

## VI. ABSTRACT

### IMAGES OF PARAJD IN THE LONG 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY (1780–1918)

The researched subject, area and time period; structure of the book

Parajd (Hun.) / Praid (Ro.) / Salzberg (Ger.) is a village located at the eastern fringes of the Transylvanian Basin, in the upper valley of the Kis-Küküllő / Târnava Mică river, in Hargita / Harghita County, Romania – a settlement inhabited almost entirely by Hungarians<sup>1130</sup> (citizens who identify themselves as Hungarian, "Székely" or "Székely-Hungarian"), an ethnic minority group in Romania. The most important factor in the historical development of the settlement is the presence of a large rock-salt deposit which shows itself on surface. This natural resource stands at the base of a long history of salt mining, and the history of tourism in Parajd: the salt water is used in baths, and the vast chambers of the salt mine serve as scenes of leisure and health tourism (speleotherapy) – the salt mine welcomes hundreds of thousands of visitors a year, people seeking healing and experience.

The subject of this work is the history of development of the Parajd imaginary – i.e. the totality of various images of Parajd existing in a certain society of a time period – before the end of the First World War: the processes and tendencies of the accumulation of knowledge on Parajd, its formation in the cultural memory on the scale of the *longue durée*. This study is guided by a specific interest in the history of travel and tourism: in the evolution of a general place image, it traces the articulation of the destination image – the image of a place of interest, a place to visit. The researched time period is the long 19<sup>th</sup> century, approximately the decades between 1780–1918. The settlement, which is in the focus of this analysis, belonged to the Principality of Transylvania, the eastern province of the Habsburg Empire, until the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, when it became an integral part of Hungary (until the end of the First World War).

This book can be considered a monograph on local history. However, it differs significantly from conventional local history works in that it leaves a great deal of room for theoretical issues of historical place-image studies (or, in other words, the theoretical questions of destination image history). It draws on ideas from literary imagology, historical image studies, visual studies, human geography and applied studies of tourism as

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<sup>1130</sup> Based on the 2011 Census of Population.

well (II). The research is based on theories, which argue that a multiplicity of dominant and marginal images (mental constructs) coexist in the social imaginary of a given era, in a state of constant change. These images are always subjective, distorted in a multitude of ways, contradictory and mediatized in various forms. During the research work, material (textual and graphic) representations of these images have been collected and analyzed.

Although the research questions are primarily focused on the area located between the settlements of Korond / Corund and Szováta / Sovata (a microregion called “Sóvidék”, i.e., ‘Salt Land’), with a particular emphasis on the village of Parajd, the chapters written with the aim of contextualization (III.3.) outline a broader history of travel and tourism. They provide insights into the general processes of the formation of the Transylvanian bath culture, the birth and institutionalization of Transylvanian tourism, and the development of travel and tourism literature in Transylvania. The work does not only identify the travel narratives on Parajd and its region, but also presents the biographies (III.4.) of nearly 50 travelers.

The components of the Parajd overall image have been identified and analyzed in the course of a deconstruction work – the next major unit of the book (III.5.) examines these image components one by one. After an introduction, the specifics of the formation of the toponym “Parajd” and the evolution of its use are discussed (III.5.2). The following part (III.5.3.) describes the representations of the travel and tourism infrastructure, the service culture in the Parajd region of different periods (e.g. the quality of roads, travel conditions; options for accommodations and meals; indicators of safety, hospitality and service through consecutive time periods). The next major unit (III.5.4.) focuses on place-specific markers, which functioned (or could have functioned) as landmarks and attractions for Parajd – e.g. the “Sóhegy” (‘Salt Mountain’); a “valley, the bottom and sides of which are of pure salt” – that is the “Salt Canyon”; the specific mineralogical features (colored salt, agate); the therapeutical water; the halophilic vegetation; the specific landmarks of the cultural landscape, the guardhouses over the bare rock-salt; the various industrial and mining facilities (salt mine, quarry, match factory, furniture producing plant, ceramics manufacturing works, etc.); the ruins of the so called “Rapsóné castle” and the myths associated with it; etc. Depending on the role these components played in the overall image of Parajd, in the Parajd imaginary, they can be categorized as it follows: (a) distinctive components; (b) “rival” or contradictory components; (c) synergizing components; and (d) inactive or marginal components. Because of the amorphous nature of the image and the fluidity of image formation, categorizing the image components is a difficult task which requires reflection – the status, function and power of each element (in the case of the present study, the content of knowledge on Parajd) is changing, albeit slowly, but constantly.

