

The First Croatian Scientific Journal as a Site of Production and Circulation of Knowledge¹

The first Croatian scientific journal *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* (Archives of South Slavic History) (1851-1875) will be analysed according to Philipp Sarasin's concept of the history of knowledge and the analytical concept of circulation of knowledge (A. Kilcher and P. Sarasin), promoted and employed by the research group at Lund University in Sweden. As proposed by Sarasin, the history of knowledge should examine societal production and the circulation of knowledge. This paper will situate the scope of the first Croatian scientific journal within the mid-19th century political context of the Habsburg Monarchy and Croatia. The foundation of the journal will be examined in the context of the development of other scientific journals in 19th century Europe. The paper will investigate different types and forms of knowledge from the various humanities and the way in which they were produced and presented in the journal. It will examine the circulation of knowledge produced in the journal based primarily on the members of the Society for South Slavic History who accounted for most of the journal's readers and some of its contributors. Finally, the research will evaluate impact of the journal on Croatian society in the latter half of the 19th century and demonstrate the vital role it played in shaping the Croatian historical sciences in the 19th century.

The Concept of Production and Circulation of Knowledge

In the early 21st century, the history of science as a historical sub-discipline has undergone a profound epistemological transformation into the history of knowledge. Moreover, the history of knowledge has also developed as a response to requirements for revitalising cultural history.² The objects considered by the history of knowledge are different types of knowledge.³ There is no unique

¹ This paper was fully supported by the project "European Origins of Modern Croatia: Transfer of Ideas in the Political and Cultural Fields in the 18th and 19th Centuries" (IP-2018-01-2539), funded by the Croatian Science Foundation.

² SARASIN, 2011; BLAŽEVIĆ 2016; ÖSTLING and LARSON HEIDENBLAD 2017; ÖSTLING, LARSON HEIDENBLAD, SANDMO, NILSSON HAMMAR and NORDBERG 2018a: 9-17; JOAS, KRÄMER and NICKELSEN 2019. SCHNEIDER, 2003 analyses M. Foucault's distancing from the history of science and his move toward the history of knowledge in the book *L'archéologie du savoir* (Paris 1968). The English translation, with the title *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, was published in 1972.

definition of knowledge. Peter Burke emphasises that knowledge exists in many forms in one culture: “pure and applied, abstract and concrete, explicit and implicit, learned and popular, male and female, local and universal.”⁴ Simone Lässig describes the history of knowledge “as a form of social and cultural history that considers ‘knowledge’ as a phenomenon that touches on almost every sphere of human life, and uses knowledge as a lens to take a new look at familiar historical developments and sources.”⁵ She proposes that the history of knowledge should “analyse and comprehend knowledge *in* society and knowledge *in* culture” and should encompass learned knowledge that takes the form of books, as well as practical knowledge based on texts, pictures and objects as sources. The history of knowledge studies not just knowledge as a product, but also actors, practices and processes included in the formulation, dissemination and transformation of knowledge.⁶ The members of the Lund Centre for the History of Knowledge (LUCK), which was set up in the Department of History at Lund University in Sweden, stated simply: “For us, the history of knowledge is first and foremost a social, political, and cultural history.”⁷ They convey the thesis by Hampus Östh Gustafsson that knowledge is a continuous process located locally and historically and that frequently knowledge is not completely new and original.⁸ Philipp Sarasin also sees knowledge as a historical phenomenon. Therefore, he believes that it is necessary to research when, where and why certain knowledge appears and disappears, what its effects are, the contexts in which it functions, who its drivers are and the forms it assumes.⁹ In his view, the history of knowledge should examine “gesellschaftliche Produktion und Zirkulation von Wissen.” Knowledge circulates among people, but this does not occur without any constraints. In its functioning, it is focused on circulation, it responds to stimuli from other fields of knowledge and other social areas, it can reappear modified in different places.¹⁰ Out of the four major analytical approaches proposed by the history of knowledge, this paper will apply two: questioning the forms of representation and mediality of knowledge, and the actors in the production of knowledge.¹¹ Sarasin believes

³ For a representative sampling, cf ÖSTLING, LARSON HEIDENBLAD and NILSSON HAMMAR 2020; BURKE, 2016.

⁴ BURKE 2016, 7; quoted according to ÖSTLING, LARSON HEIDENBLAD, SANDMO, NILSSON HAMMAR and NORDBERG 2018a: 13.

⁵ LÄSSIG 2016, 44.

⁶ Ibid., 38, quotation p. 58.

⁷ ÖSTLING, LARSON HEIDENBLAD and NILSSON HAMMAR 2020a: 9.

⁸ Ibid., 9.

