

# History of Tourism with Particular Reference to the Croatian Adriatic

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## Introduction

This paper draws the outlines of the notion and importance of the tourism history, by putting it in perspective of the more recent views of that discipline, which has gradually emerged as a separate entity within both historical, as well as tourism research. It has been the subject of interest with experts and scientists, especially those dealing with tourism which derives information from specific sources and by different methodology of research. Incorporated in social, economic and cultural environment, tourism followed a sequential path (subsequently accepted as a convention) assuming various shapes in its gradual development.

Historical research of tourism has also revealed distinctive indicators which are shared equally all over the world, Croatia including, where they have lately attracted a greater deal of attention. An already accepted scientific project entitled *History of Croatian Tourism*, as well as some other similar initiatives, particularly concerning the country's coastal area, substantiate that interest.

Research of any past, tourism past including, should at the end of the day be instrumental for both the present and the future, so the elaboration of this very complex issue should be perceived as an encouragement for a more intensive engagement in the research of an extremely rich Croatian tourism history.

## A Retrospective of European Tourism

Historians are primarily concerned with the sequence of past events with the aim of getting to grips with social processes expressed in terms of changes seen in people, their ideas and institutions in a particular region. These transformations, regardless of different possible approaches to the historical science (positivism, humanism, structuralism and so on) remain its main preoccupation<sup>1</sup>.

The key issue here, however, is: to what extent has historical research been incorporated in the serious tourism considerations and as such contributed to an understanding of both this important aspect of tourism as well as of the phenomenon as a whole? Few modern authors have undertaken research in this area and they will all agree that the share of this research in an enormous body of tourism literature is rather modest. On the other hand, there is an abundance of history-based tourism literature written by the authors who are not professional historians. In any case, history disciplines can certainly contribute towards clarification of a number of issues having bearing on the development of tourism. So far they have been grouped around the three following thematic units:

- history of travel and forerunners of tourism in the Old and Middle Ages
- research of the so-called Grand Tour
- development of spas and climatic resorts as the first modern tourism destinations.

Generally speaking, however; approaches to tourism history sources can be : geographic, sociological, thematic, institutional etc.

With regard to the first group, there is a lavish literature on dating as far back as the period of Ramses II, ancient Greece and Rome<sup>2</sup>, *otiums* of slave-holders of Classical Antiquity and so on. After all, it is not difficult to agree with the statement that *homo viator* is one of the first forms of cultural enhancement of *homo habilis*<sup>3</sup>.

Undoubtedly, both Old and Middle Ages abounded with tourism-like phenomena which have subsequently yielded themselves to research and provoked interest for the mere mysteriousness and

mythical character of the ancient sources<sup>4</sup>. It should suffice to remind ourselves of the most massive religious migrations of the time – pilgrimages—analysed from the point of view of history, not to mention classical Greek and Roman literature. The latter two very often describe dangerous travels of their famous protagonists (Ulysses and others). People's motives for migrations varied substantially, and at that time a traveller was but a guest who was only much later to become a . as a Biblical notion was held sacred, and the Greek words *xenos* and the Latin *hospes* denote both the guest and the host.

However, although some speak of tourism prehistory<sup>5</sup>, modern science mostly rejects various evolutionist theories according to which "tourism would be a sequence of some historical traces reaching far back into the Classical Antiquity"<sup>6</sup>. It is equally obvious that not even famous such as M. Polo or C. Columbus, or other explorers, seafarers, scientist and missionaries can fall into the category of tourists.

Grand Tour of Europe, as the second major thematic unit in the historical research of travel, came into being in the 17th century (according to some as early as the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century) and lasted till the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It became a popular subject of historical analyses, less commonly from the purely tourism point of view<sup>7</sup>.

Those travels, described in general terms as touring some parts of Italy, France and Switzerland undertaken by young noblemen, mostly from England, for educational purposes, are nowadays considered a key development stage in the overall history of tourism. As such, it has been studied from the point of view of its participants' profile, temporal and spatial dynamics, and finally as bearing upon the formation of the future nuclei of tourist's offer. Grand Tour of Europe thus gradually assumed the characteristics of what is today known as tourism<sup>8</sup>. Along the same lines, an exceptional interest in the study of those migrations has resulted in a substantial volume of literature, since the available historical data are quite abundant. Grand Tour was temporarily interrupted only by the 30-year War (1618-1648), and those migrations gave rise to the onset of tourism towards the thirties and forties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the countries involved.

