

The Organization of Travels in Early Modern Hungary

István Bitskey

In 1578 the illustrious humanist scholar of the early modern Netherlands, Justus Lipsius, expounded upon his theories on traveling in a long letter concerning a journey to be taken by a young nobleman to the Italian peninsula. According to the advice he gave in what was called *Epistola de peregrinatione italica*, “anyone can wander, ramble, or peregrinate but few are able to scrutinize and to learn, i.e. to travel in the proper fashion... That is to say, like those who, when casting a spear, do not throw it in vain but explore the aim they take ahead of time, you should also make a decision ahead of time about the purpose of this journey of yours. If I am not mistaken, your goal is twofold: it covers both usefulness and pleasure... However, one has to strive hard to obtain the usefulness aspect..., and I want you to remember this, for which purpose I shall mark it with the triple path leading to wisdom, knowledge, and morality. The reason for this is that a proper journey must entail all these”.¹

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¹ “Sed ista hic cautio: ut id fiat non cum voluptate solum, sed cum fructu. Vagari, lustrare, discurrere quivis potest; pauci indagare, discere; id est, veré peregrinari ... Ut enim ii qui iaculum mittunt, non in vanum dirigunt, sed scopum praespeculantur ad quem collineent: sic tu praefini, quid peregrinatione istac queras. Duo nisi fallor: utilitatem et voluptatem ... At in utilitate laborandum est ... Eam tibi ingero et triplici hoc linvite designo, Prudentiae, Scientiae, Morum. Haec enim omnia peregrinatio adferre debet; si consilio, si rité instituta.” Justus LIPSIUS, *Epistolarium centuriae duae*, Lugduni Batavorum, Ex officina Plantiana, 1591, 44–45. Epistola XII, Duacum, Philippo Lanoyo nobilissimo iuveni S. D. About the edition of this letter see:

On the one hand Lipsius' exhortation summed up the earlier travel-related experience of European civilization, while on the other it represented an expression of the desire for knowledge and the mental fastidiousness and steadfastness of purpose characteristic of the Late Renaissance. While in the Middle Ages usefulness (*utilitas*) was considered the primary principle of travel and a traveler (called *viator* or *peregrinator*) accordingly had a specific goal to accomplish, the Age of Humanism introduced the idea of delectation (*delectatio, voluptatio*) as a reason for a voyage. As a matter of course, the practical aspect, or usefulness, was also a priority for travelers in the Early Modern period. However, at the same time, even if it was not a conscious element, it had an interesting quality of personal experience to it, which surfaced more and more frequently in the diaries, travelogues, and descriptions of different countries. In the 16th century the wish to travel seemed to increase all over Europe and, as a result, publications about the preparatory organization, regulation, and types of journeys emerged in a staggeringly vast number. The authors of the most notable of these writings (Guglielmo Grataroli, Hilarius Pyrckmair, Hieronymus Turler, and others) enthusiastically urged people to travel on the one hand, while on the other hand they also provided professional guidance for those who set forth on individual journeys. Recently, there has emerged a fairly extensive branch of professional literature focusing on the cultural history of travel and the versions and methods of its theory.² The collection of critical studies by Peter J. Brenner contains a substantial bibliography on the subject.³

Inventaire de la Correspondence de Juste Lipse 1564–1606, par Alois GERLO et Hendrik D. L. VERVLIET, Anvers, 1968, 29.

² J. STANGL – K. ORDA – C. KÄMPFER, *Apodemiken. Eine räsionierte Bibliographie der reisetheoretischen Literatur des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Paderborn, 1983 (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Stadtbeschreibung und Statistik, 2); H WIEGAND, *Hodoeporica. Studien zur neulateinischen Reisedichtung des deutschen Kulturraums im 16. Jahrhundert. Mit einer Bio- Bibliographie der Autoren und Drucke*, Baden-Baden, 1984 (Saecula spiritalia, 12) ; Marc LAUREYS, *Theory and Practice of the Journey to Italy in the 16th Century: Stephanus Pighius' Hercules Prodicus*, in *Myrica. Essays on neo-latin literature in Memory of Jozef Ijsewijn*, Leuven UP, 2000, 269–301.

³ *Der Reisebericht*, Hg. Peter J. BRENNER, Frankfurt am Main, 1989; siehe noch dazu: *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte. Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten der historischen Reiseforschung*, Hgg. Antoni MACZAK und Hans Jürgen TEUTEBERG, Wiesbaden, 1982 (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, Bd. 21); *Reisekultur*.

Although the documents testify of a surprisingly high level of mobility in Europe even in the Middle Ages,⁴ by the Early Modern Age people's willingness to travel had become even stronger, and the authority and respect garnered by those who traveled also increased dramatically. In the beginning, the impulse to set out on journeys came from the courage of Renaissance people to seek adventure, while later undertaking the proper arrangements for travel developed into a well-planned activity, and evolving more and more into a profession that required expertise and a wide range of knowledge. Hungary also became a part of this process. By the end of the 16th century, the domestic body of literature on travel started to grow extensively, with almost all of its salient genres appearing in intellectual circles in the Carpathian Basin. Hungarian researchers began to study and process this rich material of cultural history towards the end of the 1970s. Series of reference books, databases, and studies were published that now make it possible to survey the period with a focus on Hungarian types of travel, destinations, typical preparations for journeys, and processes and experiences of travel.⁵

Von der Pilgerfahrt zum modernen Tourismus, Hgg. Herman BAUSINGER, Klaus BEYRER, Gottfried KORFF, München, 1991; Justin STAGL, *Ars apodemica: Bildungsreise und Reismethodik von 1560 bis 1600*, in *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Hgg. Xenja von ERTZDORFF, Dieter NEUKIRCH, Rodopi, Amsterdam, 1992, 141–189 (Chloe. Beihefte zum Daphnis, Bd. 13).

