Jan Pezda[1]

Tourism. Retrotopian Time-Travel (part two)[2]

Abstract

The study historicizes the phenomenon of tourism as a purely modern variety of the mobility of which inner morphology began taking form at the turn of the 19th centuries. 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 travel that, from the late 18th century, had been 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 a conclusion that the 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

Travels to the past: mountains, sea, countryside and ruins

Tourists enthralled by the past naturally recruited mainly from the followers of Rousseau's thought; people sympathizing with the critics of modernization, civilization processes, and enemies of the expanding

[1] Mgr. Jan Pezda, postgraduate, University of Ostrava, Faculty of Arts, Department of History, Reální 5, 701 03 Ostrava, email: honza.pezda@seznam.cz; nr ORCID ID: 0000-0001-6604-686X.

industry as the destroyer of the natural landscape. According to their spiritual father, the safety and well-being brought by the absolutist state but also the new forms of social organization, political institutions, science and technology were redeemed by suppressing natural human behaviour, which was thought to lead to boundless pretence and hypocrisy. Rousseau highlighted egoism and freedom as virtues suppressed in the man living in a civilized and modernizing society, and so the key to human happiness was sought in the past, which, as we know, lingered far from the noble courts and cities, lost in remote peripheries – in the tourist paradise, where it was possible to see the disappearing "old", "free", "healthy" and "genuine" nature (Spode 2016b: 55; Spode 2017: 144; Spode 2008: 298−299). While science and technology, which "alienated" man from his nature, were trying, in their blindness, to penetrate the mysteries of human existence, the original early freedom, truthfulness and purity were "still" within one's reach – in nature and history. But who were, in fact, the first refugees from the intrusive civilization and the power of its machines, institutions and artificial social relations? Where did these first tourists, with their nostalgic visions, head to and what mental transformation did they undergo upon arrival?

It was Rousseau who gave a new symbolic meaning to the mountains, which ultimately led to people's newly found admiration of their beauty; however, attempts to look under the garb of desolation and repulsion that had shrouded them for centuries were made by a number of individuals even before that. The first changes in attitudes towards mountains began to occur in the Alps, a mountain range which was of particular importance for the geographical horizon of the Baroque man. Over the course of the 18th century, more and more zoologists, botanists and mineralogists set out to the mountains, their fossils raising disturbing questions over the age of the Earth. For many of them, the original purely research interests begin to mix with amazement, respect, and finally aesthetic delight in the mountain scenery. Their admiration was undoubtedly promoted by the natural aesthetic theories of Lord Shaftesbury, who, in 1686, saw a majestic place in the hitherto condemned Alps, a place where ancient times rested in silence, and where different forms of divinity appeared to man. In his conception, the beauty of inaccessible rocks, glaciers and bottomless abysses derived from their creator, God. But the smooth transition from the religious worship of the mountains to their purely aesthetic appreciation was only partly due to their association with biblical symbolism – the cult of saints, pagan reverence, or pilgrimage churches built there as part of the Baroque tradition. Pilgrim sanctuaries, proudly standing out in visible and easily ac-

cessible heights above the surrounding landscape as mementos of re-catholization and a testament to the success and power of the victorious Church, may have helped overcome the traditional rooted fear of the mountains, however, pilgrims were driven by ideological rather than aesthetic interests. What appears to be a clear by-product of pilgrimage paths is largely due to the playful and energetic Rococo and its aesthetic fondness of irregularities, sweeping curves, zigzag lines or broken shapes of old ruins and debris (praised already by the Renaissance), which caused a steady interest in the ruins of God's work – gritty and crooked (high) mountains. In other words, on the way to aesthetic appreciation of the mountains, the transformations of spirituality mixed with shifts in the perception of artistic qualities (Maur 2006: 11−12, 15; Stibral 2011: 34−37, 64; Stibral 2005: 65−66, 85−86).

The anti-clerical Rousseau eventually drew this to an extreme, when he exchanged formalized worship in the temple for prayer in the wild. The church was thus replaced by the "temple of Nature", where man could get much closer to God. Natural corners, mountains, lakes, islands and forests were places of meditative solitude and mystical trance, a magnetic universe where it was possible to taste freedom, a refuge where a person, far from the vice and pernicious influences of civilization, could be "truly himself". Wild nature was reminiscent of the period of humanity's unspoiled "childhood". Although Rousseau was not the first to deal with its grandeur, he is attributed a vital contribution to transmitting the appreciation of natural beauty to other burghers, nobles, travellers and philosophers. The aesthetic appraisal of nature by the wider educated strata was induced by the popularity of his works on mountain nooks and forests, but also on the countryside with fields and orchards perceived not as places of miserable life, but newly as an ideal of life in harmony and tranquillity. This laid the foundations of the later torn romantic enchantment by wild, unrestrained and "pleasantly" frightening natural landscape (Stibral 2005: 75−79, 82−84).

