

Southbound, to the Austrian Riviera: The Habsburg Patronage of Tourism in the Eastern Adriatic

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Abstract

Anthropologists writing on the beginnings of mass tourism in Europe have tended to overlook the key role played by the European aristocracies in the early development of tourism. This paper is a contribution to the historical anthropological study of the role of aristocracy in inventing and promoting seaside bathing resorts, by studying the case of the Habsburg patronage in the Eastern Adriatic. The Habsburgs produced a series of interesting personalities (typically archdukes and archduchesses) who, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, shared an interest in the ‘Austrian Riviera’ and strived to develop an Austrian counterpart to other prominent Mediterranean rivieras and resorts. Their efforts typically consisted of inventing seaside destinations and connecting them to the supranational networks of cosmopolitan places, encouraging tourist infrastructure development, launching/promoting local arts and crafts, and initiating measures of cultural and natural heritage preservation.

KEYWORDS: Aristocracy, Habsburgs, tourism, aristocratic patronage of tourism, Eastern Adriatic, Dalmatia, the Mediterranean

Introduction

When anthropologists write about the beginnings of mass tourism in Europe, they tend to identify the middle class as the single agency of its early development. The important part played by aristocracy, evident to historians of tourism, tends correspondingly to be ignored by anthropologists. A salient case of overlooking the pioneering work of aristocrats in the field of tourism is Orvar Löfgren’s book on the history of vacations (Löfgren 1999). I choose Löfgren here as a valuable example, because he is a historical anthropologist committed to careful historical reconstruction of cultural practices. He is not a kind of ‘synchronicist’ anthropologist indifferent towards historical accounts of culture. In an article published prior to the mentioned book, Löfgren (1994) gave an account of the process of learning to be a tourist that took place in Sweden over the last two centuries. The colonization of the coast, the invention of the summer bathing, of seaside spas, hotels and boarding houses,

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‘the cultural encounter on the coast’ (ibid.: 113), the development of the bathing habits and of new forms of ‘territorial behaviour’ on the beach, new sensibilities, the appearance of the fine status distinctions: all these, it is suggested, emerged as a result of the Swede middle-class cultural project. The landscape sensibilities as well as the leisurely uses of the coastal environment by the vacationing townspeople, it is also suggested, were importantly shaped by the vanguard of this class, which was simultaneously the vanguard of tourism: the artists. By establishing their early colonies in remote coastal settings, they were actually the pioneering colonizers of the coast (105–106). Working-class families, on the opposite extreme of this social train, formed the rear: as latecomers, they were still infrequent visitors to the coasts in the 1930s (ibid.: 114).

But the aristocracy? While paying a good deal of attention to the development of status distinctions, e.g., in boarding houses where ‘each visitor learned his place both in the dining room and among the different coteries’ (ibid.: 110), Löfgren does not mention aristocracy at all. There is one passing reference to ‘prominent guests’ whose arrival ‘was often noted in the local press. A closed, elitist world was created here’ (1994: 108). Assuming that this evocative characterization refers to the intermingled society of the noble elite and wealthy bourgeoisie, one cannot avoid noticing how identification of the social class, rather precise in other cases, is blurred when it comes to aristocracy. In the chapter on the making of Mediterranean summer vacations, Löfgren similarly makes one singular passing mention of those representatives of a social class defined by a venerable sociological tradition as the leisure class par excellence. Before summer was invented on the French Riviera by ‘one or two entrepreneurial American couples’ in the 1920s,¹ Nice and other places along the coast were flooded by visitors only during winter: ‘The English and French dominated in numbers, but the most striking cosmopolitan element was flamboyant Russian counts and grand dukes, who escaped severe winters of St. Petersburg to build their own cathedral in Nice and drink caseloads of sweet champagne’ (Löfgren 1999: 165).

Löfgren sees aristocracy as a dashing clientele invading the coastal towns in November and disbanding in April, thus implying that the Riviera was invented by someone else (the middle class?) rather than aristocracy. Only after it had been brought into existence as an attractive winter resort, could Nice have become a setting for the congregation of aristocrats who thus could not possibly have contributed anything to the making of the place (except, obviously, building the Russian Orthodox cathedral there).