⁴ Norbert OHLER, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, München-Zürich, 1986; PETNEKI Áron, *Tanta malitia itineris...*, in *Klaniczay-Emlékkönyv*, ed. by JANKOVICS József, Budapest, 1994, 10–31; CSUKOVICS Enikő, *Középkori magyar zarándokok (Hungarian Pilgrims in the Middle Ages)*, Budapest, 2003.

⁵ László TARR, *The history of the carriage*, London, 1969; BINDER Pál, *Utazások a régi Európában. Peregrinációs levelek, útleírások és útinaplók 1580–1709 (Travels in the old Europe. Travel letters, description of travels, travel diaries)*, Bucharest, 1976; KOVÁCS Sándor Iván, *Pannóniából Európába (From Pannonia to Europe)*, Budapest, 1975, 72–79; IDEM, *Szakácsmesterségnek és utazásnak könyvecskéi (The booklets of culinary art and travel)*, Budapest, 1988; HOFFMANN Gizella, *Peregrinuslevelek 1711–1750 (Letters of peregrinators 1711–1750)*, Szeged, 1980; *Magyar utazási irodalom 15–18. század (Hungarian Travelogues from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries)*, ed. by KOVÁCS Sándor Iván and MONOK István, Budapest, 1990; *Peregrinatio Hungarorum*, vol. I–VII, ed. by HERNER János, Szeged, 1988–1990; *Régi és új peregrináció. Magyarok külföldön, külföldiek Magyarországon (Old and new Peregrination. Hungarians abroad, foreigners in Hungary)*, vol. I–III, ed. by BÉKÉSI Imre, JANKOVICS József, KÓSA László, NYERGES Judit, Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság, Budapest–Szeged, 1993; SZELESTEI

1. The First Hungarian in the Americas

Understandably, news of Columbus' discovery of the New World and the conquests that followed traveled quickly in Western Europe, but with some delay knowledge of the new continent began to become part of public discourses in regions distant from the seas as well. Numerous travel accounts were printed in the 16th century offering information and accounts concerning the Americas to an ever wider circle of the European intelligentsia.⁶ The Huttich–Grynaeus anthology, which recounts the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci and Magellan and gives a detailed description of the history of the discovery of the New World, figures on several contemporary Hungarian booklists.⁷ One edition that had been in the possession of István Balácsi in 1567 became part of the collection in the library of the Jesuit college in Nagyszombat (present-day: Trnava, Slovakia).⁸ According to one hypothesis, Albert Szenci Molnár had the book sent to Hungary from Wittenberg with his friend in 1592, since a book entitled *Historia novi orbis Americae* is listed on the receipt of volumes delivered.⁹ If this was the case, he must have had considerable knowledge of the New World. In Catholic circles, however, works based on the experiences of Jesuit missionaries were used. One of the most comprehensive of such volumes was *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Sevilla, 1590) by Spaniard Joseph de Acosta (1539–1600). Within a few years of its publication it had been translated into almost every major European language and Comenius himself makes reference to it.

NAGY László, *Naplók és útleírások a 16–18. századból (Diaries and description of journeys from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries)*, Budapest, 1998 (Historia Litteraria 6); *A Cultural History of Hungary. From the Beginnings to the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by László KÓSA, Budapest, 1999, 67–71, 280.

⁶ John ALDEN – Dennis C. LANDIS, *European Americana: a Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas 1493–1776*, New York, 1980 (Readex Books). J. H. ELLIOTT, *The Old World and the New 1492–1650*, Cambridge, 1970.

⁷ Simon GRYNÆUS – Johann HUTTICH, *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum*, Basel, 1532.

⁸ FARKAS Gábor Farkas, *A nagyszombati egyetemi könyvtár az alapításkor (The University Library Nagyszombat in the time of its foundation)*, Budapest–Szeged, 2001, Nr. 102 (A Kárpát-medence koraiújkori könyvtárai, III).

⁹ KOVÁCS Sándor Iván, *Szenci Molnár Albert utazási emlékei*, IDEM, *Pannóniából Európába*, op.cit. 85–86.

It is a well-known fact that the first Hungarian to set foot in the New World was István Budai Parmenius. Born sometime around 1555 in Buda, following completion of his schooling in Hungary he traveled in Western Europe to pursue his studies. In 1581 he settled briefly in Oxford, but his interests soon turned towards seafaring. He extolled the voyages of admiral Sir Humphrey Gilbert to the New World in a compendious Latin verse (*De navigatione... Humfredi Gilberti*, London, 1582), enthusiastically praising the heroism of the undertaking. One year later he himself had the opportunity to take part in the admiral's second expedition, over the course of which he traveled to Newfoundland (a territory of present-day Canada). In his letters he gave valuable descriptions of regions they explored.¹⁰ In a letter of August 6th, 1583 to Richard Hakluyt he wrote that the expedition, which consisted of five boats, had moored in St. John's Harbour and begun exploring the surroundings. He mentions enormous forests, waters teeming with fish, the favorable climate, and having seen only bears so far, no indigenous peoples. He had plans to write an epic poem about the voyage, and his English friends had great hopes for it. Barely a month later, however, the boat was caught in a storm during the voyage back to Europe and the great humanist scholar perished. It is regrettable indeed that the first Hungarian to travel to the Americas was unable to realize his vision and leave a more extensive record of his experiences of the New World for posterity.

