

# Tourism on the Croatian Adriatic Coast and World War I

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Research on tourism history has been mainly confined to considering *tourism area life cycles* (TALC). Although destinations with a tourism tradition spanning over a century have undergone various *life cycles*, their tourism history has rarely been considered in the context of global changes, such as World War I, and how and to what extent these global changes have affected the development of tourism in the tourist area and tourism architecture. Since no direct hostilities took place in the area of present-day Croatia during WWI, the present paper investigates the indirect impact of the war as a global event on the rise of tourism at the time through unbuilt tourism architecture, which may be seen as halting investments in tourism. This research may be used to consider the creation of a model for global tourism life cycle by stages, including also paradigmatic changes in the design of tourism architecture.

**Keywords:** World War I, global tourism cycle, tourism area life cycle, unbuilt tourism architecture, Croatia

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## Introduction

Regardless of the potential possessed by a specific destination for tourism development (climate, natural and cultural heritage, human resources, etc.), an often-neglected fact is that its *tourism area life cycle* (TALC) depends directly or indirectly on global events, in particular, world wars. In this respect, there is a lack of global interdisciplinary research on the impact of global wars on tourism development, as well as on the paradigm shift on tourism and tourism architecture.

Only complex interdisciplinary research can yield an answer to the question of what the Great War (1914–1918) changed directly and indirectly in tourism. Given that global (WWI and WWII) and regional wars (Vietnam, Palestine, Homeland War in Croatia, etc.) strongly impact all tourism activities (Butler & Sun-tikul, 2013), there is a lack of research on the impact of war on tourism development through halting investments, that is on building tourism architecture, especially during the war.

Safety is an essential prerequisite for the development of tourism and the choice of the destination while lack of safety damages the image and competitiveness of a destination (Richard, 2003; Frey, 2004; Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006). War, the proximity of war, or terrorist events strongly influence tourism, primarily reflected through a sudden decline in tourism figures (Dragičević, Nikšić Radić, & Grbić, 2018). There is a lack of research in Croatia on the impact of global historical events, such as WWI, on the development of tourism on the Croatian coast at the time through the stagnation of investments in tourism, i.e., through unbuilt tourism architecture.

The subject of this research is, therefore, the recognition of increased tourism on the Croatian Adriatic coast before WWI and a sudden drop in tourism figures due to the onset of war operations in Europe, resulting in the stagnation of investments in tourism. That stagnation can be traced through unbuilt tourism architecture. The phrase *unbuilt tourism architecture*,

due to the outbreak of WWI, indicates architecture projects in the field of tourism (hotels, nautical centres, sports centres):<sup>1</sup>

- that had been designed and/or prepared for construction,
- for which public architecture competitions had been conducted just before the outbreak of the war,
- that were prepared by public institutions (e.g., Ministry of Public Works),
- that were discussed during the war,
- that were discussed after the war because they had not been built.

This means that these architecture projects were at a relatively high level of preparation for construction and can be characterised as investments in tourism that had been halted. Investments in tourism require years of preparation and several years for construction (market analysis, sorting out property ownership issues, project development, finding the workforce, securing building material, etc.).

The aim of collecting and making an inventory of unbuilt tourism architecture on the Croatian Adriatic coast is to link the impact of global events, in this case, WWI, with the development of tourism and the design of tourism architecture, and the reflection on a global understanding of *life cycle* tourism.

Apart from tourism architecture, WWI halted the construction of new railway lines from Zagreb to Dalmatia and a railway line from Slavonia via Bosnia and Herzegovina to Dalmatia, but they are not the subject of this paper.

### Literature Review

In scientific literature, experts agree that war, terrorism, and different types of crises strongly affect tourism revenue and thus also investments in tourism (Čorak, Mikačić, & Ateljević, 2013).

In the recent literature on tourism, war has often been considered for creating social memory (Lisle, 2000; Winter, 2009), which includes the selection and articulation of information on the war because

it establishes a connection between the past and the present. Regarding WWI, between 2014–2018, many countries of south-eastern Europe (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austria, Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia etc.) organised scientific meetings to mark a century since the beginning or the end of WWI. Presented at these meetings were most frequently the political, historical, military and medical aspects of the war. Studies related to the linkage between tourism and WWI mainly concerned the recognition of events from World War I and their transformation into a tourist attraction (Kavrečić, 2016) and how to use it for education (George & Das, 2017).