A relatively short history of what is generally understood as tourism in the modern sense of the word does not start before the so-called aristocratic phase, some 180 years ago<sup>9</sup>. Like all the previous phases it has been divided into rather similar periods by different authors who all agree that the next, democratic phase begins with the end of the First World War, and mass tourism appears in the fifties of this century. (In the meantime, the twenties are characterised by the conversion of seasons, and the thirties by the introduction of the legal right to paid holiday which gave a full swing to the so-called social tourism.) In all that historical research of long rural holidays of the privileged from the strata of the disappearing feudal class and the emerging bourgeoisie, which left a strong mark (certain Croatian regions being a typical example), plays an important role.

It is a period of radical social changes: fast economic growth and rapid urbanisation resulted not only in different conditions but also in different ways of life and emergence of a new leisure culture. Such a progress underlies the later prosperity of spas, and particularly of coastal and mountain climatic resorts, which are the origins of modern tourism history. Written documents from the period are mostly attributable to writers, poets, philosophers and even painters who travelled around leaving permanent artistic traces of their genius<sup>10</sup>. It was particularly the romantic poets and landscape painters who indebted the humankind in such a way, and their works of art serve today not only to historians of tourism but to the historians of geography as well. The best known among those artists are Montaigne, Rousseau, Goethe, Châteaubriand, Stendhal, Byron, G. Sand, Heine, Ruskin, Taine and others.

### Historiography of Tourism

In addition to the three above mentioned thematic units in the historical analyses of tourism, we should also mention a considerable interest in the retrospective research of leisure, which in part enters the corpus of tourism historiography. As a result of that we have ended up with a number of

empirical studies in Europe, but also in Northern America, with understandable differences in terms of their number and more specific respective scopes of interest.

Some authors plead for the whole segment of leisure to be included into the historical research in tourism, as well as for the tourism development of the less well established and more recently developed tourist destinations to become better known.

Europocentrism of current research, which is often put forth as criticism, would be neutralised by the study of less well known, non-traditional destinations in other parts of the world<sup>11</sup>.

Often oversimplified tourist attitudes should be avoided and the horizons widened by adopting more profound notions, bearing in mind that tourism is not an independent attitude. The current trend implies looking at interactions within the social and cultural tissues of the environment and their mutations over the period of time. It has been the scope of certain projects and conferences on the history of travel and tourism.

Some significant initiatives in those terms come from Scandinavia, for example an outstanding conference held in Sweden in 1994<sup>12</sup>, and a national project in Finland<sup>13</sup>. Similar undertakings are still quite few, although the bibliography of titles dealing with tourism history published by C.H.E.T. of France comprised 12 volumes of mostly occasional documents<sup>14</sup>. Sporadically one will come across a critical evaluation of historiographic writings on leisure and tourism<sup>15</sup>.

The available documents, for the most part, are not interlinked, and a comprehensive account of the history of tourism for particular countries, the Mediterranean or Europe is practically non-existent.

Brief overviews with the basic periodization can be found in almost every textbook on tourism, and only a few older authors have undertaken to encompass the global tourism history<sup>16</sup>. More popular, however, are (fictionalised) biographies of famous characters from the tourism history like T. Cook, C. Ritz, C. Hilton, H. Negresco and others.

In any case, tourism history deserves to be more than a mere appendix or an illustration on the margins of economic, geographic or sociological issues. Bringing to light historical facts can amongst other things inspire the local population's pride to their settlement or region, or even the entire country bound for tourist development<sup>17</sup>. Therefore numerous sources, however fragmentary they may be, should be sought, usually on the spot, and used for such research.

