



**Censorship in Carniola
under Joseph II**
Cenzura na Kranjskem
pod Jožefom II.

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SLAVICA TERGESTINA
European Slavic Studies Journal

ISSN 1592-0291 (print) & 2283-5482 (online)

VOLUME 26 (2021/I), pp. 172-195
DOI 10.13137/2283-5482/32500

This article addresses the impact of the censorship reforms introduced by Emperor Joseph II with regard to the inhabitants and culture of the Duchy of Carniola. The first part presents the major reforms to censorship that were introduced and applied in all of the crown lands of Austria. The second part discusses the circumstances in Carniola. It analyses newspapers and catalogues of booksellers from that period as well as contemporary historiographic literature. It turns out that three major intellectual circles in Ljubljana benefited from the reforms of Joseph II: the circle of enlightened intellectuals gathered around Baron Sigmund Zojs, the circle around Bishop Johann Karl von Herberstein, and, finally, booksellers such as Wilhelm Heinrich Korn.

JOSEPH II, CENSORSHIP, SIGMUND ZOIS, WILHELM HEINRICH KORN, BOOKSELLERS' CATALOGUES

Razprava se ukvarja z vplivom cenzurnih reform Jožefa II. na prebivalce in kulturo v vojvodini Kranjski. Prvi del predstavi cenzurne reforme, ki so jih uveljavili v vseh kronskih deželah Avstrije. Drugi del se podrobneje ukvarja z razmerami na Kranjskem. Na podlagi analize časnikov in knjigotrških katalogov iz tega obdobja ter sodobne zgodovinske literature je mogoče ugotoviti, da so imeli od reform največ koristi trije intelektualni krogi v Ljubljani: krog razsvetljencev, zbranih okoli barona Žige Zoisa, krog okoli škofa Karla Janeza Herbersteina in knjigotržci, kot je bil Viljem Henrik Korn.

JOŽEF II., CENZURA, ŽIGA ZOIS, VILJEM HENRIK KORN, KNJIGOTRŠKI KATALOGI

Many writers, poets, and publishers remembered Joseph II as the emperor under whose rule censorship in the Habsburg Monarchy was abolished. In historical books, Joseph II often appears as a symbol of a “good” ruler. However, was he truly an ideal enlightened ruler, as many generations remembered him, or was he perhaps merely the first and loyal servant of his own state apparatus? Probably neither. This article explores how the emperor’s censorship reforms affected Carniola during his short but turbulent reign.

Joseph II was named King of the Romans at the age of twenty-three, and he became Holy Roman Emperor in 1765. After her husband’s death, Maria Theresa announced that she and her son would rule the Habsburg Monarchy together but in reality she continued to have the final word. Joseph II became the sole ruler after his mother’s death in November 1780. Like many monarchs at that time, he was influenced by ideas of the Enlightenment. He considered himself the first public servant of his state (*Staatsdiener*), and he also expected his subjects to serve the state. Joseph II was influenced by German thinkers that advocated natural law. The idea of rational freedom was one of the main ideological motives for his reforms of the school system, religious education, and censorship. Citizen education was also very important for the emperor. Hence, despite its proverbial liberalism, Josephinian censorship continued to perform the function of an educational institution. In the event of violations in this area, the government naturally imposed appropriate sanctions (Štih, Simoniti, Vodopivec: 212–214; Ingrao: 182–184, 192–198; Sashegyi: 4–14).

CENSORSHIP UNDER JOSEPH II

Joseph II’s own education had a great impact on him and his censorship reforms. As an heir to the throne, he was also trained as a printer.

Habsburg censorship was structured vertically, and so Joseph II's decisions had a great influence in this area across the monarchy, including Carniola. He addressed the issue of printing and censorship immediately after becoming the co-regent: in 1765, he wrote a memorandum presenting his views on censorship. Only five days after becoming the sole ruler (December 4th, 1780), he began introducing changes in this area (Olechowski: 89–90; Sashegyi: 18).

