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## Tourism. Retrotopian Time-Travel (part one)<sup>2</sup>

### Abstract

The study historicizes the phenomenon of the tourism as a purely modern variety of the mobility of which inner morphology began to take form at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. First, the study draws on the innovative approach of Hasso Spode, historian of mentality, who has a profound influence over contemporary research of the history of tourism in German historiography. Using his theoretical framing, the study discloses how a travel that, from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, had a diverse set of motives, experiences, ideas and practices, started to be cemented by a psychomental foundation: the tourist gaze. Then, the study interprets tourism as the product of spatialization of time and temporalization of space. Finally, the article, using Zygmunt Bauman's theoretical conception of "retrotopia", clips today's form of tourism together with its primordial form and leads to the conclusion that tourism as a controversial phenomenon of modern times is endowed with human nostalgia, romance, a never-ending desire for authenticity as well as an eternal obsession with the idea of "progress" encompassing also utopian notions.

**Key words:** Tourism, Time, Travel, Mobility, Hasso Spode

*"We must look up or look back. Those are the only ways of surviving these desolate times at the end of the Modern Age – and ideally we should do both at once"*(Urban 1999: 216)

### Introduction: Mobile lives or tourist lives? Both at once!

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, people were moving about the planet at unprecedented speed. The world became entangled with telephone and

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computer networks, road and rail infrastructure grew denser under the wheels of high-speed trains and automobiles, airspace thickened with aircraft fumes, with space satellites hanging above or circulating around it, and all these interconnected ‘mobility systems’ represented truly pulsating arteries of globalization. Since the close of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we have all been permanently “on the move” due to intensified travel and continuous communication flow; from low cost flying, beach, sightseeing, shopping, partying, sex or conference tourism, to phone and video calls on social networks, vlogging on the Internet, video conferencing or even just surfing the web. Moreover, being physically and virtually mobile has become a fashion and lifestyle for a substantial part of the population.

The study of mobility – the movement of people (travel), goods, information, waste, money or ideas, including their interdependence and the socio-cultural impacts of spatial changes – has become an urgent task for social sciences under the influence of Zygmunt Bauman’s modernization theory. He saw in the process of “fluidization” of the previously rigid social structures the result of technological development and anxious efforts to accelerate the speed of movement, now escalated almost to the limit of instantaneousness (Bauman 2006: 10–11, 117–118; Kaufmann 2007: 302; Sheller, Urry 2006: 2010). This acuteness has also had an impact on historical sciences, presenting them with the challenge of illuminating the origins of the continuous transformation of “heavy and tenacious” modernity into its current “light and liquid” form, i.e. the time when the speed of people, finance, waste or data becomes paramount – when everything is movement. In the light of Bauman’s extremely disturbing diagnoses of the present day, the major problem seems to be exploring the mobility of the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – the era of industrial and consumer revolution, technological development, improving transport infrastructure and popularizing travel, that is, the roots of one of the most significant characteristics of present-day society: tourism.

It is the figure of a tourist Bauman treats as a fitting metaphor for a person living in the liquid world of the present – a world that is mechanized, computerized, virtualized and populated by consumers (tourists), always hungry for new attractions. “*The consumer is a person on the move and bound to remain so*” (Bauman 2005: 85), writes Bauman, referring to tourists in both literal and figurative terms. He means globe-trotters craving for travel attractions, when each new one is more enticing than the last, when the effect of one lure has not yet disappeared and is already being pushed out by another. However, he also refers to life

adventurers, who go from job to job, enter “fluid” relationships, aware of their temporary nature, or move without ever wanting to settle for good at any place. Most people in today’s rich north, where there are fewer and fewer reasons to remain in one place and where natural boundaries and logically assumed social positions disappear, give the impression of tourists. The inner unease of unexperienced opportunities pushes these people to wander, explore or discover, and those who are denied being part of the globalized elite, indulging in an age of “space-time compression”, smooth information transmission, instant communication and cost-effective travel, travel at least virtually behind TV or laptop screens and experience the excitement from the comfort of their own dwellings (Bauman 2005: 77–102).

The notion of tourist as a metaphorical embodiment of human life in postmodern society is also expressed in the refined sociological works of John Urry. At the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century, Urry noticed how, with globalization, tourism as a clearly defined area of human activities slowly dissolves and seeps into other spheres of life such as shopping, media consumption, internet use, sports, studying, clothing, gastronomy, business relationships maintenance, participation in conferences, festivals, cultural and sports mega-events, etc. “*Tourism is nowhere and yet everywhere*”(Urry 2002a: 150), Urry said in 1995, prophesying that people would soon be tourists for most of their time, either in situations where they were literally physically moving, or even consuming mass products and absorbing the flow of audio-visual images in their immediate home (Urry 2002a: 148).

