, undeserved grants and His mercy, that He allowed us to be born where we are, and to be baptised in such a Catholic kingdom (...)”³

The models for placing the author’s name on the title page could possibly answer this question, and they will take us back to the concept of author-function developed by Michel Foucault in his famous essay “What is an author”.⁴ Roger Chartier later pinpointed particularly this aspect of his thinking, but he also refuted strict bounding of the author’s functionality to his judicial responsibility, as Foucault did. Chartier advocates a need to grasp the author’s function in relation to all other factors involved in book production.

“Thought of (and thinking of himself or herself) as a demiurge, the writer none the less creates in a state of dependence. Dependence upon the rules (of patronage, subsidy, and the market) that define the writer’s condition.”⁵

1 The canons and decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent, Celebrated under the Sovereign Pontiffs. Paul III., Julius III., and Pius IV. / translated by the Rev J. Waterworth. London : C. Dolman, 1848. Pp. 20.

2 For example, when Rudolph II in the Treaty of Vienna confirmed religious tolerance and the rights of the Protestants in Hungary, the Croatian Diet adopted in 1606 an article that only Catholicism is to be allowed as a denomination in Croatia. Rudolph II verified this article in 1608.

3 Mulić, Juraj. *Poszel Apostolszki* [The Work of Apostles]. Zagreb, 1742. Pp. 1317.

4 Foucault, Michael. *What is an author.* // *Rethinking popular culture : contemporary perspectives in cultural studies* / edited by Chandra Mukerji, Michael Schudson. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1991. Pp. 453.

5 Chartier, Roger. *The order of books : readers, authors, and libraries in Europe between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries.* Cambridge : Polity Press, 1994. Pp. x.

Likewise, he depends on publishers, booksellers, and readers. But he is also constrained,

“in that he undergoes the multiple determinations that organize the social space of literary production and that, in a more general sense, determine the categories and the experiences that are the very matrices of writing.”⁶

The author cannot be separated from his social context, nor can he be observed in any other way but through the various functions performed towards his home institution, patrons, censors, printers, booksellers, fellow-authors, and readers.

Although a small number of Croatian early modern religious books have been published entirely anonymously (that is to say without the author's name and without the place and date of publication),⁷ in many books, instead of the author's name the title page exhibited his functions. Thus, we read: by certain pious monk of St. Paul's order; made by an Observantine; by a son of St. Francis from the province of John Capistran etc.

Even when we proceed to the signed books, we shall notice the same: the author's name was insufficient; he was obliged to identify himself further. Members of religious orders always recorded their belonging to a group or order: by Father Boltižar Milovac, member of the Society of Jesus; by Juraj Habledić, missionary of the Society of Jesus; by Juraj Muliš, missionary of the Society of Jesus and Apostolic missionary; or by Josip Stojanović from Brod, member of St. Francis Order. We also read: Authore M.V.P. F. Fortunato Svagel. Concionatore generali, nec non Provinciae Observantis Divi Ladislai Regis in Sclavonia alumno, where the author placed a Latin signature on the title page of a vernacular book.⁸ There is a case where authorship was identified only by the order: “[this book] was sent from fathers Franciscans in Zagreb to all Seraphic Province of St. Ladislaus.”⁹

6 Ibid., pp. 28-29.

7 For example a small primer attributed to Juraj Muliš and perhaps published in 1737 in Zagreb (compare Velagić, Zoran. Štokavska početnica Jurja Muliša iz 1737. godine. // *Gazophylacium* 5, 1-2(2000), 16-48.).

8 Švagelj, Fortunat, *Opus selectum concionum festivalium ordinariarum et extraordinariarum*. Zagreb : no date. This book was written for parish priests. While the basic text is in the Croatian vernacular, all the comments, preface and even the title page are in Latin.

9 *Manuale Confessariorum, iliti Ruchna Knisicza Szpovednikov* [Manuale Confessariorum, or the Handbook for Father Confessors]. Zagreb, 1725.

Identification was also customary for secular priests: by Štefan Fuček, priest from Krapina; by Josip Krmpotić, priest born in Lika; by Antun Josip Turković, priest from Upper Osijek, Retfala and Gravica.¹⁰

It would seem that what mattered was the author's function in the authorisation of a text. His name could be omitted, a book could be anonymous although it dealt with religious matters, but the author's functions had to be on display. To put it simply, in religious works the author, as an individual, existed only as a representative of the institution – the Catholic Church (*see illustrations 1 and 2*). This is why in *such a Catholic kingdom* the decrees of the Council of Trent were not literally implemented. It was not the author's name that vouched for the truthfulness of a book, but the institution behind him, irrespective of whether the work was a translation, a compilation or an original text.

