Ágnes Drosztmér

PRESENTATION OF THE SELF IN DIFFERENT GENRES: THE *SONG BOOK* OF FERENC WATHAY

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University
Budapest
May 2007

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Ágnes Drosztmér

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

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Chair, Examination Committee

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I, the undersigned, **Your Name**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 25 May 2007

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Signature

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ELTE BTK: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar (Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities

ItK: *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* (Review of Literary History), Budapest, 1891-.

PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association

RMKT: *Régi Magyar Költők Tára XVII. század 1-16.* (Thesaurus of old Hungarian poetry, seventeenth century 1-16.). Ed. Klaniczay, Tibor and Béla Stoll. Budapest, 1959-2000.

INTRODUCTION

A2mel Toromban mind a2 űdőtűll foguan it Tartatuan, uagiok kiben eɜekett, teőb buſlakodo banatim kőɜőtt irtam, Emlekeɜetertt eſűdő teleſertt, ha Iſten altal kőrőɜtienſegben ki mehetne, melibűll aɜkÿ Olvaſſa, megh ertheti a2 En Iſtenőmnek, aɜ 1600 Eɜtendőtűll foguan ualo erőſ Czapaſitt eſ probaitt raitam, kett ɜerelmeſ Tarſomnak hamar hamar egi maſ utan elueteleuel, ſmagamat ketɜőrualo Rabſagban adaſſall, Eſ a2 utolſoɜor, ɜőrniő ſɜerentɜettlenſegim miatt 4ɜőr ualo ɜabadúlaſomban Vÿoban meg fogataſimal egietemben.[1]

These lines were written by Ferenc Wathay, a Hungarian soldier who fell into Ottoman captivity during the siege of Székesfehérvár in 1602. During his imprisonment he became a poet, and produced a volume of songs with illustrations and an autobiography.

The *Song Book* of Wathay is an extraordinarily valuable source of early modern Hungarian literature, as it is the second earliest poetical composition of poems from one author – after the lost volume of Bálint Balassi –, and it contains the first extended autobiography written in Hungarian.

In this study, I intend to uncover how this soldier-poet reflected on and presented his self in captivity. I will try to answer these questions: why and how did he become a poet in prison? How did he reflect on this process? How are the events of his own life presented and reflected on in his autobiography? How does the unity of the volume reflect this process?

To answer these questions concerning self-reflection and the shaping of the self, the framework created by the school of new historicism, in particular the work of Stephen

1 "I am kept in captivity in this tower, where I wrote all this – during my sorrowful miseries – for remembrance and to pass time, if it could go out to good Christians, those who read may understand the trials and acts of God on me from the year 1600, the loss of my two beloved spouses one after the other, my falling into captivity twice, and finally, my four escapes and recaptures." 131b.

Greenblatt on the Renaissance self[2] offers a theoretical and methodological grounding. Social and personal relations played a significant role in the fashioning of self and the way a person thought about and presented his/her personality and roles in the society in the early modernity. Wathay presented and reflected his self in the role of a believer; a soldier; a husband; a captive; and the role of the poet were most important. He also presented, explicitly or implicitly, those ideals who played a role in the shaping of his self. His "tools" of self-fashioning were the poems, the patterns of autobiography-writing and the personally depicted images. In the end, the *Song Book* became the manifestation of this process, the result and memento of his self-fashioning.

In order to uncover the process of Ferenc Wathay's self-fashioning in the *Song Book*, I will first introduce the cultural context of the turn of the sixteenth century and give an overview of the possible traditions of the era. Thereafter, I will compare the overlapping elements of the poems, the autobiography and the images. I will also analyze the personal elements of the volume, the *loci* where the speaking self introduces himself in the above roles. Finally, to give a complex picture of the role of the self as a writer, I will introduce his relationship with his supposed audience.[3]

During my work, I used the online critical edition of the works of Ferenc Wathay.[4] This edition contains the transliteration and the facsimile of the pages of the *Song Book*, as well as the illustrations. Quotations are presented in transliterated form. I mark the location of the quotations in the manuscript, using **a** to mark the *recto*, **b** to mark the *verso* of the page.

2 Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

3 I intend to use the images he created for my presentation, but just in a limited manner: an in-depth analysis of both the textual and visual materials is another, future task to fulfill.

4 http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/wathay, last accessed: 23/05/07.

As there is no existing English translation of the poems, I will give the English meaning of the texts in my own translation. The translations are not of literary quality, but rough translations, providing the main essential sense and meaning for the understanding of this special literary text.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOURCE AND ITS AUTHOR

1. 1. The life of Ferenc Wathay

The life of the writer of the *Song Book* was not very different from a soldier of his rank in sixteenth-century Hungary. Aside of the correspondence and testament that remained after him, scholarship has of a valuable source on his life, his autobiography, which is the most accurate source on the life of Ferenc Wathay. However, as this genre raises several questions with regard to reliability, it is necessary to briefly introduce the life of the author of the *Song Book* as known from independent sources such as his correspondence. He was born into a Lutheran family in Nagyvág[5] in 1568. After finishing his schools in Németújvár and Sopron, he started his career as a soldier in Tihany. Later he served as a soldier in Csesznek, Győr, Magyaróvár – here he was already the lieutenant of a cavalry division of twenty-five people in 1595. From 1597 he was transferred to Sárvár to be the lieutenant of fifty horsemen. Later he served in other Transdanubian castles in the war against the Ottoman army. He married in 1600 (to Anna Ládony), but was widowed the same year. In 1601 he was again in Győr – if only in name, since as can be gleaned from his correspondence, he was away due to his second marriage (to Zsuzsanna Vághy).[6]

In April 1602 he was commissioned as the captain of 450 soldiers in

5 I introduce the biography of Ferenc Wathay according to *Veszprém a török korban: felolvasóülés Veszprém török kori emlékeiről* (Veszprém in the Turkish times: a conference on the monuments of Veszprém from the times of the Ottoman rule). ed. Péter Tóth G. Veszprém: Veszprém Megyei Múzeumi Igazgatóság, 1998, 169-173., (Hereafter: *Veszprém a török korban*.) and the epilogue of *Wathay Ferenc énekeskönyve* (The *Song Book* of Ferenc Wathay). Nagy, Lajos and György Belia, eds. Budapest: Helikon, 1976. In the autobiography, Wathay writes about his own birth: "Adott Engemiſ, aʒon ßentt Iſtenőm, aʒ en Sʒűleÿmnek eʒ Wilagra, a2on Nagi Waaghon, eſ Wÿ haʒban aʒ Raba felőll ualo Sʒobaban" ("My God gave me to my parents to this world in Nagyvág, in the room from the river Rába of the new house") 111a. See also Fig. 2.

6 *Veszprém a török korban*, 171.

Székesfehérvár. He was wounded and fell into captivity after the surrender of the castle in 1602.[7] He was first taken to Buda, then Nándorfehérvár and finally to the Galata tower of Istanbul in 1604. He tried to runaway from captivity four times, but all his attempts failed.

He wrote his autobiography in 1605, but recounted the events of his life only until 1603. He dealt the events of the present in the poems of the *Song Book*, giving information about the significant events in the colophons or postscripts of the poems.[8]

As Ferenc Wathay was a valuable prisoner, he had to wait until his family collected the ransom for him. The exact amount that was demanded is not known, but it certainly caused difficulties for the family. Wathay was taken to Buda on 1605, where the Ottomans demanded the bey of Szekszárd in exchange. Finally he was released in Nándorfehérvár in 1606. After his release he served in Győr again, and in 1609 he became the captain of the castle of Csesznek. In the October of the same year, a successor was commissioned for the same position. The subsequent fate of Wathay is unknown.

1. 2. The history of the source and the most important secondary literature

The poems of the *Song Book* were written between 1603 and 1606, as the colophons of the poems themselves state. A number of the poems also clearly indicate that Wathay compiled the work into a single volume (the *Song Book*) after 1604. The volume contains twenty-eight poems, a preface, an autobiography, a short description of the sultan's army (each department of soldiers enumerated) and a list of towns on the way from

7 More exactly, on the 29th of August – which was traditionally considered a fortunate day among the Ottomans since the battle of Mohács in 1526.

8 See for instance the postscript of poem XXIV: "FINIS IN TURRI MARIS DE NIGRI ANNO 1605 IN MENSE JANUARII PER COMPONENTEM." 97a.

Nándorfehérvár to Istanbul. The volume also contains illustrations made by Wathay.

In this volume Wathay does not mention a previous book[9] containing drafts, therefore one can assume that he had started to compose the songs before putting them down on paper sometime after 1604 in Istanbul (perhaps he was not able to get hold of paper and ink during his journey to the capital of the empire).[10] When Wathay was released from captivity in 1606, he presumably took the book with him, because after his death, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the volume was the property of his relatives.[11] These centuries were adventuresome for the volume; according to a note in the manuscript, it was stolen[12] and later, when it was returned to the relatives, the book was re-bound in Kőszeg in 1706.[13]

The *Song Book* was found in 1835[14] by József Ponori Thewrewk, writer and collector of antique items, in the archives of the Guáry[15] family. This find was a great sensation in the era because it helped clear Hungarian literature of the charge of being unsophisticated and naive. Ponori Thewrewk planned to publish the poems and the autobiography. He even ordered a copy of sixteen images[16] of the *Song Book* from a

9 Csilla Tóth, "A Wathay-énekeskönyv. Kísérőtanulmány az online Wathay-kiadáshoz" (The *Song Book* of Wathay: Study to the online edition of the works of Wathay) (Budapest, 1999, http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/gepesk/wathay/utoszo.htm, last accessed: 24/05/07.) (Hereafter: Tóth, "A Wathay-énekeskönyv)

10 Ibid.

11 Sándor Iván Kovács, "Dunán inneni íróarcok" (Writers from the same side of the Danube), *Vasi Szemle* 56, No. 5 (2002): 552. (Hereafter: Kovács, "Dunán inneni íróarcok.")

12 The note says that it was stolen by Pál Kisfaludy, writes Sándor Iván Kovács, "Dunán inneni íróarcok," Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 The Guárys were a *literatus* family, patrons of art and literature: for example, Miklós Guáry gave the famous Guáry codex to the Library of Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Ibid.: 553. It is still unknown how the *Song Book* became the property of the family. They probably acquired it from Vág (Sopron county), the birthplace of Wathay, which was a property of the Guáry and Dőry families.

16 The way the images that were reproduced were chosen from the *Book* (which contains many more than were copied) shows the general tastes of the period; Ponori Thewrewk selected mostly genre scenes and

lithographer in Vienna as a step for preparing the publication. This order of copies by Ponori Thewrewk led to another remarkable turn in the fate of the volume, as the lithographer who made a copy of the pictures of the volume also made a portrait of the poet that was very similar to the original, but modified according to the tastes of the time, in a sense a forgery (see Fig. 15. and 16.).[17]

Finally, Ponori Thewrewk failed in his attempt to publish the manuscript for personal reasons.[18] A few years later, in 1842, Károly Guáry, a member of the noble family that had possessed the volume, gave it to the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as a gift.[19]

A full critical edition of the *Song Book* was published only in 1959 the series RMKT (Régi magyar költők tára – Thesaurus of old Hungarian poets).[20] In 1976, a facsimile edition was published by Lajos Nagy in two volumes. One of them is the facsimile of the codex, the second contains the reading of Lajos Nagy and notes. This

landscapes. The most dominant genre among the images of the *Song Book*, the emblematic painting, cannot be found in this group of images, probably because this genre was not popular at the time, Zsuzsa Schwenner, "Kísérlet a Wathay Ferenc festményeiről készült kőnyomatok reformkori kiadására és egy hamisított Wathay-portré" (An attempt to publish Ferenc Wathay's paintings in the nineteenth century and a forged portrait of Wathay), *Irodalomismeret* 11, No.1 (2000): 80-83.

17 Two self-portraits can be found in the *Song Book*, one them can clearly be identified as the source of the "forged" nineteenth century image. Both pictures portray Wathay in his cell in prison. On the original picture (Fig. 15.) Wathay is depicted as crying bitterly, leaning on a wooden parapet on the wall with irons around his ankles. However, in the other picture (Fig. 16.) the same parapet is located lower on the wall, and Wathay is sitting on it. In the latter image pots can be seen around him, and he is in more of a contemplative than desperate posture; he is not crying, but holds one of his hands to his head and is seemingly lost in thought. Overall, on the later image he is depicted in an idealized way. Illustrating him this way better fit the myth, legend, and idealized history-creating attitude of the nineteenth century, as well as the tastes of Romanticism. Ibid.

18 He fell out with Miklós Jankovich, his partner in the editing work. Kovács, "Dunán inneni íróarcok:" 552.

19 The *Song Book* (classification number: K 62) is today in the manuscript archive of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The manuscript had an adventurous fate there as well; after the siege of Budapest in the Second World War, it was in poor condition.

20 *RMKT XVII. század. 1. kötet* (RMKT seventeenth century, Vol. 1. Gyula Bisztray, Tibor Klaniczay, Lajos Nagy, and Béla Stoll, ed. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1959. 141-245; 538-573.

edition contains several mistakes compared to the RMKT critical edition.[21] Finally, an online critical edition has recently been published in the Online Critical Edition series of the Department of Early Hungarian Literature at ELTE.

Although the online critical edition of the *Song Book* has been published recently, the secondary literature of the *Song Book* is not so extended. The most extended works are the prefaces or epilogues published together with the text editions.[22] These studies give a short biography of Ferenc Wathay, a philological description and the history of the volume of the *Song Book*. Pál Ács has published an essential study[23] that discusses the questions of the traditions and the features of the poetry of Wathay, analyzing one of his poems (Áldott fülemüle... XI.). Regarding the relationship of text and image, the article of Borbála Gulyás on the emblematic traditions of Wathay is a recent and valuable piece of work. However, there is still no monograph written about Ferenc Wathay.

21 The mistakes are listed in Tóth, "A Wathay-énekeskönyv."

22 The introduction of *Wathay Ferenc énekeskönyve* (The *Song Book* of Ferenc Wathay). Nagy, Lajos and György Belia, eds. Budapest: Helikon, 1976. and Tóth, "A Wathay-énekeskönyv."

23 Ács, Pál. "Wathay Ferenc: Áldott filemile. Allegória és invenció" (Ferenc Wathay's *The Blessed Nightingale*: Allegory and invention), *ItK* 83 (1979): 173–186., also in *Az idő ósága* (Budapest: Osiris, 2001.).

CHAPTER TWO

OUTSIDE THE *SONG BOOK* – THE CONTEXT

In this chapter I attempt to remain "outside" the *Song Book* and to study the circumstances in which it was created. Here I am interested primarily in the biography that the *Song Book* itself introduces. I will make an attempt to sketch the educational background of Wathay and to assess the level of his literary knowledge. Thus, it will be necessary to give a short introduction to the literature of the era in Hungary. I will discuss briefly the traditions of early Hungarian poetry, the regularities of song poetry, and the transition from oral to written culture. After that, I will briefly enumerate the possible antecedents of Wathay's autobiography in prose and discuss the circumstances of Hungarian captives under the rule of the Ottomans, as well as the traditions of prison writing in general. At the end of the chapter, to complete my external picture of the *Song Book*, it is necessary to discuss in brief the iconographic traditions of the era that might have been influential before moving into a detailed analysis of the structure of the *Song Book* and Wathay's self-fashioning.

2. 1. Wathay's education

According to Lajos Nagy,[24] Ferenc Wathay went to school in Németújvár (1578-1580) and in Sopron (1580-1582). When one tries to reconstruct the curriculum in these particular schools, one might refer to the curriculum of the nearby Protestant provincial

24 The study in *Wathay Ferenc énekeskönyve* (The *Song Book* of Ferenc Wathay), Lajos Nagy and György Belia, ed. (Budapest: Helikon, 1976), 141. (Hereafter: *Wathay Ferenc énekeskönyve*)

school in Vienna,[25] the curriculum of which remained. In the lower classes students studied the grammaticas of Donatus and Melanchton;[26] the texts of Erasmus,[27] Cicero,[28] and Cato.[29] They also learned arithmetic, Latin, and practiced debating. In the two higher classes students continued with the same authors on a more advanced level and also studied Greek, arithmetic, and the *Georgica* of Virgil. This curriculum more or less coincides with the one of Hungarian Protestant town schools.[30] In town shools the education was based on Latin grammar and in higher classes the reading of classical authors.[31] Regarding the curriculum of the schools of Wathay, it is known that the educational theory of the school of Sopron was also based on the ideas of Luther and Melanchton.[32]

Wathay himself complains in his autobiography[33] that after the death of his father and brothers his mother could not afford his education any longer so he had to finish his official schooling prematurely. In 1584 he was already serving as a soldier in Tihany. From that time on he served exclusively as a military man in the Transdanubian region.

25 Lajos Gecsényi, "Magyar diákok a bécsi tartományi iskolában a 16.sz. második felében" (Hungarian students in a Vienna provincial school in the second half of the sixteenth century), *Történelmi Szemle* 34, No. 1-2 (1992): 95-106.

