
ROMANIAN PRINTED BOOK IN THE HABSBURG EMPIRE (2ND HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY)

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Abstract

History of old Romanian book (1508-1830) captured attention of Romanian historiography ever since the XIXth century. Chapter from the history of Romanian culture concerning Romanian books resulted from the printing houses from Vienna, Buda or other printing offices has found researchers only in the last decades. By attention paid to the theme of the CNCS (Romanian Authority for Scientific Research) project undertook by '1 Decembrie 1918' University from Alba Iulia to which collaborate researchers from Romanian Academy Library, Cluj-Napoca branch and from 'Ștefan cel Mare' University from Suceava *Cartea românească veche în Imperiul Habsburgic (1691-1830). Recuperarea unei identități culturale (Old Romanian book in the Habsburg Empire (1691-1830). Recovery of a cultural identity)* beside printings coming from Transylvania draw attention also those released in Moldavia, Slovakia, Ukraine, yet most of them come from Buda and Vienna.

Out of the printing houses from Vienna, only that of Joseph Kurzböck responded to the imperial command of printing books for Transylvanian Romanians. Printing of educational books, textbooks for children and adults, many of them primers and Arithmetic, books on ethics for future priests, but also religious books necessary for the Orthodox religion, is owed to support and privileges granted to the typographer by Maria Theresa and Joseph II. The printing house represented a serious competition for local printing shops from Blaj – the printing house nearby the Greek-Catholic Bishopric and that from Sibiu belonging to Bart family. All of them subsume under the enlightenment policy pursued by the Imperial Court with the purpose of reforming education of vassal population.

Keywords: book history, Old Romanian Bibliography, printing houses, Transylvania, Habsburg Court

1. Introduction

The Court of Vienna had started to pay more and more attention to Transylvania even before the province came under the rule of the Habsburg

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Empire in 1691. The cultural impetus in the area demonstrated that Transylvania was part of Europe. From the standpoint of imperial and national interests, Romanian books written in Transylvania during the Enlightenment - the topic of our research – gravitated around the same ideological orb like the publications issued in the Viennese cultural centre. Regarding the Transylvanian area as her ‘Eastern territory of revival’, Vienna enacted cultural policies that supported the development of Transylvanian culture in the spirit of the Enlightenment. Nevertheless, the focus was on exercising her influence by promoting publishers trained in Vienna.

The Romanian printed book was the leading factor in the development of Romanian cultural identity, benefiting from both state and Church support. Transylvanian culture, that is the Romanian culture under Church patronage and the culture sponsored by the Habsburg Court of Vienna, flourished under the auspices of European Enlightenment. Consequently, the printed book bore the imprint of the cultural trends promoted by both institutions. Historical sources recorded the presence of a rather low number of Romanian titles in the 16th and 17th centuries. In the next century, far more books were published by Romanian printing houses, mostly religious books for the Romanian public. The Church sponsored the printing of worship and prayer books for reading at home. The phenomenon was recorded in the retrospective national bibliography edited by Ioan Bianu, Nerva Hodoş and Dan Simonescu [1] at the end of the 19th century and later.

The specialists in the field have been less interested in studying Romanian books for the Transylvanian Romanians that were printed abroad. The research dedicated to old Romanian books in the Habsburg Empire (1691-1830) conducted by the University of Alba Iulia and the Academy Library of Cluj-Napoca emphasizes the significance and peculiar character of the books printed in Transylvania and the Habsburg Empire in the aforementioned period. The Romanian books printed in this context bore the indelible mark of the Empire that ruled these areas ever since the House of Austria had conquered the Transylvanian Voyvodat. Beginning with 1686, Transylvania was placed under imperial protection. Since then and over the next century, the printing of Romanian books would be supervised and monitored by the Court as well as by the newly emerged Transylvanian authorities [2].