When we search for the author's 'I' in the production that could hardly have been innovative, we must for the most part turn to the so-called extra-textual items such as introductions, prefaces, dedications, and title pages. There we find the author's personal motives, difficulties he encountered, his needs and hopes. To ensure the author's visibility in a book, the title page is such a place *per excellence*. Anyone wishing to identify himself as an author would place his proper name on the title page. Moreover, the assumed new economics of writing that was discussed in the previous chapter "supposed the full visibility of the author, the original creator of a work."¹¹ Nothing is more contrary to such a presumption than the actual visibility of the author's name on the early modern Croatian title pages. Before the end of the eighteenth century the author's name on popular religious works rarely occupied a whole line and was only sporadically emphasised by conspicuous typography. Title pages of religious works did

10 Such a way of identification was also accepted by most authors who published books on secular issues, for example, by Antun Romani, imperial and royal inspector of mulberry-trees and silk in Croatia, by Ivan Mihael Schosulan, professor of medicine, and so on. Only in the last decade of the 18th century we spot the authors who moved away from the usual scheme, and who assumed their name would suffice: "Events of the World, by Daniel Emerik Bogdanić"; "Basis of cereal trade (...) by Josip Šipuš, a Croat from Karlovac". These authors discussed questions of general history in ancient times and commerce, so they did not directly challenge any established authority. They were certainly the forerunners of the times to come in their concept of authorship, new book topics and even layout of the title pages (shorter and freed of superfluous detail) but in their period they were isolated. Apparently, books on religious matters did not change, not one was published bearing exclusively the author's name, without noting his function and the authority behind him that authorised the content.

11 Chartier, R. Op. cit., p. 39.

not change much throughout the early modern period. Titles usually run across the width of the page and frequently contain comments, a few key words of the title or the name of a Saint or donor which are generally highlighted. The author's name was, more often than not, left out or disguised by the running lines, often placed close to the very bottom of the page (*see illustrations 3-5*).¹² Although a prevalent model of displaying the author's name on the title page did not exist, in an overwhelming majority of preserved books it was not visible at a first glance, as the titles preferred to emphasise the name of the patron or a few words of a title (*see illustration 6*).

The author's 'I' certainly had more opportunity to speak in other extra-textual forms – dedications and prefaces. Generally speaking, the extra-textual forms were, undoubtedly, “a dynamic interaction between interlocutors”¹³ or “an interplay between the writer and the public sphere”,¹⁴ albeit a one-way interplay. In dedications and prefaces the authors set the text within the cultural and social tradition, by mentioning prominent precursors, patrons, their religious order, social class and the like.

The author's 'I' appears in extra-textual items in many forms, and one of the most frequent is clarifying the motivation for writing: books were written to teach and to help, whether in religious or in secular matters.

“Your love, dear Christian and respected reader, touched me to write this book. That you can, by frequent reading, understand the love of your Saviour who loved you so much, when He died for you; and after you think of His love, that you can fittingly thank Him”.¹⁵

12 In the overall Croatian early modern book production there are rare exceptions to this model. Chartier wrote that the most spectacular “is the physical representation of the author in his book. The portrait of the author (...) makes the assignation of the text to a single 'I' immediately visible (...)” (Chartier, R. Op. cit., p. 52). According to the preserved Croatian early modern books, we have but one such example, that of Matija Antun Reljković (Reljković, Matija Antun. Nova Slavenska, i Nimacska Gramatika [New Slavonian and German Grammar]. Zagreb, 1767.).

13 Losse, Deborah N. Sampling the book : Renaissance prologues and the French conteurs. Lewisburg : Bucknell University Press ; London and Toronto : Associated University Press, 1994. P. 13.

14 Dunn, Kevin. Pretext of authority : the rhetoric of authorship in the Renaissance preface. Stanford : Stanford University Press, 1994. P. 7.

15 Velikanović, Ivan. Razmishljanja Bogoljubna sv. Bonaventure [Pious Meditations of St. Bonaventura]. Osijek, 1776. Preface, no pagination.

“Nothing delights our Lord more, but helping the sinner to get out from Devil’s web (...). This is that stirred me up to write this book”.¹⁶

Some authors ask their readers to respond, promising new editions if they find the book useful and pleasant. This was particularly the case with books of sermons that could be published successively.

“If I find that these sermons [published for autumn and winter period] please parish priests and preachers, those for spring and summer will follow”.¹⁷

When Ivan Mulih, parish priest from Zagreb, published the second part of his sermons, he felt compelled to give an explanation that is not unfamiliar even to modern authors:

“I am very late in fulfilling the promise I gave in my last book, because I was extremely busy, and the printer had many problems (...).”¹⁸

Some authors, while explaining their motivation for writing their latest book, used the opportunity to inform the readers that they had already published some useful texts.

“From my early days I thought how I could please my compatriots, and I could not find anything else, but to publish several books. So I decided to make one, and I called it Heavenly Way, and I have completed another one, and named it Spiritual Thoughts. I have The Lives of Saints in progress, so be patient my compatriots in waiting for its publication. Now take the Life of St. Ivan of Nepomuk (...). Take all of these from your native man, and pray to the Lord for me.”¹⁹

“Here, my lovely brothers, are the Holy Gospels and sermons, from the first to the last letter (...). If someone asks to read, hear, and understand the events from the Holy Gospel, he can find them in my Core of the Holy Gospel, that I published four years ago for the pleasure of soul and salutary advantage.”²⁰

16 Pavić, Emerik. *Rucsna Knjixica* [Handbook]. Pest, 1769. Preface, no pagination.

17 Pavić, Emerik. *Prosvitljenje i Ogrianje Jesenog i Zimnog Doba* [Enlightening and Warming for Autumn and Winter]. Buda, 1762. Preface, no pagination.