2. The travelbooks and guidebooks in Hungary

It is worth keeping in mind that in the Early Modern Age it was very rare for anyone to consider a journey to a far-off destination with the intention of staying for only a short period of time, even a period as long as a few weeks. Such journeys were undertaken only by royal couriers (*cursores*) or by messengers in the service of affluent noblemen.

¹⁰ David B. QUINN – Neil N. CHESIRE, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius. The Life and Writings of a Hungarian Poet Drowned on a Voyage from Newfoundland 1583*, Toronto UP, 1972; KOVÁCS Sándor Iván, *Budai Parmenius István, a tengerbe veszett magyar humanista költő*, Vigilia, 1977, 466–471, IDEM, *Jelenlévő múlt*, Bp. 1978, 39–48; GÖMÖRI György, *Adalékok és feltevések Budai Parmenius Istvánról*, Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 1983/4, 368–373; VASVÁRY Ödön, *Magyar Amerika*, Szeged, 1988.

Traveling was always dependent on the quality and the level of development of the contemporary means of transportation and road conditions. Accordingly, in the Early Modern Age, extensive preparations (often lasting for several months) had to be made before setting out for a more significant journey abroad. The person making arrangements for the journey, the patron of the traveling group or the peregrinators themselves, had to study a multitude of oral and written guidelines if they wanted to ensure that the trip would be successful. Each phase of the individual journeys had their corresponding literary genres, which provided a framework of guidance and counsel for those wishing to reach distant lands. There were theoretically based sources referred to as *ars peregrinandi*, listing the advantages and disadvantages of taking trips and always giving preference to the adventurous spirit over the tendency to stay home and behave as a “homebody.” The theoretical background was supplemented by the practical instructions of the patron who financed the trip, in which detailed instructions were laid out for the young wayfarers and their escorts. For the purposes of exploring notable towns, the more scrupulous travelers used guidebooks (*guida*) as early as the 17th century. There was a particularly increased demand for the guidebooks about Rome, and the relevant literature notes the presence of a virtual guidebook-industry on the city. The epic poet Miklós Zrínyi, the wealthiest Hungarian aristocrat of the Baroque Age, most probably used the guidebook *Le cose meravigliose dell'alma citta di Roma* (published in Rome in 1636), which gave a detailed discussion of the sights of the eternal city.¹¹

During the journeys it was a general custom to keep a diary (*diarium*), while letters (*missiles*) were sent back home giving accounts of the sights and adventures seen and experienced. Later on, the experience was related in detailed travelogues or travel books (*descriptiones*), which sometimes developed into high quality memoirs. The accounts sent back home by the peregrinators were allowed for an exchange of information between the population of Europe and that of the Carpathian Basin. The

¹¹ KOVÁCS Sándor Iván, *Zrínyi római útikönyve* (The Rome-guidebook of Zrínyi), Irodalomtörténet, 1981, 299-331 and in „*Adria tengernek fönförgő habjai*”. *Tanulmányok Zrínyi és Itália kapcsolatáról* (“*High Frothing Waves of the Adriatic*”. *Studies on Zrínyi's Italian Contacts*), Budapest, 1983, 19; *A Bibliotheca Zriniana története és állománya* (*The history and stock of the Bibliotheca Zriniana*), ed. by KLANICZAY Tibor, Budapest, 1991, 397.

acquaintances and friendships with people abroad were recorded in many an *album amicorum*, which also contained numerous variants of the poems written on departing or saying farewell (*propemtikon*, *apobaterium*, etc.). These genres were widely known in the Carpathian Basin, and they continue to supply ample information both in Latin and in Hungarian concerning the contemporary customs of travel.

The Hungarian travellers of the age came from a variety of social layers. Their ranks included kings and dukes, diplomats and officials, preachers and students, tax collectors and merchants, soldiers and artisans, as well as journeymen from guilds and itinerant musicians. On more important religious holidays, large crowds of peasants took to the road for the purpose of pilgrimages or processions. Naturally, the mobility of the population was strongly influenced by military and political events, which could be both a help and a hindrance. The theoretically oriented contemporary analytical writers divided the travels that were important from the perspective of cultural history into two larger groups. *Peregrinatio sancta* and *peregrinatio academica* were considered meritorious undertakings representing activities enriching both the individuals and their communities. The two kinds of motivation were sometimes interrelated. However, one distinct group of travel types included pilgrimages, processions seeking penitence, and visiting en masse miraculous springs, fountains, caves, shrines, statues, and other locations where miracles were said to be worked. Such voyages were undertaken on the one hand for the purpose of seeking penitence and on the other in hope of gaining other graces. They were the popular forms of travel in the Early Modern period because they were inexpensive. Pilgrimages mostly meant journeys taken in relatively large groups: individual families, communities of relatives and, even more often, inhabitants of individual settlements set out together on a journey. If the group consisted of more than 30 people, it generally qualified for a pilgrims' procession (*processio*), in which the members prayed and sang together under the leadership of by the parish priest and carried banners and devotional objects. Naturally the group covered the distance to their destination on foot, and only in exceptional cases did people ride on vehicles (e.g. when carrying sick people on carts or on wheelbarrows, or when crossing rivers in boats, etc.). For accommodation, they frequently used the cloisters of monasteries, occasionally with as many as a thousand people finding shelter for the night. Not even people belonging to the aristocratic or wealthy layers of society qualified for exemption from this

asceticism, since pilgrimages could only achieve their aims if one undertook suffering through vicissitudes.¹²

