

# A Latin-Hungarian Prisoners' Song from the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century<sup>1</sup>



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## ABSTRACT

'Inolus, Inolus' is one of the most mysterious text families in eighteenth-century Hungarian popular poetry. It emerges in both Latin and Hungarian manuscript versions, primarily in East Transylvania and later around Debrecen too. The secret hero of the prisoner's song is a jailed robber who was sentenced to death. He mourns his own fate leaving a moral for those around him, or for posterity. According to some researchers, this song is about a Rumanian outlaw leader, Gligore Pintea. Others tried to identify vague Armenian references in the text. A reassuring solution has not yet been found. Another complex motif is the hidden treasure in the linden tree, about which the protagonist might have sent some encoded message in Latin from the prison. This topic is very popular in tales but not in linguistic context, so we are almost unable to decode it. It is a typical model-poem of our popular poetry and warns us against a too easy and quick interpretation; moreover, it gives us strength and patience to protect us from the danger of a 'too clear-cut to be true' final conclusion.

## KEYWORDS:

prisoner song, outlaw, Latin, Romania, Hungary

*Shave the linden tree until it allows itself to be shaved*  
(early Hungarian proverb)

János Bocskor Junior began collecting his songbook<sup>2</sup> on 16 May 1716, in Csíkszentlélek (today's Lelicieni), a settlement located in the Eastern border of Transylvania. There was a rumour about it being the work of a *kuruc* soldier (someone fighting on Prince Ferenc Rákóczi's side), as the little pocket-sized book is full of songs which were popular in this historical period. Regardless, the collector of these songs must have been a student at the time, most probably in Csíksomlyó (today's Sumuleu, district of Miercurea Ciuc). Later he became the assessor of Csíkszék; our last data on him is from 1767, allowing us to calculate his age. His father, Mihály Bocskor, was hiding in Moldavia with his fellow-fighters, after the fall of the Rákóczi's War of Independence (1703–1711). His son perhaps selected these *kuruc* songs to fill the first unit of his booklet to strengthen his family heritage and identity (Csörsz 2003, pp. 20–30).

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- 1 In Hungarian: Egy latin–magyar rabének a 18. század elejéről (Csörsz, 2017, pp. 87–110). Translated by Éva Petrőczy and Dávid Szabó. Special thanks for the help to László Szörényi, István Vadai, Benedek Zsigmond, István Kilián, Imola Küllős, Judit Gulyás, Mária Domokos, András Szabó, Ernő Albert, and Adél Csata.
  - 2 Cluj-Napoca, University Library Lucian Blaga, Special collection, Ms. 12. In detail: Stoll, 2002, nr. 180.



This poetical collection was enlarged by János Bocskor by 1739 and the order of texts was later modified (Ibid., pp. 9–20). This article is about two poems which can be found in the opening part of the ‘ancient codex’, under a heavily decorated inner frontispiece (today situated at 65a–b). The mysterious Latin text consists of 25 verses, with the incipit, ‘Inolus, Inolus, cordi mihi solus’. It is followed by a Hungarian version of 17 verses, but the two variants are not closely connected.<sup>3</sup> We find ‘curves’ in both, while in the Latin version some poorly copied lines also appear. The first strophe of the Hungarian poem serves as an argumentation and reminds us of the title of later variants:

The painful song of a famous hillside highwayman,  
Who was imprisoned by his innumerable sins.<sup>4</sup>

The parallel of this original Latin strophe looks like this:

Inolus, Inolus, joy of my heart,  
Whose friendliness towards me was bright.

According to the translator, ‘Inolus’ is the name of a person, and he is mentioned by the imprisoned highwayman, but he is not addressed in the vocative case (\*Inole), he is not personally named, but rather *spoken about*. The author then bids farewell to the mountains rich in silver, to the rocky landscape and hills and woods, in a very passionate style:

Thou, small hills above, cry for me,  
And thou, for my being a prisoner, fragile flowers.

Though my body will be taken in prison, alas,  
The farewell to you won’t happen until my death. (verses 5–6)

After these highly poetical lines, the thief addresses the linden tree directly:

My kindest girl, rich in treasures,  
Cry, my only hope, plant of my pleasures.

Towards the soil move your higher branches,  
Send your leaves there in their full greenness! (verses 7–8)

And a little bit later:

Oh, my most precious tree, I will not see you again,  
Send a lament to your son, hopefully not in vain!

<sup>3</sup> Earlier I assumed the Hungarian version to be the first (due to the many mistakes and misunderstandings of the Latin variants), but I am not sure now (Csörsz, 2005, p. 214).