In the wealthy and hypermobile northern hemisphere, occasional “touristized” visits of new friends become a popular and attractive activity in cities and metropolises of “liquid times”, thanks to close contact and quick establishment of working and friendly relationships additionally maintained on social networks. Likewise, occasional low-cost tourist trips and stays are an affordable, fashionable and, due to media pressure, directly necessary part of the lives of otherwise immobile individuals with leaner incomes (Elliott, Urry 2010: 56). “*In a restless world, tourism is the only acceptable, human form of restlessness.*” (Bauman 2005: 94), and so an increasing number of people, through the almost absolute mobility of their lives, become tourists, that is, people driven by the aesthetics of consumption, who impress the poorer and worse off, who are not blessed with the chance to consume tourism in a globalized world tailored to the needs and desires of tourists, with the range of their opportunities and often the aura of extravagant and unrestrained lifestyle of always being “somewhere on the road”.

Tourism is omnipresent and undoubtedly moves the world, and therefore I will try to historicize the core of this controversial phenomenon of modern times, which is endowed with human nostalgia, romance, a never-ending desire for authenticity and an eternal obsession with the idea of “progress”. We will look at a time when the material architectural-urban space of our planet had not yet been covered by a cyberspace umbrella, in which the immediate dispersion of data, images, scenes and human voices and faces has replaced the strenuous overcoming of physical obstacles and time distances. We will travel back to the times of chattering carriages, when tourists were not flowing in and out of the terminals of airport complexes, when passengers were not accompanied by the roar of airplanes, the whistle of high-speed trains, and the swinging of steam ferries. and when homesickness, which overwhelmed the traveller alternately with the joy of exciting experiences, could not be satiated with a mouse click or a Facebook video call.

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Modern tourism, as one of the world’s largest economic sectors, is a recent invention in terms of the length of human history. It encompasses a number of modern practices, experiences and feelings which grow more clearly out of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and which a premodern man could not experience (Spode 2004: 113–114). What makes modern tourism unique and distinct from the traditional forms of travel, old as mankind itself? A new, argumentatively convincing yet reader-friendly synthesis by the historian Eric Zuelow, written with a light essayist pen, understands tourism as ‘*travel in the pursuit of pleasure and escape from everyday realities*’ (Zuelow 2016: 9; Koshar 2000: 8). Such tourist activities operate on the principle of a vigilant gaze fixed on nature and history or, more precisely, on “places“, ”venues” and “monuments”, using the “lens” that has been sharpened by the experience of traveling people over the past three hundred years. In addition, modern tourism is driven by the ferocious consumer bulimia of society, drawing sophisticatedly from the aesthetic considerations of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, modern health sciences and unconventional natural healing methods. However, the modern tourism experience is mainly the result of revolutionary spiritual, political and social developmental streams of the end of the Enlightenment age, which led the course towards industrial capitalism. Tourism grows out of increasing nationalism, new consumption patterns, technological upheavals and intellectual changes: from changing attitudes to what is a “healthy lifestyle”, from diverse

ideas about what is tasteful or beautiful, and from shifts in self-understanding and self-perception of a person as “an individual” (Zuehlow 2016: 9–12).

Although the “achievements” of science and industry, technological innovations, the modern transportation system and the gradual legal deregulation of movement of citizens and foreigners across European countries have created favourable material conditions for tourism during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they do not in themselves necessarily mean the boom of this form of mobility, connected with the purely modern “free time” phenomenon. To answer the questions: “Why have numbers of people, individuals, couples and whole families started spending their free time travelling, spending considerable amounts of money on food, accommodation and souvenirs?”, and “Why has travel become routine and ordinary consumer goods?”, it is necessary to go deeper under the surface of modernity and to seek the essence of the restlessness and tendencies of modern “pilgrims” to seek constant movement in the archaeological foundation of human thought.

Seen from a distance and perspective of the history of mentalities, according to Berlin’s travel history expert Hasso Spode, tourist consumption of space and experience as a favourite ingredient of the lifestyle of recent generations is a guide to understanding the world and man of the past two hundred and fifty years. Spode, with his good sense for theoretical reasoning, which has been strongly moving the historical research of tourism in Germany and abroad in the last three decades,<sup>3</sup> refuses to accept the comfortable hypothesis of a tourist journey as an eagerly sought flight to something “pleasant”, which is absent from an individual’s everyday reality or offered to him only in insufficient quantities. He believes that such journeys are the fruit of a person’s longing to grab a piece of the idealized image of “happy life”, and a diligent effort to show that he too is boldly – at least occasionally – heading towards spending time “somewhere on the road”, while these “*fundamentally romantic and strangely useless forms of travel remain the main fossils of modernity*”.<sup>4</sup> In tourism, which is surrounded by a powerful mythology –

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<sup>3</sup> See his personal website with a rich bibliography and a number of useful links. <http://hasso-spode.de/spode.html>

