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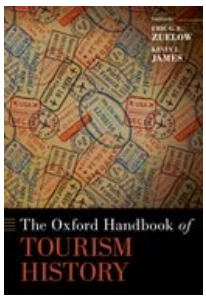
DOI
10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190889555.013.7

Publication date
2025

Document Version
Final published version

Published in
The Oxford handbook of tourism history



The Oxford Handbook of Tourism History

Eric G. E. Zuelow (ed.), Kevin J. James (ed.)

https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190889555.001.0001

Published online: 21 June 2022 **Published in print:** 07 April 2025 **Online ISBN:** 9780190889586

Print ISBN: 9780190889555

CHAPTER

19 Tourism and Landscape

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https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190889555.013.7 Pages 365–388

Published: 18 August 2022

Abstract

"Embodied" tourist practices, that is, the active movement of walkers, hikers, and mountaineers through space, created a new sensitivity for nature and landscape when spreading in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, during the period of European romanticism. As the examples of the Rhine Valley and Switzerland illustrate, the practice of pedestrian exploration of marginal spaces created particularly powerful imageries of landscapes, inviting individuals to either reenact similar experiences in the same environment or to engage with it during their own explorations elsewhere. The spread of tourism in the northern hemisphere, the practice of both individual and collective hiking and the imaginary of landscapes they produced were instrumental in projecting a nation onto the natural environment and in carving out national territories and identities throughout the course of the nineteenth century.

Keywords: walking, hiking, mountaineering, tourism, landscape, poetry, travelogues, painting, protectionism, nationalism

Subject: World History, History

Series: Oxford Handbooks

Collection: Oxford Handbooks Online

Exploring Space

Tourism was instrumental in framing "national" landscape in nineteenth-century Europe and beyond. Obviously, particular landscapes attracted travelers before that time, and writers and artists indulged in painting and describing them much earlier. Nevertheless, the specific conjuncture of political, social, and economic changes between 1750 and 1830 influenced both the aesthetic perception of nature and the habits of travelers, to the effect that traveling, hiking, and conveying one's experiences in writing or painting became almost indistinguishable features of the newly emerging phenomenon of tourism.

Since its inception in the late eighteenth century, modern tourism opened thus far untraveled spaces and, through visual or textual representation, turned them into landscapes and sights. The continuous drive for the discovery or rediscovery of these places inspired generations of tourists to hike beyond "beaten tracks" and accounts for the ongoing dynamic of tourism as one of the most important social activities in contemporary societies. Until very recently, the relationship between tourist and landscape was theorized primarily as visual attraction—that is, the creation of place representation by tourists—that invested locations with meaning and attracted other travelers. The emerging canon of sights and destinations was then multiplied and disseminated by a growing tourist industry. Landscapes emerge as social constructions, exposed to more or less fleeting and momentary glimpses by passing tourists.[1]

Remarkably, both the concepts of "landscape as social construction" and that of the tourists being more or less passive "consumers" of sights and destinations have been profoundly questioned since. Cultural geographers grew increasingly uneasy with the constructivist perspectives on landscape and their reading as texts because this meant that landscapes as cultural symbolizations could not exist outside the spectators' minds.[2] "Stripped of them [people's memories], landscapes are mere physical phenomena without meaning and thus cease to be
p. 366 landscapes."[3] Instead, scholars suggested ↳ "nonrepresentational" approaches to focus on the performative dimensions of the landscape and its impact on the human body, calling for a "fusion between text, context and embodied practice."[4] In this understanding the practice of people, dwelling in, working on, or perhaps traveling a stretch of land appear as the main "engines" creating landscapes: "Everyday agents calling the landscape into being as they make it relevant for their own lives, strategies and projects."[5] In a similar vein, the concept of "embodiment" informed a "performative turn" in tourism studies, which, together with the "new mobilities paradigm," contributed to the "disruption of the occularcentric and static nature of [John] Urry's original thesis on place consumption."[6]

Eschewing a strict dichotomy between the social construction of place and the corporal experience of landscape, I suggest that the materiality of the landscape, its performative dimension in the sense of how it is experienced by individual and collective bodies, and its representations—the social and cultural construction of landscape—mutually reinforce each other.

It is difficult to ignore that both dimensions are inherent in the etymological development of the very term "landscape." In English language literature, the word is usually linked with the old English term "landscipe" or the Dutch "landschap," both connoting a "literally land-shape of shaped land." Elizabeth K. Helsinger suggested that in its English forms and uses, landscape designates a relatively local extent of land that has been shaped and designed for someone positioned facing it."[7] Kenneth Olwig moreover pointed to the connotations of "Landschaft" or "landskab" with regional political bodies in German and Scandinavian languages, and to the tradition of Northern European landscape painting, "making its subject Landschaft in the full sense of the word." Landscape, Olwig argues, "was more than "beautiful natural scenery." It was imbued with meanings, etched by the custom of the land, that were at the heart of the major political and cultural issues of the time."[8] Olwig goes on to discuss how landscape painting in eighteenth-century England and nineteenth-century Germany continued to synthesize "older cultural and territorial ideas of landscape with newer scenic concepts of land and landscape."[9]

The practice of pedestrian exploration of marginal spaces created a particularly powerful imagery of landscapes, inviting individuals to either reenact similar experiences in the same environment or to engage with it during their own explorations elsewhere. Moreover, the essay suggests that in the context of nineteenth-century European nationalism, the practice of hiking and the imaginary of landscapes it produced were instrumental in projecting a nation onto the natural environment and in carving out national territories and identities.

The changes in travel habits and travel experiences between the Grand Tour and early British tourism are addressed first. The following section focuses on the new perception of landscapes this entailed. The third part

discusses the synthesis of new sensitivities and new travel habits with the urge of communicating the individual experience to an ever-growing middle-class public, which Orvar Löfgren aptly termed the "microphysics of tourism."[10] Technological progress, social change, and the intrinsic urge to open up new
p. 367 destinations resulted in a quick spread of the new practice of tourism across the ↳ northern hemisphere. With the help of selected examples, the essay outlines how this assisted the emergence of a touristic canon and of a variety of landscape representations. Although much of this spread of tourism was spearheaded by travelers from the British Isles and was cosmopolitan in nature, the rise of nationalism after the Napoleonic Wars facilitated nationalist appropriations of recognizable natural sights and landscapes. The final section of the essay explores the dissemination and inculcation of such national appropriations of landscape during the late nineteenth century.

