

Publishers' advertising strategies to widen and diversify readership

Claire Madl

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PUBLISHERS' ADVERTISING STRATEGIES TO WIDEN AND DIVERSIFY READERSHIP.
THE EXAMPLE OF BOHEMIA

Claire Madl

The study brings a formal analysis of the advertisements published in four Prague newspapers at the end of the eighteenth century, two in German and two in Czech. It enables us to understand the way publishers used this medium and targeted new readers. The article then questions the role of the two locally used languages in publishers' strategies and the boundaries booksellers "imagined" for their readership. In the complex socio-cultural configuration of the Habsburg monarchy, they were not yet working within a fixed framework that would place boundaries on their activities or their clientele. Several elements of the advertisements enable us to distinguish different types of publishers. Until at least the 1820s, publishers' strategies were not always defined by the language of the books they were advertising, but by other discriminating criteria: the quality of the language used in the book, the readers' multilingualism, the scale and structure of distribution networks, the publisher's attitude towards tradition.

Keywords: book market, readership, marketing strategy, advertisement, booksellers, Bohemia, 1770–1820

Claire Madl, Institute of Czech Literature, Czech Academy of Sciences / French Research Centre in Humanities and Social Sciences (CEFRES) Prague

Exploring the notion of materiality and its interrelation with culture, knowledge and society is at the core of the history of the book as a historiographical field. Historians commonly acknowledge that this field was primarily launched by the

publication of *The Coming of the book. The impact of printing 1450–1800*,[1] in 1958 in the wake of the post-WWII socio-economical history and, in its national context, in the wake of the *Annales* school. Lucien Febvre, one of its two authors and a co-founder of the *Annales*, devoted his own research to the sixteenth century, forging the notions of "total history" and "*outillage mental*" (mental toolkit).[2] His student, Henri-Jean Martin, who was responsible for completing the research and publishing of *The Coming of the book* after Febvre's death, characterized books as "a commodity and a ferment". He rejected the division between materiality and intellectuality, materiality and culture, as a misguided assumption in the history of material culture. He intended that this new field of research should draw up a "total history" of the book that would bridge intellectual, cultural and socio-economical history.[3]

While historians of "material culture" use both "things" and textual sources to analyse economic, social, anthropological or cultural issues, book historians analyse the materiality of text transmission. In doing so, they address a radical methodological problem in the relationship between text and "thing": each book is a crafted object of texts, the result of a specific way of encoding texts materially. As such, research into the history of the book has transformed radically as historians have changed the way in which they consider their sources, borrowing the archaeological principle of seeing sources as "clues" rather than as "evidence".[4]

Drawing on erudite methods of bibliography and philology but also on anthropology or pragmatic sociology, book historians have explored these issues in several directions: making quantitative surveys of book production, diffusion and reception, and analyzing the relationship between texts' inscription and their

1 LUCIEN FEBVRE, HENRI-JEAN MARTIN, *L'apparition du livre*, Paris 1958; English translation: *The Coming of the Book. The Impact of Printing 1450–1800*, London – New York 1997.

2 His most frequently republished book is LUCIEN FEBVRE, *Le problème de l'incroyance au XVI^e siècle. La religion de Rabelais*, Paris 1942; English translation: *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century, the Religion of Rabelais*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1982.

3 ROGER CHARTIER, DANIEL ROCHE, *Le livre. Un changement de perspective*, in: Faire de l'histoire III. Nouveaux objets, (eds.) Jacques Le Goff, Pierre Nora, Paris 1974, pp. 156–184. ROBERT DARNTON, *What is the History of Books?*, Daedalus, 111/1982, no. 3, pp. 65–83. See also Martin's thesis: HENRI-JEAN MARTIN, *Livre pouvoir et société à Paris au XVII^e siècle*, Genève 1969.

4 ZDENĚK VAŠÍČEK, *Structure de l'archéologie et de l'histoire*, in: Zdeněk Vašíček, L'archéologie, l'histoire, le passé. Chapitres sur la présentation, l'épistémologie et l'ontologie du temps perdu, Sceaux 1994, pp. 85–129, esp. 121–129.

meaning,[5] the appropriation practices of readers,[6] or the entrepreneurial, economic and technical history of book professionals and their relations to cultural transformations. Throughout, they continued to pursue the ambition of addressing key issues in cultural and intellectual history, for instance the Reformation movement,[7] humanist and post-humanist erudition,[8] the cultural context of the French Revolution,[9] the building of collective identities and nation-building processes.[10]

As part of this enquiry into the socio-economic history of books, in the present paper we make use of a source directly related to the materiality of the book and to the economic implications of this materiality: newspaper advertisements for books.[11] This is not an unknown source; the most prolific Czech book historian, Josef Volf, drew much information from advertisements, considering them as "documents" attesting to the existence of advertising firms.[12] We use them now in a different way. The discourse on books and their readership that advertisements provide enables us to address one of the major phenomena of the transition period between the Enlightenment and the nationalisation of written culture in Bohemia: the transformation of readership, its enlargement, its social

5 This issue is the core of Donald McKenzie's, Armando Petrucci's and Roger Chartier's works.

6 See MICHEL DE CERTEAU, *Reading as Poaching* in: Michel de Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life, Berkeley 1984, pp. 165–176; ROGER CHARTIER (ed.), *Pratiques de la lecture*, Paris 1993.

7 ELIZABETH I. EISENSTEIN, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change. Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, New York 1979. See also the discussions about Eisenstein's main thesis ANTHONY GRAFTON, ELIZABETH I. EISENSTEIN, ADRIAN JOHNS, *AHR Forum. "How Revolutionary Was the Print Revolution?"*, *"An Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited"*, and "*How to Acknowledge a Revolution*", American Historical Review 107/2002, pp. 84–128.

8 ANTHONY GRAFTON, *The Footnote. A Curious History*, Cambridge, Mass., 1997.

9 ROBERT DARNTON, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime*, Cambridge, Mass., 1982; ROBERT DARNTON, *Édition et sédition. L'univers de la littérature clandestine au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1991; ROGER CHARTIER, *Les origines culturelles de la Révolution française*, Paris 1990. See also the discussion about the implications of Darnton's work: H. T. MASON (ed.), *The Darnton Debate. Books and Revolution in the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford 1998.

10 FRÉDÉRIC BARBIER, *L'empire du livre. Le livre imprimé et la construction de l'Allemagne contemporaine (1815–1914)*, Paris 1995.

11 MARIE-KRISTIN HAUKE, *In allen guten Buchhandlungen ist zu haben… Buchwerbung in Deutschland im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Erlangen (diss.) 1999; HANNIE VAN GOINGA, *Enticing into Buying. Titles in Advertisements for Book Auctions in Eighteenth-Century Dutch Newspapers*, Quaerendo 42/2012, pp. 241–248, esp. 242.

12 See the complete bibliography of Josef Volf: KAREL HUENDL, *Josef Volf a jeho význam pro čs. knihovnictví* [*Josef Volf and His Role in Czechoslovak Library Studies*], Prague 1987.

complexification and its linguistic differentiation (c. 1770–1820).[13] We assume that the discourse delivered by advertisements is closer to publishers' economic strategies than intellectual projects; it is mainly profit-oriented and designed to communicate efficiently with potential readers. As such, it might differ in certain ways from representations of readership as we know them from regulatory and educational texts about literacy, reading and languages issued by members of the elites (pedagogues, authors, censors or legislators); individual testimonies by readers themselves remain rare.[14]

The diffusion of literacy, the progressive rise of a modern public sphere and the explosion of the book market were common phenomena among the European societies in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. In the Habsburg monarchy, and in particular the Lands of the Bohemian crown, some of these phenomena bear peculiar features which bring certain issues to the fore, e.g. the impacts of language and plurilingualism on knowledge and information transmission processes,[15] and the role of language and political borders in setting the

13 We use the term "Enlightenment period" to refer to the reigns of Maria Theresa (1740–1780) and Josef II (1780–1790), as both sovereigns implemented reforms that strongly impacted written culture and intellectual life in their lands (for example, Maria-Theresa reformed censorship and universities, regulated bookselling as a profession in 1772, and promulgated compulsory elementary schools in 1774; Josef II almost suppressed censorship and tended to liberalise the book market during the first half of his reign). This period ended with a severe political reaction in 1792 when the Habsburgs went to war against revolutionary France. The progressive development of literary and intellectual institutions referring to themselves as "national" and "Czech" took place no sooner than the first decades of the nineteenth century. For an overview of these five decades from the perspective of book history see: ZDENĚK ŠIMEČEK, *Geschichte des Buchhandels in Tschechien und in der Slowakei*, Wiesbaden 1990, pp. 10–97.

14 For an overview, see the chapter by Reinhard Wittmann on eighteenth century in GUGLIELMO CAVALLO, ROGER CHARTIER (eds.), *Histoire de la lecture dans le monde occidental*, Paris 1997, pp. 331–364. Existing research on the Czech lands in the eighteenth century includes among other studies MARIE-ELIZABETH DUCREUX, *Lire à en mourir. Lecteurs et livres en Bohême au 18e siècle*, in: Les usages de l'imprimé, (ed.) Roger Chartier, Paris 1987, pp. 253–303; MARIE RYANTOVÁ, *Čtenář* [*Reader*], in: Člověk českého raného novověku, (eds.) Václav Bůžek, Pavel Král, Prague 2007, pp. 398–432; MICHAEL WÖGERBAUER, PETR PÍŠA, PETR ŠÁMAL (eds.), *V obecném zájmu. Cenzura a sociální regulace literatury v moderní české kultuře 1749–2014* [*As a Matter of General Interest. Censorship and the Regulation of Literature in the Czech Modern Culture*], vol. 1: *1749–1938*, Prague 2015, pp. 66–82.

15 ALEXANDR STICH, *Linguistic and Literary Culture in Baroque Bohemia*, in: The Glory of the Baroque in Bohemia. Essays on Art, Culture and Society in the 17th and 18th Centuries, (ed.) Vít Vlnas, Prague 2001, pp. 234–252; VÁCLAV PETRBOK, *Bilingualismus / Zweisprachigkeit als literarisches Phänomenon in den böhmischen Ländern des ‚langen' 19. Jahrhunderts*, Listy filologické 137/2014, pp. 97–107.

limits of a given text's circulation.[16] In this paper we shall look at both these issues by examining the marketing strategies of Prague booksellers and publishers.

Studies of eighteenth century advertisements have analysed how this type of discourse was born, and how it ceased to simply provide information about goods and began to persuade readers to buy the announced products.[17] They have also shed light on the potentialities of these texts to give us access to the public they were meant for, because they sometimes provide us with clues about the social context of the intended use of the commodities they advertise.[18] That is the reason why advertisements seemed a good source with which to analyse booksellers' representations of their readers and the activity of reading.

We begin by investigating the materiality of advertisements in order to define their specificity amid book announcements and to grasp the reading practices they foresee, transform and adapt to. We then analyse the books described in the advertisements, in order to understand the range of readers the advertisements targeted: which aspects of the books are highlighted, for whom, and which contexts of reception do they depict or expect? Lastly, we focus on language as one of the characteristics of the advertised books and scrutinize the way this is used by the publishers.

Enlarging the Reading Public

The very fact that publishers and booksellers had advertisements printed in newspapers is evidence of their desire to widen their readership. Advertising books was by no means a new practice in the second half of the eighteenth century: publishers and booksellers had long been using a variety of means to inform people about their products. These included printed book catalogues, or lists of newly published books, that they could either disseminate as leaflets or add to their publications; we often find these bound into their books. These two media primarily addressed librarians and booksellers, along with the publishers' more wealthy clients. In the last decades of the eighteenth century, though, a new medium was at hand: newspapers. An increasing readership was gaining

16 CLAIRE MADL, "*Nicht nur aus Leipzig". Die Belieferung der Prager Buchhandlungen zu Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Leipziger Jahrbuch für Buchgeschichte 20/2011–2012, pp. 127–142.

17 ARIANNE BAGGERMAN, *Excitement and Sensation on a Postage Stamp. Dutch Book Advertisements as a Go-Between in the Eighteenth Century*, Quaerendo 42/2012, pp. 274–285, 276.

