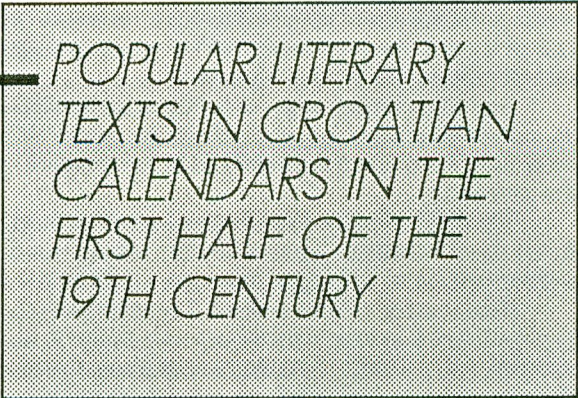


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POPULAR LITERARY
TEXTS IN CROATIAN
CALENDARS IN THE
FIRST HALF OF THE
19TH CENTURY

In the first half of the 19th century, calendars and almanacs first appear as popular writing attempting to attract the small literate Croatian readership. This paper intends to analyze calendar texts with examples of popular literary poetics that have been influential on the same task of non-literary function of literature as Croatian literature has been at the same tasks. Analysis of calendar material shows that the beginnings of what we term popular, mass entertaining writing can be found here. The forms of instructive and entertaining material in calendars exist even today, transformed into various columns of the daily and weekly press.

I.

In the process of the development of Croatian literature in the first half of the 19th century, a time dominated by the idealistic vision of the Illyrian Revival, popular writing in calendars appeared in an attempt to win over the rather limited Croatian literate readership.*

* This paper was published in *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i jezik* ("Collection for literature and language"), book XXX/1, Novi Sad, 1982, p. 19-40.

These calendars were the sole predecessor to *Danica ilirska*, which was started in 1835 with the intent of spreading the Illyrian notion as far as possible, and they were started with similar intent, of bringing their popular literary writing in the Croatian language to as broad a number of readers as possible.

Just as the conditions for the Illyrian Revival matured as early as the second half of the 18th century, so calendar texts appear in the late 18th century and reach their zenith in terms of number and widespread subscription in the second half of the 19th century.

The intention of this paper is to demonstrate, through analysis of popular calendar writing, the poetics of popular literature "in action"; this poetics was involved in the same task of the non-literary function of literature, corresponding in its own way to the developmental process of Croatian literature.

And while the development of Croatian literature led to the pronounced appearance of an individual poetics for each author, the poetics of popular literature may have nurtured more or less one genre or another or, as in calendars - many genres, and this is consistent to the present.

The first half of the 19th century is characterized, on the non-literary level of literature, by an equal standing, parallel activity of the two literary poetics - popular and artistic: poetics that led to a stronger or weaker stress on the author's individualized features.

A mixture of various stylistic formations was the basis that enabled the flourishing of popular literary writing, which can hardly today, in historical perspective, be anywhere near as distinct (as a whole) to the degree that it could be distinct to contemporaries from the other Croatian literary work who saw calendar texts as intended for the "lower social circles". Today this distinction between texts for "higher" and "lower" social circles in the first half of the 19th century is no longer so pronounced. Interesting become the similarities that emerged with regards to the function of Croatian literature in that period.

Analysis of popular literary writing in calendars indicates that what we call popular, mass, light printed matter had its roots in the first half of the 19th century, with these texts intended for instruction and entertainment. Entertaining texts are thus produced parallel to the development that led to works of Croatian literature. Therefore we are far from considering the phenomenon of modern light writing a novelty since its literary and historical roots go back far in popular manuscript and published texts. Forms of calendar writing for instruction and entertainment have held on until the present, transformed into the daily and weekly press in various columns, the chronicles of the court, reports on accidents, advertisements, events that "happened on today's date", etc.

The literary text published in calendars has only recently become the subject of literary historical study, which means that calendars became the focus of scientific inquiry when their function had long since been fulfilled. In the twentieth century, and especially after World War II, calendar books no longer were the sole printed reading material intended for the broader readership. The literary qualities of texts published in calendars in the first half of the 19th century, except for a few general remarks¹ have been completely bypassed in

¹ Vladoje Dukat, "Iz povijesti hrvatskog kalendara" (From the History of the Croatian Calendar), *Narodna starina*, vol. II, Editor Josip Matasovic, Zagreb, 1923, pp. 15-38. Vladoje Dukat, "Književno-prosvjetni rad Adama Filipovića Heldentalskoga" (The Literary and Educational Work of Adam Filipović Heldentalski), *Rad JAZU*, vol. 203, Zagreb, 1914, pp. 1-127. Vladoje Dukat, "Tomaša Mikloušića rad oko kalendara" (The Work of Tomaš Mikloušić on Calendars), *Nastavni vjesnik*, Zagreb, 1925, vol. 33, pp. 194-200. Miroslav Despot, "Novi Kalendar". *Vu Zagrebu prilizkan po Josefu Kotche*. ("New Calendar". In Zagreb printed by Josef Kotche). *Kaj* 12 (A), Zagreb 1973, pp. 24-31. Miroslav Despot, "Dragutin Rakovac i njegov 'Kalendar za puk'" (Dragutin Rakovac and His "Calendar for the Folk"), *Kaj*, 12, Zagreb, 1975, pp. 33-44.

Croatian literary study. In the recent literature on calendars, attention is focused on the publishers, editors, printing houses, and only a little reference is made to the connections between calendars.

In the course of research, in the first phase of collecting and getting to know the material, it became evident that calendar books, that is almanacs published in the years of the first half of the 19th century in Croatia did not have the same fate in libraries as the rest of the books published at that time, which were treated as rarities in a way that calendars were not.

This is partially due to the fact that almanacs were expendable books the "validity" of which ran out at the end of the calendar year.

The preservation and storage of rarities, the attention with which, especially recently, all early editions are collected that are important for literary and cultural life, did not function as such when calendar books were in question. The fate in libraries of the long neglected volumes of calendars can not be explained separately from questions of literary history that emerge from analysis of calendar texts.

From our understandings and answers as to what literature is, therefore from the relationship towards what is considered literary, investigative attention, or rather neglect followed, as well as a superficial attitude towards the rarities of calendar issues from earlier years. They were not even entered into the inventory in some of the major libraries. The superficial attitude of literary scholarship towards calendar texts also came from the peripheral position that didactical texts holds in that discipline. Publisher and writer of Slavonian calendars Adam Filipović Heldentalski contemplated the fate of almanacs and calendars.

A kad projde teb godina
 Pod pech onda ti mercina
 Onda dicu tjeshi malu
 Neka s tobom csine shalu,
 Nek te dica tad meljaju,
 I po smetu svud valjaju
 Dok stergaju na komade,
 Dati xivot tvoj propade.²

And when those years have passed
 Into the oven you're cast
 Then pacify little children
 Let them use you for their jokes
 Let the children rip you apart
 And roll you in the gutter
 Until you are torn into little pieces
 And your life then falls apart.

Regretting the fate of calendars, Adam Filipović Heldentalski had to note the contrast between the "disposability" of calendars and "lasting" messages of the entertaining literary and instructive calendar texts. The survey of the phases of the moon and the ruling planets was all that changed, while the character of the texts remained subject to the goals of enlightenment. The basic function of the calendar was to instruct its readers in the most varied fields related to man's life, so the durability of the instructions, therefore, was in direct opposition to the disposable character of the book that came out at the beginning of every year.

² *Novi i Stari Kalendar Slavonski Za Prosto Godishte 1842. S' dopushtenjem Stareshinah. Pritiskan u Ossiku. Slovima Divaldovima privileg. Knjigosticsa.* (New and Old Slavonian Calendar for the Non-Leap Year of 1842. With the Approval of the Elders. Printed in Ossik. With the letters of Divaldovi, honorable Book Printers).

