

István Agyich's (1730–1789) manuscript bequest of poetry in the context of the Hungarian influence of the Academy of Arcadia in Rome

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Abstract | The present study explores several manuscript poems written by István Agyich, prebend of Pécs to examine the unique characteristics of the presence of the Academy of Arcadia of Rome in Hungary. The strongest arguments supporting the presence of Arcadism in Pécs include the friendship between the prebend and a member of Arcadia, Domenico Carafa, the poem the prebend dedicated to Carafa, and the poems the prebend and Carafa wrote for the appointment of László Pál Esterházy as bishop of Pécs. Examining the interest in Arcadism in Pécs sheds light on the characteristics of Arcadism in Hungary. This interest was started by the Hungarian stay of two Italian persons and was continued by two literary persons receptive to the idea. This, however, also resulted in interest in Arcadism remaining short-lived.

Keywords | Eighteenth century, Academy of Arcadia, Kingdom of Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, István Agyich, Ádám Patachich, Neo-Latin poetry

Having spent the 1749–1750 school year at the Szeged Piarists’ grammar school, Croatian-born István Agyich (Stjepan Adžić in Croatian) became a seminarist at the bishopric of Pécs under György Klimó (1710–1777), who was the bishop of Pécs at the time. Klimó wanted to send the young man, who was still only twenty years old at the time, to serve in the Slavonian territory of the bishopric, i.e. in Agyich’s homeland, seeing that the seminarist was born in Rahova (Rajevo Selo) in Szerém county. This came to happen after 1758, when Agyich finished his studies at the university of Nagyszombat (where he studied canon law, history, and theology) and was ordained a priest. Following this, from 1761, he was a parish priest in Syrmia for approximately two years, and he became an honorary prebend from 1762. His bishop also appointed him archidiaconus of the Szerém district relatively quickly. He thus continuously served the church for 18 years, between 1763 and 1781, until the Slavonian territories were removed from the diocese. György Klimó only gifted him the benefice of a prebend in 1776. From that time onward, Agyich, as a freshly appointed theologian prebend, was also tasked with the training of priests. When bishop Klimó died in 1777, he was appointed director of the seminary. He retained this position until 1783, when the Pécs seminary was merged into the Pozsony state seminary.¹

The intellectual influence of the Italian Academy of Arcadia on Pécs and Agyich can similarly be dated between these two dates: 1777, when bishop Klimó died, and 1784, when the *seminarium generale* was opened in Pozsony. The present study only examines Agyich’s poetry within this time period, and only in terms of the textual locations related to the ethos of the Italian Academy of Arcadia.

The most useful overview of the oeuvre for those interested in the unique characteristics of István Agyich’s Neo-Latin poetry and how it fits within the eighteenth century comes from László Szörényi. Szörényi provides an overview of the part of the oeuvre that has survived in print through an examination of the epic character of the texts.² Zsófia T. Papp also provides a review of this corpus in terms of its content.³ A facsimile edition has also been prepared from the Agyich poems still available in print today, edited by Anica Bilić. This edition was published in three volumes. The first volume contains one Croatian-language and one Latin-language prose work by Agyich,⁴ the second one contains his ecclesiastic correspondence, again in Croatian,⁵ while the third volume contains his Latin-language occasional poems that have sur-

1 See the biographical data cited here: T. PAPP Zsófia, “Agyich István kanonok élete és versei (könyvtári adatok alapján)” [The life and poems of prebend István Agyich (based on library records)], in *A Koller József emlékkonferencia (Pécs, 2002. október 24–25.) válogatott előadásai*, eds. FONT Márta and VARGHA Dezső, *Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből* 13, 201–245 (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 2003), 206–211.

2 SZÖRÉNYI László, “Epikus témák a pécsi latin nyelvű bukolikában” [Epic topics in Latin-language bucolics in Pécs], in SZÖRÉNYI László, *Hunok és jezsuiták: Fejezetek a magyarországi latin honfoglalási epika történetéből*, 236–242 (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 2018).

3 T. PAPP, “Agyich István kanonok...,” 201–245.

4 Stjepan ADŽIĆ, *Prozna djela*, ed. Anica BILIĆ, stud. Stjepan SRŠAN and Zita JUKIĆ, *Sabrana djela 1* (Drenovci: Duhovno hrašće, 2009).

5 Stjepan ADŽIĆ, *Okružnice i dopisi*, ed. Anica BILIĆ, stud. Stjepan SRŠAN and Zita JUKIĆ, *Sabrana djela 2* (Drenovci: Duhovno hrašće, 2010).

vived in print⁶. All this indicates that the edition did not aim to be a complete edition. For example, in terms of the poems, we currently only know eleven poems that have also survived in a contemporary printed version, and the volume does contain these. At the same time, an additional seven poems are known to have survived in manuscript form that add to the total number of poems, but the above-mentioned edition does not contain them.⁷ On the other hand, Bilić's "oeuvre edition" also cannot be considered complete in terms of the prose works and the correspondence, in that it only concentrates on Croatian-language ecclesiastic correspondence and texts of piety. At the same time, we would be unfair to this three-volume edition if we were looking for its virtues in striving for completeness or philological meticulousness. The real virtues of the edition are namely not these but the fact that it places Agyich's oeuvre and life in the context of providing a cultural boost to the Catholic church, Catholic enlightenment, and Slavonia (Syrmia in particular). Bilić thus drew attention to research questions that cover the time in Agyich's life when he was an archidiaconus and provided pastoral care, as well as his activities in the field of Croatian language cultivation and education.⁸