His main censorship reforms were adopted in the following chronological order:

1. Basic Rules for Ordinary Future Book Censorship (*Grund-Regeln zur Bestimmung einer ordentlichen künftigen Bücher Zensur*)

These rules caused a true revolution in the Habsburg censorship policy of that time. The emperor introduced them in early 1781. They formed the basis for the upcoming censorship regulations (*Zensurordnung*). In addition to the centralization and modernization of the state apparatus, one of the main guidelines of the Josephinian cultural policy is also evident from these rules: popular education. A supreme book censorship committee (*Bücherzensurhauptkommission*) was established, among whose tasks was also reviewing the Catalog of Prohibited Books (*Catalogus librorum prohibitorum*; Sashegyi: 19–21; cf. Wiesner: 142–143; Olechowski: 90–93; Bachleitner: 61, 65).

2. The 1781 Censorship Regulations (*Zensurordnung 1781*)

These regulations include an opening address and ten itemized sections. A central censorship committee was established in Vienna and the provincial censorship committees were dissolved, with only one book review office remaining in each province. During this period,

the state censorship index was also updated. The new index was presented on November 19th, 1783. Its title was simple: A List of All Books Prohibited until January 1st, 1784 (*Verzeichnis aller bis 1-ten Jenner 1784 verbotenen Bücher*). The number of prohibited books decreased from five thousand to nine hundred, and even certain books were allowed that the emperor had banned himself. The list was copied by hand and sent to the provincial offices. The Josephinian index was never printed, and therefore no copy has been preserved in full (Bachleitner: 50–52, 65; Sashegyi: 114–116).

This was the heyday of the domestic book market and newspapers. First and foremost, Joseph II removed all the bureaucratic obstacles for establishing new printshops and bookshops. Together with a flourishing book market, the number of newspapers increased significantly in the Habsburg Monarchy: between 1781 and 1784, forty-three new newspapers were published in Vienna alone. Nonetheless, newspapers with political content were rare. Since the dissolution of provincial censorship offices, newspaper censorship was under the authority of the provincial offices, which, following a quick review, would issue a printing permit (*imprimatur*). The decision to leave newspaper censorship to the provincial offices was primarily practical because it would have been too time-consuming for the central censorship committee to examine all the newspapers. The situation was different for weeklies and monthlies, which fell under the authority of the Vienna central committee (Olechowski: 96–98; Sashegyi: 35, 138–143; Žigon: 21–26).

The emperor even allowed criticism to be leveled at him (Article 3 of the 1781 Censorship Regulations), which was a precedent in the history of European monarchs and their public treatment. Joseph II granted his subjects what was great freedom of criticism at that time, but that did not mean that he also gave them any active policymaking

role. Nonetheless, freedom of critical thought became the basis for the development of public opinion. This began to manifest itself through a “flood of brochures” (*Broschurenflut*), in which the newly awakened bourgeoisie discussed various topics, ranging from art to domestic policy and the emperor. The emperor often even allowed the publication of brochures that insulted him because, by showing his liberalism, he strengthened his positive public image (Ingrao: 198; Olechowski: 96).

Censorship kept an especially close eye on religious works. The conflict between the pope’s adherents on the one hand and the proponents of “state religion” on the other continued in the 1781 Censorship Regulations. A priest of Slovenian origin, Joseph Pochlin, also found himself in the middle of this dispute. He was the brother of Father Marko Pohlin, the author of *Kraynska grammatika* (Carniolan Grammar). From 1770 onward, Joseph had served as a curate at Saint Stephen’s Cathedral in Vienna. He was a proponent of the old church policy and believed that a compromise with Josephinism, which subordinated church matters to the state, was impossible (Bachleitner: 50–52, 65; Kidrič; Sashegyi: 31–34).

Pochlin wrote anti-Josephinian brochures; for example, *An Herrn Verfasser über die Begräbnisse in Wien* (To the Author Regarding Funerals in Vienna, 1781) and *Gnade und Abfertigung einer hochgelehrten Gesellschaft der Predigerkritiker* (Grace and Dispatch for an Erudite Society of Preaching Critics, 1782). At that time, the clergy that did not accept the subordination of church censorship to state censorship was an obstacle on the way to complete state subjugation of censorship. Some priests continued to follow the old rules, based on which they submitted their writings to church censorship. Under these conditions, Pochlin became a scapegoat because he still published his brochures without permission from state censorship. The reprinted edition of his

