



# Journal of European Periodical Studies

*an online journal by ESPRit, European Society for Periodical Research*

## Anachronism or Cultural Transfer? Latin Journals in the Public Sphere of the Hungarian Kingdom in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Piroska Balogh

*Journal of European Periodical Studies*, 9.1 (Summer 2024)

ISSN 2506-6587

Content is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 Licence

The *Journal of European Periodical Studies* is hosted by Ghent University

Website: [ojs.ugent.be/jeps](https://ojs.ugent.be/jeps)

---

To cite this article: Piroska Balogh, 'Anachronism or Cultural Transfer? Latin Journals in the Public Sphere of the Hungarian Kingdom in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Journal of European Periodical Studies*, 9.1 (Summer 2024), 30–48

---

# Anachronism or Cultural Transfer? Latin Journals in the Public Sphere of the Hungarian Kingdom in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

PIROSKA BALOGH

Eötvös Loránd University, Institute of Hungarian Literature and Cultural Studies

[balogh.piroska@btk.elte.hu](mailto:balogh.piroska@btk.elte.hu)

## ABSTRACT

Latin journalism in Europe flourished between 1600 and 1750. However, in the peripheral regions east of the German-speaking lands, including Hungary, periodicals began to appear in greater numbers only from the early eighteenth century. By that time, Latin journalism was losing its popularity in the central regions of Europe due to the widespread establishment of the vernacular press and the standardization of native languages. Yet, the editors of the newly established periodicals in Hungary could not follow this pattern due to several reasons. One solution to their problems was to develop the Latin-language press. This paper attempts to reconceptualize the role of late Latin journalism from the perspective of specific peripheral cultural circumstances, with a special focus on the periodical genre of ‘ephemerides’. The focus of the analysis is on *Ephemerides Statistico-Politicae / Posenienses* (1804–38), a popular and significant nineteenth-century Latin journal, and its supplementary annexes.

## KEYWORDS

Latin journalism, Hungarian journalism, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, ephemerides, centre and periphery

The most prolific period for Latin journalism in Europe is considered to have spanned the century and a half between 1600 and 1750.<sup>1</sup> During this period, the use of Latin was widespread, especially in the central regions of Europe, mainly in the propagandistic newspapers related to the royal courts, and scientific periodicals. However, in the peripheral European regions east of the German-speaking lands, including those of the Kingdom of Hungary which formed part of the Habsburg Empire, periodicals began to appear in greater numbers only from the early eighteenth century. By that time, the role of the Latin press was already diminishing in the central regions of Europe, due largely to the exponential spread of the vernacular press and the standardization of the native languages. However, the editors of the newly established periodicals in the Kingdom of Hungary could, for several reasons, only partially follow this pattern. On the one hand, some sought to use newspapers to highlight the achievements of Hungarian culture and to draw attention to those accomplishments in the cultural core of Europe. On the other, they also wished to follow Western European practices in relation to vernacular language culture. These two objectives were not only in conflict with each other, but the publishers of periodicals faced the problem that in the Kingdom of Hungary only about forty per cent of the population was native-speaking Hungarian, the remainder being native speakers of German, Romanian, Slovak, Croatian, Slovene, or Ruthenian.<sup>2</sup> One solution to this problem was to operate and develop the Latin-language press. In this respect, it does not seem very anachronistic that the Latin press played a significant role in the public sphere of the Hungarian Kingdom after 1750. Latin journals, however, have been more or less excluded from literary historical research for much of the last two centuries, in large part precisely because they were printed in Latin. Histories of the national press of this period provide only brief descriptions of them, and their more thorough exploration, translation, and contextualization has still to be done.<sup>3</sup> This paper attempts to reconceptualize the role of late Latin journalism from the perspective of the specific peripheral cultural circumstances outlined above. Special attention is paid to the periodical genre of ‘ephemerides’, and within it the popular and significant nineteenth-century Latin journal, namely *Ephemerides Statistico-Politicae / Posonienses* (1804–38) and its supplementary annexes. The forms and publishing strategies of the Latin press in Hungary, and the audiences it targeted, will be examined in some detail. Of particular significance is the question of whether the Latin-language press was able to offer a viable solution to the difficulties presented by the peripheral position and multiplicity of languages spoken in Hungary at the time; and if such a solution was found, whether it succeeded in performing its intended role of transmitting knowledge bidirectionally between the core and the periphery.

- 1 From a historiographical point of view, however, the study of the Latin periodicals of the period is complicated by the fact that there is no comprehensive work on the European Latin press of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some minor specific treatises focus on scientific journals rather than newspapers, e.g. Martin Gierl’s paper about the journal of the Göttingen Academy, *Commentationes Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Göttingensis*. See Martin Gierl, ‘Commentarii und Commentationes — Wissenschaft erhandeln im 18. Jahrhundert’, *Aufklärung*, 26 (2014), 31–65. The studies examining the status of the Latin language in Europe at the time refer to the presence and importance of the Latin press in general, without providing a detailed analysis, e.g. Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and Françoise Waquet, *Latin or the Empire of a Sign* (London and New York: Verso, 2001).
- 2 About the ethnic groups and their national identities of the Hungarian Kingdom during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries see Robert John Weston Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c.1683–1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 147–70.
- 3 The following excellent and versatile volume also deals with the Latin press only briefly, and mainly by examining the academic journals: Ellen Krefting, Aina Nøding, and Mona Ringvej, eds, *Eighteenth-Century Periodicals as Agents of Change* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

## The Latin Press in Europe and the Kingdom of Hungary

The table below shows the titles of European Latin newspapers that were published once or twice weekly during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries and which included cultural, political, and scientific news and information.

Time of publication	Title of the journal	Place of publication
1667–1704	<i>Ordinariae relationes et Extraordinariae relationes / Relationes ordinariae et Relationes extraordinariae</i> [Reports on Ordinary and Extraordinary Things]	Coloniae / Cologne / Köln
1671–1707	<i>Cursor ordinarius, sive nova universalis</i> [Official Courier, or general news]	Vindobonae / Wien / Vienna
1703–1711	<i>Diarium historico-litterarium anni 1703. Mens. Janu. Febr. Mart. April. Maj. Juni. Auctore P. Jacobo Hommey</i> [Historical and Cultural Diary from 1703, Edited by Jacob Hommey]	Paris
1705–1710	<i>Mercurius Hungaricus / Mercurius veridicus ex Hungaria</i> [Hungarian Mercury / Truth-Telling Mercury about Hungary]	Lőcse / Levoča / Leutschau and Bártfa / Bardejov / Bartfeld
1721–1722	<i>Nova Posoniensia</i> [News from Pressburg]	Pozsony / Pressburg / Bratislava
1721–1744	<i>Nova Lipsiensia</i> [News from Leipzig]	Lipsiae / Leipzig
1728	<i>Ephemerides Austriacae-Vindobonenses</i> [News from the Austrian Vienna]	Vindobonae / Wien / Vienna
1728–1730	<i>Commentarii rerum toto terrarum orbe gestarum</i> [Commentaries on the News from the Whole World]	Bern
1743–1767	<i>Ordinaria relationis diariae continuatio</i> [Official Daily Reports, Continued]	Coloniae / Cologne / Köln
1771	<i>Ephemerides Zagrabenses</i> [News from Zagreb]	Zagrabiae / Zagreb
1776–1785	<i>Ephemerides Vindobonenses</i> [News from Vienna]	Vindobonae / Wien / Vienna
1785–1787	<i>Ephemerides Lipsicae</i> [News from Leipzig]	Lipsiae / Leipzig
1790–1793	<i>Ephemerides Budenses</i> [News from Buda]	Buda / Budapest
1806–1814	<i>Europa / Caes. ac. Caes. Reg. privilegiatae Ephemerides Viennenses</i> [Europe / News from Vienna with Imperial and Imperial-Royal Privileges]	Vindobonae / Wien / Vienna
1804–1838	<i>Ephemerides statistico-politicae / Ephemerides Posonienses</i> [News on Statistics and Politics from Pressburg]	Pozsony / Pressburg / Bratislava

Table 1. Latin newspapers in Europe and the Kingdom of Hungary during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries

