

Inventing Tourism in the Naval Port: The Case of the Brijuni Islands during the Habsburg Empire

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The present paper presents the results of the archival and field research conducted in the framework of the author's research project 'Valorisation of the common European heritage of Pula as the former main Austrian naval port and Brijuni Islands as an elite resort' in Austrian archives, with the focus on the Kupelwieser Collection kept in the Austrian National Library. The research aimed to offer a new perspective in the elaboration of the key initial phases of the development of modern tourism on the Brijuni Islands, by analysing their important function as an aristocratic residence near the main naval port in a comparative and transnational framework. The main research question was whether Brijuni followed a European model of development of an aristocratic resort near a major port. Combining archival and field research, the author has explored and compared some of the well-known island aristocratic residences in Europe and the Mediterranean, which developed as popular seaside resorts in the 19th and 20th centuries, such as the Isle of Wight, Mallorca, Corfu, and Brijuni. An overview of the available recent theoretical literature provided comparative insights into the search for such a model of the successful symbiosis of resorts and ports. As a case study, the author analysed the development of tourism on the Brijuni Islands in the most dynamic and dramatic periods before, during, and after the First World War, bearing in mind their importance as an elite resort in close proximity to Pula as the former main Austrian (Austro-Hungarian) naval port.

Keywords: aristocratic residences, resorts, ports, Brijuni, Pula, tourism history
<https://doi.org/10.26493/2335-4194.12.31-40>

Introduction

The European Year of Cultural Heritage and the commemoration of the end of World War I were an opportunity to reflect on the importance of Pula as the former main Austro-Hungarian naval port and the nearby Brijuni Islands as an elite aristocratic resort. Because of their strategically crucial geopolitical position, Pula and the Brijuni Islands had a particularly significant role in modern European cultural, political, diplomatic, and tourism history. After they had lost their key function and strategic role in the broader Central European and Mediterranean context, Pula

and Brijuni stagnated, wanting for new development opportunities. The purpose of this paper is to present the results of the archival and field research conducted in Austrian archives in the framework of the author's research project 'Valorisation of the common European heritage of Pula as the former main Austrian naval port and Brijuni Islands as an elite resort', with the focus on the Kupelwieser Collection, kept in the Austrian National Library. The research aimed to offer a new perspective in the elaboration of the key initial phase of the modern tourist development on the Brijuni Islands, by analysing their important function as

an aristocratic residence near the main naval port in a comparative and transnational framework. The main research question was whether Brijuni followed a European model of development of an aristocratic resort near a major port. An overview of the available recent theoretical literature provided comparative insights into the search for such a model of the successful symbiosis of resorts and ports. As a case study, the author analysed the development of tourism on the Brijuni Islands in the most dynamic and dramatic period before, during and after the First World War, bearing in mind their importance as an elite resort in close proximity to Pula as the former main Austrian (Austro-Hungarian) naval port.

From the valuable archive material and rare collections kept in the archives in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [Austrian National Library] and Staatsarchiv [State Archiv]) and Graz (Landesarchiv [Provincial Archive] and Landesbibliothek [Provincial Library]), it is possible to read an exciting story of an unknown part of the history of Brijuni.¹ In addition to the 161 folders full of interesting rare photos and illustrations, letters, business plans and documents, the Kupelwieser Collection also contains unpublished parts of the autobiography of the owner of Brijuni, in which Paul Kupelwieser describes in detail the circumstances that led to his conflict with the Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand, who was so enchanted by the islands after his first visit that he wanted to take them over from the owner at any price and build a permanent residence there.

Inventing Tourism in the Naval Port

In 1850, Pula was selected as the site of the future most important Austrian military harbour, which gave the nearby Brijuni Islands a military function as well. Five fortifications were erected on Veli Brijun and two on Mali Brijun, and the Fažana Channel served as an an-

chorage for the Austrian fleet. In such circumstances, it was quite unusual that on August 15th 1893, the Viennese industrialist and steel magnate Paul Kupelwieser bought these uninhabited malaria-ridden islands at the entrance to the leading Austrian naval port of Pula. Twenty years later, on the eve of the World War I, the Brijuni Islands had been transformed into an elegant health resort, a world-renowned élite seaside destination, an exclusive meeting place for the European aristocracy, artists, and financial magnates, a symbol of cultivated relaxation, and a unique blend of nature and culture. The Brijuni Archipelago came to be known as a Mediterranean paradise at the foot of the Alps, a pearl of the Austrian Riviera, and an oasis of peace (Urošević, 2014).