⁹ SARASIN 2011: 165.

¹⁰ Ibid., 164.

¹¹ Ibid., 167-171. The other two analytical approaches proposed by Sarasin are systemisation and order of knowledge and genealogy of knowledge.

that the history of knowledge has the potential to replace social history, which to a large extent replaced political history in Western historical science in the last several decades of the 20th century. Nevertheless, Sarasin believes that the door should be reopened to studying political history.¹²

James A. Secord and Swiss scholars Philipp Sarasin and Andreas B. Kilcher have made a special contribution to the theoretical formulation of the analytical concept of the circulation of knowledge. The concept of circulation of knowledge has attracted the attention of researchers since 2004 in particular, when Secord proposed that the history of science should not just focus on research into the process of production of scientific knowledge, but rather also study the circulation of knowledge and the audience, readers and modes in which knowledge is disseminated.¹³ Sarasin and Kilcher consider four major aspects that characterise the concept of the circulation of knowledge. They believe that the materiality and mediality of knowledge are very important, since knowledge is not disseminated freely. It is always dependent on social contexts and has a largely material foundation. Second, they believe that it is impossible to identify the exact origin of the different forms of knowledge, that overall knowledge is continually formulated in cultural processes and impacted by the balance of power. Third, they reject the idealistic understanding of the free circulation of knowledge and emphasise that every comprehensive analysis of the circulation of knowledge needs to consider the complex balances of power in which knowledge is produced and circulates, as well as its limiting factors and the blocks and detours impacting the circulation of knowledge. Their fourth and final point is that the circulation of knowledge must exist only inside and between different systems of restrictions undergoing constant change.¹⁴

In their work, researchers from the Lund Centre for the History of Knowledge demonstrate that the analytical concepts of “knowledge” and “circulation” can be used as heuristic concepts and applied to the analysis of various ways of creating knowledge in different historical contexts.¹⁵

Franz L. Fillafer and Johannes Feichtinger believe that the concept of circulation is especially appropriate for the countries of the Habsburg Monarchy, since, in their view, “Habsburg Central Europe was the locus of intensified encounters and exchanges.”¹⁶ This can be discerned in the activities of the Društvo za jugoslaven-

¹² SARASIN 2011: 171.

¹³ Secord has done so in a highly influential article entitled “Knowledge in Transit,” *Isis* 95/4 (2004): 654-672; here presented according to ÖSTLING, LARSON HEIDENBLAD, SANDMO, NILSSON HAMMAR and NORDBERG 2018a: 19-20.

¹⁴ KILCHER and SARASIN 2011: 9-10.

¹⁵ ÖSTLING, LARSON HEIDENBLAD, SANDMO, NILSSON HAMMAR and NORDBERG 2018.

¹⁶ FILLAFER and FEICHTINGER 2019: [4].

sku pověstnicu i starine (Society for South Slavic History and Antiquities), which published the first Croatian scientific journal and established cooperation with all the related associations in the Habsburg Monarchy and many similar associations in other European countries.

Development of Scientific Journals in Europe until the Late 19th Century

The first two scientific journals – *Journal des Sçavans* (Paris) and *Philosophical Transactions* (London) – began to be published in early 1665. They were launched with the financial and organisational support of state institutions. The purpose of the British journal was to inform absent members of the Royal Society of the topics of discussion at sessions of the Society and which lectures were held. The French journal was supposed to provide notices of new books published in Europe and their content and publish obituaries of well-known people with their biographies, descriptions of experiments and discoveries in physics, chemistry and astronomy, explanations of natural phenomena, descriptions of animal anatomy and, in general, information about everything educated people in Europe should know. The British journal covered a narrower range of themes and published fewer book reviews. Both journals served as models for other scientific and scientific-popular journals. Both are still published today.¹⁷ While in the 17th and 18th centuries journals were launched by academies of science as a medium for communication among scientists and other people interested in science, in the 19th century this role was assumed by societies for history and antiquities and other professional associations.¹⁸ Scientific and technological development in the 18th and 19th centuries gave rise to a growing number of learned people and their need for information, which intensified written communication among scientists and encouraged the establishment of scientific societies and journals for individual disciplines.¹⁹ In the 19th century, the target readership of journals underwent a process of modification, and thus journals were aimed less and less at educated people in general and increasingly at a specialized professional audience. Journals played a major role in introducing new fields of science and new scientific approaches. “They have become the crystallisation point of new disciplines.” In this way, journals were at the same time a consequence and a prerequisite for differentiation in science.²⁰

¹⁷ BANKS 2009; MACK 2015; ATKINSON 1999.

¹⁸ SCHULZE 2004: 126; NISSEN 2009: 29.