Initially, mainly individuals with artistic or meditative tendencies did not remain indifferent to nature; painters and draughtsmen, on their traditional Italian journeys along the alpine passes and roads, started making detours to mountain heights, adopting the wooded rocks as their models of natural beauty. Later they were joined by increasing numbers of gentlemen who, impressed by the new artistic works with mountain themes, enriched their journeys to the commercial and cultural centres of Italy with off-road ascents to higher terrains. As a result, towards the end of the 18th century, hundreds of travellers from the North were rushing through the streets of Rome and Venice, sharing their experiences of

travelling to see the cultural heritage of antiquity and the Renaissance with spontaneous trips into the wild. Their stories, travel journals and paintings, in which they took advantage of their tourist view, inspired new expeditions of growing numbers of listeners, readers and viewers from the lines of the nobility or rich and esteemed burghers (Zuelow 2016: 15−16; Stibral 2011: 37−38; Stibral 2005: 110).

Despite the uniqueness of the Alpine natural scenery, tourists later started carrying their new hobbies to their homes, changing their relationship to their own landscape. Joseph Carl Eduard Hoser recognizes three groups of tourists in the first edition of his printed guide to the Czech Giant Mountains from 1802: "*They were mainly travellers a) who want to observe and take scientific objects as the targets of their wanderings, b) who want to enjoy themselves and have fun, c) and finally those who are looking to remedy their poor health with movement and fresh air.*" (Hoser: 1805: 5). Inhospitable mountain ranges, where "*in the old days, and often also in the early second half of the last century* [18th century, author's note]*, people searched for secret treasures, suspecting Devil's traps,*" (Hoser 1804: 4) opened up in the second half of the 18th century to scientists, enthusiastic intellectuals and eccentric artists. However, it was only with the arrival of Romanticism that this new fashionable custom spread even among the widest strata of bourgeois men and women, who became tempted by the stories about the colours, lights and shadows of the mountain giants, and their health-promoting clean air.

Similarly, the seashore, which would later become one of the most frequently used motives in modern tourism advertising, began to show its gentle, harmless face. The reconciliation of human and the sea must be traced back to the tradition of medieval pilgrimages to holy places, which included water spring sites and their alleged miraculous spiritual powers and healing properties. During the second half of the 16th century, the pilgrimages to "holy waters" began to turn into trips to "mineral springs" (Brodie 2012: 130). Although the healing effect of water was gradually desacralized and began to be derived from its own chemical-physical nature, the quasi-sacral aura of mineral springs, which later transformed into spa venues, was forever retained. At the same time, the magical power flowed from the mythical age and authenticity of these places, as well as the "natural" effects of the purifying waters and the "fresh" air.

In the following years, the therapeutic potential of water began to attract more and more scientific interest, and trips to the springs provided the wealthy elite, endowed with both time and money, with the hope of recovery from a variety of chronic illnesses, accelerated convalescence,

or even just rest after an exhausting childbirth. The core of the healing process at the spa, which was often accompanied (and frequently even replaced) by exuberant entertainment in the exclusive company of affluent patients, was the performance of healing procedures such as drinking water, cold and hot baths, etc. However, many spas, which were sometimes very far from luxuriously equipped modern resort hotels, were located in seaside towns and the close proximity of sea water gradually diverted the attention of doctors and patients from the original mineral springs of the country. Drinking sea water and refreshing bathing in the sea became a common part of spa treatment from the early 18th century (Brodie 2012: 128, 134−136). The aura of quasi-sacrality, radiated by the natural environment of the spa resorts, often located in myth-lined forest basins or mountains − that is, on the "peripheries" far from the busy "centres" − was also appropriated by the sea. Thus, seaside baths, like the inland baths, became windows of escape into a space-time where the "ancient", "authentic", "natural" and therefore "medicinal" resided (Spode 2013: 103).

One of the first spa venues to turn the "repulsive" and "dangerous" seashore and the "sinister" waves into a place with beneficial effects on the human body was the English spa town of Scarborough (Brodie 2012: 126). While some travel journals from the end of the 17th century already describe walks on the beaches of the North Sea (Verhoeven 2013: 277, 279), it was the moments of pleasure documented in 18th century Scarborough that laid the grounds for later modern tours to the sea (Brodie 2012: 144, 153). As early as 1734, a travel guide openly attracts visitors with the promise of healing sea baths, trembling tension in the presence of near-naked bodies (Anonymous 1734: 36−37), and playful frolicking on the beach, where "*at that time all sorts of sprightly Exercises and genteel Diversions go forward [there]; particularly Horse-racing, frequent at the Season,[...]*", and where "*Great Numbers of Coaches and Saddle-Horses are seen scouring over the Sands every Morning.*" (Anonymous 1734: 30−31).

