

Region, language, nation, and culture

The intercultural and aesthetic aspects of a Latin *Hodoeporicon* from 1820

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Abstract | Travelogue was an important genre around 1800, used by many to present their experiences in an aesthetic form. However, the travel journal presented here differs from the discourses that characterized contemporary European travel literature in a significant way. These differences provide an effective description of the problems and difficulties aesthetic discourse and intercultural communication faced in Eastern-Central Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The travel journal analysed here survived in the form of an anonymous, Latin-language manuscript in the archive of the Lutheran lyceum in Pozsony. The study identifies the author of the manuscript and the circumstances of its creation: the hodoeporicon was written in 1820 by György Rohonyi / Juraj Rohoň, a Lutheran priest living in Hungary, whose mother tongue was Slovak. Rohonyi was also known at the time as the author of a pamphlet on the historical primacy of Slavic history, and he collected Slovak folk songs as well. He often praises the development of Hungarian culture in his verse-form travel journal, choosing the Latin language to present his travel experiences in a literary format, as well as a Neo-Latin generic tradition described in the study in detail. This phenomenon is a clear example of how during the creative process the intercultural identity of a nineteenth-century Hungarian (or more precisely, Hungarus) author is filtered through often contradictory linguistic, cultural, and political prisms until it becomes an aesthetic representation.

Keywords | region, language, culture, national identity, Hungarus identity, mother tongue, Neo-Latin literature, aesthetics, travelogue, hodoeporicon, geopoetics

Travel writing is undoubtedly an important genre of the period around 1800, used to communicate a range of experiences in an aesthetic form. Many noblemen sent their sons on a Grand Tour to benefit from a guided aesthetic education and required them to record or write a diary of their experiences, some of which were published. A great number of aristocrats went on journeys as a means of self-education, to acquire a kind of social polish and experience the pleasure of culturally unfamiliar literate societies. A confrontation with foreignness and interculturality was a central feature in the aesthetic and social experience gained through travel in this period.¹ This kind of tour and travel writing was also popular among Hungarian aristocrats:² in 1802, Count György Festetics sent his son László on a Grand Tour to Southern Germany, under the guidance of the Professor of Aesthetics at the University of Pest, and the young Count recorded his journey in a beautifully written diary.³ Count Ferenc Széchenyi had done the same a few decades earlier on his tour of Western Europe, accumulating his own aesthetic experiences and social connections.⁴ The travel diary presented here, on the other hand, differs from the discourses that characterised contemporary European travel literature in many ways. Its divergence exposes the problems and difficulties faced by the East Central European aesthetic discourse and intercultural communication of the early nineteenth century.

This manuscript travel diary is stored in the archive of the Lutheran Lyceum in Pozsony (now Bratislava in Slovakia) and carries the title *Hodoeporicon duorum amicorum qui per inclytos comitatus Bacsensem, Albensem et Pestiensem mense Junio anni, quo seDItlo gentes agItat sCeLerata potentes: seD Contra eXLeges IneVnt pla foeDera reges, simul iter fecerunt* (Two friends' itinerary poem who travelled together in the counties of Bács, Fejér, and Pest in June of the year when a violent rebellion was disturbing the mighty nations, but this outlaw state of affairs was overcome by the alliance of kings).⁵ The fact that it was written in the Latin language clearly distinguishes it from other

1 About the international context of the Grand Tour see: Jeremy BLACK, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London: Routledge, 2011); Thomas GROSSER, *Reiseziel Frankreich. Deutsche Reiseliteratur vom Barock bis zur Französischen Revolution* (Opladen: Springer, 1989), 21–89; Mathis LEIBETSEDER, *Die Kavaliertour. Adlige Erziehungsreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Köln–Weimer–Wien: Böhlau, 2004).

2 KULCSÁR Krisztina, “A politikai és társadalmi elit utazásai” [Travels of the political and social elite], *Korall. Társadalomtörténeti folyóirat* 7, no. 26 (2006): 99–127.

3 About László Festetics' manuscript travelogue see: *Übersicht der Reise im Jahre 1802. von Gr. Ladislas Festetics*, manuscript, Archive of the Széchenyi National Library of Hungary, Budapest, Quart. Germ. 1223. On its presentation and interpretation see: Piroska BALOGH, “Knowledge in Transit – Between Aristocrats and Scholars. Remarks on Count László Festetics's Education,” in *The Culture of the Aristocracy in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1750–1820*, ed. Gábor VADERNA, 173–187 (Wien: Praesens, 2022).

4 Ferenc SZÉCHÉNYI's manuscript travelogue: *Descriptio itineris seu peregrinationis per Germaniam, Belgium, Galliam, Angliam et Scotiam anno 1787*, manuscript, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [National Archives of Hungary], Budapest, P623/A, Vol. I. – No. 12. – No. 9. fasc. 93. About Széchenyi's journey see Borbála MOHAY D., “Ferenc Széchenyi's Taste in Gardens and Landscapes,” in *Angewandte anthropologische Ästhetik. Konzepte und Praktiken 1700–1900 = Applied Anthropological Aesthetics. Concepts and Practices 1700–1900*, eds. Piroska BALOGH and Gergely FÓRIZS, 113–135 (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2020).