<sup>4</sup> *Bocskor Codex*, 67b. All the Hungarian verse citations have been published only in English.

There was no tree richer than thou upon the earth,  
The one who finds thou, finds pleasures. (verses 12–13)

After all these yearnings, he confesses his sins and asks God to take him to heaven after his death:

Take my final farewell, which I bid here, under arrest,  
Under your branches I can't rest any further.

Joy of my heart, remain in good health,  
Woe, I'm punished for my sins in their fullness!

Oh, judicious God of vengeance, I ask Thee  
To be merciful with sinful me,

Give me a place at Your door in heaven  
And be blessed for it, forever, amen. (verses 14–17)

The most evident difference between the Hungarian text and János Bocskor's Latin version is the lack of Christian cadence; instead, his text is ruled by mythological allusions. This is not accidental: if all these are told by the character of an antique, or an allegorical, fictitious text, this person is not praying, not appealing to the Christian God. The Hungarian version thus greatly differs from later variants. It is suspicious that, though Bocskor was familiar with the Hungarian text, he greatly relied on his personal memory, producing a somewhat mixed, but freshened version, referring to some parts taken from the Latin version.

Sicelides Musae,  
Driades puellae,  
Date gemebundos  
Triste voce sonos.<sup>5</sup>

Another important point is the 'Driades puellae' line. Dedicating a part of the strophe to dryads is natural, as in Greek mythology they were the souls, nymphs of the trees and the singer expects sympathy and tears from them, sharing his ill fate. Orpheus is also mentioned in the Latin version to strengthen the mythological local colour as, in Ovid's verses, the trees — many haunted, suffering souls — are listening to the song of Orpheus (*Metamorphoses*, Book 10). This is probably why in the Hungarian text the linden tree is called 'my little girl', personifying this lovely plant, and referencing a transformation, based upon the great Latin master. In this way, we can try to clarify the linden tree simile from several directions.

<sup>5</sup> The adaptation of the verse in another Hungarian version: 'Group of nymphs, beautiful choir of the Parcas, mourn me with wails and your five-corded lute!' *Memorial of Mihály Dezső* (1729–1761), pp. 66–9. *Az Pintyi Eneke* ('Song of Pinteá'), verses 15–16.



The Latin text of *Bocskor* could have been representative of another genre: a *love song*, sung by a girl, who was unable to regain the heart of her unfaithful beloved. If this supposition is true — though no relative of this Latin version is known — then this text family follows the same pattern as other pieces of public poetry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These all emerge from a love theme, but this theme later abandons the songs, and they live their lives as laments, hiding peoples' or prisoners' songs. The widely known 'Őszi harmat után' (After the Autumn Dews), 'Bokros bük habjai' (Waves of Great Sadness), etc., are all amorous farewell-songs or courting ones (E.g. Csörsz, 2016, p. 43). Similar changes can be witnessed in the text family of 'I'm a Prisoner, Waiting to be Set Free', the first versions of which refer undoubtedly to the soul being imprisoned by love, rather than a real, concrete imprisonment situation (Csörsz & Küllős, 2015, p. 411).

This text family can be followed for almost a hundred years. In the critical edition, with Imola Küllős (*Ibid.*, p. 79), we tried to summarise all known facts about this song, but a final conclusion has not yet been reached. The seemingly well-ordered variations are hiding dozens of questions, rather as proof of our steady search than our wisdom.

The 'Inolus, Inolus' song is known from eighteenth and nineteenth century manuscripts, first from Transylvania, but from other regions as well. Whether there was a printed version is not known. The first varieties were Catholic, the later ones evidently Protestant. Most varieties are bilingual, consisting of parallel Latin and Hungarian verses, though sometimes these consist of only one verse. Fifteen varieties are known.