18 Mulih, Ivan. *Prodestva Kratka* [Short Sermons]. Zagreb, 1784. P. 4.

19 Knezović, Antun Josip. *Kruna obderxavaiucsiu stanje apostolsko* [The Crown for Keeping the Apostles Faith]. Pest, 1759. Preface, no pagination.

20 Pavić, Emerik. *Epistole, i Evangjelja* [Epistles and Gospels]. Buda, 1764. Preface, no pagination.

In all these examples, the authors emphasise their care for the community. They write for people's benefit and act in order to ensure the salvation of souls. They take the opportunity to connect the book at hand with other useful texts. Although their names were hidden or even omitted from the title pages, they appear on the pages that immediately follow, where they elaborately explain that the function of books is to strengthen the believers in true faith.

This aim is even more obvious when we read the accounts of the life situations that stirred the writers to write. These give us a unique and singularly important opportunity to relate the writings to everyday life.

The first example is an encounter of the Franciscan Emerik Pavić with an Orthodox believer. As life in the neighbourhood of the Orthodox Church community caused inevitable communication with its members, Pavić wished to equip every Catholic meeting an Orthodox with a suitable answer, making sure that the possible exchange of ideas would persuade the latter to accept the authority of the Catholic Church.²¹

“It often happens that those who possess the true faith encounter an Orthodox believer, as it happened to me in a tavern in 1761, where I dropped in with my fellow travellers. An Orthodox believer asked me about the true faith. My short, ‘traveller’s reply to him I now present in this book, so that it may help any of my brothers and other faithful Christians.”²²

The Jesuit Juraj Mulih expounded Evangelical teaching.

“Misbelievers hate the word *tradition* very much. They say they do not believe in anything but just in what is written in the Holy Scripture. But they interpret it however they want (...). And everything just so that they can settle their wrong teaching on the Holy Scripture, mislead poor people and take them to eternal perish.”²³

Mulih pinpointed subjectivity in Evangelical teaching that caused the aberrations from the tradition. The “misbelievers” hate the word tradition, but tradition was exactly what Croatian writers eagerly endeavoured to preserve – this is why every one of Mulih’s writings on Evangelical teachings starts off from the tradition. To make a parallel, the Franciscan Bernardin Leaković in his *Weekly Sermons* wrote:

21 Compare Velagić, Zoran. The Croatian author at the frontier of Catholicism and Orthodoxy in Croatia. // *Frontiers of faith* / edited by Eszter Andor, István György Tóth. Budapest : Central European University and European Science Foundation, 2001. Pp. 89-97.

22 Pavić, E. Rucsna Knjixica. Op. cit., preface, no pagination.

23 Mulih, J. Poszel Apostolszki. Op. cit., p. 463.

“Nothing new will you find here my brother, but only that the older speech and thought.”²⁴

Henri-Jean Martin put forward an appropriate general interpretation of this attitude:

“The Catholic religion, a religion of the book, was thus also a religion of a tradition, so the church considered it logical that it be designated by the supreme Power as the interpreter of the book and the guardian of a custom.”²⁵

The third example shows how an author, compiling his work from different foreign books, performs censorship. The Franciscan Aleksandar Tomiković published a biography of the Russian emperor Peter the Great, but decided not to use the books published in England and Germany.

“For both writers were Protestants, they used the occasion to foolishly attack the Moscow law, particularly Ruthenian Church, that is united with Rome (...). Since the aforementioned books contain puzzling and foolish writings, it was neither allowed nor gentle to bring them to honourable readers.”²⁶

The fourth example, given by Ivan Marević, the canon in Pécs and parish priest in the Slavonian village Nijemci, shows his feelings for the French Revolution, Napoleonic wars and, consequently, for the French in general. Marević translated the book of Thierry Ruinart, *Acta sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti* (1668), and explained that Ruinart had researched libraries all over the Europe.

“And this is immense luck, even merciful Lord’s providence that is luck itself, that he did it. Because now the Frenchmen – enemies both of any royal dignity and of the holy Catholic faith which they, although baptised soullessly abandoned; blasphemers and killers of their king and queen – are spreading the fear of their weapon all around Europe and even broader. They disturbed all kingdoms and conquered many states, more by promising the false freedom than by virtue of soldiers’ weapon. At the same time, they burned down and robbed, attacking even the best li-

24 Bernardin Leaković, *Govorenja za sve Nedilje* [The Weekly Sermons] (Osijek, 1795): preface.

25 Martin, Henri-Jean. *The history and power of writing*. Chicago and London : The University of Chicago Press, 1994. P. 269.

26 Tomiković, Aleksandar *Xivot. Petra Velikoga Czara Russie* [The Life of Russian Emperor Peter the Great]. Osijek, 1794. Preface, no pagination.

braries, which stored the books with the lives of the Saints. These books they took away and scattered, so today no man could write the lives of the Saints.”²⁷

The last example comes from Pater Grgur Kapucin (that was the nickname for the Capuchin Juraj Maljevac), who wrote a poem about the war between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire (1787-1791).