From Grand Tour to Tourism

The importance of traveling as a didactic device and educational *rite de passage* in the upbringing of young European noblemen (rarely noblewomen) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is thoroughly researched by historians of the European Grand Tour (see Verhoeven, this volume).[11] The Tour followed a variable itinerary that comprised destinations such as courts, cities, and (ancient) monuments, allowing the travelers to build up a network of peers, to perfect their foreign language skills, and to expose themselves to what was understood to be the roots of Western civilization. Habitually, the Tour included an extensive exploration of French and, above all, Italian places, with their rich heritage dating back to classical antiquity or the Renaissance period, culminating in a visit to Rome or Naples. Detailed travel manuals and instructors (tutors) exhorted the travelers to learn foreign languages, to converse with distinguished men, and to acquaint themselves with classical texts relating to one place or another, buttressing "class and gender prerogatives."[12] Yet, as Judith Adler observed, "any sightseeing which takes place remains at the service of textual authority."[13] Forming an aesthetic *bon goût* became an equally important aspect of the tour, requiring authoritative judgments on the aesthetic merits of architecture or works of art encountered en route, and their interpretation along the classical ideals of harmony and proportion.[14] After returning to their home countries, the learned travelers would demonstrate their erudition with the help of material souvenirs such as paintings, antique coins, and pieces of marble. Through ideas and tastes this refinement could be demonstrated or reproduced at home. The spread of Palladian villa architecture during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is just one example of this.

With the rise of academies and scientific societies during the Enlightenment, the collection of "new" information through "eye-witnesses" and scholarly communication about it, often in amateurish forms, became an increasingly important aspect of elite travel.[15] New aesthetic ideals and identity politics emerged, culminating in European romantic nationalism. Although there is much debate about when this paradigmatic change started, and how drawn out this process was, there is little doubt that both aesthetic sensitivities and travel habits changed significantly between 1750 and 1830. Even if recent scholarship attempts to antedate the emergence of this new sensitivity for nature and landscape, literary and artistic evidence is most striking for
p. 368 the last third of the ↳ eighteenth century, precisely the time when the harbingers of the industrial revolution eroded the social foundations of the Grand Tour.

The discursive rise of the concept of the "sublime" was an important marker of these changes. Philosophers and travelers from the British Isles used it throughout the eighteenth century, often relating to the mixed feelings they experienced on the Grand Tour when crossing the Alps. The term "sublime" came to convey an impression of fear, somehow relieved by the "greatness, uncommonness and beauty," often arising from impressive vistas encountered en route.[16] In 1756, Edmund Burke published perhaps the most influential treatment of the concept in his essay *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. Burke juxtaposed the concepts of "beauty" and the "sublime," treating them as mutually exclusive.

Although the beautiful was attractive and aesthetically pleasing, the sublime evoked fear and confusion. The dichotomy was somewhat mitigated by the fact that human subjects were capable of realizing that the negative feelings evoked by the sublime emerged on subjective grounds, and this realization allowed the subject to experience senses of horror and pleasure simultaneously.

With Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Naturphilosophie*, the relationship between self and nature acquired new meanings. Rousseau suggested that humans would discover an inner human nature through encounters with the materially and aesthetically simple external nature. Nature turned both into an object and a medium of philosophical insight. Rousseau's bestselling novel *Julie, or the new Heloise* (first published in 1761) significantly contributed to the spread of such ideas. Set in the Lac Leman area of his native Western Switzerland, the novel blended love story, moral tract, and travel book to spread a new sensitivity for nature.[17] Effectively devaluing the aesthetic canons of classicism, emerging romanticism claimed that the encounter with nature had to be individual, subjective, and emotional.

Against this backdrop, traveling was no longer exclusively perceived as an opportunity for gathering and ordering knowledge of the world, as connoted by the German term *Erfahrung*, but rather as an adventure of the self, in German *Erlebnis.*[18] In the same vein, encounters with wild and untamed nature promised more intense emotional experiences. By the early 1800s, remote and craggy mountain areas, isolated rocks, steep waterfalls, torrential rivers, and other natural oddities supplanted the pastoral landscapes of Southern Europe as the aesthetic ideal, and Burke's ideas of the beautiful and the sublime provided a language, both useful and highly evocative, to describe the encounter.[19]

Literature and arts reflected these new sensitivities. In the course of the eighteenth century, natural sceneries, object of landscape painting since the sixteenth century, increasingly supplanted historical monuments as objects of aesthetic admiration and visual stimulation for the traveler. In this process, constructed "natural" landscapes, such as parks and "English gardens" surrounding country houses in eighteenth century England, constituted an important intermediary step. Replacing the formal French gardens of the seventeenth century, such parks deprived the onlooker of a central perspective from which the whole gardens could be appreciated.
p. 369 The artificial naturalness of ↳ the parks, with preference for asymmetry and curves, the crooked layout of pathways and terraces guided visitors instead to the most scenic views, unexpectedly opening up the vista on artificial "natural wonders," such as waterfalls, grottos, or imported alien trees.[20] Moreover, with the help of invisible ditches known as "ha-has," the perception of borders between the parks and surrounding nature were blurred as well, suggesting a seamless embedding of the parks in the wider landscape.[21]

Ian Ousby meticulously documents how in the second half of the eighteenth century visiting English country houses and parks became an established and much cheaper alternative to the Grand Tour for the British gentry and the emerging "intellectual classes," while also attracting foreign travelers as well.[22] This had at least three important implications. First, it established a "landscape of property"[23] in the shape of stately homes and gardens as parts of a shared "English" heritage. The aesthetic references for the creation of the parks and gardens could still follow classical ideals of beauty, for example Italian landscapes. A good example of this is the Powerscourt House and Gardens near Dublin, in which terraced gardens open a view to a Vesuvius proxy, the barren head of the "Sugarloaf" in the Wicklow mountains.[24] Second, the embedding of artificial parks in their natural surroundings inescapably led to a reappreciation of domestic landscapes and monuments.[25] Medieval ruins, above all those of the large gothic abbeys dissolved and destroyed in the sixteenth century, supplanted the recreation of pseudo antique temples and ruins.