The appendix to this publication presents the full Transylvanian trail of the travels under study – both in textual form and drawn on maps. This chapter (VII.1.), which contains more than 60 text trails and maps, may serve as an atlas of travel history in Transylvania.

The database of the research contains graphic representations and text materials of various genres, all related to Parajd and grouped under the following keywords: (a) “science” – encyclopedias, lexicons, dictionaries; comprehensive descriptions, monographs; field-specific works; school textbooks; (b) “travel, bath, tourism” – travel guides; various publications on bath culture; different kinds of travel narratives; and other travel- and tourism-specific publications; (c) “news” – news materials related to travel, bath and tourism in the Parajd region. Today this database represents the most complete bibliography and collection of texts on Parajd. The whole of this text corpus – due to its size – cannot fit within the limits of this book, but it can be accessed in digital (searchable) version, online; it is available for reading, research and further expansion.<sup>1131</sup> At the same time, the table of contents of this text collection can be found in the appendix of this publication (VII.2.1.), and the chapters of the image analysis themselves contain a considerable amount of source texts as quotations (texts originally in other languages are translated into Hungarian).

The graphic representations related to Parajd can be considered an important part of the database. These items are presented in the appendix (VII.2.2.) of this publication.

The addendum is also enriched by some texts (VII.3.), which have never been published before, and can be considered real curiosities – such as the diary entries of Paul M. Partsch (1791–1856) about Parajd from the year 1826.

### Characteristics of image formation

As a first step in the content analysis, the formation of the settlement’s name was studied. The research revealed that the geographical publications, that shaped the image of Transylvania in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe, did not really support the articulation of the Parajd image. For a long time, the geographical works of Hübner and Büsching did not point unmistakably (with clear naming and localization) to Parajd, to the rock salt of Parajd; in foreign language publications of the Enlightenment period, the appearance of distorted toponyms and the parallel use of different name variations (*Parait*, *Parayd*, *Paraid*, *Parajd*) was still common. This changed from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards; until the First World War, the use of the Hungarian name variant “Parajd” has become the most general (even in foreign-language texts).

The image of Parajd is a constantly changing construct: new components may appear in it, and new ones may disappear from it; inactive or marginal elements may become active, dominant ones, and vice versa, dominant components may become marginal, inactive ones in it. Alongside the most central elements of the Parajd image (the “Salt Mountain”, the “Salt Canyon”, the salt mine), the matchmaking industry, for example, appeared as a new component in the late 1850s. Thereafter, the match factory of Joseph

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<sup>1131</sup> Link: <https://eda.eme.ro/handle/10598/33134>.

Reitter was one of the most important mosaic pieces of the Parajd image until the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, when – due to its relocation to Kolozsvár / Cluj – the match factory became a marginal component in the overall image of Parajd.

The image of Parajd is an amorphous construct, in which overlapping and contradictory, false and correct, verifiable and unverifiable information adhere to each other. The analyses of this research illustrate this through a number of examples. Among these, the contradictions related to the beginning of underground salt exploitation in Parajd, for example, seem to be of special relevance. The research has revealed that the year 1762 appears only twice in the entire database – in the work of Balázs Orbán (1829–1890), and in the publication of Ödön Nemes (1847–1902), who used the work of Balázs Orbán as a source. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century and after the turn of the century, all other authors confirm the opening date of 1780. The fact that the incorrect dating of 1762 is still widely used even today, is an indication of the weight of Balázs Orbán's outstanding monograph on the Székely Land, and of the power of his work which shapes even the contemporary public thinking.

