

---

# Sociocultural Reminiscencies of Pandemics, Health Culture and Tourism in Dalmatia (II.)

Stanko Geić, Jakša Geić

Retired from Department of Professional Studies, University of Split, Split, Croatia

**Email address:**

stanko.geic@aspira.hr (S. Geić), jaksa.geic1@gmail.com (J. Geić)

**To cite this article:**

Stanko Geić, Jakša Geić. Sociocultural Reminiscencies of Pandemics, Health Culture and Tourism in Dalmatia (II.). *Science, Technology & Public Policy*. Vol. 6, No. 1, 2022, pp. 7-22. doi: 10.11648/j.stpp.20220601.12

**Received:** February 24, 2022; **Accepted:** March 25, 2022; **Published:** April 9, 2022

---

**Abstract:** Throughout its millennial history, humanity has been confronted with numerous infectious diseases and even global pandemics since time immemorial, with an insufficient level of health culture. Among the most famous and most terrible pandemics, the source and focus of which was most often in the Far East with a low health culture were pandemics of leprosy, plague, smallpox, cholera, tuberculosis, malaria, and the latest pandemic Corona virus SARS Cov-2 COVID-19. They also affected our region and Dalmatia, which has always had extensive communications throughout the Mediterranean and the world. Half a billion people or 2/3 of the inhabitants of Europe and its recurrences are recorded until the beginning of the 21st century. The development of mass tourism with all the health benefits of temporary changes in the working and living environment and living in health-saving areas (sea, lakes, mountains...), due to large globalized intercontinental migrations at the same time results in large pollution and environmental destruction and intensive contacts for the spread of epidemics pandemic infectious diseases. Positive but also negative experiences and the scale of pandemics of infectious diseases and activities for their prevention and control are considered on a global scale and especially in the area of the famous Croatian Mediterranean region of Dalmatia, as a crossroads of demographic, economic and cultural communications to Europe and the world. Understanding and analysing the occurrence and legality of occurrence, development, spread and duration of periodic recurrence of epidemics and pandemics, as well as their suppression and prevention throughout the millennium history, with sociocultural and touristic interaction which is discussed in this paper, can be a valuable reference point in the current pandemic SARS Cov-2 COVID-19, which has seriously threatened the world with so far (31.01.21.) an estimated over 100 million patients and 2 million deaths (in Croatia over 200 000 patients and 5000 deaths) with, in some European countries, a worrying progression that despite the efforts of the health epidemiological profession is not waning. However, with the drastic measures taken by the National Staff, the situation with the pandemic at the end of January 2021 is gradually easing, which allows for a cautious relaxation of measures. Following this is the announcement of further cautious easing of measures with the intention that Croatia, as a "corona free" destination, welcomes the upcoming tourist season on which the entire Dalmatian and whole Croatian economy depends.

**Keywords:** Tourism, COVID-19, Health Culture, History, Pandemics, Dalmatia

---

## 1. Introduction

*"The Greeks were ravaged by the plague" (Homer - Iliad of the 8th century BC).*

*"Malaria no longer exists in Trogir and the stay of foreigners from that point of view can be permanent." [30]*

*"The Corona pandemic with the SARS-CoV 2 COVID-19 virus, which was first reported in Wuhan (China) and then in Bergamo (Italy), has affected all countries of the world"...* (HTV, May 1, 2020).

*"By end of December 2021, the "Corona virus" with new mutations (delta, omicron...) had already caused over five million deaths worldwide and over 11,000 in the Republic of Croatia, which unfortunately puts Croatia at the death rate and population fragmentation ranked at the very back of EU countries..." (RTL, December 2021).*

From time immemorial, humanity has been faced with numerous, often unexplained diseases, epidemics and pandemics that have been able to decimate and sometimes exterminate the population in certain areas of the world. In

this context, the current global pandemic of the Corona virus (SARS Cov 2- COVID-19), which for the first time in history affected whole humanity, and thus Croatia and Dalmatia, with catastrophic consequences from the aspect of health, and then the whole socio-economic life, with significant restrictions in the economy and especially travel including tourism on a global scale. In accordance with the topic of this paper, it is worth analysing similar occurrences over millennial history and their impact on society and segments of health and tourism culture development, including travel through history analogous to tourism (pre-tourism) from ancient times to those treated by "modern" tourism which take place in the last 2 centuries. This topic is extremely important today on a global scale, especially in almost 200 tourist countries with billions of tourists per year in the world. This includes Croatia, which bases its social and economic development on the direct and multiplicative effects of tourism, which make up over 20% of the country's GDP, with a significant impact on the overall socio-economic structure, especially in Dalmatia, but also Croatia in general. Without entering numerous theoretical discussions whether tourism appears as a social phenomenon (Krapf, Hunziker, 1963), with the beginnings of civilization in the Old Age or industrial society in the early 19th [1] in this paper we try to include a sequence of global pandemics and their impact on the daily life of mankind. This especially includes travel within the pre-tourist and tourist era through a logical dialectical approach by which all social phenomena are traced from their onset, growth, stagnation, decline and re-emergence. This is in accordance with the significant Aristotle's phrase "the world is an eternal fire that is lit and extinguished by measure", and in the footsteps of the Greek school of ancient philosophy (Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus - IV century BC), which Leine 1980 it also transfers to tourism explicitly "the only constant in tourism is its constant change". This refers to the quantitative and then qualitative changes that every social phenomenon, including tourism, has always accompanied, including longer or shorter interruptions behind the so-called force majeure with which we treat the current global pandemic. It significantly disrupted socio-economic and even tourist flows around the world, with today still unforeseeable consequences [13] which were initially catastrophic only in Wuhan where it was first reported, and later in Europe especially for Bergamo and northern Italy. At the beginning of the second wave during the summer, the consequences were already very serious at the global level, but also for Croatia and Dalmatia with a great impact on the results of the tourist season on which the Croatian and especially Dalmatian economy practically depends. Concerns about the future in the coming colder period of the year, when respiratory diseases and infections are much more frequent, have proved justified already. Since October 2020, there has been a remarkable progression of Corona virus infection worldwide, with increasing restrictions on travel and overall socio-economic life, with intensified efforts by health and epidemiological

institutions to find effective vaccines and vaccination of the population in Europe and Croatia appears more serious in 2021, with the hope of suppressing the pandemic by the start of the tourist season. These efforts resulted in relatively successful tourist season which in the Republic of Croatia almost reached the results from the record-breaking 2019. Unfortunately, relaxation in implementing of necessary epidemiological measures, including vaccination, with the strengthening of the so-called anti-vaccine movements supported by the activities of the mostly right-wing political orientations and lobbies and the emergence of new, more contagious strains of the virus (delta, omicron), resulted in (except with some disciplined societies such as Scandinavian countries, Israel...) doubling the number of infections and deaths worldwide and also in Dalmatia and Croatia, which in 2022 ranked among the most endangered countries in Europe with more than 60 deaths a day or a total of over a 13 000 thousand from the beginning of the pandemic, with the further progression.