26 Ibid., 97.

27 Ibid., 97: De civilitate morum; Epitomen colloquiorum

28 Ibid., 97: *Epistolae*

29 Ibid., 97: *Distichon*

30 Ibid., 98.; Mészáros, István, *XVI. századi városi iskoláink és a* "*studia humanitatis*" (Town schools in the sixteenth century and the "studia humanitatis") (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981.)

31 Ibid., 137.

32 *A soproni líceum* (The school of Sopron), ed. Sándor Győrffy and Zoltán Hunyadi (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó. 1986.) The referred work of Luther is *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation* (1520); of Melanchton *De corrigendis adolescentiae studiis* (1518), *In laudem novae scholae* (1526).

33 "Eſ lattuan mar minden fiaÿtul ȝegin megh foȝtattattnak lenni, egiedűll en c2iak maraduan, mint Ania el ieduen ȝegin hogi eniſ megh halok, ha thűle thauoll léȝek, ugian a2on Eȝtendeőben, uitetett ki ȝegin aȝ Oſkolabúll eſ tanúlſagbúl, elég tudattlanſagban, nekem elege nagi Karomra, (...)." "And when she found herself deprived of all her sons, only me remaining for her, my mother was afraid that I also will die, if I will be far from her, so in the same year she took me from school and education for my great loss (...)." 112b.

From 1602 he was the vice-captain of Székesfehérvár, where he fell into captivity in the same year following the siege of the castle.

Wathay's later correspondence also gives few clues – mostly letters concerned with practical matters have remained, in which he writes about his salary, reports on military issues, and so on. However, the *Song Book* bears evidence of elements of his general knowledge: for instance, evidence that he did not know about the discovery of the Americas is given by poem: "Thÿ kik Europanak, Vilagharmadanak, cziak nem kőſ2epin uattok"[34](IX/13).

Ferenc Wathay became familiar with the culture of the time, if not in school, than through the widespread popular culture which flourished in towns and castles. These regional centers fulfilled strategic functions not only in military movements, but also as places of culture, as the institutional basis of culture – courts, academia, universities – that existed in Western Europe were not present in Hungary.[35] Alternative locations for the spread of culture were noble courts, as for instance the court of Tamás Nádasdy or Boldizsár Batthyány, or the duke of Transylvania, but these were of primarily local importance.[36]

2. 2. Literary traditions

To describe the literary context of sixteenth-century Hungary and the possible patterns that Wathay followed in his poetry, the traditions of early Hungarian song poetry should be discussed briefly. The traditional song of Hungarian poetry, to use the expression of

[34] "You, who are in the middle of Europe, the third of the world."

35 Klaniczay Tibor, "Értelmiség egyetem nélküli országban" (Intellectuals in a country without university), in *Pallas magyar ivadékai* (The Hungarian descendants of Pallas), 77-85. (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1985.)

36 Ibid.

Iván Horváth, was iso-metric and iso-rhymic.[37] The rhyming formula of the stanzas was often built on repetitive self-rhymes. Traditionally, the conventions of early Hungarian song poetry were used in both epic and lyrical contexts, as lyrical and epic genres had not yet diverged in their forms and contents.[38] Therefore, this metrical pattern was used for several genres: historical, religious, erotic, moralizing, wedding, and biblical songs were all written according to this model. The works had an open structure; the length of a song was not limited.[39]

Among the poems of the *Song Book* one can find various genres: religious songs, historical songs, plaintive poems, and emblematic poems. They follow the traditions of Hungarian song poetry or imitate the forms of the poems of Bálint Balassi,[40] probably the only volume that Wathay knew in detail. Wathay used these patterns of versification in most of his poems, together with a model that was newly emerging metrical in Hungarian literature: the Balassi stanza.[41] Overall, the Balassi stanza dovetails nicely with the iso-

37 A stanza of a song consisted of four lines, each ending with the same rhyme (aaaa), and each line consisted of the same amount of syllables (e.g. 12|12|12|12), usually with a division in the middle of the line that divided two (e.g. 6|6) shorter metrical units. Iván Horváth, *Balassi költészete történeti poétikai megközelítésben* (The poetry of Balassi in a historical poetical approach) (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1982), 195. and Iván Horváth, *A vers* (The poem) (Budapest: Gondolat, 1991.), 152. (Hereafter: Horváth, A vers)

38 *A magyar irodalom története* (The history of Hungarian literature), A magyar irodalom története Vol. 1, Ed. Tibor Klaniczay (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1964), 342. (Hereafter: T. Klaniczay, ed., *A magyar irodalom története.*)

39 Hereafter: Horváth, *A vers*, 152.

40 Bálint Balassi is the first classical poet of Hungarian literature. His amorous, religious, and patriotic poems remain in a poetically composed volume (in a copy bearing the name *Balassi Bálint verseinek fragmentumi* The fragments of the poems of Bálint Balassi)are organized according to a principle of a lyric autobiography; the composition tells a fictive love story. He also wrote a drama (*Szép magyar comoedia*) (Beautiful Hungarian Comedy), which, together with the poems, was circulated in manuscript form. His works were already extremely popular during his life; they spread and exerted influence in both high and popular literature for centuries (http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/sulinet/igyjo/setup/portrek/balassi/bbpalya.htm; last accessed 08/12/98).

41 The Balassi stanza consists of three major lines, each divided into three parts by inner rhymes in the lines. Altogether, the stanza consists of three times three, i.e., nine short lines. The number of syllables is 6-6-7 and the rhyming formula is aab-ccb-ddb. An example of the stanza:

metric and iso-rhymic nature of traditional song poetry.

Aside from the iso-rule (the basic principle of rhymes and metrics is the repetition of similar elements), old Hungarian poem has three other characteristic regularities.[42] The "rule of forgetting" declares that the rhymes of a stanza be forgotten and not necessarily repeated with the beginning of a new stanza. This means that a similarity in the rhymes of two stanzas does not imply a closer relationship. The next rule is that if a stanza starts with two iso-rhymes ("aa"), then the other elements will also be similar ("aaaa"). The last, "+1-rule," states that a +1 element in a given structure indicates closure of the metrically open structure. This principle works on every level of the poem; an additional line signifies the closing of the stanza or the poem ans does an additional syllable in a line.

Wathay's poems bear all the features of old Hungarian song poetry. Fourteen of his twenty-eight poems apply the "+1-rule,"[43] but he seems to use its variations as well;

Vitézek, mi lehet	Soldiers, what finer worth
ez széles föld felett	is there upon this earth
szebb dolog az végeknél?	than the borderlands can show?
Holott kikeletkor	Where in the time of Spring
az sok szép madár szól	beautiful birds all sing
kivel ember ugyan él;	setting our hearts all aglow-
Mező jó illatot,	the fields have a fresh smell
az ég szép harmatot	where dew from heaven fell,
ád, ki kedves mindennél	delighting us through and through.

(Source: homepage of the Tertia Publihers, http://www.tertia.hu/h/bbbioa.html, last accessed 23/08/04)

This construction is often considered to have a closed structure, but as Iván Horváth has shown (Horváth, *A vers*, 170.), it exhibits the same features as the traditional song and it readily can be expanded. It can be divided into isorhymic major lines, to which further elements, short lines can be added. Therefore the Balassi-stanza can be regarded as quasi-isorhymic. This means that the Balassi stanza is not a hierarchical construction; instead, the interrelation of rhymes is determined by the horizontal organization of similar units. It is obvious that this method of composition is modeled on traditional Hungarian song-poetry. It shares the characteristics of unlimited length and has looser metrical forms; in contrast to the Western European lyrical tradition, songs are not organized according to a hierarchical verse structure, but follow a more content-based composition.

42 Tóth, "A Wathay-énekeskönyv."

43 E.g., songs No. I, II, III, VII, IX. Ibid.

in a few poems he uses -1 or +2 syllables in the closing line.[44] He makes even more "mistakes" when he applies the Balassi stanza. The author of the most recent study of the influence of Balassi on Wathay, Csilla Tóth,[45] argues that these mistakes are a consequence of his incomplete understanding of the working mechanism of the Balassi stanza. She gives a detailed metrical description of the songs, presenting the patterns of rhyming and metrics of the poems, and also gives a list of the mistakes in the versification. She comes to the conclusion that Wathay made mistakes almost only in the Balassi stanzas.[46] In my view, this instability of metrical patterns exemplifies the inherent plasticity of a living poetic tradition.

The songs of early Hungarian poetry reached their audience primarily through oral recitations. Thus, poems in almost every case indicate the starting line or the name of a commonly known song, to the melody to sing to. Wathay also used popular songs as indications, for example, poems of Bálint Balassi and Sebestyén Lantos Tinódi, which is evidence of the widespread cultivation of these authors.

The turn of the sixteenth century is extraordinary in cultural history as this was the time when the spread of the printed book led to a great change in the oral and written traditions of literature. Although Wathay's *Song Book* was not published in print until the twentieth century, it was strongly influenced by the major changes that occurred in the

44 Songs No. X, XXI and XXV. Ibid.

45 Tóth, "A Wathay-énekeskönyv."

46 On the basis of the statistics that she made, Csilla Tóth states that every second Balassi stanza of Wathay is erroneous. As these mistakes occur mainly in the inner rhyming of the long lines of the stanza, Tóth explains this inaccuracy by the unprofessional poetic practice of Wathay. However, other scholars such as Csaba Szigeti, *A hímfarkas bőre. A radikális archaizmus a mai magyar költészetben* (The skin of the male wolf. Radical archaism in present day Hungarian poetry) (Pécs: Jelenkor, 1993) interpret the inaccuracy of the poems as the popularization of the Balassi stanza.

literary theories that shaped Hungarian literature.

Traditional Hungarian song poetry went through two major changes in the sixteenth century.[47] One of them was the revival of oral communal techniques.[48] By this time the practitioners of the reemerging oral tradition were literate, and as a consequence these oral techniques were of written origin; the greatest impetus to the circulation of oral literary works was the advent of book printing. The main medium of literature was still oral, however, and as the majority of the audience were illiterate, they therefore still preferred oral genres and the significance of the oral techniques did not change. Thus, in an odd manner, the invention of a written technique facilitated the spread of oral genres.

The other revolution of the period was precisely the opposite of the revival of the oral communal techniques; the adherents of this new movement rejected the use of self- and suffix rhymes (i.e., an isorhymic structure). This change occurred based on the difference in the aesthetics of audible and visible texts.[49] The success of the textual poem over literature can be seen in the oral form. Instead of the audible manifestation of literature the visual form of poems come to the fore. Thus, the most important effect of these transitions was the appearance of the written poem, which indicated further changes in the forms of poems.[50] In Wathay's poetry the presence of the first change is more

47 Ibid.

48 After the battle of Mohács there was a revival of oral communication techniques. Previously these techniques had started to fade away, as isometric and isorhymic traditions were considered to be archaic. They were not present in high culture, but mainly connected to the popular registers of literature. Ibid.

49 There is a considerable difference between auditory and visual literary reception. Oral-song poetry is intimately tied to the aesthetics of auditory reception; its rhythm builds on a high degree of parallelism and repetition which strikes the reader as unintelligible and comic when appearing in written texts. Ibid.

50 The appearance of poems in textual written form generated the need for new poetic forms. Hierarchical, more closed and strictly structured genres gained a progressively larger role in Hungarian poetry; it is not an accident that the first antique, classical forms appeared during this period (the first distychon in Hungarian was written by János Sylvester in 1541). At the same time, the traditional, oral forms started to fade away, or rather to transform into other forms: for example, they remained in

apparent. However, Sándor Iván Kovács argues[51] that he used the archaic techniques intentionally. Kovács states that it is evident that he was aware of the archaic nature of this tradition, and knew the old and the new systems.

At this point of the discussion the question arises whether Wathay intended his songs to be read aloud or not. The evidence for reading aloud would be the presence of song indications before every poem, but by the sixteenth century this indication had became a conventional practice and does not necessarily mean the poem was intended to be read aloud. I would argue that if indeed the composition of the book is based on the unity of the poems, autobiography, and the images, as I assume, then the poems were meant to be read individually, not in public.

The traditions of Protestant song poetry certainly influenced Wathay's attitude and poetic practice. This tradition was based on the general rules of song poetry, but at the same time it tried to find a voice that was appropriate for its special aims: to reach, convince, and teach the audience.[52] Thus, besides the Hungarian tradition, the authors improved the genre of clerk songwriters, the propagandistic song. Several genres appeared from the propagandistic song that are not easy to characterize or define precisely, as they vary according to the particular function of the song. These genres can, however, be divided into two major groups: sermon songs and epic religious-historical songs. The genre of biblical songs, which recalled biblical stories and often related the events of the Bible to the present, belongs to this latter group. These songs are also

certain types of folk poetry. One should not forget that the total disappearance of these genres never took place, only the primary techniques changed. Especially at the turn of the sixteenth century and later, there was a coexistence of oral and written characteristics.

51 Kovács, "Dunán inneni íróarcok:" 557.

52 Ibid., 343.

related to the Bible in their styles and they helped the development of the "biblical" style of the Hungarian language as well.[53] To understand the historiographic attitude of these authors one has to keep in mind that the Bible was the basis of historiography and perception of history for the Reformation. Its events were regarded as history, and they were considered to be true for the past, present, and future. This was the reason that it became the basis for the prophetic approach of Protestantism.[54]

Wathay differed from the traditions of Protestant song writing in that he was not a preacher, nor a fighter for Protestantism. He did not use the elements of the tradition to convince the audience about the principles of the Reformation. He was not a prophet of religion, but used an existing tradition, e.g., drawing parallel between the histories of the Jewish and Hungarian nations,[55] which was a basic method of Protestant song-poetry. The existence of Wathay's songs makes it evident that the tradition of Protestant song-poetry had not disappeared from Hungarian literature.

2. 3. Traditions of writing life stories

Although there were several attempts in early Hungarian literature that can be regarded as attempts at writing a life, Wathay's work is the first that may be regarded as a genuine

53 The complete translation of the Bible (by Gáspár Károli) appeared in Hungarian in 1590 , a few decades later than the heyday of these songs.

54 The first biblical historical song was written by András Farkas. The most flourishing period of these songs were the 1540s and 1550s. After this, the number of songs written began a slow decline, but they did not disappear, as the existing pieces were spread in print and active writers were also connected to this tradition. For further literature see János Horváth, *A reformáció jegyében: a Mohács utáni félszázad magyar irodalomtörténete* (In the spirit of Reformation. History of Hungarian literature in the half-century after Mohács) (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1953), and T. Klaniczay, ed., *A magyar irodalom története*). See also Burke, Peter, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past.* (New York : St. Martin's Press, 1970.).

55 In his case the tradition of comparing the past of the nations in my opinion had already become a rhetorical element, as the history of other nations are also mentioned as parallels. The comparison with the state of the Old Testament is still, however, the most important, persuasive and relevant one.

autobiography. Predecessors – personal notes and memoirs – can be found earlier, but a clear representative of the genre of autobiography only appears in Hungarian literature with Wathay.

An example of an autobiography before Wathay was written for mere practical motivations, and it does not contain any personal elements. The author is Imre Martonfalvy (1510-1591), a confidante of Bálint Török (a magnate and commander of the castles of Veszprém and Pápa). Martonfalvy's main motivation in writing his autobiography was to present himself in a favorable light, and thus increase his chances to secure a land grant for his decades of faithful service. As a consequence of this motivation, he focuses on his own deeds and the events of his own life; aside from these events in the life of the Török family, events of national significance also appear.[56]

The genre of chronicle memoirs[57] is also related to autobiography, and one can find more examples of this in the Hungarian literature from the turn of the sixteenth century. These memoirs were closely associated with citizens of towns. They contain even fewer personal elements; the text basically consists of notes about the important events of the family or the wider society of the author. From this point of view they are close to the genre of chronicle, however, they were based on the interpretation of personal experience, and therefore can be regarded as a kind of subjective narrative. Sebestyén Borsos and Máté Szepsi Lackó can be mentioned as representatives of this kind of personal writing.

Of course, other kinds of texts contain elements of personal experience. Records

56 T. Klaniczay, ed., A magyar irodalom története, 521.

57 The chronicle-memoir is a genre of historical prose, closely related to the "traditional" chronicle, but it tells the major events of a smaller group of people. It is not a personal life-writing, but it often contains autobiographical elments. Ibid., 522.

of legates, various items of correspondence and diaries,[58] as well as religious contemplations all represent the birth of the early modern individual. According to Yuri Zaretzky's monograph on the Renaissance autobiography,[59] the confession was a substantial genre of the self of the late middle ages and the Renaissance. During this period the practice of confession went through a significant transition, and it became a definitive genre of expressing personal content.