1. *Bocskor Codex* (1716–1739), 65a–67b. 'Inolus, Inolus, cordi mihi solus'.  
25 Latin verses.
2. *Bocskor Codex* (1716–1739), 65a–67b. 'Egy fő hegyi tolvaj keserves éneke' (A Lament Song of a Chief Mountain Thief).  
17 Hungarian verses.
3. *Memoriale of Mihály Dezső* (1729–1761), 66–69. 'Az Pintyi éneke [Song of Pinteá]'.  
Inolus, Inolus, corde mihi solus.  
22 verses (11 Latin, 11 Hungarian, alternately).
4. *Szádeczky-Miscellania* (1755), pp. 256–257. 'Inolus, Inolus, corde mihi solus'.  
4 verses (2 Latin, 2 Hungarian, alternately).
5. *Balás József-ék.* (1784–1787), 102a–103b. 'Inolus, Inolus, corda mihi solus'.  
22 verses (11 Latin, 11 Hungarian, alternately).
6. *Dávidné Soltári* (1790–1791), nr. 174, 'Inolus, Inolus, corde mihi solus'.  
20 verses (10 Latin, 10 Hungarian, alternately), with primitive musical notation.
7. *Songbook of Imre Szeel* (1790–1794) pp. 104–105. 'Inolus, Inolus, corde mihi solus'.  
16 verses (8 Latin, 8 Hungarian, alternately).
8. *Holmi of Sámuel Rákosi* (1791), 47b–49a. 'Egy megfogatott tolvaj éneke [Song of an Arrested Thief]'. 'Inolus, Inolus, corde mihi solus'.  
28 verses (14 Latin, 14 Hungarian, alternately).
9. *Songbook of Márton Veress* (1793), 78a. 'Inolus, Inolus, ki miatt szívem bús'.  
2 Hungarian verses.

10. *Academic Collection of Poems* (end of the eighteenth century), 6a–7a. ‘Cantio elegans’. ‘Inolus, Inolus, ki miatt szívem bús’.  
12 verses (6 Latin, 6 Hungarian, alternately).
11. Miklós Jankovich: *Nemzeti Dalok Gyűjteménye* [Collection of National Songs] (after 1800), vol III, 173a–b. ‘Inolus, Inolus, corde mihi solus’.  
20 verses; copy of the variant VI.
12. *Songbook of János Resetka* (1801), 45b–46a. ‘Inolus, Inolus, corde mihi solus’.  
12 verses (6 Latin, 6 Hungarian, alternately).
13. *Songbook of Sándor Jánosi* (1802), p. [123], ‘Inolus, Inolus, corde mihi solus’.  
The page is cut from the manuscript, we know the incipit only from the contents.
14. Ádám Pálóczi Horváth: *Ötödfélszáz Énekek* [450 Songs] (1813), nr. 206. sz. ‘Inol az örmény hegyekben’ [Inol in the Armenian Mountains]. ‘Inolus, Inolus, corde mihi solus’.  
2 verses (1 Latin, 1 Hungarian), with simple musical notation.
15. *Collection of János Veress* (1828–1830), 235. ‘Mindenható Isten, ki vagy az egekbe’.  
2 Hungarian verses.<sup>6</sup>

After the first Latin version by Bocskor, two purely Latin varieties were found.

*Songbook from Lőcse / Levoča* (1768), pp. 129–130. ‘Aria de Inolo’.

*Songbook of Márton Lang* (1789), 13b–14a.

Their texts are similar, both derived from the Highlands of Hungary (today: Slovakia). The purely Latin versions were composed earlier than the bilingual ones. Apart from the text by János Bocskor, just one totally Hungarian version is known, circa 1828.

It is not a rare phenomenon that in the *Bocskor Codex* both the Latin and the Hungarian ‘Urtext’ differ from later varieties. This collection is an exceptional one in many ways: it was gathered in an ethnographically peripheral region, in Al-Csík (Lower Csík), a small and hidden village. Its repertoire is therefore more unusual than those collected in college circles. On the other hand, Bocskor rewrote and enlarged the poems. Because of the creativity of its author and the rare elements within this local tradition, this collection may be considered an *exceptional* piece of public poetry. These individual features are such that on its later pages we find further prisoners’ songs and laments written by the collector, making it a co-mingling of traditional and personal elements (E. g. *ibid.*, pp. 60–62).

The later versions play a very important role. These are connected to the two inner strophes of the Hungarian text of Bocskor, and with the final Christian prayer, which he learned somewhere by heart and cited ‘at random’; there is no trace of it in his Latin version. Even the opening formula was altered, in the Bocskor text we find: ‘Inolus, Inolus, joy of my heart...’, implying the presence of a positive person (or place?), but in later Hungarian versions a totally different message can be seen:

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<sup>6</sup> See in detail: (*Ibid.*, pp. 412–415).



Inolus, Inolus,  
The state of my heart is scandalous,  
The rock of Armenus  
Is bringing back my 'raptus'.<sup>7</sup>

In prose:

'Inolus is the cause of my sorrows; they can be healed only by Armenia'.

Looking at the table below, we see two important facts: 1) The Hungarian equivalents do not include all of Bocskor's texts and 2) The first Hungarian version does not have a sequel; the later translations keep to a phase earlier than the 'Urtext', or rather its parallels.

The text below is more or less complete:<sup>8</sup>

*Song of a Captured Thief*

Inolus, Inolus,  
Corde mihi solus,  
Rupes Ameniae,  
Meae deliciae.