5 *Hodoeporicon duorum amicorum qui per inclytos comitatus Bacsensem, Albensem et Pestiensem mense Junio anni, quo seDItlo gentes agItat sCeLerata potentes: seD Contra eXLeges IneVnt pla foeDera reges, simul*

examples of the genre. As the title suggests, the reader must solve three puzzles to be able to interpret the text: defining the exact date it was written, specifying its genre, and identifying its author.

The solution to the first puzzle is the chronogram hidden in the title. It is more complicated than a standard chronogram, which is based on the identification of certain letters as Roman numerals. The *Hodoeporicon* chronogram, however, requires a basic mathematical operation as well: adding up the values of the Roman numerals (D+D+D+C+C+L+L+X+V+I+I+I+I or 500+500+500+100+100+50+50+10+5+1+1+1+1) results in the year the manuscript was written: 1820. The other references in the title confirm this year. The rebellion and the alliance of kings refer to the revolutionary chain reaction started in Spain in 1820, when a liberal revolution restored the Constitution of Cádiz. Spain was followed by Naples in July, Portugal in August, and later Piedmont, with rebels everywhere demanding liberal constitutions. In February 1820, the heir to the throne was assassinated in Paris, followed by student demonstrations and officer revolts. At the suggestion of Russian Emperor Alexander I, a congress was held in Troppau (now in the Czech Republic) in October 1820. On 19 November 1820, Russia, Austria, and Prussia signed the Troppau Agreement, which stated that all the countries of the European alliance should restore order in the revolutionary areas and that anything from friendly action to violence could be used to achieve this. In other words, the enigmatic description in the title of the manuscript fits the year 1820, which also suggests that the manuscript itself was probably completed after the Troppau Agreement, during the last weeks of 1820.

The title also helps define the genre of the text, since it highlights the little-known genre of the hodoeporicon. This Greek word means ‘travel diary’ in a broad sense (its Latin counterpart is “itinerarium”). Luigi Monga, who has studied the narrative genre framework of the hodoeporicon from Herodotus to Stendhal, i.e. from the antiquity to the nineteenth century, distinguishes ten subgenres of the hodoeporics, which is generally understood as a travelogue.⁶ The term “hodoeporicon” is also used in Hungarian literature in this general sense, albeit exclusively within the framework of Latin literature in Hungary.⁷ The best-known example is the Latin-language *Hodoeporicon* of János Baranyai Decsi from 1587,⁸ but a *Hodoeporicon itineris Romano-Italici* from 1765 has al-

iter fecerunt, manuscript, Lyceálna Kniznica v Bratislave, Ústredná knižnica Slovenskej Akadémie [Archive of the Lutheran Lyceum], Bratislava, Rkp. 130., fasc. No. 4.

6 Luigi MONGA, “The Unavoidable »Snare of Narrative«: Fiction and Creativity in Hodoeporics,” *Annali d’Italianistica* 21 (2003): 7–45.

7 The genre of the hodoeporicon was also present, for example, in the Croatian monastic travel literature during the Renaissance: Irena MILIČIĆ, “Teoretičari, hodočasnici, činovnici: tri vrste renesansnih putopisnih tekstova,” *Povijesni prilozi* 29 (2010): 43–69.

8 *Hodoeporicon Itineris Transylvanici, Moldavici, Rvssici, Cassvbi, Masovici, Prvssici, Borussici, Pomerani, Marchici, Saxonici, exantlati 1587 a Generoso Et Magnifico Domino, Dn Francisco Banfi Losoncio Ad Illvstrem et Magnificvm Dominvm, Dn Wolphgangym Banfi Losoncium Parentem, Consiliarum Illustrissimi Principis Transylvaniae Sigismundi Báthori de Somlio, Comitem Comitatus Dobocensis, Dominum in Banfi-Hvniad, Nagifalu, Bonczida etc. Scriptum per Ioannem Cz Deczium* (Wittenberg: Simon Gronenberg, 1587).

so survived among the manuscripts of Márton György Kovachich.⁹ However, these are prose Latin texts focusing on a linear narrative as a chronotopos of the journey, faithfully following the progression of time and space. The Bratislava manuscript, on the other hand, was written in verse, partly in hexameter and partly in Sapphic stanzas. There is only one known example of a hodoeporicon written in verse, or more precisely in hexameter, among the travelogues of Hungarian Neo-Latin literature: the Constantinople travel diary of Paulus Rubigallus from 1544, with a dedication to Philipp Melanchthon. This hodoeporicon was published in an anthology by the German polymath Nicolaus Reusner, *Hodoeporicorum sive Itinerum totius fere orbis libri VII*. in 1580,¹⁰ around the same time as a similar anthology by Nathan Chytraeus (published in 1575).¹¹

Why are these anthologies important for the Bratislava manuscript? The author's decision to choose the Greek name of the genre for his work was not guided by the Graecomania that was fashionable during the nineteenth century.¹² Using the term "hodoeporicon" in the title, together with the special poetic form, can be considered a clear reference to a late humanist genre that did not exist in the Hungarian, Latin, Slovak, or German poetic register of the period. The genre model is the Neo-Latin Reusner anthology, as shown by Hermann Wiegand and Peter Brenner's monographs on hodoeporics.¹³ The late humanist Latin-language hodoeporicon poem, which was widespread both in England¹⁴ and in the German-speaking world in the sixteenth century and was also present in the Polish Neo-Latin literature,¹⁵ emphasises its distinc-

Translation and description: TARDY Lajos, "Baranyai Decsi Czímor János *Hodoeporiconja* (1587)" [*Hodoeporicon* by János Baranyai Decsi, 1587], *Filológiai Közlöny* 11 (1965): 359–371.