## 2. Method

This article is the result of monitoring the subject matter of the holder, long-term cultural tourist, and university professor and scientist since 1971. As a member of the "National Society for history of health culture in former state of Yugoslavia", which includes research into the consequences of waterborne and similar epidemics in the 1960s to the tourism of Dalmatia. The work is inspired by a recollection of his visionary statement: "An epidemic must happen here" from December 1990 while visiting the traditional "wet market" in the Chinese border region of Quan Dong near Macao and Hong Kong, which is different from these cities and the developed world, was of extremely low hygienic and sanitary standards. And it was SARS in 2002 that, like the later MERS of 2007, that took on epidemic proportions with severe consequences, fortunately only to a limited area and the population and tourism of the Far East [56].

The treated contribution of a multidisciplinary character is methodologically based on a scientifically comparative method of researching the historical, cultural and tourist continuity of society development (historical desk research), with special reference to the world-relevant region of Dalmatia. Half a century of practical and scientific research activity of the holders of this paper within cultural, tourist, administrative and higher education institutions, along with study trips and communications with eminent cultural and tourist scientists and practitioners around the world, have resulted in dozens of published books and scientific papers in domestic and foreign publications, and enabled a comparative analysis in the attached literature of elaborated historical and current tourist trends, with a projection of future trends in the field of interactions of culture, health culture, pandemics and tourism.

### 3. Result: Health Culture, Pandemics and Tourism and Analogous Travel in the Historical Context

#### 3.1. Interactions of Pandemics, Health Culture and Travel in Old, Middle and New Ages

Outbreaks of local epidemics, and especially global pandemics, have always caused fears, concerns and even panic in people. According to many researchers operationalized by Israeli historian Harari [26] the phenomenon of pandemics coincides with the emergence of a sedentary lifestyle that replaces the man collector and hunter by grouping him into ever larger settlements and then cities where he lives for a long time without the necessary hygiene and health infrastructure. Organized human communities that appear as early as the fourth millennium BC. (Babylon...), result in the development of cities, trade and money, increasingly intensive travel motivated by trade, religious and cultural and health and country needs, which of course favours the spread of epidemics and pandemics. As early as the third millennium, written sources mention visits to the Egyptian pyramids at Gizah and the attractions of Babylon and major religious events in honour of the gods or rulers of the Nile, Euphrates and Tigris... Similar phenomena occur in the Far East in Chinese and Indian and Japanese high cultures, especially in the Yangtze and Ganges river basins [18]. Pandemics were already affected by relatively intensive travel in the Ancient World, especially in the Mediterranean, particularly during the time of Antiquity and Hellenism in Greece and the flourishing of the Roman Empire. In the early stages of civilization, solutions to diseases and even epidemics and pandemics are mostly tried to find in magical and scholastic religious beliefs, believing that these cataclysms are a punishment for man by almighty deities. In this direction, various different directions of magical and religious performances and "therapy" developed in the sphere of primitive health culture, in the hope of God's forgiveness, healing and cessation of infections and even pandemics, grandiose monuments were erected to the deities especially in the Middle Ages numerous sacral objects.

Health culture as a part of general culture, in the earliest known civilizations of the Old Age in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, but also the Far East (Chinese alchemy, Hinduism of India, Shintuism of Japan...), in the middle of the first millennium BC. gradually from the sphere of cults, magic, sorcery, alchemy and religion as a method of attempting healing, gradually after 520 BC. it passes into the framework of scientifically based Greek Hellenic medicine, and Greek physicians appear at the courts of ancient rulers, gradually suppressing sorcerers and delusions [2]. Its originator is considered to be the Greek physician and writer Hippocrates 460-380 BC, along with the forerunners of Democritus and Onesilus, as opposed to the Orphic-Pythagorean (Orpheus and Pythagoras) empirical magical-religious direction that prevailed in pre-ancient civilizations, dividing man into his spiritual and physical component, and

the treatment was practiced on the basis of therapies in which, in addition to prayers, rhythm, music and ritual exhausting dances prevailed until a state of trance. In practice, after the appearance of Hippocrates and his medical doctrine, this is gradually abandoned, at least minorly, even today in the traditions of remote tribal communities (Amazon, Africa...), but also more widely, through the terms of the so-called folk or alternative medicine that has been passed down from generation to generation in our region and even in Dalmatia. The knowledge of Hippocrates' Hellenic medicine as well as other segments of culture and even health culture (in a healthy body, a healthy mind ") was taken over by Rome with the conquest of Greece, especially after the catastrophic plague pandemic of 293 BC, after which the first Hippocrates Medical School was founded. Roman hospital Insula Tiberina 291 BC after the reputation of the Hellenic Yatri, and for the emperor Constantine the Great in the 4th century. after the frequent epidemics of Leprosy, the first was founded in Rome leprosy treatment hospital. It is quite logical that in times of epidemics and pandemics that regularly raged and spread at an extraordinary rate, especially during the Old and Middle Ages (leprosy, plague, malaria, diphtheria, dysentery, smallpox, typhus, tuberculosis...), according to relatively intense travel (especially throughout Mediterranean) from trade, religious, war, colonial and today's tourist trips of analogous phenomena, it was an insurmountable problem, especially in the then times of underdeveloped health and health culture. Throughout history, the most famous and deadliest have been leprosy epidemics, and plagues that often turned into global pandemics and affected our region and Dalmatia as an important part of the Mediterranean waterway.

Leprosy (leprosy - Hansen's disease) is mentioned as a contagious skin disease as early as the 6th century BC, and is also described in the Old Testament by Moses and in the Bible. The sick are also healed by Jesus Christ, along with St. Lazarus protector of Leprosy who was infected himself, hence the name of the quarantine institution Lazaret. The causative agent of the disease is the bacterium "Microbacterium Leprae", which comes from China and India, and arrives in Europe via Babylon and Egypt. The first European infirmary was opened in France as early as the 5th century, and in Dubrovnik in 1272 as the first in Dalmatia and Croatia, with a shelter for lepers in 1306 and a new modern infirmary from 1590. There are also significant preventive activities in Trogir and Split who, due to their extensive trade links, were also exposed to infections with the organization of quarantine (infirmaries) on the island of Čiovo - monastery of St. Lazarus 1372, where individual recurrences of this disease were recorded until the middle of the 20th century. The last leprosarium in Dalmatia was founded in Metković in 1905, which was closed in 1925, and in Greece on the island of Spanalonga only in 1957. Despite antibiotics, leprosy has affected over 16 million people worldwide in recent decades, and in 2016 alone there were 200 thousands of new cases ([www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org)).