Third, and perhaps even more important, this type of constructed landscape suggested exploration on foot.[26] Yet if walking was required within a landscaped park, the outer boundaries of which were conspicuously blurred, why should walking then be confined to the territory of the parks? Ultimately, because the "unaltered landscape was available to virtually everyone," Rebecca Solnit notes, "more and more middle-class people could travel to enjoy it as the roads became safer and smoother and transportation cheaper."[27]

The Microphysics of Tourism

Had the practice of hiking not spread quickly among a growing body of affluent urbanites and intellectuals willing to explore the natural environments and cultured landscapes first in England and then elsewhere in the course of the nineteenth century, romantic aesthetics or sensibilities might have remained a mere chapter in intellectual, literary, or art history textbooks. The quest for subjective, authentic, and emotional experiences led an increasing number of travelers from "a rentier class whose wealth was no longer locked up in land"[28] to look for new destinations beyond the enclosed parks and estates of England. Already the 1770s and 1780s saw more serious exploration of landscapes that had been rushed through as a mere approach to the destinations of the Grand Tour beforehand, that is, the Swiss Alps and the Rhine Valley. The French Revolution and the following
p. 370 wars temporarily arrested these developments. Therefore ↳ tourists turned to domestic destinations such as the Lake and Peak Districts, the Welsh and Scottish Highlands, and other remoter parts of the British countryside, abiding as they did by the new cultural pattern that amalgamated spatial explorations with literary and artistic production. "The need to communicate the experience of a personal and unique confrontation with the landscape, in words or watercolours, creates a comparative framework," Löfgren observes. "Their aspirations to describe, represent, evaluate, and compare also produce an urge to communicate.... Early tourism thus is very much about establishing norms and genres of representations" (see Mathieu, this volume; and Moranda, this volume).[29]

In a series of influential travel accounts on "picturesque tours" across England, Scotland, and Wales published between 1776 and 1798, Reverend William Gilpin encouraged tourists to seek "amusement through the art found in nature." Tourists armed themselves with notebooks, watercolor sets, maps, and pocket editions of the emerging tourist guidebooks (see Butler, this volume; Schaff, this volume; and Young, this volume).[30] In the wake of Gilpin's call, British tourists flocked to the lakes and peaks in the North of England and the rugged highlands of its Celtic fringe in Wales and Scotland. In so doing, they descended from stage coaches and horseback to embark on pedestrian journeys, which inevitably altered the prevailing perspectives of both land and people. The focus on untamed nature and its pedestrian exploration triggered important consequences in the perception of landscape. Tourists "made" the landscape. Their slow movement, "a bodily experience of space while exploring landscape and society" became an end in itself, serving "as a means of collecting sensual experience and intuition."[31] Hence it was the individual's encounter with the beauties and sublimities of those landscapes that were primarily celebrated and valued for their spiritual significance. Conveyed to a stay-at-home audience, the experience of sightseeing "became simultaneously a more effusive passionate activity and a more private one."[32]

Possibly the best known example of the creation of a "literary landscape" is England's Lake District. Visited and described multiple times by travelers, including Gilpin, before 1800, the popularization of this area is intimately associated with the life and work of William Wordsworth (1770–1850). His poetry and, more important, his 1810 *Guide to the Lakes*, lured ever-growing numbers of tourists. His permanent settlement in the area from 1799 and his extremely subjective style of relating to environment soon turned Wordsworth himself and other "lake poets" into a tourist attraction "in a region that otherwise lacked celebrities."[33]

As much as early tourists "made" landscapes, narrativization and visualization spread their fame. The lure of the "wild" Scottish Highlands, emptied of most of its inhabitants during the "Clearances," was enhanced by Walter Scott's romanticization of the area in his historic novels. Travelers elsewhere occasionally regretted a lack of literary or artistic imagination. John Hildesheim, for example, traveling the American West in the 1860s, complained that "the country is very beautiful, but it lacks the allure of old traditions. Not that you would not find ruins of old Spanish monasteries or churches, but you do not hear about Sir Toggenburg [the hero of a Schiller ballad] ... no Lorely, no Hatto of the Mouse Tower [a sight on the Rhine near Bingen linked to another
p. 371 legend], no ↳ Rübezahl or Barbarossa."[34] The process of romanticizing the wild and exotic American landscapes by that time had long begun, though, for example by James Fennimore Cooper in his

"Leatherstocking Tales," published between 1823 and 1827, and in a similar vein by John Richardson for Canada between 1828 and 1840.[35]

Modern tourism thus developed as a performative *and* a communicative art. Visiting local mountains, waterfalls, and lakes was affordable,[36] but demanded physical ability. Distances of up to 100 miles per week were covered by early English tourists, not on the emerging turnpike roads but in the rugged landscapes of the Lake District or the Scottish Highlands. The German Johann Gottfried Seume claimed to have walked between 70 and 80 kilometers per day on his forced marches through Italy in 1801.[37] In that sense, the tourist body directly engaged with physical surroundings, producing a much more dynamic interaction between the traveler and the environment, which had to be "conquered" at the expense of exhaustion, pain, and risk: "The world 'out there' surrounds the individual, it cannot just be seen, but also touched and smelt with all the senses working together."[38]

This had important consequences. Descriptions of tourist experiences made "deliberate use of emphatic and emotional rhetoric."[39] As Ian Ousby summarized, the cult of the sublime involved

> a stock, highly stylised vocabulary to their description. Smooth fells and high moorlands are "barren," "gloomy," and "desolate"; crags and valleys are "wild," "chaotic," "confused" and "primeval." Adjectives like "hideous" survive but are supplemented and largely replaced by ones which shift the emphasis more decisively from the ugliness of the object described to the fear inspired in the spectator: "frightful," "dreadful," "awful."[40]

Obviously, the pathos involved made this type of literature prone to wear out and quickly resulted in numerous parodies. Nonetheless, it remained clearly discernible in much later hiking reports.[41]

Visual representations of tourism thrived as well. Exploring the wild and the untamed, artists attempted to recreate tourists' subjective impressions. Caspar David Friedrich's "Wanderer above a Sea of Fog" (1818) is probably the best known example, combining subjectivity with the *Entgrenzung* of the "summit view" and its wide, synoptic prospect views. Contemplating a magnificent, although not fully discernible landscape, the body of the hiker turns his back on the viewer. One must decide "whether the prospect facing the young man is exhilarating, or terrifying, or both."[42]

The tourist conquest of distances clearly influenced the landscape painters' perception of space. In paintings by John Constable or J. M. W. Turner, for example, humans, except for a tourist-cum-painter admiring the scene, receded from the center stage and became decorative elements lost in vast empty spaces. Those who inhabited the landscapes were reduced to vignettes, and even the different types of peasants, who had been indispensable to the pastoral images painted during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, receded to the
p. 372 margins. *Paysage* and, particularly evident in Turner's ↳ paintings, skies with often dramatic clouds, dominated. Old cottages, ruins or perhaps a tombstone created an air of nostalgia and illustrated the insignificant and transience of human life confronted with the eternal forces of nature.[43]

By 1800, the "microphysics of travelling and sightseeing, learning to enjoy a sight, setting body and mind in motion, producing vacation memories"[44] had firmly been established in England. The new habit of tourism combined active movement, usually on foot, the framing of new, or revisiting of established sights, and the creation of written or visual representations to be carried home and presented to kin or peers. In so doing, early tourism established new canons about where to go and what to see, and generated norms and genres of representation, in the form of travel accounts, sketchbooks, or paintings, and later guidebooks, maps, and postcards.

