

PRODUCTION OF THE TRNAVA PRINTING HOUSE OF VÁCLAV JELÍNEK AND JÁN KRSTITEĽ JELÍNEK (1788 – 1841) IN A RURAL PARISH ENVIRONMENT¹

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Abstract: LOPATKOVÁ, Zuzana – RISTOVSKÁ, Radoslava. *Production of the Trnava Printing House of Václav Jelínek and Ján Krstiteľ Jelínek (1788 – 1841) in a Rural Parish Environment.* Since the beginning of the modern era, Trnava has been not only a religious center, but also an educational and cultural center, mainly due to the founding of Trnava University in 1635. One of its most important parts was the printing house. However, after the university moved to Buda in 1777, book printing in Trnava did not end, as typographer Václav Jelínek founded his own printing workshop in 1788, continuing the Trnava printing tradition. Trnava thus remained an important cultural center at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, when it became the center of the Bernolák movement. During its existence, the Jelínek printing house published several hundred book titles and became the central printing workshop of the Slovak Learned Society. The aim of this study is to map and analyze the production of the Jelínek printing house in the context of rural parishes, specifically in selected parishes of the Lesser Carpathian region and on the Great Rye Island, with particular emphasis on the contribution of these publications to the studied environment, as evidenced through canonical visitations from the first half of the 19th century.

Keywords: *history, editorship, printer, Trnava, parish library*

As a political, cultural, and religious center, Trnava played an important role in the development of science, education, culture, and literature, even at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, after the Trnava University moved to Buda in Hungary. From a cultural and religious point of view, Trnava was not only the center of the emerging Bernolák movement, but also of Hungarian Roman Catholic life, serving as the seat of the Esztergom Chapter and the archbishop – the Primate. Book production in Trnava in the 18th century was dominated by the Trnava University as a prominent educational and scientific institution with a society-wide impact. Almost from its inception, it had its own printing house, which was an important part of the university, but during the relocation of parts of the university to Buda, part of the printing house was also moved, along with nine university printers.²

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² Lopatková – Ristovská 2021, 200-236; Kočíš 1996, 21-28; Poriežová 2009, 105-114; Bucko 1935, 26; Czako 1927, 192; Radváni 1987, 221; Empress Maria Theresa's edict to move Trnava University to Buda is published in the Šimončič – Škoviera edition, 2002, 42-45.

After the Trnava University printing house moved to Buda, one of its employees, typographer Václav Jelínek, established his own family printing house in Trnava.³ Václav Jelínek was originally from Prague and first appears in the Trnava archives in 1764, when Alžbeta, the daughter of Václav and Katarína Jelínek, was registered in the Trnava birth register.⁴ At a meeting of the Trnava magistrate on June 14, 1771, Václav Jelínek was accepted as a citizen of Trnava, took the prescribed oath, and paid a tax of 25 gold coins.⁵ On November 7, 1788, the Lieutenantcy Council of Bratislava announced that Václav Jelínek, an employee of the Trnava University Press, was allowed to establish his own printing house, on the condition that it did not harm the operations of the Buda University Press in any way.⁶ The existence of the Jelínek printing house in Trnava can thus be dated to the years 1788-1841. The first publication printed by Václav Jelínek as a municipal printer in 1789 was the first volume of Christian Catholic Religion by Jozef Ignác Bajza (Bajza 1789, 718). He soon took advantage of the potential consumer market of the founders and supporters of the Slovak Learned Society, seeking to meet the production needs of its members and other interested readers. In his will dated to August 16, 1822, Václav Jelínek bequeathed the printing house, publishing house (in 1788, he moved the enterprise to Halenárska Street No. 557, where he bought part of the house)⁷ and stocks of white paper to his son Ján Krstiteľ, who ran the printing house for the last 20 years until his death (1841).⁸ Ján Krstiteľ remained in the house on Halenárska Street in Trnava until 1833, when he moved the printing house to another house on Zámocnícka Street, and later to Divadelná Street in Trnava. He ran the printing house there until his death on April 17, 1841.⁹

