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DREAMING IN KAJKAVIAN: THE LIMITS OF JAKOB LOVRENČIĆ'S LITERARY OEUVRE

The paper presents the literary-linguistic oeuvre of Jakob Lovrenčić, a Croatian Kajkavian translator and writer who lived and worked in Varaždin in the pre-revival and revival period, and is considered one of the last authors that published their works in Kajkavian literary language. Based on archive research, Lovrenčić's biographical and bibliographical data previously established in the literature are re-examined and corrected, his authorship of certain titles is disproved and/or confirmed, and in the analysis, additional attention is given to two less known and poorly explored works – a lottery dream book from 1838, possibly based on a foreign template, and the other, linguistically transformed edition of *Petrica Kerempuh*, published posthumously (1849). The paper aims to contribute to a more complete image of Lovrenčić's oeuvre.

1. Introduction: Historical and cultural context of Jakob Lovrenčić's activity

In Varaždin, as in other parts of northern or former Croatia proper, in unofficial communication the population uses Kajkavian speeches, whose written records can be traced back to 900 years in the past. Oldest Kajkavian records originate in the beginning of the 12th century (Hamm 1952), and from the middle of the 16th until the middle of the 19th century, a supraregional, cross-genre, and fairly standardised Kajkavian literary language was used in that area for writing and publishing (e.g., A. Šojat 2009, Stolac 2023). The norm of this language has been described in six

grammar books, several larger and smaller dictionaries, and a couple of orthographic manuals from the 18th and 19th century (cf. Vončina 1988/89, Štebih Golub 2018). Due to complex political circumstances and the fact that Croatia proper politically and legally belonged to the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Monarchy, since the 16th century Kajkavian literary language fought for its place in the spotlight under the shadow of Latin, which, in addition to being the longest standing official language in Europe (until 1847), was used by Croatian Kajkavians as a shield against Hungarian and German, which was the language of science and literature and thus held a prestigious position in the society of that time. Nonetheless, during the three hundred years of its existence, numerous works from all professions at the time have been written in Kajkavian literary language: from legal, medical, mathematical, economic, astronomical, literary, lexicographic, veterinary texts and agricultural manuals, to calendars, horoscopes, lottery dream books, divination books, etc. (cf. *Kajkaviana Croatica* 1996). Ultimately, the demise of Kajkavian literary language was not due to foreign languages, but the unfavourable linguistic-standardisation outcome during the 1830s, when the Croatian National Revival (Illyrian Movement) began and Croats (Kajkavians, Čakavians, and Štokavians alike) have united around the Štokavian linguistic conception.

Kajkavian writers from northern Croatia reacted differently to this new situation. Some of them immediately joined the Illyrian Movement and fully accepted the, for them new, Štokavian linguistic conception presented by Ljudevit Gaj and his close Illyrian associates.¹ When we say fully, we refer to both the new script (so-called *Gajica*) and the new linguistic system – Štokavian. An interesting example is that of an author who, just before the revival, translated works of Slavonian and Dalmatian authors from Štokavian into Kajkavian literary language, believing them to be separate linguistic conceptions, only to gradually change his opinion, first accepting the new script (1835), and after a few years the »new« language (1841), and start translating in the other direction – from Kajkavian into Štokavian.² A third path was taken by Kajkavian writers

¹ Among the first to accept Gaj's Štokavian linguistic conception were originally Kajkavian writers, such as Ljudevit Vukotinović, Dragutin Rakovac, and Stjepan Mlinarić.

² This was Ivan Krizmanić (1766 – 1852), an abbot from Marija Bistrica who, in 1829, translated from Štokavian into Kajkavian Mrnavić's *Osmanščica*, and in 1831, Kanižlić's *Sveta Rožalija*, only to change his linguistic identity ten years later and translate one of his Kajkavian texts (*Ogenj vu Rimu*, 1820) into Štokavian (*Pogor u Rimu*, 1843). In addition to said translations, in the history of Croatian literature

who insisted on Kajkavian script and Kajkavian literary language, Illyrism notwithstanding.³ Generally, it can be said that the Illyrian linguistic conception was taken up more slowly north of Zagreb than in Zagreb itself, which alongside Marija Bistrica was at the crossroads of Illyrians and the focal point of Illyrian activity.⁴ Authors from Varaždin and Podravina, even after Gaj's turn towards Štokavian in 1835/36, continued to publish in Kajkavian literary language up until the middle of the 19th century. Therefore, in the 1840s, many Kajkavian manuals, such as those by Antun Rožić, pertaining to grammar, lexicography, and geography, and Josip Sever,⁵ pertaining to history, were still being published, as well as literary Kajkavian works written (or translated) during or after the revival, such as the poem *Erdődy kneza Tomaša Horvat. Dalm. i Šlavonske bana opseđenje i pobje sisečki 1593* by Tomaš Goričanec from Međimurje in 1837, or the lottery dream book *Nove senje vsem lotarije igrašem alduvane*⁶ by an author from Varaždin, Jakob Lovrenčić, in 1838. It is the latter author and his oeuvre that will be discussed in the following chapters of this paper.

2. Jakob Lovrenčić: A short biography

In comparison to many other pre-revival Kajkavian authors, the life and oeuvre of Jakob Lovrenčić have been addressed by a significant number of more or less extensive papers (e.g., Dukat 1919, 1923, Šojat 1977,

Krizmanić is known as the first translator of Shakespeare and Milton (Filipović 1972, Jembrih 2005, Lupić-Schubert 2016).

³ Tomaš Goričanec, Antun Rožić, Josip Sever, Josip Vračan, Jakob Lovrenčić.

⁴ The exception is, of course, the last and most prominent user of literary Kajkavian, Ignac Kristijanović (1796 – 1884).

⁵ Let us see, for example, the years of subsequent editions of some of the more important works of Antun Rožić (1787 – 1848), a professor of grammar and geography from Varaždin: *Prvi temelji dijačkoga jezika za početnike vu domorodnom jeziku*, 1821, 1835, **1839**; *Kratko naputjenje vu kruto hasnoviteh i zevsema potrebnih temeljih dijačkoga jezika*, Budim, 1820 ... **1836**; *Kratki zavjetek zemeljskoga ispisavanja horvatske i vugerske zemlje*, Varaždin, 1823, 1829, **1839**, **1842**, or Josip Sever, a professor of history from Varaždin (1795 – 1867): *Kratek zavjetek dogođen spisov kraljestva mađarskoga. Za mladence III. dijačke škole*, **1835** and *Kratka pripovedanja za potrebovanje ladanjskih škol vu cesarsko-kraljevskeh državah*, **1842**.

Additionally, a curious comment is made by Vatroslav Jagić in *Spomeni mojega života*, where he says that very early, even before 1848, some Štokavian books brought by his mother's brothers »wandered« into their home, so **already** (emphasis our own) in 1845 their house in Varaždin was reputed as Illyric (Jagić in Kraš 2007:62).

⁶ Titles of Kajkavian works originally written in old Kajkavian non-diacritical script are presented in the entire paper in our own contemporary Latin transcription, unless otherwise stated.

Vončina 1992, Peričić 1997, Jembrih 2002, Perči 2007), and there is also a comprehensive entry about him in the Croatian Biographical Lexicon.⁷ Despite that, during our research the need for revising and supplementing his biographical and bibliographical data has arisen.

We will begin the story of Jakob Lovrenčić, who during his lifetime signed his name as *Jakobus/Jakob Lovrenchich*, *Jakov/Jakob Lovrenčić* or *Jakov Lovrenčić*, by stressing the fact that almost nothing is known about the first 30 years of his life, more precisely before his arrival to Varaždin. In the literature it is stated that he was born in 1787 or 1788 and that he went to school in Zagreb, and from that period one can also find the information that in 1804, when he was 16 or 17, he performed in the Kaptol Seminary Theatre play *Nije vsaki cepeliš na vsaku nogu* (Ljubić 2012:77). This is followed by confusing data about him working as a clerk on the estates of Eleonora Patačić (Kukuljević 1860:86), or as a caretaker in Trakošćan (Šafárik 1864:300). Doubts about the place of his service were resolved by Ljerka Perči (2007:102, 108, 109), who discovered that Lovrenčić's namesake Ivan was the one who served in Trakošćan, while Jakob was in the service of count Franjo Drašković in Zelendvor since 1815. This and many other details from the life of Jakob Lovrenčić since he came to Varaždin have been reported by the same author in the aforementioned paper based on her research of the extensive material in the State Archive of Varaždin. Lovrenčić's arrival to Varaždin is, thus, placed in 1819, when he was entered into the Civil Registry as »accountant from Croatia, married«. He married Amalija Böhm from Varaždin, whose mother had passed away several weeks earlier. Jakob and Amalija had five children, of which only two daughters reached adulthood. The archive material also contains records on the economic status of the Lovrenčić family. Although Jakob borrowed money on several occasions and asked for various civil positions, from clerk, juror, city caretaker, to supervisor, etc., it seems that he was generally not poor, since he used to buy coffee and sugar, luxurious provisions at the time, as well as beautiful clothes and jewellery for his daughters (Perči 2007:112).

Lovrenčić's house that he bought in 1819, which was, in addition to exemplary conduct, a prerequisite for obtaining Varaždin citizenship, still exists today at the address Nazorova 7 in Varaždin. It turned out to be extremely important for Lovrenčić's life and work, since the income

⁷ LOVRENČIĆ, Jakob. Croatian Biographical Lexicon (1983–2024), online edition. Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography, 2025. Accessed on 22.02.2025 <<https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/lovrencic-jakob>>. Prepared by Zdenka Hercigovac and Nevenka Videk.

he obtained from renting the street space to merchants, innkeepers, and artisans (ibid., 110) allowed him 20 years of unencumbered interest in *horvatska* (Kajkavian) literature, whose progress he cared deeply about. He died of pulmonary disease in 1842, two years after his wife, leaving behind two underage daughters, who were provided for in Jakob's will that he wrote in January in 1842.⁸

3. Lovrenčić's literary-linguistic oeuvre: Corrections and additions

Today, we cannot with certainty claim that we know about everything that Lovrenčić has ever written or translated, and when. Most recent researchers, Josip Vončina and Alojz Jembrih, list eight titles by Lovrenčić. However, if we have a look at the catalogue of the National and University Library in Zagreb, the information in the encyclopaedic article on Jakob Lovrenčić, or the letter by Tomaš Mikloušić to P. J. Šafárik from 1831, it becomes clear that at least an attempt needs to be made to clear things up around some of »Lovrenčić's« titles. In this chapter, therefore, we will remain sceptical about some of the works attributed to him in the literature, while others, not attributed to him, will be added to his bibliography. Best we start in order.