The newspapers marked with yellow and blue in Table 1 were published in the Kingdom of Hungary and Vienna, both of which were part of the same state, the Habsburg Empire. The Viennese periodicals (marked yellow), whose readers and editors included Hungarians, published news and topics related to Hungary. Titles in blue mark the periodicals published in the Kingdom of Hungary. More than half of the fifteen European Latin periodicals, including nine journals, were published in Vienna and the Kingdom of Hungary during this period, four in the former and five in the latter. Regarding the duration of publication, the Latin newspapers of the Hungarian Kingdom were the longest-lived. The table clearly shows that the number of Neo-Latin periodicals in Hungary was already very significant in the eighteenth century, compared to the European Latin press as a whole. It also reveals that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it is the region with the most numerous and longest-running weekly Latin news periodicals in Europe. To understand the popularity of these Latin journals within Hungary, we should take into consideration their connections to the new narratives of national identity, their local specificities, and the motivations that drove their choice of language.<sup>4</sup>

Regarding national identity, Latin was the language of law and public life in the Kingdom of Hungary until 1844. This had two consequences. Firstly, any nobleman or burgher who wished to hold an official or public office was obliged not only to learn classical Latin but also its Hungarian Neo-Latin version. In addition, Latin became a symbol of independent Hungarian statehood and constitutional independence, rendering it a suitable vehicle for expressing distance from the Habsburg emperors as well as embodying aspirations towards independence. Latin, as the official language of the Kingdom of Hungary since its inception until 1844, became one of the symbols of the feudal political community: the Hungarian nobility.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, the Latin language was considered an appropriate means of representing multilingual Hungary as a cultural and political unity within the Habsburg Empire. Latin, therefore, became particularly important for non-Hungarian groups, such as members of the German- or Slovak-speaking bourgeoisie, or the Croatian nobility. In this case, Latin again functioned as a symbol of community, as the representation of the so-called ‘Hungarus’ consciousness whose origins could be traced to Hungary’s medieval past.<sup>6</sup> Finally, Latin was also considered an ideal medium primarily for those court-related efforts that aimed to represent the various linguistic and identity groups of the Habsburg Empire utilizing a politically and culturally grounded sense of community.<sup>7</sup>

4 On the context of the Latin press in Hungary see Piroska Balogh, ‘The Language Question and the Paradoxes of Latin Journalism in Eighteenth-century Hungary’, in *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. by Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 166–89; Andrea Seidler, ‘The Long Road of Hungarian Media to Multilingualism: On the Replacement of Latin in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Course of the Eighteenth Century’, in *Latin at the Crossroads*, ed. by Almási and Šubarić, pp. 152–65.

5 Henrik Hőnich, ‘Which Language and Which Nation? Mother Tongue and Political Languages: Insights from a Pamphlet Published in 1790’, in *Latin at the Crossroads*, ed. by Almási and Šubarić, pp. 35–63.

6 For the ‘Hungarus’ intellectuals the Latin language was, among other things, a cultural context, by which they wished to represent the whole of Hungarian culture as a unity. Cf. Éva Knapp and Gábor Tüskés, ‘Forerunners of Neo-Latin Philology and National History of Literature: The 18th Century’, in *Companion to the History of Neo-Latin Studies in Hungary*, ed. by István Bartók (Budapest: Universitas, 2005), pp. 37–54; Ambrus Miskolczy, ‘“Hungarus Consciousness” in the Age of Early Nationalism’, in *Latin at the Crossroads*, ed. by Almási and Šubarić, pp. 64–94.

7 For a case study illustrating the language policy of the Habsburg rulers see Per Pippin Aspaas and László Kontler, ‘Before and After 1773: Central European Jesuits, the Politics of Language and Discourses of Identity in the Late Eighteenth Century Habsburg Monarchy’, in *Latin at the Crossroads*, ed. by Almási and Šubarić, pp. 95–118.

Due to the multilingual environment of the Kingdom of Hungary, Latin also became, or remained, an important mediatory language in education. This is corroborated by the fact that the lingua franca of European science at this time was still primarily Latin.<sup>8</sup> The interaction of these political and cultural factors served to further enhance the role of Latin in Hungarian social and cultural life.<sup>9</sup> The first scientific Latin-language periodical in Hungary was published during 1721 and 1722. Edited by the scholar Matthias Bel, *Nova Posoniensia* [News from Pressburg] sought to emulate the scholarly tradition represented by the journal *Acta eruditorum* [Learned People's Notes], which was published in Leipzig.<sup>10</sup> A number of secondary- and higher-education teachers recognized that scientific journals were an excellent source of knowledge about contemporary innovations in science and culture, and therefore that teaching the cultural practice of reading newspapers was a vital educational task. Bel, who had graduated from Halle, followed the example of his former professor, August Hermann Francke, by explicitly attempting to put journalism at the service of Hungarian education.<sup>11</sup> After having completed the educational reform of the gymnasium in Banská Bystrica, he returned to his homeland and became the director of the Evangelical Lyceum in Pressburg in 1714; from 1718 he introduced the teaching of press literacy to the Hungarian, German, and Slovak-speaking students of the lyceum, encouraging them to read the *Acta eruditorum*.<sup>12</sup> However, Bel's concept of what constituted a school journal differed from the model represented by *Acta eruditorum*. The *Acta* was published monthly, and contained excerpts from academic books, scientific book reviews, and essays. Most of the articles were devoted to the natural sciences, mathematics, and philosophy, including contributions from such authors as Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Pierre-Simon, and Christian Wolff. Bel, however, considered it more important to enrich the students' knowledge of their homeland than to disseminate scientific knowledge. The *Nova Posoniensia*, which he founded, published mainly foreign and domestic news, along with more general content, such as reports of royal marriages, natural

- 8 Françoise Waquet, 'Latin', in *Finding Europe: Discourses in Margins, Communities, Images*, ed. by Anthony Molho and Diogo Ramada Curto (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2007), pp. 359–76; Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 45–57.
- 9 István Margócsy, 'When Language Became Ideology: Hungary in the Eighteenth Century', in *Latin at the Crossroads*, ed. by Almási and Šubarić, pp. 25–34; *Tanulmányok a magyar nyelv ügyének 18. századi történetéből* [Studies on the History of the Cause of the Hungarian Language in the Eighteenth Century], ed. by Ferenc Bíró (Budapest: Argumentum, 2005).
- 10 On Matthias Bel, see Gergely Tóth, 'Egy hungarus értelmiségi pályafutásának tipikus és egyedi vonásai: Bél Mátyás elfeledett (ön)életrajza' ['Typical and Unique Features of the Career of a "Hungarus" Intellectual: The Forgotten (Auto)biography of Matthias Bel'] *Történelmi Szemle*, 64.3 (2022), 417–45; and István Soós, 'Die "Notitia" von Matthias Bel und das Bild des neuen Ungarns, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Komitate von West-Ungarn (Ödenburg, Eisenburg, Sala)', in *Neuzeitliche Reisekultur im pannonischen Raum bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Internationales Kulturhistorisches Symposium Mengersdorf 2003*, ed. by Franz Rozman (Maribor: Univerza, 2005), pp. 47–68. For a detailed introduction to *Nova Posoniensia* see Béla Dezsényi, 'Die Anfänge des Zeitungswesens und des Zeitungslensens in Ungarn. Nova Posoniensia 1721–1722', *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae*, 13 (1971), 55–81. On the *Acta Eruditorum*, see Augustinus Hubertus Laeven and Lucia Johann Maria Laeven-Aretz, *The Authors and Reviewers of the Acta Eruditorum 1682–1735* (Molkenhoek, The Netherlands: 2014) [accessed 31 March 2023].
- 11 On Francke's pedagogy and journal publishing practice, see Peter James Yoder, *Pietism and the Sacraments: The Life and Theology of August Hermann Francke* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2020) and Arthur Bierbach, *Die Geschichte der Halleschen Zeitung, Landeszeitung für die Provinz Sachsen, für Anhalt und Thüringen. Eine Denkschrift aus Anlaß des 200-jährigen Bestehens der Zeitung am 25. Juni 1908* (Halle/Saale: Otto Thiele, 1908).
- 12 On the practice of reading newspapers in schools see Katalin Fehér, 'Iskolai újságotolvasás Magyarországon a 18. században' ['Reading Newspapers in Schools in Hungary in the Eighteenth Century'], *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 120.2 (2004), 131–50.

disasters, and scientific curiosities.<sup>13</sup> In addition, it included a monthly supplement, entitled *Syllabus rerum memorabilium*, which provided information on notable events and explained new geographical and historical terminologies and concepts. The goal of *Nova Posoniensia* was therefore not primarily to effect knowledge transfer between Hungarian scientific circles and the international scientific community. Its news section conveyed to students in Pressburg news from the wider world and their homeland, augmenting their geographical, historical, and cultural awareness. Finally, the collection of materials for publication in *Nova Posoniensia* became an integral part of Bel's regional research project to describe Hungary and the Hungarian population as a whole.<sup>14</sup> In order to do so, he was obliged to take into account the linguistic diversity of Hungary, and consequently the linguistic diversity of its prospective readers. The Latin language offered an appropriately neutral solution to this problem. The editor of *Nova Posoniensia* was thus exploiting three functions of Latin simultaneously: as the lingua franca of the Republic of Letters, as the official language of education, and as a means to address diverse ethnic groups in Pressburg and Hungary as a single community of readers.<sup>15</sup>