<sup>4</sup> „Deutschlands Sonne scheint in Italien!“ *Zur Entwicklung der Reiselust und des Tourismus in der Bundesrepublik*. (Interview with the historian Hasso Spode from 30 May 2018) <https://www.bpb.de/geschichte/zeitgeschichte/deutschlandarchiv/269661/deutschlands-sonne-scheint-in-italien> (access 6. 8. 2019); Social adaptation is considered as one of the main incentives for tourism travel in the consumer society also in older sociological research, which sees the tourist as a product of media pressure to imitate

the myth of health regeneration and the myth of mediating knowledge and intercultural understanding (Spode 2004: 118), there is a certain internal split of some seeking “peace” or “relax”, and others pursuing “excitement” or “action”, with the former heading for “nature” and the latter for “the city”. Leisure-time travelling, whose characteristic uncertainty and emptiness can be filled by tourists with any content, is one of the most glaring signs of “heavy” modernity with the typical contradiction of its progressive processes, all the more so the sign of its “liquid” variant glittering with boundless individualism and consumerism. Not surprisingly, tourism has long enjoyed the attention of the Western historiographical tradition.

Thus, Zuelow aptly writes that tourism was born out of modernity, while at the same time it was vigorously involved in shaping the modern society. A classic story tells us that the origins of tourism can be traced back to England and Scotland, where the Industrial Revolution, which secured a timely rise in earnings, commenced, and where, shortly after, people became disgusted with the “pollution” of the congested cities. The adverse effects of industrialization and urbanization thus gave birth to the idea of a natural landscape as a safe and healthy area with therapeutic effects, where it was possible to hide from destructive dirt, dust and clouds of reeking gases (Zuelow 2016: 10). The expansion of tourism – accelerated by the advances in technology and the convenience of travel – fuelled the spread of health science and, together with the temporalization of human knowledge of the world, turned individual cultures in the heads of tourists into either “underdeveloped” or “developed”. The old continent, which began to shrink in the heads of travelled Europeans at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was at the very top of this hierarchical scale. Tourism as the central wheel in the gears of the “modern world” and the controversial belief in the beneficial effects of “progressive” “modernity”, whose rapid development in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is considered as the source of the myth of the white European’s cultural superiority by some post-colonial theorists such as Achille Mbembe or Homi Bhabha (Mbembe 2017: 54; Bhabha 1994: 31–32), was then linked to the colonial wave of “civilization missions” accompanied by enslavement, plundering of indigenous societies, destruction of cultural heritage, and genocide (Comp. Mackenzie 2005: 19–20). The

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consumer behaviour. Travel experiences are the status symbol of man and their spectacular demonstration is the fruit of social rivalry, the pursuit of social prestige and recognition: “*My neighbour goes to Mallorca, so I must go, too. Why do tourists travel? Because others are travelling.*” (Hennig 1997: 37–38)

seemingly impeccable tourism did not only contribute to the import of “civilized” patterns and to the image of human otherness outside Europe, but on a far less spectacular scale even within individual European states and regions. The principles of exclusion, isolation and extermination of the “Blacks” became a model for the bloodless cultural cleansing practices within Central Europe, while tourist observations (of “clumsy” peasants, “dirty” Catholics, etc.) played a pivotal role in stigmatizing otherness (Frey 1997: 190–194). In addition to territorial governance and wars, it was mainly tourism that accelerated the spread of community feelings, collective identities, awareness of shared cultural patterns, and feelings of racial, ethno-national or linguistic differences and social differences. The attractive combination of history and nature fascinated tourists, and thanks to nostalgia and a collective memory of a shared past, leisure travel “escapes” became also a tool for building the geographical and cultural notions of national and other communities.

Mutual intercultural exchange and the related construction of identities and policies of exclusion and merging or self-stylization of superiority and inferiority, dominance and subordination, which can be observed during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, for example, when traveling outside the Habsburg Monarchy, were clearly present within this multi-ethnic whole. Travelling within the Danube Monarchy, as a relatively compact tourist “cosmos” and “negotiating space” composed of many different cultural formations, lost the character of a “foreign” trip in the eyes of a tourist – when he wanted to see the “foreign” and “exotic”, he did not need to overcome a number of passport and visa obstacles or inconvenience in the form of border control, at least not as much as when traveling outside the monarchy. Eastern Galicia offered a breath of the Russian conditions, Bosnia a portrait of the Balkan nature, and Trieste let one enjoy the feeling of a sunny Italian coast. Sometimes even less was needed to experience “other” customs, languages or living standards – a visit to Vienna, Budapest or Prague, or even just another village within the multi-ethnic regions (Jaworski 2014: 19–20).

## The origin of the modern tourist experience

In the last hundred years, many people have been searching for the psychomental roots of tourism. On the one hand, popular brochures by organized tourism leaders, seeking the traveller desire in human “nature” (See for instance Guth 1917: 1), bring the echo of romantic sentiment and naivety. On the other hand, a sceptical rather than benevolent smile

is raised by the “serious” conclusions of psychology, which see tourism as the result of “activating” some of the human needs: an alleged “innate” desire to explore and discover with a subconscious dose of “natural” sense for beauty of the surrounding (For example Pearce 1988: 24nn.). Without proper historical immersion, debates often slipped into conjectures about some ancient nomadic instinct and polemics about supposed anthropological constants. Spode, turning away from such naive forms of biologicalism, understands tourism not as a genetic predisposition, but as a culturally instilled behaviour (Spode 2004: 114), or more precisely, as a historically conditioned, socially acquired and to some extent discursively controlled social practice.