### Historical Research in Tourism in Croatia

Speaking about sources of historical research in tourism in general, what comes to mind first are written documents, although word of mouth should not be underestimated, especially when it comes to a more recent past. In that case it is perceived as being interwoven in the events of everyday life which stem from memories and personal experience. Historical documents, however, are neither so well known, nor so readily available in comparison with those intended for other types of research, which are both more frequent and more common. That is why theoretical papers on tourism mostly lack historical dimension and in depth approach<sup>18</sup>. The same author proposes the following classification of the tourism history sources:

- statistical data
- personal documents
- mass communications
- others

The first group comprises all the records on: demand, supply and consumption (visitors, overnights, facilities, receipts, etc.) which have been registered either by the administrative, police, health or other authorities, either by tourism, public or commercial organisations. The majority of such indicators have nowadays been standardised, but they used to be collected only scarcely or not at all. For example, in Croatia, then under Austro-Hungarian Empire, it was not until 1871 that the numbers of visitors started being recorded (for so-called Austrian coast and Dalmatia) whereas

numbers of overnights were registered only rarely, starting as of a later date, at bathing and climatic resorts only.

Today so popular (opinion polls for example) visitor and host s used to be an exception to the rule, which implies that historical research in tourism lacks a very valuable additional insight, impossible to gather by means of classical statistical methods.

Personal documents group refers to letters, diaries, travels (hand-written or printed) and the like. In addition to those, it comprises various mass publications: news-papers, magazines, guide books, posters, leaflets, etc. History of tourism would definitely be much poorer without a special genre of so called travel literature and geniuses such as those of Twain, Pushkin, Dickens, J. Austen, Gide, Chapek, Maugham and others. Croatian travel writers such as Matos, Mazurancic, Nazor, Cesarec, Krleza, Peic and others have left a permanent mark on the national literature, and represent an inexhaustible source for the study of tourism history. When the word tourist was still a novelty making it shyly into a small number of dictionaries, A. Nemcic Gostovinski, a prominent writer (Illyrian) uses it in his "Travel Trifles" – souvenirs of travel through Croatia and Northern Italy as early as 1845.

Finally, sources comprise archaeological findings of all shapes and forms, even the inscriptions and paintings on papyrus, stone or metal, buildings (summer houses, villas, inns), and especially various archives, including diplomatic correspondence. Various pictorials such as drawings, paintings, picture postcards, photographs and the like are also valuable sources of historical research.

At this point it is interesting to present *The List of Documents for Croatian Tourism History* proposed in these parts as early as 1967 with the principal aim of collecting and analysing such documents. The paper has not yet been made public, so it is here given in its shortened form<sup>19</sup>.

## List of Documents for Tourism History in Croatia

### Written Documents

1. Minutes of constituent assemblies of tourism organisations
2. Minutes of annual assemblies of those organisations
3. Minutes of management boards of those organisations
4. Archives of those organisations: letters, reports, proposals etc.
5. Statistical reports and break-downs by month and year
6. Archives of communities relative to tourism, tourism organisation, catering, civil engineering etc.
7. Hotel archives on their construction and operation
8. Archives of districts, and counties
9. Archives of steamship companies
10. Archives of bus companies
11. Archives of harbour-master's offices on the Adriatic
12. Tourism archives of Dubrovnik

### Special Written Documents

1. Books of regulations of tourism organisations
2. Reports and other written papers by tourism associations on the Adriatic coast, *PUTNIK*, and other such organisations
3. Sailing and other time-tables
4. Price lists
5. Menus
6. Leaflets of all sorts
7. Posters
8. Guidebooks

9. Various tourist brochures
10. Tourist magazines, dailies and periodicals featuring tourism

#### Tourist Bibliography

1. Bibliography of books, brochures, magazines relative to tourism
2. Bibliography of articles on tourism in domestic and foreign print

#### Legacy of Tourist Officials

#### Documents in Private Possession

#### Recollection of Tourist Officials

Evidently historical research in this area is also quite limited not only by the unavailability but also by the reliability of the sources on hand, therefore a researcher is faced with the problem of making the right choice (selection), a problem common to all social sciences. Very often key (relevant) sources have not been preserved, so the mosaic is composed of various (auxiliary) parts.

