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The Bright Face of Dark Tourism - Military Conflicts and World Travel in the Modern Era

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ABSTRACT

In the history of modern culture, besides its primary task of imposing political will, the military has also served as a major travel institution. The geographical dimensions of wars and the increasingly greater military forces involved have resulted in millions of people being compelled to get to know foreign lands and cultures as soldiers. Thus, military forces have become agents of developing societies' geographical culture. This phenomenon is the bright face of dark tourism. Still, dark tourism has another positive aspect as well: the scientific exploration of certain landscapes and regions. Modern military forces have launched numerous scientific explorations to learn about the Earth. There are two types of such explorations: exploratory trips related to military campaigns and endeavors of purely scientific purposes. At the same time, scientific knowledge accumulated in the military has also played important roles in geographic research. The transportation of large numbers of personnel and the scientific expeditions of military forces have led to the development of military travel literature, whose significance goes beyond the framework of military geography and which has become an organic part of academic geographical literature.

Keywords: Travelling; Military forces; Soldier travellers; Geographical expeditions; Dark tourism

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Introduction

Dark tourism has been a much-discussed issue of modern tourism science (Stone, 2006) however, its military aspects have not been considered extensively. The purpose of the present paper is to call attention to the phenomenon of military life and world travel, and to introduce the main types and categories of military travel, conceptualized as the bright face of dark tourism. At the same time, the paper intends to explore the impact of military travel literature on society's geographical knowledge. Thus, the paper provides a theoretical starting point for further research into battlefield tourism, war tourism and dark tourism. The present paper relies on several historical, military and literary examples to illustrate the military travels prior, during and after wartime adopting a historical approach. The discussion of the subject is based on primary and secondary academic sources, travel literature and publications on travel history. Research in this field is rather ponderous, as primary sources, reports and news about trips and travels need to be generalized. In addition, even travel history accounts hardly touch on the issue of military travel. The present paper is a summary of fifteen years of research (Nagy, 2001; 2003; 2006; 2007; 2009) from the perspective of tourism. Since this research - based on military travelogues and tourist accounts published in newspapers, periodicals, academic journals and other publications from the late 19th century on – has already been discussed elsewhere, the aim of present paper is to provide a general overview of the topic. This paper advances knowledge on the historical perspective of dark tourism, on how military travels contributed to the diffusion of geographical knowledge of society, and how soldiers and military travellers shaped the perceptions of the world and influenced mass travels.

1. Ars moriendi and education in the military

The phenomenon known as dark tourism (thanatourism) in social sciences is as old as human history, although its manifestations have been changing throughout the ages. According to the academic literature of modern tourism sciences, world travel has become increasingly important due to the development of tourism, culminating in the expansion of mass tourism. Nowadays – partly in remembrance of events of the Great War as well as the victims of dictatorships –, tourism is often linked to different events of military history and to military issues themselves (Császár, 2004; Irimiás, 2013). Dark tourism includes numerous destinations, many of which extend beyond the realm of military history (Michalkó, 2012; Irimiás, 2013); however, its beginnings are strongly tied to the phenomenon of war, as well as to an increasing interest among the people of both the Middle Ages and the Modern Era in death and in physical and spiritual suffering. The latter is especially conspicuous in the public, often ritual, executions attracting large crowds and carrying deep social messages performed even in the 18th and 19th centuries. This interest was called ars moriendi, the liturgy of violent death by Richard von Dülmen (1985) in the late 20th century. The interest in others' suffering and death as well as in the attraction of the mysticism surrounding these phenomena seems to be a characteristic of the people of the Modern Era. This notion is affirmed by Egon Friedell (1928-1931), who linked the emergence of modern man to the great plague epidemic of the $14^{\rm th}$ century and the patterns of behavior following it – completely abnormal for people today –, as well as to the disintegration of earlier social and spiritual structures.

This interest is also valid for people living today, and plays a significant role in the manmade elements of tourism (Michalkó, 2012). The antecedents of today's dark tourism rooted in human curiosity for macabre go back to the distant past. The detailed description of the history of this special tourism exceeds the scope of the present study, but two examples are worth mentioning in order to illustrate historical perspectives. The first is the fact that mass interest in armed conflicts and military combat – a rudimentary form of dark tourism – had already appeared in Book III of Homer's *Iliad*, when the duel of the Trojan and Achaean fighters are observed by the town's people from the walls and by the gate of the city (Homer, 2011). The other is the common practice in the Middle Ages of curious civilians visiting battlefields covered with the dead. János Thuróczy reports in his chronicle (1978), originally published in 1488, that one of the Balkan battlefields of the Ottoman invasion, where the bones of the fallen could be freely viewed, became a popular destination for excursions even two years after the battle had taken place.