18 BARBARA BENEDICT, *Encounters With the Object. Advertisements, Time, and Literary Discourse in the Early Eighteenth-Century Thing-Poem*, Eighteenth-Century Studies 40/2007, pp. 193–207, 196.

access to and interest in them, especially those related to offices of intelligence. Advertising in newspapers was easy in terms of financial cost, flexible because newspapers were regularly and often published, had a well-organised distribution network and enabled readers to keep track of the ever growing flow of new publications.[19] Preserved collections indicate that from approximately 1800 onwards, booksellers printed fewer and fewer lists of new books, and preferred to use general, specialised and professional periodicals to advertise their collections.[20]

Notices published in newspapers soon became the major non-professional way to find out about new books, as one Prague publisher stated in 1820: "Some say they would rather spend their money on a good book than a newspaper. Yet we can only comfortably find out about the latest good book by reading the newspaper."[21]

Advertisements for books printed in general political newspapers offer a unique opportunity to study representations of readership, because they addressed the public as a whole, whereas journals were usually specialised and targeted only a particular group of people with a certain domain of interest. Within the longer period in question (c. 1770–1820), the beginning of the 1790s offer us abundant material, since events related to the French Revolution were so compelling that a variety of newspapers managed to survive for several decades (uninterrupted publication was not something taken for granted, as we shall see). In Prague, two newspapers were in print in German and two

19 ZDENĚK ŠIMEČEK, *Počátky novinového zpravodajství a novin v českých zemích* (*do devadesátých let 18. století)* [*The Beginning of Journalism and Newspapers in the Czech Lands (until 1790s)*], Brno 2011, pp. 247–358. For later periods see: ALADAR GUIDO PRZEDAK, *Geschichte des deutschen Zeitschriftenwesens in Böhmen*, Heidelberg 1904; JOSEF VOLF, *Dějiny novin v Čechách do r. 1848* [*History of Newspapers in Bohemia until 1848*], Prague 1930.

20 This is a common phenomenon in Europe, as far as we can judge from previous studies: GRAHAM POLLARD, ALBERT EHRMAN, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800, Based on Material in the Broxbourne Library*, Cambridge 1965; REINHARD WITTMANN, *Bücherkataloge des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts als Quellen der Buchgeschichte. Eine Einführung*, in: Bücherkataloge als buchgeschichtliche Quellen in der frühen Neuzeit, (ed.) Reinhard Wittmann, Wiesbaden, 1985, pp. 7–17; CLAIRE LESAGE, EVE NETCHINE, VÉRONIQUE SARRAZIN, *Catalogues de libraires 1473–1810*, Paris 2006, p. 18.

21 Cýsařské, královské Wlastenské Nowiny 3–5/1820 (29. 1. 1820), p. 18 : "Mnohý řekne, raděgi za ten penjz dobrau knihu, než nowiny. Ale o dobré knize zase genom skrze nowiny neyčerstwěgi a neypohodlněgi náwěsstj obdržjme."

in Czech, which is itself evidence of a readership increase.[22] Each was published regularly and had a more or less regular supplement filled with various public and private announcements. Two were published by Johann Ferdinand Schönfeld (1750–1821), a successful entrepreneur who had progressively acquired the privileges of the two main newspapers: "the Prague Principal Post News" (*Prager Oberpostamtszeitung*)[23] in German and "Schönfeld's Royal Prague News" (*Schönfeldské král[ovské] pražské nowiny*[24]) in Czech; from 1794 on he also published a list of the office of intelligence, *Intelligenzblatt*,[25] as a supplement to the *Oberpostamtszeitung*. The third newspaper was founded in 1789 by Matěj Václav Kramerius (1753–1808), who had formerly worked for Schönfeld's Czech paper but left him to found his own title "Kramerius's Imperial Royal Patriotic News" (*Kraméryusowy Cýs[ařské] Král[ovské] Wlastenské Nowiny*).[26] The fourth title,

22 Censorship had not yet had too much impact on the range of books being published, which was still very rich, see CLAIRE MADL, MICHAEL WÖGERBAUER, *Censorship and Book Supply*, in: Studies on Voltaire and 18th Century, vol 7: The Enlightenment in Bohemia: Religion, Morality and Multiculturalism, (eds.) Ivo Cerman, Rita Krueger, Susan Reynolds, Oxford 2011, pp. 69–87; M. WÖGERBAUER, P. PÍŠA, P. ŠÁMAL (eds.), *V obecném zájmu*, vol 1, pp. 141–161.

23 This long lasting newspaper was published from 1744 onwards by Karel František [*Karl Franz*] Rosenmüller and from 1781 to 1814 by his successive heirs (his son, followed by his twice-remarried daughter-in-law); after this it was taken over by J. F. Schönfeld and continued under various titles. See MIROSLAV LAISKE, *Časopisectví v Čechách 1650–1847: příspěvek k soupisu periodického tisku, zejména novin a časopisů* [*Newspapers and Journals in Bohemia 1650–1847. Contribution to a Catalogue of Periodicals, Mainly Newspapers and Journals*], Prague 1959, no. 354. I thoroughly analyzed advertisements published in this paper in 1793.

24 This paper was published under the title *Český postýlion* or *České nowiny* from 1719 onwards by Karel František Rosenmüller and later his heirs, with suspensions between 1741 and 1745 and between 1776 and 1782, due to insufficient numbers of subscribers. Schönfeld bought the privilege in 1785 but had to give up publishing it between 1792 and 1796, probably because of competition from Kramerius. It was then published again under various titles (M. LAISKE, *Časopisectví*, no. 694). I thoroughly analyzed advertisements in this paper in 1789–1790.

25 Before 1794, this was published independently by Ignaz Franz Pruša [Pruscha], later by his widow and then his son Vincenz Victorin Pruša, i.e. a family of printers who had bought the privilege of the Prague office of intelligence (Prager Fragamt). See ALADAR GUIDO PRZEDAK, *Das Prager Intelligenzblatt. Kulturgeschichtliche Bilder aus dem alten Prag*, Prague 1918.

26 M. LAISKE, *Časopisectví*, no. 387. From 1789 until the end of 1791, this was published under the title *Kraméryusowy cýs. k. pražské posstowské nowiny*. Kramerius was a brilliant journalist and an important figure of his time. See JAN NOVOTNÝ, *Matěj Václav Kramerius*, Prague 1973; and the short synthesis recently published in German ALENA KÖLLNER, *Buchwesen in Prag. Von Matěj Václav Kramerius bis Jan Otto*, Vienna 2000, pp. 48–57. According to Novotný (p. 63), Kramerius had attracted 900 subscribers when working for Schönfeld and may well have drawn

Prager neue Zeitung,[27] was founded in January 1793, and lasted only until 1808, but did attract advertisers, even though the form of the announcements sometimes took that of a short review.[28] The yearly fees for subscription to these newspapers varied, because the Czech newspapers were published less frequently than the German ones – probably because they had higher redaction costs or a less wealthy readership. In case of difficulties, publishers preferred to reduce the frequency of publication rather than to increase the price, which would quickly have reached a prohibitive level.[29] For the present work, the very poor state of newspapers collections also had to be taken into account: they are incomplete in all libraries and not yet fully digitized. For the purposes of this article we were able to thoroughly analyse 'Schönfeld's News' for 1789 and 1790, and the three other titles for 1793. This sample includes a total of 185 advertisements, placed by 17 publishers and 2 authors. My analysis also considers advertisements published in a single trimester for each of the years 1781, 1806 and 1820.

In order to attract new readers, the publishers progressively enhanced the graphical presentation of their advertisements. The most common form of notice was a list of books. The layout techniques already used in catalogues, aiming at clarity and sparing space, were also adopted in these newspaper advertisements. The set of information delivered to readers was also similar (each book's title, size, price, often the name of the author and the place of publication, and if necessary a mention of illustrations; scarcely more). Despite the fact that the newspapers had a broader public audience than the catalogues, there is no evident shift in the content of the information delivered. The only visible adaptation to the new medium is a restriction in the number of books announced at once (scarcely more

them to his own newspaper within the first years of its publication, since Schönfeld interrupted the publication of his newspaper in Czech from 1792 until 1796 and declared a print run of just 200 in 1808. Kramerius's newspaper reached a print run of 1400 in the 1790s, reducing to 400 in 1808 when owned by his widow. Later, his son claimed almost 1500 subscribers to the renewed version of the paper in 1820: Cýsařské, královské wlastenské nowiny 6/1820 (11. 3. 1820), p. 47. Print runs in 1808 are given by ZDENĚK ŠIMEČEK, *Geschichte des Buchhandels*, p. 83.

27 M. LAISKE, *Časopisectví*, no. 633, published by Andreas Ch. Eichler and sold by Prague bookseller Josef Valenta.

28 For a detailed typology of book advertisements in newspapers see: M.-K. HAUKE, *In allen guten Buchhandlungen*, pp. 101–120.

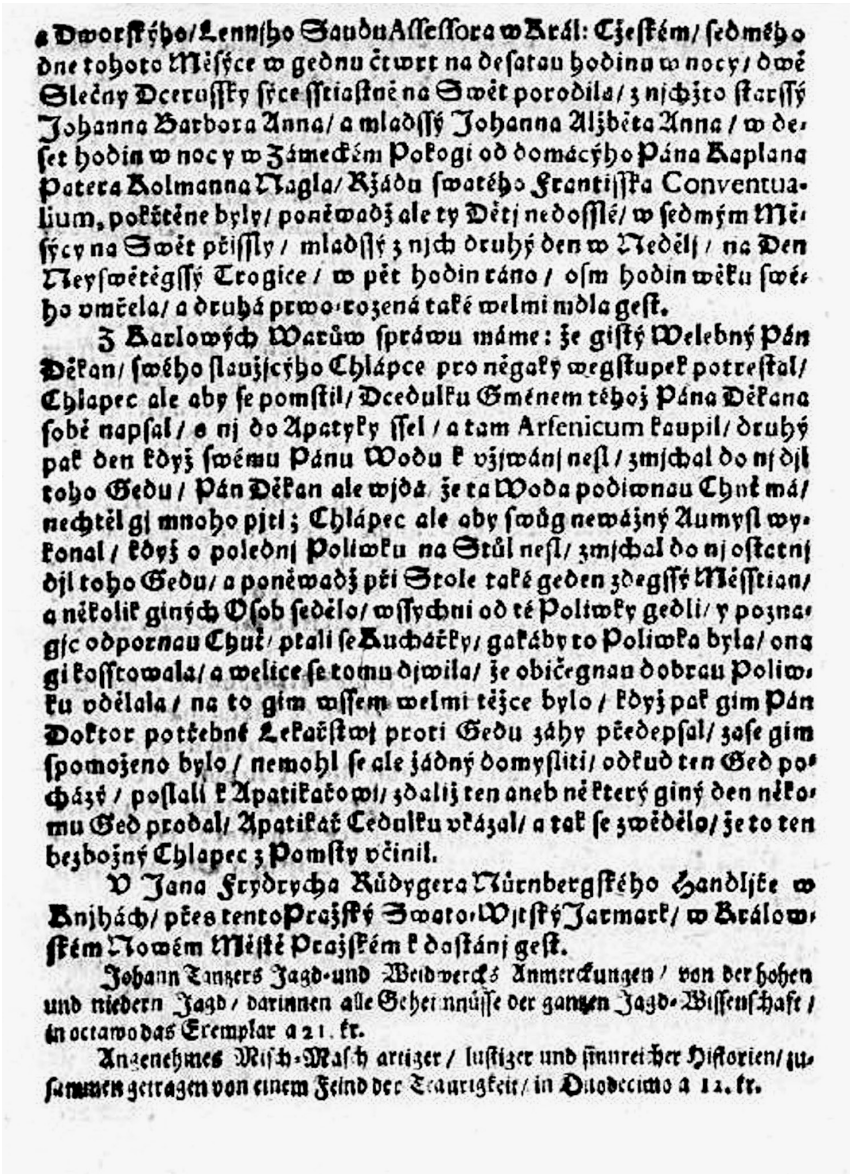
29 At the beginning of the 1790s, both Czech newspapers cost 4 Gulden per year (without postage) and were published once a week. *Prager neue Zeitung* was issued twice a week at 6 or 7 Gulden per year (according to the quality of the paper). *Prager Oberpostamtszeitung* was published twice a week at 6 Gulden a year and had a print run of 1400 in 1808. Postage cost was about 1 Gulden 30 Kreuzer per year.

than ten, sometimes only three), and the repetition of the advertisements, which was indeed the main asset of the newspapers' mode of publication. We find rare examples of separate lists of books or brochures that were probably distributed along with the newspapers thanks to the postal network, and are now bound within the volumes.[30] Short announcements use the layout of the news texts themselves. Traditionally, different items of news were very poorly graphically separated, if at all: a new paragraph heralded a new topic; there were no headings, dividing lines, or even enlarged initial capital letters that could guide the reader to where one topic ended and another began (see fig. 1, p. 78). As a result, continuous linear reading was needed to discover the content of each paragraph and to realise when one of them was not in fact a piece of news but one of the very rare advertisements.[31] The reader of the advertisement thus had to read the whole newspaper, or at least the first line of each paragraph. Even when a short textual presentation of the advertised book was given, this was not visible at first sight, and neither were the listed book titles.