The present study focuses on Agyich's Neo-Latin literary activities, on one lesser-known phenomenon in particular. It presents the features related to the Italian Arcadism characterizing his manuscript bequest of poetry, although there are several other eighteenth-century Neo-Latin poets who also worked in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary but were more prominent in terms of their connection to the Academy of Arcadia in Rome. Such person included teacher and director of the Piarist grammar school in Nagykároly, János Hannulik Krizosztom (1745–1816), a Neo-Latin poet known across Europe, or Franjo Sebastijanović (1741–1799), prebend of Zagreb, who also had Croatian ancestry, like Agyich. They were full members of the Academy of Arcadia, while no information is available about Agyich's membership in the Academy. On the other hand, Agyich's case can also serve as an example for what a random

6 Stjepan ADŽIĆ, *Prigodnice*, ed. Anica BILIĆ, stud. Irena GALIĆ BEŠKER, *Sabrana djela 3* (Drenovci: Duhovno hrašće, 2011).

7 T. PAPP Zsófia, "Agyich István kéziratosa versei a Klimó Könyvtárban: Ille vir est, quem Phoebus amat, cui Pallas amica est..." [István Agyich's manuscript poems in the Klimó Library: Ille vir est, quem Phoebus amat, cui Pallas amica est...], in "Új könyvtár virul itt, tele rendbe rakott tudománnyal: Fontos, hogy mindent nyitva találj odabent.": *Tudomány és kutatás a 240 éves Klimó Könyvtárban. A 2014. október 16–17-én rendezett jubileumi tudományos konferencia tanulmányai*, eds. DEZSŐ Krisztina, MOLNÁR Dávid, and SCHMELCZER-POHÁNKA Éva, *A Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvtár kiadványai 13*, 277–320 (Pécs: PTE Egyetemi Könyvtár és Tudásközpont–Pécsi Egyházmegye, 2016), 295–299. In Croatian see Zsófia T. PAPP, "Rukopisne pjesme Stjepana Adžića u Biskupijskoj knjižnici Klimó u Pečuhu," in *Život i djelo Stjepana Adžića (1730. – 1789): Zbornik radova Znanstvenoga skupa*, eds. Slavko MATIĆ and Anica BILIĆ, 85–127 (Zagreb–Vinkovci: HAZU, 2016), 111–117. The author published the study that appeared in the Croatian volume in the Pécs collection of essays in a revised and extended form. See T. PAPP, "Agyich István kéziratosa versei..." 277.

8 Anica BILIĆ, "Usporedbeno čitanje Abekavicze illyricske (1779.) Stjepana Adžića i Slavonskih libaricza (1761.) Matije Antuna Relkovića," in MATIĆ and BILIĆ, *Život i djelo...*, 173–215; Božić BOGOVIĆ, "Dubravka Okružnice i dopisi za vrijeme Stjepana Adžića, vanjskoga vikara pečuškoga biskupa u Slavoniji (1761. – 1781.)," in MATIĆ and BILIĆ, *Život i djelo...*, 277–297.

bubble Arcadism existed in within the Kingdom of Hungary. The presence of Arcadia in the Carpathian basin has namely less to do with organised, social get-togethers. On the contrary, it was rather individual persons who were aware of Arcadia, and this peculiar feature characterized social gatherings of Arcadism in the Kingdom of Hungary. In the following, the paper presents facts indicating that Agyich was aware of Arcadia, and that there were sympathizers of Arcadia in Pécs, based on information found in Agyich's manuscript bequest of poetry. At the same time, these only existed for a short period of time, similarly to other groups inspired by Arcadia within the kingdom.

Therefore, Agyich and Pécs were influenced by the Academy of Arcadia in Rome during the above-mentioned time period between 1777–1784. The following events can be listed in support of the existence of Arcadia sympathizers in Pécs.

First, in 1781 the new bishop of the Pécs diocese, László Pál Esterházy (1730–1799), was greeted by an Austrian military officer, marquess Domenico Carafa di Massa Nuova, with an Italian-language canzone printed in Pécs.⁹ The significance of the poem in terms of the presence of Arcadism in Pécs is that the marquess, as it is implied by the title, published it under his Arcadian name. The Arcadian encyclopaedia of names by Giorgetti Vichi also mentions the marquess, who was admitted in 1779 as a member of the academy of poetry under the name Laurindo Pierio.¹⁰ The question how marquess Carafa and bishop Esterházy knew each other, whose relationship the Italian poem clearly attests to, was illuminated by Sándor Iván Kovács in his 1990 study, which provides additional information for Arcadia research in Hungary. According to Kovács, marquess Carafa, as the Austrian commander-in-chief in Northern Italy either could “have got to know [Esterházy] through his family connections in Northern Italy,” or during his studies in Rome during 1749, or his visit to Rome in 1760. Northern Italy namely became part of the Habsburg Empire with the Peace of Utrecht in 1713. Kovács nonetheless also concludes that marquess Carafa also could have met Esterházy beside Kristóf Antal Migazzi (1714–1803), bishop of Vác as well.¹¹ Migazzi was namely bishop of Vác for the second time between 1761 and 1786, while Esterházy was titular bishop, great provost, and deputy bishop in the same place from 1776 until he was appointed bishop in Pécs. Thus, a decisive argument may be that bishop Migazzi also became a member of the Roman Arcadia during the time Michele Giuseppe Morei (1695–1767) was custos of Arcadia (1743–1766).¹² In other words, the marquess could also have met Migazzi's deputy bishop through Migazzi as well. What is more, Kovács also showed how Migazzi's direct predecessors as bishop of Vác, the two counts of Althann (Mi-

9 [Domenico CARAFA DI MASSA NUOVA], *In lode di monsignore il conte Paolo Esterhazi per lo giorno del suo possesso nell' inclito vescovato di Cinquechiese canzone di Laurindo Pierio pastore Arcade, con licenza de'superiori* (Cinquechiese: Giuseppe Engel, 1781).