### The Ephemerides: A New Latin Press Genre in Hungary

The threefold social and cultural function of the Latin language gave birth to a specific genre of journalism in Hungary during the eighteenth century, one which met real social needs. The so-called 'ephemerides' denoted a Latin-language newspaper published twice a week. The term ephemerides itself had previously been used to mean 'diary'.<sup>16</sup> During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a special sub-genre, the astronomical ephemerides, also developed.<sup>17</sup> These originally consisted of large tables indicating the future positions of a planet, comet, or satellite. This sub-genre later described annual publications that marked the celestial positions of the sun, moon, and planets for the year ahead, and included information concerning eclipses and astronomical constants. One of the most important astronomical ephemerides of the eighteenth century was also associated with Hungary. The distinguished astronomer of Hungarian origin, Maximilian Hell, published the *Ephemerides Astronomicae ad Meridianum Vindobonensem* [Astronomical Diary from Vienna] in Vienna annually between 1757 and 1792.<sup>18</sup> The journal contained primarily astronomical tables but also featured short studies and reports on astronomy. Hell's journal was one of the specialist academic journals of its time, its target audience being skilled specialists in various scientific disciplines. Eighteenth-century medical ephemerides shared a similar readership and a comparable

13 The title of the journal, even if not intentionally, refers to the title of the *Miscellanea Nova Lipsiensia*, published at the same time and mainly for scientific, political, and literary news.

14 The results of Matthias Bel's statistical research are summarized in the volumes of *Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica*, 5 vols (Vienna, 1735–42). For its presentation, see Gergely Tóth, 'Introduction', in *Matthias Bel: Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica. Comitatum ineditorum tomus I. Operi edendo praefuit Gregorius Tóth. Textum recensuerunt notisque instruxerunt Ladislaus Glück, Zoltan Gózszy, Gregorius Tóth*, ed. by László Glück, Zoltán Gózszy, and Gergely Tóth (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2011) pp. 23–35.

15 The fact that the *Nova Posoniensia* was an effective introduction to the practice of scientific Latin journalism is well demonstrated by the scholarly career of Carl Andreas Bel, son of Matthias Bel. Carl Andreas, who studied under his father's guidance and completed his father's research project, became an extraordinary professor of philosophy and ordinary professor of poetry at the University of Leipzig, and president of the academy and the Royal Library in Leipzig. Between 1751 and 1781 he edited the *Acta eruditorum*. See István Gál, 'Boswell Bél Mátyás fiánál' ['Boswell Visits Matthias Bel's Son'] *Filológiai Szemle*, 11.3–4 (1965), 378–79.

16 Josef L. Altholz, 'A Note on Ephemerides', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 26.1 (1993), 28.

17 Wolfgang Kokott, 'Astronomische Längenbestimmung in Der Frühen Neuzeit', *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 79.2 (1995), 165–72.

18 On the significance and context of the journal see Per Pippin Aspås and László Kontler, *Maximilian Hell (1720–92) and the Ends of Jesuit Science in Enlightenment Europe* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020).

format, such as the *Academiae Caesaro-Leopoldinae Naturae Curiosorum Ephemerides, sive, Observationum medico-physicarum* [Daily News from Emperor Leo's Academy of Natural Sciences, or Medical and Physical Observations], published by Christoph Riegel in Frankfurt and Leipzig between 1712 and 1722.

The three Hungarian ephemerides that will be discussed in more detail here cannot be called academic journals, however. The first, as its name — *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* [News from Vienna] — indicates, was also printed in Vienna, by the Kurzbeck printing house.<sup>19</sup> The journal was published once then twice a week, in octavo format, with two columns per page. Like every later Hungarian ephemerides, it advertised for subscriptions in other journals and sent copies to its readers by post. It is important to bear in mind that during this period, the distribution of periodicals by post was subject to the approval of the Royal Hungarian Governing Council, and each issue had to be checked and accepted by an official censor before publication. Unfortunately, neither subscriber lists nor editorial correspondence have survived in the case of the ephemerides journals discussed here, so we can only hypothesize about their correspondents, and the number and profile of their readers. That *Ephemerides Posonienses* remained in publication for longer than the other two journals may be explained by a combination of strong patronage and a large readership.

Queen Maria Theresa's decree on education, the *Ratio Educationis* of 1777, prescribed the reading of newspapers for educational purposes. During the preparation of the decree, which took almost three years, the Croatian-Hungarian József Keresztury (Josip Keresturi) became aware of this instruction, which may plausibly have persuaded him to launch the *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* in 1776.<sup>20</sup> The association between the decree and the launching of the periodical is supported by several pieces of evidence. These include the invitation for subscriptions, which specifically drew attention to

19 The journal is described in detail by György Kókay, *Az Ephemerides Vindobonenses, 1776–1785* (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1958); Balogh, 'The Language Question', pp. 171–74; and Stipe Ledić, 'Josip Keresturi – javno djelovanje i politička misao' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Zagreb, 2018), pp. 110–26.

20 Mijo Korade, 'Obrana hrvatstva u djelima Josipa Keresturija' ['Defence of the Croatian Identity in the Works of Josip Keresturi'], *Dani Hvarskog kazališta: hrvatsko kajkavsko pjesništvo do preporoda*, 19.1 (1993), 154–63. *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* was published before *Ratio educationis*, which could easily lead to the misunderstanding that the provision of the educational decree for reading newspapers in schools was based on the existing journal. However, the preparation of the *Ratio educationis* was a long process, starting as early as 1775. György Kókay's paper has convincingly demonstrated that the call for subscriptions to the *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* clearly followed at every point the manuscript draft of the Piarist schoolmaster Celestin Piller on the method and importance of the 'studium novorum', or school newspaper reading. This manuscript was an important preparatory material for the *Ratio educationis*, and it was not difficult for Keresztury, who was well connected at the royal court, to obtain it. As journal publishing was an economically difficult enterprise at the time, Keresztury probably sensed a gap in the market that would open in the near future, although he ultimately failed to turn his newspaper into a financially viable business. Based on Kókay's research, it can be assumed that the disappearance of Keresztury's newspaper was connected with Joseph II's decree of 1785, which required the use of German instead of Latin in education and public life. See György Kókay, 'Ephemerides Vindobonenses', *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 73.4 (1957), 347–59; and Teodora Šek Brnardić, 'The Enlightenment's Choice of Latin: The Ratio Educationis of 1777 in the Kingdom of Hungary', in *Latin at the Crossroads*, ed. by Almási and Šubarić, pp. 119–51.



the paper's intention to provide useful reading matter for students.<sup>21</sup> The journal was published twice a week, which, according to the *Ratio Educationis*, was precisely how often students in secondary schools were obliged to read a newspaper. The content structure was somewhat fluid and varied frequently. The main section primarily contained political and cultural news, though not exclusively from Vienna and the lands of the Holy Roman Empire, and was divided by the areas (Germania, Austria, Hungaria, or Anglia, Turcia, etc.) to which the news related. Occasionally, and mainly in the Hungarian context, other thematic subsections also appeared, such as *Res litterariae* [News on Culture], *Literatura* [Literary Culture], or *Artes* [Arts], which included book reviews, and cultural and educational articles. On occasion, *Oeconomica* [Economy] or *Res commercia* [Commerce] promoted economic knowledge, whilst *Medica* [Medicine] provided basic medical information. According to its editor, the journal was intended for educated people, the aim being to popularize science following the model of the French *Journal encyclopédique*.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, Keresztury referred to the political profile of the paper, which was aimed not only at Hungarians but at all those living in the Habsburg Empire, especially Croats, Slavonians, Dalmatians, and Transylvanians.<sup>23</sup> He also expected *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* to be popular with Polish readers, since the Latin language still played a very important role at this time in Polish culture.<sup>24</sup> It is worth noting that, besides Hungarians, a large number of Croat readers, for whom Latin was a second language, were foregrounded in the masthead. It was no coincidence that the front page of the magazine featured the imperial eagle and the coat of arms of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine, flanked by Chronos/Saturnus with wings and scythe, and Mercurius, the god of messengers. The *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* thus aspired to be representative of a form of imperial community consciousness, articulated through the medium of the Latin language.