2. 4 Prison and prison writing

Under the rule of the Ottomans several texts on the circumstances of captivity were written, from the fifteenth century onwards.[60] These records (e.g., the works of Georgius Hungaricus and Bartul Giurgievich) tell of the circumstances of falling into captivity, the route to the Ottoman Empire, the life of captives as slaves, and the possible means of release. These sources, particularly the earliest, Georgius Hungaricus,[61] recount that captives were treated humanly; they could, for example, practice their own religion. Their masters tried to persuade them to convert to Islam, but the slave had the opportunity to stay a Christian. If they did convert, they were freed, but had to remain in the empire for the rest of their lives and pay taxes; if they did not convert, after a certain period of time they could return home. Later this tolerate attitude changed; slaves could not practice

58 E.g., Lestár Gyulaffi's notes on his diplomatic journeys, see Gyulaffi Lestár in *Magyar művelődéstörténeti lexikon* (Lexicon of Hungarian cultural history), III, 428., ed. Péter Kőszeghy. (Budapest: Balassi, 2005.)

59 Zaretzky cites T. C. Price Zimmerman, "Confession and Autobiography in the Early Renaissance," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron*, ed. Anthony Molho and John A. Tedeschi (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1971). Yuri Zaretzky, *Renessansnaia avtobiografiia i samosoznanie lichnosti: Enea Sil'vio Pikkolomini (Pii II).* (Renaissance autobiography and individual self-consciousness: Enea Silvio Piccolomini). (Nizhnii Novgorod: Nizhnii Novgorod University Press, 2000.)

60 Sources on the life of captives can be found in the anthology *Rabok, követek, kalmárok az oszmán birodalomról* (Captives, diplomats and merchants about the Ottoman Empire) Lajos Tardy, ed., (Budapest: Gondolat, 1977). (Hereafter: Tardy, ed., *Rabok, követek, kalmárok*.)

61 *Incipit prohemium in tractatum de moribus, conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum,* (Urach, 1481).

their own religion and were never released.

Ferenc Wathay's life was significantly different from the majority of Hungarians in the captivity of the Ottomans. Since he fell into captivity as the captain of Székesfehérvár, he was a valuable captive. He spent his days in captivity in special prisons and was kept together with other valuable captives. He was imprisoned first in the Csonkatorony of Buda, later in the Black Tower of Istanbul (the Galata Tower).[62] While he was in Buda, the Ottomans wanted to exchange him for the bey of Szekszárd.[63] Possibilities of release were different in the case of captives of higher social status. First of all, they were too valuable to be sold to slave traders; like Wathay, they were instead kept in special prisons. They could be released after their families paid a certain ransom, but until the money arrived they were kept in captivity.[64] Not every captive could count on the payment of the ransom, and even if the ransom was eventually paid some had to wait years for their release: Wathay spent altogether four years in prison. He tried to organize his release and was looking for the goodwill of Hungarian nobles[65] of high rank to help him to collect the ransom constantly during his imprisonment.

The autobiography of Ferenc Wathay describes that he was kept well; he mentions that he received enough food and drink.[66] As he wrote his *Song Book* in prison, one can assume that he had access to paper and ink as well. The texts and the images of the

62 Later he was taken back to Buda and was released from there. *Veszprém a török korban*, 172.

63 On this, see the colophon of poem XXVIII: "Mikoron az szekszárdi Ali bég felől oly hírem jött vala, hogy nem akarná értem adni római császár öccse, Mátyás herceg, akkorbeli bánatomrúl írtam vala ezt (...)." ("I wrote this in my sorrow when I heard the news that brotherof the Roman Emperor, Prince Matthias would not give the bey of Szekszárd, Ali for me.") 105b.

64 In order to collect the money, many families were completely bankrupted; for instance, after the battle of Nicopolis the sultan demanded 200,000 pieces of gold for the release of the crown prince of Burgundy, Tardy, ed., *Rabok, követek, kalmárok* 67.

65 For example, he wrote to Ferenc Batthyány (1605. Sept. 29.); his wife wrote to Erzsébet Báthori. *Wathay Ferenc énekeskönyve* (The *Song Book* of Ferenc Wathay), Ed. Lajos Nagy and György Belia, 164. (Budapest: Helikon, 1976.)

66 "Eſ Innúnk io modgiauall elegedendőtt attanak uolna (…)" "and they gave enough drinks (…)" 126b.

source, however, do depict the author crying as in his cell, with heavy irons around his ankles. These depictions, however, rather show him metaphorically in his captivity.

Captivity, being an extraordinary atmosphere with extreme circumstances for both the body and the mind of the imprisoned person, creates a special space for literature. Captives could be kept under different kinds of control and their conditions of imprisonment could also vary. As Jean Dunbabin points out,[67] in the Middle Ages the treatment of a captive did not depend on the crimes he had committed, but on his social rank. This statement, as one can see, is true in the case of Wathay. In order to establish the foundations for studying prison writing, Dunbabin also cites Michel Foucault's rule in her book: however great the variation of imprisoned people is, they can be studied as a group.[68]

The investigation of prison-literature written by Muslims in Christian captivity offers a more than worthy point for this work. The article of Cemal Kafadar[69] gives account of Ottoman first-person narratives composed in Christian captivity. One of the most important source of texts of this kind is the Evliya Celebi's travelogue, which genre, as Kafadar states, may also be regarded as a subgenre of autobiography. I can absolutely agree with this statement, furthermore, I claim that the *SongBook* of Wathay may also be regarded as a travelogue, as he reports on both in words and with illustrations his way to the capital of the Ottoman Empire. According to Kafadar, one of the main differences of Christian and Muslim texts is that the latter ones extremely rarely have a confessional

67 Jean Dunbabin, *Captivity and Imprisonment in Medieval Europe, 1000-1300* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 17.

68 Ibid.

69 Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica*, No. 69. (1989), 121-150.

bent.[70] The most important statement of Kafadar is that "memoirs of captivity pose potential risks as examples of personal literature, for they may be reflections of literary device rather than actually lived experiences."[71] Thus, the accounts on captivity may and should be regarded with special precaution.

Prison writing together with exile literature looks back to a long tradition in history since Ovid, Seneca, St. Paul and Boethius,[72] and it developed a full system of topoi. As will be pointed out soon, the iconographic and poetic traditions of prison literature are present in the *Song Book.*

2. 5. Iconographical traditions

In the *Song Book* of Ferenc Wathay there are three types of illustrations: decorative, narrative and or emblematic. Images belonging to the first group have decorative functions. There are altogether 27 initials (see Fig. 6.) in the *Song Book*. One of them is unfinished and there are two unfilled places (98a, 99b) in the volume for initials. There are three closing ornaments (5b, 6a, 103a). According to Borbála Gulyás,[73] the decorative ilustrations show a strong influence of engravings of printed books.[74] Additional evidence of the influence of contemporary printed books is the arrangement of the titles of the

70 Ibid, 130. The only counter-example on this is an account of dreams of Asiye Hatun, see note 16 of Kafadar's article.

71 Ibid., 132.

72 Joanna Summers, Late Medieval Prison Writing and the Politics of Autobiography (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 3.

73 Gulyás, Borbála, *Kép és szöveg viszonya Wathay Ferenc Énekeskönyvében* (Relationship of text and image in the *Song Book* of Ferenc Wathay) (MA Thesis, ELTE, 2002.)(Hereafter: Gulyás, *Kép és szöveg viszonya*.), 28.

74 E.g., the initials are very similar to those used by contemporary Hungarian printers such as Hofgreff and Heltai in Kolozsvár and Gál Huszár in Debrecen. Ibid.

songs.[75] The exchange of motives from engravings, codices, and prints was a common practice in the era, because of this it is difficult to determine the possible iconographical influences on Wathay's illustrations.[76] Unfortunately, it is not known if he had these works with him in the prison or he just remembered the previously sawn illustrations.

The narrative images usually depict a detail from a song or from the autobiography. They use a technique that is different from that used in the emblematic images. According to Borbála Gulyás, they were influenced by the techniques of Ottoman miniatures in their color usage and their very detailed and elaborate way of depiction.[77] Thus, it seems probable that he had seen and studied Ottoman miniatures. A detailed discussion of the role of these illustrations is given in the following chapter. In the third group, the emblematic illustrations, the images are connected to the tradition of emblems, thus it seems appropriate to introduce this genre briefly.

In the Middle Ages and Renaissance, words and pictures were regarded as interrelated systems of cultural representations (*ut pictura poesis*).[78] The emblem is:

> a tripartite genre that organically synthesizes picture and words with the purpose of mixing naturalistic pictorial representation (*hypoicons, vraisemblable*), conventional symbols, *topoi*, rhetorical modules and other invented or traditional elements, shared and accepted by an interpretive community. The purpose of the above described presentation is to artistically please as well as to instruct, bringing a moral, religious, cosmic or philosophical truth to light sometimes by means of developing a riddle or enigma.[79]

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75 Ibid. Each line is smaller than the previous one.

76 Ibid.

77 Gulyás compares Wathay's images of with those of Balázs Szigetvári Csöbör, a miniaturist of Hungarian origin, *Szigetvári Csöbör Balázs török miniatúrái, 1570* (The Turkish miniatures of Balázs Szigetvári Csöbör), ed. Szakály, Ferenc (Budapest: Európa, 1983.). Ibid., 29.

78 György E. Szőnyi, "The 'Emblematic' as a Way of Thinking and Seeing in Renaissance Culture," http://www.ecolloquia.com/issues/200301/leader_full.html, last accessed 07/02/06. See also the series *Ikonológia és Műértelmezés*, ed. Tibor Fabiny, József Pál, and György E. Szőnyi (Szeged, JATE Press, 1997). (Hereafter: *Ikonológia és Műértelmezés*) and Tüskés Gábor, Éva Knapp, "Towards a Corpus of the Hungarian Emblem Tradition," in *European Iconography – East and* West, ed. György E. Szőnyi, 190—209. (New York: E.J. Brill, 1996.)

79 Ibid.

The emblem consists of a depiction (*pictura*), a motto (*lemma*) and an explanitory text (*explicatio*) with a a moral teaching or allegorical meaning. The first emblem book, the *Emblematum liber* (1531) was written by Andrea Alceati. His book became extremely popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; hundreds of emblem books had been published by this time, not only in Latin, but in national languages as well;[80] the first Hungarian emblematic work was the *Emblemata* of Johannes Sambocus.[81] According to Mario Praz, [82] the use of emblems was similar to a bibliography; the images and the texts could be copied or imitated. This feature of emblems greatly facilitated the spread and variability of the genre.

Although there are emblematic images in the *Song Book* (e.g. the figure of the raven with roes, 106b, Fig. 9.), it can not be regarded as an emblem book. The relationship of text and image in the emblematic depictions of the *Song Book* is different from the traditional relation of text and image in the genre of the emblem. In the latter, the text gives a concrete explanation of the picture. Wathay relates text and image in a more abstract manner. In the case of the *Song Book*, the *explicatio* is a whole poem which the depiction accompanies. For example, the image of the bear and the lion (80b) is related to the song that follows the image: the song dedicated to soldiers (XIX.). There is another type of emblematic illustration in the *Song Book*; these are allegorical human figures, the figure of Occasio, a variant of the emblem of Fortuna (71a, Fig. 11.), and the figure of Death (86a). These figures were commonplace depictions in the era, therefore it

80 Ibid.

81 Antwerp, 1564.

82 *Ikonológia és Műértelmezés 1.*(Iconology and interpretation), 214.

cannot be stated that they were made under any direct influence of an emblem book,[83] still, it is probable that he knew some emblematic works.[84] The figure of Occasio appeared already in the work of Alciatus. In the *Song Book*, it accompanies poem No. XIV. The addressee of the poem is the year 1602 – the year of the siege of Fehérvár and Wathay's capture. According to Cesare Ripa's definition,[85] Occasio is depicted as a naked woman standing on a wheel (which represents the quickness and fickleness of Fortuna) and holding a razor in her hands (to cut all possible hindrances). The figure of Occasio or Fortuna had been a widespread topos of prison-literature since Boethius's *Consolatio*.[86] Thus, the usage of this topos-like figure by Wathay connects him to the tradition of prison literature.

The illustration depicting the last judgment (Fig. 7., 87b) is also connected to the European iconographical tradition. As László Szilasi claims,[87] the prototype of this picture is might have been the contemporarly well known engraving of Dürer (Fig. 8.), most probably from a German Bible.

To sum up the issue of the emblematic tradition, the drawings of Wathay are not

83 Gulyás Borbála, "Wathay Ferenc 'Emblémáskönyve'? Megjegyzések az énekeskönyv emblematikus ábrázolásaihoz"(translation) in *Balassi Bálint és a reneszánsz kultúra*, ed Gábor Farkas Kiss (Budapest: publisher, 2004), 67. (Hereafter: Gulyás, "Wathay Ferenc 'Emblémáskönyve'?")

84 Borbála Gulyás cites the theory of Éva Knapp, according to which there are two possible precedents for this particular image: one is an emblematic image of Prinzipio Fabrizio, the other is a printer from Frankfurt, Nicolaus Bassaeus. Gulyás 2002, 34. Another possible prototype of this emblem is the figure of Occasio in *Horatij Carpani ... Commentaria absolutissima in alteram iuris municipalis partem, quae nouissima dicitur ...* . Francoforti, sumptibus Nicolai Bassaei, 1600 (Fig. 12.) The motto, the razor, the wings on the legs of the figures are in accordance. Referred by László Szilasi and Géza Orlovszky, *Magyar barokk vers*, http://szelence.com/wathay/emblema.html. Last accessed: 24/01/07. (Hereafter: *Magyar barokk vers*)

85 Ripa's *Iconologia*, cited by Gulyás, Ibid.

86 Joanna Summers, *Late Medieval Prison Writing and the Politics of* Autobiography (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 17. See also *The Kingis Quair and Other Prison Poems*, ed. Linne R. Mooney and Mary-Jo Arn (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005).

87 László Szilasi and Géza Orlovszky, *Magyar barokk vers*, http://szelence.com/wathay/emblema.html, last accessed: 24/01/07

as elaborate as those of a professional artist, but his images still provide valuable information on the traditions and practices of the era. He not only applied the most widespread techniques of his time, but also elaborated them in an original manner.

CHAPTER THREE

SELF-FASHIONING IN THE *SONG BOOK*

3. 1. The notion of self-fashioning and questions of autobiography

The purpose of this work is to analyze the self-fashioning of Ferenc Wathay in his *Song Book*. In order to do this, the notion and the theoretical background of self-fashioning has to be introduced; in this subchapter I will justify the usage of this particular approach. In connection with the analysis of the source, several questions of autobiographical texts emerge as well, which I intend to introduce in this part of my thesis.

The theoretical framework in which the notion of self-fashioning was created is commonly known as new historicism. This critical school of history is based on the idea that the shaping of one's self is always influenced by cultural standards, traditions, and institutions.[88] According to the proponents of new historicism, traditional interpretations of history make a mistake by treating literature seperately from the contexts provided by everyday life.[89] In their own interpretation,[90] new historicism is a heterogenous discourse, without a program, or rather, with a program to deny everything resembling a program.

88 Speaking about culture, Clifford Geertz refers to standards and institutions which rule cultural and personal habits, using their power for control. Geertz quoted by Szőnyi, György Endre, "Az én-formálás petrarkista technikái Balassi Bálint és Philip Sidney költészetében" (Self-Representation in Petrarchism. Varieties in England [Sidney] and in Hungary [Balassi]), *Palimpszeszt* 10 (April 1998), http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/palimpszeszt/10_szam/09.htm, last accessed: 16/12/99.

89 Szőnyi György Endre, "Az újhistoricizmus és a mai amerikai Shakespeare-kutatás" (The New Historicism and current Shakespeare scholarship in the U. S. A.), *Helikon* 1998, No. 1-2 (1998): 26. (Hereafter: Szőnyi, "Az újhistoricizmus.")

90 Montrose and Fineman cited by Attila Atilla Kiss, "Hatalom, szubjektum, genealógia: Az irodalom kulturális poétikája az újhistorizmusban" (Power, subject, genealogy: the cultural poetics of literature in the New Historicism), *Helikon* 1998/1-2, 4. (Hereafter: Kiss, "Hatalom, szubjektum, genealógia.").

Other important figures of the school are Michel Foucault (*Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, New York: Pantheon, 1977), Stephen Orgel (*The Authentic Shakespeare*. Routledge, 2002.), Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the politics of literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and their contemporaries*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.). See also *The New Historicism*, ed H. Aram Veeser (New York: Routledge, 1989).

Stephen Greenblatt, the main figure of the school, declares that the distinctive feature of new historicism is methodological self-consciousness.[91] According to Attila Atilla Kiss, the purpose of new historicism is to show that every literary text is connected to the creation of other texts and discursive practices; it concentrates on the importance of local readings[92] while refusing positivist totality, the illusion that history can be presented in its entirety. Construction of history depends on the current horizon of expectations,[93] thus, history is a system of cultural representations.

The first scholarly work that applied this theoretical framework to analyze a literary text was Stephen Greenblatt's[94] *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*,[95] in which he studied the relationship of six writers to various manifestations of power. He read literary texts as cultural artifacts related to cultural, social, and political contexts in which they were produced.[96] He created the the theoretical basis for the analysis of literary texts with the approach of new historicism.