Regarding research on tourism history from the interdisciplinary aspect, it is somewhat marginalised in the literature, although this has slowly started to change (Walton, 2009) given that the historical aspect is increasingly represented at numerous scientific conferences on tourism (Baranowski & Furlough, 2001; Berghoff, Korte, Schneider, & Harvie, 2002; Koshar, 2002; Tissot, 2003; Walton, 2005).

In the world literature, very few papers focus on researching the impact of global political and war events on global tourism development (Gillena & Mostafanezhadb, 2019), especially during the very beginnings of the development of modern and global tourism. In Croatia, too, little attention has been paid to interdisciplinary research on tourism history, although a significant number of places boast a tourism tradition more than a century-long (Blažević, 1987; Vukonić, 2005; Vasko-Juhász, 2006). In the context of tourism history, research on tourism architecture is particularly neglected, although it plays a vital role in the range of tourism services. Interestingly, certain destinations, as well as corporations, create their identity with the help of tourism architecture from the beginning of the 20th century (Vasko-Juhász, 2006). The history of tourism architecture is mainly the subject of research of art historians or architects (Flückinger-Seiler, 2003; Keck, 2008) and is rarely associated with trends in tourism and how tourism architecture depends on global influences (Kranjčević, 2018b).

To link tourism and architecture at the beginning of the 20th century (i.e., until the outbreak of WWI), this research mostly used literature (books and maga-

<sup>1</sup> A large number of Croatian men took part in WWI.

zines) in German and Croatian and available archival material from archives and museums.

Maximilian Krauss wrote on several occasions about the negative impact of WWI on tourism in Germany (Krauss, 1915, 1918, 1923) and linked it with international and domestic tourism figures, as well as with the negative impact on the economy. For understanding tourism circumstances in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as well as on the Croatian Adriatic coast before WWI, valuable sources include tourism journals *Österreichische Touristen-Zeitung* (1881–1938) [Journal of Austrian Tourism], *Fremdenverkehr* (1908–1914) [Tourism] and *Moderne Illustrierte Zeitung für Sport und Reise* [Modern Illustrated newspaper for Sports and Travel], published in Vienna, as well as tourism journals published in Croatia, specifically in Opatija (*Kur- und Bade-Zeitung der österreichischen Riviera*, 1906–1914) and on the Brijuni Islands (*Brioni Insel Zeitung*). Tourism planning before WWI was the matter of advisors the imperial court, but also of their public actions (Schindler, 1912).

To understand tourism architecture on the Croatian Adriatic at the time, articles from journals such as *Der Architekt* [Architect] and *Wiener Bau-Industriezeitung* [a Viennese construction industry newspaper] were used while monographs of individual architects were used to investigate hotel projects unbuilt because of the outbreak of WWI (Boyd Whyte, 1989; Kranjčević, 2013). During the war, architecture journals attempted to affirm and justify some of the tourism architecture projects such as, for example, by architect Alfred Keller on the Croatian coast (Dalmatia), recommending that it be finished as soon as peace is restored (V. F., 1916, 1918).

Prior to the cancellation of the *Fremdenverkehr* [Tourism], Moriz Band (1914), as a significant authority on tourism opportunities on the Croatian Adriatic, thought in 1914 that the war would soon end. A year later, R. E. Petermann (1915) published in the *Österreichische Touristen-Zeitung* [Journal of Austrian Tourism] a detailed article about the negative impact of war on nature, the landscape, tourism and tourist arrivals.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> R. E. Petermann is the author of the famous and extensive

From the literature on Croatian tourism history (general overview) in the Croatian language, a book by Boris Vukonić (2005) was used. Apart from research at the state level, valuable research on the history of tourism also exists at the regional level. The works useful for the understanding of tourism history at the regional or local level were by Lavoslav Golf (1929) for Dalmatia and Ivan Blažević (1987) for Istria and Kvarner. There is also valuable research on tourism history of local destinations such as Dubrovnik (Perić, 1983), Zadar (Jadrešić & Jurić, 1985), Baška (Šale & Pavlović, 2004), Opatija (Zakošek, 2005), Makarska (Urlić, 2008), Hvar (Petrić, 2018) among others. Their research does not analyse the impact of WWI and WWII but helps to understand how wars represent a turning point in tourism. Ivan Pederin (1991) analysed Austrian and German travelogues and their influence on the promotion of the Croatian coast.

However, there are no works that link the impact of global events on tourism architecture and the interruption of investments in it. Therefore, this paper aims at linking the impact of global wars on trends in tourism and on tourism architecture. Although research into contemporary tourism seeks to link trends in tourism with the use of tourism architecture, there has been no research into the impact of the war on architecture. Similarly, little research has been done on tourism promotion that promoted tourism architecture, in addition to natural and cultural heritage prior to WWI (Pederin, 1991; Storch, 2013; Kranjčević, 2018a).