Inolus, Inolus,  
The state of my heart is scandalous,  
The rock of Armenus  
Is bringing back my 'raptus'.

Quando vos contemplor,  
Semper flere cogor,  
Petros Ameniae  
Gaza [!] feliciae.

My eyes are flowing with tears  
When looking at my dears,  
To my humble shelter  
And to my treasury, hereafter.

Corpus captivatur,  
Gaudis privatur,  
Mens ibi vagatur,  
Ubi recreatur.

My body is sitting in chains,  
In my heart no happiness remains,  
My brain is walking to and fro,  
Sadness turns into happiness, so.

Lugite socium,  
Lugite captivum,  
Nam ego lugebo  
Vos semper deflebo.

Cry over this prisoner,  
Send him tears forever,  
While I am lamenting  
Until I'll be hanging.

Tilia, tilia,  
Dilecta tilia,  
Indos aurea,  
Externa lignea.

My greenest linden tree,  
My only treasury,  
Grasping your richness again  
Would be my freedom, my gain.

<sup>7</sup> *Memorial of Mihály Dezső (1729–1761)*, pp. 66–9. *Az Pintyi Eneke*, verse 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Holmi (mixed collection) of Sámuel Rákosi (1791)*, 47b–49a; RMKT XVIII/15, nr. 79/VIII.

Floribus hiantes,  
 Ramorum tenelis,  
 Plorate lacrimis,  
 Sublimi propensi.

Gladicibus [?] frontis  
 Taesseream ludit,  
 Beotum dixerit,  
 Qui te succederit.

Sicediles Musae,  
 Driades puellae.  
 Datae genebundae,  
 Triste sono voce.

Montes, mei montes,  
 Ad amici fontes,  
 Valet sodales,  
 Sub imbris latentis.

Nec choreas ducam,  
 Nec carmina dicam,  
 Amplius sonorum  
 Bis sona conticum [!]

Si possem fugere,  
 Carceres rumpere,  
 Non vos relinquerem,  
 Sed ad vos redirem.

Salve, dulcis pinus,  
 Tallerorum signus,  
 Si te conspicerem,  
 Sub diu jacerem.

Summus misericors,  
 Cordis mei faces,  
 Doluito [!] queso,  
 Exaudito praeces

Jamque fores polli  
 Potitum perenti,  
 Quare cordis sono  
 Alleluja dixi.

Towards the soil  
 Move your higher branches,  
 Send there your leaves  
 In their full greenness!

The one can be happy  
 Whoever finds you, really,  
 As all my good deeds  
 Moved into your body.

You also, my dear nymphs,  
 For me in chorus sing,  
 Play your five-corded lyre  
 Until my soul's final expire'!

And now, you, high mountains,  
 Quick torrents and bushes,  
 I pray you to forget my sins  
 And tell me some good things.

All my favourite songs,  
 All my beloved dances,  
 I'm bidding you farewell,  
 Pomp and joy here won't dwell.

If I could run from here,  
 Free walk would be so dear,  
 I would sit at your door,  
 Like a faithful pastor.

My sparkling, good 'footman',  
 Keeper of my 'angel' ['Thaler']  
 If I could touch your shelter,  
 Could I be a free goer.

God of true justice,  
 Hater of all sin, let me ask Thee  
 To take this sinner, me,  
 To thy holy mercy!

Give me place at  
 Your door in heaven,  
 And be blessed for it,  
 Forever, amen!



The age of this prisoners' song is still uncertain, only Bocskor's data gives us some clues. Most probably it was composed earlier than the period when it was put down (1716–1718), but it is impossible today to propose a certain year.

Close reading of the text is a very difficult task. One thing is sure: an imprisoned person, clearly described as 'a chief hillside highwayman', bids farewell to his country and his friends. This can be learned primarily from the title; the text of the song does not mention that its hero was a thief. But the hidden treasures are mentioned, being concealed in the cavity of a linden tree ('tilia') or in a pine tree ('pinus') and our hero would gain much by reaching this treasure. The Latin text does not refer to the fact that the imprisoned hero will be hanged, but it is a real Leitmotif in Hungarian variants. It is nothing other than that, a reflection of the Hungarian heritage of farewell songs of persons sentenced to death.