- 9 Kovachich Márton György, *Martini Kovacsics Senquicziensis, Hodoeporicon itineris Romano-Italici a se socioque anno 1765. feliciter confecti seu accurata de eodem ad Gabrielem Kolinovics communicipem dissertatio*, manuscript, Archive of University Library of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, G 96, 165–215.
- 10 Paulus RUBIGALLUS PANNONIUS, *Hodoeporicon itineris Constantinopolitani* (Wittenberg: s.n., 1544). About Rubigallus' journey see: Eva TKÁČIKOVÁ, "Pavel Rubigal und die Anfänge der slowakischen Reisebeschreibung," in *Studien zum Humanismus in den Böhmisches Ländern. Teil 3. Die Bedeutung der humanistischen Topographien und Reisebeschreibungen in der Kultur der Böhmisches Länder bis zur Zeit Balbins*, eds. Hans-Bernd HARDER and Hans ROTHE, 199–203 (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 1993).
- 11 Nicolaus REUSNER, *Hodoeporicorum sive Itinerum totius fere orbis libri VII. Opus Historicum, Ethicum, Physicum, Geographicum* (Basel: Ad Perneam Lecythium, 1580).
- 12 Natan CHYTRAEUS, *Hodoeporica sive itineraria a diversis clarissimis doctissimisque viris, tum veteribus, tum recentioribus carmine conscripta. Item epigrammata de claris urbis* (Frankfurt: s.n., 1575).
- 13 About the characteristics of nineteenth-century Graecomania see: *Klassizistisch-romantische Kunst(t)räume. Imaginationen im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts und ihr Beitrag zur kulturellen Identitätsfindung. Band 1 Graecomania. Der europäische Philhellenismus*, eds. Gilbert HESS, Elena AGAZZI, and Elisabeth DÉCULTOT (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009).
- 14 As Johanna Luggin demonstrates regarding the English literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most of the Neo-Latin hodoeporicons were written to the mould of "Scholars' Encounter with the English Countryside": Johanna LUGGIN, "Itinera Domestica. Exploring the English Countryside through the Eyes of the Academic in 16th and 17th-Century Neo-Latin Texts," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 71, no. 1 (2022): 7–39.
- 15 Grzegorz MOROZ, *A Generic History of Travel Writing in Anglophone and Polish Literature* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020), especially the chapter "Neo-Latin Tradition and Its Influence on English and Polish Travel Writing," 49–58.

tiveness from the exotic, adventure and praxis-oriented travel literature in English, French, and Spanish that became fashionable during the period, often in the form of diaries or prose letters.¹⁶ All the texts in the Reusner anthology are poems written in hexameter or distiches, with antique models at the forefront. Most of these poetic narratives are not based on a process of discovery but rather follow the poetic form of the ancient walking poems. Walking poems represent the journey as a social activity: the narrator usually travels with a friend, and instead of primarily observing and describing objects and landscapes for his companion during the journey, he describes social experiences and impressions about communities, companies, people's behaviour, including observations about his own personal conduct. Therefore, due to their non-linear, loosely intertwined structure, walking poems are open to exploration from several different views and directions during the reading. The best-known classic example is Horace's satire *Iter Brundisium*,¹⁷ which was published in a very prominent place in the above-mentioned hodoeporicon anthology, in the middle of the volume.¹⁸ Just as Horace, travelling with Heliodorus rhetor, clearly alludes to Gaius Lucilius' walking poem *Iter Siculum*, so does the narrator of the *Hodoeporicon* manuscript, on the road with his friend Aminthas, allude to Horace's *Iter Brundisium*.¹⁹

Despite this obvious allusion, the structure of the Bratislava *Hodoeporicon* differs from this long-lasting genre tradition in some meaningful ways. Horace's poems, and even the model poems of the Hungarian Rubigallus, are continuously flowing, uninterrupted series of distiches. On the contrary, the Bratislava *Hodoeporicon* consists of multiple fragments and subheadings. Its description of the journey does have a certain linearity, and the spatial movement is described by place names, like stations on a journey: [Dunagálos]²⁰ – Futak²¹ – Cséb²² – Újlak²³ – Verbász²⁴ – Moravicza²⁵ – Pacsér²⁶ –

16 As Wilhelm Kühlmann summarizes about the hodoeporicons of the early modern German literature, Neo-Latin poets used this genre of travel writing in a variety of forms, "including the Horatian ode, the elegy, and the hexameter poem," aiming "to invigorate their travel experiences with descriptions of landscapes and cultural phenomena encountered along the way." Wilhelm KÜHLMANN, "Neo-Latin Literature in Early Modern Germany," in *Early Modern German Literature 1350-1700*, ed. Max REINHART, 289-290 (Rochester, Woolbridge: Camden House, 2007).