The instruction tended towards an unlimited period of time, with the intent of being valid "for all time", so the bitterness that the publisher and compilers of the many texts felt is understandable, due to the fate of the material which is aimed at everyday life, directed and written for "eternity", and it then ends up in the stove at the end of the year, in expectation of the new volume of the calendar to come out at the beginning of the next year, as if from the ashes. Karel Čapek has noted with humor that the volumes of the calendar bridge the inner contradiction between disposability and the tendency of the material to touch on the "lasting" values, raising it from the commonplace and directing the reader's attention to the what is durable in the "higher" spheres.

"This is not a literature for all times, but literature for a year.
But as we know, the year comes back each year".³

When calendar books are in question, we face a stereotypical attitude where calendars are marked as "utilitarian" literature for the "people". Rarely, however, is there an attempt to explain how such books functioned, i.e. how they were "utilitarian", let alone talk on the difficulties of a closer definition of how they addressed their readership and were used. The designation "people" is too broad for this objective, because it is obvious that Latin and German calendars were intended for one stratum, while those printed in Croatian were intended for a different reading and listening audience; it was expected, namely, that the Croatian calendar would be read out loud by a literate member of the community in order for the messages to reach the much larger segment of the population that was illiterate.

If one designates the peasantry with the term "people", who needed farming advice, one must not forget the drastic fact on the conditions reigning in the villages in Croatia in the mid-19th century. Antun Barac refers to this in his book: *Povijesti hrvatske književnosti* (A History of Croatian Literature):

"In 1845, Frenchman Hipolit Desprez wrote down the following in his book: *Les peuples d'Autriche et de la Turquie* (Paris 1850), with his impressions from Croatia. There he saw destitute huts without chimneys, naked children and women, and the men hardly had a scrap of clothing to wear. Their overlords lived in lavish castles, with servants and coaches, dressed in the latest fashion of Paris and Vienna".⁴

In the mid-19th century, we find a grim situation of economic backwardness, poverty and of course, illiteracy, yet calendars had been coming out in Croatian since the 18th century. And while, for example, in the period from 1790 to 1830 the policy of submitting to Hungarian pretensions was dominant, calendars began coming out in two literary dialects, in Kajkavian and the Štokavian of Slavonian Ikavian, so therein, before the burgeoning of the Illyrians there was writing on love for the native language and on respect for the key events of the past that the readers must not forget if they want to keep in step with other nations who are advancing due to their awareness of their own identity.

³ Karel Čapek, "Kalendari" (Calendars) in the book: *Marsija ili na marginama literature* (Marcia or on the Margins of Literature), translated by Živorad Jevtić, Belgrade, 1967, p. 159.

⁴ Antun Barac, "Hrvatska književnost od Preporoda do stvaranja Jugoslavije" (Croatian Literature from the Revival to the Founding of Yugoslavia), Vol. 1, *Književnost Ilirizma* (The Literature of Illyrianism), JAZU, Zagreb, p. 22.

“Health to the dear Slavonian! My sweet Kolinovich, look at the beauty and wealth of our glorious language, so embroidered and ornamented, so fitting for the charming garden in which blossoms of all kinds and colors, large and small flourish so well, that our eyes can not encompass or count all the great variety and wealth. Before you grow ashamed of your native tongue, leaving the language of your acclaimed Mother, and learn other foreign tongues, or only foreign tongues that you already know, scathing your own, please, when foreign tongues are so sweet and fine, try your knowledge and your other languages that you have learned and re-fashion this next story into another language. And even if all our Slavic Mothers had poor language, I would prefer poverty to the riches of others, since the poor people and beggars dare not desire the palaces of others, they must be satisfied with their own endeavor and what their fathers left them. But our Mother language is far from poor, as those who are exiled, with their dry minds think.”⁵

Adam Filipović Heldentalški, calendar publisher and often its sole contributor called on Slavonians to value the beauty of their language, and in doing so spread his call for a specific ideology, beyond a sense of love for the language. As a priest, Adam Filipović drew a comparison between the rich and the poor, and admonishes that the “poor people and beggars dare not desire the palaces of others, they must be satisfied with their own endeavor and what their fathers left them. “Adam Filipović published his calendar “with the permission of the elders”, so the calendar admonishment is rooted equally in the Christian faith and the time in which it appears, because it urges the members of the classes to remain in their “god-given” places. Love for the language must not threaten the social order of late feudalism in the Croatian lands. Love for the language, therefore is not romantic, but, quite the contrary, something very sober and reasonable. The message says: whatever man may think of what he owns, he should be satisfied with it. The full message of the overall text does not depart from Adam Filipović’s reflection: the social order must remain unmarred.

The native language is compared to a flower garden, in the model of this comparison is the image of a divine garden, and with a variety of color and kinds of blossoms so great that the human eye can not encompass them all. The comparison is hardly a simple one, because the flower garden is opposed to, or better yet, superior to social wealth or poverty, in the context this is a lesson to the reader that spiritual, linguistic wealth is equally superior to the poor man as it is to the palace.

If we now consider the story that Adam Filipović Heldentalški offers as a challenge for translation, to be “re-fashioned” into another language, we will soon find that the “tale” is intended, within the function of a popular literary fable for those who know no other literary tradition than folk, oral literature and the popular literary production that was spread through manuscripts, printed material or by word of mouth.

Filipović didn’t invent this text for a single reading alone; as with every literary text the story counts on a completely definite horizon of the reader’s expectation, for which there is a beginning, middle and end.

It is not necessary to attempt a translation of this story into a foreign language to help

⁵ *Novi i Stari Kalendar Slavonski Za Pristupno Godishte 1843. Na korist i zabavu Slavonacah. A. Ph. od H. S. D. M. O. I. S’dopushtenjem Stareshinah. Pritiskan u Ossiku. Slovima Divaldovima privileg. Knjigosticsa.* (New and Old Slavonian Calendar for the Leap Year of 1843. For the Utility and Entertainment of Slavonians. A Ph. from H.S.D.M.O.I. With the Approval of the Elders. Printed in Ossik. With the letters of Divaoldovi, honorable Book Printers.)

the reader sense the complexity and elaborate structure of the language. Indirectly, the reader is being called on to memorize the names of characters, and their actions, what each of the characters has done, in order to shift from the plot elements and keeping track of what happens, to the outcome of each of their individual actions.

The mnemotechnical analysis begins in the fashion traditional for folk tales. An old man has several sons: "Old man Gjurash had four sons: 1. Gjuragj, 2. Gjura, 3. Gjurica, 4. Gjuka." The analysis of the family tree includes only the first son, which points to a latent possibility for further use of the links in the chain, namely that children and the other sons are also named.

"Gjuragj had : 1. Gjurko, 2. Gjukica, 3. Gjorgja 4. Gjoka and 5. Gjurgija, a daughter."⁶

The story is rooted in the folk tradition of formulative tales that are built by connecting the same links, which in this case are the names of characters who all are built on the same sound base: Đuraš, Đurađ, Đura, Đurica, Đuka, Đurka, Đukica, Đorđe, Đoka, Đordija.

The attempt at memorizing is the only way in which the readership can admire the complexity of what happens and the rich cumulation of expressions, nouns and verbs, regardless of whether they know a foreign language or not. The possibility of memorizing is contained in the text, especially in places that shift to versified expression or rhythmic prose.

The story ending is rhythmicized and joking. After everything that has happened, the old man is left without anything. All he has is "paspalj", the dust that is left when grain is ground.

"A starsina Gjurashina oder koxu kurjaczinah napravise shubarinu, koxushcsich, sve podava koje komu, koje shto, seb ostavi nishto, smihulju, posperdulju od shishishulje paspalj, shtiocu dobrom ovu pripovidcsicu."