### Research Design and Methods

To explore the fascinating impact of the global war on tourism, the present paper relies on the research of unbuilt tourism architecture in 13 tourist destinations on the Croatian Adriatic. Although there were no direct hostilities on the territory of present-day Croatia, the war had a strong indirect impact on tourism development. For this reason, the analysis of the impact of the war on tourism development was embedded on the example of the Croatian Adriatic coast as a theoretic-

guide on Dalmatia *Führer durch Dalmatia* [Guide through Dalmatia] (1899).

cal confirming study case based on the so-called most likely or typical case.

To investigate the impact of WWI as a global event on the TALC of the Croatian Adriatic, the paper relies on the creation of an inventory of planned architecture projects for tourism purposes that had not been built because of the outbreak of the war.

The paper first briefly describes the conditions for tourism and the rapid growth of tourism figures from the end of the 19th century until the beginning of the war, that is until the beginning of a sudden decline in tourism figures, in order to point out the negative impact of WWI on tourism development. Numerous investment projects were halted due to the decline in the number of tourists, the insecurity of investment, and the insecurity of passenger traffic on the Adriatic.

Notwithstanding the fact that the paper focuses on unbuilt tourism architecture, it should be noted in the introductory part that the inventory of tourism figures relies on available statistical data on settlements on the Croatian Adriatic coast, especially those after WWI.

This research on the impact of WWI on the development of tourism on the Croatian Adriatic coast faced certain limitations because that planned investments in tourism had not been listed in a table or itemised in any other way; therefore, the research relied on collecting information from journals (of tourism and architecture), biographies of architects, and materials preserved in archives and museums (Croatia, Czech Republic).

Prior to WWI, the Croatian coast had been governed from Vienna, the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, whereas after WWI its territory was divided between the Kingdom of Italy and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Based on investments halted in different destinations on the Croatian Adriatic, the paper attempts to link TALC with global events. By observing the consequences of global events on investments in tourism on the Croatian Adriatic and on architectural design, the paper attempts to test one of the most commonly used models for the analysis of TALC (Butler, 1980). Since no quantitative data exist, the research is based on the conclusion drawn from quantitative research. The Croatian Adriatic coast, attractive and rich in

natural and cultural heritage, recorded soaring figures in tourist arrivals up to WWI. The area underwent significant transformations, with types of buildings unknown before that time (hotels, guesthouses, villas, etc.) being built, opening themselves towards the sun (terraces, balconies), while traditional buildings preferred shade and compactness. Although it was the time of intensive building of private villas (Lovran, Ika, Opatija), it was also the time of the emergence of large corporations that, in addition to building colonies of villas, also invested in the construction of hotels (e.g., South Railways Company, Lloyd Steamship Company). Large corporations were ready to speculate on land and investment. Another problem was that local governments were not prepared for tourism development and did not develop land (water supply and sewage infrastructure) as an essential precondition for construction. Although war is known to have a substantial impact on tourism, there is almost no research into how WWI influenced tourism development and investments in tourism at that time.

Therefore, the main aim is to show that the Great War had a negative impact on the rapid development of tourism on the Croatian Adriatic coast at the time. The main part of the research relates to finding data about hotels not built due to the outbreak of WWI. Statistical data and architecture and tourism journals emerging during the Austro-Hungarian Empire were used for the research, as well as monographs of individual architects and tourism travel books. To understand the context of the time, the research used statistical data on tourism figures at the level of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the level of individual tourist destinations on the Croatian Adriatic and briefly described the most critical tourism-related events.

To ensure an as objective as possible presentation of unbuilt tourism architecture due to the outbreak of WWI, the paper relies on a series of primary and secondary sources, including tourism statistics, museum and archival material, tourism literature, and literature on architecture and construction.

The research on the impact of the global war becomes more complex if we take into account that the end of the war brought about significant socio-political, economic (changes in power centres, new

territorial divisions, etc.) and cultural changes, so withdrawals from investment projects in tourism were not officially recorded.

Several years after the end of the war, the new states were busy with organising themselves, taking care of the wounded, and tourism was only secondary in importance.