17 Quintus HORATIUS FLACCUS, *Satirae* 1, 5. For one interpretation of Horace's poem see: Emily GOWERS, "Horace, 'Satires' 1.5: An Inconsequential Journey," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 39 (1993): 48-66.

18 REUSNER, 166-179.

19 Emily GOWERS "The Road to Sicily: Lucilius to Seneca," *Ramus* 40, no. 2 (2011): 168-197.

20 Now Gložan in Serbia.

21 Now Futog in Serbia.

22 Now Čelarevo in Serbia.

23 Now Ilok in Croatia.

24 Now Vrbas in Serbia.

25 Now Mrčajevci in Serbia.

26 Now Pačir in Serbia.

Bajmok²⁷ – Hajós²⁸ – Kalocsa²⁹ – Paks³⁰ – Szentágota³¹ – Velence³² – Sukoró³³ – Székesfehérvár³⁴ – Buda and Pest³⁵ – Pilis³⁶ – Szentágota³⁷ – Bajmok³⁸ – [Dunagálos].³⁹ The route clearly reveals that this was not an extended expedition: the journey was limited to the territory of only three Hungarian counties, Bács, Fejér, and Pest.⁴⁰ The starting point is the present-day Serbian village of Gložan,⁴¹ and the northernmost point is Pest and Buda in Hungary, at a distance of about 300 km from each other.⁴² The subject of the Bratislava *Hodoeporicon*, therefore, is not an adventurous voyage of discovery, but a longer tour familiarising the travellers with regional culture, local communities, and local history. The *Hodoeporicon*, however, does not link these places through a continuous travel narrative. The poem is laxly composed of shorter textual units, which are suitable to being read and interpreted as separate poems.

The main chapters of the *Hodoeporicon* are linked to particular stages of the journey, but there is a varied thematic cavalcade within the chapters: birthday greeting poems, farewell poems to a patron, poems describing personal impressions of a particular region, poetic praise of the community-building power of Hungarian-language theatre, reflections on progressiveness, or mournful elegies on the old glory of Székesfehérvár. These sub-sections focus on social connections and experiences instead of landscapes, objects, or buildings, they aesthetically visualize friendship, patronage, parties, and religious or national communities. The poem frequently combines representations of national communities with descriptions of symbolic institutions or places: the past and present of the Hungarian National Museum, the Székesfehérvár theatre, or the historical town of Székesfehérvár appear as symbolic visualisations of the community-building power of language, culture, and history.

A further structural peculiarity of the Bratislava *Hodoeporicon* is its fragmentation. The first chapter consists of a relatively continuous travel narrative in hexameter, occasionally disrupted by some subjective impressions of night-time or dawn. Poetic fragments praising individual landlords, landscapes, or even formulating elegiac complaints are attached to this narrative as footnotes, intertwined with scholarly-explana-

27 Now Bajmok in Serbia.

28 Now Hajós in Hungary.

29 Now Kalocsa in Hungary.

30 Now Paks in Hungary.

31 Now Sárszentágota in Hungary.

32 Now Velence in Hungary.

33 Now Sukoró in Hungary.

34 Now Székesfehérvár in Hungary.

35 Now Budapest in Hungary.

36 Now Pilis in Hungary.

37 See note 31.

38 See note 27.

39 See note 20.

40 Now County Bács-Kiskun, County Fejér, and County Pest in Hungary.

41 See note 20.

42 See note 35.

tory footnotes, which were quite common in Neo-Latin scholarly poetry. These poems in the footnotes are sometimes the author's earlier works, which he subsequently organises into a cycle that accompanies the journey process. From the chapter of Kalocsa onwards, however, these poems are omitted, the main text itself becomes more fragmented, and due to the range of verse forms and titles, the second half of the chapter is more reminiscent of a modern verse cycle than a narrative travelogue. In other words, the author uses the Neo-Latin genre of the hodoeporicon as a glue and inserts various cycles of poems into this spatial-poetic framework, reflecting on multiple themes. From this spatial framework of the journey, the poem continually opens windows, sometimes onto a person, at other times onto a family, a region, an amusing scene, a significant event from the national past, or even into an inspiring poetic presentation of the contemporary cultural institutions of the nation (theatre, library, museum). Compared to the thematic and narrative cycle-building method of contemporary poetry, this poetic method is a surprising and inventive strategy, a poetic idea for which it would be difficult to find a counterpart in nineteenth-century Hungarian-language literature.⁴³

The social experience was also the most important connective tissue of this colourful cavalcade alongside the travel narrative. In its context, a central poetic element of the *Hodoeporicon* is emphasising the power of language and culture to organise community and build identity. However, this motif reveals a certain inconsistency, which leads us closer to the author's identity, the third puzzle of *Hodoeporicon*. Describing the performance of the Hungarian theatre company at Székesfehérvár, the narrator reflects on the national language as a community-building and inspiring authority:⁴⁴

The evening came and we were in the mood for the theatre:
 Here, pure Hungarian speech flourishes.
 I liked everything I saw or heard here,
 In particular, the harmony of the language of the Homeland.
 The Latin language once roamed like an exile,
 When the wise Grand Prince Géza⁴⁵ received it.
 Then King Stephen,⁴⁶ who is greater than his father, gave the order,
 So that the monks teach it in the schools they opened.
 That people divided in their customs and language
 To bind them together, he ordered them all to speak Latin.