10 Anna Maria GIORGETTI VICHI, ed., *Gli Arcadi dal 1690 al 1800 onomasticon* (Roma: Arcadia–Accademia Letteraria Italiana, 1977), 157.

11 Kovács Sándor Iván, “Kutattam Árkádiában én is...: Adalékok a magyar Árkádia-kutatáshoz” [I have researched Arcadia, too...: Additions to Hungarian research on Arcadia], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 94 (1990): 711–723, 719.

12 *Ibid.*, 713.

hály Károly and his uncle, Mihály Frigyes) were also members of Arcadia.¹³ He also demonstrated following László Szörényi that the famous Arcadian poet, Pietro Metastasio was a guest at the Csáktornya estate of the counts Althann, located in Muraköz, during the fall and winter of 1741 (Čakovec, Croatia today).¹⁴ In light of all this, Kovács concluded that “more intensive connections developed between the prelates of the Vác bishopric and the Arcadia movement.”¹⁵ I have not been able to find bishop Esterházy’s name in Giorgetti Vichi’s *Onomasticon*, so in contrast with his predecessors, his membership in Arcadia cannot factually be proven. Still, these additional pieces of information linked to Vác regarding close connections to the Academy of Arcadia also places the Carafa poem addressed to bishop Esterházy in the proper light. It also emphasizes the significance of the fact that the canzone written by the marquess was published in Pécs.

Another fact related to the presence of Arcadia in Pécs is that István Agyich likely wrote a Latin-language farewell poem to the same marquess Carafa at the end of the year 1784. This poem was also published in print in Pécs, but without a year of publication.¹⁶ On the one hand, in this text the mentioning of embracing, kissing, and waiting for the return of the departing guest all express what a close friendship connected the Austrian military officer and the Pécs prebend. So much so that in this poem Agyich also envisages a future reading session in Arcadia, where they could possibly meet again.¹⁷ It is due to this latter moment in the farewell poem that I hypothesize that it was in the same year, in 1784, that Agyich may have written the poem that survives in the Manuscripts Archive of the Klimo Library in Pécs in a draft version, in which he asks for admission among the *arcas* – which is the third fact supporting the idea that Arcadia had sympathizers in Pécs.¹⁸ The title of the poem (*Carmen Stephani Agyich C. E.*

13 Ibid., 721.

14 SZÖRÉNYI László, “Latin nyelvű Árkádia a tizennyolcadik századi Magyarországon” [Latin-language Arcadia in eighteenth-century Hungary], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 85 (1981): 184–191, 191. Quoted by: Kovács, “Kutattam Árkádiában én is...,” 720–722. For a later publication of Szörényi’s study, see SZÖRÉNYI László, “Latin nyelvű Árkádia a tizennyolcadik századi Magyarországon” [Latin-language Arcadia in eighteenth-century Hungary], in SZÖRÉNYI László, *Studia Hungarolatina: Tanulmányok a régi magyar és neolatin irodalomról*, 121–133 (Budapest: Kortárs Kiadó, 1999), 131. The following refers to the page numbers of the 1999 version of Szörényi’s study.

15 Kovács, “Kutattam Árkádiában én is...,” 720; DELBÓ Rita, “Pécsi olasz nyomtatvány 1781-ből: Laurindo Pierio, azaz Domenico Carafa di Massa Nuova canzonéja Esterházy László Pál püspöki beiktatására” [An Italian print in Pécs from 1781: a canzone written by Laurindo Pierio, i.e. Domenico Carafa di Massa Nuova for the induction of László Pál Esterházy as bishop], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 107 (1991): 126–127, 127.

16 Stephanus AGYICH, *Illustri viro comiti Dominico Cajaffa[?] [...] in abitu suo Quinque-Ecclesiae* ([*Quinque-Ecclesiae*]: s.n., s.a.).

17 “Amplexuque tenet, faciemque acclinis honoram, / Oscula dum figit, dixit: Amice! vale. / Viximus hic: deinceps nova Regna subire Tonantis / Praesidis, et Phoebi grandia jussa petunt. / Pergo invisurus felicia rura, ubi quondam / Urbs stetit Illyricae gloria prima plagae. / Arcadia Divi faciant jungamur in ipsa: / Quo mea me pietas, te tua cura rapit. / Nec mora: collacrimans, vultusque aversus amicos / Ex oculis Heros ceu levis umbra fugit. / Linqumur ingenti sensusque animumque dolore; / Stant Vota: O! iterum huc Hospes amate redi.” Ibid., 1r.