But what can be found about the concrete hero of this poem? According to some scholars it was a certain Vasile Fekete (Black Vasile) who fought in the *kuruc* army and with his troop of thieves, escaped to the hills of Gyergyó (today: Gheorgheni). The German (Austrian) soldiers tried to catch him, with no success, and he continued fighting against them. The problem is, that 'Vasile' is a nickname, he belonged to Rákóczi's circles, and his real name was László Mojszén (Seres, 2007, p. 360). In spite of being a cruel and brutal thief (or perhaps for this strange 'merit') in the *kuruc* army he got higher and higher positions. In 1710 he was commanding 150–200 soldiers. We know absolutely nothing about his imprisonment, at least not about a longer one, fitting into a poem. After the general amnesty he remained (most surely) a soldier and an officer of the Habsburg army. Consequently, he was not a traditional highwayman, and his supposed imprisonment would not have led to the gallows. And from folklore he is totally missing. Not like another hero-candidate, Pinte Gligore (Pintea, the hero, 1670–1703), the other famous revolutionary person. According to Károly Köllő, '[József] Gvadányi<sup>9</sup> could have heard one variety of these in Máramaros, where the bilingual 'kuruc' songs were not 'out of fashion' in the nineteenth century'. His announcement refers to only one sentence of Gvadányi, unfortunately, without any textological similarity (1796).

A Hungarian manuscript (The Memorial of Mihály Dezső, 1729–1761) connects this song to another one, entitled *The Song of Pintyi*. And *The Song of the Famous Thief Pintye*, was, according to him, 'a manuscript from the disordered material of the Reformed College of Kolozsvár / Clausenburg [today: Cluj]'.<sup>9</sup>

Pintea Vitez is considered today a Rumanian national hero, and not just an everyday thief — which he never was, only the eighteenth-century unjust recorder considered him one. But we can hardly prove the identity of the *Inolus*-song with any of the Pintea-ballads, though in the Rumanian folklore and in some Hungarian legends — he was also the hero of innumerable pieces of poetry. József Gvadányi's Urszuly ('Bear'), a Rumanian person from Máramaros (Gvadányi, 1796, pp. 46) could hardly accept a Hungarian-Latin song as his model, while being familiar with dozens of similar Rumanian ones.

Pintea did not die in prison, he fell in battle for the ownership of the town Nagybánya (today: Baia Mare), on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1703, according to others he continued to

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9 One of the best known Hungarian epic poets in the eighteenth century (1725–1801).



fight somewhere else. In Rumanian folklore he appears in a noble role: not as a prisoner, but as a true-born hero wounded in a battle or turns into a storm when — upon his black stallion — he escapes from his enemies.<sup>10</sup>

We can meet ‘the song of a chief mountain highwayman’ in many further paraphrases. It can lead us to the circle of Transylvanian folk-ballads, to the archetype of ‘The Great Mountain Thief’, which first appeared in the Moldavian collection of Ince János Petrás, recorded in 1843.<sup>11</sup> The anti-hero of this shocking story is about to kill ‘an Armenian priest’, while his wife — belonging to another nation, victim of a forced marriage<sup>12</sup> — is crying at home. The husband returns, makes inquiries, kills her and sends her body as a frightening example to Brassó (today Braşov). Consequently, we have a related hero and somehow related circumstances; but the story itself is totally an upside down one: *that man can’t be captured and revenged*, and the woman is an innocent victim. There is no word about regretting sins, comfort, or hidden treasures. But what can we do with the ‘Armenian line’ in the song? Though in the majority of the eighteenth-century variations of the ‘Rupes Armeniae’ (Cliffs of Armenia, II:-XIV) it is repeated every time, this fact increases our instability. In the text by János Bocskor another word, ‘argeniae’ appears there and he translates it as ‘huge cliffs rich in silver’. In the first strophe of the VIII variety the very word ‘Armeniae’ is not the ill-spelling of ‘Armeniae’, but one of the words ‘amoeniae’ (kindness). In this case the Armenian reference can be considered as a grammatical error of the early copy; due to the Latin education and cultural experience of the copying persons, ‘saturated by’ the elements of Latin and Greek poetry. Therefore, this authorial logic became evident for Ádám Pálóczi Horváth in 1813, so much that in 1813 he formulated the title like this: ‘Inol in the Mountains of Armenia’.

But even in the case of having an Armenian thief as a hero (it might be possible!), it would be rather strange to mention Armenia as the country of freedom. The natives of Armenia could hardly have such experiences in seventeenth-eighteenth century Transylvania. At that time, they became a sporadic nation; after the occupation of their homeland, they were thrown throughout the Balkan Peninsula and Transylvania. One thing might be possible: a thief of Armenian origin could be longing for his home country as the symbol of their lost national freedom, when, perhaps in the mysterious country of ‘Inolus’ — probably in Moldavia or Transylvania — he became imprisoned.

