

# New Europe College Yearbook

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# THE SHIFTING BORDERS OF DOMESTIC TOURISM IN HUNGARY, 1918–1945

Andrea Talabér

## Abstract

In this article, I explore how the state promoted Hungarian domestic tourism to Hungarians during the interwar era and the period of the Second World War. I seek to understand how the domestic market was defined in this period and how the state adjusted its tourism strategies to accommodate the changes in its definition. At the same time, I also explore how the Hungarians who were now separated from the homeland and living in what were now neighbouring independent states were understood and approached (and at times even targeted) in the marketing rhetoric of domestic tourism.

**Keywords:** domestic tourism, Hungary, interwar era

“One must travel, but one can holiday at home!”<sup>1</sup> Thus argued Oszkár Bársony, the director of the Tourism and Travel Company (IBUSZ), one of the largest Hungarian travel agencies, in a lecture he gave in 1933 on the importance of domestic tourism. One of the chief concerns of the interwar Hungarian tourism industry regarding domestic tourism was the outflux of money from the country, as Hungarians preferred to go abroad for their holidays, rather than explore their homeland.<sup>2</sup>

Prior to the First World War – when Hungary covered a much larger territory – some of the most popular destinations for Hungarian tourists were the high mountains of the Tatras in the Carpathian Mountains and the spas dotted around Transylvania with their healing waters. However, the war ended with Hungary on the losing side and, as a result of the 1920 Treaty of Trianon, Hungary lost two-thirds of its historic territory alongside three-fifths of its pre-First World War population, meaning that Trianon Hungary’s population was 7.6 million people, compared 20.9 million, the population of pre-war Hungary. Altogether, 3.3 million

Hungarians found themselves outside of the borders of Hungary as a minority population. As for territory, Romania received 103,093 square kilometres; Czechoslovakia 61,633 square kilometres; Yugoslavia 20,551 square kilometres; Austria 4,020 square kilometres; Poland 589 square kilometres and Italy 21 square kilometres.<sup>3</sup>

The “lost” territories included some of the popular tourism destinations in the Tatras and in Transylvania, which were now located in Czechoslovakia and Romania respectively. With the changes in the borders, the Hungarian domestic tourism promotional materials needed to be revised with an emphasis on the previously unexplored “hidden treasures” of the country. However, less than two decades later, starting from 1938 – as Hungary allied itself with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy from the mid-1930s – Hungary re-annexed parts of these territories, first southern Slovakia (the *Felvidék*), then Subcarpathian Ruthenia and, in September 1940, northern Transylvania. Thus, the domestic market, which had shrunk after the Treaty of Trianon, now expanded, restoring many of the previously popular destinations.

In this article, I explore how the state promoted Hungarian domestic tourism to Hungarians during the interwar era and the period of the Second World War. I seek to understand how the domestic market was defined in this period and how the state adjusted its tourism strategies to accommodate the changes in its definition. At the same time, I also explore how the Hungarians who were now separated from the homeland and living in what were now neighbouring independent states were understood and approached (and at times even targeted) in the marketing rhetoric of domestic tourism.

## **A brief history of the Hungarian tourism industry before 1918**

The fledgling Hungarian tourism industry started in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially in its last two decades. In this period, tourism mainly focused on Budapest, on the Lake Balaton and the Tatra mountains.<sup>4</sup> Some of the most popular spa destinations in then Hungary included Pöstyén (today Piešťany in Slovakia), Herkulesfürdő (today Băile Herculane in Transylvania, Romania), Tuszád (today Băile Tușnad in eastern Transylvania, Romania), Borszék (today Borsec, in Transylvania Romania) and Harkány (in Hungary).<sup>5</sup> During this time, Lake Balaton was not popular for the waters themselves, but tourists sought out especially the

southern coast of the Lake because of the beauty of the natural landscape, sports and to enjoy the sunshine and the fresh air. Later, however, there were claims that the waters of the Lake had healing properties and water holidays also started to play a role in the Balaton's tourism industry.<sup>6</sup> The popularity of the lake's south coast can partially be explained by the inauguration of the Budapest-Trieste railway line in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that made the area easily accessible for people traveling from the capital, Budapest.<sup>7</sup>

The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw a wide range of infrastructural improvements and the establishment of various associations in the Kingdom of Hungary. Several hotels were built and opened in Budapest in this period, such as the *Pannonia* (1868), the *Hungária* (1871) and the Grand Hotel on Margaret Island (1873).<sup>8</sup> With the expansion of the railway system, the need also arose for the First Hungarian Rail Information Centre (*Első Magyar Menetiroda*), which opened its doors to tourists and visitors in two rooms of the ground floor of the *Hungária* on 16 August 1884.<sup>9</sup>

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the tourism industry was largely dominated by private enterprises and it was only towards the end of the century that the state and government realised the potential, both economic and patriotic, that lay in the industry.<sup>10</sup> Private associations that targeted the domestic traveler included the Carpathian Association of Hungary (*Magyarországi Kárpátgyesület*, established in 1873) which promoted tourism into the Carpathian Mountains, and the Spa Joint-Stock Company of Almád (*Almádi Fürdő Részvénytársaság*, established in 1883), which promoted tourism to the town on the north eastern shore of Lake Balaton.

The birth of the Hungarian tourism industry came – according to Oszkár Bársony – with the 1885 Hungarian National Exhibition (*Országos Kiállítás*), which Bársony described in 1933 as “an unprecedented cultural and economic event”, which, he claimed, “can be considered to be an important step in the advancement of the capital and it becoming a world city.”<sup>11</sup> The Exhibition certainly attracted some of the largest crowds that Budapest had seen thus far. For that year the number of visitors to the capital were as follows: 102,252 people visited Budapest, of which 66,775 were domestic visitors and 35,477 travelled from abroad.<sup>12</sup>

However, it was the Millennium Exhibition of 1896, held on the anniversary of the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian basin that truly showed that the Hungarian tourism industry was not quite ready for larger volumes of tourists, domestic and international.<sup>13</sup> The events made it

clear, as Hungarian tourism historian Márta Jusztin points out, that further infrastructural and logistical improvements were needed, such as a body that oversaw tourism to the capital (and to the country as a whole) and more hotels. However, these did not occur until after the First World War.

The connection between nationalism and tourism was already visible in this period. On 22 December 1896, a new tourism association was established, named the Magyar School Teachers Tourist Association (*Magyar Tanítók Turista Egyesülete*). The Association was born out from the Magyar Tourist Association's section for elementary, middle and high-school teachers, which included 101 teachers, mainly from Budapest.<sup>14</sup> Historian Alexander Vari points out that as soon as the Association came into existence, they "adopted an active agenda in the name of Magyar nation building."<sup>15</sup> The members of the association emphasised that they believed that school excursions would instil a sense of patriotism in the pupils.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century various travel agencies, both private and state-owned, mushroomed. In 1902 the Tourism and Travel Company (IBUSZ) was established, followed by the Central Ticket Bureau (*Központi Menetjegyiroda*) in the same year. The Permanent Medicinal and Thermal Bath Association of Budapest (*Budapest Állandó Gyógyfürdő Bizottsága*) was founded in 1908 and the Budapest Metropolitan Tourist Office (*Budapest Székesfővárosi Idegenforgalmi Hivatal*) in 1916, which later, in 1935, became the Hungarian National Tourism Bureau.<sup>16</sup> These agencies and associations provided a solid basis for the interwar Hungarian tourism industry from which it could further develop.