After 1750, the pale bodies of noblemen and wealthy townspeople began to undress in other seaside locations such as Brighton, Margate, Ramsgate, Deal or Blackpool, which soon grew into well-visited resorts. Shortly after, this leisure trend started gaining popularity in other European countries, such as Germany, where the famous seaside resort of Doberan-Heiligendamm began to emerge in 1793, followed by the Norderney Island and its transformation into a sea spa in 1797, or the Travemünde in Lübeck in 1802, where ladies and gentlemen from all over Europe sought an escape from rigid social conventions, prudence,

and the poisonous effects of industry – "*as did the prostitutes from the surrounding area*". (Spode 2016a: 79−80).

Since the second half of the 18th century, patriotism (pre-nationalism) began to grow through the euphoria of wild nature, which freed one from the burden of social status and industrial pollutants. In addition to untouched nature and old mountains, the stone once worked by the ancestors' hands − the ruins of castles, monasteries and fortresses − turned into a privileged destination of patriotic tourism (Verhoeven 2017: 194). The desire for mental and physical liberation and pleasure, which drove increasing numbers of the middle classes from closed towns into the arms of the surrounding countryside, then became tinted with romantic emotion at the beginning of the 19th century. The radicalness of the recuperative loneliness in the country, indifferent to the roughness of urban life, was gradually dulled by the poetics of ruins, nourished since the second half of the 18th century by reading Gothic novels that rippled human imagination and crowned the medieval buildings in the hills with an aura of romantic mystery (Faktorová 2012: 266−267).

In 1815, the Czech patriot Karel Kramerius, the son of a publisher and journalist, and his friend, while wandering through the ruins, "imagined […] scenes from the past – how the brave soldiers marched along these walls, preparing to fight boldly and stubbornly and fend off the enemy from the walls and ramparts. How they attacked, beat and defeated the enemy, and then, crowned with victory, they were greeted with joy by the inhabitants of the castle. There, where we sat and dreamed of a peaceful past, a faithful burgrave might have walked, protecting the possessions, pride and hope of his master, and the gate of his fortress." (Kramerius 2010a: 290−293). The desolate stone dwellings of the long-disappeared nobility were thus transformed into lively venues of ancient events, where the mythical past became "present", authentic and palpable. In the abandoned ruins of the castles, tourists became archaeologists, uncovering the clear foundations of mankind with much sentimentality and nostalgia: "*we, the explorers of ancient times*" (Kramerius 2010b: 493), Kramerius writes in his journal as he searches the mysterious castle ruins in 1818.

Originally a purely patriotic turn, or even escape to the past, changed hand in hand with the gradual nationalization of the society, the medieval ruins and stone monuments commemorating the nation's spectacular past. The admiring tourist gaze, filled with compassion for the buildings resisting the passage of ages and nostalgic affection for the old days, began to nationalize with mourning over the nation's fate. In the castles and their ruins as quasi-sacral "memory spaces", the historical collective

memory of the national communities began to become immortalized. Thus, the landscape − originally only a place of soothing peace and prayer – ideologizes and nationalizes, as "[it] combines time and space, the country and its history, the roots, blood and soil – Blut und Boden." (Vašíček 1997: 18).

Travels to the future: Amsterdam, Paris, London

After 1750, Europe began to change dramatically, which subsequently had a profound impact on the impressions and experiences that travellers brought home from abroad. While Italy, and Rome in particular, as the traditional destination of the Grand Tours, still attracted swarms of tourists from all over Europe, its charm stemmed from bucolic landscape reliefs, ancient monuments and rich art collections. Italy was thus mainly a place to resort to from the "intrusive" civilization and to seek and establish a living bond with the magnificent past. In the second half of the 18th century, however, the commercial and industrial countries and metropolises in north-western Europe became just as – if not more – popular objects of the tourist gaze. Popular tourist spectacles included places of flowering consumerism with an ever-growing range of small consumer goods stores, as well as the hotspots of scientific and technological progress, where the faith invested in the irreversible future promising prosperity and security could be strengthened.