Published between 1790 and 1793 in Buda, the Latin-language *Ephemerides Budenses* [News from Buda] had strong associations with the *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* of Vienna, in terms of the Latin wording of both the title and its main sections, 'Politica'

- 21 The editor's call for the readers specifically mentions that this magazine provided very useful knowledge and language skills for young people: 'Iuventuti quoque, quae literis operam nauat, paginae hae nostrae per quam utiliter legendae proponuntur, vt eadem opera & historiam huius aevi cognoscat, & res nostrorum temporum latinem eloqui discat, quem usum illi sola classicorum auctorum lectio praestare non posse videtur.' ['To the youth also, who devotes effort to literacy skills, these pages will be presented for reading with great usefulness, so that through the same work, they may become acquainted with the history of this age and learn to speak the Latin language of our times, a skill which seems not to be provided by the reading of only the works of classical authors.'] 'Lectori salutem', *Ephemerides Vindobonenses*, 1 (21 May 1776) (without signature and page numbering, published before the first issue). It is important to point out that the expression 'literis operam nauat' does not refer to young people interested in literature and fiction, but to those who wanted to acquire the literary skills necessary for a career in office, court or education, since those careers required the active and sophisticated use of the Neo-Latin language of the period.
- 22 Jacques Wagner, 'La modernité dans le *Journal Encyclopédique* de Pierre Rousseau (1756–1786)', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 102.4 (2002), 545–61.
- 23 The orientation towards the Croatian reading public may be explained by the fact that Keresztury came from a Croatian family from Stridóvár. Accordingly, his work has for a long time been a subject of scholarly interest in Croatia. On the special role of Latin language in Croatia, see Lav Šubarić, Neven Jovanović, Johanna Luggin, and Luka Špoljarić, eds, *Neo-Latin Contexts in Croatia and Tyrol: Challenges, Prospects, Case Studies* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2018).
- 24 On the special role of the Latin language in Polish history and culture, see Jerzy Axer, 'Latin in Poland and East-Central Europe: Continuity and Discontinuity', *European Review*, 2 (1994), 305–09; Jerzy Axer, 'Latin as the Second Language of the Polish Republic's Noblemen's Nation', in *Terra Marique: The Cultural Intercourse Between the European Center and Periphery in Modern Time*, ed. by Jan Kieniewicz (Warsaw: OBTA, 2001), pp. 59–63; and Enikő Békés and Emőke Rita Szilágyi, eds, *Latinitas Polona: A latin nyelv szerepe és jelentősége a történelmi Lengyelország kora újkori irodalmában* [Latinitas Polona: The Role and Significance of the Latin Language in the Early Modern Literature of Historical Poland] (Budapest: Reciti, 2014).

[Political News] and 'Litteraria' [Cultural News].<sup>25</sup> The political section often featured news from Vienna and Hungary, while the cultural section frequently contained educational news. The typographical similarity was reinforced by its octavo format. The journal's iconography, therefore, suggests that it was published in accordance with an existing tradition, one that was officially supported and recognized by the court. However, the date and location of the launch of *Ephemerides Budenses* coincided with the 1790–92 session of the Hungarian parliament, where the explicit goal of the Hungarian estates was to strengthen and extend Hungarian constitutional autonomy. The *Ephemerides* published continuous and detailed news about this Diet, and its tone was far from loyal to the court. Although the journal's expressive masthead was visually similar to the front page of *Ephemerides Vindobonenses*, the nature and range of their content differed significantly. Among the many crests that surrounded the emblem, the largest was the Hungarian coat of arms, in the centre, while the Croatian coat of arms was also prominently featured. In the middle of the emblem was a representation of the Royal Castle of Buda, built in the fifteenth century by King Matthias, which was at that historical moment one of the most powerful architectural symbols of a previously independent Hungary.

It is also evident that the *Ephemerides Budenses* represented very different linguistic priorities to those of the *Ephemerides Vindobonenses*. An examination of the journal's news and book reviews from this perspective reveals the outlines of an explicit programme of language cultivation, with a focus on Hungarian. The editor Pál Spielenberg, in his programmatic statement that became known as *Monita de Lingua et theatro hungarico stabiliendo* [Call for the Improvement of the Hungarian Language and the Hungarian Theatre], gave a concise summary of this programme.<sup>26</sup> Spielenberg established that the development of the Hungarian language was an essential condition for the development of Hungarian sciences, arts, industry, commerce, and national existence in general. It was followed by a list of actions deemed necessary in order to develop a language cultivation programme. The first was the elimination of multilingualism in Hungary. The author proposed that in non-Hungarian-speaking villages and towns, young children should be nursed by Hungarian-speaking nannies and servants so that they would learn Hungarian through mutual communication, and thereafter be educated in Hungarian-language local schools. The next step was to make Hungarian the official language of the country. Finally, the position of Hungarian needed to be strengthened in the cultural sphere, principally by means of the construction of theatres for Hungarian-language companies, and the creation of philological societies. The proposed programme strongly influenced the thematic composition of the *Ephemerides*, particularly in relation to the large proportion of news and reviews it published that focused on the development of the Hungarian language, almost every issue of which included at least one item on the subject.

In this context, the obvious question is why the editors of *Ephemerides Budenses* chose Latin as an intermediary language for a radical Hungarian-language programme. One possible answer is that, by using the Latin language, the aim was to conceal and moderate the radicalism of the programme, particularly in order to evade censorship. The editorial statements, as well as the format and subject matter of the articles, suggest that in using the Latin language the editors were targeting those readers who had primarily

25 Piroska Balogh and Márton Szilágyi, 'Ephemerides Budenses o problemach uzywania jezika wegierskiego', in *Latinitas Hungarica: Łacina w kulturze węgierskiej*, ed. by Jerzy Axer and Łaszłó Szörényi (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, Wydział Artes Liberales UW, 2013), pp. 439–79.

26 *Ephemerides Budenses* (29 October 1792), appendix. It is no coincidence that in 1837 this programme was translated into Hungarian: this was the time when its radical stance on behalf of Hungarian language found followers (translated in *Honművész* [22 December 1837]).

learnt about public events initially in other living European languages (German, Italian, or French) but had little access to local Hungarian news in these languages. This group can hypothetically be identified with teachers and students of newspaper-reading seminars. The target audience also included readers from the nobility who valued the traditional use of Latin in Hungarian public life perhaps more than the potential spread of the Hungarian language. Finally, it incorporated all those who were living in Hungary but whose native language was not Hungarian. These involved the mostly civic and intellectual strata of the society, particularly those who regarded themselves principally as ‘Hungarus’. Consequently, *Ephemerides Budenses* was intended to be a vehicle for an educational Hungarian-language programme. More precisely, Latin was functioning here only temporarily as a medium for the multilingual audience of Hungary. Its goal was to prepare the ground for Hungarian journalism and to broaden a readership base of those who understood and preferred to use the Hungarian language.

### Knowledge Exchange in the *Ephemerides Statistico-Politicae / Psonienses*

Had the Hungarian language programme of *Ephemerides Budenses* been as successful as its editor, Pál Spielenberg, had hoped, the third Hungarian ephemerides, *Ephemerides Psonienses* [News from Pressburg], may not have been established, and would have been unlikely to have survived as it did for more than three decades. The complete title of the journal was *Ephemerides statistico-politico-oeconomico-litterariae* [News about Statistics, Politics, Economy, and Culture] and it was first published in Pressburg in 1804, in similar form and format as the previous two *Ephemerides*. Its first editor was Alajos György Belnay, a professor of history at the Pressburg Academy.<sup>27</sup> After Belnay’s death, Antal Faber, a professor of history at the same academy, took over the editorship from 1809 to 1813.<sup>28</sup> He was followed by István Cselkó, a professor of Hungarian literature, and finally by Belnay’s son-in-law, Pál Kováts, a censor and teacher at the Pressburg Gymnasium from 1828 to 1838.<sup>29</sup> *Ephemerides Psonienses* was the longest-living journal of the three Hungarian ephemerides, at a time when Latin journalism had almost disappeared in Europe.<sup>30</sup> In addition, *Ephemerides Psonienses* published several supplements: in Belnay’s period, *Neovidenses / Regnum Mortuorum* [News of Neuwied / Empire of the Dead], *Appendix ad Ephemerides latinas complectens physico-oconomica* [Appendix to the Latin Ephemerides on Physico-Oeconomics], and *Relationes litterariae* [Cultural News]. Pál Kováts later also published a supplement to the newspaper, entitled *Alveare* [Beehive], in 1837–38.