As time went on, however, newspapers lightened and sophisticated their graphical presentation, introducing lines and headings between different topics or different kinds of information (see fig. 2, p. 79). The supplements devoted to announcements pioneered an art of presentation that enabled an interrupted approach to reading; this was not yet found in the political sections. The headings were at times relatively long, composed of the full first sentence of the announcement (see fig. 3, p. 81) but at times were very short to make them easy for the reader to spot, but lacking any real information about the content: "Anzeigen" "Zpráwa" (announcement(s)). The explicit heading „*Literarische Anzeigen*" (Literary announcement(s)) was hardly ever used in general newspapers. Later, a set of graphical features appears to highlight particular elements of the information given: the printers and publishers invented a range of ways of attracting readers'

30 A leaflet for a *Gesetzlexikon* by Johann Scheppl (Prague/Vienna, Schönfeld, 1793) is bound before no. 33 (23.4.1793) of the *Oberpostamtszeitung*, in the volume that belongs to the Library of the National Museum in Prague. We know that some brochures were paginated within the newspaper but could be read separately: for example in Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské nowiny 41/1793 (12. 10. 1793), pp. 397–398: independent leaflet announcing Kramerius's almanac: *Kalendář Tolerancý*.

31 [*Český postýlion*] *Sobotnj pražské posstowské nowiny* 47/1727 (14. 6. 1727), last page (not paginated): "V Jana Frydrycha Rudygera Nürnbergského Handljře w Knjhách přes tento Pražský Swatowjtský Jarmark/w královském Nowém Městě Pražském k dostanj jest." [At J. F. Rüdiger's, Nuremberg merchant of books, during this St-Vitus Fair, in the New Town of Prague, is to be purchased.]



z Dworſkýho/Lennſho Saudu Aſſeſſora w Král: Czeſtém/ ſedméh o dne tohoto Měſýce w gednu čtwrt na deſatau hodinu w nocy/ dwě Slečny Dceruſſky ſýce ſſtiaſtně na Swět porodila/ z nichžto ſtarſſý Johanna Barbora Anna/ a mladſſý Johanna Alžběta Anna/ w deſet hodin w noc y w Zámeckém Pokogi od domácýho Pána Kaplana Patera Kolmanna Nagla/ Řádu ſwatéh o Frantiſſka Conventualium, pokřtěne byly/ ponèwadž ale ty Dětj nedoſſlé/ w ſedmým Měſýcy na Swět přiſſly/ mladſſý z nich druhý den w Neděli/ na Den Neyſwětěgſſý Trogice/ w pět hodin ráno/ oſm hodin wěku ſwéh o vměla/ a druhá prwo-rozená také welmi mdla geſt.

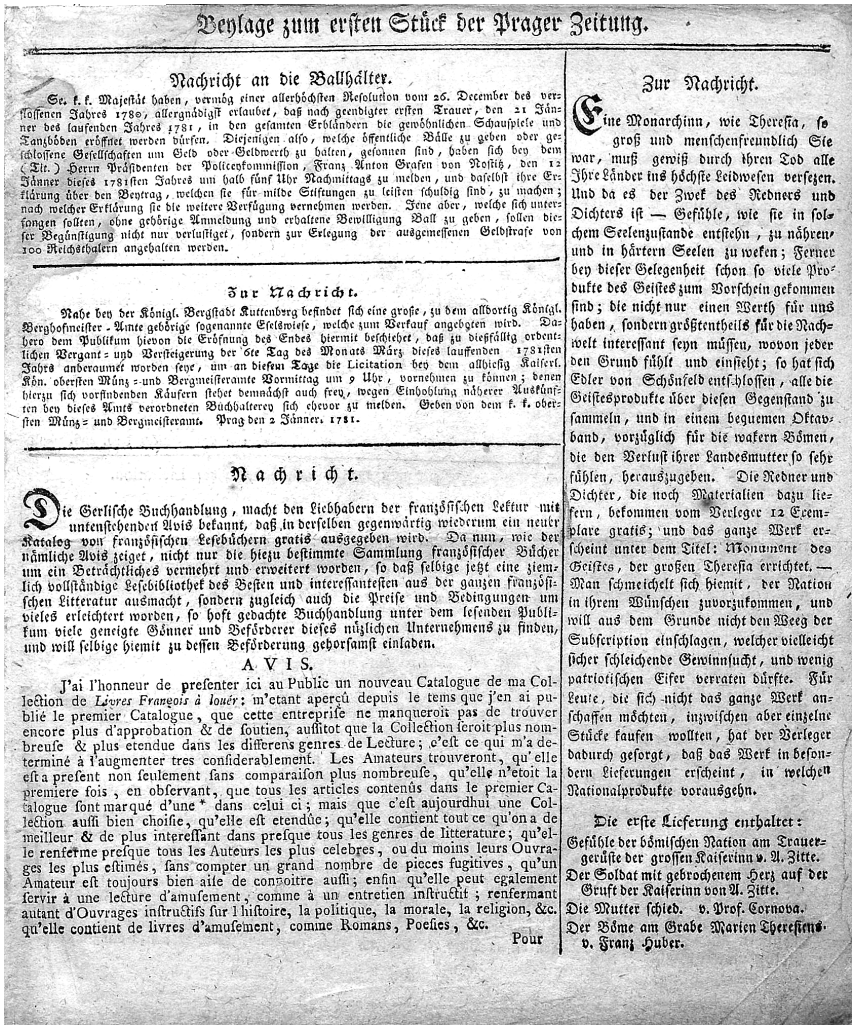
Z Karlowých Warůw správu máme: že giſtý Welebný Pán Děkan/ ſwého ſlauſſcýho Chlápce pro nègaký wegſtupek potreſtal/ Chlapec ale aby ſe pomſtil/ Dceduſku Gménem téhož Pána Děkana ſobě napſal/ a nj do Apatyky ſſel/ a tam Arſenicum kaupil/ druhý pak den když ſwému Pánu Wodu k wjſwánj neſl/ zmſchal do nj dſl toho Gedu/ Pán Děkan ale wjda/ že ta Woda podiwnau Chut má/ nechtěl gi mnoho pjti; Chlápec ale aby ſwůg newážný Aumyſl wykonal/ když o poledni Polewku na Stůl neſl/ zmſchal do nj oſtatnj dſl toho Gedu/ a ponèwadž při Stole také geden zdegſſý Měſſtian/ a několik giných Oſob ſedělo/ wſſychni od té Polewky gedli/ y poznagſc odpornau Chuť/ ptali ſe Kuchařky/ gakáby to Polewka byla/ ona gi kosſtowala/ a welice ſe tomu dſwila/ že običegnau dobrau Polewku vdělala/ na to gim wſſem welmi těžce bylo/ když pak gim Pán Doktor potřebné Lekařſtwj proti Gedu záhy předepſal/ zaſe gim ſpomoženo bylo/ nemohl ſe ale žádný domyſliti/ odkud ten Ged pochází/ poſlali k Apatikařowi/ zdalij ten aneb některý giný den někomu Ged prodal/ Apatikař Cedulku vkázal/ a tak ſe zwědělo/ že to ten bezbožný Chlapec z Pomſty včinil.

V Jana Frydrycha Rüdygera Nürnbergſkého Handljře w Knjhách/ přes tento Pražſký Swato-Wjtſký Jarmark/ w Králowſkém Nowém Městě Pražſkém k doſtánj geſt.

Johann Tanzers Jagd- und Weidwercks Anmerckungen/ von der hohen und niedern Jagd/ darinnen alle Gehei nnüſſe der gantzen Jagd-Wiſſenſchaft/ in octavo das Exemplar a 21. kr.

Angenehmes Miſch-Maſch artizer/ luſtizer und ſinnreicher Hiſtorien/ zuſammen getragen von einem Feind der Traurigkeit/ in Duodecimo a 12. kr.

Fig. 1. – [Český postýlion] Sobotnj pražské posstowské nowiny, (June 14, 1727), publisher: K. F. Rosenmüller. Courtesy of the National Library of the Czech Republic, 54 A 76 / 1727.



Beylage zum ersten Stück der Prager Zeitung.

Nachricht an die Ballhälter.

Se. k. k. Majestät haben, vermög einer allerhöchsten Resolution vom 26. December des verflossenen Jahres 1780, allergnädigst erlaubet, daß nach geendigter ersten Trauer, den 21 Jänner des laufenden Jahres 1781, in den gesamten Erbländern die gewöhnlichen Schauspiele und Tanzböden eröffnet werden dürfen. Diejenigen also, welche öffentliche Bälle zu geben oder geschlossene Gesellschaften um Geld oder Geldwerth zu halten, gesonnen sind, haben sich bey dem (Tit.) Herrn Präsidenten der Policeykommission, Franz Anton Grafen von Nostitz, den 12 Jänner dieses 1781sten Jahres um halb fünf Uhr Nachmittags zu melden, und daselbst ihre Erklärung über den Beytrag, welchen sie für milde Stiftungen zu leisten schuldig sind, zu machen; nach welcher Erklärung sie die weitere Verfügung vernehmen werden. Jene aber, welche sich unterfangen sollten, ohne gehörige Anmeldung und erhaltene Bewilligung Ball zu geben, sollen dieser Begünstigung nicht nur verlustiget, sondern zur Erlegung der ausgemessenen Geldstrafe von 100 Reichsthalern angehalten werden.

Zur Nachricht.

Nahe bey der Königl. Bergstadt Kuttenberg befindet sich eine große, zu dem allhortig Königl. Berghofmeister-Amte gehörige sogenannte Eselswiese, welche zum Verkauf angehoten wird. Dahero dem Publikum hievon die Eröfnung des Endes hiermit beschiehet, daß zu dieserfällig ordentlichen Vergant- und Versteigerung der 6te Tag des Monats März dieses laufenden 1781sten Jahrs anberaumet worden seye, um an diesem Tage die Licitation bey dem allhiesig Kaiserl. Kön. obersten Münz- und Bergmeisteramte Vormittag um 9 Uhr, vornehmen zu können; denen hierzu sich vorfindenden Käufern stehet demnächst auch frey, wegen Einhohlung näherer Auskünften bey dieses Amts verordneten Buchhalterey sich ehevor zu melden. Geben von dem k. k. obersten Münz- und Bergmeisteramt. Prag den 2 Jänner. 1781.

Nachricht.

Die Gerlische Buchhandlung, macht den Liebhabern der französischen Lektur mit untenstehenden Avis bekannt, daß in derselben gegenwärtig wiederum ein neuer Katalog von französischen Lesebüchern gratis ausgegeben wird. Da nun, wie der nämliche Avis zeiget, nicht nur die hiezu bestimmte Sammlung französischer Bücher um ein Beträchtliches vermehrt und erweitert worden, so daß selbige jetzt eine ziemlich vollständige Lesebibliothek des Besten und interessantesten aus der ganzen französischen Litteratur ausmacht, sondern zugleich auch die Preise und Bedingungen um vieles erleichtert worden, so hofft gedachte Buchhandlung unter dem lesenden Publikum viele geneigte Gönner und Beförderer dieses nützlichen Unternehmens zu finden, und will selbige hiemit zu dessen Beförderung gehorsamst einladen.

AVIS.

J'ai l'honneur de presenter ici au Public un nouveau Catalogue de ma Collection de *Livres Frangois à louér*: m'etant apercû depuis le tems que j'en ai publié le premier Catalogue, que cette entreprise ne manqueroit pas de trouver encore plus d'approbation & de soutien, aussitot que la Collection seroit plus nombreuse & plus etendue dans les differens genres de Lecture; c'est ce qui m'a determiné à l'augmenter tres considerablement. Les Amateurs trouveront, qu'elle est a present non seulement sans comparaison plus nombreuse, qu'elle n'etoit la premiere fois, en observant, que tous les articles contenús dans le premier Catalogue sont marqué d'une * dans celui ci; mais que c'est aujourdhui une Collection aussi bien choisie, qu'elle est etendúe; qu'elle contient tout ce qu'on a de meilleur & de plus interessant dans presque tous les genres de litterature; qu'elle renferme presque tous les Auteurs les plus celebres, ou du moins leurs Ouvrages les plus estimés, sans compter un grand nombre de pieces fugitives, qu'un Amateur est toujours bien aise de connoitre aussi; enfin qu'elle peut egalement servir à une lecture d'amusement, comme à un entretien instructif; renfermant autant d'Ouvrages instructifs sur l'histoire, la politique, la morale, la religion, &c. qu'elle contient de livres d'amusement, comme Romans, Poesies, &c.

Pour

Zur Nachricht.