### Tourism Opportunities from the End of the 19th Century to the Beginning of WWI

By bringing the military, security and socio-political situation in south-eastern Europe in order, the Austro-Hungarian Empire wanted to capitalise on its Riviera in the same way France and Italy had with theirs, although spa tourism was already well-developed in Czech spa towns.<sup>3</sup>

Because the French and Italian Rivas were recording increasing tourism revenues year after year in the second half of the 19th century, it is not unusual that different investors, as well as the government of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, saw possibilities for tourism development on the east coast the Adriatic Sea (today part of Italian, Slovenian, Croatian, Bosnian-Herzegovinian and Montenegrin coast).

According to statistics, tourism turnover, as well as the number of designated spa towns (German: *Kurorte*) in the entire Austro-Hungarian Empire, was growing seemingly unstopably.<sup>4</sup> Spa towns were designated according to specific climatic characteristics and strict and specific requirements for a spa.

The growing number of spa towns, not only in the Empire but throughout Europe, required an inventory (Reimer, 1889). Apart from showing basic data about the spa town (short description of the location, number of inhabitants, how to travel there, etc.) and medical characteristics, the inventory helped doctors and patients choose a spa. The inventory of spa towns was



Figure 1 The Number of Spa Towns in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (adapted from from *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie*, 1905, p. xvi)

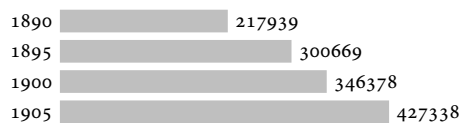


Figure 2 The Number of Spa Guests in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (adapted from from *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie*, 1905, p. xvi)

interesting to (large and small) investors as well when choosing the location for their investment.

In order to attract investors and as many guests as possible, great efforts had been put into promotion. One could read, for example, in travel books and tourist guides that Dalmatia was called 'the land of history and the land of future travels' (Holbach, 1908) or 'a tourism country of par excellence in Austria' (*Illustriertes Führer durch Dalmatien*, 1912). Small and relatively unknown tourist destinations added a comparison with the world-famous destinations. Thus, Hvar was called the 'Austrian Madeira' and Rab the 'Austrian Venice,' among other examples. The pre-war press in Croatia, such as *Sloboda* from Split, published articles on tourism development. Thus, Marjanović (1909) discusses tourist arrivals in Dalmatia, the organisation of foreigners' traffic, the organisation for the promotion, public education, rational financing, hotel society, and so on. Marjanović also proposed the establishment of a domestic hotel society – the Croatian hotel society. As the number of spa towns was growing, so did the number of guests in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The east coast of the Adriatic Sea, regardless of its tourism potentials (climate, sea, sun, culture and natural heritage), was the economically undeveloped part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The economy

<sup>3</sup> In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, area of the present-day Czech Republic recorded highest tourism figures.

<sup>4</sup> The operation of spa towns (German: *Kurorte*) was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior, and some of them lost that status. Therefore, the number of spas in the Empire did not always increase but fluctuated because of the need to meet strict requirements of the Ministry of the Interior.

of Adriatic coast was based on outdated forms of agricultural production, sale of raw materials, and a poorly developed manufacturing industry. The economic crisis (brought on by the collapse of sailing ship construction, the Wine Clause of 1891 and the Phylloxera outbreak, which devastated vineyards in 1894), caused the emigration of the population to overseas countries, primarily of young people from the coastal region and islands. Not to be neglected is the fact that about 90% of the population was illiterate. With the emigration of the working population, the price of land dropped, which played particularly well into the hands of speculation with land for the construction of buildings for various purposes. Austrian, German, English, and even Czech investors were on the lookout for investment opportunities, inter alia, in tourism.

The development of tourism, and thus the reflection on tourism architecture, was also attributed to the Technische Hochschule [Technical High School] in Vienna. Numerous students chose tourism architecture projects on the Croatian Adriatic for their diploma theses (Kranjčević, 2017).

Investments, education, promotion, and technical infrastructure were the topics (among others) discussed at the beginning of the 20th century. Architects were designing larger and more complex buildings (hotels as well) because guests should be, inter alia, attracted by innovative architecture. All these new types of buildings (hotels, boarding houses, casinos, etc.) were to be built at the local level. Investors often encountered resistance from local municipalities.

### Adriatic Exhibition

To make the Austrian Riviera recognisable as suitable for investments in tourism and to attract as many tourists as possible, the first sizeable thematic exhibition was organised in 1913 in Prater in Vienna on tourism on the east coast of the Adriatic called *Adria Ausstellung* [Adriatic Exhibition] (Storch, 2013; Kranjčević, 2018a). The exhibition was organised on the model of *Internationale Ausstellung für Reise und Fremdenverkehr* [Travel and Tourism Exhibition] in Berlin in 1911.