prayerbook *Bündniß dreier andächtigen Personen zu Ehren der allerseligsten Dreifaltigkeit* (A Union of Three Devout People to the Glory of the Holy Trinity), which was not cleared by the censors, was subjected to a drastic penalty. As its publisher, Pochlin was fined one hundred gulden and sentenced to two weeks' imprisonment under the supervision of the archdiocesan consistory. Considering that his annual salary was only one hundred and fifty gulden, the high fine was the greatest blow for him. However, his financial problems did not end there. The court office found the fine too low and it therefore demanded Pochlin be fined an additional fifty gulden because as a publisher he was not granted a *placetum regium* (i.e., royal approval required prior to the publication of church decrees). The emperor himself learned about Pochlin's disobedience. He found the proposed fine too low and on December 1st, 1784 he ordered Pochlin's benefice as a curate to be revoked forever. At the request of the Viennese Archbishop and Cardinal Anton Christoph Migazzi, the emperor reduced the penalty to a fine of one hundred gulden and the aforementioned imprisonment. Despite this reduction, the severity of the punishment was met with a wide response and shock among the advocates of the old church policy. Pochlin himself stopped writing and publishing for four years. This punishment demonstrated the power of Joseph II and his adherents, who used this case to show that state censorship was above Church authority. It should be noted that it was only thanks to Cardinal Migazzi's intervention that Pochlin retained his position (Kidrič; Sashegyi: 31–34).

Censorship under Joseph II was not under police authority, which nonetheless occasionally also extended to this area. In 1786, at the initiative of Ignaz von Born, the police destroyed the entire print run of a work directed against Prince Dietrichstein and indirectly the Freemasons, and they confiscated the original manuscript. Even though the

work had been printed without prior censorship approval, the emperor found that the police exceeded their powers (Olechowski: 100–101).

3. 1787 Censorship Reform (*Pressefreiheit*)

Nearly a year after this incident, on April 26th, 1787, the ruler issued a resolution based on which printing was allowed without an *imprimatur*. This did not do away with censorship, but it replaced preventive censorship with repressive or retroactive censorship instead. This means that a printing permit did not have to be obtained in advance, but printed works were subject to retroactive censorship, which removed the work from sale and punished the author with a fine or imprisonment (such a censorship system was considered a more advanced one and was first introduced in Great Britain). In reality, freedom of the press only applied in Vienna. However, it is also true that most of the works published at that time were printed there. Joseph II's decision had far-reaching consequences for the entire censorship apparatus and freedom of the press. What followed was a boom in the trade of prohibited books not only in Vienna, but also elsewhere across the monarchy: in many places, the resolution was interpreted very arbitrarily, and manuscripts were no longer submitted for censorship review (Sashgyi: 119–123; Olechowski: 82, 100, 102; Judson: 64).

THE LAST YEARS OF JOSEPH II'S REIGN AND STRICTER CENSORSHIP

A multitude of reforms did not make Joseph II popular in all social groups: some clergy and nobles were dissatisfied. Despite all criticism and passive resistance, the main opposition to the emperor's reforms did not come from the Austrian hereditary lands, but from the margins,

especially Hungary and the Austrian Netherlands. Alongside foreign policy failures, Joseph II's efforts to make his diverse empire uniform led to an armed insurrection in the Austrian Netherlands and resistance from the Hungarian estates. Thus, in 1789 Joseph II had to deal with an extremely unpleasant political situation at home and abroad (Lefebvre: 100, 174–175; Kontler: 174–175; Ingraio: 203–209).

The stricter censorship policy imposed by the emperor resulted not only from the pamphlets and citizens' disobedience, but also the significant social changes across all of Europe, which culminated in the 1789 French Revolution. During the second phase of Joseph II's reforms, newspapers were no longer under state control and they no longer served the ideals of Josephinism. The freedom of the press proved to benefit brochures and newspapers more than science and popular education. Through a resolution of January 24th, 1789, the emperor imposed a special tax referred to as "newspaper stamp duty" (*Zeitungssteuer*) on all newspapers, weeklies, brochures, and theater plays. The two official newspapers, *Wiener Zeitung* (Vienna News) and *Brünner Zeitung* (Brno News), were exempt from it. It was up to the censor to decide which works were subject to the stamp duty. After reviewing the work, he would determine whether it was appropriate for publication or dissemination (*admittitur* or *toleratur*), adding the note "to be stamped" (*ist zu stempeln*) at the end. Ordinary works (*Ordentliche Werke*), entire books, collections, and so on were exempt from the stamp duty (Kranjc: 525; Sashegyi: 132–138, 144, 224–229; Olechowski: 102–103, 187–188).