During its nearly 53-year history, the printing house existed in the multicultural environment of Trnava, a city with at least three nationalities and multiple languages present, which significantly influenced the titles it published, while remaining linguistically neutral to all nations coexisting in this area. The Jelínek's commercial and entrepreneurial attitude towards all parties equally reflected its publishing policy, which initially oscillated and only later crystallized into a specific editorial intention. According to D. Ružiaková (Ružiaková 3/1979, 235-236), the Jelínek family published at least 581 volumes of publications in several editions (190 of which were Slovak) and probably another 16 Slovak prints (this is an assumption, as they are not stated

³ Václav Jelínek was 38 years old at the time and had three children. The census records show that he spoke German and Slovak. Czako 1927, 192; SA TT, f. MMT, Protocollum electae communitatis l.r.c. Tyrnaviensis 1797, 167-8, sessio 20.3. 1797.

⁴ SA BA, RM, Registers of the Parish of St. Nicholas in Trnava, Matricula baptisatorum 1753 – 1772, 17.11.1764. At this point, we would like to note that research into the Jelínek family in Trnava and the history of their printing house is very difficult due to the fact that the printing house's archives have not been preserved, the available data are fragmentary, and the reconstruction of historical facts is difficult.

⁵ SA TT, f. MMT, MCT 1708 – 1892. *Dies receptionis 14.6.1771, nomen: Venceslaus Jelinek, typographus, patria: Pragensis, nomen fideiussoris: pro concivilitate: 25 aurei Cremnicenses, pro hydria: 3. fl.*

⁶ SA BA, Župa Bratislavská I., AC 3341/1788; SA TT, f. MMT, Acta Josephiana, č. 829/1788.

⁷ SA TT, f. MMT, Protocollum electae communitatis l.r.c. Tyrnaviensis 1788, 64-5, sessio 31.1.1788, sessio 4.2.1788, sessio 26.2.1788.

⁸ SA TT, f. MMT, Testamenty, fasc. 23, nro 31; Protocollum magistratuale 1822, nro 748. The will of V. Jelínek was published in full by Šimončík 1965, 123–125.

⁹ J. K. Jelínek was also a municipal official in Trnava and was involved in local politics; he left no descendants and bequeathed the printing house and publishing house to his four sisters. He maintained close contacts with the poet Ján Hollý and was instrumental in the publication of his works. *Biografický lexikón Slovenska IV.* 2010, s. 244; The letter of J. Hollý to J. Palkovič from 12 July 1823. Ambruš 1967, 40-42.

in the imprints), i.e. a total of 597.¹⁰ Furthermore, 238 works are in Latin, 79 in German, 68 in Hungarian, and 6 in other languages (French and Italian). The total number would thus be 597 volumes of publications. The share of Slovak titles in the printer's total production can thus be estimated at 27.5%. The Jelínek family did not consistently label second and subsequent editions. Bernolák's prints are the undisputed leaders in Slovak-language production; in 19th and 20th century historiography, Václav Jelínek is often referred to as the „printer of the Slovak Learned Society.“¹¹ He was their exclusive printer, especially in the years 1792 – 1795, and although the first Bernolák's works were published in Bratislava, the Society's publications and others were already being published in Trnava (Šimončič 1965, 119-120). Through its publishing activities, the printing house significantly helped the followers of Bernolák's standard in their linguistic and cultural efforts; it was in this printing house that their most important works and polemics were published. In terms of content and subject matter, the printing house published works on religion, linguistics, enlightenment, and popularization, and played a significant role in shaping Trnava's profile as a cultural and educational center of Hungary. Its output offers insight into the mentality of the time.¹²

All the major works of the 1790s in Bernolák's Slovak language were printed at the Jelínek printing house, in particular Fándly's *Compendiata Historia Gentis Slavae* (Fándly 1793a, 288), *Zelinkár* (The Herbalist) (Fándly 1793b, 360), four volumes of *Pilný hospodár* (The Diligent Farmer) (Fándly 1792a, 234), two volumes of *Prihodné a swátečné kázne* (Occasional and Festive Sermons) (Fándly 1795, 546; Fándly 1796, 627), *O úhoroch a včelách rozmlúwání* (On Fallow Land and Bees) (Fándly 1801, 86), the dramatic play *Krizant a Daria* (Krizant and Daria 1793, 184), as well as the vast majority of Jozef Ignác Bajza's works. The Jelínek printing house printed for various publishers. The most important authors whose works were published by the Jelínek family were, besides J. I. Bajza and J. Fándly, J. Zbrankovič, O. Mesároš, J. Podvaský, F. Dravecký, and A. Bernolák. Last but not least, the printing house published a number of (even minor) prints for official publishers, such as the city of Trnava (documents, lists of city magistrates and officials, contracts, texts, guidelines, public announcements, wills, fire certificates, etc.), the county (contracts, other texts, guidelines, public announcements, etc.) and church institutions: the Archdiocese and Chapter of Esztergom, the vicariate, Trnava and surrounding parishes (prayer books, catechisms, religious exercises, manuals, reflections, songs and hymns), seminaries, grammar schools, and others (Radváni 1996, 152).