“The writer does not fawn upon any troop, he objectively writes who did what without his additions, but using only facts from the newspaper published by the Court”.

In the footnote he explained what newspapers were used: “Viennese special newspaper called Hofbericht. That everything that happened was published truthfully there was made sure by the Court alone.”²⁸

Here we have five examples that addressed the Orthodox, the Evangelicals, the Frenchmen and the objectivity in writing. While the first four speak for themselves, the last deserves special consideration. There was no suspicion in Maljevac’s mind that something published by the Court in Vienna could be one-sided or prejudiced. Even when writing about the enemy, the Court was to be trusted absolutely. Even though Maljevac belonged to a religious order, he believed in secular authority. Not only would he not violate the system of the Catholic Church, but he would not even think of challenging or disobeying state authority.

What those examples also prove is that no transgression was to be found among the early modern Croatian authors. They never attacked the system, but were, quite to the contrary, amongst its toughest upholders. At the moment their ‘I’ becomes visible, it is in the function of protecting the system.

There is perhaps one more reason while the decrees from Trent were not literally implemented in Croatian vernacular book production. Working inside the same institutional framework created co-operative ambience that granted support to every member of the institution. Thus, one should be very careful before proclaiming a book anonymous, for what is unknown to us today, was, most likely, well known to the author’s contemporaries, in a period when all members of a tiny

27 Marević, Ivan Dilla. Svetih Mucsenikah [Deeds of the Holy Martyrs]. Osijek, 1800. Introduction, no pagination.

28 Kapucin, Grgur. Neztranchno vezdassnyega tabora izpiszavanye za leto 1788 [The Objective Writings on Current Wars for 1788]. Zagreb, 1789. Preface, no pagination.

literate community knew one another very well. It was well known that the book for Croats in Burgenland entitled *Marian Flowers* (Sopron, 1781),²⁹ with only the preface signed with initials “J. S. Franciscan” was written by Jeremija Šoštarić, a local parish priest. When in 1760 the second Croatian issue of *De Imitatione Christi* was published (first issue in 1710), it was well known that the book was translated, adopted and edited by the Paulist Ivan Krištolovec, which was written on the title page, alas by hand. For over half a century his name was known, but he remained a “certain monk”. It should be noted that Krištolovec usually signed his Latin works. We read that *Panegyricon Austriacum* (no place or date of printing) was written by Joannis Kristolovecz Croatae Varasdinensis Ord. S. Pauli pr. Eremitae Vicarii Generalis SS. Theologiae Doctoris (...). There are also instances where authors hid their names somewhere in the text. Although the Franciscan Blaž Bošnjak did not sign his poem about the war between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire (1787-1791), we can read:

“All the heroes joined together,
but no priest was with them,
only lonely Blaž Bošnjak (...).”³⁰

However, the title page highlighted that it was a military chaplain who wrote the book. Here, in the poem form, a wholly different genre, what was brought into focus was not the name but the function. And in the first case, even when signed only by his initials, the author had to identify his belonging to the institution.

Many examples prove that authors knew and supported each other, studied each other’s books and dedicated poems and other works to one another.

The system of censorship in the early modern Croatia provides perhaps the best evidence of the authors’ mutual help and collaboration. It would be simply impossible to bring out all the examples, but for the purpose of this work it will suffice to show that a single person did perform both the function of an author and that of a censor. However, it must be noted that this form of collaboration was limited to one order. The exceptions were the Jesuits appointed as censors at the university presses (for example in Graz). They were obliged to censor and give permission for all the books printed there. The Paulists, on the

29 Šoštarić, Jeremija. *Marianszko Czveche* [Marian Flowers]. Soproni, 1781.

30 Bošnjak, Blaž. *Ispisanje Ratta Turskoga pod Josipom Cesarom II* [Writings on Turkish Wars under the Emperor Joseph II]. Osijek, 1792.

other hand, regularly censored and approved books of other Paulists. The Latin work of Josip Bedeković, his famous *Natale solum* published in Vienner Neustadt in 1752, had the approbation of his fellow Hrizostom Križ, at that time the definator of the Province. Križ also signed a second approbation for *The Flower of Saints* (Graz, 1752), by Hilarion Gašparoti, but Bedeković, author of *Natale solum*, signed the first one. A single person appeared as censor and author in the same year.

An example in the Franciscan order is even more striking. *Consolation of the Rueful* (Pest, 1797) by Grgur Peštalić had approbations signed by Aleksandar Tomiković and Ivan Velikanović. The approbation for *Holy Sermons* (Osijek, 1797) by the same Tomiković was signed by Bernardin Leaković and *The Weekly Sermons* (Osijek, 1795) written by Leaković were approved by Tomiković. The censor and author simply reversed positions: one that was the censor became the author and the author became the censor. The same Franciscans also collaborated on Latin works. Ivan Velikanović as “Lector Jubilatus & Ex-Minister Provincialis” signed the approbation for Josip Pavišević’s *Saecula seraphica ex illustrioribus gestis* (Osijek, 1777) and Ivan Velikanović and Jerolim Lipovčić were among the eight signers for Emerik Pavić’s *Ramus Viridantis Olivae* (Buda, 1766), the history of the province of Bosna Argentina.