The stamp duty achieved its purpose, severely affecting many critical newspapers. The censorship policy tightened even further in the second half of 1789. First, the newspaper *Wiener Bothe* (The Vienna Herald) was suspended on July 26th. The pamphlet publisher Georg Philipp Wucherer was arrested and banished from the Austrian hereditary lands. His

arrest and the dissolution of newspapers showed that the emperor had completely changed his view on censorship. In 1789, the number of newspapers published in Vienna returned to the same level as at the beginning of Joseph II's rule. On November 24th, 1789, the emperor decided that manuscripts again had to be submitted for censorship before publication, thereby restoring preventive censorship. At the end of the year, he also prohibited book peddling and ordered corporal punishment for anyone selling prohibited books (Winckler: 55; Olechowski: 103–104, 187–188).

This concluded a nearly decade-long experiment by Joseph II, which went down in history as the period of “the freedom of the press in the Habsburg hereditary lands.” Joseph II had to admit bitter defeat in this area. He expected that relaxed censorship would have a positive economic and moral-educational effect, but instead it primarily resulted in the development of public opinion. Along with the flourishing of “bad and improper” literature, the printing of prohibited books spread rampantly, especially in the capital, which was the only place that enjoyed the freedom of the press *de jure*. The state apparatus simply could not cope with such rapid developments and the emperor reacted in the only way he knew: with repression. Nonetheless, his rule had many positive long-term effects, having introduced controversial Enlightenment literature to the public in the monarchy within a short time. Joseph II, of course, was unable to see the positive consequences of his censorship policy (Kontler: 17; Vocolka: 255).

CENSORSHIP IN CARNIOLA

In terms of the Josephinian censorship reforms, for Slovenians the historically most important province was Carniola with its capital Ljubljana. As a provincial capital, the town had a sufficiently strong circle

of burghers or intellectuals that it could facilitate the start and flourishing of the Enlightenment in Slovenia at the end of the eighteenth century. Among other things, the supporters of the Enlightenment and many of Joseph II's reforms were brought together in Baron Sigmund Zois's intellectual circle.

SIGMUND ZOIS AND HIS LIBRARY

Baron Sigmund Zois was born in Trieste. After 1780, Ljubljana became his permanent residence, where he gradually gathered the most important Carniolan scholars, writers, and poets around him. He became the main benefactor and mentor of the Slovenian revival in Carniola. His circle included Jurij Japelj, Blaž Kumerdej, Anton Tomaž Linhart, Valentin Vodnik, and Jernej Kopitar. From 1780 to 1819, Zois also compiled one of the largest private libraries in the wider region at his mansion on Ljubljana's *Breg* (Bank). He purchased books on his travels and, after disease confined him to bed and a wheelchair in 1797, he ordered books from his home. They were supplied to him by Ljubljana book traders, such as Wilhelm Heinrich Korn, and book and print shops in Vienna and other European centers. Books were also brought or sent to him by friends and acquaintances. Upon Zois's death in 1819, his library contained the most extensive collection of Slovenian, Slavic (especially South Slavic), and Slavic studies books and manuscripts in this part of Europe. In addition, there was no shortage of historical and geographical works and fiction, which, alongside political and philosophical works, most often ended up on lists of prohibited books (Svoljšak, Vidmar: 37–39; Štih, Simoniti, Vodopivec: 237).

