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The Nation as a Touristic Experience in a Guidebook to Lake Balaton (1878) by Aladár Jalsovics

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Abstract: This analysis explores the imageries of Lake Balaton and its region created by guidebooks and other publications of early tourism. These works refer to certain elements of the cultural and literary traditions related to the lake. The paper also identifies the most emphatic elements of these traditions in the guidebook genre. Consequently, the analysis demonstrates how Hungarian literary history narratives and cults represented in guidebooks defined the complex touristic imagination of Lake Balaton's region. Firstly, a typology of the guidebooks and the evolution of this genre in the 19th century are outlined. Secondly, the paper shows a detailed analysis and interpretation of a Balaton guidebook by Aladár Jalsovics from 1878.

Keywords: 19th Century, Tourism, Lake Balaton, Guidebook, Nation-Building

Introduction

This article focuses on the elements of the Balaton landscape highlighted in Hungarian touristic texts published in the second half of the 19th century. It also explores the imaginaries created by these texts around the lake, to which an important literary tradition is linked as well. The analysis is carried out within a theoretical framework based on the concepts of constructivist nationalism theory, the history of travel and tourism, and literary cult research. The aim of the study is not only to display the information about Lake Balaton that became available through the emerging Baedeker literature, but also to show how these texts formed complex configurations of authentic representations of the landscape. The investigation also demonstrates how this process was reflected in the developmental history of representations nationalizing (and parallelly, mediatizing) geographical space in Hungary. After the theoretical-historical introduction, the characteristics and the “history of development” of touristic publications about Lake Balaton of this period are briefly outlined. Finally, a detailed analysis of a single work

follows; Aladár Jalsovics' guidebook about Füred, displays the defining characteristics of the representations associated with Lake Balaton and portrays the experience of nationhood projected into the landscape.

Tourism, mediatization and nation-building

This section outlines the significant concepts and discourses that help us understand the relation between *space*, *tourism* and *nation-building*, including inspirational results of the “spatial turn” of humanities and the important role of mass media, mediatization in 19th century tourism. These are illustrated by the example of touristic activities in the Balaton region.

Lake Balaton was a very popular theme in landscape poetry at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, despite the fact that many of the poets of the time – Sándor Kisfaludy, Dániel Berzsenyi, Judit Dukai Takács, János Kis, Dávid Baróti Szabó and others – came from Transdanubia. However, the land Berzsenyi and his contemporaries reported on with inspiration was far from the typical touristic landscape that we associate to Lake Balaton today. Rooted in the ideology of noble patriotism and reflecting the transgression of the boundaries between the Age of Sensibility and early Romanticism, the poems focused primarily on the *external aesthetics and diversity* of the landscape (Sárkány 53–60, Vörös I. 75–77). From the 1820s onwards, the seasonal use of the bath and the sour water cure gained political significance *as a patriotic act*, and an unmissable part of a visit to Balatonfüred, which had become the centre of the unofficial public relations of the Hungarian reform aristocracy (see Antalffy 47–78, Schleicher 68–72, 127–131). Nevertheless, until the infrastructural developments of the Neoabsolutist era, there was no bathing life worth mentioning in the Balaton region, apart from the baths in Füred-Savanyúvíz (and the soon decaying “*parasztfürdő*” [peasant bath] of Vérkút), which belonged to the Benedictine Abbey of Tihany.

Municipal investments of the 1860s created the conditions for the establishment and spatial expansion of the modern holiday culture: the completion of the railway line between Buda and Nagykanizsa along the southern shore in 1861, for which the drainage of the marshes along the shore was necessary, and the construction of the Sió-sludge in 1863, which made it possible to regulate and stabilise the water level of the lake (Dobszay and Fónagy 424). The unique holiday tourism, which was a novelty even in the context of the typical bathing tourism of the monarchy, could only develop after these investments had been carried out. This new wave of tourism radically changed the culture of the coastal settlements in the last third of the century around Lake Balaton (Kósa 46–52).¹ Nevertheless, it is very interesting that literary history pays little attention to the literary texts which talk about Lake Balaton in the second half of the 19th century and at the turn of the century. It is not as though only a few writers wrote about Lake Balaton

