

Zrinski and the Printing House in Nedelišće in the Context of the Spread of Literature

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Abstract—In the early modern period, Međimurje was marked by the activities of the Zrinski family, among whom Juraj IV. Zrinski stands out for his efforts to spread Protestantism on his estates, which is why he opened a printing house in Nedelišće in 1570, bringing the printer Rudolf Hoffhalter from Lendava. In addition to the scientific method of analyzing the content of historical works, a scientific research was conducted via an online questionnaire, which sought to determine: whether the respondents believe that the founding of the printing house in Nedelišće was extremely important for the development of Međimurje, to what extent the activities of the Zrinski family influenced the cultural development of Međimurje, what role did the written word play in history in preserving the Croatian identity in Međimurje, whether the respondents believe that the printing house in Nedelišće should be taught more in schools and universities, whether the history of printing is an important part of Croatian cultural heritage, whether the respondents believe that the translation of the legal work *Tripartitum* into the Kajkavian language was important for strengthening Croatian identity in northern Croatia, whether the destruction of books during the Counter-Reformation had long-term negative consequences for Croatian culture, whether the respondents believe that the founding of the printing house in Nedelišće in 1570 was primarily a religious and/or political move, what is the respondents' position on Protestantism, which spread in Međimurje even without the printing house run by Rudolf Hoffhalter, do the respondents believe that today's opinion about the history of Međimurje would be different if more books from the Nedelišće printing house had been preserved.

Keywords— chi square test: Ivan Pergošić: Juraj IV. Zrinski: Međimurje: Nedelišće: printing house: Rudolf Hoffhalter.

I. INTRODUCTION

In the paper on the topic: "The role of the Zrinski family and the printing house in Nedelišće in the spread of Protestantism and literature in Međimurje", contemporary data were researched and documented on: (1) whether respondents believe that the founding of the printing house in Nedelišće was extremely important for the development of Međimurje, (2) how much the activities of the Zrinski family influenced the cultural development of Međimurje, (3) what role did the written word play in history in preserving Croatian identity in Međimurje, (4) whether respondents believe that more should be taught about the printing house in Nedelišće in schools and universities, (5) whether the history of printing is an important part of Croatian cultural heritage, (6) whether respondents believe that the translation of the legal work *Tripartitum* into the Kajkavian language was important for strengthening Croatian identity in northern Croatia, (7) whether the

destruction of books during the Counter-Reformation had long-term negative consequences for Croatian culture, (8) whether respondents believe that the founding of the printing house in Nedelišće in 1570 was primarily a religious and/or political move, (9) the respondents' point of view on whether Protestantism would have spread in Međimurje even without the printing house run by Rudolf Hoffhalter, (10) whether the respondents think that today's opinion on the history of Međimurje would have been different if more books from the Nedelišće printing house had been preserved. Also, the method of content analysis revealed information that in the early modern period Međimurje was marked by the activities of the Zrinski family, among whom Juraj IV. Zrinski stands out due to the spread of Protestantism on his estates, which is why he opened a printing house in Nedelišće in 1570, bringing the printer Rudolf Hoffhalter from Lendava. The printing house was crucial for the spread of Protestantism and literature, and Zvonimir Bartolić points out that Zrinski also had political motives, such as printing a translation of the legal work *Tripartitum*. Most of the books from the printing house were destroyed during the Counter-Reformation. A translation of the *Decretum* by Ivan Pergošić from 1574 has been preserved. It is also the oldest book printed in the Kajkavian language, but also the oldest legal book in northern Croatia. Also, at the end of the paper, the Chi-square test was applied for statistical procedure to examine the dependence of two qualitative characteristics, and the obtained results were statistically analyzed. Croatian merchants, priests, and sailors who stayed in Venice in the mid-15th century met the new printing technology (Gutenberg, 2024). This gave them the idea of printing Glagolitic liturgical books. Soon, in Venetian printing houses, as well as in printing houses in other European cities, numerous Croats began to print their works in Latin and Italian. In addition to printing their own works, they also printed other people's works, working as proofreaders, printers, publishers, translators and editors. The first book printed by Croats using the new printing technology was a work by Bishop Nikola Modruški in Latin entitled *Oratio in funere Petri cardinalis s. Sixti*, printed in Rome in 1474 (Stipčević, 2005). In Venice in 1477, Juraj Šižgorić from Šibenik (*Elegiarum et carminum libri tres*), Coriolanus Cipiko from Trogir (*Petri Mocenici imperatoris gesta*) and Šimun of Hvar (*De baptismo Sancti spiritus et eius virtute*) printed their books in Latin. The beginnings of printing in Croatia are linked to the year 1483, when the first incunabula in the