Thanks to the frequent visits and extended stays of the Habsburg imperial family, close relations with the top industrial and military circles, and good maritime and railway connections with European capitals, shortly before the First World War, Brijuni developed into a focal point of social life on the Austrian Riviera, and an unique hub of technological and tourism innovations. As an Austrian counterpart to other prominent Mediterranean rivieras and resorts, Brijuni also had an extraordinarily important political, military and diplomatic function as an elite resort and cultural centre near the main naval port.

The period of intensive modernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation in southern Istria, which started after the opening of the Arsenal in Pula in 1856² and which was accompanied at the turn of the century by the development of tourism in Pula and on the Brijuni Islands, was abruptly interrupted by the outbreak of the Great War, during which Brijuni again acquired strategic importance in defending the military harbour in Pula. The numerous forts on the islands were manned by crews, while the hotels served to accommodate Austrian officers. At the very peak of their development, after twenty years of intensive in-

¹This paper is result of the archival and field research, conducted in the framework of the author's research project 'Valorisation of the common European heritage of Pula as the former main Austrian naval port and Brijuni Islands as an elite resort' during the Richard Plaschka Fellowship of the Austrian Ministry of Research, Science and Economy.

²It is interesting to note that Karl Marx dedicated to Pula, the importance of its port, and its arsenal two articles published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* in January and August 1857. See <http://marxengels.public-archive.net/en/ME0988en.html>.

vestments, their owner could have started returning huge invested capital, the islands were affected by the dramatic warfare.

Paul Kupelwieser described his life and entrepreneurial adventure in memoirs, published in 1918 (Kupelwieser, 1918). He was 76 when he died in Vienna in 1919, exhausted by severe illness and post-war uncertainty. The documentation and correspondence preserved in the collection of the rare manuscripts of the Austrian National Library testify to the dramatic circumstances in which his children took over the family business after the First World War, within a wholly transformed geopolitical framework. An unpublished part of Kupelwieser's biography, kept in the same collection, contains interesting details about his problematic relationship with the most famous guest of the Brijuni Islands, Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand, who was so enchanted by the islands after his first visit in July 1909 that he wished to build the permanent residence there. In the following three years, he spent several spring weeks on the islands where he completely cured his chronic lung problems. Paul Kupelwieser took advantage of his stay to launch a marketing campaign through the islands' newspapers – *Brioni Insel Zeitung*, published from 1910 to 1914. Delighted by the islands' climate, and natural and cultural heritage, the Crown Prince wanted to build a permanent residence there, which was a common habit among the European aristocracy. About his intention, he informed the German Kaiser, who visited Brijuni during his trip from Venice to his residence in Corfu³ in the spring of 1912. According to Kupelwieser, the Kaiser replied: 'Lucky you! You need only 12 hours to arrive at your paradise from Vienna, and I need 4 days to get to Corfu!' (Kupelwieser, 1917, p. 362). In addition to the climatic benefits, as well as the richness of natural and cultural heritage, it was the proximity to the empire's capital and its central position in the region, near the main naval port

that made the future emperor's island residence so attractive.

It is evident that there are parallels and similarities in the habits and practices of the European aristocracy in creating residences in elite destinations, and that the Austrian court used the European models of best practice, both during the construction of naval ports and the development of elite tourist resorts in Central Europe and the Mediterranean.⁴

It is also known that Austria's ruling Habsburg family had a significant role in inventing and promoting the 'Austrian Riviera' (Baskar, 2010). Some of them were pioneers of tourism in the Mediterranean, such as the Archduke Ludwig Salvator, who 'discovered' and popularised many island destinations like Mallorca during his Mediterranean cruises (Woerl, 1899). Obviously, Mallorca could be a model for the development of an exclusive archipelago resort, as one of the first 'Mediterranean paradises,' which successfully attracted an elite aristocratic clientele and a cosmopolitan colony of artists and intellectuals (Walton, 2005).