According to Greenblatt, in the progress of fashioning one's self, one always has to identify and evaluate himself under the given circumstances, expressing his/her attitude towards them. Greenblatt also claims that one has to keep in mind that a literary text is the result of manipulations: on the one hand, of the manipulations of historians, on the other, the manipulations of the author. Thus, the text is a result of negotiations

91 Stephen Greenblatt: "Towards a Poetics of Culture," in *New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veeser, (London: Routledge, 1989), 1-14.

92 Kiss, "Hatalom, szubjektum, genealógia," 5.

93 Ibid., 6.

94 Greenblatt influenced by the cultural anthropology of Geertz. Szőnyi, "Az újhistoricizmus," 16.

95 Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980. (Hereafter: Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*.)

96 John Martin, "Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence. The discovery of the Individual in Renaissance Europe," *American Historical Review* 102, No. 5. (1997):1313. (Hereafter: Martin, "Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence.")

between the author and social institutions, habits, and conventions. The concept of self-fashioning in the vocabulary of Greenblatt implies that the self is in relentless conformation with social circumstances while trying prepertually to adapt to it.[97]

The notion of self-fashioning in the vocabulary of Greenblatt means conformation and adaptation of the self in the given social circumstances.[98] This viewpoint contradicts Burckhardt's more traditional views, who calls the phenomenon of the new route to the formation of identity in the Renaissance "the victory of individualism."[99] Standing in opposition, the representatives of new historicism, claim that exploration of the self[100] was significantly influenced by the groups to which people belonged. Thus, the formation of the individual occurred as a result of the hindrances of power. Natalie Zemon Davis also claims that situations of writing about the self involved a relationship, most often with God, but others, like a patron, friend or lover could also become involved. She emphasizes the role of the family in influencing self-fashioning.[101] Other historians, such as historian of science Mario Biagioli, who studied the self-fashioning of Galileo,[102] have

97 Szőnyi, "Az újhistoricizmus," 18.

98 Ibid.

99 "[before] Man was conscious of himself only as a member of a race, people, party, family or corporation—only through some general category. In Italy this veil first melted into air; an *objective* treatment and consideration of the state and all of the things of this world became possible. The *subjective* side at the same time asserted itself with corresponding emphasis; man became a spiritual *individual*, and recognized himself as such." Jacob Burckhardt, *The civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, Tr. S.G.C. (London: Penguin Books, 1990.), 70.

100 Natalie Z. Davis dealt with questions of self-fashioning in "Boundaries and the sense of Self in Sixteenth-century France," In: Reconstructing Individualism, 53-63., and *The Return of Martin Guerre*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press,1983.)

As an essential source on the Renaissance self, see also Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and Their Contemporaries* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).

101 Natalie Z. Davis, "Boundaries and the sense of Self in Sixteenth-century France," in *Reconstructing individualism: autonomy, individuality, and the self in Western thought*, ed. Thomas C. Heller, Morton Sosna, and David E. Wellbery (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1986.): 53-63.

102 Mario Biagioli, *Galileo's Instruments of Credit: Telescopes, Images, Secrecy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006).

interpreted episodes of the studied self's career as the way of constructing a scientific character under the constraints of institutional, social, legal, and economic forces. Here the focus is on the fashioning of a scientific intellectual. This example shows that aside from textual, material sources can also play a role in studying self-fashioning. In a similar manner, using pictorial sources is also relevant and important in the analysis of the shaping of the self, as for instance Lisa Jardine did with the portrait of Erasmus[103] – however, she uses a path of the original notion of self-fashioning, and uses the term "construction" instead.

In the foundations of his theory, Greenblatt also used the idea of M. Foucault[104] according to which power exists only in language, in discourse – thus, every text expresses relations of power. Greenblatt claims that self-fashioning also occurs in language.[105] I will rely on this statement in my thesis, adding that languge may be taken to mean nonverbal chanels of communication such as images.

Greenblatt claims that every fact is known from a text, therefore he does not differentiate between the text and historical reality.[106] The main aspects of self-fashioning are the following:

1. Self-fashioning always means submission to an absolute power which is outside the subject: God, an institution, etc.

2. The process of self-fashioning occurs in relationship with an "other," as self-defence against an imminent otherness. This otherness may be chaotic

103 Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). See also Peter Burke, *The historical anthropology of early modern Italy: essays on perception and communication* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

104 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon, 1977), 25.

105 Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 9.

106 Szőnyi, "Az újhistoricizmus," 21.

formlessness or a false, negative form.[107]

3. There is always more than one power and "other" in the meantime.

4. Self-fashioning comes into existence at the center of the meeting of the self and the other.

Literature may have three functions within the system of forming one's self.[108] First, it may be the manifestation of the behaviour of the author in the given social-cultural circumstances; second, it may express the codes by which this behaviour is shaped, and third, it may reflect upon these codes. Greenblatt identified the main categories of possible readings and interpretations of literature according to these functions.[109] If the behaviour of the author is reflected in the interpretation, the text becomes literary biography; if the purpose is to reconstruate the system of rules among which it was created, it may easily be absorbed into an ideological structure; and finally, if the text is regarded as reflecting upon reality, it may be used for concentrating on the background, the details, and it risks showing art as opposed to social life.

This potential risk is the most often raised accusation against new historicism.[110] Edward Pechter[111] claims that the argumentation of the new historicism, in spite of its intentions, is also not objective, as they believe that history is reconstructable. Regarding the critiques of new historians, György Szőnyi argues that the paradoxical situation is that all the criticisms of new historicism actually prove it is right, as many critics use the

107 Ibid., 22.

108 Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 4.

109 Ibid.

110 Szőnyi, , "Az újhistoricizmus," 28.

111 Edward Pechter, "The New Historicism and Its Discontents: Politicizing Renaissance Drama," *PMLA* 102, No. 3 (1987): 292-303.

terminology of new historicism in their own argumentation, e.g., M. M. Reese, who defends the traditional methodology while referring to ideological relations of today. New historicism was also regarded as "profoundly ahistorical"[112] by John Martin. He accuses these scholars of examining the formation of the self without taking into consideration slowly developing historical movements and overemphasizing the synchronic framework.[113]

Although several criticisms against the methods of new historians may not be without grounds, using the theory of self-fashioning in the analysis of Wathay's *Song Book* still seems unequivocally fruitful. A man in the captivity of the Ottomans, formerly a soldier and a husband, becomes a poet in prison. What motivations did he have for this step? How did he depict and reflect on himself in his writings and illustrations? In what social and cultural framework did he create his book? What patterns did he follow?

The analysis of the Wathay's self-fashioning in the *Song Book* should deal with different kinds sources: images, poems, and autobiography. The theoretical framework and methodology of new historicism offers a promising approach to answering my questions.

As the *Song Book* contains an autobiography and moreover, as I intend to show that the volume can be regarded as a *lyrical autobiography*, it seems essential to discuss some questions of autobiographies in general and the features of early modern and Renaissance autobiographies in particular. The term of *lyrical autobiography* trefers to a special compositional principle of volume of poetry, in which the lyrical subject of each

112 Martin, "Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence.", 1312.
113 Ibid.

poems is the same, and the arrangement of the poems draw a poetically constructed biography of the speaking self. In the case of the *Song Book*, a line of lyrical autobiography is shaping with the help of the poems and the images that completes and corresponds the autobiography at the end of the volume.

The currently most accepted definition of autobiography is that by Philippe Lejeune: "[Autobiography is] a retrospective prose narrative written by a real person concerning his own existence, where the focus is his individual life, in particular the story of his personality."[114] Lejeune also introduced the notion of the "autobiographical pact," that exists between the reader and the author. According to this pact, the author guarantees the sameness of the narrator, the author and the hero of the text. In general, one can differentiate between these three roles of the self in autobiographies; the narrator of the present is talking about the hero of the past, thus, the narrator tells the story of the formation of the self, the route he traversed from a past point to a present one. In the case of early modern life-writing, as Cemal Kafadar[115] argues, in first-person narratives and autobiographical texts there is "no *obvious* distance between the narrator and the narrated self."[116] The authors do not look upon themselves from such a three-fold perspective. In the case of Wathay there is one more reason for the closeness of narrator, author, and hero. The texts mainly refer to his present situation, and as he composed the poems and autobiography in captivity, and presumably compiled the volume in prison, his hero and narrator are not distinct. His autobiography tells the events of his past, which all reflect

114 Philippe Lejeune, "The autobiographical pact", in *On Autobiography* ed. Paul John Eakin ; translated by Katherine M. Leary (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 4. (Hereafter: Lejeune, *On Autobiography*)

115 Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 121-150.

116 Ibid., 138.

on the present situation of the author by standing in opposition to it. In this case, the distance of narrator and author is not extended, and this closeness affects the reading of the text; the reader gets closer to the hero and narrator as the autobiographical pact operates more intensively. The autobiographical pact offers a special reading method for the reader, and influences his/her horizon of expectations.

Talking about the relationship of autobiography and literary history, Philippe Lejeune claims[117] that literary genres are not beings themselves, they constitute a sort of implicit code in each era; they are linked to other institutions, such as the educational system of the era, the publishing industry, etc. With these statements he associates himself with the views of new historicism.

When talking about autobiography, questions of memory should also be raised. The problem of subjective and objective narratives that is created by memory may be a crucial point in each text that has an explicit relationship with reality – and the autobiographical pact provides this explicit relation. Thus, autobiography may be regarded as commemoration of reality – of the reality of one particular man and moreover, of the reality of an era.[118] This is the exact point where new historicism claims that not only the interpretation of reality, i.e., historical sources, but the literary text itself may be regarded as a source for reality. This is a point on which I would also like to concentrate in the analysis of Wathay's texts; I intend to map the process of his self-fashioning using his volume as an autobiographical source, which on the one hand, is a mirroring of reality, but on the other is a constructed piece of art that is the main indicator

117 Lejeune, *On Autobiography*, 143.

118 Yuri Zaretzky, *Renessansnaia avtobiografiia i samosoznanie lichnosti: Enea Sil'vio Pikkolomini (Pii II).* (Renaissance autobiography and individual self-consciousness: Enea Silvio Piccolomini), introduction. (Nizhnii Novgorod: Nizhnii Novgorod University Press, 2000).

and fulfiller, both the motivation and the result of the process of shaping the self. The genre of biography and autobiography belongs to both history and literature, thus the text bears the characteristics of both of them, especially before the Enlightenment.[119] In Renaissance biographies, and also in autobiographies, the self is regarded similarly to the works of the author. Life is also a piece of art, and has to be presented and constructed accordingly.[120]

Continuing the discussion of the significance of memory, Paul Ricoeur claims that the text constitutes a narrative identity.[121] In other words, the self is created by means of the text and within it. This interpretation supports the idea of Greenblatt that self-fashioning, its framework, and the relationship to power exists in the language.

There are great debates going on in the scholarship about the relevance of using the term of autobiography before modern times. Most scholars claim that Rousseau was the creator of the genre, as he was the creator of the present paradigm,[122] therefore it is not legitimate to talk about autobiography before him. However, the significance of the *Confessiones* of Augustine is certainly a milestone in the history of autobiography. Several studies prove the relevance of using the term autobiography,[123] referring to Pierre

119 *The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas F. Mayer and D. R. Woolf, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

120 Victoria C. Gardner, "'Homines non nascuntur, sed figuntur:' Benvenuto Cellini's Vita and Self-Presentation of the Renaissance Artist," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, No. 2. (1997): 447-465.

121 Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 3 vols., tr. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer (Chicago:University of Chicago Press, 1984–1988.).

122 Zoltán Z. Varga, "Az önéletírás-kutatások néhány aktuális elméleti kérdése" (A few actual theoretical questions of the scholarship of autobiography), *Helikon* No. (2002): 244-257.

Opposing the relevance of autobiography in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Paul Zumthor claims that none of the conditions of modern autobiography existed before the Modern era, see Paul Zumthor, "Autobiography in the Middle Ages?" *Genre* 6 (1973): 29-48. Arguing that it is legitimate to talk about autobiography before modern times, see Natalie Zemon Davis, "Fame and Secrecy: Leon Modena's Life as an Early Modern Autobiography," special issue: Essays in Jewish Historiography, *History and Theory* 27, No. 4 (1988):103-118.

123 Aaron Gurevich, The Origins of European Individualism (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995.); Evelyn Witz,

Abelard, the texts of St. Cyprian, Hilarius, Dante, Petrarch, Cellini and others. In my work, Iam going to argue on the side of those who state that autobiography existed and flourished in the Early Modern period.

In the following, the process of self-fashioning of Ferenc Wathay will be analyzed in the frame of the sketched theories. Both the shaping of the self and the autobiographical issues of the *Song Book* will be examined.

3. 2. Patterns and ideals in self-fashioning

In the progress of fashioning one's self, one always has to identify and evaluate himself in the given circumstances, express his attitude towards the social frames and institutions that surround him. This may happen either through the rejection of the existing patterns, or the conscious following of them.[124] In the *Song Book* of Wathay one can also find patterns and ideal figures whom he imitated.[125] The reflections upon the ideals he followed, who played the role in his self-fashioning may happen explicitly or implicitly. One finds examples for both of these types in the *Song Book*.

If one intends to map the net of figures who might had influenced the speaking self's formation, should, first of all, concentrate on the personal elements that emerge in the texts. In the autobiography, in general it is noticeable that moving forward

Medieval Narratives and Modern Narratology: Subjects and Objects of Desire (New York, New York University Press, 1992); Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives, ed. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); Reconstructing individualism: autonomy, individuality, and the self in Western thought, ed. Thomas C. Heller, Morton Sosna and David E. Wellbery (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986.).

124 Greenblatt brings up the "imitatio Christi" as the archetypical example of this kind of association Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 3.

125 The term *imitatio*, although fundamentally it refers to intertextual connection of literary works based on imitating the style, tone, techniques etc., will be used for denoting the following of patterns in the process of fashioning of the self.

chronologically the narration of the text gets more personal, the quantity of individual manifestations increase. At the beginning of the autobiography, Wathay discusses for some length the history of his family, his origins, schooling and the marriages of his grandparents, parents and sister. These are mostly objective, impersonal statements. The first personal element, an anecdote, emerges in the text when he writes about the death of his father: he was torn apart by a cannon ball.[126] There are two important aspects of the family history that he emphasizes in connection with all of the family members: the first is the story of their marriages and second, the enumeration of the male ancestor's military deeds. The tendency of being more personal at the description of these issues remains in the narration in connection with the aspects of his own deeds as well.

As it will be demonstrated in the next subchapter, the texts of Wathay get more personal at the descriptions of his marriages and his military carreer or escape attempts. Interestingly, one can find ideals which played a role in the self-fashioning of Wathay in both of these cases. In family life he refers to his grandfather as a great member of the family and as a good husband. Wathay feels him close to himself even because they had the same first name (Ferenc) – and, interestingly, their wives also had the same name (both the grandmother of Wathay and his second wife was called Zsuzsanna Vághy). Furthermore, Wathay notices that there was exactly one hundred years between the year of his and his grandfather's weddings.[127] The autobiography starts with the deeds of the grandfather: thus, the Wathay begins counting his genealogy from him.[128] Enumerating the similarities of his grandfather's and his own life, Wathay expresses explicitly his

126 111a.
127 123b.
128 107a.

positive attitude towards the figure and the role his grandfather played as a husband and the head of the family.

The other ideal of Wathay is connected to the other important aspect of his life: to military acts. His ideal as a soldier is Miklós Zrínyi, the defender of the castle of Szigetvár (in 1566). Zrínyi died in a herioc way at the end of the siege, charging out from the castle when there was no more hope to hold it. Wathay's high regard towards the figure of Zrínyi appaers already in connection with Wathay's birth, as he refers to the year of his birth using the siege of Szigetvár as a reference point: " [I was born] When they wrote after the siege of Sziget the 1568. year...".[129] He followed the pattern of Zrínyi,[130] when he was already the leader of Hungarians at the castle of Székesfehérvár. He charged out from the castle with his small group of soldiers,[131] the same way Zrínyi did. However, he could not imitate Zrínyi completely, as Wathay did not die, but got seriously wounded, and fell into captivity. His attempts to follow his grandfather as a good husband and Zrínyi as a glorious hero as a captain failed because of his captivity. Nonetheless, in a particular manner the act of following Zrínyi's pattern meant an

129 "Mikoron azért írtanak volna Sziget veszése után 1568. esztendőben..." 111a.

130 Wathay's possible imitiation of Zrínyi was first introduced by Sándor Iván Kovács, "Dunán inneni íróarcok." The cult of the "hero of Sziget" Miklós Zrínyi (the *epitheton ornans* of Miklós Zrínyi distinguishes him from his grandson who had the same name and commemorated the siege of Szigetvár in a great epic) was a living tradition already before the creation of the epic poem. In his monograph about the poet Zrínyi, Tibor Klaniczay gives an account of the increased interest of contemporaries towards the siege. Among the reasons for this interest could be the death of Suleyman the Magnificient during the siege, the heroic act of defenders of charging out of the castle, and last but not least, the political issue that imperator Maximilian could be charged for being late with his army from the siege. The layer of singers and poets of political songs played an important role in the spreading of the cult – some of them are known by name (Stephanus and Laurentius Lantos, Ferenc Črnko). Several historical sources of the poet Zrínyi are also known (Brne Krnarutić, Johannes Sambocus, Ferenc Forgách, Miklós Istvánffy and others), these might had played a role in spreadig the cult as well. Not only Hungarian, but also (certainly) Turkish, German, French, Spanish and English publications dealt with the event. Tibor Klaniczay, *Zrínyi Miklós*, 59-60. *(*Budapest: Akadémiai, 1964.).