Yet aristocracy had played a central role in discovering and promoting the Riviera. For the centennial of his birth, the municipality of Cannes erected a statue of Lord Brougham, the lord chancellor of the United Kingdom, who is credited with inventing the place. He built himself a villa there in the 1830s. He died soon after but nevertheless managed to persuade many of his British friends to build houses in Cannes and spend their winters there. In a few decades, Cannes was transformed from a small fishing village with less

¹ ‘Fitzgerald was right. In many ways the Murphys did invent the new summer life on the Riviera, with an ample help from their French and American friends, artists like Fernand Léger and Pablo Picasso, writers like Dorothy Parker and John Dos Passos’ (Löfgren 1999: 166). Löfgren is referring here to F. Scott Fitzgerald’s novel *Tender is the Night*.

than one thousand inhabitants to the one of the most attractive resorts of the Riviera with abundance of hotels, casinos, promenades and sanatoria (Deprest 1997: 130; Woloshyn 2009). Lord Brougham is also credited with promoting Nice, although he was preceded there for more than half a century by another British, not a blue-blooded this one, viz. the writer Tobias Smollett.² The Russian empress and her court, who began to migrate to their winter headquarters in Nice from 1856-7, gave a tremendous boost to the city (Cuturello 2002), which was now capable of attracting other crowned heads. Toward the end of the century, Queen Victoria and her royal family became another regular *hivernante* in Nice.

Komm mit nach Abbazia...

When, at the turn of the eighteenth century, Dalmatia came under Habsburg rule, the era of mass tourism had not yet dawned in the eastern Adriatic.³ The first Austrian emperor Franz I came to visit the newly acquired possession on the southern border of the empire in 1818. He was primarily preoccupied with fortifications, barracks and other military considerations; not surprisingly, as the new Kingdom of Dalmatia was a long and narrow strip of land along the coast threatened by the vast Ottoman hinterland. During the 1840s, however, things started slowly to change as Austrian Lloyd, the state shipping company, introduced its cruising tours along the coast. By the 1850s, travelling on Lloyd steamers along the east Adriatic coast was an established practice, especially since the construction of the *Südbahn* (the Southern Railway), connecting Vienna with Trieste, had been completed. Moving along the coast, the cruisers would make longer stops at bays, thus allowing the travellers to pay visit to towns or just to contemplate them from the board. No trips in the interior were considered because of the poor state of the roads. Francesco Carrara (1846), the local specialist for Dalmatia, was highly critical of this practice which he dubbed *shipboard travel writing*. Carrara was not exaggerating, since much of the travel reporting from the Lloyd cruising of the period discloses the centrality of the deck perspective. The Lloyd *literary-artistic department*, a prototype of the marketing division, regularly offered complimentary journeys to writers and painters. Writers were expected to produce travelogues or travel guides while painters portrayed the coastal towns or painting seascapes. They would naturally install their easel on the deck while polite conversation and other cosmopolitan interaction taking place on the deck was a topical ingredient of travel writing.

Archduke Ferdinand Max, the future Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, made his first Mediterranean cruise in 1850, from which he returned with a passion for Turkey and the Orient in general. The following year, he sailed through the Western Mediterranean

² As it happened in so many similar cases, Smollett was naturally not the first one to discover either Nice or its climatic, therapeutic and other qualities. In his *Travels through France and Italy* (1766), he reveals that Nice with its extraordinary climate was strongly recommended to him by a professor returning from Italy whom he met in one auberge. Smollett was advised to visit Nice after telling him that, because of his pulmonary problems, he was planning to spend the winter in Provence (Deprest 1997: 132).

³ In this essay, the name Dalmatia is used along the same line as it was used by the Austrian writers of the period. Besides Dalmatia *stricto sensu*, it may therefore include (depending on the context) Istria, the so called Croatian Littoral (the Quarnero Gulf area) and the Mouths of Cattaro, today part of Montenegro.

and along the West African coast. A. Trogher, his medical doctor who accompanied him on both journeys, described the second journey in a book, published in Trieste in 1855 and entitled *Letters from the journey through Istria, Dalmatia, Albania, Southern Italy, Spain, Portugal, Madeira and the part of West African coast*. Trogher's patriotic sentiments are often given voice in the book in which he paid a great deal of attention to the climate of Dalmatia. He actually claimed in it that the climate was better than that of Nice. He also repeatedly admonished the Austrian readership not to travel to Nice or Italy, because they possessed all that, and more, at home in Dalmatia (Pederin 1991: 175–176). Labels such as *Austrian Nice* and *our South* started to circulate at roughly the same time. There were two candidate towns competing for the prestigious *niçoise* appellation: Gorizia and Opatija (more known under its Italian name Abbazia). While the first one, not a coastal town at all, would not have any chances in the competition, Opatija, positioned on the southern Istrian coast, developed into a most prestigious Austrian bathing resort.