At the same time, dark tourism also has a form which – according to modern categorization (Michalkó, 2012) – belongs to the so-called business tourism, with Wolfgang von Goethe as its first and most significant representative. Beyond his literary work, the German poet, writer and playwright was the founder of the cultural history of world travel and tourism. His German Sturm und Drang style and later romantic travelogues had defined the direction for approaching travel (and tourism) for a long time: the nature cult of the landscape was replaced by interest in the landscape and the people living in it (Gyömrei, 1934).

Goethe's travelogues on Italy and Switzerland primarily record the impressions of a civilian world traveller. Furthermore, as an important politician of the Weimar Republic, he also toured some scenes of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, and in his works about these travels – *Kampagne in Frankreich* (1792) and *Belagerung von Mainz* (1794) – he makes other, very different observations as well (Goethe, 1984). In these works, the landscape is mostly filled with military forces and activities, as depicted by Goethe the world-traveller and business tourist in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

While these writings on war experiences are less significant in Goethe's life and work than his other writings (Friedenthal, 2010), they effectively reflect on the fact that dark tourism is Janus-faced. It has to be, as – indicated by ancient and medieval examples – it can involve people outside of politics and military affairs along with the participants of events. While Goethe was not a member of the armed forces, the majority of those participating in dark tourism have, throughout history, been soldiers – the very people whose activities and courses of life created the elements of landscapes that have emerged as tourist destinations. If we accept that dark tourism always includes a suffering social group, then we also have to acknowledge that the masses of soldiers,

as well as the individuals participating in wars, are also world travellers themselves. According to the military history cliché, the armed forces have been the world's greatest travel agencies (Für, 1989). A constant and increasingly growing figure of world history is the soldier fighting far from his home and homeland who returns as a well-travelled individual, enriched by the experience of having come to know foreign landscapes and peoples. The process of this enrichment stands as a bright side of dark tourism, embodied in the phenomenon of military travels and travellers.

In the European mind, the military profession is closely linked with travel over great geographical distances and to foreign lands. The military has been releasing one of the greatest masses of world travellers. Referring back to Goethe, he lists sixteen types of travel in his work *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre oder die Entsagenden* (Goethe, 1949), ranging from aristocrats on Grand Tours to missionaries and pilgrims and to armed conquerors, merchants and apprentices. This list includes those whose travels are the result of being in the military profession. Goethe especially emphasizes that soldiers travel during both peace and war, which he attributes to the far-away locations of military theaters and the relocation of soldiers from one post to another. Thus, soldiers – just like modern tourists – regularly move about in geographical space.

This change in locations and the resulting gain in geographical and ethnographical knowledge is not an isolated phenomenon, but rather one tightly connected to the modern system of permanent military forces, whose roots are already apparent in the mercenary armies of earlier times. During periods of peace, modern armed forces are more similar to schools of public education in their institution-like operations. Civilian youngsters accepted into the military are turned into soldiers suitable for fighting in armed combats by the provision of special training. A part of this training process includes some education in map reading and terrain skills necessary for completing military tasks - getting a sense of a location, as well as utilizing the advantageous features of the terrain and avoiding or eliminating the disadvantageous ones. Thus, military training has geographical aspects as well. However, what holds deeper geographical meaning is military service a long distance away from one's homeland. Its inner logic results in the soldier becoming familiar with distant lands and regions during his training and service – even if by necessity –, so following his discharge, he can use his new geographical knowledge in his civilian life. Thus, the so-called permanent armies of the 17th and 18th centuries and the mass armies emerging and flourishing in the 19th and 20th centuries can be credited with having improved societies' geographical awareness and literacy.