The plague, that is caused by *Yersinia Pestis* (rat flea) was discovered only in the 19th century, according to the Greek

historian Thucydides occurs in the 5th century BC under the name of the Athenian plague, which, through Dalmatia as a centuries-old communication from the east to Europe, was transferred to the Roman Empire. The famous epidemics of Antoninus (Galen), Athens, Rome, Cyprian and Constantine of the New (4th-3rd century BC) and Justinian's plague (5th century) developed there, from which many Roman and Byzantine emperors. It is transmitted by droplets and has recently been treated with antibiotics. The source, most often as in Lepre, was in the Far East, and the vectors to humans were rodents. From China via India, the infection was transmitted through trade and other travel and military movements (Alexander the Great...) to Egypt and throughout the Mediterranean, and then through the Roman Empire and throughout Europe. But the first lesser-known and documented occurrences of pandemia were recorded in China as early as the third millennium BC, with huge, hitherto unknown to science victims. Catastrophic proportions show the estimates of modern researchers that over half of the plague pandemics have killed over half a billion people or 2/3 of the population of Europe, of which only in the pandemic of the Antonine Plague 165-180 as much as 1/5 of the Roman Empire or 7 million people. It was followed by Cyprian's plague from 250-270 also with millions of victims. Particularly devastating was the Justinian plague 541-542 with almost 50 million deaths, and an even more terrible plague in the 14th century (the "black death"), killed over 200 million or a third of Europeans. The data that from the also catastrophic pandemic of smallpox only in 1520, 56 million people died. It is estimated that by 1978 when the plague was largely eradicated by vaccination (in Croatia in 1972, this disease, which was already recognized in the mummy of the Egyptian pharaoh Ramses V., killed between 350 and 500 million people, noting that more people died from this contagious disease than in all wars throughout the history of mankind [11]. For comparison, the death toll from the later Spanish flu pandemic 1918-1919 it numbered 100 million people, with five times as many sufferers. There is also the Asian flu from 1957/8 with one million victims, and swine flu with a focus in Mexico with half a million deaths, etc.[38]. Medical historians and epidemiologists calculate that in the Middle Ages alone, through 3 great waves until the 6th to the end of the 15th century, there were 109 epidemics of plague in the world, and in the New Century until 1720 another 45 [10]. However, it also appeared later, in the 19th century it arrives in Europe from Hong Kong raiding across China and India where millions of victims are recorded [38].

In the New Age, among other, frequent severe epidemics and pandemics that are also in some areas (Southeast Asia, the Far East and the Middle East and even Europe..), in addition to other life flows hindered tourism development, should be mentioned malaria epidemics in wetland areas of the world and even Dalmatia, and the cholera epidemic in the 19th century. The source of cholera was in India (1830s) in the basins of large rivers (Ganges, Brahmaputra..), in which environment the hygienic and sanitary conditions and health

culture were extremely low throughout history as is the case even today. In the 19th century, both of these infectious diseases spread to a considerable extent in our region, including Dalmatia, with the disruption of everyday life and even the dynamics of the first contemporary tourist trends. Therefore, the necessary activities and institutions for their suppression are organized here, which result in the final success only at the beginning of the 20th century. Estimates of victims for AIDS and Ebola are also catastrophic, around 40 million [9]. They are, especially in Africa, still as active as malaria, as the WHO often warns [30]. It is interesting that in 1815 the plague (again) was recorded in Dalmatia (Makarska), and probably beyond, as evidenced by the Instructions related to infectious diseases of the Provincial Government of the Kingdom of Dalmatia in Zadar 1814 in Italian and Dalmatian (popular Croatian) language related for infectious diseases, the focus of which was in those years in Turkey. The fact is that to this day, this vicious disease, despite the existence of vaccines and drugs (antibiotics), is not definitively eradicated, so it is called Bubonic plague in 2017 in Madagascar, and in 2019 in Mongolia, after which the borders of neighboring Russia were closed for fear of its expansion.

### ***3.2. Pandemics, Country Culture and Catering in the Pre-tourist Era***

Activities and movements of people analogous to later tourism [9], initiated in the first millennium BC the development of special activities such as catering, which offered accommodation and food and beverage services for an increasing number of participants. Historical sources mention the first appearances of pubs, and then other restaurants in ancient Egypt and the Middle, and Far East and throughout the Mediterranean, in the wake of traditional hospitality when I consider her a divine being who should have been respected and honoured, which is preserved to this day in some traditional desert tribes of the Middle East (Bedouin-Druzi), and until recently in the rural areas of Dalmatia. The first catering facilities (pubs) are mentioned as early as the first millennium BC in texts on Egyptian papyri related to religious rites and ceremonies and feasts in the houses of the Egyptian aristocracy (... "Enjoy because life lasts only wee"..). The wine was served in homes, but also in catering shops for a better mood, but also as a kind of medicinal (diuretic) and energy drink for the population and military units. In Christianity, as one of the three monotheistic religions, wine is glorified as a divine beverage that is symbolically compared to blood (Jesus Christ), and the clergy use it in religious rites to this day. Given the spread of the Roman Empire throughout Europe and the Mediterranean with a developed road network due to military and then commercial and economic reasons, there were various facilities of a catering nature. We find them in cities or road junctions and next to public baths, circuses and temples under different names. The accommodation and food of foreigners was taken care of by the state through special inns next to a plaque-document ("tessera hospitalis"), hence the

later term "hospitium" (inn with lodging). For civil servants and soldiers at certain distances, special facilities with a complete catering service were built, and for especially tall guests, luxurious accommodations "praetoria" or "palatia" [52]. In our region in Roman times, there were stations for accommodation and catering services, especially on the main roads and along the healing springs, spas, spas and baths (Aqua Balisae-Daruvar, Aqua viva-Varaždin, and in Dalmatia Aequum near Sinj...) The most widespread catering business on the roads and in the cities was the "tavern" with the offer of wine (in Dalmatia "tovirna"). These trips and gatherings and manifestations in the Old Age, including pre-tourist trips analogous to today's tourism and its selective forms, are like other activities during pandemics for long periods interrupted due to the danger of infection transmission and primary health care and survival. population. Already ancient achievements in the field of health culture and medicine imposed the need for isolation, quarantine and the introduction of increasingly stringent measures in the field of hygienic and sanitary prevention. This was evident especially in the area of the Roman Empire, and primarily in the city of Rome where large spas are being built for the privileged and even Roman citizens, aqueducts, sewage systems, public baths and for the lower classes, etc. As many members of the privileged classes on throughout this empire they built their own thermal baths throughout the empire (Poseidon's on the island of Ishija, Diocletian's palace as a sulphur and sea spa in Dalmatia...), palaces and summer houses and country farm villas rustic in attractive nature outside the cities, most often by the sea including the entire eastern Adriatic coast. Public sites of thermal healing springs and baths are also regularly visited in accordance with the phrase "salus per aquam" (water to health), which rise throughout the Empire, and whose remains are visible in many of today's well-known thermal spas in Europe and the Mediterranean (in Vichy, Aix-les Bains...) and in the area of today's Croatia [37] during the Middle Ages, these spas were systematically destroyed and abandoned due to religious dogmas, and in the New Age, and especially in the tourist era, with the emergence of health tourism and the growth of health culture, they were restored, providing beneficial effects of thermal and mineral springs, sea, etc. In the context presented, and based on centuries-old traditions in Europe, today we record over a thousand spas or hydrothermal spas, of which 1/3 is in Germany 340, in France 98, Slovenia 86, etc. In Croatia we have officially declared about 30 medicinal sites, but only 16 verified spas. Half of the mentioned number is in the Adriatic (7 in Dalmatia), and the rest in the interior, which greatly contribute to the development of Croatian health tourism. However, it still does not use all the natural potentials (approximately 250 medicinal sites) and the growing demand for this highly profitable selective form of tourism [39].