18 Klimo Library, Department of Manuscripts, Ms 925, 1r–1v.

Q. Canonici ad Arcades Romanos), as well as its content clearly suggest as much. Agyich namely writes in this poem that he is sending a sample of his poems.¹⁹ He also confesses that he finds the greatest pleasure in the toils of poetry, and that he has been practicing this art for thirty years. If the poem is dated correctly, i.e. it is possibly from 1784, Agyich may be referring back to when he was about 24 years old, i.e. when he was a seminarist in Pécs. He also asks wittily that he should be chosen to become a member of the academic arena.²⁰ These four lines by Agyich are quite telling, since it is clear from them what significance he attributed to bishop Klimo's patronage in terms of the evolution of his poetry. Agyich also composed a distich to justify his application for membership as a sign of his poetic consciousness, in which he demonstrates his knowledge of the poetic practices of the Academy of Arcadia:

Rus cecini, variosque fui modulatus honores,
Flebile funeribus carmen et ipse dedi.²¹

"I have sung of the fields (*carmen bucolicum*), sounded various praises (*encomium*), and have written funeral songs (*epicedium*) for several funerals."

This in essence proves that Agyich was well-versed in the poetic programme of the Academy of Arcadia. In light of this, the subsequent questions are how marquess Carafa came to visit Pécs and how the two poets met. Another issue is what role the marquess played in the prebend-poet's orientation towards Arcadia. In the absence of data, the first two questions cannot be answered yet. We only know from the Italian-language canzone and Agyich's farewell poem that Carafa knew both bishop Esterházy and the history of the Esterházy family, as well as the area around Pécs in Transdanubia well. He namely references the heroic offspring of the Esterházy family and the areas bounded by Lake Balaton, the River Danube, and the River Drava in the counties of Baranya and Western Slavonia (the estates of the family).²² The third question, however, can be partly answered through the dating difficulties the Agyich poems in question present.

The poems addressed to marquess Carafa and the arcas can be dated to the end of 1784 (or the following year) with the help of another poem. This one has also been preserved among Agyich's manuscript poems. He wrote it to another good friend of his, Ádám Vizer, a professor of theology from Buda, wishing him well on his name day.²³ Although this poem is also undated, a missive letter has survived from Agyich dated 21

19 "Ex multis specimen mitto, quae scripsimus, unum, / Exiguum fuerit gratia magna legi. / Ut totum mittam, cassum feret aura volumen, / Ungula pro grandi saepe leone, fuit. / Si placeat quondam cautis censoribus unum, / Ex tanta segmen veste, probatus ero." *Ibid.*, 1r.

20 "Iamque mihi vitae superat triginta Decembres, / Ex multis placeat quod magis iste labor. / Cur pariter vestrae sim pars quotacumque palestra, / In socium lectus suplice voce peto." *Ibid.*, 1r.

21 *Ibid.*, 1r.

22 CARAFA, *In lode di monsignore...*, (*)2r. Quoted by: KOVÁCS, "Kutattam Árkádiában én is..." 719.

23 Klimo Library, Department of Manuscripts, Ms 924, 1r-1v.

December, 1784, which contains another copy of the same name day poem.²⁴ Based on the data, it is likely that the date of creation for the handwritten poems to Vizer and the arcas may have been the same. Zsófia T. Papp's observations on the formal similarity of the texts also support this hypothesis: they were both written in distichs, they are of the same length, i.e. 44 lines, they were written on the same size paper, and the handwriting also looks similar.²⁵ Following T. Papp, I assume that marquess Carafa might have been the one to take a clean copy of Agyich's poetic application request to Rome after he bid farewell. As for the poem addressed to the arcas and the Carafa farewell poem, this could be the foundation for dating them for near identical dates. At least due to the obvious friendship between Agyich and Carafa, it is logical for the latter to have done this service for Agyich purely as a gesture of friendship. Rome was considered the center of the academy anyway, for instance, the lists of membership applications and the list of those who were admitted were approved in Rome, and the colonies were controlled from there as well.²⁶ Thus, if Agyich wanted to be admitted among the members of the Arcadia in Rome, in the absence of visiting in person, the only way to do so was to send the application to Rome. Carafa could easily have done so.

That being said, neither the newly appointed bishop Esterházy nor Agyich can be found in the encyclopaedia of Arcadian poets' names. Therefore, I assume that Agyich was not a member of the academy either, he was never admitted. A fourth fact supporting the existence of Arcadism in Pécs can also be added to Carafa's canzone published in 1781 in Pécs, Agyich's poem bidding farewell to Carafa, and Agyich's membership application. Agyich himself also wrote a congratulatory poem on the occasion of Esterházy's being appointed bishop in 1781, in the form of a bucolic poem.²⁷ This collection of six eclogues is thus a solid point of reference for bucolics, one of the genres mentioned in the membership application.

The most interesting strand among the arguments discussed so far supporting the existence of Arcadism in Pécs is certainly the friendship between Agyich and Carafa. If we try to account for another poem located in Agyich's manuscript bequest of poetry, written by an unknown author, it becomes almost tangible who these "sympathizers of Arcadia" could have included in Pécs.²⁸

24 See HORÁNYI Elek, *Levelezése* [Correspondence], ed. SZELESTEI N. László (Budapest: MTA-PPKE Barokk Irodalom és Lelkiség Kutatócsoport, 2016), 114–116.

25 See T. PAPP, "Agyich István kéziratosa versei...", 290–292, (especially the notes on pages 79 and 91). At the same time, based on the dating of the above-mentioned missive letter ("XII Kal[endas] Jan[uaris] 1784"), T. Papp considers the poem addressed to Vizer to have been written at the end of 1783. This misunderstanding might have come from dating the letter according to the Roman calendar. The twelfth day before the *Kalendae* of January 1784 (i.e. 1 January) still falls on 21 December of the given year. See T. PAPP, "Rukopisne pjesme Stjepana Adžića...", 99–105 (where there is no mention of the issue of dating yet).