27 Georg Aloy Belnay (1766–1809) graduated in liberal arts from the University of Buda. From 1788 he taught philosophy at the Pécs Academy, and from 1792 until his death he was professor of history at the Pozsony (now Bratislava) Academy. In his pamphlet *Reflexiones* (Pozsony, 1790) he expressed bourgeois aspirations in opposition to the privileges of the nobility. For his biography see *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* (Wien, 1856), vol. 1, 248. Cf. Veronika Lipp, ‘Belnay György Alajos latin nyelvű magyar historia litterariája’ [Georg Aloys Belnay’s Latin Book on the Hungarian Literary History], in *Historia litteraria a XVIII. században* [Literary History in the Eighteenth Century], ed. by Rumen István Csörsz, Béla Hegedűs, and Gábor Tüskés (Budapest: Universitas, 2006), pp. 162–74.

28 Antal Faber (1772–1854) graduated in law from the University of Buda. He taught universal history at the Nagyvárad (now Oradea) Academy between 1801 and 1804, later at the Pozsony (now Bratislava) Academy until 1841.

29 István Cselkó (1773–1837) was professor of literature at the Pozsony (now Bratislava) Academy between 1812 and 1837. Pál Kováts (1788–1867) taught history at the Pozsony (now Bratislava) Gymnasium; later he became the chairman of the study committee of the Hungarian Royal Governor Council, school councillor, and censor.

30 Its relatively late and extended publication span attracted the attention of the Latin writer and neo-Latin literary historian Dirk/Theodericus Sacré. See Theodericus Sacré, ‘Ab oblivione vindicentur ... “Ephemerides statistico-politicae” (1804)’, *Melissa*, 38.221 (2021), 4–11.

The iconography of *Ephemerides Posenienses*' masthead merits close examination. The engraving shows the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Hungary with the Holy Crown and with the inscription 'Cum Caesareo-Regio Privilegio' ['By Imperial and Royal Privilege'], suggesting that the journal intended to continue both the nobility-centred nationalist line of *Ephemerides Budenses* and the imperial concept that underpinned *Ephemerides Vindobonenses*. The two images of the masthead are linked to a mythical-allegorical land, Arcadia. On the right side, the figure with the lyre and Pegasus represents poetry and the humanities, and on the left side, a landowner and a peasant ploughing a field are allegories of agriculture and economy. This might have been intended as a visual reference to the wide range of topics covered in the journal, which included articles on statistics, economics, culture, poetry, and aesthetics. It might also plausibly be interpreted as a fusion of the world of ideas and the practical world. The latter interpretation may be confirmed by the front page of the *Alveare* supplement, which shows a beehive with the inscription 'Fundit cum nectare lucem' ['It sheds light along with nectar']. This suggests that the supplement was intended to serve both a theoretical, knowledge-providing, educative role, a kind of enlightenment, as well as a 'sweet', entertaining, pleasing, aesthetic purpose, the two objectives mutually supporting each other.<sup>31</sup>

In terms of content, *Ephemerides Posenienses* had the broadest spectrum of the three journals examined here. It reported on political and cultural events not only from the Kingdom of Hungary and Europe but also beyond them. Its readers were informed about a diverse range of news items, including for example the difficulties of Tokaj wine production, the death of Immanuel Kant, storms in Louisiana, and the revolution and constitutional process in Haiti under Jean-Jacques Dessalines. Although Hungarian press history suggests that most of the news was sourced from the *Pressburger Zeitung*, the *Ephemerides Posenienses* often referred to the French *Journal de Paris* and the English *Morning Chronicle*.<sup>32</sup> The editors of *Ephemerides* did not attempt to investigate events themselves but rather tended to select news from other sources, which they collected, selected, adapted, and translated into Latin. A consequence of such a process of transformation and translation is that it is almost impossible to distinguish which news was taken directly from a French or English newspaper and which was transmitted by German newspapers. The inspiration for the establishment of a mainly statistical-economic journal may have come from *Éphémérides du citoyen* (1767–72), a journal founded by Nicolas Baudeau, a popular French physiocrat in East-Central

31 This phrase refers to Virgil's analogy in the *Georgics* suggesting that bees and poets are similar because they both provide (physical or intellectual) food for humans. This is confirmed by the fact that the motto of *Alveare*'s editorial programme (Pál Kováts, 'Programma', *Alveare*, 1.1 [1837], 3–7) is also a quote from *Georgics*: 'dulcia mella premes, nec tantum dulcia, / quantum et liquida et durum Bacchi domitura saporem' ['Sweet honey, nor yet so sweet as passing clear, / And mellowing on the tongue the wine-god's fire'] (Vergilius, *Georgica*, 4, 101–02). Cf. Alex Hardie, 'The Epilogue to the *Georgics* and Vergil's Nurturing Bees', *Vergilius*, 66 (2020), 35–67. However, the metaphor of the bee is also associated here with the central visual motif of the Enlightenment, the metaphor of light. Cf. Rolf Reichardt and Deborah Louise Cohen, 'Light against Darkness: The Visual Representations of a Central Enlightenment Concept', *Representations*, 61 (1998), 95–148.

32 On the *Pressburger Zeitung* and its context see Rozália Márkus, *Literaturrezeption und Literaturvermittlung in den Beiblättern von Pest-Ofener und Pressburger deutschsprachigen Zeitungen von 1810 bis 1847* (München: Institut für deutsche Kultur und Geschichte Südosteuropas IKGS, 2010). The *Journal de Paris* was published between 1777 and 1840. Cf. Elizabeth Andrews, 'Between Auteurs and Abonnés: Reading the *Journal de Paris*, 1787–1789', *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, 37 (2009), 135–47. The *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* was founded in 1769 by William Woodfall as publisher, editor, and reporter. Cf. Ivon Asquith, 'Advertising and the Press in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: James Perry and the *Morning Chronicle* 1790–1821', *The Historical Journal*, 18.4 (1975), 703–724.

Europe at the time.<sup>33</sup> In addition, the occasional but not infrequent *Oeconomica* section in the *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* may also, in turn, have inspired the publishers of the *Ephemerides Posonienses*.

Such diversity of content, and the ways in which local and Hungarian news, and its culturally-specific controversies, were located in a broader, even universal context, is also characteristic of the composition of the supplements. The *Regnum Mortuorum* supplement was long regarded as a Latin translation of the journal *Politische Gespräche der Todten / Reich der Todten / Gespräche im Reiche der Todten / Neuwieder Zeitung*, published by Moritz Flavius Teenk von Tonder in Neuwied since 1786.<sup>34</sup> However, when compared with the contemporary Latin translation of the *Neuwieder Zeitung* published in Vienna by Stephan Rosenman, it is noticeable that Belnay supplemented the fictionalized and satirical conversations in which famous historical and long-deceased individuals discussed current European events with Latin poems from Hungary, and occasional Latin literary writings relating to significant local events.<sup>35</sup> As the iconography of the journal's title and the masthead indicate, the diversity of themes and genres also performed a significant role in the promotion of scholarly knowledge, in disciplines that had not hitherto been part of the spectrum of Latin journalism. While professional knowledge of statistics, political science, and economics were afforded prominent places in the pages of *Ephemerides Posonienses*, the journal also included literature and poetry, not only in the form of book reviews but also of various genres of fiction and essays on contemporary aesthetics.

Special attention should be drawn to the already mentioned appendix of *Ephemerides Posonienses*, entitled *Alveare* [Beehive]. This supplement was published in the last two years of the journal, 1837–38, and demonstrates the strategy the editors of the Latin journal adopted to increase its readership, which was probably by that time rapidly decreasing. The supplement followed the pattern of the miscellanea periodicals, publishing articles of mixed content and genre without columns or a clear structure.<sup>36</sup> The first striking feature is the inclusion of Hungarian-language articles. In eighteen months, *Alveare* published 852 articles of diverse genres and subject matter, 116 of which were published in Hungarian, the others in Latin. It is worth examining whether an editorial concept guided the choice of language of the individual articles. The fact that editor Pál Kováts published thirteen per cent of the texts in Hungarian suggests that he felt that there was a strong expectation on behalf of the readership that certain types of texts should be issued in Hungarian. More than half of the articles published in the *Alveare* were reports on events, phenomena, and books from outside Hungary, all of

33 Earle E. Coleman, 'Éphémérides Du Citoyen, 1767–1772', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 56.1 (1962), 17–45.