131 Wathay wrote about the siege of Székesfehérvár both in the autobiography (125a-126b) and his poems (song No. 3.). See also Kovács, Sándor Iván, "Dunán inneni íróarcok."

important step in the creation of himself as a hero – the hero of captivity, whose self is commemorated in the *Song Book*.

In the process of fashioning himself as a poet, Wathay also had role models to follow. It is obvious that Ferenc Wathay knew the poetry of Balassi. The *Song Book* gives evidence on both explicit and implicit *imitatio* of Balassi. According to László Szilasi, the author of a detailed study about the influence of Balassi on Wathay,[132] altogether eight poems of him show concrete connections to the poetry of Balassi. Many uncertainties make it difficult to declare any direct connections between them; for instance, the form in which Wathay knew the poems of Balassi is unknown, as is which copy Wathay had access to, how many poems that copy contained, what the order of Balassi's poems in the compilations was or if he had copies of these poems with him in the prison or not. Even the media of the poems that Wathay knew is unsure; he might have known the poems in the form in which they spread – in the form of a song (oral) – or he might have read their written forms. The latter scenario, however, seems more probable, as several features of the *Song Book* indicate that he followed the rhyme structure of Balassi as well as the indications of melody, which although they refer to oral presentation were in fact indicated in written form. A line of lyrical autobiography, a history of the captivity, is drawn before of the readers in the *Song Book*, which is also evidence that Wathay knew a written version of the poems of Balassi. Here I would like to demonstrate the similarities of the texts of the two authors by comparing a few fragments of their poetry in order to prove that Balassi played a role in the fashioning of

132 Szilasi, László. "Mediocris Wathay avagy a szemérmes extractor. Funkcióváltás, hierarchia-módosítás és eszközcsere: a Balassi-imitáció változatai Wathay Ferenc költészetében" (Medioris Wathay or the shy extractor. Changes of functions, hierarchy and means: Variations of Balassi-imitations in the poetry of Ferenc Wathay), http://szelence.com/tan/szilasi_wathay.html, last accessed: 24/01/07
(Hereafter: Szilasi, "Mediocris Wathay")

Wathay's self as a poet.

One of the most obvious manifestations of the similarities are present in the emblematic poems of Wathay. The love poem written for his wife and the opening piece of the compilation of Balassi[133] are both examples of the emblematic *aenigma* poem: they depict a fictious story (thus, the poem has an epic feature), taking place in the nature (with highly vivid and detailed description of the scene) that has an allegorical, secret meaning that only an initiated person would understand.[134] This addressed person is obvious in tha case of both poems: the poem of Wathay is dedicated to his wife, the one of Balassi to Iulia, his lover.[135]

Eg' kÿetlenben, minap iartomban,
Menek eg' Heg're, mertt ualek nag' Buban,

Chiak niha niha az Wőlg' megh ſzőndűll
Kitűll az földis tec3ik hog' megh rendűll,

keri feÿc3e megh okoſsagaban,
Iria uala3att, eg' kis C2edulaban.[136]
(Wathay XXVI/1; 2; 16.)

Jelentem versben mesémet,

133 However the exact order and arrangement of poems in the book of Balassi is continuously and still debated by the scholars of the field, the first poem's place seems to be undisputed.

134 The source of the quoted Balassi-poems: Online Critical Edition of the Complete Works of Bálint Balassi, http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/~balassi/versek.html, last accessed: 13/03/05.

135 The name Iulia is of neohumanist origin in the poetry of Balassi. The figure of the beloved woman and the history of their love is the main organizing power of the poetry of Balassi. For the love-poetry of Balassi see Tóth, Tünde, *Balassi és a neolatin szerelmi költészet* (PhD dissertation), http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/gepesk/bbom/itanulm.htm, last accessed: 05/06/02.

136 The other day I was walking in the wilderness,
I went up to a hill, because I was in a great sorrow;

And the valley thundered,
the earth also seemed to tremble;

I ask you to unravel this wisely,
and write your answer in a small card.
(Wathay XXVI/1; 2; 16.)

De elrejtem értelmemet;
Kérem édes szeretőmet,
Fejtse meg nekem ezeket:

Minap én úton jártomban
Láték két hattyút egy tóban, (…)[137]
(Balassi I., 1-2.)

Although the motif of nightingale was widely spread in contemporary literature, the overlapping of the figure of this bird in the two poetries also calls attention. The figure of the nightingale is in opposition with the speaking self in each texts. The bird represents freedom and happiness in contrast with the speaking self's position: in the poem of Balassi the chains of love, in the case of Wathay physical chains and bars are opposed with the posture of the bird. Eventually, the cited poem of Wathay is also a love-poem, talking about the lack of his beloved wife.[138] A further similarity of the poems is that the rhyming structure of the them is the same, they are both written in Balassi-stanza.

Aldott filemile ÿll nag' Enekelwe, hog' hog' iutall maſt ide,
Holoth lam ha3amban harmad ſzenth Geőrg'-hoban ualall, s mi ho3a ide,
s- ott ſ3oluan kertemben, Ruſaagak kő3ben ki az, kÿ kűlde ide.[139]
(Wathay XVI., 1.)

137 I write my tale in a poem,
but I hide the meaning;
I ask my dear love,
to unravel these for me:

The other day during my walk,
I saw two doves in a lake, (…)
(Balassi I., 1-2.)

138 According to Pál Ács, this poem is a failed attempt for imitation, as Wathay "does not find the right allegory for *inventio*"("*...nem talál az inventióhoz illő allegóriát.*" – Pál Ács quoted by Szilasi, "Mediocris Wathay.")

139 Blessed nightingale, how did you get here with your great song,
but you were in my motherland in the month of St. George,
you were in my garden, among the rose branches, who sent you here?

Te, szép fülemüle, zöld ágak közébe mondod el énekedet,
De viszont az ellen az én veszett fejem mond keserves verseket
Kiket bánatjában, szerelem lángjában szép Juliáról szerzett.[140]
(Balassi XLIII., 1.)

There are other thematic coincidences in the usage of the motif of springtime (kikelet). The origin of the scene of springtime has its origins in the poetry of the troubadours.[141] The poets use very similar images when they depict the season: the easy winds, sweet-smelling flowers and roses appear in both quoted poems.

Iſten aldotta Ohh ſzep Kikeleth,
Kÿ mindeneknek uag' giőniörű Eleetth,
Merth megh uiga3tall mindent friſs szelleth,
Joſ3aggall Harmat, Rŭsakatis Illetth.[142]
(Wathay, XXV/1.)

Áldott szép pünkösdnek gyönyörű ideje,
Mindent egészséggel látogató ege,
Hosszú úton járókat könnyebbítő szele,
Te nyitod rózsákat meg illatozásra,
Néma fülemüle torkát kiáltásra,
Fákat is te öltöztetsz sokszínű ruhákba.[143]
(Balassi, XI.)

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140 Beautiful nightingale, among the green branches you sing your song,
but my lost self is singing desperate ones,
that he wrote in his sorrow, in the flames of love about Julia.

141 Imre Szabics, "A trubadúrlíra és Balassi Bálint szerelmi költészete" (The lyrical poetry of the Troubadours and the love poetry of Bálint Balassi), *ItK* 100, No. 5-6 (1996): 543- 581.

142 Oh, God-blessed, beautiful springtime,
you mean the life for everyone,
as the fresh breeze cheers up,
and the roses also smell great.

143 Blessed time of pentecost,
your sky brings health for everyone,
your breeze eases the wanderers,

You open the roses to smell,
the throat of dumb nightingale to sing,
you dress the trees up in colors.

The tradition of self-addressing poems is a crucial point in the discussion of the *imitatio* of Balassi by Wathay.[144] The "going insane" role of the speaking self in the *Song Book* fits entirely the composition of the volume and the position of the narrator – and one may find a very similar positioning of the self in the poetry of Balassi. This tradition divides the speaking self into more parts: for example, in poem XV. of Wathay, the narrator addresses his own insane mind and heart: "Ohh the en Bolond Elmem, mÿre ekkepen Farat3..." ("Oh, my mad mind, why do you trouble yourself"). Balassi has a poem using the very same rhetoric structure for positioning his self: "Ó, én bolond eszem, ki ezt cselekeszem hamis gyanúságommal" ("Oh, my mad mind, which makes my to do this..."[145]

Further evidence can be still claimed to demonstrate that Wathay might have followed Balassi as an ideal poet. He used several poems of Balassi as indication of melodies for his own songs: e.g., the melody of the sixth poem of Wathay is the *Ó, én kegyelmes Istenem*... ("Oh, my gracious God") of Balassi. This kind of imitation can be regarded as an explicit one. Other similarities, like the idea of the composition of a volume of poems that consists of cycles of poems, or the question of lyrical autobiography I am going to discuss later. However, I think that the cited examples give a view on the way Wathay used the poetry Balassi in his self-fashioning.

Wathay also gives account on an other literary figure. He mentions Augustine in the preface of the *Song Book*: "...az ſzenth Agoſtonnal azt mondom enis, hogÿ a2 en Iſtenőmett itttalaltam megh. Kÿ ig' ſzoll: Megh a3 Rabſagis ugimond, a3 kőrő3tieneknek

144 Szilasi, "Mediocris Wathay."
145 Celia/8.

nem arth, mert ott a2 eö Iſtenőket talalliak megh."[146] Mentioning Augustine in the preface – i.e., in the very first place that creates relationship with the reader and is the first manifestation of the author's self – of a volume that is clearly autobiographical, is, above than it gives evidence on the literacy of Wathay, certainly a statement of following a pattern in the figure of Augustine. His figure was highly appreciated in Protestant literature – Luher himself was an Augustinian monk. Although the direct influence on the autobiography of Augustine's autobiographical text, the *Confessiones* here also cannot be perfectly proved, this statement of the preface is an evidence that Wathay took into consideration the literary figure of Augustine.

Wathay not only had ideals as a husband, a soldier and a writer, but also in his religious life. Augustine can be mentioned in this group of ideals as well, and next to the biblical figures who emerge in the *Song Book* and might also have played a role in the process of self-fashioning. They are mainly figures of the Old Testament, the mention of whom is clearly influenced by Protestant literature.[147] The figure that appears the most often in the poems of Wathay is prophet Jonah. His figure can be introduced as particularly close to the speaking self, as he was also in a kind of captivity. Wathay reflects upon him in several of his poems: "Iſten e2 Chetth hallall, okattas ki kerlek"[148] (IX/12). In another song, he mentions Jonah together with Joseph:

> Az Joſeph kuttban, es mind Tömlöt3ben, lam tartatot uala,
> Jonaſtis Chett hall, Tengőr feneken el be nÿelte uala (...)[149]
> (XVIII/24)

146 "I state together with St. Augustine, that I found my God here. Who says: even capture may not harm the Christians, because they may find their God there." 4b.

147 T. Klaniczay, ed., *A magyar irodalom története*, 343.

148"Please God, make this whale disgorge me."

149 Joseph was kept in a well, later in the prison,
Jonah was swallowed by a whale at the bottom of the sea (...)

Wathay found a model to follow in several aspects of his life. In the next chapter, I am going to show how he presented himself in the roles of his ideals.

3. 3. Variations of being personal: Private and Public spheres

In this subchapter, I will concentrate on the presence and proportion of personal and impersonal elements in the *Song Book* – in the poems and in the autobiography and their role in the self-fashioning. In order to introduce the way the author's self fashions himself in the volume, I will analyse the tone, rhetorics and narrative patterns of the speaking self.

The two elementary spheres where utterances and the way of reflecting the speaking self will be examined in this work are connected to the "traditional" division of literary genres. I will analyse religious and non-religious texts in order to reveal the fashioning of the self through usage of personal elements. As it will be demonstrated soon, one may find personal elements in poems of both of these types.

The voice of the speaking self that demonstrates the relationship with the religion varies on a wide spectrum, giving evidence of a complex system of the relationship of Wathay to faith. In religious poems Wathay uses both traditional and non-traditional rhetorical techniques. He practices, for example, the contemporarly well-known and widespread technique of Protestant song-poetry of drawing paralels between the fate of Hungarian and Jewish nations (see chapter 2. 4.). Another example of following the traditions is the rhetorics he uses in some personal religious poems, e .g. in the very first poem of the volume, which is a clear example of laudative poetry. The voice which the audience may hear in this poem is more conventional: the position of the speaking self is

humble and submissive.

Moving forward in the volume, in next poem with religious contents (No. IV.) one finds a new voice of the speaking self compared to the more traditional, passive voice of the first poem. In this text, the voice of the speaking self is is rather dialogic than submissively laudative, his relationship with faith – in this case with Jesus – is strongly emotional and personal.

> Chioda oh mell őrőm ſzalna en ſziuemis,
> ÿll kegies uala3od ha halhattnam enis,
> Jőuell a2ertt uram uigaztal engemis,
> s kerlek kőnniebet3 megh keserűsegemis.[150] (IV/13)

Furthermore, with the growing desperateness of the speaking self in his captivity, he gets to the point that he loses his humbleness and uses an a debating-reproaching tone in religious poems.

> Ime moſtis nem a3uagie?
> A3 kÿ regen kiſseb uagie,
> Engem uaÿ mindeltigh uer3e,
> Kis Sarodat el rontode? (VI/6)
>
> ***
>
> Ne bannia ſött ſzent fölsegödd,
> Hogÿ dicherielek en thegőd
> Ha nem latom kegieſsegőd,
> s- Nem mutatod the io tetőd.[151] (VI/12)

150 A miraculous great joy would fly to my heart,
If I could hear Your holy response,
Come, my Lord and console me,
and please, ease my miseries.

151 Aren't you the same that was You
in the past? Are You smaller?
Are You going to chastise me forever,
and destroy Your little piece of earth?

Do not mind You

This is a fairly new phenomenon in Hungarian literature. The first poet who introduced this individual way of operating with religious texts in Hungarian literature was the same Bálint Balassi, whose name already emerged as a probably influential author on Wathay's poetry. Although this more individual tone in literature was present and widely spread in Western Europe already since the Renaissance, the emergence of such personal manifestation of the relationship of man and his faith was a newcome in Hungarian poetry. If one compares the tones of the above cited poem of Wathay and the following one of Balassi, may certainly discover their closeness. However, based on the similarity of the voice of the speaking self of Wathay and Balassi, one still cannot state that there is a direct connection between them.

> Vagy ha azt akarod, hogy tűrjem ostorod,
> Csak rút szégyentől óvd fejemet, ha bántod,
> Halálomot inkább elhozd, hogynem rútítsd orcámot! [152]

There is a different kind of individual voice in the case of issues of Wathay's "secular" life. One may find two territories where his voice becomes doubly personal. One of them is connected to his private life: his marriage, and the love for his wife. The second aspect of his voice being personal is when he depicts himself as a military man. In the following, these two personal aspects of Wathay will be introduced.

The lack of the loving spouse is, without any doubt, the topic that includes the most quantity of intimate elements. Rhetorical as well as compositional characteristics of

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If I praise You
If I don't see Your glory,
and You don't show Your favour.

152 Balassi: [61+I.] Egy könyörgés. Új
Or if You want that I bore Your scourge,
Only from ugly shame defend me,
Rather let me die than make me ashamed!

the volume give evidence on this statement. The very first mentioning of the missed wife of the speaking self is in the first poem:

> Wram ad megh lattnom Aruatarſomatis,
> Vele Barathimat, ßegen Haaamatis;[153] (I/22)

This poem introduces a systematic order of values that remains and determines the arrangement of poems in the book later. The first place on the list of missed things is always the wife; all others – the company of good fellows, motherland – may follow only after the missed love.[154]

Later in the volume, a whole thematical cycle of poems is dedicated to the wife of Wathay. Starting from the fifteenth poem, continuously up to the twenty-first, the thematics of the missed spouse emerges. Interestingly, there is only one poem that Wathay dedicated explicitly to his wife.

> Eztt az kÿ ira gondolattiaban,
> Wathaÿnenak kűlde Aÿandekban.[155] (XXVI/16.)

This poem, opposed to the others, is a clear example of love-poetry. In other poems he complains about the lack of his wife as well, but this is the only one that clearly follows the tradition of emblematic love-poetry.[156] The traditional love-scene of the "lovers in the nature" is a well-known motif since the Song of Songs of the Bible through the bucolic poetry and the Middle Ages up to the Renaissance.

> Kedues Tarſammall giakran Eőrőmben
> En niug3om uala ſzep ſ3őld fak Enÿeben.

153 Let me see, my Lord, my orphaned spouse,
with her my friends and my poor country as well;

154 One may find the same arrangement of values in other poems as well, e.g. in the second and third strophes of the poem No. VIII.

