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***„BELGRADE, THE MEMORABLE SACRIFICE OF
COURAGEOUS SPIRITS / MAKE PLACE TO THE
IMPERIAL EMBLEMS THE LAST TIME!”***

**REMEMBRANCE OF THE REOCCUPATION OF BELGRADE
(1789) IN THE NEO-LATIN LITERARY TRADITIONS**

THESES
of doctoral dissertation

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I. THE SUBJECT AND AIMS OF THE DISSERTATION

The East-Central European region, specifically our country, has a significant role in the history of Neo-Latin literature, that traditionally can be dated from Petrarch. Due to our peculiar historical and political position, the last big period of flare-up of the *latinitas*, begun in the 18th century, made its effect felt until the middle of the 19th century. The golden age of this period in the Kingdom of Hungary integrated into the Habsburg Empire can be dated between 1770–1820. During a considerable part of the above period the works written in Latin existed together, even interlocked with works written in Hungarian that slowly forged ahead due to the language reform. The central topic of this thesis is also the aforementioned last golden age of the Neo-Latin literature.

The dissertation elaborates on the presence of a historical event in the Neo-Latin literature that elicited significant public and literary reactions, namely the Austro-Ottoman War (1787–1790), led by Joseph II, as well as the third, at the same time the last reoccupation of Belgrade (Nándorfehérvár) that took place in 1789. The aforementioned topic was neglected during the last decades from historic and literary historical aspects. Concerning the texts that follow the Neo-Latin literary traditions, you define them basic researches, since significant part of the Latin texts presented in the dissertation do not have recent editions, or the modern literature did not deal with them, or only superficially did it. The texts were found during researches that took place in the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Handschriften und alten Drucken* in Vienna, in the *National Széchényi Library* in Budapest, in the *Cathedral Library of Kalocsa*, in the *Karl-Franzens-Universität Universitätsbibliothek* in Graz, and in the *Steiermärkische Landesbibliothek* in Graz, that are connected with the wars against the Turks, led by Joseph II, Leopold I and Charles III (that can be considered antecedents to the topic of this thesis). Furthermore, we could obtain the manuscript of *Commentarius* written by György (Georgius) Pray, that are the historical sources of the author's brief epic entitled *Taurunum* in the *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv* in Vienna, and in the *National Archives of Hungary*.

The two main Latin works that treat the topic are in the centre of the thesis, namely the brief epic written by György Pray entitled *Taurunum* (1789) and seven elegies that make up the first book of the collection of elegies (1792) written by Joachim Hödl, who at that time lived in Vršac, a city located in the Banat region. Moreover, you can point out Mihály (Michael) Tertina's work entitled *Carmen epicum* (1790). There has already been written a monographic write-up dealing with the aforementioned work, or a recent edition of the work,

therefore we do not engage in it for long. Furthermore, we are interested in ten minor Latin works, and nine Hungarian ones. It is proved that a large number of texts exist, also they represent various genres. The dissertation focuses on the epic and lyric occasional poems. Although, we do not concentrate on a particular work or author, the aim of the thesis is to present a review that can facilitate further studies. Considering the length and the nature of the dissertation, we could not present detailed philological analysis of the texts. Beyond the review of the content and the structure, we concentrated on the following main points of the thesis.

First of all, we would demonstrate that apart from the fact that in the 18th century the number of Neo-Latin works dealing with historical topics increases significantly, in the given period the wars against the Turks, led by Joseph II, aroused public interest to some degree, so that one may consider the opportunities for further research related to the same topic. Since you are familiar with the historic and symbolic roles that are attributed to Belgrade in the course of the history of Hungary and Europe, as the Southern gate of the Christian Europe. From the 15th century onwards the successful defence and reoccupation of the fortress became the symbol of preservation of Christianity, however, its fall symbolizes the danger caused by the heathens threatening Vienna and Western Europe.