Grasping the world in scientific categories, collecting fossils while strolling along the seashore, or measuring the age of rocks by diligently digging through the sediment strata in the mountainside had brought daring dreams of man's perfect domination of nature. However, the advances in the scientific discovery of natural laws did not lead to immediate appreciation of nature's often "merciless" power. This was also the reason why the Netherlands, described by Adam Smith as a superpower and a country "richer" than England in 1776, was one of the most visited tourist destinations, although it did not possess any particular natural wealth. The great economist's seemingly dubious assertion was, in fact, based on the admiration of the technical ingenuity of the Dutch in taming the unruly nature. The oceans were still regarded as ominous and dangerous places full of mythical monsters, which continually threatened coastal countries with recurrent destructive flooding. The Dutch, however, managed to ward it off perfectly with a sophisticated complex of drainage and navigation canals, dams and floodgates. Rumours of the technological marvels and the sophisticated water management system in

the "land of tulips and windmills" sparked the curiosity of cavalry-men as early as the 17th century. Nonetheless, it was not until the second half of the 18th century, when most people were still afraid and shy of the sinister oceans and seas, that the Netherlands – *"a symbol of what man could accomplish using rational thought and engineering knowhow"* (Zuelow 2016: 36) – started attracting more visitors, who wished to see how the country had skilfully coped with the powerful element (Zuelow 2016: 36).

For many Enlighteners, French in particular, who were looking for better ways of governance and society organization, Holland, as a country "where rationalism, pragmatism, virtue, business and enterprise prevailed" (van Strien-Chardonneau 2017: 150, 156)[3] was also attractive thanks to its republican model of government. Finally, also worth attention were the country's economic expansion as a result of religious tolerance, or the buildings of charitable institutions (hospitals, hospices, orphanages), whose impressive flashy décor sent a clear message: vagrants and beggars are taken care of in our country (van Strien-Chardonneau 2017: 153, 155). Amsterdam was then considered one of the busiest cities in the world, the wealthy headquarters of world trade and high-end goods, which, combined with the carefully constructed public image of a metropolis and the popular nickname the "warehouse of Europe" (or even the universe) placed it among the "must-see" places of Europe (van Strien-Chardonneau 2017: 150, 159 footnote 40). Due to the fluctuation of crowds in the renowned stock exchange building and the constant circulation of ships in the giant, permanently busy port "Amsterdam was considered to be the third European metropolis after London and Paris" (van Strien-Chardonneau 2017: 153−154).

During the 18th century, it was the western metropolises Paris and London that grew into popular tourist destinations, where new opportunities for cultural and leisure activities quickly diversified. Paris had already begun to reshape its urban space at the end of the 17th century, with the intention of surpassing the famous Rome. Dazzling architectural masterpieces such as the Louvre and Versailles, full of artistic treasures, were gradually complemented by the construction of new palaces, churches, triumphal arches, equestrian statues and colleges transforming the architectural relief of the city, soon accentuated by long boulevards, elegant squares and public gardens for recreation and entertainment

---

[3] As were Switzerland, Venice, or America with their republics. (van Strien-Chardonneau 2017: 158 footnote 28).

(Verhoeven 2018: 68).[4] The Observatoire, the Place de la Victoire, the Dôme des Invalides, the Vâl-de-Grace, the Collège des Quatre Nations and other monuments were true architectural gems that visually embodied the obvious fact that Paris was a hub of science, a cradle of welfare and a powerful political player, whose strength had to be taken seriously (Verhoeven 2018: 72).

Paris's northern twin, London, built a similar reputation during the second half of the 18th century. The new tourist trend led tourists, mostly German, to the isles, where the capital passed for the birthplace of technical talent, innovation and the trendsetter in horticulture. In London, the power of Progress was felt everywhere; tourists were impressed by the stunning expanse of the metropolis, its numerous factory plants, mining areas, the ubiquitous use of steam power, advanced farming methods, cultivated landscapes of parks and gardens, and other previously unseen fruits of the Enlightenment spirit that could inspire economic, political and social change back at home. (Verhoeven 2018: 68, 73). Many of them even arrived in Britain as so-called "industrial spies" (Palmer, Neaverson 2002: 184) with the clear intention of revealing the secrets of early British industrialization. In London and other British cities, impressive encounters with the achievements of the Industrial Revolution accomplished by advanced Enlightenment science represented an unforgettable experience. And, as we will see in the last chapter, even the clashes with the dark side of industrialization − from today's ecological point of view – could be truly mesmerizing.