1 In the last third of the 19th century, a new form of spending holidays, similar to that of Lake Balaton, emerged in the high mountains (Tatra Mountains), along the northern Adriatic coast and in the big cities (e.g. Budapest). (See: Kósa 43–46, 52–60).

after 1848; rather, it can be stated that after the great wave of landscape literature of the 1840–50s (see Szilágyi 62–90, T. Szabó 2008a), regional, ethnographic themes did not really belong to the *living literature*, i.e. the *first line* of literary discourse of the time, for various reasons (see Szajbély). In other words, the (not insignificant) corpus of landscape literature in the second half and at the end of the century very soon disappeared from the literary horizon and is therefore not part of today's canon.

Although the “forgotten literature” of Lake Balaton is also an interesting subject of analysis, the present study focuses on the Balaton guidebooks, as this type of source is a more characteristic document of the history of the development of modern tourism on Lake Balaton. The guidebook as an intrinsically fascinating semiotic object is also of interest to the cultural historian seeking a better understanding of the past because this type of publication largely determined the nature and spread of representations of geographical space in the rapidly developing travel culture of the second half of the 19th century. “Like the maps which fixed frontier lines, guidebooks and travel accounts fixed the travel routes and sets of objects to be seen during the journey”, writes Irina V. Popova-Nowak in her study on Hungarian-language travel literature (from abroad and Hungary) between 1750 and 1850 (Popova-Nowak 222). Her statement is all the more valid because the recent findings of constructivist cultural studies are often based on the assumption that various cultural products not only depict parts of the world (in our case, various elements of geographical space), but actually *create* them and *their representations* simultaneously. In his study *Travel, Regions, Modernity*² Konrad Köstlin writes (with a pinch of sarcasm) the following: “Cultural critics complain that travel has destroyed rural culture. On the contrary, I argue that it is tourism that has created the country as a cultural phenomenon; as a region of otherness, of strangeness, where the exoticism of proximity has its effect.” (Köstlin 121)³

In Hungary in the second half of the 19th century – in the era of mass-producing national traditions (on the term see Hobsbawm 1983) – the modernisation of tourism played a significant role in the creation and dissemination of various narratives and symbols of Hungarian national culture.⁴ The increasingly widening bourgeois travel culture – through the gradually expanding and diversifying public media since the 1850s and the region-specific Baedeker literature – “travelled” and “inhabited” the territorial space of the nation. It integrated the characteristic exoticisms and representations of the various countryside landscapes into the imagery of the nation-state as a complex whole, thus continuing the project of “nationalising space” that had already begun in the national poetry of the first decades of the century (see Takáts, Gyáni).

2 Original version: Köstlin, Konrad. „Reisen, regionaler Kultur und die Moderne. Wie die Menschen modern wurden, das Reisen lernten und dabei die Region entdeckten.” Burkhard, Pöttler (Hrsg.). *Tourismus und Regionalkultur. Referate der Österreichischen Volkskundetagung 1992*. Wien, Selbstverlag des Vereins für Volkskunde, 1994. 11–24.

3 „A kultúrkritikusok azért keseregnek, mert az utazás szétrombolta a vidéki kultúrát. Ezzel szemben én azt a tézist képviselem, hogy épp a turizmus teremtette meg a vidéket mint kulturális jelenséget; mint a másság, az idegenség régióját, ahol a közelség egzotikumra hat.” (Translation: Kovács, Tímea)

4 Levente T. Szabó drew attention to the same point when writing about the relationship between the Transylvanian tourism movement and transnational ideology (see T. Szabó 2008b).

