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»A CARNIOLAN ALSO LEARNS LATIN AND FRENCH AT GRAMMAR SCHOOL«: FRANCE IN THE LIGHT OF THE ARTICLES OF THE LJUBLJANA GERMAN WEEKLY NEWSPAPER FOR BENEFIT AND AMUSEMENT

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with the Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, the weekly for »benefit and amusement« which was published in German in Ljubljana from 1804 to 1810 and from 1814 to 1818, and focuses on how France was represented in the articles. The analysis examines the period before the establishment of the Illyrian provinces in the autumn of 1809 and the publications after the end of the Illyrian provinces and the fall of Napoleon. We are interested in how much interest there was in French culture before the French interregnum and after the territory came back under Austrian rule, and how this was reflected in the publications in the newspaper under consideration.

Keywords: *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, Illyrian provinces, Georg Stadelmann, Franz Xaver Richter, Napoleon Bonaparte, France in newspaper articles

»AL GINNASIO, I CARNIOLINI IMPARANO ANCHE IL LATINO E IL FRANCESE«: LA FRANCIA ALLA LUCE DEGLI ARTICOLI DEL SETTIMANALE TEDESCO LUBIANESE DELL'UTILE E DEL DILETTEVOLE

SINTESI

Il contributo presenta il settimanale dell'utile e dilettevole Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, pubblicato a Ljubljana in tedesco tra il 1804 e il 1810 e ancora dal 1814 al 1818, concentrando sulla presentazione della Francia negli articoli. L'analisi si focalizza sul periodo prima dell'istituzione delle Province Illiriche nell'autunno del 1809 e dopo la fine delle Province Illiriche e dopo la caduta di Napoleone. Più precisamente, l'obiettivo è di verificare l'interesse per la cultura francese prima dell'interregno francese e dopo, quando il territorio passò nuovamente sotto il dominio austriaco, e come tale interesse si riflettesse sugli articoli pubblicati nel detto settimanale.

Parole chiave: *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, Province Illiriche, Georg Stadelmann, Franz Xaver Richter, Napoleone Bonaparte, la Francia negli articoli di giornale

INTRODUCTION¹

The *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* (Ljubljana Weekly for Benefit and Amusement) appeared in Ljubljana between 1804 and 1810 as a cultural and literary supplement to the official German newspaper *Laibacher Zeitung* (Ljubljana Newspaper). It was discontinued during the Napoleonic Illyrian provinces, but then reappeared in 1814. It was printed under this name until the end of 1818, when it was replaced by a new newspaper called *Illyrisches Blatt* (Illyrian Magazine), which was also an educational and entertaining supplement to the *Laibacher Zeitung*, and was published until 1849. When the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* was launched in 1804, it was the first newspaper of its kind in Ljubljana that did not publish political news, but rather texts on domestic issues, culture, literature, theatre as well as educational and entertainment content, mostly biographical sketches of important personalities and various anecdotes of a more or less amusing nature. The specific content of the newspaper makes it an interesting source for cultural, historical, comparative, literary-historical, Germanistic and other research.² In the present work, the focus of interest is on those articles in the »Ljubljana Weekly for Benefit and Amusement« that are in some way related to French culture and society, and we are particularly interested in how the weekly wrote about France, the French language, famous or illustrious personalities, and other topics related to France, in the period before the establishment of the Illyrian provinces and after 1813, when the end of Napoleon was drawing ever closer.

The period in which the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* was published was marked by the French interregnum. The Illyrian provinces were established on October 14, 1809 by a decree of Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) and included the present-day Tyrol, western Carinthia, part of Dalmatia, the so-called »Military Frontier«, Carniola, Gorizia, Trieste and Istria, territories that had previously belonged to the Austrian Empire. The governor general of the provinces was based in Ljubljana, which also became the capital of the provinces (cf. Kalc, 2010; Šumrada, 2010). The new French rule brought many changes. With regard to newspapers, for example, it meant that German newspapers stopped publishing and were replaced by French ones. The attitude of the local population towards the French occupation varied from province to province. The upper class and the educated elite in Carniola welcomed the arrival of the French, mainly because they respected cultural autonomy and the Slovene language; the peasants, who suffered considerable loss of income with this change,

made no secret of their disappointment; and the bourgeoisie quickly became accustomed to the new social customs and were enthusiastic about the occasional parades, boat trips on the Ljubljanica, French language and culture, and the care that was shown for the urban poor (Šumrada, 2010, 24–29). The Enlightenment poet, priest, translator, teacher, and editor Valentin Vodnik (1758–1819) is also known for welcoming the establishment of the provinces with his poem *Ilirija oživiljena* (*Ilirija Revived*).

After the defeat of France, the Illyrian provinces were reincorporated into the Austrian Empire at the Congress of Vienna in 1814 and – with the exception of Dalmatia and part of Croatia – formed their own administrative unit, the Kingdom of Illyria (*Königreich Illyrien*), between 1816 and 1849. The *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, which had stopped in 1810, was then published once again.

JOURNALISM IN LJUBLJANA IN THE FIRST DECADES OF THE 19TH CENTURY

To put the appearance of the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* in a temporal context, it should be mentioned that the first printed newspaper to reach its readers in Slovene was the *Lublanske Novize* (Ljubljana News), which was published between 1797 and 1800 by Valentin Vodnik (Vidmar, 2023, 34–39; on the history of Slovene newspaper publishing, cf. Vatovec, 1961; Amon & Erjavec, 2011; Nežmah, 2012). German periodicals, however, were published in Ljubljana even before that. The first German newspaper of informative character, the *Wochentliche Ordinari – Laybacher Zeitungen* (Weekly Ordinary – Ljubljana Newspapers), was printed as early as 1707–1709 in the printing house of Johann Georg Mayr (c. 1675–1733). The newspaper appeared irregularly, as news arrived late in Ljubljana, and by the time it was finally printed it was already very outdated (Vatovec, 1961, 53–54). In the second half of the 18th century, in 1765, the tradition of Mayr's printing house in Ljubljana was continued by Johann Friedrich Eger (c. 1735–1799). In 1775 and 1776, the weekly newspaper of the Carniola Agricultural Society, the *Wochentliches Kundschaftsblatt des Herzogthum Krain* (Weekly Reporter of the Duchy of Carniola), was printed by Eger and probably edited by Baltazar Hacquet (c. 1735–1815), a French-born naturalist, physician and ethnologist (Žigon, 2003; Žigon, 2023). At the end of the 18th century several new printing houses were opened in Ljubljana,

1 The authors acknowledge the financial support from the Slovenian Research Agency (research core funding No. P6-0265).

2 For more on French views on the cultural, economic, and artistic development and contacts between the Eastern Adriatic Slavs in the 18th and 19th centuries, see, for example, Scandola (2020, 379–396); for problems of translation for specific purposes see, for example, Udovič (2023).



