Andreas Golob

Participatory Journalism in Michael Hermann Ambros' Periodical Media.
Communicating Politics, Education, Entertainment, and Commerce in Central Europe at the End of the 18th Century

Introduction: A media tycoon revolutionising media business in the Habsburg Monarchy

Michael Hermann Ambros (1750-1809) was one of the first successful independent journalists in the Habsburg Monarchy, personifying an early representative of socially committed, critical, innovative and professional journalism in the German-speaking countries. He was neither an editor of an official provincial newspaper ("*Landeszeitung*"), nor could he write or compile his media as a pastime, relying on private wealth. The strategic cornerstone in his constant struggle was undoubtedly the *Bauernzeitung* (1786-1796), i.e. *Peasant News* (in P. Burke's translation; *PN*). Already famous among contemporaries, e.g. explicitly mentioned by J.v. Schwarzkopf in his influential essay on newspapers (1795), it was later prominently cited at the beginning of newspaper historiography in the Habsburg Monarchy (Winckler 1875) and is still renowned for being one of the best German-language newspapers in the late 18th century (Böning/Siegert 2001). It is less known that Ambros also edited the *Frauen-Journal* (*Women's Journal*, *WJ*) in 1795, which had been founded in 1792 as one of the first of its kind, produced in and specifically for the Habsburg Monarchy.

Both media emerged in a situation of fierce competition, because the analysed period and region, i.e., Graz, the capital city of Styria, a rather well developed Habsburg province, experienced a real 'media boom' at the end of the 18th century. In a relatively short period comprising only two decades, the local media profited from extended press freedom and, for the first time since the start of counter-reformation around 1600, from traits of an economically driven market for press products. With 35.000 inhabitants more modest than Vienna, the other major cities along the Danube, or Prague, Graz hosted only one official newspaper before the impact of Josephinist reforms, but no less than five between 1792 and 1796. Political turmoil, interest in these upheavals and commercial zeal to canalise this interest, as well as the impetus of enlightened entertaining education and commercial needs catalysed this development. Politically driven repression, but also economic hardship, due to the revolutionary wars, led to a contraction. After the reduction to three periodical media in 1796 and to two in 1798, a monopoly was eventually re-established in 1806. Against this background, the most telling argument for quality and impact of *PN* might be its ban between mid-February and the end of May 1792, right after Ambros had announced encompassing reports on France. This fact might be interpreted as a proof of his 'investigative journalism'.

It is remarkable that Ambros' media commitment overcame this crisis and solely survived on the basis of subscription payments and fees for advertisements. This was possible because of the broad interests that Ambros catered for, as well as his witty writing style. *PN* consisted of the political newspaper as a dominating part, a supplement with educational and entertaining contents, and an advertiser with administrative and commercial announcements. The same structure can be found in *WJ*, however with the exception of the advertiser which, in a strict sense, had only occurred in the early years and was reduced to book advertisements and replaced by highly interesting fictitious satirical advertisements. In producing his media, Ambros showed marked differences in comparison to most competitors, because he heavily relied on original contributions from his so called „*Zeitungskollegium*" (*newspaper*

council) which united men and women, amateurs in the best sense of the word, in a mainly virtual community. Contributors' letters can be still recognised, because the editor attributed them to one or another of their mostly anonymous authors. Authentically, he even exposed individual traits or gave surprisingly detailed information on writers' professions. Some of them can even be identified by name. Moreover, Ambros openly commented on and discussed the value of this unique selling proposition on a regular, almost weekly basis. When he used other newspapers as sources, he did so both systematically and critically minded. He even quoted their titles on a regular basis. Furthermore, Ambros frankly contacted his audience in special columns which offered much more than self-adulation. On the contrary, he justified his business operations, admitted errors and explained their causes. By answering anonymised letters, the editor finally established a forum to publicly communicate with his *patrons and friends* ("*Gönner und Freunde*"), as he conservatively called his contributors and readers. As the cited locations prove, this forum encompassed the whole Habsburg Monarchy and adjacent areas, i.e., regions located in present-day southern Germany, Northern Italy, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia. Ambros himself stressed his geostrategic position which allowed connecting the Habsburg South and Southeast with Central Europe. Consequently, Ambros' metatexts and paratexts are the key, providing insights into the media system of the Habsburg Monarchy. With their help and by interpreting the actual texts it will be possible to attempt the following pending questions on late 18th-century journalistic practices.

