

# The Habsburg Empire in the Adriatic: from discovering “our South” to the gospel of the European reconciliation

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In his latest travelogue titled *La leggenda dei monti naviganti*, the famed Italian journalist and travel writer Paolo Rumiz<sup>1</sup> begins with the following sentence: «Se una sera d'estate in Dalmazia senti un canto di montagna venire da una vela all'ancora, non aver dubbi: è una barca di triestini». To a reader familiar with the geography of the Adriatic, such an observation should not come as a surprise. Neither should the statement that Dalmatia is a system of valleys «riempite d'acqua salata, di praterie d'alghe, di banchi di pesce azzurro e di relitti di navi»<sup>2</sup>. Despite its baroque imagery, it actually dialogues with the Braudelian vision of the Mediterranean as a close proximity and interpenetration of the mountain and the sea. By reminding his readership that, in Braudel's view, the Mediterranean was «the sea of highlanders» or «a space of pastoralists who became captains of a ship», Rumiz was perhaps deliberately provocative toward his Triestine compatriots since many of them might find such images offensive (cfr. Baskar 2007).

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1 P. Rumiz, *La leggenda dei monti naviganti*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 2007, p. 19.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

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Yet Rumiz could as easily claim that the highland singing, reverberating from the sailing boat, reveals the presence of the Austrians. As a landlocked nation, largely Alpine and also notorious for their Alpine-style folk music, the Austrians are nevertheless massively participating in the Adriatic tourism and the related cultural-historical imagination of the once Austrian sea. A large number of Austrians keep their sailing ships moored in the marines of the Upper Adriatic, especially those from the southern Austrian regions of Styria and Carinthia who can reach the coast in a couple of hours. Austrian authors begin to appear in the growing market for Adriatic literature, ranging from sailing and other travel accounts and guides to memoirs to naval and popular cultural history. One of them is Hans Kitzmüller, an Austro-Italian from the Gorizian borderland, writing both in German and Italian. His account of his three-week sailing along the Dalmatian archipelago, titled *Arcipelago del vento* (2003), is a combination of travel literature, the tourist guide and historical-philosophical meditation on the cultural and ethnic hybridity of the Adriatic, thereby largely following the established rules of the genre. It goes without saying that some privileged attention is paid to recognizing in Dalmatia its Habsburg legacy. Apart from that, the book is also revealing of the extent of the Austrian presence in the current Adriatic leisure. With a fine sense of self-irony, Kitzmüller thus shares with the reader a disillusionment he experienced one summer day in a beautiful small bay of the Kornati (Incoronate) islands. There, within the nature park, he was sitting at the table under the pergola of a small fish restaurant serving delicious grilled calamari, enjoying to be alone and just thinking about rereading some pages of the *Mediterranean Breviary* by Predrag Matvejević. At that moment his reverie was suddenly interrupted by a loud Alpine folk song sang by a group of beer-drinking and obviously not very sophisticated Carinthians. This prompted him to sip another glass of wine.

The demise of the Cold War Europe and the collapse of Yugoslavia, which possessed the bulk of the Eastern Adriatic, importantly contributed to the rising fascination with the notion of *Mitteleuropa*, increasingly imagined as coterminous with the defunct Habsburg Empire. After 1989, Austrian travellers, journalists, writers and scholars attached to the Adriatic have been increasingly discovering its imperial Austrian dimensions and thereby questioning the notion of the Austrians as landlocked Alpine highlanders (and Danubian lowlanders). The Austrian ethnologist Reinhard Johler, in an article titled *What have the Alps to do with a global reading of the Mediterranean?* (1999), described a curious commemoration which took place in Dalmatia in July of 1998. On July 20 in 1866 a naval battle took place off the island of Vis (Lissa) in which the Austrian fleet spectacularly defeated a superiorly equipped and manned Italian fleet. After the battle, a huge monument was erected on the island featuring a “young Austrian lion” reposing on the top of the column. In 1918, the victorious Italian navy removed the lion and took it to Livorno. For the celebration of 1998, a new “lion of Vis”, produced by

the Austrian sculptor Gerhard Laber, was unveiled. On this occasion, writes Johler, «both politicians and members of military traditional associations wearing old k. und k. uniforms carrying double eagle flags arrived. Their lips ...moved to the tune of the old emperor's anthem and before their eyes there was "Austria's greatest fleet parade since 1918": for 40 sailing yachts sailed past the coast "in impeccable keel line"»<sup>3</sup>.