26 Susan M. DIXON, *Between the Real and the Ideal: The Accademia degli Arcadi and Its Garden in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2006), 22.

27 Stephanus AGYICH, *Bucolicon in auspiciatissimum adventum [...] Pauli Ladislai e comitibus Eszterhazy de Galantha Quinque-Ecclesiarum episcopi* (Quinque-Ecclesiae: Joannes Josephus Engel, [1781]).

28 Klimo Library, Department of Manuscripts, without Cat. No. (Previous Cat. No.: Ms 767), 1r–2v.

This manuscript poem (the fifth fact in favor of the presence of Arcadism in Pécs) is a funeral elegy. The original of the elegy was written by the above-mentioned custos Michele Giuseppe Morei on the death of one of the founders of the Academy of Arcadia, lawyer Giambattista Felice Zappi (1667–1719) in 1719.²⁹ The text found in the Agyich bequest is a text variant of Morei’s poem, but in terms of its genre, it can be considered a *parodia* (i.e. “a countersong”). The poem is an adaptation of the Morei poem with the help of deliberate but minimal changes. On the one hand, the handwriting does not match that of Agyich, displaying obvious differences, for instance in the way small or capital *d*, or capital *N* is formed. On the other hand, the person the poem addresses also changes, and several of the Arcadian names mentioned in the Morei text are also replaced in the adaptation. This is what happens in line 81 for instance, which mentions the Arcadian name of lawyer Zappi’s wife, i.e. instead of Aglauro it uses Corilla.³⁰ This name refers to one of the famous Arcadian poets of the time, Corilla Olimpica (whose civilian name was Maria Maddalena Morelli). Similarly, Laurindus is used instead of Uranius in another location. In other words, the same must refer to Laurindo Pierio, the marquess Domenico Carafa di Massa Nuova mentioned above.³¹ The manuscript transcript also includes another name, “P. Bardiera” in the same location, on the left margin. It may refer to Pater Bardiera, and the notation may refer to the name Alexis, which is included in the hexameter. This person has not been identified yet. The addressee cannot be identified either, although he is called Thyrsis, just like in the original Morei poem. We can mostly only make assumptions as to who he is. I hypothesize that he is one of the first Hungarian arcas, Ferenc Faludi (1704–1779), who headed the Pécs monastery for two years (1757–1759) and died at the end of 1779. However, before clarifying why there was a surge of Arcadia activity in Pécs, let us look at the significance of Carafa, the friend who was visiting from Italy, one more time.

As far as featuring Laurindo Pierio, i.e. marquess Carafa in the manuscript version is concerned, the issue comes up whether Esterházy only came into contact with the marquess around 1781, when he was appointed bishop in Pécs, through the Italian-language canzone. Or, as the possibility raised by Sándor Iván Kovács may suggest, he had already met the Austrian military officer when he was a titular bishop in Vác beside bishop Migazzi. Due to the lack of data, this question cannot be clearly determined either, even though there is much at stake, i.e. whether Carafa could have been the “link” between the Arcadism in Vác and Pécs. The only thing pointing towards this assumption is that the Morei adaptation obviously must have been written after Carafa’s membership in Arcadia began in 1779. If membership in Arcadia is the deciding

29 Michaelis Josephi MOREI, *Carmina* (Roma: Josephus et Philippus de Rubeis, 1762), 156–161. (First edition: Roma: Joannes Zempel, 1740; Second edition: Roma: Generosus Salomonus, 1757.)

30 “Stabit et Aglauro, lectaeque ex ordine Nymphae, / Quae molli intexent florea sarta manu.” MOREI, *Carmina*, 160. See: “Et Corilla aderit; lectaeque ex ordine Nymphae, / Quae molli intexent florea sarta manu.” Klimo Library, Department of Manuscripts, without Cat. No. (Previous Cat. No.: Ms 767), 1v.

31 “Parte hac Uranius, parte hac adstabit Alexis, / Dignus amicitia flebit uterque sua.” MOREI, *Carmina*, 160. See: “Parte hac Laurindus, parte hac adstabit Alexis / Notus amicitia flebit uterque sua.” Klimo Library, Department of Manuscripts, without Cat. No. (Previous Cat. No.: Ms 767), 1v.

factor (which is what is in the focus now), Carafa can only be considered regarding Arcadism in Pécs and Vác after 1779. Esterházy must have already known Carafa even before he was inducted as bishop in Pécs. Otherwise why would Carafa have written a salutary poem to Esterházy on his induction, signing it under his Arcadian name? Although it was only possible to join Arcadia through Rome, the road to Arcadia's ethos led through people who personally knew a member. Esterházy knew two persons like this. Thus, it is likely that bishop Esterházy must have learned about Arcadism beside bishop Migazzi, and he met the marquess through Arcadism.