Eine Monarchinn, wie Theresia, so groß und menschenfreundlich Sie war, muß gewiß durch ihren Tod alle Ihre Länder ins höchste Leidwesen versezen. Und da es der Zwek des Redners und Dichters ist — Gefühle, wie sie in solchem Seelenzustande entstehn, zu nähren, und in härtern Seelen zu weken; Ferner bey dieser Gelegenheit schon so viele Produkte des Geistes zum Vorschein gekommen sind; die nicht nur einen Werth für uns haben, sondern größtentheils für die Nachwelt interessant seyn müssen, wovon jeder den Grund fühlt und einsieht; so hat sich Edler von Schönfeld entschlossen, alle die Geistesprodukte über diesen Gegenstand zu sammeln, und in einem beguemen Oktavband, vorzüglich für die wakern Böhmen, die den Verlust ihrer Landesmutter so sehr fühlen, herauszugeben. Die Redner und Dichter, die noch Materialien dazu liefern, bekommen vom Verleger 12 Exemplare gratis; und das ganze Werk erscheint unter dem Titel: Monument des Geistes, der großen Theresia errichtet. — Man schmeichelt sich hiemit, der Nation in ihrem Wünschen zuvorzukommen, und will aus dem Grunde nicht den Weeg der Subscription einschlagen, welcher vielleicht sicher schleichende Gewinnsucht, und wenig patriotischen Eifer verraten dürfte. Für Leute, die sich nicht das ganze Werk anschaffen möchten, inzwischen aber einzelne Stücke kaufen wollten, hat der Verleger dadurch gesorgt, daß das Werk in besondern Lieferungen erscheint, in welchen Nationalprodukte vorausgehn.

Die erste Lieferung enthaltet:

Gefühle der böhmischen Nation am Trauergerüste der grossen Kaiserinn v. A. Zitte.
Der Soldat mit gebrochenem Herz auf der Gruft der Kaiserinn von A. Zitte.
Die Mutter schied. v. Prof. Cornova.
Der Böhme am Grabe Marien Theresiens. v. Franz Huber.

Fig. 2. – K. K. Prager Oberpostamts-Zeitung, supplement (January 2, 1781), publisher: J. F. Schönfeld. Courtesy of the National Library of the Czech Republic, 52 F 91.

attention to their small and still tightly packed paragraphs, experimenting with different formatting techniques, alternating centred and justified paragraphs, small and big letters, gothic letters and roman types (when a Latin or French title was to be advertised).[32]

The highlighted information is not always what today's reader would expect. In the 1790s, the name of the publisher or bookseller delivering the announcement is not the most noticeable information, nor is the name of the book's author.[33] Instead, it is the title that is highlighted, and these had often been chosen to entice readers, according to Furetière's well-known assertion: "a nice title is the true pander of the book".[34] In 1793, some books issued on the "excesses" of the French Revolution, in particular the execution of the royal couple, gave publishers a good opportunity to put together sensational adverts for "French Fooleries," and "Stories of Murder and Woe" (see fig. 3, p. 81).[35] These were often cheap, short books, which presented the most striking aspect of current events.[36] On the contrary, it seems that publishers did not feel the need to highlight higher quality books in advertisements, and these are almost hidden as a result, since when the layout is designed to bring something out, it also necessarily hides something away. It seems, then, that there was a negative relationship between a book's material quality and its visibility in these newspaper advertisements, as

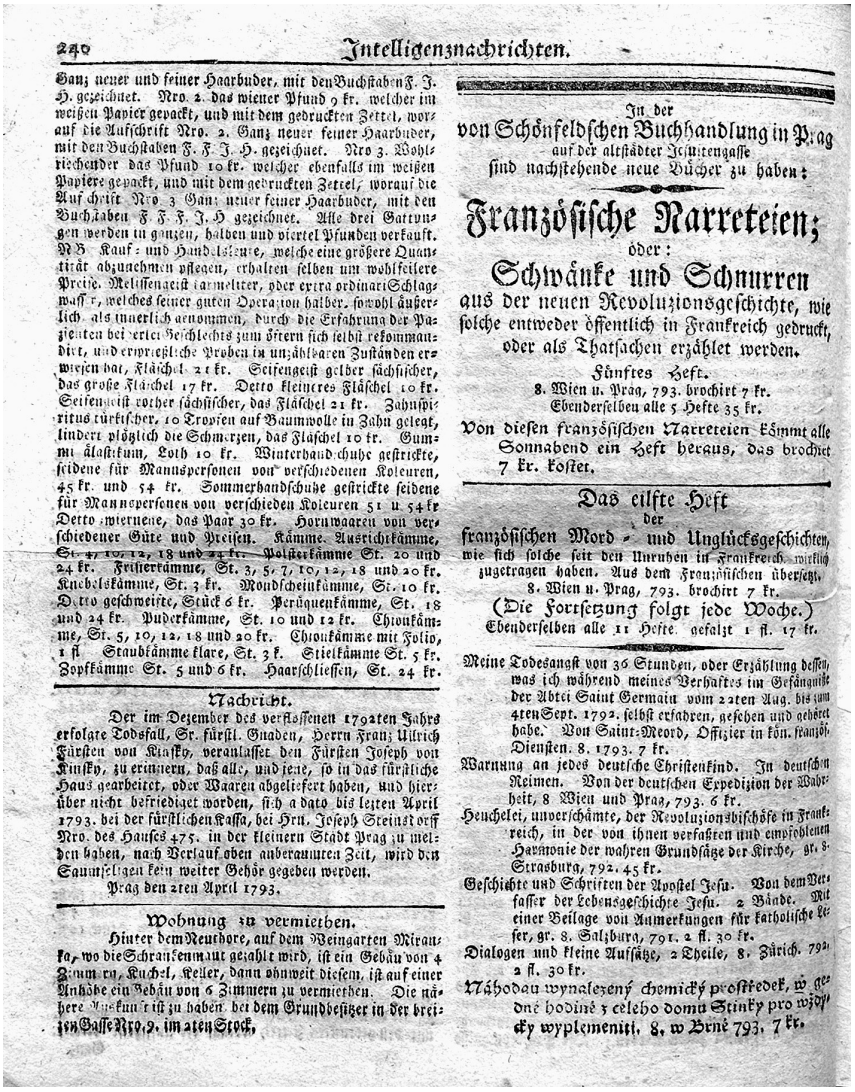
32 The supplement to Schönfeld's German newspaper, at first entitled *Komptoirsnachrichten*, and then from March 1793 onwards *Intelligenznachrichten*, provides a good example of these innovations, see Bookseller Buchler's advertisement of "Jos. Sperge: *Palentini Centuria Literarum ad Italos*" (Vienna, Alberti, 1793), Komptoirsnachrichten 2/1793 (5. 1. 1793), p. 9.

33 These two elements have been analyzed in the exceptional case of Lord Byron: NICHOLAS MASON, *Building Brand Byron. Early-Nineteenth-Century Advertising and the Marketing of 'Childe Harold's Pilgrimage'*, Modern Language Quarterly 63/2002, pp. 411–440, esp. 417–423. In the Czech case, things changed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1820 for instance, Schönfeld's layout highlights the name of the publisher, even if the title of the book is still the first noticeable piece of information on the page. See for example *k. k. privilegirte Prager Zeitung* 46/1820 (21. 3. 1820), p. 428.

34 ANTOINE FURETIÈRE, *Le Roman bourgeois* [1666], in: Romanciers du XVII[e] siècles, (ed.) A. Adam, Paris 1958, p. 1084, quoted by GERARD GENETTE, *Seuils*, Paris 1987, p. 87.

35 *Mord- und Unglücksgeschichten*, Komtoirsnachrichten, supplement to the Prager Oberpostamtszeitung 8/1793 (26. 1. 1793), p. 64. *Komtoirsnachrichten* and *Intelligenznachrichten*, both successive supplements of the Prager Oberpostamtszeitung, were paginated separately and are hereafter quoted independently.

36 Another example is given by Schönfeld's announcement for a cheap imprint at 20 Kreuzer – "Monumente des Geistes, der grossen Theresia errichtet" Kaiserl. königl. Prager Oberpostamts-Zeitung, Beylage 4/1781 (13. 1. 1781).



240 Intelligenznachrichten.

Ganz neuer und feiner Haarbuder, mit den Buchstaben F. J. H. gezeichnet. Nro. 2. das wiener Pfund 9 kr. welcher im weißen Papier gepackt, und mit dem gedruckten Zettel, worauf die Aufschrift Nro. 2. Ganz neuer feiner Haarbuder, mit den Buchstaben F. F. J. H. gezeichnet. Nro 3. Wohlriechender das Pfund 10 kr. welcher ebenfalls im weißen Papiere gepackt, und mit dem gedruckten Zettel, worauf die Aufschrift Nro 3 Ganz neuer feiner Haarbuder, mit den Buchstaben F F F. J. H gezeichnet. Alle drei Gattungen werden in ganzen, halben und viertel Pfunden verkauft. NB Kauf- und Handelsleute, welche eine größere Quantität abzunehmen pflegen, erhalten selben um wohlfeilere Preise. Melissengeist karmeliter, oder extra ordinari Schlagwasser, welches seiner guten Operation halber, sowohl äußerlich als innerlich genommen, durch die Erfahrung der Pazienten bei jeden Geschlechts zum öftern sich selbst rekommandirt, und ersprießliche Proben in unzählbaren Zuständen erwiesen hat, Fläschel 21 kr. Seifengeist gelber sächsischer, das große Fläschel 17 kr. Detto kleineres Fläschel 10 kr. Seifengeist rother sächsischer, das Fläschel 21 kr. Zahnspiritus türkischer, 10 Tropfen auf Baumwolle in Zahn gelegt, lindert plötzlich die Schmerzen, das Fläschel 10 kr. Gummi elastikum, Loth 10 kr. Winterhandschuhe gestrickte, seidene für Mannspersonen von verschiedenen Koleuren, 45 kr. und 54 kr. Sommerhandschuhe gestrickte seidene für Mannespersonen von verschieden Koleuren 51 u. 54 kr Detto wiernene, das Paar 30 kr. Hornwaaren von verschiedener Güte und Preisen. Kämme. Ausrichtkämme, St. 4, 10, 12, 18 und 24 kr. Polierkämme St. 20 und 24 kr. Frisierkämme, St. 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 18 und 20 kr. Knebelskämme, St. 3 kr. Mondscheinkämme, St. 10 kr. Detto geschweifte, Stück 6 kr. Perüquenkämme, St. 18 und 24 kr. Puderkämme, St. 10 und 12 kr. Chinokämme, St. 5, 10, 12, 18 und 20 kr. Chinokämme mit Folio, 1 fl Staubkämme klare, St. 3 k. Stielkämme St. 5 kr. Zopfkämme St. 5 und 6 kr. Haarschliessen, St. 24 kr.

Nachricht.

Der im Dezember des verflossenen 1792ten Jahrs erfolgte Todsfall, Sr. fürstl. Gnaden, Herrn Franz Ulrich Fürsten von Kinsky, veranlasset den Fürsten Joseph von Kinsky, zu erinnern, daß alle, und jene, so in das fürstliche Haus gearbeitet, oder Waaren abgeliefert haben, und hierüber nicht befriediget worden, sich a dato bis letzten April 1793. bei der fürstlichen Kassa, bei Hrn. Joseph Steinsdorff Nro. des Hauses 475. in der kleinern Stadt Prag zu melden haben, nach Verlauf aber angenommen Zeit, wird den Saumseligen kein weiter Gehör gegeben werden.

Prag den 2ten April 1793.

Wohnung zu vermiethen.

Hinter dem Neurthore, auf dem Weingarten Miranka, wo die Schranken mit gezahlt wird, ist ein Gebäu von 4 Zimmern, Kuchel, Keller, dann ohnweit diesem, ist auf einer Anhöhe ein Gebäu von 6 Zimmern zu vermiethen. Die nähere Auskunft ist zu haben bei dem Grundbesitzer in der breiten Gasse Nro. 9. im 2ten Stock.

In der
von Schönfeldschen Buchhandlung in Prag
auf der altstädter Jesuitengasse
sind nachstehende neue Bücher zu haben:

Französische Narreteien;
oder:
Schwänke und Schnurren
aus der neuen Revoluzionsgeschichte, wie solche entweder öffentlich in Frankreich gedruckt, oder als Thatsachen erzählet werden.

Fünftes Heft.
8. Wien u. Prag, 793. brochirt 7 kr.
Ebenderselben alle 5 Hefte 35 kr.

Von diesen französischen Narreteien kömmt alle Sonnabend ein Heft heraus, das brochirt 7 kr. kostet.

Das eilfte Heft
der
französischen Mord- und Unglücksgeschichten, wie sich solche seit den Unruhen in Frankreich wirklich zugetragen haben. Aus dem Französischen übersetzt.
8. Wien u. Prag, 793. brochirt 7 kr.
(Die Fortsetzung folgt jede Woche.)
Ebenderselben alle 11 Hefte. gefalzt 1 fl. 17 kr.

Meine Todesangst von 36 Stunden, oder Erzählung dessen, was ich während meines Verhaftes im Gefängnisse der Abtei Saint Germain vom 22ten Aug. bis zum 4ten Sept. 1792. selbst erfahren, gesehen und gehöret habe. Von Saint-Meord, Offizier in kön. französ. Diensten. 8. 1793. 7 kr.