From the mid-century onwards, Opatija's climate was studied and celebrated for its healing properties by several climatologists and climatotherapists, in particular by Leopold Schrötter von Kristelli, the founder (it is claimed), of the first chair of laryngology in the world. Medicine and medical climatology in particular, were certainly one of strengths of Austrian science and spa medicine, which developed into an important sector of Austria's medical marketplace (Steward 2002: 26). By the 1860s, climatotherapy was established as a new and modern science (Woloshyn 2009: 389). Von Kristelli argued that the air of Opatija, thanks to the proximity of coniferous woods, was characterized by the high concentration of aerosols beneficial to the respiratory system. Also hydrotherapy, which had its chair inaugurated at the Viennese Medical School in 1860 (Steward 2002: 28), made important steps forward and was increasingly related to the development of the bathing tourism. Opatija's spas were soon offering grape cures, cold water cures, therapeutic gymnastics, seawater baths, pneumatic cures, electric, Roman, Irish, medicamental and other baths (Plöckinger 2002: 19). Yet Opatija's chief competitors within the empire were not other seaside resorts along the eastern Adriatic, but the thermal spas in the interior. Confronted with a rich variety of fashionable spas such as Bad Ischl, Karlsbad, Marienbad and Baden, Opatija managed to become the second biggest bathing town only by the last decade of the Monarchy. Then Opatija also managed to attract its most famed visitors like Gustav Mahler, Franz Lehár, James Joyce, Anton Chekhov, Isadora Duncan, Giacomo Puccini, Bertha von Suttner and Lenin. Immediately before the Great War, groups of British tourists started to visit Opatija (Pederin 1991: 219). Opatija could also boast a few royal visitors such as the German, Romanian and Norwegian imperial or royal couples. Habsburg aristocrats, of course, were a constant presence in the town.

Insofar as Austria was primarily a continental power and its geographical imagination was in good part influenced by its Alpine culture, Austrian continental, often Alpine, spas epitomized the aristocratic Austrian resort and thus attracted the bulk of the Habsburg patronage. Even the most thalassophile persons among the Habsburgs could sometimes feel 'out of place' in the Adriatic. The Austrian ethnologist Reinhard Jöhler, who has described this 'continental bias' with a great deal of sensitivity, gives account

of a conversation between the crown prince Rudolf (well-known to ethnologists as the initiator of the ethnographic description of the Empire) and the popular Styrian *Heimatroman* writer Peter Rosegger. The latter had been invited by the crown prince to a private reading in his villa in Opatija: ‘On that occasion Rosegger presented his stories from the Alpine region. Although the subsequent conversation with crown prince Rudolf started by discussing the navy, it then continued with the Alpine folk songs and dialects as main topics’ (Johler 1999: 90).

The popular Austrian writer Hermann Bahr likened the view of the Trieste Bay he enjoyed above the town to an Alpine pasture on the sea (Bahr 1996 [1909]: 23). One might even speculate whether the Austrian predilection for Opatija had something to do with the impressive Učka Mountain, which rises high above this sea resort and casts its shadow on the summer beaches in the afternoon. Compared to the medical, touristic and artistic representations of the French Riviera, which put emphasis on hot and dry air, on dry soil, good for growing citruses and olives (as well as healing tuberculosis), and on the *lumière aveuglante* (Woloshyn 2009), the Austrian picture of the Dalmatian Mediterranean was significantly softened. Opatija was advertised, thanks to von Kristelli, for its relatively humid air. Blinding sunlight there certainly was in Dalmatia, but the colours could also be softer, like watercolours.

Sea Voyagers

Despite the dominant Danubian strategic and economic orientation of the empire, the Habsburg dynasty produced a range of personalities, some provided with enormous political influence, other rather marginal, who developed a strikingly different attitude toward the sea and the Adriatic in particular. The victory over the Italian fleet in the battle off the island of Vis in 1866 gave a boost to empire’s ambitions of becoming a naval power. The growth of the empire’s naval strength was in good part to be attributed to the endeavours of two sea-loving archdukes: Ferdinand Max, who was the admiral of the fleet before venturing to Mexico, and Franz Ferdinand, who closely followed the developments of the navy and played a critical role in persuading the emperor of the necessity of enhancing its forces.

Despite the empire’s continental bias and before its naval awakening, however, several imperial ships took part in exploration voyages and scientific expeditions. One early expedition to the Caribbean and Venezuela took place in 1755. The Austrian Habsburgs naturally shared much with the Spanish Habsburg line and its imperial expertise in the Americas. Overseas missions and expeditions intensified with the beginning of the 19th century. The first fully-fledged scientific expedition was carried out by the imperial frigate S.M.S. Novara in 1857-59 on the initiative of Ferdinand Max. Its purpose was to circumnavigate the globe and collect as much data and materials as possible. Before planning the itinerary, the archduke sought advice of Alexander von Humboldt who responded enthusiastically. For the occasion, the vessel was adapted in order to be able to accommodate the scientific commission, consisting of geologists, botanists, zoologists and ethnographers, with the reading room and library, the ballroom (the expedition, unsurprisingly, carried aboard a musical band), the cabins turned into small laboratories (Organ 2007).