The influence of the Viennese Court on the printed book production dedicated to Transylvanian Romanians was also manifested in the establishment and support of printing houses in the Transylvanian area. At one point, the Habsburgs were concerned in improving the Romanians’ life, in youth and adult education, and they saw that instructive and didactic literature for Transylvanian Romanians was also printed outside her borders. There was an outspoken interest in training useful clerks and raising loyal citizens, which could be accomplished by opening schools and providing textbooks. The method used for this purpose was to grant printing privileges. The stronger the Counter-Reformation policy exercised by Vienna in subject countries, the keener her interest in the Romanian population. At the same time, one cannot overlook the

impact of Central-European Enlightenment that brought about new educational ideas for the peoples in the second half of the 18th century. In 1767, with the view to support printing houses, implicitly local authors as well, they issued a regulation according to which the manuscripts of the authors in the Crown Lands had to be published in the 'country', and the publishers were forbidden to look for opportunities 'Ausland' (in this respect 'Ausland' – abroad meant non-Habsburg countries) [3]. Maria Theresia was the advocate of this decision that aimed at protecting local authors and publishers against the common practice of reprinting their works abroad [4]. From another perspective, in the second half of the 18th century, there was the pressing issue of importing books from Wallachia and Moldavia to Transylvania, phenomenon which stirred the Court's reaction; at first, several prohibitions (1765, 1768), then the publication of a 'libri prohibiti' list, which meant the establishment of censorship.

The regulations in the seventh decade of the 18th century regarding the establishment of schools, organization of the educational system, curriculum content, implicitly granted support to printing houses that published textbooks. In 1771, *Ratio educationis* was issued, followed by Felbiger's *Allgemeine Schulordnung* in 1774. They were followed by *Norma regia* for Transylvania, which was in fact a Transylvanian version of *Ratio educationis*, issued in 1781. The aforementioned regulations contributed to making the printing houses more and more instrumental in the educational process not only in Transylvania, but in the subject countries of the Habsburg Crown in general [5, 6].

The printing houses for Romanians functioned in Transylvania and Vienna according to privileges granted by the Court. It was the situation of the printing house opened in Blaj in the mid-18th century, of the Sibiu printing house belonging to the Bart printer dynasty, but this is not the topic of our paper. The most famous Viennese publisher who printed books for Romanians and other peoples in south-east Europe was Joseph Lorenz von Kurzböck. Kurzböck was no amateur printer and had a vast experience in the field, but printing Romanian-language books in the Cyrillic alphabet was a completely new chapter in his activity.

2. Vienna a typographical centre for Transylvanian Romanians

Romanian books printed in the Cyrillic alphabet in Vienna were out of the ordinary and, in Kurzböck's lifetime, they were sponsored by the imperial authorities. After his death, there also was a brief period during which Romania-language books were printed in Vienna, but afterwards the activity came to an end for good.

Who was Kurzböck the printer, and why the new direction in the activity of his printing house was to his advantage as well as beneficial for the Transylvanian Romanians? In 1775, when he was quite young, Joseph Lorenz von Kurzböck (21 November 1736 - 18 December 1792) inherited the printing house of Vienna University from his father, which was in a very good condition according to historical sources. On the other hand, he was granted imperial

printing privileges and held the rank of Court printer and bookseller („der k. k. illyrisch- und orientalisches Hofbuchdrucker und Buchhändler“) [7, 8]. Later he was granted the title of Joseph Ritter von Kurzböck. He was an accomplished printer, publisher, and bookseller. His printing house in Vienna produced books in Latin, German, and other languages (Aloys Blumauers, *Beobachtungen über Österreichs Aufklärung und Literatur*, 1782; Eckel, *Doctrina nummorum veterum*, 1794, etc., both used by Romanian historical writing). The new activity, originating in the already present concern in printing books in Illyrian and Oriental languages, compelled him to make numerous changes to his typographic equipment and employ printers for Romanian (and languages other than German) who were familiar with the Cyrillic alphabet. One can plainly see here the Viennese Court's interest in improving, if not controlling, the life of its subjects in the eastern areas of the Empire by means of the printed book; in other words the interest in modernizing education in the aforementioned areas. For the gifted printer, the privileges meant considerable opportunities for economic development and free market in more remote areas with a less educated population deprived of printed culture.

The literature in the field does not mention anything about the way he acquired the Cyrillic fonts. When speaking about Kurzböck's collaborators, historical sources mention Aton Magatsch as type founder of Illyrian, Cyrillic ('wallachische'), 'thracische', Russian, and Oriental fonts [9]. After parting with Magatsch, the sources mention the typeface engraver Johann Ernst Mansfeld as his collaborator. The expansion of his business was furthermore due to the fact that Maria Theresia not only granted him a twenty-year book printing privilege in 14 February 1770, but also financial support to modernize his printing house. [8].