The joking end of this cumulative tale has a didactical function within the context of the popular calendar, as a whole story, to prove how rich the language is in expression. It is a call to love the language, with its instructive example it warns the reader of how difficult it is to remember characters and keep track of the various plot elements and the outcome:

"Gjuragj nacsini od svog rastine sanducsinu za babine kucsine, povisma, predju i mosure, sanduk za perteshtinu, kcherke maramice, pregacsice i tkanice i rubinice, a sanduczich za gdikoji usnovani, na tkari, i borani jastucsich. - Gjura nacsini valov za ozimke, i junad za ergelu, i xdribad; korito za drago oprati xitance, koritashe za polushnu snashichu, a karlica na noxice oprati blatne dicsici. - Gjurica usicse prut za arnjeve, za obruczeve, i obruczice, na kace rad plavushastih shljivicah, na kacsice i prosik rad runnog vinca na kadu i csabricu rad kupusa i sirca, na burad i bureshca, da kumu i gostu rumenog vina i rakice bashice sacsuvu, a prutich odriza za csobanku Gjoku. - Gjuka naciputa bakljice Majki, da prosviti, kad veczericu dade; kiticu cvitoka dade sestri, sestrici, seki i seji dragoj, jagode ljubljenom bratcom svomu, a jajashca svom stricsichu Xivku, i to sve unucse Gjukica ucsini." (Translator: the richness of this passage made its translation impossible.)

⁶ *Novi i Stari Kalendar Slavonski Za Pristupno Godishte 1832. Na korist i zabavu Slavonacah. A. Ph. od H. S. D. M. O. I. Pritiskan u Ossiku. Slovima Divaldovima privileg. Knjigosticsa.* (New and Old Slavonian Calendar for the Leap Year of 1832. For the Utility and Entertainment of Slavonians. A Ph. from H.S.D.M.O.I. Printed in Ossik. With the letters of Divaoldovi, honorable Book Printers.)

In order to prove the variety and vastness of the 'flower garden' of the native language, Adam Filipović Heldentalski used the form of the cumulative tale that has characteristics described by Propp, and categorized by Aarne-Thompson in a special fourth group of formulative and cumulative stories. For classifying and distinguishing between such stories the characters and their activities are not as important as the structuring of the tale which, as Propp writes, are typified by a heaping of various forms, until the tale comes to an end: "in some far from cheerful catastrophe."⁷

In this manner Filipović's tale consists of three parts: exposition, cumulation and a finale; the parts are quite distinctly divided. After announcing the names of the characters, there is a cumulation entitled: "Otidjoshe" (They Left), and subsequently a finale with a witty point: "sve podava koje komu, koje shto, seb ostavi nishto, smihulju, posperdulju od shishishulje paspalj, shtiocu dobrom ovu pripovidcsicu".

To today's reader such a cumulative story-telling style is entirely strange. Propp warns of the fact that the principle of cumulation is a relict of the distant past.⁸

For exploring the attitudes towards the Štokavian dialect on the eve of the Illyrian Revival, Filipović's calendar tale is an interesting indicator emerging from a prolonged, broad campaign aimed at all "social circles" to direct attention at all educational levels and nurture love for a developed and rich Štokavian.

Deeply rooted in the national folk tradition, Filipović's tale emerges as an archaic popular literary proof of the expressive wealth of Štokavian. A call for a love of the language has shown its clear reasons and literary justification. He wanted to appeal to a readership from various social and educational levels, and this meant relying on an appeal at the deeper literary levels. The calendar popular literary text does not appear as a novelty in an informational vacuum because their roots go down deeper than do the written and printed texts of Croatian literature. The call for love of the native language acquired in this manner a deeper and broader dimension just on the eve of the Illyrian Revival, following all the build up prior to this during the 18th century.

The concern for language that appears early on in calendars in this country before the appearance of the Illyrian Revival is an echo of the concern for language of the Age of Enlightenment, because enlightenment, communication are impossible without the possibility of a clear form of expression accessible to everyone. In other words, concern for a language that would be equally accessible to all as a form of expression was an echo of the European Age of Enlightenment, which was long intertwined in this part of the world with romantic moods. In monographies on moralist tendencies in Germany, Wolfgang Martens comments, in his chapter: "Vernunft - Religion - Tugend": "Und Sprachpflege ist zugleich Vernunftpflege. Nur wer sich klar und reinlich auszudrücken weiss, hat auch klar und sauber gedacht. (...) Sprachpflege ist ein Stück Aufklärung."⁹

A preoccupation with language and the past, with history, holds a superior position in terms of significance and the place it holds in calendars, to agricultural advice. Although

⁷ V. J. Propp, *Fol 'klor i dejstviteľj nost, Izbrannye stat' i*. Moscow, 1976. Chapter: Kumuljativnaja skazka, pp. 240-257. Quotes, pp. 244 and 248.

⁸ J. Propp, *ibid.*

⁹ Wolfgang Martens, *Die Botschaft der Tugend. Die Aufklärung im Spiegel der deutschen moralischen Wochenschriften*, Stuttgart, 1968, J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, pp. 413 and 414.

some calendars such as: "Danicza zagrebachka" provides an abundance of agricultural and practical advice, such advice is ranked third place in terms of importance, while an advantage is granted in terms of meaning and importance to those types of advice that refer to language and history, "goings on".

Agricultural and economic issues are treated in calendars in a moralizing tone as if the advancement of agriculture depends entirely on ethical virtues, with the divine mercy of whoever is tilling the soil or is renting out the piece of land. And while historical time approaches the tumultuous year of 1848 and the abolition of serfdom, at roughly the same time, in 1846 there is an attempt to "reconcile" agricultural and class problems in the "Obći zagrebački Kolendar" by spreading "education" (Author: F.Ž. - probably Ferdinand Žerjavić who writes, in the same volume, "Črtice iz dogodovštine harvatske" Sketches of Croatian Goings On) - a way is sought and proposed which would help serfs meet the demands made on them - their tithe. In this article it is assumed that the educated peasant will have a better, a more proper attitude towards the obligations to the landowner whose lot is also a difficult one, since he also bears obligations to those above him.

The first question is posed of how to create schools for teachers who would then spread enlightenment. Commentary of the political problem of the Croatian-Hungarian relationship is organized in a specifically popular way. The Croats and Hungarians appear in a literary image, in a stylized family circle, as brothers, while the Austrian ruling house is the "parental" figure. If the Croats "pray" to their, i.e. common, "father", if they are willing to be satisfied with only a little (!), therefore if they display the virtue of "Modesty" and do not seek what their "brother" the Hungarian enjoys, then it might happen that they are issued approval for opening at least a single teachers' college. The entire community is expected to produce individualized behavior and to reduce the political problem to ethical and Christian values. The common "father" has already approved, for reasons that go unarticulated in the text, not one but four teachers' colleges to the "brother" Hungarian!

The political problem is lowered or raised (!) to the level of a family "discussion" and a father's mercy. This is one of the many examples of how popular literary technique in calendar texts neutralizes historical and political problems. Nothing should be changed in the existing order, but, if possible, there is an attempt to extract something from the unchanging-existing world through "virtue". How does one, then, acquire a teachers' college?

"But what can we start from when we build them? many will ask. I will respond in brief. We must pray to our merciful Sovereign, that he permits the issuance from the State Treasury of the funds needed for founding and maintaining such an institution. The brother Hungarians prayed for the same from their state assembly, and their prayers were heard, and they were given four teachers' colleges. Should not our merciful Sovereign permit at least one to his faithful Croats and Slavonians? 'The mute beggar has an empty purse'."¹⁰

As in the tales of past events, authors often employ folk expressions and proverbs as concise points for their instructive advice. With the phrase "The mute beggar has an empty

¹⁰ *Obći zagrebački Kolendar za godinu 1846.* (Universal Zagreb Calendar for the Year 1846). S višnjim dozvoljenjem izdan (Published with respected permission). Slavoljub Verbančić, editor; Lavoslav Župan, publisher. In Zagreb, printed by Franjo Šuppan, honorable book publishers and binders, p. 58.

purse' stress is placed on the fact that one must not remain silent, although the latent possibility of calling the state treasury - the joint treasury is quietly overlooked. From afar and quite hesitantly the folk saying, however, brings seriously into question the previous popular literary vision of the "family" circle, because it shows that of the two brothers one is - poor! If the text of the article is carefully considered as a whole, it will become clear that this far-reaching interpretation of the political situation was not the writer's intent, because he has no intent of suggesting the need to change the system. Not only that, but his intent is the opposite, he wants to achieve through education that peasants grasp the justification for their obligations as serfs, and he is trying to prove this only two years before serfdom was abolished!