The image analysis captures in a multitude of examples how the symbolic geography of Parajd is constructed, how the place name is saturated with meanings (positive or negative connotations).

There are image components through which the phenomena of mythicization can be exemplified. Such mythicizing components are the myths inspired by the ruins of the Rapsóné castle (presenting fabulous treasures, fairies, the figure of Mrs. Rapsóné who travels by magic carriage, etc.). The mythicization of the mining space should also be mentioned here, although the analysis has shown that in the case of Parajd, presumably due to the unusually comfortable and safe underground transport conditions, the mining area was less mythicized than in cases of other mining sites from Transylvania and Máramaros / Maramureş – the narratives of mine visits in Parajd seem to be less likely to contain fear of death, anxiety and references to infernal visitations and various mythical creatures (ghosts, ghouls, dwarves, etc.). In the writings of the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, some kind of myth-creation can again be detected around the person of “beautiful Lidi” and her inn, giving birth to a reputation which, like the previous folklore contents, enriched the region's tourism imaginary of the time.

The research revealed how the landscape of the Parajd area has been aestheticized over time. This can be captured in the changing perception of the mountain landscape of the Bucsin / Bucin between Parajd and Gyergyószentmiklós / Gheorgheni, in the discovery of its beauty. It can be captured in the aestheticization of the mining space, in the way it is evoked as a wonderful underworld colored by the firelight. A further example would be the way in which authors describing the Parajd area in the Reform Age drew attention to the specific topographical features of the Sóvidék's cultural landscape, the guardhouses put on the heights to overwatch the walls of bare rock-salt and the salt-water springs. (These watchposts resembled “laceworks of the skyline” if viewed from a distance.) These topographical objects also served as symbols of power: they were representations, manifestations and mementos of power relations written in the landscape.

In the image of Székely Land, knowledge about Parajd can appear, and in the image of Parajd, the characteristics generally associated with Székely Land can appear – the components of the image are meeting associatively, such changes of scale do not encounter obstacles. Thus, it was part of the Parajd image that the history of the Székelys and that of Székely Land goes back to mythical times – i.e., the Ancient, the Authentic, the Past as something exotic can be experienced by those who visit this land. At the same time, the Parajd image of the last third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was increasingly evolving to contain an industrial and urban profile, which promised the exoticism of experiencing Modernity, the Future – in Parajd one could visit the Reitter match factory, one of the remarkable industrial facilities of Transylvania.

The reviewed sources describe Parajd as a Hungarian or Székely settlement (even those which present a more nuanced ethnic image) – the issue appears to be not controversial, conflictual, exposed in public discourse. (This changes strongly at the end of the First World War, after the change of empire). So, this way, Parajd was not ethnicized. Still, some tension between different ethnic and social groups seems to appear in some of the source materials. This can be exemplified by the public discourse on the match factory of Joseph Reitter in Parajd and the labeling of its products: the Székely and Hungarian public opinion in Transylvania was preoccupied throughout the whole period of the Reitter match factory's existence in the village by the question of why the "Székely" match of Parajd so often bore on its label German and Romanian inscriptions next to the Hungarian contents (symbols and inscriptions). This attitude of refusal in understanding the logic of the market and of being suspicious and distant towards foreign entrepreneurs, ultimately highlights the fact that the product (in this case, the match) also functions as a representation of the place and the society which produces it. So it makes a difference whether the cultural landscape and society represented by the product is a Hungarian one, an Austrian one, or a Romanian one. At the same time, this discourse reveals the contradictory components in the image of the Székely – the positive auto-image of the Székely (the honest, hard-working, independent, intelligent, prosperous Székely) vs. the image of the Székely always looking to pass on the blame, who struggles with problems of impoverishment, emigration, alcoholism –, reveals confronting ethnotypes (ethnotypes of Székelys vs. ethnotypes of Germans, Romanians), and reveals contrasts between other sociotypes as well (the local farmer in folk costume, socialized in village environment vs. the foreign entrepreneur "with trousers" coming from the urban world).