Furthermore, we believe that many of these works could be interesting for others as well who might not be literary historians, in many cases they contain relevant data for historians, so you can treat them as historical sources. We elencate several reasons in order to explain this assumption: features of the reflexive poetry, the situation of history teaching, historical, political and public knowledge of the authors, also the disciplines are not separated. The (post)modern literature and history are engaged in the correlation between the literary and historical texts.

Finally, you should take into consideration the historical approach of the works. In other words, you should examine the presence of a national approach or another one that presents people who are loyal to the dynasty. Existed a third approach as well, in which the previous two approaches are mixed in a way that the Habsburg rulers reign over Hungary as national kings, as a consequence of their acts done for our country, mainly the wars against the heathens in order to protect the Christianity, that recalls the golden age of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. We think that the effects of the Enlightenment do not play a relevant role in these works.

II. STRUCTURE AND BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE DISSERTATION

In **chapter one** of the dissertation, after a brief literary historical review, we provide the basis of the theoretical background of our topic, focusing on the question if the texts that are primarily literary works can be handled as (scientific) historical ones. The aforementioned proposition can be relevant and present not only from the point of view of Neo-Latin researches, but the (post)modern literature and history also deal with this question, specifically you can find it within the subject of microhistory. We suppose what the modern history seeks in connection with literary features of the historical texts and the relationship between literary texts and history, is present in the narratology and wording of Neo-Latin texts, also if commentary is added, that reinforces the narrativity provided by the historian. In addition, we deal with the *reflexive* and *self-reflexive poetry*, then we focus on the interpretation of the concept of *litterae* that existed in the 18th century.

Chapter two forms the historical context of the texts studied in **chapter three**. We do not wish to present the sieges, analyze them from military and strategic aspects, or publish military achievements. However, we think that the overview that forms about a quarter of the dissertation is required, also it is essential in order to recognize the importance of the siege of Belgrade and the presented texts. The last time the Hungarian literature dealt with the wars against the Turks, led by Joseph II in detail, mainly from a historical aspect, happened nearly 80 years ago, while in case of the Austrian literature it happened about 100 years ago. Although, in this chapter we summarize the history of Belgrade, especially its role during the wars against the Turks, referring to Hungarian and foreign studies published since that time. We focus on the events and data that are needed, so that one could understand the demonstrated texts.

Chapter II.1. discusses the history of Belgrade before the peace treaty (1739). We demonstrate the strategic relevance of the fortress in a few words, then we describe the victory of János Hunyadi (1456). However, we eliminate the detailed description of the siege, since that might be the part of the history of Belgrade that is interpreted frequently. Two sieges are in the centre of this subsection, namely the one happened in 1688 and the other happened in 1717, because these two are mentioned in the literature several times. Furthermore, you can find the brief biographies of the triumphant generals, leaders of the above sieges: Maximilian Emanuel II, Bavarian Prince-elector of the Holy Roman Empire and

Prince Eugene of Savoy. At the end of this subsection we present the peace treaty (1739), that leads to Belgrade getting under the authority of the Turks until the wars of Joseph II.

Chapter II.2. demonstrates the immediate antecedents of the siege took place in 1789, divided into three sections. **Chapter II.2.1.** describes the alliance of Joseph II forged with Catherine II. In our opinion, the explanation of varying diplomatic links and unions during the twenty years preceding the Ottoman war is necessary in order to be able to understand Joseph II's orientation towards Russia and the motives that led to the later Ottoman war. **Chapter II.2.2.** shows how József Alvinczy failed in his attempt to besiege the fortress that left its mark on the mood of the emperor and the further military expeditions. **Chapter II.2.3.** demonstrates the events happened in 1788 and 1789, as a consequence of which the emperor asks field-marshal Laudon to re-enter into service. After several victorious sieges of smaller castles Laudon becomes commander-in-chief. Also, we briefly present Laudon's biography and refer to the achievements of field-marshal Coburg and the Galician army corps, that are mentioned frequently in the texts.