But are we able to understand this opening line at all? This ‘Inolus’ can be a geographical name, but not an accurate one: probably the ‘Imaus’, (the Latin-Greek name

10 Papers in Hungarian: Domokos, 1959, pp. 418–28; Niculescu, 1988, pp. 157–72.

11 ‘Vidd el jó széjel, búmat, / Vidd el bánatomat...’ (Blow away, good wind, my sorrow and my trouble). (Domokos & Rajeczky, 1956, pp. 61–3). About the type of this ballad: Vargyas, 1976, vol. II, nr. 20 (‘The wife of the Rogue’); Küllős, 2012, pp. 402–9.

12 One of the subtypes of this ballad describes the forced marriage from the perspective of the wife, Borbála Seprődi, who was married off in Poland. The ballads variant the subtype ‘Rákóczi kis úrfi’ (Young Master Rákóczi) is about the aggressive fiancé, which might have been imported to Hungary by Mediaeval Vallonian settlers (it belongs to the subtype Marianson).



of the Himalaya, or the Tien-San) could have appeared in the poem originally. Or the situation depicted in the poem could remind us of the hero of a Middle Asian tale or legend. The misreading of the written form of the word *Indus* might also be possible, in this case the letter 'd' could have been read as 'ol' — but it greatly differs from the regular 6, 6, 6, 6 (or 12, 12) syllables. We know of Transylvanian settlements named 'Indal' and 'Inó', so is there a faint possibility that our strange word, 'Inolus' was their contaminated version? 'Aeolus', the ancient Greek god of the winds, would not be a bad solution to our dilemma; but historical facts could not be clarified by it!

It seems that eighteenth-century Hungarian recorders were also unable to understand it and tried to enlarge the text with obvious actualities. In the *Song Book of Lőcse* (today Levoča, 1768) the title of the poem is: 'Aria de Inolo' / The Song of Inolus.

Imre Varga, an expert of old Hungarian poetry, supposed that the poem was the musical piece inlaid in a school drama (Varga, 1955, p. 59). This could give a basis to the fictive name and the stylistic helter-skelter style of it (disharmony!) which might witness the faults of the different occasional performances. But not any simple theatrical text or fragment was found referring to this topic. The one and only exception is the *Anonym Comico-Tragoedia*, 1640s, in which the poor sinner (pauper sceleratus) evaluates his own life in a very similar tone.

This drama could have been known in the Csík region, as its first version was recorded around 1646, therefore it could be a pattern of further dramatic works. As the research of Imola Küllős made it evident, any such poem could influence the people's opinion about these deviant heroes. Similarities with later pieces of contemporary pulp-fiction can be easily found, where the sinners bitterly blamed themselves (Küllős, 1992, pp. 616–32).

A more remote Latin relative of the poem is a college farewell song, entitled *Valete socii, valete omnia*, with certain metric and tune similarities and trivial jokes:

Valete socii valete omnia  
Jam deseram mundum jubavit Maria [...]

Juvenes juvenes vos amoris flores  
Relinquitte quero hos [!] inpravos mores [...]

Valete valete vos amici mei  
Cum quibus saepius conversatus fui

Vale Pater Mater vosque fratres mei  
Jam vos hic commendo Mariae Virgini.<sup>13</sup>

The *Inolus*-poem can also be connected to a Latin-Hungarian students' farewell song cited below. It was found in a 1780 source of the prisoners' song, and later in the 1830s, also in Transylvania. This later text refers to the *Inolus* song with an *ad notam*, and just once we find an equal strophe-opening (Csörsz, Küllős, 2013, p. 171):

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<sup>13</sup> Verses 1, 5 and 16–17.

Musarum sodales  
Heliconum fontes  
Hesperidum flores  
valete colores

Troops of Muses,  
Waters of Helicon  
And the greenness of Hesperus,  
Remain, thou loveliest.

Non mihi vobiscum  
erit jam molistum.  
Nunquam vos deflebo!  
inquam gaudebo

We do not have too much  
time together.  
I have few problems,  
I am very happy.

In the 1830s such closing lines appear, which show the influence of the *Inolus*-song and at the same time, depicts their being related to hiding songs:

Terra ignoturum  
Extrema Locorum  
Vagantem recipit  
Miserum accipit

Woods, meadows and grows,  
You, alien boskets,  
Please, hide me,  
And speak of me, I pray thee.