However, although Rome was unavoidable, it is also important to consider if several people from the same region, e.g. the Kingdom of Hungary became members of the Arcadia around the same time. Both bishop Migazzi and archbishop of Kalocsa Ádám Patachich (1717–1784) were admitted to the Academy of Arcadia when Morei was custos, and he was also the one to admit Faludi as a member, according to the Arcadian encyclopaedia of names. Migazzi and Patachich studied theology at the Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rome during the second part of the 1730s, the same place Esterházy attended from 1749.³² Migazzi's exact year of admission is unknown, but it likely took place at the same time as Patachich, who was admitted as a member in 1739.³³ However, Faludi only stayed in Rome as a Hungarian confessor between 1740 and 1745. Morei was custos from 1743, and Faludi was also a member in Arcadia from the year 1743 according to the literature.³⁴ The fact that the membership of Migazzi and Patachich can be dated earlier, but according to the encyclopaedia of names, their name is still listed in the Morei yearbooks is only possible if they were entered at a later time. On the one hand, the practice thus does not always apply that the Arcadia membership of a given person is counted from the year the custos started office.³⁵ Therefore, Faludi's admission year also easily may have been earlier than 1743. Furthermore, the documents of the Academy of Arcadia held in the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome do not include the yearbooks of custos Morei, which may explain why no precise years are indicated in the *Onomasticon* for the members admitted during his time.³⁶ On the other hand, all this indirect proof for Arcadia membership shows once again that Arcadism was a development unique to Rome, and personal connections were necessary for it to

32 SZINNYEI József, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [The life and works of Hungarian authors], 14 vol. (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1891–1914), 2:1454–1455 (Esterházy); *Ibid.*, 8:1237 (Migazzi); *Ibid.*, 10:460 (Patachich). Szinnyei's 14-volume work is also available online: <https://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/index.htm>. There is a misprint in the data listing Migazzi's studies, although it can be reconstructed from the context: he obviously completed his exams in philosophy in 1734 rather than 1834, and so he also started his studies in theology in Rome in 1735 rather than 1745.

33 *Ibid.*

34 SÁRKÖZY Péter, "»Et in Arcadia ego« – 1743: Faludi Ferenc felvétele a római Árkádia Akadémiára" [»Et in Arcadia ego« – 1743: Ferenc Faludi's admission to the Academy of Arcadia in Rome], in *A magyar irodalom története I. kötet: A kezdetektől 1800-ig*, eds. SZEGEDY-MASZÁK Mihály, JANKOVITS László, and ORLOVSZKY Géza, (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2008), 589, <https://f-book.com/mi/index.php?chapter=1408SARKETIN>.

35 Kovács, "Kutatam Árkádiában én is..." 712.

36 Based on a discussion with Péter Sárközy.

be able to spread outside Rome, for example, the friendship between Agyich and Carafa. It is therefore likely that Carafa may have been the link between Agyich and Esterházy (i.e. Vác and Pécs) in terms of an awareness of Arcadia.

At any rate, based on the data available so far, there must have been Arcadia sympathizers in Pécs beside the “grouping” that formed around the bishopric of Vác and the writers’ circle linked to archbishop Patachich, called the “Kalocsa Arcadia-affiliate” in the Hungarian literature.³⁷ As for the presence of Arcadia in the Kingdom of Hungary in general, its sporadic nature is particularly underlined by the fact that it belonged to the Catholic intelligentsia, and it mainly depended on the personal connections of ecclesiastic dignitaries to Arcadia in Rome. Another sign of the transience of Arcadia in Hungary is that marquess Carafa’s canzone did not survive in Pécs but in the library of the Archbishop of Kalocsa, i.e. in the one-time seat of the so-called “Kalocsa Arcadia-affiliate.” Furthermore, this way this poem can be considered a unique print, which means that its only surviving original copy in Hungary can currently be found in Kalocsa.³⁸

After all this, an analysis of the text variants of the funeral elegy and its contexts can provide some clarification as to who the person also addressed as Thyrsis in the adaptation may be, and if Ferenc Faludi is indeed the appropriate candidate. In his own poem, Morei addresses lawyer Zappi as Thyrsis, using the Latinized version of the lawyer’s Arcadian name (Tirsi Leucasio). Morei uses an allegorical figure on either side of Thyrsis when depicting the deceased. However, these allegoric figures change in the adaptation. Namely with Morei, Poetry can be seen on Thyrsis’s left side, who is recognizable through her headdress, a laurel wreath. In line with lawyer Zappi’s profession, Themis, goddess of justice, can be seen on his right, holding the scales and the sword in her hand.³⁹ Following this pattern, the allegorical figure on the left side, i.e. Poetry is kept in the manuscript adaptation of the Morei poem, presumably because it still corresponded to the person’s profession. At the same time, on Thyrsis’s right side, likely due to a reference to reality, it is not Themis but Pietas, i.e. Devoutness, who thus does not have any attributes on her head or in her hands.⁴⁰ This description fits Ferenc Faludi for example, since Faludi was a Jesuit monk and a poet.

Thus, if in light of Carafa’s and Agyich’s salutary poems to Esterházy, the friendship between the two poets, Agyich’s poems inspired by Arcadia, and the peculiar Morei adaptation, we suppose that the Thyrsis in the adaptation also must have been an Arcadian poet, it follows that it must be a person who was a registered member of Ar-

37 This expression came to be used in the Hungarian literature following László Szörényi’s research, see SZÖRÉNYI, “Latin nyelvű Árkádia...,” 128. See also KOVÁCS, “Kutattam Árkádiában én is...,” 720; DELBÓ, “Pécsi olasz nyomtatvány...,” 127.

38 Ibid., 126.

39 “Thyrsidis a laeva stet dulcis cura Poesis, / Cura stet a dextra non minor aequa Themis. / Utque magis pateant; sacra caput illa corona: / Lancibus, et gladio praegravet ista manus.” MOREI, *Carmina*, 159.