Chapter II.3. introduces the topic of the siege of Belgrade, while in **chapter II.4.** we focus on three events, to which the authors refer frequently in the presented poems (depending on their exact date of origin). Namely, field-marshal Laudon's triumphal march in Pest, that celebrates the victory, the treaty of Reichenbach between Austria and Prussia, according to which emperor Leopold II agreed to restore the territories conquered during the Ottoman wars, also the peace treaty of Sistov, that leads to the end of that period when Belgrade was under the authority of the Habsburg Empire.

Chapter three forms the pith of the dissertation, regarding its length, this chapter makes more than half of the text. You can find a summary presented in a table added to the thesis as a supplement that may help you go through the texts demonstrated in this chapter. In **chapter III.1.** we present a brief selection of minor Hungarian or Neo-Latin works that reflect on the Ottoman war led by Joseph II. In **chapter III.1.1.** in addition to the well-known authors who have already versified in Hungarian (Mihály Csokonai Vitéz, Dávid Baróti Szabó, László Szentjóbi Szabó, Mihály Fazekas, Benedek Virág) we focus on a work of József Gvadányi that as far as we are concerned, does not have a modern edition. The above work occupies an intermediate position between the poems written in Hungarian and Latin about the same topic. **Chapter III.1.2.** presents a similar selection of several works that follow the Neo-Latin literary traditions (for example: Ince Simonchich, János Radlinger, János Hannulik, Michael Denis). However, in **chapter III.1.3.** we demonstrate *Carmen epicum* written by Mihály Tertina. Considering the aforementioned arguments we describe the work concisely, as a

subsection, although we call the reader's attention to its most significant features focusing on our propositions, also we examine several elements of the content that have not been highlighted yet, such as the relationship between the following two historical approaches: *indigenatus* and the combination of the national approach and the one that presents people loyal to the dynasty.

In **chapter III.2.** we examine the validity of our propositions in György Pray's brief epic entitled *Taurunum*. Although, the life and work of György Pray is relatively well-wrought, the several hundred words long manuscript of the *Commentarius* and the brief epic entitled *Taurunum* have not been published yet. In **chapter III.2.1.** we summarize the story of the origins and the circumstances of the secret imperial commission and the *Commentarius*, also we describe the structure of the above volumes, as they were the antecedents and the sources of the *Taurunum*. **Chapter III.2.2.** is about the structure and the form of the brief epic, the poetic techniques that follow the antique and Neo-Latin traditions, also the historical approach and the exploration of the events behind the poetic techniques. Furthermore, we highlight some (important) data in the text, also in the notes, the sources of which were the researches summarized in Pray's *Commentarius*.

Finally, in **chapter III.3.** we deal with Joachim Hödl's collection of elegies, also with the ones relevant from the point of view of the topic of our dissertation. Since the author and his collection of elegies is almost totally unknown for the literature, in **chapter III.3.1.** we attempt to outline the career of Hödl. So far, only the encyclopedia compiled by Backer and Sommervogel (also the encyclopedia, that adopts its data, compiled by József Szinnyei) presents some partly uncertain data and lists his works. Although, there are some periods about which we do not know much, in the last few years we managed to complete significantly Hödl's bibliography. On the one hand, the author provided some pieces of information (in the last elegy of the second book of the aforementioned collection of elegies, entitled *Epistola ultima*, or in the introduction of a later one in which he is delighted with the treaty of Campo Formio), on the other hand, the registers of the Jesuit College in Graz, also the catalogues of László LUKÁCS SJ. Recently, the digital encyclopedia compiled by László SZILAS SJ in 2016 provided some important, so far unknown data. In **chapter III.3.2.** I deal with the structure and the form of the collection of elegies, that show a peculiar form to us that appeared in the works of Ovid (more precisely, a form that appears as a characteristic feature in the works of Vergil and Ovid, typical of the first part of the 18th century). Considering the above issue more thoroughly, several questions arise regarding the composition of the volume, due to the placing of some elegies, or the apparent independence