Resorts and Ports

An overview of the available recent theoretical literature provides comparative insights in search of a European model of development of an aristocratic residence near the naval port. The monograph *Resorts and Ports* (Borsay & Walton, 2011), discusses the relationship between tourist resorts and seaports in the history of tourism. In the introductory chapter, its editors also mentioned a kind of symbiosis of functions of the leading British naval port in Portsmouth and the aristocratic resort on the Isle of Wight, a favourite summer residence of Queen Victoria (Blom, 2008), emphasising that 'the Royal Navy offered a military spectacle to holidaymakers at Southsea or on the Isle of Wight' (Borsay & Walton, 2011, p. 4). Other monographs, which emphasise the importance of comparative, transnational approaches in research on European resorts and ports (Zuelow, 2011; Borsay & Furnée, 2015) are also very useful.

³ German Kaiser Wilhelm II purchased in 1907 the former residence of the Empress of Austria Elisabeth, Achilleion on Corfu, after her 1899 assassination by the Italian anarchist Luigi Lucheni in Geneva. During Kaiser Wilhelm's visits a great deal of diplomatic activity took place in Achilleion, and it became a hub of European diplomacy.

⁴ About 'cultural transfers' between European spas see Borsay and Furnée (2015) and Steward (2000).

The above-mentioned archival research conducted in the Austrian archives indicated that Pula was represented in the Austrian newspapers at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries as the 'Austrian Portsmouth' and that the Brioni (Brijuni) Islands were compared and described as 'even more beautiful than the Isle of Wight.' Rare collections in Austrian archives keep old local newspapers, such as *Die Steierische Alpen-Post* from 8 July 1905, in which, in the article *Reisebriefe aus dem österreichischen Portsmouth* by von Josef Steiner-Wischenbart Pula is compared with the main British naval port, as the 'Austrian Portsmouth' (Steiner-Wischenbart, n.d.). In contrast, in many articles published in the first tourism magazines on the Adriatic, such as the *Oesterreichische Riviera Zeitung* and *Adria*, as well as in Karl Brockhausen's (n.d.) study *Brioni: Ein Kulturmärchen aus unseren Tagen*, the Brijuni Islands were compared to the Isle of Wight. It is well-known that Austria, in the creation of its navy, used the best European practices, copying port infrastructure and fortification architecture models from the most developed European navies and employing top experts, such as the admiral of the fleet, the Dane Hans Birch von Dahlerup, who chose Pula for the main Austrian naval port in 1850 (Scandinavians dominated the corps of navy engineers throughout the 1850s), or the Pole Viktor von Domaszewski, the first urbanist of modern Pula, who, before the construction of the port infrastructure, visited all European (British, French, Dutch, and Russian) naval ports, including Portsmouth, Plymouth, London, Liverpool, Paris, and Toulon (Balota, 2005).

Looking for a model of an elite tourist destination development near the naval port, apart from archival and field research, it is undoubtedly a very useful comparative overview of the development of similar destinations in Europe. Combining the aforementioned methods, the author has explored and compared some of the well-known aristocratic island residences in Europe and the Mediterranean, which developed as popular seaside resorts in the 19th and 20th centuries, such as the Isle of Wight, Mallorca, Corfu, and Brijuni.

Unlike Queen Victoria's summer residence in Osborne House, built in 1845 on the Isle of Wight, opposite the naval port in Portsmouth, in the style of

the Italian Renaissance, Mallorca, Corfu, and Brijuni were typical Mediterranean aristocratic destinations, which developed as popular seaside resorts. Mallorca is the official holiday destination of the Spanish royal family, and the invention of modern tourism on the Balearic Islands is linked to visits of aristocratic guests and artists. After the first famous guests, Chopin and George Sand, who spent the winter of 1838/1939 in Valdemossa, in 1867 the Archduke Ludwig Salvator of Austria arrived. Having initially acquired properties in medieval Miramar, between 1872 and 1901, he purchased the entire coastal strip between Valdemossa and Deià, and built an extensive network of paths and viewpoints, creating a true paradise on Mallorca.

Besides learning the local dialect, Ludwig Salvator researched the islands' flora and fauna, history and culture, which resulted in the nine-volume monograph *Die Balearen in Wort und Bild* (The Balearic Islands in Word and Image). For many decades, the Archduke explored the Mediterranean with his famous yacht 'Nixe.' He preferred small and undiscovered regions and islands, such as Paxos and Antipaxos, Ithaka, Levkas and Zante in the Ionian sea as well as the Liparian Islands north of Sicily, the small islands Giglio, Ustica, and Alboran and especially the Balearic Islands Mallorca, Menorca, Ibiza, and Formentera (Woerl, 1899). A special congeniality of spirit connected the royal vagabond with Empress Elisabeth ('Sisi'), who held the educated archduke in high esteem. She visited him twice with her yacht 'Miramar' on Mallorca (see <http://www.ludwigsalvator.com>).