155 Who wrote this in his mind,
would send it to Mrs. Wathay as a present.

156 For other examples and for comparison of the love-poetry of Wathay and Balassi see chapter 3. 3.

s- Holl eő Előlemben, s- holl en Eöleben
ſzep hűſsőn aluŭan, ualank ſzerelemben.[157] (XXVI/ 7-8.)

The history of Wathay's marriages – actually, the history of both of his marriages, as he was married twice[158] – is an important aspect in his autobiography as well. He devoted a full chapter of the autobiography to both of his marriages. He talks about both of his wives in a doubly gentle voice: "… when I found my poor wife in Ládony, we forgot all of our miseries for the sake of our love, we consoled each other and desired only each other"—he wrote about his first wife.[159]

The love for his wife is certainly forms a part of the private life of Ferenc Wathay. At the same time, dealing with this topic in a volume that was intentionally composed for an audience creates a unique atmosphere of being personal. As love and the lack of the beloved person is an organizing power of the whole conception of the volume, it leaves the private, intimate sphere of the speaking self and enters the public sphere of the *Song Book*.

The other aspect of the "secular" life of Wathay where his personality and self-fashioning can be caught is his consciousness as a soldier. It is clear that being a soldier is a crucial point in his self-identification, and is expressed, similarly to the methods of expressing his self as a loving husband, on several levels of the *Song Book*. The fashioning of his self as a virtuous and talented military man is fulfilled by the means of

157 With my sweet spouse we were often in joy,
and I would rest in the shadow of beautiful green trees.

And now she's in my lap, now I in hers,
we were in love and sleeping in the nice fresh.

158 Wathay was married twice. His first wife, Anna Ládony died in the second year of their marriage.

159 "mikoron ßegin feleſegemett Ladonban thalaltam uolna, karunkatt egimaſ ɜerelmeiertt el feleitenk egimaſt ŭigaɜtaluan, egimaſ Eletett c2iak kiuaniuk ŭala." 119a.

diverse techniques. I am going to demonstrate his self-fashioning as a soldier by gathering relevant elements from the historical song about the siege of Fehérvár (poem No. III.). The importance of this event in Wathay's life can be demonstrated with an intertextual evidence, as after he mentions the siege in the autobiography, calls the reader's attention to the song that deals with this event: "Eſ kikrűll mind beuen Ertthett ugian eɜen kőniben fellieb a2 ki akar, aɜ feieruar enekebűll."[160] Furthermore, an illustration depicting the siege can also be found in the *Song Book*,[161] presenting the capture of Wathay in the foreground.

How does Wathay illustrate himself as a military man? First, it is clear from several *loci* of the poem about the siege that he is in the possession of perfect military knowledge.[162] Second, it is obvious that he has personal knowledge about the movements. He not only describes the process of the siege – as a "traditional" singer of the sieges would do –, but also gives account of personal knowledge about the reasoning of the movements,[163] or reports his personal view about the process of the siege;[164]

160 125a.

161 9a.

162 Vegeſze azerth ugian meg epechek,
Thauaſzall mindgiart hanttuall, földuel tölt3ek
Kőrniűll az Vi2ett arokban be uegiek,
Hogÿ ellensegtűll o3tan igine felt3ek, (…)
(III/48.)

Finally he ordered to be built [the castle],
fill in with earth and soil in the spring,
Take the water in the moat around,
To be protected against the enemy (...)

163 Nehanÿ fű Magiarnak ez dolog nem tec3ek,
Es feÿeruarbűll ők buc3ukatt ueuek,
Ti3teſsegekre nem tudom mint eſsek,
De az feÿeknek tudom ioban eſsek.
(III/50.)
Some of the Hungarian leaders did not like this,
and they left the castle of Fehérvár,
I do not know, how their honour felt about this,

sometimes even gives an ironical evaluation of certain personalities.[165]

Wathay himself also appears several times in the poem mentioned by name among the other defenders of the town of Fehérvár. He is mentioned among those virtuous soldiers who were not afraid to break out from the castle – however, he appears in the poem among other military man, only as a participant of a certain movement.[166] His personal servant, Ferkó Sebeházy is also mentioned by name.[167] The important episode of the capture of Wathay is also told in the poem – which event, as I referred already, is also commemorated in a form of an image.

> Nehéz sebekben foglyá esett vala
> Ott az Wathay Ferenc, veszett vala,
> Fűkapitánynak ki vicéje vala,
> És magyaroknak fűhadnagyok vala. [168]
>
> (III/113.)

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but I know that their heads felt better.

164 Nem ſokall roſzab kereteſnell uala,
De hog alac2onb az igen artt uala.
(III/ 86.)
It was not worse than a fence,
But it was harmful that it was too low. [about the acts of the captain]

165 Egi fű Vaidais megh betegűlt uala,
Jo ſzombatheli Peter Deak uala,
az Felz Betegſeg igen leli uala (…)
(III/63.)
One of the leaders got sick,
this was the good clerk Péter Szombathelyi,
who fell ill with the "afraid-illness" (…)

166 Vathaÿ kapu Sant3ban futot uala (...)
(III/79.)
Wathay ran over the outwork of the gate (…)

167 Az Sebeházy Ferkó, szegíny, vesze,
Wathay szolgája ura mellett vesze, (…)
(III/118.)
Poor Ferkó Sebeházy was lost,
next to his master, Wathay (…)

168 Was captured and seriously wounded
there Ferenc Wathay, who was lost there,
he was the vice of the main captain,
and the lieutenant of Hungarians.

In this strophe Wathay appears as a soldier of high rank, with all his military titles listed. This enumeration can be regarded as a kind of name-card: in the kolophon of the poem Wathay refers to this particular strophe to give information to the readers about the author of the song:

> (...)
> És ha nevemet ti tudakozzátok,
> Száztizenharmad verset ha olvastok,
> Csak haszna legyen, ott megtaláljátok. [169]
> (III/142.)

With this referation to himself he creates a special relationship with the reader, "speaking out" from the poem as a narrator and referring to the author of the text. As the narrator gives information about the author of the poem by referring to one of the heroes of the song, the "autobiographical pact" that provides the sameness of the author, narrator and hero starts to operate.

The presence of poems dedicated to his friends and the mentioning of friendship and the lack of good company are further manifestations of the speaking self's fashioning as a soldier. The theme of the "good company" emerges in the nineth and nineteenth poems: the earlier text is dedicated to Kristóf Hagymássy, a friend of Wathay; the other is addressed to all the "good soldiers."

> S3eles e3 feöld hatan Vite3ek kik uattok,
> Es körö3tienſegett körniűll forogiatok,
> Hatarban Vegekett s mind a3 kik Lakiatok,

169 And if you would ask my name,
then if you read strophe one hundred thirteen,
you will find it there for your use.

Kölʒőnttue en tűlem feienkentt mind uattok.[170]
(XIX/1.)

In the autobiography, the most individually described episodes are the four failed attempts of Wathay to escape from captivity. These little, anecdote-like stories tell about the adventurous runaway-attempts in a lively and colorful way. They were so important to Wathay that he made an illustration of four of them in the *Song Book*.[171] Perhaps the most vivid among these stories is the one when he made his escape in Turkish clothes in Belgrade. Wathay gives a description of the idyllic vineyards above the city, placing himself in this idyllic frame as a runway: he says that "he had to hide like a rabbit" from the people. At this runaway attempt he changed his clothes, during his next escape he changed an other, even more important element of his identity: for the sake of being unrecognizable for the capturers, he changed his name to András Nagy, when he was caught and taken back to the captivity. In the inscription of the illustration[172] of his being beaten because of his attempt to escape, he used the help of his changed identity to avoid disgrace because of being depicted in such an helpless way. The inscription says that "[aga Mankuc] beat – poor András Nagy, but not Wathay – in the most ugliest manner..."[173]

To sum up this part of the work, I can state that the attitude of Wathay towards his wife(s) and military deeds are the most important factors in fashioning his self. He

170 You all good soldiers on this wide earth,
who surround Cristendom,
who live around the border-castles,
let you be all greeted by me.

171 27a; 31b; 32b; 33b.

172 31b.

173 "[Mankuc aga] bi2onial ug' meg uere Nagj Andraſt ʒegint, de Wathaitt nem, hogi ſoha undok Vereſ alig lehet egi..." 129b.

identified himself as a husband, a skilled soldier, a friend – and as a poet. As it had been demonstrated with the example of the song about the siege of Fehérvár, Wathay took into consideration the audience of the *Song Book*. As the anecdotes of runaway attempts give evidence, he even made consciously effort to amuse them. On the other hand, if one looks at the formation of the self in the text, these are the stories that really make the autobiography a personal narrative: the individual character of the subject of the autobiography (hero, narrator, and author) is created by them.

3. 4. Self-fashioning in the composition

According to the Renaissance tradition of life-writing, the life of an artist may and should be constructed as a piece of art. The structure of the biography or autobiography should give an account of the contexts in which it was created and which influenced the act of creation.[174] The shaping of the self may occur through a process similar to the creation of a piece of art, a piece of art which overlaps with the life of the artist. Such a process is at work in the *Song Book* of Ferenc Wathay. Exploring this similarity necessitates a detailed analysis of the structure of the *Song Book*. Thus, I will examine the topic and placement of the poems in the volume to give a picture of the process of self-fashioning as work of art.

If one follows the thematic and psychological structure of the volume, he/she may find a lyrical biography hidden in the order and arrangement of the poems. An example of a lyrical autobiography predating the *Song Book* of Wathay in Hungarian literature can

174 Victoria C. Gardner, "Homines non nascuntur, sed figuntur: Benvenuto Cellini's Vita and Self-Presentation of the Renaissance Artist," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, No. 2. (1997): 448.

be found in the works of Bálint Balassi.[175] In the framework of the connections between the poetry of Wathay and Balassi, it would not be a misleading idea to assume a relationship between the two authors in this respect as well.

The opening poem of the volume gives the exposition of the writer, introducing his position – captivity – and his poems as well.

> Seregek uranak egÿ bűnős ßolgaia,
> Az Je3us Chriſtuſnak giarlo zegen rabÿa,
> Zent Lelek Istennek, ira eztt eg' Aruaÿa
> Meſze Napkelettre tőrők Or3agh torkaban. finiſ. [176]
> (I/24)

This is a religious poem, addressed to God, thus, it presents the speaking self as a believer. Aside from this primary self-presentation, he also appears as a husband, as the motif of being apart from his spouse also appears in this poem.[177] The positioning of the self as a husband longing for his spouse is strengthened by the second poem of the *Song Book*, which is a farewell song dedicated (implicitly) to the wife of Wathay. Thus, the addressee of the second poem is the loving wife and Wathay appears before the reader as a loving husband. This poem is followed by a historical song about the siege of Fehérvár, where Wathay was the lieutenant of the Hungarians. In this poem Wathay is positioned as a military man, an aspect of his character that is second in importance after his role as a husband.

175 As scholarship claims, Balassi's model in creating his compilation of poems might have been Petrarca. On the extended literature on the textological traditions and the composition of Balassi, see Iván Horváth, "Az eszményítő Balassi-kiadások ellen," in *Magyarok Bábelben*, JATEPress, Szeged, 2000: 175-197.; Iván Horváth, *Balassi költészete történeti poétikai megközelítésben*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982.

176 A sinful servant of the Lord of all,
a poor prisoner of Jesus Christ,
an orphan of the Holy Ghost,
wrote this far in the East, in the throat of Turkey. Finish.

177 "Wram ad megh lattnom Aruatarſomatis" ("Let me see, my Lord, my orphaned spouse"(I/22)

In subsequent poems the desperation of the speaking self is conveyed through religious poems.[178] These more or less follow a general pattern of being personal: first the speaker invokes the addressee of the poem – God or Jesus – and following a laudatory part, the rhetoric adopts a more personal tone.[179] The focus of personal involvement is always on captivity. The rhetorical structure of the poems varies on a broad spectrum. In poem VI., for instance, one may find rhetorical questions that express emotional and spiritual introspection.[180]

The abstract level of being personal that was introduced by religious poems continues in the two following poems (VII. and VIII.) as well. In these texts the heart and the soul of the lyrical subject is invoked. This extraordinary communicative situation of the poem results in a special rhetorical and narrative structure. These two poems recall the medieval tradition of the conversation of body and soul, which is treated here in a modern way in the sense that the underlying dichotomy does not play the role of a parable, but plays a role in the creation of a more personal atmosphere.

The cycle[181] of poems (No. X-XII.) is characterized by taking responsibility for

178 Poems IV., V. and VI.

179 Read azert enis chiak hagiom magamath,
Ne ne2d giarlo hűtőm s benned uallasomath (…)
(IV/10, 1-2.)
I leave myself to you,
Please do not judge my poor faith and my trust for you.

180 Ell hagihat3e inkab engőm?
Lam magadert adal engőm,
Ellue3thedde Iduőſsegőm?
(VI/9, 1-3.)
Can he leave me?
You see, you gave me for yourself,
would you make lose my salvation?

181 Usage of the word cycle in the case of the *Song Book* may be regarded as practice, as Pál Ács also does in his article where he claims that "*Balassi, Wathay és Zrínyi ciklusaiból hiányzik az inventio egysége*"

moral and social issues. They deal, for instance, with the questions of galley-slaves, the moral status of Hungary and the whole of Christendom. Still, the voice of the narrator of the poems remains personal and the audience is always made aware of the personal opinion and motivation of the self that creates the texts. The voice of the songs becomes more and more similar to preaching. The twelfth poem, for instance, is a clear example of a traditional Protestant preaching song. The narrator draws biblical parallels[182] between the histories of the Jewish and Hungarian nations.

This smaller cycle of songs deals with general issues while expressing personal attitudes and opinion. They focus on issues outside the author, although, his personality is positioned clearly in front of the audience. From poem XIV. a new cycle of poems is introduced, which contains a considerably greater quantity of personal, autobiographical and self-reflective elements. The opening piece of this thematically and rhetorically related group focuses on the year 1602, a turning point in Wathay's life. The abstract notion of the year appears as the personalized addressee of the poem. Starting from this piece, a very personalized line of the volume emerges and sketches the system of values and a history of the narrator's psychological and mental changes in captivity. A defining issue in this cycle is the role of the speaking self of the madman. As Sándor Iván Kovács states,[183] he is positioning himself in captivity as losing his mind. Of course, any signs and textual expression of going insane can and should be regarded as a rhetorical method of expressing his position as a captive.

The issue of madness emerges in the fifteenth poem. Here a struggle is going on

(From the cycles of poems of Balassi, Zrínyi and Wathay, the unity of *inventio* is missing) in "Ratio és oratio. Rimay János verstípusai," in *Az idő ósága*, (Budapest: Osiris, 2001), 52-68.

182 In song XIII he draws an explicit parallel between Philopater and the Ottoman sultan (14-20.)

183 Sándor Iván Kovács, "Dunán inneni íróarcok," 558.

between the heart and the insane mind. The struggle may be familiar from the previous parts of the volume (VII. and VIII.), where there is a dialog between the heart and the soul. At this point in the composition, the mind can no longer convince the soul not to lose itself.[184] This poem is closely related to the one following it; in XV. the position of waiting for a letter, a message from the spouse, prepares the ground for the next poem, where the messenger arrives – in the topos-like image of a bird that represents freedom and at the same time the beloved. The illusion of madness reaches its peak with the end of the sixteenth poem, when the narrator realizes that the bird was only a messenger in his dreams. The image of the bird that helps the captives in bearing their miseries is in most of the cases is connected to absence of the lover, the spouse of the captive.

The subsequent two songs also deal with the absence of the spouse; the seventeenth poem is addressed to Wathay's father-in-law; the eighteenth is written for widows, wives of captives, and orphans. Thus, the topic of the missed wife seems to ascend to a more abstract, general level, until it reaches the sphere of faith in the twenty-third poem.[185]

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184 Niughatatlan Allattull, Elmem the hordo3tatoll,
Ha a3 en S3iuemnek tanac3atull biratoll,
Felttlek faratsagertt uegre ſ3idogattatoll (...)
(XV/8)
You, my mind, will be carried by an unpeaceful animal,
if you consider the advice of my heart,
I fear for you that you will be scolded for your efforts.

185 Szent Attiat ſ3űnrűl ſ3űnre uelűnk megh lattattia,
Eö ſzerelmes Matkaÿatt nekin be mutattia,

Ime ugimond ſzent Attiam en ſzerelmes Matkam,
Ez nagi Seregh: kikett en neked megh ualtottam, (…)
(XXIII/7-8.)
[Christ] Let us see his Holy Father face to face,
and introduces his beloved fiancée to Him,

The twentieth poem, in my view, may be regarded as a summarizing piece in the volume, introducing an abstract level of contemplating the narrator's fate. In this poem the voice turns to God, and in the two later poems the themes of sadness and misery are the focus. The narrator's depression reaches its deepest point with this small cycle of philosophical-religious poems. The cycle ends with poem XXIII., where the narrator finds solace in God.