### **3.3. Occurrences and Consequences of Pandemics in Dalmatia in the Old and Middle Ages**

In the context of frequent pandemics that have threatened

humanity and our region since time immemorial, people have sought to protect themselves in accordance with the civilizational achievements of medicine at the appropriate time and place. Therefore, it is quite logical that the long traditions of empirically magic, Orphic Pythagorean, and later scientifically based Hippocratic Greek, and then Roman health cultures and medicine are transferred by migration and colonization to Illyricum, and primarily to Dalmatia. Yet in a later long historical period, in addition to the doctrine of Hippocrates, they long cherished the worship and religious magic rituals in honour of the Greek Asclepius, and later the Roman deity of medicine and protector of physicians and pharmacists Escalup. They are also accepted by the Illyrians, while retaining the indigenous local tradition of folk "medicine". It was based on the healing properties of natural substances of Mediterranean aromatic plants, thermal mineral waters, sea, etc., which elements, especially through SPA culture, were significantly improved by the Romans and spread throughout the Empire and even in Dalmatia. In the context of epidemics of infectious diseases, Dalmatia was first mentioned by the Greek historian Thucydides in the 5th century BC., when it records the appearance of the Athenian plague. According to him, following colonial migrations from Greece, she arrived in Rome via Dalmatia, where he also recorded epidemics of smallpox and typhus as fatal. The Greek-Roman cults of the deities Silvanus and Ninfa, protectors of water, forests (nature), but also health, and the god of wine and joy Bakho (Bakus), or Roman Dionysius, also remained in Dalmatia for a long time. Wine was then and later considered a medicinal drink for the recovery of the body and a diuretic, and Hippocrates also used grapes to treat women's diseases (TV Nova, 13.09.20). The goddess of the land Kybela (Magna mater) was also important, protecting from earthquakes very frequent in Dalmatia, after which, as in wars, catastrophic epidemics broke out [5]. Material monuments of these cults are very common in archaeological finds throughout Dalmatia (Trogir, Split...), as well as occurrences in the sphere of intangible heritage (wine festivals - "Bakovo"...), and even today in Dalmatian tunes we find the frequent expression "mother earth". "., which can all be an authentic part offers of modern cultural and even health tourism. Already in the first century (48 AD), Pliny wrote about the healing properties of Dalmatian aromatic herbs, which were exported to Rome due to medical needs, along with red wine from Illyricum as a valued diuretic, which is confirmed by his statement: "Materia medica of ancient medicine and pharmacy is enriched with plants from the eastern Adriatic coast."

The achievements of culture and even health culture from the universities of Monte Casino and Salerno, and then during the time of Venice more advanced medical and other studies of Bologna, Pavia and Padua, were logically transferred to the Eastern Adriatic, and through it deep into the Balkans [7]. This is especially evident during the reign of the Venetian Republic in the eastern Adriatic 14th-18th centuries, when the sons of the Dalmatian nobility built their education on these teachings. In the context of our topic,

special emphasis should be placed on medical and pharmacological studies in Padua, from which universities to Dalmatian cities come excellent doctors and pharmacists from the 13th century onwards, with great merits in the development of health, pharmacy and health culture in general [50]. In the context of the continuity of health culture during the Old Age and in Dalmatia, the Roman Empire built numerous Roman rustic villas for privileged political dignitaries and their guests, but also developed meritorious legionnaires "Claudie pea fidelis" 41-54. Their archaeological remains can be found in the climatically and pedologically tame climate of Istria and Dalmatia, especially the Salonitan ager and the nearby islands [5]. They, along with Diocletian's Palace, can be a proof of tourism of analogous phenomena already in the ancient times of the Old Age. One of the oldest Dalmatian movable monuments related to the medicine of the early Middle Ages is a lead plaque "Tabella plumbea" from the 6th century found in Saonitan ager (Trogir- Kaštela) with an inscription with mixed pagan and Christian elements to protect the people from spells (diseases), in accordance with the magical-theurgical belief and even medicine of that time, which appear in other areas of the Mediterranean as early as Antiquity (II century). Namely, with the development of Christianity and following the predominance of ecclesiastical religious dogmas and mysticism during the Middle Ages and in Dalmatia, the almost magical religious-magical dogmatic scholastic view of the world reaffirmed in antiquity. certain diseases and even pandemics. This is confirmed by the inscription on the lintel of the medieval church of St. Juraj (11th century) in Žestinja (Kaštela) "Here the tired will find rest, and the sick will find health" [24]. Frequent migrations and travels have, of course, affected the frequent occurrences of infections and pandemics, especially in Dalmatia, which have been the crossroads of cultures and civilizations of East and West for millennia with its sea and land communications. The plague was especially devastating during the time of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian from 541-542. According to the historian Procopius, it killed 40% of Constantinople and 25% of the Byzantine population, which included the surrounding Dalmatian cities and was repeated several times until 750, and then erupted from the 11th to the 14th century and later.. Logically, epidemics and pandemics, especially plagues, as a result of extensive trade and travel throughout the Byzantine Empire, first affected Dalmatian cities. They enjoyed communal autonomy, but were really (except for Dubrovnik) under the jurisdiction of Byzantium (from the 6th to the 9th century), and then the Croatian people's rulers (9th to the 11th century), the Hungarian-Croatian state (11th- 15th century), and from the 15th to the end of the 18th century Venice, France (early 19th century) and Austria 1814-1918, with extensive trade and cultural ties and travels throughout the Mediterranean and the interior of the Balkans and deep into the heart of Europe, and with the discovery of the New World and much wider into overseas countries. This was evident especially in the Republic of Dubrovnik, as an important maritime and trade centre of Dalmatia and the

Mediterranean, where the plague appeared as early as 901. and 1145, and repeated on several occasions between 1348-1360., after which the city remained at only a third of the population. This was the reason for the opening of the first Dubrovnik quarantine in our region as early as 1272, and then shelters for lepers in 1306 and infirmaries in 1590. In order to protect the regiment from 1301. there is an organized medical service in the town, from 1317, a pharmacy, and from 1347 a hospital. The fact that the last plague epidemic was recorded in Dubrovnik in 1815 speaks volumes about the centuries-old exposure of our region to this plague. Zadar was not spared the plague either, especially during the Crusades (11th-13th century), when the city was an important port on the way to the Holy Land. Here the plague was present in 1034. and reappears as well in neighbouring Šibenik on several occasions during the 14th and 15th centuries and even later, with testimonies that due to the large number of deaths it was impossible to function the city council. Namely, from 1348. to 1784. the plague even occurred in Dalmatia on a dozen occasions, in order to kill almost 70% of the inhabitants of Split, who in 1529 opened the Lazaret, then the most modern in Dalmatia, with the intention of combating the infection. The scale of the plague is also shown by the fact that due to the pandemic and the constant Turkish danger, this city with over 5,000 inhabitants was reduced to only 1,600 people during the 15th and 16th centuries [29]. The plague also occurred in Trogir from the 13th to the 14th century, and it is probable that apart from the Mongol persecuted the Hungarian-Croatian king Bela, and according to some researchers transmitted the plague, was the cause of his deportation to Trogir, and then to the island of Čiovo (Kraljevac) near the Benedictine stations and monasteries, probably for a kind of quarantine and treatment. Infection is from 1344-1348 it ravaged Trogir even more, where, as in the whole of Europe, it killed almost 2/3 of the population, after which the people of Trogir built the votive church of St. Eustachia on Krban. Apparently, this epidemic also occurred in 1419-1420, when most of the Trogir nobility fled to the then safer Split, as evidenced by the call of the City Council to return to defend the city from Venice. It reappears in four waves from 1429-1466, when it cut down over 2,000 citizens that the remaining minority would build two more churches to the saints protectors from the plague; Sv. Sebastian in the square, and after the epidemic in 1525 and the church of St. Roca on the coast, which was common in other Dalmatian towns [12].

