

The Arcadian spirit and creating a poetic image in István Agyich's (1777–1785) lyric poetry

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Abstract | This paper analyses István Agyich's (1730–1789) Latin-language occasional poetry in the context of two key concepts of the poetic practices of the Academia of Arcadia of Rome: verisimilitude and allegory. The article focuses on an application Agyich wrote in elegiac couplets to ask for admission to the Academia. The text serves as a self-confession, categorizing Arcadian poetic practices into three distinct genres: bucolic poetry, laments (epicedium), and praise (encomium). Agyich's case demonstrates that a genre-focused adaptation of Arcadism results in a unique poetic practice that makes it possible for him to incorporate his earlier works, even though Arcadism only appears in his poetry at a later stage, after 1776. This paper examines one poem from each genre to illustrate how Agyich employed occasional poetry to construct an Arcadian self-image, although there is no indication that he was accepted as a member of the Academia.

Keywords | 18th century, Academia of Arcadia, Kingdom of Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, István Agyich, Arcadian poetry, Neo-Latin poetry

István Agyich's (1730–1789) Neo-Latin lyric poetry is essentially occasional poetry in nature, and its local relevance to Pécs-Baranya and Slavonia makes it an extremely interesting group of sources. Agyich addressed most of his poems to aristocrats and prelates who had some connection to these two regions, e.g. Bishops of Pécs György Klimo and László Pál Esterházy, Royal Commissioner of the Pécs district Ferenc Széchényi, or Ferenc Balassa, Supremus comes of county Szerém and Ban of Croatia–Dalmatia and Slavonia. Although Agyich was never an official member of Arcadia, his poetry does show characteristics aligned with the poetic ideals pursued by the Academy of Arcadia in Rome. As I have shown before, Agyich knew of Arcadia in Rome through his friendship with Marquess Domenico Carafa, an Austrian military officer and a member of Arcadia who was temporarily staying in Pécs.¹ My present article examines the hypothesis that by exploring how Agyich created his poetic image, we can draw conclusions about the idea of community pursued by Arcadism in Hungary. I therefore analyse the occasional genres that were delineated in Agyich's membership application and are considered typical of Arcadism from the period 1777–1785, when Arcadian theory of art had a demonstrable impact on Agyich's lyric poetry. I examine in which substantive and formal solutions used in Agyich's lyric poetry we can detect the theory of poetry pursued by the Academy of Arcadia. I also analyse how the self-reflexive elements in his occasional poetry (and creating an image in general) enhance the Arcadian characteristics of his work.

Agyich's attraction to Arcadia and his subsequent knowledge of the internal operations of this society is indicated by his application to become a member of the arcas. It is notable how he appeals to the censors' benevolence regarding the samples of his poem that he submits (the poem is known in a draft form, under the title *Carmen Stephani Agyich C. E. Q. Canonici ad Arcades Romanos*).² In order to understand the significance of this moment, we should take a general look at how the Academy of Arcadia was organized. As the number of its members increased, the academy expanded across the entire Italian peninsula, establishing a network of so-called colonies. Such colonies were also established outside the Italian peninsula, for instance in Ragusa on the Dalmatian coast (Dubrovnik today). This arcas colony was halfway between the parent institution in Rome and the short-lived Arcadia group that operated in royal Hungary during the tenure of Archbishop of Kalocsa Ádám Patachich as council president at the University of Buda. Franjo Sebastijanović's person demonstrates this geographical proximity well: similarly to Agyich and Patachich, he also came from a Croatian family, became a member of Arcadia in 1780, and was involved in the archbishop's circles. Other colonies were also established in East-Central Europe, for instance in the Baroque castle

1 RÉDEY-KERESZTÉNY János, "István Agyich's (1730–1789) manuscript bequest of poetry in the context of the Hungarian influence of the Academy of Arcadia in Rome," *Camoenae Hungaricae* 8, no. 1 (2023): 82–95.

2 "Si placeat qvondam cautis censoribus unum, / Ex tanta segmen veste, probatus ero." Klimo Library Department of Manuscripts, Ms 925, 1r.

gardens of the ducal Radziwiłł family in Nieborów, Poland.³ The sympathizers in Buda, Vác, and Pécs, who lacked organization within the Kingdom of Hungary, should be compared to these. Despite the Italian network of colonies, Rome remained the center of the academy in terms of organization. Publishing the poems that started to arrive and quickly accumulate became a priority relatively soon. Papal censors started to cull these, not only based on matters of taste but also on the basis of other ecclesiastic criteria.⁴ The papal court already increased its influence during the first few decades, which can also be attributed to the fact that there was quite a big overlap between the members of the academy and the papal court.⁵

Giving a preference to genres of patrician poetry also suggests that Agyich had an interest in Arcadia beyond being familiar with its internal operations. In order to understand this connection, we should recall how Arcadian reading sessions typically went. Seven reading sessions were held in the academic “high season” (May to October), only one of which was dedicated to those living in the colonies, i.e. outside Rome.⁶ During the readings in Rome, the members engaged in various poetic improvisations and read either a prose piece or two eclogues, which was followed by a 15-minute discussion.⁷ As a result, shorter genres such as sonnets, ballads and canzoni quite soon dominated the literary performances. At the same time, occasional poetry written for marriages, coronations, papal elections, or the achievements of the members of the academy dominated the poetry competitions. The memory of deceased arcas was preserved with particularly great respect.⁸

Agyich named as many as three genres of patrician poetry in his application, each of which, i.e. bucolic poetry, laudatory poem (encomium), and the funeral elegy (epicedium), was indeed an organic part of Arcadian poetic practice based on the above.⁹ Thus, in line with the goals of the academy, the purpose of writing poetry was not to gain poetic fame but to contribute to the common good,¹⁰ both in terms of morals and refining people’s taste. For the arcas living on the Italian peninsula, the latter primarily meant refining the Italian literary language. Of course, there were also examples of people who achieved fame outside the academic circles, as in the case of Pietro Metastasio or Corilla Olimpica.

3 SÁRKÖZY Péter, “Az olasz negédes kertjében.” *Olasz-magyar kulturális kapcsolatok és az olasz árkádikus költészet hatása a 18. századi magyar irodalomban* [“In the sweet Italian garden.” Italian-Hungarian cultural connections and the influence of Italian Arcadian poetry on eighteenth-century Hungarian literature], *Olasz irodalom, kultúra és művészetek* 1, *Mundus – Új irodalom* 79 (Budapest: Mundus Magyar Egyetemi Kiadó, 2008), 191–194.