"If we consider that the coarse, stupid and unruly peasant is the greatest source of a landlord's problems, then the opposite is true, as soon as the peasant has more learning, then he is better off, and as soon as he is better off he is of greater use to his estate, an affluent peasant can easily do both his work and the work of his overlord, while the poor man must bungle one or the other, because there is no work for livestock or enough hands, if he bungles what belongs to the estate, he is damaging the estate, because he does not take care of his work in time, and if he bungles his own, here the estate suffers damage once again, because then the peasant will have no bread for a year, which would bring with it the tithe (work obligation), and since he can not work when hungry, he then remains at home, where he concocts a bit of soup, enough to barely fill him. So if he outwits the obligation through his own poverty, you take his naked soul, because he has nothing else to give - or you must chase him from the village and put someone else in his place, and in time it will be the same with the second as it was with the first. Yes, yes, ye lords of the earth! wherever the subject has more learning, he is more affluent, and as soon as he is more affluent, his earthly lord is better off as well."¹¹

Sometimes, though usually indirectly, it is possible to extract from a calendar information about how poor the population was, about the obligations for example until today is usually transmitted orally. During field research into the oral narrative tradition in Croatian Zagorje simple forms and story telling were heard about how a peasant had nothing to bring of food produce to meet his obligation: one was forced by hunger to climb up into a pear tree, and he was sentenced to a whipping. We glean, indirectly, from calendars that peasants stayed at home because they were so hungry they couldn't go out to meet their obligations working. He "concocts a bit of soup". It is hardly chance that the calendar "Danicza zagrebechka" provides advice, for example, how to make soup out of nothing, or bake bread from unusual plants and roots, so it is clear that such advice was intended for the poor, and that the recipes had come, "tested" from that same social stratum for whom it was intended, in this printed form. It is interesting to note that the recipe of soup out of nothing from "Danicza zagrebechka"¹² is reproduced almost three decades later, in 1860, in the

¹¹ Ibid. p. 59.

¹² Liquid soup without spices. In the summer of 1753 this soup was concocted for the hungry, and it is made as follows: for one part or: a portion of soup take three or two walnut meats: if it is made for many people, then it is enough to take two walnuts per serving, and especially if there are more than five, and from that you must to add a little: tie the walnut meats in a white cloth, when it starts to boil, add to the pot, in the foam as high as it will climb (so that the soup doesn't turn dark), then put in any roots that you have or greens, salt it to taste,

“Zagrebački šoštar”¹³.

The educated peasant, returning to our article, is not only better at plowing, but he embraces the feudal order much more reasonably, understanding his position within the feudal hierarchy, and this is the aspect in the calendar material that leaves the system untouched and even provides support for it. Support typical of the Enlightenment, in fact, is provided:

“And moreover the subject with some learning understands full well that he is obliged to give his master tith because he is using the master’s land; and in understanding this, everything that he has to give he gives with an open heart, and would hold it a sin to conduct the work of his master carelessly or superficially. The peasant without learning, however, can by no means think of this, *that the tith he is giving is only interest for the good that he has received from his master* (emphasis added, D.Z.) thinking equally that it is wrong that he has to work for the master. He thereby holds it not to be a sin, and he works not with a will, and if no one oversees the labor, he will not do as much, in two day’s labor, as the man with learning, who recognizes his duty, in a single day”¹⁴.

The world is presented and considered - as static. The peasant gets a chance “from his master” to work the land, and between his “master” and the “Lord God” there is no difference. The peasant, however, is “ungrateful” because he has no learning and so he can not see that the “master” is the mediator between the peasant and the “Lord God” because he possesses the right to “give” the land. The same attitude as the Calendars demonstrate towards the cosmic order is applied to politics. Just as they can not influence cosmic laws, so they have the same relationship towards the ruling layer as “given” and unchanging. Learning should bring the peasantry to the degree at which they themselves consider a careless and superficial attitude towards the tith, in fact intolerance towards the feudal lord, “a sin”.

Author F.Ž. calls on the rulers to weigh the advantage they would have if they were to build schools. Only two years after the calendar’s conservative call to prolong the serf’s dependence, an issue of “Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska” on 22 April 1848 came out with a joyous poem that celebrates in a popular way the equality that should soon be put into practice. It celebrates the abolition of serfdom:

add pepper and paprika, and this soup should be less costly and strong and tasty. *Danicza zagrebecka* or: The Diary for the Non-Leap Year of 1834, The first year course. In Zagreb, printed in Ferencza Suppan Szlovarnicza, 1834, p. 51.

¹³ *Zagrebački šoštar. Kolendar s dodatkom gospodarstvenim za prestupnu godinu 1860.* (The Zagreb Shoemaker. A Calendar with Farmers’ Supplement for the Leap year 1860). In Zagreb at the expense of Franjo Župan.

¹⁴ See note no. 10.

¹⁵ *Danica ilirska* no. 17/1848, p. 69 (Pjesma narodne čete/Song of the Folk Brigade).

Neima već gose - neima već kmeta!
 Hurra! ma bratjo, narodna četa;
 Svi smo jednaki - slobodni muži,
 Jedan nek drugom desnicu pruži.¹⁵

There are no more masters - there are no more serfs!
 Hoorah! just brothers, a people's brigade;
 All of us are equal - free men,
 Let us offer our right hand to one another.

The verse was printed on 22 April, and on 25 April 1848 Jelačić's proclamation was issued abolishing serfdom.

It is hardly chance, however, that the "Obći zagrebački Kolendar za godinu 1846" indirectly points to the starving of the peasant; that year, as was true of the next year as well, throughout Europe the harvest was poor and hunger prevailed.

"Hunger has spread through parts of Croatia, in the words of 'Narodne Novine' they are looking for and recommending replacements for flour: roots of couch grass (*radix graminis*), acorn, flour is mixed with potato, carrot, pumpkin, turnip."¹⁶

Calendars are intended for everyday life, however for the presentation of needs and questions that emerges from everyday life is stylized and the form of narration of historical tales or tales based on a folk motif is also not chance. Various facts are covered with the same world outlook, and so these are no longer the naked facts, but microparts of the world that has its "eternally" valid laws. When starting with what seems to be a bit of practical advice for building schools, the author of the calendar article offers us an "elevated" popular literary stylization from everyday life of the political situation. The proposal that responds to the question of how to have at least one teachers' college built understandably had no repercussions outside the framework of the calendar texts themselves.

The "brothers", Hungarians and Croats, remain in the popular literary stylization for unarticulated reasons - unequal; the "poor" can only hope for a single school while their "brothers", the Hungarians, have been granted four schools. And even that single school, however, a teachers' college, the foundation of which is discussed with suggestions and advice, is merely imaginary which is not related to the real, historical situation, so advice in respect to this historical every day fact are as pointless as the likelihood that money will be set aside from the "state treasury" for a teachers' college. Therefore in this case "concrete" literary advice is proffered for fictitious, i.e. literary projects, and the hoped-for reaction is that the peasant will understand that the tithe is justified. As a goal this is equally unrealistic as the way in which they should go about securing funds for building the school ("let us pray to the Sovereign") and a building permit. At first glance, the article with practical advice does not differ from the tale about the miracles of the blessed Virgin Mary or the story about the

¹⁶ Josip Horvat, *Kultura Hrvata kroz 1000 godina* (The Culture of the Croats Over a 1000 Years). Part Two: "Gospodarski i društveni razvitak u 18. i 19. stoljeću" (Economic and Social Development in the 18th and 19th Century). Zagreb, 1942, p. 338.

honest shoemaker who can not accumulate enough money through his work to build a dwelling for himself and his children, and then one day a stranger arrives who says that he has too much money himself and gives him the money he needs. The cobbler, in the popular literary organization of the tale, is not surprised, and when he manages to collect the money to return his debt, there is no trace of the stranger. The cobbler is an honest man, devout and hard-working just as they say that the "Croats and Slavonians" are faithful to their sovereign and deserve, in the popular vision of things, at least one school.

In respect to historical reality, such practical advice on setting up a school prove to be a popular literary vision realized in the form of dialogue: a question is posed and an answer, practical, at a first glance, is offered. The author of the article considers that the deciding factor in building the school is the "will" to do it. Nothing more than that, just good will!