A different motivation and a different manner of implementation characterized the journeys undertaken for the purposes of academic improvement and the acquisition of information. These journeys can be considered the forerunners of latter-day forms of modern tourism, much more so than pilgrimages, processions for the purpose of gaining absolution, etc., so it seems reasonable to focus on the organizational and preparatory methods applied to them.

The author of the first significant treatise in Hungarian literature on the theory of travel was Baron Mihály Forgách, who was in regular correspondence with Justus Lipsius. Delivering a speech of an almost hymn-like quality on the subject at the University of Wittenberg in 1587 (called *Oratio de peregrinatione et eius laudibus*), he zealously urged young people in Hungary to travel. He introduced his train of thought with a rhetorical question: “Would you like to know how Ulysses obtained glory and fame for himself? He went to the end of the world, visited many different kinds of people and various cities, and this is how he earned the recognition on the basis of which people all over the world continue to write poems about him. Thus, if you wish to secure glory for yourself, go and visit far-off countries like Ulysses did. This advice comes to you from a noble and distinguished aristocrat, who has learned about the many advantages of traveling as part of his personal experience. Youth of Hungary, follow him as your guide, if you do not want to fall behind and deliberately waste your glory”.¹³

As far as we know, young people (first of all Protestant students) undertook travel in great numbers in early modern Hungary. The most widespread form of this was university studies. However, this kind of

¹² TÜSKÉS Gábor, *Bücsújárás a barokk kori Magyarországon a mirákulumirodalom tükrében (Pilgrimage in the Baroque Hungary as Reflected in Devotional Literature)*, Budapest, 1993; Gábor TÜSKÉS – Éva KNAPP, *Volksfrömmigkeit in Ungarn. Beiträge zur vergleichenden Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte*, Verlag Röhl, Dettelbach, 1996, 111–276; Gábor TÜSKÉS, *Literatur- und frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Verbindungen zwischen Niederösterreich und Ungarn in der frühen Neuzeit*, in *Aspekte der Religiosität in der frühen Neuzeit*, Hg. Thomas AIGNER, St. Pölten, 2003, 9-26 (Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte Niederösterreichs, Bd. 10).

¹³ SZABÓ Károly – HELLEBRANT Árpád, *Régi magyar könyvtár (Old Hungarian Library)*, Budapest, 1898, vol. III, 769. For a Hungarian translation of the Latin text see in *Magyar utazási irodalom*, op. cit. 8.

peregrination was still an enterprise based on utilitarian principles, prompted by the need to keep abreast of international scholarly standards. Thus, it was different in quality from the so-called wellness (recreational) tourism of the modern age. Nevertheless, the students sometimes made detours on their way back home, the aim of which was clearly related to seeing the world, obtaining further experience, and supplementing their studies with adventures while “seeing foreign lands.” A classic example of this was the journey taken by Márton Szepsi Csombor: he studied for almost two years in Gdansk, from where he then set forth on a tour of Western Europe. He visited Denmark, the Netherlands, England, France, Germany, and Bohemia. He saw, among other cities, Amsterdam, London, Paris, Strasbourg, Heidelberg, Nuremberg, and Krakow. He traveled by ship, road carts, and on foot, and he offered an enthusiastic account of the products of civic culture in Europe, including buildings, customs, people, the landscape, and rarities. The critics have highlighted the dichotomy inherent in the way he viewed Europe, noting that he always made comparisons. He compared what he saw with the conditions in Hungary, and he did his best actually to bring home what was worth remembering and borrowing. For him, travel was not merely entertainment, but an opportunity to have eye-opening experiences and gain a kind of double vision. At the same time, his work also depicted the hardships and dangers of “wayfaring” in a deeply human and direct fashion. For example, when referring to the ordeals he had to undergo by the seaside in the Netherlands, he offered succinct advice to other travelers that resembled Latin proverbs in its compactness: “Peregrinans duos saccos debet habere, alterum patientiae, alterum pecuniae,” i.e. travelers ought to have two pieces of luggage, one for patience and the other for money.¹⁴

3. Protestant students and traveling instructions

Adopting modes of travel similar to those used by Szepsi Csombor, hundreds of other Protestant young men traversed Europe, visiting primarily centers of higher education in Germany, the Netherlands, and

¹⁴ SZEPSI CSOMBOR Márton, *Europica varietas*, ed. by KOVÁCS Sándor Iván and KULCSÁR Péter, Budapest, 1979; Martin HOLMES, *The London of Martin Csombor*, *Hungarian Quarterly*, 1964, 134–142