4 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), 23.

5 DIXON, *Between the Real* ..., 21.

6 DIXON, *Between the Real* ..., 22.

7 DIXON, *Between the Real* ..., 24.

8 DIXON, *Between the Real* ..., 23.

9 “Rus cecini, variosque fui modulatus honores, / Flebile funeribus carmen et ipse dedi.” Klimo Library Department of Manuscripts, Ms 925, 1r.

10 DIXON, *Between the Real* ..., 110–111.

Agyich's poetry writing practice is characterized by the humanist tradition of imitation and emulation. In this regard, it is intriguing to see how he retrospectively embeds his occasional lyric poetry in the context of Arcadian poetry in his application to the Roman arcas, guided by a peculiar sense of identity. Agyich's poetry can thus be interpreted based on the occasional genres he indicates in his application, to understand how Agyich may have understood and used the Arcadian approach to poetry and how he may have experienced its sense of community.

For the genre of the epicedium, we can take the example of the funeral poem saying farewell to György Klimo that was published in print in Pécs in 1777. Agyich literally calls the epicedium *fleBILE carmen*, i.e. a mourning song, in his distichs addressed to the arcas. The volume on poetics in *Bibliotheca rhetorum*, a popular handbook on rhetoric and poetry by Gabriel François Le Jay, a college teacher from Paris, contains an equally succinct definition of the elegy: "Elegia Carmen est fleBILE[.]"¹¹ Le Jay primarily linked the definition of the genre to the etymology of the Greek word *ἐλεγεῖα* (from the verb *ἐλέεω*, i.e. 'to pity, to have mercy'), as did both Jesuit¹² and Piarist¹³ textbooks on poetics in general. Elegy was thus first defined as a lament, and this was extended to all kinds of poems on various topics and of various lengths that were written in distichs. Agyich may have known Le Jay's handbook, at least the inventory taken of his estate after his death does contain this volume.¹⁴ As a result, the term *fleBILE carmen* clearly refers to the genre of the elegy for Agyich as well, and undoubtedly to the distich verse form. At the same time, Agyich uses the textbook definition in a narrower sense, since based on his membership application, *fleBILE carmen* can mainly be interpreted as a subcategory of the elegy in his case, the atmosphere and subject of which, i.e. that of mourning, are

11 "Elegia Carmen est fleBILE, quod indicat vox ipsa, unde deducitur, ἐλέεω, misereor." Gabriel François Le JAY, *Bibliotheca rhetorum praecepta et exempla complectens quae ad poeticam facultatem pertinent [...]* pars posterior (Venetia: Typographia Balleoniana, 1747), 40. Although two editions of the handbook were published in the Kingdom of Hungary, these only contained the first part of the work, the one on rhetoric, see Gabriel François Le JAY, *Bibliotheca rhetorum praecepta et exempla complectens quae ad oratoriam facultatem pertinent, discipulis pariter ac magistris perutilis* (Claudiopolis: Typis Academicis, 1751). The imprint of the other edition: Tyrnavia: Typis Collegii Academiae Societatis Jesu, 1767.

12 See for example Slovenská národná knižnica, Literárny archív, J 3380: Joannes BALOGH, *Opera Poëtica*, 1799. The author of this manuscript volume was a Jesuit monk who taught poetics at the Ungvár grammar school. The first part of the manuscript contains the author's summary of poetics, which was clearly meant to serve educational purposes.

13 See for example Lucas MOESCH, *Vita poetica per omnes aetatum gradus deducta, sive poësis tota vitalis, docens, canens, et ludens* (Tyrnavia: Typis Academicis, 1693). See also Univerzitná knižnica u Bratislave, Kabinet rukopisov, starých a vzácnych tlači, Ms 375: *Institutionum poëticarum liber primus[-quartus]*, s.a.; Ms 586: *Pars I: Poetica, Pars II: De arte metrica*, s.a. The latter two manuscripts were presumably written for school use during the eighteenth century, by two unknown Piarist monastic teachers.

14 T. PAPP Zsófia, "Agyich István kéziratosa versei a Klimó Könyvtárban" [István Agyich's manuscript poems in the Klimó Library], 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, 277–321 (Pécs: PTE Egyetemi Könyvtár és Tudásközpont–Pécsi Egyházmegye, 2016), 306.

both given. In Agyich's membership application to the arcas, *fleBILE carmen* can thus be interpreted as a terminus technicus of its own rather than a paraphrase of the elegy.

Agyich's farewell poem to Bishop Klimo is dominated by a single central allegory. The speaker, who falls asleep at the beginning of the text, becomes a witness and observer of the sky going dark: the crimson-color moon "submerges" in the blue sky (the moon sets). With that, light disappears, and the stars are left on their own, without a master, and they roam around like sheep without a shepherd.¹⁵ Seeing this, as well as other monstrosities, the speaker jolts awake from his sleep and realizes that the same darkness has also descended on reality. He then meets Bishop Klimo's betrothed, who is dressed in mourning (symbolized by the cathedral).¹⁶ He then goes to the bishop's palace, which he finds wide open, and stops abruptly when he sees Bishop Klimo's body lying in state inside.¹⁷ Seeing this, and referring back to his own dream, he exclaims: "after all, the stars roaming the broad sky and the bleeding moon have taken him in the colors of mourning! The stars are the people, we are the heavenly bodies, Jupiter and Mars, the Sun is the bishop, while the church is the Moon, the bishop's betrothed."¹⁸ The Sun has gone down (or in terms of the narration, it has not come up yet), while the Moon has "submerged," as has the church itself, as the prelate's betrothed. The images suggest that the Pécs diocese has been left without a leader. It is also remarkable how Agyich provides a key to the allegorical depiction through the speaker's interpretation of the earlier dream.

To be able to draw any substantial conclusions about the relationship between Agyich's poetic language and the Arcadian approach to poetry, we have to briefly recall the Arcadian interpretation of allegory.