Events such as this one are certainly indicative of the widespread Habsburg nostalgia, but they also make part of a steady process of redefining cultural identities and reimagining geography in the region which was until recently divided by the West-East European fault line running along the Adriatic. A salient characteristic of this process is a competitive evocation of two different imperial legacies, the Venetian and Habsburg. These are used by diverse networks for different purposes of legitimation, identification, appropriation, sometimes even for the claims over territory. The two legacies might be conceived as incompatible and opposed for more or less disguised nationalist or irredentist reasons, but they might also be imagined as concordant and mutually articulated within the cosmopolitan and conciliatory Europeanizing discourse. The case of the Laber's 1998 lion of Vis, which bears the inscription, «The unity of Europe rests upon the variety of its historical conflicts. Look at the waves of the Adriatic Sea, how they are carrying the message of the peace and of mutual understanding to all the coasts» (Johler 1999:88), is clearly the case of the latter. A commemoration of battles and removed nationalist monuments of the Great War was thus transubstantiated into a *European* commemorative event, into an act of European *self-celebration*. The metaphor of unity-in-diversity was utilized in the inscription with a view to link the Habsburg ideology of unity in diversity (e.g. phrased as sub pluribus unum) to the current ideology of European integration which claims a new cultural unity of the Europeans and, as Romano Prodi has written in 2000, «the mutual acceptance among Europeans of their cultural diversity»<sup>4</sup>. The implication of this apt formulation is that the Habsburg Empire was actually a prototype of the EU: a claim often voiced by Austrian intellectuals.

#### THE DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE AND THE MORLACH

While the post-Cold War resurgence of Central Europe might have offered to Austrians an opportunity to rediscover the varied imperial legacies of the eastern Adriatic—its beaches had become familiar to the Austrian tourists already during the decades of the socialist Yugoslavia—the Austrian Empire itself had had to dis-

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3 R. Johler, *A local construction, or: What have the Alps to do with a global reading of the Mediterranean?*, in: "Narodna umjetnost. Hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku", Zagreb, 36/1, 1999, p. 88.

4 G. Delanty, C. Rumford, *Rethinking Europe: Social theory and the implications of Europeanization*, London, Routledge, 2005, p. 61. For the EU notion of unity in diversity, see e.g. R. Taylor, *Unity in diversity*, Brussels, European Quality Publications, 2001.

cover this same world when Dalmatia became its constituent part. An early, yet a far-reaching episode of the discovery was the visit to the newly acquired possession on the extreme south-east by the emperor Francis I and his wife Carolina Augusta in 1818. This emperor, initially named Francis II, was the last emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation; when he renounced to this title in 1806, he became Francis I, the first *Austrian* emperor. While the diary of his travel to Dalmatia reveals that fortifications, barracks and other military considerations were his foremost preoccupation, he also showed surprising interest in archaeological excavations that were taking place at the site of the ancient Roman town of Salona near Split<sup>5</sup>. The empress also proved knowledgeable about things Roman. As travel writer Charles Yriarte<sup>6</sup> heard from local interlocutors when he visited the excavation works in 1875, she was able to immediately offer an interpretation of the iconography of a bas-relief. This imperial interest in the Roman ruins was very linked with the need of an additional legitimation of the recently redefined Austrian Empire. At this juncture, the Habsburgs were perhaps even more willing than before to evoke the heritage of the Roman *imperium*. To the classicist-minded emperor and his suit, Dalmatia was offering precisely this: an array of precious reminders of the Roman presence, together with the most prestigious one: the majestic Diocletian's Palace in Split which was another focus of the emperor's pronounced interest in Dalmatian archaeology. Through this imperial Roman reference, the Dalmatian scholars and patriots were then able to symbolically appropriate all Roman vestiges as a national treasure and to represent Francis I as «Austrian Titus» while Franz-Joseph was later referred to as Austrian Augustus or Trajan<sup>7</sup>. During the imperial visit to Dalmatia, one emperor's counselor, specialist in archaeology, also proposed to found an archaeological museum in Split. The proposal was accepted and the museum, which has continually existed until this day, came into being in 1820<sup>8</sup>. Roman archaeological sites thus entered the central stage of the Austrian representation of its *South* and remained there ever since.