¹⁹ ZOTT 2003. On p. 51, the author presents the thesis that scientific journals arose from correspondence between scientists, since some scientists used to send the same letter to several addresses as a sort of circular.

²⁰ STÖCKEL 2009: 13; SCHULZE 2004:124. Quotation from STÖCKEL 2009: 13.

In the 19th century, scientific and professional journals were established by publishing houses in addition to academies and professional associations. Publishers with an academic education initiated the establishment of journals in their fields of interest. In German-speaking countries, vocational journals were very widely read from the 1880s onward and publishing houses launched such journals for economic reasons and employed experts as editors. Both trends had emerged in Great Britain several decades earlier, and reached their peak in the 1820s.²¹

In Germany, the first stage of the development of professional journals in the field of history lasted from 1859 – when the most important German scientific historical journal *Historische Zeitschrift* was established – to the early 20th century, and served as a model for similar journals in other European countries. A lively debate on the methodology of historical sciences and the structure of history courses at universities, with its division into three sub-disciplines – ancient, medieval and modern history – contributed to the emergence of many new historical scientific journals in Germany in the late 19th century.²²

Journals are characterised by their periodical nature, and this periodicity of publication of scientific writings was a deviation from the concept of a fixed body of knowledge and claims of completeness that characterised books as the primary medium of production and presentation of scientific knowledge in preceding centuries. Journals offered knowledge that was current, and at the same time “personal” as a result of the findings of individual researchers that required confirmation. Linked thereto was the need to continually exchange knowledge, which increased constantly. Journals as a media that were simple to reproduce in print facilitated the rapid exchange and dissemination of knowledge. Therefore, journals played a major role in introducing new scientific disciplines in the 19th century.²³ The first Croatian scientific journal assumed this role as well.

*Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku as a Site of Production of Knowledge:
Medium and Actors*

More than 180 years after the first two scientific journals were published in Paris and London, the first issue of the *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* (Archives of South Slavic History), the first scientific journal in Croatia, was printed in 1851. Its twelve volumes were published from 1851 to 1875, mostly in Zagreb, but two volumes were printed in Venice (vol. VI, 1863, and vol. VIII, 1865 was printed partly in Venice and in Zagreb). They were illustrated volumes. Its editor-in-chief

²¹ STÖCKEL 2009: 13; TOPHAM 2016.

²² SCHULZE 2004: 127-128.

²³ STÖCKEL 2009: 13.

was politician, historian and writer Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski.²⁴ He was appointed Territorial Archivist by the Croatian Diet (Sabor) in 1847 and three years later he was appointed conservator for Croatia and Slavonia by the K.K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale in Vienna.²⁵ The journal *Arhiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* was dedicated to the history, archaeology, ethnology and art history of the territories inhabited by Croats and other South Slavic peoples. The journal had a book format of approximately 300 pages, but volumes II and IV had over than 400 pages. It had a circulation of 1,000, which illustrates the founder's great expectations.²⁶ Initially, it was sold at a cost of 1 forint per copy, and as of vol. II onward at a cost of 1 forint and 30 krajczárs.²⁷

As previously mentioned, it was the customary practice of the time that scholarly associations published journals, so the first Croatian scientific journal was also established and published by the Society for South Slavic History and Antiquities (Društvo za jugoslavensku povjestnicu i starine). The Society was formally established after six months of preparation at its constitutive assembly, held on 1 October 1850 in Zagreb, at the initiative of Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski and with the support of many Croatian intellectuals and politicians. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski was elected the Society's chief executive and remained at this post as long the Society existed. A secretary, a treasurer and five board members (*ravnateljstvo*) were also elected. The Society enjoyed the support of the Croatian government and Croatian Ban Josip Jelačić, who was the Society's official patron.²⁸ Its work was financially supported by the ban, the Croatian Government and distinguished individuals from Croatia.²⁹ Funding for the Society's activi-

²⁴ Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816-1889) was a politician, one of the Croatian Revival Movement leaders, a member of the Ban's Council, the first Croatian de facto independent government (1848-1850), a poet and author of the first modern play in Croatian. He was a corresponding member of many European scientific institutions, vice-president and then president of the cultural organisation Matica ilirska (hrvatska) and since 1886 honorary member of the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Science. From a host of works on him, cf. ŠIMUNIĆ, GOTIĆ 2016; MANCE 2012; MAŠTROVIĆ 2011.

²⁵ BOROŠAK-MARIJANOVIĆ 2016: 78-79, 86-89.