It is quite clear that manuscripts circulated among the members of the literary community. An author could become a censor and *vice versa*. The tiny community performed all the functions involved in the institutionalised prepublication censorship. Before the book was sent to the printer, it was approved by the system. This again confirms that the authors knew the works of their colleagues well, participated in their writing and could rely on them when necessary.

However, while censorship was performed inside an order, the use of the predecessors’ or colleagues’ books did not always take into consideration such boundaries. The Paulist Hilarion Gašparoti, writing his four volumes of *The Flower of Saints*, used works of his fellows Ivan Krištovec and Josip Bedeković, the Jesuits Juraj Habelić and Juraj Mulić, the Franciscan Štefan Zagrebec, and the works of secular priests Štefan Fuček and Adam Baltazar Krčelić,³¹ clearly showing that their different church orders would not deter him from his purpose.

The works of the predecessors were particularly helpful when authors encountered problems in writing, such as, for example, the problems relating to orthography. Franciscans Ivan Velikanović (*Catholic In-*

structions, Osijek, 1787) and Marijan Lanosović (*Illyrian Gospels*, Buda, 1794) pointed out that they used the *Dizionario italiano-latino-illirico* published in 1728 by Ardelio Della Bella, a Jesuit from Dubrovnik. Another Franciscan, Emerik Pavić, praises his fellow Stjepan Vilov who in *Friendly Talks* (Buda, 1736) outlined the rules of orthography, and Lovro Bračuljević (*Knot of Seraphic Burning Love*, Buda, 1730) states that he followed the writing of the Franciscan provincial Mihael Radnić. Antun Josip Turković, parish priest in Osijek, refers to Velikanović:

“Regarding orthography, or accurate writing, I followed father Franciscan Ivan Velikanović (...).”³²

The Jesuit Antun Kanižlić writes:

“As we have different ways of writing in our language, one using this, another that, I followed the way that was used in primers distributed in the recent years.”³³

Besides finding models and support in the works of the colleagues and predecessors, authors often dedicated their books to one another. In *Honourable Memory of the Old and Noble County of Bačka* (Kaloča, 1790) Franciscan Grgur Peštalić published a poem dedicated to “Josip Krmpotić, military chaplain.” Franciscan Matija Petar Katančić in *Fructus auctumnales* (1791) dedicated poems to his comrades Blaž Tadijanović and Josip Pavišević. Another work, *Specimen philologiae et geographiae Pannoniorum* (Zagreb, 1794), was dedicated by Katančić to “Josip Pavišević, Historiar. et omnis literaturae elegantioris studiosissimo” and others. Not many necrologies of the Croatian authors have been preserved, but we know that Zagreb professor and Latin writer Vinko Kalafatić delivered a sermon for Adam Baltazar Krčelić, that was published under the title *Oratio funebris quam dum 8. Idus Aprilis Anno 1778. Balthasari Adamo Kerchelich grati animi ergo parentabat regia Zagrebienis Academia in templo academico habuit Vincentius Kallafaticus juris nature atem professor, Zagrabiae 1778.*

Finally, authors appear as editors of their colleagues’ works after they passed away. Franciscan Ivan Velikanović edited *The Life of Virgin Mary* (Pécs, 1773) by Antun Bačić stating in *Warning* to the book:

31 Compare Galinec, Franjo. Habeličev utjecaj u Gašparotijevoj legendi ‘Cvet sveteh’. // *Vrela i prinosi* 6(1936), 108-138.

32 Turković, Antun Josip. *Xivot Svetoga Eustachie* [The Life of Holy Eustachian]. Osijek, 1795. Preface, no pagination.

33 Kanižlić, Antun. *Utocsiste Blaxenoi Divici Marii* [The Shelter of Virgin Mary]. Venice, 1759. Preface, no pagination.

“Twenty two years have passed after father Antun Bačić completed and even composed this book. But when it was ready to be published, he exchanged the temporary life for eternity.”

The proof that the greater Franciscan community participated in publishing of Bačić’s book are the signatures of approvals by Josip Pavišević and Emerik Pavić. One book featured four early modern Croatian authors. It was similar to the *Epistles and Gospels* (Buda, 1740), composed by the Franciscan Nikola Kesić. In the midst of writing the work he died of plague, and brothers Franciscans from the Buda monastery completed and published the book.