Another icon distilled in the process of the Austrian discovery of Dalmatia, besides the Diocletian's Palace, has become the Dalmatian Slav native dressed in a colorful ethnic costume. These two icons survive until this day. Yet in contrast to the archaeological icon, the genealogy of this ethnological icon goes back straight to the famous Venetian traveler Alberto Fortis, into the heart of the Venetian invention of Dalmatia, as it were. A recent sailing trip account through the

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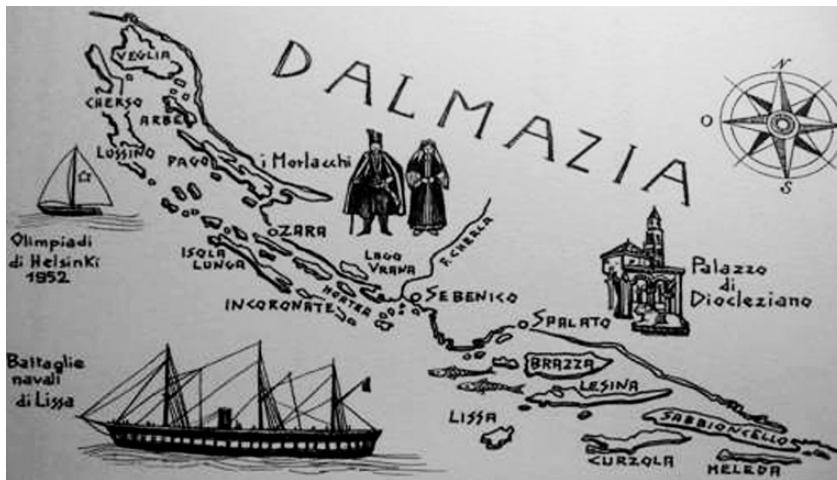
5 I. Pederin, *Jadranska Hrvatska u austrijskim i njemačkim potopisima*, Zagreb, Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1991, p.69 et passim.

6 C. Yriarte, *Istra e Dalmacija: Putopis*, Zagreb, Antibarbarus, 1999, p.163.

7 J. Vrandečić, *Dalmatinski autonomistički pokret u XIX. stoljeću*. Zagreb, Dom i svijet, 2002, p. 58.

8 I. Pederin, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

Dalmatian archipelago by Alessandro Marzo Magno<sup>9</sup> titled *Il leone di Lissa* (The Lion of Vis) and subtitled *Viaggio in Dalmazia* contains a map which features both these icons.



Map of Dalmatia (Marzo Magno 2003).

The Morlacchi couple figuring on this map is a copy from abbé's Fortis's famous travel account from 1774 titled *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (Travel to Dalmatia). This correspondence is not incidental since Marzo Magno represented his trip as a travel in the footsteps of Fortis and also put the portrait of Fortis in the beginning of his book.

The huge success of Fortis's book was due to its invention of the Morlacchi – the term conveying a notion of Slav “noble savages”, living in the mountainous Dalmatian hinterland, which was widely embraced throughout Romantic Europe and eventually resulted in a general morlachomania. The historian Larry Wolff, especially in his recent book titled *Venice and the Slavs*<sup>10</sup>, has rightly concentrated on abbé Fortis as a central figure of the Venetian enlightenment and its imperial discovery of Dalmatia.