The last few poems of the volume, in my opinion, do not fit into the previously introduced line of poems. One finds topics that are similar to those which emerged previously, for instance, the twenty-fourth poem deals with the condition of the Hungarian nation.[186] Two songs at the end of the volume, I argued in 3. 3. above, were written under the influence of Balassi. They are dedicated to Wathay's wife. The last two poems (XXVII and XXVIII) are religious poems written in 1606, the year Wathay was taken from Istanbul back to Nándorfehérvár, where he was released. The late date of composition explains their placement in the book. The last poem also gives information about the occasion for its composition: "Mikoron az szekszárdi Ali bég felől oly hírem jött vala, hogy nem akarná értem adni római császár öccse, Mátyás herceg, akkorbeli bánatomrúl írtam vala ezt (...)."[187] This information in the colophon together with its placement in the volume is evidence that the songs of the book were all written during his captivity.

In the volume are several examples of the overlapping of textual and pictorial

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See, my Holy Father, my beloved fiancée,
and this huge army, whom I redeemed for You, (…)

186 Similarly to poem X.

187 "I wrote this in my sorrow when I heard the news that brotherof the Roman Emperor, Prince Matthias would not give the bey of Szekszárd, Ali for me (...)." 105b.

depictions. Examining the relationship of text and images gives a more abstract and complete reading of the *Song Book* as a unified composition. Wathay refers to making the images in only one place in the volume – the preface.[188] In other texts that refer to the *Song Book*[189] he does not mention the pictures. The reason for this might be that the word "writing" may also have referred to drawing in that era.[190]

The most obvious connection between the images and the texts of the *Song Book* is that every illustration matches one of the texts. A central compositional principle of the *Song Book* is that every illustration is connected to the text that follows it.[191]

There are three types of illustrations in the volume: decorative, narrative, and emblematic. The first type includes initials, flowers or other decorative depictions (see Fig. 6.). These decorative pictures do not play an important role in the fashioning of the self in the volume, unlike the two other types of illustrations.

The narrative illustrations are dominant in the first half of the composition. Most of the narrative images depict a detail from a song or from the autobiography, for instance, galley slaves (Song XI. and picture 52b, Fig. 14.), the view of Nándorfehérvár during one of his escape attempts (23b-24a, Fig. 5.) and his torture (31b, Fig. 3.). The narrative illustrations are important tools in depicting the life of the speaking self in prison. The viewpoint of these pictures coincides with that of the intended audience's, he

188 "[I deal with] ÿl iraſimmall egieb kepeknek pepec2elisiuell,"5a.

189 "ENEKES KeőNW MELYET EN WATHAY FERENT3 (...) magamtull ſ3er3ett Enekekuell, magam tulaÿdon ke3eÿuel irtam." "*Song Book*, that me, Ferenc Wathay (...) wrote with my own hands, with songs that all wrote myself" 3a; "irtam, Emlekeɜetertt eſűdő teleſertt" "I wrote this for remembrance and to pass time." 131b.

190 E.g., Balázs Szigetvári Csöbör, a miniaturist from the second half of the sixteenth century, also refers to his activity as writing: "Ez[en] könyv irattatott Konstantinápolyban, az kapitány Ali basa portáján, szigetvári Csöbör Balázsnak keze által, ezerötszázhetven," (This book was written in Contantinople, in the court of Ali bey, by the hand of Balázs Szigetvári Csöbör, 1570.) *Szigetvári Csöbör Balázs török miniatúrái, 1570* (The Turkish miniatures of Balázs Szigetvári Csöbör), ed. Ferenc Szakály, front page. (Budapest: Európa, 1983).

191 E.g. the picture of the galley-slaves (52b) is followed by the poem about them (song XI., 53a).

gives a picture of himself as if seen from the outside.

Wathay reflects on himself in several ways in the volume, on both his public and private self, whilst he also fashions himself as a writer. Among the images in the *Song Book*, there are also those that depict himself. There are two main types of images where the speaking self appears: self-portraits and narrative images. The narrative images illustrate events that are described in text. The image where Wathay is tortured in Temesvár (Fig. 3.) belongs to this group as well as that where his capturers take him to Istanbul (Fig. 4.). The arrangement of these narrative images within the volume attracts attention, as they are put in order in a manner that dovetails with the description of the events of Wathay's life. The images correspond to the events described in the autobiography that exactly, that for instance, the illustration of Nándorfehérvár (Fig. 5.) shows the view of the city exactly from the angle that Wathay described in the text of the autobiography. He writes that he went up to a hill on the southern part of the town, "in order to contemplate on the affairs of the country."[192]

Altogether ten images depict scenes from the autobiography,[193] and they are all inserted in the volume among the poems, in chronological order, not corresponding to the poems that surround them. The narrative images create a pictorial autobiographical layer in the volume that dominates the arrangement of the poems. This is the main evidence that the whole volume can and should be regarded as a lyrical autobiography. Another piece of evidence for this, and moreover an organizing – unity-creating – powerful feature of the volume is that these autobiographical illustrations have versified

192 "hogi ott Eɜemben uegiem a2 Orɜag allapattiatt" 127b-128a.

193 The castle of the Wathay family (7b); the siege of Fehérvár (9a); the view of Nándorfehérvár (23b-24a); his ranamway attempt from Nándorfehérvár (27a); his re-capture next to Nándorfehérvár (27b); the view of Temesvár (30b-31a); his torture in Temesvár (31b); Wathay is taken to Fellak (33b); he is taken by a coach with other captives (35b); the view of Constantinople (37b).

inscriptions. These small poems predict and at the same time paraphrase the text of the autobiography. For example, on the image where he is taken to Istanbul (35b) the inscription says:

> Illy frissen hattvanon, tíz kocsikval rabok
> Viteténk el alá, nyakonkon nagy vasok,
> Egy holnopra Császár házát s tengert látok.[194]

The other type of image that illustrate Wathay's work are closer to actual self-portraits.[195] The images that depict Wathay can be interpreted as transitional pictures between the narrative and emblematic types.[196] In one of two pictures (Fig. 10.) Wathay is looking out of the window of the prison gazing at a rabbit. The scene can be interpreted as the framework of circumstances of the poem, a kind of pictorial colophon, but the presence of the animal offers an emblematic reading of the poem: traditionally the rabbit is the symbol of loneliness.[197]

These images are connected to poems that do not tell a narrative story, but describe the situation of the imprisoned author, as for example the one that depicts him crying desperately. The self-portraits, similarly to the parts of the autobiography and the poems cited in 2.2, above, also operate with strong emotions, especially the one that depicts Wathay crying in his cell (Fig. 15.). This picture corresponds to the detailed illustration of his miserable position in the poems, especially in poem XXII. As this example shows, the pictures become a tool in giving a more reliable and suggestive

194 The sixty of us, with ten coaches,
With great irons around our necks,
were taken to see by tomorrow the sea and the house of the Emperor.

195 There are two self-portraits in the volume: one depicting him behind the bars of his cell (74b, Fig.10.), and one as crying in his cell (83b, Fig. 15.).

196 Gulyás 2002, 36.

197 Cesare Ripa, referred by Gulyás, 2002, Ibid..

picture of his life, thus, they make the lyrical autobiography a whole.

The relationship of text and images is a substantial factor in the creation of the unity of the *Song Book* not only in the case of the self-reflection of the speaking self: another type of the direct connection between the illustration and the *locus* of the text that creates unity can be introduced with the image of the devastation wrought by the Tatars (44b-45a, Fig. 13.). In the focus of the picture a woman is depicted is lying bound in a bush. A boot can be also seen next to the bush. The lines of the poem describing the image are the following:

> Tatar Aſ3oinepben kiket kapottuala
> Olliaſokatt keö3teök azkitt talallt uala,
> Egÿ keueſse kűleön felre uittek uala,
> Ke3ett labatt feöldhö3 C2öueklettek uala,
>
> Iſ3oniu főrtelem illieken le3uala,
> Saruiat Czegernek föll keőtőttekauala, (…)[198]
> (X/ 89-90.)

The image cannot be understood without the explanation of the poem. The text and the image clearly correspond to each other, and each one helps understand the other.

Other elements in the volume also create a connection between the images and the texts. In some cases a sign in the form of a red hand signifies which lines belong to the illustration, e.g., 50a (Fig. 17.) – women in a basket (Fig. 18.).[199]

In the second part of the *Song Book*[200] the emblematic illustrations are dominant.

198 Those women who were catched by the Tartars,
Any kind of them, whom they could find,
were taken aside for a while,
and their hands and legs were bound.
On these thay made a horrible disgrace,
They bound their boots as a sign, (...)

199 44a

200 From song X.

The reason for this change in the type of the illustrations was that narrative images could be connected to the past (to the events which were described in the autobiography), while the emblematic pictures are connected to the present, to those poems which describe the posture of the speaking self in prison. In the second half of the volume the pictures are more connected to the present, and the narrative images in this part of the volume also describe the present of the writing of the poems and on a higher level, the compilation of the *Song Book*.

3. 5. The relationship of the author and his intended audience as the part of the composition

The final question of this thesis regarding Wathay's self-identification and its manifestations concerns the manner in which he behaves as a writer and his relationship to his audience. At this point of the work, I will collect and evaluate those parts of the *Song Book* where the narrator refers explicitly to the process of composing the poems, the writing techniques he used, and those *loci* where he reflects on his relationship with the supposed audience of his volume.

Wathay intentionally produced the *Song Book* for an audience. This is confirmed by the existence of a preface[201] that is addressed to a reader. The pure existence of this preface is evidence that Wathay took into consideration his readership. In the preface, Wathay fashions himself as a humble believer; he describes his miseries as God's punishment for his sins. This explanation had its roots in a Protestant world view. Continuing the explanation of his motivations for writing, he tells the reader that he

201 "Az olvasó barátinak köszönetit ajánlja" ("Offers his gratitude to the reader"), 4a.

found his inner peace by praying, contemplating, and writing:

Es hog' az en Iſtenőmnek enis ream boc3attatot erős probaiat, ellene ualo ſzugolodaſnekűll el ſzenuedheſsem, (…) e3 ÿl iraſimmall egieb kepeknek pepec2elisiuell, az en ſziuemnek banattiatt kőnniebec3em, es uele az Időtt, [tőltuen] mulaſsam.[202]

This is a significant statement for several reasons. First, it gives evidence of the self-creating power of text, i.e., the *Song Book* itself. Second, it connects Wathay to the confessional tradition of life-writing created by his literary ideal, Augustine, in his *Confessiones*. Wathay introduces his connections to this tradition with the preface, expressing his relationship to Augustine explicitly: *az ſzenth Agoſtonnal azt mondom enis, hogÿ a2 en Iſtenőmett itttalaltam megh*.[203]

After stating that the volume is the tool and the manifestation of forming the self, Wathay expresses his *ars poetica* – which is focused on his readership:

Bi3ott Barathom annak okaert Oluaso, ne ueld hog' enis ez köniben leuő Enekekett nehani Hiſtoriakakk, azuegre egiben ſ3ere3gettem es irogattam, hog' en a3okbull ualami ez Wilagÿ dic3őſegre ualo hirtt, auagÿ Neuett kereſnek …[204]

In this passage the narrator talks directly to the reader. This behaviour of the author is not unknown in contemporary literature, most published books also contain a preface, often accompanied by a dedication.[205] What is different in the case of Wathay is his position; he writes his texts in the prison, and he has no idea of his own subsequent fate or of that of his volume. He is aware of his peculiar situation and he uses it as the

202 "And in order to bear the trial of God without complaining against Him, (...) with this writing and with tinkering of other pictures, I would shorten the sorrows of my heart and take my time." 5a.

203 "I state together with St. Augustine, that I found my God here." Ibid. See also chapter 3. 3.

On the contemporary Protestant practice of confession see Klára Erdei, "Modellfejlődés Ecsedi Báthori István prózájában," *ItK* 86(1982): 620–626.

204 "My trusted friend, reader, do not think that I composed and wrote the songs and stories of this book in order to earn some earthly honour or fame..." Ibid.

205 Many dedications from this period used references to fame and reputation. See Kovács Sándor Iván, "Dedikáció: szentelés, áldozás, ajánlás, dedikálás," *Irodalomismeret* 11 No. 1-2. (2001.): 72-73.

primary rhetorical tool for positioning himself, as for instance, he does at the end of the preface[206] and in the colophons of several poems, and also in images. Moreover, he even uses the colophon to give an ironic coloring to his poem: he finishes his song about the springtime, about the time of the year when all nature, every bird is looking for its spouse and is filled with joy:

> Tengermellett, egi Arniekſzeken ſ3erſ3e,
> Hogi Madarakatt a2 Ablakrúl neſ3e.[207]
> (XXV/27.)

The colophon is perhaps the most trivial (and traditional) manifestation of the writer's consciousness in the poems. The information regarding the time, place and circumstances of the composition traditionally appears in the last strophe of the poem. Wathay uses this technique to describe the creation of his songs; he often gives additional information about the circumstances of the writing after the particular poem, however, not in verse, but in prose. These small texts do not form part of the poem, but of the volume. Instead of being part of the microstructure of the song, these texts belong to the macrostructure.

Wathay's writer's practice of giving information to his readers about his personal opinion of the siege has been introduced already. Another manifestation of the writer's consciousness is that after lauding the defenders of the town, he encourages his audience at the end of this historical song about the siege of Fehérvár to act:

> Aztot de inkább ti cselekedjétek,
> Jó vitézeket hozzátok gyűjtsétek,

206 "Irtam az fölliöl megh fekete Toronban ualo niomorult rabſagomban Bőÿtelőhoban, 1605. E3tendőben kegielmednek Barattia ſ3egen Rab Watthaÿ Ferent3 mp. "I wrote this as above mentioned, in the miserable captivity of mine in the Black Tower, in the month of Fast of 1605, the friend of yours, poor captive Ferenc Wathay mp." 5b.

207 He wrote this nearby the sea, sitting on the privy,
while he was looking at the birds from the window.

Szegény rabokat megszabadétsátok,
Hogy tisztességet kikvel vallhassatok. [208]
(III/141.)

This behavior by the author ensures that the relation of the poet and his readers will be one that is alive and active, and furthermore, one that strengthens the autobiographical pact as it refers to reality. The voice of the writer being personal and firm about behavior that is necessary on the part of the audience determines not only the understanding of the poem, but at the same time it is meant to influence the social attitude towards people in the captivity of the Ottomans.

His practice of giving advice to his readers extends to other issues as well, e.g., in poem No. X. he gives a detailed opinion of women's morals and the desired way of behaving themselves,[209] consciously using a type of narration that is close to the register that is appropriate when talking with women. The author's behavior may be regarded as a manifestation of the role of a narrator who uses a different tone depending on his intended audience.

The above-cited *loci* of the volume give various examples of the relation of the

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208 Rather you do this,
Collect all the good soldiers to yourself,
release all the poor captives,
in order to earn honour.

209 Reatok Aſ3oniok itt eg' Kit3int ſ3olnek,
Ha ſenki kö3tetök, ram nem haragudnek,

Ell hadgiatok kerlek nemell Ola3 formatth,
Kiualtkepen ama3 hoſ3u farku ſ3okniath,
(X/94-96.)
I would say a few more words to you, women,
if you would not mind because of that,

Leave, I ask you, the some Italian forms,
In particular the skirt with the long tail

writer and his intended audience according to the writer's intentions. Regarding writer's consciousness, valuable information may also be gathered from texts where he refers to and comments on writing techniques. Some of these are clear technical comments on the method of writing, as for instance, this extract:

> Rőuid ſ3ouall eztt mind egiben foglalom,
> Merth c3ikkelenkett mind megh nem irhatom (...)[210]
> (III/32.)

In several other places the reader may find evidence of the speaking self's consciousness. They all show that Wathay regarded himself as a writer and fashioned the speaking self accordingly. The forms of these utterances may be formulated, for example, as transitional texts between two parts of a poem: "Mar Jőuendöben ier *laſsuk* minth romla" (III/46); "A3omban *laſd* itt mell dolog tőrtenek" (III/80.).[211]

Texts that refer to the author himself also belong to the group of this kind of utterance. A special example of this is the case of the song of Fehérvár, where he sends the reader to a certain strophe of the poem for further information about the author. This behavior presupposes an active reader, who is willing and able to operate with intertextual reading skills. Other cases can also be found in the volume when Wathay refers to himself. The method of doing this depends on how he emphasizes role of the self. For instance, when his position as a captive is in the foreground:

> Szegenÿ Magiaror3agh mar ha alhat3 Labra,
> Sok romlas miath merth giakran irot3 karra,
> Minapis rabsagh ſ3alla egÿ fiadra,
> Szekesfeÿeruar iuta Pogansagra.[212]

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210 I summarize this all shortly,
As I can not write it detailed.

211 But see what things happened afterwards (…)

212 Poor Hungary, if can ever recover,
because of the lots of harms and miseries,

(III/1.)