"In advance I already know that a thousand mouths are ready that will say, when reading these lines "that is all very well and good, if only you could really do it". Gentlemen! it is certainly no harder than it was to build the Egyptian pyramids - and yet the Egyptian pyramids are standing there today; why? because there was a serious will to raise them there. So should there be here as well, and then we'd see just how possible it really is! If we continue merely to wish, that it might get better, and then wait for someone else to make our wishes come true, if we persist in saying: "I wish it were so, but what can one do about it?" Then naturally nothing will ever come of it, because nothing has ever come about from merely wishing, rather one must have will with one's wish".¹⁷

In the same way that the past is seen (history), the present is also experienced: everything that happens depends on individual efforts of important individuals or groups of individuals, i.e. famous families. The past and present depend on the character traits of the person, and in that context one can say that the comparison is a reasonable one between the need to build teachers' colleges and the successful construction of Egyptian pyramids which "sprouted" out of nothing more than a strong "will" for them to be built!

If wish and will are brought together, with a few other virtues, then wonders will happen in popular literary texts, wonders such as, in this case, pyramids.

Both the past and everyday life are transformed in the same way into a story, and the goal of the calendar narration is the moral, always extracted from its "higher" meaning. In an article with the title "How should schools be set up" Egyptian pyramids crop up as a good example of: where there's a will, there's a way. Nothing is said about the "brother Hungarians" who got four teachers' colleges, and who are a much closer example than the Egyptian pyramids to the author of the article and its readers, why they were granted four schools and how strong a "will" they had to have in order to get what they did. Within the popular form of narration and presentation of familial relations, parents and children, it wouldn't be desirable to introduce a negative character quality, namely, within the popular form of narration this is the sole possibility, all that remains is to envy the "brothers" for having more, and envy, here, is out of the question. Everything comes down to an individualization of character traits, and entire peoples behave like individuals. Therefore, in closing, a "teachers' college" acquires its popular counter-argument in with "one"

¹⁷ See note no. 10, p. 66.

pyramid (!) and therefore, unlike the pyramid, the public "teachers' college" floats within the world of popular literature.

The question arises of whether or not it is possible to distinguish between a literary and a non-literary text when calendar writing is in question? I am of the opinion that the above example, as with examples that will be analysed, suggest that it is not possible to make such distinctions and divisions in calendar information, which are all oriented towards a common goal - a moral. All the articles are brought under one heading and determined by the same common function. The advice of the home doctor, as analysis shows, bears a moral idealization of its own. The moral elevates every information within the sphere of values outside of mere "practicality". The tendency for spreading learning must overcome and master the counter tendency of shirking the building of schools in the name of the order of things and in the name of an idealized picture of the past in which an assumption of "unsullied" happiness usually prevails:

"What other sort of benefit can you have (persist the mentioned people) by your study halls, you who keep calling so for their construction, who so praise the fruits of learning? Our elders had less learning than ourselves, yet they were nonetheless happier and lived a more orderly life than we live. They enjoyed the purity and simplicity of bearing, prosperity, harmony, safety, trust and so forth, all of which we are lacking."¹⁸

The author of the article is reacting quite cautiously to cited objections to building a school. His reaction is far from a total negation because it is an idealized image of the morals shared both by those in favor of the spread of learning and those against the building of schools:

"It can not be hidden that much truth lies behind these words, but again it is also true that whoever considers things as such, is considering them from one side only. These gentlemen have noted the faults and evils ruling in our age, but they have not noted the source from whence these same come."¹⁹

Through upbringing and learning it is hoped that not only will questions of an orderly life be resolved, but also agricultural questions and social unrest, in a word learning would cure the roots of the "evils ruling in our age". Virtue is a force with which everything will be resolved, therefore the article: "On Agriculture in the Field" that same year, in 1846 in the *Obći zagrebački Kolendar* which ends with an effective point to the popular literary scene. Just as the reader expects some form of advice or another about how to train agriculture teachers, in the article re-printed from *Zora Dalmatinska* the problem is resolved through individual character traits, with one's readiness to be of "use" to one's homeland:

"Yes, but where will we find such a teacher? - cry thousands and thousands of mouths; yet no one will arise, and with fervor pound upon his breast and shout: - Here he is!"

¹⁸ See note no. 10, p. 56.

¹⁹ See note no. 10, pp. 66-67.

In this case, too, the answer, though negative, is uplifting a pathetic vision from everyday life to the popular literary scene: thousands are crying out for teachers, and one, the individual, is expected to play a major heroic role, to pound upon his breast and shout: "Here he is!". The hero speaks of himself in the third person, i.e. from the point of view of those who are crying out for him

II.

Because of the fact that the moral of the story is primary to calendar writing, the news that is presented there need not be the "latest" news item; the moral is lasting and does not depend on the "freshness" of the event that serves as an example. The didactics always tend towards the extra-temporal or "eternal".

The *Obći zagrebački Kolendar for the year 1846* brings a news item on an event that took place eight years before the calendar came out. The news was translated from Russian and is a report of a "witness": "Report of one who saw it with his own eyes. Translated from the Russian by Maxml. Pleševički".²⁰ The presence of an "eyewitness account" in popular writing is a guarantee of authenticity of the event and report, and it is confirmed in the choice of detail. In this very choice of detail, the sequence of facts, clearly points to the specific folk literary character of the calendar news item.

News about a conflagration on a boat, how it was run aground and the passengers rescued would be reported within a day or two by modern newspapers. Calendars, however, are newspapers that are published a year in advance. The calendar offers its readers reports on outstanding events outside of everyday life. The news is elevated to the level of an "elevated" meaning. The way in which the news is conceived, told, determines its popular literary character.

The news about the event is only an opportunity to set coordinates with the narration within which the event will turn into an example of human fate and latently of an effective wheel of fate. If the news item about the fire on the boat is eight years old, then the moral that emerges from the literary organization of the whole - is incomparably older. The story is told as an example with a concealed warning: let everyone know that at all moments that seem peaceful and safe - the man is threatened by death, in other words some form of "higher" justice.

In the introduction to the news item "Fire on Steamboat Nikolai I" the reader is warned of a deeper or higher meaning of the event: "Now let anyone think who will, how he who rides the high seas feels, and his rotten wooden house is burnt by fire".

After the introduction when "the frailty of human forces are shown in their true light" in the struggle with the natural elements, it is shown that, to the surprise of the researcher, the role of the *rotten* wooden house on the sea - will be played by a luxury liner, referred to as a "winged floating hotel".

The narration of the event starts from the "fact", that is from a precise date that establishes that the narrator is also an eyewitness: "It was a clear, cold morning in the spring

²⁰ *Obći zagrebački Kolendar za godinu 1846* (Universal Zagreb Calendar for the Year 1846), pp. 47-51.

of the year 1838 (27th of May)...” In order to place greater emphasis on the future accident, there is stress in the description on the comfort, luxury, speed and safety of the ship, qualities that none of the travelers on the ship doubted; the reader, therefore, must be all the more cautious and prepared for a moral that will emerge from the contrasts. The ship was so safe that it had never “been in an accident, and so that is why its passengers proudly and calmly looked at the other greatly rocking boats that were left behind them”.²¹

At the opening of the story, therefore, the future unfortunates are proud and calm, so that they can end up they way the moral of the story intends in the end: humbled and penitent.

The procedure of contrasting proceeds and is elaborated further on the day of departure - the sky is clear, the sea calm, the breeze light. Later contrast will be provided to this stylized picture by the oppositions: a storm at sea, a fire on the boat, human suffering in the struggle to survive.

Thanks to the literary organization of the “facts”, details and detailing, the ship remains a symbol that is instructive for all peoples and classes:

“One hundred and thirty two persons of various class, national and age groups strolled blithely around the spacious deck (...) Everything was here, anything your heart could possible desire! Agile servants were setting the table for breakfast, so tastefully prepared, that the rich and the noble could not ask for more, and for the poor this was an opportunity to taste the pleasures of the good life”²²

Within the outlined contrast between carefree passengers and the catastrophe a contrasting comparison is drawn between the “winged floating hotel” and the other poor ships where one could see “some” passengers as they “strolled painstakingly” about the deck, miserable to be missing here all the comfort of life”. On the one hand are those who have everything, while on the other are those who do not even have the most basic things.