Figure 1: Front page of the first issue of the first volume of the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, published on March 1, 1804 (DLiB, 2023a).

namely those of Kleinmayr, Merk and Degotardi (on this, cf. Dular, 2002, 91–184). In 1783, Ignaz Alois Kleinmayr (1745–1802) began publishing the *Wöchentlicher Auszug von Zeitungen* (Weekly Excerpt from Newspapers), which was renamed *Laibacher Zeitung* the following year and appeared until the end of World War I, with the last issue printed on October 28, 1918. It should be noted that at the beginning of the 19th century Kleinmayr's publication was not the only newspaper in the city that published daily and political news. Similar newspapers printed by Kleinmayr's competitors also appeared in Ljubljana, but the printers simply called their newspapers *Laibacher Zeitung*, adding only their own names before the title: the *Merkische Laibacher Zeitung* (1788–1797), the *Degotardische Laibacher Zeitung* (1799–1800), and the *Leopold Egerische Laibacher Zeitung* (1800–1807). In 1807, Kleinmayr and Eger joined forces and published a joint newspaper under the title *Vereinigte Edel von Kleinmayr'sche und Leopold Eger'sche Laibacher Zeitung*. In 1810, in view of the establishment of the Illyrian provinces, this was renamed *Vereinigte Laibacher Zeitung* (United Ljubljana Newspaper), with the title *Illyrische Provinz* (Illyrian Province) stretched above this (on competing editions, cf. Žigon, 2011, 297–316). The editor of the renamed newspaper was Franc Peesenegger (c. 1762–1841), a pro-French schoolmaster from Bavaria. However, even though the newspaper was pro-French, its days were numbered by the turn of the year 1811. The French began publishing their own public information paper, the *Télégraphe officiel des Provinces illyriennes*³ (Official Telegraph of the Illyrian Provinces), but since they could not attract enough subscribers the *Laibacher Zeitung* was simply discontinued (Tavzes, 1929, 12). It was only after the end of the Napoleonic Wars that the newspaper regained its readership and finally became the *Laibacher Zeitung* in 1821, printed in Kleinmayr's workshops.

At the beginning of the 19th century, two German newspapers with the same name of *Laibacher Zeitung* were published in Ljubljana, the first in Eger's printing house and the second in Kleinmayr's. In 1804, Kleinmayr's newspaper received its own supplement, the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*,⁴ a newspaper for »benefit and amusement«. Eger's newspaper had a similar literary supplement, the *Anhang der Laibacher Zeitung*

(Appendix to the Ljubljana Newspaper), which had some similarities to Kleinmayr's weekly, but there are only a few surviving issues, mostly from 1807.⁵

GEORG STADELMANN AND THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF THE *WOCHENBLATT*

Georg Stadelmann (c. 1780–1879), who was not from Carniola, became editor and publisher of the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*. He was born in Bregenz on Lake Constance, received his education in Constance and Innsbruck (Supantschitsch, 1807, n.p.), and came to Ljubljana from Graz, where he had previously studied, edited the literary supplement of a newspaper for Inner Austria, and had been a trainee in the Lyceum Library since April 1802 (Wurzbach, 1878, 321). We know nothing about his earlier activity as a book printer, but he probably devoted himself more to the book trade than to printing (Berčič, 1968, 81), and he also collected incunabula, woodcuts, and compiled lists of old prints from Ljubljana (Supantschitsch, 1807, n.p.; Kidrič, 1929–1938, 385; Logar, 2013). A series of coincidences ensured that Stadelmann came to Ljubljana at the right time: Kleinmayr's wife, Tekla Kleinmayr, born Lieber (Berčič, 1968, 74), to whom her deceased husband left the management of the print shop in the mid-1790s, was looking for a tenant for the print shop and found him in Stadelmann. She entrusted him with the business at the beginning of 1804 and, after his early death in 1807, briefly took the management back into her own hands.

When Stadelmann became the tenant of the printing house, he also took over the editorship of the *Laibacher Zeitung* and began publishing its supplement *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* in March. The young Stadelmann hoped to gain new subscribers from this, and the decision to publish a supplement was certainly also related to the fact that Stadelmann was literarily gifted and, according to Wurzbach (1878, 322), had already published at least one book, and that he had experience producing a newspaper from his time in Graz. The *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* was a kind of literary-scientific supplement to the politically tinged *Laibacher Zeitung*, which pursued enlightenment goals: it imparted knowledge to readers, brought them closer to important events and personalities from local history as well as from abroad, while at the same time the

3 The *Télégraphe officiel des Provinces illyriennes* appeared in French, alongside it in Italian and later in German, while the planned Illyrian edition was apparently never printed (Gaudillere, 2006, 386–388).

4 Some volumes of the newspaper, namely 1804–1805 and 1814–1818, are freely accessible in the Digital Library of Slovenia (DLiB), while the remaining volumes are kept in the library of the National Museum of Slovenia (call no. 1837), but some of them are incomplete, as are those in the DLiB.

5 The preserved issues are kept in the library of the National Museum in Ljubljana and are attached to the 1807 volume of Eger's newspaper.

texts sought to entertain the readership with short, biting epigrams, aphorisms and anecdotes. Stadelmann also pursued the goal of publishing local history articles from Carniola and the wider Austrian region.⁶

Stadelmann also quickly made friends with figures from the Slovene revival in Ljubljana, including Johann Anton Suppantšitsch (1785–1833), professor of history, geography, mathematics, natural sciences, physics, and Greek at the grammar school in Celje, as well as a writer, historian, and travel writer (more on him in Janko, 1999, 59–68). Suppantšitsch soon became a contributor to Stadelmann's newspaper, and he was joined by Franz Anton Breckerfeld (1740–1807), who collected lexical material (Slovene names of plants, birds, and fish), Slovene proverbs, and expressions for various occupations, e.g., weaving, ploughing, etc. (Grum, 2013), and together with Suppantšitsch they published a series of articles in instalments in the first volume of the paper under the joint title *Fragmente aus der Geschichte von Krain* (Fragments from the History of Carniola). Stadelmann's correspondence also reveals that Baron Žiga (Sigismundus) Zois and Valentin Vodnik influenced the content of his weekly (Kidrič, 1929–1938, 385; on the content of the supplement, cf. Žigon, 2001, 77–78).

Stadelmann, of course, did not only publish texts on local, Carniolan topics. As early as the first issue of 1804, he had his newspaper print a rejoinder to an article in the Prague newspaper *Prager Zeitung* about how to make friends with neighbouring peoples while learning their languages. The author of the Prague article suggested that the best measure would be for neighbouring nations to exchange their children with each other so that they could quickly learn a foreign language in both school and daily communication. He cited examples on the Czech-German border and in Switzerland as good practice. Stadelmann states that he finds the idea morally reprehensible, since it raises the question of how old the exchanged children would be, how the families with whom they would live would be chosen, what would happen to children who desperately needed parents, etc., but concludes that a German father could not care less whether his French or German child is returned to him, and that

such fraternisation could only mean turning both peoples into characterless hermaphrodites (Stadelmann, 1804, n.p.). Stadelmann, who in the article proves to be a strong advocate of Austrian and German patriotism, concludes his reflections with an ironic rhetorical question by saying that Carniola borders on Italy and Croatia, and therefore asks the Prague author with which nation the Carniolans should exchange their youth with (Stadelmann, 1804, n.p.).