There are also differences in the basic approach adopted by historians as opposed to the approach of other social scientists. The former tends to interpret and reconstruct a past reality, whereas the latter do the same developing more general concepts of the society, in which historicity does not play a crucial role<sup>20</sup>. The approach adopted by the latter scientists is considered to be more suited to the temporal dimension of tourism which, as an interdisciplinary phenomenon, penetrates all the pores of a society and consequently of social sciences. Tourism past, therefore, stems from the overall social and cultural framework of a specific environment.

#### Social and Cultural Context of Paleotourism in Croatia

Sociology of tourism, as a part of sociology of leisure, suggests that by their perceived value neither travel nor tourism can be regarded as neutral nor independent phenomena, without any impact on the environment. These impacts vary according to the area, and also to the period, therefore all those who undertake a research in tourism history should take them into account assessing their intensity and feedback.

Modern theory furthermore recommends comparative studies which should help analyse the phenomenon from the point of view of the social groups which have become involved in tourism activities, and whose taste and behaviour have in turn been shaped by those activities<sup>21</sup>. In that way we get to meet not only the guest, but the host as well, not only the visitor, but visited, a modern trend which has found its expression in various types of impact studies. Namely, limitations to a further tourism expansion often lie on the demand side, so in addition to the physical we quite often speak of the social saturation of a number of modern destinations, which was very uncommon in the past.

Moreover, tourism was and still is under a very strong influence of technics and technology which have too often been boundary stones and turning points in its historical development. The same goes for fashion and other recognisable influences which have inspired tourism trends: the manner of travelling, the type of accommodation and the type of holiday.

Speaking about Croatian tourism history, particularly about the conditions prevailing in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when tourism emerged on the coast and in some parts of the hinterland, it was the era of late with all its socio-economic characteristics. A thin class of the *bourgeoisie* on the rise joined the country gentry in their extended leisure stays in a few resorts on the Adriatic or in spas during the winter months. Occasional visits from outstanding members of middle-European royal families were registered in Opatija, Losinj or Dubrovnik. Quite often they were the first promoters of those resorts in their home countries. They stayed at newly-built grand-hotels together

with an entourage of their companions and servants. In general the new leisure-class was recruited mainly from foreigners and the local population in the beginning, didn't have much in common with the newcomers. Sociologically and culturally tourism was a totally new phenomenon in a rural environment.

Today however, at the end of the millennium, historical research in tourism should also incorporate mass tourism, which long ago stopped being a novelty. Although it will never disappear altogether, mass tourism is being pushed back for its mostly pejorative connotations. New ("post-industrial") or alternative forms with a number of variants of so-called sustainable tourism are being strongly encouraged. Like all the others before, the era of mass tourism has undoubtedly left numerous traces (sources) lending themselves to different types of research: However, the message those are bound to convey to the future generations is the one of a dehumanised of people who lived in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### Adriatic – The Cradle of Croatian Tourism

Unfortunately so far the Croatian tourism has never been researched systematically and comprehensively. The available research data mostly refer to the established tourist destinations (regions, cities, settlements) in different and sporadic periods of their development.

Elements of such research can obviously be found in numerous historical, literary, sociological, geographic and other works, but also in original popular art and cultural heritage. There have been some individual attempts at presenting the tourism past in the works of J. Tadic, I. Peric who were writing about the Dubrovnik region<sup>22</sup>, V. Jadresic, B. Juric and V. Mastrovic about the Zadar area<sup>23</sup>, B. Kojic about Losinj<sup>24</sup>, S. Kabalin describing N. Vinodolski<sup>25</sup> and L. Sudnik dealing with the environment of Zagreb<sup>26</sup>, not to mention numerous papers dealing with Kvarner and other coastal and island settlements, as well as those on the continent.

There are also comprehensive scientific proceedings comprising valuable documents on the history of tourism in Rab, Krk, Crikvenica, as well as some other places.

Other useful sources are historical overviews of segments of a broader phenomenon, for example the tourism organisation<sup>27</sup>, the hotel industry<sup>28</sup>, some types of transportation, travel agents, etc. They allow for a detailed insight into the chronological sequence of development of a particular segment, corroborated by an abundance of facts.