Croatian language in the Glagolitic script, the Missal according to the law of the Roman court, was printed, which was probably printed, since the place of printing is not indicated, in Kolinje, Izola or Modruš. The printing house in Kolinje is considered the first printing house in Croatia. In that printing house, the second incunabula in the Croatian language and Glagolitic script, the Breviary according to the law of the Roman court, was printed in 1491. The third incunabula in the Croatian language and Glagolitic script, the so-called Baromićev breviary, was printed in Venice in 1493. In Senj, the second Croatian printing house, the Roman Missal, the fourth Croatian incunabula, was published in 1496. The third Croatian printing house, founded by Bishop Šimun Kožičić Benja, operated in Rijeka around 1530. It produced six liturgical books in the Glagolitic script: The Book of the Life of the Monk, the Croatian Missal, the Book of the Cross, the Psalter, the Roman Office, and the Book of the Lives of the Roman Bishops (Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2024). The fourth Croatian printing house was opened in the northernmost part of Croatia, in Međimurje. The printing house was opened in Nedelišće in 1570. The first Croatian Kajkavian book, *Decretum* by Ivan (Ivanuš) Pergošić, was printed there, thus entering Međimurje into Croatian literature.

II. METHODS

For the purposes of this paper, an empirical study was conducted in the geographical area of Podravina and Međimurje. The paper, among other things, provides a review of recommendations for the application of appropriate metrics. The research process included a sample consisting of respondents in the Podravina and Međimurje area who are engaged in researching historical facts and who also had work experience in implementing projects. The respondents came from several towns and cities in the Podravina and Međimurje area. A convenience sample was also used, but it can also be stated that in addition to the scientific method of content analysis, the scientific method of surveying was also applied in the research, and a digital online survey was selected for the research, and a modified Likert scale with four options was used in order to avoid the possibility of "undecided selection", i.e. the average score. The sample is non-probabilistic, intentional and purposeful. To review the analysis of the results of the survey, a procedure called the chi-square test was conducted, which is used in most cases if the data is qualitative data or if the data distribution significantly deviates from normal. The research sample consisted of 52 respondents (N=52). The respondents were history teachers and senior students.

III. PRINTING HOUSE IN NEDELIŠĆE AND IT'S METHOD OF OPERATION

The early modern period, Međimurje was marked by the activities of the Zrinski family, known not only for their courage in the fight against the Ottomans but also as patrons of literature and, at one point, as the spreaders of Protestantism in Međimurje during the time of Juraj Zrinski (son of Nikola Sigetski) (Talan, 2017). Protestantism appeared in Hungary after 1517, and its spread was facilitated by the