2. Genius loci and the travelling soldier

Tourism sciences have a generally clear image of the social operational mechanisms of war and tourism (Butler and Suntikul, 2013), while also lacking some fine details. If we approach the present situation as a mosaic, we could say that we are still missing some pieces. One of these pieces is the bright side of dark tourism, which is actually an

upended version of traditional tourism. There is a number of controversial theoretical issues about the semantic and terminological interpretation of tourism, but it can be argued that relocation in connection with military service - generally speaking - fits in the category of business tourism (Michalkó, 2012). Accepting the interpretation of the concept of tourism by Gábor Michalkó (2012), which defines it as moving from one environment to another while gaining new experiences, and includes all the services and consumption – that go with it, we can also accept that it can be applied to military service, too, although it is often realized in a quite unusual way. Having mentioned new experiences and changing location in relation to those in military service, provision of services and supplies to the military is also an element in military affairs, although to different degrees and by differing means during peace and war. During peace, military barracks and the surrounding residential areas are just as important economic factors to towns as any tourist attraction. Soldiers need to be fed and taken care of, which can be a defining factor, especially in small settlements. Modern military geography has been studying this issue in great detail (Becker, 1989; Woodward, 2004). The barracks' inhabitants' peacetime consumption as well as their hinterland consumption during wars and their use of services as economic activities are hardly different from the case of tourism. The situation is completely different in theaters of war, where services and consumption are also present but these days these seem to be completely separated from local economies. The tendency of trying to provide supplies to millions of soldiers from the homeland started during the Great War. Requisitions common in the previous centuries all but vanished in the 20th century, while the services of the population in a theater of war - especially for providing rest for soldiers - cannot be completely dismissed even today. During the 18th and 19th centuries – at the time of permanent armies - mainly the theater of war supported the armies, and the carrying capacity of the theater defined the size of the armies deployed at each location (Delbrück, 2000; Perjés, 1963). Regarding the issue of services and consumption in connection with tourism, it needs to be noted that there is a special kind of consumption relating to the bright face of dark tourism: the use of ammunition and military equipment. In the late 15th century, these supplies were usually collected at the theater of war, but starting in the 18th century, more and more of them were transported from the homeland, and today 100% of these materials are supplied from the homeland.

The most significant factor relating to the bright face of dark tourism is societies' better geographical education and expanding knowledge. Its efficiency, of course, is strongly correlated with the size of the armed forces deployed in theaters of war. Since the late 15th century, the military as a social organization has been growing, and the main periods of this process overlap with the significant periods of development in the field of tourism. Although academic literature on both military history and travel history has been reluctant to clearly establish phases in modern military affairs and tourism (Delbrück, 2000; Razin, 1959-1964; Keegan, 1994; Liddell Hart, 1967; Reisner, 1963; Bauer, 1971; Knoll, 2006; Löschburg, 1977), the most important points of interconnection are quite conspicuous. Without entering the intermittent cultural historical debate on identifying these periods, let the major stages be listed here. What is known as a part of medieval migration in the history of travels – the early

renaissance –, is also a period of significant change in military history: armies of knights are being replaced by the mercenary armies of subsequent centuries. The era which saw the end of mercenary armies and the gradual development of permanent armies in the 18th century is also the time in which "aristocratic travels" become fashionable. This was the custom of Grand Tours with educational purposes, which were replaced by the period of romantic trips at the beginning of the 19th century (Gyömrei, 1934). At the same time, the development of permanent armies reaches its peak, and the seeds of mass armies also emerge with the Prussian military reform near the end of the Napoleonic Wars. It is a significant cultural and military historical fact that the era of mass travel – travel during the Industrial Revolution (19th-20th centuries) in Gábor Michalkó's (2012) work – and the development of mass armies are almost completely simultaneous.

It is an important fact for the present study that modern military science and modern geography were established with the beginnings of mass travel. Within the era of mass travel, some researchers distinguish a period of civilian travel in the second half of the 19th century (Gyömrei, 1934). This half a century is exactly the time when the institution of mass armies reaches its modern form. However, the beginning in all three cases is the same: the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. This is also the time when Alexander von Humboldt's work launches modern geography, Carl von Clausewitz reforms military science, and the great 19th century movement of travel begins (Meyer-Abich, 2001; Schramm, 1981; Gyömrei, 1934; Hettner, 1927). It is also a new era in the history of military world travel, and its emblematic figure is Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) with Humboldt (1769-1859) and Goethe (1749-1832) as his peers, who were also great travellers. Clausewitz was already a trained military officer and politician when he travelled to France, and he also visited a number of theaters of war as a soldier. In addition, he is also remembered in military and science history as the founder of modern military geography due to his work in military science. His personal letters describing travel experiences are very similar to those of Goethe, while his geographical approach, especially in his main work Vom Kriege, is investigative in nature, very much like Humboldt's (Nagy, 2006). In this sense, Clausewitz's life's work should be considered as a series of works of military theory determined by travel experiences, controlled by military knowledge and, in attitude, interwoven with late classicism, the Sturm und Drang and romanticism.