Innovative features: Integrative and collective contents production between ratio and emotion
We will carefully assess paratexts, metatexts and texts to analyse practices in Ambros' virtual media universe. All parts of his media – the political newspaper, the supplement and the advertiser – will be considered in an integral and thus innovative approach.

Since the editor's hints are most relevant for the stage of production, we will focus on communicators and media that formed Ambros' basis. Recycling processes will be observed in detail, and we will particularly assess the contributors' roles, their personal and professional contacts, media that they used themselves, and their interaction with the editor. Concerning women's roles, we want to emphasise their active contributions in reporting news, popular education and advertising. We will also pay special attention to connections between Ambros and his privileged or non-privileged colleagues and competitors. Regional and supra-regional perspectives will be adopted. To theorise the relationship between communicators, media and editor *Actor-Media-Theory* (*Akteur-Medien-Theorie*, *AMT*) will be applied.

Regarding results of exploiting these sources, we are not only interested in descriptions of major political or military events. Special attention will be paid to hitherto neglected periods of – so to say – 'phoney' wars in winter time. We will ask which elements of the supplement or the advertiser stepped in to fill the sheets when political news was rare. Although we certainly acknowledge the media's extraordinary accuracy, we will predominantly thematise errors and their sources and Ambros' failure management. We are particularly interested in irrational traits which show the contributors' emotional involvement. When it comes to texts for female consumers and images of women we will not only dwell on literary texts, reviews of books and theatre performances, or practical advice for the household and child rearing. Beyond these typical texts, we will have a closer look at strategies that were used to convey news and background information on politics, military campaigns, enlightened society and ('national') economy. Regarding the methods to reach women as
well as a lower-class male readership, we will search for connections between education and information on the one hand and an entertaining disguise of this contents on the other, because this

combination of 'prodesse et delectare' featured prominently in theories of popular enlightenment which aimed at educating allegedly less intellectually capable female and lower-class readers. In order to identify the positive and negative emotional qualities not only of education and reporting news, but also of advertising observable in Ambros' endeavours, we will also be taking prominent concepts of the history of emotions into account.

Methods

Approaches towards Ambros' sources: Quantifying and interpreting texts in media

In analysing interdependencies in Ambros' media as a whole we will combine quantitative and qualitative methods. Using means of descriptive statistics we will assess the ratio of media and communicative practices by counting lines in the political, educating as well as entertaining and advertising sections. As 'media' we understand other newspapers (officially, privately or commercially financed), educating and entertaining periodicals, books, pamphlets, leaflets, copper engravings, calendars, almanacs, advertisements, official announcements and contributors' letters. Communicative practices will encompass sermons, oral announcements, speeches in legislative assemblies or on the battlefield, songs, hearsay and (false) rumours. For these media and communicative practices Ambros' paratexts and metatexts, i.e. his introductive or concluding remarks, (dis)approving comments and his thoughts on the specific (imagined) value and degree of authenticity of the sources used or on the commercial necessity of advertisements and administrative announcements, will provide material for qualitative interpretation. The occurrence of these metatexts and paratexts will be quantified, too. We will also pay attention to differences over time, especially in connection with increasing censorship in the revolutionary wars. *WJ* will be diachronically assessed with respect to the changes of editors (1792-93, 1794, 1795, 1796-97). In the course of this analysis we will also prepare the ground for a later edition of our sources with annotations on places, countries, persons, subjects, contributors' professions and media (cf. the last chapter).

The original contributions, Ambros' unique selling proposition, will be our focus. On this level, we will also analyse the use of media and communicative practices qualitatively and quantitatively. Not only correspondents and authors of entertaining or educating articles will be interpreted as contributors, but also composers of advertisements and announcements (who contributed not only contents but also vital fees). Our strict definition of novel contributions will be limited to explicitly introduced contributions, first-person reports with personal observations of the narrator or 'interviews' with eye-witnesses of political or military events, and signed advertisements. We will analyse the contents of these contributions in all three parts of the media, their places of origin and their authors' relationship towards the editor. We will have a close look at socio-economic, sociocultural and socio-political contacts and perspectives that the contributors brought in as members of indicated specific professional groups and members of professional communicative channels like commercial correspondence, field post or diplomatic exchange. Which information and educating contributions did e.g. priests provide, or how did soldiers' articles relate to their every-day experience? Merchants and seigneurial as well as civil officials primarily profited from the esteem of the political newspaper, using the advertiser to place their announcements hoping that the largest possible audience would be reached and material practices in 'real life' could be facilitated. Both groups, however, had their share in reporting news, entertainment and popular education, too. Similar specific questions will be asked and observations will be made, when it comes to couriers, diplomats, postmasters or physicians who can be recognised, as preliminary evidence has abundantly shown. Of course we will not be naïve and think that each nameless courier etc. really existed, but we can interpret the references to nameless functionaries as hints at the real or at least imagined importance ascribed to specific professional