England. There is abundant secondary literature available on them.¹⁵ It was mainly these young people who could put to use the books written by Dávid Frölich, the scholarly rector of the school at Késmárk [the present-day town of Kežmarok in Slovakia]. The author was reputed to have spent 12 years traveling and collecting material for his works, which provided fundamental direction and guidance for would-be travelers, covering every necessary detail. His book on geography, *Medulla geographiae practicae*, published in Bártfa [present-day Bardejov, Slovakia] in 1639, was prepared specifically “for the use of travelers” and, accordingly, its preface launched a strong attack on the opponents of travel.¹⁶ In Frölich’s opinion, “there are knowledgeable eggheads who continually hide at home like boot-makers, expressing scorn for wandering, reading only authors of geographical books, who are called *Buchgelehrten* by the Germans, and who are so impudent and obstinate that they believe that they will know as much by just reading books as others can see with their own eyes.” Following this passionate piece of propaganda, the book systematically lists and covers in seven chapters the things to be contemplated during a journey (*Tabella delineans in peregrinationibus potissimum observanda*). According to the author, after the mental preparation and the singing of psalms, one has to observe the region that serves as one’s destination in depth, one has to be familiar with the place-names (old and new), the reason for the choice of names for individual countries, their founders, the circumstances of their inhabitants, and the

¹⁵ George GÖMÖRI, *Hungarian Students and Visitors in 16–17th Century England*, in *Hungarian Studies*, 1985, 31–50; Katalin BEKE, *Ungarische Reiseliteratur als wichtige Quelle der niederländisch-ungarischen Kulturbeziehungen*, in *Zwischen Erfahrung und Erfindung. Reiseliteratur einst und heute*, Hgg. Tamás LICHTMANN, Walter FANTA, Krisztián TRONKA, Debrecen, 1996, 7–25 (*Arbeiten zur deutschen Philologie*, Bd. XXIII); JANKOVICS József, *Ex occidente...*, Budapest, 1999, 185–192, 204–213; for further informations see the studies of András SZABÓ, János HELTAI and Sándor LADÁNYI in the volume *Iter Germanicum. Deutschland und die Reformierte Kirche in Ungarn im 16–17. Jahrhundert*, Hg. A. SZABÓ, Budapest, 1999, 201–213; Richárd HÖRCSIK, *Die kurze Geschichte der protestantischen Peregrination in Ungarn im 16–18. Jahrhundert*, in *The First Millennium of Hungary in Europe*, ed. by Klára PAPP and János BARTA, Debrecen, 2002, 397–408.

¹⁶ *Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok (Early Printings of Hungary)*, vol. III (1636–1655), red. by HELTAI János vol. I, Budapest, 2000, Nr. 1758. I used the copy of the Library of the Debrecen Reformed College, nr. U 464 (his possessor was Paulus Oroszi, 1746). For the Hungarian translation see *Magyar utazási irodalom*, op. cit. 55–59.

location of the cities visited. The list furthermore includes the names of rivers, mountains, ports, forests, and groves. One has to become familiar with the man-made institutions, houses, monasteries, churches, palaces, forts, marketplaces, towers, bastions, arsenals, gardens, wells, statues, and paintings. Finally, the traveler ought to study the political life of the country, including the means and manner of its government, its schools and educational institutions, libraries, and public morals. One must take account of the country's scholars and artisans, as well. He gives a general rule for travel (*Peregrinandi regulae*) as follows:

“The wayfarers have to endure and suffer a lot. Those who cannot bear this, should not even set out on a journey. Before departing, they should learn about the individual destinations. They should not just observe the superficial, but also the life and customs of the people, the location of places, and the relics of old, because this is where wisdom comes from. They should have a map with them, as this is the guide and the eye of any wayfarer. Without it, they wander blindly in strange lands. They should pick a reliable travel companion. They should set out at dawn, stay put at night, find safe accommodation in the evening, and should not proceed when there is a storm. They should not believe everyone, yet should not lie to anyone, should not gossip or vie with the locals, and should converse with the scholars. They should be careful in the inns and should not count their money in front of others.”

According to the author, his next work, which was published a few years later (Ulm, 1643–44) under the title *Bibliotheca seu cynosura peregrinantium* (travel “library or guideline”) and which comprised the contents of *Medulla* as well, was “a more complete, enjoyable, and useful travel book than any published before.” Among other things, the book contains more than a hundred problematic situations that might occur while one is traveling, counsel related to journeying, a methodology for the proper observation of sights, a travelers’ geography and history, a calendar, and information on the roads, fairs, and currencies, but it also has a selection of different kinds of travelers’ prognoses (interpretations of dreams, palm readings, weather forecasts), as well as prayers and songs for the road. Frölich’s traveler’s encyclopedia exerted a significant impact on the formation of the image of Hungary (*Ungarnbild*) in German public opinion.¹⁷

¹⁷ TARNAI Andor, *Extra Hungariam non est vita*, Budapest, 1969, 72–73 (Modern Filológiai Füzetek, 6).