fact that it was accepted by almost all the large landowners, including the Zrinski family. The spread of Protestantism in Hungary, including in Međimurje, was facilitated by the practice of printing Protestant books in the vernacular in printing houses owned by the landowners (Talan, 2017). They, along with the church and city administrations, were the only ones who could use their own money to establish and finance the work of printing houses that printed only the books and other materials they needed. The too small number of printing houses in the Croatian lands between the 15th and 18th centuries forced Croatian authors to print their works in Italy and other European places (Venice, Graz or Vienna). In northern Croatia, as a large landowner, Juraj IV. Zrinski, following the example of other noblemen, accepted the idea of opening a Protestant printing house on his estate in Međimurje. With this goal, he brought the printer Rudolf Hoffhalter from neighboring Lendava, which began the work of the printing house in Nedelišće in 1570. At that time, Nedelišće was a place with numerous crafts, a customs house and a market with large fairs (Talan, 2017). Zvonimir Bartolić states that Juraj Zrinski did not establish a printing house in Nedelišće solely with the aim of spreading Protestantism, but also because of the Zrinski's desire to be patrons of the fine arts, like other European nobles. Bartolić also points out that Juraj Zrinski's mother, Katarina Frankopanska, was a writer, and the most important reason was political, printing a translation of Verböczy's legal work *Tripartitum*, which was translated (and partially revised) by the Varaždin county and city notary Ivan Pergošić (Bartolić, 1980). According to the author of the work, most of the books printed in the Nedelišće printing house were destroyed during the Counter-Reformation. Most of the books printed in the printing house were destroyed during the Counter-Reformation. The only one that has been preserved in its entirety is the translation of the *Decretum* by the Varaždin notary Ivan Pergošić, printed in 1574. The book collects the legal norms that were in force in Hungary, Croatia and Transylvania from 1517 until the advent of the Austrian Civil Code in 1853 (Informativna katolička agencija, 2024). Zvonimir Barolić states that the *Decretum* presents the richness of the Croatian Kajkavian language, which reflects the linguistic conditions of 16th-century Croatia. Furthermore, he states that it testifies to the fact that during the time of the Zrinski's, Međimurje was the cultural and political center of Croatia (Informativna katolička agencija, 2024). By translating the *Decretum* from the Hungarian original into the Kajkavian literary language, Pergošić left behind a significant document of Croatian Kajkavian literature. Ivan Pergošić's work *Decretum*, in addition to being the only evidence of the existence of a Croatian printing house in Nedelišće, is also the oldest book printed in the Croatian Kajkavian language, and the oldest legal book printed in northern Croatia. It is assumed that the printing house in Nedelišće also printed books on religious and legal topics, as well as fine literature (Talan, 2017), and the undiscovered books of Mihalj (Mihajlo) Bučić: *New Law, Kerstjanski nauk and Contra praesentiam corporis et sanguinis Christi in sacramento Eucharistiae*. Information about Mihalj Bučić and the printing house in Nedelišće is

provided by Bartolić in the 18th century. Two Croatian and one Hungarian source are cited: Venantius Glavina, Adam Baltazar Krčelić and Alexius Horányi in the 19th century and Franjo Fancev in the 20th century (Informativna katolička agencija, 2024). Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski in the Archive for Yugoslav History states that Juraj Zrinski dared to build a new printing press at his own expense right at the end of northern Croatia, and around 1570 he summoned the printer Rudolf Hofhalter from nearby Lendava and set him up together with the printing press in his town of Nedelišće, which is right next to Zrinjski's town of Čakovec, and half an hour from Varaždin. There, Zrinjski first had the Protestant Croatian books of Mihajlo Bučić, archdeacon of your and parish priest of Belica in Međimurje, who, among other works, wrote "Novi zakon" and "Krstjanski Nauk", dedicating these books to King Maximilian as a zealous supporter of the new faith, printed at his own expense. In 1574, the first translation of Verbaci's Hungarian laws into Croatian was made in the same printing house, under the title Trojstranični Pismotvor Navadneh pravici slavnoga orsag Vugerskoga by Stefan Verbeca, written in Diački and translated into Croatian (according to Ivan Pergošić). It was printed in Nedelišće by Rudolf Hofhalter in 1574. What was printed in Nedelišće after this only known book is unknown. Likely, when the above-mentioned Rudolf Hofhalter left for Big Varadin, the Zrinjsko printing house was later moved to neighboring Varaždin, where in 1587, two books were printed by the Manele printers, as we will see below (Bartolić, 1980). Franjo Fancev in his work denies the possibility that the printing house in Nedelišće printed more than is known so far, because Hoffhalter (and Ivan Manlius) was primarily a traveling printer who went where he was called, and for this reason his printing house, due to its mobility, could not have the machines and tools of permanent printing houses. For this reason, it could not have printed (depending on the volume, two to four works per year) more than what can be reliably determined from the preserved printed products of Kajkavian literature of the 16th century, namely only Pergošić's Decretum. Contrary to him, Josip Bedeković, describing Nedelišće, states that I could not find out from books or from tradition. That a printing house was built in the same town is shown by a book printed there, indeed the Tripartitum of the Kingdom of Hungary in the Croatian-Slavonic language around the year of our Lord 1547, of which very few copies were made (Bartolić, 1980). The answer to the question of whether Juraj Zrinski founded or did not find a printing house in Nedelišće or whether he merely accepted the proposal of the Calvinist preacher Bučić to provide accommodation and printing work to the traveling printer Rudolf Hoffhalter remains for science to determine and provide a concrete answer.