However, as mentioned above, as the First World War ended with Hungary on the losing side, the tourism industry was faced with the problem that the most popular destinations – such as the spas of Pöstyén, Herkulesfürdő, Tuszád and Borszék and the high mountains of the Tatra – were no longer within the borders of Trianon Hungary. By way of illustration, the historian Zsolt Nagy highlights that in the territory of pre-Trianon Hungary there were 203 (medicinal) spas and 30 mountain retreats of which 63 spas and two mountain retreats remained after 1920.<sup>17</sup> Thus, in the interwar period one of the main tasks of the Hungarian state and the tourism industry was to try and redirect domestic tourists from these "lost" destinations to new ones within Trianon Hungary and to strengthen tourism to places that remained within Hungary's territory, such as those around Lake Balaton and to redefine just what domestic tourism encompassed.



### The new domestic market, 1918–1938

During the interwar period the Hungarian state and tourism industry sought to encourage Hungarians to spend their money at home, rather than abroad, with both seeing an economic opportunity in tourism. Thus, oftentimes the main thrust of the debates surrounding domestic tourism were not simply about patriotism and how Hungarians needed to know their homeland, but also about the income this would generate for the state. It was not only Bársony who encouraged the Hungarians to holiday at home, but the state in general: the letter heads of public institutions included the exclamation: “Let’s holiday at home!” (*Nyarljunk itthon!*), while the slogan “Let’s travel our homeland” (*Utazgassunk hazánk földjén*) was not only employed on official promotional posters advertising domestic tourism by the Hungarian State Railways (MÁV), but it also became the title of a popular column in the magazine *Az Utazás* (The travel), in which authors of the column reported on the events and programmes that were deemed to be of interest to the travelling public.<sup>18</sup>

One of the recurring issues of the interwar period was that holidaying Hungarians spent more money abroad than they did in their home country. In numerical terms, the deficit was rather significant. Bársony in his lecture mentioned a deficit of 31.2 million *pengő* for the year 1931, with Hungarians spending 57.5 million *pengő* abroad, compared to 26.3 million *pengő* domestically.<sup>19</sup> Whilst the amount fluctuated throughout the interwar period, Hungarians continued to spend more money abroad.<sup>20</sup> According to Bársony’s statistics for 1931, Hungarians mainly travelled to Austria, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Germany (where they spent a combined amount of 45.2 million *pengő* that year).<sup>21</sup> It is most likely that many of the visits to Czechoslovakia were to relatives in the annexed territories, however these statistics also show that Hungarian were not necessarily visiting destinations that were popular in the pre-war period.

The tourism industry was clear that after the loss of what had been popular destinations to neighbouring countries, they had to start marketing destinations in Trianon Hungary with new strategies. Tourism brochures, articles and other promotional material encouraged Hungarians to discover the “hidden treasures” of their country, in an attempt to focus tourism not only on Budapest and Lake Balaton, but also on other towns and villages: the town of Lillafüred in the Bükk mountains located in northern Hungary, for example, was intended to substitute for the loss of the Tatras.<sup>22</sup> To this end István Hallósy, the director of the Budapest International Fair (*Budapest*

*Nemzetközi Vásár*), proposed the creation of regions within the country that could highlight the uniqueness of the areas they covered. Hallósy argued that the best way to encourage domestic tourism was through “analysis”, by which he meant that “[w]hilst to foreigners we must only show the main characteristics [of Hungary], to the domestic population propaganda is only effective if we explore [Hungary] in its details.”<sup>23</sup> Thus, he suggested that the tourism industry needed to divide up the country into various “geographical, folk and cultural” regions to highlight the attractiveness of each of these regions and to be able to target the domestic tourists with more accurate propaganda.<sup>24</sup> Hallósy gave the example of the Great Plain, which in the Hungarian imagination, as he noted, is one large entity although in reality it could be divided up into three distinct areas based on various unique geographical, folk and cultural elements. Altogether, Hallósy proposed ten distinct areas for tourism covering the whole of Hungary (including the by then re-annexed territories): the Danube bend; Bakony and Vértes mountains; the Lake Balaton; “the Csalóköz, with Győr and Komárom”; the west Hungarian borderland; the Mecsek mountain range; the Great Hungarian Plain, divided into three separate areas of Kecskemét and Szolnok, Szeged and Debrecen; the Cserhát-Márta-Bükk mountains; “the land of Rákóczi”, including Kassa, Borsi and the castles of Rákóczi in Abaúj and Zemplén counties; and the mountains of Subcarpathian Ruthenia.<sup>25</sup> Whilst Hallósy’s proposal was not realised, it nonetheless highlights that domestic tourism was a concern and, moreover, that the way in which the leaders of the tourism industry believed it could be improved was through emphasising the previously “hidden” treasures within the country.

It was not enough, however, to highlight the destinations that Hungarian tourists ought to visit; the necessary infrastructure for this also had to be developed and improved from renovating or opening hotels to a general improvement in the road and rail infrastructure that was needed irrespective of tourism. To achieve such an advance, a number of state decrees and laws were passed, such as the spa regulation of 1929, the so-called “spa law” (*fürdőtörvény*), which regulated healing spas, climatic cure institutions holidays resorts. The Minister of Trade also issued a decree on the National Hungarian Tourism Training Course and Travel Guide Examination, in order to improve the standards of the services provided. Alongside this, various public tourism agencies and bodies were established, such as the National Tourism Office, the Federation of Hungarian Tourism Agencies and the Baross Federation.<sup>26</sup>

It is evident from these steps that the Hungarian state, alongside the tourism industry, put much effort into driving up the domestic tourism numbers. However, to be successful they also needed to expand not just on what was spent, but also who could enjoy a holiday in interwar Hungary. Whilst holidays were increasingly more available and affordable for a wider spectrum of social classes, it was still predominantly the middle class who could afford them.<sup>27</sup> Towards the end of the 1930s the tourism industry, however, started to emphasise in its publicity material that all social classes needed free time and relaxation and so came up with a new strategy to make this possible: village tourism.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, in 1940 so-called “workers” holidays were established in two locations around Lake Balaton, at Balatonaliga on the southeastern side and at Hévízszentandrás (today Hévíz) on the northwest side of the lake, with the help of the National Labour Centre.<sup>29</sup> These so-called workers’ holidays aimed to provide affordable holidays. The workers who vacationed at these locations shared rooms containing two or three beds and received three meals a day for a sum ranging from 28 to 46.7 *pengő*.