Production of the Jelínek printing house in a rural parish environment

It is undoubtedly interesting to observe the production of the Jelínek printing house in a non-urban environment. Trnava, as the center of the catchment area, concentrated the surrounding countryside to itself, where many wealthy farmers lived in densely populated villages. In addition, the rural inhabitants around Trnava had strong support from the Roman Catholic Church at that time, especially from the emerging generation of young priests stationed in the surrounding parishes, many of whom were members and supporters of the Slovak Learned Society and the Bernolák movement in general. For the purpose of a more in-depth analysis, we selected several parishes in the Lesser Carpathian region and on the Great Rye Island in southwestern Slovakia.

¹⁰ The Jelínecs did not own and therefore did not use their own printing seal, but their prints can be identified with certainty based on the layout of the books, especially the vignettes used (Štetina 1970, 93-97).

¹¹ Václav Jelínek himself is not listed among the members of the Trnava branch of the Slovak Learned Society, as J. Fándly mentions in the introduction to *Zelinkár*'s work (Fándly 1793b, 3-5).

¹² Bibliography of published works published by Radváni 1996, 152.

At that time, this area was part of the Bratislava county and belonged to the Archdiocese of Esztergom and the Trnava vicariate in terms of church organization.¹³ Some canonical visitations also recorded the condition of individual parish libraries at that time. They even contain lists of books in which church books used in the parish and parish priests' books were recorded. In a special section of the visitation, the visitor was to find out what books the parish priest had in his parish, i.e. which ones belonged to the parish church and which ones belonged directly to the parish priest.¹⁴

In this study, we focus on the rural parish environment in the first half of the 19th century in parishes around Trnava (Dolná Krupá, Dolné Dubové, Trstín, Smolenice) and in the south of present-day western Slovakia (Dolný Štál, Michal na Ostrove, Topoľníky, Trhová Hradská, and Zlaté Klasy).

The parish of Dolná Krupá was a particularly interesting case study, as its parish library was one of the most extensive among the selected parishes. The visitor recorded 302 book titles in a total of 379 volumes. What is particularly remarkable, however, is that there was not a single book from the V. Jelínek printing house among them, even though this parish was the closest to Trnava among the selected parishes and was served by nationally conscious priests active in the revivalist movement.¹⁵

The parish library in Dolné Dubové was one of the richer ones; according to a visitation in 1813, it consisted of 257 book titles in 351 volumes.¹⁶ It was here that we found the most works from Jelínek printing house of all the parishes, namely 13 titles in 20 volumes. This was probably due to the long-term work of the local priest and writer J. I. Bajza (Lopatková 2016, 151-161). His works, published by Jelínek, were also part of the parish library of Dolné Dubové. These were two single-volume books, *Cvičenj Pobožnosti z Písma swatého...* (Exercises in Piety from the Holy Scriptures...) (Bajza 1791, 288), which, when published in 1791, historian H. Radváni listed Bajza himself as the author in his *Bibliography* (Radváni 1996, 27). However, in 1809, the book was republished, this time with Filip F. Mésenguy listed as the author (Mésenguy 1809, 288). Another work was an unspecified volume of Bajza's *Epigrammat*, which was first published in 1794 in two volumes (Bajza 1794a, 64; Bajza 1794b, 71). However, since the books were divided into books belonging to the church or parish and books belonging to the parish priest in the visitations, including this one, the *Epigrammat* in one volume are mentioned twice in the visitation of Dolné Dubové. Since the work was published at the time of Bajza's disputes with the followers of Bernolák's standard, these also became part of and the subject of regularly exchanged polemical writings. The parish library also contained another work by Bajza from 1795 (Bajza 1795, 364). The library also included two volumes of a work written in the Hungarian language entitled *Antidoton Katholika-béli Vallás Magyar-országban-való fön-tartásácr*, which was first published in 1792 (Bajza 1792, 130). The last works by J. I. Bajza are five volumes from the series entitled *Christian Catholic Religion...* The visitor lists the individual parts according to their titles, namely „focused on faith, hope, and love.“ The first book in this series was published by Jelínek in 1789, and in its 718 pages, the author discussed faith (Bajza 1789, 718). The second