Although during the Austrian period the term Morlacchi (which is Italian for “Black Vlachs”) was less frequently used (with the exception of local Italian speakers, of course), the Dalmatian highlanders and their colorful costumes (especially female that were often compared by travel writers to the costumes of North American natives) continued to attract the attention of travellers and other observers. Especially toward the end of the nineteenth century, when, faced with a growing Italian irredentism, the Austrian policy was increasingly to favor the

9 A. Marzo Magno, *Il leone di Lissa: Viaggio in Dalmazia*, Milano, Il Saggiatore, 2003.

10 L. Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs: The discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2001.

*habsburgtreue* South Slavs, Austrian ethnographers of Istria and Dalmatia were mostly focusing on hinterland populations whose culture was supposed to be less contaminated<sup>11</sup>. The interest in the Dalmatian Slav costumes found another expression in the promotion of Dalmatian lace. Its early collectors and promoters were several female figures from the Viennese court who discovered Dalmatian lace when taking their holidays in Dalmatian and Istrian spas and sea-bathing resorts. The key actors among them were archduchesses Maria Josepha and Maria Theresa. The first one, mother of the last Habsburg emperor Karl, who chose the honorary title of *Her Highness the Patroness of the Austrian Riviera*<sup>12</sup>, financially supported its promotion while the second one founded the technical school of embroidery in Vienna and also set up a sales studio there<sup>13</sup>. Dalmatian lace was thus constructed as one of central artifacts in the tourist promotion of Dalmatia. Toward the end of the century, when Dalmatia became fashionable in Vienna, Dalmatian lace began to appear in museum exhibitions; in 1900 it went to the Paris World Exposition; in 1913 it figured prominently at the Adriatic Exposition back in Vienna.

The centrality of these two icons symbolizing the Austrian cultural and tourist discovery of Dalmatia was obvious to many contemporary observers and actors of Dalmatian tourism. One of them was medical doctor A. Trogher who had accompanied Archduke Ferdinand Max (the future Mexican emperor Maximilian) to his sailing trip through the western Mediterranean and into Western Africa in 1851. Trogher eventually published a travel account of this trip in which he paid a privileged attention to the climate of Dalmatia. He was to become one of key promoters of Dalmatian tourism and a specialist in climatic and balneary tourism. In his travelogue, he would often appeal to fellow Austrians to avoid going to Nice or Italy since everything Nice and Italy can offer, they have at home, in Dalmatia. (He also coined the notion of Opatija and Gorizia as «Austrian Nice» which eventually became a topos.) On the top of that he added that Dalmatia was more beautiful and more interesting than Nice or Italy since it contained not only important ancient art monuments but also half-savage, ethnologically very interesting peoples<sup>14</sup>.

The centrality of this dual representation was equally clearly seen on the part of the local intelligentsia. The following complaint is a part of a parliamentary speech in Vienna by the charismatic Croat politician Josip Smodlaka, the founder of the Croat Democratic Party and the deputy from Dalmatia to the Viennese parliament:

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11 E. N. Kappus, *Imperial ideologies of peoplehood in Habsburg Empire – an alternative approach to peoples and nations in Istria*, in: "Annales. Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije", 12, 2, 2002, pp. 321–330.

12 I. Pederin, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

13 R. Jöhler, *A local construction, or: What have the Alps to do with a global reading of the Mediterranean?*, in: "Narodna umjetnost. Hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku", Zagreb, 36/1, 1999, p. 96.

14 I. Pederin, *op. cit.*, p. 175. To be precise, he was also boasting first-class hunting grounds as he was an enthusiastic advocate of hunting; quite understandingly given that the visitors of Dalmatia he envisaged were above all aristocrats to whom he was promising fabulous hunt, including the *battues* of birds and dolphins.