Both as a performative and as a communicative practice, the tourists' quests for the authentic experience of the sublime and beautiful had contradictory consequences. On the one hand, exploring and describing new areas beyond usual routes inspired new ideas about where to go and what to see. On the other hand, ostensibly

emotional media representations threatened quickly to grow stale in the process of frequent reiteration. Therefore, tourists were permanently looking for new sights and destinations to discover. This process acquired unprecedented dynamics during the nineteenth century. New destinations were discovered and popularized across the northern hemisphere, facilitated by the spread of travel accounts and, a little later, guidebooks and maps, splendid hotels, and last but not least, by new means of transportation, such as railways and steamships.

In terms of representations, tourists and tourist behavior quickly became the target of ridicule and laughter. As soon as tourism emerged, it was fraught with self-doubt and self-criticism.[45] Unsurprisingly, the proponents of "true" travel were among the most vicious critics. Nonetheless, the creation of literary landscapes "may well be the most widely dispersed and stubbornly enduring result of the new attitude to nature which the Romantic poets introduced."[46] The following two sections discuss how it was transferred to new tourist destinations, reiterated in new formats and how it ultimately proved very suitable for nationalist interpretations.

Warum ist es am Rhein so schön?

Until the mid-nineteenth century, per capita income in England was markedly higher and more evenly spread than in the rest of Europe.[47] With the end of the Napoleonic Wars, British tourists returned to Europe and remained the most sizable group of travelers until about 1850, when the sights and places opened up by the British were visited by continental Europeans in growing numbers as well.

Both the Rhine Valley and Switzerland were traversed during the Grand Tour as approaches to Italy and France, but it was not until John Gardnor's travels in 1787 that the middle Rhine Valley between Cologne and Mainz
p. 373 became a tourist destination in ↳ its own right. Although contemporary German intellectuals such as Alexander von Humboldt, Georg Forster, and August Wilhelm Iffland, traveling in 1790, focused mostly on geography, Gardnor published his drawings of the scenery on the Rhine in folio parts, the first of which appeared in 1788. They depicted dramatic ruins of castles and churches perched on rocks above the river, ascribing aesthetic values to what hitherto had been perceived as a transit route in the first place. Romantic poets and novelists perpetuated Gardnor's perspectives, incorporating some of their travel experiences on the Rhine into their work, such as Lord Byron in the third canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* or Mary Shelley in *Frankenstein*, both published in 1818.

Rhine tourism expanded rapidly, especially with the advent of regular steamboat services in the 1820s. Although guidebooks recommended consuming views on foot lest the landscape pass the tourist's eye too quickly, most travelers—already more than one million in 1856—opted for the steamer. The physical experience of this type of tourism differed significantly from hiking. Later guidebooks did not tire of warning tourists about traveling in a hurry.[48] Obviously, the speed of boats at the time remained much closer to that of a pedestrian than to that of a train, and on deck the tourist had still a near panoramic view of the valley.[49]

With more travelers came more published travelogues.[50] A first guidebook by Johann August Klein, *Rheinreise von Mainz bis Cöln—Ein Handbuch für Schnellreisende*, was available in 1828 and became the template for the first Baedeker in 1835, followed by John Murray's *Hand-Book for Travelers on the Continent* in 1836, which also included a large section on the Rhine Valley. These guidebooks quickly developed a narrative structure and made sure to insert Byron quotes where suitable. Moreover, the new technology of steel etchings allowed the inclusion of illustrations and detailed vignettes. The guides were not only instrumental in attracting more tourists, they incited other writers to place their stories in the same romantic frame (see chapter by Schaff in this volume).[51]

The improvement of print technology allowed for the production of so-called Rhine panoramas, large folded sheets either combining a map-like presentation of the area with illustrations, or a birds-eye view of the whole

valley.[52] Such items, along with other miniature stereoscopic souvenirs, could be taken home by travelers, allowing the landscapes themselves to travel.

There were also much grander representations. By 1800 the display of large-scale panoramic paintings took place in London and Paris, as well as several German cities, creating a veritable panoramic boom, with some of the paintings traveling as far as South America or Japan.[53] These panoramas allowed larger groups who were not yet able to travel abroad to experience the sights of ancient Rome and contemporary Paris, or the battlefields of Waterloo. Initially portraying cityscapes rather than landscapes, the latter could still occupy a good deal of the painted canvas or become, as in the case of the Swiss Mount Rigi panorama of 1868, the object of the panoramic gaze itself.[54] With their 360 degree vista, panoramas located the spectator, like the hiker, *inside* the landscape, allowing for a palpable sense of reality or "tactile gaze," as Veronica della Dora terms it.[55]

During the second half of the century, the new medium of the picture postcard likewise sent the landscapes of
p. 374 tourism traveling to those who had stayed at home. From ↳ Austria and Germany, the new medium quickly spread during the 1870s through Europe and North America. Postcard images further popularized already established tourist sites and destinations. The short texts written on them allowed both tourist and reader to bypass the mediation found in other forms of representation. The postcard "made distant places seem closer by putting the world at everybody's fingertips."[56]

All of this contributed to the construction of the "imaginary landscape" of the Rhine, built in layers of sometimes inconsistent imagery. Travelers could indulge in dramatic ruins such as the castle on top of *Drachenfels*, the first historic monument to be protected in Germany in 1836, or celebrate the contrast between craggy and cultivated lands. Whatever the individual's perspective, the combined depictions invested the Rhine with more symbolic meaning than any other German river.[57] This is not to say that other rivers, the upper Danube or the Elbe, for example, did not see tourist development. Saxon Switzerland had become a tourist destination during the period, too, and served as an important inspiration for the romantic painter Caspar David Friedrich, who resided in the city of Dresden between 1798 and his death in 1840. Nevertheless, neither the volume of travelers nor that of artistic representations could match the Rhine. Indeed, the Elbe Valley was visited mostly by art lovers' exploring Dresden and the Plauen Valley; it was little more than a diversion.[58]