In the same period, there was another big printing house in Vienna owned by Johan Thomas Trattner (1719-1798), another printer who was granted significant imperial privileges [10, 11]. The rivalry between Kurzböck and Trattner lasted throughout their activity, but Trattner was interested in printing neither books for the fringe areas of the Empire nor Cyrillic books for the Romanians, field in which Kurzböck held a leading position. The printing empire Trattner built - including paper mills, bookshops, and several printing houses throughout the Habsburg Empire - afforded him a privileged position among the Viennese printers. However, the quality of the books produced by Kurzböck's printing house could not go unnoticed and was highly appreciated in the epoch; another significant advantage was their low cost. There are pieces of information according to which certain clients favored Kurzböck's books over Trattner's.

The Empress expressed her appreciation to Kurzböck not only by granting him printing privileges, but also by ennobling him in 1776, when his business was thriving. „Es haben ihre Kayserl. Königl. Apostol. Mayest. Allergnädigst beschlossen, zum Nutzen, und Gebrauch in Allerhöchst Dero Erblanden in Zahlreicher Menge ansässigen Illyrischen Nation, und des Cleri der unirten, und nicht unirten Griechischen Kirche, eine eygene Privilegirte Buchdruckerey unter

der Obsorge, und Direction dieser Kays. Königl. in Illyricis aufgestellten Hof-Deputation allhier errichten zu lassen, damit nicht allein der Clerus, und die Nation in der Bequemlichkeit der Überkommung aller nathwendigen, bishero um theures Geld, und mit einem beträchtlichen Geld-Ausfluss aus Russland, Venedig, und anderen auswärtigen Provinzen herbeygehollten Büchern eine Erleichterung, sondern auch in dem wohlfeileren Preyss einen grösseren Vortheil verspüren, überhaupt aber durch eine solche in denen eygenen Erb-Landen errichtende Buchdruckerey die beträchtliche Geld-Summen, welche vorhin hinausgegangen, füglich im Lande erhalten, mit der Zeit auch durch die Emporbringung dieser für die Russisch-Wallachisch-Raizisch-Illyrisch-Griechisch- und anderen Orientalischen Sprachen aufstellende Druckerey mit denen auflegenden Büchern zu einen namhafften auswärtigen Handel der Grund gelegt, und deren Nutzen, welchen bishero anderer Staatten daraus gezogen, denen Kays. Königl. Erblanden vorzüglich zuflüssen gemacht werden möge.” [9]

One of Kurzböck’s Transylvanian patrons was the Roman-Catholic bishop Ignác Batthyány, a collector of books and other valuable artifacts. There is no evidence that they signed a contract, but their correspondence in 1783-1784, preserved in the Batthyaneum Library of Alba Iulia, mentions that the bishop wished to print *Norma vitae cleri* in Kurzböck’s printing house. For now, we do not have evidence of other such contracts [12; Batthyaneum Library, box LXX, no. 120/1783; no. 67/1784]

When speaking about the quality of the printing activity in enlightened Vienna, one cannot overlook the regulation issued in 1771, ‘Buchdruckerordnung’ (‘Printer’s Regulation’), which defined the requirements the future printers had to meet, the rights and obligations of the owner of the printing house, the financial support and qualifications for apprenticeship, the working period. In order to open a printing house, one had to comply with these regulations. During the reign of Joseph II, in the context of his ample program of reforms, the Emperor’s liberalization of the activity of the printers, publishers and booksellers in 5 April 1788 was so far reaching that it is worth underlining the fragment: “[...] Zum Bücherverkauf braucht es nicht mehr, als um Käse Kenntnisse zu verkaufen [...]”; he actually granted the printers and the booksellers in the Empire total freedom [10, p. 9-10].

In the age of Enlightenment, Vienna was a city filled with printing houses; side by side with Johann Thomas Trattner’s printing house, one could find here Joseph Hraschansky’s (1785-1813), Anton Schmid’s (1765-1855) and many others [8; 9, p. 146]. Several printing houses, chiefly Trattner’s, produced books that one may regard as ‘Transylvanian’, because many books published there were authored by Transylvanians. Moreover, textbooks and other books in Latin, German, and Hungarian used in the Transylvanian schools of the age were published by Trattner’s enterprise in Vienna, and later on by his son’s printing house in Buda. Several libraries in Transylvania still preserve works printed by Trattner father and son.