Two fundamental factors need to be noted about the bright face of dark tourism, that is, about the geographical education of masses of soldiers in the armed forces, and through them, that of whole societies. The first one is the size of the masses involved; the other one is the extent to which this education was conscious and how it was carried out. As mentioned above, the size of armed forces was constantly growing from the late 15th century until the end of the 20th century and this expansion seems to have stopped only with the new millennium as armies are again subject to reforms. In the late 15th century, and even during the Thirty Years' War – contrary to popular belief – only small armies of some ten thousand soldiers were fighting in each theater of war. The development of permanent armies was made possible by the fact that the carrying capacity of societies and theaters of war was gradually increasing – parallel to the

demographic processes of the whole European continent (Delbrück, 2000; Chaunu, 1966). When Napoleon marched against Russia with his Grand Army (Grand Armèe) mobilizing practically amost all Europe's potential in the summer of 1812, he took some 700.000 soldiers to war including his allies as well. His main force consisted of 450.000 soldiers, and he crossed the Russian border with 611.000 soldiers (Lefebvre, 2011). The next great change in army size happened in the 19th century. While at the beginning of that century armies of some hundred thousand soldiers were fighting, by the end of the century and the time of the Great War armies numbered in the millions. This development is illustrated quite well by the fact that while the armed forces of the Habsburg Empire included 561.000 soldiers in 1815, the Austro-Hungarian Empire that evolved from it entered the Great War with 4 million soldiers (Gömöry, 1893; Kleindel, 1989). Data on the latter indicate that during the Great War – outside the colonies, where great military operations were not taking place – the combined military forces of the Central and Allied Powers consisted of 65-66 million soldiers (Kleindel, 1989).

This enormous mass of people was – mostly – removed far away from their homelands in a cultural era when geography and geographical science were flourishing. Geographers saw a great opportunity in the war: they wanted to make their profession more popular, while they also anticipated an improvement of general geographical literacy resulting from soldiers travelling in masses. School and world atlases relatively cheaply available at the time were quite popular with the literate masses created by public education: following the daily military news became a habit for Europeans (as there were hardly any families in the countries participating in the war without some members in the theaters of war). War has affected human culture - Egon Fiedell believes that war brought about the modern man leaving the stage of history - and it has changed human thinking as well. A German geographer of the era, Richard Hennig wrote in an academic journal in 1917 that society's geographical literacy was improved in two ways: by maps used by people left behind in the homeland, and by experiences of soldiers on the fronts. We might morally object to Hennig's attitude, as this education has cost millions of lives, but we cannot deny the impact of the modern military's geographical knowledge on society.

Beginning in the late 15th century, this impact is also present in the phenomenon of expanding travel literature related to some particular military campaign. This literature can be called military travel literature, and research indicates that it has enormous significance in shaping nations' geographical literacy (Nagy, 2006). In case we insist on categorizing military travel literature within one of the disciplines, it should clearly be part of military geography, but it could also find its place in the field of narrative geography (erzählende Geographie) as espoused by Ewald Banse. One of the most significant German geographers of his era, Banse believed that Europeans acquire their geographical knowledge from their literary readings, especially prose, and not so much from public education (Banse, 1928, 1932, 1933). We need to keep in mind that in the early 20th century, there was no television or Internet, and the radio was still considered a luxury item in a number of European countries. In many of his works, Bane had mentioned those masterpieces of world literature – mainly novels – that conveyed deep geographical knowledge. As his research advanced, he called this

collection of works literary geography (schöne Geographie), which — in modern interpretation — is not sharply separated from narrative geography.