During the past medieval period, the isolation of small feudal city-states, frequent wars and riots, and the insecurity of travel, led Europe to the general decline of the majority population, which logically lowered the level of health culture and infrastructure, with frequent epidemics and pandemics. In an environment of danger from infection and frequent pandemics in the Middle Ages and travel were logically limited with the exception of church-organized pilgrimages. The health culture was reduced to a level determined by the clergy with a ban on bathing and in general recreation at sea and in spas and spas that have been

systematically devastated. However, even within these retrograde views of the medieval church, more advanced orders such as Benedictines, Dominicans and Franciscans appeared within Christianity, which, in addition to their basic religious mission, also deal with healing based on natural substances, using the experiences of ancient Greco-Roman and Oriental health culture and medicine. From the 11th to the 13th century, Europe and the Middle East were the scene of the Crusades, and then in the 16th century of the great conflicts between Venice and the Ottomans for supremacy in the Mediterranean (Candian and Morean Wars...), in which the Adriatic and Dalmatian cities as crusader ports, or direct participants by the surrender of armed galleys with crews in wars on the side of Venice. The Crusades provoked large migrations of the population throughout Europe and the Middle East, which, in addition to otherwise low standards of health culture, logically affect the transmission and development of infections and even pandemics that have affected the whole of Europe and the wider environment. Plague epidemics were particularly fatal in the 13th and 14th centuries when they killed over half the population of Europe and affected almost every generation until the 17th century [44]. Due to the ignorance of the causes of the disease and the inability of the then medicine to suppress the pandemics of infectious diseases that plagued Dalmatia, the population built numerous votive churches and chapels to the patrons of certain diseases that can be revitalized today through itineraries of cultural and health tourism. Increasingly frequent infections and pandemics that disrupted the normal social and economic development of otherwise prosperous medieval Dalmatian commune cities, were the impetus for efforts to strengthen hygienic and sanitary and health services, which is regulated in city statutes since the 13th century. They determined the rules of conduct for citizens and the financing of medical and pharmacy services with the oldest pharmacies in the Balkans (Trogir 1271...). At the same time, they determined isolation and quarantine measures, especially with regard to frequent epidemics of leprosy and plague. In the late Middle Ages, several pharmacies and several city doctors of mostly Italian roots were allowed to operate in Dalmatian communes, who were not allowed to leave their places of residence without special permits, many of whom were victims of pandemics as the most exposed part of the population [50]. The first leprosariums (infirmaries) and quarantines in Dalmatia were organized in Dubrovnik 1272, 1306 and 1509, Trogir 1372 and Split 1590. The island of Čiovo, owned by the communes of Trogir and Split was extremely suitable for quarantine lepers. They were isolated on the island for sure and much earlier, probably since Roman times when Čiovo was a penitentiary for opponents of Roman rule and heretics, and leprosy was already widespread in the Roman Empire and even in Dalmatia.

#### **3.4. Health and Country Culture of Dalmatia and Pandemics in the New Century**

The growing movements of people in the late Middle Ages led to the meeting and exchange of cultures of different

people and civilizations and the gradual liberation of man from the shackles of one-mindedness spiritual authorities, with the gradual reaffirmation of abandoned traditional values and culture and even health culture achieved in the ancient period, which is evident in Dalmatian cities. This has been fully affirmed since the 14th and 15th centuries by new movements of humanism and the Renaissance within intellectual and artistic circles, which, in addition to sensational geographical discoveries of the new world, heralds the beginning of the New Age [36]. Artistic and intellectual elite. He finds his inspiration, comfort and health more and more by discovering the values of nature, but also the natural laws and healing properties of water, sea, flora and fauna, within which resources pharmacology and new procedures in treatment and medical prevention and rehabilitation are developed. On the trail of delight in the birth and its beauties of the ancient Roman poet Virgil (70-19 BC), the inspiration in nature is found by free-spirited writers of Humanism (Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarca...), as well as the greats of the Renaissance Leonardo, Raphael and especially Michelangelo who delighted with nature, he states: "Not even the greatest work of art is a shadow of what nature has created." Following intellectual sciences and traditions, new intellectual movements glorify nature, culture and artistic creation, as well as recreation in nature, including the health and health culture segment, and the recovery of mind and body through frequent movements and travels outside the domicile. This was also in the footsteps of the great humanist and writer E. Rotterdam (1469-1536), and later the French travel writer M. Montagne (1533-1592), author of the "Journal de Voyages", compulsory literature the then intellectual elite. These movements are evidenced by the fact that at the beginning of the New Century the Dalmatian, and especially Dubrovnik nobility and clergy intensively built their courts and summer houses, and gradually moved outside the walled cities along the Dalmatian coast and islands. Late Gothic and Renaissance Dalmatian artists of domestic roots or imported from Italian and other Mediterranean cultural backgrounds were on the trail of new humanistic ideas. The end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the New Age is the time when the artistic elite and other highly educated Europeans rediscover the benefits of countryside in a mild Mediterranean climate, which are the first signs of a revival of the pre-tourist and tourist era since the mid-19th century. After Erasmus of Rotterdam and M. Montaigne and others who in the 16th century philosophical works or travelogues reveal the high cultural values and natural beauties of Europe, the health benefits of recreation in the natural environment in the 17th century, the French romanticist writer also affirmed naturalist J. J. Rousseau with the famous saying "Retour a la nature". This prompted a large intellectual elite to discover the attractions of the Alps, as the greatest natural wonder of Europe, and the Mediterranean coast and hinterland, especially Tuscany, Provence, Attica, Catalonia and even Istria and Dalmatia. These and other attractive Mediterranean regions are becoming an ideal space for enjoyment and psychophysics.