In this cultural concept, tourism is the fruit of a way of thinking typical of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, even at that time, the main reasons for travel were the triad of motives linked to livelihood and material goods: war, trade, and land administration. In addition to the immaterial goods that some travellers brought back with them, we can add spiritual salvation, health and knowledge. Religious pilgrimages were already semi-organized, interest in spa stays had increased, and an important part of the life of many strata and groups had been an educational stay abroad: from the noble Grand Tour to the Petit Grand Tour (Bildungsreise) or to the wandering journeymen, artists and scholars. One must not forget wayfarer jugglers and comedians as well as various vagrants and other wandering existence. In the pre-tourist period of mankind, each journey had a clearly defined purpose, and the vision of fun, roving about, pleasure or merriment during or at the end of the trip was not usually its expected part. That is why the amounts of money spent with a calm heart and conscience during the journey on transportation, accommodation and food were also seen as sensibly invested. However, tourism has a different internal morphology and is more of a “*travel without obvious purpose*” (Spode 2010: 233–234; similarly in Hachtmann 2007: 38–42), as Spode speculates with reference to the great German travel sociologist Hans-Joachim Knebel. Flashes of these traditional forms of travel are certainly also reflected in modern tourism, which began to model more clearly at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century based on older traveling motives, available images, expectations and proven travel practices. Nonetheless, they began to group into a completely different configuration, which later proved unusually durable (Spode 2013: 369; H. Spode 2004: 115).

Let us now take a closer look at the deep transformation of travel that occurred at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## The twilight of Kavalierstour

Before by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century educated Western European burghers began claiming their right to an equal share of the public political and social life, which included the habit of travelling around Europe, leaving one's families for several months or even years was a privilege and duty of the aristocracy. For centuries, such a journey, that is, the Grand Tour (Kavalierstour), had been an integral part and the last step in the education and training of young aristocratic descendants during the first twenty years of their lives. From the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, such travels contributed to strengthening the nobility's identity and served to maintain awareness of social exclusivity, while the experience obtained during the pilgrimages would later help them attain social renown and appropriate "offices" or "functions". Equipped with important addresses, full jewel cases and necessary documents (safe conducts), flocks of young noble men migrated to the countries of Central, Southern and Western Europe, ideally with their own vehicle, supervised by the hofmeister, cared for and protected by the butler and the footman. Cavalier travels were not an entertaining venture, but an educational and socializing practice of its kind.<sup>5</sup> The course and objectives of these long expeditions were diverse and varied considerably depending on one's family's position, life plans, confession, or the current fashion trend (Kubeš 2011: 8–9, 300). The young nobleman was supposed to stay at some of the famous foreign universities or aristocratic academies, get to know the world of the electoral or royal court, soak up the air of Italian or western European cities, but he could also seize the opportunity to participate actively or passively in war. The educational and socializing dimension of the journey was also provided by detours to art collections and galleries, which were supposed to help the noble's prestige promotion in social contact with his estate peers. Knowing art was meant to cultivate aristocratic taste and complete the social uniqueness of the nobleman as a culturally superior human being, quite different from the non-travelled plebs. Naturally, there was already an imaginary "register" of sights that had to be "ticked off", but the most important attractions were the crowned heads or other celebrities of that time. An obsession with nature, history and historical monuments, as we know it today as modern tourists, remained strange to the mental horizon of the noble cavalier (Spode 2017: 139). However, the journeys of noble and affluent

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<sup>5</sup> In this respect, Spode sees a functional similarity with the travels of scholars and journeymen (Spode 2017: 139 footnote. 2).

men laid the foundations for the space that later Europeans could travel through, where they could communicate, and which they could touristically experience.

During the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the practice of educational travel in Europe was also boldly appropriated by the third estate, which recognized the potential of travelling to bring social prestige. The bourgeois intelligentsia in particular believed that getting to know big cities and consuming art would make one “a better man”. After the end of the Seven Years’ War in 1763, a peaceful atmosphere spread across Europe and new logistic possibilities opened up; Western European roads offered increased security measures against road bandits, better service at inns, as well as more frequent connections of post stagecoaches that had begun to leave switching stations with unprecedented regularity in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century thanks to the new mechanization of time. The knowledge previously obtained from literature – mainly travel journals – in the comfort of one’s home gradually became inadequate, replaced with the need to travel and see everything with one’s own eyes. Immediate observation and evaluation of the ‘foreign’, ‘new’ and ‘unknown’ during the journey thus became a prime part of the construction of critical reason as the basis of the enlightened individual’s independence (van Strien-Chardonneau 2017: 149; Paul 2013: 25–27). Among the traditional attractions were Italian cities such as Florence, Venice, Naples, and of course Rome, which, between the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, turned into beacons of good taste, emerging from the cultural heritage of antiquity developed by the Renaissance (Zuelow 2016: 17, 21). From the demographic perspective, these trips were not limited to young people, although they continued to prevail in the passenger mix. It was also much more about lonely travel (certainly more than in the case of the aristocratic travels of the day or today’s tourism). Furthermore, travelling was no longer the prerogative of men, although women seldom made such expeditions due to social conventions and morals of the time.<sup>6</sup> The educational content of the bourgeois analogues of *Kavalierstour* was then understood in much broader terms; the mission of the journeys to ensure the individual’s future career success slowly began lagging behind the vague motive of service to human “Progress” born in the heads of Kant and Voltaire, as they were meant to also