The exhibition in Vienna was of international significance. Apart from the presentation of the south-

ern Austro-Hungarian Empire, the exhibition was attended by Canada, Italy, Turkey and other countries.<sup>5</sup> Although the main objectives of the exhibition were to represent the potentials in culture and economy, and thus tourism of the Adriatic region, the educational function of the exhibition should not be neglected. During the exhibition, there were numerous lectures (*Adria Ausstellung*, 1913) and a conference on tourism *Adria Fremdenverkehrskonferenz* [Adriatic Conference on Tourism] which discussed, among other things, the problems of building hotels in Dalmatia (i.e., investments in tourism on the east coast of the Adriatic). Two large companies that invested in tourism – *Südbahngesellschaft* [Austrian Southern Railway] and the Austrian Lloyd, a steamship company – clashed at the conference.

The construction of new hotels often faced numerous problems, primarily of an administrative nature, and investors often found it challenging to obtain construction permits.

Given that investors encountered numerous problems on the Croatian coast of the Adriatic when obtaining construction permits, the Ministry of Public Works presented, at the exhibition, a prototype of the prefabricated hotel Dalmatia which was also used as a catering facility at the exhibition space. The prototype was built with the aim of speeding up the construction of hotels, which often faced problems of administrative nature at the local level. Hotel design included regional design characteristics (*Adria Ausstellung*, 1913; 'Das Musterhotel in der Adria,' 1913).

Positive reactions to the exhibition are also evident from the fact that it was visited by 2,080,000 visitors over 155 business days (Storch, 2013; Kranjčević, 2018a).

The exhibition generated strong interest for the eastern Adriatic coast by the general public and investors alike, and thus also the Croatian coast, and should have created preconditions for further tourism development on the eastern Adriatic coast. What tourism on the eastern Adriatic coast would have looked

<sup>5</sup> Since the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was an era of great technological progress, it was also a time of organising major economic and world exhibitions.

like had WWI not broken out a year after the exhibition can only be assumed.

### Ministry of Public Works

The entire east coast of the Adriatic, owing to its favourable climate, rich cultural, and natural heritage, cheap land for construction and poor economic development, possessed all the prerequisites for tourism development. All statistical data (tourism figures) lead to the conclusion that the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was the time of dazzling tourism development.

The Ministry of Public Works also became involved in tourism development as well as in improving economic conditions in Dalmatia. It commissioned architect Alfred Keller (1911 to 1913) to make projects for hotels in Susak, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik, and Trsteno, and architect Wilhelm Jelinek to make a project for Makarska (Kranjčević, 2013; Kranjčević, 2016a). Hotel projects by Alfred Keller were again discussed during WWI, in 1916 in journals *Der Architekt* and *Wiener Bauindustrie Zeitung* (V. F., 1916, 1918), given that these cases did not concern exclusive hotels but rather the category of hotels for the wider public.

His projects were discussed even a decade after the end of the war in the journal *Jugoslovenski turizam* [Yugoslav tourism] (Čulić, 1928).

### The First Impact of War on Tourism Turnover on the Eastern Adriatic Coast

Only two and a half weeks after the Austro-Hungarian Empire had officially declared war on Serbia on 28 July 1914, passenger ship traffic on the Adriatic Sea suffered a harsh blow. *Baron Gauctsch*, a passenger ship sailing on the Trieste–Kotor–Trieste express route, ran into a minefield near the Brijuni Islands on 13 August 1914. Due to the high number of victims, certain shipping lines were suspended (Tudor, 2007, pp. 33–34). Navigation on the Adriatic Sea became even more unsafe in 1915 when Italy entered the war because Italian submarines and torpedo boats started to attack Austrian-Hungarian ships. Voyage by ship on the Adriatic Sea suffered a significant setback, and tourism-related voyages sharply declined.

*Table 1* Number of Registered Tourists in Opatija, Lovran, Mali Lošinj, and Veli Lošinj in 1913, 1914 and 1915

| Town                 | 1913   | 1914   | 1915  |
|----------------------|--------|--------|-------|
| Opatija              | 49,187 | 41,992 | 7,472 |
| Lovran               | 11,915 | 7,899  | –     |
| Mali and Veli Lošinj | 8,469  | 5,816  | –     |

*Notes* Adapted from Blažević (1987).