The history of Austrian and Romanian printing has shown no interest in the printing of books for the Transylvanian Romanians in Habsburg Vienna. Viennese historical writing mentions this aspect in passing even though it brings up, as we have seen above, the Cyrillic fonts in the inventory of Kurzböck's printing house. We do not have data on his Romanian language collaborators; however, it is plain clear that the typesetters and proofreaders had to be very proficient in this language, knowledge reflected in the high quality of the printed books. Under the circumstances of imperial regulations concerning education and establishment of schools, textbook printing was a leading preoccupation. At the same time, religious books for Orthodox, Roman-Catholic and Greek-Catholic denominations cannot be overlooked. When printing Romanian-language books, the German printer felt the need to change his name so that it sounded more familiar to his readers: therefore, the title pages of his books bear different names, such as: Iosif Kurtşbecul or Iosif of Kurtşbec, written in Cyrillic characters. Moreover, in a work printed in 1788 and entitled *Ducere de mână către cinste* (Guide to Honesty) he called himself 'the printer of Romanians and Serbians and bookseller'.

His books are most often bilingual, Romanian-German, with title pages in both languages. The list of Romanian-language printed books is quite long and surprising. During his entire activity in Vienna, Maria Theresia granted him a lot of printing privileges. By sponsoring a printing house for the Greek-Catholic Church in Blaj and one for the Orthodox Church in Sibiu, the Empress attempted at granting the Romanians the spiritual support they needed [13, 14]. But sometimes the interests of the three printing houses– Vienna, Blaj, Sibiu - were conflicting. It happened, for instance, when the Greek-Catholic bishop of Blaj, Atanasie Rednic, petitioned the Court shortly after Kurzböck was granted printing privilege (1770). The Empress withdrew his privilege to print Romanian-language books. However, in the next year (1771), he published *Bucvar sau începere de învăţătură celor ce vor să înveţe carte cu slove sloveneşti* (Alphabet Book or primer for those who wish to learn the Slovenian alphabet) with the license of the 'High Imperial Court'. On the 27th August 1771, Kurzböck printed the Romanian-language primer for the children of Roman-Catholic persuasion and even an official document in Latin and Romanian *Extrasul din primul Regulament iliric* (Excerpt from the first Illyrian regulation) [15]. The rivalry between the Transylvanian printing houses and Kurzböck lasted over the entire century. For instance, in 1787, the Bart printing house in Sibiu, which was granted the privilege to print books for non-Uniates, also complained against the spreading of Kurzböck's books [16]. The protest was justified by the fact that Petru Bart had gained a 12-year privilege to print Romanian-language books for non-Uniates in the same year. Consequently, Kurzböck lost his privilege to print Romanian-language books for a time. Chronologically, the latter conflict lasted until Joseph Kurzböck's death (1792). The starting point was the fact that Petru Bart disseminated his book in the Banat under his jurisdiction [17]. The competition did not succeed in hindering the activity of the three printing houses that were so important for the Transylvanian

Romanians. They kept on functioning under the respective circumstances and with the available financial means.

We should mention here an episode, illustrative not only for the history of printing, but for the personal relationship between the printer Kurzböck and the future Greek-Catholic bishop Grigore Maior. It is quite possible that after 1771, Grigore Maior had even worked for Kurzböck in his printing house. [http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grigore_Maior] In 1773, Maior published there three sermons delivered on the occasion of his ordination in Vienna: Ruschitzka, Anton, *Predigt von der Einigkeit im Christenthume über Johann 17, 20, 21*. Gehalten in der k. k. Hofkapelle, als der hochwürd. Bischof von Fogarasch, Gabriel Gregorius Major von Szarvad [...] am 4. Maymonate 1773 Wien, Jos. Kurzböck (56 f.); Ruschitzka, Anton, *Sermo de concordia in populo christiano secundum Joann. 17. 20. 21. dictus 4. Maii 1773* [...] in capella caes. reg. aulica, dum [...] Fogaraschiensis episcopus Gabriel Gregorius Major de Szarvat [...] solenni ritu consecraretur. E germanico sermone in latinum translatus, Viennae, typis Jos. Kurtzböck, 1773 (54 f.); Ruschitzka, Anton, *Predika od jedinstva u kerstjanstvu sverchu Evang. Joan. pog. 17; red. 20. 21 iz nimacskoga na ilirski jezik prevedena o Adamu Thadi Blagoevichiu od Valpova, u Bescu, 1773 u Jos. Kurzböka* (139 f.) [18].