The most telling evidence of the perception of an established literary community is certainly the histories of literature. Admittedly, the eighteenth century Croatian histories of literature were no more than collections of sparse biographical and bibliographical facts about the authors, but they reveal a vivid interest in the literary production and in the intellectuals who wrote books. Many such collections remained in the form of a manuscript, like *Catalogus autorum ex religiosis ord. S. Pauli* by Nikola Bengner,³⁴ or *Scriptores Interamniae vel Pannoniae Saviae, nunc Slavoniae dictae, anno 1795. conscripti*, by the Franciscan Josip Jakošić.³⁵ We find a lot of valuable information about the authors in books on the history of a specific state, province, or order, like in Andrija Eggerer’s *Fragmen Panis Corvi Proto-Eremitici* (Vienna, 1663), a history of the Paulists, in Emerik Pavić’s *Ramus Viridantis Olivae* (Buda, 1766), a history of the Franciscan province of Bosna Argentina, in Josip Pavišević’s *Saecula Seraphica* (Osijek, 1777), a chronological survey of the Franciscan order, or in Baltazar Krčelić’s works *De Regnis Dalmatiae Croatiae Slavoniae Notitiae Praeliminares* (Zagreb, 1770) and *Historiarum Cathedralis Ecclesiae Zagrabiensis* (Zagreb, 1770).

The first printed history of literature in the Croatian North was published in the form of a university thesis defended in Zagreb in August 1774 by students Matija Krčelić and Ivan Smendrović studying with the professor Adalbert Adam Barić, entitled *Scriptorum ex Regno Slavoniae a Seculo XIV. Usque ad XVII (...)* (Varaždin, 1774). This text was later attributed to Adam Baltazar Krčelić.

A year later the Hungarian Alexius Horányi published the first volume of his *Memoria Hungarorum et Provincialium Scriptis Editis No-*

34 Tkalčić, Ivan. O stanju više nastave u Hrvatskoj prijé, a osobito za Pavlinah. // Rad JAZU XCIII(1888). P. 93.

35 Šrepeš, Milivoj. Jakošićev spis: Scriptores Interamniae. // Građa JAZU II(1899), 116-153.

torum (Vienna; the second volume in Vienna in 1776; the third volume in Bratislava in 1777), in which he gathered data on about 60 Croatian authors. Horányi's work remained the most extensive summary of Croatian book production until the end of the eighteenth century.

There is little doubt that authors communicated in ways other than those related to book production. Examples reveal that their relations must have included not only book business, but also friendship, and, finally, a common interest in book production such as it was in the eighteenth century. To one another, and most importantly, to the Catholic Church, the authors were clearly visible.

The author's 'I' certainly had another, perhaps even more important task to perform. The writer was obliged to prove profound and straightforward piousness and show to the readers his esteem for the Saints and, consequently, for the Faith. We are completing this essay with two remarkable dedications to Virgin Mary, where the author's 'I' truly shines, making him visible through the most private place of an individual, i.e. his feelings.

"And truly, my Lady, Blessed Virgin! I confess: if I were so lucky that I could compete in writing with Sulpicius, who published 180 books, or with Theophrastus, who published 300 books, or Crispin, who published 700, or Aristarchus, who published 1,000, or with Origen who wrote 3,000 big books – I would fill the libraries of all the world with praises for you."³⁶

"How much, oh beloved Mother! From the time when my mother, who brought me into this world, passed from mortality to immortality and left me, and when I became Your son (...). How much I owe for your merciful motherly kindness, I know very well (...). This is why, poor as I am and worthless of Your maternal goodness, owing to You for merciful benefits, I dare to dedicate this unworthy gift to You, my loving mother."³⁷

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Biographical sketch

Zoran Velagić is assistant professor of book history and publishing studies at the Department of Information Sciences, Faculty of Philosophy, University of J. J. Strossmayer in Osijek, Croatia. He has published a number of articles on early modern book history and one book, *The Writer and Authority*. He is the editor of *Libellarium, journal for the history of writing, books, and memory institutions*. He is currently dealing with the concepts of authorship and uses of the texts in the 18th century Croatia.

Appendix

KRUNA
OBDERXAVAIUCSIU. STANIE
APOSTOLSKO.
IZ POVIDNIKA SVIU
OGGLEDALO.
XIVOT SVETOG
IVANA
OD
NEPOMUKA
OD TAINOSTI SVETE
ISPOVIDI UZDERXITELJA, ISARANITELJA
KLUCSIA, NAVLAZTITO POKORNICE JOANNE
ILICIVANICE KRALICE NAPITANIE VENCESLAVA
KRALJA OVOG IMENA IV. ZA UZROK KOI OD ISTOG BI
mičsiti, i nai posli, u Moldavu Vodu hacic; zato postade
Veliki Muesenik.
KOIEGA IZ HOD ROGIENIA I SVERU
TERPLENIA NASSKIM TO IEST SLAVNIM ILLI-
RICKIM JEZIKOM NA VERSSE DOMORODNEM ZA
Slavu, i poznatie ovog Velikog Svetog u jedno skupi,
i Sastavi. Plemenito Rodni Gospodin
ANTUN JOSIP KNEZOVICS CERKVE
METROPOLITANSKE KOLOCSKE KANCNIK, I CUSTOD.
Praepost. Infulst. Svetog Ireneja, i Stola Apostolskog
Notarius. Dneva 20. Oetobra. Godine
Gospodinove 1759.
U PESTI Stampano po FRANCISKU ANTUNU EITZENBER-
GERU Stampatum, illi Tlacniku, Arci - Biskupa Kolocskoga.