Another voyage, which had a far more resounding effect on the popular imagination of the sea, was Franz Ferdinand's well-publicized voyage around the world on the board of the S.M.S. Kaiserin Elisabeth. His stay in Yokohama, where he changed the ship, made Yokohama enter the imaginary world of the Austrian operetta. Toward the end of the century, the Habsburg Monarchy, still largely seen as a land empire, felt enough self-confident on the high seas to participate in several international interventions or relief actions around the globe. As part of the *Eight-Nation Alliance* during the Boxer Rebellion, Austria intervened on the Chinese coast with six cruisers. While the ships of the *K. und K.* navy were increasingly involved in diplomatic missions, military interventions and exploration (the expedition to the Far East in 1874 was also related to Borneo whose northern shore was under consideration as a possible Austrian colony), the mercantile marine, the Austrian Lloyd in particular, eventually joined by the Austro-Americana (also based in Trieste), were intensifying and diversifying their merchant and passenger routes. The Lloyd was traditionally focused on the Levant routes which, by the opening of the Suez Canal, extended toward India, Singapore, Hong Kong, Japan and the Chinese coast. Its early focus on the Levantine routes was actually a Venetian legacy, and Trieste began self-consciously to represent itself as the heir to Venice. The affection for the eastern Adriatic, which had also been their traditional provider of excellent crews, was part of that legacy. The appreciation of *Kameradschaft* and respect for his largely Dalmatian crew that heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand learned on his long voyage toward Japan, were seen by some as a likely source of his penchant for the Southern Slavs which was expected to translate itself in the triad reorganization of the monarchy. In his conception of the triple monarchy, the Croats were envisaged as a leading nationality (Sondhaus 1994: 125).

An Archduke Anticipating Mediterranean Destinations and Identities

Archduke Franz Ferdinand was a stiff, arrogant, authoritarian, militarist, and distrustful person. At least that is the standard image of him which has never been really questioned until recently. His ill-repute was partly a consequence of his unrestrained passion for shooting animals: among European aristocrats, he was famous for his *battues* (Wasson 2006: 91). Even the emperor, who is credited with having shot over 50,000 animals during his hunting career, considered Ferdinand's way of shooting savage and unworthy of a true hunter. His deep love for his not-sufficiently-aristocratic wife, which encouraged him to stubbornly oppose the Emperor's will, seemingly did not help him earning sympathies among ordinary folks. In today Dalmatia, hardly anyone is aware that he was well-disposed toward the Croats and that he admired the seafaring excellence of the Dalmatians.

This archduke was a good friend of another archduke who at first glance seems a perfect structuralist inversion of the failed emperor: Ludwig Salvator, an eccentric scientist who used to go around dressed in bizarre poor man's attire (he was often mistaken for a beggar), sired plenty of illegitimate children to young peasant servants, spent a good deal of his time cruising on a yacht turned into a scientific laboratory (some would add: and into a zoo, since he had monkeys on the board), and wrote many exotic books on numerous

Mediterranean islands which are extremely difficult to find in libraries. What on earth could possibly unite these two aristocrats? The Austrian Slavacist Brigitta Mader (1998; 2000b), a specialist on Salvator, has argued that, besides their love for the sea and sailing, they shared passion for botany and for the preservation of cultural and natural heritage.

Salvator's contribution to the development of tourism on the Austrian Riviera was largely an indirect one. His research on numerous localities in the eastern Adriatic was part of his wider preoccupation with discovering and describing less known Mediterranean places, in particular islands and tracts of the coast. In his case, a special patriotic focus on the Austrian coastland is virtually nonexistent: for his late-Enlightenment (Mader 2006) cosmopolitan curiosity, even the Mediterranean was a bit too limited (he partly expanded his research to some overseas places and wrote monographs on Los Angeles and Tasmania). Salvator produced a wide range of monographs and articles on chosen places of the Mediterranean. He has been widely known for his popularization of Majorca which he described in a six-volume monograph on the Balearic Islands. (He also chose the Majorcan village of Deia as his first residence. The place is now the propriety of the Hollywood star Michael Douglas, allegedly a fan of the archduke). Among his monographs, those on Ibiza, the Ionian Islands of Paxos, Levkas and Zakynthos, the Lipari Islands and Ustica in the Tyrrhenian, Cyprus are most significant. His monograph on Zakynthos, the Venetian Zante, eventually became a founding text of the local identity-building process (Johler 1999: 98). By the same token, he influenced the identity-building process in Majorca; the island also hosts a museum devoted to him. Although particularly enthusiastic for plants, his interest in ethnography was far from marginal. His field research with the Mediterranean peoples was based on a questionnaire produced by himself and eventually baptized *Tabulae Ludovicianae*. Following the *Wörter und Sachen* principle, he produced tens of hundreds of illustrations of objects and techniques of material culture accompanied by descriptions. This method, which had been introduced by two linguists (Hugo Schuchard and Rudolf Meringer), was also used in folkloristics and in Romance languages linguistics: another two fields well-mastered by the Archduke.