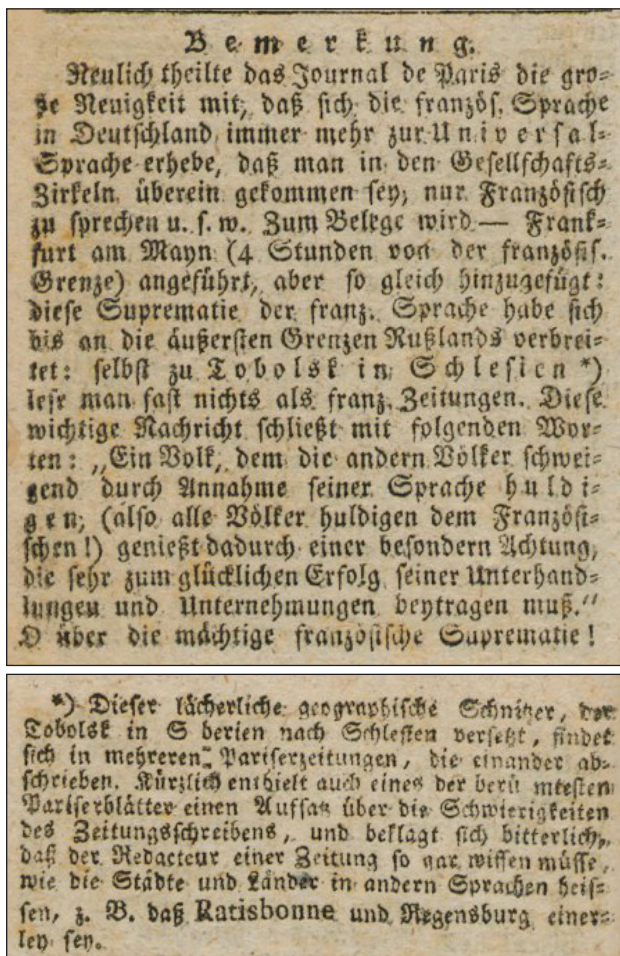
In the tenth issue of the first volume of the paper, an unsigned author, perhaps the editor Stadelmann himself, presented a book by Joseph Rohrer (1769–1828) on the Slavic population of the Danube Monarchy (Rohrer, 1804) under the title *Völkerbeschreibung der österreichischen Monarchie* (Description of the Peoples of the Austrian Monarchy). This article was a kind of review, which was continued in the following three issues. In his review, the reviewer specifically presented those chapters from Rohrer's book that dealt with Carniola and its inhabitants. He agreed with Rohrer, who wrote that the Carniolans were among the most industrious and hard-working Slavs in the monarchy, that they were primarily farmers and vintners, but also engaged in mining, lumbering, and crafts, and were considered the most skilled merchants in Inner Austria. Above all, as the author of the article also summarises Rohrer, the Carniolans are distinguished by their good knowledge of languages, because from an early age they speak »the Carniolan dialect of the Slavic language«,⁷ in school German is added, and because of the proximity to Italy and trade many of them also speak Italian. He adds that »a Carniolan also learns Latin and French in grammar school and with the help of home teachers«,⁸ so that on average Carniolans speak at least five languages. In this respect, we read, the Carniolans are no different from other Slavs, whether they live in Prague, Lviv, Krakow or Ljubljana, as they can always easily learn foreign languages. Rohrer's descriptions, summarised in the Ljubljana weekly, sometimes border on stereotyping (on the imagological aspects, cf. Smolej, 1999, 313–322; Smolej, 2021, 11–21), but nevertheless it cannot be overlooked that he also emphasises the knowledge of French, which, of course, was not typical of the simple and often illiterate population of the time,⁹ but more of the intelligentsia in Carniola, whose languages of communication and correspondence, like those of all

6 For Slovene cultural and literary history, the supplement contains especially valuable contributions on literary novelties and on events at the German Estates Theatre in Ljubljana (*Das Ständische Theater in Laibach*), in addition to geographical, historical, and topographical topics, even though Stadelmann did not publish such reports continuously and sometimes seems to discuss them completely unsystematically and without heads or tails.

7 Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 1 (1804), 10: *Völkerbeschreibung der österreichischen Monarchie*, n.p.

8 Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 1 (1804), 10: *Völkerbeschreibung der österreichischen Monarchie*, n.p.

9 The literacy rate in Slovenia in the 18th century probably did not exceed 3%. Only when compulsory education was introduced by the General School Code in 1774 did the number of illiterates begin to decline, especially among the young, although compulsory education by no means meant that all children of school age actually attended school. Around 1810, every seventh child in the Slovene lands attended school, and on the eve of the March Revolution in 1847, the figure was as high as one in three (Melik, 1981, 515; Schmidt, 1988, 136–139).



Figures 2 and 3: A published rejoinder to the claim in the *Journal de Paris* that French was becoming the universal language in the German lands, and an editorial comment on the poor French knowledge of geography (DLiB, 2023b).

educated people of the time, were German, Italian, and French.¹⁰

In addition, Stadelmann's newspaper frequently engaged with texts that were published in the *Journal de Paris*. In issue 15 of the *Laibacher Wochenblatt*, he responds to an article from the French journal, according to which French is becoming more and more the universal language in Germany, French is the most spoken language in society, and the predominance of the French language has even

reached the borders of Russia, citing the city of Tobolsk, but mistakenly locating it in Silesia. The editor Stadelmann, a native of Austria, naturally could not agree with this generalisation of the *Journal de Paris*, made in the light of Napoleon's rise, and in a footnote made fun of the author's apparent ignorance of geography and of this report in the *Journal de Paris* in general.¹¹

During his three years as editor, Stadelmann also continuously published various news stories from France in the *Französische Miszellen* (French Miscellanies), in which he wrote about science, new books, agriculture, and many other topics. In issue 44 of 1805, for example, he summarises a news item from Toulouse in Occitania, in which an unnamed correspondent reports that the people are living peacefully and without much want, having plenty to eat, although all food and drink except wine is very expensive, and that overall the people are happy. He also notes that many have lost their possessions, while others have become rich during the war. Among other things, he writes a very timely thought: »But I want peace because I believe it is good for all people, at least for those who are good, for I am not interested in the few who have been enriched by war.«¹² In addition to such notes, the weekly often carried news about the latest fashions in Paris, which Stadelmann published under the heading *Pariser-Moden* (Paris Fashions).

In the third year of its publication, 1806, Stadelmann's weekly, in a series of articles on famous personalities, first published a biography of King Louis XIV of France (1638–1715) in issues 10 and 11, followed by brief notes on Napoleon's brother, Louis Bonaparte (1778–1846), in issue 31, who was King of the Netherlands from 1806 to 1810, and on the bishop, politician, and diplomat Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754–1838), who became close to Napoleon during the wars in northern Italy (1796–1797). Issues 33 and 34 contain a biographical sketch of Prince Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte (1763–1844), whom we meet on December 2, 1805, exactly one year after Napoleon's coronation in Paris, along with the other generals appointed Maréchal d'Empire by Napoleon in one of the most famous battles of the Napoleonic Wars, the Battle of Austerlitz. In early July 1809, Bernadotte fought alongside Napoleon at the Battle of Wagram near Vienna, where the

¹⁰ For example, we know that Žiga Zois (1747–1819) also visited France during his travels through Central Europe, continuously improved his knowledge of French, and was made a Knight of the French Legion of Honour (*Légion d'honneur*) in 1813 (Valenčič et al., 2013). The poet and supporter of the Enlightenment Marin Kuralt (1757–1845) was a Francophile and already enthusiastic about Napoleon and his idea of a universal monarchy (Pirjevec, 2013), while Anton Tomaž Linhart (1756–1795) adapted Beaumarchais's French pre-revolutionary play *La folle journée, ou Le mariage de Figaro* (The Mad Day, or The Marriage of Figaro) and translated it into Slovene.

¹¹ Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 1 (1804), 15: Bemerkung, n.p.