groups. We are convinced, however, that Ambros sincerely indicated correspondents' letters in the newspaper and contributions in the supplement, simply because it would have been easy to discover his fraud; since most of the media he used were available in cafés and particularly because he himself sold these sources at half price after having distilled information.

Finally we will also consider women's roles in both media and ask whether there was some kind of 'female journalistic habitus' or simply female emulation of the editor or male colleagues. We will especially focus on the less well known field of producing political news, and it will be rewarding to hint at advertising women, e.g. booksellers' and book binders' widows or soap boilers, suppliers of services such as midwives, female (co-)owners of landed properties, or young girls and older widows who advertised their marriage plans via male intermediaries (in special columns of *PN*). The petty occupations suggest that we can get beyond the sphere of noble and bourgeois women. We will finally highlight the relationships between women and men as contributors and (intended) recipients.

AMT as a framework: Conceptualisation of a 'hidden' journalistic network

To theorise the empirical results we will understand both media as collective achievements of *actors* with specific *roles*,[1] with institutional (particularly professional) backgrounds, with vested, sometimes selfish interests, with differing power, performance, influence and *agencies*. Individual communicators and media are seen as equally important *mediators* (*médiateurs*). Letters, sent through the technical infrastructure of the post network, and media can be interpreted as *immutable mobiles* with specific characteristics. For instance, correspondents' letters were more up to date and controversial than information in controlled and ponderous court newspapers which offered approved and more propagandistic news. Both media show *coincident boundaries* between their three main parts, i.e. contents of the political newspaper, the supplement and the advertiser show relationships. In this sense, specific input of the (professional) groups was of general value in terms of a guiding enlightened spirit and in creating useful fora for a broad public. On the other hand, we can probably also discover *cooperation without consensus*, given the differing perspectives of country parsons and their moral aims or religious and governmental obligations and more materialistic merchants, to cite the presumably widest discrepancy between specific interests in the media.

The contributors' and the editor's levels will be conceived as *centres of calculation* where information was processed. Ambros certainly was the initiator and first among equals of 'his' merit-based network which, however, showed unique dynamics, as preliminary studies suggest. The editor's office will be understood as an inspiring *complex place* (Johns 1998) where a multitude of information crossed. The editor's selection, his controversial discussions, his reasoning and details on his information sources to strengthen his argument, to provide more reliable news or to discard wrong information offered by his competitors dynamised and 'liquefied' the original texts from other media and contributors in a communicative, intermedial, actually (given how many different sources interlocked) 'transmedial' process. Ambros also exercised his *agencement* in strategic decisions and instructions for individual collaborators and for technical structures (of the post system). Search for sources of disinformation in the very flood of information was documented and culprits or faulty structures were singled out. Bits of wrong information will not be primarily interpreted as products of propaganda (which certainly influenced the communicators' and the editor's views), but of unintentional private hopes, intentional vested interests (e.g. of merchants who tried to manipulate markets) or early national wishes and aspirations. Ambros finally did not only 'recycle' media, but created a result that was decidedly more than a synopsis of its single parts, and imposed meaning on this hubbub of voices. The creation of

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[1] Technical terms are given in italics.

meaning, however, and the way he discursively forged media events did not remain undisputed among his sometimes recalcitrant contributors who could redirect their contributions to one of the editor's competitors. Lastly, contributors were not only agents of production but also of distribution (because they supported Ambros' media with word-of-mouth recommendation) and consumption (because they were both subscribers and readers). Thus the 'classical' three-part framework of media blurs, as *AMT* has suggested.