But how did, and still, how does the process of symbol production take place? According to Zsolt Szijártó, the “apparently serious and difficult task [of creating and spreading of significations and symbols in space] is in fact carried out through very ephemeral, effortless means: the cultural practices and techniques that organise space are largely made up of *words, narratives, stories and images.*” (Szijártó 200 – emphasis by Radnai)⁵ An important element of Szijártó’s statement is worth highlighting that plays a significant role in the interpretation of the Balaton guidebooks: the prominence of *visuality*. As the volumes analysed below illustrate, the visual rendering of the respective geographical space is an important aspect of the text types emerging in parallel with the modernisation of tourism. This aspect connects the nineteenth-century practices and public representations of tourism with the modern trend of the *mediatisation of society*, according to the terminology of contemporary media theory (see Tóth 2016, in general see e.g. Castells 1996; in connection with tourism see Abram et al.).

Although the following analyses are not primarily concerned with press materials, it is important to note the considerable social impact of the development of the illustrated press in the second half of the 19th century. Spreading to Hungary in the 1850–60s after the significant beginnings of the Reform era through various technical developments (xylography, photography, etc.), the illustrated press made completely new forms of knowledge about the world (and, of course, about the *nation*) accessible to the Hungarian readership. Révész’s research shows that the emergence of the “magazine” as a new type of newspaper and the ubiquitous use of images in press products (illustrations, photo supplements and posters) meant that even the illiterate were able to benefit from the flood of information provided by the written press (Révész 9–16, in the transnational context see Smith). Unfortunately, the case studies in Révész’s major monograph (Révész 263–387) do not address the relationship between the national image and the visual representation of characteristic Hungarian landscapes in the illustrated press, therefore further research is necessary to cover this topic. The present paper also aims to contribute to this line of research by considering not only the literary-historical but also the intermedial aspects of the creation of the touristic space in the analysis of guidebooks about Lake Balaton from the 19th century.

The evolution and classification of nineteenth-century guidebooks to Lake Balaton

Before analysing a specific volume, this section summarizes the representative types, sub-genres of 19th century Balaton guidebooks, and presents the changes of this genre during the century. The “guidebook” as a category in the title is a rather general formulation. Its use can be considered anachronistic in a sense that it is a projection of today’s terminology on the nineteenth-century sources discussed below. It was only for the quasi-capitalist, bourgeois tendencies of the Neoabsolutist era, that profit-oriented

⁵ „ezt a látszatra súlyos és nehéz munkát [...] valójában nagyon is illékony természetű, könnyed szerszámok végzik el: nagyrészt *szavak, elbeszélések, történetek és képek* alkotják a tereket szervező kulturális gyakorlatokat, technikákat.” If not indicated otherwise, all translations from Hungarian are by Radnai.

tourism in the modern sense could emerge in Hungary in the 19th century. As a part of this process of touristification, the genre of the professional *guidebook* also became widespread, but, according to the chronology of László Kósa's monograph, this happened only later, from the 1880s onwards (Kósa 39–42, 72–80).

In terms of content, some of the publications I treat here are closer to the genres of the *ethnographic report*, the *bath letter* or the *landscape description*, which typically appeared in the press of the Reform era (e.g. among the articles of *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* [Scientific Collection]). Such genres are much more “literary” than the rather informative texts on bathing written by bath physicians and balneologists. The former – such as Károly Miskolczy's booklet *Balaton Füred mint savanyú víz* [Balaton Füred as Sour Water] (1837) – are usually an inspired description and praise of the respective region (based on the authors' experiences), while the latter (such as Károly Orzoveczky's handbook from 1863) provide practical information specifically for bathers on the accessibility and prices of local accommodation, the chemical composition of the healing water, the schedule of medical cures or even seasonal entertainment. Of course, the combination of the two is not unprecedented: the first and only issue of the bath album *Nayad* (originally intended as a magazine), which appeared in 1861, aimed to promote two baths, the Császárfürdő in Buda and the Balatonfüred thermal bath. The editors wanted to achieve this partly through traditional bath descriptions and pictures, partly through humorous or romantic sketch stories, novellas and novelistic tales. Such publications also differ in their publishing platform, format and presumed readership. The *Balaton-album* (1848) published by the well-known lithographer Miklós Szerelmeý in Pest was certainly intended for the educated Hungarian and German readership of the capital, while the cheap Füred handbook published in Magyaróvár in the same year by Bálint Horváth, a Benedictine priest from Bakony-Kajár, with its simple layout (without illustrations) provided useful information about the thermal bath and its surroundings for a narrow, regional and mostly clerical audience. While buying the album with Szerelmeý's exclusive lithographic drawings and stylish picture explanations was considered to be an act of patronage of the arts (see Révész 100–104), Bálint Horváth's volume was more of a rudimentary guidebook – even if, according to today's book trade classification system, both could be put on the same shelf called “travelling” in the bookstores.