Throughout much of the nineteenth century, the Rhine Valley served as an either implicit or explicit point of comparison for other landscapes "discovered" by travelers, from the French Rhône and the Dutch Maas to the Hudson River.[59] An English traveler of the mid-nineteenth century found the Rhône not "so overpraised and over-drawn (if you will excuse the pun) so that neither expectation on the one hand, nor perversity on the other are excited."[60] Johanna Schopenhauer preferred the "much less important Maas" over the Rhine, contrasting "the spirit of orderliness and Dutch cleanliness" of the former to the ruined towns and the naked rocks of the latter.[61] As to the Hudson River, James Fennimore Cooper and George William Curtis claimed around 1850 that it would deserve the same aesthetic appreciation as the Rhine, the Danube, or the Elbe valleys.[62] Remarkably, American tourists traveling the Hudson and Connecticut River valleys, visiting Niagara Falls or the Catskill Mountains during the first half of the nineteenth century substituted the missing crumbling castles and abbeys with "organic ruins," odd rock formations, or giant trees reminiscent of dilapidated buildings.[63]

Switzerland(s)

The popularity of the concept of sublimity during the eighteenth century owed much to the experience of crossing the Alps, or at least of admiring them from a secure distance. Following the Napoleonic Wars, British travelers not only returned to the Alps, but also elaborated the logical next step in the development of *performative* tourism: mountaineering. The Chamonix Valley in Savoy, easily accessible from Geneva, quickly
p. 375 attracted British travelers,[64] as had the Rhine Falls further east, the most powerful ↳ waterfalls in Europe.[65] During the second half of the nineteenth century, mountaineers and resourceful locals opened other parts of alpine Switzerland. New railway links and better roads facilitated travel to the Alps, even if Switzerland connected to the emerging European network relatively late.[66] Traffic links through the Alps improved as well. Under Napoleon, the routes over the Col de Mont Cenis and the Simplon Pass were upgraded between 1800 and 1810. In the 1820s, engineers improved the *Strada d'Almagna*, creating a better road link between Venice and German-speaking Tyrolia. In terms of railways, Austrian engineers surpassed the Swiss, with the *Semmering Bahn* and *Brenner Bahn* constructed in the 1850s and 1860s, respectively. French and Italian rail networks were linked by 1869. Meanwhile, the Swiss did not open their North-South links until 1882 (Gotthard) and 1902 (Simplon). Although often guided by strategic considerations, the building of new railway or road connections, or the improvement of existing ones, were quickly styled not just as projects of national pride, but as aesthetic improvements of the landscape. A far echo of the sinuous river bends of eighteenth-century English landscape aesthetics, the Austrian engineer Joseph Baumgarten claimed in 1834 that it was "only the zigzag of the new road construction, which unites the whole into a beautiful and friendly landscape."[67] Indeed, engineering triumphs like Swiss railways and daring pass routes became important scenic sights in their own right (see Pearson, this volume).

Ever-growing numbers of guidebooks heralded the improved accessibility and the rapid growth of a hospitality industry in Switzerland, attracting a "rush" of British, and in their wake, German and French tourists to Switzerland.[68] Mountaineers were the trailblazers. British climbers founded the world's first Alpine Club in London in 1857, followed by similar Austrian and Swiss initiatives in 1862 and 1863, respectively. As per the logic of the "microphysics of tourism," the self-declared pioneers of alpinism criticized the creation of such clubs and associations as the first step toward vulgar mass tourism.[69] Indeed, when by the 1860s most of the higher peaks of the Western Alps had been climbed, mountaineers swerved to hitherto unfrequented valleys and chains, inevitably leading to the consecutive expansion of mountaineering, and in its wake, tourism, across the whole range. The Austrian parts of the Alps were opened up from the 1870s onwards. During the same period, inquisitive British mountaineers and travelers were already heading to the highest peaks of the Carpathian Mountains, the Tatra, in their quest for unclimbed peaks or "unspoiled" mountain destinations.[70]

Less ambitious summer tourists followed their example, enjoying fresh mountain air, "sublime" or "picturesque" vistas from a distance, hiking through the valleys, or climbing less daring summits such as Mount Rigi, a focal point for many travelers to Central Switzerland that was famously painted by J. M. W. Turner in 1842.[71] Local entrepreneurs and the emerging alpine clubs with their mass membership set out to manage both the alpine infrastructure and environment with the aim of making the mountains accessible for an ever-growing number of middle-class tourists. In the case of Switzerland, the arrival of Thomas Cook's first package tour in 1863 unmistakably heralded the coming of the age of mass tourism.[72] The Swiss summer
p. 376 vacation became a widespread habit for middle-class people from Britain. Remote destinations such as ↳ Davos, St. Moritz, and others developed into climatic spas. By the 1880s, entrepreneurial hoteliers invented winter sports holidays to extend the season, importing the practice of skiing from Scandinavia. By the twentieth century, the winter season became more important than the summer vacation for many alpine destinations.[73]

As in the case of the Rhine Valley, a variety of media representations allowed the public to compare "literal landscapes" and images. With Switzerland taking the lead in tourist development of the Alps, both landscapes

and resident laborers were symbolically appropriated into tourist discourse. It took a little time. Guidebooks did not initially praise the locals. Thus, an 1838 guide to the Savoy Alps described the inhabitants of the Aosta Valley as "a squalid and filthy race" and "generally stunted and diseased."[74] Another contemporary guide to the same region stated that against the backdrop of some of the earth's most magnificent scenery "man appears, from a mysterious visitation of disease, in his most degraded and pitiable condition."[75] Yet writers, artist, and intellectuals worked feverishly to reshape the image of the mountaineer as the healthy embodiment of the unspoiled human, a repository of core values and characteristics of a given nation.[76] The term "Swiss" spread across Europe as a general denomination for picturesque mountain settings, alpine style dwellings, and farmsteads. Encountering a local inn called "Schweizerhof," a Swiss traveler to the Austrian spa of Vöslau marveled at how broad the term "Switzerland" had become: "If there is a house with carved wooden ornaments, it is called a 'Swiss cottage.' The experimental dairy farms of rich landowners, the cowsheds [Kühereien] of the nobility, are called 'Schweizerei' and every staunch young lad who milks more than one cow a day … is called a 'Schweizer.' "[77] Early British tourists romanticized some of the inhabitants of Britain's Celtic fringe in a similar vein,[78] but it was the later and therefore much more mediatized image of the "healthy" Swiss Alps and their inhabitants that emerged as a cliché. Small "Switzerlands" dotted much of Europe by the end of the century and European travelers transferred the "Alpine sublimation model" to marginal areas such as the Carpathian Mountains, the Caucasus, and to oversees colonies.[79]