The oldest »bibliography« of Lovrenčić is found in the letter by Tomaš Mikloušić to P. J. Šafárik from 1831 (Ratković 1938:163). On that occasion, the author of the letter lists 4 printed and 3 unpublished works by Lovrenčić. By that time, Lovrenčić had printed translations of German plays: *Rodbinstvo, jeden veseli igrokaz vu peterem dogodu iz nemškoga na horvatski jezik prenešen po Jakobu Lovrenčić, slob. kralj. Varaždina varašanu*, 1822, and *Presud zvrhu stališa i roda. Igrokaz v trojem speljivanju iz nemškoga Karl. Ekartshausen na horvatski jezik obrnjen po Jakobu Lovrenčić*, Varaždin, 1830,⁹ as well as two collections of tales: *Kratka dobréh držanj pripovédanja po Jak. Lovrenčić skup-složena*, Varaždin, 1824, and *Kratka deset zapovedih Božjéh pripovédanja po Jak. Lovrenčić na svetlo dana*, Varaždin, 1825.¹⁰

As unpublished titles of Lovrenčić's works »quae desiderant Maece-natum«, Mikloušić lists the following titles to Šafárik: *Pripovesti za čutli-*

⁸ Lovrenčić's will, transcription and duplicate, was published by Ljerka Perči (2006). In addition to its content, it is interesting because it shows that Jakob Lovrenčić used Kajkavian literary language until his death, seven years after the Illyrian linguistic revolution.

⁹ The publication year was added by us, since it was not stated in the letter.

¹⁰ Same as in the previous footnote.

va serdca, 1823, *Nekoja coprijeh razlaganja za rasvjetčenje bludečemu puku služeća po Jak. Lovrenčić*, 1830, and *Ostáléh zapovédih Božjéh pripovédanja*, etc. (Mikloušić in Ratković 1938:163). Today we do not know the fate of these unpublished manuscripts, but thanks to Mikloušić's letter they are included in Šafárik's *Geschichte der sudslawischen Literatur* in 1864.¹¹

Even after 1831, when Mikloušić wrote his letter, Lovrenčić continued to work on the development of *horvatska* literature, which Šafárik, apparently, was not informed about, but Kukuljević was. In his *Bibliografija* he lists the four aforementioned published titles, as well as three new ones: *Adolf, iliti kakvi su ljudi; knjižica za nevešća serdca*, Varaždin, 1833; *Petrica Kerempuh, iliti čini i življenje človeka prokšenoga*, Varaždin, 1833 [sic!], and *Pesma domoljubna prep. g. Imbrihu Vojskec, prepuštu od Glogonca*, Varaždin, 1834 (Kukuljević 1860:86, 87).¹²

Vladoje Dukat only partially studied Lovrenčić's work, on the one hand trying to determine the templates and sources for *Petrica Kerempuh* (Dukat 1919), and on the other showing the discussion that took place in the 1830s between Jakob Lovrenčić, the editor of the Varaždin *Horvatski kalendar*, and the editor of the Zagreb calendar (Dukat 1923). In other words, in his works we do not find new information about Lovrenčić's bibliography, but the author does comment on Kukuljević's and Ljubičić's erroneous bibliographical entry on *Petrica Kerempuh*, since they wrote that it was published in 1833 instead of 1834: »as if they did not have it in their hands« (Dukat 1919:3).

Part of Lovrenčić's bibliography is another occasional poem, *Pesma domoljuba. Prepoštovanomu Gospodinu Pavlu Mravinec...*, Varaždin in 1839, printed in Gaj's script (Vončina 1992:26, Jembrih 2002:123).

The authorship of the 8 aforementioned works published by Lovrenčić is not in dispute, unlike the following three that we will address below.

In the Zagreb National and University Library there are two manuscript plays which are listed in the Catalogue of the Manuscripts as translations by Jakob/Jakov Lovrenčić (Jurić I 1991:64, 119). The first is the play titled *Igrokaz imenuvan Vitezović i njegov sin vu četirih pokazeh iskazan od bogoslovcev Biškupije zagrebačke leto 1796., dneva 9 februara*. In the Catalogue we find the following data: Spiess, Christian Heinrich, *Vitezović i njegov sin* / translated by Jakob Lovrenčić (R 3144). The other is a similarly titled play *General*

¹¹ Vladoje Dukat does not exclude the possibility that the work *Nekoja czoprii razlaganya za razsvetchenye ludechemu puku szlusecha* (Dukat's transcript from Šafárik) served as the basis for *Petrica Kerempuh* (1919:22).

¹² All titles have been copied from Kukuljević, including the transcription error (*nevešća* instead of *nevešča*).

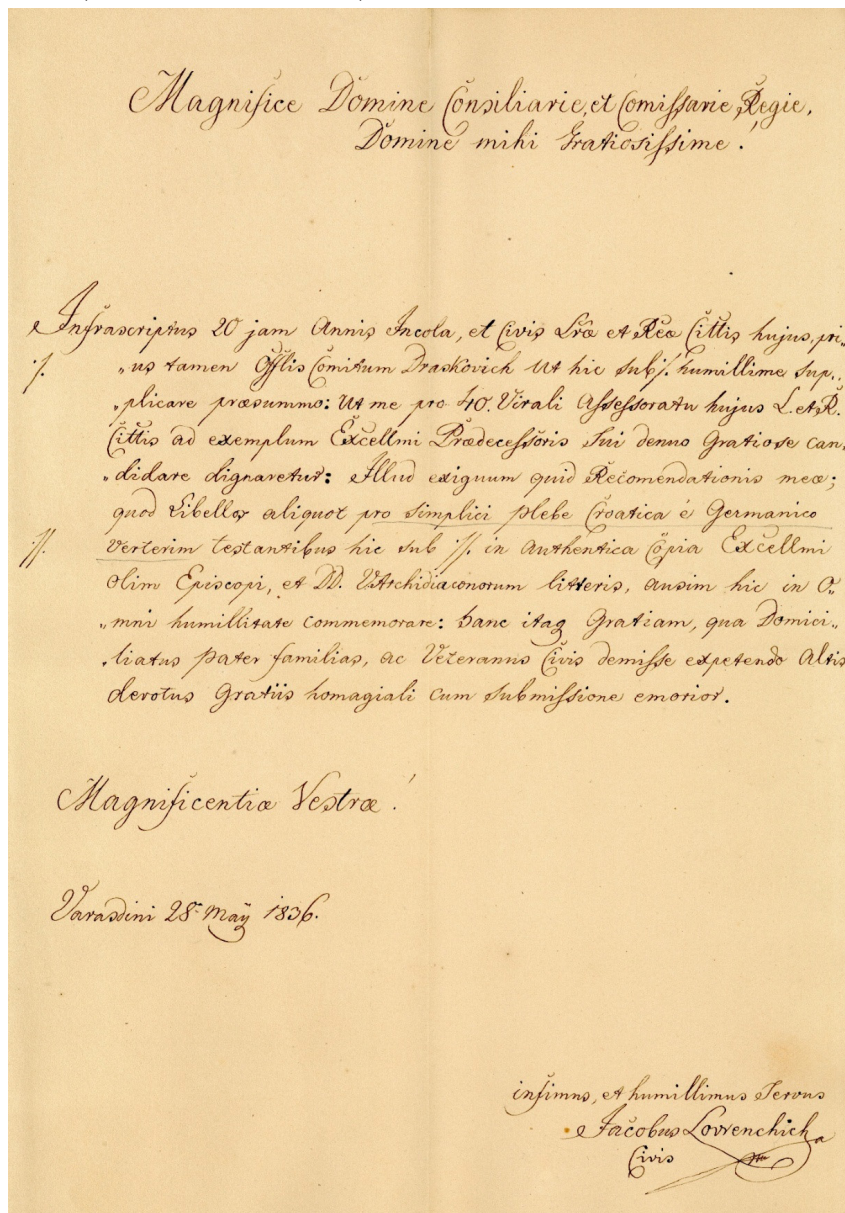
Vitezović i njegov sin Rittmeister: jeden vojački igrokaz vu četirih pokazeh / [translated by Jakob Lovrenčić] 1809.¹³ This play has been bound together with the *Mislibolesnik iliti Hipohondriakuš* (R 3282).

Having a look at the manuscripts, we conclude that they are two different translations by two different hands; while the copywriter of the NSK R 3144 manuscript also signed his name, so we know that it was Petar Zanić and that, at the time of copying, he was a third-year student of Theology. Jakob Lovrenčić could not have been the translator of the older text, as in 1796 he was eight or nine years old. Both of these plays have been translated for the needs of the Zagreb Seminary Theatre that performed comedies each year during the carnival, which can be seen from the names of the actors who have been written next to the list of characters. When the younger play was created, in 1809, Lovrenčić was 21 (or 22) years old, so he could theoretically be the author of that translation. This thesis is supported by the already mentioned record, according to which 5 years before he had been acting in one of the plays of the Zagreb Seminary Theatre, as well as the fact that he had an affinity for translating German plays, as evidenced by two translations published later. However, whether in 1809 Lovrenčić was in the seminary and translating, we currently do not know. Given certain earlier (counter)arguments, we are more inclined to believe that Lovrenčić did not translate the younger play attributed to him either, i.e., *General Vitezović*. In his first printed work (*Rodbinstvo*, 1822), in the Foreword, Lovrenčić states »that it is his first job«, and in the foreword to *Adolf* he says »I have thus far, beloved friends, delivered four books into their hands...«. If we know that prior to *Adolf* he published *Rodbinstvo* in 1822, *Kratka ... pripovedanja* in 1824 and 1825, as well as the play *Presud...* in 1830, the math is correct. We are just not certain here if Lovrenčić is including under his *jobs* only printed works.