¹³ During the 18th century, the ecclesiastical organizational structure in the Bratislava diocese was relatively stable, although at the lowest level of ecclesiastical administration – parishes – there were certain changes in terms of their affiliation to deaneries (Lopatková 2013, 110-121; Lopatková 2010a, 473).

¹⁴ Library lists are recorded in the visitation records in the *Parochia* section and are divided into *Libri Parochiales* and *Libri Ecclesiae*. It is important to note that the visitation records do not contain precise bibliographic records as we know them today, nor were the titles of books recorded in full, and in many cases the authors are not mentioned (Lopatková 2010b, 69-77).

¹⁵ RCPO DK, VCE AK, (Anno 1813 peracta), 29-35.

¹⁶ RCPO DD, VCE AD, (Anno 1813 peracta), 13-22.

volume, much shorter, dealt with hope and was published in 1790 (Bajza 1790a, 178). The third part, focused on love, was divided into two separately published books, as they were too extensive. Both were published in 1790, which testifies to the fact that Bajza was an extremely active priest and writer during this period (Bajza 1790b, 524; Bajza 1790c, 770). The fifth volume was probably the fifth part of this series, in which the author dealt with the theme of the sacraments, and was also published in Trnava in 1796 (Bajza 1796, 797). The library at the parish house in Dolné Dubové also included works by J. Fándly, a prominent member of the Bernolák movement, who is known to have had a complicated relationship with Bajza, as evidenced by the polemics they addressed to each other. In 1795, the printer V. Jelínek published the first volume of Fándly's extensive work *Príhodné a Swátečné Kázne* (Occasional and Festive Sermons). The second volume, comprising of 627 pages, was published a year later. Ondrej Turzo, who served as a priest and administrator of the parish of Veľký Klíž from 1790 to 1814, was responsible for the Slovak translation of the work of Abbot Barthélemy Beaudran, which was published by Jelínek in 1807 (Beaudran 1807, 474). The Archbishop of Eger, František Xaver Fuchs, who was also a co-founder of the Slovak Learned Society, was responsible for the publication of the work (Lopatková 2024, 22-23, 1934-211). This was followed by a translation from German into Bernolák's language by the priest and writer Matej Kysel' (Dowerné, a spasitelné Rozmlúvání 1795, 175). František Dravecký is the author of the work *Arcta Via Vita Pia*, published by Jelínek in 1797 (Dravecký 1797, 290). Other authors in the collections of the Dolné Dubové library included G. Hannenberg (Hannenberg 1791, 170), Jesuit P. Dagonel (Dagonel 1807, 385), and the aforementioned J. Baernkopf, referred to in the visitation as Ignác, with one volume of the work *Methodus recte gubernandi Parochiam* from 1803.