FIGURE 1.

Author and his functions: *Antun Josip Knezović*, canon and custodian in the metro-politan church of Kalocsa, praeposit of St. Irenej, notarius of apostolic table (Kruna obderxavaiucsiu stanie Apostolsko. Pest, 1759.)

OGLEDALO
TEMELJA, VIRÆ,
I ZAKONA
KATOLICSANSKOGA
TO JEST.
SVETO PISMO,
ILITI
JEZGRA
SVIUI
DOGAGJAJAH STAROGA, I NOVOGA
ZAKONA,
S-TOIMACSENJEM
SVETIH OTACA POMISSANA
ZA
RASSIRENJE BOXJEG POZNAVSTVA;
I RAZGLASENJE MOGUCHSTVA, I
DOBROTÆ PRIVICSNJEGA PRIPOVIGJENA,
I ISTOLMACSENA
NAJPRI
U FRANCUZKI JEZIK PO GOSPODINU
RAYAUMONTU
PRIORU OD SOMBREVALA SLOXENA, ZATIM
NIMACSKI PRIMISTITA, A SADA U NASŠ SLAVNI,
ILJUDNI I KRASNII ILLYRICSKI JEZIK
PRINESSENA PO
OCU FRA EMERIKU PAVICHU,
SSTIOCU POGLAVITOMU SVETÆ BOGOSLOVICÆ
U GRADU BUDIMU, REDA S. O. FRANCESKA, PROVINCIÆ
S. IVANA CAPISTRANA,
GODINÆ M. DCC. LIX.

ŠTAMPANO U BUDIMU PO FRANCESKU LEOPOLDU LANDERERU.

FIGURE 2.

Author and his functions: *Emerik Pavić*, lector of theology in Buda, member of St. Francis order in the Province of Saint John the Capistran (Ogledalo Temelja, Virae, i Zakona. Buda, 1759.)



FIGURE 3.

Position of author's name on the title page: inside the lines (Đuro Rapić. Predikae Nediljne. Pest, 1762.)

CZVĚT SZVĚTEH,
ALI
SIVLENYE, Y CHINI
SZVETCZEV,

Koteri

Vu našem Horvatzkem, iliti Szlovenszkem Or-
szagu z-veksšum pobosnoštjum, y z-prodekum zadnye
tri meščecze Leta, najmre :

Lifztopada, Vřezřveřchaka, y Grudna
pořtjuřže.

Zkupa y drugeh řzvetřzev ořzebuřneřřega, y řzvetřřega řitka, nam
na chudo, y nařzleđuvanye iz vnogeh veruvanya vředneh, y
potvřrdgyeneh Piřřzev zebrani,

Vřzakojachkem vre jezikom, kakti Diachkem, Luřtanzkem, Krajnřzkem
&c. řzvojem ořřzagom nařpřvo pořtavlyeni;

vezda pak

Z.Milořchum Preřřzvetle neba, y zemlye Kralyicze

BL. MARIE DEVICZE

Zvřřhu Hořchure milořře izkazjuře,

Vřzem vernem křřřřanzkem duřřicřam Horvatzřkoga Ořřzaga na
nařpredek, y duřovneni Pořřřivom řa polebřicřu prodekvanya, na
řvetle řa vřgadnu duřu pođani,

I na nařř Szlovensřki řezik z-dopuřřenvem Poglavarov, po dobrovolynom trudu

P. HILARIONA GASPAROTTI Reda Sz. Paula pęřvoga
Puřřhenka prelořeni 1760.



Stampani vu Bechu pri Leopoldu Ivanu Kaliwoda, leto 1761.

FIGURE 4.

Position of author's name on the title page: inside a single line (Hilarion Gařparoti. Czvět Světeh. Vienna, 1761.)

NEBESZKA
HRANA
VU SZVETEH IESZTIVINAH:
KRUHU, I VINU,
Tojeto :
POBOSNEH MOLITVAH,
LITANIAH, I POPEVKAH:
MLEKU, I MEDU,
Tojeto :
KATOLICHANSZKOM NAVUKU
HASZNOVITOM RAZGOVORU,
Tojeto :
NA SZVETOSZT SIVLENYA, I TAK
NA ZADOBLENYE ZVELICHENYA
LYUBLENOM NAGOVARJANYU
POSZTAVLENA.
VSZEM KERSCHANSZKEM PUTNIKOM
VU NEBESZKU DOMOVINU PUTUJICHEM
SZERDCHEMO PREPORUCHENA,
OVAK Z-NOVICH ZKUPA SZLOSENA,
I NA OKREPLENYE DUSSE POLOSENA.
Z-trudom, i szkerbjum
JURAJ MULIH Tovarustva Jesuŝevoga Mafsnika,
Missionariussa Apostolszkoga.
Z-DOPUSCHENTEM POGLAVAROV.
Pritiszkana vu Zagrebu, po Ivanu Weicu,
Leta Golzponovoga 1748.

FIGURE 5.

Position of author's name on the title page: inside a single line (Juraj Mulih. Nebeszka Hrana. Zagreb, 1748.)