The printer's name or the place of printing did not appear on the pamphlets comprising regulations, ordinances, decrees and other official documents by which Vienna exercised her influence on the life of the Transylvanian Romanians; however, considering the period of publication, we are likely to assume that they were also printed by Joseph Kurzböck. Petru Bart's printing house in Sibiu could be also taken into consideration. But, as mentioned above, he was granted the privilege to print in Romanian, chiefly official documents, only in November 1787. The existing pamphlets were published before this year; seemingly by Kurzböck as well, if not Bart printed them clandestinely. The most relevant are as follows: *Orânduiala lui Iosif al II-lea pentru pădurile din Bucovina* (*Joseph II's Provisions for the Forests in Bukovina*) in German and Romanian, 1786 [BRV, II, 315 no. 504]; *Orânduiala lui Iosif al II-lea pentru vânătoare* (*Joseph II's Hunting Regulation*), in German and Romanian, February the 28th [BRV, II, 315 no. 505]; *Proclamația lui Iosif al II-lea pentru desființarea iobăgiei* (*Joseph II's Proclamation for Abolition of Serfdom*), Vienna, August the 22nd, 1785 [BRV, II, 310 no. 495]; *Așezământul lui Iosif al II-lea pentru cadastru* (*Joseph II's Land Registry Regulation*), Vienna, February the 10th, 1786 [BRV, II, 312 no. 499]; *Așezământul lui Iosif al II-lea pentru țărani din Bucovina* (*Joseph II's Regulation for the Peasants in Bukovina*) in German and Romanian, [Vienna], November the 1st, 1786 (used to be sold in quires for 3 pennies).

Kurzböck did not bequeath the printing house to his descendants; it was sold to Ștefan of Novacovici, who continued to publish books in Vienna. Novacovici also gained the privilege to print Romanian ('and Eastern languages') textbooks. In 1792, he printed his first book in this printing house, *Ducere de mână către frumoasa scrisoare rumânească* (*Guide to the Beautiful*

Romanian Writing) [BRV, II, 349 no. 554]. In 1793, he printed a homiliarium, *Cazania*, translated from Serbian and, as stated in the *Introduction*, with the “blessing of the archbishop and metropolitan of Karlovetz” [BRV, II, 350-351, no. 558]. In 1793 as well, the last Romanian book was apparently produced by this printing house in the same conditions as *Cazania*, namely a book of hours, *Ceaslovul* [BRV, II, 352-353, no 561]. Even though the imperial authorities granted him a 15-year privilege, Novacovici renounced the privilege and the printing house in 1795 and sold his business in Buda [19, 20].

In 1795, after Joseph II’s death, a general censorship regulation (*General-Zensurordnung*) was published. It imposed restrictions on the publication of books and its immediate consequence was the dramatic decrease in the number of books printed in the Empire [5, p. 40]. The regime was stricter in what concerned book printing in the Empire, which undid the effects of printing and book trade liberalization during the reign of Joseph II. About 36 Romanian-language books were printed in Kurzböck’s printing house in Vienna. The period in which Kurzböck printed Romanian books, the European Aufklärung, put an imprint on his editorial agenda for Romanians and other peoples in the Empire: school books, textbooks, some of which were dedicated to adults, books of morals. Even in 1790, when his activity started to slow down, he printed a German and Romanian primer, *Bucvariu nemțesc și românesc (Bucvariu pentru pruncii ceii rumînești carii să află în Crăia ungurească/Namenbuchlein, zum Gebrauche der walachischen Iugendim Königreich Hungarn)*; as usual, the title page mentions that it is dedicated to non-Uniate children [BRV, II, 334, no. 533]. We are surprised that the work of the well-informed author I. Jaklin [5, p. 133-134] does not supply many pieces of information on textbooks in Transylvania. The author mentions them briefly in the chapter dealing with German works: *Bücher zur Normalschulreform von 1774*, [5, p. 121-134]. Among *Fremdspachige Schulbücher* she mentions textbooks in Italian, Czech, and marginally French.