After the catastrophe, the horror of the fire and the rescue, a sort of epilogue follows to the calendar “new item” an example which discloses the moral message in the end: it shows that the proud passengers fell “low” because wealth is transitory, and life is constantly threatened by death:

“...the spot where the rescued people stood was spacious with sharp, large pebbles and charred mixed sandbank, where the bare feet of the exhausted passengers were in up to their knees. And it was much harder and more dangerous to clamber up the shore at this spot, which was quite steep and 70 feet high. Their feet slipped along the slimy clay, and the thorns for which the pricked and bleeding hands grasped was sure to snap off, and they would plunge downward with the branch.”²³

The passengers - the rich, proud, carefree, found themselves in a - “pit”! They had to climb up a steep cliff on the shore, using their bare hands on the wet clay. Here we have a

²¹ Ibid, p. 48.

²² See note no. 21.

²³ Ibid, p. 51.

popular literary stylization with the goal of concretizing suffering and efforts. The suffering must be evident: the pricked and bleeding hands and the mud, all of this underlines the “higher” meaning of the events: the sudden fall from safety into utter uncertainty. In the scene of those who fell into the “pit” - “70 feet high”, we recognize a biblical model, quite popular in the popular literary sphere, Joseph’s fall into the pit.

If we take a look at the “report” on the catastrophe on board the Nikolai I as a whole, we will see that it is “news” that was being related in 1846 about the disaster of the Titanic in 1912! Both ships were miracles of modern technology in their day. Men, that is the passengers, in the popular literary description, are overly proud of the work of the human hand. Emphasis is placed on the fact that the steamship has never experienced the slightest mishap, which in itself increases the “pride” while as in the whole of the story that “fact” serves the function of augmenting the catastrophe.

In the story about the disaster on board as presented by the calendar in 1846 we discover an archetypical situation similar to that of the Titanic. The Titanic was known as the “unsinkable” ship. Along with other examples, in the book by C.G. Jung *Man and His Symbols* there is mention of the Titanic disaster, as is the case with many heroes in mythology, which goes down because of pride, a hybris that is outdoing itself: “In mythology the hero often dies because of his h y b r i s, which is caused by the fact that the gods want to punish him.”²⁴

So the information in the calendar, the news, the story, example, in the mid-18th century is organized on the basis of an archetype that serves didactical purposes. The news of the sinking of the Titanic, details from the catastrophe, was to excite the reading and listening audiences in the early 20th century on the basis of the same archetypical model. The Titanic was famous for the fact that it could not be sunk: “...according to American writer Walter Lord, one sailor said: Even God can not sink this ship!”²⁵

The uttered words acquired importance only after the catastrophe. The miracle of technology, the work of human hands, the “perfect” ship is the embodiment of that mythical hero who is punished by higher, elementary forces because of an excess of pride. The American writer is commenting, in fact, on an oral legend that spread about the Titanic, which means that the quote might have come about after the disaster, and not before.

Another subject of inquiry could be a comparison between calendar stories and the way in which the newspapers presented the news of the Titanic disaster in 1912.

In the function of punishment we also find the supplement about a miserly peasant who closed his door to a “traveler in distress” with the words “But you have no money”. Again the sharp contrast: words are aimed at those who have traveled in luxury and gold: “the Steamship Nikolai I was carrying great riches; that was seen afterwards when lumps of gold and silver were found, and half burnt valuable earrings...”²⁶

²⁴ C. G. Jung, *Man and His Symbols* (in Croatian translation: *Čovjek i njegovi simboli*, Zagreb, Mladost, 1974, translated from the English by Marija and Ivan Salečić).

²⁵ Ibid. Chapter: Ancient Myths and Modern Man, author: Joseph L. Henderson, p. 121 (Croatian edition).

²⁶ See note no. 23.

III.

The fact that didactical material was never a central focus of literary scholarship can be explained in part by the fact that the "popularity" of these texts and their relatively broad distribution is considered closer to the discipline of folk literature. On the other hand, again, researchers of folk literature, consider morals, didactics from the position of a romantic view of folk literature, as something that was offered to the "folk" from "without", ignoring the broad popularity of this kind of writing. (Rudolf Schenda notes that no one has yet embarked on painstaking research of endless prayerbook publications). Hermann Bausinger points out that jokes and witty stories contain a didactic element as well, a moral has to this day been considered something that is not truly "folk".

"Man hält das Belehrende für unvolkstümlich..."²⁷

To this day calendars still persist quite similar to the ones from the first half of the 19th century.

These are the specific emigrant calendars with both moral and cautionary functions to "remind" the readership outside the homeland of important details of history or natural beauty that they are far away from, as well as everything which they are likely to forget in the everyday life of the far-off land in which they live, helping them to reminisce with nostalgia about image and thoughts that are, in fact, frozen at the moment when they moved out of the country. For second and third generation emigrant descendants, such calendars print the basic information for a rather general orientation.

As is the case when calendars first started coming out, the emigrant calendars are in a special position in terms of their readership: the function of the total published calendar material is in resistance to assimilation into the foreign linguistic, and therefore, spiritual spheres in which where the emigrants from Croatian lands are living. It is this component of the calendars function in the struggle against assimilation and forgetting that keeps the emigrant calendars today from becoming an anachronism, in the sense that all calendars have become an anachronism that used to come out in where people are now well informed about current events through the media, both orally and through reading. When observed as popular material, today's regional calendars have considerable competition in other types of popular material and mass printing.

The emigrant calendar plays a didactic role as calendars always have. The emigrant calendars are designed to maintain and cultivate ties with - the language and culture of the native land. Knowledge about the native land, historical and current, is presented in the form of a didactic synopsis.

It is not possible, you see, to offer detailed reporting from all realms of social, economic and historical development. With its function, the emigrant calendar as is true of all calendars, imposes the demand - for selection. Again we meet with the principle of selecting facts which can never be random, because it is subordinated to a function.

²⁷ Hermann Bausinger, "Bemerkungen zum Schwank und seinen Formtypen": Man hält das Belehrenden für unvolkstümlich; man spricht von der papierenen, der ledernen oder hölzernen Moral. Tatsächlich war aber Hans Sachs wohl nicht trotz, sondern wegen der ausgeprägten Moral seiner Dichtungen beliebt; und dies ist nicht nur ein Signum der Reformationsepoche, Sicherlich ist die Moral und das poetische Moralisieren, die 'Anwendung' von Dichtung Gezeiten unterworfen; aber bis zu einem gewissen Grad darf man doch verallgemeinern und diese moralische Anwendung insgesamt als populär bezeichnen." *Fabula* 9. Band, Heft 1-3, Berlin, 1967, Verlag Walter de Gruyter Co.

The emigrant calendars include many articles that correspond to those from calendars in the first half of the 19th century. They report, for instance, on important historical events for each month that went on in the recent, and more distant past. These are characteristic chronological "leaps" through the centuries, united by the moral importance of great events in which, often enough, great, important people have taken part.

The interesting but hardly surprising phenomenon that emigrant calendars publish the best poems of famous poets, does not "uplift" these calendars to the level of texts that could be included in the criteria of Croatian literature. Quite the contrary.

Emigrant calendars, like their predecessors of the last century, are popular books intended to be intellectually accessible to all layers of emigrants because all of them are threatened, on various levels, by assimilation through another language, spiritual and political climate.

The fact that one might come across an excellent poem by, for example, Pupačić or Cesarić in an emigrant calendar, does not yet mean that the calendar is changing its popular literary level (elevated to the level of artistic literature) just as it is not changing its function. The opposite is more likely to happen than the initial, and we should say, superficial expectation.

Good poetry, with which we are familiar within the context of the development of Croatian artistic literature and especially in the context of the entire opus of a writer - through publication in calendars shifts in function just as the recordings of folk poems and stories change, and enter the calendar in a popular literary context.