The spellbinding architecture and ground-breaking technological inventions were the brighter side of the trips to the future. These utopian escapes into an environment where everyone could see the products of the rational mind promising a better and more comfortable life went hand in hand with the grave consequences of profound changes in consumer behaviour. North-western capitals set new trends in social entertainment, gastronomy and fashion. In addition to the classic tourist highlights and renowned museums, foreign visitors began to attend new concert halls, pleasure gardens, billiard rooms and boxing matches. But besides shopping for art and spectator experiences, their journeys were accompanied by furious quests for new clothes, accessories and small furniture. As a result, mainly Paris, thanks to the "well-appointed shops in the Rue Saint-Honoré, the deluxe stalls at the Foire Saint-Germain and

---

[4] The same trends were followed by Central European cities such as Berlin or Dresden, whose tourist renown slowly began to rise. (Verhoeven 2018: 68−69; Verhoeven 2013: 275−276).

the elegant mall at the Palais Royal" (Verhoeven 2018: 76), soon gained an unwavering status of the commercial epicentre of upmarket fashion (Verhoeven 2018: 76−78). The 40,000 affluent tourists strolling down the streets of Paris every year were not only looking for new fashionable designs, fabrics or souvenirs such as smoking accessories, decorated daggers, gilded walking sticks and so on, but also for the results of culinary experiments with exotic ingredients. These were guaranteed by the fancy restaurants exuding irresistible new smells, and new cafés promising a refreshing cup (Verhoeven 2018: 76−77). Furthermore, thanks to the famous services of its numerous prostitutes, Paris also became one of the centres of sexual promiscuity, which was also "well known as one of the leading producers of condoms, dildos and pornography." (Zuelow 2016: 25).

Similarly, London had grown into a hub for eternal pleasure and frisky lifestyle; 18th-century England was not yet bound by Victorian prudery and the demands of strict respectability. Metropolitan prostitution flourished, and the number of street walkers in London alone reached 30,000 at one point. The level of public sexual expression was far from mild eroticism and was comparable to the relaxed atmosphere of the second half of the 20th century. Sexual gratification was considered to be "pleasure in its own right, a civilising force and a legitimate fountain of enjoyment." (Porter 1996: 34−35). In addition, cafés and chocolateries were mushrooming, and luxury boutiques offered, besides traditional body decorations like brooches, fans, rings and earrings, also all kinds of technical gadgets such as engraved pocket watches, binoculars, clasp knives, barometers or miniaturised cutlery (Verhoeven 2018: 77). Such "toys", which combined masculinity, practicality, technical sophistication and coquetry, then, like the new travel behaviour itself, symbolized prosperity and progressiveness (Wendorff 1980: 269). Thus, shopping and casual sex on the go were seamlessly integrated into the enlightened image of self-improvement – whoever wanted to keep up with the times travelled northwest, shopped frantically, and satisfied all his bodily needs without restraint.

Amsterdam, Paris and London thus became laboratories for testing new patterns of consumer behaviour and leisure forms such as pleasure trips and summer trips, which were less financially, physically and temporally (two, or three months at most) demanding than the traditional spectacular Grand Tours, which in its former rigid form began to disappear from the European map (Verhoeven 2013: 269, 278−279; Verhoeven 2018: 68, 74, 79). Northwest capitals deposed Rome with its

fading lustre from the throne of the epicentre of European culture and became new tourist hubs that attracted travellers with their cosmopolitanism, lively social life, technological innovations, as well as the results of human creativity and fashion industry. In addition, they appealed to all tourists' senses with their newly opened gastronomic establishments serving fine delicacies; the sensual atmosphere promising new sexual experiences was equally tempting. Travels to the north-western capitals, excessive purchases of small souvenirs, frivolous pleasures, and the utopian belief in scientific and technological Progress, offering the vision of a happy future, began to coalesce into a utopian paradise.

Conclusion: The retrotopian sediment of modernity

The strong ideological views and attitudes of progressive optimists and pessimists, reflected in those "*Zeitreisen*" (Prein 2005: 153) to the future and the past, as well as the different characters of Voltaire and Rousseau, who hated each other to death, existed only in the works of the most orthodox individuals. In fact, opposition often mixed with fascination; those boasting about the achievements of Progress were at the same time outraged by its power to replace the original human nature. Both attitudes – Enlightenment as well as Romanticism – built on a new time regime, and both wanted to break up the old feudal order of absolutism by absorbing the ideas of both American and French revolutionaries. "Freedom" and "happiness" were elevated to human rights, "sometimes with reference to human nature, sometimes to Progress." (Spode 2016b: 55; Spode 2017: 143−144; Spode 2004: 116).