34 The 'Totengespräche' was a popular genre of the eighteenth-century press, whose fictional concept was of current news and events being discussed by famous, long-dead people on the fields of Elysium. The concept can be traced back to the ancient author Lucian's work, *The Conversations of the Dead*. Cf. Stephanie Dreyfürst, *Stimmen aus dem Jenseits: David Fassmanns historisch-politisches Journal 'Gespräche in dem Reich derer Todten' (1718–1740)* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2014) and Karl d'Ester, *Das politische Elysium oder die Gespräche der Todten am Rhein. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Presse* (Neuwied: Strüder, 1936).

35 The translation was published as an appendix to the journal edited by Rosenman in Vienna (*Europa / Caes. ac. Caes. Reg. privilegiatae Ephemerides Viennenses*, 1806–1814). Cf. Margit Szekeres, 'Regnum Mortuorum', *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 71.1–2 (1955), 131–34.

36 Two main types of excerpts were distinguished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: one followed a strict division or grouping ('collectanea'), the other did not appear to have an explicit grouping ('miscellanea' or 'adversaria'). Collections of 'collectanea', 'adversaria', and 'miscellanea' were manuscript books, but they could also occasionally appear in print. In the eighteenth century, with the spread of periodicals, 'miscellanea'-type collections also influenced the press, with the appearance of periodicals with mixed content without a definite structure. Cf. Elisabeth Décultot, *Lesen, Kopieren, Schreiben: Lese- und Exzerprierkunst in der europäischen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts, Übersetzt aus dem Französischen* (Berlin: Ripperger & Kremers, 2014).

them in Latin. The articles on events, phenomena, institutions, and books from Hungary were written in both Hungarian and Latin, and a consistency seems to emerge in the choice of language. Those institutions, books, and phenomena that were often referred to as ‘national’ were regularly reported in Hungarian. For example, news about the National Museum, the Hungarian Scientific Society (Hungarian Academy of Sciences), Hungarian drama and the National Theatre, Hungarian-language national periodicals, Hungarian national railway construction, and the great Danube flood of 1838, reported as a national disaster, were printed in Hungarian. Thus, where issues perceived by the editor to be intrinsic to the national Hungarian narrative were concerned, he complied with the emerging contemporary view that those matters should be addressed exclusively in the Hungarian language.<sup>37</sup>

The same editorial strategy is outlined in the essays on social problems. Although the editor does not comment on the essays explicitly, it is conceivably no coincidence that the essays on such topics as the freedom of the press, education, ancestry, and equality were published in Hungarian, while essays such as ‘Dignitas hominis et iurium aequalitas cum feminis communis’ [‘Human Dignity and Equality of Human Rights also Apply to Women’], ‘Libertas contra libertatem’ [‘Freedom against Liberty’], ‘Verus et primitivus “Contractus socialis”’ [‘Real and Primitive “Social Contract”’], ‘De elementaribus ideis et principiis moderna oeconomiae nationalis’ [‘On the Fundamental Ideas and Principles of the Modern National Economy’] were issued in Latin. The choice of language, therefore, drew a clear distinction between essays that addressed the particular national concerns of the Hungarian public sphere, which were printed in the Hungarian language, and those of more general or universal concern, which appeared in Latin. In this sense, the use of Latin may have functioned as a kind of literary and intellectual filter for the readership.<sup>38</sup> However, in the case of literary or artistic texts, the editor based the language choice on genre. The drama ‘Policinello Utazása’ [‘Policinello’s Travels’] by an anonymous author, published in several sections in *Alveare*, was in Hungarian.<sup>39</sup> Hungarian-language greeting poems were included among the occasional poems, while the other lyrical texts were in Latin. And although the short story was a popular genre in Hungarian newspapers of the time, no artistic prose was included in *Alveare*. In his choice of language for artistic texts, the editor seems to have followed the linguistic preferences of contemporary Hungarian literature by genres: lyrical poetry dominates the neo-Latin literature, while prose works are mostly not written in Latin. Moreover, from the late eighteenth century the genre of drama was symbolically linked to the development of the Hungarian language and the shaping of the Hungarian historical narrative. The *Alveare* thus provides a highly suggestive impression of the expectations of its readers and the segments of the public that the editor considered accessible and impressionable, using Latin or Hungarian for certain themes and genres. It is also significant that, although the *Ephemerides Posonienses* itself did not publish explicitly ecclesiastical news, the *Alveare* did: the ecclesiastical context is prominent in both news and essays, as well as in occasional poems and personal reports (such as appointments and

37 The so-called ‘Pyrker debate’ was an important stage in the longer process of excluding from Hungarian national literature the texts written by a Hungarian author but not in Hungarian (mostly in Latin or German). This was a dominant issue in Hungarian cultural discourse in the early 1830s. Cf. Orsolya Tamássy-Lénárt, ‘Ein prägendes literaturhistorisches Ereignis des 19. Jahrhunderts: Die Pyrker-Debatte und die Rolle des Grafen Johann Mailáth (1786–1855)’, in *Ereignis in Sprache, Literatur und Kultur. Event in Language, Literature and Culture*, ed. by József Tóth and László V. Szabó (Berlin: Peter Lang Verlag, 2021), pp. 163–74.

38 The qualification ‘prestige language’ is certainly applicable to these functions of Latin. Cf. Henry Kahane, ‘A Typology of the Prestige Language’, *Language*, 62 (1986), 495–508.

39 ‘Policinello Utazása’ [‘Policinello’s Travels’], *Alveare*, 1.2 (1837), 5–11, 17–22, 33–46, 49–56, 65–76, 81–87, 97–107 and 1.3 (1837), 17–25.

obituaries). The editors appear to have recognized that ecclesiastical readers, especially among the Roman Catholic community, provided a solid base of support for the use of Latin, and it is this base that *Alveare* wanted to claim as its readership.

To conclude, the editorial practice of synchronism, which *Alveare's* editorial programme emphasized, clearly revealed the perspectives, problems, and intentions of Latin journalism in the nineteenth century.<sup>40</sup> The term 'Synchronism' refers to the synoptic methodology of the Göttingen school of historiography, especially that of Johann Christoph Gatterer.<sup>41</sup> The essence of this method is that local or peripheral phenomena should always be seen in a synchronous, global context and that continuous interaction between the two horizons, the local periphery and the global core, should be maintained. *Alveare* maps this specific interaction at the linguistic level. While the horizon of locality is increasingly presented in the Hungarian texts, the global core context is made visible in the Latin texts. In this way, the function of Latin journalism can be conceptualized as a kind of broad-minded knowledge transfer, a cultural interaction between the global core and the local periphery. But the journal *Ephemerides Posonienses* was also inspired by more pragmatic editorial strategies and reader expectations. Considering that the editors of *Ephemerides Posonienses* were teachers and professors from the institutes of Pressburg, it is reasonable to assume that the journal continued the tradition of the school journal *Nova Posoniensia*. The decision to use Latin may have been influenced by the multilingual nature of cultural life in Pressburg. However, the interest of Pressburg citizens alone would not have kept the paper alive for more than three decades. By retaining the local news-focused character of *Ephemerides Budenses* without a radical Hungarian language programme, and by placing the imperial cultural agenda of *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* in a universal context, *Ephemerides Posonienses* cleverly attracted to its readership both educated Hungarian nobles and the German-speaking Hungarian citizens, regardless of their political affiliation. Although no data exist for the exact number of copies printed for each edition of the journal, the fact that it can be found in several libraries in Hungary and Transylvania demonstrates that it attracted nationwide interest. Its strong profiles in the popularization of science and literature, a novelty compared to the two previous iterations of ephemerides, may have played a decisive role in the breadth of its spatial distribution. In the first half of the nineteenth century, while the possibilities for the dissemination of Latin literature, which belonged mainly to manuscript culture, were in decline, Latin poetry itself remained very popular. The editors of the *Ephemerides Posonienses* understood that a publication that met some of the needs of this already-existing literary segment, which was slowly being excluded from newer forms of the public sphere, would generate public interest. On the other hand, the Hungarian vocabulary of the sciences and professions was developed and shaped in the first half of the nineteenth century. Thus, anyone who wished to acquire up-to-date knowledge of economics, statistics, political science, or even aesthetics and philosophy, could obtain such information mainly from books and journals in German. The terminology of these sciences and professions was, for linguistic reasons, much easier to translate into Latin than into Hungarian, so the Latin-language publications of the *Ephemerides Posonienses* provided a sound alternative for those who were well-read in Latin but less literate in German. The *Ephemerides Posonienses* was not, therefore, an anachronistic periodical for lovers of classical culture. Continuing the tradition of the Hungarian