Salvator's publications on the places of the Austrian Riviera deal, among others, with the Gulf of Boka Kotorska, the Gulf of Bakar and Opatija. He wrote on the salt pans of Ston and of Pag Island, on traditional costumes of the Dalmatian islanders and highlanders, on the physical types of local populations (in the article *The Serbs in the Adriatic*), on oral traditions, and so forth. His articles, published in the Viennese journal *Adria*, which was diligently read by the court, come close to the literature promoting places of the Austrian Riviera. These deal with the prospects of Makarska as a sea-bathing resort (Salvator 1909), sea-bathing resorts of southern Dalmatia, the channel of Kolečep (Calamota) near Dubrovnik, the project of the natural park on the island of Mljet (Meleda), and some others. He was an eager visitor of universal as well as regional expositions. Both he and Franz Ferdinand took a keen interest in the First Istrian Exposition which took place in Koper (Capodistria) in 1910. Two central pavilions were dedicated to seafaring and to the sea bathing establishments. (Franz Ferdinand was particularly involved in the exhibition as the person in command of the imperial commission for the ancient monuments preservation.)

Inventing Dalmatian Lace

Other aristocrats from the court could have been involved more directly in the promotion of tourism. Archduchesses Maria Josefa and Maria Theresa, both of them habituées of Dalmatian and Istrian sea baths (the first one had the predilection for the Brioni islands), were involved in discovering and promoting folk arts and crafts, embroidery in particular. As a patroness of the Dalmatian folk arts and crafts – adorned with the honorary title of *Her Highness the Patroness of the Austrian Riviera* (Pederin 1991: 182) – Maria Josefa provided for the establishment of the *Society for the Promotion of Lace and other Folk Arts and Crafts in Dalmatia* (1905). Under her patronage, the society organized several expositions of Dalmatian lace in different European cities: two in Vienna, one in Graz, one in London and one in Berlin (Vojnović Traživuk 2006: 284). The first exposition of Dalmatian lace in Vienna took place in the *Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie*, while the second one was attracting attention at the large Adriatic Exposition of 1913, when the vogue of Dalmatia peaked in the metropolis.

Maria Theresa, in contrast, founded in Vienna a technical school of embroidery and also set up a sales studio there (Johler 1999: 96). Dalmatian lace was thus constructed as one of central artifacts in the tourist promotion of Dalmatia. Embroidery workshops were also mushrooming in Dalmatia, beginning in Split (1905), while the most distinguished one was that of Pag. Other baronesses and countesses also participated in the endeavours for the promotion and the development of embroidery and other crafts, among them Baroness Stephanie Rubido-Zichy, who was actively involved in the everyday life of the local community. Natalie Bruck-Auffenberg, an influential writer and a specialist for ‘the women’s question’, belonging to the ranks of the upper bourgeoisie, was on good terms with the court, which allowed her to assume several important assignments. As a leading specialist for the Dalmatian embroidery, she was charged with the supervision of the first exposition in Vienna. In her book titled *Dalmatia and its Folk Art*, she argued in favour of the protection and revitalization of embroidery (Bruck-Auffenberg 1910). All those endeavours implied collecting, which was largely limited to private collections (Vojnović Traživuk 2006: 291). Virtually all illustrations appearing in her book were taken from impressive private collections of aristocratic amateurs and promoters such as Maria Josefa or baronesses Rubido-Zichy and Hedwige von Haas-Teichen. Rubido-Zichy used to organize happenings for the prominent guests of Opatijan baths, aimed at presenting pieces of her collection to them. The guests were simultaneously taught the rudiments of folk arts and crafts evaluation. Gaining rich customers, such as the Austrian heir to the throne or the Queen Elizabeth of Romania, was essential for stimulating for ‘revitalizing’ local industry.