The landscape of the Serra de Tramuntana, protected in 2001 by UNESCO, holds the famous trail built by Ludwig Salvator, as well as a literary trail from Valldemossa to Pollença, which pays homage to George Sand and Robert Graves and the highly scenic Sóller to Palma narrow-gauge historic railway.

The Austrian empress, Elisabeth of Bavaria, built another very famous aristocratic residence on the Island of Corfu, after the tragic loss of her only son, Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria, in 1889. The Achilleion Palace, inspired by Greek mythology, was Elisabeth's favourite vacation place and summer residence, dedicated to her admiration for Greece, its language and its culture until her tragic death in 1899. After

Elisabeth's assassination, German Kaiser Wilhelm II purchased Achilleion in 1907 and used it as a summer residence. Until 1914, many diplomatic activities took place in the palace, and Achilleion became a hub of European diplomacy. During World War I, Achilleion was used as a military hospital by French and Serbian troops (see <https://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/achilleion-corfu-elisabeths-flight-antiquity>). Briefly reclaiming the status of the centre for European diplomacy that it possessed during the Kaiser years, the Achilleion has been used in recent times for European summits and as a museum.

Years of Fulfillment

Aristocratic visits marked probably the most exciting period of development and international recognition of Brijuni, from Easter 1910 to the beginning of the First World War, and can be traced through the preserved editions of the Brijuni Islands newspapers. In addition to the first tourist magazines in the Adriatic: the *Illustrierte österreichische Riviera Zeitung* (1904–1905) and *Adria, Illustrierte Monatsschrift für Landes- und Volkskunde, Volkswirtschaft und Tourismik der adriatischen Küstenländer* (1908–1914), the Brijuni Islands had their own newspaper: *Brioni Insel Zeitung* (1910–1914). The first issue of the islands' gazette, which was published in March 1910, reported on the stay of Franz Ferdinand with his family on the Brijuni Islands, and it is evident that the presence of the imperial family was used to promote the destination (which was a frequent practice in other European destinations visited by aristocracy). The newspaper regularly reported, among other things, about the stay of the emperor's family, as well as other famous personalities, which can be traced through the list of guests published in each issue (see <http://library.foi.hr/novine>).

Another valuable source is the tourist magazine *Adria*, which reports about Franz Ferdinand's visits to Brioni in several issues in 1910. After his first working visit in July 1909, during the Adriatic tour from Venice to Corfu on the imperial yacht 'Miramar' (*Adria*, August 1909, p. 341), in the issue from February 1910, *Adria* reported about the first longer stay (February and March) of the Archduke's family on the Adriatic

coast, with a six-page report on the islands' beauty (*Adria*, February 1910, pp. 77–88). The issue from April 1910 reported about A Year of Fulfilment (*Adria*, April 1910, pp. 157–160) with an illustrated reportage and the photo of the archduke with his wife on Brijuni. Finally, the issue from June 1910 reported about his activities during a two-month stay. Apart from treating lung problems and enjoying the beauty of nature and peace, the crown prince was very interested in studying the preservation of cultural monuments and learning about the cultural and economic development of the Austrian Riviera as well as in the nearby naval port. Almost every day he visited, by car or by boat, the Istrian coast and the interior, from the surroundings of Pula to Učka, including the opening of the Provincial Exhibition in Koper. In conclusion, the editors reported that he was so satisfied with his stay on Brijuni that he announced his intention to choose beautiful Istria as a permanent residence for the first weeks of spring (*Adria*, June 1910, pp. 237–240). The issue of March 1911 briefly reports on his arrival to Brijuni with the whole family for another two-month stay.