Physical recreation and even treatment, including the then plague of tuberculosis, which was easier to treat in the clean mountain air and the healing mild Mediterranean climate [1]. Adherents of the advanced ideas of the French Revolution, the Enlightenment and the Physiocratic Movement, who have been systematically researching nature since the 18th century, are also on this trail. During the French rule in Napoleon's Illyrian provinces at the beginning of the 19th century, they encouraged the modernization of agriculture and forestry, founding in Dalmatia the so-called "Agrarian academies" that enlighten the population in agriculture, economy, but also health and health culture [6]. This includes progress in the use and processing of medicinal wild plants, which this region is extremely rich in, with a tradition of use for medicinal and nutritional purposes since ancient times. In this context, two and a half millennia earlier, Hippocrates stated that doctors and even the people, instead of magic, should turn to their own "yard", ie nature, which offers enormous potential for healing. These traditions and traditions in the New Century are used by Dalmatian pharmacists as well pharmacologists, of which R. Visiani from Šibenik (1797-1878), professor at the University of Padua, and A. Andrić from Trogir (1799-1897) stand out, who collect and analyse medicinal plants of this region by processing them into medicines and pharmaceutical products. An industry that is beginning to develop intensively on that basis. Wild Dalmatian herbs have been an important part of the food chain since time immemorial, following the Hippocratic phrase: "Let your food be medicine, and your medicine be your food." It is in this context that the beginning of the new millennium and the WHO has proclaimed these recommended the Mediterranean, and thus the Dalmatian diet as the healthiest, to be included by UNESCO in the register of intangible heritage of mankind. In recent years, efforts have been made to operationalize this in contemporary Croatian, and especially Dalmatian gastronomy, as an autochthonous part of its catering and tourist offer. Staying in a healing Mediterranean environment provided by a combination of sea, sea aerosol, medicinal herbs and in general coastal vegetation, with a healing climate and an attractive climate and rich cultural and historical heritage, leads from the middle of the 19th century to the increasingly intensive development of cultural and especially health tourism in the Adriatic and Dalmatia. This was particularly pronounced for disease indications respiratory organs, cardiovascular and neurovegetative system, skin and rheumatic and other diseases. They are still successfully treated in Dalmatian specialized spas, but also themselves. A tourist travelogue in an ecologically clean and healthy natural environment of the Dalmatian coast, islands and hinterland [19]. Italian Albert Fortis's "Viaggio in Dalmazia" 1774, published after similar impressions of Dalmatia by the Englishmen Wheller and Spoon 1682 and the Scotsman Adam and the Frenchman Clerisseau 1764. They are followed by travel editions of the French travel writers Cassas and Lavale 1782, etc. In the 19th century we record similar works by many others. European travel writers,

but also high-ranking officials and political and cultural dignitaries who reveal to the world the "forgotten" Dalmatia ("terra incognita") and its exceptional natural and cultural values that form the basis of its tourism since the mid-19th century. They write with undisguised admiration about this long-neglected and extremely valuable area of the European south in European circles, saying: "Salonitan ager is a garden, a fertile Riviera and the most pleasant climate of Dalmatia". From the Dalmatian islands from the cultural, historical and health aspect, which in the beginnings of modern tourism and even today are an important part of the tourist health and cultural offer, the potentials of the islands of Korčula and Hvar should be especially emphasized extremely favorable climatic conditions, where during the 18th and 19th centuries the highest circles of the European aristocracy lived and were treated for a long time, especially tuberculosis.

### ***3.5. The Beginnings of Cultural and Health-Recreational Tourism and Pandemics in Dalmatia***

In addition to descriptions of the rich cultural and natural heritage of Dalmatia by European travel writers, historians and other scientists and prominent statesmen as forerunners of local cultural and health tourism, their admiration for nature, local monumental heritage and indigenous folklore and ethnography it is interesting to feel the true character of Dalmatian people and enogastronomy specialties [12]. The statement of the Saxon King Augustus II is especially impressive. After visit to Trogir and Kaštela in 1839, " This Riviera can be compared to the most beautiful in Europe..."[17]. Following the aforementioned visits and testimonies that resonated in the European media, the interest of the Austrian authorities is growing strongly. This ultimately results in the growth of standards and even the health culture of this area. At the beginning of the 20th century, the world famous hunters Herman Bahr (1909-1934), Anatole France (1884-1924) and Bernard Shaw (1850-1950) also spoke about the cultural and natural values of Dalmatia, 20th and 21st century with the expansion of Dalmatian tourism and a whole constellation of the world's greatest dignitaries from the world of nature, culture, business, film and fashion industry and politics, who regularly visit this tourist region. It should be noted that the tourist valorisation of this region from the middle of the 19th century begins first through the segment of cultural and especially health tourism, including the time of the plague of tuberculosis throughout Europe, as well as other diseases that are then treated or prevented in a climate-friendly and healthy Mediterranean coast. This is evidenced by the names of the first social organizations in tourism and their statutes and regulations which emphasize culture and rest and treatment in the healing climate and climate of the attractive Adriatic and even the Dalmatian coast and islands (Hygienic Society in Hvar - 1868, etc.). The mentioned processes, organizationally and marketing adequately monitored, were a sign of later increasingly intensive tourist temporary migrations, which culminated in mass in the 20th and 21st centuries within so called tourist era. Today, in modern sustainable tourism, they

affect almost half of humanity in the course of domestic and international tourism, which is gradually changing from a luxury to an existential need of modern man. In recent years, Croatia and Dalmatia as the leading tourist region, which realizes about 50% of all tourist aggregates of the Republic of Croatia, ie over half a million tourist beds and about 50 million overnight stays (2019), are approaching the list of 20 leading tourist countries in the world) of predominantly foreign provenance (CBS RH, 2020), with the possession of exceptional future potentials on its coastal islands and hinterland. They enable the development of various selective forms of tourism, including in particular the whole of cultural and health-recreational, eco and rural tourism throughout the year, on which the tourist organization works systematically. Among the pandemics that disrupted the balanced socio-economic, and thus tourist development of Dalmatia during the 19th and 20th centuries, we should point out tuberculosis, malaria, cholera and the Spanish flu, which occasionally occurred until the first third of the 20th century. Tuberculosis has historically appeared in antiquity 460 and is treated as a serious disease, only to expand in the 19th century with the development of industry and cities with high air pollution and low living standards of the settled pauperized population, living in poor urban areas. The result of these social processes and frequent epidemics and pandemics is reflected in the fact that at that time, for example, as many as 1.7 million or 25% of Europeans died only from the effects of tuberculosis (in Croatia "chest pain"), with 10 million patients. That condition is greatly improved only by the invention of penicillin in the 20th century and the development of medicine, health culture and public health systems that propagate and gradually introduce organized implementation of hygienic and epidemiological measures, with increasing use of natural factors in prevention, treatment and rehabilitation. Increasingly developed forms of mass, and then sustainable forms of travel to the sea, lakes and mountains, which are provided by selective programs, fit into this tourism and its infrastructure and supra structure. Cholera, as a dangerous infectious disease faced by Dalmatia in the early 19th century, first appeared in 1816 on the Indian subcontinent with a hotspot around the Ganges River and spread in seven pandemics throughout Asia and Europe. Hindus and Muslims who were in its focus, and even today are especially endangered by the use of polluted water and low hygienic epidemiological standard, in the hope of salvation worship the goddess Olidavi to this day. In order to protect the population from the cholera epidemic that also affected Dalmatia, the recommendation of the Dalmatian authorities from 1836 is interesting, in which strict sanitary epidemiological measures are imposed, which have borne fruit relatively quickly. This is especially important in the context of the fact that after these years Dalmatia, as part of the "K and K" monarchy, seeks to present itself to Europe and brands as an attractive new destination suitable for the development of health, cultural and other forms of tourism and (Exhibitions in Paris and Vienna and similar...). Malaria in Dalmatia as well as throughout world throughout history