40 “Thyrsidis a laeva stet dulcis cura Poesis / A dextris cura stet pietatis honos. / Utque magis placeat, sacra caput ille corona, / Nudatumque caput sistet et ista manus[.]” Klimo Library, Department of Manuscripts, without Cat. No. (Previous Cat. No.: Ms 767), 1v.

cadia. In addition, it must be someone who was somehow comparable to lawyer Zappi as a poet. Several arguments support the person of Ferenc Faludi, whom Hungarian literary history writing considers (one of) the renewers of Hungarian literary language both in poetry and in prose⁴¹. But the strongest of these is the respect with which the Academy of Arcadia preserved the memory of its deceased members. In this respect, the adaptation compares Faludi's person as the person paving the way for the Arcadians of the Kingdom of Hungary to lawyer Zappi's role as the founder of Arcadia. Thus, the *parodia*, which is freely adapted based on Morei, pays the respect that is due to the deceased poet as the first member of Arcadia in Hungary. It does using a funereal poem, following Arcadian tradition.

The two ecclesiastic dignitaries, Migazzi and Patachich could also be considered according to the same logic. However, they had no ties to Pécs, while Faludi did, as mentioned above. Additionally, the dating of the Morei adaptation also suggests Faludi. The adaptation must have been created in 1779 or the following year, but before 1784, i.e. before Carafa's departure, due to the changing of the Arcadian names and especially because it features Laurindus-Carafa. Carafa, as it was shown above, is listed under the year 1779 in the yearbooks of the Academy of Arcadia. According to the encyclopaedia of names, Carafa was admitted during the time of custos Gioacchino Pizzi, who headed the academy between 1772 and 1790. The date thus seems reliable. Faludi died on 17 December, 1779. In other words, regarding Carafa's year of admission and Faludi's date of death, the year 1779 can be considered *post quem* when dating the *parodia*. To put it differently, because from the Hungarian members of Arcadia it is Faludi's year of death that is the same as the year Carafa was admitted to Arcadia, it is quite possible that Faludi should be identified as Thyrsis in the adaptation. Finally, although Faludi's Arcadian name was Carpato Dindimeio, in none of the specific cases is it certain that the Thyrsis name should be identified as having a direct signifier-signified relationship. Since Theocritus, this name has been used in a range of bucolic poems. This also supports the idea that the Morei adaptation must be interpreted as a *parodia* in terms of its genre because the Arcadian names are switched out and the characters are replaced with other persons.

The manuscript form of the text can also be explained by the mysterious nature of the Thyrsis name and the genre of the *parodia*. Since 90 percent of the adaptation was the same as the original (except for the above-mentioned changes), there probably was no point in printing it. They probably only wanted to use it in manuscript form, and it was likely only intended for a limited audience. This may also be suggested by the fact that the adaptation survived among the manuscripts of Agyich's poems. It is likely that Agyich was the last to receive the text that was circulated among the members of the Pécs "sympathizers of Arcadia," or he may have been the one to keep it. Thus, in the

41 Péter Ötvös, "Ältere ungarische Literatur," in *Geschichte der ungarischen Literatur: Eine historisch-poetologische Darstellung*, ed., Ernő KULCSÁR SZABÓ, 1–95 (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 91–92; SÁRKÖZY, "»Et in Arcadia ego« – 1743...," 589–600; Géza SZENTMÁRTONI SZABÓ, "Ferenc Faludi's Fontinalia and the Sleeping Nymph," *Camoenae Hungaricae* 4–5 (2007–2008): 101–120.

case of Agyich (and the rather sporadic Arcadism in Pécs), sympathy towards Arcadian poets may also be indicated by the mere fact that he preserved this manuscript poem (and that it has survived). As mentioned above, the memory of the deceased members of Arcadia and poets was cultivated faithfully within the Arcadia community. Thus, in light of the text of the Morei funeral poem *parodia*, the respect shown towards the first Hungarian member of Arcadia, i.e. Faludi, seems to have sustained the cohesion of this small Pécs community, if only for a moment.

In light of all this, little is known as to who might have comprised this small community. Except for Carafa, the unknown P. Bardiera (?), bishop Esterházy, Agyich, and possibly Faludi's person, nobody else can be identified. An additional difficulty is that beside Carafa and Faludi, there are no other known members of Arcadia. Based on the Italian canzone written by Carafa, which, as mentioned above, survived in the library of the Archbishop of Kalocsa, there may also have been a fluctuation among the members of the Arcadia circle in Kalocsa. It can also be observed in the case of this "Kalocsa Arcadia-affiliate" that persons also appeared in its sphere who were not members registered in the protocols in Rome, but who contributed to the fame of the Kalocsa Arcadia through their poetry. One such person was György Pray, who was primarily known as a scholar and a historian, or the Italian Giacomo Mariosa (Jacobus Mariosa), who was archbishop Patachich's librarian. For now, only Agyich is the only known person in Pécs like this, who improved the reputation of Arcadism in the Kingdom of Hungary through his poetry, but who is not known to have been a member of Arcadia.

Finally, some issues in connection with the "Arcadia-affiliate in Kalocsa" also need to be clarified. Ádám Patachich already became interested in Arcadia when he was a bishop in Nagyvárad (1759–1776), which is still reflected today in the renovated building of the episcopal palace. At this time, Patachich was already in close connection with his librarian and good friend, Jacobus Mariosa. However, after Patachich was appointed Archbishop of Kalocsa, the seat of this Arcadian circle was not linked to the archdiocese, i.e. Kalocsa, but to Buda, to the Royal Hungarian University of Sciences in Buda. This was due to the role Patachich played in reforming university education. In any case, this group of writers, who now gathered almost exclusively around Patachich's person instead of Arcadia, now wrote poetry at the university that was far away from Arcadia. (E.g. the poetry of János Molnár Keresztély, Károly Ferenc Palma, Pál Makó, András Szabó, György Alajos Szerdahely, and others – in other words, as the Hungarian literature puts it, "almost all the university professors" were involved).⁴² Thus, it is possible that there was a similar interest in poetry in Pécs influenced by Arcadia to the one that developed in Buda around Patachich, although it was at a much more modest scale.