A further instance for the construction of symbolic geographies can be given in the sacralization of the mining space – the narratives of mine visits often depict the underground, marble-like chambers of the salt mine as a sacred space of a church, promising (implicitly) the future visitors the experience of a temple-like atmosphere.

Another case is the musealization of the mine space: the memorabilia of an extraordinary mine visit (such as the huge, wooden letters of the "Isten hozott", i.e. 'Welcome' inscription illuminated in the darkness of the salt mine for the Society of Hungarian Physicians and Naturalists in 1864) were exhibited as mementos of the extraordinary

mine visit over many generations, in which the mine, its space, its treasures, its history and the community that operated it were encoded – a value. The same musealization can be read in the practice of exhibiting minerals: the finest treasures recovered from the depths were (and today are) meant to reveal the value of the land and its people.

The 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Parajd had some outstanding personalities, who were listed in the Hungarian encyclopedias and lexicons published at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This “pantheonization” is another thread in the process of symbolic geography formation: characters appearing in the “local Pantheon” can act as markers, as distinctive signs, lending profile and attractiveness to a place, a landscape, a settlement, and as such are highly relevant in the formation of tourism. The Hungarian-language encyclopedias of the studied period describe three prominent personalities of Parajd: the medical doctor in employment at the salt mine, János Enyedi Órás (1768–1819); the writer, Izabella Fanghné Gyujtó (1840–1914); and the chemist and naturalist, Vilmos Hankó (1854–1923) – all of them publishing writings. They could have entered this “Pantheon of Parajd”, but this was barely being started to be built in the period under study; their names were rarely associated with the name of the settlement. (The encyclopedia and lexicon entries about them listed Parajd as their hometown, but their names did not appear in the entries about Parajd.) The first personality whose memory became an integral part of the Parajd imaginary was the poet Lajos Áprily (1887–1967), and only after the First World War. Today the cultural tourism of Parajd is largely built on his memory.

In addition to these, the research provides further examples of how places acquire symbolic capital. For example, the rivalry of various prestigious towns for the right to hold the general meeting of the Hungarian scientific elite in 1864 (which, in the end, took place in Marosvásárhely / Târgu Mureş, with a trip to Szováta and Parajd) is mentioned; it is mentioned that the memory of extraordinary mine visits was usually perpetuated in the case of every mining site in Transylvania and Maramureş (engravings in the salt wall; exposition of decorations created on the occasion of the special event; naming of mine sections after the name of the prestigious visitor; etc.); and it is also exposed that the promoters of the Transylvanian baths before the First World War labelled the Transylvanian bath places with the names of successful baths from abroad (e.g. “Korond – Transylvania’s Gleichenberg”); or the practice of publishing the names of famous bath guests in the hope of gaining symbolic capital from their reputation.

### Periods in the formation of the Parajd imaginary

The collected sources outline the major periods in the formation of the Parajd imaginary. Three periods can be defined with two transitional sections between them.

(I) The first period falls roughly between the beginning of the Enlightenment in Hungary and Transylvania and the end of the Reform Age in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. More specifically, the year 1780 can be considered the most significant, with the start of pre-

paratory works for the first underground mine in Parajd, and the appearance of Johann Ehrenreich von Fichtel's (1732–1795) work on Transylvanian rock salt.

In terms of travel and tourism history, this was the period of scientific travels, “patriotic” travels (travels to discover the homeland) and the period of appearance of the first (foreign) “tourist” travelers in Transylvania. Transport was generally slow and difficult, roads were bad and inns rather shabby. Among the settlements of the region, Korond was the first where the bath culture began to develop in the era of the Reform Age – but in those years the accommodation conditions were not attractive here either. The travelers who visited and described Parajd were mostly scientists – travelogues were considered important sources of scientific knowledge of the time.