43 About the characteristics of cycle-building traditions in lyrics see: Joachim MÜLLER, "Das zyklische Prinzip in der Lyrik," *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift* 20, no. 1–2 (1932): 1–20, and Ingo MÜLLER "»Eins in Allem und Alles in Einem«. Zur Ästhetik von Gedicht- und Liederzyklus im Lichte romantischer Universalpoesie," in *Wort und Ton*, eds. Günter SCHNITZLER and Achim AURNHAMMER, 243–274 (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 2011).

44 See note 34.

45 Géza, also Gejza, was Grand Prince of the Hungarians from the early 970s.

46 Stephen I, also known as King Saint Stephen (c. 975 – 15 August, 1038), was Grand Prince Géza's son. He was the last Grand Prince of the Hungarians between 997 and 1000 or 1001 and the first King of Hungary from 1000 or 1001, until his death in 1038.

Therefore, Latin became the language of the law,
 And it has ruled for centuries in every public office.
 With fluent Latin, which Hungary eloquently pronounced,
 It had no rival in the nation.
 Nobility spoke as if in their native tongue,
 The habit learned from their mother made no difference.
 Ah! Realizing the importance of nurturing each language
 To cultivate their own nation:
 Hey! With what zeal, with what fervor it laboured,
 To properly polish the language of the Fathers.
 Almost eight decades, I think, can hardly pass,
 The Hungarian language already holds praise.
 With such swift progress, even if it constrained
 All forces, no other nation could reach the goal.
 Here, the pious nation celebrates the work of the poets,
 Whose names of Székesfehérvár it proudly recalls.
 Yet, by learned and noble men, the Latin language
 Is held in just honour and esteem.
 Do not neglect the language of your country, O illustrious Youth!
 You know what a precious right it is for you to speak of this.
 The public affairs of kingdoms and kings
 Command us to consider it as a language of diplomacy.⁴⁷

These lines provide a typical example of the nation-centred poetry of the period: its most important poetic element is anticipating a bright national future and the role the national language plays in it. A closer reading, however, reveals that this fragment does not focus on absolutizing the Hungarian language. On the one hand, these lines strongly highlight the cultural role and legal significance of Latin, the official language in the Kingdom of Hungary during the previous eight centuries. On the other hand, the poem suggests that the vernacular language (“*lingua Patriae*”) should be introduced in

47 “Vesper adest, libuit nobis intrare Theatrum: / Illic Hungaricum purum idioma viget. / Nil mihi displicuit, visa at audita probabam, / Linguae cumprimis euphoniā Patriae. / Exul oberraret cum condā lingua latina / Dux sapiens ultro Geisa recepit eam. / Post Stephanus magno major patre natus, apertis / Jussit eam Monachos paulo docere scholis; / Consuetudinibus divisas oreque Gentes / Juncturus, latio fecerat ore loqui. / Hac diplomaticus factus ratione Latinus, / Regnabat cunctis secula sermo Foris; / Quaeve perorasset fluide mage voce latina, / Hungara quam suevit, Natio nulla fuit. / Nobilitas ceu nativo sermone locuta est, / Nullaque materni sollicitudo fuit, / Serius advertens justo, quod singula linguam / Excoleret promte Natio culta suam: / Heus! quali studio, quanto fervore laborat, / Quo linguam posset rite polire Patrum. / Lustra vel octo, putem, vix praeterire, leporis / Hungaricum jamjam laudem idioma tenet. / Tam celeri gressu, quamvis adstrinxerit omnes / Vires, attigerat natio nulla scopum. / Heic operam vatum celebrat pia Natio, quorum / Albae Spiarium nomina clara refert. / Attamen a doctis sermoni porro Latino / Nobilibusque Viris justus habetur honos. / Neglige nec linguam Patriae praeclara Juventus! / Quae pretiosa nimis scis Tua Jura loqui. / Publica Regnorum Regumque negotia eandem / Pro diplomatica nos reputare jubent.” *Hodoeporicon*, 37–38.