Tourism and the Nationalization of Landscapes

Nineteenth-century tourism and its infrastructure initially catered for a small, elite, and primarily British audience. With the inclusion of an emerging middle class in other developing industrial nations, it acquired a cosmopolitan character. Travelers often joined small international groups rather than traveling with fellow nationals when leaving their home countries. Nonetheless, already the individualistic and subjective tourist exploration and mediatization of landscapes carried a considerable potential for national appropriations. As Elizabeth Helsinger observes, the turn to nature beyond cultured landscapes particularly empowered the
p. 377 interpreter: "The power of shaping and receiving ↳ representations—of language and knowledge, of the mental force the Romantics call: imagination, the power to be both in nature and out of it—creates new grounds for national subjectivity."[80] If nationalism claimed, among other things, that people were rooted in certain geographical spaces and that political boundaries should be drawn accordingly, then landscapes, particularly discursively charged ones, were prone to becoming important markers of a nation. With the social trickling down of tourism as a performative practice, more and more individual members of a nation could enact and authenticate their belonging to their "imagined community" by exploring its spatial dimension. Although the underlying logic of the nationalist appropriation of landscapes was very similar across Europe, the individual trajectories differed, as the following examples illustrate (see Zuelow, this volume).

Beginning with England, Ian Ousby succinctly argues that the emergence of domestic tourism in the second half of the eighteenth century, with its visits to literary shrines, noble estates, and parks, the "landscapes of property,"[81] was an essential factor in the creation of an English identity among the emerging middle class.[82] David Lowenthal seconds this claim: "the countryside is not British, it is English," pointing at the fact that "like the archetypical sacred garden, the English landscape is not natural but crafted, suffused with human as well as divine purpose. Other nations extol untouched nature: the Swiss revere edelweiss and erratic boulders, Americans the forest primeval."[83] In other words, as much as early tourists were attracted by the ruggedness of Welsh or Scottish mountains and highlands, in terms of identity formation these belonged to different categories.

In England, the growing urban population's adoption of tourism conflicted with landowners' policies promoting enclosure which were facilitated by the 1815 parliamentary act allowing the "closure" of any paths considered "unnecessary." In practice, even established paths in tourist areas such as the Lake District were

barred. During the course of the nineteenth century, English walkers organized associations demanding "the right of way," promoting collective acts of trespassing and demanding that nature and landscapes be open to everybody.[84] This paved the way for hiking to become a broadly shared leisure activity in twentieth century Britain.[85]

The Rhine Valley is a particularly instructive example of the "nationalization" of an "imaginary landscape" created by tourism. After a series of military defeats, German rulers ceded the west bank of the river to France, creating a watery border between French and German territories from 1797 to 1814. The division clashed with emerging German patriotism and advocates stressed that both banks were German speaking as well as that both were essential parts of what constituted the imaginary landscape of the "Romantic Rhine." Paradigmatically formulated in Ernst Moritz Arndt's 1813 *Der Rhein, Teutschlands Strom, nicht aber Teutschlands Grenze*, German patriots perceived the Rhine valley as a landscape, encapsulating "aesthetics, art and history of a bygone past and of the future greatness of the German nation."[86] Following the Congress of Vienna, the Prussian monarchy felt obliged to sponsor the restoration of castles and Gothic churches along the river, emphasizing both the German character of the landscape and culture and its incorporation into the new
p. 378 national building project occurring under ↳ their leadership.[87] It was on the Rhine that German patriotism generated *Denkmalschutz* and *Naturschutz* (monument and nature protection), appropriating and reshaping the literary and imaginary landscape created by earlier British and German travelers. In the logic of the tourist quest for authenticity, this led "real travelers," already in the mid-nineteenth century, to bemoan the overtouristification and disfigurement of the area.[88]

Less well researched in the German case are the ways in which the individual soul-searching of early tourism morphed into the collective practice of *Vereinswandern* during the second half of the nineteenth century. It had very likely been popularized by the *Turnvereine* (gymnastic associations) and *Burschenschaften* (patriotic student fraternities) of the *Vormärz* era. Linked to paramilitary training and temporarily suppressed in the German states, the members often convened outside cities, and the habit of group hikes spread quickly.[89] In any case, the late nineteenth-century *Wandervögel* saw themselves as continuing the traditions set by the *Burschenschaften* and *Turnvereine*.[90] The German example was broadly followed among the Slavic peoples in the Austrian Empire in the shape of the "Sokol" associations, and a socialist counterpart, the *Naturfreunde* ("Friends of Nature") was founded in 1895 in Vienna, too.

By that time, mountaineering clubs and regional hiking associations were already rallying a mass membership. Given the patriotic orientation of these associations in a time of growing nationalisms, visiting the borderlands of the homeland became an increasingly politicized tourist practice. Early on, organized German hikers roamed the western border regions, propelled to a lesser degree by an emerging tourist industry than by lobbying organizations like the *Eifelverein* of 1888, for whom tourism was not just a self-indulging activity for the middle classes, but also a patriotic duty. Bringing visitors to the economically poor and rapidly depopulating mountainous Eifel or Westerwald regions could help to buttress local residents in their home landscapes and at the same time connect them to the German nation, furthering existing local and regional identities. Conversely, traveling to the area and engaging in weekend hikes taught the growing urban population to celebrate, preserve, and explore a countryside increasingly perceived as part of their *Heimat* (homeland) in essentially national terms. The members of the *Eifelverein* managed to mark some 2,000 km of hiking tracks, crisscrossing and symbolically binding the area to the emerging German nation state. Socialist hikers of the *Naturfreunde* association added their own signs and claims.[91]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, similar trends could be observed in other border regions, such as Southern Saxony, where the *Erzgebirgsverein* and the *Gebirgsverein für die sächsisch-böhmische Schweiz* (sic) had "pushed, prodded and cajoled" lowlanders to hike and climb since 1878, both on the Saxon and on the Bohemian side of the border. As Caitlin Murdock observes, in this case the tourists' embrace of the borderlands as a shared landscape "lent substance to a persistent understanding that the German nation extended beyond the borders of the German state."[92] The formation of the Czechoslovak state generated a more tense situation at

the border. In the 1920s and 1930s organized German and Czech hiking clubs—the *Beskidenverein* founded in 1893 and the *Klub českých turistů* (Czech Tourist Club) founded in 1888—competed to create new trails in order
p. 379 to avoid using those of the "other" in the ↳ German-Czech borderland.[93] The national dimension was underlined in many ways. Sights or towns claimed to be "national" were lined by long distance trails; "competing" lookouts and mountain lodges sprang up on both sides of the border, named after national heroes (*Chata Masarykovy* and *Hindenburg-Baude*, respectively). They were constructed in what was perceived to be a "national" style. In extreme cases, activists did not even shy away from destroying the competitor's installations.[94]