The library was managed and maintained by renowned individuals, such as Blaž Kumerdej and Jernej Kopitar, and it was later incorporated

into the Ljubljana lyceum library by Matija Čop. Zois naturally lent the books from his library to friends and acquaintances. He intensively expanded his library precisely under Joseph II, who significantly liberalized the book market. This allowed Zois to add works to his collection in a legal and more cost-effective way. It should be noted that most books in his library were never of interest to Habsburg censorship because they largely covered Slavic studies and natural science. Such works were not banned even after Joseph II's rule, so it is not surprising that one of the most famous visitors to the Zois library—and at the same time the savior of one of the most important book collections for the Slovenian nation—was Prince Klemens von Metternich, one of the most ardent censorship supporters. Metternich visited the library for the second time in 1821, during the Congress of Ljubljana, after which he arranged for the Austrian government to approve the purchase of a major portion of the library in the amount of seven thousand gulden in 1823. The books were then donated to the Ljubljana lyceum library, the predecessor of today's National and University Library. Nearly 2,300 titles in over five thousand volumes have been identified to date (Svoljšak, Vidmar: 39–42). The works of Slovenian and other South Slavic authors, which Zois collected, did not cause any special problems to the Habsburg censors because only one book in Slovenian, which the censor probably considered superstitious, was banned between 1821 and 1848, and none between 1792 and 1820.¹ Among works in other South Slavic languages, only twenty-two books and manuscripts in Serbian and one work in Illyrian (i.e., Croatian) were banned between 1821 and 1848. Unfortunately, no data have been preserved for the period under Joseph II (for more, see Bachleitner: 151–173).

Zois's collection also included philosophical and political works that were among the most controversial and sought-after in Europe.

1
The website <https://www.univie.ac.at/zensur/> (*Verpönt, Verdrängt – Vergessen? 'Frowned Upon, Repressed—Forgotten?'*) provides data on the works censored in the Habsburg Monarchy. The only work in Slovenian that was banned during the pre-March period was *Shivljenje svetiga Joshta* (The Life of Saint Judoc) by an unknown author. It was labeled *non admittitur* (<https://www.univie.ac.at/zensur/>, search key: "Slowenisch").

2

The last catalog of Zois's library, titled *Bibliothecae Sigismundi Liberi Baronis de Zois Catalogus*, from 1821 is held as part of the Collection of Manuscripts and Rare and Old Printed Works (Ms 677) at the Ljubljana National and University Library, and it is also available at <https://www.dlib.si/stream/URN:NBN:SI:DOC-HPBII5XS/1f79a5f6-9aba-4c42-96ca-f5a96122941b/PDF>.

They included works by Voltaire, Montesquieu, D'Alembert, and Rousseau, and an abridged edition of the French *Encyclopédie*. In sum, Zois owned the most extensive collection of (allowed and prohibited) works of the Enlightenment in Carniola (Svoljšak, Vidmar: 21; Vodopivec: 20).²

JOHANN KARL VON HERBERSTEIN AND JOSEPHINIAN CENSORSHIP

Joseph II's reforms also found support in church circles: in Carniola there were several strong supporters of Jansenism or Reform Catholicism. One of the most important Josephinian bishops in all of the Habsburg Monarchy was Johann Karl von Herberstein, a bishop in Ljubljana from 1772 to 1787 (Štih, Simoniti, Vodopivec: 238; Dolinar: 211–230; Sashegyi: 176–177).

Bishop Herberstein owned a large book collection, albeit incomparable to Zois's. According to the list in *Catalogue de Prince Eveque de Laibach Comte Charles H.* from around 1772, it included 995 titles. Many works covered topics such as theology, Jansenist church law, and Jansenist liturgical reforms. The bishop was also interested in philosophical works, some of which had been prohibited under Maria Theresa (e.g., Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Law* and Pufendorf's works). Prohibited books in the hands of a church dignitary were naturally nothing extraordinary because members of the social and intellectual elite were able to access such printed works with or without the required permits. Herberstein's book collection also reflects his ideological orientation. The bishop supported the Josephinian reforms, especially religious toleration. With such views, he was a perfect ally to Joseph II, and he also chaired the Ljubljana book review

committee at least from 1779 to 1780 (Dolinar: 211–230; Lesar; Štih, Simoniti, Vodopivec: 238).