The publication with the greatest impact on the mediatized image of Parajd during this period was Johann Ehrenreich von Fichtel's mineralogical-geological work – the official from Nagyszeben / Sibiu / Hermannstadt published his book in Nuremberg, in 1780. Most of the topos related to Parajd in the era had their roots in this publication. The dominant components of the Parajd overall image in this era included the large mass of rock salt on surface, the “Sóhegy” (‘Salt Mountain’); the Salt Canyon; the salt mine; the original way of salt mining in Parajd; the salt lakes and their floods; and other mineralogical features (occurrence of the fibrous-colored salt, or the agate). The first graphic illustrations associated with the name of Parajd to appear in print also date from this period – three engravings are embedded in the travel narrative (1791) of Balthasar Hacquet (1739–1815), published in Nuremberg (just like Fichtel's work): one showing the Salt Mountain and the mining village below; another depicting an example of salt-karren; and a third one showing some mining tools. Thanks to these markers (but especially to the Sóhegy and the geological-geomorphological phenomenon of the Salt Canyon), and to the fact, that these books were published abroad in German, the name of Parajd appeared again and again in publications of Central and Western Europe as early as the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, the Hungarian-language literature of this period was still rather poor: before the 1860s, Hungarian-language descriptions of the salt mine and the Salt Canyon were very rare. The literature of the era still largely consisted of works with mixed contents, produced in the spirit of the “Staatskunde” publications. During the Reform Age the media has changed: the press became more powerful and diverse, giving publicity to accounts of smaller-scale journeys into the country (patriotic travels), and various depictions of Transylvanian baths. The best-known foreign-language travelogues of the era, published abroad (London, Paris), included lengthy passages about Parajd – John Paget (1808–1892) and Auguste de Gerando (1819–1849) both travelled through the region.

The Industrial Revolution brought modernization to the Transylvanian salt mines in the 1780s. The first underground mine at Parajd, the Joseph mine, was built following the old method used for bell-shaped mines, but – as a result of the modernization of mining at that time – trapezoidal side chambers were later added to this mine as well, and the halls built later were already developed using the new method of trapezoidal salt mines.

However, the Joseph mine was not built in a conventional way either: it was equipped with a safe and comfortable staircase system (which was not characteristic for traditional bell-shaped mines). This is important in terms of the safety of visiting the mine, the nature of the mining experience and also its representations.

This period saw the first printed work in which the name of Parajd appears as a chapter title (Fridvaldszky 1767); the first travelogue (manuscript) to describe Parajd (Emperor Joseph II 1773); the first travelogue printed in a foreign language to mention Parajd (Born 1774); the first travelogue in Hungarian to describe Parajd, its salt mine (Benkő F. 1783); the first printed graphic illustration related to Parajd (Hacquet 1791); the first work of local (mining) history written by an author from Parajd (the manuscript by János Órás Enyedi, recorded in 1794, still not localized and studied); the first (identified) manuscript in which visiting the mines of Parajd is not primarily motivated by scientific interest but by sheer pleasure seeking (Döbrentei 1817); the first modern guidebook in which the name Parajd is mentioned (Boué 1836 / Murray 1844); and the first bath description in which Parajd (the salt mine) appears as a destination for excursions (1839).

(II) The second period falls in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – roughly the first three decades of this half-century. Within this interval, the years from the end of the Revolution and War of Independence of 1848–49 to the mid-1860s can be identified as a transitional period.