has also been a very common infectious disease that has been present among humans for 50 thousand years, and has long been known in other parts of our country where it has been eradicated only in the 1930s, however, despite the invention of medication (quinine, etc.), it was still active in Europe (Albania, Greece, southern Italy), especially in wetlands. The causative agent is the parasite Plasmodium, which is transmitted by a female mosquito affected by tropical and subtropical wetlands and floodplains, with an epidemiologist estimating as many as one million victims per year in large epidemics and extremely high mortality, sometimes up to 80%. In Croatia and Dalmatia, known hotspots were in the areas of former and / or present salt pans (Pag, Solin, Nin, Ston, Trogir...). In Trogir, due to the swampy area around the walled city center, it took on epidemic proportions and was fatal over the centuries, with a hospital for the sick in the Franciscan monastery of St. Cross on Čiovo. For that reason, in 1922, the Antimalarial Institute of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was founded in the city, which contributed to this disease finally eradicated in 1931 in Trogir, but also throughout Dalmatia. Much earlier, at the beginning of the 19th century the extensive action of the then French administration under the leadership of Marshal Marmont as a military man and the pharmacologist Vicenza Dandol as a civilian administrator also contributed to this. It resulted in the removal of medieval city walls, drainage of wetlands and planting of parks around cities, which significantly improved the hygienic and sanitary living conditions as a prevention of possible infectious diseases throughout Dalmatia. In the following decades, infrastructural activities in the Kingdom of Dalmatia were continued by the Austrian authorities (1814-1919), especially in the field of restoration of the monument heritage, afforestation, road construction, and especially maritime transport infrastructure [17]. All of the above has enabled a faster development of Adriatic tourism (Istria, Kvarner, Dalmatia) since mid-19th century, and following the experiences of the French, Italian and Greek and Spanish Riviera, mostly by investing foreign capital. From the beginning of the 20th century to the end of the thirties, Dalmatia already recorded significant rates of tourist growth, and a more intensive process of establishing social organizations to beautify places and improve tourism, arranging beaches and promenades, with hygienic and sanitary measures to protect the health of tourists and people. and finally joint stock companies for the construction of hotels and inns with bedrooms [53]. However, at that time, normal life and even tourist flows were thwarted by the First World War and then the Spanish flu epidemic that spread throughout Europe including Dalmatia. According to various estimates, in 1818. and 1819 it killed 50 to 100 million people with almost ten times as many patients. The causative agent was the H1N1 virus, which was created as a combination of bird, swine and common flu, and according to some researchers, it was already known as the Asian flu.

Researchers often equate the scale of this pandemic with the cataclysmic plague of the plague in the 16th century [10]. Despite the then scarce war sources, it is estimated that there

were over 100,000 casualties in Croatia, and for Dalmatia, which had a large number of already exhausted and sick soldiers and sailors in the Austro-Hungarian army, the largest share can be estimated.

Analysing the establishment of tourist organizations in Dalmatia and in the Croatian Adriatic as a whole through the 19th and 20th centuries, it is obvious that they were initiated in large numbers precisely by the health spa components of coastal tourism with favourable indications for a number of diseases. This is proved by the names and programs of societies and catering facilities (health hotels) and their founders (doctors), which is the case with the Hygienic Society in Hvar (1868) as the first social organization in Croatian tourism, which already in the founding acts emphasizes "Pleasant health-saving climate of Hvar suitable for treatment, rest and recovery in the winter." After that, the construction of several hotels of a spa character and accompanying tourist and catering facilities began in Hvar, which is the case throughout Dalmatia. Only later, at the beginning of the 20th century in Hvar and throughout the Adriatic, bathing summer tourism is also being promoted, which is also being promoted at the World Exhibition in Paris 1900. and the Adriatic Exhibition in Vienna in 1912, where the Kingdom of Dalmatia was presented within the Austrian pavilion. Since then, this type of tourism has prevailed until today, with the efforts of the tourist organization to develop year-round tourism in Croatia and Dalmatia in accordance with the phrase "Croatian Tourism 365", in which health, recreational and cultural tourism play a key role.

## **4. Discussion: Sociocultural Interactions of Pandemics, Health Culture and Tourism Dalmatia in the Tourist Era**

### ***4.1. Global Spatial-ecological and Socio-cultural Processes in Context Health Culture and Tourism***

In accordance with numerous multidisciplinary researches, it is certain today that the industrial, traffic and internet revolution and general globalization, in addition to all the benefits for man, also bring a number of socio-ecological and health-harmful consequences. This is especially reflected in the processes of excessive industrialization, urbanization, littoralisation and metropolisation and the explosive expansion of transport systems, and consequently mass forms of "hard" tourism. All that results in enormous pollution of air, soil, water and food, unbearable noise and other pollution that is inadequately or not at all disposed of or resolved. This leads to insurmountable ecological and even health problems, and even to cataclysmic natural disasters caused by climate change due to the increasingly pronounced inappropriate attitude of man towards the environment and nature, which boomerangs him back irresponsible behaviour in the segment of ecology and overexploitation of natural resources. This results in unforeseeable consequences for the population,

especially in (neo) colonialism exploited and economically and socio-politically devastated third world countries and today exposed to misery and disease and often pandemics due to low levels of health and health culture and infrastructure, with acute lack of food and drinking water. Until recently, it affected a population of almost 2.5 billion people or a third of the world's population. Most of them, with helplessness international institutions, today sees the only way out in mass migrations to the developed parts of the world that we face every day. Man's irrational actions on the natural environment, mostly due to insatiable appetites for the extra profit of multinational corporations, already today point to the fatal consequences that await humanity in the future with the visionary messages of some scientists "the world must be reset or disappear." stated, the obvious collapse of the liberal economy with the focus on the profits of the oligarchs' tendency towards less and less allocation for public needs and employees, and in favour of big capital, lead paradoxically, even the strongest world economies (USA) do not have an adequate public health system. Countries of the "third world" continue to be heartlessly exploited, and by direct or covert neo-colonial interventions of the "on-duty guards" of the quasi-democratic world order, they are politically destroyed and even destroyed. This leads to a further rise in poverty and the complete collapse of their health and health culture as a breeding ground for mass infectious diseases of epidemic proportions. Ultimately, following the globalization, they can affect the whole of humanity, which is evident in the current Corona virus pandemic. In order to raise awareness of humanity regarding environmental problems, misery and the growth of poverty and inequality and disease, especially in the so-called third world countries, are also frequent messages global humanists and even the appeals of the greatest authorities of the Catholic Church who in the context of the negative consequences of globalization say: "Let's globalize the poorest first", and regarding the ecological challenges of humanity: "The ecological crisis is a crisis of morality and real contempt for man." In the same context, at the beginning of the century the author of this paper warned, like many other humanistic and ecologically educated and aware intellectuals, of the dangers of negligence and the sale of Croatian national treasures such as drinking water sources, telecommunications, oil and gas industry, and banking system... multinational capital. To this, of course, should be added the gradual privatization of public health, post-war criminal tycoon privatization of social economic entities under the phrase "200 rich Croatian families", and similar criminal occurrences of individuals and groups protected from ruling political and judicial structures, creating a concept. "Partnership management" of the state and society. In that sense, the media also state: "We live in a party elite, a captive society", where a quarter of the population lives in poverty and demographically broken by low birth rates and youth emigration "(TV Nova, 30.09.20.). Moreover, some relevant Croatian economists in the world and in the context of the unpredictable consequences of the current pandemic