Similar competition and conflict emerged in the touristic exploration of the Alps. Separate Austrian and German Alpine clubs, founded in 1862 and 1869, respectively, fused in 1874 to explore the Eastern Alps. In small stretches of Bavaria and much larger alpine areas of the Austrian Empire, marking trails and building mountain lodges unfolded as a project closely related to common German language and culture, mirrored in the policies of naming of trails and cabins. The former often referred to venerated mountaineers, the latter to the lowland communities, in which local sections of the Alpine Club collected money for the construction of the cabins. Both symbolically linked the Alpine landscape to the emerging geographies of the German Empire and, to a much lesser degree, to the German-speaking lands of the Austrian Empire.[95] The activities of the *Alpenverein* quickly acquired a racial and anti-Semitic tinge[96] and spread an aggressive Germanizing rhetoric across existing language borders. This was particularly true for the southern parts of the Eastern Alps, above all the Dolomites and the Carnic and Julian Alps, where this "Germanization" encountered resistance from speakers of Rhaetian, Italian, and Slavic languages.[97]

Although potentially more explicit and visible in the borderlands, the association of the nation with local nature and landscapes thus became a commonplace in Germany. Alon Confino illustrates how poetry and literature effectively projected embedded feelings of *Heimat* from the local to the national level in the German kingdom of Württemberg. *Heimat* encompassed well-known landscapes as well as those seldom seen or visited but potentially open for tourist exploration. The imagined landscapes of *Heimat* shifted the focus from the romantic quest for the awe-inspiring and challenging to landscapes in which cultural signifiers of the past and nature coexisted in harmony. Such landscapes tended to lose their specific character, turning into "an aggregation of the most appealing elements of nature that informed a generic *Heimat*." "Fatherland and nation," Confino concludes, "which brought to mind Germany's borders, territorial integrity, political system or military, represented Germany as something fixed. *Heimat*, which brought to mind history, traditions and landscapes, was, in contrast, infinitely malleable." *Heimat* was where the surrounding landscape could be physically experienced.[98]

Patrice Dabrowski reveals that a similar interplay between the literary and artistic creation and authentication of landscapes also unfolded in stateless-nations. After the failure of the 1863–1864 insurrection, the Polish intelligentsia, hailing from territories under German and Russian administration, laid claim to the Tatra Mountains and the Zakopane area as a genuinely "Polish" landscape. Located in the south of the semiautonomous province of Galicia, the Tatra Mountains delineated the border between the Austrian and
p. 380 Hungarian parts of the double monarchy. Both Polish and Hungarian ↳ activists founded "Tatra societies" in the 1870s, gathering membership in urban centers outside the area. The Poles used the same methods as other nations to stake out a national space, by marking trails and building mountain lodges, which they named after leading Polish scientists and intellectuals. Artists and writers, including Nobel Prize winner Henryk Sienkiewicz, spread the image of the Polish "Mecca." A large panorama of the Tatra chain was exhibited to great acclaim in Warsaw in 1896. How important landscapes could become through this process is neatly illustrated by the "battle of the *Morskie oko*." A small mountain lake in the High Tatra, traditionally a destination for Polish hikers and the location of a Polish lodge, became the most symbolic bone of contention between German landowners, Hungarian state officials, and Polish nationalists. Almost thirty years of conflict were decided in favor of the Poles only by a ruling of the Imperial court of arbitration in 1902.[99]

Discursively "owned" and practically "conquered" by British mountaineers, the Swiss Alps rose to some prominence in the national discourses in Switzerland during the second half of the century, when the rise of unifying German and Italy seemed to threaten the unity of the Swiss Confederation. Ideas about rugged nature shaping the Swiss national character and helping to defend the independence of the free Swiss peasantry against the absolutist forces of Austria and France had been circulating since the seventeenth century and were further popularized by German authors, above all Friedrich Schiller in his popular play *Wilhelm Tell* (1804).[100]

Counterintuitively, after 1848 many imagined the Alps as fusing Switzerland together. The first topographic map of Switzerland, realized under the direction of Guillaume Dufour between 1845 and 1865, represented an important milestone in the process of reinterpreting the mountains not as a natural barrier, but as a unifying force. For the first time the very precise maps allowed a synoptic view of the country, bridging its various valleys and language groups. In recognition of Dufour's services to the nation, the highest mountain of Switzerland was rebaptized *Dufourspitze* in 1863.[101] Two decades after the last war between the Swiss cantons and one year after the completion of the map, Kasper Bluntschli (1808–1881) boldly claimed:

> there may well be Alps, mountains, lakes and rivers outside Switzerland; and yet, the Swiss homeland constitutes such a coherent and richly structured natural whole, one that enables to evolve on its soils a peculiar feeling of a common homeland which unties its inhabitants as sons of the fatherland, even though they live in different valleys and speak different languages.

In a 1909 essay on *nationalité*, the French-speaking intellectual Ernest Bovet echoed the sentiment: "A spirit fills our souls, directs our actions and creates a hymn on the one ideal out of our different languages. It is the spirit that blows form the summits, the genius of the Alps and glaciers."[102]

Particularly in marginal European areas and in the former colonies of North America, natural wilderness and landscape moved to the center stage of cultural nation building. The discovery of a national landscape and its
p. 381 dissemination through the practice of ↳ tourism was perhaps most pronounced in Norway, where mountain hikes became an increasingly popular pastime for the slowly growing urban population in the second half of the nineteenth century. Romantic views of Norway's landscapes, expressed in Henrik Ibsen's poetry, the landscape paintings of the Dane Christian Dahl and later of the Norwegian Adelsteen Normann, or in Edward Grieg's orchestrations of folk motifs, was in full swing when the Norske *Turistforeining* (Norwegian Trekking Association) was founded in Christiania (Oslo) in 1868. It aimed to manage the development of tourism and to enable access to "areas of outstanding natural beauty." Norwegian nature nationalism was "performed through the orchestrated actions of hiking and skiing," with the "movement through nature enabled by techniques of mapping, trailing, naming and narrating."[103] The Trekking Association built lodges in relatively inaccessible mountain areas of the country and marked trails through what the urban tourists considered wilderness, which might rather have been subalpine pasture land commonly used by the peasantry. As a result of association lobbying, the *Fjelloven* (Mountain law) of 1920 legally made the agricultural commons accessible to tourists.[104] Initially, trekking trails used local paths linking seasonal pastures and local peasants offered accommodation or served as guides for the hikers. But soon trekkers began to penetrate the rural landscape with their own network of trails, uniformly marking it out with large letters "T" on rocks or cairns across Norwegian territory. The hiking trails, linking the association's developing network of lodges, were minutely described in the association's guide books and maps, rendering the tourist independent of local knowledge. The lodges were named after famous writers, artists, or tourism activists, and the trekkers were even given the privilege of renaming some of the largest mountain ranges in the country, which they baptized, in association with Norse mythology, *Jotunheimen*, the home of the Jotun giants. All this opened up the Norwegian countryside and invited domestic trekkers to "perform" the Norwegian national landscape and prove worthy of the myth "that a Norwegian had the ability to survive in harsh conditions"; as expressed in Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson's national anthem *Ja, vi elsker dette landet* written in 1859.[105]