The everyday life of contemporary travelers can be easily reconstructed on the basis of the heedings and admonishments penned by the scholarly rector from Késmárk (present-day Kežmarok, Slovakia). It suffices to cite only a few of these as illustration. It is interesting that both the theoretical appraisal of travel and the physical fragility and frailty of travelers are mentioned in these quotes. Examples of the former include the following: "Learnedness is the surest traveling kit, as neither shipwreck, nor fire, nor war, nor thievery, nor robbery can do any harm to it." "The birthplaces of great personalities must be visited, scrutinized, and valued with inherent interest." "We should diligently visit and attend the churches on the way." Examples touching on the means and manner travel are: "The dangers of the road do not have to be excessively feared." "Not only the way to our destination but also the way back must be carefully planned and considered." "Horses have to be duly taken care of both night and day." There are several pieces of advice in the book on eating and meals: "When in an inn, we sometimes have to put up with meals that are not prepared according to our tastes." "When we are entertained as somebody's guest, we should eat the food piecemeal." "Drunkenness should be avoided." "In Italian restaurants, we should avoid eating rabbit meat."

It seems that even back in those times there were unruly travelers without the necessary education or manners, as several warnings uttered by the scholar from Késmárk allow us to conclude: "Sometimes the peasant-like and rude quality of the fellow-travelers has to be patiently endured." "We should not easily fall into rivalry with our fellow-travelers." The author also considered the proper behavior at places of accommodation important: "In the inns, conversations should be initiated and carried on that entertain the host and the other customers and make them fancy the guest." "Let us refrain from hollow bragging." "Those who lie had better have a good memory." "First, we should make sure that our host is reliable, and only then should we trust him to hold our money in trust." "We should not harass the daughters or the maidservants of the host indecently." Finally, further admonitions to protect the traveler from hazards are: "We should not go to dangerous locations at random." "We should not venture into strange and dangerous forests without a companion." "We should not swear when we are in the middle of a storm."

One clearly sees from these few citations from Frölich's travel guide that anyone who studied it thoroughly could acquire sufficient

knowledge about contemporary regulations for traveling and could properly prepare for the enterprise. Following this, the success of the journey, which represented considerable risk and cost, depended only on the traveler (and the generosity of his patron).

4. The *Kavalierstour* of the young aristocrats

The preparatory organizational work for tours of study for the more affluent young people, who came primarily from aristocratic families, certainly took on different dimensions. For example, the task of preparing the 16-year-old Miklós Zrínyi for his grand tour of the Italian Peninsula was given by the king to Péter Pázmány, the bishop of Esztergom himself. The preparatory stage lasted more than six months. First letters of recommendation were sent from the king to the ambassadors in Rome and Venice, while Pázmány asked cardinal and state secretary Francesco Barberini to grant support for the tour. A large delegation, at the head of which was Mátyás Senkviczy, canon of Esztergom, accompanied the young Hungarian aristocrat, who was then officially received by numerous Italian lay and secular dignitaries. Among these were the Grand Duke of Tuscany and Pope Urban VIII. The latter actually gave Zrínyi his books of verses as a present. They stayed at several important cities, including Rome, Naples, Florence, and Pisa. Benefits of the tour included acquiring a command of Italian and thorough knowledge of the fields of literature and military and political science. This enabled Zrínyi later to respond in a manner more mature and conscientious to the callings of his vocation as a politician.¹⁸

The young Miklós Bethlen, one of the most talented representatives of the aristocracy, benefited similarly by traveling in a different direction. Having pursued studies at universities in the Netherlands, he visited London, Oxford, and Paris so that he would be able to return to his native Transylvania as a person with an extensive knowledge of politics. According to his autobiography, he was deeply impressed by the achievements of western culture, the forms of representation around the sovereigns, the captivating lectures he attended at the universities, and the libraries, hospitals, archeological discoveries, collections of art, rarities and other curiosities, and last but not least, by the organized quality and

¹⁸ KLANICZAY Tibor, *Zrínyi Miklós*, Budapest, 1964, 32–35.

practical aspects of life in general. Thus, it made perfect sense that he later prepared with utmost care the grand tour for his son, Mihály. Following his studies in Frankfurt and Franeker, Mihály Bethlen traversed Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, the Netherlands, England, Switzerland, the German and Italian states, Austria and Poland. Everywhere he went he looked at the sights and consulted scholars and politicians, exactly as he had been instructed to do by his father. Due to his untimely death, however, he could not put the experience he had gathered abroad to any use back home.¹⁹

At the end of the 17th century, the so-called *Kavalierstour*, a fashionable form of traveling throughout Europe, also came into vogue in Hungary.²⁰ During the course of this type of aristocratic-chivalric tour of study, the young noblemen sent abroad did not have to study at universities. Instead they were expected to acquire some knowledge of the local manners of courtly behavior and the rules and regulations of social demeanor among the members of the nobility. They were also encouraged to study foreign languages, dancing, horseback riding, fencing, architecture, and legal practices, while becoming accustomed to handling their money on their own. An excellent example of this is Zsigmond Széchenyi's tour around the Italian states, which was organized by his father, György, with extraordinary care given to the details. The young man, 19 years of age, set out on his journey accompanied by four escorts each of which had their own individual tasks recorded in the form of separate written instructions. The father prescribed a strict itinerary, including the people and institutions to be visited. He also outlined a budget and provided the members of the group with moral advice. The letters they then sent back home duly gave an account of each and every detail of the tour.²¹

Among the destinations popular in the circles of educated Hungarian Catholic youth, Rome was certainly the first, partly because of

¹⁹ Bethlen Mihály útinaplója (*Travel diary of Mihály Bethlen*), ed. by JANKOVICS József, Budapest, 1981, 145.