Poems we are familiar with in the sphere of Croatian literature - when they are shifted to the calendar literary context, change in function, and enter the popular literary sphere, subordinated to the task of defending their readers from assimilation. So in Pupačić's poem - the sea becomes indivisible from the sea in popular literary post cards printed for the readership surrounded by the - "sea" of a foreign land. The emigrant calendar by publishing Pupačić's poem "More" (Sea) tells the reader that "their" sea is still there, where they will be able to come as tourists or when they return. The reader may weep over Pupačić's or Cesarić's poem about the Slavonian plains which beckons to the poet to "come down", and what else is this in the didactic context of the emigrant calendar - than calling for and awakening the constant longings for a return to the homeland.

Although the text and word order are unchanged, these poems are no longer the "same" in the emigrant calendar.

Roman Jakobson and Petr Bogatirev give an example, in their article "Folklor kao naročit oblik stvaralaštva" (Folklore as a Special Art Form) of a Pushkin poem that was sung at fairs. In this context it ceased to be Pushkin's poem, because its function had changed:

"Against the backdrop of a different poetic environment, different traditions and different attitudes towards artistic values, a work is interpreted differently, and even those formal elements that one might assume would be preserved in the adoption should not be considered identical to their model: in these art forms - in the words of Russian literary theorist Tinianov - a change in function occurs. From the point of view of functionality - without which it is impossible to understand the artistic facts - an artwork outside of folklore and that same work adopted by folklore are two entirely different facts."²⁸

²⁸ Roman Jakobson and Petr Bogatirjev, "Folklor kao naročit oblik stvaralaštva" (Folklore as a Particular Form

The folk humorous tales published in the first half of the 19th century in the calendar context also change function, with an added emphasis on their didactic component.

The *Novouređeni Ilirski Kalendar* (Newly Arranged Illyrian Calendar) for 1851 prints a story with a familiar, widespread motif of a woman deceiving her husband with the best man from their wedding. This story line is intertwined with the motif of a corpse that "travels" because everyone wants to get rid of it and palm it off on random passersby. In 1966 I recorded the same motif in a humorous tale often told in villages even today, in the vicinity of Daruvar.²⁹

The humorous tale is both drastic and didactic. A woman calls for help: the calendar popular version of the oral story ends as brutally as the folk oral version does, but the finale, because of the didactic context of the calendar, has a moral:

"Alas, help, help, she now began to implore her husband, but her husband did not stand by silently, instead he looked at her and said, call our best man now and ask him to help you."

Even today, especially in emigrant calendars, one typically finds idealization of the "folklore", regional features of individual regions that are then attributed to people and their personality traits. The idealization of "slavicness" in the first half of the 19th century transformed into an idealization of the smaller regional "units" ("Little Međimurje", "Lika Sings", and so forth) which is confirmed by the publication of regional calendars. Such an example is the "frolicsome" of Slavonia, with leaning for "free" pleasures from the *Slavonski kalendar za 1969. godinu* (Slavonian Calendar for 1969). In the *Iseljenski Kalendar Matica Iseljenika* (Emigrant Calendar of Matica Iseljenika) of 1960 and 1963 one can find an idealization of highwaymen as an "echo" of our romantically understood "heroic past". This continues, in fact, the conservative and regressive line of the romanticizing phenomenon which never was actually romantic in historical reality.

"Plitvice Lakes remain. And the legend about the lakes. You can get chilled champagne. When one of the many waiters approaches in one of the luxurious halls of the first class hotel above Kozjak, don't ask for champagne, my countrymen, or some cocktail from your newly acquired homeland, like a martini or a gin and tonic. *We old residents from Lika, we in whose blood flows at least a few drops of the blood of the highwaymen we descendants of the military frontier zone, we ask the waiter to bring us a glass of our good plum brandy.*"³⁰

"Tko se rodi u ličkom kamenu,
Vratit će se, bilo kud da krenu.

"Whoever is born to the rock of Lika,
Is sure to return, no matter where he goes."³¹

That is how the women of Lika sing and wait, patiently. And Lika is coming of age, that *barren land of the highwaymen.*"

of Creativity) in the book: *Usmena književnost. Izbor studija i ogleđa* (Oral Literature. A Selection of Studies and Reviews). Editor: Maja Bošković-Stulli. Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1971, p. 24.

²⁹ Divna Zečević. *Usmena kazivanja u okolici Daruvara* (Oral Storytelling in the Daruvar Vicinity), p. 246. Manuscript Collection. Sign. 773. Zavod za istraživanje folklor. Zagreb.

³⁰ Jovo Popović. "Putovanje u djetinjstvo" (A Journey into Childhood), p. 141, *Matica, Iseljenski kalendar*, 1960, Zagreb, Matica iseljenika.

³¹ Jovo Popović, "Lika pjeva" (Lika Sings), p. 185, *Matica. Iseljenski kalendar*, 1960, Zagreb, Matica iseljenika.

Thus we arrive at the "fact" that plum brandy is related to "the blood of highwaymen", while the same plum brandy in the first half of the 19th century, rather mid-century, was under didactical attack, as a "new" custom, that one always has a glass of brandy before dinner, which is not considered "Slavic" and "healthy", and it was condemned as was the consumption of black coffee.

One comes to the conclusion that the regressive and conservative line in the emigrant calendars appears and goes on parallel to idealization of rapid progress and an industrialization of the country after liberation. The phenomenon can be explained by the specific function of the calendar which is sent to emigrants much like a spiritual souvenir, like a "reminder" providing information about various aspects of human activity. A selection, therefore, is sent of objective facts on progress after the liberation on all levels, but without going into the difficulties and problems that are a constituent part of all development. In the emigrant calendar as in all calendars to date, the selection of facts is subjected to a specific principle of fact selection which is conditioned by the popular literary character of the calendars.

All calendars, from the first to come out and down to the present, reach for motifs from oral, folk narration or songs, which is only a starting point into the popular literary sphere in which motifs of oral narration are subjected to a different treatment and are within a different function of the written text.

The opposition between didactic and artistic texts contains, in essence and enables a grasp that didactic literature appeals to "reason", provides a rational lesson, while another might penetrate to the irrational sphere of man, just as, in part, the creative needs emerge from this same irrational sphere.

Didactical literature, therefore, as a handy (literary) "counsellor" that is constantly appealing to reason, did not enter literary-theoretical and literary-historical considerations.

The thought of connecting the utilitarian and the entertaining, goals typical of publishing calendars, have appeared ever since Horatio's time, for example the radio show with the name "Useful and Entertaining" which provides useful information, mostly advertisements, along with popular songs which are the pleasant part of the useful information. The two are inseparable.

Calendars in the first half of the 19th century and later of course provide a *useful* message and *pleasant* entertainment. The popular literary writing in calendars, as well as the popular literary writing even today, provides an inseparable combination of *instructive* entertainment and pleasant instruction. It is impossible, indeed, to draw the line, even on a theoretical level, where the message ends in this kind of writing, and where the entertainment begins, i.e. entertaining literature. Hermann Bausinger considers the moral of the story to be more important than its entertainment aspect.

Analysis of popular literary texts will show that the instructive-entertaining literature - is a whole that is unified through the popular literary procedure that has its principle of choice of the facts that is subordinated to the function of calendar volumes.

The irreconcilable gap between didactic poetry and other forms of poetry and drama was begun and was most emphatically expressed in Plato's consideration of the function of literature:

"...One ought to keep in mind that only those poets can be received by the state who sing sweetly in praise of the gods and write praise for the good. If you accept a cloying Muse

in lyrical-dramatic or epic poems, the state of pleasure will be ruled by pleasure and pain instead of law and reason, for which it has always seemed that it is the best."³²

Plato's praise of the good and songs of praise for the gods had the one and only task of exalting virtue, which should be displayed in everyday life.

The task, therefore enters a sphere which literary scholarship today defines as the non-literary function of literature. In this light, Croatian literature has had primarily non-literary tasks, and not only during the first half of the 19th century, but throughout that century.