«Dalmatia is regarded as something exotic, it is only regarded from the standpoint of archaeology and tourist traffic. We have no wish to play the part of an archaeological cemetery or an "Indian reservation" with the authentic Dalmatian Red Indians in their gay costume. No, gentlemen, we want to be able to live and work, to earn our living honestly by agriculture, trade and industry and thus to serve the interests of the state as a whole»<sup>15</sup>.

#### THE MASSIVE ROLE OF ARISTOCRATIC PROMOTERS

Considering Smodlaka's lamentation, we have to bear in mind that Dalmatia was the poorest region of the Austrian part of the monarchy (except Bosnia which was a latecomer to the empire); its per capita income was about four times lower than in Lower Austria (the richest province) and about one third lower than in the easternmost Carpathian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina (Good 1984: 150) – and remained so until the very end of the empire, despite the fact that its last two decades were characterized by economic growth and prosperity. This Dalmatian underdevelopment, indicative of clearly uneven development of Austrian lands, may make us wonder about the economic efficiency of Dalmatian tourism which was so eagerly celebrated by its various promoters.

Here we have to consider that, over the nineteenth century, the development of spas and balneary tourism in Dalmatia, like in many other places in Europe, depended in good part on aristocratic initiative. All over Europe the aristocracies played a very important role in discovering places of potential tourist interest, in their inventing and advertizing, in setting-up networks of investors and facilitators, in patronizing local and other tourist associations and circles, schools and studios of arts and crafts, etc. Last, but not least, they acted as powerful attractors of tourists since visits by crowned heads and members of leading noble families were a prerequisite for turning a spa or a sea-bathing resort into a fashionable place<sup>16</sup>. It seems, however, that the development of Dalmatian tourism was more exclusively dependent on the Viennese imperial patrons than it was usual in most other bathing resorts of Europe. When by the mid-nineteenth century Vienna was connected with Trieste with the railway and the Austrian Lloyd, the state shipping company, introduced its cruising tours along the coast, the scarcity of accommodation capacities became salient. The lack of hotels, but also

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15 R.W. Seton-Watson, *The South Slav question and the Habsburg Monarchy*, London, Constable and Co, 1911, p. 415.

16 For a general view of the role of aristocrats in tourist and other enterprises, see E. Wasson, *Aristocracy and the modern world*, Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. For comparative view of the role of aristocracies in the development of other European spas and bathing resorts, see D. Blackbourn, *Fashionable spa towns in nineteenth-century Europe*, in: S. C. Anderson and B. H. Tabb (eds.), "Water, leisure and culture: European historical perspectives", Oxford, Berg, 2002, p. 9–21.; J. Steward, *The culture of the water cure in nineteenth-century Austria*, in: S. C. Anderson and B. H. Tabb (eds.), *op. cit.*; J. K. Walton, *The waters of San Sebastian: Therapy, health, pleasure and identity, 1840–1936*, in: S. C. Anderson and B. H. Tabb (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 37–52; F. Tamarozzi, *Retour aux sources. Flux et reflux du tourisme thermal à Salsomaggiore*, in: "Ethnologie française", 32, 3, 2002, pp. 415–427.

other problems related to the weak investment in the Adriatic tourist infrastructure, remained chronic until the demise of the empire. The hotels built during the Austrian period were grand and beautiful, but they were few and exclusive. Bourgeois leisure classes from other countries were not coming in significant numbers to the eastern Adriatic.