The parish of Smolenice was visited by the visitor in 1851, who recorded in his report the existence of a parish library containing 158 book titles in 271 volumes. According to the visitation, Smolenice had the second largest number of books produced by Jelínek, namely 11 works in 16 volumes.¹⁷ In the case of one two-volume work, it was not possible to determine exactly whether it was a work from the Jelínek printing house. The visitor recorded the work as *Vinaučowaní o viri a Naboženstwi* (The Teachings of Faith and Religion). Several of the works published by the Jelínek family bore the term „winaučowání,“ but none of the titles exactly matched the visitor's record. However, the parish library did not lack works by J. Baernkopf or works written or translated into the standard Slovak of the time. These included two unspecified volumes of Ján Lang's *Účení Múdrosti kresťanskég* (The Teachings of Christian Wisdom) from 1802. The author of another work is the prominent figure, priest, writer, and editor Michal Rešetka. The work is entitled *Kázne Príhodné od rozličných někdi Kazatelow...* (Occasional Sermons from Various Preachers...), in which Rešetka himself collected and published the sermons, with the help of J. Palkovič, canon of Esztergom (Rešetka 1831, 718). Another important representative of the followers of Bernolák's standard and Slovak literature in general is J. Fándly (Lopatková 2011, 1-4), a well-known author of educational works focusing on farming. The visitor noted two volumes of the work *Hospodár* (The Farmer) and several other works under his name (Fándly 1792b, 464; Fándly 1792a, 234; Fándly 1800, 190). This is followed by a book to comfort the sick and dying, originally published in German by Anton Müller and translated into Slovak by the priest Anton Knapp (Müller 1829, 228). Fándly's *Zelinkár* (The Herbalist) is also one of his educational works. It was published by the Slovak Learned Society, and some students from the seminary in Bratislava also participated in its preparation. The aim was to help ordinary people use medicinal herbs, how to collect, dry, and use them. This is followed by the Latin text *Doctrina Christiana ante Meridiam*, which was published in a Trnava printing house at the end of the 18th century.

¹⁷ RCPO SM, VCE SZ, (13. et 14. Maji 1851 peracta), 36-42.

A truly interesting work is Fándly's *Compendiata Historia Gentis Slavae* (A Brief History of the Slavic Nation) from 1793, in which he drew mainly on the work *Historia Gentis Slavae* by Juraj Papánek and *Vetustissimus Magnae Moraviae situs* by Juraj Sklenár. There was also a catechism by an author whose surname, Kubáni, was recorded by the visitor. Jelínek published two catechisms, which were translated by Jozef Kubáni, the then priest in Cífer. The author of the first was Imrich Peréni (Perényi 1806, 304), of the second Claudius Fleuri, who served at the court of the French monarchs (Fleuri 1808, 212). The visitor also recorded the Gospel and epistles intended for each day of the forty-day Lent from 1800 (*Ewándélie a Epištole na každí Deň 1800*, 160). The library also included two unspecified volumes of J. I. Bajza's five-volume work entitled *Kresťanské Katolícke Náboženstvo* (Christian Catholic Religion).

In the neighboring parish of Smolenice, in Trstín, a visitation took place in 1847. This parish, like Smolenice, belonged to the Smolenice deanery at that time. According to the visitation protocol, the parish had a relatively extensive library consisting of 168 book titles in 246 volumes. However, only one book in two volumes was published by the Jelínek family. The visitor divided the books thematically according to genre, namely into dogmatic, moral writings, sermons, legal works, philosophical works, poetry, historical and geographical works, and miscellaneous works.¹⁸ The only work from Jelínek's production was two volumes of *Methodus recte gubernandi Parochiam* by J. Baernkopf.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the parish of Dolný Štál belonged to the Dunajská Streda deanery in terms of church organization. A canonical visitation took place in 1830 in the parish, located on the Great Rye Island.¹⁹ Also in this case, the visitor recorded a relatively extensive parish library – 188 book titles in 268 volumes, of which four titles were from Jelínek's production and one work could not be attributed to a specific author or publisher.²⁰ The work that could not be identified with certainty as having been published by Jelínek was a work that the visitor identified as *Tractatus Theologia moralis*. A work with a similar title was published in Trnava, but the title was slightly modified (*Moralis Philosophia Christianae Tractatus* 1805, 251). The local parish also had a volume of J. Baernkopf's *Methodus recte gubernandi Parochiam*, which, if we do not take into account religious books such as the Bible, breviaries, and missals, was one of the most frequently represented works in the parishes we surveyed. Another work from the Jelínek printing house was also written in Latin. It was a work without a named author. The remaining two works were in Hungarian. The author of one of them is I. Peréni (Perényi 1804, 288), and the author of the other is the aforementioned F. Dravecký, who discussed pious life in his work (*Dravecký* 1797b, 242).