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<sup>6</sup> Even during the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the image of a travelling woman, let alone unaccompanied, brought the feeling of inappropriateness. The spontaneity, instability, independence and movement that travel evoked in people’s imagination were contradicted by the feminine “nature”, perceived as closely linked to the household, its calm and stability (Kaschuba 1991: 32; Paul 2013: 26–27).

contribute to improving the lives of those who stayed at home. At the same time, however, modern individualism continued to grow at the heart of bourgeois travel, awakening the desire for an egoistic and particularly unspecified “edifying of a heart”. Increasingly often, trips to the natural landscape were no longer supposed to provide knowledge for the rational mind and bring new social connections, but to lead to a strong “inner movement” and to the formation of a sentimental traveller soul that anticipated the later popularity of purely leisure and entertainment-focused trips (Lustreise) (Spode 2017: 140; Hachtmann 2007: 51).

Nonetheless, such a reprehensible waste of time made the Western bourgeois mentality of the Enlightenment age, pervaded by diligence, purposefulness and a sense of duty and order, rather uncomfortable. The bourgeois elite highly valued activity, prudence and temperance, and often confronted their moral values with the lifestyle of the nobility, perceived as lazy, morally debauched, heartless and irresponsible (Kusáková 2004: 294). Therefore, they had to justify the existence of such idle expeditions by wrapping them up in older practical motives: the journey educates and reinforces understanding (in the case of travel to cities) and remedies health (in the case of travel to a spa or nature) (Spode 2010: 234–235; Spode 2004: 118). Like in the case of Jan Jakub Quirin Jahn, the owner of a cloth shop, an enlightened intellectual, a painter and one of the founders of Czech art history, who decided to travel through Western Bohemia in the summer of 1797. The notes in his travel journal show how, in order to drown the smouldering embarrassing feelings of the fruitless and idle wanderings he had made while he was struggling with lean income, he labelled his entire leisure trip with the motif of a “*recuperation*”<sup>7</sup> recommended to him by a physician, repeatedly emphasizing the beneficial effects of “healthy” and “clean” air (Quirin Jahn 1987: 207, 208, 212, 215). In the end, burghers, who mocked the feudal and his supposedly untied and emotionally empty palace life, were free to discover and imitate the social forms of aristo-

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<sup>7</sup> “*My recuperation travel is working well for me. Already on the first night I feel so strong that I can not only be happy to keep my promise, but I feel so bright and alert that it gives me the hope of regaining my health. That is also why this evening, being so delighted and relaxed, [...]*” (Quirin Jahn 1987: 206 footnote a); “*The shaking in the coach and various small walks in the villages where I stopped to look for art monuments led to a good and peaceful night. I feel lively now and more capable of working all day, thanks to the ever-changing spectacular views and healthy and clean air here. Doctor Mayer, who suggested this way of recovery from my long illness, will find that his efforts have been successful. Yesterday, I spent the whole day moving, surrounded by nature.*” (Quirin Jahn 1987: 207).

cratic pastimes, including, besides lounges or visits to public attractions, also jaunts, taken both at home and on long trips and stays. Rational reasons for hiding these frisky escapes “to another place”, which were less extravagant but supposedly more sincere, filled with genuine joy, emotion and feeling, were always found.

Since the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the notions of sentiment, emotion and compassion as the highest moral qualities had been ascribed solely to noblemen. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, however, they entered the Enlightenment thinking, and in England or Germany, where the aristocratic share in cultural progress was diminished, sentimentality and emotion began to adhere to stereotypical images of the bourgeoisie as tools for exalting and enhancing this social class. This also applies to the later sentimental Biedermeier society in the Czech lands of the pre-March era, while even there, emotion was not supposed to equal passion, let alone sexual heat, but sentimental compassion for the hardships of “*other people, but also nature, including animals and plants[...]*.” (Kusáková 2004: 291). The concept of human love for nature is nothing eternal, neither self-evident nor natural. In the Middle Ages, “(high) mountains” and “seas” were considered desolate, ominous and dangerous places inhabited by dark demons and insidious spectres (Eco, De Michele 2005: 281; Stibral 2011: 15–17). The following sections will look at why, at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, wild nature, alongside industrial Progress and urban bustle, found itself at the centre of interest and passionate tourist admiration.