But one thing certainly makes these publications similar (apart from their topic, Lake Balaton): each of them tries to give geographical space a specific representation, a reader-friendly, interesting, enigmatic meaning by forming a kind of complex imagination of space. In the study cited above, Zsolt Szijártó, referring to the German cultural researcher Christoph Henning, distinguishes four different types of symbolic touristic appropriation of space. The *historicisation* or *musealisation* of space (1), when space is transposed into the sphere of history; *naturalisation* (2), when the landscape appears as a place of untouched nature; *folklorisation* or *exoticisation* (3), in which the use of local traditions plays an essential role; and *experientialisation* (4), when space appears to the viewer as a source of various experiences (Szijártó, 204).⁶ If we look at the publications

6 Original version: *Reiselust. Touristen, Tourismus und Urlaubskultur*. Frankfurt am Main–Leipzig: Insel, 1997. See the introduction of Henning's another study on the topic: Henning 169–172.

cited above from this point of view, we find almost all of the four possibilities of interpretation of space in them. Detailed descriptions of the beneficial effects of the healing water and the acidulous water cure in Füred or the services offered in the bathing facility are all intended to increase the experientialisation of the space (Horváth 14–28, Szerelmey 11–17, Orzoveczky 75–158). When describing the destinations for excursions, the mention of the medieval castle ruins around the Balaton Uplands and the reference to the relevant novels of Sándor Kisfaludy (*Csobáncz*, *Tátika*, *Somló*, etc.) contribute to the historicisation of the landscape (see Orzoveczky 29–30, Szerelmey 23–30), while the long paragraphs describing the beauty of the Balaton landscape and the unpredictability of the waves are meant to emphasise the natural and unspoilt character of the landscape (see Orzoveczky 7, Szerelmey 4). In the texts about the Balaton landscape, perhaps only the folklorisation of the space seems to fall a little short. Although not only the guidebooks but also the press materials on the Lake Balaton mention the typical ice fishing, emphasise the importance of viticulture and rave about the harvests on Badacsony, it is clear from the events of the 20th century that the *folk culture* of the Balaton indigenous population played hardly any role in shaping the touristic image of the region, since it ran counter to the interests and self-image of the tourism-motivated occupation of the space in essential respects (for details see Schleicher 105–120, 223–264).

The description of these cultural patterns is all the more important because it illustrates the differences between the tourism-oriented publications listed above and the more professional Balaton guidebooks which appeared later. It is not the case, however, that *A Balaton* [The Lake Balaton] (1907), produced with modern technology in a larger print run, republished several times and peppered with advertisements, the 1904 edition of the Balatoni Szövetség [Balaton Association] guidebook of the same name (1912) or the *Magyar fürdő-kalauz* [A Guide to Hungarian Baths] (1911), which described all the country's bathing resorts, would not have been as concerned with historicising, experientialising or naturalising the Balaton landscape as their predecessors. The reason of this difference is that the Baedeker publications of the turn of the century and after were created in a time with an established, developing tourism infrastructure (with numerous coastal resorts, bathing administrations, real estate agencies, services, investors, etc.). The earlier texts *had to create* through their representations and other forms of knowledge the touristic landscape of Lake Balaton, which had not yet existed in physical reality as we know it today. Through the analysis of a specific guidebook from 1878, this paper argues that the umbrella concept of these representations and forms of knowledge was the *nation*. The emergence of modern tourism, which did not yet exist in terms of infrastructure, was realized through the creation of the imagery of the Balaton landscape and the integration of national narratives and symbols into a touristic experience.