From the perspective of travel and tourism history, this was a period of growth for homeland travels, of the development of the bath culture and of the appearance of Transylvanian publications that fulfilled the function of guidebooks by describing the objects of interest and value in Transylvania. Travel conditions in this period have not shown spectacular progress: constructed roads were rapidly deteriorating, and the Transylvanian railway, which was expanding during the dualist period, did not reach the Kis-Küküllő valley. At the same time, an important change for Parajd was the construction of a new and more convenient route to Gyergyószentmiklós in the first part of the 1850s: the “new Salt Road” instead of the “old Salt Road” (one of the roads used also for salt transportation in the region). During these decades, the slow improvement of accommodation conditions can be noted. The establishment of a service culture in the “Sóvidék” region was also slow, as reflected by the descriptions of the bath of Korond, or the one of Szováta, which slowly started to develop. As the bourgeois culture unfolded in Hungary and Transylvania, the traveling habits also changed: more and more people started traveling, more and more people visited baths. By the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, travelers were no longer visiting Transylvania just for the sake of science, did not follow primarily scientific aims, or were not motivated by scientific interest at all – the last published travel narrative from a scientist in the database of the research is the work of Franz von Hauer (1822–1899) from the year 1859.

A new era of scientific literacy was also emerging. In the 1850s and '60s the distribution of publications starting to talk about Parajd in Hungarian really began – from



this time onwards, the Hungarian-language descriptions of the salt mine and the Salt Canyon slowly increased. The first outstanding author of the period was László Kőváry (1819–1907), whose pioneering works were not only scientific, but also served as guide-books by offering an inventory of natural and man-made sights. Balázs Orbán made his appearance a bit later, just to publish in the late 1860s and early 1870s the most important – and, also in terms of shaping the Parajd image, the most influential – publication of the period. With the rise of Hungarian-language literature, the fading out of foreign-language works can be detected – but 1863 was still an important year for the geology of Transylvania due to the publishing of a German-language work, the “*Geologie Siebenbürgens*” by Franz von Hauer and Guido Stache (1833–1921), containing extracts from Paul M. Partsch’s manuscript notes on Parajd of 1826. The travel literature of the era was also changing. Some important travelogues about Transylvania still appeared in foreign languages, published as books – Arthur J. Patterson (1835–1899) described Parajd in his work (1869) after visiting it twice; Charles Boner (1815–1870) did not visit Parajd, but still, wrote about the Sóhegy as a remarkable attraction (1865) – and the first (and last) Transylvanian travelogue with similar content to these important foreign travel narratives was published around the same time (Salzer 1860), but the period was already rather more characterized by the proliferation of short travel notes (mostly in Hungarian) and various reports on Transylvanian baths published in periodicals.

The new era brought notable changes in the content of the Parajd image as well. From the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, references to the agate found in Parajd faded out from the descriptions of the place. In 1858, the village’s industry was boosted by a new enterprise, a match factory. In the public discourse of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this factory was the second most important industrial facility – and destination for excursionists – after to the salt mine. In the same decades the archaeological and folkloristic interest rose in society. As a result, the “Rapsóné Castle” became part of the Parajd image with a growing weight: on one hand, through the myths surrounding the castle ruins; on the other, the ruins themselves and their surroundings as a place for excursions from Parajd. The mediatization of these contents was only boosted by the publication of László Kőváry (1852b) – the name of Rapsóné entered the first Saxon folklore studies and the Hungarian literature of the time thanks to him –, but finally Balázs Orbán was the one to describe the castle ruins as a place of interest and as an excursion destination even more explicitly (1868). The concept and name “Sóvidék” (“Salt Land”) spread in the media due to the monograph of Balázs Orbán.

This period brought the first guidebook-like publication in Hungarian, in which Parajd appears as a place to visit (Kőváry 1853); the first printed work in Hungarian explicitly announcing that the salt mine and the Sóhegy of Parajd are worth seeing (Hunfalvy–Rohbock 1864a); the first recorded visit to the match factory in Parajd (1864); the first photographs taken of Parajd, of its mining village and the Sóhegy (Orbán 1864); the first published graphic representations of Parajd after the illustrations of Hacquet in 1791 – the second engraving of the Sóhegy and the mining village, and the first il-

illustrations (an engraved view and a floorplan) of the Rapsóné Castle (Orbán 1868); the first publication (Orbán's monograph, again) in which the castle appears as an excursion destination; the first important event that gave Parajd significant presence in the press of Transylvania, Hungary and Wien (the 1864 general assembly of the Society of Hungarian Physicians and Naturalists in Marosvásárhely, and the excursion to Szováta and Parajd organized as part of the event).