## The tourist gaze

From the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, travel was for a diverse set of motives, experiences, ideas and practices, which were, however, united by a psychomental foundation: the tourist gaze<sup>8</sup> – the fruit of the heatedly discussed “Progress”, which aroused both its supporters and opponents. Progressive optimism and progressive pessimism, that is to say, in the words of history of ideas, the Enlightenment and Romanticism, were two faces of the same instrument by which the world could newly be grasped. This instrument was time and its new organization at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which fundamentally influenced contemporary human perception of the outside world. The solid and symmetrical pre-modern

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<sup>8</sup> John Urry used this term for the first time to discover how the seemingly unbiased visual experience of modern tourists was constructed through older media images and the manipulative practices of tourist infrastructure staff. The term was later adopted by historians for the purposes of their analyses. See the book and its revised versions, (Urry 2002b).

concepts of yesterday, today, and tomorrow slowly became fluid and fuzzy, leading one to a new conviction of the deep abyss that had opened up between the present and the past. Such awareness of the profound difference between the present life horizons and the horizons of their ancient ancestors' experience enabled the advocates of Progress to enthusiastically spin life scenarios full of unforeseen future possibilities. This was how the society began to produce its modernity – by narrowing the present, which was thus more and more understood as a transitional period serving to prepare one for the new challenges of the future and the fulfilment of pre-assigned goals. At the same time, the beliefs of Progress proponents in its constant acceleration were accompanied by the concerns of its opponents, who were seized by fear and threats of the chaotic merging of the present and the uncertain future (Smyčka 2019: 11–12; Smyčka 2015: 208).

Ironically, the increasing complexity of society and the feelings of oppression, curtailment and regulation of life experienced by the entire bourgeoisie in connection with the present turned the attention of progress critics back to the “stability” and “order” of the past. Stepping away from the rational and binding present back to the original freedom and naturalness of the individual offered a way to a new appreciation of nature, where the lost certainties became tangible again. High mountains and seashores, once repulsive and desolate, were now appreciated with a new ‘gaze’ bringing bliss and pleasure, and the inhabitants of such regions were seen as ‘noble savages’. The human past was thus embodied on the peripheries far from the centres of civilization; whether it was in the figure of an exotic Tahitian or a mountain dweller in the Swiss Alps – both represented living relics of the much admired antiquity (Spode 2017: 142). And if the Renaissance had already praised ruins as the witnesses of ancient glory, now such admiration was associated with astonishment at the silent grandeur of medieval ruins and even remains of all kinds, gnawed by the relentless tooth of time (Eco, De Michele 2005: 285).

Let us now take a closer look at this only briefly outlined link between the society's new time regime and travel, since that is where the origins of tourism are to be found.

## Temporalisation of knowledge

What was it that led to the fragmentation of the so far boundless present into a clear past, a narrow band of present, and a brightly lit future? What caused the fact that “*while in the second third of the 18<sup>th</sup> century*

*one could still consider oneself a spiritual contemporary of Cicero or Aristotle, this spiritual connection in its former immediacy became impossible after 1800*" (Smyčka 2019: 11)? How did this come about? There is no clear consensus among scholars in answering these questions, as they often refer to a complex of intertwined influences and stimuli. Here, Václav Smyčka, following Reinhard Koselleck, highlights the Great French Revolution shaking the feudal foundations of European society and the Napoleonic conquest of Europe and the subsequent coalition wars against the violators of feudal order. The reports of the revolutionary turmoil were so overwhelming that they seemed to surpass any previous experience gathered by historians. The revolutionary events eliminated all existing knowledge and tools that historical knowledge had been using to create exemplary patterns of conduct from the present space out into the vault of the past while opening the horizon of the future (Smyčka 2019: 16–17).

Another important stimulus for the temporalisation of the world was the increase in the volume of communicated knowledge towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The capitalization of book markets, the shift of the literary centre from Frankfurt to Leipzig and the switch from barter to financial wholesale led to a book revolution with a rapid acceleration in the production of new titles. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the printed word thus became a real means of knowledge accumulation, a concept outlined in the 16<sup>th</sup> century by Francis Bacon. While the Leipzig book market, as the centre of Central European publishing, produced only 1,800 titles in 1770, 20 years later, the number was twice as high. From the second third of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, extensive dictionary projects, led by the *historia litteraria* genre – a kind of bio-bibliography of all known scholars and their works, presented a reaction to the growing pace of book production and the effort to make existing knowledge more transparent; dictionaries were intended to make it traceable and prevent its loss. However, following the outbreak of the book revolution at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the development of the publishing markets, which initially prompted as well as facilitated full accumulation of knowledge, condemned this project to extinction and fragmentation. And so it happened that a folk song or medieval poem, which back in 1750 did not attract the attention of historians, appeared already in 1800 as a rare and extremely valuable remnant of “antiquity”, which had to be protected from the perilousness of mercilessly passing time (Smyčka 2014: 215 footnote. 12, 229; Smyčka 2015: 207 a passim).