That Lovrenčić did not translate the play from 1809 is also corroborated by the analysis of Lovrenčić's hand and the comparison with the hand with which the translation of *General Vitezović* was written in the NSK R 3282 manuscript. In lieu of this, below we provide copies of Lovrenčić's confirmed manuscript on the one hand, and on the other, an excerpt of a manuscript translation of the play attributed to him from NSK R 3282. Applying for one of the civil services, Lovrenčić copied, maybe even translated, and certified transcripts/translations of letters where a couple of dignitaries at the time positively evaluated his literary work. The letters

¹³ The year of the translation is written under the list of the personae on the second page of the manuscript.

were then published in the foreword of *Adolf* in 1833, and Lovrenčić's manuscript transcriptions have been preserved in the State Archive of Varaždin (DAV, PGV 2035/1836).



Annex 1. Lovrenčić's transcription of Ana Drašković's testimony of his work. State Archive of Varaždin, PGV, 2035/1836. The transcription was created in 1836.

Postavani Sopov Purgar!

Za imani Zpomeneh, y pozlamu meni Kirgu ja Njim Zavatujem, y Zkija
dobro Njihovo Mischlenje nash Horvatski Jezik poboljšati, kako Za vraga
desim, tak takaj terozemje ovo prestimano jako hvalim, y preporekam
nadaleje takaj kuliko moguće bude, da doznaceti nerakesenje, Z Njim
ostajem. U Zagrebu dan 12 Malomesnjaka 1826. Njihov Maximi,
Lian Verhovacz M. p. Bishop.
P. J.

Hvale viednomu naklanenju Njihovom, narodnoga Jezika nashoga podignuti,
nekuliko na pomoci doji seljinski, prilazem Sf Za Rije dohadjajucke-
Exemplarov Knjizec po Njih van danek meni Z Njimkum poslati
prosim, y vrazko dobro seljinski ostajem. U Zagrebu 6 Decembra
1826. Maximilian Verhovacz Bishop M. p.

Annex 2. Excerpt from Lovrenčić's transcription (or translation) of the letter he got from Maksimilijan Vrhovac, State Archive of Varaždin, PGV 2035/1836. The transcription/translation was created in 1836.

Pokaz P.
Izvod P.

/: Odprto meto u Lori, iz strane jedna muska
kolibicka pred kojum dva vojaki strase, od kada
nekuliko skatorov /

Andrea, y Shimo.

Andrea. Ovo je jedna vragometno nemirna noć bila,
- tulike Kanonade - jabi jako rad znati, kaj ove zna.
menija:

Shimo. Dobre se znamo - kakose meni vidi bilo je
ve y paki med napsemi, y nepriateljkami. Biktati navadno
kellkampje - tamo znamo psche, da smo mi dva, nemogli
poleg biti.

Andrea. Ah y mens brata, y mene - ali škoda, da
je tak tmično bilo - vem ne bilo moći dalje od nosa
videti.

Shimo. Škoro škoro - ali xtem bolje za presko,
chi-llote, y Deserterera.

Andrea. Ioli znash, da je znamo iz napsega Regi,
menta ves okol 30 Xifini, repov desenterera.

Annex 3. Excerpt from the manuscript of the anonymous Kajkavian play General Vitezovich y nyegov szin Rittmeister ... from 1809, which is in the NSK (R 3282) catalogue attributed to the translator Jakov Lovrenčić.

All of this shows that manuscripts 1–2 were written by the same hand (Lovrenčić's), and excerpt 3 by a different one, which supports our thesis that Jakob Lovrenčić also did not translate the second, more recent play, that was attributed to him in Jurić's catalogue.

We still need to see the reason why two seminary plays are attributed to Jakob Lovrenčić. In the description of manuscripts NSK R 3144 and R 3282, in the Catalogue of the Manuscripts, Šime Jurić refers, among others, also to Šafárik's *Geschichte der sudslawischen Literatur*, where on a single page Lovrenčić's individual works are listed, followed by a list of anonymous seminary plays (Šafařík 1864:330, 331). Based on the indent with which Šafárik begins the chapter on these plays, we believe it to be a separate bibliographical unit and record. The first of a string of anonymous plays in this new chapter on a new page is precisely the play *Vitezovich, igrokaz vu chetverem izpelyivanyu*. It may be that Jurić automatically added this play to the previous, Lovrenčić's record, and the translation of another similarly titled play was again automatically attributed to Lovrenčić during the cataloguing of the manuscript in the National and University Library, even though he was too young to have translated it.¹⁴

The next disputed title associated with Lovrenčić is mentioned in the work of Alojz Jembrih, more specifically in the afterword of his transcription of *Adolf*. Therein the author states that Rudolf Horvat (1993:287) surprised him with the information that Lovrenčić, in Varaždin in 1836, brought to light a book titled *Razjedinjenje mađarsko-horvatskoga srca*.¹⁵ He further comments that »to this day, nobody has seen this book, so it's author is not known, if it was printed at all« (Jembrih 2002:123, 124). First of all, we must say that we did not find this information in the quoted part in Rudolf Horvat's book but ten pages later (Horvat 1993:297), and as we were intrigued by a possible title of Lovrenčić's »book«, we looked for it in the Zagreb National and University Library. There we have found a poem with an opposite title *Na zjedinjenje mađarsko-horvatskoga srca*,¹⁶

¹⁴ According to the Catalogue of the Manuscripts, both *Igrokaz imenuvan Vitezovich ...* R 3144 and *General Vitezovich ...* R 3282 are translations of the same German play: Heinrich Christian Spiess, *General Schenzheim und seine Familie*, 1785. (Jurić I 1991:64, 119). In her paper on seminary plays, Kristina Jug talks about these manuscripts as two versions of the same text. Furthermore, by comparing the older translation with the original, she concludes that the plot does not differ from the German text (Jug 2018:150, 157). However, in Croatian philology there has not yet been a detailed comparative analysis of the German original, or several of them, and the two, in fact, separate and original Kajkavian translations written by two different hands.

¹⁵ *The separation of the Hungarian-Croatian heart.*

¹⁶ *To the unification of the Hungarian-Croatian heart.*

published in Varaždin in 1836,¹⁷ which can mean two things. Either it is a poem which was written as the »answer« to the still lost *Razjedinjenje*, or this is Lovrenčić's »book« that Horvat and Jembrih mention. However, the poem *Na zjedinjenje...* is signed by initials of two authors: J. C. A. M. and C. P. F. T., of which, by all accounts, none is Jakob Lovrenčić.

The third title, which will be further elaborated later in the paper, is a lottery dream book *Nove senje vsem lotarije igrašem alduvane*,¹⁸ published in Varaždin in 1838. Although on the last page of his *Bibliografija*, Kukuljević (1860:233), under the number 2604, provides information about the 2nd edition of this work printed by Platzer in Varaždin, with the following remark: »(by Jakov Lovrenčić)«, *Nove senje* went under the philological radar up until 1997, when Denis Peričić discussed it in one of his papers. It is interesting that *Nove senje* is on the list of sources for the *Rječnik hrvatskoga kajkavskoga književnog jezika*, but as anonymous and with an incorrect publication date – 1830 instead of 1838.

Before addressing the, from a genre perspective, rare lottery dream book in more detail, for which we will also demonstrate Lovrenčić to be its translator, and not author, as suggested by Peričić (1997:192), we will briefly summarise conclusions on Lovrenčić's bibliography made thus far.

4. On the sources, models, and reasons underlying Lovrenčić's translation activity

Upon reviewing the literature and conducting archive research, we can conclude that nine titles are definitively Lovrenčić's. Of that seven have been translated and/or compiled from German templates, while two occasional poems are Lovrenčić's original works:

- I. In 1822, the play *Rodbinstvo*, translation of a work by August von Kotzebue (Andrić 1901)
- II. In 1824, a collection of short stories *Kratka dobreh držanjih pripovedanja*, translation and adaptation of works by Karl von Eckartshausen (Jembrih 2002:125)
- III. In 1825, a collection of short stories *Kratka dobreh držanjih pripovedanja*, translation and adaptation of works by Karl von Eckartshausen (Jembrih 2002:125)

¹⁷ The poem *Na zjedinjenje mađarsko-hrvatskoga srca* is currently kept in NSK in the Miscellanea [sic!] collection (NSK RIIC-8°-57).

¹⁸ *New Dreams Dedicated to All Lottery Players.*

- IV. In 1830, the play *Presud zvrhu stališa i roda*, translation of a work by Karl von Eckartshausen (Dukić 2023)
- V. In 1833, a bildungsroman,¹⁹ *Adolf iliti kakvi su ljudi*, adaptation of works by Eckartshausen (Jembrih 2002:140–146)
- VI. In 1834, a collection of short stories and anecdotes *Petrica Kerempuh iliti Čini i življenje človeka prokšenoga*, an adaptation of German tales about Till Eulenspiegel (Dukat 1919)
- VII. In 1834, the occasional poem *Pesma domoljubna prep. g. Imbrihu Vojске*
- VIII. In 1838, the lottery dream book *Nove senje vsem lotarije igrašem alduvane* (more on this template later in the paper)
- IX. In 1839, the occasional poem *Pesma domoljuba. Prepoštovanomu Gospodinu Pavlu Mravinec*

To date, researchers and evaluators of Lovrenčić's oeuvre agree that it is characterised by moral-educational and enlightenment efforts. Since Lovrenčić was not a priest, he mostly wrote about secular topics, often humorous, but always within limits of good manners and in line with the Catholic morale. His attitudes are obvious from his choice of templates for translation, i.e., adaptation, but also from the fact that he omits »disputable« parts in the original texts directed against the church or clergy, and retains what he considers acceptable to a reader from Varaždin (cf. Dukat 1919:13, Jembrih 2002:124, 143).

Lovrenčić's second agenda mostly surfaces upon reading the forewords of his translations/adaptations. He was particularly interested in the development of *horvatska literatura*, i.e., Kajkavian literature. All of his texts are written in Kajkavian literary language and old Kajkavian script, including the one in 1835, except the final occasional poem that was printed in »Gajica«, where we find Kajkavian-Štokavian spelling and linguistic dualities.²⁰ Since three years after this occasional poem, in 1842, Lovrenčić

¹⁹ In the afterword of the transcription of Lovrenčić's *Adolf* published in 2002, Alojz Jembrih emphasises different genre classifications of this work, as found in the literature. According to some, it is a novella or a longer tale, while others consider it to be a novel – social, bildungsroman, epistolary (Jembrih 2002:138–140). Despite the long afterword by Jembrih to *Adolf*, a more detailed literary-historic and comparative analysis of this work is missing, as well as in *Kratka ... pripovedanja* from 1824 and 1825, such as the one we have recently gotten for the play *Presud zvrhu stališa i roda*, owing to Davor Dukić (2023).