¹² Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 2 (1805), 44: Französische Miszellen, n.p.

French army defeated the Austrians and ended the Fifth Coalition War. In issues 23, 24, and 27, the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* discussed the similarities between the English and French navies in light of the Coalition Wars, and other topics also found their way into the weekly. For example, in issues 25, 26, and 27, there was an account of a wild girl from Champagne who was found by a nobleman hunting in the woods in 1731, floating naked in the river without feeling ashamed. Such accounts of abandoned or lost children surviving in the wilderness, living with animals and then, when found by chance, the attempts made to socialise them, were not uncommon in the newspapers and even scientific debates of the time (cf. Institut für Heilkunde an der Universität zu Wien, 1820, 112).

Moreover, Stadelmann made no secret of his sympathy for the Germans during his time as editor and was not a supporter of the French Revolution (cf., e.g., Stadelmann [?], 1806, n.p.), although he never wrote obscenely or insultingly about Napoleon in his weekly. This is perhaps best illustrated by an article in a double issue in late 1806 that appeared two weeks before Stadelmann's death. The unsigned article states that there was no sense of war in Paris, with only newspaper reports and the absence of the Guard in the city as reminders of the conflict, but that otherwise silver coins were plentiful, no public works ordered by the emperor had ceased, and there was no shortage of food. It is Napoleon who, by his great deeds, ensures that the name of France will forever go down in history and that Paris will be the most beautiful city in the world. The article concludes with a comparison of Napoleon to the Roman Emperor Augustus, who once said that he had turned a city of bricks into one of marble, and would bequeath it to future generations. And that is exactly what will one day be true of Napoleon, we read in Stadelmann's paper.¹³

FROM THE DEATH OF STADELMANN (1807) TO THE END OF THE NEWSPAPER (1810)

When Georg Stadelmann died on January 15, 1807, the editorship was taken over by Maximilian Wurzbach (1781–1854), the father of Constant von Wurzbach (1818–1893), the author of the *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaisertums Oesterreich* (Biographical Lexicon of the Austrian Empire) (Kidrič, 1929–1938, 387). Under Wurzbach, the newspaper

seems to have lost Stadelmann's zeal, as well as its enthusiasm for local history, because the new editor mainly reprinted texts from German entertainment newspapers, and Slovene-tinged local history articles were rare (e.g., Zois' article on the proteus – or »human fish« – which appeared in issue 29 of July 18, 1807). This went so far that in 1808 even Žiga Zois, the central figure of the Slovene revival, seems to have stopped subscribing to the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, as we learn from Kopitar's letter of December 23, 1808 (Kidrič, 1929–1938, 387).¹⁴

The weekly also contained less and less French content. In the first and second issues of the fourth volume (1807), news from France appeared again, as in previous years, for example, about the Paris Institute for the Deaf and Dumb (*Das Taubstumm-Institut in Paris*) or about Parisian fashions that had come to Paris from the Orient during the Crusades (*Moden der französischen Vorzeit*). In the tenth issue, readers could learn about the latest, somewhat unusual etiquette at the French court, where everything was subordinated to Napoleon's security (*Einige Merkwürdigkeiten von der gegenwärtigen Etikette am französisch-kaiserl. Hofe*), in the 25th issue about the latest Parisian fashions (*Neueste Pariser Moden*), while the 38th issue, dated September 19, 1807,¹⁵ included an anonymous author's notes about a trip through southern France in 1802 (*Bruchstücke einier Reise durch das südliche Frankreich im Jahre 1802*).

No French-related content was initially published in the fifth volume, and only in the 12th issue, on March 19, 1808, did a short story appear, an adaptation by the now lesser-known French writer and translator Antoine-François Prévost d'Exiles (1697–1763), entitled *Der stumme Artz* (The Dumb Doctor). Issue 23 of August 6, 1808, printed a story about the unusual fate of a manuscript (*Sonderbares Schicksal eines Manuscripts*) based on Prévost; Wurzbach published an anecdote from the life of Molière in issue 42 of October 15, 1808; and stories on Parisian fashion still appeared here and there. Even in the sixth year of publication, not much had changed, but the publication of individual articles gave the impression that the editor was not a supporter of France and Napoleon, but rather of the German side. In the fifth issue, dated February 4, 1809, he published in the masthead a poem entitled *Germania* as the opening motto, in which he urged Germans to remain loyal to their fatherland and not to despair of it, since German

¹³ *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, 3 (1806), 51–52: Verschönerung von Paris, n.p.

¹⁴ The 1809 volume is the most incomplete in the National Museum library; the last surviving issue is dated May 13, 1809, and subsequent issues date only from 1810.

¹⁵ The dating of the individual issues does not begin until 1807; under Stadelmann's editorship, only the number of the issue was written on the first page.