Tourism was incorporated into the concrete Croatian Adriatic social reality quite early, becoming its inseparable part only a little later than it happened in the so-called classical tourist countries. First visits of foreigners had hardly any repercussions on the host environments, not noticeable at first, but subsequently gaining more and more prominence.

First public houses, inns, hostels, and finally hotels contributed to the gradual development of other necessary infrastructure: transportation and communal systems, retail and entertainment facilities and so on.

In Croatia, like anywhere else for that matter, the history of tourism therefore cannot be separated from the regional planning and equipment of tourist resorts, those nuclei of development: from communications to horticulture, from beaches and ski slopes to pubs and restaurants. Therefrom the richness of tourist life and distinctive atmosphere of such places in the past, very often and very readily depicted and ascribed to Opatija, Crikvenica, Krk, Losinj, Rab, Zadar, Kastela, Hvar, Dubrovnik, and so many others. Such descriptions have mostly provided background for anniversaries of important events: opening of a hotel, founding of tourist boards or associations, opening of a road or the like.

Brief information on commonplace events from the tourist past of a resort or a region tends to get a short mention in standard tourist guides, (illustrated) monographs, even in the so-called grey literature, sometimes containing inaccurate and non-verified data.

Notwithstanding the notorious truth that it is not easy to determine the age of Croatian coastal tourism, some of its phases can easily be followed, or as contemporary foreign authors like to put it: follow the life cycle of tourist destinations

Fact-abounding historical accounts containing important dates, names of prominent tourist enthusiasts, even anecdotes, can be invaluable for shedding light not only on the tourism past, but on the whole range of social, economic and cultural life of the period.

The notion of hospitality and ancient *hotism*, even in more primitive environments, places a special emphasis on getting together, associating and socialising, mostly in catering establishments which have always served as venues for discussions and important decision making.

Health resorts, although mostly located in the hinterland were meeting-places of the then elite, who would spend a larger part of the year in spas and posh seaside resorts, and the first modern (Palace and Grand) hotels become the real monuments and witnesses to their time and to famous people who resided in them.

Many of Croatian coastal villages and little towns had for years lived on maritime transport and trade, when the forties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the introduction of steamers which provided them with opportunities to start accommodating excursionists and first partakers in the rudimentary forms of tourism, which would only later evolve into a mass phenomenon.

In Opatija, for example, the hundred fiftieth anniversary of tourism was celebrated in 1994. In Hvar the first tourism organization named *Society for Hygiene* was founded in 1868 and in Krk a similar body had existed even before that date.

At other places tourism shot ahead thanks to a specific cult of thermal water or a healthy climate. Very often the history of providing health services is also the history of tourism of such climatic resorts, both on the coast as well as in the continental parts<sup>29</sup>.

Rab celebrated its century of tourism in 1989. The same year even two anniversaries were celebrated in Zadar: the eightieth of the *Regional Association for the Promotion of Travel of Foreigners in Dalmatia* and the ninetieth of the *LIBURNIJA Mountain-climbing and Tourist Association*. Proceedings were published in Kastela near Split in 1966 on the occasion of the centenary of tourism, and similar publications could easily be found elsewhere as well.

The first three modern hotels on the Adriatic coast, Opatija, Crikvenica and Imperial Dubrovnik were opened in 1884, 1894 and 1897 respectively. The last celebrated the centenary of its opening in 1997 with the publication of proceedings in which that event was accentuated as a turning point in the development of hotel industry in the town.