By Herberstein's death, a large portion of the diocesan clergy had been cultivated in the spirit of Reform Catholicism. Under his patronage, Jurij Japelj and associates began translating the Bible into Slovenian, resulting in the first Slovenian Catholic translation of the Bible (1784–1802). Before that, on November 14th, 1781, Herberstein refused to grant Father Marko Pohlin a printing permit for his Slovenian translation of the Bible because the Discalced Augustinian, who opposed the Josephinian reforms, was not a member of his circle. In any case, Herberstein had nothing against Slovenian and he supported the publication of books in Slovenian (especially if they agreed with Reform Catholicism). During his time, priests received the most vital Slovenian books required to perform pastoral work (Dolinar: 211–230; Lesar; Štih, Simoniti, Vodopivec: 238).

A FLOURISHING BOOK MARKET

Under Joseph II, Ljubljana again had its own newspaper, which also obtained competition. In addition to newspapers, the range of books, brochures, and other printed material available also expanded. After 1765, there was only one printer in Ljubljana—Johann Friedrich Eger, who kept his monopoly until 1782, when Joseph II adopted a new, more liberal censorship and press law. Then Josef Ignaz von Kleinmayr and Michael Promberger also obtained a license in Ljubljana, but Promberger's printshop never really gained a foothold. In 1786, a third printer, Ignaz Merk, started operating. In the first half of the eighteenth century, it was common for small printed material to be sold by bookbinders and for printers to also sell books in addition to practicing their

basic profession. During the 1760s, the first specialized booksellers appeared in Ljubljana, starting with Alois Raab, Lorenz Bernbacher, and Michael Promberger, who in the 1780s, during Joseph II's rule, were joined by Wilhelm Heinrich Korn and Johann Georg Licht; Licht took over Promberger's printshop in the 1790s (Dular: 142–143, 160, 168).

Hence, under Joseph II Ljubljana had seven booksellers that could advertise their books in the newspapers published in Ljubljana at that time. Before Joseph II, from 1775 to 1776, the only newspaper in town was *Wochentliches Kundschaftsblatt des Herzogthum Krain* (Weekly News of the Duchy of Carniola). This was followed by several years without a newspaper, after which in 1783 the Klagenfurt publisher Kleinmayr began publishing *Wöchentlicher Auszug von Zeitungen* (Weekly Newspaper Digest), which was renamed *Laibacher Zeitung* (Ljubljana News) a year later. In 1788 or 1789, it obtained a competitor: *Merkische Laibacher Zeitung* (Merk's Ljubljana News). A great deal of information on what booksellers had on offer in Ljubljana at the end of the eighteenth century can be obtained from the ads in these newspapers. An equally important source is the catalogs published by some specialized booksellers (Pastar: 15–18; Dular: 143).

The Ljubljana booksellers varied greatly in terms of the books offered:

- **Johann Friedrich Eger** printed nearly all the Slovenian works published between 1765 and 1782 at his printshop, which was the only one in Ljubljana until 1782. Among other things, he printed Pohlin's works, the fascicles of Japelj's and Kumerdej's translation of the Bible, and Linhart's *Versuch einer Geschichte von Krain* (An Essay on the History of Carniola). In addition to official documents, Eger also printed the newspaper *Wochentliches Kundschaftsblatt des Herzogthum Krain* and later the newspaper *Lublanske novize*

(Ljubljana News, 1797–1800), which was edited by Valentin Vodnik. Bookselling was his secondary activity.

- **Alois Raab**, a bookbinder, bookseller, and publisher, published various publications, ranging from religious works in Slovenian to those intended for intellectuals, such as manuals and a German translation of one of Cicero's speeches.
- **Lorenz Bernbacher** was also a bookbinder, who also engaged in publishing. In 1768, he published Pohlin's *Kraynska grammatika*.
- **Michael Promberger** remained a bookseller only, even though he also had a printer's license. He primarily published religious books and he also sold books that the Viennese printing, publishing, and bookselling giant Johann Thomas von Trattner had in stock; he liked to emphasize this in his ads.
- **Ignaz Merk** was initially the head of Kleinmayr's printshop in Ljubljana. In 1786, the emperor's liberal legislation allowed him to obtain a permit to open his own printshop. From 1787 onward, he also printed the Ljubljana town council's official releases. In general, he primarily printed official publications and newspapers.
- **Josef Ignaz von Kleinmayr** obtained a ten-year privilege in 1784 to print official sovereign princely regulations for all three Inner Austrian duchies. He was a loyal adherent of Josephinism, and in 1787 Joseph II ennobled him. Kleinmayr published the newspaper *Laibacher Zeitung*, in which he also posted ads for other booksellers in Ljubljana (Korn and Promberger). He printed books in German and Slovenian, including Anton Tomaž Linhart's comedy *Ta veššeli dan, ali: Matizhek še sheni* (The Merry Day, or Matiček's Wedding) in 1790. The selection of books at his bookshop was very diverse. Worthy of mention among literature were the works of Shakespeare (*Hamlet*) and Voltaire (*Candide*). Later he also arranged a lending