The Arcadian approach, which supported the arts and sciences, wanted to resolve the cumbersome Baroque allegory that luxuriated in forms by focusing on the criterion for the truth (Newton, Leibniz) drawn from the new scientific results of historia litteraria. In essence, they claimed that clear linguistic structures covered scientific truths best. Arcadism rejected the complex Baroque allegory because the two parallel narratives elaborated by the allegory have to create an organic whole regard-

15 "Nox fuerat: placidae dederam mea membra queti[!], / Presserat et modicus lumina fessa sopor. / Cynthia sanguineo per totum tincta colore, / Imminet Hungaricis orbe labente plagis. / Squallida destituit socius Jovis astra Satelles, / Ipseque caeruleis mergitur udus aquis. / Grex Hijadum temere propria statione relicta / Errat, et est toto turbida stella polo. / Coelorum facies spissis obducta tenebris / Tetrica nigrescit: Lux sine luce sua est." Stephanus AGYICH, *Funebre carmen piis manibus [...] Georgii Klimo [...]* (Quinque-Ecclesiae: Joannes Josephus Engel, [1777]), 1.

16 "Induitur pullo Pentani Sponsa paratu / Praesulis, eximias dilaniata genas." AGYICH, *Funebre carmen ...*, 2.

17 "Nec mora: jam menti, mage jam portenta patescunt, / Quae prius in somnis tristis imago tulit. / Ivimus ad celsas Pentani Praesulis arces, / Ad summum celeri pertigimusque gradu. / Atria magna patent, patuere palatia celsa, / Pervia non duras praebuit aula fores. / Cui labor, et longo venientes agmine curae / Membra triennali detinuere malo. / Ecce domo media lethali Klimo feretro / Prostratus membris, exanimisque jacet." AGYICH, *Funebre carmen ...*, 3.

18 "Ecclesiae, Regno, nobis heu! quanta parantur / Tantus, dum rapitur funere, damna, Pater. / Id tandem vastis errantia Sydera Coelis, / Feralique tulit luna cruenta nota! / Stella minor populus, nos Sydera, Jupiter, et Mars, / Sol Pater, at Templum Cynthia, Sponsa Patris." AGYICH, *Funebre carmen ...*, 4.

less of the lack of an obvious linking element. Since the lack of this linking element does not aid understanding, the reference story must be much more consistent and can thus become more clearly intertwined with the more abstract storyline. One founding member of the Arcadian school, Giovanni Vincenzo Gravina (1664–1718), lay down the Neoplatonist rhetorical requirement according to which metaphors and allegories must be immediately comprehensible and possible to absorb. He therefore rejected the types of allegory that were based on puns. Another founding father, Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni (1663–1728), also advocated for the clarity of internal structure and selecting simple topics, instead of focusing on the external beauty of form.¹⁹ Gioacchino Pizzi (1716–1790), the guardian of the Academy between 1772–1790, during Agyich's time, also believed that beauty was linked to the simplicity of the metaphor, which was indispensable for poetic imagination, as well as the philosophical nature of the poetic language, thus it never conflicted with the truth.²⁰

In Agyich's poem, we can see an example of the allegorical diction being developed with exactly this kind of transparency in mind. This issue is significant in terms of placing Agyich, as well as the Arcadia of Rome, in the history of lyric poetry. The fact that the forms have to be transparent both in terms of verse type and their rhetorical character already points towards a Classicist perspective.²¹ This kind of transparency also structures Agyich's allegorical mode of representation. The dream–death metaphor that appears on the speaker's side makes the interconnection between the reference storyline (the setting moon) and the abstract line (Bishop Klimo's death) possible. This is then achieved by the various expressions of dread (the linking element) that can be captured with the help of association in the referential and abstract lines. Dread is effectively highlighted with the help of moments of passing conveyed by this natural phenomenon, such as the crimson colour (the colour of a setting moon), the incoming darkness (the colour of mourning), or the errant stars that seem to be losing their master, which represent the gap that is left after the celestial body submerges.

One scene of the poem mourning Klimo can be interpreted as an additional development of the allegory. In this scene, the speaker (who can obviously be substituted for Agyich) finds himself viewing a stage performance of Klimo's everlasting virtues and deeds when Apollo leads him to heaven. The bishop, who is compared to various mythical characters and figures of ancient history, "is admired by the gods, since by chasing away the wolves, he delivered great benefit to the sheep, nurturing the tender lambs through rich pastures, and growing his merry herd with quite a few lambs."²² This way

19 DIXON, *Between the Real ...*, 30.

20 Gioacchino PIZZI, "A sua eccellenza il sinor conte Jacop' Antonio Sanvitale," in *Rime degli Arcadi* (Roma: Paolo Giunchi, 1780), XIII: V–XI, VI–VII. Quoted by Stefania BARAGETTI, "Il »vero sistema del mondo«: La scienza nell'Arcadia di Gioacchino Pizzi," in *Scienza e poesia scientifica in Arcadia (1690–1870)*, eds. Elisabetta APPETECCHI et al., *Il Bosco Parraiso* 9, 261–284 (Roma: Accademia dell'Arcadia, 2022), 265.

21 DIXON, *Between the Real ...*, 53.

22 "Hic quoque Klimonis cognoscere facta Stupendi / Est animus superis, ardet et omnis amor. / Littera prompta docet, quam grandia Pastor ovili / Commoda depulsis praestitit inde lupis; / Nutrierint teneros quam pingvia pascua foetus, / Nullaque non laetos auxerit agna greges." AGYICH, *Funebre carmen ...*, 9.

the loneliness of the herd on earth, an image of which could be read off the sky itself at the beginning of the poem, is reinterpreted during the subsequent meeting with the head pastor in heaven, clearly conveying the stark difference between the two states of being. What is more, the bishop, who is enjoying the bliss of heaven, eventually turns the nightmare of being without a pastor on its head when he tells the poet: "I have a selected body of priests on earth, who do not allow for that to die which I started so fortuitously. Soon the sun will rise from its thin waters: behold, there will be another prelate who will bless Pécs."²³ Referring to the sunrise that follows the moonset is a harbinger of the new shepherd's arrival. It does so through describing the hope that illuminates the darkness that has no light, and instead of the reality of the nightmare assumes that the celestial bodies will rearrange themselves. Depicting an ideal parallel reality by placing the underworld and the upperside next to each other and doubling the upperside in a dream is quite a specific solution. But with its help, Agyich makes the allegory in his poem easy to understand, take in, and enjoy in one fell swoop. Agyich's goal is for the recipient to be able to identify with the virtuous world evoked by the environment and the plot.