The state railways company, MÁV also attempted to encourage the less well-to-do to holiday domestically by introducing so-called *filléres* fast trains (*fillér* being the small denomination coins, 100 *fillér* equalling one *pengő*). These were not, however, available in the peak holiday season of August since as the railway company expected that people would still use its services then anyway, regardless of cost.<sup>30</sup> Aladár Bogsch, chief inspector of MÁV, observed in a talk he gave that the company did not lose money on these discounted tickets and that, on the contrary, they had been able to attract more people to travel domestically than they had hoped for through this scheme. Furthermore, he noted that through this initiative MÁV had been able to promote locations that were (are) significant places in terms of folk art, such as Mezőkövesd (in northern Hungary) and Sárköz (in southern Hungary). According to Bogsch, the local authorities estimated that the influx of visitors – thanks to the *filléres* trains – resulted in an extra income of 10,000–13,000 *pengő* for Mezőkövesd.<sup>31</sup>

Yet, even with discounted tickets and accommodation, the cost of a holiday was still prohibitive for many. An average middle-class family of four had to manage on a monthly income of around 240–360 *pengő*.<sup>32</sup> Krisztina Sedlmayer points out that this amount was, on the whole, hardly enough to run a household and families who lived on this amount could not afford to take holidays. Sedlmayer also offers us a glimpse into how much a holiday could cost. She gives the example of the vacation that

Alajos Jirka and his wife – they had no children – took in 1930 when they spent ten days at Lake Balaton for the sum of 263 *pengő*.<sup>33</sup> Jirka was a philologist and teacher and his income ranged from 440 to 460 *pengő*, which could go up to 600 *pengő* depending on whether he did work for at the Academy of Sciences, as well alongside from his job as a teacher in a *gymnasium*.<sup>34</sup> The Jirkas had a perhaps above average income and could spend more on a holiday, and it is clear that many other families would not have been able to do so.<sup>35</sup>

### **The annexed territories and their inhabitants in Hungarian tourism promotional material, 1920–1938**

The official narrative of domestic tourism emphasised that now that the old popular holiday destinations lay outside of the country's borders, the question arose whether it was one's patriotic duty to still visit those territories or whether the economic factor was more important and thus people should holiday at home. In 1933, József Fészl, a trustee of the Hungarian National Tourism Council pondered: "Now the question is that when our home country's fragmentation and the economic regression connected to it created such a serious financial situation, is it right, needed and patriotic to travel abroad, and have a holiday and a good time there?"<sup>36</sup> Fészl was referring to the government regulation that banned the transfer of currency abroad and limited the amount of *pengő* that was allowed to be taken out of the country. Even so, Fészl further argued that Hungarians always find a "back door" [*kiskapu*], in this case to take currency out, and (in unspecified) foreign countries were loud with Hungarian voices despite these limitations. As he emphasised, however, all these trips abroad by Hungarians – even to the annexed territories – caused a financial loss for the country and so instead of going abroad, domestic tourism, especially to the countryside, should be boosted.

Whilst officially tourism to the annexed territories – or in general to abroad – was not encouraged, tourism to the Tatra mountains and especially to Transylvania was promoted by various private sporting and outdoors associations. In 1931, for example, the Hungarian Royal Automobile Club published a guide for an automobile tour of the Tatra mountains.<sup>37</sup> There were also associational efforts to encourage people to visit Transylvania and to improve the tourism infrastructure there. The president of the Brassó Tourist Association, Gyula Halász urged Hungarian visitors to help establish a "united and strong Transylvanian

Hungarian tourist association" and representatives of the Hungarian tourism association visited Transylvania to give advice.<sup>38</sup>

The primary focus of official Hungarian tourism efforts regarding the annexed territories and their inhabitants, however, was for them to come and visit the "home" country. Tourism from the annexed territories was a constant concern of journalists, politicians, the tourism industry and commentators. A representative of the hotel and spa directorate, when answering questions from a journalist in July 1924, argued that it not only was it too expensive for the "intelligentsia, merchants and traders of the Hungarian countryside" to holiday in Hungary, but ethnic Hungarians from the annexed territories could not afford to visit Hungary now because of the expenses involved in travelling to and within Hungary.<sup>39</sup> Immediately after the territories had been annexed and for a number of years afterwards, prices in Budapest were lower than in neighbouring countries. This allowed Hungarians who now found themselves on the other side of the border to visit Budapest and do some shopping at the same time. However, by 1924 the situation had been reversed: Austria, Czechoslovakia and Romania were all cheaper than Hungary, and thus visits from Hungarians now living in these countries trailed off.<sup>40</sup>

Another recurring trope was the bureaucracy and official obstacles that stood in front of the potential tourists, namely various entry requirements, including paying for and obtaining a visa, having a valid passport and customs. These official barriers, many feared, prevented the Hungarians who lived outside the country's borders from visiting. In an August 1924 article in *Magyarország*, the author mused that even if these Hungarians wanted to return home for only a few days, they are subjected to torture by all kinds of passport inspectors, visa examinations, authorities watching and checking, which make it seem as though there is something highly suspicious about them: what do they want here, why are they coming and when are they planning on going back?<sup>41</sup>

As officials on both sides of the borders were making it increasingly difficult for people from the annexed territories to visit, some commentators feared that Hungarians in the annexed territories would lose their connection to the "homeland". In 1929 during a meeting of the Budapest City Council when discussing the work of the Tourism Office, Ede Bresztovszky voiced his concerns that "Hungarians from the torn away territories are getting farther and farther away from Budapest."<sup>42</sup> Bresztovszky quoted several statistical data points, which underlined that the number of visitors from the annexed territories had declined "on

a large scale" from 1928 to 1929. He cited the figures for 1928, when 92,551 visitors had come to Trianon Hungary from the annexed territories, a number which fell to 81,345 visitors by 1929 when Bresztovszky was speaking at the end of October.<sup>43</sup>

This decline occurred, as Károly Peyer, another member of the city council, pointed out, despite the efforts made to attract visitors in 1929 for the St Stephen Week celebrations. St Stephen Week celebrations took place in the second half of August each year as part of the 20 August celebrations, commemorating St Stephen, the founder of the Hungarian state in (or around) the year 1,000. From the mid-1920s the leaders of Budapest extended the day's celebration into a week-long event, which included pageants, sports days, concerts, fireworks and various other outdoor spectacles.<sup>44</sup> However, there is little evidence that Hungarians from the annexed territories actually visited for the holiday until Hungary started to reoccupy some of these territories. For example, in 1939 the newspaper reports on the 20 August Holy Right procession – the mummified right hand of St Stephen – singled out all the various groups from the annexed and re-annexed territories who took part in the procession.<sup>45</sup>

The percentage of Hungarians visiting from the annexed territories remained at around 15% of the overall tourist numbers to Budapest between 1927 and 1937.<sup>46</sup> However, with the rise of overall tourist numbers in this period, this constant percentage likely means that tourist numbers from the annexed territories increased only slightly. Apart from patriotism, one of the main concerns of the Hungarian state was the economic aspect of tourism. However, as Jusztin points out, we should not expect that visitors from the annexed territories would have brought in much income as most likely many of them were visiting relatives and were thus less likely to stay in hotels or spend money in restaurants and other entertainment venues.<sup>47</sup>

As I mentioned above, one possible reason for the decline in visitor numbers was the bureaucracy surrounding travel and the financial costs associated with it. Members of the tourism industry as well as politicians suggested throughout the interwar period that visas should be abolished for countries with large Hungarian populations.<sup>48</sup> However, as a bilateral agreement was necessary and because this was still a source of income for the state, this did not happen. Whilst complete visa free travel was not implemented between Hungary and its neighbouring countries, Hungary reached an agreement with Czechoslovakia that from 1935 allowed children under 15 to travel without a visa, but with a valid passport.<sup>49</sup>

Visa charges varied from country to country (Table 1), however the prices could be rather prohibitive for travel. In 1932 a single-entry visa from Czechoslovakia to Hungary cost six *pengő*, plus a two *pengő* administrative fee per traveller, whereas a visa for multiple entries cost 12 *pengő* with an additional three *pengő* administrative fee.<sup>50</sup> Whilst a visa from Czechoslovakia already added a significant amount to a family's travel plans, visa fees from Romania to Hungary were even more prohibitive, at 14 *pengő* and 50 *fillér* in 1932 while no visas for multiple entry were available. By 1936, the cost of a visa from Romania to Hungary had increased by four *pengő* and 30 *fillér* to 18 *pengő* and 80 *fillér*.<sup>51</sup> For Czechoslovakia the visa charge remained the same as in 1932.