library at his bookshop (the 1795 list of works, which has been preserved, includes 262 titles).

- **Wilhelm Heinrich Korn** was a Protestant, and so he was unable to perform his activity in Ljubljana before the adoption of the 1781 Patent of Toleration. By 1782, he was already selling books there. Initially, he cooperated with the Klagenfurt bookseller Karl Friedrich Walliser, who produced bookselling catalogs for his customers, which were printed by Kleinmayr. The 1782 catalog was produced jointly by Walliser and Korn because they were selling the same books. In 1783, Korn published the first independent bookselling catalog for his bookstore in Ljubljana. Many other catalogs followed, of which the 1785, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, and 1797 ones have been preserved. Korn published many works important for Slovenians, including Linhart's history (printed by Eger), Vodnik's *Velika pratika* (Large Almanac) and *Mala pratika* (Small Almanac), and Kopitar's grammar (Dular: 143-223).

Korn's catalogs are an important source for studying the selection of books offered by booksellers and the impact of censorship reforms on the Carniolan book market under Joseph II. Seven have been preserved from this period and one from 1797. The 1797 catalog is especially important. It does not belong to the Josephinian period, but it clearly indicates that the period of increased freedom that readers enjoyed under Joseph II had come to an end. In studying these catalogs, the focus was primarily on fiction and philosophical and political works banned before and after Joseph II's rule. The author with the largest number of banned works (i.e., ninety-two) in the Habsburg crown lands between 1754 and 1780 was Voltaire. Also banned were Rousseau and Diderot, alongside Defoe, Hume, Goethe, and Ovid. Some new

names also appeared among the most banned authors under Joseph II, such as Karl Friedrich Bahrdt (fifteen works), Karl von Güntherode (six), and so on. This list is shorter and the authors on it are also less known today (Bachleitner: 80–84).

Even the first catalog that Korn published together with Walliser in 1782 already features 471 titles on forty pages. The more interesting ones include Shakespeare's collected plays (*sämtliche Schauspiele*), and Milton's *Paradise Lost* (*Verlorenes Paradies*, 1780) and *Paradise Regained* (*Das wiedereroberte Paradies*, 1781). Korn's first independent catalog of 1783 contains sixty-five pages with 830 titles from various areas arranged in alphabetical order by author or title. Theological works are listed in the appendix. This catalog includes several banned works, such as those by Voltaire (*vermischte Schriften* 'miscellaneous writings' and *Versuch einer allgemeinen Weltgeschichte* 'An Essay on Universal History'), Diderot, Rousseau, Defoe, Swift, Milton, Fielding, Schiller, Lessing, and Goethe. The 1785 catalog uses the same concept and features 777 book titles on sixty-two pages. Offered among the critical authors are Montesquieu (*Werk vom Geist der Gesetze* 'The Spirit of Law') and Voltaire (e.g., *Privatleben des Königs von Preußen* 'The Private Life of the King of Prussia'). The 1787 catalog was less extensive (457 titles) and the 1788 one was even shorter (372 titles). Original editions by Voltaire and Rousseau could still be purchased. The next year, the catalog presented 437 on twenty-two pages (Dular: 194–223; NUK, GS I 23689).