(III) The third period stretches from the early 1880s to the end of the First World War. The first decade of this period can again be considered a transitional period – these were the years of the institutionalization of tourism, of the beginning of organized tourism in Transylvania: 1880 – the tourist organization of the Transylvanian Saxons, the “Siebenbürgischer Karpatenverein” was founded; 1881 – the first modern (Baedeker-type) guidebook of Transylvania was published in German by Eduard A. Bielz (1827–1898); 1891 – the establishment of the tourist organization of Hungarians from Transylvania, the “Erdélyi Kárpát-Egyesület” (“Transylvanian Carpathian-Society”), the publication of Transylvania's first Hungarian-language, Baedeker-type guide; 1892 – the first Hungarian-language tourist journal in Transylvania; 1894 – the appearance of the first modern Romanian-language guidebook in Transylvania by Silvestru Moldovan (1861–1915). This was the period when longer and shorter school trips became common throughout Hungary. In the case of the Parajd mine, as in the case of the Ocna Mureș mine, this period saw a massive increase in group visits. After the turn of the century, so-called “Székely Societies” (with their central bureau in Marosvásárhely) were established to find solutions for the economic and social problems of the period. Apart from the “Erdélyi Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület”, i.e., ‘Hungarian Cultural Society of Transylvania’ (founded in 1884, with a branch in Parajd since 1885), this was the first organization which had a branch in Parajd (starting with August 1901), and which, among other objectives, tried to find the way to prosperity also through the development of tourism in Székely Land. The members of the Székely Society of Parajd were the first citizens of the village, who are known to have made efforts for the development of tourism in Székely Land. This was the way in which tourism in Parajd and its surroundings became institutionalized.

Travel conditions during this period have undergone significant development. Complaints regarding the quality of roads, vehicles and accommodations became less frequent. In 1898 the first locomotive arrived at Sóvárád / Sărățeni and, after a long wait, in 1906 also Parajd opened its station, ending centuries of isolation. (Later, in 1915, another narrow-gauge railway line was opened between Sóvidék and Marosvásárhely.) In the 1910s, automobiles started to appear in the region – the first automobile owned by a Parajd citizen started to roam the streets of the village in 1910.

The development of the two baths, Korondfürdő / Băile Corund and Szovátafürdő / Băile Sovata, has also reached a new level. From 1892 onwards, Korondfürdő was owned by Gyula Gáspár, who made great efforts to revitalize the bath – and to advertize accordingly. In the meantime, Szovátafürdő has also undergone development. In the second

half of the 1870s a new lake appeared in the area of Szováta, the so called Medve-tó / Lacul Ursu. The first villa on the shore of the lake was built in 1894 by Lajos Illyés Sófalvi (1839–1926). From the middle of the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Szovátafürdő began to develop rapidly and in the following years it outstripped all the other baths of Székely Land. In the advertising materials of Korondfürdő and Szovátafürdő, re-edited and re-printed from time to time, Parajd, as a place of excursion, gained important advertising platforms. Around the turn of the century, the first postcards with illustrations of Korondfürdő and Szovátafürdő appeared, and the postcards of Parajd also did not take too long to make their appearance – the first accurately dated postcard in the research database dates from 1905.

The opening of the Elizabeth mine (1898) was one of the most important industrial changes of the time. The other important moment was the beginning of a new era for the mine: with the opening of the railway to Praid (1906), for the first time in the history of the mine with modest gauges, there was a significant increase in production.