²⁶ The Croatian History Museum (Hrvatski povijesni muzej), Zagreb, I. Zapisnik skupštine Društva za Povjestnicu i starine Jugoslavenske od 1^{og} listopada 1850 do 24^a travnja 1855. (Minutes of the Assembly of the Society for South Slavic History and Antiquities from 1 October 1850 to 24 April 1855), PMH 11937 (hereinafter: HPM, Zapisnik I.). For the sake of comparison, *Historische Zeitschrift* had an initial circulation of 600, and near the end of the 19th century, it reached a circulation of 1,000 copies. NISSEN 2009: 34.

²⁷ HPM, Zapisnik I., Minutes of the Sessions of the Board of the Society held on 11 March 1851 and 21 August 1852.

²⁸ BOROŠAK-MARIJANOVIĆ 2016: 80-81.

²⁹ The Ban's Council and the ban himself donated 500 forints for the printing of the journal. BOROŠAK-MARIJANOVIĆ 2016:78, 80-81, 83. Subsequently, the Society's work was

ties and publication of the journal was also raised through annual membership fees (2 forints). In other European countries in the first half of the 19th century, scientific and professional journals in the field of historical science were also mainly established by associations dedicated to history and antiquities with the support of state institutions. This also applies to the German historical journal *Historische Zeitschrift*, established in Munich and supported by Bavarian King Maximilian II.³⁰

The Society for South Slavic History and Antiquities was founded after the Ban's Council, the first *de facto* independent Croatian government, functioning from May 1848 to June 1850, was dissolved. The Council was replaced by the Ban's Government, that was an extension of the government in Vienna.³¹ In the spring of 1849, freedom of the press was proclaimed in the Habsburg Monarchy. In March of 1848, Croatia was limited by restrictive press acts³² and from mid-1850 onward there were clear tendencies resulting in the imminent abolition of the constitution and the establishment of an absolutist system of government with strict control over the entire political and public spheres.³³ Ruling Austrian circles wanted to establish Austrian "national" history as the history of the entire State and all peoples ruled by the House of Habsburg and thus legitimise their government. Contrary to this, the initiators of the Society for South Slavic History and Antiquities wanted to promote the development of Croatian history as a scholarly discipline and establish it as a "national science", i.e., validate its ideological and scientific legitimacy as part of a broader South Slavic framework. In this regard, they carried on the policy of the Croatian National Revival from the first half of the 19th century, whose distinguished proponents became members of the Society.³⁴ The Society's activities formally ceased in 1878, when it was transformed into the Croatian Archaeological Society (Hrvatsko arheologičko društvo), linked to the Archaeology Department of the National Museum with Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski as its chief executive.³⁵

financially supported by the Ban's Government as well as bishops of Zagreb, Đakovo and Senj-Modruš. HPM, Zapisnik I., Minutes of the Session of the Board of the Society held on 21 August 1852 and II. Zapisnik Skupštine društva za povjestnicu i starine jugoslavenske od 8. lipnja 1855. do 1871. (Minutes of the Session of the Assembly of the Society for South Slavic History and Antiquities held from 8 June 1855 to 1871), PMH 30005 (hereinafter: HPM, Zapisnik II.), Minutes of the 6th General Assembly of the Society held on 18 February 1858.

³⁰ NISSEN 2009: 34.

³¹ IVELJIĆ 1989; DOBROVŠAK 2016: 42-45, 50-53.

³² ŠVOGER 2019.

³³ GROSS 1985: 401-412.

³⁴ GROSS 1985: 425-430.

³⁵ BOROŠAK-MARIJANOVIĆ 2016: 94-95; IVELJIĆ 2016: 360-361.

The main objective of the Society (as defined in Article 1 of its Rules)³⁶ was to discover, study, collect, safeguard and publish various historical sources pertaining to the history of “our people”, i.e. the Croatian people as part of the South Slavs. By publishing such sources in the Society’s journal, its founders wanted to lay the groundwork for a critically written national history.³⁷ The first issue of *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* published a list of 26 questions addressed to the friends of South Slavic history and antiquities, and aimed at finding, preserving and publishing varied written and material sources in the fields of archaeology, history, sacred and secular art, folklore and folk customs. They requested a detailed description of individual materials, written historical sources or discovered archaeological sites as well as information on the location at which they were found, the materials from which they were made of as well as their dimensions, creators and owners.³⁸ Subsequently, the questions were supplemented and published two more times.³⁹ With these questions, the Society encouraged a broad campaign of discovery, collection and preservation of various archaeological and epigraphic sources, in particular coins and artworks. These artefacts were handed over to the National Museum in Zagreb as valuable specimens of the national cultural and historical heritage to be preserved and analysed, and their detailed descriptions were published in *Arkiv*. The person who deserves the most credit for their study and analysis is Mijat Sabljarić, a long-standing member of the Board of the Society for South Slavic History and the museum’s manager.⁴⁰

A high number of diverse written sources was collected. These were sources of varied origin, written in Latin, Croatian, Greek, Italian or other Slavic languages. Depending on the language, the sources were written in Latin and Greek, but also the Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts.