	Transit	Single entry	Multiple entries
<b>Czechoslovakia</b>	2P 20F + 1P administrative fee	6P + 2 P administrative fee	12P + 3P administrative fee
<b>Romania (1932)</b>	14P 50F	14P 50F	Not available.
<b>Romania (1936)</b>	18P 80F	18P 80F	Not available.

Table 1. Cost of an entry visa to Hungary based on figures from 1932 and 1936

When the general costs of travel are added, such as having to obtain a valid passport and the visa charges, it is clear that travelling from the annexed territories to the “homeland” was an expensive endeavour that was largely an option only for the middle-class traveller. Despite the efforts of the Hungarian state to attract visitors to Hungary from these territories, for example through the St Stephen Week celebrations, their numbers did not grow significantly during the interwar period.

### **The expansion of the domestic market: “returning” territories and new tourism strategies, 1938–1945**

In the late 1930s the international political situation in Europe escalated; the threat of Nazi Germany loomed large and, in an attempt to appease Hitler, the Munich Agreement was signed between the United Kingdom, Germany, France and Italy on 30 September 1938. The Agreement

meant that Nazi Germany occupied the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia (Germany fully occupied Czechoslovakia in March 1939). Hungary, as an ally of Germany and Italy, greatly benefited from the Munich Agreement and the subsequent occupation of Czechoslovakia: Nazi Germany and fascist Italy arbitrated the First Vienna Awards in November 1938, whereby Hungary reoccupied parts southern Slovakia (known in Hungarian as the *Felvidék*) and in March 1939 it reoccupied Subcarpathian Ruthenia and in September 1940 northern Transylvania as a result of the Second Vienna Award (see Figure 1). With the reoccupation of these territories Hungary's interwar area increased by 67,100 square miles and the population increased to 11.4 million.<sup>52</sup>

The Hungarian state and the tourism industry was thus faced with the expansion of the domestic market. However, some of the previously popular destinations such as the high mountains in the Tatra had not been “returned”, but remained in Slovak territory. Even so, as the Hungarian state sought to economically (and logistically) reintegrate the re-annexed territories, it, together with the tourism industry, started to promote holidays to these “returned” territories.

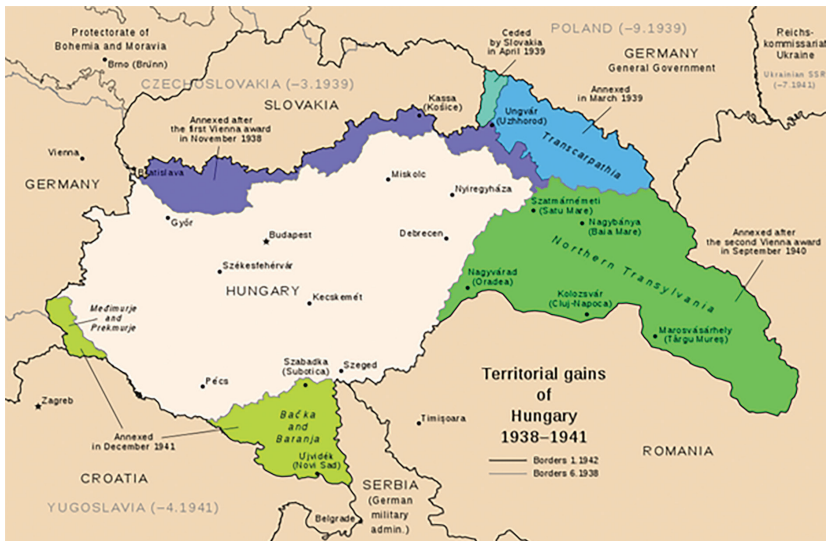


Figure 1: Map of territories annexed by Hungary in 1938–1941.  
Source: Wikimedia Commons at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Territorial\\_gains\\_of\\_Hungary\\_1938-41\\_en.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Territorial_gains_of_Hungary_1938-41_en.svg)



Hungary's tourism strategy needed to change during the period just preceding and during the Second World War, to include the re-annexed territories. This was in effect a kind of reversal of the interwar tourism strategy, which had to reorient itself to a smaller Hungary and tried to entice Hungarians to holiday at home and not visit the "lost" territories. The new Hungarian tourism strategy had a dual aim: it now wanted people from the re-annexed territories to visit the area of interwar Hungary, but it also wanted Hungarians from Trianon Hungary to visit the re-annexed territories. This strategy of trying to funnel Trianon Hungarian tourists to the re-annexed territories had two aims: to help these regions economically, hoping that the revenue from tourism would stimulate the regional economy, while the state also wished to reintegrate them into the homeland via new cultural contacts. Especially in the case of northern Transylvania, some of the tourism material suggested, that visiting the territory was a patriotic duty of everyone.<sup>53</sup> A similar rhetoric was also employed for the *Felvidék*. A 1939 Hungarian guidebook to the *Felvidék* emphasised that tourists would be able to receive "real Hungarian hospitality" there, thus reassuring Trianon Hungarians that the inhabitants of the "returned" territories had not lost their Hungarian identity during the 20 years that they were "away".<sup>54</sup>

Before Trianon Hungarian tourists could arrive in the re-annexed territories, these areas needed to be redeveloped. One of the claims made by the Hungarian state was that during the "foreign" occupation of these territories the amenities, including spas and hotels, had become run down and the towns themselves were dirty and the shadows of their old splendour.<sup>55</sup> The Hungarian government appointed Béla Padányi-Gulyás, a former student of Prime Minister Pál Teleki, as commissioner for tourism in Subcarpathian Ruthenia to oversee development.<sup>56</sup> After northern Transylvania was re-annexed during the so-called Transylvania conference (*Erdélyi értekezlet*), Prime Minister Teleki laid out the infrastructural improvements that were needed in the region, including new railway lines, new bus services and new air routes, as well as the development of regional tourism, which meant modernising amenities and spas.<sup>57</sup> The Hungarian government, the tourism industry and commentators hoped that "the mountains and the romantic wilderness of the reannexed *Felvidék*" would provide new tourism hotspots.<sup>58</sup> In northern Transylvania a Hungarian National Tourist Bureau office was established in Kolozsvár/Cluj.<sup>59</sup> Newspapers also reported on the investments that were made in Transylvania: the *Nemzeti Újság*, for example, informed its readers on

25 March 1942 that the “return of parts of Transylvania” offers Hungarians who were planning their summer vacations a number of “more colourful and varied options”.<sup>60</sup> This was especially so after the modernisation and repair of the roads to many of the spas located in the Szekler region, which were now ready for visitors.