Residing in ‘Our South’

Although the Habsburg aristocrats were too cosmopolitan to harbour Austrian patriotism in a manner reminiscent of a Doctor Trogher, they certainly did not shy from buying possessions in the Austrian Adriatic, building palaces and spending part of their time there. An early Habsburg acquisition had been the elegant Miramar castle near Trieste, built by Ferdinand Max in the 1850s when he became commander-in-chief of the Navy. Miramar

castle was clearly meant to become his main residence. He received the Mexican delegation there and he departed for Mexico from the castle's pier. The castle eventually became the summer residence of the Habsburg family. Some of the visitors returned several times. Empress Sissi liked the place and its original proprietor from the very beginning (Triestine local historians even claim that Sissi first saw the sea in Trieste, which is unlikely).

By contrast, the Adriatic seems to have been less central to Archduke Ludwig Salvator. His first residence (if one does not count his yacht) was bought in 1872 in Deia on Majorca. (Its name was also Miramar.) A few years later he bought another one in Muggia near Trieste. Eventually he bought the third one, in Ramleh at the outskirts of Alexandria, which became his favourite winter residence (Mader 1998). Although considered secondary compared to the Majorcan residence, the Muggian villa however saw Salvator spending most of his summers in it during the remaining three decades of his life. Archduke Karl Stefan had a palace in Pula, where he served as admiral of the fleet. He had another winter residence built south of Pola, on the island of Veli Lošinj (Lussingrande). Its location had been carefully studied with a view to protect as much as possible his wife (Maria Theresa) and six children from the risk of tuberculosis. (Ironically, his youngest child Wilhelm, better known as the Red Prince, eventually died of tuberculosis in a Soviet prison in Kiev; see Snyder 2009). Crown Prince Rudolf had a villa in Opatija while his only daughter received, as part of her dowry, the fascinating islet of Lokrum (Lacroma) opposite the old town of Dubrovnik. Lokrum had been originally bought by Ferdinand Max's wife. The future Mexican emperor built there a mansion and – typically – a botanical garden with hundreds of exotic plant species.

In her memoirs (Ryan 1916), Nellie Ryan, an English governess hired by Archduke Karl Stefan, had described several sailing trips of his family which she had joined. Long weeks were spent in Venice, during spring as well as summer; once the family was bathing in Lido for a whole month. A summer sailing with the family along the Adriatic and toward Greece started with a zigzagging between the two Adriatic coasts. Some towns (e.g., Šibenik and Split) were skipped, others not: in Bari, a couple of hours visit was planned but the departure was postponed to the next day due to complications caused by Italian customs officers as the archduke urgently needed to buy 'a little black goat, which very much took his fancy'. *Plava špilja* (Blue Grotto) of the Biševo Island, celebrated by Austrian writers as 'our Grotta Azzura' on 'our Capri', was also visited, but seemingly without patriotic effusions.

Places visited by crowned heads were eager to advertise these visits with a view to attracting more visitors. Not all visits were pure leisure, however. During one of his working visits in 1909, Franz Ferdinand showed a due interest in the condition of the Riviera. Accompanied by his wife, he participated in Trieste to the launching of the ship *Radetzki*. After that, the couple boarded the imperial yacht *Miramar*. On the way to Split, they made a stop on the Brijuni (Brioni) islands to visit their owner, the industrialist Paul Kuppelwieser. In Split, the unavoidable Frane Bulić, the director of the Archaeological Museum and the leading Dalmatian archaeologist, showed them the Diocletian's Palace. During their visit to the mayor of Split, the archduke inquired about the statistics of the port's traffic. When back to Trieste, he visited the Lloyd's president and inquired about the company's business performance (Pederin 1991: 217).

Whose 'Our South'?

At the height of the Dalmatia craze, Hermann Bahr, the famed Austrian writer and literary critic, made a swift trip to the eastern Adriatic in order to write a travel account. It was published in 1909 and titled *Dalmatinische Reise*. In this book, Bahr strongly criticized Austrian government for its myopic attitude towards Dalmatia and especially its lethargic attitude towards developing tourism there (Bahr 1996 [1909]). His main findings were that 1) the government did not sufficiently invest in building hotels (there was a serious lack of accommodation facilities); 2) the government was distrustful of both natives (seen as potential nationalists) and tourists (potential spies); 3) there were no German upper- and middle-class tourists coming to Dalmatia.

The picture of the Austrian inertia painted by Bahr was certainly exaggerated. Economic historians now concur that the last years of the Monarchy were characterized by vigorous economic development which was also evident in tourism. Because of the relative scarcity of tourist infrastructure, the extent of the Austro-Hungarian Adriatic cosmopolitanism was limited, yet Bahr's suggestion that the Austrian Adriatic tourism was essentially flawed because of the absence of well-off German visitors was revealing of hidden assumptions of a different kind. (These assumptions might have been an additional cause of Franz Ferdinand's resentment for the book.)