Arkiv featured scholarly or popular science writing from a number of different fields, such as history, archaeology, art history, ethnology and Croatian literary history. Political history sources were printed (such as charters issued by various rulers, documents of aristocratic families, sources from the history of the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier) as well as scholarly or popular articles on political

³⁶ HOLJEVAC 2001 thoroughly analyses the formulation of the Society’s rules in 1850, their modification in line with requirements from Vienna and their final ratification in 1857, and considers also their subsequent partial amendment.

³⁷ NISSEN 2009: 38 states that the major task of the German journal *Historische Zeitschrift*, which claimed to be a permanent scientific and supra-regional organ, was to communicate the historical-critical method to broader circles of readers. The difference in the definition of the major goals of the Croatian and German journals clearly underscores the difference in the level of development of the historical sciences in the two countries.

³⁸ *Arkiv* I, 1851: 241-243.

³⁹ *Arkiv* VII, 1863: 348-351 (30 questions); *Arkiv* XII, 1875: 166-171 (50 questions).

⁴⁰ LINKE 2011.

history,⁴¹ sources for legal history (such as the charters of individual cities)⁴², ecclesiastical and cultural history⁴³ and Croatian literary history.⁴⁴ The printed sources had been collected during the study tours of Ivan Kukuljević and Mijat Sabljar. Between 1851 and 1858, Kukuljević visited Styria, Carniola, Istria, Venice and Italy, the islands of the Kvarner Gulf, Dalmatia and Bosnia.⁴⁵ Mijat Sabljar travelled to the Military Frontier, the Croatian Littoral, Dalmatia and the Bay of Kotor in the period 1852-1854.⁴⁶ Their study tours were funded by the Society. The printed sources had also been collected by engaged foreign archivists (in Venice and Vienna) or the Society's own members (Franjo Rački in Rome and Naples, Andrija Torkvat Brlić in Vienna) who transcribed the relevant sources in the archives of Vienna, Venice, Rome and Naples. The Society's members also conducted research in individual municipal and ecclesiastical archives, and those belonging to aristocratic families.⁴⁷ In line with the widespread belief of the time that distinguished individuals are the drivers of historical events, upheld by Kukuljević as well, the journal featured biographies of distinguished individuals

⁴¹ Some of the articles were: KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Ilirske porodice u mletačkom plemstvu," *Arkiv I*, 1851: 38-54; KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Izvadci iz listinah i poveljah bosanskih," *Arkiv II*, 1852: 3-34; KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Spomenici kraljevine hrvatske za vrieme vladanja kuće habsburške," *Arkiv II*, 1852: 49-70; RAČKI, Franjo, "Nacrt jugoslovenskih povjestij do IX. stoljetja," *Arkiv IV*, 1857: 235-280; ILIĆ ORIOVČANIN, Luka, "Postanak c. kr. vojničke granice," *Arkiv V*, 1859: 101-127; STOJANOVIĆ, Mijat, "Nješto iz povjestnice uređivanja vojničke naše Krajine," *Arkiv VII*, 1863: 72-91; "Zapisci baruna Baltazara Patačića i grofa Adama Oršića od god. 1691 do 1814 s predgovorom Ivana Kukuljevića Sackinskog," *Arkiv X*, 1869: 225-319.

⁴² KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Povelje otokah Krka, Cresa, i Osora," *Arkiv I*, 1851: 55-84; KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Zakoni grada Zagreba od g. 1242 do 1429," *Arkiv I*, 1851: 186-202; STARČEVIĆ, Ante, "Razvod istrijski od g. 1325," *Arkiv II*, 1852: 227-276; MAŽURANIĆ, Ivan, "Štatut grada Senja s uvodom," *Arkiv III*: 1854: 141-170; MESIĆ, Matija, "Poljički štatut," *Arkiv V*, 1859: 225-319.

⁴³ KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Naredbe biskupije modruške od g. 1589.," *Arkiv II*, 1852: 86-89; OŽGOVIĆ, Mirko, "Bula pape Urbana VIII. kojom iz nova podiže ilirski zavod u Lovretu, kog utemelji papa Grgur XIII.," *Arkiv II*, 1852: 90-97; RAČKI, Franjo, "Njekoje opazke vrhu dvijuh legendah o slavenskih apostolih," *Arkiv IV*, 1857: 98-108; KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Dragociene i umjetne stvari grofovah Zrinjskih u gradu Čakovcu," *Arkiv I*, 1851: 155-172; KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Grobnj spomik Veknege od plemena hrvatskih kraljevah sa slikom," *Arkiv V*, 1859: 131-135.