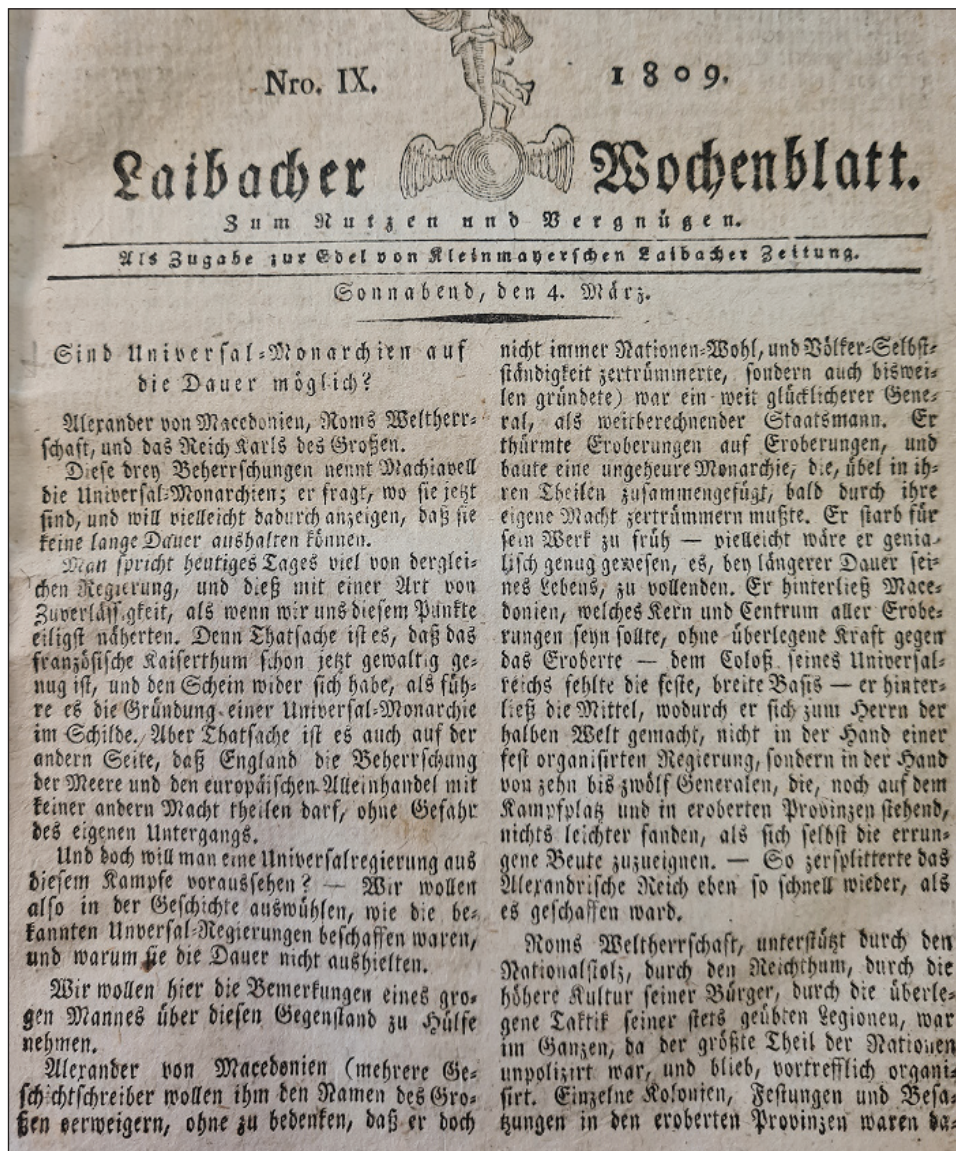


Figure 4: An article in the ninth issue of the sixth volume, March 4, 1809, in which the unsigned author wonders if Napoleon might face a fate similar to that of all great emperors up to that time (NMS Laibacher, volume 1809, call no. 1837).

strength guaranteed it a glorious future. The ninth issue of March 4, 1809, then printed an article on Napoleon's idea of a universal monarchy entitled *Sind Universal-Monarchien auf die Dauer möglich?* (Are Universal Monarchies Possible in the Long Run?). This discussed Napoleon's idea, which resembled that of great emperors such as Alexander the Great and Charlemagne, who had, however, failed in implementing their plans.

In the 13th issue, dated April 15, 1809, two more poems similar to the above-mentioned *Germania* were published, namely *Aufruf an Carnioliens Heldensöhne* (An Appeal to the Carniolan Sons of

Heroes), signed by a certain K...r, and an unsigned poem *An Se. König. Hoheit den Erzherzog Ferdinand* (To His Imperial Highness Archduke Ferdinand), which speaks of the Austrian peoples being a united nation despite their different languages and dress, especially when threatened by an enemy. Napoleon's presence in Europe was thus increasingly felt in the Ljubljana *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, and the authorities in the capital of the Illyrian provinces were, as one can imagine, less and less satisfied with such publications.

The *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* ushered in the New Year in 1810 with

a greeting in five stanzas (*Neujahrs-Gesang*/New Year's Song), which was not signed by the author, but was probably a rhyme that was also reprinted by other German newspapers. Interestingly, on the back of the second issue of the seventh volume, dated January 12, 1810, a similar greeting was published again, this time in French. The author is not signed, but it is possible to decipher the authorship.¹⁶ It is the poem *Les souhaits du jour de l'An* (New Year's Wishes), published the year before, on January 1, 1809, in the *Journal de Paris* (Coupard, 1809a, 7) and signed by the playwright and chansonnier Antoine-Marie Coupard (1780–1864).¹⁷ Among his New Year's wishes, Coupard (1809a, 7) lists the following in light of the times: to the young coquette he wishes a more decent appearance and fewer dresses; to the ladies who write verse, that this vice be overlooked; to wives, more steadfastness, and to husbands, more patience; to youth, more wisdom; to children, more obedience; to authors, more spirit and science; to critics, forbearance; to composers, the art of sound that captivates the heart; to debtors, settlement; to prosecutors, less punishment; to the rich, more humanity; to Englishmen, more loyalty; to upstarts, less insolence; to the poor, less slander; to newspapers, many new subscribers; and to true friends, prosperity, open cheerfulness, good appetite and good health! Thus, especially in the second part of the poem, it becomes clear that this is the time of Napoleon, when the French longed in vain for an English alliance and the desire for peace and prosperity was in the air as a result of the wars.¹⁸

The year 1810 also brought some obvious changes. Although the newspaper does not name an editor, it is possible that Wurzbach was replaced by the Francophile Franz Peesenegger (c. 1762–1841),¹⁹ who was entrusted by the French in 1811 with the editorship of their bulletin, the *Télégraphe officiel*, after the *Laibacher Zeitung* and its supplement, the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, had been discontinued. The articles on the history of Carniola almost completely disappeared from the *Laibacher Wochenblatt* and were replaced by descriptions of foreign lands, longer articles on the history of Illyria,²⁰ and even a reprint of the same article on the rules of conduct at the French court that had already appeared in the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* in 1807, without

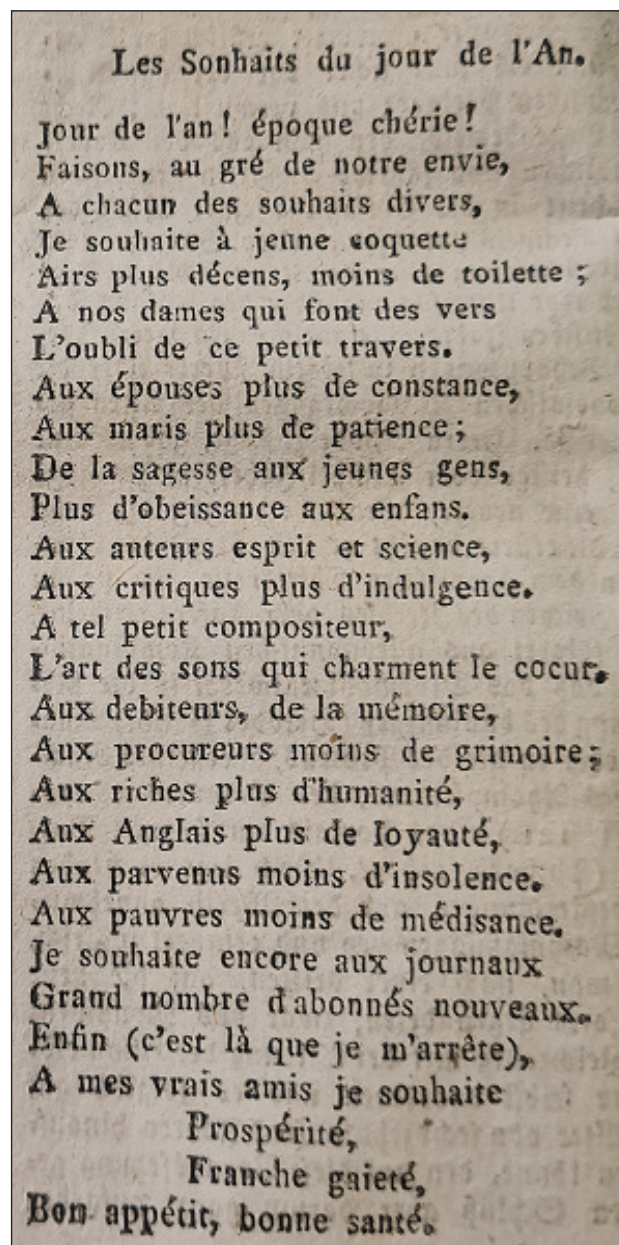


Figure 5: The poem *Les souhaits du jour de l'An*, published on January 12, 1810 in the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* (NMS Laibacher, no. 2, 12. 1. 1810, n.p.; call no. 1837).

16 The authors thank Prof. Dr. Tone Smolej for his help in finding the author of the poem.

17 Coupard worked in the military transport administration in Paris and Liège at the end of the 18th century before moving to the newspaper and theatre office and the police ministry (Fétis, 1837, 205), which suggests a proximity to Napoleon.