40 Pál Kováts, 'Programma', *Alveare*, 1.1 (1837), 3–7.

41 Cf. Martin Gierl, *Geschichte als präzisierte Wissenschaft: Johann Christoph Gatterer und die Historiographie des 18. Jahrhunderts im ganzen Umfang* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: frommann-holzboog, 2012), pp. 365–86. and Helge Jordheim, 'Synchronizing the World: Synchronism as Historiographical Practice, Then and Now', *History of the Present*, 7.1 (2017), 59–95.

ephemerides, it responded to real social needs for information and played a valuable role in the cultural life of the multilingual, multi-ethnic Kingdom of Hungary even in the nineteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

The two-way nature of this cultural knowledge transfer process is much harder to detect. It is clear that scientific journals such as Maximilian Hell's *Ephemerides astronomicae* were known throughout Europe and beyond and transmitted valuable professional knowledge in this direction. The three Hungarian ephemerides discussed in detail here, however, were not scientific journals, nor were they primarily concerned with communicating Hungarian scientific or cultural achievements to Western European knowledge centres. Nevertheless, there are signs that Western European newspapers knew and quoted from these ephemerides journals.<sup>43</sup> There is also some evidence that the editors were well aware of the foreign impact of their papers.<sup>44</sup> At another level of such cultural knowledge exchange, Hungarian authors familiar with the cultural practices of Latin journalism were more comfortable publishing their writings in the Latin journals of Western Europe. This may be seen in the presence of Hungarian authors, and the presentation of Neo-Latin literature in Hungary, in the Neo-Latin journal *Annales Literarii Helmstadiensis* [Literary Annals of Helmstedt].<sup>45</sup> However, a detailed account of this phenomenon is a task for a future research project.

It is therefore evident that the persistent presence and involvement of Neo-Latin journals in Hungarian print culture until the middle of the nineteenth century served real readership needs. Additionally, the Hungarian Neo-Latin press developed a local media character that was different from the functions of the European Neo-Latin press. The first eighteenth-century Latin periodicals in Hungary were born in the spirit of the pattern adoption so typical of peripheral regions and, following the example of their Western European models, were primarily concerned with the transmission of scientific knowledge. However, the appearance and surprising popularity of the new Latin media genre, the ephemerides, led to the development of different kinds of periodicals. This periodical genre was best represented by the journal *Ephemerides Pisonienses*, published for more than three decades in the first half of the nineteenth century. This periodical, together with its appendixes, targeted and achieved a wider knowledge exchange between the global core and the local periphery, politics and culture, art and science, utility and entertainment. *Ephemerides Pisonienses* did not simply report news from across the world, as *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* had done, but found a global framework, based on statistics, and global themes, such as the social impact of cultural institutions, human rights, and concepts of freedom, that cast fresh light on local conditions and

42 The popularity and importance of the *Ephemerides Pisonienses* is also demonstrated by the fact that in 1842 Pál Nagy, a respected Hungarian journalist and newspaper editor, applied to the Governor's Council for permission to continue the recently suspended *Ephemerides Pisonienses*, under the title *Budenses Ephemerides Politico-Statisticae*, in Buda. His request was rejected. See Béla Dezsényi, 'Legrégibb hírlapjaink életrajzához' ['To the History of Our Oldest Journals'], *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 64.4 (1940), 353.

43 There is a reference to *Ephemerides Budenses* in *Intelligenzblatt der Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, 171 (25 December 1790), 1420. About *Ephemerides Pisonienses*, see *Intelligenzblatt der Leipziger Literatur Zeitung*, 79 (2 April 1814), 627; *The American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review*, 4.1 (1818), 79; *Hesperus, encyclopädische Zeitschrift für gebildete Leser*, 26.3 (1820), 103. Detailed news from the *Ephemerides Pisonienses* is cited in *Börsen-Halle. Hamburgische Abendzeitung für Handel, Schiffahrt und Politik*, 10.12 (28 November 1833), 6; and *Gazetta Piemontese*, 77 (24 June 1821), 1.

44 When Josip Keresztury announced to readers the difficulties and expected termination of his journal, he also pointed out that *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* had been welcomed not only at home but also abroad. See *Ephemerides Vindobonenses*, 103 (27 December 1785), 619.

45 *Annales literarii Helmstadiensis* was published between 1782 and 1789, in Helmstedt of Lower Saxony, largely as a one-man publishing enterprise, edited by Heinrich Philipp Conrad Henke (1752–1809). Georg Aloys Szerdahely and Alexius Horányi, both Hungarian authors writing in Latin, published here. The journal published reviews of Latin works by Georg Aloys Szerdahely, Krizosztom János Hannulik, István Katona, János Molnár, and Keresztély János Horváth, among others.



controversies, and addressed these issues on a theoretical level as well as through case studies. In addition, until the 1840s, the Latin ephemerides periodical genre successfully bridged the communication gap between journals in the vernacular and journals in Western European languages. Furthermore, it remained a viable alternative model for the press in the multilingual Kingdom of Hungary until the prestige and use of Latin lost its status as an official language in public life, and began to decline by the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>46</sup>

**Piroska Balogh** is an associate professor at Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Arts, Institute of Hungarian Literature and Cultural Studies. Her research interests include neohumanism, Neo-Latin poetry, history of aesthetics, the Republic of Letters, and Latin journalism. She has published widely on these topics and co-edited with Gergely Fórizs two volumes titled *Anthropologische Ästhetik in Mitteleuropa 1750–1850 / Anthropological Aesthetics in Central Europe 1750–1850* (Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2018) and *Angewandte anthropologische Ästhetik. Konzepte und Praktiken 1700–1900 / Applied Anthropological Aesthetics. Concepts and Practices 1700–1900* (Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2020).

## Bibliography

- Altholz, Josef L., 'A Note on Ephemerides', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 26.1 (1993), 28
- Almási, Gábor, and Lav Šubarić, eds, *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary* (Leiden: Brill, 2015)
- Andrews, Elizabeth, 'Between Auteurs and Abonnés: Reading the *Journal de Paris*, 1787–1789', *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, 37 (2009), 135–47
- Aspaas, Per Pippin, and Kontler, László, 'Before and After 1773: Central European Jesuits, the Politics of Language and Discourses of Identity in the Late Eighteenth Century Habsburg Monarchy', in *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, eds. Almási, Gábor, and Lav Šubarić (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 95–118
- , *Maximilian Hell (1720–92) and the Ends of Jesuit Science in Enlightenment Europe* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020)
- Asquith, Ivon, 'Advertising and the Press in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: James Perry and the Morning Chronicle 1790–1821', *The Historical Journal*, 18.4 (1975), 703–24
- Axer, Jerzy, 'Latin as the Second Language of the Polish Republic's Noblemen's Nation', in *Terra Marique: The Cultural Intercourse Between the European Center and Periphery in Modern Time*, ed. by Jan Kieniewicz (Warsaw: OBTA, 2001), pp. 59–63
- , 'Latin in Poland and East-Central Europe: Continuity and Discontinuity', *European Review*, 2 (1994), 305–09
- Balogh, Piroska, and Szilágyi, Márton, 'Ephemerides Budenses o problemach uzywania jezika węgierskiego', in *Latinitas Hungarica: Łacina w kulturze węgierskiej*, ed. by Jerzy Axer and László Szórényi (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, Wydział Artes Liberales UW, 2013), pp. 439–79

<sup>46</sup> The research was supported by the *Neo-Latin Literature* project of the HUN-REN Hungarian Research Network and OTKA Projekt Nr. 134719 of the National Research Development and Innovation Office (NKFIH).