Warnung an jedes deutsche Christenkind. In deutschen Reimen. Von der deutschen Expedizion der Wahrheit, 8 Wien und Prag, 793. 6 kr.

Heuchelei, unverschämte, der Revolutionsbischöfe in Frankreich, in der von ihnen verfaßten und empfohlenen Harmonie der wahren Grundsätze der Kirche, gr. 8. Strasburg, 792. 45 kr.

Geschichte und Schriften der Apostel Jesu. Von dem Verfasser der Lebensgeschichte Jesu. 2 Bände. Mit einer Beilage von Anmerkungen für katholische Leser, gr. 8. Salzburg, 791. 2 fl. 30 kr.

Dialogen und kleine Aufsätze, 2 Theile, 8. Zürich. 792. 2 fl. 30 kr.

Náhodau wynalezený chemický prostředek, w gedné hodině z celeho domu Stinky pro wždycky wyplemeniti. 8. w Brně 793. 7 kr.

Fig. 3. – Intelligenznarchrichten, supplement of Prager Oberpostamts-Zeitung (April 16, 1793), no. 31, 1793. Courtesy of the National Musem in Prague, Library of the National Museum, 7 32 H1, p. 240.

indeed some contemporary authors noted.[37] An example of this is that an old precious (so called Wenceslas's) Bible of 16 Gulden seems almost forgotten at the end of Kramerius's announcement.[38]

Some of the most sophisticated announcements took full advantage of the newspaper as a medium that by nature assumes that there is always something new that deserves to be published. This enabled publishers and booksellers to print simple, remarkable and repeated (though each time different) advertisements. In 1793 for instance, Schönfeld published a regular column of advertisements for the same books. In each issue, however, a different title was printed in a larger font size, so that the list appeared to be new.

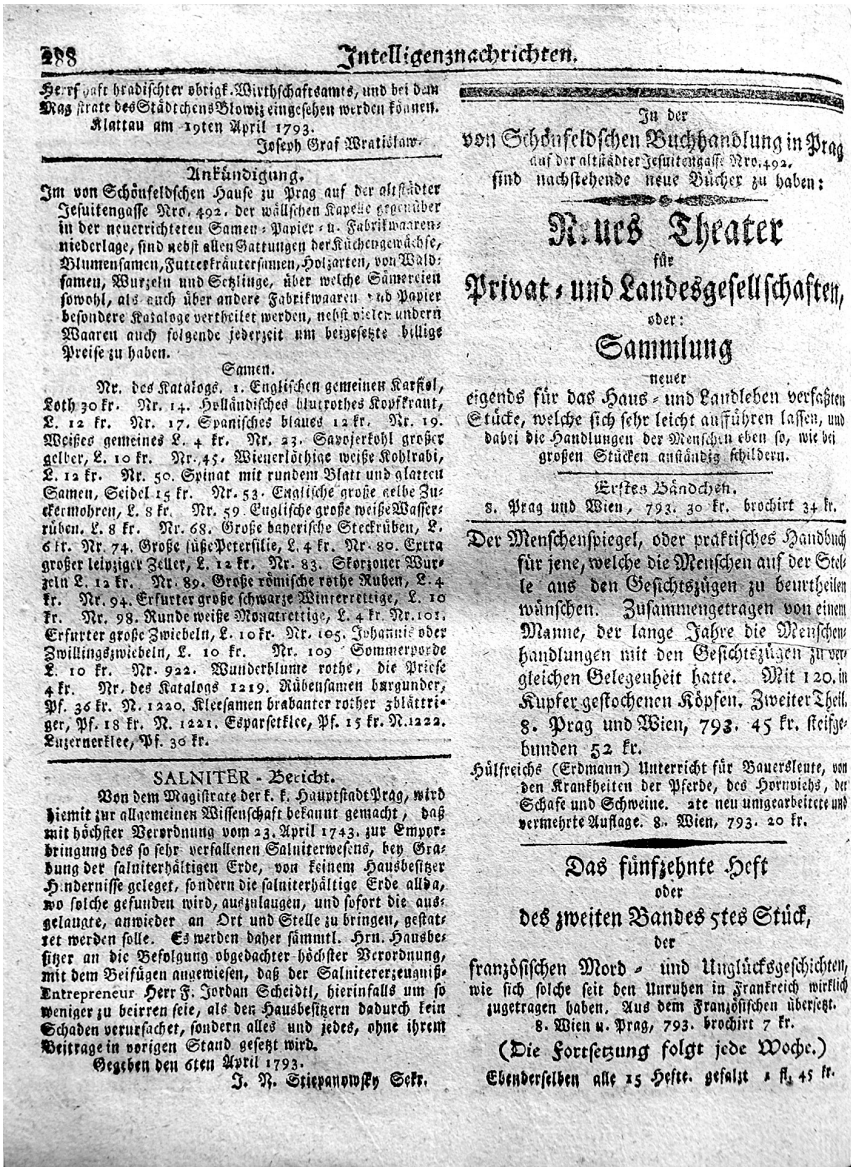
These newly adopted graphic tools allowed for reading approaches that were better adapted to occasional readers. Once the text was sufficiently graphically processed to make the key information stand out, readers no longer needed to concentrate for a long period of time in a calm place to read advertisements. A glance over a neighbour's shoulder in a coffee shop would suffice to draw one in, after spotting the word "Murder" or "Fooleries".

The Art of Seriality

Another well-known and long-lasting marketing strategy aimed at enticing new sporadic readers and converting them into regular readers was to divide books into serial publications. As a consequence, the advertisements were not only a repeated discourse themselves, but focused on publicizing the serial quality of the products being advertised, which they mentioned explicitly and highlighted by typographical means. The publication "A French History of Murder and Distress", for instance, was advertised in such a way that its title sometimes took

37 B. BENEDICT, "*Encounters with the Object*", stresses the impact of the bad image of advertisement as associated with low quality products (quack cures for instance) and the slow progression of its use for cultural goods once it had become more common for commodities. Still, in 1781, Schönfeld's advertisement explicitly refrained from providing any blurb about the book, which would have implied he wanted to get rid of it.: "Also kein Wort davon" [not a word more about it]: "Statistische Tabelle" (perhaps an older edition of *Acht Statistische Tabellen* by Georg Rudolph v. Schmidtburg, Leipzig, Schönfeld, 1783), Prager Oberpostamtszeitung, Beylage 62/1781 (4. 8. 1781).

38 "Celá Biblj swatá wydaná nákladem dědictwj sw. Wáclawa" [*The Whole Holy Bible Published by the Saint-Wenceslas Foundation*], no date of publication, 1715 or 1771, Kraméryusowy cýsařské král. wlastenské nowiny 3/1793 (19. 1. 1793), pp. 25–26.



288 Intelligenznachrichten.

Herrschaft bradischter obrigk. Wirthschaftsamts, und bei dem Magistrate des Städtchens Blowiz eingesehen werden können.

Klattau am 19ten April 1793.

Joseph Graf Wratislaw.

Ankündigung.

Im von Schönfeldschen Hause zu Prag auf der altstädter Jesuitengasse Nro. 492. der wällschen Kapelle gegenüber in der neuerrichteten Samen- Papier- u. Fabrikwaaren-niederlage, sind nebst allen Gattungen der Küchengewächse, Blumensamen, Futterkräutersamen, Holzarten, von Waldsamen, Wurzeln und Setzlinge, über welche Sämereien sowohl, als auch über andere Fabrikwaaren und Papier besondere Kataloge vertheilet werden, nebst vielen andern Waaren auch folgende jederzeit um beigesetzte billige Preise zu haben.

Samen.

Nr. des Katalogs. 1. Englischen gemeinen Kartoffl, Loth 30 kr. Nr. 14. Holländisches blutrothes Kopfkraut, L. 12 kr. Nr. 17. Spanisches blaues 12 kr. Nr. 19. Weißes gemeines L. 4 kr. Nr. 23. Savoyerkohl großer gelber, L. 10 kr. Nr. 45. Wienerlöthige weiße Kohlrabi, L. 12 kr. Nr. 50. Spinat mit rundem Blatt und glatten Samen, Seidel 15 kr. Nr. 53. Englische große gelbe Zuckermohren, L. 8 kr. Nr. 59. Englische große weiße Wasserrüben. L. 8 kr. Nr. 68. Große bayerische Steckrüben, L. 6 kr. Nr. 74. Große süße Peterzilie, L. 4 kr. Nr. 80. Extra großer leipziger Zeller, L. 12 kr. Nr. 83. Skorzoner Wurzeln L. 12 kr. Nr. 89. Große römische rothe Ruben, L. 4 kr. Nr. 94. Erfurter große schwarze Winterrettige, L. 10 kr. Nr. 98. Runde weiße Monatrettige, L. 4 kr. Nr. 101. Erfurter große Zwiebeln, L. 10 kr. Nr. 105. Johannis oder Zwillingszwiebeln, L. 10 kr. Nr. 109 Sommerporre L. 10 kr. Nr. 922. Wunderblume rothe, die Prise 4 kr. Nr. des Katalogs 1219. Rübensamen burgunder, Pf. 36 kr. N. 1220. Kleesamen brabanter rother zblättriger, Pf. 18 kr. N. 1221. Esparsetklee, Pf. 15 kr. N. 1222. Luzernerklee, Pf. 30 kr.

SALNITER - Bericht.

Von dem Magistrate der k. k. Hauptstadt Prag, wird hiemit zur allgemeinen Wissenschaft bekannt gemacht, daß mit höchster Verordnung vom 23. April 1743. zur Emporbringung des so sehr verfallenen Saluiterwesens, bey Grabung der saluiterhältigen Erde, von keinem Hausbesitzer Hinderniße geleget, sondern die saluiterhältige Erde allda, wo solche gefunden wird, auszulaugen, und sofort die ausgelaugte, anwieder an Ort und Stelle zu bringen, gestattet werden solle. Es werden daher sämmtl. Hrn. Hausbesitzer an die Befolgung obgedachter höchster Verordnung, mit dem Beifügen angewiesen, daß der Salnitererzeugniß Entrepreneur Herr F. Jordan Scheidtl, hierinfalls um so weniger zu beirren seie, als den Hausbesitzern dadurch kein Schaden verursachet, sondern alles und jedes, ohne ihrem Beitrage in vorigen Stand gesetzt wird.

Gegeben den 6ten April 1793.

J. N. Stiepanowsky Sekr.

In der

von Schönfeldschen Buchhandlung in Prag

auf der altstädter Jesuitengasse Nro. 492.

sind nachstehende neue Bücher zu haben:

Neues Theater

für

Privat- und Landesgesellschaften,

oder:

Sammlung

neuer

eigends für das Haus- und Landleben verfaßten Stücke, welche sich sehr leicht aufführen lassen, und dabei die Handlungen der Menschen eben so, wie bei großen Stücken anständig schildern.

Erstes Bändchen.

8. Prag und Wien, 793. 30 kr. brochirt 34 kr.

Der Menschenspiegel, oder praktisches Handbuch für jene, welche die Menschen auf der Stelle aus den Gesichtszügen zu beurtheilen wünschen. Zusammengetragen von einem Manne, der lange Jahre die Menschenhandlungen mit den Gesichtszügen zu vergleichen Gelegenheit hatte. Mit 120. in Kupfer gestochenen Köpfen. Zweiter Theil. 8. Prag und Wien, 793. 45 kr. steifgebunden 52 kr.

Hülfreiches (Erdmann) Unterricht für Bauersleute, von den Krankheiten der Pferde, des Hornviehs, der Schafe und Schweine. 2te neu umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. 8. Wien, 793. 20 kr.

Das fünfzehnte Heft

oder

des zweiten Bandes 5tes Stück,

der

französischen Mord- und Unglücksgeschichten, wie sich solche seit den Unruhen in Frankreich wirklich zugetragen haben. Aus dem Französischen übersetzt. 8. Wien u. Prag, 793. brochirt 7 kr.

(Die Fortsetzung folgt jede Woche.)

Ebenderselben alle 15 Hefte. gefalzt 1 fl. 45 kr.

Fig. 4. – Intelligenznarchrichten, supplement of Prager Oberpostamts-Zeitung (April 30, 1793), no. 35, 1793. Courtesy of the National Musem in Prague, Library of the National Museum, 7 32 H1, p. 288.

second place behind the key statement "continuation to follow every week" (see fig 4, p. 83).[39]

The main asset of serial publications was that each volume was less costly, and so potentially addressed readers who could not afford a larger work at once. This meant that the price became an important aspect of the advertisement's text, whereas it was only perfunctorily mentioned in catalogues.[40] In some advertisements, publishers detailed the material quality of the book in quantitative terms to justify their price: how many sheets of paper, the paper quality, the format of the book in professional terms ("*in einem bequemen Oktavband*"),[41] the quantity and quality of engravings, the artist's name, etc. In this sense, the advertisements actually taught readers about the precise features of a manufactured product, which had hitherto been reserved for the booksellers' most expert clients.