public affairs. The wording is a little vague, so the last four lines could also be understood as arguing for the preservation of the official Latin language. According to the *Hodoeporicon*, the poets have made the Hungarian language suitable for this important role, and its development is attested by its aesthetic power or charm (“lepor”). This charm of the Hungarian language is revealed by theatrical performance according to the narrator. Moreover, the text presents this development of the Hungarian language as a paradigmatic example to be followed, but it does not use the term “mother tongue” in connection with the Hungarian language, using the more neutral term “language of the homeland” instead. Nevertheless, the *Hodoeporicon* describes the German theatre in Pest separately, praising the high artistic quality of the building, the polished performance, and the acting, as well as the aesthetic values of the German language, which was a source of enthusiasm for the audience. In other words, the aesthetic development of the German language is also exemplified by the poem, without any demand for it to replace the venerable but now obsolete Latin as the language used by the public. What is even more unexpected is that the narrator, while describing a hilarious party in Szentágota, refers to the fact that he and his companions “harmonice prius Hungaricis, mox Teutonicis, ac denique Slavonicis intonuere modis”, i.e. they sang in Hungarian, then in German, and finally (having consumed a sufficient amount of alcohol) in Slovak. In other words, the narrator is an excellent Latin poet, who can appreciate the aesthetic beauty of the Hungarian and German languages and enjoys cultural entertainment in these languages. However, as a result of drinking wine, which dissolves cultural and socialisation barriers, he instinctively switches to Slovak: when he is having fun, he first speaks in Hungarian, then switches to German, and eventually to Slovak. Therefore, the use of the Slovak language is the most instinctive for the narrator, a presumably native layer of the multilingual narrator’s linguistic consciousness.

Who could be the creator of this special narrator, and why did he choose Latin as the medium for his poetic expression, ignoring his own Slovak, Hungarian, and German language skills? The Bratislava manuscript only reveals his initials, which are “G. R.”, while his friend and companion addresses him as Georgius in the dialogues. Another manuscript also provides a significant contribution to the research. An unknown contemporary reader copied the fragment that glorifies the National Museum from pages 27–30 of the original *Hodoeporicon*. This copy was placed in the archives of the directorate of the National Museum. In 1934, during the reorganisation of the Museum, all the documents in the directorate archives were transferred to the Hungarian National Archives, to the building at Bécsi Kapu Square. Many documents were destroyed in a fire during the siege in 1945, and the manuscripts that survived because they had been borrowed by researchers were destroyed by fire during the days of the 1956 revolution. However, before this manuscript copy went up in flames, a philologist under the pseudonym π published its text in the journal *Magyar Könyvszemle* [Hungarian Bookreview] in 1905, as a testimony of the Hungarian national enthusiasm the National Museum prompted.⁴⁸ According to π’s article, the late copyist had named

48 π, “Rohonyi Györgynek a M. N. Múzeumot dicsőítő versei” [Georg Rohonyi’s poems praising the Hungarian National Museum], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 3 (1905): 286–288.

György Rohonyi as the author of the poem-fragment.⁴⁹ Since György is the Hungarian version of the Latin Georgius, and the initials of the name Georgius Rohonyi are G. R., this name seems to be consistent with the indications of the original manuscript. Georgius Rohonyi's authorship is also supported by the fact that his name is still recorded in the guest books of the Hungarian National Museum. On 7 June, 1820, he wrote his name in the guest book as "Georgius Rohónyi VDM. Aug. Conf."⁵⁰ Therefore, Georgius Rohonyi did in fact visit the National Museum in Pest in the year the travel poem was written. As the abbreviation next to his name indicates, he was a "Verbi Divini/Dei Minister Augustanae Confessionis," i.e. a Lutheran Pastor. Thus, it is highly probable that the author of the Bratislava *Hodoeporicon* was the Slovakian Lutheran Pastor Juraj Rohoň, who used both the Latin form of his name "Georgius Rohonyi" and its Hungarian version "György Rohonyi."⁵¹

Rohonyi was born in 1773 in Túróc County, in the village of Felsőkálnok⁵² and was educated at the Lutheran Lyceum in Selmečbánya.⁵³ According to János Breznyik's monograph on the history of the Selmečbánya Lutheran Lyceum, under Directors János Severini and Mihály Járosy, who had graduated from German universities, education was largely based on German textbooks and mixed Latin-German classes.⁵⁴ Thus, the students, including Rohonyi, certainly had an excellent command of the German language. After his school years, Rohonyi worked as a governor to the children of Andreas Stehlo⁵⁵ and in 1802 became a Lutheran pastor in the village of Gložan.⁵⁶ This village is now part of Serbia, and its population was predominantly Slovakian at the time, having been settled there in the mid-eighteenth century after ousting the

49 Ibid., 286.

50 *Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Vendékönyvei*, [Guest Books of the Hungarian National Museum], 1817–1831, 139. 7. June 1820., manuscript, Data Repository of Hungarian National Museum, Budapest. About these guest books see DEBRECZENI-DROPPÁN Béla, "Kondástól a királyig. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum látogatói és vendékönyvei a 19. századból" [From the Pig Herder to the King. Visitors and Guest Books of the Hungarian National Museum from the 19th century], *Történeti Muzeológiai Szemle: A Magyar Múzeumi Történész Társulat Évkönyve* 9 (2009): 153–184.

51 About Rohonyi's life and works see: BIERBRUNNER Gusztáv, *A Bács-szerémi Ág. Hitv. Ev. Egyházmegye monográfiája* (Újvidék: Ivkovic György, 1902), 16, 31–32, 48; Rudo BRTÁŇ, "Juraj Rohoň," *Nový život* 17 (1963): 83–93; Michal BABIAK, "Juraj Rohoň v reflexii Ruda Brtáňa," *Slovenská literatúra* 66 (2019): 5, 384–392; Matthias SVOJTKA, Johannes SEIDL and Barbara STEININGER, "Aus der Batschka in die weite Welt: Leben und Werk des Josef Victor Rohon (1845–1923) zwischen Wien, München, Sankt Petersburg und Prag," in *Österreichisch-ungarische Beziehungen auf dem Gebiet des Hochschulwesens / Osztrák–magyar felsőoktatási kapcsolatok*, eds. K. LENGYEL Zsolt, NAGY József Zsigmond, and UJVÁRY Gábor, 195–222 (Székesfehérvár, Budapest: Kodolányi János Főiskola, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Könyvtára, 2010).