- Balogh, Piroska, 'The Language Question and the Paradoxes of Latin Journalism in Eighteenth-Century Hungary', in *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. by Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 166–89
- Békés, Enikő, and Emőke Rita Szilágyi, eds, *Latinitas Polona. A latin nyelv szerepe és jelentősége a történelmi Lengyelország kora újkori irodalmában* [Latinitas Polona. The Role and Significance of the Latin Language in the Early Modern Literature of Historical Poland] (Budapest: Reciti, 2014)
- Bierbach, Arthur, *Die Geschichte der Halleschen Zeitung, Landeszeitung für die Provinz Sachsen, für Anhalt und Thüringen. Eine Denkschrift aus Anlaß des 200-jährigen Bestehens der Zeitung am 25. Juni 1908* (Halle/Saale: Otto Thiele, 1908)
- Bíró, Ferenc, *Tanulmányok a magyar nyelv ügyének 18. századi történetéből* [Studies on the History of the Cause of the Hungarian Language in the Eighteenth Century] (Budapest: Argumentum, 2005)
- Brnardić, Teodora Shek, 'The Enlightenment's Choice of Latin: The Ratio Educationis of 1777 in the Kingdom of Hungary' in *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. by Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 119–51
- Burke, Peter, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Casanova, Pascale, *The World Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 45–57
- Coleman, Earle E., 'Éphémérides Du Citoyen, 1767–1772', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 56.1 (1962), 17–45
- D'Ester, Karl, *Das politische Elysium oder die Gespräche der Todten am Rhein. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Presse* (Neuwied: Strüder, 1936)
- Décultot, Elisabeth, *Lesen, Kopieren, Schreiben: Lese- und Exzerpierenkunst in der europäischen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts, Übersetzt aus dem Französischen* (Berlin: Ripperger & Kremers, 2014)
- Dezsényi, Béla, 'Legrégibb hírlapjaink életrajzához' [To the History of Our Oldest Journals], *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 64.4 (1940), 353
- , 'Die Anfänge des Zeitungswesens und des Zeitungslesens in Ungarn. Nova Posoniensia 1721–1722', *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae*, 13 (1971), 55–81
- Dreyfurst, Stephanie, *Stimmen aus dem Jenseits: David Fassmanns historisch-politisches Journal 'Gespräche in dem Reich derer Todten' (1718–1740)* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2014)
- Evans, Robert John Weston, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c.1683–1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- Fehér, Katalin, 'Iskolai újságotolvasás Magyarországon a 18. században' ['Reading Newspapers in Schools in Hungary in the Eighteenth Century'], *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 120.2 (2004), 131–50
- Gál, István, 'Boswell Bél Mátyás fiánál' ['Boswell Visits Matthias Bel's Son'], *Filológiai Szemle*, 11.3–4 (1965), 378–79
- Gierl, Martin, 'Commentarii und Commentationes — Wissenschaft erhandeln im 18. Jahrhundert', *Aufklärung*, 26 (2014), 31–65
- , *Geschichte als präzisierte Wissenschaft. Johann Christoph Gatterer und die Historiographie des 18. Jahrhunderts im ganzen Umfang* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: frommann-holzboog, 2012)
- Hardie, Alex, 'The Epilogue to the Georgics and Vergil's Nurturing Bees', *Vergilius*, 66 (2020), 35–67

- Hönich, Henrik, 'Which Language and Which Nation? Mother Tongue and Political Languages: Insights from a Pamphlet Published in 1790', in *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. by Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 35–63
- Jordheim, Helge, 'Synchronizing the World: Synchronism as Historiographical Practice, Then and Now', *History of the Present*, 7.1 (2017), 59–95
- Kahane, Henry, 'A Typology of the Prestige Language', *Language*, 62 (1986), 495–508
- Knapp, Éva, and Gábor Tüskés, 'Forerunners of Neo-Latin Philology and National History of Literature: The 18th Century', in *Companion to the History of Neo-Latin Studies in Hungary*, ed. by István Bartók (Budapest: Universitas, 2005), pp. 37–54
- Kóokay, György, *Az Ephemerides Vindobonenses, 1776–1785* (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1958)
- , 'Az Ephemerides Vindobonenses', *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 73.4 (1957), 347–59.
- Kokott, Wolfgang, 'Astronomische Längenbestimmung in Der Frühen Neuzeit', *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 79.2 (1995), 165–72
- Korade, Mijo, 'Obrana hrvatstva u djelima Josipa Keresturija' ['Defence of the Croatian Identity in the Works of Josip Keresturi'], *Dani Hvarskog kazališta: hrvatsko kajkavsko pjesništvo do preporoda*, 19.1 (1993), 154–63
- Kováts, Pál, 'Programma', *Alveare*, 1.1 (1837), 3–7
- Krefting, Ellen, Aina Nøding, and Mona Ringvej, eds, *Eighteenth-Century Periodicals as Agents of Change* (Leiden: Brill, 2015)
- Laeven, Augustinus Hubertus, and Lucia Johann Maria Laeven-Aretz, *The Authors and Reviewers of Acta Eruditorum 1682–1735* (Molenhoek, The Netherlands: 2014) [accessed 31 March 2023]
- Ledić, Stipe, 'Josip Keresturi – javno djelovanje I politicka misao' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Zagreb, 2018)
- Lipp, Veronika, 'Belnay György Alajos latin nyelvű magyar historia litterariája' ['Georg Aloys Belnay's Latin Book on the Hungarian Literary History'], in *Historia litteraria a XVIII. században* [Literary History in the Eighteenth Century], ed. by Rumen István Csörsz, Béla Hegedűs, and Gábor Tüskés (Budapest: Universitas, 2006), pp. 162–74
- Margócsy, István, 'When Language Became Ideology: Hungary in the Eighteenth Century', in *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. by Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 25–34
- Márkus, Rozália, *Literaturrezeption und Literaturvermittlung in den Beiblättern von Pest-Ofener und Pressburger deutschsprachigen Zeitungen von 1810 bis 1847* (München: Institut für deutsche Kultur und Geschichte Südosteuropas IKGS, 2010)
- Miskolczy, Ambrus, "'Hungarus Consciousness" in the Age of Early Nationalism', in *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. by Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 64–94
- Reichardt, Rolf, and Deborah Louise Cohen, 'Light against Darkness: The Visual Representations of a Central Enlightenment Concept', *Representations*, 61 (1998), 95–148
- Sacré, Dirk/Theodericus, 'Ab oblivione vindicentur ... "Ephemerides statistico-politicae", (1804)', *Melissa*, 38.221 (2021), 4–11
- Schembor, Friedrich W., 'In- und ausländische Zeitungen Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts im österreichischen Kaisertum', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Buchforschung in Österreich*, 11.2 (2009), 7–53

- Seidler, Andrea, 'The Long Road of Hungarian Media to Multilingualism: On the Replacement of Latin in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Course of the Eighteenth Century', in *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. by Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 152–65
- Soós, István, 'Die "Notitia" von Matthias Bel un das Bild des neuen Ungarns, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Komitate von West-Ungarn (Ödenburg, Eisenburg, Sala)', in *Neuzeitliche Reisekultur im pannonischen Raum bis zur Mitte des 19 Jahrhunderts. Internationales Kulturhistorisches Symposium Mogersdorf 2003*, ed. by Franz Rozman, (Maribor: Univerza, 2005), pp. 47–68
- Šubarić, Lav, Neven Jovanović, Johanna Luggin, and Luka Špoljarić, eds, *Neo-Latin Contexts in Croatia and Tyrol: Challenges, Prospects, Case Studies* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2018)
- Szekeres, Margit, 'Regnum Mortuorum', *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 71.1–2 (1955), 131–34
- Tamássy-Lénárt, Orsolya, 'Ein prägendes literaturhistorisches Ereignis des 19. Jahrhunderts. Die Pyrker-Debatte und die Rolle des Grafen Johann Mailáth (1786–1855)', in *Ereignis in Sprache, Literatur und Kultur. Event in Language, Literature and Culture*, ed. by József Tóth and László V. Szabó (Berlin: Peter Lang Verlag, 2021), pp. 163–74
- Tóth, Gergely, 'Egy hungarus értelmiségi pályafutásának tipikus és egyedi vonásai: Bél Mátyás elfeledett (ön)életrajza' ['Typical and Unique features of the Career of a "Hungarus" Intellectual: the Forgotten (Auto)biography of Matthias Bél'], *Történelmi Szemle*, 64.3 (2022), 417–45
- , 'Introduction', in *Matthias Bel: Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica. Comitatum ineditorum tomus I. Operi edendo praefuit Gregorius Tóth. Textum recensuerunt notisque instruxerunt Ladislaus Glück, Zoltanus Gözsy, Gregorius Tóth*, ed. by László Glück, Zoltán Gözsy and Gergely Tóth (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2011), pp. 23–35
- Wagner, Jacques, 'La modernité dans le *Journal Encyclopédique* de Pierre Rousseau (1756–1786)', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 102.4 (2002), 545–61
- Waquet, Françoise, 'Latin', in *Finding Europe: Discourses in Margins, Communities, Images*, ed. by Anthony Molho and Diogo Ramada Curto (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2007), pp. 359–76
- , *Latin or the Empire of a Sign* (London and New York: Verso, 2001)
- Yoder, Peter James, *Pietism and the Sacraments: The Life and Theology of August Hermann Francke* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2020)
- Živković, Daniela, 'Die deutschsprachige Buch- und Zeitschriftenproduktion in Zagreb in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Mit einem bibliographischen Anhang', *Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert*, 19 (1995), 92–101