²⁰ Lovrenčić's final work, an occasional poem dedicated to Pavel Mravinac, was printed in Gaj's script with many Kajkavian-Štokavian fluctuations. It is a 180-line poem written in dodecasyllable with abab rhyme scheme. Gaj's script notwithstan-

wrote (most likely dictated) his will in Kajkavian literary language, we cannot say that the partially Štokavian-influenced occasional poem to Mravinac is evidence of change in Lovrenčić's linguistic identity.²¹

In his first printed work, Lovrenčić tells to the reader that he chose a linguistic style he considered intelligible to a wider social class, not »fancy talk« that even educated citizens do not understand:

Akoprem ja nisem vzel on visoki pisanja način, preljubljeni domorodec, ufam se vendar da meni prijetelno oprostil budeš, kajti naša brača skupvaraščani još za vezda jesu preslabi da bi oni vre osvetlano govorenje poprijeti mogli, kojega, na to rekuč, niti isti pismeni varaščani prav ne razmeju i ovak vsu volju od čtenja horvatske knjige pogubiju ovi prosti pako...²² (*Rodbinstvo* in 1822).

In the collections of moral-educational stories he stresses the fact that he wrote with the aim of transmitting to his compatriots a message from foreign works that might help them in raising their own children:

Ti glasovit Narod Horvatski, ja sem za Te pisal, velim još jenkrat: pisal sem za Te²³ (*Kratka dobreh držanj pripovedanja*, 1824).

Bratja Horvati ... ne mislete da sem takov stranski kloštarski človek, da bi po tom na moj melin vodu vlekel. Ja sem domorodno dete, med vami vu društvu živem, jesem varašćan, tovaruš i otec, koj z suznemi očmi gleda vnogoga sina i kćer vu ovih čalarneh i skvarljivih vremenah na žalost i opšanost roditelov živeti i vu prestrašno zlo vtapljati se²⁴ (*Kratka deset zapovedih božjih pripovedanja I.*, 1825).

ding, the Kajkavian substrate can be seen at the level of spelling, orthography, but also language, so we find both č, š, ž and the Kajkavian cz (*Vu te, otecz*), *er* in the place of syllabic *r* (*tverdo*), typical Kajkavian *zk*, *zp*, *zt* in place of *sk*, *sp*, *st* (*zprevodil, nebezkom, ztoji, seztrice*), clitics connected to an accented word with a hyphen (*z-lepum, v-zemlji, v-cernu*), merged writing of verbal clitics (*kajsu, puta si pokazal, jelisem* ...). When it comes to language, *jat* is Ekavian, but fluctuations are visible in the writing of the initial cluster *čr-/cr-* (*cerna*, but *červu*), *člč* (*čuse zaufati, čast*) and the use or omission of Kajkavian prothetic *v-* (*vu te, u zemljicu*).

²¹ We cannot exclude the possibility of an editor's intervention in Lovrenčić's text.

²² *I hope, beloved patriot/compatriot, that you will kindly forgive me for not adopting the high style of writing, since our brothers, fellow citizens are too weak to be able to acquire the exalted style, which, it could be said, is not properly understood even by literate citizens, and thus the common ones would lose all desire to read Kajkavian books.*

²³ *You, eminent people of 'Horvatska', it is for You I have written, I say once again: For You I have written.*

²⁴ *Brothers 'Horvati'... do not think that I am a foreign monastic (convent) man that draws water to his own mill. I am a patriotic child, who lives among you in society, I am a citizen, husband and father, who watches with tears in his eyes many sons and daughters in these treacherous times who live to their parent's sorrow and despair, and drown in a horrible evil.*

About his partiality to everything *horvatsko* Lovrenčić states the following in the foreword to *Adolf*:

Jedino kaj za vezda ovde valuvati imam, je da ja nazočnu ovu knjižicu, pod imenom Adolf iliti kakvi su ljudi, ne dajem van za prevejance, nit' ja pišem za prefrigance, ar to velika prevzetnost bi bila od mene da bi ja za takve ljudi pisal, koji punu glavu s francuskemi i mađarskemi knjigami natovorjenu imaju, a v telu pako srca za pravi svoj materinski jezik nit' jedne truhe nemaju²⁵ (*Adolf*, 1833).

The next work we will discuss is aligned with Lovrenčić's efforts to enrich *horvatska* literature through translation by translating into fluent, colloquial, Kajkavian language of lower classes in the first half of the 19th century, which was the majority in the free royal city of Varaždin (Gross 1986:18). At the same time, this work somewhat deviates from Lovrenčić's moral-enlightenment efforts to familiarise his fellow citizens with exemplary educational literature. This makes the work even more interesting, namely the lottery dream book *Nove senje vsem lotarije igrašem alduvane* from 1838.

5. Lovrenčić's less known lottery dream book from 1838

The work *Nove senje vsem lotarije igrašem alduvane* printed in 1838 by Platzer in Varaždin, as already mentioned, thus far has only been written about by Denis Peričić (1997). In his paper, the author presents the basic material description of a booklet he had seen in the Varaždin City Museum, recounts its content, and questions its authorship. We will restate here the basic information about *Nove senje*, since it will be necessary for the determination of a possible foreign template, which Peričić did not write about.

It is a 16.5 * 10-centimetre book comprising 79 pages, but missing the covers.

In terms of genre, Peričić classifies it as a *dream book*, where dreams are attributed numerical meanings and lottery players are advised which numbers to play should they have a particular dream. The book is comprised of three basic parts: *Preopomenek*,²⁶ or the introductory

²⁵ The only thing I want to determine here now is that this present booklet, titled 'Adolf iliti kakvi su ljudi', I do not publish for connivers, nor do I write for the cunning, because it would be conceited of me to write for people whose minds are filled with French and Hungarian books, while in their bodies they do not have a shred of heart for their real mother tongue.

²⁶ Introductory remarks (Warning).

poem, *Razlaganje senj*,²⁷ or the middle prose part where dream motifs are listed in alphabetical order with assigned numbers, and *Priložek*,²⁸ which contains a table with numbers distributed according to months and 90 graphics that show illustrated dreams and the numbers associated with them (Peričić 1997:191, 192). Since the introductory poem is signed by J. *Lovrenčich*, Peričić considers him to be its author, as well as the potential author of the entire work. Even though he considers the possibility that it was translated from a foreign language, he also believes that Lovrenčić may have devised *Nove senje* »completely alone«, given his involvement in popular-folk texts that he had been editing for many years in *Horvatski kalendar* (ibid., 200).



Annex 4. Jakob Lovrenčić, cover sheet of *Nove senje vsem lotarije igrašem alduvane*, GMV 1-6755-2025.

²⁷ Explanations of dreams.

²⁸ Appendix.

Before we give our opinion on the originality of *Nove senje*, we would like to point out that Lovrenčić, in the foreword of his first printed work (*Rodbinstvo*, 1822), speaks derisively about books dealing with any kind of foretelling of the future:

Nisem imel volju na svetlo doйти z kakvemi vilami, ali z tablicami, z otpirači za izvedeti buduće dogođaje, proti kojem ista narava kriči i je najoholniji čin jednoga vmrtnoga človeka.

O Ti nevoljno stvorenje, ter tak daleko podstupiš tebe ona izdubavati, ona izvedati, koja nigdar nikomu nisu, niti ikada znana budu, kak onomu gori zemlje i neba GOSPONU.²⁹

In this moment, we do not know what prompted him to publish one such book – a lottery dream book – 16 years after *Rodbinstvo*. In any case, we are grateful to him for his endeavours in enriching the Kajkavian literary-linguistic corpus with this unique, hazard-themed work. No matter how enticing the thought that such an interesting and beautiful booklet was envisioned and written by Lovrenčić, a Kajkavian, we have to say that it is a translation. However, before we address its potential templates and sources, we will briefly reflect on the history of games of fortune and try to clarify how they came to Croatia proper, and ultimately under Lovrenčić's pen.

Hazard or 'games of fortune', gambling, represents one of the oldest forms of entertainment in the world. Information about gambling has been preserved from ancient China (Wei Chi in 2300 BCE), Egypt, India, and Rome. In Greece, gambling was forbidden, while in Rome it was inherited from the Etruscans and widely accepted (Willmann 1999:3; Kozjak 2008:264, 265). The Bible also mentions soldiers that rolled the dice to distribute Jesus' clothes after crucifying him to the cross, and since Roman times to this day, many European languages preserved the phraseme motivated by Gaius Julius Caesar's declaration upon crossing the river Rubicon: »The die is cast«, meaning 'a decision has been made', from 49 BCE (Kovačević 2016:26). Since hazard implies blind fate, occasion, chance, fortune and, of course, desire for quick profits, it is at odds with the following premise from Genesis: »By the sweat of your brow you will eat bread, until you return to the ground« (Genesis 3:19). Hazard, thus, invokes superstition and the occult, and awakens hope towards riches and

²⁹ I did not want to write about fairies or tables, keys for discovering the future against which nature screams, and which are the most prideful act of mortal man. Oh, thou hapless creature, who dared so much to question and doubt what nobody ever has, nor will know, apart from the one above, Lord of heaven and earth.

happiness, although true happiness should come from within. Due to all of this, during early Christianity, hazard was strictly forbidden in Rome, but it did not disappear. Thomas Aquinas writes about it in a more peaceful tone, considering drawing of lots to be an acceptable activity in situations when matters cannot be mutually agreed on (Kozjak 2008:269, 270). It is precisely the attitude of Thomas Aquinas that softened the Catholic blade aimed at games of fortune, so they continued to develop, ultimately becoming subject to state regulation in many European countries.

We find the term »lotto« and the first developed form of lottery in medieval Florence, whence the game spread to France, Netherlands, Germany (1610), and Britain, only to become a global phenomenon in the 19th century (Kozjak 2008:265). State-regulated lotteries filled the exchequer, while also investing income into the construction of church belfries, orphanages, and culture.