The famed Austrian writer and literary critic of the time, Hermann Bahr, published in 1909 a travel account titled *Dalmatinische Reise* in which he strongly criticized Austrian government for its myopic attitude towards Dalmatia and especially its lethargic attitude towards developing tourism there. Trieste, which he deemed the entrance to Dalmatia<sup>17</sup>, was the starting point of his brief trip, but it was also the first target of his criticism. He thus claimed that this eminent port and emporium of the empire didn't have one sole decent hotel<sup>18</sup>. In his travelogue, he also tried to be useful. He offered as many as possible hints for developing tourism as well as explanations for various shortcomings, such as why German upper- and middle-class tourists didn't come around. Although Bahr was traveling on his own (when writing about Trieste, he mentions that he entered the Lloyd and bought his ticket there), but obviously with the intention to write a travel account, his undertaking was nevertheless in line with the tradition of renowned writers and painters traveling throughout the Austrian period along the coast on the Austrian Lloyd steamers as guests of the company or, more precisely, of its "literary-artistic department", actually an advertising section. These guests were naturally expected to turn the favor by producing travelogues (or combination of travelogues and tourist guides) or landscape and seascape paintings<sup>19</sup>.

The poor shape of tourist infrastructure, which naturally reduced the extent of the Austro-Hungarian Adriatic cosmopolitanism, was partly compensated by the rich variety and high level of the Austrian offer of hydro and climatic therapy. Medicine was one of the strengths of Austrian science and spa medicine was an important sector of Austria's medical marketplace<sup>20</sup>. The reputation of Opatija (Abbazia), the most fashionable Austrian spa and sea-bathing resort in the Adriatic (and in 1908 the second biggest baths of the monarchy), was thus in good part built on the medical research of the local climate and the quality of air conducted by von Kristelli, the founder of the first chair of laryngology in the world. The chair of hydrotherapy was inaugurated at

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17 Bahr assumed that Dalmatia began in Trieste and ended in Albania – a characteristically Austrian view. Having originated from Upper Austria, his visions and comparisons of Adriatic landscapes were often ones of a mountaineer. On the Napoleonic road above Trieste, for example, he had a vision of «un pascolo alpino sul mare» (H. Bahr, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, Trieste, MGS Press, 1996 [1909], p.16).

18 H. Bahr, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, Trieste, MGS Press, 1996 [1909], p.16

19 L. Pederin, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

20 J. Steward, *The culture of the water cure in nineteenth-century Austria*, in: S. C. Anderson and B. H. Tabb (eds.), "Water, leisure and culture: European historical perspectives", Oxford, Berg, 2002, p. 26.



the Viennese Medical School in 1860<sup>21</sup>. Opatija's spas were thus offering grape cures, cold water cures, therapeutic gymnastics, seawater baths, pneumatic cures, electric, Roman, Irish and medicamental baths, and so forth<sup>22</sup>. Opatija was the only place which could boast a really international clientele of aristocratic but also cultural and political celebrities: besides domestic aristocracy and celebrities like Gustav Mahler or Franz Lehár, it was visited by the German and Rumanian royal couple as well as by James Joyce, Anton Chekhov and Giacomo Puccini<sup>23</sup>. Immediately before the Great War, groups of British tourists started to visit Opatija as well<sup>24</sup>.

During Austrian period in Dalmatia, the Viennese court always had personalities interested in the promotion and development of "our South". Besides two archduchesses already mentioned in the previous section one should certainly not overlook archduke Ferdinand Max, emperor's Franz Joseph's brother and the future emperor Maximilian of Mexico. As a passionate yachtsman who built the beautiful castle of Miramar near Trieste, he became the supreme commander of the Austrian navy. The victory over the Italian fleet off the island of Vis naturally boosted the importance of the naval domain and the related cultural imagination of the Habsburg Empire as a maritime power. The empress Elisabeth (Sissi) was another aficionado of the Austrian South. She shared her passion for the sea, yachting, sea-inspired poetry and the castle of Miramar with Ferdinand Max. Her son, the Crown Prince Rudolf, the conceptor of the huge editorial project of describing the dual monarchy in *Wort und Bild*, was proprietor of the beautiful islet of Lokrum near Dubrovnik. Even archduke Franz Ferdinand showed some due interest in the condition of Austrian Riviera. During his visit in 1909, accompanied by princess Sophia, his wife, he participated to the launching of the ship *Radetzki* in Trieste. After that, the couple boarded the imperial yacht *Miramar*. On the way to Split, they stopped on the Brioni islands to visit their owner, P. Kuppelwieser. In Split, the director of the Archaeological Museum, Franjo Bulić, showed them the Diocletian's Palace. During their visit to the mair of Split, the archduke inquired about the statistics of the port's traffic. When back in Trieste, he visited the Lloyd's president and inquired about its business performance.