²⁰ Harry KÜHNEL, *Die adelige Kavalierstour im 17. Jahrhundert*, in *Festschrift zum 100jährigen Bestand des Vereins für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich und Wien*, Wien, 1964, 364–384; Norbert CONRADS, *politische und staatsrechtliche Probleme der Kavalierstour*, in *Reiseberichte... op. cit.*, 45–65.

²¹ Széchenyi Zsigmond itáliai körútja (*Zsigmond Széchenyi's Voyage to Italy and Back*), ed. by ÖTVÖS Péter, Szeged, 1988, 42–54 (*Peregrinatio Hungarorum* 1).

the possibility of pursuing theological studies there and partly due to relations with the papal court. The bishops of Eger in the Baroque period studied theology almost without exception in the eternal city, and the years they spent there represented a life-long experience for them.²² The detailed description of the Vatican by Imre Pongrácz amply illustrates the feelings and impressions shared by Hungarian students of theology upon arrival and first sight of the art treasures in Rome. Among the works of art seen and admired by the author, Pongrácz's work laid special emphasis on Michelangelo's fresco in the Sistine Chapel, about which he enthusiastically wrote: "This should also be seen by those who wish to find out what enormous strength the art of painting has".²³ However, he did not reserve his admiration exclusively for the decorative architectural forms applied in St. Peter's Cathedral and in palaces located in the Vatican. He also wrote enthusiastically of the gardens surrounding these buildings. He noted how, alongside the fruit trees and the palms at these locations, one could see springs, wells, waterfalls, caves, steps, and groups of statues constituting an artistic unity. All this indicates an affinity for the artistic tastes characteristic of the Baroque, and one can assume that Rome made similar impressions on the rest of the Hungarian travelers, as well.

As indicated by several travel journals and diaries, travelers from Hungary to destinations in Italy would invariably depart from Vienna, and the road to Rome would generally last for a month. In 1687 the rector of the University of Nagyszombat (present-day Trnava, Slovakia), Jesuit priest László Sennyey, covered the distance between Vienna and Rome in 34 days, while his return journey lasted only 31 days. In 1721 Cardinal Imre Csáky got there in three weeks' time and back in 30 days. Minorite Provincial Zsigmond Elek Ladányi departed from Eger with two of his companions to attend a chapter session of the order in Rome in 1731, and

²² István BITSKEY, *The Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rome and the Beginning of Counter-Reformation in Hungary*, in *Crown, Church and Estates. Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. by Robert J. W. EVANS and T. V. THOMAS, London, Macmillan, 1991, 110–122; IDEM, *Il Collegio Germanico-Ungarico di Roma. Contributo alla storia della cultura ungherese in età barocca*, Roma, 1996, 125 (Studi e Fonti per la storia dell'Università di Roma, Nuova serie 3).

²³ SZELESTEI NAGY László, *Pongrácz Imre leírása a Vatikánról az 1670-es évek végén (A Description by Imre Pongrácz of the Vatican at the end of decade 1670)*, Vigilia, 1985, 623–630, this place 625.

they spent 73 days traveling there and 58 on the way back. His travel journal indicates that they covered an average of 32 kilometers a day, and that for the good part of the journey they walked, and it was only for shorter distances that they traveled by coach and horses or on board a ship.²⁴ If it was possible, monks always took up quarters in monasteries, while lay travelers put up for the night in inns, and those of noble ranks would stay at the courts of another nobleman during their travels. Nevertheless, it was general custom among travelers of all ranks and social standing to take time to see the sights along the routes they followed. Sometimes they would spend several days at the places they deemed worthy of a stay. Venice was one such place. Almost everyone stopped for a few days in Venice. Franciscan Father István Kiss from Eger, for example, who stopped in Venice in the course of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, went into raptures about the beauty of the “queen of the Adriatic Sea.” Most probably, quite a few Hungarian visitors to Venice had similar experiences and shared his enthusiasm. His first impression was that “among the waters of the sea in the whole world, noble Venezia, built by the greatest masters (...) lies on a strange isle, as if the whole city would let the huge and exceedingly beautiful palaces grow out of the water.” He was deeply impressed by St. Mark’s Square and the palace of the Doge, where he was enchanted by the paintings, sculptures, and tapestries. He especially liked the colorful marble columns of the Jesuit Church and also praised “the playing of music and singing” in one of the nunneries. About the latter he remarked that “I have never before heard anywhere anything more beautiful than this (...) There cannot exist a canary that could lead the song in such a fashion. What’s more, I reckoned that the singing was not human but of a somewhat angelic quality.”

Venice was one of the most captivating cities for travelers in the Baroque period, partly because of its own charms, partly due to its advantageous geographical position. It was the location where in 1766 István Kiss embarked for his voyage to Jerusalem, during the course of which he gave the most complete and colorful travel account in

²⁴ KOVÁCS Béla, *Eger-Róma itinerarium 1731-ből*, in *Archivum* 9 (Eger), 1979, 100–107.