52 Now Horný Kalník in Slovakia.

53 Now Banská Štiavnica in Slovakia.

54 BREZNYIK János, *A Selmečbányai Ágost. Hitv. Evang. Egyház és lyceum története* [The History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church and Lyceum in Selmečbánya] (Selmečbánya: Joerges Ágost, 1889), 225–240.

55 Andreas Stehlo (1752–1818) Lutheran Pastor, his son was János Stehlo (1787–1868). About the Stehlo family see: KEVEHÁZI László, *100 éve született Sztehlo Gábor* [Gábor Stehlo, born 100 years ago] (Budapest: Luther Kiadó, 2009), 5–6.

56 See note 20.

Turks. Rohonyi lived there until his death, caused by the 1831 cholera epidemic. He was in close contact with the main representatives of the Slovak nationalist movement in Hungary, Ján Kollár,⁵⁷ Pavel Jozef Šafárik,⁵⁸ and Michal Godru,⁵⁹ with whom he founded the Slovak literary society *Societas Slavica* in 1828. He was devoted to the exploration and promotion of Slovak folklore and published two collections of popular Slovak songs.⁶⁰ In 1795, Rohonyi wrote a Latin apologetic poem against the Hungarian historical novel written by András Dugonics, under the title *Palma quam Dugonics similesque Magyari Slaviae eripere attentarunt vindicata* (Glories that Dugonics and others want to take from the Slavs).⁶¹ In this poem, Rohonyi presents Slovaks as the native inhabitants of the Carpathian Basin and argues that much of the vocabulary of the Hungarian language related to Western culture derives from the Slovak language. In his opinion, the ethnonym “Hungarus” [Hungarian] can be traced back to the Slovak term “ungrus.” Rohonyi’s poem was published by Jan Kollár in Zagreb in 1835,⁶² provoking a fierce counterattack from several Hungarian writers, including Mihály Vörösmarty⁶³ and the Hungarian-born German scholar Karl Georg Romy, who published a detailed review of it.⁶⁴ In other words, Rohonyi’s *Palma* became part of what is called the nineteenth-century “Hungarian-Slovak debate.”⁶⁵ This debate was quite complex and controversial from a Slovak point of view. Kollár and his colleagues set the development of Slovak cultural identity and the Slovak language as their goal. From that perspec-

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- 57 Holt MEYER, “Acting slavsky. The inventio(n) of Jan Kollár and the Rhetoricity of »Slavonic Scholarship«,” in *Inventing Slavia. Izobretenje Slavii. Sborník materiálů konference, organizované Slovanskou knihovnou (Praha, 12. listopadu 2004)*, eds. Tomáš GLANC and Holt MEYER, 104–139 (Praha: Slovanská knihovna, 2005).
- 58 Wolfgang GEIER, *Östlich des 15. Längengrades: Essays zur Geschichte Ostmittel-, Ost- und Südosteuropas* (Klagenfurt: Wieser, 2016), especially the chapter “Pavel Jozef Safarik – Begründer der Slawistik,” 129–140.
- 59 Helena SAKTOROVÁ, “Album Michala Godru,” in Helena SAKTOROVÁ, *Kniha 2006. Zborník o problémoch a dejinách knižnej kultúry*, 175–180 (Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 2006).
- 60 Juraj ROHOŇ, *Kratochvilne zpěvy pro mládež rolnickou* [Leisure Time Songs for the Farming Youth] (Pest, 1829); Juraj ROHOŇ, *Starodávne zpěvy lidu slovenského v Uhrách* [Ancient Songs of the Slovak Folk in Hungary] written in 1802 as a manuscript, which became part of *Národné spievanky* [National Songs Anthology], ed. Ján KOLLÁR (Buda, 1834).
- 61 The first edition was published in 1786, critical edition: DUGONICS András, *Etelka*, ed. PENKE Olga (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2002).
- 62 [ROHONYI Georgius], *Palma quam Dugonics, similesque Magyari Slaviae eripere attentarunt, vindicata, opus posthumum G. R.* (Zagreb: Suppan, 1835).
- 63 FRIED István, “Egy kis Vörösmarty filológia” [A Touch of Vörösmarty Philology], *Irodalomtörténet* 99, no. 1 (2018): 3–18.
- 64 Karl Georg RUMY, “Új hypothesis a’ Magyarok’ és a’ magyar-nyelvnek eredete felől” [A new hypothesis about the Origin of Hungarians and the Hungarian Language], *FelsőMagyar-Országi Minerva* 10, no. 1 (1835): 159–161.
- 65 About the debate see: SZÖRÉNYI László, “»...Ha a magyar szóból a tót kimaradna.« Rohonyi György Dugonics- és magyarellenes gúnyversének művelődéstörténeti háttere” [If the Slovak and the Hungarian Languages Separate. The Cultural Background of George Rohonyi’s anti-Dugonics and anti-Hungarian Satirical Poems], in SZÖRÉNYI LÁSZLÓ, *Philologica Hungarolatina. Tanulmányok a magyarországi neolatin irodalomról*, 161–169, 211–223 (Budapest: Kortárs, 2002). and FRIED, *Egy kis Vörösmarty...*, 3–18.