⁴⁴ KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Književnici u Hrvatah s ove strane Velebita, živivši u prvjoj polovini XVII veka," *Arkiv IX*, 1868: 152-343 and *Arkiv X*, 1869: 3-222.

⁴⁵ BOROŠAK-MARIJANOVIĆ 2016: 86-87.

⁴⁶ LINKE 2011: 234-237.

⁴⁷ BOROŠAK-MARIJANOVIĆ 2016: 84-85, 88-89; RAČKI, Franjo, "Izvadci iz kr. osrednjega Arkiva u Napulju za jugoslovensku poviest," *Arkiv VII*, 1863: 5-71. The result of Brlić's research in the Viennese archives were two published books, a collection of sources on the history of Croatian-Serbian conflicts with the Ottomans. ŠVOGLER 2012: 111-116.

from Croatian political and cultural history.⁴⁸ In line with the standard practice in 19th century European scientific journals (and those from the two previous centuries), the first Croatian scientific journal occasionally published a bibliography of newly published books significant to the history of the Croats and other South Slavs.⁴⁹ Moreover, a number of geographic and historical descriptions of individual regions were published as well.⁵⁰

Arkiv also contained responses to one or more questions formulated by Sakcinski and printed in its very first issue (and twice more) pertaining to the discovery and preservation of the national historical and cultural heritage. These responses (42 replies received from 37 individuals) were written by members of the Society for South Slavic History from different parts of Croatia as well as other South Slavic countries. They featured detailed descriptions of various remains of the tangible and non-tangible heritage. This refers to archaeological finds, coins and works of art from various periods, different forms of folk creativity, folk customs and beliefs stemming from the pre-Christian and Christian periods.⁵¹

Most of the articles published in *Arkiv* were written by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski. Among the other contributors of scientific papers or, as Philipp Sarasin calls them, actors of knowledge, were Franjo Rački, who was the first Croatian historian by training, Matija Mesić, a Croatian historian and the first dean of the modern University of Zagreb (founded in 1874), as well as other contemporary Croatian intellectuals, such as politician and writer Ivan Mažuranić, teacher, ethnologist and author of popular books Mijat Stojanović, and politician Ante Starčević. The journal nevertheless assembled prominent intellectuals as well as young educated people, some of whom became professional historians or scho-

⁴⁸ KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Tiskari jugoslavenski XV. i XVI. vieka," *Arkiv* I, 1851: 121-154; KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Život Julija Klovija slikara hrvatskog," *Arkiv* II, 1852: 129-168; KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Lucian Vranjanin neumrli graditelj urbinskoga dvora," *Arkiv* III, 1852: 241-251; KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Književnici u Hrvatah s ove strane Velebita, živivši u prvoj polovini XVII vieka," *Arkiv* IX, 1868: 152-343 and *Arkiv* X, 1869: 3-222; "Povjest banovah kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije do XIV vieka od Josipa Mikoca, s uvodom: O životu i spisih Jos. Mikoca. Od Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog," *Arkiv* XI, 1872: VII-XIV, 2-206.

⁴⁹ KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Knjige tiskane od g. 1846 do 1851 više ili manje važne za povjestnicu jugoslavensku," *Arkiv* I, 1851: 181-185; KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Novie tiskane knjige više ili manje važne za povjestnicu jugoslavensku," *Arkiv* II, 1852: 221-225; KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Ivan, "Popis knjigah više ili manje važnih za povjestnicu jugoslavensku tiskanih od g. 1860 i u napred," *Arkiv* VIII, 1865: 289-300.

⁵⁰ PAVIĆ, Antun, "Kratki opis županije požeške," *Arkiv* II, 1852: 423-438; STOJANOVIĆ, Mijat, "Njekoje znamenitosti iz Sriema," *Arkiv* IV, 1857: 178-190; OKRUGIĆ SRIEMAC, Ilija, "Povjestničke crtice Sriema," *Arkiv* IV, 1857: 201-234; "Crtice iz okolice Žumberačke od N. R. Žumberčanina," *Arkiv* VII, 1863: 178-186.

⁵¹ BOROŠAK-MARIJANOVIĆ 2016: 88-95 analyses responses to the aforementioned questions.

lars in other disciplines.⁵² They published historical sources and less frequently scientific papers. *Arkiv* played an important role as a “form of representation of knowledge” and a “crystallisation point of new disciplines”⁵³ in Croatia, especially history and archaeology.