Kurzböck’s books contain data concerning their destination. Because he was a privileged printer, Kurzböck enjoyed the right to trade his Romanian-language book production in Transylvania. By mentioning his privilege, he defended himself against local competitors in Blaj and Sibiu. We should also emphasize the fact that Maria Theresia and Joseph II granted privileges to print books for Orthodox believers to both Kurzböck and Petru Bart, resulting in the aforementioned disagreement. The bi- or multilingualism of his books was a peculiar aspect of his editorial agenda, and we should take into consideration here his Romanian-German editions, as well as the Serbian-Romanian-German ones. For the benefit of the children in the Empire, Kurzböck edited a series well received by the audience. It was published in four languages, namely in the languages considered most important in Central Europe: German, Latin, French and Italian, with many, highly illustrative copper plate engravings [21].

Meeting the imperial requirements, side by side with textbooks for the other peoples in the Empire, the printing house exclusively issued publications in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation supported by the Hasburgs. This is the

reason why many textbooks indicate that they are meant for non-Uniate children. On the other hand, it is interesting to note one particular tendency of this printing house that published many bilingual works. All these editions are always Romanian-German, never vice versa. In this context, we should mention: *Bucoavne* (Primers), 1770, 1771, 1781, 1785, 1790; *Aritmetici. Ducere de mână către aritmetică* (Guide to Arithmetic) 1777, 1782, 1785, 1788; *Catehisme* (Catechisms) 1775, 1784, 1774-1784, 1785. *Ortografie sau scrisoare dreaptă* (Orthography or Right Spelling) was printed in 1784 and Ianache Văcărescu's work, *Gramatica românească* (Romanian Grammar) in 1787, which is the 2nd edition. An interesting choice is Ioan Molnar's dictionary, *Deutsch-Walachische Sprachlehre*, 1788, useful for the Romanians who, according to Joseph II's reforms, were supposed to learn German. Two volumes of the textbook *Carte trebuincioasă pentru dascăli* (Book for Schoolteachers) was printed for the use of schoolteachers in 1785, and it is interesting that the preface draws their attention to the fact that previously a *Catehism* (Catechism), *Carte de cetire* (Reading Book) and *Aritmetică* (Arithmetic) have been published with the same purpose. The future priests were dedicated two editions of *Scurtă învățătură părinților duhovnicești* (Brief Lessons for Spiritual Guidance) 1787, 1789. In 1777, 1784, and 1788 the editions of *Ducere de mână către cinste* (Guide to Honesty) were printed. In 1780, the celebrated work of Gheorghe Șincai and Samuil Micu, *Elementa linguae Daco-Romanae sive Valahicae*, was printed in Latin script. In 1779, Samuil Micu printed his *Cartea de rogaciuni* (Prayer Book), in which, in the spirit of the Enlightenment and following the attempts at introducing the Cyrillic alphabet in Romanian writing, he suggested that Cyrillic letters be replaced by Latin characters. Significant for the settlement of legal cases was *Rânduiala judecătorească* (Legal Issues) printed in Romanian and German in 1787.

Besides the aforementioned catechisms, religious literature, which did not hold a leading position in Kurzböck's editorial agenda, was also represented by: *Cuvântare despre taina preoției* (Sermon on the Sacrament of Priesthood), 1787, a sermon delivered by the priest Ioan Girtan in Oradea; *Prescurtă arătare pentru Dumnezeu* in Romanian and German, 1784, book subsidized by a non-Uniate priest of Timișoara, Constantin Șuboniu, who also sponsored other Romanian books.

3. Conclusions

The present paper aimed at sketching the historical context and circumstances in which a significant number of Romanian books were printed under the influence of the Habsburg Empire's reform policy and due to printing privileges granted to printers. The Court's interest in opening printing houses was also stimulated by the spirit of Central-European Enlightenment, whose fervent supporters were Emperors Maria Theresia and Joseph II. With Maria Theresia's financial support, the Court printer Joseph Kurzböck organized in his printing house of Vienna an efficient division for printing 'Illyrian' books,

among which Romanian-language books were included between the 1770 and 1792. Textbooks or didactic works characterized by bilingualism were the most printed works for Transylvanian Romanians; there were also several religious publications for the Orthodox population and others. The Romanian-German bilingualism of the aforementioned books can be interpreted as a facet of the Habsburg policy to uniformize didactic literature. It is understandable in a time when the German language used throughout the Empire could be interpreted as an element of modernizing the educational system.

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