The first lottery in Croatia was organised in 1762 under the name *Lotto di Genua*, under the concession of Maria Theresa. Before that, in Vienna in 1749, the first Patent on Games of Fortune had been granted, and at the end of the 18th century, the State Office on Games of Fortune was established (Lentić-Kugli 1978:29). The literature suggests that the first Croatian lotto was played in Varaždin, where the first concession was given to Octavio conte de Cataldi, followed by a few more concessionaires. Since 1787, the royal decree that the lottery can no longer be leased, but is transferred into state hands, has been in effect (ibid., 28). In this regard, we find interesting the Kajkavian translation of the Vienna decree preserved in the Zagreb National and University Library (RIID-4⁰-15): *Rastolnačenje plana i načina pleg kojega iz previsoke naredbe od 11ga dneva meseca sesvečaka 1796. cesarsko-kraljevska brojev loterija pleg dovezdašnjega dobroga temelja svojega potvrđuje se i od sehdob takaj igrati se ima.*³⁰ In this decree, on 6 pages and in 22 paragraphs, rules and ways of playing lotto are explained:

Vu prepisanomu za numer to jest brojev vlečenje dnevu, zebranomu na to mestu i nazoči dveh k tomu naređeneh komesarov budu se 90 numer po redu od 1. do 90. očivesto izbrojili i tak kak vsaki videti more vu zgotovljenu posudu deli, dobro takaj izmešali, zatim po jednomu muškemu detetu pet numer jedno za drugim zvlekli, očivesto izkriknuli i odmah drugi den pritiskani, to jest štampani opčinsko izdali. I ove tak izvlečene pet numere dobitke pokazuju...

³⁰ Interpretation of the plan and procedure according to which, as per the high decree on 11 November 1796, the imperial-royal lottery, thus far properly established, is confirmed and can be played at any time.

Potlam vlečenja 24. vure imaju se dobitki vu loterije glavnoj kasi onim koj
štampane cedulje prinesu prez steganja isplatiti...

Po cesar. kraljev. Lotto prihotkov direkcije, vu
Beču 1ga dneva grudna 1796.³¹

In summary, 90 numbers are placed in a container, 5 of which are drawn and loudly shouted out by a male child, and the next day the numbers need to be printed so that all players get the information whether they have guessed them on their tickets: *pogodbe* (Wettcontract). Based on the existence of a Kajkavian translation of this Vienna decree alone we can conclude that institutionalised lotto, to a certain degree, was played in north-western Croatian at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century.³²

In the literature we find the information that lotto and lottery were first mentioned in northern parts by Mihalj Šilobod Bolšić in the work *Cabala de lusu lotto et varia fortuna* from 1768 (Kozjak 2008:265, according to Jembrih 1996:9), but Bolšić had actually mentioned lotto ten years earlier in his mathematical manual *Aritmetika horvatska*, 1758, which was recorded in *Rječnik hrvatskoga kajkavskoga književnog jezika*³³ in the entry **loto**: Vu drugeh orsageh ... je stanovita igra diački zvana alla fortunae a drugač loto. Šil 348.³⁴ In this dictionary we find several synonymous dictionary entries for lottery, with confirmations in Kajkavian works from the first half of the 19th century:

³¹ On the day determined for drawing 'numer', i.e., numbers, on a decided spot in the presence of two assigned commissaries (comissioners), 90 numbers, in the order from 1 to 90, will be counted in front of witnesses and placed in a dedicated container, after which they will be mixed and one male child will draw five numbers one after another, clearly shouting them out, and the very next day they will be published in print. Those numbers, drawn in such manner, are the wining ones... After the drawing, within 24 hours at the main cash register of the lottery, without hesitation, the winnings must be paid out to those who bring printed slips... According to the directive of the imperial and royal lottery, in Vienna on the first day of December in 1796.

³² We will also mention the curious fact that lotto was popular among certain culture professionals from southern Croatia who played it in Italy, as confirmed by letters from Ivan Luka Volantić (1749 – 1808), a long-standing notary and vice-secretary of the Republic of Dubrovnik, who has recently become known in Croatian philology as the first editor of Gundulić's *Osman* (cf. Lupić–Bratičević 2017). In his letters, written between 1788 and 1807, Volantić mentions several times that he played lotto during his visit to Rome, or that he sent money for lotto from Dubrovnik to Italy. I extend my gratitude to Irena Bratičević for the information about playing lotto in the said correspondence, which is kept in the Museo Correr in Venice.

³³ Dictionary of the Croatian Kajkavian Literary Language, <https://kajkavski.hr/>.

³⁴ Šil = Mihalj Šilobod Bolšić. *Aritmetika horvatska koju za občinsku vsega orsaga hassen i potreboču z vnogemi izebranemi peldami obilno istolnačil i na svetlo dal ... 1758.*

lotarija f (sg. A lotariu) same as lottery (and same etym.). Nevolna ova gospa nagovori me toga rainška na lotariu postaviti. Lovr ad 128.³⁵

loterija f (sg. N loteria, G -e, A -u, L loterije Danica (1837) 85, -ji Brez diog³⁶ 115) Ger. Lotterie; game of fortune, lottery; cf. lotarija, lotorija. Cesarsko-krajevska loteria, poleg dovezdašnega dobroga temelja svoje-ga potverguje se. Lot 1.³⁷ Med slobodnemi [načini] je jeden takaj igra na loteriu gde na nekuliko brojev malo postavi se a vnogo penez dobiti se more. Mikl izb 184.³⁸

lotorija f same as lottery (and same etym.). Lotoria lotria. Gaj posl³⁹ (s. v. L).

The lottery is described and its rules explained in detail by the priest Tomaš Mikloušić in part IV of his *Izbor dugovanj vsakovrsneh*⁴⁰ from 1821. The subheading *Način sreču včiniti i nju zezvedeti*⁴¹ is followed by an explanation of the ways of playing lotto – Extract, Ambo, Terno, Kvaterno. Before the explanation itself, Mikloušić felt the need to issue a warning that »naj nigdar nigdo preko svoje premogućosti ne postavlja, da kak pelde jesu, sebe na nikaj ne postavi«,⁴² mentioning also that »Sreča je, kak se veli, svoje glave, siliti se ne da, zato dogada se da koji vele 'ali vnogo ali nikaj' z vekšinum nikaj ne dobiju«⁴³ (Mikloušić 1821/2009:181). We find curious the chapter on the selection of numbers to play (*Način broje spametno zebrati*⁴⁴), as this brings us to Lovrenčić's lottery dream book. While Mikloušić refers to kabbalistic literature and fairies answering questions, whereby a lottery ticket is played or fortune is revealed according to the number of letters of particular words from the answers, in his text *Nove senje*, Lovrenčić finds happiness in dreams.

In the 18th and 19th century, lottery dream books were popular and widespread reading material, and one of the most popular ones was written by the Italian astrologist under the alias Fortunato Indovino, or »lucky guesser«. His illustrated booklet *Il vero mezzo per vincere all'estrazione*

³⁵ Lovr ad = Jakob Lovrenčić, *Adolf iliti kakvi su ljudi*, 1833.

³⁶ Brez diog = Tituš Brezovački, *Diogeneš*, 1804 or 1805.

³⁷ Lot 1 = *Raztolnačenje plana i načina poleg kojega iz ... naredbe od 11-oga dneva meseca sesvetčaka 1796. o. kr. brojev loteria ... potverguje se i odsehdob takaj igrati se ima*, 1796.

³⁸ Mikl izb = Tomaš Mikloušić, *Izbor dugovanj vsakovrsneh*, 1821.

³⁹ Gaj posl = *Skup provincialskih horvatskih poslovica – starom ortografiom*, 1827–1828, manuscript.

⁴⁰ *A selection of various things.*

⁴¹ *How to get and predict fortune.*

⁴² »let no one play beyond their means so as not to be left with nothing«

⁴³ *Fortune is stubborn, it cannot be forced, that's why it happens that those who say: »either a lot or nothing« most often get nothing.*

⁴⁴ *Smart way of choosing numbers.*

de' lotti, o sia una nuova lista generale contenente quasi tutte le voci delle cose popolareshche appartenenti alle visioni e sogni, col loro numero. Esposte per ordine Alfabetico,⁴⁵ in which dreams are graphically presented with a number assigned to each, was first published in 1754 in Venice, and later it saw as many as 80 editions (Nicassio 2009:93; Mellby 2012). Apart from the numerical value of dreams, Fortunato gives also instructions for playing all 90 lottery numbers, including the calculations for playing Ambo and Terno. For example, when a number is selected according to the dream, it should be multiplied with its immediate predecessor, and the result should then be divided by half to get the number played on Ambo (Nicassio 2009:93). Lottery dream books have also appeared in the neighbouring Habsburg Monarchy, naturally, in German, and it is quite probable that one of them served as the template for the Kajkavian edition by the culture professional from Varaždin – Jakob Lovrenčić.