*Table 2* Number of Registered Arrivals of Guests in Dubrovnik, Split, Šibenik, Korčula, Rab, Hvar, and Kotor in 1913 and 1923

| Town                  | 1913   | 1923   |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|
| Dubrovnik with Kupari | 25,700 | 27,924 |
| Split                 | 41,000 | 27,313 |
| Šibenik               | 7,000  | 5,723  |
| Korčula               | 1,000  | 1,736  |
| Rab                   | 3,000  | 4,345  |
| Hvar                  | 600    | 1,036  |
| Kotor                 | 7,500  | 983    |
| Total                 | 85,800 | 69,062 |

*Notes* Adapted from Golf (1929). Kotor was part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy until 1918, more specifically of the Kingdom of Dalmatia. It is now part of Montenegro.

During the four-year war, about forty vessels owned by Lloyd and other steamship companies were destroyed or damaged on the east Adriatic coast (Tudor, 2007, pp. 33–34). In short, due to unsafe navigation on the Adriatic Sea, the number of passengers on steamers plummeted, resulting in decreased numbers of tourists and overnight stays in tourist destinations.

The decline in tourism turnover could not have recovered for many years after the war (Table 2).

### Unbuilt Hotel Projects

A prerequisite for the construction of hotels and other types of buildings for entertainment and leisure is the construction of transport and technical infrastructure (railways, roads, ports, water supply, sewage, electricity, telephone, etc.). The construction of a hotel is known to be a complex and long-term job because it is necessary to design the project, secure land, build traffic and technical infrastructure, among other en-



Figure 3 Project for Hotel in Crikvenica (Prokop, 1897, p. 6)

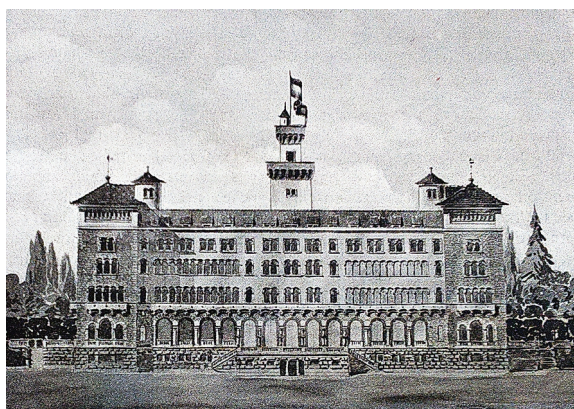


Figure 4 Project for Hotel in Dalmatia, Unknown Location (Band, 1910)

deavours. The Society for Economic Development of Dalmatia, founded in Vienna in 1894 (Piplović, 2011), commissioned architects to prepare hotel projects to attract investors and reduce resistance by municipalities. Numerous reasons exist why some hotel projects remain unbuilt. Some projects were not realised because there were no more interested investors or the investors gave up because the infrastructure was not developed at certain locations. Then, there is also a hotel project by an unknown architect for an unknown location in Dalmatia whose drafting was inspired by the Society for Economic Development of Dalmatia (Band, 1910).

Problems about making a project for hotels often lead to debates in architectural journals (Lux, 1909).

Therefore, just before the Great War, several urban and architectural competitions were held and master plans and architectural projects elaborated, aiming to reconcile the wishes of investors and the possibilities of the local community (Opatija, Rab, Korčula, Lošinj).

Constant increases in the number of tourists called for a corresponding increase in hotel room capacity.

In Opatija, the famous Austro-Hungarian health resort, by the sea, *Österreichische Riviera Gesellschaft* [Austrian Riviera Society] planned to build a spa hotel palace and announced an architectural competition in 1911/1912. The first prize was awarded to architects Hoppe, Schönthal, and Kammerer in collaboration with Professor Otto Prutscher. The layout area of the spa palace was to be 11,500 m<sup>2</sup>. As it was a huge investment, only earthworks were carried out while the spa palace-hotel was never built. The size of the investment is evident from the fact that the sea was filled with 79,500 m<sup>2</sup> of material to obtain a surface area of 26,000 m<sup>2</sup> (Kranjčević, 2016a).

The second unbuilt hotel project in Opatija is a hotel on six floors from 1914 by the already mentioned Viennese architectural trio of Hoppe, Schönthal, and Kammerer. Unlike the previous project, the facade of this hotel was to be simpler, that is, designed more rationally (Boyd Whyte, 1989).

Because of the increase in nautical tourism in Opatija (before WWI), a nautical centre was planned for building by August Belohlavek in 1916 (Belohlavek, 1919). This building was never built.

Likewise, in Dobrika Bay on the island of Veliki Brijun, a hotel project from 1915 by architect Eduard Kramer and investor Paul Kupelwieser also remained unbuilt (Kranjčević, 2016b). This hotel on five floors was designed to have more than 100 rooms, which was a huge investment for Croatia at the time (NP Brijuni).