What can be read and unveiled from other important motifs of the *Inolus*-poem? Unfortunately, not too much. Its most significant central element is undoubtedly the linden tree, being described as a treasury. A tree or a cave as a hiding place of something precious often occurs in international folklore but has generally not much to do with the important happenings of the plot itself. It can be easily assumed that János Bocskor was also familiar with such stories. Moreover, in his birthplace, Csíkszentlélek, on the church-hill of the village, we find a linden tree which won The Tree of the Year Award in Europe a few years ago. The circa 500-year-old tree (with a trunk width of 3,7 metres!) was there in the time of János Bocskor as well.

Linden trees were highly esteemed by pagans, and the Széklers (including the inhabitants of Csíkszentlélek as well) had their gatherings in the tree's shade. A linden tree of long life was the very embodiment of the continuity of the world's perfect order. No wonder that according to their local legend, oaks and linden trees gave shelter to our king, Béla the IV, when escaping from the Tartar hordes, or later King Mathias, while visiting different places of his country. We could also mention Lajos Kossuth, who, after the fall of the uprising of 1848–1849, also found shelter under a linden tree. And, of course, this famous tree also helped several highwaymen. In Rákóczi legends the hiding of precious properties is often connected to dungeons, caves and bogs, and even trees sometimes served this purpose. According to another legend, Prince Ferenc Rákóczi the II and his escort spent a whole night within a huge tree which was big enough for the turning of a cart with six oxen (Ferenczi & Molnár, 1972, pp. 229–45; Magyar, 2000, pp. 108–23, 139–56).

If the plot is not about a highwayman, but about a political prisoner (who was hiding his earthly goods in a linden tree), our text might have an actual meaning. Was it possibly all thought about by Mihály Bocskor himself? Or by Pinteá, whose hid-



den treasures also served as folkloristic motives?<sup>14</sup> According to a nineteenth century tale, Pinteia buried treasures in Măramureș, on the steep cliffs of Solymos Hill (today piatra Soimului, by Szaplonca/Săpînța), planting two trees, whose branches were densely clasped to mark the hiding place (Mizser, 2009, p. 60).

Though these references ('*intus aurea, externa lignea*') appear in the Latin version, the Hungarian variants are fading it, and name *pinus* not as a pine tree, but — unexpectedly — as a footman! But how can we understand the talkativeness of an imprisoned person? Perhaps he wanted to 'murmur' into the ears of someone, some words only in Latin, for the happy few, for his near and dear ones? There are such examples in popular poetry: a shrewd woman informs his student-lover about the possible time of his visit, with the following words, while singing at the cradle of her baby: 'Clerice, clerice, non venias ad me.' (Student, student, do not come to me now!) (Csörsz, 2005, p. 218). This double talk can be witnessed in a well-known dirge-parody, entitled: 'Megholt feleségem, satis tarde quidem' (My wife has died), in the Hungarian lines, the husband is in tears, while in the Latin ones, he is happy about getting rid of his wife — the latter could be understood by the educated public (Küllős, Csörsz, 2000, p. 150). Can it be possible that the *Inolus*-song is hiding a coded testament, written just before its author's execution?

If only a highly esteemed reader could solve the above-described dilemma and add something to my words. However, the 'Inolus, Inolus' song has an important message in its half-veiled status. It is a typical model-poem of our public poetry and warns us against a too easy and quick interpretation; moreover, it gives us strength and patience to protect us from the danger of a 'too clear-cut to be true' final conclusion. We must take into consideration that any old text can turn into the exact opposite of its original meaning throughout the centuries, literally 'abandoning' its first context. Just think of a Székler song-fragment on the Ypsilanti revolt of the 1820s; even the name of its main character can be recognized: 'Lovely Czillandi'. The original happenings of Greek history disappear from here, and the song turns into a 'neutral' genre-piece of junket and boasting strophes (Farágó, 1956, pp. 274–79; Rubinyi, 1902, p. 204).<sup>15</sup> It is a perfect illustration of the 'moveable feast-likeness', from time to time renewing old public poetry.

And now comes the unavoidable musical epilogue. The tune of the *Inolus* song survived in two different versions: one from about 1740 and one from 1813:<sup>16</sup>

I-no-lus, I - no-lus, Cor-de mi-hi so-lus, Ru-pes ar - ge - ni-ae, Me-ae de-li-ci-ae!

I-no-lus, I-no-lus, Cor-de mi-hi so-lus, Ru - pes Ar-me-ni-ae Me-ae de-li-ci-ae.

<sup>14</sup> We do not know any folk tale or legend from the Csík region in this topic.

<sup>15</sup> In an earlier variant from Moldavia, until 1900 the name of Ypsilanti was transformed to 'Szép Czillandi'.

<sup>16</sup> RMKT XVIII/15, p. 417.