Irrespective of their popularity in previous centuries, few dream books have survived to this day. For example, in the catalogue of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek we find the title *Fortuna oder die Kunst wie man mit 150 bis 300 Gulden jährlich 1000 bis 1500 Gulden ... gewinnnen kann: Traumbuch für die Lotterie Spieler* from 1837. This dream book was published one year prior to Lovrenčić's, but it has since gotten lost, so we cannot know if he used it as a template. Of preserved dream books written in German we have managed to find one that structurally and physically resembles Lovrenčić's *Nove senje*. In the Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg, newer editions of *Stock's grosses...* and *Stock's kleines illustriertes Persisch-Egyptisches Traum-Buch*, which were printed in Vienna, are kept, and it is precisely *Stock's kleines ... Traum-Buch...*⁴⁶ that could have served in one of its earlier editions as the template for Lovrenčić's *Nove senje*. It consists of a prose introduction, the central chapter *Auslegung der Träume sammt Lotterie-Zahlen nach dem Alphabet geordnet*,⁴⁷ and a graphic display of dreams with the subheading *Träumen in 90 Bildern ausgelegt*.⁴⁸ We find the same structure in Lovrenčić: the introductory poem *Preopomenek*, the central part *Razlaganje senj*, and *Priložek* that contains 90 graphic representations of dreams. Unfortunately, we could not find the edition of *Stock's kleines ... Traum-Buch*, which is older than Lovrenčić's *Nove senje*, so we cannot know in what measure Lovrenčić translated, i.e., adapted the original. The comparison with this newer edition demonstrates a partial overlap of content. For example, in

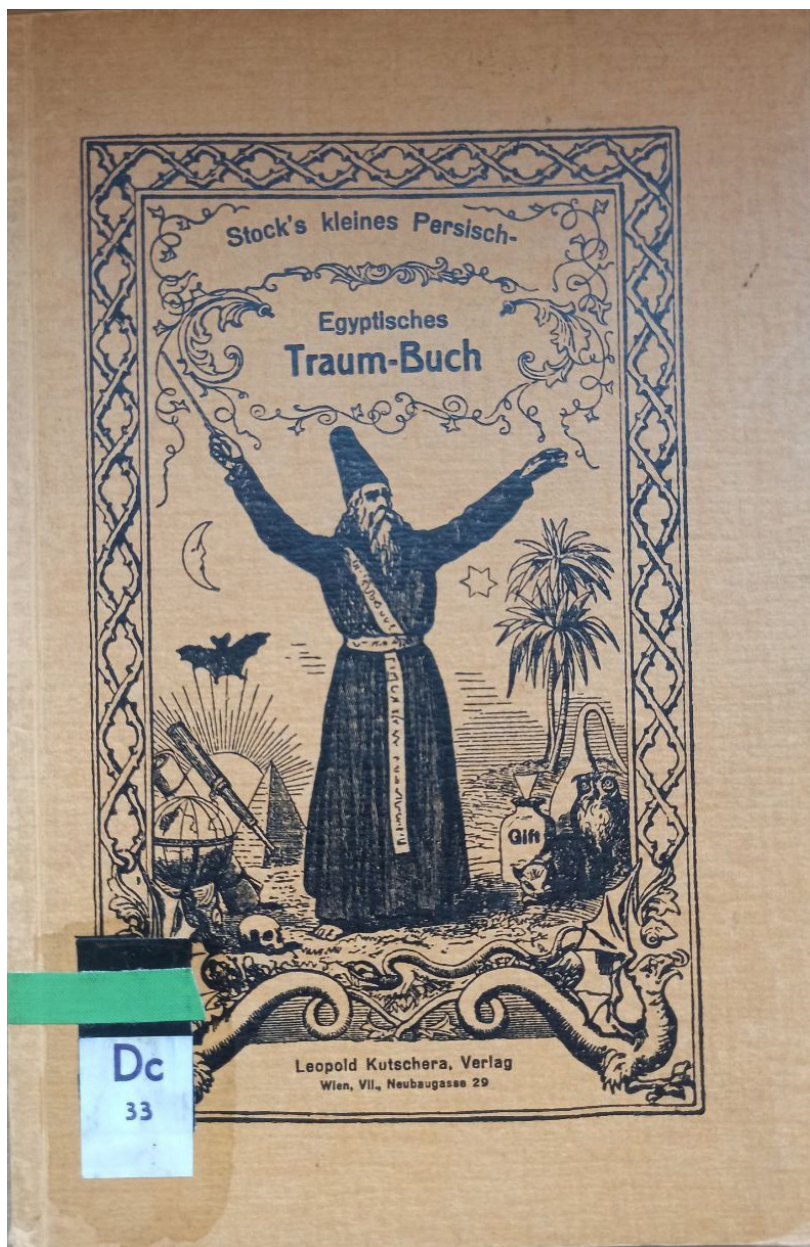
⁴⁵ Here we bring the title of the 1809 edition, according to Mellby in 2012.

⁴⁶ The copy we found was printed in 1935, and it is the 16th edition of that work.

⁴⁷ *Interpretation of dreams, including lottery numbers listed in alphabetical order.*

⁴⁸ *Dreams represented in 90 images.*

both works the number 22 needs to be played if a person dreams about an apple, and the graphics are fairly similar too.



Annex 5. Cover page of *Stock's kleines illustriertes Persisch-Egyptisches Traum-Buch*, [1935]. Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg, Frei122-DC33.



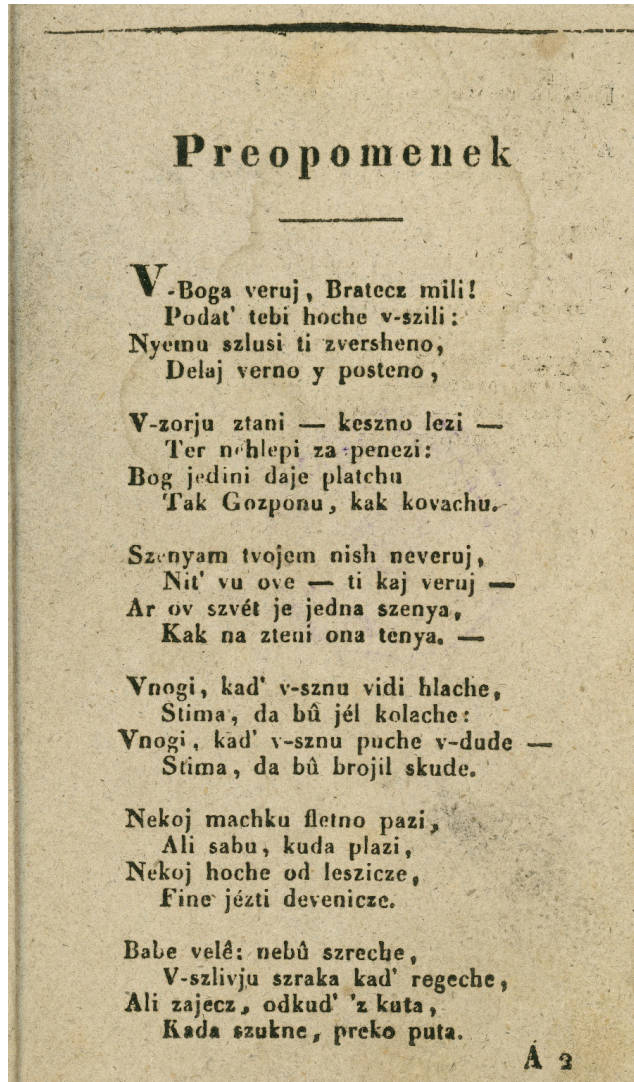
Annex 6. On the left side is the copy from *Stock's kleines illustriertes Persisch-Egyptisches Traum-Buch*, Vienna, around 1935, and on the right from Lovrenčić's *Nove senje*, Varaždin 1838.

One must bear in mind that the 16th edition of the Vienna dream book has surely been modified and supplemented with motifs of dreams in line with the technological and civilization advancement of society, such as adding a plane, which was not an option for Lovrenčić a hundred years before.

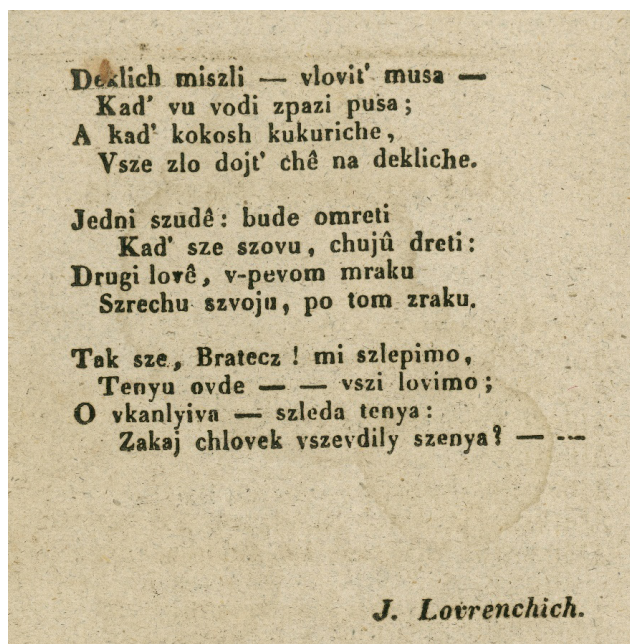
We will briefly return to the introductory poem in Lovrenčić's edition. *Preopomenek* is a poem made up of 9 quatrains written in octosyllables with the aabb rhyme scheme. It is signed by *J. Lovrenchich*, but in this moment we cannot know if he had actually written it, or simply adapted a poem found in the original.⁴⁹ In content, the poem speaks against superstition, which is in line with Lovrenčić's Catholic moral views, which can be summarized in the second stanza:

⁴⁹ In *Horvatski kalendar*, edited by him, Lovrenčić published poems in quatrains with this rhyme (cf. Dukat 1923:80).

V zorju stani, kesno lezi,
Ter ne hlapi za penezi.
Bog jedini daje plaču,
tak gosponu, kak kovaču.⁵⁰



⁵⁰ Rise at dawn, late to bed
chase not after money that fled.
Only Lord can provide pay,
keeping neither gentleman nor blacksmith at bay.



Annex 7. Lovrenčić's introductory poem *Preopomenek. Nove senje vsem lotarije igrašem alduvane*, GMV 1-6755-2025.

Although we haven't found a specific template for Lovrenčić's *Nove senje*, we believe that he modelled them after one of the older, so far unknown to us, editions of the Vienna *Stock's kleines illustriertes Persisch-Egyptisches Traum-Buch*. The comparison with the 16th edition from 1935 reveals certain similarities, which, we believe, would be even more numerous if we had the first edition of this Vienna lottery dream book. Given that Lovrenčić translated most of his books from German, rather than being their original author, our assumption on the non-originality of *Nove senje* fits into his creative profile.