A notable example of writer's consciousness can be found in this extract, which presents the speaking self as a soldier in the past and a captive in the present, synthetized and summed up in a poem. At the end, the text is a manifestation of the self as a poet:

> Witeſzek thitekett e2 para3tt Verſekuell
> Egi Tarſatok kőſ3őntt igen nagi io ſ3iuell,
> Kÿ uala nem reghen kö3tetek io neuell.
> Most penig rakodott Rabſagnak Terheuell.[213]
>
> (XIX/15.)

Similarly to the preface, Ferenc Wathay expresses explicitly that he took into consideration an audience in the other prose text in the *Song Book*, in the autobiography.[214] His relationship to the reader frames the entire composition of the volume. If one intends to map the features of this relationship, one has to investigate the intentions of the author, the possible readings the text offers and the horizon of expectations of the reader. Wathay states in the volume that he wrote it "for remembrance and to pass time."[215] This statement, on one hand, refers to the posture of a captive in prison, while on the other, it verifies the general theory of autobiography that in

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> the other day, one of your sons became a captive,
> when Székesfehérvár went to the Pagans.

213
> Soldiers, you with these poor poems,
> one of your fellows greets with good will,
> who not so long ago was among you,
> but now is loaded with the weight of captivity.

214 "... azki olvassa negértheti az én Istenömnek az 1600. esztendőtül fogván való erős csapásait és próbáit rajtam...." "Those who read may understand the trials and acts of God on me from the year 1600..." 131b.

215 "...írtam emlékezetért és üdőtelésért..." 131b.

autobiographical texts memory itself is the creator of identity; the self of the author is organized, formed and communicated to the audience by means of memory.[216]

To turn the question around, it is clear that autobiography demands a special way of reading. The reader has to accept the sameness of the author, narrator, and the main hero of the text. If the reader accepts this sameness, the autobiographical pact comes into existence. The agreement between the author and the reader is often expressed explicitly at some point of the text. Wathay gives this statement in the title of his autobiography: "Here follows the story of the life of my grandfather Ferenc Wathay, my father and myself..."[217] The autobiographical pact assures the reader about the sincerity of the author; the text implies that it tells the truth. This implication, of course, may be false, as the autobiography may also contain fictive elements. Reliability is one of the most crucial problems concerning the autobiography as a source, and one has to be extremely careful while studying autobiographical texts. At the same time, these texts offer a reading that follows the formation of the author's identity.

Probably one of the most substantial questions of the relationship between Wathay and his audience is the supposed readership of the *Song Book*. For whom did Wathay write his volume? In fact, it is known from the history of the volume that Wathay's real audience was narrow, as his *Song Book* did not spread, but was kept in the archives of his relatives. There is no evidence that a wider, contemporary audience knew the *Song Book*. The volume was in the property of the relatives of Wathay,[218] thus, it was

216 István Dobos, "Az önéletrajzi olvasás lehetőségei" (The possibilities of the reading of autobiography) in *A regény nyelvei* (The languages of the novel), ed. Árpád Kovács, 45-55. (Budapest: Argumentum, 2005.)

217 "Következik az én jobb atyám Wathay Ferencnek, az atyám és magam életeknek, minden állapotjukról históriaképpen való megírása..." 107a.

218 See chapter 1. 2.

not spread, it did not became popular. On the other hand, even the exact number of readers of those books which indeed were popular in the era is unknown.[219] Therefore, it seems more relevant to wonder about Wathay's intended audience. The intended audience also may be of two kinds: the readership that Wathay counted on in his volume and the audience which might have read it if it had spread.

The situation is complicated when one tries to draw a picture of the possible audience that would have read the *Song Book*. Concrete hints in the era regarding the readership of literary works can be found in other dedications and in other author's prefaces, similarly to Wathay's book. According to the most general tradition, authors dedicated their works to a patron, a nobleman, but perhaps also to a successful soldier or the widow of a nobleman, or more generally, to "all the good readers."[220] By the end of the sixteenth century, the quantity of published works in Hungarian had grown significantly,[221] together with the number of secular works.[222] This increase reflected the growth of a non-professional, lay readership, and the increase of literacy as well. Among popular works, the increase of literary texts is significant.[223] Regarding the social categories of the readers, as most of the urban citizens were German-speaking people,[224]

219 In fortunate cases, inventarios or correspondance may give account on the actual widespread of a particular work, however, these cases are very rare.

220 Katalin Péter refers to the dedications of contemporary works, such as the dedication of a Hungarian New Testament of Gáspár Heltai to Anna Nádasdy, the widow of István Majláth (1561); a work by Péter Melius Juhász dedicated to János Enyingi Török, the (földesúr) of Debrecen (1562) and others.

Péter Katalin, "Romlás és szellemi műveltség állapotaiban a 17.század fordulóján," *Történelmi Szemle* 27, No. 1-2 (1984): 86. On the level of literacy of contemporary Central Europe, see István György Tóth, *Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe*, New York: Central European University Press. 2000; for a broader view on Europe, Natalie Zemon Davis, "Printing and the People" in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press): 189-226.

221 The number of published works doubled between 1571 and 1600. Ibid, 88.

222 The number of religious works decreased from 60% to 42%. Ibid.

223 The number of popular literary texts grew 14 times more. Ibid. 89.

224 Ibid. 90.

the majority of the works were not made for an urban audince, but for other lay persons: citizens of market towns, the upper layer of peasants.[225] However, after 1601 this flourishing of literature came to a sudden halt, and a decrese started in the spread of literary works,[226] as instead of a wider layer of readers a narrower layer of nobility became the intended audience of authors.

Using the verb "read" is not as self-evident as the form of reception of literature is not that obvious in the era. This was the time when, with the spread of print, oral literature started to become written literature. The characteristics of both can be traced in the *Song Book*; it has indications of melody, but the composition of the volume, together with the images, show that this book was written for individual reading. Without looking at the pictures, the concept of the volume can not be understood. This gives evidence that the *Song Book* was composed not for reading aloud, but for silent reading. Accepting this argument, one has to suppose that there was a layer of readers who would correspond to this expectation of Wathay. This layer would consist of readers who had the same level of literacy as the author, and according to the enumerated intentions of the author regarding his readership, was socially conscious and able to understand and carry out the actions that the speaking self proposed.

Regarding Wathay's intended audience, it has been demonstrated above that he wanted to motivate them to act, he expressed what kind of behavior he expected from them in connection with captives in general, and so on. To sum up the issue, Wathay counted on an active reader. It is apparent from the dedications of several poems that Wathay addressed to his personal acquaintances, but according to the preface and the

225 Ibid.
226 Ibid., 91-94.

autobiography he certainly counted on a wider public.

CONCLUSION

In this work I presented a case study based on the theoretical and methodological framework offered by the school of new historicism. During the analysis of the process Ferenc Wathay's self-fashioning I showed that the speaking self of the *Song Book* introduced and fashioned himself in different, public and private roles, but above all, as a poet. Wathay reflected on the process of writing, consciously composed the *Song Book* as a whole. He anticipated a readership, and acted on his expectations concerning his possible readers – the *Song Book*, however, never reached a wider audince until the nineteenth century, as the volume was kept in the archives of the Guáry family.[227] This way he could never reach its intended audience.

In the volume, Wathay reflected, explicitly or implicitly on the role models he followed: his grandfather as a husband, Miklós Zrínyi as a soldier, Augustine as a believer and writer, and Bálint Balassi as a poet. The following of these figures were determined by the social and cultural framework of the era, but Wathay used them to create a grounding for expressing his own identity.

Wathay presented the events of his life not only in his autobiography at the end of the volume, but with the entire composition of the *Song Book*: the arrangement of the poems and the images draws the line of a lyrical autobiography. In his lyrical autobiography he reports his doubts concerning his faith, his desperateness up to the state of insanity, his sorrow because of the lack of his wife.

The genre and tones of poems of the volume vary on a wide spectrum in order to

227 See chapter 1. 2.

correspond to the line of such a lyrical autobiography. With the farewell poems, moralizing-preaching songs, the religious poems and springtime-songs he demonstrates his abilities as a writer, and at the same time, gives an overview of the literary practice of his era. Thus, the *Song Book* is a unique source of the cultural history of early modern Hungary, as it gives an account of the nature of the literary practices of an emerging lay intellectual layer.

Interestingly, Wathay reflected on his relationship with his capturers according to the traditions of Protestant song writers, and did not report his actual relationship with them during the actual time of his captivity. The autobiography only gives account of relationship and events connected to his capturers in the past, and the *Song Book* as a whole also comments on them in the form of historical songs. This is a curious point regarding the captivity of Wathay, but with the lack of eligible sources, the scholarship is not able to explain this attitude.

For future research, the more detailed analysis of the relationship of text and images is needed, in order for a monograph on Ferenc Wathay to be written. The composition of the *Song Book* and the life of its author presented it is truly an outstanding source of the literature and cultural life of early modern Hungary.

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APPENDIX: ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. The coat of arms of Ferenc Wathay. 2a.

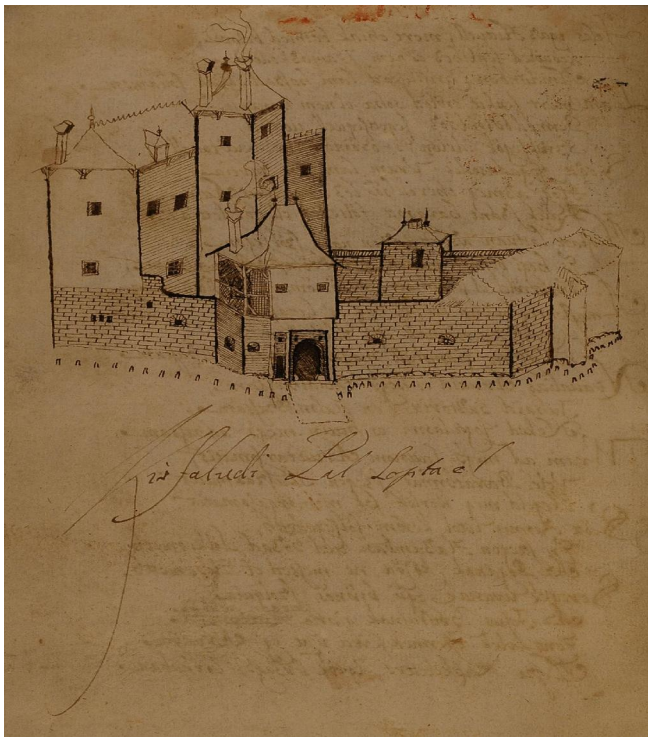

Fig. 2. The house of the Wathays' in Nagyvág. 7b.

Fig. 3. The torture of Wathay by hoca Ferhát. 31b.

Fig. 4. Captives are taken with coach by Ottomans. 33b.

Fig. 5. The view of Nándorfehérvár. 23b-24a.

Fig. 6. Initial. 6a.

Fig. 7. The last judgement. 87b.

Fig. 8. The last judgement of Dürer (1509-1511).

Fig. 9. A killed roe and a raven. 106b.

Fig. 10. Wathay is looking out from the prison. 74b.

Fig. 11. Occasio. 71a.

Fig. 12. Occasio of Francoforti, 1600.

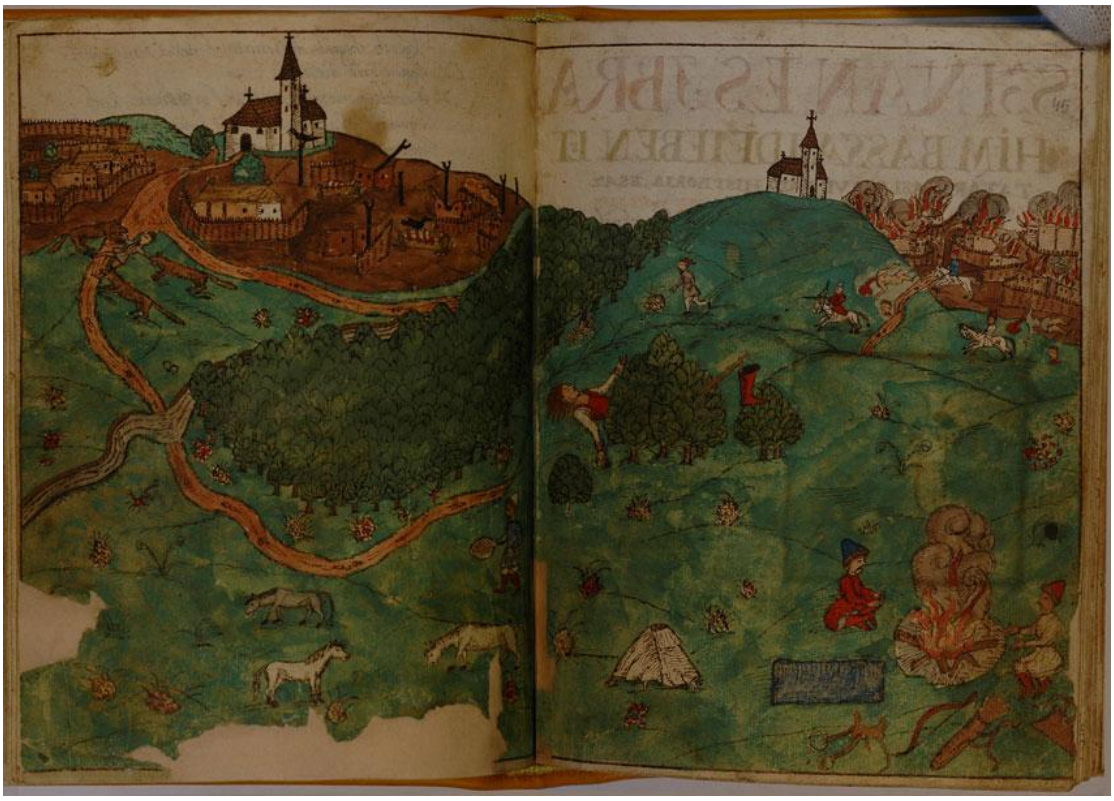

Fig. 13. The devastation of the Tartars. 44b-45a.

Fig. 14. Galley-slaves on the sea. 52b.

Fig. 15. Wathay crying in his cell. 83b.

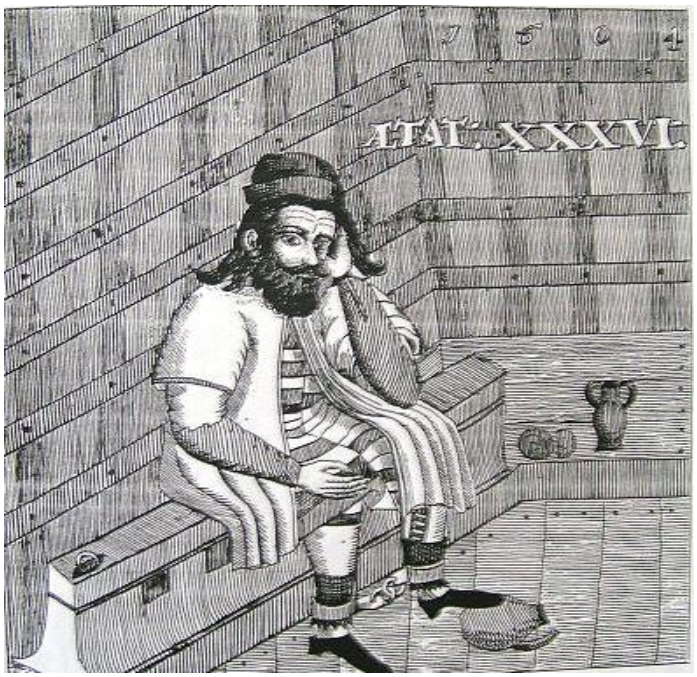

Fig. 16. Wathay in his cell. Copper engraving, nineteenth century.

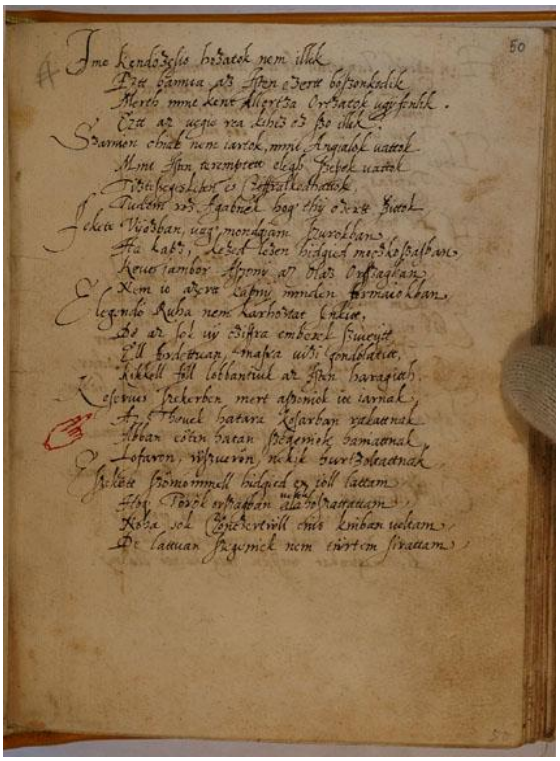

Fig. 17. Red hand shows the text that belongs to the illustration. 50a.

Fig. 18. Captured women on camelback. 44a.