Arkiv as a Site of Circulation of Knowledge

The publication of each volume of *Arkiv* was announced in Croatia’s major daily newspapers. The journal’s distribution was managed by the secretary of the Society for South Slavic History. It was possible to purchase the journal in bookshops in major Croatian cities or from the Society’s trustees in different parts of the country.⁵⁴ *Arkiv* was sent free of charge to institutions with which cooperation and exchanges of publications had been established, to honorary members of the Society and to the members who had donated a many books and documents, i.e. various components of the material heritage, to the Society. The journal could be purchased by members of the Society at half price.

In the era of neo-absolutism, the government in Vienna prohibited the establishment of Society branches, so the Society’s trustees were charged with the collection of different types of sources in the field, communication with members and distribution of the journal in various parts of Croatia and beyond. The number of trustees increased. In 1854, the Society had 19 trustees throughout Croatia, Slavonia, the Croatian Littoral and the Military Frontier.⁵⁵ Two years later, the Society had 41 trustees and through them expanded its activities to Dalmatia, Slovenian regions, Austria and Serbian Vojvodina and Tamis Banat in addition to the aforementioned Croatian regions.⁵⁶

Gradually, the membership in the Society for South Slavic History grew. They numbered 258 in 1851 with 26 honorary members. Six years later their number increased significantly to 396, with 51 honorary members.⁵⁷ The largest groups among the Society’s members were civil servants, clergymen, writers, military officers, physicians, merchants and nobles. It may be assumed that they read *Arkiv*.

⁵² The most significant German historiographic journal *Historische Zeitschrift* had renowned German historians as its contributors, as well as many young historians just beginning their scholarly careers. NISSEN 2009: 33-34.

⁵³ STÖCKEL 2009: 13-14.

⁵⁴ HPM, Zapisnik I., Minutes of the session of the Society’s Board held on 11 March 1851.

⁵⁵ HPM, Zapisnik I., Minutes of the Session of the Society’s Board held in April 1854 (no date stated).

⁵⁶ HPM, Zapisnik II., Minutes of the session of the Society’s Board held on 10 February 1856.

⁵⁷ Cf. list of Society’s members in *Arkiv* I, 1851: 244-251; *Arkiv* IV, 1857: 412-423.

From its onset, the Society accorded considerable attention to cooperation with related institutions – historical and archaeological associations, science academies, museums and archives in other provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy, other European countries, especially German-speaking and Scandinavian, as well as Russia, Poland and Montenegro. An important aspect of cooperation between the Society for South Slavic History and these institutions was the exchange of publications. Furthermore, the Society exchanged publications with the Smithsonian Institution from the United States, and since 1854 with all Croatian *gymnasiums*.⁵⁸ By 1854, the Society established cooperation and exchanged publications with 20 related institutions, and their number reached 56 three years later.⁵⁹

Within just a few years, the first Croatian scientific journal published a list of honorary members of the Society for South Slavic History. Distinguished foreign historians, archivists, archaeologists, ethnologists, scientists of other professions and writers were among them. The most famous honorary members were: Joseph Chmel, chief archivist at the House, Court and State Archives in Vienna; the brothers Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, German folklorists and linguists and members of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin; Wenceslaus Hanka, curator of the Bohemian National Museum in Prague and professor of Slavonic languages at the University of Prague; Pavel Josef Šafařík, Slovak philologist and custodian of the Clementinum Library in Prague; František Palacký, politician and historiographer of the Kingdom of Bohemia in Prague; Joseph Hammer-Purgstall, president of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Vienna; Leopold Ranke, German historian and member of several learned societies; Cyprien Robert, professor at the Collège de France in Paris; Ismail Sreznievsky, professor and book censor in St. Petersburg, and Giuseppe Valentinelli, director of the Marciana Library in Venice. They would receive copies of *Arkiv* and send their own publications to Zagreb.⁶⁰

The journal was also read in reading rooms in Croatia and probably by some members of the other institutions with which publications were exchanged. The contributions were written mostly in Latin and Croatian, but also in Italian, Greek or other Slavic languages and could therefore be read by members of educated classes in Croatia and abroad who mastered these languages or at least some of them. *Arkiv* was a journal intended not just for scientists and scholars but rather for a broader educated readership interested in Croatian/South Slavic national history and cultural heritage. In other European countries in the 19th century, one could see the aspiration to strike a balance between the scientific approach in scholarly

⁵⁸ BOROŠAK-MARIJANOVIĆ 2007: 67, 84.