IV. RESEARCH RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Based on the research, the results of the survey in the Podravina and Međimurje regions are presented. The survey was conducted in February 2026. The research involved the best students who showed a high level of interest in the field of history, as well as history professors. These are the results:

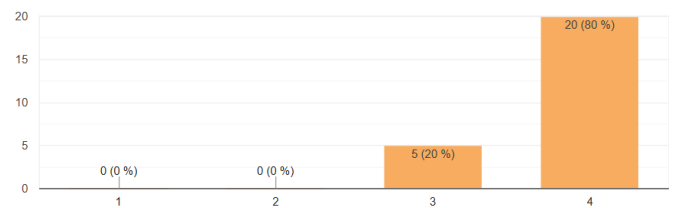


Fig. 1. A presentation of the assessment of the statement by respondents, whether respondents believe that the establishment of the printing house in Nedelišće was extremely important for the development of Međimurje.

Figure 1 (GoogleForms, 2026) shows the respondents' ratings of how the establishment of the printing house in Nedelišće was extremely important for the development of Međimurje. The majority of respondents, 80%, agree that the establishment of the printing house in Nedelišće was extremely important for the development of Međimurje and chose a rating of four on the Google Forms Likert scale, which means that they completely agree with the stated definition, while 20% of respondents chose option three, which means that they agree with the definition. Options two and one were not chosen by any respondent.

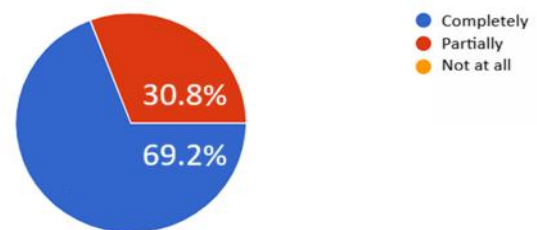


Fig. 2. A presentation of respondent's opinions on the activities of the Zrinski family and their influence on the cultural development of Međimurje in the 16th century.

Figure 2 (GoogleForms, 2026) shows the opinion of respondents from the Međimurje and Podravina regions that the Zrinski family completely influenced the cultural development of Međimurje in the 16th century, with 69.2% of respondents choosing the option "Completely", while 30.8% of respondents chose the option "Partially". None of the respondents chose the option "Not at all".

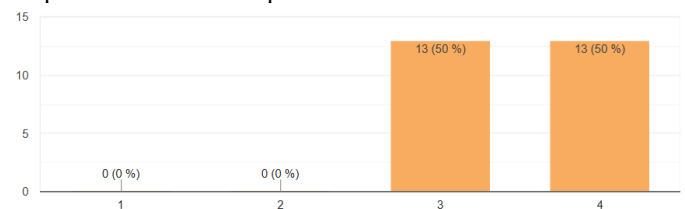


Fig. 3. Respondent's level of agreement with the statement: "I believe that the written word has historically played a crucial role in preserving Croatian identity in Međimurje".

Figure 3 (GoogleForms, 2026) shows that most respondents, 50%, completely agree with the above statement and believe that the written word has historically played a crucial role in preserving Croatian identity in Međimurje, while the other 50% also agree with the above statement.

Therefore, we can conclude that the written word has preserved Croatian identity in Međimurje.

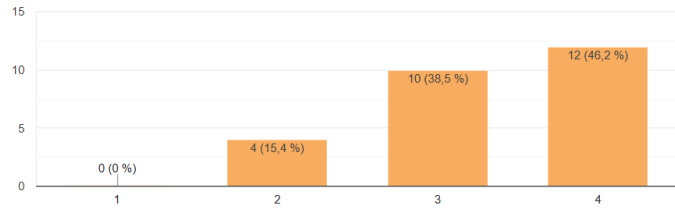


Fig. 4. A breakdown of respondents' ratings on whether they agree or disagree that the printing house in Nedelišće should be taught more in schools.

Figure 4 (GoogleForms, 2026) shows the results that more should be taught about the printing house in Nedelišće in schools. Most respondents completely agree with teaching about the printing house in Nedelišće in schools, while 38.5% of respondents chose the option that they agree with the stated statement. The smallest number of respondents, 15.4%, chose option two, i.e. that they disagree that more should be taught about the printing house in Nedelišće in schools.