The nation as a touristic experience (Aladár Jalsovits: *A balatonfüredi gyógyhely és kirándulási helyei* [The Thermal Bath in Balatonfüred and the Excursion Destinations Nearby], 1878)

This section intends to present the relation between nation-building, mediatization, national literature and tourism through the example of a Balaton guidebook from 1878. The guidebook to Füred by Aladár Jalsovits (1833–1897), a Benedictine monk and teacher (on his life see Varga), was written during an exciting transitional period in the development of the Balaton tourism landscape. Published in Pest in 1878, quite unpretentious, but still illustrated with woodcuts, *A balatonfüredi gyógyhely és kirándulási helyei* [The Thermal Bath in Balatonfüred and the Excursion Destinations Nearby], was written at a time when the conditions necessary for the development of coastal tourism were already partly in place (marsh drainage, dredging, shore works, railway on the southern shore, etc.). The first signs of interest in bathing sites were already noticeable in several areas, while only a few places saw the official establishment of a bathing facility. Vera Schleicher found that before 1878 there were but three towns with a functioning bathing facility besides Balatonfüred: Keszthely (1846), Siófok (1866) and Almádi (1874) (Schleicher 363–365). Although a few decades later, around the turn of the century, several settlements on the shores of Lake Balaton had already built bathing establishments, Füred still remained the *centre* of touristic interest. Striving to present the traditional thermal bath of Balatonfüred and the surrounding area, the guidebook created a touristic imagery of the Balaton landscape *not* by showing the quantifiable results of the still rudimentary and incomplete tourism infrastructure, but by projecting national symbols and narratives into the landscape.

Jalsovits' book seems to follow the structure and content of similar manuals and Baedeker publications on thermal baths.⁷ The first section of the book (3–37) presents the history of the bathing resort of Füred; the next part (38–63) describes the location, climate and beneficial effects of the thermal waters. The following chapter (64–82) provides some practical information on local authorities, institutions, tariffs and services. The fourth section (83–107), accompanied by numerous woodcut illustrations, lists the most important public and private buildings in the resort, and the fifth part (108–125) lists the typical holiday homes. The sixth section (126–135) contains suggestions for short walks and leisure activities; the seventh section (136–159) introduces the lake itself and its “inhabitants”; the eighth – the most comprehensive – chapter (160–282) offers possible routes and destinations for larger excursions around Lake Balaton. As it is not surprising, the volume also contains an “appendix on bathing” (183–198) written by Dr Gyula Engel, the honorary chief physician of Zala County, and a fold-out map of Lake Balaton showing the area of the lake in a then already well-known illustration by Miklós Szerelmey.

However, Jalsovits not only presents the sights and values of the Balaton region in detail, but also sensitises the reader, as he writes in the preface: “I wanted to diversify the reading by interspersing the relevant poems of the Hungarian Petrarch, Sándor

⁷ Hereafter, the page numbers of this guidebook are indicated in the main text in parentheses.

Kisfaludy” (1).⁸ On the one hand, he involves the reader in the *literary tradition associated with the landscape* through relevant literary quotations; on the other hand he lends a national character to the presented geographical space through guest texts that are not related to the subject but they originate from prominent works of Hungarian literary history that were considered canonical at the time.