Important changes can also be registered regarding the Parajd image. At the end of 1899, the Reitter match factory was moved to Cluj, which restrained the range of attractions in Parajd. Still, the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the years to come until the outbreak of the First World War was the period in which Parajd's industrial profile really strengthened – besides the salt mining and the match production, the present study exposes the existence of quarries, furniture making, ceramics production, brick and tile making, blanket making and distillation. Apart from the match factory, none of the businesses related to these activities grew large beyond the level of local or regional importance, but all of them contributed to the shaping of Parajd's profile as an industrial center – and from the point of view of tourism history, it is also significant that some of these industrial facilities were also open to casual visitors. From the 1870s and 1880s onwards, publications appeared from time to time mentioning Parajd as a bath, but in fact, Parajd did not become such a location before the First World War – only the post-war period brought such changes.

In addition to this kind of spontaneous image construction, from the 1890s onwards, we can already see a more deliberate effort to shape the image of the settlements in the Parajd area. The new institution of Transylvanian Hungarian tourism, the Transylvanian Carpathian Society (EKE), organized tourist activities, built the necessary infrastructure, promoted places and thus positioned the various destinations. In locating the attraction of rock-salt on the surface, for example, the authors of the EKE positioned Szováta way better than Parajd. However, the image formation of the two neighbouring settlements took a different direction as the turn of the century approached. In 1896 Vilmos Hankó's "Székelyföld" was published, which linked the surface salt more strongly to Parajd through a description and a full-page illustration of the Sóhegy – contents which were later distributed in a multitude of reproductions. At the same time, Szovátafürdő was booming, and the name of Medve-tó became a primary emblem in the image of Szováta. (The surface salt remained a constant element in its image for the times to come, but only as secondary content.)

However, the most intense and targeted attempt to build tourism in this period is not related to the EKE, but the central bureau of the Székely Societies: in 1903 and 1905, the Hungarian press (in Budapest and in different parts of the country) was flooded with plans for trips to Székely Land. It was the first media campaign in the history of Parajd that aimed to increase tourist traffic in the region. In 1907, Gyula Merza (1861–1943), one of the first professional tourism organizers, official of the EKE, sketched the image of the Sóvidék as a tourism micro-region worth promoting and managing in a coherent way.

Székely Land first emerged as a tourism destination region in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This was, of course, channelled by the work of Balázs Orbán (who also described a Székely Land worth to visit on each page of his monograph), but at the turn of the 1860s and '70s, Transylvania did not yet have an institutionalized tourism. The first work to describe Székely Land as a destination region after the tourism had spread and become institutionalized in Transylvania, was the book (1896) of Vilmos Hankó, published by the EKE. This destination image was reinforced by the promotion of Székely Land run by the Székely Societies in the years following the turn of the century. It was also during the same years that Sóvidék was first outlined as a destination micro-region. These were the early years of the region's touristification.

This third period includes the first independent article about Parajd, which appeared with a full-page illustration of the mine camp and the Sóhegy in a Budapest magazine (Nemes 1882a); the first modern (Baedeker-type) travel guides published in Transylvania, which offered a detailed description of Parajd – in German, Hungarian and Romanian (1881, 1891, 1894); the first graphic illustration of the Salt Canyon published in print (*OMMIK* 1901); the first postcards with content related to Parajd (around 1904–1905); the rise in number of the photographs of Parajd, and the first ones published since Balázs Orbán's photographs of 1864; the first publications mentioning the ceramic factory in Parajd as an object of interest for visitors (1879, 1880); the first connection of Praid to the Transylvanian railway system (1906); the foundation (1901) of the first local organization, which saw the development of tourism as a possible solution for the socio-economic problems of the time; and it was during this period (roughly the decade 1895–1905) that, in today's terms, Székely Land took on the image of a tourism destination region, and Sóvidék the image of a tourism destination micro-region. With its attractions, Parajd was an important point of interest for both.