18 The poem was apparently reprinted in its original form in German newspapers and found its way not only into the Ljubljana weekly *Laibacher Wochenblatt*, but was also published, for example, in the Berlin newspaper for fashion, entertainment and art, *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* (Newspaper for the Elegant World), on January 13, 1809 (Coupard, 1809b, 71).

19 Peesenegger came from Bavaria and was appointed professor of rhetoric at the grammar school in Ljubljana by imperial decree in 1792. He was a connoisseur of Greek and Latin classics, and a lover of the French language and its literature (Kidrič, 2013).

20 *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, 2. 3. 1810: Geschichte Illyriens, n.p.

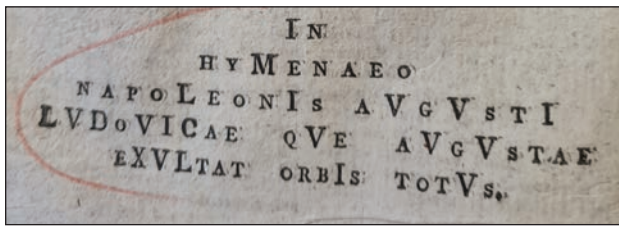


Figure 6: Latin inscription under the report on the wedding festivities in Vienna on March 11, 1810, in which a chronogram is hidden (NMS Laibacher, no. 11, 16. 3. 1810, n.p.; call no. 1837).

even changing the title in the new edition.²¹ In mid-March 1810, the pages of the Ljubljana weekly were flooded with praise for Napoleon's wedding to the not quite nineteen-year-old Marie Louise of Austria (1791–1847), the eldest daughter of Emperor Franz I of Austria (1768–1835). Since the celebrations took place in several stages, such articles appeared in the newspaper from March 9 to mid-April 1810. First, on the front page of the tenth issue of the newspaper, a tribute to Napoleon and his future wife was published in Italian, wishing them both that their souls may become one, that two hearts may become one, that ardent love may awaken in both of them, and that he may live in her and she in him. Two days later, on March 11, 1810, the wedding took place in the Augustinian Church in Vienna in Napoleon's absence. Napoleon was represented by Archduke Charles (1771–1841), who not long ago had been Napoleon's opponent in the Franco-Austrian War of 1809. Issues 11, 12, and 13 then described the Vienna celebrations in detail,²² and issue 11 published a Latin inscription at the end of the report on the festivities that translated as: »On the marriage of the sublime Napoleon and the sublime Ludovica the world rejoices.«²³ A chronogram (see Figure 6) was also hidden in the Latin text, with the underlined letters standing for the year of the wedding, 1810.

Subsequent issues also reported on the wedding ceremonies held in Paris on April 1 and 2, 1810.²⁴ In addition, news of Parisian fashions was published from time to time in the seventh volume; issue 25, dated June 22, 1810, contained a description of Paris and its environs (*Paris und seine Umgebung*) by an unknown author, while issue 32, dated August 24, 1810, contained on its front page an ode to the emperor in French on the occasion of his birthday on



Figure 7: Report on the festivities on the occasion of the wedding of Napoleon and Marie Louise of Austria in Vienna on March 11, 1810 (NMS Laibacher, no. 12, 23. 3. 1810, n.p.; call no. 1837).

August 15 (*Ode. A l'occasion du jour de Fête et de Naissance De sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi. Célébré à Laybach le 15 Août 1810*).

But soon the days of the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* were numbered, together with those of the *Laibacher Zeitung*. With the turn of the year 1811, both the official gazette and the supplement for benefit and amusement were discontinued. In the 75th issue of the *Vereinigte Laibacher Zeitung* by Kleinmayr and Eger, the French authorities in the Illyrian provinces announced that as of January 1, 1811, the *Laibacher Zeitung* would be combined with the *Télégraphe officiel* edited by Mr. Peesenegger (*Vereinigte Laibacher Zeitung*, 11. 12. 1810, n.p.).

THE END OF THE ILLYRIAN PROVINCES AND THE RELAUNCH OF A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER FOR BENEFIT AND AMUSEMENT

After the departure of the French, the official *Laibacher Zeitung* was re-established in Ljubljana in October 1813. In the Kleinmayr printing house, which printed the *Laibacher Zeitung* and whose tenant since January 1809 was Josef Sassenberg (1773–1849) (Berčič, 1968, 75), the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* was revived in the new year of 1814 as a supplement to the official newspaper. Sassenberg had some poor luck in choosing the editor,

21 *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, 9. 3. 1810: Einige Merkwürdigkeiten von der gegenwärtigen Etikette am französisch-kaiserl. Hofe, n.p.

22 *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, 16., 23. and 30. 3. 1810: Schilderung der Feierlichkeiten, welche zu Wien bey der hohen Vermählungsfeier statt hatten, n.p.

23 *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, 16. 3. 1810: Schilderung der Feierlichkeiten, welche zu Wien bey der hohen Vermählungsfeier statt hatten, n.p. The authors thank Prof. Dr. Matej Hriberšek for the translation.

24 *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, 27. 4. 1810 and 4. 5. 1810: Schilderung der Vermählungs-Feyerlichkeiten zu Paris, n.p.

and Kleinmayr's typesetter Pavel Deinzer (1786–1835) took over (Kidrič, 1929–1938, 632).

Deinzer did not understand that it was a Carniolan local history paper, but in view of the new political situation in Europe he thought it useful to contribute with his work to the consolidation of the new regime in Illyria and to support the Austrian government to the best of his ability. The paper thus included anecdotes that ridiculed Napoleon, e.g., *Anekdote aus der Zeitgeschichte* (Anecdote from Contemporary History) in issue 7 of February 15, 1814, and had high praise for the Bourbons who ruled post-revolutionary France between 1814 and 1830, e.g., in the article *Das Haus Bourbon* (The House of Bourbon), which appeared in several instalments in late May 1814. Even earlier, in early May, after Napoleon's expulsion to the island of Elba, the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* published two articles on geographical statistics on Elba (*Geographisch-statistische Nachrichten von der Insel Elba*) in issues 18 (3. 5. 1814) and 19 (10. 5. 1814); in issue 37 of October 4, 1814, the newspaper summarised the negative judgement of Napoleon according to François-René de Chateaubriand, who had joined the Bourbons after Napoleon's fall, and titled the text *Ruhiges Urtheil über die Bonapartes vermeintliche Größe* (Calm Judgement of Bonaparte's Supposed Greatness).