There was one more Habsburg personality, possibly the most interesting of all of them, involved in the discovery and promotion of the South, namely arch-

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21 *Id.* p.28.

22 When the rich industrialist Kuppelwieser bought a group of swampy and malaria-ridden islets of Brioni and had to sanitize them before he could start constructing expensive hotels, baths, parks and the zoo, he hired the German bacteriologist and Nobel prize winner Robert Koch in order to work out the project (V. Plöckinger, *Način gledanja: Razvoj turizma u prošlosti. Istra u povijesnom presjeku turističkog interesa*, in: "Istra, različiti pogledi: Etnografske zbirke Istre kroz austrijsko-hrvatski dijalog", Pazin, Etnografski muzej Istre, 2002, pp. 23, 24.

23 V. Plöckinger, *Način gledanja: Razvoj turizma u prošlosti. Istra u povijesnom presjeku turističkog interesa*, in: "Istra, različiti pogledi: Etnografske zbirke Istre kroz austrijsko-hrvatski dijalog", Pazin, Etnografski muzej Istre, 2002, p. 20.

24 I. Pederin, *op.cit.*, p. 219.

duke Ludwig Salvator. He was a highly unconventional person and above all a scholar, a type of a nineteenth-century polymath. His passion for the sea, primarily of a naturalist and ethnographic nature, however, was extended to the whole of the Mediterranean. He produced a number of monographs on chosen places of the Mediterranean. These were in first place small, yet undiscovered Mediterranean islands and coasts. He has been widely known for his popularization of Majorca which he described in a six-volume monograph. He also chose the Majorcan village of Deia as his first residence (which is now the propriety of the Hollywood star Michael Douglas). Among his monographs one should mention those on Ibiza, the Ionian islands of Paxos, Levkas and Zakynthos, the Lipari islands and Ustica in the Tyrrhenian. His monograph on Zakynthos eventually became a founding text of the local identity-building process<sup>25</sup>. His publications on the islands and tracts of the coast of the Austrian Adriatic deal with the Gulf of Boka Kotorska, the Gulf of Bakar, Opatija, and a few others. These Adriatic places are dealt with by Salvator as all other Mediterranean places chosen by him for the scientific description. Salvator was in first place a botanist, but also geologist and ethnographer. In his passion for discovering and promoting of yet undiscovered islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, he followed to some extent a pattern of aristocratic seeking of new vistas and opening up new places for cosmopolitan congregating. This notwithstanding, the Austrian Adriatic undoubtedly featured prominently in his work. His articles, published in the Viennese journal *Adria* which was diligently read by the court, are a particularly clear case of promoting places of the Austrian Riviera. These deal with the prospects of Makarska as a sea-bathing resort<sup>26</sup>, sea-bathing resorts of southern Dalmatia, the channel of Kolečep (Calamota), the project of the natural park on the island of Mljet (Meleda), etc. Salvator also chose the Adriatic for his another Mediterranean residence – not surprisingly a place near Trieste, namely Zindis in Muggia: the place which had been for centuries under the Habsburg rule<sup>27</sup> (the community of Muggia recently bestowed the freedom of the city upon him).