Newspapers in Hungary gave extensive coverage to the first scheduled flight to Transylvania. On 27 September 1940 two planes took off from Budapest towards Nagyvárad, Kolozsvár and Marosvásárhely (Figure 2). The larger of the planes, a Junkers Ju 52, carried 16 passengers, whilst the smaller plane, a Focke-Wulf 58 carried various supplies such as newspapers, packages and even a loaf of bread. The journalist from the newspaper *Függetlenség* pondered as to who sent the loaf to whom and why,<sup>61</sup> and also saw a symbolic significance in the packages: “It was a beautiful symbol: nourishment for the body as well as the soul” after 20 years of “foreign” rule.<sup>62</sup> An article in the newspaper *Esti Újság* covering the event noted that this was the first time that people from Trianon Hungary did not need a passport or a visa to visit these territories.<sup>63</sup>



Figure 2: The first scheduled passenger flight from Budapest to Transylvania. 27 September 1940. Source: Fortepan / Fadgyas Bence

The occasion was accompanied by a small celebratory ceremony before the planes took off. At the flight apart from the passengers, the lord mayor and mayor of Budapest and many high-ranking civil servants from various ministries turned up as well as the Minister of Trade, József Varga. The director of the airport and the director of Malert, the state aviation company, were also present. The Minister of Trade assured those who gathered on the tarmac that they will be this fast with restoring the rail network as well. Varga reflecting on the re-annexation of the territory also said that this new line is special, as even though Budapest is a hub of international aviation, these planes did not connect far off lands, but “bring closer our own blood to the capital”.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, the Minister promised that this was only the beginning of the logistical and infrastructural improvements would soon also be visible on the roads and on the train connections between the “homeland” and the reannexed territories. Even though by the end of the war the Hungarian government could not fulfil all its promises, many of them were implemented: the Déda – Szeretfalva railroad was built for 75 million *pengő*, and they spent a further 129 million *pengő* for other rail improvements, built roads for 13 million *pengő* (until 1942), developed airports for three million and spent money on improving telephone lines and bridges.<sup>65</sup>

With the money being invested into the re-annexed territories, the tourism industry and those associated with it started to publish new guidebooks that were either marketing the re-annexed territories or gave an overview of what to see in the whole country (Trianon Hungary and the re-annexed territories). All the mayors of the towns in Hungary received a letter from the Hungarian Royal Trade and Transport Ministry informing them that “[a]s a result of the re-annexation of Transylvania, the *Felvidék* and Subcarpathian Rus”, the Minister found it “timely and needed that the tourism department under my leadership compiles in a summary work the worthy touristic destinations of Hungary and with this advance the cause of domestic tourism.”<sup>66</sup> The leaders of towns were asked to provide information on their towns, covering the historical and art historical buildings including hotels, (private) palaces, spas (in and near the town), houses representing folk art, monuments, special foods and wines (or other drinks) famous in the region.

During the period between 1940 and 1943, a total of 18 books, pamphlets and other travel material was published on Transylvania, the same amount, Ablonczy highlights, as between 1788 and 1940.<sup>67</sup> The guidebooks on both Transylvania and southern Slovakia tended to follow

a similar format: they started with an introductory essay (usually by the author), followed by a description of the towns, villages and regions worth visiting. The guidebooks tended to give a historical background of the towns and regions, followed by places to see, hotels to stay in, transport guides and establishments to visit.<sup>68</sup>



Figure 3: Scout group from the Ciszterci Szent Imre Gymnasium visiting the Castle of Krasznahorka in 1939 following the re-annexation of the territory. Source: Fortepan / Ebner

One of the most prolific writers of guidebooks mainly to the re-annexed territories was Sándor Aba, who published on southern Slovakia, on southern Slovakia and Trianon Hungary and on Transylvania and Trianon Hungary.<sup>69</sup> In all three of the guidebooks the foreword was almost identical: Aba welcomed the return of the territories and argued that he aimed his guidebooks at those who would spend money on going to small villages in Italy, Switzerland and Scandinavia and know all the monuments there, but have never seen the Cathedral in *Kassa* (*Košice*, today in Slovakia) or the castle at *Krasznahorka* (*Krásna Hôrka* Castle, today in Slovakia).<sup>70</sup> Aba furthermore aimed his books at those who were born in the 20 years during which those areas were annexed. He emphasised the many tourism opportunities that the regions offered and highlighted that

anyone visiting would “experience real Hungarian hospitality”, showing that the 20 years during which these territories were under “foreign” rule did not affect the areas at all.<sup>71</sup>

The “Hungarianness” of the re-annexed regions was often mentioned in the guidebooks. In a 1940 guidebook entitled *Az utas könyve: magyar utazási kézikönyv és útmutató* (The Traveler’s Book: Hungarian Travel Manual and Guide) highlighted that Beregszász (today Berehove in western Ukraine) suffered the most after it was “captured by the Czechs [...] because it was the most Hungarian town.”<sup>72</sup> Even so, “[a]fter the Czechs realised that [the town’s] Czechification was not possible, they gave up on it, but took away the town’s character and its [municipal] offices.”<sup>73</sup> Despite all these efforts, the town remained Hungarian and even increased in size, the guide argues. The town of Munkács (today Mukachevo, in western Ukraine) received a similar description in the guide, which highlighted that whilst the town was often threatened with destruction, it always overcame.<sup>74</sup>

Another volume, prepared by lecturers of Kolozsvár (Cluj) University, was aimed at the visitors of the University and at those who newly moved to the town.<sup>75</sup> The lecturers wished to create a guide “that will familiarise visitors with the sights and spirit of this small country and will draw their attention to how to approach it.”<sup>76</sup> Prinz and the lecturers argued that the Romanian rule made the area stronger and more united and, similarly to the other guides, they pointed out that once the Hungarians reoccupied the territory, any traces of foreign rule disappeared.<sup>77</sup> Thus, the area, in their argument, kept its Hungarian character. The authors further argued that now with the reintegration of northern Transylvania into the Hungarian homeland, the area would become a new historical location as from southern Transylvania, which they pointed out was still under Romanian “occupation”, Hungarians started to move to the re-annexed territory.

Thus, whilst the guides did fulfil their basic requirements of guiding the visitors to/ in these territories, at the same time also emphasised that reintegrating these areas into the “homeland” would not be an issue, since – despite the “foreign” occupation – they remained Hungarians.

The start of the Second World War greatly affected tourism, both incoming and outgoing. In August 1940 – the peak of the tourism season in Budapest, especially St Stephen’s Week in the middle of the month – only 20,247 people visited Budapest. However, the majority of these visitors were domestic: 16,763 of them came from various parts of “truncated Hungary”, 1,093 people from the annexed territories and only

2,391 people visited the capital from abroad.<sup>78</sup> In 1939, the previous year these numbers were 14,046 from “truncated” Hungary, 2,691 from the annexed territories and 13,060 foreigners.<sup>79</sup> These numbers show that whilst domestic tourism even had a slight uptick, foreign tourism suffered greatly from the war. Those foreigners who visited Budapest came mainly from Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Switzerland and the United States of America.