What is certain is that military travelogues and various stories about the military have been popular for centuries, including nearly all genres of literature from anecdotes to travelogues and novels. So, what are these works about? Classic travelogues written by soldiers are quite like other contemporary examples of the genre, though parts of their travel experiences and adventures are related to the military and the landscape is often populated by armies. Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico, had written such letters to his sovereign (Passuth, 1944). At the same time, these travelogues - keeping in mind that these were the only sources of news on the geography of distant lands for centuries – were obviously rich in geographical and ethnographical data. Other genres of military narrative geography are tales and semi-true anecdotes, such as the Münchhausen stories, whose primary purpose was to entertain. Even though the bestknown Münchhausen stories are the ones retold by a peer of Goethe, Gottfried August Bürger (Bürger, 1985), we should remember that Münchhausen was a real historical figure, who lived between 1720 and 1797. In fact, he is a prototype of the timeless, jovial, in his own way sharp, and anecdote-telling soldier, whose stories include an important element of society's general geographical consciousness: genius loci. Although everyone knows that the stories are fictitious – though with deep meanings – , they communicate a great number of geographical clichés, for example about Russia, which even present generations still rely upon. Hemingway's A Farewell to Arms (1942) illustrates the other end of the spectrum of narrative military travel literature: war novels or writings about military subjects, whose authors themselves often served as soldiers in various wars. It is a well-known fact of literary history that Hemingway served as a volunteer in the Italian theater during the Great War. Even though his novel is primarily a love story, it also conveys a lot of information about the geographical features of the theater as well as about contemporary Italian society as they were experienced by a foreign soldier.

The common thread connecting these three works is that they mainly convey the *genius loci* that the returning soldier had experience with.

3. The typology of military travel

When travels related to military affairs or its institutions are discussed, their different types need to be noted. Military travels can best be identified based on their purposes, which delineate three great groups of such travels: *private trips, trips related to performing some duty*, and finally *military expeditions*. The first two categories could be classified as business tourism, while the last one is only somewhat connected to the social phenomenon of tourism and only in its historically initial form.

The private trips of a soldier – travelling around the world free of his duties during his leave – are hardly any different than other types of tourism. In this case, the soldier is as much the subject of the tourism industry as anybody else acting as a tourist. In fact, the private trips of soldiers form an independent category for the sake of

completeness. What differentiates a soldier travelling as a civilian - and it applies primarily to professional soldiers – from other fellow tourists are his behavior in certain situations and occasionally his habits of consumption. Both can be explained by the fact that in modern history belonging to the military has become a profession requiring independent, high-level expertise, which supposes very strong military socialization. The second category – travelling to perform some duty – includes a virtually infinite number of travel types. Only the most typical ones will be discussed here. World travel during wartime has been mentioned already; however, military travel during peacetime is more varied, with official trips mostly within state borders being the most frequent ones. The distances covered and regions visited on these trips usually depend on the nature of the military duty. One example of these were official trips taken to South American countries by battleships of the German navy between 1919 and 1933 with a primary focus on foreign affairs (Fischer, 2014). Another great example is trips taken to the Middle East, especially Syria by Mihaly Fadlallah el Hedad, a military officer of the Austro-Hungarian Empire of Arab descent responsible for managing the cavalry's horses (Tardy, 1979). The purpose of these trips was solely one of military technology: to buy animals for breeding. The third example also involves a German, Oskar von Niedermayer, who travelled to Afghanistan and the Middle-East mainly during the Great War (Seidt, 2002; Friese and Geilen, 2002) with military politics and intelligence purposes. Another type of military travel includes military staff trips, many of which are directly to the locations of military conflicts and their purpose is to gain professional experience and to make this experience available for their country's military professionals. Naturally, a benefit of these trips was that the participants got to know the geography of the country that became a theater of war. Such a trip happened following the 1935-1936 Italian-Ethiopian war, when an international (Albanian, American, Japanese, Hungarian and Austrian) group of military officers was travelling around Abyssinia, annexed by Italy at the time, for eight weeks (Németh, 1936). Another famous example of this type is a trip well-known in geopolitical history taken by Karl von Haushofer to Japan in 1908-1910, which inspired his work Dai Nihon published in 1913, which, in turn, had a great impact on German geopolitics (Ebeling,

Another category of staff travels are trips taken by military professionals. Most military academies in the world include a tour of their country in their curriculum so that future officers may familiarize themselves in detail with regions that may become potential locations for military conflicts. A similar tour is also done by military experts, also in their own countries, to survey potential theaters of war to assess the need for infrastructure (train depots, crossings, dirt roads, train tracks, highways, etc.) and necessary repairs to existing infrastructure at these locations. These trips serve the purpose of preparing the theater of war. Military staff trips are also taken – primarily to allied countries – to get acquainted with other armed forces. This is also a task for military diplomacy.