of the third book. Regarding the topic of our dissertation, the seven elegies of the first book are relevant, with which we deal in **chapter III.3.3**. In case of the detailed interpretation of the poems, beyond the description of the content, we present how Hödl follows the traditions created by Ovid, also the antique ones, what kind of poetic techniques and figures of speech he uses that follow the Neo-Latin traditions, then we highlight some significant similarities and differences between the work of Hödl and the text written by Pray. Furthermore, we describe the author's historical approach, also the sequence of historical events that you can recognize behind the literary techniques appeared in the work. Also, we examine how he deals with the aforementioned events, also how he reacts to their effects.

III. THE RESULTS OF THE DISSERTATION

In our dissertation we deal with a quite large collection of texts that mostly consists of several works that form a so far unexplored part of the history of the following: the Hungarian and the Neo-Latin literature in Hungary, also the national language literature. The lifting of the above works into the literary history and indicating their position provide further significant data to become acquainted with and modulate this era in which the authors write their works in Latin or in their national languages. Based on our thesis, we agree on the fact that the proposition, which states that many of these works could be treated as historical sources, is verified. The aforementioned statement is valid mostly in case of longer text or added notes, however, several examples prove that there are some minor works that contain references to the historical past or the contemporary events. Thus, their importance cannot be neglected neither from historical aspect. Also, the examination and the description of the mix of the national historical approach and the other one that presents people who are loyal to the dynasty are added to the list of new results of the dissertation.

In our opinion it is important to highlight the goals reached in case of exploring the oeuvre of each author, in addition to the literary historical, historical and historico-cultural findings. György Pray's historian and Neo-Latin poetic oeuvre could arouse researchers' interest long time ago, however, a profound analytical examination of the works written in his late period presented in our dissertation has been delayed so far. We think that in the relevant chapter we managed to help the readers becoming acquainted with the extensive oeuvre of Pray, and facilitate further studies of these works. The oeuvre of Joachim Hödl and the author himself have been unknown parts of the Neo-Latin poetry in Hungary. Another result of the

dissertation is that we were able to reconstruct the career of the author satisfactorily, and that we present his collection of elegies related to Belgrade and his elegies connected with the siege of the fortress happened in 1789. In addition to the aforementioned two main works, we also deal with the oeuvre of Mihály Tertina or József Gvadányi.

Since, we think that from various aspects our dissertation consists of several basic researches, it provides many possibilities and directions for future studies. Our work could become the starting-point of an international research project, that deals with not only the presence of the topic in case of works published in Latin and Hungarian about Joseph II's wars against the Turks, but also related works published in other national languages, analyzing other genres as well (such as leaflets). Our dissertation could also serve as a basis of collecting and analyzing occasional poems related to other historical events, such as the previous recapturing wars against the Turks, the Napoleonic Wars, the return of the Holy Crown in 1790, or the insurrection of the nobility. The modern critical edition of the manuscript of György Pray's *Commentarius* and the brief epic entitled *Taurunum*, and the systematic exploration of the connection between them, would also be essential (Pray's other brief epic can be added as well). If in the present paper we had concentrated only on György Pray, the work would still have exceeded the limits of the dissertation. However, we intend to continue the research. Finally, for further researches one may consider studying the oeuvre of Joachim Hödl (the whole collection of elegies and other occasional poems – for instance about the Napoleonic Wars).