ABECEVICA
SLOVINSKA,
DRAGOJ DITCSICI
KORISTNA, I POTRIBNA,
Z-BLAGODARNOM POMOESJOM
VISSOKO POSCTOVANOGA
GOSPODINA
[N I C O L E
KRALYICS,
Kod Cerkve Sviuh Svetih,
Za
Slavu Bozju, i Mariansku, kano i
za Du'caa Spassenye
DUHOVNOGA PASTIRA
velle skerbivivoga,
Od Lyudih velike Fale,
Od Boga Nebeske Krune Vridnoga.
Tlactena po Ivaru Weltz, u Za-
grebu. God. Gulp. 1748.

FIGURE 6.

Author's name is missing from the title page, donor's name (Nikola Kralyics) is emphasized (Juraj Mulih. Abecevice Slovi-nska. Zagreb, 1748.)



FIGURE 7.

Hierarchy of names: Juraj Branjugh, patron, and Juraj Mulih, author (Juraj Mulih. *Zakon Bratintzta*. Zagreb, 1746.)



FIGURE 8. Hierarchy of names: Martin Biro de Padany, patron, and Jeronim Lipovčić, author (Jeronim Lipovčić. Dussu Csuvaiuche Pohogjenje. Buda, 1750.)

EXCELLENTISSIMO,
ILLUSTRISSIMO
AC
REVERENDISSIMO
DOMINO, DOMINO
FRANCISCO
THAUSZY
DEI, ET APOSTOLICÆ SEDIS GRATIA
EPISCOPO ZAGRABIENSI
ABBATI B. M. V. DE TOPUSZKA,
INSIGNIS ORDINIS S. STEPHANI REGIS
APOSTOLICI MAJORIS CRUCIS
COMMENDATORI,
COMITATUS DE BERZENCZE
SUPREMO, AC PERPETUO
C O M I T I
SACRÆ CÆSAREO-REGIÆ APOSTOLI-
CÆ MAJESTATIS
ACTUALI INTIMO CONSILIARIO.
DOMINO DOMINO
P A T R I
GRATIOSISSIMO
D. D. D.



FIGURE 9.

Latin dedication to bishop Franjo Thauszy (Matija Antun Reljković. Nova Slavonska, i Nimacska gramatika. Zagreb, 1767.)

NJIOVOJ EXCELLENCII
PRISVITLOMU, PRIPOŠTOVANOMU
I DOBRÓ RODJENOMJ
GOSPODINU, GOSPODINU
FRANCISKU
THAUSZY
PO BOXJOJ, I APOSTOLSKE STOLICE,
MILLOSTI, STOLNE ZAGREBACKE
CERKVE NAJ VRIDNIJEM
BISKUPU
BLAX. DIV. MARIE OD TOPUSZKE
OPPATU,
CESARSKOG, I KRALJEVSKOG VELICAN-
STVA NAJ BLIXNJEM, I SADASHNJEM
SKROVNOSTIH VICHNIKU,
VARMEGJE OD BERZENCZE VELL-
KOMU, I VIKOVICSNJEMU
SHPANU
IZAPOVIDNIKU, GLASOVITOGA REDA SVE-
TOGA STIPANA APOSTOLSKOGA KRALJA
VECHJEGA KRISA
COMMENDATORU,
DOMOVINE, I SVIUH PRAVOMU, I LUBLJE-
NOMU
OTCU, I MILOSTIVOM
GOSPODINU.

FIGURE 10.

The same dedication in Croatian (Matija Antun Reljković. Nova Slavonska, i Nimacska gramatika. Zagreb, 1767.)



FIGURE 11.

Anonymous book displays the names of saint and patron (Nachin Duoie Pobosnoszti. Vienna, 1710.)



FIGURE 12.

Multiple dedication: Martin Svastovich, sponsor of the first, and Ferenz Gluschich, sponsor of the second edition (Juraj Mulih. Zakon Bratintzva. Zagreb, 1746.)

**SKRIVENI AUTOR
POJAVNOSTI AUTORSKOG "JA" NA RANONOVOVJEKOVNIM
TISKANIM NASLOVNICAMA**

Sažetak

Cilj je rada istražiti tri problema vezana uz poimanje autorstva popularnih vjerskih djela tiskanih tijekom 18. stoljeća. Prvo, bit će propitano je li autorsko ime samo po sebi bilo dostatno da bi autoriziralo sadržaj tih djela. U tom će kontekstu posebna pozornost biti pridana smještaju autorskog imena na naslovnici. Drugo, istražiti će se je li naslovnica bila mjesto na kojemu je autorsko „ja“ tražilo prepoznavanje i priznanje autorskog rada, a bit će dokazano da je autor mogao progovoriti tek u posveti ili predgovoru, dok je prostor naslovnice bio rezerviran za imena pokrovitelja, svetaca Katoličke crkve i sl. Treće, bit će istraženo je li knjiga za koju danas smatramo da je objavljena anonimno, dakle „neautorizirano“, bila smatrana takvom i u doba kada je bila objavljena.

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