During peacetime, there is a special type of travel which is related to armed conflicts but is not warlike. As this might be difficult to grasp at first, let it be illustrated with the march of the Swedish king, Charles XII, and his troops from the Ottoman Empire to

1944).

Stralsund in 1714-1715. (These Swedish troops were trapped in Ottoman territory in 1708 following the battle of Poltava, and were marching to the Swedish-governed port city (Ballagi, 1922). The Swedes' trip across Europe was – contrary to presentment – a very practical use of the army: they were marching for the sake of a later war. In fact, troops may travel in their own countries for some practical reason: for mock warfare, training, weapons practice, or even for participating in search and rescue tasks.

Finally, soldiers may travel for scientific purposes: there are military campaigns with an added scientific purpose and there are military expeditions of purely scientific nature. The best-known example of the former is Napoleon's endeavor in Egypt, in which scientists were consciously included. This was the campaign during which the Rosetta stone was found (Pécsi, 1995). Exclusively scientific military expeditions — such as Admiral Byrd's exploration of Antarctica with a whole fleet in 1946-1947 — are somewhat out of the scope of tourism, but their development was made possible by military travels.

Military campaigns result not only in the improvement of the geographical literacy of the masses but also in exploration of regions and landscapes unknown up to then. These phenomena are referred to in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but the military campaign best-known in travel history for exploring a territory is described in *Anabasis*. Xenophon's work (2009) is not only an account of a military campaign, but also a geographical description of Asia Minor as seen by soldiers during the war. The separation of military and scientific expeditions was a long historical process. The above-mentioned Cortes letters attest to the fact that elements of war, descriptions of new lands and scientific notes usually cannot be clearly separated. We need to remember that Cortes was a learned conquistador (Hartau, 1994). Mixing different contents was typical of nearly all world travellers of the Age of Discovery, from Columbus to James Cook (Bucher, 2006; Emersleben, 1998).

The separation of these contents dates back to the time when permanent armies started to emerge and European military officers needed more thorough expertise. In the age of permanent armies, military training became organized and institutionalized with graduating students educated in natural, social and technological sciences, who were capable of leading scientific expeditions if necessary. During the 19th century, modern armed forces included more and more educated officers, as leading armies of hundreds of thousands, and later millions of soldiers required educated men at the very top levels of decision making. The daily operation of an army also required lower ranking soldiers to be skilled in various civilian professions as well. These all allowed so-called technical expeditions to be organized, which were most similar to the tourism of extreme sports today, although the two are not the same at all.

The military's technical expeditions – besides having purposes of propaganda – are based on the simple fact that this social institution has all the knowledge, personnel and technology necessary for geographical expeditions. Expeditions lead by the Italian engineer and military officer, Umberto Nobile are some of the best examples of these endeavors. He led expeditions to the North Pole in the 1920s (Cross, 2001; Tilgenkamp, 1957) flying state-of-the-art airships with the purpose of finding land in the Arctic.

Conclusions

Several attractions of dark tourism have been closely linked to the armed forces, although tourist destinations of this type of tourism cannot be associated exclusively with the military. At the same time, it is clear that the events of military history have created popular destinations of modern dark tourism. Recent increased interest in memorials of the Great War illustrates this point perfectly (Irimiás, 2013). However, this dark tourism associated with the military has a historically less spectacular but more impressive side: military world travel, which contributed greatly to improving and shaping humanity's geographical and ethnographical knowledge. One of its tools is military travel literature, which has, by now, been integrated into geographical travel literature. The emergence of this genre as well as the travel types and methods typical of military life fit perfectly into tourism's past and present. While soldiers hardly appear in world history as tourists, the effect of their presence is often the same as that of civilian tourists, whose geographical worldview has been integrating knowledge gained and conveyed by military travels for centuries. This is the bright side of dark tourism presented in this paper. Further research on the topic should extend to detailed discussion of the impact of military travels on society's geographical knowledge. Another area of further research should be the tourism-related aspects of recent military travels.

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