tive, they saw the recent Hungarian language renewal movement as a model, both due to its cultural and aesthetic goals and the political opposition to the German language favoured by the Habsburg court.⁶⁶ This perspective can be seen in Rohonyi's *Hodoeporicon*. At the same time, Slovak authors confronted the developers of the Hungarian language because several passionate supporters of the Hungarian language not only wanted to make Hungarian the official language of the whole kingdom, but some of them also aimed for a complete linguistic assimilation of the kingdom.⁶⁷ This confrontation is the reason why Rohonyi wrote his *Palma*, a poem arguing for the existence and cultural value of the Slovak language, emphasizing its archaic nature and its intertwined character with the Hungarian language.

To conclude, solving the three puzzles of *Hodoeporicon* enables a better understanding of its author's linguistically, culturally, politically, and aesthetically complicated creative situation. Complex factors motivated Rohonyi to write this modern experimental itinerary poem in Latin, alluding to a late humanist genre with ancient roots, instead of his mother tongue, according to the conventions and expectations of the nineteenth century. It is not that Rohonyi could not have written *Hodoeporicon* in Hungarian, Slovak, or even German. Through his choice of language and genre, however, Rohonyi expresses his dissociation from the main discourses of contemporary travel literature. His work is not an adventurous discovery of foreign lands, an exploration motivated by anthropological interest in foreign people, or an artistic representation of aesthetic experiences. The journey depicted in Rohonyi's work aims to familiarise travellers with the regional culture, local history, and people of their own multinational and multilingual homeland, and the author's aesthetic goal is to represent the various layers and forms of his social and cultural identity in his travelogue poem.⁶⁸ The humanist *hodoeporicon* genre, following the model of the Horatian walking poem, offered a traditional poetic model, but it could not only be imitated in Latin. Nevertheless, to write a Hungarian, German, or Slovak poem about an intercultural situation and multicultural identity, where the aim is to present the interaction of these linguistic and cultural layers on an equal, objective basis would necessarily imply an exclusionary attitude. Therefore, in Rohonyi's *Hodoeporicon*, Latin is not only the language of Horace and the humanist writers but also the traditional language of the multilingual and multi-ethnic Kingdom of Hungary, which for centuries successfully united

66 About the Hungarian language revitalization movement see CSETRI Lajos, *Egység vagy különbözőség? Nyelv- és irodalomszemlélet a magyar irodalmi nyelvújítás korszakában* [Uniformity or diversity? Considerations about language and literature during the Hungarian literary language reforms] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990).

67 About the context of the linguistic assimilation of the time see: *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, eds. GÁBOR ALMÁSI and LAV ŠUBARIĆ (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

68 As Peter Burke writes, travel literature research pays too limited attention to the impact of the journey on the traveller itself, and to the layers of his or her personality that are revealed during travelogue writing. Peter BURKE, "Directions of the History of Travel," in *Rätten. En Festskrift till Bengt Ankarloo*, eds. Lars M. ANDERSSON, Anna JANSDOTTER, Bodil PERSSON, and Charlotte TORNBJER, 176–198 (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2000).

people with different mother tongues and local cultures in a cultural and political community. The narrator, in that he writes in Latin, can authentically present himself as singing in Slovak when in company, enjoying a Hungarian play at the Székesfehérvár theatre, and applauding German actors at the German theatre of Pest, without the aesthetic elimination of his diverse linguistic and cultural identity. On the other hand, the choice of Latin expresses not only a neutral position but also a form of alienation or critical distance. Rohonyi's genre model, Horace's poem *Iter Brundisium*, is a sceptical satire.⁶⁹ Although Rohonyi's *Hodoeporicon* is not a travesty, it was not written without irony. The poetic character of the narrator, who uses the Latin language to describe how he first sings in Hungarian, then in German, and finally in Slovak during a party, seems metaphorical. This ironical metaphor shows how the intercultural identity of a nineteenth-century Hungarian (more precisely, *Hungarus*)⁷⁰ writer filters through the linguistic, cultural, and political prisms during the creative process until it becomes an aesthetic representation.

69 Kenneth J. RECKFORD, "Only a Wet Dream? Hope and Skepticism in Horace, Satire 1.5." *The American Journal of Philology* 120, no. 4 (1999): 525–554.

70 The Latin term "Hungarus" was used by the historian Jenő Szűcs to mark a territorially based cultural identity, referring to the people living in the Kingdom of Hungary until the late eighteenth century, regardless of ethnic, linguistic, or religious differences. For further details see: Ambrus MISKOLCZY, "»Hungarus Consciousness« in the Age of Early Nationalism," in *Latin at the Crossroads...*, 64–94.