After an architectural competition was held for the building of a large hotel complex on the island of Rab in 1914, the project by architect Karl Lehrmann went on to be unrealised. Unfortunately, although the first prize was awarded, the project was not realised primarily due to the outbreak of the war (Kranjčević, 2016a).

One particularly interesting unbuilt project on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea is the project by a Berlin

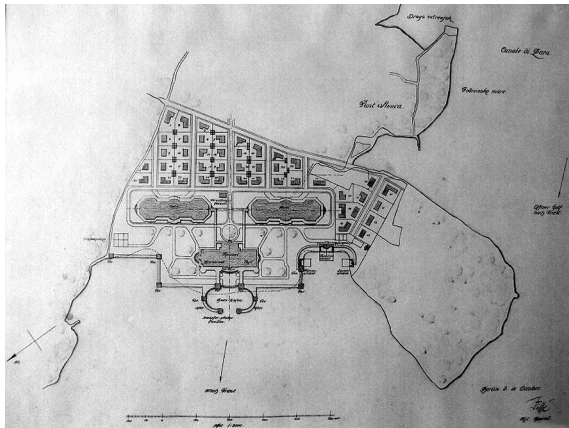


Figure 5 Project for Riviera Zaratina, 1910

consortium for Borik (Puntamika) in Zadar from the first decade of the 20th century. This project, called 'Riviera Zaratina,' proposed three luxury hotels, a well-equipped sand and bathing space, hotel space specially equipped for guests in winter, maintenance and expansion of green areas with the emphasis on the cultivation of Mediterranean plants.

Sadly, for Lovran (near Opatija), the 1908 project for a multi-purpose stadium (sports competitions, tombola, etc.) remained unbuilt (Fassbender, 1908). This is an indicator that sports facilities were planned for expanding the tourist services offered.

In the continental part of the Empire, discussions were also held on the construction of new hotels in health resorts. For Topusko (continental part of Croatia), an architectural contest was announced in 1910. Since the construction of a hotel requires many years of preparation, the project was not realised.

Research on unbuilt hotels is certainly just one of the segments that can be used to track the impact of WWI at the then turbulent development of tourism.

### Military Spa Resorts and Hotels as Hospitals for Wounded Soldiers in World War I

Along with 'civil' spa houses (*Kurhaus*) on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, military spa resorts were also built under the auspices of the White Cross Association. This association built and/or renovated and refurbished military spa resorts in Opatija in 1888 and

Čikat on the island of Lošinj in 1907. During the war, in 1916, a new military spa resort *Kaiserin Zita Offizierkurhaus* [Empress Zita Spa Resort for Officers] was planned for building, with a larger capacity (60 beds) than the current one (16 beds), after a design by architect Alois Wurm Arnkkreuz (*Jahrbuch der K. K. Gesellschaft vom Weissen Kreuze*, 1917, p. 51).

The recovery of a large number of wounded soldiers and disabled workers required large accommodation facilities, leading to many hotels being converted into military spa resorts. For example, Hotel Liburnia in Kraljevica (built in 1904) and Hotel Emigranti in Rijeka (built in 1908) were converted into a military spa resort/military hospital during the war, as well as some other hotels on the Adriatic Sea.

### Discussion and Conclusions

Had the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century not been marked by global development of technology, communication, medicine and transportation as well as the surplus of free time, tourism as a new social phenomenon could certainly not have developed. Without a doubt, a great impetus to tourism development at the beginning of the 20th century came from organised tourism propaganda and thematic tourism or economic exhibitions.

The rise of tourism in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and thus also on the Croatian Adriatic coast, should be considered in the context of global tourism development, not just through TALC.

There is no doubt that the staggering tourism development before WWI, manifested through a sudden growth in tourism figures, the construction of tourism architecture and traffic, had the features of mass tourism from the very beginnings.