⁵⁹ Cf. list of societies and institutions which established cooperation with the Society for South Slavic History in *Arkiv* III, 1854: 343, and *Arkiv* IV, 1857: 410-411.

⁶⁰ In *Arkiv* I, 1851: 244-245, 26 honorary members were listed, and in *Arkiv* III, 1854: 345-346, their number increased to 49.

journals and their comprehensibility to the general public. A similar situation pertained in Germany, where the tendency of a growing number of professional journals aimed less and less at educated people in general and increasingly at a specialized professional audience was not noticeable prior to the latter half of the 19th century.⁶¹

Conclusion

Most contributors to the journal *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku*, including editor Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, did not strictly review sources critically and ascertain their credibility, as for example was the practice in *Historische Zeitschrift* and other German historical journals of the time. Those who did so, such as Franjo Rački and Matija Mesić, were a minority, but they soon became the leading figures of the Croatian historical sciences, and contributed significantly to its development as a modern scientific discipline. Rački became president of the South Slavic Academy of Arts and Science, and Mesić was appointed the first dean of the modern University of Zagreb. Both institutions were the most prominent sites of production of (scientific) knowledge in Croatia in the last three decades of the 19th century. *Arkiv* nevertheless assembled prominent Croatian intellectuals and young educated people, some of whom became professional historians, such as the already mentioned Rački and Mesić, or scholars in other humanities. As the actors of the production of knowledge and at the encouragement of Kukuljević, they managed to reach a wider readership with *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* than they managed later with their scientific books, which first and foremost targeted a professional audience. With its contributions, the journal struck a balance between scientific and professional discourse on the one hand, and general comprehensibility for educated social classes on the other. It was affordable and relatively accessible to the general public, not just a few scholarly readers. The journal gave rise to a broader campaign of detecting and studying various types of historical sources in Croatia, to a lesser extent in other South Slavic countries, and contributed to raising awareness of the need to preserve the Croatian cultural heritage. *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* fulfilled its mission, with which scientific and professional journals had been entrusted at the time of its publication, and played a major role in introducing new research approaches and scientific disciplines in Croatia: history, archaeology, art history, ethnology and Croatian literary history. Thanks to *Arkiv*, these humanistic disciplines entered the first stage of their development as sciences, a trend also present in other European countries in the 19th century.⁶² But most of all, *Arkiv* sparked an interest in cultural history, and made a significant contribution to the development of the historical science in Croatia.

⁶¹ NISSEN 2009: 41; STÖCKEL 2009: 13.

⁶² SCHULZE 2004: 125.

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Prvi hrvatski znanstveni časopis kao mjesto proizvodnje i cirkulacije znanja

Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku, prvi hrvatski znanstveni časopis, bit će analiziran primjenom koncepta povijesti znanja Philippa Sarasina te analitičkog koncepta cirkulacije znanja, koji su oblikovali Andreas Kilcher i Philipp Sarasin, a promovira ga i primjenjuje istraživačka skupina na Sveučilištu Lund u Švedskoj. Prema Sarasinovu mišljenju, povijest znanja treba proučavati društvenu proizvodnju i cirkulaciju znanja. Nastanak i djelovanje prvoga hrvatskog znanstvenog časopisa u ovom se radu razmatraju u političkom kontekstu Habsburške Monarhije i Hrvatske sredinom 19. stoljeća. Njegovo utemeljenje prikazuje se u kontekstu razvoja znanstvenih časopisa u drugim europskim zemljama u 19. stoljeću. U razdoblju između 1851. i 1875. godine objavljeno je dvanaest svezaka časopisa *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku*. Predmet istraživanja u ovome radu su različiti tipovi i oblici proizvodnje znanja iz raznih humanističkih područja te način njihove prezentacije u analiziranom časopisu. Ponajprije na temelju popisa članova Društva za jugoslavensku povjestnicu i starine, koji su najčešće bili čitatelji, a neki od njih i autori priloga u časopisu, istražuje se cirkulacija znanja proizvedenog u časopisu, koja je obuhvatila i brojna srodna znanstvena društva izvan Hrvatske te počasne članove Društva, ugledne inozemne povjesničare, arheologe i arhiviste i kulturne djelatnike. Evaluira se i uloga znanja proizvedenog u *Arkivu* u hrvatskom društvu u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća. Provedeno istraživanje pokazuje važnu ulogu časopisa *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* u oblikovanju hrvatske historijske znanosti u 19. stoljeću.

Ključne riječi: *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku*; prvi hrvatski znanstveni časopis; Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski; povijest znanja; proizvodnja i cirkulacija znanja

Keywords: *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku*; first Croatian scientific journal; Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski; history of knowledge; production and circulation of knowledge

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