In that context calendar popular literary writing does not differ with its non-literary, i.e. didactic function from the rest of the literary tendencies of the times. The differences can be seen in the literary poetics in which the role of the author's individuality is ignored, while the process of developing Croatian artistic literature gradually, though sometimes in sudden leaps of quality, evidences greater or lesser emphasis on the individual traits of the author's personality and the poetics of his work.

Literary poetics of popular literature develops, instead of individual traits, a variety of popular literary kinds which clearly is expressed in the bibliography of popular texts in the Croatian calendars in the first half of the 19th century.

IV.

"Zagrebački šoštar. Kolendar za godinu po Jezusovom narodenju 1850. U Zagrebu, tiskom i troškom Franje Župana, knjigotiskara." (The Zagreb Shoemaker. A Calendar for the Year of our Lord 1850. In Zagreb, printed at the expense of Franjo Župan, book printer) provides "political commentary" on the key events (of 1848) for its readers: it is basically publishing a story about a good emperor and a corrupt minister, who is a real - fox!

"And our king in Vienna had such bad counsellors or ministers, who deceived him and the people (...) One such minister whom I am sure that you, dear readers, know full well, you must have heard of that old fox Metternich who was the imperial seal bearer for thirty years, and bit by bit he brought it to the point that the peoples were only servants, and he was their master (...) For thirty years this malicious man did whatever he pleased; and now he had to run off, like some vulgar deserter; from such a high honor he fell suddenly so low.

What a punishment this was for him!" (What is Happening Here?)

And just like every didactic tale, this historical one is comforting because the guilty one is punished. He has fallen into that favorite popular literary "pit".

The calendar conservative "political commentary" of 1848 does not touch, of course, upon the reasons of why the Croatian deputation arrived in Vienna too late, when the "sack of mercy had been emptied".

"Kolendar za puk" (Calendar for the Folk) as edited by Dragutin Rakovec, and published by the "Društvo gospodarsko horvatsko-slavonsko" (The Economic Society of

³² Plato. *The State* (in Croatian version: *Država*, series Politička misao, vol. 11. Translator: Martin Kuzmić. Liber, Zagreb University Press, Zagreb, 1977.

Croatia-Slavonia) probably mentioned the “stocks” for the last time on the eve of 1848 as the punishment for the peasant who did not come to do his share of roadbuilding. The title of the story is: “As he worked, he reaped his desserts”, with the subheading “A Village Tale by Member Ljudevit Vukotinović”.

A member, therefore, of the economic society, Ljudevit Vukotinović explains class differences that he considers eternal and unchanging, the contention supported by all calendars:

“The peasant can live at little expense, that is why he is happier than the master who needs a great deal for science and his other living expenses”

This is one more example, of many, that demonstrates the conservativeness of calendars that do not bring their readership news, but rather didactical examples of stories with established outlooks. The feudal “stocks” appear early on as a didactic tool, because the villager, serf Ivan Nemirović has not met his obligations. Ljudevit Vukotinović compares the serf’s obligation to the concerns and tasks of the gentry, and then arrives at the conclusion, levelling and soothing, of course, that “without worries and work no one in this world can live”.

The economic society put out the “Calendar for the Folk”, edited by Dragutin Rakovec, the primary role of which was presenting didactic tales about ethic behavior, while advice on farming was relegated to the background. It is interesting that the protagonists in the instructive stories in this calendar are usually children, and the punishments that they are dealt for their “disobedience” - are drastic even from the current position, utterly out of proportion. Under the title “Two Rily Boys” two boys are punished because they wanted to play “horsie” with a dog, and they beat it “mercilessly”. The owner of the dog whipped one of the boys: “he grabs one of them by the hair, and then starts to thrash him soundly” while the other “reports to the authorities and he gets his deserved punishment”. The conclusion follows at the end: “This is how two young *evil doers* were tamed, and in the future nothing of the kind was ever heard from them again”. Or just one more example, in the story: “The Punishment of the Lord” - a boy’s mother dies, because he destroyed a bird’s nest and killed the ‘little birdy’s mother’.

All these little stories, with an illustration for each, are finally instructive by being frightening, based on the principle of “an eye for an eye”! Children are punished as if they are adults. Out of all the calendar tales written during the first half of the 19th century, those in the *Calendar for Folk* are the most surprising with their drastic didactics aimed at children.

V.

The primary literary-theoretical basis and impulse in analysing popular literary writing in Croatian calendars during the first half of the 19th century was provided by the remarkable research of Andre Jolles on simple literary forms, especially analyses of the form he has called - memorabile. Since calendar writing is rooted (in the calendar volume that preceded newspapers and magazines with the development of regular columns) on certain *facts* it has been shown that in analysis of Jolle’s relevant considerations on the relationship: (free) facts

and added facts, on the relationship from which an "imposed factuality" is elevated. This is a literary process in which from "free facts" one creates "interconnected factuality", i.e. a literary form.³³

Texts for calendars come out of an intellectual preoccupation with the factual. Jolles is of the opinion that "facts" emerge of their own accord from the temporal sequence, however the path to their publication and "installment" or better, growing into greater wholes, passes through certain social filters of time. In the text we no longer come across "free facts" Everything that appears in calendars is subjected to the popular literary principle of the selection of facts, everything is in the function of didactical literary functions of the calendar.

Although facts are taken, at a first glance, from everyday life, they are always, as analysis has shown, elevated from concrete reality to, as Jolles calls it - an imposed factuality, regardless of which genre is in question, a joking story, farming or medical advice. The entire "occurrence" is a sequence of facts which are selected in order to build examples (exemplum) of smaller wholes with them.

The calendar text offers its readership an unchanging "world" that has been arranged once and for all: it is socially (class) inflexible. And such material as it is, conservative in its static vision of the social system and regressive in its tendency towards a lost "paradise" or past heroics and glory, had a didactic, and in a sense an encouraging effect. In all literary examples the victory, either moral or material is on the side of the courageous and small people who are "decorated" with - accord. The historical tale is repeated in various versions of fact and detail, but always with the same overall impression.

The didactical function of calendar writing ought to be considered not merely as a primary tendency for instruction, but as a secondary conservative reaction to the real historical situation. A regressive nostalgia is evidenced as escape from the "present" into idealized images from "occurrences", but also as popular literary comfort which does not consider changing historical reality in an enlightened way, but rather of changing man, in which basis the assumption lies that social change is equal to the sum of individual changes. A lasting motto of such enlightenment expectations has kept its hold to the present in the "moral" that grain to grain - a piece of bread, and stone to stone - a palace! The calendar text shows, however, that such "palaces" can be raised only within the sphere of the influence of popular literary poetics, while in historical reality the need and longing for a single teachers' college must be reduced to nothing beyond a comparison drawn to Egyptian pyramids and the "strong will" that was the key component for their construction, so it is expected that the same will could build a teachers' college.

The myth of the "Slavic" community in the heroic past events, both metaphorically and literally, could feed a readership that was limited and poorly educated.

Research of popular calendar texts, their system in this case on examples from the first half of the 19th century, was led and seen within the framework of its sort of literary mythology which was developed by literature in the non-literary function in times of historical unrest. Traces of this popular literary mythology can be followed during the 19th century, but later as well, in calendars until the present emigrant calendars, in which we run into an example of idealizing and "invoking" a myth about highwaymen in these regions.

³³ Andre Jolles, *Jednostavni oblici* (Simple Forms). Translation and annotation: Vladimir Biti. Zagreb, 1978, p. 149.

The texts of the “higher” and “lower” classes have in common their escape and idealization, escape from everyday life to “exalted” spheres of both heroism and order, spheres in which it is expected that all will be equal as before death.

Analysis of popular calendar material, its system, fills in a poorly emphasized side of Croatian literature in the first half of the 19th century, it is a contribution to the history of literary mythology, and it is shown that both conservative and regressive ideas can function towards defensive, non-literary goals.

The contrast between popular literary idealization and historical verification of reality contributes to even more pronounced evidence that each writer, that is the printed text, represents a cultural act of a counter thesis to foreign linguistic and political attempts, and if then when such a text is basically conservative and regressive in an exitless nostalgia for the past such as it “should have been” in the popular literary vision.