6. Second edition of Lovrenčić's *Petrica Kerempuh* (1849), or the Štokavisation of Kajkavian

In the final chapter we will address another less known edition that is directly tied to Jakob Lovrenčić. Seven years after his death, the second edition of his *Petrica Kerempuh* was published in Varaždin:

*Petrica Kerempuh ili čini i život čovjeka prokšenog po Jakobu Lovrenčiću. Drugo izdanje. U Varašdinu, pritiskano i naloženo pri J. Platzeru, Stamp. 1849. Mala 16⁰ Str. 101. S jednom slikom.*⁵¹

The whole copy is kept in the Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and the copy without the cover page in the Zagreb National and University Library. The second edition was briefly addressed by Vladoje Dukat in his study of the models and sources for the first *Petrica Kerempuh*,⁵² stating that it is an edition that »preserved the text of *Petrica Kerempuh*«, unlike the third and each subsequent edition where the content was substantially changed (Dukat 1919:27). The same author points out that the book gained popularity because it had to change in ways »that its author would certainly not approve«, by undergoing štokavisation (ibid., 27). Below we will analyse what kind of linguistic changes were done by the anonymous editor of the 2nd edition of Lovrenčić's *Kerempuh*. At the beginning of this paper, we have mentioned that Jakob Lovrenčić belongs to those Kajkavian writers who did not embrace the new linguistic conception, and that until his death he continued writing in Kajkavian literary language, including his will in 1842. The editor of the 2nd edition of his *Petrica* took a different linguistic stance and changed Lovrenčić's expression by aligning it with Štokavian on all linguistic levels.

The work has been adapted from old Kajkavian non-diacritic script into Gajica, with errors: *ch* > *č* (or *ć*), *y* > *i*, *dy* > *dj*, *ny* > *nj*, *sz* > *s*, *sh* > *š*, *s* > *ž*, *e* (from *jat*) > *ě* inconsistently, and *er* in the position of syllabic *r* remains *er*.

E in the position of schwa in the Kajkavian text has mostly been replaced with *a*: *otec* > *otac*, *jeden* > *jedan*, *den* > *dan*.

E in the position of *jat* has inconsistently been replaced with *ě*: *človek* > *čověk*, *gde* > *gdě*, *deteta* > *děte*, *srěčno* > *srětno*, or *e* remains.

In the second edition, Kajkavian prothesis was frequently removed, so *v-* / *vu-* > *u-*: *včinil* > *učinio*, *vuska* > *uska*, *vu vuha* > *u ušesa*.

⁵¹ *Petrica Kerempuh or the work and life of a licentious man, by Jakob Lovrenčić. Second edition. In Varaždin, printed and published by J. Platzer, Stamp. 1849. Small 16⁰ p. 101. With one image.*

⁵² *Petricza Kerempuh. Chini y siolenye chloveka prokshenog, vu Varasdinu 1834.*

The editor of the second edition expanded Lovrenčić's phonological system with the phoneme *ć*, and he occasionally writes it instead of the Kajkavian *ch*, but not always where we might expect it based on etymology: *vručinu* > *vručínu*, *nehoteći* > *nehoteći*, *pleča* > *pleća*, but *nebu* > *neće*.⁵³

Ž > *dž*: *žepe* > *džepe*.

The editor vocalises Kajkavian final *-l* in the active past participle: *bil* > *bio*, *šival* > *šivao*, *grizel* > *grizao*, *imel* > *imao*, *pošprical* > *pošprico*. In the previous example the omission of the vowel *a* is also visible.

In place of the reduced Kajkavian consonant cluster *-n-* (< *-dn-*) the editor writes the full cluster: *jen* > *jedan*.

In NPL of masculine nouns he implements sibilisation, which is not present in Kajkavian: *putniki* > *putnici*.

Štokavisation is particularly noticeable at the level of morphology, where the first future tense sounds unnatural to Kajkavian speakers, but the editor does the following change: *bu* > *će/hoće*, *nebu* > *neće/neče*.

The analogical long ending in 3rd p. sg. of present tense verbs, which is a particularly distinctive feature of Kajkavian, is omitted in the second edition in favour of the short ending: *spraviju* > *sprave*.

We will just mention the change of the *-um* ending in ISG of feminine nouns, which is another *altérité* feature of Kajkavian: *z ženum svojum* > *sa svojom ženom*; *volovskum žilum* > *volovskom žilom*.

At the level of syntax, most evident is the omission of the word *jedan* that is used in Kajkavian, modelled after the German *ein*, as an article: *jednoga zdravoga* > *zdravoga*.

The typical Kajkavian participle is changed into a verb: *Marinka porodiša* > *Marinka porodiše*; *bivši pun veselja* > *bio je pun veselja*; *baba v pamet vzeša* > *baba je upazila*.

Also, it is important to mention that the verb in the second edition is generally moved from the end towards the beginning of the sentence: *On si od veselja mesta najti neje znal* > *On od veselja si nije znao mjesto naći*.

At the lexical level, the most obvious change is the removal of diminutives, which are a signature feature of Kajkavian: *detece* > *dete*, *pogačicami* > *pogačami*.

In addition, *leta* becomes *godine*, *delala* > *radila*, *škornje* > *čizme*, *cepeliši* > *cipele*, *mužače* > *seljanke*, *domom* > *kući*, *speskušoval* > *čelivao*, *krčma* > *oštarija*,

⁵³ This example tells us that the editor was most likely Kajkavian, because when he does not consciously deliberate that some *ch* graphemes from the original must be transcribed as *ć*, and others as *č*, he spontaneously writes *č*.

rekli > *kazali*, *duplrec* > *sveća*, *vura* > *sat*, *postelja* > *krevet*, *čez* > *preko*, *opravu* > *odeću*, *hegeduš* > *guslar*, *trubentaš* > *svirač*, etc.

Considering the different linguistic-grapheme solutions with regard to the use of the so-called horned *e*, i.e., diphthong *ie* in the place of *jat*, we can assume that the text was linguistically redacted several years prior to publication. Based on our comparative linguistic analysis, we assume that the redaction had been performed by a speaker of Kajkavian who did not speak Štokavian as his mother tongue. We believe this because the second edition contains Kajkavian linguistic forms in some places, or they have been modified only partially, such as *č* instead of *ć*: *obećanje*, *u* instead of *o* in verbs such as *nasledovali*, Kajkavian imperative 2nd p. sg. form *reči* instead of *reci*, *e* in place of schwa instead of *a*: *otec*, short plural in N of masculine nouns: *zajčeve repe* > *zečeve repe*, change of the Kajkavian lexeme, but retention of its form: *Ti nesrečni tolvajčić!* > *Ti nesretni ajdučić!*, where the Vocative remains identical to the Nominative, as it would in Kajkavian.

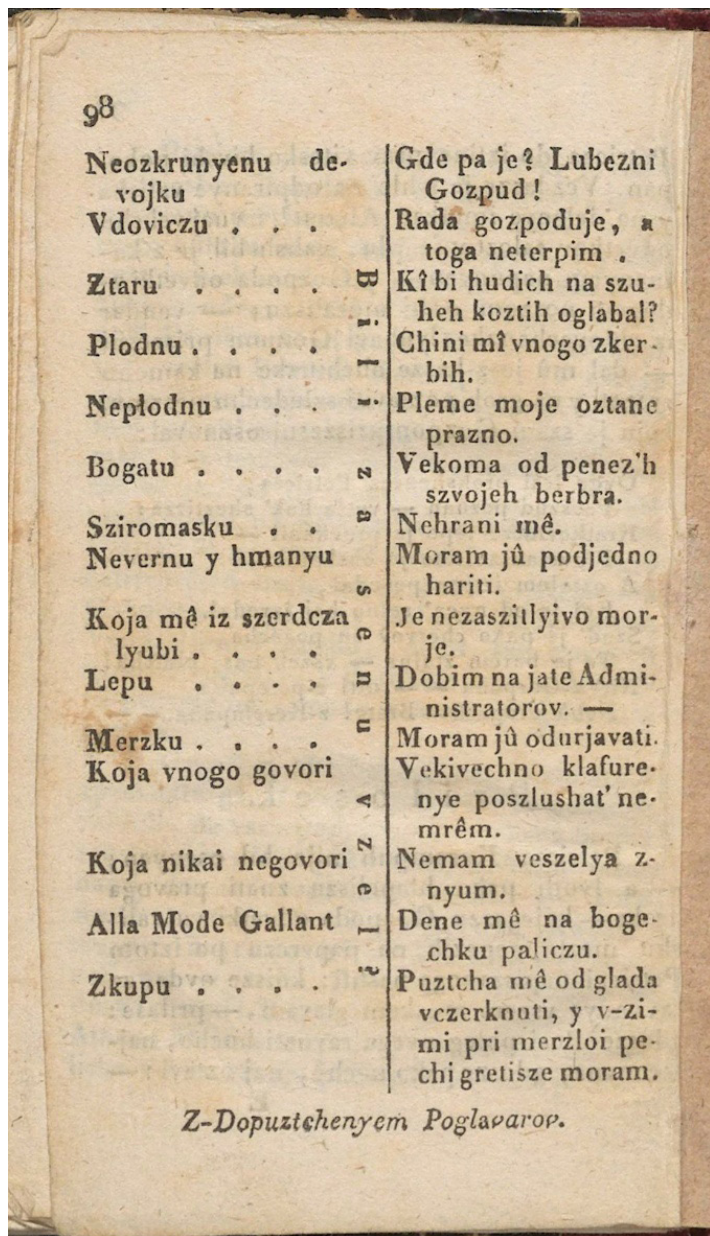
In some cases, additional Kajkavisation of the original can be noted, which would not be expected of a Štokavian speaker consciously aligning the text with Štokavian. We have, therefore, the use of *jd* in the verb *dojti* 'doći': *dokle su došli* > *dokle nadojdoše*, as well as the diminutisation of nouns *čavli* > *čavleki*.

In the second edition, hyperštokavisation is also noticeable, as is hesitation about the type of Štokavian dialect to which the editor turns the Kajkavian text so *obloki* becomes *pendžeri*, *pajdaši* > *komšije*, *vulica* > *sokak*, and *dragi japica* > *mili čaća* (again with fluctuation in the use of *č* – *ć*).

In terms of the content, the most evident change is the omission of *Priložek* in the second edition, i.e., the appendix at the end of the book, where Petrica laments different types of women in this world and explains why none of them are good.⁵⁴ It is due to this part of the book, as well as inserted remarks against women that are not part of the German originals his Petrica is compiled from, that Dukat labelled Lovrenčić as a »mysogine« (1919:10, 11). As already stated, *Priložek* is not part of the second edition of *Petrica Kerempuh*, although this edition rather faithfully follows the first

⁵⁴ Under the question *Bi li za ženu vzel?* (Would you take as a wife?) Petrica lists different types of women and arguments against each of them, except, of course, a virgin (*neoskrunjena devojka*, undefiled girl), who he cannot find anywhere. *Lepa* (Beautiful) is not good because with her he gets a flock of suitors, while *mrška* (repulsive) is not good because he has to *ju mora odurjavati* (abhor her). *Koja mnogo govori* (the one who talks a lot) is wrong because *vekivečo klafurenje poslušati nemre* (he cannot listen to constant prattle), and *z onum koja nikaj ne govori* (with the one that never talks) there is no fun, etc.

edition, and mostly differs from it in linguistic terms. The editor, it seems, found this part of the text unacceptable, so he left it out.