Another very valuable and useful source are memoirs of the Brijuni's owner Paul Kupelwiser, *Aus den Erinnerungen eines alten Österreicher* (From the Memoirs of an old Austrian), written in 1917 and published in 1918 (Kupelwieser, 1918). It is fascinating to observe that Kupelwieser's memoirs end with the first visit of the crown prince, his imperial highness Franz Ferdinand and his wife, the Duchess of Hohenberg. However, the original manuscript (actually a typoscript), kept in four folders of the Kupelwieser Collection in the Austrian National Library (Kupelwieser, 1917), also include, an unpublished part, with much less well-known details related to the owner's efforts to struggle with nature, the state bureaucracy, and the military authorities. Particularly interesting and impressive are pages describing Franz Ferdinand's attempts to take over the islands and build a permanent residence on them. The typoscript in the third and fourth folder contains a detailed description of the preparations for the first longer stay of the Crown Prince's family on the islands in 1910. At the beginning of February 1910, the heir to the throne arrived with his family on the

islands. They enjoyed very much the pleasant island climate during their eight-week stay, so that Franz Ferdinand felt his chronic lung problems no more, which was not the case after his stays on the French Riviera and in St. Moritz.

From the letter of the head of the cabinet (Vorstand der Militär Kanzlei) Alexander von Brosch-Aerenau to Franz Ferdinand from March 16, 1910 (Brosch-Aerenau, 1910), it is also possible to read about the archduke's intentions to build a residential villa on the western Istrian coast, more precisely on the Brijuni Islands. He was authorised to negotiate the acquisition of Peninsula Barbana at the north-western tip of the island or Cape Peneda in the very south, for which the Archduke was particularly interested. According to the negotiator, Kupelwieser was more willing to give up Cape Peneda than Barbana, because he needed the field for his livestock and local traffic, but also because of the planned construction of the bridge from Barbana to Brioni Minor. Kupelwieser did not want to sell anything but proposed a lifelong or longer lease. He was ready to renounce any payment, demanding that after the lease had ended, everything would pass back into his (or his heirs') possession. Although Brosch-Aerenau did not consider Kupelwieser's offer acceptable, after detailed calculations, he recommended further negotiations.

In his (unpublished) memoirs, Paul Kupelwieser describes the visit of the head of the cabinet, Colonel Brosch, who attempted to negotiate on behalf of Franz Ferdinand. He informed Kupelwieser that his Imperial Highness was 49 years old and, as the future emperor, needed a residence, and it was to be Brijuni. During Easter 1910, the Brijuni islands were visited by the court garden director Umlauf, who was asked to have a closer look at the islands and to estimate the value of the whole estate. He estimated that because of the islands' climatic benefits with the same isotherms as Lošinj and the wealth of abundant fertile soil as well as relative proximity of Vienna, Brijuni were worth 25,000,000 crowns and that his Imperial Highness could pay even 30,000,000 crowns. According to Kupelwieser, these amounts, which were well over twice what he had invested in Brioni, were probably the reason that Franz Ferdinand no longer thought

of the purchase, but sought other ways in which the desired goal could be achieved. Several weeks after this estimation, an article was published in the Paris issue of *The New-York Herald*, announcing that the political situation in Italy made it urgently necessary that the state acquire the Brijuni islands. Parts of the islands that were not used for fortification purposes could be left to the heir to the throne as a stay there had proved to be very favourable to his health (Kupelwieser, 1917, p. 357). Kupelwieser denied this false report in his own newspaper (*Brioni Insel Zeitung*, 29 march 1910).

From the unpublished part of the Kupelwieser memoirs, it is evident how much he was concerned with the intense pressures related to the Archduke's wishes to take over the island, which affected his nervous system so much that he had heart problems several weeks after his departure. Apart from heart spasms, throughout the whole spring, summer, and autumn of 1910, Kupelwieser had problems with boils on various parts of his body and with eczema which could not be effectively treated. In autumn, he decided to visit dermatologist Prof. Dr Una in Hamburg, and since the disease caused by stress became complicated, he had to lie in bed because of painful boils and eczema (Kupelwieser, 1917, p. 321). Kupelwieser used his stay in Hamburg to visit Karl Hagenbeck in his famous zoo and arrange his visit to Brijuni the following year (in January 1911).

In the meantime, the harbour admiral, Excellency von Ripper, also attempted to complicate or block every investment in the islands in the next three years. Although the construction of the new hotel Neptun III, designed by the young architect Eduard Kramer, was repeatedly interrupted, until the next Easter season in 1912 and re-arrival of prominent guests, the hotel was completed, which also enabled a larger visit of the most distinguished Viennese circles. It was the year of fulfilment and the highest ranking visits, according to local tourist magazines. At the invitation of Franz Ferdinand, on his trip from Venice to Corfu, the German Kaiser visited the islands. Along with the solemn welcome of the war fleet, the emperor was welcomed by 400 guests of the Brijuni spa. The presence of such high-level guests on Brijuni greatly contributed to the

island's promotion, so much so that all rooms were sold out several weeks before the Kaiser's arrival (Kupelwieser, 1917, p. 362).