While highly critical of the government, Bahr's book was also a patriotic celebration of *our South*. Besides using familiar phrases like 'our Nice' or 'our Grotta Azzura', he referred to the islet of Lokrum as 'milder and more fascinating than Corfu'; Salona was dubbed 'our Pompei'; Frane Bulić became 'Schliemann of Salona' (1996 [1909]: 97, 71). Dalmatia was referred to as 'Switzerland in the Adriatic' – but also as 'Austrian Cinderella' (ibid.: 106). This patriotism is highly ambiguous however for it seems to carry both imperialist and nationalist overtones.⁴ Bahr's attitude toward Dalmatian ethnic and cultural hybridity was equally ambivalent: it was both celebrated and resented as something inducing pain.

In the age when tourism in Austria-Hungary was increasingly entangled in ethno-nationalist competition and hence nationalistically profiled, the Habsburg imperial vision, embedded in aristocratic practices of leisure, was naturally of limited appeal. Nationalist organizations exhorted tourists to do their part to support their nation within Austria by spending money according to the nationality of the hotelier, restaurant owner, or innkeeper, and wherever possible, by convincing other tourists to do the same (Judson 2002: 147). Exclusive German tourist destinations and facilities for German tourists, Italian for Italian tourists, Czech for the Czechs and Slovene for the Slovenes only were mushrooming. Many nationalist tours and excursions to ethnically contested destinations ended with fist-fights, even bloodshed. Nationalist tourism was based on the assumption that visiting national places was the patriotic duty and the redemption of the national landscape. On the Austrian Riviera, German nationalists hoped to create a 'German outlet to the Mediterranean' (Judson 2002: 155) and for this reason clashed with Italian irredentists.

⁴ During his mature years lived in imperial Vienna, Bahr acted as an Austrian cosmopolitan. But he had been a committed German nationalist student in his youth, and eventually became the supporter of the Nazi regime.

Concluding Remarks: The Massive Role of Aristocratic Promoters

The nature of the sources on which this essay is based does not allow us to address certain issues characteristic of the anthropological interest in the coastlands, such as modes of appropriation of coastal spaces, conflicts arising from them, forms of real property on the coast, management of the environment, politics of coastal development, migration trends, and so forth, in this earliest period of the development of mass tourism in the eastern Adriatic.⁵ What can be discerned from these sources, however, is a certain pattern of aristocratic initiative in discovering and developing of tourist places that was tightly bound up with aristocratic life-styles. Aristocratic patronage implied specific effort (the 'work part' of the matter), but it was also integral part of leisure itself (visits of places, appearances at certain places etc.). The aristocratic presence in seaside spas and resorts represented an initial mode of building the reputation of the place and enhancing its potentials to attract further visitors. The hierarchy of aristocratic titles mirrored itself in the hierarchy of the resorts. Only places regularly visited by crowned heads could develop into first class resorts such as Nice, Biarritz (the favourite resort of the Empress Eugénie, Napoleon III's wife) or San Sebastián on the Biscay coast (patronized by the Spanish queen María Cristina who had her Miramar Palace built there) (Deprest 1997; Blackbourn 2002; Walton 2002; Wasson 2006). The Russian Romanovs, besides enjoying the pleasures of the Côte d'Azur, were instrumental in turning the Crimean coast into the fashionable Russian Riviera with Yalta as its most prestigious resort (McReynolds 2006). Even in Sweden, although a more egalitarian kind of kingdom, the discovery and promotion of its seaside resorts of the west coast heavily depended on domestic aristocracy (Facos 2002: 108).⁶

Compared to these, Opatija was a seaside resort of a somewhat lesser prestige. Although the development of the east Adriatic tourism seems to have been even more dependent on court patronage than was usual for the leading bathing resorts of Western Europe, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, for various reasons, did not manage to develop its own highest level seaside destination. The internal nationalist discord and even more the dualist structure of the empire (Opatija was part of the so-called Croatian Littoral, which belonged, in contrast to Dalmatia, to the Hungarian half of the Monarchy) were likely the most important reasons of this failure. Franz Ferdinand had allegedly resented the place because of the strong presence of the Jewish bourgeoisie there. The Empress Elizabeth (Sissi), the court person with the highest potential of adding auratic value to spas and seaside resorts, on the contrary, never went to Opatija (despite being strongly pro-Hungarian). Her lack of support for the main Habsburg seaside resort may perhaps be explained by her dislike of the Slavs (especially the Czechs and the Croatians) (Hamann

⁵ For such approach in studying current developments throughout the Mediterranean, see Selwyn and Boissevain 2004.