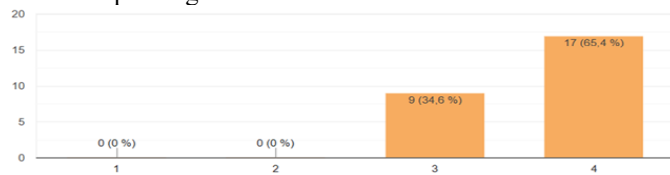


Fig. 5. A survey of respondents' agreement with the statement that the history of printing is an important part of Croatian cultural heritage.

Figure 5 (GoogleForms, 2026) shows that most respondents, 65.4%, completely agree with the statement that the history of printing is an important part of Croatian cultural heritage, while 34.6% of respondents agree with the stated statement. The options "I strongly disagree" and "I disagree" were not selected by any respondent.

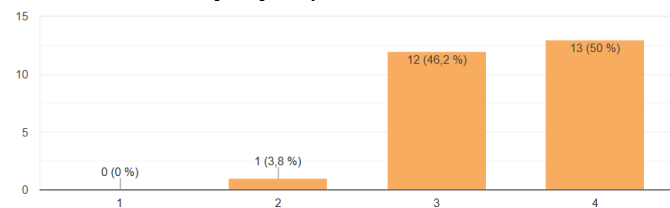


Fig. 6. Presentation of the results on respondents' opinions on whether the translation of the legal work of the Tripartitum into the Kajkavian language was important for strengthening Croatian identity in northern Croatia.

Figure 6 (GoogleForms, 2026) shows the results of respondents' opinions on whether the translation of the legal work of the Tripartitum into the Kajkavian language was important for strengthening Croatian identity in northern Croatia. Most respondents, 50%, chose option 4, which means that they completely agree with the stated statement, while 46.2% of respondents chose option 3, i.e. they agree with the stated statement. The smallest number of respondents, 3.8%, chose option 2, i.e. they disagree with the fact that the translation of the legal work of the Tripartitum into the Kajkavian language was important for strengthening Croatian identity in northern Croatia.

Figure 7 (GoogleForms, 2026) shows the respondents' ratings and opinions on the statement that the destruction of

books during the Counter-Reformation had long-term negative consequences for Croatian culture. Most respondents, 50%, chose the option to agree with the statement, while 30.8% of respondents chose option 4 to completely agree with the stated statement. Option 2, i.e. to disagree with the statement, was chosen by 15.4% of respondents, while option 1 (strongly disagree) was chosen by 3.8% of respondents.

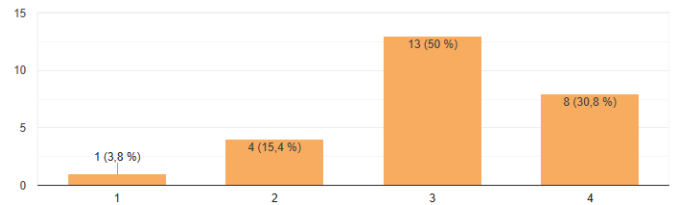


Fig. 7. Presentation of results by respondents for the claim that the destruction of books during the Counter-Reformation had long-term negative consequences for Croatian culture.

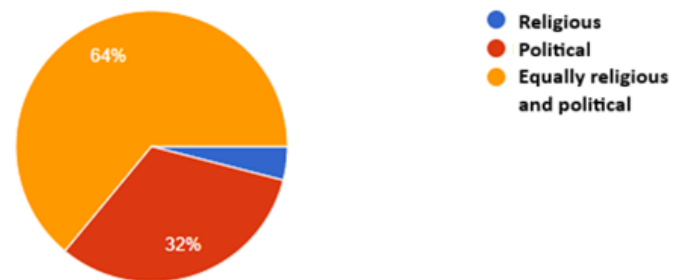


Fig. 8. A presentation of the results of respondents on whether they believe that the establishment of the printing house in Nedelišće was primarily a religious or political move or both religious and political.