Enticing and Educating Beginners

The publishers' newly enlarged readership – thanks to these advertising strategies – appears to have been broadly varied and reached by several different types of advertising. On the one hand, publishers could deliver a solid, almost scholarly commentary about some books. In 1792, for instance, Kramerius announced the publication of a book of Czech legends by describing its historiographical context and explicitly addressing literary connoisseurs and writers themselves.[42] On the other hand, some of Kramerius' other announcements, especially those concerning subscriptions to his newspaper, clearly addressed readers who would be subscribing for the very first time. In these, Kramerius repeatedly explained where and when to pay the subscription fee, recalled that it was not possible to

39 Intelligenznachrichten 25/1793 (26. 3. 1793): The title of the book is *Das zehnte Heft der Französischen Mord- und Unglücksgeschichte*, the words "Fortsetzung folgt jede Woche" are printed in a larger font.

40 The general title sometimes mentioned that prices were "fair" (… *um billige Preise*). This is in contrast to what we find in France in the eighteenth century, where no liberalization of the book market had yet occurred, see: VÉRONIQUE SARRAZIN, *L'affichage des prix et la promotion des livres dans les annonces de librairie au XVIII^e siècle*, in: Le livre entre le commerce et l'histoire des idées, (eds.) Annie Charon, Claire Lesage, Eve Netchine, Paris 2011, pp. 103–126, esp. 112–125.

41 Prager Oberpostamtszeitung, Beylage 1/1781 (2. 1. 1781).

42 Announcement for PROKOP ŠEDIVÝ, *České Amazonky* [*Czech Amazons*] (Kramerius, 1792), Kraméryusowy c. k. wlastenské nowiny 26/1793 (29. 6. 1793), p. 262. See below.

obtain older issues, and peremptorily begged not to be addressed in any correspondence.[43]

A close look at these advertisements reveals that publishers were reluctant to grant readers complete autonomy. Some advertisements seem to consider the readers critical spirits and follow the form of a typical "enlightened" discourse about individual judgment. The period we are looking at is of course very problematic from this point of view, since propaganda and counter propaganda were common practices at the time. For instance, in June 1793 the *Intelligenznachrichten*[44] published an advertisement for a work by controversial journalist Leopold Alois Hoffmann (1760–1806).[45] The text of the advertisement directly addressed the paper's readers and promised them a biography *sine studio & ira* of the French general Dumouriez (another well-known and problematic figure of the French Revolution). His reflections, Hoffmann asserted, would deliver a point of view that would enable the reader to "judge the events of the French Revolution and the French war fairly" and make up his opinion, "as he must do".[46]

More often than not, announcements like this rather stressed the fact that the book would provide readers with a "fair" (i.e. ready-made) judgment about its topic. Several works were explicitly sold as providing an opinion on particular events so as to prevent the confusion that contradictory interpretations might create among readers. They assumed that readers expected texts to give them a truth to believe in.[47] This practice corresponds to the general belief that it was

43 *Zpráwa o těchto Nowinách* [*Announcement About This Newspaper*], Wlastenské nowiny 10/1793 (9. 3. 1793), p. 96.

44 Intelligenznachrichten 47/1793 (11. 6. 1793), pp. 385–386; 48/1793 (15. 6. 1793), pp. 393–394.

45 Hoffmann was a controversial journalist who eventually had to retire from public life because of his open reactionist propagandist articles published under Leopold II and his services to the police. KURT VANCSA, *Hoffmann, Leopold Alois*, in: Neue Deutsche Biographie 9, Berlin 1972, p. 433, www.deutsche-biographie.de/ppn104355034.html, accessed August 4, 2018.

46 *Scipio-protheus Dumourier. Ein historisch-politisches Gemälde*, Intelligenznachrichten 47/1793 (11. 6. 1793), pp. 385–386; 48/1793 (15. 6. 1793), pp. 393–394: "Reflexionen bei, die – vielleicht zum Theil neu und auffallend – den wahren Gesichtspunkt eröffnen, von welchem aus man die eigentliche Veranlassung und den ganzen räthselhaften Gang der französischen Revoluzion und des französischen Krieges am sichersten beurtheilen kann und muss." Hoffmann's work was actually published in the Wiener Zeitschrift 2/1793; 4/1793.

47 Another advertisement for the *Wiener Zeitschrift*, which was also published by Hoffmann, promised to be critical towards "false freedom" and "the spirit of this century" namely "insubordination" and "irreligion": Komptoirsnachrichten 104/1792 (29. 12. 1792), p. 924.

possible and indeed necessary to form one's readership by providing "legitimate" publications.[48]

Even though printers and publishers did not, at this stage, abandon the ambition to address expert readers through their advertisements, the gradual enlargement of their readership led them to adapt their discourse, both in a very practical way so as to attract new readers, and by using a paternalistic approach to information transmission, based on the common idea that new readers needed to be directed in their opinions. This in turn led them away from an enlightened discourse and towards the production of propaganda, especially once the political and social order were in danger.

What to Read For?

In order to meet the demands of a greater variety of readers, publishers developed new arguments about what their readers would achieve by buying and reading their books. In our sample, few of the advertisements have any real text praising the quality of the books. When an announcement gives something more than the book's title, the additional information usually reports on the contents of the book, i.e. a list of its chapters, allowing the product to speak for itself. When there is a text of blurb form, its tone is neutral, polite and smooth, and addresses the public as a whole, using the plural form of the third person: "Sirs amateurs of books" (*Herrn Liebhaber*, *Milovnjky*). Kramerius's newspaper was a little more verbose than others. There, the texts sometimes focus on the contents of the book, for example praising its authenticity when it is a book about current events, but more often the advertisements praise the benefit the reader will get from the book. The most common argument used is utility. The announcer seeks to persuade the reader that their book is a good investment, that it will "efficiently" (*mit Wirkungen*) impact the reader's everyday activities,[49] and hence will enable the separate sphere of abstract knowledge to enter their everyday life. Almanacs and textbooks for children are said to be "useful", a Czech-German

48 ERNST WANGERMANN, *Die Waffen der Publizität*, Vienna – Munich 2004, p. 16. For the discussion about "public opinion" in the Czech lands, see TOMÁŠ DUFKA, MARTINA ONDO GREČENKOVÁ, DANIELA TINKOVÁ, *Francouzská revoluce a problém veřejného mínění v českých zemích a na Slovensku* [*The French Revolution and the Issue of Public Opinion in the Czech Lands and Slovakia*], in: Francouzský švindl svobody. Francouzská revoluce a veřejné mínění v českých zemích, (eds.) Claire Madl, Daniela Tinková, Prague 2012, pp. 13–29.

49 Komtoirsnachrichten 8/1793 (26. 1. 1793), p. 64: announcement for: *Vollständige Sammlung aller seit dem Jahre 1729 bis gegenwärtig ergangenen Generalien und Verordnungen*, Brünn, 1793.

dictionary,[50] a collection of new patents and edicts,[51] and, naturally, a handbook about beekeeping are all also said to be useful,[52] and more surprisingly an adaptation and translation of the story of the Trojan War into Czech is also praised for its utility.[53]

The second good reason the advertisers give for why the readers should buy their book is the pleasure it provides. In Kramerius this argument is not very common, although the Trojan War Letters are not only described as useful, but also "original and pleasant stories", a good pastime and entertainment (*kratochvile*).[54] In the *Prager neue Zeitung*, novels are praised for being delightful and easy to read – this suggests that they were targeting an audience of readers who found certain books somewhat difficult to read. In Schönfeld's newspapers, books are described as being readable "without too much effort" (*ohne vieler Müde*)[55] and the reader is assured that he will not fall asleep (*den Leser nicht einschläfern wird*),[56] which seems to be a common fear. Humour is eventually also praised, so it is clear that books were by now becoming objects of pure diversion.

In addition to these strategies to draw in new, infrequent or reluctant readers (those who fell asleep too easily), another marketing technique we are still familiar with today emerged, which made the printed product only a side product in a "package" designed to attract absolutely anyone. After the death of the king of France Louis XVI in 1793, a campaign of counterrevolutionary propaganda was launched, as part of which a small booklet was printed entitled "The Monarch's

50 Advertisement for FRANTIŠEK TOMSA, *Slownjk, Normalní škola* (i.e. *Malý německý a český Slownjk* [*Small German-Czech Dictionary*]), Schönfeldské cýs. král. pražské nowiny 4/1790 (23. 1. 1790), p. 32.

51 Advertisement for *Nařjzenj neb Generálie* [*Reglementation or Ordinances*] – this title could not be precisely identified, Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské nowiny 13/1793 (30. 3. 1793), p. 129.

52 *Obsah potřebných navčenj a prawidel, wedle kterýchž wčely se (…) opatrowati dagj* [*Advice and Rules about Beekeeping*] (Banská Bystřica, Jan Josef Tumler, 1792), Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské nowiny 14/1793 (6. 4. 1793), p. 139.

53 Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské nowiny 40/1793 (5. 10. 1793), p. 388: advertisement for *Letopisowé Trojansstj* [*Trojan Chronicle*], (Prague, Kramerius, 1790): "Welmi podiwnj y kratochwilnj přjběhowé obsaženi gsau" [contains very original and entertaining stories].

54 Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské nowiny 40/1793 (5. 10. 1793), p. 388.

55 Komptoirsnachrichten 8/1793 (26. 1. 1793), p. 64, advertisement for: *Vollständige Sammlung aller seit dem Jahre 1729 bis gegenwärtig ergangenen Generalien und Verordnungen*, Brünn 1793.

56 Intelligenznachrichten 31/1793 (16. 4. 1793), p. 256: advertisement for GOTTFRIED IMMANUEL WENZEL: *Geist- Wunder- Hexen- und Zaubergeschichten*, *vorzüglich neuester Zeit*, Prague – Leipzig 1793. This argument is also in the Supplement in Prager neue Zeitung 23/1793 (18. 3. 1793), for the book JOHANN FRIEDRICH ERNST ALBRECHT, *Vier Königinnen. König Philipp I. von Spanien Töchter*, Prague 1792–1794.

love for his citizens" (*Die Liebe des Monarchen gegen seine Bürger*).[57] This booklet was sold together with a beaker bearing Emperor Franz's portrait. The price of the beaker alone was so ridiculously high compared to the price of the beaker–booklet set, that one was effectively compelled to take the booklet.

Expanding the practice of reading among the public, disseminating various ways of reading (e.g. reading to learn, as a leisure practice, or as a moral duty, as well as for professional or scholarly purposes) implied an increasing variety of readers and from the publishers' point of view this went hand in hand with an effort towards differentiating between these different types of readers.

Social Differentiation of Readers

In a society divided into estates, one cannot presume that the "public" was easily considered as a whole. The very fact that some books, especially moral handbooks, were published with "for all estates" (*für alle Stände*)[58] on their title page shows that this unity was not taken for granted. In response to the substantial enlargement of readership, a discussion arose about who should read what. In the peculiar context of the Habsburg monarchy during the 1790s, we know that censorship officers distinguished between different readers and practically prohibited some of them from reading materials that they allowed others to read, which caused fractions in the public sphere.[59]

However, the enlargement of the readership also designated new groups of potential readers, which are for example mentioned in catalogues.[60] At the end of the eighteenth century, besides the various domains of knowledge (religion, law and jurisprudence, etc.), booksellers started to add new categories of books into their catalogues, referring to the groups of readers they were targeting. These

57 Intelligenznachrichten 32/1793 (20. 4. 1793), p. 256; 37/1793 (7. 5. 1793), p. 304: "*Die Liebe des Monarchen* (…) zum Lohne ihrer Vaterlandsliebe, von Franz dem II. röm. Kaiser u. u. den Gedächtnissbecher erhielten. Mit einer getreuen Abbildung, und der Allerhöchsten Innschrift auf dem Becher" (45 Kreuzer, the glass only: 30 Kr.).

58 Advertisement for *Unverwesliche Schätze für die Menschheit*, Gräz, Kienreich, 1793), Intelligenznachrichten 38/1793 (11. 5. 1793), p. 312.

59 CLAIRE MADL, *Šíření informací o francouzské revoluci v Čechách: veřejné mínění, politická moc a ekonomický faktor* [*The Dissemination of Information About the French Revolution in Bohemia: Public Opinion, Political Power and Economic Factor*] in: Francouzský švindl svobody, pp. 33–58, esp. 46–49.