At the risk of sounding like a provocation and being a spoilsport, it has to be stated that neither the "Kalocsa Arcadia-affiliate," which has been popular in eighteenth-cen-

42 SZÖRÉNYI, "Latin nyelvű Árkádia...", 129; SZELESTEI N. László, "Művelődéstörténeti források a Kalocsai Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár Kézirattárában" [Sources of Intellectual History at the Manuscripts Department of the Archdiocesan Library in Kalocsa], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 110 (1994): 193–198, 195–196.

tury Hungarian Arcadia research due to its cool-sounding name, nor its much more modest Pécs variant can even begin to be compared to either the colonies of the Italian peninsula or one of the colonies outside the peninsula, the one in Ragusa (Dubrovnik today). Although the name given by Szörényi does not refer to it either, even the existence of an “affiliation” sounds like a stretch. Szörényi gave the group of writers this name based on its location and the collection of poems called *Analecta Poëtica*, which is held in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa. This collection of poems belonged to archbishop Patachich, and it still holds several Latin-language poems by the archbishop and other members of the circle today that attest to the activity of the group.⁴³ However, when he was transferred from his episcopal seat in Nagyvárad to the archdiocese of Kalocsa in 1776, Patachich had to embark on another construction project, having only recently built the episcopal palace in Nagyvárad. The archbishop’s palace was namely in a dilapidated state. What is more, after one year, Maria Theresa also appointed him president of the Buda university council in 1777. This was also the year of *Ratio Educationis* and the university of Nagyszombat was moved to Buda. In light of this, it can be concluded that Patachich did become a key person for the court in the area of university education reform. For this reason, and because the archbishop’s palace in Kalocsa was under construction (it was only completed in 1784), the archbishop moved to Buda temporarily. In other words, the “Arcadia of Kalocsa” only stayed in Kalocsa for two years. The archbishop later bequeathed his rich library to the chapter of Kalocsa, and this is how the collection of poems called *Analecta Poëtica* might have become the property of the Archives of the Archdiocese.

All in all, the organisational structure of Arcadism in Buda (and Nagyvárad) and Pécs did not meet the conditions required to establish a tradition and become institutionalized. At least not like the Italian Academy of Arcadia, which had a center in Rome and an extensive and uninterrupted institutional structure. What is more, it must be concluded that regarding both Buda and Pécs Arcadism, a foreign person carried the torch to the Kingdom of Hungary: the Italian Jesuit Giacomo Mariosa, archbishop Patachich’s above-mentioned librarian, and marquess Carafa, who was also from Italy. Once they had left for Rome, the rise of the Roman academy of poetry in Hungary ended in both Buda and Pécs. Furthermore, the two Italian friends left basically at the same time. Mariosa unexpectedly returned to Rome in 1781 due to unknown reasons.⁴⁴ Once Mariosa had left and his good friend archbishop Patachich had died (1784), the writers’ circle disbanded. Based on Agyich’s farewell elegy, Carafa left Pécs around the same time, presumably in 1784. This issue is complicated by the fact that while Carafa’s name is included in the *Onomasticon*, which was compiled from the Arcadian yearbooks, Mariosa’s name is not in it. In other words, his membership in Arcadia has not been scientifically proven yet, either.

43 SZÖRÉNYI, “Latin nyelvű Árkádia...,” 123, 128.

44 [Georgius PRAY], *Jacobo Mariosa Italiam repetenti propempticon extemporaneum* (Coloca: Typis Scholarum Piarum, 1781), 2v.

Therefore, as far as future research on Arcadism in Hungary is concerned, the general question of real significance sounds something like this: to what extent can the Arcadism in Buda (which originated from Kalocsa to a smaller extent but definitely from Nagyvárad) and Pécs be attributed to a direct influence of the Ragusa colony? Both archbishop Patachich and Agyich were poeta doctus from Croatia, whose activities in public life and culture can be linked to the literary and cultural history of today's Hungary at least as much as that of today's Croatia. This assumption is supported by the fact that the bequest of Adam Alojzij Baričević (1756–1806), a Croatian Latin scholar who conducted extensive correspondence with both his compatriots and foreign philologists, also includes a Latin-language register (*De scriptoribus Pannoniae Saviae*) on the Croatian writers of Slavonia, hallmarked by the name of the ancient province of Pannonia Savia.⁴⁵ This register includes the name of Ádám Patachich, Miklós Skerlecz, Pál Vitezovich Ritter, András Dudith and others, and the first name in the alphabetical list is István Agyich. Baričević collected persons in this list who came from Croatia and whom he considered authors also writing in Croatian. The possible direct impact of the Ragusa colony should also be considered because the above-mentioned Croatian-born Franjo Sebastijanović also wrote for Patachich's *Analecta Poëtica*.⁴⁶

While it is essential to explore these connections, within the framework of the present study, which focused on Agyich and his interest in Arcadia, I could only be guided by my own discretion. In any case, in order to find meaningful answers to the above questions, additional basic research and a cooperation between Croatian and Hungarian researchers is needed.

45 Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu [National and University Library in Zagreb], Zbirka rukopisa i starih knjiga, R 4292.

46 SZÖRÉNYI, "Latin nyelvű Árkádia...", 123–124.