The Arcadian theory of art pursues the same utilitarian delectation in every branch of art, including architecture. Good architecture must imitate the structure of the universe according to modern scientific principles, clearly and simply expressing the universal principles of statics.²⁴ Agyich achieves this effect by providing an allegorical depiction and explanation of the realistic elements of a natural phenomenon. What is real appears as a mirror image of what is ideal, thus implying the presence of a virtuous alternative reality that is more harmonious in its structure than that of this earth. The epigrams of another compatriot, physicist and mathematician Ruđer Josip Bošković (1711–1787), who was born in Ragusa and became a member of Arcadia, similarly incorporate the consequences of natural order in allegorical images. For example, one text focuses on how it is no surprise if the people living on Earth, which roams close to Venus and Mars, live under the influence of fury and love (*In planetarum dispositione Terra inter Martem et Venerem*). Another one provides an amusing counterpoint to the ancient myth of Saturn's dethronement, as Jupiter as a celestial body moves in a lower orbit compared to Saturn in reality, who looks down on him. What is more, Saturn's head is adorned by a royal crown, the cosmic ring, and the number of its moons known at the time also outnumbers Jupiter's satellites by one (*In Graecam fabulam Saturni a Jove regno pulsi*).²⁵

23 "Ipse ait: O vates, non te mea fata morentur: / Nulla metus causa est, nulla doloris erit. / Sunt mihi, sunt terris lectissima corpora fratrum, / Nostra mori nunquam quae bene caepta[!] sinent. / Saepius haud liquidis Titan caput efferet undis, / Ecce Pater Peucas, qui beet, alter erit." AGYICH, *Funebre carmen* ..., 11.

24 DIXON, *Between the Real* ..., 53.

25 *Arcadum carmina, pars altera ad Eminent.^{mum} et Reverend.^{mum} principem Georgium S. R. E. cardinalem ab Auria* (Roma: De Rubeis apud Pantheon, 1756), 214–216. Quoted by Elisabetta APPETECCHI, "«At templa Mathesis»: La poesia di argomento scientifico negli «Arcadum carmina», in *Scienza e poesia* ..., 117–118, 120–121.

The other key phrase of Arcadian theory of art is the principle of realism, i.e. verisimilitudo, which goes back to Aristotle. For Crescimbeni, this concept is the same as the requirement to provide a credible depiction of nature: the artificial thing that appears real.²⁶ Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750), an Arcadian theoretician, believed that verisimilitudo was nothing but presenting things according to how they should be. In other words, verisimilitudo can be correlated with presenting a kind of perfected nature.²⁷ Gravina thought it possible to implement the principle of realism by reflecting the eternal idea, in other words, perfecting reality is not possible without the divine.²⁸ *Vita poetica* (1693) of the Piarist Lukács Moesch (1651–1701), who came from a German background, already includes this requirement for being realistic, quoting it from Aristotle. The Baroque master begins the definition of poetry by saying that “poetry is the free art of singing what is possible and inevitable according to meter and likelihood”.²⁹ Thus, for Moesch heavy truths, for instance, must hide beneath the guise of beautiful falsity in the case of *fictio*. He also adds in the interest of verisimilitudo and in defense of Christian ethics that pagan nonsense should be avoided.³⁰ This approach differs from the Arcadian concept of art in that it believes in the superficiality of the Baroque allegory that is manifested in outward appearances and a cult of form.

In comparison, the rhetorical work intended for school use (*Institutio eloquentiae sacrae generatim*, 1758) written by the Hungarian Jesuit monk and historian István Kaprinai (1714–1785), who lived a good fifty years later, is much more modern. He holds views that reflect the principles of French and Italian Classicism, for example regarding *argutia*, i.e. the wit of Baroque taste.³¹ According to Imre Bán, Kaprinai condemns Ba-

26 Giovanni Mario CRESCIMBENI, *La bellezza della volgar poesia* (Roma: Antonio de' Rossi, 1712), 1–50, 91–92. Quoted by: DIXON, *Between the Real* ..., 30.

27 Lodovico Antonio MURATORI, *Della perfetta poesia italiana*, 4 vols. (Modena: Bartolomeo Soliani, 1706), 1:57–63. Quoted by: DIXON, *Between the Real* ..., 30. In his book, Dixon refers to a modern critical edition, see Lodovico Antonio MURATORI, *Della perfetta poesia italiana*, ed. Ada RUSCHIONI (Milano: Marzorati, 1971), 72–78.

28 DIXON, *Between the Real* ..., 30.

29 “Poësis est ars liberalis metricè et verisimiliter canendi; quae possunt, vel debent esse.” MOESCH, *Vita poetica* ..., 2. Quoted by: BÁN Imre, *Irodalomelméleti kézikönyvek Magyarországon a XVI–XVIII. században* [Handbooks of literary theory in Hungary in the 16th–18th centuries], Irodalomtörténeti füzetek 72 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 66–67.

30 MOESCH, *Vita poetica* ..., 10–11. Quoted by: BÁN, *Irodalomelméleti kézikönyvek* ..., 67–68.

31 BÁN, *Irodalomelméleti kézikönyvek* ..., 88. Quoted by SZÁRAZ Orsolya, “Itáliai hitszónokok Kaprinai István egyházi szónoklatában” [Italian preachers in István Kaprinai’s ecclesiastic rhetoric], in *Olasz-magyar irodalmi és művelődési kapcsolatok a 18–19. században* [Literary and cultural connections between Italy and Hungary in the 18–19th century], ed. DÓBÉK Ágnes, *Reciti konferenciakötetek* 14, 17–31 (Budapest: Reciti Kiadó, 2022), 18. On the eighteenth-century critique of the seventeenth-century theory and practice of *argutia* or *conchetto*, see also Lodovico Antonio MURATORI, *De i pregi dell’eloquenza popolare* (Venezia: G. Pasquali, 1750); Mario ZANARDI, „Sulla genesi del »Cannocchiale aristotelico« di Emanuele Tesauro,” *Studi secenteschi* 23 (1982): 3–61. Quoted by SZÁRAZ, “Itáliai hitszónokok Kaprinai ...,” 29–31. Jesuit monk Emanuele Tesauro was the most important contemporary theoretician of the concept, who in his work on rhetoric and in many ways literary theory (*Il cannocchiale aristotelico*, 1654) wished to transcend Aristotelian rhetoric by exploiting the epistemological potential of metaphorical

roque wit because examples from reality should be prioritized compared to the excesses of the allegory. In addition, following Dominique Bouhours, Kaprinai claims that “nothing can be witty unless it is true [...], or if it is invented, it should at least be realistic.”³² Based on this, Imre Bán maintains that Boileau and Aristotle are within Kaprinai’s reach.³³ And even the theory of art pursued by the Academy of Arcadia, the essence of which was that poetry, which in early modernity was itself still considered a science, should use rhetorical devices that aligned with the results of natural science in addition to those of elocution.³⁴ We can conclude that Aristotle’s theory of mimesis is visibly present in the background of contemporary poetic and rhetorical thinking, and it seems to increasingly bring up the referential nature of poetic imagery. All this clearly shows that both the Arcadian theory of art (through Bošković’s example) and Agyich’s poetry can best be correlated with the approach of Classicist poetics.