60 This is the main issue analyzed by EDWARD H. JACOBS, *Buying into Classes. The Practice of Book Selection in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Eighteenth-Century Studies 33/1999, pp. 43–64, esp. 52–58.

groups included "Women" and "Children" or "Youth" and materialized as new headings in the publishers' catalogues.[61]

In advertisements, few of these groups are mentioned. Some are defined by their professions, according to a social functional categorization of the readership: writers, merchants and officers are named in my sample. A history of the French Revolution and of its impact on the economy and entrepreneurship is advertised as explicitly intended for members of various professions: "craftsmen, tax collectors, agents, lawyers, magistrates, regional and government officers" (*Gewerbsmanne, Zunftinungsvorsteher, Agente, Solizitator, Magistrate, Kreisämter, Länderstellen*).[62] Children's books are also a genre referring explicitly to its target group of readers.[63] Meanwhile, in drawing attention to the quality of the language in the advertised books, Kramerius explicitly addresses authors who themselves write in Czech.[64]

I could only find one advertisement that specifically targeted women, and it addresses them in French, whereas the book itself is in German, which implies that its publishers assumed that their potential female readers were part of higher society.[65] Generally, though, our sample suggests that women were not expected to read newspapers, even though they did at the time, as economic actors, use this medium and published announcements there (for rentals and sales, for instance). Some groups of readers are targeted indirectly in advertisements that give an insight into the social framework of textual transmission and

61 Kaspar Widtmann mentions books for women in several catalogues: *Verzeichniss neuer Bücher von der Leipziger Ostermesse*, Prague 1791, p. 126; Prague 1799, p. 134.

62 Komptoirsnachrichten 7/1793 (22. 1. 1793), p. 56; 8/1793 (26. 1. 1793), p. 64: "Nährstand und der Gewerbsmann".

63 *Briefsteller für Kinder und Erwachsene* (Prague – Leipzig, Albrecht und Compagnie, 1793), Prager neue Zeitung 61/1793 (29. 7. 1793), p. 103; AMBORNBERGE (E. W.) *Vorträge an seine Schüler, ein Lesebuch für Jünglinge und Wissbegierige*, (Prague, Albrecht und Kompagnie, 1793), Prager neue Zeitung 65, Anhang: Tägliche Nachrichten 21/1793 (12. 8. 1793), p. 138, 140.

64 For instance in the notice for PROKOP FRANTIŠEK ŠEDIVÝ, *Maran a Onyra* (Prag, 1791), Kraméryusowy cýsařské král. wlastenské nowiny. Záwěsek 34/1791, p. 1: "Tento spis gest malý Roman, neb přjběh dwau zamilowaných, totiž gednoho Amerykána, a gedné rozené Angličanky, w kterémž se wssecko w čisté České řeči wyprawuge, a k welikému také užitku oněm slaužiti může, kdož nynj wypracowánjm podobných spisů se objragj." [This text is a short novel, the story of two lovers, an American man and an English woman; told in pure Czech, it can be of great utility to those who intend to write similar texts.]

65 Prager neue Zeitung, Anhang 87/1793 (30. 10. 1793), p. 415: "Bey Joseh Walenta Kunst- und Buchhändler in der Kleinseitner Brückengasse No. 16. ist ganz neu zu haben: Hoff, HG Gallerie getreu nach der Natur gezeichnete Gemälde aus dem menschlichen Leben. Cilli [no address] 1793. Pour l'agrément et enseignement du beau sexe".

reading practices. Perhaps unsurprisingly, a book for children is recommended to parents, teachers and priests, who are traditional mediators.[66] And Kramerius gives us a glimpse of another, less obvious context of textual transmission, when he explains that a commentary on the Gospel is a rich and useful resource for a farmer, "for himself and his servants too".[67]

These few mentions of individualised groups of readers are sporadic and do not contradict our overall impression that book advertisements addressed the general public. The subject matter of the advertised books is always of general interest: none of the advertisements are for scientific or specialized books. Political matters, commentary on current events, statistics and legal codes, textbooks and pedagogical works, and accessible novels are the most frequently advertised publications.

Inventing a "Czech" Readership

It is important to remember that some groups of readers at this time were naturally divided by the language they used. Historians of literature in the Czech Lands usually consider that at the end of the eighteenth century and during the first decades of the nineteenth century, a literary sphere was born in Bohemia that at first used two languages (German and Czech) but gradually transformed into two separate linguistic fields.[68] This progressive transformation is embedded in the transformation of the communication system and of readership. Until the

66 *Wlastenské nowiny* [*Patriotic Newspaper*] 41/1793 (12. 10. 1793). p. 396: "Zpráwa wssem rodičům, včitelům a Pánům duchownjm", Pražské posstowské nowiny, Přjloha 33/1789 (15. 8. 1789), p. 2. Many other books for children are mentioned, e.g. ALEŠ PAŘÍZEK, *Modlitby pro djtky* [*Prayers for children*], Klatovy 1789 (printed in Prag by Diesbach 1789).

67 *Skrownà postylla na Ewangelia celého roku* (Prague, Dědictví svatého Václava, 1767) [*Short Postilla on the Gospel for the Whole Year*], Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské nowiny 3/1793 (19. 1. 1793), pp. 25–26. "Křestanský hospodář této knihy k swému wlastnjmu y čeledí swé užitku welmi dobře potřebowati může, neboť se w nj wssecky powinnosti člowěka k geho wzděláng co neyzřetdlněgi předstawugj. [This book is useful for the Christian farmer himself and his servants too, for it very clearly presents every man's educational obligations.]"

68 MIROSLAV HROCH, *Na prahu národní existence* [*On the Threshold of National Existence*], Prague 1999, pp. 192–235; VÁCLAV PETRBOK, *Stýkání nebo potýkání? Několik kapitol k dějinám česko-německo-rakouských literárních vztahů v českých zemích mezi Bílou horou a napoleonskými válkami* [*Contacts and Conflicts? Few Chapters about Czech-German-Austrian Literary Relations in the Czech Lands between the Battle of the White Mountain and Napoleonic Wars*], Prague 2012. For a synthesis in German STEFEN HÖHNE, *Zum Bohemismus in Kulturgeschichte Prags 1780–1830*, in: Prag 1780–1830. Kunst und Kultur zwischen den Epochen und Völkern, (ed.) Roman Prahl, Prague 2000, pp. VII–XVIII.

final decades of the eighteenth century, besides a local market in Latin, German and Czech, the elitist system of communication was wide open to imports from the larger book market of the German lands.[69] Building an independent Czech literary market took a whole century and the imbalance between the circumscribed Czech sphere and the more open German one was never fully erased. The enlargement of the reading public and the rise of this "Czech" literary sphere were concurrent, if not hand in hand. Advertising practices can shed light on this broad issue because they reflect shared representations of this "reading public" and tell us how far the linguistic criterion was a relevant and discriminating factor in the publishers' eyes.

The existence of two newspapers written in Czech at the end of eighteenth century proves that there were more readers eager to read in Czech than there had been 20 years earlier, when the publisher of the only Czech newspaper had complained that the privilege she owned did not bring her any profit.[70] Both the Czech and German newspapers, however, addressed a majority of bilingual readers (bilingual at least), so that, in the eighteenth century, the reading context of these monolingual papers was to a certain extent plurilingual.[71] This particularity implies that publishers were in an environment of competition between the two languages and could hardly target an exclusive readership or customer base. In July 1790, thus, Schönfeld advertised his Czech newspaper stating that its content was richer than all other German newspapers: "it contains much more than any of the other German newspapers".[72] Schönfeld was obviously 'hunting' for clients among the German newspapers' readership and his argument did not focus on the language difference, but on the content. Books in Latin were advertised in all newspapers of course, but we also find a few German books advertised in Kramerius's Czech newspapers[73] and Czech books listed

69 C. MADL, "*Nicht nur aus Leipzig*".

70 J. VOLF, *Dějiny*, 1930, p. 102.

71 This is particularly true in towns, and amid readers with secondary education, because secondary schools taught in German. Anecdotes and theatre announcements testify to the fact that editors assumed their readers possessed bilingual abilities. STEFAN NEWERKLA, *Intendierte und tatsächliche Sprachwirklichkeit in Böhmen. Diglossie im Schulwesen der böhmischen Kronländer 1740–1918*, Vienna 1999 (diss.), pp. 1–50; this first part is mainly based on regulations, as statistics on language use are not accessible before 1848.

72 [Information about subsription] Schönfeldské cýs. král. pražské nowiny 27/1790 (3. 7. 1790), p. 218: "w sobě mnohém wjce obsahugi, nežli skutečně wsseliké giné německé nowiny".

73 Advertisement for FRANZ MARTIN PELZEL, *Antrittsrede über den Nutzen und Wichtigkeit der Böhmischen*, Prague 1793, Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské nowiny 14/1793 (6. 4. 1793), p. 139.

in Schönfeld's German newspapers.[74] Bilingual advertisements were also published.[75]

Kramerius's newspaper, however, clearly considered language as the criterion according to which he defined his clients; he directly addressed readers interested in reading in Czech. He referred to his public as "sincere Czechs" (*vpřímným Čechům*). At that time, Kramerius's publishing activity was almost exclusively focused on his newspaper; he published very few books. He did, though, also sell books that he had not published himself, and regularly advertised his collection of these. His advertisements obviously tried to give his readers access to whatever was published in Czech, whoever had published it – even when this was his former manager and now competitor Schönfeld. For Kramerius, the language in which the books were written, and the level of the Czech they used, merited mention in the advertisements.[76] Reading any book in well-written Czech was seen to be fruitful and a worthwhile goal in itself.

Czech readers, as addressed by Kramerius's advertisements, seem to have had little to read. Although this was not strictly true, since as previously mentioned a large proportion of those who read the Czech newspaper consisted of bilingual readers, nevertheless Kramerius held the view that his "Czech readers" should read in Czech, and this concern led him to publish a newspaper in Czech as well as advertising Czech publications in it.

The greatest objective difference between the books advertised by Kramerius and those advertised in the three other newspapers is that Kramarius's assortment was older. Kramerius was an antiquarian bookseller and thus regularly advertised old books. This confirms that there was a general lack of new books in

74 Intelligenznachrichten 49/1793 (18. 6. 1793), p. 406 [JOHANN M. EHRENFELS], *Naučenj pro Lid sedlský o nemocech dobytka* [*Teaching for Rural Folk about Cattle Diseases*], Brno 1793; Intelligenznachrichten 47/1793 (11. 6. 1793), p. 386, EMANUEL SCHIKANEDER, *Jan Dolinkský nebo krewnj prawo* [*Jan Dolinkský or Blood Law*], Prague 1793.

75 For instance: Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské Nowiny 14/1793 (6. 4. 1793), p. 139: the text of the notice for F. M. PELZEL, *Antrittsrede über den Nutzen und Wichtigkeit der Böhmischen*, Prager Oberpostamtszeitung. Beilage (30. 1. 1798): after an advertisement for two books in German, a long text in Czech gives the details of the contents of a collection of poems edited by Anton Puchmayer.

76 For instance: Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské nowiny 40/1793 (5. 10. 1793), p. 388: "poněwadž tato kniha welmi wýborně česky psána gest, y wssem těm za přjklad poslaužj [because this book is in excellent Czech and will serve as an example to all]".

Czech, which we have also seen from analysis of burghers' libraries.[77] According to Kramerius's advertisements, however, these old books were good books, because they were written in good Czech and guaranteed a high moral content.[78] Kramerius positioned himself in terms of quality and tradition in opposition to what he saw as an opportunist trend towards the "vulgarisation" of literature in the other newspapers.

Schönfeld held rather the opposite view. In 1789, his advertisement for a Czech children's book explains that it is unique. Compared to German-speaking children, Czechs have either "nothing at all", or "old and inconvenient books, which they borrow from their poorly educated parents and which often contain superstitious prayers that they do not fully understand, merely repeating one word after another."[79] This progressive – and consumerist – advertisement considers parents unreliable as far as cultural transmission is concerned and puts forward the view that the younger generation should turn their backs on old times. In line with the Enlightenment discourse warning against superstitious practices, Schönfeld does not trust old books, and the fact that they are written in Czech does not help. He focuses on the content of the book, whereas Kramerius's strategy of specialisation is linguistic.

Besides their language, the geographical scope and the scale of the public the publishers addressed enabled them to consider the integration and exclusion processes at stake as they built up an autonomous (soon-to-be national) book market. Newspapers' contents build a world of events and places in which their readers can situate themselves. The books they advertise thus set the intellectual horizon for their readers.

Setting a Communication Space

The news that was published in each of the Prague newspapers in the 1790s was relatively similar. Each paper gave an account of the war, of current events from

77 JIŘÍ POKORNÝ, *Die Lektüre von Prager Burgern im 18. Jahrhundert (1700–1784)*, in: Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie (eds.) Hannes Stekl, Peter Urbanitsch, Vienna – Cologne 1990, pp. 149–161, esp. 156–158.

78 Advertisement for JAN JOSEF RULÍK, *Wlastenské plésánj a djkůw činěnj nad slawným vwedenjm cýs. král. Professora gazyka Českého na včitelskau stolicy w slawné Pražské Vniwersy* [*Patriotic Rejoicing and Thanksgiving for a Glorious Introduction of Imperial and Royal Professor*], (1793), Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské nowiny 13/1793 (30. 3. 1793). p. 128.