Annex 8. Priložek in *Petrica Kerempuh...*, 1834. NSK RIID-16⁰-52.

The second edition of Lovrenčić's *Petrica* was published in revolutionary 1849 by the same publisher, Platzer in Varaždin, but in different political and linguistic circumstances. One year earlier, the Croatian language established on the basis of Štokavian had replaced Latin as the official language and language of schooling. At the time, only Ignac Kristijanović fought for Kajkavian literary language, so it is not surprising that *Petrica Kerempuh* underwent linguistic redaction. The question remains whether Lovrenčić, had he lived to see it, would agree that his *Petrica* speaks *komšije* instead of *pajdaši* or *čaća* instead of *japica*, or if he would remain faithful to his *horvatski* (Kajkavian) expression, whose literature was greatly enriched and indebted by him.

Conclusion

In this paper we have presented the literary oeuvre of Jakob Lovrenčić (1787/88 – 1842), one of the last authors from north-western Croatia that wrote in and translated into Kajkavian literary language prior to the Croatian language revival and unification of all Croats around the Štokavian-based literary language. Based on extant sources and archive research, we have investigated the scope of Lovrenčić's work. In most sources he is attributed 8 titles that he translated or compiled from German templates: two plays, *Rodbinstvo*, 1822, and *Presud zvrhu stališa i roda*, 1830, two collections of moral-didactic short stories, *Kratka dobreh držanjih pripovedanja*, 1824, and *Kratka deset zapovedih božjih pripovedanja I.*, 1825, the novel *Adolf iliti kakvi su ljudi*, 1833, and the collection of short stories and anecdotes *Petrica Kerempuh iliti Čini i življenje človeka prokšenoga*, 1834. The only original texts by Lovrenčić are two occasional poems, *Pesma domoljubna prep. g. Imbrihu Vojskec*, 1834, and *Pesma domoljuba. Prepoštovanomu Gospodinu Pavlu Mravinec*, 1839. To this corpus, in 1997, another work was added – the lottery dream book *Nove senje vsem lotarije igrašem alduvane*, 1838, owing to Denis Peričić. In his paper, the author, who has mostly passed under the radar of Croatian philology, describes this interesting booklet believing it to potentially be a text originally written by Lovrenčić.

In order to confirm or reject his thesis, in this paper we have presented the history of games of fortune, the first record of lottery in our parts, and similar dream books written in neighbouring countries, especially in Italy and the Habsburg Monarchy at that time, and we have shown that *Nove senje* has most likely been adapted from the German original, *Stock's kleines illustriertes Persisch-Egyptisches Traum-Buch*, which was published in

many editions in Vienna during the 19th and 20th century. Since we have not found a preserved copy older than Lovrenčić's text, we have compared *Nove senje* to the more recent edition of *Stock's ... Traum-Buch* which we located in Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg and found a large number of similarities, in terms of structure, content, and graphic representations, which is why we believe that *Nove senje* is in no case Lovrenčić's original text. We find it possible that he is the author of the introductory poem *Preopomenek*, which is (the only one) signed by him.

In addition, we have excluded the possibility that Lovrenčić translated two seminary plays shown during the carnival in Kaptol in Zagreb. In the Catalogue of the Manuscripts, Šime Jurić listed Lovrenčić as the translator of two manuscript plays: *Igrokaz imenuvan Vitezović i njegov sin*, 1796, and *General Vitezović i njegov sin Rittmeister*, 1809. The older play could not have been translated by Lovrenčić since he was 8 or 9 years old at the time, and based on the comparative analysis of Lovrenčić's handwriting and the handwriting of the anonymous author of the more recent play, we believe that in this case also Lovrenčić cannot be the translator.

In the final chapter we have addressed the 2nd edition of Lovrenčić's *Petrica Kerempuh*, published seven years after the author's death, in 1849. This edition is interesting because it was Štokavised in Varaždin, but still contains numerous Kajkavian linguistic features, whereby we conclude that it was Štokavised by a speaker of Kajkavian. This is supported by, for example, ignorance of the difference and fluctuation between *č* and *ć*, which is to this day problematic for Kajkavian speakers, as well as other features such as the diminution of nouns, sporadic retention of the typically Kajkavian prothetic *v-* (e.g., *vuho*), etc. The use of Štokavian lexemes typical of east Štokavian speeches (e.g., *pendžer* for *oblok*), or lexemes typical of south Štokavian and Čakavian (*čaća* [sic!] for *japica*) shows that the transition to Štokavian in the middle of the 19th century was, to say the least, challenging for the citizens of Varaždin.

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Sanjariti na kajkavskom: o granicama književnoga opusa Jakoba Lovrenčića

Sažetak

U radu smo se bavili književnim opusom Jakoba Lovrenčića (1787./88. – 1842.), jednoga od posljednjih autora iz sjeverozapadne Hrvatske koji su pisali kajkavskim književnim jezikom i na nj prevodili prije no što je došlo do hrvatskoga jezičnoga preporoda i ujedinjenja svih Hrvata u književnom jeziku zasnovanu na štokavštini. Na temelju postojeće literature i arhivskih istraživanja propitivali smo opseg Lovrenčićeva stvaralaštva. Naime, u glavnini literature pripisano mu je 8 naslova koje je preveo ili kompilirao prema njemačkim uzorima: dvije drame *Rodbinstvo*, 1822. i *Presud zvrhu stališa i roda*, 1830., dvije zbirke moralno-didaktičkih pripovijedaka *Kratka dobreh držanjih pripovedanja*, 1824. i *Kratka deset zapovedih božjih pripovedanja I.*, 1825., roman *Adolf iliti kakvi su ljudi*, 1833. te zbirka pripovijedaka i anegdota *Petrica Kerempuh iliti Čini i življenje človeka prokšenoga*, 1834. Izvorni su Lovrenčićevi tekstovi tek dvije prigodnice *Pesma domoljubna prep. g. Imbrihu Vojskec*, 1834. i *Pesma domoljuba. Prepoštovanomu Gospodinu Pavlu Mravinec*, 1839. Tom je Lovrenčićevu korpusu Denis Peričić 1997. pridodao još jedno djelo – lutrijsku sanjaricu *Nove senje vsem lotarije igrašem alduvane* iz 1838. U svom radu, koji je uglavnom ostao ispod radara hrvatske filologije, Peričić opisuje tu zanimljivu knjižicu smatrajući mogućim da je također u pitanju izvorni Lovrenčićev tekst. Da bismo potvrdili ili odbacili tu tezu, u radu smo se bavili poviješću igara na sreću, prvim spomenom lutrije u nas te sličnim sanjaricama koje su napisane u susjednim nam zemljama, osobito u onodobnoj Italiji i Habsburškoj Monarhiji, te smo pokazali da su *Nove senje* sasvim sigurno prijevod/preradba iz njemačkoga izvornika, najvjerojatnije iz jednoga od izdanja *Stockove male ilustrirane sanjarice* (*Stock's kleines illustriertes Persisch-Egyptisches Traum-Buch*) koja je tijekom 19. i 20. stoljeća u mnogo izdanja objavljena u Beču. S obzirom da nismo pronašli sačuvani primjerak stariji od Lovrenčićeva teksta, *Nove senje* usporedili smo s mlađim izdanjem *Stockove male sanjarice* i našli pozamašan broj podudarnosti, od strukturnih i sadržajnih do grafičkih, zbog čega smatramo da *Nove senje* nipošto nisu Lovrenčićev izvorni tekst. Čini nam se mogućim ipak da je on autorom uvodne pjesme *Preopomenek* koju (jedino) i potpisuje.

Osim toga, u radu smo otklonili mogućnost da je Lovrenčić preveo dvije sjemenišne drame s kraja 18. i početka 19. stoljeća koje su se za poklada prikazivale na zagrebačkom Kaptolu. Naime, u Katalogu rukopisa NSK Šime Jurić naveo je Lovrenčićovo ime na mjestu prevoditelja dviju rukopisnih drama: *Igrokaz imenuvan Vitezović i njegov sin*, 1796. i *General Vitezović i njegov sin Rittmeister*, 1809. Stariju dramu Lovrenčić nije mogao prevesti jer mu je

tada bilo 8 ili 9 godina, a na temelju usporedne analize rukopisa Lovrenčićeva i onog anonimnog prevoditelja mlađe drame, smatramo da ni tu ne možemo govoriti o Lovrenčiću kao prevoditelju.

U posljednjem smo se poglavlju bavili manje poznatim II. izdanjem Lovrenčićeva *Petrica Kerempuha* koje je objavljeno sedam godina nakon autorove smrti, 1849. To je izdanje zanimljivo zato što je štokavizirano u Varaždinu, ali su u njem prisutni još mnogobrojni kajkavski jezični ostaci po čemu zaključujemo da ga je štokavizirao kajkavac. U prilog toj tezi ide, primjerice, nepoznavanje razlike i kolebanje između č i ć, koje i dan-danas muči većinu kajkavskih govornika, ali i druge značajke poput deminucije imenica, sporadično zadržavanja tipičnoga kajkavskog protetskog *v-* (npr. *vuho*) i sl.

Redaktorova upotreba štokavskih leksema svojstvenih istočnim štokavskim govorima (npr. *pendžer* za *oblok*), ili leksema svojstvenih južnim štokavskim i čakavskim govorima (*čaća* [sic!] za *japica*) pokazuje da je prelazak na štokavštinu sredinom 19. stoljeća Varaždincima predstavljao, u najmanju ruku, izazov.

Keywords: Jakob Lovrenčić, bibliography, attribution, *Nove senje*, *Petrica Kerempuh*, štokavisation

Ključne riječi: Jakob Lovrenčić, bibliografija, atribucija, *Nove senje*, *Petrica Kerempuh*, štokavizacija