Hungarian of the Baroque Age, covering both the adversities and the positive aspects of his sea voyage.²⁵

5. On foot or by coach?

As far as the Carpathian Basin region was concerned, traveling was possible on foot, on horseback, in a horse-drawn carriage, or by coach, depending on the financial standing of the individual traveler.²⁶ Vagrant musicians and relatively poor students trod in the dust or mud of the roads, and they considered themselves lucky when they were given a cart-ride. In the Habsburg Empire of the 17th century, mail-coaches ran with relative regularity, but this was a service that only the wealthy could afford. Naturally, noblemen used their own coaches if they set out on a trip together with their families. If they were by themselves, as Péter Apor noted, they “rode a steed,” while a servant would follow them on a led horse. These latter carried a satchel for food, in which the fare included a chunk of lard, fried chicken, white bread, garlic, and a few bottles of wine. In good weather, lunch was served in a meadow, mostly by a haystack. There were noblemen who traveled with 10–15 servants in attendance, and oftentimes, even musicians, singers, and other entertainers also joined them. If they traveled from one estate to another, they had 8–10 wagons in the caravan, with food, kitchen utensils, and several bottles of wine on them. One should not forget that at the time it was not easy to find drinking water in most places.²⁷

Even more preparation was necessary if people wanted to travel together with their families. For a shorter trip they used coaches drawn by two horses, for longer journeys, coaches drawn by four horses. More affluent people had coaches drawn by six horses, with the driver sitting on the back of one of the horses.²⁸ They placed pillows in the coaches, covered and fixed them with ornamented carpets, and thus created comfortable seats. Behind the coach-box they kept a leather-covered trunk

²⁵ P. Kiss István: *Jeruzsálemi utazás (A Journey to Jerusalem)*, ed. by PÁSZTOR Lajos, Roma, 1958, 68–92.

²⁶ Edward BROWN, *A Brief Account of some Travels in Hungaria...*, London, 1673, facsimile ed. by Karl NEHRING, München, 1975.

²⁷ APOR Péter, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*, Bucharest, 1978.

²⁸ Jan Amos COMENIUS, *Orbis pictus*, Coronea, 1675, 179 (editio facsimile: Budapest, 1970).

exquisitely studded with tin nails into which “one packed the gowns, the skirts, and all the other luggage of the wife.” There was a separate trunk for “white linen undergarments.” Yet another trunk held the spare parts of the coach and the spare harnesses. It is no wonder that at times one could not see the front or the back because of the multitude of boxes and trunks. Péter Apor also described the seating arrangement in detail. According to him, the back seats were for the landlord and his wife. If they had children of 3–4 years of age, they had them sit between them. If they had older children, they had them sit on the front seat together with the nanny, where four people could be seated altogether, if necessary. The young women were seated by the window, where sometimes as many as four of them were huddled at the two windows. The young unmarried women were seated next to the window. The dangerous quality of the journeys by coach can be illustrated with reference to the fact that both the horseman and the servant had to be rather alert, because “wherever there was a slanted section of the road, they would have to get off and hold the coach so that it would not tip over”.²⁹ The servants on horseback would ride in front of the coaches, clearing the way, while the outrider would take up a position in the back, driving the led horses. If the traveler was a dignitary of the Church, the caravan of coaches would also take a portable altar with them, and impromptu masses could be held in the open air by the side of the road, as was noted in the records of the journeys of Cardinal Imre Csáky, the archbishop of Kalocsa.³⁰

All in all, one can clearly see that a great deal of work and painstaking preparation was necessary to organize travel in the early modern age. However, before concluding the overview of this period of the history of travel, it is perhaps worth raising one more question. One might wonder who actually acquired more experience during the course of the travels: was it the participants in the journeys of the period, when these voyages involved a considerable amount of conscientious preparation and obliged travelers to risk numerous hazards at the same time, or the tourists of our modern age, who have far fewer concerns about organizing their travels, who are promptly assisted by travel agents in implementing their travel plans, and who can be transported to their destinations in a matter of a few hours at most? We might wonder if

²⁹ APOR, op. cit.

³⁰ MÁLNÁSI ÖDÖN, *Gróf Csáky Imre bíbornok élete és kora (Life and Time of Cardinal Imre Csáky)*, Kalocsa, 1933.

velocity and the compulsion to make the most of one's time do not result in a quite considerable loss of positive experience. In other words, does the mass tourism of the present age provide an opportunity for us to do what travelers in the "good old days" could easily do, i.e. come into direct contact with nature, the hidden beauties of the landscape, and the local people so that they might learn something about their language, their way of thinking, and their culture in general?

6. "A tour of his own soul"?

While trying to find an answer to the above query, having outlined the travel customs of the early modern period, it might not be entirely amiss to remember the words of yet another widely-traveled Hungarian writer, Gyula Illyés, who in 1966 wrote the following in his diary. "He who travels in far-off lands, by necessity, also takes a tour of his own soul, as well. And this additional journey is the more important of the two".³¹ The truth-value of this statement could not be better illustrated than by the experience of several centuries collected in the Hungarian literature on organizing travel. It is highly recommended for the mass tourism of our age to take into consideration the basic principle advocated by Illyés. Traveling should not just stand for moving from one location or environment to another, but also for an opportunity to observe and think, to widen one's horizon, and to strengthen one's awareness of one's identity. Because of the improved technical aspects of travel preparation and organization over time, there has also been an increase in the volume of modern travel preparation and organization.³² It would be truly beneficial if the latter could couple its presentation of the oftentimes truly fascinating superficial sights with an inner experience that would facilitate spiritual enrichment and edification.

³¹ ILLYÉS Gyula, *Naplójegyzetek 1961–1972* (Diary Notes 1961–1972), Budapest, 1989, 208.

³² FÜLÖP Iona, *Culture and Tourism in the Changing World* (PhD dissertation), Debrecen, 2001.