⁶ In the USA, this role played in Europe by aristocracy, was partly assumed by the New England 'bluebloods'. For a case of patronizing Pueblo pottery production in the Southwest, see Clemmer 2008.

1998: 232). Her travel itineraries and favourite destinations seem to confirm the avoidance of Slavic lands.

The Austro-Hungarian aristocracy were not unlike other European aristocracies in that their leisurely interest and activities focusing on the Austrian Riviera were embedded within a wider, supranational (rather than transnational), grid of more or less fashionable places where aristocracies used to congregate. In contrast to the nationalist tourists, they would equally gladly appear abroad, in rival empires or kingdoms, even republics: thus Sissi attracted attention in Bretagne or in the English spas, while Opatija had to boast its royal visitors from abroad.

Aristocratic efforts regarding the development of seaside resorts typically included the encouragement of local folk arts and crafts. The discovery of folk arts and crafts was part of the wider phenomenon of the discovery of 'the people' which took place throughout the 19th century. Aristocratic sponsorship of folk arts may be seen also as an extension of the traditional aristocratic sponsorship of arts. Many tourist souvenirs, Dalmatian lace among them, had been initially developed within this pattern.

Last but not least, cultural and natural heritage preservation was another characteristic preoccupation of aristocrats as developers. Preserving certain types of natural environments was part of ancient aristocratic traditions of establishing hunting parks and 'forests'. Archduke Ludwig Salvator was an advocate of establishing the natural park on the Mljet (Meleda) Island, which was the first and the only natural park of the Austrian Dalmatia. Salvator is currently much more known for his Majorcan possession between Deia and Valdemossa (ca. 150 square kilometres) where he established a kind of natural reserve in which the trees were forbidden to be harvested and the houses were not allowed to be constructed. The animals, exempted those bred for the sake of food, should have lived peacefully until their natural death. Salvator was not a vegetarian or radical ecologist (as suggested by the entry in the English Wikipedia), but his worldview was clearly a pacifist one, and it seems likely that he did not indulge in hunting at all. The Deian possession was not fenced and was open for the local populace; therefore it definitely was not a hunting park. It seems rather to have been a peculiar hybrid between the natural reserve and a private possession with a highly limited economic exploitation.

Regarding the cultural heritage preservation, we have referred to the case of Franz Ferdinand. Although one critic caustically remarked that he collected art objects in the same way as he was shooting animals (Mader 2000b) and despite his reactionary ideas about art, he not only produced important collections of folk arts objects but managed to establish an energetic body which took care of the cultural heritage in Austria. Considering the absence of the state legislation regarding heritage preservation, the Adriatic section of his commission worked rather efficiently and managed, besides encouraging many restoration works, to save many objects from destruction. It was equally efficient in preventing the illegal trade with the objects across the state border. One consequence of Franz Ferdinand's visit to the Brijuni Islands was that the industrialist Kuppelwieser had to return several stone carved coat of arms to the town of Omiš in Dalmatia where they had been collected (Mader 200b: 27).

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Povzetek

Ko antropologi obravnavajo začetke množičnega turizma v Evropi, se jim rado dogaja, da prezrejo ključno vlogo, ki so jo v zgodnjem razvoju množičnega turizma odigrale evropske aristokracije. Članek je prispevek k historičnoantropološkemu preučevanju vloge aristokracije pri odkrivanju in spodbujanju razvoja obalnih kopaliških mest ob primeru habsburškega pokroviteljstva turizma na vzhodnojadranski obali. Habsburžani so od druge polovice 19. stoletja naprej imeli na dvoru nepretrgan niz zanimivih osebnosti (tipično nadvojvod in nadvojvodinj), ki jih je povezovalo zanimanje za 'Avstrijsko riviero' in so si prizadevali razviti avstrijsko inačico drugih prestižnih mediteranskih rivier in morskih kopališč. Njihova prizadevanja so tipično vključevala: 1) odkrivanje obmorskih destinacij in njihovo integriranje v nadnacionalne mreže kozmopolitskih lokacij, 2) spodbujanje razvoja turistične infrastrukture, 3) lansiranje ter promocijo lokalne obrtne in umetniške proizvodnje, 4) pobude in ukrepe v zvezi z varovanjem kulturne in naravne dediščine.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: aristokracija, Habsburžani, turizem, aristokratsko pokroviteljstvo nad turizmom, Vzhodnojadranska obala, Dalmacija, Mediteran

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