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the parish of Michal na Ostrove was part of the Dunajská Streda deanery. A canonical visitation took place in the parish in 1830. According to the record from the protocol, there was a library in the parish consisting of 134 book titles in 170 volumes. Of these, only four titles in five volumes were produced by the Jelínek family, and the author of one title could not be determined.²¹ The visitor recorded the unspecified title, written in Hungarian, as *Kereszteny Tudomány Egyed.*, although only Jelínek published several works whose titles included this notation. There were several authors, such as I. Peréni, F. Freindaller, and A. Hye. It is also unclear whether these are four volumes from a single series by one author, or whether the visitor simply listed works by several authors as a single entity. We have already encountered the first work published by V. Jelínek, authored by František Krammer. One of the works was recorded

¹⁸ RCPO TR, VCE NA, (Anno 1847 peracta), 13-17.

¹⁹ RCPO DŠ, VCE AS, (Anno 1830 peracta), 26-35.

²⁰ RCPO DŠ, VCE AS, (Anno 1830 peracta), 26-35.

²¹ RCPO MnO, VCE SMF, (Anno 1830 peracta), 35-40.

by the visitor only as *Examen Schediasmatis*, which we can identify as one of the fragments by František Krammer. The first possibility is the aforementioned propaedeutic fragment from 1814, when two other parts of this work were also published by V. Jelínek's printing house. The fourth, fifth, and sixth parts were published in 1817 and 1818, respectively. As the visitation does not contain any further details, it is not possible to identify the author, the work or its part more precisely. There are also two volumes devoted to the administration of the parish by J. Baernkopf and the catechism by I. Peréni.

A similar example to Dolná Krupá was the parish of Zlaté Klasy on the Great Rye Island, which belonged to the Šamorín deanery. A visitation took place here in 1831, when the visitor recorded the existence of a modest parish library – 33 titles, but did not specify the number of volumes. Here, too, not a single book from the Jelínek's production was recorded.²²

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the parish of Topoľníky, like Dolný Štál and Michal na Ostrove, belonged to the Dunajská Streda deanery. A canonical visitation took place in the parish in 1830. The visitor found a library in the parish, which included 179 book titles in 302 volumes. Of the total number, seven titles were published by Jelínek in Trnava.²³ In the case of one work, it was not possible to state with certainty that it was published in Trnava. The visitor recorded it as *Rovd. Keresztényi Tudomány*, from which we could conclude that it is Peréni's Catechism, but this is listed separately in the visitation. Among the recurring works was the work of J. Baernkopf, for which the visitor listed three volumes, despite the fact that it is a two-volume work. Another was I. Peréni's Catechism, which was one of the most widely represented works in parishes. This is followed by a brief, only 12-page work from 1802 known as *Officia Sanctorum*, which was mentioned twice in the visitation (*Officia Sanctorum, quae in Antiquioribus Breviarii non reperiuntur* 1802, 12). Another work in Latin contained instructions for celebrating Holy Mass in accordance with the Roman Missal and other decrees, supplemented by additional theological and liturgical conclusions and texts by various authors (*Candidatus Presbyterandus practice instructus* 1807, 406). The parish library also included three parts of J. Lang's work *Účení Múdrosti kresťanskég* (The Teachings of Christian Wisdom). In them, similar to J. I. Bajza, the author discussed faith, love, and hope. The author of the last work from the Jelínek printing house, which was part of the parish library, is Karol Latasse. The German original was translated by Ondrej Mesároš, a priest from Dubnica (Latasse 1799, 408).

The last one we examined was the parish library in Trhová Hradská near Dunajská Streda. It was here that we found the most extensive library of all the parishes we selected, which in 1830 consisted of 337 book titles in almost 700 volumes. Of this number, six titles in 11 volumes were from the Trnava printing house, and in the case of one work, it was not possible to determine with certainty whether it was published in Trnava.²⁴ The visitor simply labeled this one work as *Examen Ordinandorum*, although a work with this title was published twice directly in Trnava, in 1804 and again in 1807. We have already encountered some of the works that were part of the parish library in other parishes. These include, for example, *Arcta Via Vita Pia* by F. Dravecký, two volumes of J. Baernkopf's work, as well as two and then another four unspecified parts of F. Krammer's six-volume work *Fragmentum*, and the Catechism by I. Peréni. The last was the work *Officia Episcoporum* from 1806 (*Officia Episcoporum Sacris Sentiis* 1806, 192).