Having assessed these intrinsic structures, we must consider Ambros' responsibility for his media and thus his *accountability* when it came to extrinsic constraints, i.e. the verdict of public opinion and interests of readers (i.e. current and future subscribers), attacks from his competitors and the spell of censorship which tried to repress revolutionary ideas. Therefore, Ambros also held the other *actors* (contributors and media alike) *accountable* in a literal, metaphorical or moral sense. Traces of (self)censorship have to be identified between the lines. The probably most eminent factor, the more or less unforeseeable stream of events, can be best sketched by looking at war between empires. The shift from one war theatre to another, most prominently from the south-eastern against the Ottomans to the western and south-western against revolutionary France but also the eruptions of new military spaces in the revolutionary wars themselves, may highlight how peripheries were integrated. From a cross-regional perspective we may observe the rise of peripheries between empires into centres for private newsmongers who became prominent sources on the spot.

The role of emotions: Interconnections of individuals, civil society, public, and state

Personal taste and attachment as driving forces, which are part of *AMT*, too, open the field for the second innovative conceptual approach. In contrast to official newspapers, where propaganda played a significant role, we will focus on personal and collective emotions, which were certainly caused by propaganda but also by media reception in general and personal experience of the writing self, e.g. as an eye-witness. Consequently, emotions played a key role regarding questions of *agency* and the creation of meaning. Ambros himself was convinced that his witty writing style furthered his own interests in acquiring contributions and making his media more attractive. Therefore, it will be rewarding to define the place of the language of emotions in his media. We will search for sensory reactions to impressions and their behavioural characteristics or bodily features (like tears, trembling or rapid heartbeat, gestures, described facial expressions), for expressions of inward emotional states and for more reflective mental coping strategies. To cover a wide 'emotional field' we will adopt an encompassing definition stretching from basic motions (sensations, instincts, drives, affect(ation)s, appetites) over controversially discussed passions to cultivated feelings. In this way we can e.g. include fear, anger, arrogance and remorselessness, disappointment, sadness and shame but also courage, honour and heroism or hope for (divine) justice, compassion, patriotic and proto-nationalist love of a country and collective mourning among fellow citizens in particularly martial environments. We can also address the cult(ivation) of respect, loyalty, honesty and (virtual) friendship among Ambros' collaborators and in Ambros' own face-saving practices. The passion of curiosity in consuming news and boredom in the absence of new input can be thematised as well. In detail, it will be interesting to ask which role emotions played in conveying authenticity, especially in correspondents' letters which Ambros did not principally purge of emotional vocabulary. We will also

assess how desires should push the consumption of advertised services and commodities or how merchants unemotionally presented calculations on the other hand. We will finally observe links between education and entertainment in the sense of the ubiquitous motto 'prodesse et delectare' and its postulate of joyful erudition. A comparison of Ambros' media will lastly offer insights into the cultivation of typically male and female emotional language. Improvement of taste will play a special

role. The fight against hypersensibility might dominate in *WJ* whereas *PN* can highlight how commoners' emotions should be refined, e.g. with anecdotes which resembled Socratic stories.

It shall finally become clear that emotions did not only have an impact on individuals but were especially instrumented in socio-cultural, socio-political and socio-economic terms to create meaning and collective actions in public which even undermined the authoritarian traits of Josephinism to a certain extent. We will ask how emotional language was used to further patriotic incitement or how feelings should 'materialise' in transparently recorded donation campaigns in favour of social charity or the war effort. This interpretation will contest arguments that the retreat to the private sphere prevailed in Central Europe (i.e. in the German countries) while collectivism was restricted to 'civil societies' in Western Europe (i.e. to Britain and France). We will also try to define the *emotional regime* that was typical of enlightened Habsburg absolutism and of a generation that became increasingly sceptical of the efforts and outcomes of enlightenment. This *regime* will be interpreted as an opposition towards the political adversaries in France or Poland, on the one hand, and the 'despotic' Ottoman archenemy, on the other. To attempt this question, we will consider phrases which criticised or ridiculed republican or non-Christian, non-European regimes. On the other hand, especially anecdotes which displayed deviant behaviour, clothed in irony and exaggerations, might be interpreted as vehicles airing criticism against expectations and provoking subversive laughter in the restrained public sphere of enlightened absolutism itself.