Figure 8 (GoogleForms, 2026) shows the results on whether respondents believe that the establishment of the printing house in Nedelišće was primarily a religious or political move or both religious and political. The highest number of respondents, 64%, chose the option "Equally religious and political", while 32% of respondents chose the option "Political". The lowest number of respondents, 4%, chose the option "Religious".

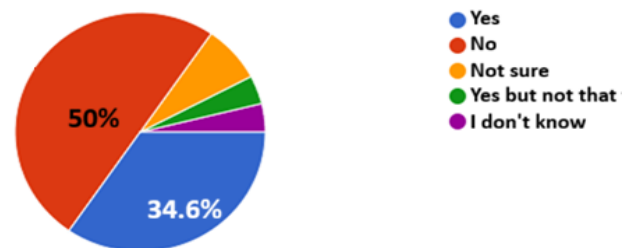


Fig. 9. Presentation of respondents' opinions on the spread of Protestantism in Međimurje without the printing house run by Rudolf Hoffhalter.

Figure 9 shows the results of the respondents' opinions regarding the spread of Protestantism in Međimurje without the printing house run by Rudolf Hoffhalter. Most respondents, 50%, are of the opinion that Protestantism would not have spread without the printing house run by Rudolf Hoffhalter. Then 34.6% of respondents chose the option yes, i.e. that Protestantism would have spread in Međimurje even without the printing house run by Rudolf Hoffhalter. The

smallest number of respondents, 3.8% and 3.8%, chose the options "Yes, but not that fast" and "I don't know", while 7.7% of respondents chose the option "I'm not sure".

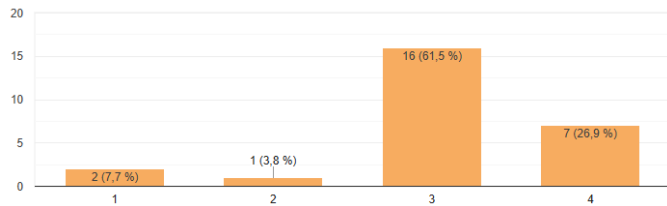


Fig. 10. A presentation of respondents' opinions on the history of Međimurje today and the possible difference in history if more books from the Nedelišće printing house were preserved.

Figure 10 shows the opinions of respondents about the history of Međimurje today and the possible difference in history if more books from the Nedelišće printing house had been preserved, and the possible influence of the books on history. Most respondents, 61.5%, agree that today's opinion about the history of Međimurje would be different if more books from the Nedelišće printing house had been preserved. Then 26.9% of respondents completely believe that today's opinion about the history of Međimurje would be different if more books from the Nedelišće printing house had been preserved. The option that they completely disagree that today's opinion about the history of Međimurje would be different if more books from the Nedelišće printing house had

been preserved was chosen by 7.7% of respondents, while the option that they disagree was chosen by 3.8% of respondents.

V. DISCUSSION AND CHI SQUARE TEST FOR STATISTICAL PROCEDURE FOR TESTING THE DEPENDENCE OF TWO QUALITATIVE CHARACTERISTICS

This chapter 5 provides an overview of the analysis of survey results, and a procedure called the chi-square test is used in most cases when qualitative data is involved or when the data distribution significantly deviates from normal. It should be emphasized at the outset that the chi-square test is calculated with frequencies and that units of measurement are not allowed to be entered into the calculation. The basic research data can also be measured values, but only their frequencies are entered into the chi-square (Krsto, K. et al. 1998; Krsto, K. et al. 2003; Krsto, K. et al. 2008).

Table 1 (Creating a work author in LibreOffice calc) shows the chi-square test for the answers to the 2nd question of the online survey. In this case, the sum of chi-squares based on table 1 (Σ chi-square) is: 3.8461.

Table 2 (creating a work author in LibreOffice calc) shows the chi-square test for the answers to the 8th question of the online survey. in this case, the sum of chi-squares based on table 2 (σ chi-square) is: 13.18.

TABLE I. Chi-square test results for responses to question 2 of the online survey.

	Completely	Partially	Empty	Total:	Shared:	
f_0	18	8	0	26	13.0000	f_0
f_1	13	13	0	26		f_1
	f_0	f_1	f_0-f_1	$(f_0-f_1)^2$	X^2	
	18	13	5	25	1.9231	
	8	13	-5	25	1.9231	
				Chi square:	3.8461	

TABLE II. Chi-square test results for responses to question 8 of the online survey.