IV. PUBLICATIONS, LECTURES RELATED TO THE TOPIC

Studies:

1. *A hős Laudon tábornagy és Belgrád 1789-es visszafoglalásának emlékezete Hödl Joachim latin disztichonjaiban* = TÓTH Sándor Attila, TÓTH Sándor Máté, „Hirdetjük: kivirult az ősz latin nyelv!“. *Tanulmányok a neolatin irodalmi hagyományt követő néhány 18. századi szerzőről*, Gradus ad Parnassum, Szeged, 2010, 153–172.
2. *Diadal a kudarcban: Belgrád vára és Laudon tábornagy II. József török háborújának forgatagában, valamint a Hadi és Más Nevezetes Történetek néhány tudósításában* = *Kutatások az Eötvös József Főiskolán 2010*, Eötvös József Főiskolai Kiadó, Baja, 2010, 165–184.

3. „*Primaefacutaleapugnaeventatfaustatibifamaeventurarelinquebella gerenda tuae*”. (*Hősök és csaták a neolatin jezsuita költészetben – Adalékok a jezsuita Ubertino Carrara az 1697-es zentai csatát megörökítő művéhez*) = *HistoriaEcclesiastica*, szerk.: Martin JAVOR, Prešov, 2013/2, 47–68.
4. „*Quissim, quisfuerim, paucis Te Musadocebit*”. Hödl Joachim a misszionárius, plébános és neolatin versköltő – *Fejezetek egy 18. századi jezsuita életéből* = *Ünnepi kötet Dr. Molnár Imre egyetemi tanár 80. születésnapjára*, szerk.: JAKAB Éva, POZSONYI Norbert, SZTE ÁJTK, Szeged, 2014, 457–471.
5. *Uralkodók, hadvezérek, csaták. Történelmi témák a 18. századi magyarországi neolatin költészetben* = *Humanista történetírás és neolatin irodalom a 15–18. századi Magyarországon*, szerk.: BÉKÉS Enikő, KASZA Péter, LENGYEL Réka, MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Irodalomtudományi Intézet, Bp., 2015, 187–194.
6. *Irodalmi köntösbe rejtett történelem(?) Pray György Taurunum című kiseposzának szövegszintjei* = *Scientiarummiscellanea. Latin nyelvű tudományos irodalom Magyarországon a 15–18. században*, szerk.: KASZA Péter, KISS Farkas Gábor, MOLNÁR Dávid, Lazi Könyvkiadó, Szeged, 2017, 159–166.

Text edition:

TERTINA Mihály, *Latin nyelvű költeményei*, közléteszi: TÓTH Sándor Attila, TÓTH Sándor Máté, Gradus ad Parnassum Könyvkiadó, Szeged, 2011. (B/5 196 p.)

International and national conferences:

1. *Lateinische Staatssprache – ungarische Nationalsprache: Zeitschriftenauf Lateinum die Jahrhundertwende des 18–19. Jahrhundertsfür die Sache der ungarischenSprache*. „Latin, National Identity and the Language Question in Central Europe”. Ludwig Boltzmann Institut, Innsbruck, 13–15 December 2012.

2. *Laudon tábornagy és Belgrád visszafoglalásának emlékezete Hödl Joachim latin disztichonjaiban.* Magyarországi Neolatin Egyesület, Budapest, 17–18 December 2012.
3. *Uralkodók, hadvezérek, csaták – Történelmi témák a 18. századi neolatin költészetben.* „Humanista történetírás a XV–XVII. században – a XVIII. század magyarországi latin nyelvű irodalma (I. Neolatin konferencia)”, Szeged, 7–9 November 2013.
4. *Laus Laudonis –Einin Vergessenheitgeratenerneulateinischer Dichter: Hödl Joachim, der Belgrad und den Feldmarschall Laudonbesang.* XVIth International Congress of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies (IANLS) „Contextus Neolatini. Neo-Latin in Local, Trans-Regional and Worldwide Contexts”, Vienna, 2–7 August 2015.
5. *Irodalmi köntösbe rejtett történelem(?) – Pray György Taurunum című kiseposzának szövegszintjei.* „Latin nyelvű tudományos irodalom Magyarországon a 15–18. században (II. Neolatin Konferencia)”, Szeged, 5–7 November 2015.