Man's view of his position in the world and its history, however, was fundamentally shaped by the notions of natural transformations in-

fluenced by revolutionary discoveries and theories of biologists and geologists, which occurred more and more frequently during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The contemporary understanding of time, however, was remarkably affected by the evolutionary thought that came with the 18<sup>th</sup> century. As the belief in the “self-procreation” of the Earth and the deistic notion of the creation of the world vanished, the belief in the visible changes in the Earth’s surface was strengthened. Fantastic images of fossils falling down from the Moon or shellfish found in high mountains, whose development Mother Earth did not finish, were gradually refuted by new research, which saw them first as the fossilized remains of still living organisms, and later of extinct creatures. This was a ground-breaking and scandalous statement, which shook the faith in the unchanging order of God and the hierarchical organization of living and inanimate nature. Geological and palaeontological considerations undermined beliefs about the age of the Earth, whose development was thought to have been shaped by climatic and geological influences. The world was no longer created in seven days, and the 6000 years derived from the Bible grew tenfold (Stibral 2011: 20, 28).

Time thus becomes a universal measure of things, and deep historicity penetrates into everything (Foucault). In the sciences of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, things are gradually placed on a timeline, “*they are no longer classified statically according to their inner meanings, but structurally dynamically according to moving time, hidden history, and developmental stages.*” (Spode 2008: 294). The earlier similarity-based “taxonomy” – which includes, for example, Carl Linny’s 1735 zoological and botanical nomenclature, and the 1750 classification of natural beauty by Johann Georg Sulzer – gives way to “genealogy” based on deep historicity (Stibral 2011: 28; Spode 2017: 142).

The genealogical principle, which is based on the notion of passing time, permeates the organization of all known things and “precedes words”. It creates a new order of things (a new *epistémé*) that restructures the boundaries of the conceivable, the pronounceable and the describable. Just as man discovers himself in the depths of his interior, “*inside the shell of his head, inside the armature of his limbs, and in the whole structure of his physiology*” (Foucault 2005: 346), so the existing knowledge about the world sorted on a flat synchronous table suddenly falls to its historical depth. The seashores, mountains, and oceans turned into archives of the world in the eyes of the then researchers, and the uncovering of layered sediments on the mountainsides or sandy beaches was a fascinating way back to its earlier times. Everything – humans, animals, plants, languages, man-made creations and written history – are

subject to new timing, and their fragmented remains that suddenly begin to appear in front of one's eyes can be sought and collected. If the old order of things divided nature according to external similarities into pure and unclean, noble beings ("divine" birds) and ignoble creatures ("devil" monkeys), where the worm, eel and snake were different types of the same species, and where the dolphin was a fish just the same as a shark, then the new, history-based order of things revealed genealogical uniqueness beneath the surface of the taxonomic system of external similarities. The key to sorting lies in the depths of organisms; now all these worms and eels or dolphins and sharks have little in common and begin to represent – even before Darwinism – the various stages of the ascending evolutionary chain, and at the tip of this biological chronometer there is man, or more precisely the white European man. And the closer a species is to him, the higher it ranks in the temporalized developmental chain of creation. So, on this hierarchized axis, this time the bird is placed lower than the horse, which, in turn is lower than the monkey, above which the human stands proudly (Spode 2017: 142; Spode 2008: 294–295).

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the new time regime spread among educated bourgeois readers through innovative historiographic genres such as universal history (e.g. August Ludwig Schlözer), cultural history (e.g. Johann Gottfried Herder), or philosophy of history (e.g. Jean Jacques Rousseau, Immanuel Kant). Through these disciplines, society began to temporalize its own experience, which led to the perception of the great variability of the human race. Universal history was gradually abandoning the Christian eschatology and absorbing into its narrative the anthropological model of the progressive development of "human nature". The logic of history which derives from the creation of the world to the coming of Christ and the Last Judgment, and which is therefore seen as a mere sphere of God's influence on man, is replaced by the new Enlightenment model. Its representatives regard older history as a bare anecdotal narrative of events, and supersede it with their more prestigious "philosophical" or "pragmatic" history with its own logic. There, individual events appear as manifestations of concrete phases of the development of "human nature", which are (onto-)phylogenetically identified with the phases of human life: childhood, adolescence, adulthood (Rousseau, Isaak Iselin). The time aspect thus gave European history its dynamism, and the European man his plasticity. The vertical deepening of human history from the beginning to the present went hand in hand with the horizontal extension of universal plans to non-European areas such as China, India or Japan (e.g. Voltaire), and Eastern and Northern