As far as practice was concerned, the principle of realism usually did not refer to how the plot was executed in Arcadian theory of art. Thus, for instance, an alternative account of mythical characters, mythical stories, and historical events was considered an appropriate topic. According to Arcadian theory of poetry, the principle of realism denotes a state in which both persons and actions can be freely changed in order to introduce miraculous events, with assistance from mythology. At the same time, the aesthetic category of realism can only be achieved within this framework if the real things also retain some of the true characteristics of their own nature in their idealized state. They thus saw the viability of the principle in the characters’ behavior, their morals, and presenting their environment and background.³⁵ Looking at the horizon of Arcadian art theory again, regarding architectural surfaces they, for instance, believed that these could ultimately shape behavior in the same way the theater stage served a virtuous mindset through the transparency of its broad, well-designed space.³⁶ The scientific and philosophical language of poetry also had a moral significance for poetry, since those who educate their mind and spirit can see what makes a person happy more clearly. The individual’s scientific effort shows how much reason can serve the promotion of the common good, primarily by comparing human habits to the natural (physical and moral) truths they discover.³⁷ All this resulted in a sensitive outlook among the arcas that was directed at an ephemeral experience of reality, the immanence of the transcendent, and the ability to capture it. In Dixon’s words, Arcadian arts essential-

language. Tesauro himself corrected and revised his work (1670), which was also translated into Latin as *Idea argutae et ingeniosae dictionis ex principiis Aristotelicis eruta ...* (1698).

32 “Argutiae sint verae. Nihil enim argutum esse potest, nisi verum, ut ait Bouhoursius: aut si fictum sit, saltem verosimile esse debet.” Stephanus KAPRINAI, *Institutio eloquentiae sacrae generatim, usui tironum, ex veterum, ac recentiorum praeceptionibus concinnata [...] tomus prior* ([Cassa:] Universitas Cassoviensis, 1758), 594. Quoted by: BÁN, *Irodalomelméleti kézikönyvek ...*, 92–94, 93.

33 BÁN, *Irodalomelméleti kézikönyvek ...*, 93.

34 BARAGETTI, “Il »vero sistema del mondo«,” 264–272.

35 DIXON, *Between the Real ...*, 30.

36 DIXON, *Between the Real ...*, 53.

37 BARAGETTI, “Il »vero sistema del mondo«,” 267, 283.

ly had to reflect the perfection of heaven. Of a universe that was more perfect than the one in which the arcas were living their everyday, mundane life.³⁸ The poem mourning Bishop Klimo fulfills these theoretical criteria of realism, since the idealized depiction of what is real builds on characteristics borrowed from natural reality.

The only bucolic poem Agyich wrote on Bishop László Pál Esterházy's installation is similar.³⁹ The poem can also be read as a continuation of the funeral elegy written to Bishop Klimo if we consider that Agyich did not write a new poem after Klimo's death until the new bishop was appointed. This is also supported by the fact that the bucolic poem addressed to Esterházy captures the sunrise, i.e. the arrival of the new shepherd that was promised in the poem mourning Klimo. Agyich links the two texts with each other in the prologue of the *bucolicon expressis verbis*. In the crisis the grief has caused, the speaker once again invokes the Muses who had provided solace recently: "your poet, who had sung grief before, should now sing a fortuitous beginning with your help again."⁴⁰ The poem, which was printed for the Pécs induction of the new shepherd in 1781, also builds on the allegorical representation of the good shepherd described above.

The idea that encompasses the entire poem, which consists of six eclogues, is based on the connotative semantic relationship between the two meanings of the Latin word *pastor*, i.e. 'shepherd' and 'spiritual leader.' This play clearly also works in the context of the Arcadian shepherds and the arcas. This was a wildly successful phenomenon in the bucolic poetry of the time. Bucolics thus also depicted the infant Jesus through the tradition of the pastoral, whom the arcas also revered as the spiritual protector of the Academy of Arcadia.⁴¹ In Agyich's case, I demonstrate the baby Jesus allegory with the help of the fifth eclogue, where we can read how Coridon and Alpheisibaeus compete with each other in singing the new head pastor's praise. Mythical tradition considered Daphnis, who their song is about, the inventor of bucolic poetry. The Daphnis character can be matched with Bishop Esterházy throughout the poem. In one location, Alpheisibaeus sings that "Most towns and houses are open to Daphnis, as he is the offspring of gods, but he still frequented modest homes, and he once used to live on our lands,

38 DIXON, *Between the Real* ..., 53.

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

40 "Rebus in angustis solatia pristina Musae / Pierides! vestro rursum succurrite Vati; / Funera qui quondam vobis dictantibus, idem / Nunc quoque vobiscum felices concinat ortus." AGYICH, *Bucolicon in auspicatissimum* ..., Alr.

41 KILIÁN István, ed., *A magyarországi piarista iskolai színjátszás forrásai és irodalma 1799-ig* [The sources and literature of Hungarian Piarist scholastic theater before 1799], *A magyarországi iskolai színjátszás forrásai és irodalma 6* (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, 1994), 8–9, 124–125, 630, 649. Quoted by: T. PAPP Zsófia, "Agyich István kanonok élete és versei" [Prebend István Agyich's life and poems], in *A Koller József emlékkonferencia (2002. október 24–25.) válogatott előadásai*, eds. FONT Márta and VARGHA Dezső, *Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből* 13, 210–246 (Pécs Története Alapítvány: Pécs, 2003), 219, notes 117 and 118. On the figure of infant Jesus as the protector of the Academy of Arcadia, see DIXON, *Between the Real* ..., 20.

and he was not repulsed by outworn robes or dirty houses.”⁴² In another location Coridon says:

Qui faveant aestus, noceant quae frigora brumae,
Et quae stella polo pecudi, quod gramen in hortis
Proficiat, multum doctus per singula, dudum
Et docet, et docuit, nostris simul atque medetur
Ipse malis, pridem celebratus carmine DAPHNIS.⁴³

Alphesibaeus then crowns Coridon’s words in the following way:

Inter Pastores jam dudum gloria DAPHNIS;
Pastorum minor hos, jam rexit maximus illos,
Et tulit inde novum collo decus, omnibus unus
Aeternum faciens, qui se in statione sequuntur.⁴⁴

It is thus not difficult to recognize that the allegorized figure of Daphnis, who teaches the arts of husbandry and medicine, is complemented with characteristics that refer to the redeeming Son of God. As a good shepherd, he provides both his herd and the shepherds of the herd (i.e. the faithful and the spiritual leaders) with everything, his wisdom is already obvious from his childhood, and he does not consider it abominable to take on the sparse circumstances of existence, ultimately bequeathing the glory of eternal life to those who follow him.