The following volumes did not bring anything new. In the 15th issue, dated April 12, 1816, the editor published an anecdote from the time of Napoleon's campaign in 1815, which was intended to show readers the French leader's ruthless nature. The story goes that in July 1815, a prisoner was brought to Napoleon with a medal in his buttonhole. He explained to Napoleon that he had received it as an award for his participation in the wars of 1813 and 1814, and that it had been cast from the brass of French cannon. Napoleon then angrily told him that he would make crosses for his fallen soldiers from the bones of prisoners.²⁵ In the 18th issue of May 3, 1816, readers could read how Napoleon's trip to the island of St. Helena went, as described by the English military surgeon who accompanied him. One of the most widely read articles, however, as one might imagine, was the interview with Napoleon and one of his companions on St. Helena, conducted by a Mr. Tyder, the senior surgeon of an English regiment, and published in two instalments in late June and early July 1816. On his way back from a trip to the East Indies, he stopped on St. Helena to talk with the former French emperor.²⁶ Tyder asked Napoleon, among other things, whether the long journey into exile had affected his health and whether he had adapted well to the climate. Bonaparte replied almost smugly that nature had given him an iron body and soul

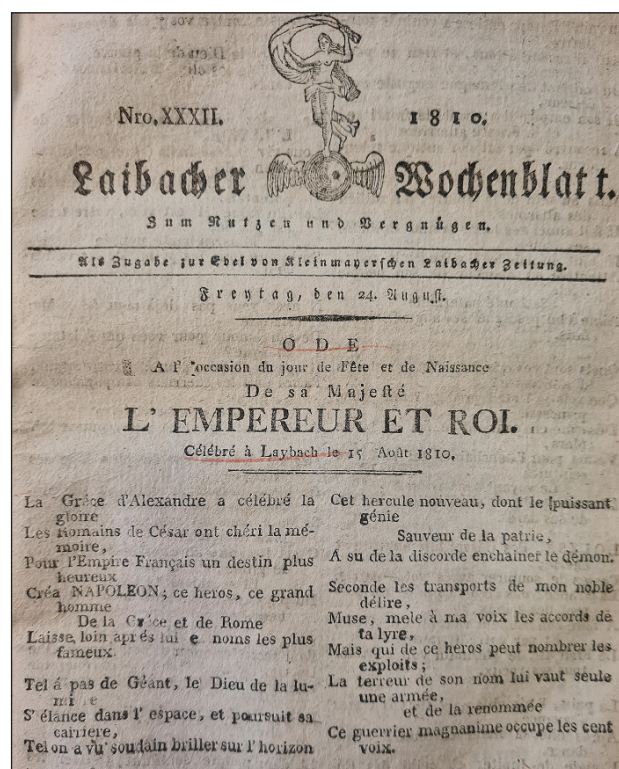


Figure 8: Ode to Napoleon, written in Ljubljana on the occasion of the celebration of his birthday on August 15, 1810, printed in the 32nd issue of the newspaper (NMS *Laibacher*, no. 32, 24. 8. 1810, n.p.; call no. 1837).

that had been strengthened by his enemies. Napoleon did not rest in exile but had busy days, as recounted by one of his followers: »When the day dawns, Bonaparte rises and works on his mathematics until breakfast, then writes his historical-political treatise, eats lunch at 2 p.m., then takes a long walk, later teaches Italian to Miss Sophie, eats dinner, and then distracts himself with various games.«²⁷ There are no other articles related to France, but the editor Deinzer also published in the newspaper bad jokes and unfunny riddles and stories, as well as his geographical, ethnographic, and cultural-historical descriptions of faraway, exotic places, from Spain, Corsica, Transylvania, and Sierra Leone in Africa to the East Indies and China. Since he apparently also lacked contributors, he had no choice but to list the names of famous German poets and writers, especially Austrian ones, and to print their texts in the newspaper in order to provide his readers with at least some literary texts (for more on this, cf. Žigon, 2001, 83–85; cf. also Kidrič, 1929–1938, 631–635).

25 *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, 12. 4. 1816: *Anekdote aus dem letzten Feldzuge*, n.p.

26 *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, 28. 6. and 5. 7. 1816: *Unterredung der Herrn Tyder, Ober-Chirurgus eines englischen Regiments, auf seiner Reise aus Ostindien, mit Napoleon Bonaparte auf St. Helena*, n.p.

27 *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, 28. 6. and 5. 7. 1816: *Unterredung der Herrn Tyder, Ober-Chirurgus eines englischen Regiments, auf seiner Reise aus Ostindien, mit Napoleon Bonaparte auf St. Helena*, n.p.

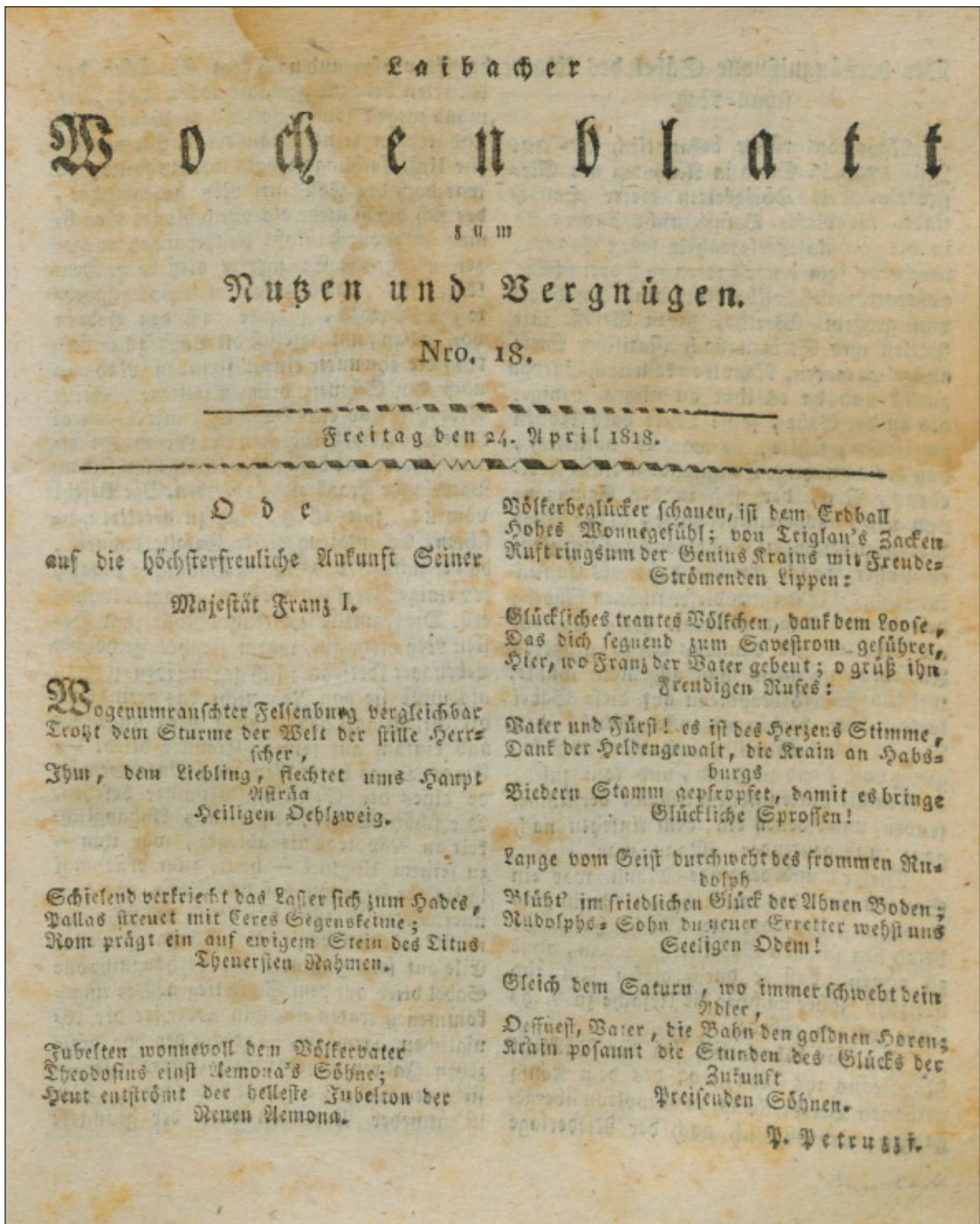


Figure 9: Petruzzi's ode to Emperor Franz I, who came to Carniola in April 1818 to revisit the natural attracti-
on of the Postojna Cave. The ode was printed in Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen on April
24, 1818 (DLiB, 2023c).