Primary sources in context: The cross-media perspective across the Alps
PN [1791f., 1794 to June 1795, October 1795 to June 1796][2] and *WJ* will be set into regional and supra-regional contexts by comparing them with other periodical media.
The following representatives of the periodical press in Inner Austria, i.e. Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Gorica and Trieste, will be studied entirely:
Grätzer Merkur (*Graz Mercury*) [1789-1793, 1796], founded in the early 18th century and monopolist until 1785, represents an outdated example of old-regime official media which finally ceased in 1806.
Grätzer Zeitung (*Graz News*) [since 1787] can be interpreted as the representative of Josephinist imperial and provincial administration. Due to its political function since 1785 it survived well into the 20th century and was the only newspaper in Inner Austria which was published six times a week (from 1792 onwards) whereas the other ones offered two issues a week which was the common standard.[3]
The earlier years of *WJ* (1792-1794) and the final volumes until 1797 will complement the analyses of Ambros' contribution to this journal.
Grätzer Bürgerzeitung (*Graz Citizen News*) [1792, January-June 1796], launched in 1792 and, as *PN*, united with *Grätzer Zeitung* in 1796, was issued by an economically independent noble civil servant, who compiled the newspaper as a pastime.
Klagenfurter Zeitung (*Klagenfurt News*) [1790; 1794 fragmentary] and *Laibacher Zeitung* (*Laibach News*) [1786-1791] served as official newspapers of Carinthia and Carniola, respectively.
Osservatore Triestino (*Trieste Observer*) ranked as the most important Italian-language and Habsburg-loyal newspaper at the Adriatic coast.

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[2] States of preservation are given in square brackets. For the other media states of preservation only refer to the era of *PN* and *WJ* (1786-96/1792-97); if no indication is given, the media are fully preserved. The gaps in the preservation of Ambros' flagship might raise doubts concerning its worth to be kept for posterity, but, as Pettegree (2011) maintains, we may interpret this disappearance functionally and conclude that *PN* was indeed widely consumed and discarded after its up-to-date relevance had faded.
[3] *WJ* was a weekly journal from 1792.

When we analyse these media, we will generally browse for references to Ambros' media. This will help us to assess the impact of *PN* and *WJ*. Regarding *PN* we might also find additional information on the volumes that are not preserved; in this respect it is, however, risky to promise substantial results given the practices of most editors who did not cite their sources as transparently as Ambros did. In detail, we will compare how selected events that were prominently covered by Ambros' contributors were presented in these locally important media. Comparisons will also extend to the entertaining and educating contributions to show shared or differing interests, and also include the advertiser, particularly to discover whether Ambros could rely on unique clients who strictly preferred his media. As a result, differences between Ambros' approach and the other non-official and official media can be appreciated, and we can track the paths of travelling news in Inner Austria. Furthermore we ask for overlapping communicative networks or more or less accentuated (geographical, political, socio-economic, cultural, language-related) borders between media landscapes at the fringes of the Habsburg Monarchy. For the situation in Graz, we will also indulge in archival research in the Styrian Provincial Archives to supplement the media perspective. We will concentrate on remains of the post office and of the book revision department (50 boxes, 1750-1855; 65 volumes, 1750-1848). Although the latter records might not refer to the periodical press directly, they are important to understand the increasingly restrictive environment of the printed word, and given that the central censorship records in Vienna are nearly completely lost due to 20th-century upheaval and war, each glimpse will be valuable. We cannot estimate how elucidating surviving seigneurial and ecclesiastical archives might be when it comes to information on (e.g. status and agency of) individual contributors who might become known by name during the project. Due to this risk, research on these potentially rich sources must be delayed to a future project on the basis of the current one.

The selection of media outside Inner Austria must follow Ambros' preferences. Principally he used leading newspapers which played the role of early news agencies and came from political, commercial and consequently communicative pivots like Vienna, Prague, Bratislava, Pest-Buda, Regensburg, Frankfurt, Cologne, Hamburg and Leiden. Additionally, there was a range of regionally important media from the German countries, from Poland, from the western periphery of France and from northern Italian countries. Finally Ambros held subscriptions of role models such as Trenck von Tonder and Schubart. So far, no less than 49 newspapers and journals have been identified as sources. Given this remarkable spread, comparisons can only be very limited. It seems sensible to choose a mix from different media landscapes and (official or non-official) backgrounds. The selection will demonstrate the importance of further comparisons in the complex cross-regional interdependencies at the end of the 18th century.

Wiener Zeitung (*Viennese News*) is considered the most relevant official newspaper in the hereditary countries, coming from the capital of the Habsburg Monarchy and containing news which directly stemmed from the court and filled the pages of official newspapers in the provinces. However, it was also indispensable for Ambros to compare his information with this official source.