At this point, we should also unpack the deeper meaning of the allegorical representation. Agyich namely also writes himself into the end of his bucolic poem: “Daphnis, your name and praise will endure forever, to whom a shepherd sang these sacrificial songs instead of the others: he is now the leader of the tender youth that will graze the herds.”⁴⁵ He does the same in the prologue, where he invokes the above-mentioned Muses by saying: with your help “a small shepherd will sing a song about the shepherd.”⁴⁶ The envelope structure thus copies Agyich’s existence as a pastoral poet and a priest from one reality into another at the moment when the boundaries are being crossed, i.e. when the reading begins and ends. The kind of self-awareness Agyich had of his own poetic activities clearly follows from this self-formation. On the one hand, he locates himself as an (Arcadian) shepherd among the shepherds who sing in

42 “Progenies Superum DAPHNIS, cui plurima terris / Arxque, Domusque patet; modicos tamen ille recessus / Ambit, et nostris quondam fuit accola terris, / Nec viles pannos, nec squallida tecta perosus.” AGYICH, *Bucolicon* ..., C2r.

43 AGYICH, *Bucolicon* ..., C2r.

44 AGYICH, *Bucolicon* ..., C2v.

45 “DAPHNI tuum nomen semper, laudesque manebunt; / Haec cui pro reliquis cecinit pia carmina Pastor; / Nunc tenerae, quae pascet oves, dux ipse juvantae.” AGYICH, *Bucolicon* ..., D1r.

46 “[...] faciles tantum aspirate Camenae; / Pastorem parvus cantabit carmine Pastor.” AGYICH, *Bucolicon* ..., A1r.

the poem. This in itself is already a powerful gesture regarding the world of bucolic poetry that values metapoetry. On the other hand, he points to himself as a person who writes his poem for the others, representing them. His own existence as an educator of priests (he taught theology in the seminary of Pécs as a theologian prebend from 1776, and he was the director of the same school from 1777) mirrors his existence as a poet. In other words, it can also be interpreted as a symbolic, ideal representation of the career opportunities the high clergy had in the eighteenth century. In this respect, Agyich's long service (of eighteen years) as parish priest and archidiaconus is a unique autobiographical frame of reference in the poem. In practice, this kind of service was the typical career path taken by the lower clergy. In the same location, Agyich appears as a shepherd who is a deserving follower of Jesus, who is presented as Daphnis.

These allegorical representations, whether we focus on the poet's character or the good shepherd, are also excellent examples of verisimilitudo. In Muratori's words, they mostly depict matters of reality the way they are supposed to be. In addition to the unbridled joy felt over the arrival of the good shepherd in Bishop Esterházy's person, the desire to alleviate the pain felt over Bishop Klimo's death also falls within the same category. In general, the characters' morals, behaviour, and the setting (for instance, the pastures, groves, meadows, and springs in the bucolic poem, or the sky and the vision of the afterlife in the funeral elegy) provide a manifestation of the principle of realism that points from the immanent towards the transcendent. Even through their immanence, transcendent notions and ideas manifest in them. To refer to one of the above-mentioned Arcadian theorists, according to Gravina, the ancient fables were excellent dramatic subjects since they were based on philosophical or religious truth. In the same way, the main requirement the Academy of Arcadia had of pastoral poetry (or pastoral drama, since these works were also performed within the framework of scholastic theatre, as it happened with Agyich's *Bucolicum carmen*),⁴⁷ as well as other literary works, was that they should have some element of truth.⁴⁸ So much so that the above-mentioned custos Gioacchino Pizzi also discounted Metastasio's melodramas, which were based on harmonious prosody, because he thought a more philosophical approach to reality was missing from them compared to the dominance of emotions.⁴⁹

Agyich also drew Count Ferenc Balassa's character along a similar concept of the aesthetics of representation, with the help of clear allegories and real-life examples. He published a laudatory poem in Zagreb on the count's appointment to ban of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in 1785. This poem exemplifies the third occasional genre Agyich indicated, i.e. the encomium. Agyich clearly referred to this genre when he used the unique term *honores* in his poem to the Roman arcas. Assigning real-life

47 T. PAPP, "Agyich István kanonok élete ...," 205–206, note 29.

48 Maria Grazia ACCORSI, "Il teatro nella prima Arcadia: il modello pastorale e le 'antiche favole'," *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia degli Arcadi* 9, no. 2–4 (1991–1994): 107–124, 111–116. Quoted by: DIXON, *Between the Real ...*, 32. Dixon emphasizes that this idea goes back to Francis Bacon, and that Gravina's contemporaries, arcas Francesco Bianchini and Giambattista Vico, also followed it, see DIXON, *Between the Real ...*, 131, note 3.

49 BARAGETTI, "Il »vero sistema del mondo«," 284.

events to mythemes (the basic structural unit of the story that is associated with a particular event, character, and theme)⁵⁰ was of course a well-established device of occasional poetry. However, Arcadism did not interpret myth as a decoration in terms of the event, the character, and the theme, as it was typical in the case of occasional poetry. Instead, it wanted to use myth to illustrate (idealized) reality by reflecting on the link between genre and “techné.” Thus, in Agyich’s interpretation, Klimó’s, Esterházy’s, and Balassa’s death and appointment to bishop or ban keeps confronting the reader with questions such as how it is possible to move from immanence to transcendence, and how and whether it is possible to bring the former closer to the virtuous and ideal state of the latter.