	Religious	Political	Equally Religious and Political	Total:	Shared:	
F_0	1	8	16	25	12.50	f_0
F_T	12.5	12.5	12.5	37.5		f_1
	f_0	f_1	f_0-f_1	$(f_0-f_1)^2$	X^2	
	1	12.5	-11.50	132.25	10.58	
	8	12.5	-4.50	20.25	1.62	
	16	12.5	3.50	12.25	0.98	
				Chi square:	13.18	

TABLE III. Chi-square test results for responses to question 9 of the online survey.

	Yes	No	Other	Total:	Shared:	
f_0	9	13	4	26	13	f_0
f_1	13	13	13	39		f_1
	f_0	f_1	f_0-f_1	$(f_0-f_1)^2$	X^2	
	9	13	-4	16	1.2308	
	13	13	0	0	0	
	4	13	-9	81	6.2308	
				Chi square:	7.4615	

Table 3 (Creating a work author in LibreOffice Calc) shows the chi-square test for responses to question 9 of the online survey. In this case, the sum of chi-squares based on table 3 (Σ chi-square) is: 7.4615. The test variable for the chi-square test is called the chi-square test indicator (χ^2). It is

generally known that the decision to accept or reject the null hypothesis is made by comparing the calculated value of the indicator with the theoretical value of the chi-square test (χ^2). The expression for calculating the test size is specific to each type of chi-square test. The advantage of the chi-square test is

its simplicity for calculation and application and its wide use for various research problems. There are a few rules to follow for proper use of the chi-square test. After collecting the data, they are entered into the contingency table. The amount of data in each category must be large enough, and the expected frequencies must not be too small. In particular, the chi-square test can be used if the expected value for each category (Horvat, J. et al. 2012).

VI. CONCLUSION

When we look at the results of the research in Podravina (based on a questionnaire from the respondents) and Međimurje (based on a questionnaire from the respondents and based on an analysis of the textual content). Thanks to the printing house in Nedelišće, where the first Kajkavian book was printed, there was a development of popular education and Kajkavian literature in Međimurje. The historical events that took place in Međimurje in the following centuries showed how much historical importance the printing house and publishing played, i.e. the written word and books, which became one of the main features in preserving the Croatian national identity among the Međimurje Croats in Međimurje. Thanks to the written word, at the time when Međimurje fell under the Hungarian administrative administration, the Međimurje Croats resisted the effort to assimilate them into the Hungarian nation. When it comes to the results of the research conducted using an online questionnaire, the majority of respondents (80%) agree that the establishment of the printing house in Nedelišće was extremely important for the development of Međimurje and chose a rating of four on the Likert scale of Google Forms, which means that they completely agree with the above definition. The Zrinski family completely influenced the cultural development of Međimurje in the 16th century, and the option "Completely" was chosen by 69.2% of respondents, while the option "Partially" was chosen by 30.8% of respondents. The evidence can be seen based on the results of the research using the questionnaire. Most respondents (50%) also believe that the written word has historically played a crucial role in preserving the Croatian identity in Međimurje, while the other 50% of respondents also agree with the above statement. It should be noted in the paper that most respondents fully agree with teaching the topic of the printing house in Nedelišće in primary and secondary schools, while the history of printing is an important part of Croatian cultural heritage, and the translation of the legal work Tripartitum into the Kajkavian language was important for strengthening Croatian identity in northern Croatia. Today, respondents in the Međimurje and Podravina region believe, based on the results of the research, that the destruction of

books during the Counter-Reformation had long-term negative consequences for Croatian culture and that the establishment of the printing house in Nedelišće in 1570 was primarily a religious but also a political move. Most respondents do not think that Protestantism would have spread in Međimurje without the printing house run by Rudolf Hoffhalter, and finally, it should be noted that most respondents believe that today's opinion about the history of Međimurje would be different if more books from the Nedelišće printing house had been preserved. It should also be noted that the majority of respondents (at the university) think that schools should teach more about printing houses and the processes of book printing, because a book that is physically printed and imported lasts longer and can be protected for a longer period of time (in special spaces) than a book stored in digital format on some medium for temporary or permanent data storage.

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