European regions (e.g. Schlözer). This way, however, the amount of historical knowledge increased unprecedentedly and therefore had to be reduced for an easier synthesis. For this purpose, the Enlightenment thinkers formed a category of culture, which allowed them to bring unity to the diverse historical material and compare geographically remote societies. This historiographic design gave rise to the notion of “the simultaneity of the non-simultaneous”, that is, the idea that individual cultures and societies are at the lower, backward stages of the same universal historical evolution that Europe’s advanced (modern) societies had already gone through, standing at the imaginary tip of the continuous vector of Progress. This was how the principle of temporalization of knowledge became reflected in space. The foreign landscape in relation to home (Europe) no longer appeared only as good or bad, poor or rich, similar or dissimilar to that of the old time regime, but from now on it was seen as developed (modern) or underdeveloped (archaic). The model of “the simultaneity of the non-simultaneous” – the developmental distance between the nations in the centre and the nations on the periphery – which the idea of Progress built upon was used also by the emerging ethnographic research in its assumption that the long-lost roots of one’s own culture could be found on the peripheries of the centre. Just as in the biological world man had taken the place of the leader in the chain of creation and a model of perfection, so a white European had become a measure of development of all surrounding cultures and societies. Europe thus formed the “adult” centre surrounded by peripheries populated by “children” (Nolte 2002: 135; Smyčka 2015: 208–212; Spode 2017: 142).

Eurocentric modernity, enchanted by the idea of irreversible Progress, thus acquired its most powerful weapon, which, under the cover of “humanity”, “culturalization” or “modernization”, helped to pave the way for its colonial plans.<sup>9</sup> The conversion of cultural otherness to the range of archaic (late, underdeveloped) – modern (advanced, developed) was not only applied to distant non-European continents and their native inhabitants; stigmatization also affected the peripheries of the “civilized”

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<sup>9</sup> Mbembe regards “modernity” as a mere euphemism for the project of unrestricted expansion of European colonial manor as one of the most important political issues at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This was to conceal the fact that Western imperialism, which with the help of advanced technologies, armies, commercial methods and Christianity promotion celebrated its triumph in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, exercised its power over the colonized populations with a fierce and unbridled force – “*the sort of power that one can exercise only outside of one’s own borders and over people with whom one assumes one has nothing in common.*” (Mbembe 2017: 54).

world, be it smaller ethnic groups or certain social subgroups, e.g. Czechs, Italians, “fools”, women, children, peasants, or people of other beliefs (Smyčka 2015: 212–213; Spode 2008: 296).

## Temporalisation of travel

Travelling in space no longer entailed only moving horizontally between areas that appeared to be “different” externally in the mere topographic sense of the word or with regard to the formal aspects of the customs and behaviour of the locals. The temporalization of the world exposed the “non-simultaneities” of foreign landscapes, which had come to the forefront and could be felt and experienced immediately. Horizontal travel had thus been transformed into vertical movement between different stages of the cultural development of mankind, “*from now on, travel is forever also travel in time into the future or the past*” (Spode 2017: 142) or even more apt – as Philipp Prein put it – tourist travels are vertical movements “*between the tradition and progress, the past and the future, the barbarism and the civilization, the nature and the culture*” (Prein 2005: 156). But what in the minds of tourists was the physical representation of the future and the past, and what feelings and impressions did these two worlds create in travellers?

The idea of civilization Progress, together with the attitude towards the original “human nature” of archaic societies that could be encountered while travelling, gave birth to its supporters as well as opponents. While some, together with Voltaire, mocked the primitive times of primordial societies living in ignorance and viewed Progress as deliverance from the dull infancy of mankind, others, together with Rousseau, claimed that all human decay was the work of new technological achievements and saw the need to shake off the enslaving shackles of Progress.

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### Turystyka. Retropijna podróż w czasie (część pierwsza)

#### Abstrakt

Artykuł ujmuje zjawisko turystyki jako nowoczesnej odmiany mobilności, której wewnętrzna morfologia zaczęła przybierać wyrazistą formę na przełomie XIX i XX w. Zaprezentowane w opracowaniu badanie opiera się na innowacyjnym podejściu Hasso Spode, historyka mentalności. Jego pomysł wywarł duży wpływ na współczesne badania nad historią turystyki w niemieckiej historiografii. Opierając się na jego teoretycznym framingu, badanie ujawnia, jak podróż, która od końca XVIII w. miała różnorodne motywy, doświadczenia, pomysły i praktyki, zaczęła się konsolidować w ramach psychomentalnej fundacji: spojrzenia turystycznego. Następnie badanie interpretuje turystykę jako produkt uprzestrzennienia czasu i temporalizacji przestrzeni. Wreszcie, artykuł, wykorzystując teoretyczną koncepcję „retrotopii” Zygmunta Baumana, łączy dzisiejszą formę turystyki z jej pierwotną formą i prowadzi do wniosku, że turystyka jako kontrowersyjne zjawisko współczesnych czasów jest obdarzona ludzką nostalgią, liryczną, niekończącym się pragnieniem autentyczności, a także wieczną obsesją idei „postępu” obejmującej również pojęcia utopijne.

**Słowa kluczowe:** turystyka, czas, podróże, mobilność, Hasso Spode