The catalog from (allegedly) 1790 is the most extensive in terms of the number of book titles offered, and it is the only one that was not dated (based on the year of publication provided, it cannot be dated before 1790). It lists 870 titles on forty-eight pages. The last of Korn's book catalogs preserved, dated 1797, was already published during the period of tightened Habsburg censorship. It presents 493 works

on thirty-six pages and it was arranged similarly to older ones (i.e., by topic and alphabet). For example, it includes the novels *Don Quixote* and *Robinson Crusoe*, and Kant's collected works. The last six pages list sixty-nine French books. This catalog no longer advertised works by Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and other prominent authors of the Enlightenment (Dular: 194–223; NUK, GS I 23689).

The examination of book catalogs and ads in the Ljubljana newspapers under Joseph II shows that Carniolan readers gained access to many books that had been previously prohibited. This is especially evident from the fact that they were able to purchase previously problematic books by French Enlightenment authors, which were banned in most European countries. There is a notable difference between Korn's catalogs from the Josephinian period and the one from 1797, when the authorities reimposed a stricter censorship policy, which was also reflected in the books available for sale: the problematic French Enlightenment authors disappeared.

CONCLUSION

Censorship in the Habsburg Monarchy was structured vertically. Its stringency for the entire state was determined by Joseph II and the central censorship committee in Vienna. The emperor's censorship and bookselling reforms, which largely relaxed the book and newspaper market, had a positive impact on the cultural and intellectual life in Carniola. In combination with the rudiments of a bourgeois intellectual elite (the Zois circle) and the new generation of priests (Bishop Herberstein and his circle), the reform policy brought progress to the inhabitants of Carniola. Cultural life in Ljubljana became more vibrant, and the number of booksellers, printers, bookstores, and newspapers

increased significantly. Many books that had previously been banned could suddenly be obtained on the market. Greater accessibility of previously banned literature is evident from the catalogs by the Ljubljana bookseller Wilhelm Heinrich Korn.

The Josephinian period saw the publication of important books in Slovenian and German written by Carniolan Enlightenment authors. During the nineteenth century, the school system introduced by Joseph II and his mother produced many intellectuals that brought the cultural and intellectual blossoming of the Slovenian nation to completion. The emperor's attempt to introduce retroactive censorship in Vienna between 1787 and 1789 fell through, but it nonetheless aroused hope for milder censorship and its ultimate abolition, including in Carniola. ♡

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Povzetek

Razprava je sestavljena iz dveh delov. V prvem se ukvarja s cenzurnimi reformami Jožefa II. Habsburška cenzura je potekala vertikalno, tako da so reforme, sprejete na Dunaju, vplivale na vse dedne dežele, vključno s Kranjsko. Predstavljene so pogloblitve reforme Jožefa II. na področju cenzure – *Osnovna pravila za navadno prihodnjo knjižno cenzuro*, *Cenzurni red iz leta 1781* in cenzurna reforma iz leta 1787 – t. i. *Pressefreiheit*. Svoboda tiska iz leta 1787 ni prinesla odprave cenzure, saj je preventivno cenzuro le zamenjala z represivno. Poleg tega je ta odlok v resnici veljal samo za Dunaj. V zadnjem obdobju vladavine Jožefa II. pa je prišlo do zaostrenosti cenzure. Cesar je na začetku svoje vladavine pričakoval, da bo s sprostitvijo cenzure dosegel pozitiven gospodarski in moralno-vzgojni učinek, dejansko pa je z njo bolj spodbudil nastanek javnega mnenja, ki mu je bilo na koncu vse manj naklonjeno.

Drugi del razprave se ukvarja z razmerami na Kranjskem. Od reform Jožefa II. so imeli največ koristi trije intelektualni krogi v Ljubljani: krog razsvetljencev, zbranih okoli barona Žige Zoisa, krog okoli reformnega škofa Herbersteina in knjigotržci, kot je bil Viljem Henrik Korn. Ohranjeni knjigotrški katalogi in časniki dokazujejo, da se je na Kranjskem v obdobju vladavine Jožefa II. povečal in sprostil knjižni in časnikarski trg. Povečalo se je število časnikov in knjigotržcev, bralstvu pa je postal dosegljiv velik del prej prepovedane literature. Jožefinsko obdobje je imelo tako dolgoročno pozitiven vpliv, saj je v kratkem času bralstvu predstavilo spornejšo razsvetljensko literaturo širši publiki monarhije, tudi Kranjske.

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