The tune, despite the simple notation — seems to have some parallels, even within earlier mentioned musical collections. The remembrance of our folk kept a text which is closely related to the ancient text. It appears — what an interesting gender (re)change! — as a female ballad, told by a heroine, not a hero:

Flowers, oh, my flowers,  
Oh, my flower bunches, ://

Fall to the barren ground,  
Cry for me  
With no sound,  
Cry for me, my dear ones!<sup>17</sup>

There is also an even closer relative, which is not a prisoners' song at all, but belongs to the very verse of the *Inolus* song which is dedicated to the linden tree:

To the soil let bow your highest branches,  
With your falling green leaves.

Remember: in the 'hajduk' (outlaw) songs of the Balkan Peninsula, partakers of uprisings ask the trees to hide them and be their shelter.<sup>18</sup> Even the antitype of the *Inolus*-song could be such a piece, arriving to Hungarian folklore from the Balkans, directly from a Rumanian highwaymen's song. This motif of falling leaves can be originated from a Hungarian love song, sung by an abandoned lover:

♩ = cca 92 - 84

s A - hol én el - me - gyek, Még a fák ős sír - nak,  
Gyen - ge á - ga - ji - ról Le - ve - lek le - hull - nak.

Wherever I go, even the trees are crying,  
From their weak branches all the leaves are falling.

<sup>17</sup> 'Virágim, virágim, szép csukros virágim, ://: Fődre lehulljatok, S ingem sirajsatok! ://'. Moldavian version of the ballad 'The Girl Who Lost Her Virginity', (Kallós & Szabó, 1971, p. 202). The tune is relatively close to the *Inolus* melody type, so we can assume motivical-associative contacts between the texts too. (Csörsz, 2003, pp. 36-37).

<sup>18</sup> E. g. the type 'Янка през гора вървеше' etc.



Fall, you, leaves, and hide me  
As my lover left me.<sup>19</sup>

It's odd why this ancient text-family is missing from our eighteenth-century popular poetry. We can find it for the first time in an after 1824 registered collection, entitled *Felvidító* (Joyous Hours):

Wherever I go, even the trees are crying,  
All the leaves are falling.

Fall, thou good leaves, and hide me,  
As my pigeon searches for me, in tears.

One of my eyes is more in tears,  
Be not the other one saved from this.<sup>20</sup>

It can also be found in János Erdélyi's anthology, entitled *Népdalok és mondák* (Folk Songs and Tales, 1846–1848) collected from different parts of our country.<sup>21</sup> The related tune and motif gives an impetus to a cautious supposition: perhaps our *Inolus*-song is the absolute Urtext of this wandering motif in Hungarian, which occasionally became part of our folklore, with its tune and text.<sup>22</sup> Not all at once, but gradually, little by little; it could be 'acclimated' to the linguistic-poetical possibilities of Hungarian folk songs. Naturally, an opposite transition can also be imagined: in this case the 'Wherever I go' influenced our *Inolus*-song and it was re-shaped by the expectations of the newer genre of prisoners' ballads — or of a school drama. The original 'Inolus Song' is not alive anymore. Its lyrics have not been sung for two-hundred years in its complete form, only in fragments. As we could see, its melody is still used. All these interpretations have several *pros and cons*, but — I'm afraid — the most authentic answer can be found a little bit sooner than the golden coins hidden in the linden tree!

19 'Hulljatok, levelek, rejtseték el engem, ://: Met az én édesem mást szeret, nem ingem.' (Rácsila, Moldva); Dobszay & Szendrei, 1988, I (A) 13 b).

20 „A mere én járok, ott a fák is sirnak, / Gyenge ágaikról levelek le hulnak, // Hulljatok levelek, fedezetek engem / Mert az én galambom sirva keres engem. // Sir az edjik szemem az másik könnyezik, / Sirjon mind a kettő mint a zápor eső.' *Felvidító* VI. Nóták II. (1824s), nr. 320.

21 *Népdalok és mondák*, ed. by János Erdélyi (Pest: Beigel etc., 1846–1848), vol. I (1846): nr. 11. (Szabolcs and Ung county); vol. III. (1848): nr. 274. (Keszthely).

22 An interesting control data. In the contaminated broadside ballad of the outlaw Péter Barina (1810s?) we can find the motif of the begging for hide-out, but not among plants (however, the model could have been the wood or trees too): 'Nyíljatok meg, egek, rejtsetek el engem, / Mert a fekete föld nem fogad be engem.' (Open, heavens, hide me, because the black earth cannot take me in.) RMKT XVIII/14, pp. 600–2.

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