The popularity of Sándor Kisfaludy’s works at the beginning of the century (*A’ kesergő szerelem* [Bitter Love], 1801; *Regék a magyar előidőből* [Tales from the Hungarian Old Ages], 1807) faded already during his lifetime. In the 1820–30s, with the appearance of Kölcsey and Vörösmarty, the poet’s place in the literary canon did not attain a significance comparable to that of his brother, Károly Kisfaludy, or Kazinczy. Nevertheless, through the cult-forming activities of various writers and poets as well as institutions (e.g. János Garay, Gereben Vas, Mór Jókai, Károly Eötvös or the Zala minor nobility), he soon became the most important protagonist of the literary tradition associated with the Balaton region and, by extension, of the whole Transdanubian region as well. It is no coincidence that many publications about the Lake Balaton – including the aforementioned Szerelmey album – opt to pick up passages from Kisfaludy’s works about the Balaton and Transdanubian landscape and, not infrequently, they also include stanzas by János Garay, the author of the poetry volume *Balaton-i kagylók* [Shells from Lake Balaton] (1848). But while Szerelmey uses, for example, a Kisfaludy or Garay poem as a *motto*, which is only a *paratextual* element, Jalsovits is visibly eager to insert quite long passages of literary quotations into the chapters of his book. What is more, a kind of *alternative canon* of Hungarian national literature reveals from the *regionally* motivated and emphatically *Catholic* perspective of Jalsovits’ book. Almost all of the authors cited in the volume (Miklós Zrínyi, Sándor Kisfaludy, János Garay, József Eötvös, Mihály Vörösmarty, Kálmán Tóth) were members of the Catholic denomination, with the exception of Mihály Csokonai Vitéz and András Fáy.

It is also interesting that although Jalsovits, briefly summarising the history of the Hungarian nation, cites several texts that do not deal specifically with Lake Balaton (e.g. József Eötvös: *Búcsú* [Farewell], 1836; Mihály Vörösmarty: *A vén cigány* [The Old Gypsy], 1854), he refrains from quoting his contemporaries, such poets as Sándor Petőfi or János Arany. Despite the institutional cult that surrounded them, these two poets certainly did not meet the author’s Transdanubian-Catholic criteria of selection. The fact that they were not included in the volume illustrates the attitude of the Catholic public of the time toward the quasi-contemporary literary canon.⁹

In presenting the history of the Transdanubian region, Jalsovits quotes János Garay when writing about the sacrificial rites of ancient Hungarians and in connection with the mortal remains of Grand Prince Árpád, he quotes half a stanza from József Eötvös’

8 „A magyar Petrarkának [!], Kisfaludy Sándornak közbeszótt, s idevágó verseivel, az olvasmányt változtatossá kívántam tenni”

9 The Catholic character of the literary material embedded in the guidebook seems to be confirmed by the fact that the Transdanubian but *Lutheran* Dániel Berzsenyi (author of, among others, the poem *A’ Balaton* [Lake Balaton] [1804]) is also not mentioned in the volume.

well-known poem *Búcsú* [Farewell] (1836).¹⁰ A few pages later, after discussing the development of the bathing resort of Füred in the 1840–50s, he mentions some of its famous visitors, among whom Mihály Vörösmarty is described as the following: “the author of the ‘Szózat’ [Appeal], Mihály Vörösmarty. The Poet Laureate was already in declining health, broken not so much by time – he was perhaps 52 – but by the storms of life. If I remember correctly, his lovely wife and sons were also here.”¹¹ (32–33) Although it cannot be proven that Jalsovits was actually a witness to this event, the story is narrated as an authentic experience due to the personal formulation (“we saw it ourselves”, “if I remember correctly”).¹² Towards the end of the chapter, the author also inserts the poem *A vén cigány* [The Old Gypsy] (1854) in full length with the following commentary on the greatness of Vörösmarty: “I cannot but insert here the »Hattyudal« [»Swan Song«] of the king of Hungarian poets. Maybe some people did not read it.”¹³ (33) And after the poem, he explains again why it was included in the volume: “Why did we write this poem here? Our answer is: because, in our humble opinion, we believe that this poem reflects the author of the »Szózat« and a page of history of his time.”¹⁴ (35) After a short passage, a poem by Garay from the *Balaton kagylók* [Shells from Lake Balaton] follows, also in full length, and finally, the chapter ends with statistics on the number of visitors to Füred between 1839 and ‘77.