This bittersweetness of modernity, tasted also by tourists, resulted from the mutual influence of the cool Enlightenment rationality and the rampant sentimentalism of emerging Romanticism. Thus, in 1785, while traveling in southern Europe, the free-spirited Prussian official and writer Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz appreciated the "landscape around Naples; a piece of land so relaxing that it [had] eased Hannibal's ambition and weakened the strength of his troops, and made Vergilius abandon the search for a better place for his Elysium" (von Archenholz 1785: 336), while two years later he was astonished by the growth of British cities and the power of industrial progress in London. He commented passionately on the development of local factories, the vigorous fluctuation of ships on the Thames, seeing it as a very "pleasant theatre" (von Archenholz 1787: 118, 120−122, 126−129), or even the longevity of Londoners, which he perceived as "evidence of the negligible impact of

climate and coalmining on people's health", including "the smoke that doesn't harm them." (von Archenholz 1787: 115). The Janus-faced character of modernity had been part of tourism since the very beginning; "although tourists criticized and even opposed the civilization process, they never rejected industrialization as a whole. [They] remained almost entirely faithful to the idea of progress," (Pelc 2009: 153) as aptly pointed out by Martin Pelc (Pelc 2009: 142−154). Enthusiasm for the wonders of nature, sensitivity towards landscape reliefs, or admiration for the desolate stone remains of the past were benefits brought about by the social luxury one can only enjoy after experiencing life in the conditions of increasing technological comfort, prosperity, and security of livelihood – things that Rousseau's followers never wanted to be deprived of again.

Hasso Spode sees the tourist gaze as nostalgic. However, it is nostalgic as well as utopian, since it subsumes also the human inclination towards hedonism, comfort and ungodly consumerism. The tourist, then, embodies a human vision that Zygmunt Bauman would call "retrotopia", that is, a nostalgic vision of the future based on the buried and almost forgotten yet still present ideas of the past (Bauman 2017: 5). Over the course of three hundred years, tourism had become an amalgam of nostalgia and utopia – the perfect product of the modern human mind with its retrotopian nature. Tourist sites were and still are playgrounds where human nostalgic visions of the future materialize, and everyone can choose whether to spend their time searching for authenticity, originality and freedom in the metropolis, or closer to nature. In both cases, they will fly or at least use a car, they will probably pay for their accommodation and catering online, and they will get travel insurance – just in case.

The evolutionary changes that tourism has undergone in the last two decades, reaching its "post-tourist" stage, have made its retrotopian character perhaps even more conspicuous than ever. There are growing numbers of a new type of tourists − "post-tourists" that is, those who opt for unconventional means of accommodation, stays not limited to a few days' holiday or a weekend break, and who frequently combine leisure with studies or casual jobs, often working online in the comfort of their temporary apartments or over a cup at nearby cafés with Wi-Fi access. They exchange strict schedules and relaxation in well-established and well-tried places or visiting busy tourist sites for the spontaneous search for unconventional, undiscovered or "strange" places connected with art, bohemianism and sub- or even counter-cultural atmosphere. Post-tourists hunger for new levels of authenticity in places not yet colonized by swarms of traditional tourists, whose uniform tastes they frown upon,

and crave for destinations unstained by the "shiny" marketing of traditional mass tourism they despise. Ironically, the post-touristic exploration of such unique sites turns them again into mainstream, which post-tourists are so anxious about. First visitors are soon followed by increasing numbers of other post-tourists, who promote the newly discovered glamour of those places on social media and impregnate them with retro-hipster aesthetics, which ultimately makes them nothing but ordinary. Post-tourists prefer spontaneity; not only do they want to *experience* unpredictable and unplanned travel adventures, they also intend to *share* their amazing experiences online with "friends", who can immediately *watch*, *rate* and *comment* on them. This post-tourist microcosm, united by the English language, as an emerging model of liberating lifestyle would obviously not be possible without the all-pervasive Internet, which has made the laptop and smartphone used to share photos, navigate, make appointments, find jobs and pay for tickets, accommodation or Uber, the only necessities of one's carry-on (Jansson 2018: 101−105).[5] The human eagerness for "authentic", "original" and "spotless" places in a seamless connection with the achievements of scientific and technological Progress has thus reached its so far most glaring form among post-tourists.

Nonetheless, we continue to undertake nostalgic expeditions in the search for "authenticity" while maintaining all the comforts of life in prosperity, security and safety, even when we are not traveling: when we use our credit cards to pay for "nature-scented" products in farmer's shops (we are obsessed with labels such as "traditional" or "grandma's"); when we turn away from Western medicine and put our hopes in alternative therapies and natural healing procedures; when we opt for workout playgrounds in city parks over the machines in fitness centres; or even when planting flowers on the balconies of our apartments filled with state-of-the-art technology. Through our retrotopian behaviour, we become everyday tourists; modern people trapped between the infinite desire for the "authentic", "natural" and "free", and the tendency to preserve all of the present-day comfort, stability and well-being.