The interwar slogan of “Let’s travel our homeland!” took on a new significance during the war years. As international travel became increasingly impossible as the war went on, domestic travel became more attractive. The Hungarian government and the tourism industry, as I discussed above, tried to attract visitors to the re-annexed territories, however this left the previously dubbed “hidden treasures” of Trianon Hungary in a bind: they wished to keep their lucrative tourist numbers (or even wanted to increase them, now that international travel was close to impossible), when the official government propaganda’s main thrust was concerned with the re-annexed territories.

How did these previous “hidden treasures” deal with this situation? The mayor of the west Hungarian town of Sopron received a letter from the Corvin Travel and Spa Bureau (*Corvin Utazási- és Fördőiroda*), which represented the town in international and domestic tourism propaganda, elaborated that with the war and the re-annexation of the territories previously popular destinations had experienced a decline in the number of visitors.<sup>80</sup> The letter emphasised that with the re-annexation of Transylvania many attractions “returned” to Hungary that would be appealing to the domestic tourists, especially since “for more than two decades they could not go there.”<sup>81</sup> Corvin highlighted that: “Sopron has built its tourism through decades of hard work, and now, when they have to count with a significant decrease, we cannot resign to this fact without a word, because it could be avoided with more work.” The interwar tourism numbers of Sopron were indeed increasing almost year-by-year for both domestic and international tourism, at least this is what we learn from the 1932–1937 statistics (see Table 2).<sup>82</sup>



	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
<b>Domestic</b>	67,631	62,745	62,276	60,188	64,279	68,496
<b>Foreign</b>	14,877	26,659	40,270	55,201	42,249	40,425
<b>Total</b>	82,508	89,404	102,546	115,389	106,528	108,921

Table 2: Tourism numbers of Sopron between 1932–1937.  
Source: “Sopron sz. kir. város idegenforgalma, 1932–1937”,  
Soproni Szemle, 1938, 101.

Of course, the leaders of the town wanted to retain at least the domestic tourist numbers, since they contributed significantly to the local economy. Corvin suggested that the town should organize a “momentous touristic event” with which they could re-attract the tourists who navigated towards the re-annexed territories. Another tourism agency, Intercontinental, suggested that the town should rely on its reputation as “Civitas Fidelissima”, or the town of loyalty, a title the town received in 1922 following the December 1921 plebiscite in which the town and its surrounding villages voted on whether they wanted to belong to Austria or to Hungary.<sup>83</sup> Intercontinental suggested the organisation of a “Sopron loyalty day”, a day-long celebration of the outcome of the plebiscite with music, exhibitions and parades. It seems that Intercontinental was not taken up on its offer, but it is clear from both letters that tourism agencies felt that the re-annexation of the territories would impact the tourism numbers of the towns they represented. They show a concern for Sopron’s tourism numbers during the first years of the war and trying to advice the mayor on how to increase the influx of tourists. Corvin represented a high number of other towns as well and it is likely that a similarly worded letter was sent out to these town as well.

It is unclear how successful towns in Trianon Hungary were in trying to stop the flow of tourists going to the re-annexed territories. However, tourism grew at an exponential rate to northern Transylvania, as Ablonczy points out during the war Hungarians had a higher income, but they were limited in their travel opportunities abroad.<sup>84</sup> Whilst there were no overall statistics for the region: from 1942 to 1943 tourism to Kolozsvár increased by 27.5 percent, whilst in resort town of Szováta (today Sovata, in Transylvania, Romania), the IBUSZ office reported that occupancy in hotels was at capacity and it was not possible to find a room for a night.<sup>85</sup>

Tourism to the region only declined in the second half of 1944 when Romania switched sides in the war and the front moved to Transylvania.<sup>86</sup>

## Conclusion

The shifting borders of Hungary between 1918 and 1945 compelled the Hungarian governments and the tourism industry to readjust what the domestic market meant. Following the end of the First World War the market shrunk with the loss of its previously popular tourism destinations, whilst in the build up to the Second World War it expanded again as Hungary's allyship with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy allowed the government to reoccupy some of the previously "lost" territories.

This shifting area for domestic tourism clearly highlights that tourism in interwar and Second World War Hungary was a tool of nation building and re-building. In the interwar period the aim of the tourism industry was to redirect domestic tourist to previously less visited destinations within the borders of Trianon Hungary, not only to instil patriotism in its citizens, but also for crucial income. Then, as Hungary re-annexed parts of the "lost" territories, economic considerations again played a role: now domestic tourism promotions wished to redirect Trianon Hungarians from the "hidden treasures" to the re-annexed territories and use domestic tourism as a tool to reintegrate the territories culturally, but most crucially, economically. The example of tourism in Hungary between 1918 and 1945 clearly shows that the Hungarian governments took domestic tourism seriously and hoped that it would be an important part of the national economy.



## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Oszkár Bársony, *Idegenforgalom és itthoni nyaralás* (Budapest, 1933), p. 15.
- <sup>2</sup> International tourism had similar economic aims, although the main arguments there concerned cultural diplomacy. Leaders of Hungary and the tourism industry argued that Hungary was either unknown or did not have a good reputation abroad and this resulted in the country's "unfair" treatment during the peace talks. To counter this, the industry targeted foreign tourists to come to Hungary, get to know the country and then spread their newfound appreciation for Hungary when they went home. See: Zsolt Nagy, *Great Expectations and Interwar Realities: Hungarian Cultural Diplomacy, 1918–1941* (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2017), especially Chapter 4, pp. 175–230.
- <sup>3</sup> Miklós Zeidler, "Trianon, Treaty of", in *1914–1918. International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, n.d., [https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/trianon\\_treaty\\_of](https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/trianon_treaty_of) (Accessed 8 February 2022).
- <sup>4</sup> Alexander Vari, "From Friends of Nature to Tourist-Soldiers: Nation Building and Tourism in Hungary, 1873–1914", in *Turizm: The Russian and Eastern European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, ed. Anne Gorsuch and Diane Koenker (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 65–66.
- <sup>5</sup> Márta Jusztin, "Utazgassunk hazánk földjén!": A belföldi turizmus problémái a két világháború között Magyarországon", *Korall - Társadalomtörténeti folyóirat*, no. 26 (2006): p. 187.
- <sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 188.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>8</sup> Lajos Kudar, *Turizmusunk története dióhéjban: Értékeink, kincseink, magyar örökségünk 1* (Budapest: Tinta Kiadó, 2003), p. 10.
- <sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 11.
- <sup>10</sup> Nagy, *Great Expectations and Interwar Realities*, pp. 175–176.
- <sup>11</sup> Bársony, *Idegenforgalom és itthoni nyaralás.*, pp. 1–2.
- <sup>12</sup> Kudar, *Turizmusunk története dióhéjban*, p. 11.
- <sup>13</sup> Jusztin, "Utazgassunk hazánk földjén!", p. 191.
- <sup>14</sup> Vari, "From Friends of Nature to Tourist-Soldiers: Nation Building and Tourism in Hungary, 1873–1914", p. 72.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid. For other examples on the link between nationalism and tourism in the Habsburg Empire see: Pieter M. Judson, "The Bohemian Oberammergau: Nationalist Tourism In The Austrian Empire", in *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe*, ed. Pieter M. Judson and Marsha L. Rozenblit (London; New York: Berghahn, 2004), 89–106. For the association between tourism and the importance of knowing one's homeland (*honismeret* in Hungarian) in the interwar period see also: Andrew Behrendt, "Educating Apostles of the Homeland: Tourism and "Honismeret" in Interwar Hungary", *Hungarian Cultural Studies* 7 (2015): pp. 159–176. geographers, educators,