In view of all this, it is perhaps not surprising that after some citations of Kisfaludy and Garay, which could be described as schematic, in the latter part, the author quotes at length the inscriptions of the two statues of Kisfaludy in Balatonfüred (1860, 1877), including a brief biography of the poet and an appreciation of his work. In connection with the legends surrounding the creation of the lake, not only János Garay’s adaptation (with the opening line *Megteremté Isten... [God created...]*) is mentioned, but also the fairy tale *Sió* written in prose by András Fáy in 1836, which is the first known literary adaptation of the *Sió* story (140–159). The section on the possible destinations for major excursions around Tihany begins with another quotation from Garay, and after a brief description of the history of the abbey, the chapter ends with Csokonai’s poem *A tihanyi*

10 „S nem veszhet el, míg az ezüst Dunának / Nagy tükörén egy honfiszem pihen, / S magyar lakik a parton, s a hazának / Csak egy romlatlan gyermeke leszen” [“And it cannot be lost as long as a patriotic eye rests on the great mirror of the silver Danube and Hungarians dwells on its banks and the homeland will have only one uncorrupted child”] (15).

11 „a »Szózat« íróját Vörösmarty Mihályt. A koszorús költő egészsége már ekkor hanyatlóban volt, nem annyira az idő – talán 52 éves lehetett – mint inkább az élet viharai által megtörve. Ha jól emlékszem, kedves neje és fiai is itt voltak.”

12 It is not clear from Jalsovits’ narrative which visit by Ferenc Vörösmarty is being referred to; he only notes at the beginning of the quoted passage that the visit took place “in the early 50s” (32). So if the poet was indeed 52 years old, the visit must have taken place in 1852, but given the numerous misprints and factual errors in the volume, it is also possible that the author was mistaken about Vörösmarty’s age. On Vörösmarty’s visits to Füred, see Eötvös 185–201; Vörös.

13 „Nem állhatom meg, hogy a magyar költők királyának »Hattyudalát« ide nem irjam. Talán vannak, kik nem olvasták.”

14 „miért írtuk ide ezt a verset? Mi azt feleljük reá: azért mert szerény véleményünk szerint ezen a vers a »Szózat« írója és azon kor történetének egy lapját tükrözi vissza.”

ekkhóhoz [To the Echo of Tihany] (178–180). In connection with the castle of Nagyvázsony and Pál Kinizsi, the author quotes Kálmán Tóth (189)¹⁵, whetting the readers' appetite for local traditions. Sándor Kisfaludy's poem, *Csobáncz* is quoted in full length, preceded by the inspired description of the castle ruins on the summit of Csobánc Hill and the story of the Gyulaffy clan (193–205). Similarly, the view of Badacsony Hill is introduced with a quotation from *Himfy szerelmei* [The Loves of Himfy] (1801, 1807), followed by long excerpts from Kisfaludy's poems of the same title when presenting the castles of Somló and Tátika. Jalsovits also includes Csáktornya in the catalogue of places of excursion more distant from Füred, which necessarily requires reference to Miklós Zrínyi with the 11th Part of *Szigeti veszedelem* [The Siege of Sziget] (1651), followed by further Kisfaludy reminiscences from *Esseghvár* and *Somló*. The part of the volume written by Jalsovits (i.e. up to the appendix on bathing) closes with Vörösmarty's *Szózat* [Appeal], as if framing the "literary line" of the guidebook.

Aladár Jalsovits' guidebook on Füred has brilliantly mastered the task of creating the touristic space and objectifying it in a single medium of a guidebook. In solving this complex task, he creatively used historical sources about the Lake Balaton and its region, included the most relevant information from a tourist's point of view about the destinations and the bathing facilities and he also compiled a selection of the literary tradition related to the region. By presenting a very narrow and eclectic cross-section, he not only familiarised readers with the most famous literary figures associated with Lake Balaton, Sándor Kisfaludy and János Garay, but he also created an alternative canon of national literature with a focus on the Transdanubian region, associating it to the landscape. In the history of development of the imagery of touristic space around Lake Balaton, this booklet reveals an episode in which the *vast majority* of representations of the landscape had to be borrowed from the literary domain. The touristic space the reader encounters in Jalsovits' book is the "poetic space" of Hungarian literature, which is *naturalised, exoticised, historicalised and experientialised*, but above all, it is *nationalised*.