In the poem that celebrates Balassa’s appointment to ban, Agyich consistently compares the count to Hercules. He says that “the glorious fame of Ferenc Balassa grew immense, barely attainable by a mortal being, and it was spread on sea and land by boats and carts.”⁵¹ Another parallel with the demigod is: “that which is onerous, full of many trials, he shouldered completely like another Atlas.”⁵² So much so that “worry plagued the gods how [the count’s] virtue and merit, obtained at great effort, could be weighed.”⁵³ Eventually the father of the gods believes, according to the speaker, that “although he [i.e. Balassa] had endured so much, all that seems so much less to Jupiter compared to his merits, so he prepares an even more beautiful reward (planning to give it to him), which comes with the greatest glory.”⁵⁴ All these “Herculean tasks” are a way to describe the count’s work as supremus comes, royal commissioner in Fiume, military commissary officer, and crown guard in the poem, which are mythicized heroic deeds that elevate Count Balassa’s figure, as a person well-versed in public administration, shipping, or the commercial trade of the Adriatic Sea, to a role model of virtue that points beyond reality.⁵⁵ The recipient can take pleasure in the praise of feudal

50 Claude LÉVI-STRAUSS, “The Structural Study of Myth,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 68, no. 270 (1955): 428–444, 431–435. The concept was initially called a “gross constituent unit.” Lévi-Strauss calls it a mytheme in the version of the study that was turned into a book chapter: Claude LÉVI-STRAUSS, “The Structural Study of Myth,” in Claude LÉVI-STRAUSS, *Structural Anthropology*, transl. Claire JACOBSON, Brooke Grundfest SCHOEPP (New York: Basic Books, 1963), 210–216, especially 211; Eric CSAPO, *Theories of Mythology* (London: Blackwell, 2005), 219–224. Quoted by Fang FANG and Keith DICKSON, “Enki, Shen Nong, and the Alembic Body,” *Journal of Language, Literature and Culture* 66, no. 3 (2019): 119–133, 119, 130–131.

51 “Creverat immensum FRANCISCI pulchra BALASSAE / Gloria, mortali vix adeunda pede. / Nota fuit Pelago, vastis notissima terris, / Illam terra rotis, vexit et unda rate.” Stephanus AGYICH, *Carmen amplissimis honoribus [...] Francisci de Paula e comitibus Balassa, [...] dum pro-rege regnorum Croatiae, Dalmatiae, et Sclavoniae auspicio sublimaretur* (Zagabria: Josephus Carolus Kotsche, 1785), a2r.

52 “Quod grave, quod multo plenum discrimine, totum / Ipse suis humeris sustulit alter Atlas.” AGYICH, *Carmen amplissimis honoribus ...*, a2v.

53 “Cura remordebatur Superos, quibus ardua virtus / Pensari posset, promeritumque Viri.” AGYICH, *Carmen amplissimis honoribus ...*, a3r.

54 “Tanta licet tulerit, tamen haec sunt visa Tonanti / Multo pro meritis inferiora suis. / His meliora parat, jamque est conferre voluntas / Praemia, quæ pretium Gloria summa ferat.” AGYICH, *Carmen amplissimis honoribus ...*, a3r.

55 “Illyrico portat copiosas Adria merces / Non est qui melius calleat istud opus.” AGYICH, *Carmen amplissimis honoribus ...*, b1r.

society through the mirror that is held up to it. The key to virtue is that Count Balassa “has more care for the prosperity of the public than that of his own, although an active lifestyle, vocation, and labour would demand it.”⁵⁶ Thus, Jupiter’s salute at the end of the poem can be read as a measure of this ideal state rather than as an exaggeration: “and while he raises his cup, the happy god says: live to the age of Saturn, Balassa, that of our father.”⁵⁷ According to a referential reading of this toast, the speaker envisions the restoration of the golden age during Count Balassa’s service as a ban.

In terms of image creation, Agyich once again makes the most obvious gesture at the end of his poem, where he reflects on himself once more: “Balassa lives, and he does not forget about his poet, either, who with the help of constant divine help prepares so many votive offerings.”⁵⁸ With the word *vota*, Agyich refers to the three previous laudatory poems he addressed to the count.⁵⁹ The careers of Count Balassa and Agyich happened to intertwine with each other, since they both played a key role in the ecclesiastic and administrative consolidation of the Slavonian region, which had fallen behind during the Ottoman occupation. Count Balassa was appointed *supremus comes* of county Szerém in 1762, the same year that Agyich became honorary prebend and a magistrate of the Szerém area. Count Balassa was *supremus comes* until 1785, when he was appointed ban.⁶⁰ Count Balassa’s appointment to commissioner of health in Slavonia in 1763⁶¹ also coincided with Agyich’s eighteen-year service as Slavonian archidiaconus, which also started in 1763. Agyich saluted the each of the count’s appointments to *supremus comes* and commissioner of health on account of the plague, as well as curbing the pandemic, with a longer occasional poem. In other words, the count played an exceptional role in his poetry. He also calls attention to all this in his note to the last distich of the poem saluting the ban. We can see the genre-defining umbrella term *honores* here once again,⁶² just like we did in the poem addressed to the arcas. Here the term is used to categorize the genre of the poems saluting Count Balassa. On the other hand, instead of the word *Poeta* that is used in the main text, he uses the word *Vates* (‘soothsayer’) here. It seems he did not do this without any hidden intentions or emphasis, since he also called himself a *vates* in his poem saluting the induction of the *supremus comes* in 1762. The fact that in this latter poem the speaker predicts that Count

56 “Publica sunt illi plus quam sua commoda curae; / Quamque cupit vigilans vivere, vita labor.” AGYICH, *Carmen amplissimis honoribus* ...

57 “Dumque bonus cratera levat, Saturnia dixit / Saecula Tu nostri, vive! BALASSA Patris.” AGYICH, *Carmen amplissimis honoribus* ..., b2r.

58 “Vivit, et ipse memor non desinit esse Poetae, / Qui certo toties numine vota facit.” AGYICH, *Carmen amplissimis honoribus* ..., b2r.

59 For the manuscripts of the poems (printed versions are not known yet), see Klimo Library Department of Manuscripts, Ms 754, 1r–8v (in two text variants that are of the same length but not fully identical in terms of text); Ms 755, 1r–8v; Ms 757, 1r–6v.

60 KÁLLAY István, “Balassa Ferenc iratai” [The documents of Ferenc Balassa], *Levéltári Közlemények* 44–45 (1974): 247–271, 248, 249.

61 KÁLLAY, “Balassa Ferenc ...” 248, 249–250.

62 “Honores, qui successive evererunt, alias ab eodem Vate Comiti praedicti.” AGYICH, *Carmen amplissimis honoribus* ..., b2r.