Finally, as far as politics is concerned, the current "back to the future" appeals really are not a brand new social trend "inside the emergent

---

[5] Compare also *Help! The post-tourism tourists are here...* (Interview with the urbanist Johannes Novy from 1 July 2010). https://www.exberliner.com/features/zeitgeist/help-the-post-tourism-tourists-are-here/. (access 22. 10. 2019). *Post-Tourismus. „Die Besucher verändern die Stadt"* (Interview with the urbanist Johannes Novy from 11 July 2015). https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/post-tourismus-die-besucher-veraendern-die-stadt.1008.de.html?dram:article_id=325144 (access 22.10.2019).

'retrotopian' phase in utopia's history",[6] as proposed by Bauman. Tourism with its retrotopian morphology is a tangible proof that such calls are more of a political abuse of the already dated visions growing out of the more than two hundred years old split of the once boundless present into the past and an (un)clear future.

Literature

Primary sources (Travelogues, Travel Journals, Guide Books)

Anonymous, 1734, *A Journey from London to Scarborough, in Several Letters from a Gentleman There, to his Friend in London*, London.

Hoser J.C.E., 1804, *Das Riesengebirge in einer statistisch-topographischen und pittoresken Uebersicht mit erläuternden Anmerkungen und einer Anleitung dieses Gebirge auf die zweckmässigste Art zu bereisen. Erster Band*, Wien–Baden–Triest.

Hoser J.C.E., 1805, *Anleitung, das Riesengebirge auf die zweckmäßigste Art zu bereisen*, Wien.

Kramerius K., 2010a, *Deník. Obsahuje cestu do kraje Boleslavského, Litoměřického a Bydžovského, podniknutou v roce 1815 od 8. do 22. září Karlem Michlem a Karlem Liboslavem Krameriem v. r., absolventy poetiky na Starém Městě* [in:] K. Kramerius, *Putování po českých hradech (1814−1818)*, ed. M. Kalašová, Praha.

Kramerius K., 2010b, *Deník našich příhod na cestě krajem Berounským, Plzeňským, Klatovským a Prácheňským Roku 1818 Kramerius Abolvent fyziky Od 14. září až do 27. září 1818* [in:] K. Kramerius, *Putování po českých hradech (1814−1818)*, ed. M. Kalašová, Praha.

von Archenholz W.J., 1785, *England und Italien. Zweiter* Band, Leipzig.

von Archenholz W.J., 1787, *England und Italien. Erster Theil*, Carlsruhe.

Secondary Sources (Books and Articles)

Bauman Z., 2017, *Retrotopia*, Cambridge.

Brodie A., 2012, *Scarborough in the 1730s – spa, sea and sex* „Journal of Tourism History", no 2(4).

Faktorová V., 2012, *Mezi poznáním a imaginací. Podoby obrozenského cestopisu*, Praha.

Jansson A., 2018, *Rethinking post-tourism in the age of social media* „Annals of Tourism Research", 69.

Maur E., 2006, *Paměť hor. Šumava, Říp, Blaník, Hostýn, Radhošť*, Praha.

Palmer M., Neaverson P., 2002, *London and Industry in the Landscape, 1700−1900,* London − New York.

Pelc M., 2009, *Umění putovat. Dějiny německých turistických spolků v českých zemích*, Brno.

---

[6] This seemingly new phase was supposed to be triggered by the privatization or individualization of the "Progress" idea, sold to the electorate by those in power as liberation, as a break from the shackles of subordination and discipline – but at the expense of the loss of welfare or benefits and protection by the state. However, the unpleasant state constraints were quickly replaced by the no less daunting risks to which people were exposed by adopting self-sufficiency, triggering, in particular, the current calls for the return of tribal community models. (Bauman 2017: 5−6, 9).

Porter R., 1996, *Material Pleasures In the Consumer Society* [in:] *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. R. Porter, M. Mulvey-Roberts, Basingstoke–London.

Prein P., 2005, *Bürgerliches Reisen im 19. Jahrhundert. Freizeit, Kommunikation und soziale Grenzen*, Münster.

Spode H., 2004, *Der Tourist* [in:] *Der Mensch des 20. Jahrhunderts*, eds. U. Frevert, G. Haupt, Essen.

Spode H., 2008, *O původu turismu. Příspěvek k historické antropologii* [in:] *Historie a cestovní ruch. Perspektivní a podnětné spojení. Pocta profesoru Vratislavu Čapkovi k 85. narozeninám*, eds. J. Štemberk, M. Manová a kolektiv, Praha.