79 *52 propowjdek mrawnjch* [*52 Moral Tales*], Pražské posstowské nowiny, Přjloha 33/1789 (15. 8. 1789), p. 2.

France, the Austrian Lands and Bohemia, primarily Prague. Alongside these stories, announcements of all kinds reflected the whole country (Bohemia), with its administrative local capitals and main dominions.[80] If we consider where the advertised books were printed, the majority of the books in German, mainly advertised in the German newspapers, were printed in Prague. We did not find a single German book listed that was printed in Bohemia but outside Prague, although these were numerous at the time. A smaller proportion of the advertised books were printed in Vienna or in the German lands (Leipzig, Jena, Regensburg).[81] The intellectual horizon, or the books' area of circulation, was hence quite broad and yet Prague played a key role.[82] In 1781, when Schönfeld launched the newspaper he had just bought the privilege for (*Oberpostamtszeitung*), he held the ambition that its distribution would reach "Habsburg scale" and mentioned the main provincial cities of the monarchy as places where readers could subscribe (Vienna, Brünn/Brno, Pressburg/Bratislava, Graz, Klagenfurt, Trieste).[83] In an announcement, he gave a long list of his bookseller colleagues across the whole of the Habsburg monarchy.[84] This overestimated scale of diffusion disappeared later. Schönfeld did not receive many advertisements from publishers and booksellers settled in the Habsburg Monarchy outside Prague.[85] Not every publisher invested in advertisements in the German papers, and only the

80 Z. ŠIMEČEK, *Počátky novinového zpravodajství* [*The Beginning of Journalism*], p. 265.

81 For instance Kaiserl. königl. Prager Oberpostamts-Zeitung 14/1781 (17. 2. 1781): "Johann Christoph Keyser, Buchdrucker in Regensburg: Historische Nachrichten zu Regensburger Zeitung" In 1806, booksellers from Brunsvick and Leipzig also published announcements in Schönfeld's newspaper.

82 This is to be contrasted with the origin of books announced in booksellers' catalogues, where the proportion between Prague and the German Lands is reversed C. MADL, *"Nicht nur aus Leipzig"*.

83 Kaiserl. königl. Prager Oberpostamts-Zeitung, Beylage 26/1781 (31. 3. 1781): people could subscribe to the newspaper at Lottery collectors all over Bohemia, and at Augustin Weigner's, "priv. Lottokollekteur" in Wien, at the "k. k. priv. Mährischen Lehenbank" in Brno, at Ferstlichen's (a bookseller) in Graz, and at the bookseller's called Benedikt in Pressburg.

84 When publishing a synthetic statistical table of the main European states, Schönfeld mentioned a new set of contacts: Kaiserl. königl. Prager Oberpostamts-Zeitung, Beylage 64/1781 (11. 8. 1781): these included lottery collectors in Bohemia, Prager in Wien, Mangold in Brno, Zeitungskomptoir in Trieste, Marchesa (a printer) in Roveredo, Kleinmayer in Klagenfurt.

85 See notes 46 and 47 about the advertisements in the *Wiener Zeitschrift*. At the end of our period, Schönfeld printed an announcement by Franz Gräffer (Vienna) in k. k. privil. Prager Zeitung. Intelligenzblatt 40/1820 (10. 3. 1820), p. 370.

newspapers' own publishers regularly advertised their products.[86] Schönfeld's *Intelligenznachrichten* published advertisements for Prague publishers Albrecht and Calve.[87] The *Prager Neue Zeitung* (distributed by Prague bookseller Josef Valenta) seems to have been a little more open to other publishers.[88] Neither Schönfeld's newspapers nor the *Prager neue Zeitung* gave a rich image of the network of booksellers in the country before 1820.

On the other hand, the advertisements in the newspapers written in Czech give a less patchy image of the book market outside Prague. Schönfeld's *Poštovské noviny* have very few advertisements but those that are there announce books from Plzeň (Morgensäuler) and Klatovy (Hirschberger).[89] Kramerius played a unique role as an advertising and sales agent for books published in Czech. Publishers who published in Czech repeatedly advertised in his papers, listing only their Czech products and not their books in German.[90] As a bookseller, Kramerius was in contact with all the country's publishers, both those in Prague and those elsewhere in the country. He advertised their books or, more often, gave their names as commissionaires (i.e. retail sellers) for particular titles.[91] As a result, he familiarised his readers with the network of publishers and booksellers outside Prague. Schönfeld was obviously hoping to build such a network

86 The price of the advertisements does not seem to be the reason for this disinterest. In the 1790s Schönfeld charged 1 Gulden for a column, which represents the retail price of a common book; see A. G. PRZEDAK, *Das Prager Intelligenzblatt*, p. 80.

87 In the supplement to the *Prager Oberpostamtszeitung*, (known as *Komptoirsnachrichten* then *Intelligenznachrichten*), from January to December 1793, 5 publishers placed 59 advertisements: Schönfeld published 51 advertisements for himself (i.e. 90 % of the total) the rest were by publishers Johann Buchler, Johann Gottfried Calve, Aloys Doll and Johann Martin Krauss, and one author Leopold Alois Hoffmann.

88 In 1793, in the *Prager neue Zeitung*, 6 publishers from Bohemia published 38 advertisements: Josef Valenta (with 14 advertisements), then Johann Friedrich Albrecht (9), Johann Gottfried Calve (5), Walthers (5), Johann N. Ferdinand Schönfeld (2), Normalschulbuchdruckerei (the Normal school's textbook printing house) (1), (in two cases the advertiser is not identifiable).

89 Pražské posstowské nowiny, Přjloha 33/1789 (15. 8. 1789), p. 2, the announcement for A. PAŘÍZEK, *Modlitby pro djtky* [*Prayers for Children*], published by Josef Hirschberger in Klatovy (printed in Prague by Diesbach 1789) gives the name of several retailers in Prague (Jan Josef Diesbach, Kaspar Widtmann, widow Samm) and one in Plzeň: Josef Morgensäuler.

90 In Kramerius's newspaper, during 1793, 6 publishers or authors published 11 advertisements: Johann Josef Diesbach, Josef Hirschberger, Jan Karas, Joseph Kottnauer / Fabian Augustin Beinhaur, Jan Rulik, Kaspar Widtmann; Kramerius printed 26 notices for himself.

91 Advertisement for: *Skrownà postylla na Ewangelia* [*Short Postill on Gospels*]. (Praha, Dědictví svatého Václava, 1767), Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské nowiny 3/1793 (19. 1. 1793), pp. 25–26; the booksellers mentioned are as follows: Josef Hirschberger (in Klatovy), J. J. Diesbach, Kaspar Widtmann, Widow Samm (in Prague), Josef Jan Morgensäuler (in Plzeň).

when he repeatedly proposed to sell several copies of the same book to anyone eager to sell it on.[92] It seems, though, that he in fact never succeeded in setting up such a network, or at least we know nothing of it if he did.

We know that Kramerius had clients in Moravia and Upper Hungary (in Pressburg/Bratislava[93]), and that he advertised books from Moravia (Brno[94]) and Upper Hungary (Pressburg, Banská Bystrica[95]). At the end of 1793, in an announcement for one of the first books he published (an almanac), he printed a particularly rich and detailed list of people who would take orders and payments for it, all over the country.[96] This network was by no means as efficient as the network of lottery collectors and post offices that Schönfeld could use thanks to his privilege,[97] but its image was also different, since it was independent from the administrative system and closer to a community of readers than a commercial network.

The fact that Kramerius's network included booksellers and individuals located all over the country gives us a first insight into the transformation of the communication system in Bohemia in the run-up to the 19th century. In order to disseminate a rare product – Czech books – Kramerius built a unique tool of intermediation. In the 1790s, the boundaries of this network were not fixed by

92 Schönfeldské cýs. král. pražské nowiny 17/1790 (21. 4. 1790), p. 136.

93 Kramerius addressed them directly: Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské nowiny 14/1793 (6. 4. 1793), p. 140.

94 Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské nowiny 2/1793 (12.1.1793), p. 16: advertisement for „Duchu plná Knjžka modlitebnj Trassler, 1791–92." This is perhaps the following prayer book: MATTHÄUS REITER, *Katolická modlitebnj Knjžka* [*Catholic Prayer Book*], Brno 1793.

95 Kraméryusowy cýsařské král. wlastenské nowiny 17/1793 (27. 4. 1793), p. 173: notice for *Wraucné a nabožné modlitby* [*Devout and Pious Prayers*], Pressburg 1781, Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské nowiny 14/1793 (6. 4. 1793), p. 139: JÁN GLOSYUS, *Potřebných Navčenj a Přawídel wedlé kterýchž se wčely rozssafně a s vžitkem opatrowati dagj* [*Advice and Rules About Beekeeping*], Banská Bystrica 1792.

96 Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské nowiny 41/1793 (12. 10. 1793), pp. 397–398; 44/1793 (2. 11. 1793), p. 421: "Wenku po kragjch handljři a kramáři obrátiti se mohau." [Outside merchants and chapmen may contact]; 19 agents are mentioned, including merchants, bookbinders, city councillors, etc. The most famous figure among Kramerius's contacts is František Vladislav Hek, a collector, author and reader of Kramerius's newspaper who inspired the main character of Jirásek's novel *F. L. Věk* (5 vol. 1888–1906), See JOSEF JOHANIDES, *František Vladislav Hek*, Prague 1976. A map of these contacts is reproduced in A. KÖLLNER, *Buchwesen in Prag*, fig. 18 [n.p.].

97 Václav Rodomil Kramerius complains about his newspaper's distribution difficulties in Cýsařské, královské wlastenské nowiny 3–5/1820 (29. 1. 1820), p. 18.

the Czech Lands but included Upper Hungary and Moravia, albeit less intensively.

Conclusion

As a result of economic constraints on book production, every publisher tried to increase its clientele and, to do so, advertised its books using various strategies. These included using the potentiality newspapers' broad distribution to accelerate the dissemination of texts among the public, transforming their lists of new books into small paragraphs that might entice occasional readers. Advertisements became the most visible elements in newspapers and their supplements. While some adapted their content to suit beginner readers, referring to sensational events or enticing buyers with cheap and easily accessible products, others resisted this trend and relied on the prestige of reading as a social practice to appeal to both expert and non-expert readers. Some continued to promise ready-made opinions for readers lost in the flow of current events, assuming that they would expect to find a reliable interpretation, the 'truth of the matter', in books.

Whereas the elites' discourse about readership clearly distinguished readers according to their social origin and tended to be highly prescriptive, prohibitive or at least paternalistic toward newcomers, publishers were generally reluctant to differentiate in this way in their advertisements. No doubt they therefore presented an unsettling image of the common readership to those members of the elite who read the same newspapers. Kramerius's orientation toward tradition and quality appears to be a reaction to this.

The transmission of texts is a major tool in the process of nation building, since texts have to choose between language(s), and national movements very soon became focused on language as a means of inclusion and exclusion. At the very end of the eighteenth century, though, potential readers were not necessarily yet considered to belong to an existing, linguistically-defined community and publishers did not always define their books as "linguistic" products. Advertisements focused on the contents of the books in question, which they placed in a broad context, referring for instance to current events in Europe, and thus addressed a varied audience within a wide framework of news and texts.

Kramerius's strategy differed from this somewhat. He systematically referred to a linguistically determined set of texts. For him, Czech readers were a commercial opportunity and a social group he was firmly committed to. Kramerius made a network of Czech book professionals visible, together with their readers who could already be considered a "community of readers". At the end of 1793, when advertising a book he had published about the execution of the Queen of

France (his competitor had long been exploiting public interest in any kind of news on this topic), he emphatically addressed "the whole Czech nation."[98]

Kramerius's model is well known and paradigmatic, but it was very fragile in terms of economical sustainability, as his widow's difficulties would reveal. Schönfeld's model was not steady neither, as the interruption of his Czech newspaper between 1792 and 1796 shows. Two competing models had been proposed for the treatment of books chiefly as commodities, but neither of these was yet settled. Before national boundaries were fixed, each publisher's customer base was highly movable and neither language nor political borders had yet contained it. Similar research looking at advertisements published outside the borders of Bohemia, within the Habsburg monarchy or in the German lands (especially in Leipzig), would be thus a most relevant continuation to the present work.[99]

98 Kraméryusowy cýs. král. wlastenské nowiny 45/1793 (9. 11. 1793), pp. 429–430.

99 This study is part of the project "The making of a nation of readers" funded by the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic GA15-22253S. A preliminary version of this study was presented at the Congress of the International Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (Rotterdam, July 2015) and discussed as part of the workshop "Written Culture and Society in the Bohemian Lands" led by Roger Chartier at CEFRES and the Institute of Czech Literature of the Czech Academy of Sciences (Prague, May 2016). I thank all those present at these discussions for their stimulating remarks.