Finally, Kupelwieser offered the construction of the residence, the castle with a larger park surrounding the villa on the Peneda peninsula, which was one fifth of the island's surface. Kupelwieser offered Franz Ferdinand a twenty-year lease, so he could use it under the same conditions as long as he lived (Kupelwieser, 1917, p. 363). After unsuccessful negotiations, Franz Ferdinand seemed to give up taking over the Island, and over the next two years he spent the late winter at the Miramar Castle near Trieste. The intention of Franz Ferdinand to take over Brijuni is also confirmed by the book of his secretary in which, in the chapter entitled *Brioni*, he describes in detail the relation of the crown prince towards Kupelwieser and his attempts to become the owner of the most attractive parts of the islands, in the broader context of political and diplomatic relations and visits (Nikitsch-Boulles, 1925, pp. 140–150).

Ambitious Development Plans

In the winter before the outbreak of World War I, massive investments were completed: the visitors of Brijuni's five deluxe hotels with 500 beds could enjoy the first indoor swimming pool with heated sea water in Europe in a wellness centre, which was opened in October 1913. In the unpublished part of his memoirs, Paul Kupelwieser mentions Dr Neumann's proposal for the construction of a sanatorium projected by the architect Kramer a few months earlier in the framework of his ambitious plans to develop a health tourism resort. Several weeks after that, Franz Ferdinand was killed in Sarajevo. Because the First World War began four weeks later, Kupelwieser commented that he was glad that the construction for which he had been ready had not begun (Kupelwieser, 1917, pp. 373–374):

I'm thinking about the future enlargement of our hotel resort through the arrangement of about 100 rooms in the hotel on the west coast of Brijuni, perhaps at the same place where a sanatorium was planned, not as a private joint

stock company, but in the joint venture with our own hotel company and led by well-paid medical staff.

The most informative preview of the most prosperous period before the First World War, and probably the most comprehensive guidebook is the *Führer durch Brioni* (Gnirs, 1910).

Along with the already published autobiographical notes of the island's medical doctor Otto Lenz's wife *Brijuni – Lost Paradise*, (Lenz Guttenberg, 2007), which include important details related to the events on the island on the eve of the First World War (such as the arrival of the British fleet just before the very beginning of the war), in some very informative Brijuni guide books from the 1920s and '30s, written by the islands' physician Otto Lenz, there are interesting details about the First World War. In the publication *Die Bedeutung der Insel Brienz als hervorragender Climatischer Kurort der Nordadria*, we can read that 'the war passed almost unperceived near Brijuni [...] only a few bombs would fall on Brijuni, but without any damage [...] That is how our beautiful island could, after the peace agreement, be awakened again from the unwanted four-year-old dream' (Lenz, 1930, p. 4). We can also learn that immediately before the outbreak of the war, large investments were completed: with a unique indoor heated swimming pool connected to the rooms with a heated corridor, Brijuni had 300 rooms in five hotels that could accommodate 450 guests. The heated swimming pool should be the centre of future development of Brijuni as a winter spa, insisted Dr Lenz in conclusion of his very informative guide. He also announced intensive equipment of the spa centre, the building of a new sanatorium, in addition to the existing hotels, where guests will be offered special treatments, massages and hydrotherapy, mud therapy, diets, and seawater inhalation, 'as in Salsomaggiore spa.' The future spa and wellness centre would include a gym room and fitness in the pool, along with the unavoidable walks over 80 km of decorated paths. In conclusion, the indications for treatment were listed.

Particularly impressive is a booklet *Spaziergänge auf Brioni* (Lenz, 1926) in which the island's physi-

cian, through a proposal of 12 walks through the picturesque Brijuni Islands, also recounts the history of Brijuni as a tourist destination, presenting a whole range of important details.