- and politicians made the nearly identical claim that Hungarians were lacking in *honismeret*, or “knowledge of one’s homeland,” and needed to banish their ignorance if they were to truly and adequately love their country. This article explores one confluence of these two streams. Between 1934 and 1942, metropolitan authorities sponsored an ambitious educational program, the School Excursion Trains of the Capital City of Budapest [Budapest Székesfőváros Iskolai Kirándulóvonatai], which aimed to improve the *honismeret* of high school students by giving them first-hand experience of dozens of Hungarian cities and regions. Through a close analysis of the 31-volume series of guidebooks produced for the benefit of the Excursion Train passengers, this article argues that the fundamental goal of the program was to transform Hungary from an abstract territorial space into a set of concrete places to which students could feel personally attached, and therefore better “know.””,”container-title”:”Hungarian Cultural Studies”, ”ISSN”:”2471-965X”, ”journalAbbreviation”:”ahea”, ”language”:”en”, ”page”:”159-176”, ”source”:”DOI.org (Crossref
- 16 Nagy, *Great Expectations and Interwar Realities*, pp. 181 and 188.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 182.
- 18 Jusztn, “Utazgassunk hazánk földjén!”, pp. 185 and 205.
- 19 Bársony, *Idegenforgalom és itthoni nyaralás*, 8. The *pengő* replaced the *korona* on 1 January 1927. At the time one kilogramme of gold was worth 3,800 *pengő*; one American dollar was 5.7 *pengő*, one German Mark was 1.3 *pengő* and one Austrian *schilling* was worth 0.8 *pengő*. See: “1946 nyarára olyan értéktelenné vált a pengő, hogy az utcán hajították el a bankjegyeket”, 2020, <https://mult-kor.hu/1946-nyarara-olyan-ertektelenne-valt-a-pengo-hogy-az-utcan-hajitottak-el-a-bankjegyeket-20200101> (Last accessed: 12 February 2022).
- 20 Jusztn, “Utazgassunk hazánk földjén!”, 195. Jusztn shows that the highest deficit was 34 million *pengő* in 1929 and the lowest was 6.6 million *pengő* in 1935. Her data covers years between 1929 and 1937, with the exception of 1930 and 1931.
- 21 Bársony, *Idegenforgalom és itthoni nyaralás*., p. 8.
- 22 János Csapó, András Törzsök, and István Galambos, “The Major Characteristics of the General Development of the Tourism Industry in Hungary between the Two World Wars – The Challenges of Reorganising and Repositioning Tourism”, *Hungarian Studies*, The major characteristics of the general development of the tourism industry, 33, no. 2 (2019): p. 391; Jusztn, “Utazgassunk hazánk földjén!”, p. 197 and Nagy, *Great Expectations and Interwar Realities*, p. 218.
- 23 István Hallóssy, *Az idegenforgalmi propaganda új irányjai* (Budapest: Stádium RT., 1940), p. 9.
- 24 *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 12, 15.
- 25 *Ibid.*, pp. 9–11.

- 26 Alexander Vari, "From 'Paris of the East' to 'Queen of the Danube': International Models in the Promotion of Budapest Tourism, 1885–1940", in *Touring beyond the Nation: A Transnational Approach to European Tourism*, ed. Eric G. E. Zuelow (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), p. 111. For the 'spa law' see: "1929. évi XVI. törvénycikk a gyógyfürdőkéről, az éghajlati gyógyintézetekről, a gyógyhelyekről, az üdülőhelyekről és az ásvány- és gyógyvízforrásokról" (1929) at <https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torveny?docid=92900016.TV&searchUrl=/ezer-ev-torvenyei%3Fpagenum%3D40> (Accessed 26 January 2022).
- 27 Juszti, "Utazgassunk hazánk földjén!", p. 192.
- 28 Ibid., 197–198; Csapó, Törzsök, and Galambos, "The Major Characteristics of the General Development of the Tourism Industry in Hungary", p. 401; Nagy, *Great Expectations and Interwar Realities*, p. 217.
- 29 Csapó, Törzsök, and Galambos, "The Major Characteristics of the General Development of the Tourism Industry in Hungary", p. 401.
- 30 "A MÁV az idegenforgalom szolgálatában", *Reggeli Hírlap*, 6 July 1932, p. 5.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Krisztina Sedlmayr, "A modern háztartás születése Az 1930-as években Magyarországon" (Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2007), p. 81. This amount is based on the textbook for girls in the IV. grade of civic girls' schools where one of the subjects was home economics.
- 33 Ibid., p. 94. Fn. 197.
- 34 Ibid., p. 84. Fn. 195.
- 35 The Jirka's income does put them at the top of the urban middle class. The average income of the middle class was about 1,000 *pengő* per year, although teachers for example earned more: a university lecturer took home 574 *pengő*; a middle school teacher 226 *pengő* and a primary school teacher 163 *pengő* per month. See: "Amikor havi 200 fixszel az ember könnyen viccelt: Jövedelmek a két világháború között", *Múlt-Kor*, 6 July 2021, <https://mult-kor.hu/a-cote-dazurto-a-havi-egyszeri-tejfogyasztasig-magyar-jovedelmek-a-20-szazad-elso-feleben-20210707?fbkrMR=desktop&&pldx=2&openImage=33487> (Accessed 27 January 2022).
- 36 János Fészl, "Az idegenforgalomról — általában", *Városok Lapja*, 1 March 1933, p. 115.
- 37 Walter Delmár and Andor Gy. Hefty, *Autóuton a Tátrában: Útikalauz a Dunától a Kárpátokig*, ed. Gusztáv Thirring and János Vigyázó (Késmárk-Budapest: Turistaság és Alpinizmus Lap-, Könyv- és Térképkiaadó RT., 1931).
- 38 Gyula Halász, "Az erdélyi turistaság és az idegenforgalom", *Turisták Lapja*, November 1931, p. 301.
- 39 "A felére csökkent Budapest idegenforgalma", *Magyarország*, 26 July 1924, p. 6.