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to present the connection between tourism, space, language and national literature in the 19th century nation-building processes, through the case of a specific, characteristic Hungarian touristic space, the Balaton-region. The analysis proves that modern guidebooks, similar to illustrated newspapers, had a great role in spreading impressive touristic visions, representations of particular regions of Hungary, created a monumental national imagination of the Hungarian geographical space. Finally, the interpretation of Jalsovits's guidebook (1878) highlights the role of literary narratives, citations, biographies in the creation of the touristic space by case of the Balaton.

15 „... ki fél kézzel / Malomkövet hengergetett” [“... who rolled millstones with one hand”] (189).

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Illustrations

BALATON FÜRED

MINT
SAVANYÚ VIZ.

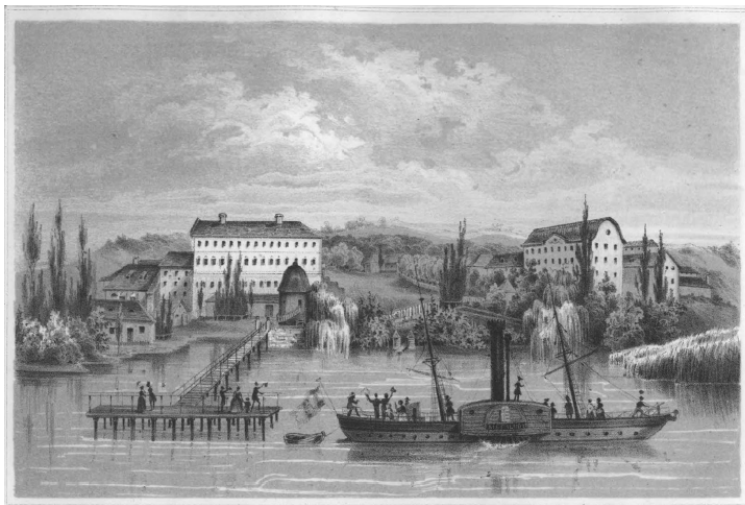


Úgy,
a' mint jelenleg van, minden oldalról
regényesen előadva
Miskolczy Károly
által.



Veszprémben,
Számmer Alajos' betűivel 1837.

The first Guidebook to Balaton (1837)



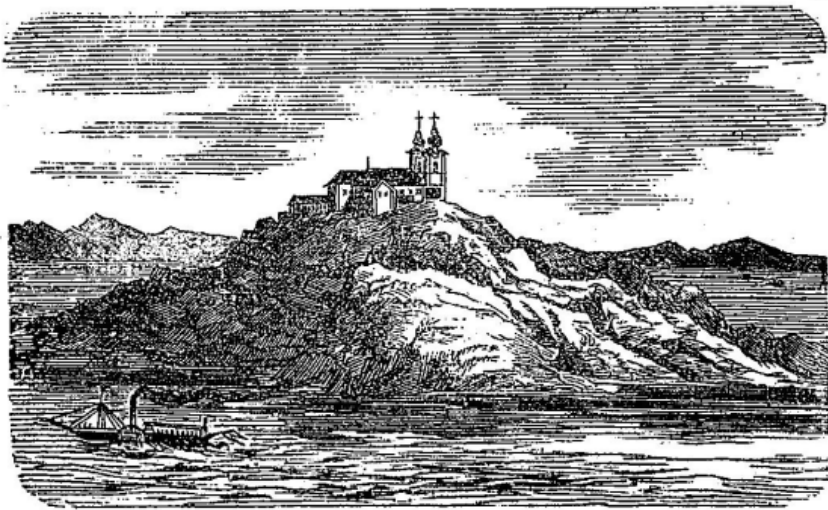
u. Szabolcs Radnai által készített rajzok.

u. Balaton vesztől. FÜRED von der Seesicht

Landscape of Füred in Szerelmey's Balaton Album (1848)



Statue of Sándor Kisfaludy in Füred (1877)
(Jalsovits, 89.)



Abbey of Tihany (Jalsovits, 161.)