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

Herman Bahr published his resounding travel in a moment when the Austrian interest in Dalmatia was reaching its peak. In 1913, the Adriatic Exposition in Vienna was inaugurated by Archduke Franz Ferdinand. The exposition was accompanied by a huge conference on Adriatic tourism focused on the possibilities of hotels construction and ways of facilitating state investments such as tax-

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25 R. Johler, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

26 L. Salvator (Erzherzog). 1909. *Makarska als Seebad*, *Adria*, 1, 1909, pp. 233–34.

27 B. Mader, "Mi creda sempre suo aff. A. Luigi Salvatore ecc.": *L'Arciduca Lodovico Salvatore e la sua presenza a trieste, quale risulta dalla sua corrispondenza con Carlo Marchesetti*, in: "Annales. Analiz istrske in mediteranske študije", 8, 14, 1998.

shelter. The rush of celebrities to the Austrian Riviera peaked immediately before the beginning of the Great War. At the sunset of the empire it seemed that an acceleration of the tourist development in Dalmatia was not a mere wishful thinking. This “missed opportunity” is somewhat reminiscent of the belated Venetian discovery of Dalmatia discussed in detail in a monograph by Larry Wolff<sup>28</sup>. As a matter of fact, Fortis’s seminal book appeared only 25 years before the demise of the Venetian empire. (In Titoist Yugoslavia, the coming “Golden Age” of Adriatic tourism – mass tourism this time – was once more interrupted by the demise of the multinational state).

While the Venetian discovery of Dalmatia obviously took place too early to include tourism as an economic perspective, tourism came to be central to the Austrian discovery. Cultural heritage of Dalmatia – both archaeological and ethnological – was constructed into a central asset. This notwithstanding, socio-economic realities lagged behind cultural fantasies and imperial-patriotic effusions about “our South”, “our Nice”, “our Grotta Azzura” (a grotto on the island of Biševo which was baptized *Plava špilja*, blue grotto, after Grotta Azzura of the island of Capri). Herman Bahr<sup>29</sup> referred to the islet of Lokrum as «più soave e affascinante di Corfù»; Salona was dubbed «our Pompei»; Frane Bulić, the leading Dalmatian archaeologist and director of the Archaeological Museum in Split, became “Schliemann of Salona”. He referred to Dalmatia as «Switzerland in the Adriatic» – but also as «Austrian Cinderella»<sup>30</sup> whose transformation into a Princess was imminent.

In the age when tourism in Austria-Hungary was increasingly entangled in ethnonationalist 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, has written the historian Pieter Judson<sup>31</sup>. 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 H. Bahr, contested destinations ended with fist-fights, even blood shedding. Nationalist tourism was based on the assumption that visiting national places was the patriotic duty and the redemption of the national landscape. In the Austrian Riviera, German nationalists hoped to create a «German outlet to the Mediterranean»<sup>32</sup>

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28 L. Wolff, *op. cit.*

29 H. Bahr, *op. cit.* pp. 97, 71.

30 *Idem*, p. 106.

31 P. Judson, *Every German visitor has a völkisch obligation he must fulfill: Nationalist tourism in the Austrian Empire, 1990-1918*, in: Rudy Koshar (ed.), “Histories of Leisure”, Oxford, Berg, 2002, p. 147.

32 P. Judson, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

and for this reason clashed with Italian irredentists.

Austrian invention of Dalmatia also implied the competition with the Venetian legacy which was metaphorically represented as the competition of two lions: an old one and a young one. Venice was being typically criticized by the Austrians as an empire which seriously neglected the education of the Dalmatians and pillaged their natural resources (forests in first place). In present-day eastern Adriatic, however, both major imperial legacies intertwine and dialogue in a protracted act of reconciliation, imagining a kind of a shared memory, a *memoria condivisa*, thereby celebrating the new post-nationalist memorial culture of European integration<sup>33</sup>. Simultaneously, they continue competing, yet in novel ways, usually with Europe in mind, and with European identity or European culture as a ultimate reference.

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33 On the European ethics of memory and the (new) European memorial culture, see A. Margalit, *The ethics of memory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002; B. Giesen, *The collective identity of Europe: Constitutional practice of community of memory*, in: W. Spohn and A. Triandafyllidou (eds.), "Europeanization, national identities and migration", London, Routledge, 2003.

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