Preßburger Zeitung (*Bratislava News*) is repeatedly mentioned as a recalcitrant competitor, as controversies between the editors prove.

Notizie universali (*General Remarks*) (since 1787) supplied information from the south-western peripheries. Its home, Rovereto, was frequently mentioned in later years of *PN* when it came to covering news from the French-Italian war theatre.

The Bohemian countries only played minor roles in Ambros' strategies and will be neglected consequently.

Regarding leading newspapers of the German countries we will only select Ambros' two most important role models to uncover interdependencies in this specific journalistic 'milieu'. *Politische*

Gespräche im Reiche der Todten (*Political Talks in the Realm of the Dead = Neuwieder Zeitung/Neuwied News*) is often cited, and there are hints that the editors kept an eye on each other.

Thus information does not seem to have been distributed in a one-way direction as it was apparently the case with other prominent newspapers from the German countries. Schubart's *Chronik* (*Chronicle*) (1787-1791) will also be considered.

To set *WJ* into its special international context, and due to concrete references to Sophie la Roche and Marianne Ehrmann, we will consult the journals *Pomona* (1783f.), *Frauenzimmer-Zeitung* (*Women's Newspaper*, Kempten 1787f.), *Amaliens Erholungsstunden* (*Amalia's Leisure Hours*, 1790-1792) and *Die Einsiedlerinn aus den Alpen* (*The Female Hermit from the Alps*, 1793f.). We will finally also include *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* (*Journal of Luxury and Fashions*).

Except for advertisements, the approach in analysing these media will be the same as adopted for Inner-Austrian media.

Cooperation partners

Due to the special nature of the project we will rely on the following experts in 18th-century media history:

Ivan Parvev, associate professor at the University of Sofia (Bulgaria), is a specialist in the German reception of information from South-Eastern Europe. After research on images of the Balkans in German periodicals, he has worked on the distribution of news from South-Eastern Europe to the German countries.

Ilona Pavercsik, retired researcher at the Hungarian National Library, has carried out innovative research on book advertisements in newspapers. She is also interested in authors as representatives of the 18th-century media system. She has published on Aloys Blumauer and currently concentrates on interdependencies of media in her studies on Friedrich Freiherr von der Trenck.

Andrea Seidler, associate professor of Hungarian studies at Vienna University, is the doyenne of media history in the Danube region. She has profoundly worked on *Preßburger Zeitung* and made the newspaper digitally available. Seidler has also published on images of women in 18th-century media in the Habsburg Monarchy.

Stays in Bremen, home to the most important collection of 18th-century German-language newspapers, and Italy will serve to extend this network which is momentarily focused on South-Eastern Europe due to earlier cooperation.

Strategic perspective: Towards interconnected research on media at the end of the 18th century

Future steps will be necessary to arrive at a broader picture of the highly complex communicative situation around 1800, as it has been hitherto drawn mainly for the 16th and 17th centuries (Harms/Raymond/Salman 2013, Keller 2012, Bauer/Böning 2011, Dooley 2010). Media and communication studies on early modern Europe which are more focused on the periods from 1450 to 1750 will profit from our extension in time whereas transnational and transdisciplinary enlightenment studies (encompassing military, political, social, economic, cultural history, German and Romance studies, cultural anthropology, gender studies) will gain access to regional discourses which were neglected due to the focus on western enlightenment. This transnational and transdisciplinary vision will allow us to forge alliances for future projects. By firmly establishing the importance of Ambros' innovative media on the international level with the proposed project, we hope to convince the institutions responsible for digitisation of historical newspapers in Austria (*Austrian National Library*, *Styrian Provincial Library*) to set these media on their agendas. We will also try to win grants for an online edition ourselves and use the facilities of the innovative *Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities*,

following the model of the projects on *Spectators*[4] and using OCR-methods (which is still a problem at the moment because the paper copies particularly of *PN* which were the basis of the microfilm version, survived in a condition which is not easily machine-readable due to thin (partly nearly transparent) paper, dirt and yellowing). Our annotations will be a useful basis, and therefore a comparatively short follow-up project (24 months maximum) should suffice to digitally edit large parts of Ambros' media. This way our corpus which is specific for the era as well as for the area, will spark comparative debates on specific variations of enlightenment in late 18th-century Central Europe.

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[4] http://gams.uni-graz.at/archive/get/context:mws/sdef:Context/get?locale=fr .