- 40 Ibid.
- 41 "Idegenforgalom", *Magyarország*, 26 August 1924, p. 1.
- 42 *Fővárosi Közlöny: Budapest Székesfőváros Hivatlos Lapja*, No. 40. Issue 79, 25 October 1929, p. 33.
- 43 In 1935 the number of visitors from the annexed territories stood at 87,176. An uptick from 1929, although still less than in 1928. See: Károly Szendy, "Az idegenforgalom jelentősége a székesfőváros életében", *Városok Lapja*, 15 April 1936, p. 227.
- 44 Vari, "From 'Paris of the East' to 'Queen of the Danube': International Models in the Promotion of Budapest Tourism, 1885–1940", pp. 113–114.
- 45 See for example: "Gyönyörű ünnepséggel áldozott tegnap az ország Szent István emlékének", *Magyarország*, 22 August 1939, p. 5.
- 46 Jusztin, "Utazgassunk hazánk földjén!", p. 193.
- 47 Ibid., p. 194.
- 48 See for example the speech by Miklós Magyar in *Fővárosi Közlöny: Budapest Székesfőváros Hivatlos Lapja*, No. 20, 6 May 1927, 1221 and "Idegenforgalom", *Magyarország*, 26 August 1924, p. 1.
- 49 "177. A m. kir. minisztériumnak 5.170/ 1935. M. E. számú rendelete. A 15 éven aluli gyermekeknek az útleveikényszer alól felmentéséről Csehszlovákiával kötött megállapodás végrehajtása", *Belügyi Közlöny*, XL, no. 30, 28 July 1935, p. 442.
- 50 "293. A m. kir. belügyminiszternek 140.872/1932. B. M. számú körrendelete. A külföldi államok Budapesten székelő külképviseleti hatóságainak lakáscíme, valamint az ezen hatóságok által szedett útleveálltatózási díjak (vízumdíjak) nagysága", *Belügyi Közlöny*, No. 45, 23 October 1932, pp. 657–658.
- 51 "111. A m. kir. belügyminiszternek 168.108/1936. B. M. számú körrendelete. Külföldi államok Budapesten székelő külképviseleti hatóságainak lakáscíme, valamint az e hatóságok által szedett útleveálltatózási díjak (vízumdíjak) nagysága", *Belügyi Közlöny*, No. 19, 3 May 1936, pp. 295296.
- 52 Miklós Zeidler, *Ideas on Territorial Revision in Hungary, 1920–1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 279.
- 53 Balázs Ablonczy, "Promoting Tourism: Hungarian Nation-Building Policies in Northern Transylvania, 1940–1944", *Hungarian Studies Review* XXVI, no. 1–2 (2009): p. 48. Although Ablonczy also observes that not everyone agreed with this sentiment. The head of the Kolozsvár (Cluj) office of the Hungarian National Tourist Bureau (*Országos Magyar Idegenforgalmi Hivatal*) was highly critical of this narrative.
- 54 Sándor Aba, ed., *Felvidéki útikalauz* (Košice/ Kassa: 'Wiko' Kő- és Könyvnyomdai Műintézet, 1940), p. 3.
- 55 See for example: "A csőd szélén állanak a kolozsvári szállodák", *Keleti Újság*, 17 February 1933, p. 4 and "Várad egykor és most", *Újság*, 13 September 1940, p. 6.

- 56 Ablonczy, "Promoting Tourism", p. 50.
- 57 Ibid., pp. 50–51.
- 58 "Új turistalehetőségek a visszakapott Felvidéken", *Nemzeti Újság*, 20 November 1938, n. p.
- 59 Ablonczy, "Promoting Tourism", p. 45.
- 60 "Megjavították az erdélyi fürdők közlekedési viszonyait", *Nemzeti Újság*, 25 March 1942, p. 8.
- 61 "Kenyeret és újságot vitt Erdélybe az első menetrendszerű utasszállító repülőgép", *Függetlenség*, 28 September 1940, p. 4.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 "Ünnepi külsőségek között indult Erdélybe ma reggel az első menetrendszerű repülőgép", *Esti Újság*, 27 September 1940, p. 10.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Balázs Ablonczy, "Védkunyhó. Idegenforgalmi fejlesztés és nemzetépítés Észak-Erdélyben 1940 és 1944 között", *Történelmi Szemle*, no. 4 (2008): p. 522.
- 66 Sopron Város Levéltára [Municipal Archive of Sopron, hereafter SVL], Sopron város polgármesteri hivatalának iratai, IV 1404b, IX 2/940, "Idegenforgalom emelése - Sopron ismertetése". Letter from the Hungarian Royal Trade and Transport Ministry. Dated: 9 September 1940.
- 67 Ablonczy, "Promoting Tourism", p. 45.
- 68 There were some exceptions to this format. See for example: Gyula Prinz, *Erdély: Útmutató Erdély vendégei számára* (Pécs: Danubia, 1941). The guide, the result of the work of lecturers at Kolozsvár (Cluj) University also included sections on the administration, climate, fauna and animals of the region and further sections on hunting and fishing. The book also gave possible routes that would be tourists to the region could explore.
- 69 *Aba, Felvidéki útikalauz*; Sándor Aba, *Erdélyi útikalauz és a magyar városok ismertetése* (Nagyvárad: Nemzeti Könyv és Papírkereskedés, 1941); Sándor Aba, *Útikalauz a magyar városokról és a visszatért Felvidékről* (Miskolc: Ludvig István Könyvnyomdája, 1940).
- 70 *Aba, Erdélyi útikalauz és a magyar városok ismertetése*, 3; *Aba, Útikalauz a magyar városokról és a visszatért Felvidékről*, 3; *Aba, Felvidéki útikalauz*, p. 3.
- 71 Ibid. Representatives of the Hungarian National Tourist Bureau did not approve of Aba's Transylvania guide, they described it as disorganised and badly edited. Ablonczy, "Promoting Tourism", p. 46.
- 72 Károly Kátfka, *Az utas könyve: Magyar utazási kézikönyv és útmutató. Kiegészítő r. Keletmagyarország, Északerdély*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Orsz. M. Vendégforgalmi Szöv., 1940), p. 659.
- 73 Ibid., 1: pp. 659–660.
- 74 Ibid., 1: p. 662.

- 75 Prinz, *Erdély: Útmutató erdély vendégei számára*, p. 3.  
 76 Ibid.  
 77 Ibid., p. 6.  
 78 "Budapest augusztusi idegenforgalma", *Nemzeti Újság*, 16 October 1940,  
 79 p. 6.  
 80 Ibid.  
 80 SVL, Sopron város polgármesteri hivatalának iratai, IV 1404b, IX 2/940,  
 "Idegenforgalom emelése - Sopron ismertetése". Letter from the Corvin  
 Travel and Spa Bureau. Dated: 28 October 1940.  
 81 Ibid.  
 82 "Sopron sz. kir. város idegenforgalma, 1932–1937", *Soproni Szemle*, 1938,  
 p. 101  
 83 SVL, Sopron város polgármesteri hivatalának iratai, IV 1404b, IX 2/940,  
 "Idegenforgalom emelése - Sopron ismertetése". Letter from Intercontinental  
 to the mayor of Sopron. Dated: 2 October 1940. For the plebiscite see for  
 example: John C. Swanson, "The Sopron Plebiscite of 1921: A Success  
 Story", *East European Quarterly* XXXIV, no. 1 (2000): pp. 81–94.  
 84 Ablonczy, "Promoting Tourism", p. 53.  
 85 Ibid.  
 86 Ibid.