Likewise, there is no doubt that the staggering tourism development before WWI in the world, as well as on the Croatian Adriatic coast, caused the beginning of the spatial transformation of the Croatian Adriatic coast. A constantly increasing number of tourist arrivals called for (demanded) the construction of previously unknown types of buildings, such as hotels, villas, guesthouses, restaurants, and other buildings of tourism architecture that, in turn, required specific infrastructure (electric power stations, a water

Table 3 List of Some of the Unbuilt Hotel Projects on the Croatian Adriatic Coast

| Towns             | Type of hotels                                 | Architect                      | Investor                                     |
|-------------------|------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| Crikvenica        | Hotel Palace, 1896                             | Arnold Lotz (Prokop, 1897)     | –                                            |
| Brijuni           | Hotel, 1914                                    | Eduard Kramer                  | Paul Kupelwieser                             |
| Dubrovnik         | 1911–1913                                      | Alfred Keller                  | Society for Economic Development of Dalmatia |
| Kupari, Dubrovnik | Hotel Resort                                   | Jiří Stibral and Alois Zima    | Czech consortium                             |
| Lošinj            | Spa resort for royal and state officials, 1909 |                                | Alexander Krasza 1909.                       |
| Opatija           | Hotel Palace 1911/1912.                        | Hoppe, Schönthal, and Kammerer | Österreichische Riviera Gesellschaft         |
|                   | Hotel 1914                                     | Hoppe, Schönthal, and Kammerer | –                                            |
|                   | Nautical Centre, 1916                          | Johan August Belohlavaek       | –                                            |
| Rab               | Hotel Resort                                   | Karl Lehrmann                  | –                                            |
| Makarska          | Hotel, 1911–1913                               | Wilhelm Jelinek                | Society for Economic Development of Dalmatia |
| Split             | Hotel Palast, 1911–1913                        | Alfred Keller                  | Ministry of Public Works                     |
| Susak             | Spa hotel (kurhaus)                            | Alfred Keller                  | Ministry of Public Works                     |
| Trogir            | Hotel, 1911–1913                               | Alfred Keller                  | Ministry of Public Works                     |
| Trsteno           | Tourist Resort (hotel and villas) 1911–1913    | Alfred Keller                  | Society for Economic Development of Dalmatia |
| Unknown location  | Hotel for Dalmatia                             | From book (Band, 1910)         | –                                            |
| Unknown location  | Prototype of the hotel Dalmatia                | Adriatic exh. in Vienna 1913   | Ministry of Public Works                     |
| Zadar             | Riviera Zaratina 1904                          | T. Jaffé                       | German consortium                            |

supply network, roads, a railway network, parks, etc.). Numerous destinations put significant effort into being known on the tourism market.

The issue of new trends in shaping tourism architecture on a global scale before WWI became increasingly pronounced. The inflow of capital into the tourism sector required ever faster and simpler construction,<sup>6</sup> as tourism encompassed increasingly wider layers of society.

Although the Croatian coastal area was economically underdeveloped, from the end of the 19th and

at the beginning of the 20th century, tourism together with planned industry and agriculture development was supposed to facilitate its modernisation, and the coast was to become a serious competitor to Italian and French tourism (Piplović, 2011).

The suspension of investment at the beginning of World War I referred not only to the construction of hotels but also to the construction of the railway network, ports, and other facilities used in tourism.

Investments in tourism required attractive locations for which adequate land and labour force had to be secured, and therefore their realisation certainly required time. Quite quickly, the narrow coastal strip became a large construction site. WWI did not put a stop to tourism development only on the coast, but also in the continental part of Croatia.

<sup>6</sup> As new time demanded a new approach to architecture, it is not unusual for Adolf Loos to publish essays 'Ornament and Crime' 1906–1909 in which he advocated building buildings without ornamentation.

Given the boom in tourism on the Croatian coast in the early 20th century, World War I as a global event heavily impacted investments in tourism and, in turn, in the economy. This interruption in the development of tourism undoubtedly influenced the change in the relationship between tourism and space.

We can only hypothesise as to what the Croatian coast would have looked like had at least the majority of the presented hotels been built. The Croatian Riviera would have certainly appeared different than it does now, and the attitude towards tourism would have undoubtedly been different as well.

This means that TALC cannot be observed only through the prism of the destination, but should be viewed through the prism of the impact of global changes that have had a substantial impact on the history of tourism, changes in trends in tourism (supply and demand), the development of destination tourism and thus also on tourism architecture.

Although at the beginning of the 20th century, there were indications of changes in architectural design and thus the design of tourism architecture, the approach to tourism architecture design undoubtedly changed after WWI.

While archival material about unbuilt tourism architecture was viewed here as material for considering the impact of global changes on tourism, undoubtedly this archival material may be used to contribute to the rethinking of this material as architectural tourism heritage and presentation of this type of heritage.

Tourism recovery on the Croatian coast after WWI was relatively slow. While there is archival material about unbuilt tourism architecture as a resource for reflecting on the impact of global changes on tourism, this material can serve as a contribution to the rethinking of this material such as architectural tourism heritage and presentation of this type of heritage.

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