#### Some Significant Years from the Croatian Adriatic Tourism History

- 1837: steam-shiping line TRIEST-DUBROVNIK
- 1840: RIJEKA-VOLOSKO-OPATIJA-LOVRAN seaside promenade
- 1844: first villa and park in OPATIJA
- 1847: designs of OPATIJA as a health resort
- 1848: first small hotel in HVAR
- 1849: Committee for renovation of cultural and historical monuments in KRK
- 1857: VIENNA-TRIEST railway line
- 1866: Committee for embellishment of KRK (unknown year of foundation)
- 1868: *Society for Hygiene* in HVAR
- 1873: KARLOVAC-RIJEKA railway line
- 1878: First bathing place in NOVI VINODOLSKI
- 1880: First tourists visit MALINSKA
- 1882: Southern railways Inc. bought *Villa Angiolina* and started building modern OPATIJA
- 1883: Beginning of tourist statistics in OPATIJA
- 1884: First hotel *Kvarner* in OPATIJA
- 1885: *Committee for embellishment* of M. LOSINJ
- 1886: *Committee for embellishment* of V. LOSINJ
- 1888: Bathing place in CRIKVENICA
- 1892: *Committees for embellishment* of OREBIC, SUPETAR and ZADAR
- 1894: *Therapia* hotel in CRIKVENICA

- 1897: *Imperial* hotel in DUBROVNIK
- 1899: LIBURNIJA *Mountain-climbing and Tourist Association* - first regional tourist association
- 1902: *Committee for Embellishment* of N. VINODOLSKI
- 1906: *Health Care Act* (passed by the Croatian Parliament)
- 1907: *Regional association for promotion of foreign tourism* in Austrian Coastal Region (in Istria)
- 1908: Island of Rab *Bathing and health resort society* (founded in Vienna)

Source: Antic, V. *Razvitak turističkih organizacija u Jugoslaviji*, referat, Simpozij o turizmu, Beograd, 1968.

It is very difficult however and also most ungrateful to continue putting forth examples from the country's tourism past, for all of them are equally important and significant, and they have often served as the grounds for serious historical research. The results of this research, contained in the form of printed material, have not to the day been listed, let alone critically evaluated. Indeed, they are scattered in various libraries and archives or found in private possession. It would therefore be useful to catalogue them, if only in the form of a Bibliography for the future history of Croatian tourism, although some documents must have perished forever.

One should not forget that invaluable historical documents on Croatian tourism are kept by the *Tourist Documentation and Information Centre* in Dubrovnik, which takes credit for collecting bibliographic and other old publications (books, periodicals, etc.), which are today unique. In 1998 the sixtieth anniversary of the Centre's activity was celebrated and it was another incentive for a full appraisal of its still greatly unknown holdings in terms of historical evaluations.

Quite often one tends to forget that plenty of information for the history of tourism can be found incidentally in different works dealing with general history, history of transport, architecture, sports and others, but also in parish chronicles. It would therefore be recommendable to form local historical archives at the level of tourist associations and offices of particular places and counties, as referential collections of sources for the history of tourism. That would certainly encourage research, analysis and publication of papers dealing with the issue of tourism since the authorities on the subject would actually reside and work on the spot.

The task would be easier to perform in smaller and more homogenous areas, although the long-term comprehensive project *History of Zagreb Tourism* (within the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts- HAZU) has proved to be an exceedingly complex undertaking. A result of this project is an extremely well documented and lavishly illustrated publication whereas a number of monographic studies are still awaiting to be published<sup>30</sup>.

Already approved and launched project, also within HAZU, entitled *History of Croatian Tourism*, designed as a team work co-ordinated by the researchers all over Croatia, presents a great challenge to our tourism historiography. It is a pioneer work of utmost importance, which is not exploring the past just for the sake of searching for the roots, but rather to find an inspiration for the country's tourism future. Therefore the Croatian Tourist Association's appeal which was launched more than 30 years ago pleading for a comprehensive programme of collection, array and analysis of historical documents on tourist organisation and tourism on our territory is still very topical. On that occasion, amongst other things, it was recommended to do the following:

- search for and all the archives and other documentation covering the period from the very beginning of tourism to the First World War
- classify in detail all the material to be collected
- take into account libraries in private possession
- co-ordinate and their respective tasks, etc.

Unfortunately, there has been little concrete action undertaken in that respect, which makes the renewed project efforts so much more significant. The project should make up for failures and provide a comprehensive and systematic insight into the Croatian tourism past.

## Conclusion

Study of tourism history is important for learning about key features of growth and specific characteristics of the host areas in the past with the aim of making vital decisions in the present, and even more so in the future. By ignoring or underestimating the tourism past of a destination which seeks a deeper-seated recognition on the market, one fails to take into account a favourable position it is very likely to have had in the past.