In the first half of 1817, people in Ljubljana were very dissatisfied with the newspaper, as it did not cover anything related to local history. Franz Xaver Richter (1783–1856), a Silesian (Austria) born schoolmaster and history professor with a talent for languages, took the unenviable situation into his own hands. He had a special fondness for French and carefully cultivated this language. At first, he studied philosophy in Olomouc, but after the early death of his father the family's fortunes deteriorated to such an extent that Richter had to earn his own living, and turned to theology instead of studying medicine (Gspan, 2013; Wurzbach, 1874, 46–48). When the professorship at the Lyceum was advertised in Ljubljana on April 28, 1815 (*Vereinigte Laibacher Zeitung*, 28. 4. 1815, n.p.), he came to Carniola and took the chair of general history in the fall of 1815, and remained there until 1823/24, when he returned to Olomouc (Gspan, 2013). Richter had already collaborated with Deinzer as editor of the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* in 1816, signing the historical sketch in the 46th issue of December 6, 1816. He adapted this text from the writings of Johann Georg Thalnitser von Thalberg (1655–1719), and gave it the title *Was sich 1716 oder vor hundert Jahren in Laibach zugetragen* (What Was Happening in Ljubljana in 1716 or 100 Years Ago) (Richter, 1816, n.p.). Then, on October 31, 1817, in issue 44, Richter published his proposal for a redesign of the newspaper (Richter, 1817, n.p.; more on this in Žigon, 2001, 85–89), which returned to its original focus on local history in 1818 under his editorial direction. The newspaper's new concept also meant that unusual and exotic topics, including of course French topics and especially Napoleon Bonaparte, slowly disappeared from the newspaper columns. Instead of hymns of praise to the French emperor, the newspaper pages were filled with texts that were important for the Slovene revival (Kidrič, 1929–1938, 635–639) and, of course, with others about loyalty to the Habsburg imperial house. This was particularly evident on the front page of the newspaper during important events, such as the visit of Emperor Franz I to Carniola in April 1818, when he came to Postojna for the second time and visited famous cave.²⁸ On this occasion, the linguist and historian Peter Petrucci (1799–1875) wrote an ode praising the joyful arrival of His Majesty Franz I in Carniola (Petrucci, 1818, n.p.).

CONCLUSION

The importance of the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, the first literary and entertaining weekly newspaper in Ljubljana, can generally be attributed to its enlightening and educational function and to the fact that it attempted to be a newspaper created by Carniolan artists for the Carniola people.

However, this paper is not concerned with the enlightening function of the newspaper and its importance for Slovene cultural, journalistic and literary creation, but with the question of the appearance of French themes, texts about France, life in France, especially in Paris, and of course Napoleon Bonaparte in a newspaper that appeared in German in Ljubljana from 1804 to 1810 and from 1814 to 1818. Since the appearance of this weekly supplement of the official German newspaper *Laibacher Zeitung* coincided with the rise and fall of Napoleon and, in particular, with the establishment of the Illyrian provinces (1809–1813), we took a closer look at the extent to which there was an interest in French culture before the French interregnum and after the return of the conquered French territory to Austrian rule, and how this was reflected in the newspaper in question.

Despite the non-political orientation of the weekly, both the choice of topics and the way they were presented showed that events on the political scene influenced the content of the newspaper. Major political and historical events and personalities such as Napoleon Bonaparte undoubtedly shaped the media landscape. Even though the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* was not concerned with reporting on political and current events in Europe, it is clear that France was the focus of interest. The French Revolution had shaken old Europe to its foundations, and the impact of the related events on the political scene was also reflected in this Ljubljana weekly. Prior to the establishment of the Illyrian provinces, the paper published articles on the French language, customs, Parisian fashions and travel, but after the establishment of the Illyrian provinces in 1809, and coinciding with Napoleon's greater military successes, the paper transformed into a pro-French paper that increasingly praised the emperor.

After the abolition of the Illyrian provinces and the fall of Napoleon, and especially from 1817, the newspaper no longer seems to have reported on events in France, or even on Parisian fashions. Instead the figure of the defeated Napoleon, on the one hand, and the positive image of Austria and the Austrian emperor, on the other, came to the fore. The reversal was not only the result of editorial policy, but also of the power relations in Europe at that time, which also found their echo in Carniola. This once again confirms the well-known fact that what happens around us influences our perception of the world. Even though the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* was a non-political entertainment newspaper, political events unintentionally had a strong influence and (co-)shaped the choice of content selected by the editorial staff and printed in the newspaper.

²⁸ Franz I had already visited Postojna Cave on May 16, 1816 (Costa, 1858, 14); at that time, the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* printed a poem about the feelings of the Carniolans on the occasion of the visit of the much-loved monarch to the region (Fellinger, 1816, n.p.).

»KRANJEC SE V GIMNAZIJI UČI ŠE LATINSKO IN FRANCOŠKO«: FRANCIJA V LUČI PRISPEVKOV LJUBLJANSKEGA NEMŠKEGA TEDNIKA ZA KORIST IN ZABAVO

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POVZETEK

V prispevku je v ospredju vprašanje, kakšna je pojavnost francosko obarvanih tem, besedil, ki zadevajo Francijo, življenje na Francoskem, še posebno v Parizu, in seveda francoskega cesarja Napoleona, v časopisu *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, ki je v Ljubljani v nemškem jeziku izhajal v letih od 1804 do 1810 in od 1814 do 1818. Časopis je bil tedenska razvedrilna priloga uradnega nemškega časopisa *Laibacher Zeitung*, njegovo izhajanje pa sovpada z Napoleonovim vzponom in padcem, predvsem pa z ustanovitvijo Ilirskih provinc. V prispevku je zato podrobneje predstavljeno, kolikšno je bilo zanimanje za francosko kulturo pred francoskim medvladjem in po tem, ko je osvojeno francosko ozemlje spet prišlo pod avstrijsko oblast, in kako se je to kazalo v objavah v obravnavanem časopisu. Analiza je pokazala, da se kljub nepolitični naravnosti tednika tako pri izboru tem kot tudi pri načinu njihovega podajanja lepo pokaže, kakšna so bila kulturno-politična razmerja v tedanjem evropskem prostoru: francoska revolucija je namreč v tem času že zamajala temelje stare Evrope, vpliv dogajanja na političnem parketu pa je našel svoj odsev tudi v ljubljanskem tedniku za korist in zabavo. Medtem ko so bili prispevki o Franciji, Parizu, pariški modi itd. stalnica v prvih letih izhajanja in je *Laibacher Wochenblatt* še leta 1810 budno spremljal in pozdravljal poroko Napoleona z avstrijsko Mario Luizo, se je način poročanja že leta 1814 spremenil. Napoleon je bil poraženec in o njem se je naenkrat pisalo le še v nevtralnih, včasih celo negativnih tonih, dokler njegova prisotnost iz časopisa ni izginila in se umaknila hvalnicam avstrijski cesarski hiši.

Ključne besede: *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, Ilirske province, Georg Stadelmann, Franz Xaver Richter, Napoleon Bonaparte, Francija v časopisnih prispevkih

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