Incidentally, Norwegian national mythology, with its references to the ragged character of landscape and people, informed late nineteenth-century national awakening in Canada. “Canada First” associate Robert Grant Haliburton portrayed Canadians as the “Northmen of the New World,” thus bridging the linguistic, ethnic, and spatial gaps between colonies that were confederated in 1867. He was followed by a plethora of writers in the “Confederation School of Poets” and painters of the “Toronto Art Students League, depicting northern landscapes and folk life.[106]

With the spread of nationalism, writers and painters could also set out to construct “national” landscapes in conscious opposition to what had been established elsewhere, insisting on the fundamental incomparability and uniqueness of their homeland. Nonetheless, tourism had an important role to play again in the creation of the imagery and its proliferation. During the reform period of the 1860s and 1870s in Russia, young artists including the leading landscape painters of the time, Alexei Savrasov, Ivan Shishkin, and Isaac Leviatan, undertook long travels through vast expanses of the Russian countryside. Raising to fame as the *peredvizhniki*
p. 382 (literally “itinerants” or ↳ “wanderers”), they painted forest glades or dilapidating villages against the backdrop of steep ravines or shallow river banks, portraying an “admirably unpicturesque” Russian nature compared to the lavish landscapes of Western Europe.[107] Roughly during the same period, regular steamship services facilitated the emergence of river cruises on the Volga. Judging from guidebooks and travelogues, the landscape painters had effectively prepared the ground for a scenic perception of the river and the monasteries and peasant villages as symbols of Russianness, even though much of the course of the river led to territories historically settled by non-Russian peoples. Exposure to the flat and unspectacular Russian landscape combined with “a breezy and frankly pleasurable search for picturesque scenes and views in order to establish a unique form of touristic vision for Russia.”[108]

“Poles” in Landscape Research

In a recent article, Swiss geographer Norman Backhaus suggests distinguishing four “poles” as entry points for landscape research. He places the *physical pole,* that is, the physical elements that make up a landscape, and the *symbolic pole*, that is, the cultural patterns, questions of aesthetics, and taste, on opposite ends of one axis. The *subjective pole*, that is, the individual perception and experience of landscape, and *intersubjective pole*, that is, the construction of landscape through social practices, form a second axis.[109] Backhaus further suggests positioning any landscape related research between these poles, in one or several of the six dimensions that he identifies. He lists the corporeal and sensory dimension, the aesthetic dimension, the identificatory dimension, the political dimension, the economic dimension, and finally, the ecological dimension.[110]

The field of landscape research as staked out by Backhaus’ poles informed my discussion of the complex relationship between landscape and tourism. Trying to combine constructive and performative approaches in landscape and tourism studies, I explored the *corporeal* and the *aesthetic* dimension and discussed the close interrelations between the emergence of new types of movement in space with new sensitivities for nature in general and landscape in particular during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Emphasizing the physical engagement with nature and the embodiment of landscape, this discussion of the mediality of the new practice of tourism moved from the *physical* and the *subjective* poles toward the *intersubjective* and *cultural* poles. Although acknowledging that the landscape experience and mediatization of early tourism was historically and geographically contingent, this chapter argues that the combination of physical exposition and landscape perception proved particularly sustainable. Beginning in England, travelers, poets, painters, and guidebook writers produced a cannon of sights, creating an emotional language of landscape perception. The “microphysics of tourism,” for its part, moved the individual traveler to either contrast and authenticate the mediatized experiences of the trailblazers, or to hunt for new picturesque sights. The subjective and corporeal
p. 383 experiences in the process were nonetheless ↳ measured and articulated in very comparable ways. All of this helped to create a visual and descriptive repertoire which, despite and because of continuous reiteration and

recombination, displayed an amazing endurance. As Valentin Groebner observed, tourist industries "were from the beginning geared towards natural landscapes (the coast, the Rhine valley, or the Alps) … to stimulate the bodily complexions (Körperzustände) of the visitors."[111]

Moving toward the *identificatory* and the *political* dimension of landscape and tourism, tourism as a practice of traveling and hiking changed significantly over the course of the nineteenth century. It lost its elitist, cosmopolitan, and individualist character. At the same time, the rise of nationalism across the northern hemisphere implied the spread of nationalist claims to space, nature, and landscape. Returning to the "microphysics of tourism," the chapter suggests that the exploration of "raw" nature bestowed the tourist with substantial discretionary power as to the attribution of values to a certain stretch of land. In the process of naturalization, historicization, and modeling of landscape, elements of nature and culture were constantly regrouped and rearranged. The subjective experience of the sublime was replaced by a collective emphasis on landscape as a regional and national decor and object deserving preservation. The social construction of landscape could serve class interests as for instance in nineteenth-century England, but it could also vindicate claims for space and borders as in the German, the Czech, or the Polish cases. Counterintuitively, the nationalization of landscapes such as the Alps helped to overcome the physical as well as the linguistic segregation in the Swiss case. The persuasiveness of such constructs obviously depended on political, social, economic, and cultural circumstances.

Advancing to the *intersubjective pole* and to the *political* dimension of landscapes invested with meanings, the realization of a feeling of place and belonging demanded new forms of *collective* tourism, organized in mountaineering or hiking associations along national, regional, or class lines. Whether in England, in German-speaking Central Europe or in Scandinavia, organized hikers, friends of nature, boy scouts, or ramblers physically appropriated landscapes, demonstrating and authenticating the national character of a given landscape, often in competition with similar clubs with different national or social backgrounds. In other words, tourism as a practice was key for the cultural construction of landscape, and it had a no less important role to play in the process of disseminating the idea that landscapes were genuine expressions of national spirits.

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