Balassa would once be revered as a ban increases the significance of this reference.⁶³ Ultimately, the explanatory note at the end of the poem that salutes the ban, which describes Agyich as a vates and the “prophecy” of the poem on his induction as *supremus* comes reflects Agyich’s boldness rather than simply his identity as an author.

This repeated manifestation of a poetic identity is thus a good illustration of how Agyich dedicated his poetic talent to occasional genres. Since patrician poetry was one of the contemporary literary registers, it did not result in an internal creative conflict due to surrendering his autonomy. What is more, it is interesting how Agyich’s identity as a poet develops from this formula, for instance by creating a two-way connection between his poems through the key concept of the vates. An even more exciting characteristic and measure of our author’s identity is how he keeps creating a retrospective connection between texts of occasional lyric poetry that seem otherwise heterogeneous. This is what he did with the umbrella term of *honores* mentioned in the Balassa poem of 1785, or the allegory of the good shepherd in the poems about mourning Klimo and Esterházy’s induction. Still, the most noteworthy element is how Agyich found and followed a poetic program with which he could identify both emotionally and constitutionally within the generic framework of patrician poetry hallmarked by the Academy of Arcadia in Rome. This genre-specific Arcadia adaptation led to developing a unique poetic program that could also integrate earlier texts although it was the later texts of the oeuvre that followed the Arcadian taste.

Through these brief analyses, I wanted to illustrate how Agyich’s poetry displays the basic characteristics of Arcadian theory of art, going beyond the interest he expressed in his membership application to the arcas. These basic features can be captured in the easily understandable allegoric delivery and the uniquely Arcadian interpretation of *verisimilitudo*. On the one hand, in how the artist is interested in depicting an ideal reality through the elements of reality. On the other hand, that depicting an idealized reality is based on real characteristics borrowed from nature. Poetically, all this assumes a modern use of the Aristotelian principle of *mimesis*, as well as leaning towards Classicism.

In the case of the arcas of the Italian peninsula, these artistic ambitions could go together with good taste, the refinement of the Italian literary language, and the unwinding of the Italian concept of the nation, depending on certain interpretations. At the same time, for those writing in Latin, like Agyich, they “only” enabled the evolution of individual poetic ambition and identity, as well as other communal forms of identity that competed with each other. Alternatively, they contributed to refining other national languages and ideas of community, as it happened in the case of Hungarian or Polish literature. Regarding the latter, I tried to highlight how Latin-language Arcadia could not only be realized in the form of an isolated interest in a particular taste in the Kingdom of Hungary. In fact, based on the interest in Arcadia membership and/or the

63 See “Verba dat Orator, Vates sua metra. [...] Nunc caput est terrae quae Syrmica dicitur; Illum / Pro-Regis titulos post tempora pauca sedentem / Ungarici populus sceptri videatque colatque!” Klimo Library Department of Manuscripts, Ms 757, 5r. See T. PAPP, “Agyich István kéziratos versei ...,” 284.

academy, it can be endowed with the characteristics of a sense and identity of community, even if Arcadia had a limited presence in Hungary.

In any case, Latin remained the lingua franca in contemporary scientific discourse, even if its appeal was waning in Italian poetry, as modern scientific results also entered traditional Italian poetic language through the use of scientific technical terms, including medical expressions.⁶⁴ Therefore, the network of *respublica litteraria* that also manifested itself in poetry lent the use of the Latin language to Arcadism, which was based in Rome but had an influence all across Europe. Italian research on Arcadia also encourages the examination of Latin texts that were mostly reproduced in the volumes of *Arcadum carmina*, with a view to paying attention to their place within European Neo-Latin poetry.⁶⁵ That is, it would be good to explore to what extent the Hungarian history of the reception of the Academy of Arcadia reached the Kingdom of Hungary through the idea of refining the literary culture of the mother tongue or rather through the ideals of humanist Latin culture. Seeing the substantial Latin-language poetic output of Arcadia beside the one in Italian,⁶⁶ and looking at the Latin-language poetry of most Hungarian arcas⁶⁷ it is likely that the latter, i.e. humanist literary influences prevailed in the Hungarian history of the reception of Arcadia. One reason for this may be that new literary trends could predominantly reach the Kingdom of Hungary with the help of Latin-language literature and translation culture.

64 BARAGETTI, "Il »vero sistema del mondo«,” 284. See also Maria CONFORTI and Maria PIA DONATO, "«Vite» degli Arcadi di scienza. Una lettura ideologica e antropologica,” in *Scienza e poesia ...*, 151–172.

65 APPETECCHI, "«At templa Mathesis»,” 123.

66 See for example *Arcadum carmina, pars prior[–altera] ad potentissimum, ac gloriosissimum Lusitaniae regem Joannem V.* (Roma: Antonius de Rubeis, 1721); [Giuseppe CIPRIANI,] *De Jesu infante odae anacreonticae cum Italis interpretationibus aliorum Arcadum accedunt diversi generis carmina ejusdem auctoris* (Roma: Typographia Palladis, 1747); *Arcadum carmina, pars altera ...; Pro restituta valetudine Benedicto XIV. P. O. M. Arcadum carmina* (Roma: De Rubeis apud Pantheon, 1757); *Carmina ab utriusque academiae tum Arcadum, tum Quirinorum pastoribus vernaculo sermone pronunciata, et dicta Clementi XIII. pont. opt. maximo Latina effecta ab Alderano Allegrini atque ipsi pontifici o. maximo ab eodem dicata* (Roma: Joachimus, et Joannes Josephus Salvioni, 1759); *Arcadum carmina, pars prior ad eminent.^{mm} et reverend.^{mm} principem Flavium S. R. E. cardinalem Chisium* (Roma: De Rubeis apud Pantheon, 1768).

67 See for example the collection of poems written by the president of the Buda university council, Ádám Patachich (*Analecta Poëtica*), which included his poems and those written by his friends in Buda. See: TÓTH Sándor Attila, *Rómából a Pannon Árkádiába: Patachich Ádám fiók-Árkádiája: Nagyvárad, Kalocsa* [From Rome to the Arcadia of Pannonia. Ádám Patachich's Arcadia branch: Nagyvárad, Kalocsa], *METEM könyvek* 46 (Budapest: METEM, 2004), 46–243. For some excerpts from the manuscript collection of poems, see TÓTH, *Rómából a Pannon Árkádiába ...*, 245–305.