What is being neglected is the fact that some places and regions in Croatia used to be even better cared for, equipped and organised. Despite a quantitative growth in the number of tourist facilities and overnights, they have suffered an overall drop in quality and reputation. Only sad fragments remain of once rich park architecture of Opatija and Lipik, and their past splendour, which placed them side by side with the most fashionable European bathing resorts and spas, is still mentioned as an unattainable goal. The refined environment dear to the heart of the affluent of the period has mostly been degraded. Degradation of natural wealth has been accompanied by a decline in the overall level of services and tourist offer, which reflects upon the type of clientele and overall business result.

For that reason it pays to value the past, not for nostalgic reasons but for the re-establishment of those traditions which can enhance the image and increase total economic and other (revival of forgotten attractions, local customs, old arts and crafts, sports, cuisine and so on). This will lead to the ascent from ordinariness and anonymity, so desirable in the new Croatian State which no longer has a reason to continue neglecting what used to be deliberately inhibited for over half a century. In that way the awareness of true historical values will help coastal regions as well as those on the continent in making the most of their affiliation with both Central European and Mediterranean culture circles, since by the profile of their tourist offer that is where they belong. It will undoubtedly be proven by the project *History of Croatian Tourism*.

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<sup>2</sup> A. NILSSON, L. NYBERG, *Seminar on Tourism History, History and Tourism*. Ostersund, 1996.

<sup>3</sup> P. DEFERT, "De l'homo sapiens à l'homo viator: pourquoi mille siècles de voyages?" in *Revue de tourisme* (44) 2, 1989, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> E. KOSCAK, *Ugostiteljstvo u antiko doba*, Zagreb, 1962.

<sup>5</sup> L. TURNER, J. ASH, *The Golden Hordes*, Constable, London, 1975, pp. 19-28.

<sup>6</sup> D. ALFIER, *Pokusaj dijalektickog objasnjenja pojave turizma*, Zbornik radova, FTVT, Dubrovnik, 1977, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> J. TOWNER, "The Grand Tour – A Key Phase in the History of Tourism" in *Annals of Tourism Research* (12) 3, 1985, p. 297.

<sup>8</sup> E. BRODSKY-PORGES, "Grand Tour – putovanje kao način obrazovanja 1600-1800 (prijevod)" in *Turizam* (34) 7-8, Zagreb, 1986, p.192.

<sup>9</sup> *Du tourisme aristocratique au tourisme social*, AIEST, St. Gallen vol. 17, 1973.

<sup>10</sup> I. ANTUNAC, *Kratak nacrt za historiju turizma i razvitak teoretsko-naucne misli o turizmu (separat)*, TSH, Zagreb, 1965.

<sup>11</sup> J. TOWNER, "What is Tourism's History?" in *Tourism Management* (16) 5, 1995, p. 341.

<sup>12</sup> M. DAVIES et al., *History and Tourism - Empty Meeting Grounds*, Report from Seminar History and Tourism 1994, Mid-Swedish University, Ostersund, 1996.

<sup>13</sup> A. KOSTIAINEN, *Looking for the Mass Tourism in History – The Experience of a Beginning Research*, Report from seminar History and Tourism 1994, Ostersund, 1996.

<sup>14</sup> R. BARETJE, *Tourisme et Histoire - Essais bibliographiques*, vol. 69,121, 203, 230, 285, 320, 440, 441, 572, 644, 719, 720, CHET, Aix-en-Provence, 1981-94.

<sup>15</sup> P. BAILEY, "Leisure, Culture and the Historian: Reviewing the First Generation of Leisure Historiography" in *Leisure Studies* 8, 1989, pp. 107-127.

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- <sup>18</sup> J. TOWNER, "Approaches to Tourism History" in *Annals of Tourism Research* (15)1, 1988, p. 48.
- <sup>19</sup> I. ANTUNAC, *Pregled grade za povijest turizma (ciklostilom)*, TSH, Zagreb, 1967.
- <sup>20</sup> J. TOWNER, *art. cit.*, 1988.
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