²² RCPO ZK, VCE NM, (Anno 1831 peracta), 26-27.

²³ RCPO TO, VCE NY, (Anno 1830 peracta), 32-38.

²⁴ RCPO TH, VCE VA, (Anno 1830 peracta), 57-71.

Conclusion

The output of the Jelínek printing house little by little became an important source of information, education, and propaganda in rural areas. At the same time, its output was clearly intended for consumption in the religious or religious-legal sphere, conditioned by the nature of the publisher. The recipients of its book production in rural parishes were priests and, slowly and gradually, expanding social classes. The interest of priests in the literary and theological production of the Slovak Learned Society, published by the Jelínek printing house, was very specific and cannot be generalized. However, it is clear that the interest of the educated clergy led to the systematic building of libraries in parishes. In addition, each priest had his own books, which he owned and took with him when he changed his place of work. This fact is also documented by the above-mentioned fact that in parish lists, books were divided into two parts, namely books belonging to the church and books belonging to the parish priest. The expansion of book collections made it possible to improve the indexes and divide the books thematically, most often into theological writings (which were the most numerous), then sermons, legal and philosophical works, speeches and poetry, historical and geographical works, and the like. The state of parish libraries in the period under review is evidence of the fact that book production was expanding quantitatively, which was also due to its greater factual availability in parish libraries. As a result, despite this observation, the analysis of rural parish libraries yielded a number of interesting findings. The composition of parish libraries was thus the result of several factors. Some of the books were allocated to libraries „from above,“ some were part of a parish library built up over the years, and some books in the local parish library remained from the original parish priest's library.

In this sense, we cannot overlook the enlightenment social and religious principles embodied in Josephinian reforms. The orderers and readers of Jelínek printing house's output were primarily priests, in rural areas parish administrators, who were almost the only educated representatives of the intelligentsia in this environment. In the spirit of Josephinian reforms, the parish priest was supposed to be a pastor to the faithful in the original sense of the word, i.e., an intellectual leader of his parishioners, instructing them in times of need and showing them the „truth“ not only in religious matters but also in other issues that the plebeian people could not grasp with their intellect and cognitive abilities (Nešpor 2006, 364). The priest was therefore supposed to be adequately educated and familiar with the latest knowledge, while also being able to convey it to conservative people. Through the priest as an irreplaceable mediator of information and education in rural areas, book production found its application not only in the form of book loans to the exclusive minority of educated rural intelligentsia, but was also accepted through the priest's preaching and catechetical activities (Vrabc - Fabian 2001, 433; Brtáňová 2018, 214).

Another important fact worth mentioning is that the Jelínek printing house existed between 1788 and 1841, a period when the Enlightenment was coming to an end and the national revival was reaching its peak in our country. It was this printing house that published the important educational works of the period, represented by the works of J. Fándly and J. Hollý. The Jelínek printing house was not only a publisher, but also a distributor and bookstore. Thanks to the printing house, Trnava became the center of the Bernolák movement, organized by the Slovak Learned Society. Thanks to his broad-mindedness and contacts with leading figures in literary life in a wider geographical area, Ján Krstiteľ Jelínek in particular turned the family printing house into one of the leading enterprises, which was not only a contribution to the sphere of book production, but also a prosperous business with considerable profits. As a side effect of this production, the company contributed to the growth in the volume of publications in national languages, to the widespread use of national languages, and thus to the process of forming the Bernolák's language. Differences can also be seen in the individual parish libraries in terms of

language. The presumed recipient base can be identified on the basis of the results of linguistic and content analyses. The composition of the parish library reflects the language preferences of its recipients, but to a certain extent it also testifies to the linguistic skills of parish administrators or the national characteristics of the local population, which is particularly evident in the multilingual environment of Hungary. In our case, this fully reflects the situation on the Great Rye Island. It appears that in the first half of the 19th century, parish libraries grew in quantity, and works in national languages were added to them. Older works in Latin still predominated, but dozens of works in German, Hungarian, and Slovak were also added. Ultimately, the linguistic accessibility of this literature suited the interests of the clergy and other educated classes, although the literacy rate of the population did not give much hope for its penetration into the lower social classes until the end of the 19th century.

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