Dr Lenz, among other things, elaborated a significant project to build a sanatorium in Madona Bay, which was planned before the start of the First World War (also mentioned by the publicist Richard Voss (1914) in his book *Die grüne Insel*, dedicated to the owner of Brijuni. Because of the best climatic conditions in the Madona Bay, after a long period of reflection on arranging the winter sanatorium for convalescence, a joint stock company was organised. The plans were completed, the construction was approved by the Austrian command of the naval port (with the condition that the building be coloured green so as not to become the target of the enemy), the capital for construction was also ready; then the war came and blocked the project.

This information is confirmed by an unpublished development study from 1919, which is also kept in the Kupelwieser Collection. After the war and in the year of Paul Kupelwieser's death, his heirs founded the Brioni joint stock company in 1919. The contract, held in the Department for the Rare Collections of the Austrian National Library, is one of the few documents related to the company's business (Kupelwieser, 1919). This document, which presents a feasibility study and a strategic framework for further development of the islands at the same time, apart from financial structure, which includes both future British and US investors, mentions detailed ambitious development plans, including, for example, connecting the Veli Brijun to Mali Brijun (Brioni Minor) by a bridge, and further spreading of the health resort offer through a new sanatorium in Madona Bay, as well as new spa complexes on both islands. Another document related to this substantial investment, which was unfortunately interrupted by World War I, is an architectural project for a never-built health resort in the Madonna Bay, a work of the well-known architect, Eduard Kramer (who designed almost all the hotels in Brijuni) dating back to 1915.

Along with another unrealised project, a large 1905 seafront hotel, there is also a project for a large Kurhaus

building that was to be built in Dobrika Bay. The spa building was supposed to be five stories high in the central part and only one floor in the wings. About 120 accommodation units were planned in this impressive health resort.

After the war, when, after great political changes, Istria and Brijuni fell under the authorities of Italy, only huge debts remained. Paul Kupelwieser died shortly after the collapse of the monarchy in 1919. His son Karl continued his venture with less success, and new investments in golf and polo fields only increased the enormous debts. After additional family problems, he took his own life in 1930, and in 1936 Brijuni was sold to the Italian state.

Very interesting is also the preserved documentation from the family legacy (diaries, letters and reports) after World War II, which testifies about the first visit of Kupelwieser's family members to the Islands after the forced departure in 1935. The letter from October 1960, written by family members (Mautner Markhof, 1960) who were pleasantly surprised by the reception by the new authorities, documents their reasons for leaving the islands in 1935, as well as the current situation in Brijuni, which in the meantime had become a presidential residence.

Conclusion

At the end of the Second World War, on 5th May 1945, the Brioni Islands were liberated with the rest of southern Istria, and were under the control of the Yugoslav Government, in contrast to Pula, which was then under Allied control. Josip Broz Tito, the president of the Federative Peoples' Republic of Yugoslavia, came to Brioni on 20th June 1947 and declared them a residential area (Begović & Schrunk, 2007, pp. 155–166). Since that time, extensive work had begun on their recovery from the damage inflicted by bombing. From 1952 to 1981, numerous foreign dignitaries visited Brijuni, including members of European royal families and high-ranking diplomats. The summer presidential residence was built on the Island of Vanga. The Brijuni Islands were an important venue of historical meetings of the 20th century. In October 1983, the Brijuni Islands were declared a National Park.

In their turbulent history, from the Roman era to

the modern times, the Brijuni Islands had a significant economic function, related to elite leisure, but also a prominent political and diplomatic role, as a residence. The conducted research has indicated similarities, common practices and models of the elite European spas and seaside resorts, including the relation between resorts and ports, which could also be useful in the analysis of tourism development on the Brijuni Islands.

Valuable rare archival documents kept in Austrian archives, related to the development of tourism on the Brijuni Islands in the most dynamic and dramatic period before, during and after the World War I, can illuminate previously unknown sections of the past of the Brijuni Islands and should, therefore, be further analysed and presented. Since the archival material related to the history of Brijuni is dispersed in different institutions and partially lost, it is essential to continue research, which could reconstruct some critical events. Besides the afore-mentioned Austrian archives and collections, there are fascinating sources in archives in Trieste, Pazin, and Belgrade, which should be analysed in greater detail. The European Year of Cultural Heritage, besides commemorating the end of the First World War and celebrating the common European values and heritage, was an opportunity to valorise former aristocratic residences as common Euro-Mediterranean heritage through transnational projects and networks as well as international labels (European heritage label, UNESCO heritage, etc.).

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