Spode H., 2010, *Time, space, and tourism. Tourist consumption in the long 19th century between localisation, nationalisation and Europeanisation* [in:] *The Plurality of Europe. Identities and Spaces*, eds. E. Winfried, L. Christian, Leipzig.

Spode H., 2013, *Homogenisierung und Differenzierung. Zur Ambivalenz touristischer Chronotopie-Konstruktion* [in:] *Kultur all inclusive: Identität, Tradition und Kulturerbe im Zeitalter des Massentourismus*, eds. B. Schnepel, F. Girke, E.-M. Knoll, Bielefeld.

Spode H., 2016a, *Geschichte des Badeurlaubs. Vom Kurprinzip zum Lustprinzip* [in:] *Reif für die Insel. Tourismus auf Sylt, Hiddensee und Mallorca*, eds. A. Siebeneicker, M. Wagener, Essen.

Spode H., 2016b, *Reisefieber. Abriss der Entwicklung des Tourismus in Deutschland* [in:] *Reif für die Insel. Tourismus auf Sylt, Hiddensee und Mallorca*, eds. A. Siebeneicker, M. Wagener, Essen.

Spode H., 2017, *Der touristische Blick. Genese und Struktur der modernen Reiselust* [in:] *Öffnen, Bewahren, Präsentieren. Durch Zeit und Raum: Mit unseren Monumenten*, eds. C. Mueller, Mainz.

Stibral K., 2005, *Proč je příroda krásná? Estetické vnímání přírody v novověku*, Praha.

Stibral K., 2011, *O malebnu. Estetika přírody mezi zahradou a divočinou*, Praha.

van Strien-Chardonneau M., 2017, *Amsterdam as global market and meeting place of nations perspectives of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French travellers in Holland* [in:] *Beyond the Grand Tour. Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour*, eds. R. Sweet, G. Verhoeven, S. Goldsmith, New York.

Vašíček Z., 1997, *Osud krajiny, krajina osudu* [in:] *Proměny krajiny v českém malířství 20. století*, eds. J. Anděl, Praha.

Verhoeven G., 2013, *Foreshadowing Tourism. Looking for modern and obsolete features – or some missing link – in early modern travel behavior (1675–1750)* „Annals of Tourism Research", 42.

Verhoeven G., 2017, *Young cosmopolitans. Flemish and Dutch youths and their travel behaviour (from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth century)* [in:] *Beyond the Grand Tour. Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour*, eds. R. Sweet, G. Verhoeven, S. Goldsmith, New York.

Verhoeven G., 2018, *In Search of the New Rome? Creative Cities and Early Modern Travel Behaviour* [in:] *Cities and Creativity from the Renaissance to the Present,* eds. I. Van Damme, B. De Munck, A. Miles, New York.

Wendorff R., 1980, *Zeit und Kultur. Geschichte des Zeitbewußtseins in Europa*, Opladen.

Zuelow G.E.E., 2016, *A History of Modern Tourism*, London.

Websites

Help! The post-tourism tourists are here... (Interview with the urbanist Johannes Novy from 1 July 2010). https://www.exberliner.com/features/zeitgeist/help-the-post-tourism-tourists-are-here/ (access 22.10.2019).

Post-Tourismus. „Die Besucher verändern die Stadt" (Interview with the urbanist Jo-
    hannes Novy from z 11 July 2015). https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/post-
    tourismus-die-besucher-veraendern-die-stadt.1008.de.html?dram:article_id=325144
    (access 22.10.2019).

Turystyka. Retropijna podróż w czasie (część druga)

Abstrakt

Artykuł ujmuje zjawisko turystyki jako nowoczesnej odmiany mobilności, której we-
wnętrzna struktura zaczęła przybierać formę na przełomie XIX i XX w. Zaprezentowane
w opracowaniu badanie opiera się na innowacyjnym podejściu Hasso Spodego, historyka
mentalności. Jego koncepcja wywarła wpływ na współczesne badania nad historią tury-
styki 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 krystalizować w psychomentalnej fundacji: spojrzenie
turystyczne. Następnie badanie interpretuje turystykę jako produkt przestrzenności czasu
i czasochłowania przestrzeni. Wreszcie, wykorzystując teoretyczną koncepcję „retroto-
pii" Zygmunta Baumana, afirmuje dzisiejszą formę turystyki wraz z jej pierwotną formą
i prowadzi do wniosku, że turystyka jako kontrowersyjne zjawisko współczesnych cza-
sów jest obdarzona ludzką nostalgią, romansem, niekończącym się pragnieniem auten-
tyczności, a także wieczną obsesją idei „postępu", obejmującej również pojęcia utopijne.

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