and stagnant socio-economic and demographic trends in Croatia in relation to EU countries, forecast catastrophic consequences for the Croatian economy with the assessment of incompetence in governing the state by interest-oriented party lobbies and the inefficiency of the Parliament as a cover for failed moves by cadres of ruling structures selected by negative selection exclusively among party henchmen [34]. To this should be added the irritating facts about corrupt practices, even in health care and the judiciary, where prosecuted criminals and even war criminals easily evade justice by becoming obsolete or fleeing to a neighbouring country where they are literally "punched" and then nostrified fake diplomas for political and other henchmen, without the desire of the competent authorities for verification, such as the already forgotten case of false defenders. It is quite logical that in these circumstances the over-indebted health care system shares the fate of the low efficiency of the Croatian economy and society as a whole, and cannot meet the needs of the population and increasing tourist trends, especially in Dalmatia, where most tourists stay. This situation is clearly shown by the fact that the partitocratically organized Croatia, instead of the promised "Swiss Eldorado", ranked at the back of the EU countries, saved from collapse by the tragic emigration of the working population with its foreign exchange remittances and Adriatic tourism with direct and multiplicative effects, and the sale of privatized coastal real estate, once a public good of general easement ("muše"), and a high tax budget revenues as a basis for financing an enormous bureaucratized but inefficient apparatus.

Despite all the troubles, injustices and problems on the world and domestic scene, the law of dialectical development of society inevitably leads to the progress of civilization and cultural and educational level of people, including the growth of health culture, and in the context of tourism and objective psychophysical need for temporary change of work and environment. and recreation and even treatment and / or rehabilitation in nature, which is increasingly practiced through selective and other forms of modern sustainable tourism in which almost half of humanity participates. These facts are especially important due to the fact that at the beginning of the new millennium, morbidity and mortality from the so-called functional diseases as a product of modern civilization was significantly higher (as many as 70% of patients) than infectious diseases or cancer as a specter of today (approximately 12.5%) which have been rapidly reduced by the efforts of health institutions. In most cases, active tourist vacation and recreation as part of professional facilitation, treatment and rehabilitation using the healing properties of a healthy natural environment in ecologically orderly tourist destinations have a sparing effect on the body. Moreover, they are becoming part of the general health and tourism culture of modern man, and tourism is one of the most striking phenomena of today. The health culture of modern society therefore implies the existence of the complex systems and networked health institutions that, among other things, deal with determining the use of free

time and treatment through active recreation and recreation. In this context, the level of health culture and health affects the quality, spatial dimensions, time distribution and types of tourist activity and the use of natural healing factors in tourist destinations, and even further the growth of health standards of tourists and the population in receptive areas. This is evident in over 200 tourist countries with more than 10,000 destinations around the world, even in Dalmatia [19].

#### ***4.2. Sociocultural Position of Dalmatia in the Segment of Health Culture and Tourism in Historical and Current Times***

Dalmatia, as the leading tourist and cultural region of Croatia, has its rich millennial history, culture and civilization, urbanity and the appropriate level of health culture. Unfortunately, it is a paradoxical fact that in the newly independent Croatia, Dalmatia has lost its centuries-old preserved regional administrative and political, cultural and any other identity. This world-renowned administrative regional and especially traditional cultural and even tourist identity, including the name itself over two and a half millennia (DELMATI), which was celebrated 16 centuries ago by the first translator of the Bible into Latin St. Jerome-Dalmatian, today its heavenly patron, lost at the expense of absurd derivatives such as "Splitsko-dalmatinska" (Split - Dalmatian County) and similar counties formed as is the case with numerous units of fragmented and inefficient local government, exclusively by political key and the phrase divide and rule, where each hamlet became a municipality and a village town, and for decades, overcrowded islands and other municipalities and even counties have not been able to agree on the location of their own pollutant landfills. It's all been the complete opposite of being tried and tested Scandinavian models of the highest democratic standards, which Croatia at least declaratively strives for. The destruction and even the extinction of the Dalmatian public media as the bearers of culture and democratic achievements (Slobodna Dalmacija, HTV Studio Split, Feral) are on the same track. To this, among other things in the sphere of culture, should be added the disregard for the oldest "popular Croatian" Dalmatian Chakavian language as an important segment of the cultural identity of the Dalmatian people, which, in addition to official Latin, written in the time of humanism and the Renaissance by the founders of Croatian literature (... "di ča slaje zvoni" –M. Marulić). Moreover, the great Dalmatian and European genius and humanist Faust Vrančić (1551 – 1617), included it as an equal to the leading European languages in his five-language dictionary. In recent decades, it has definitely disappeared, as many Dalmatian humanists write with sadness ("My origin language (" ča") is all alone" - Geić, 1997), when all relevant world regions treat their regional language as an equal standard as a crucial segment of regional cultural identity.

Tourist and ecological humanities scientists and health professionals are especially concerned about the fact of uncontrolled expansion of mass (hard) tourism, which already in some parts of the Adriatic and Dalmatia seriously

exceeds sustainable reception capacity, recalling the ominous message of ecologists "first tourist in long term produce death sentence to a tourist site". Of course, this is emphasized by the inefficiency of the national and regional and local administrative structure, especially in spatial planning and ecological protection of the most valuable natural and cultural resources of the country, and thus Dalmatia as the most attractive Croatian regions. Nevertheless, it should be hoped that the European concept of regionalization of the country with five statistical regions and the long-announced reform of the administrative structure will be implemented in reality with appropriate results favourable for this region and the Republic of Croatia as a whole. Namely, it is absurd that Dalmatia, which in its historical localities preserves the oldest marks of Croatian statehood, and once organized as a kingdom, as in 1919 enters the newly created state of the South Slavs, today it formally lives only as a kind of historical relic in the memory part of the Dalmatian people, which is literally maintained only by the song of nostalgic Dalmatians. Unfortunately, in addition to, authentic Dalmatians national singing ("a capella" singing group of "klapa"), despite the protection of UNESCO as the world's top intangible cultural asset, in recent years also disappears before the on slaught of fun nonsense production so-called, "new or pop klapa" (Intrade, etc.), which with the blessing of the incompetent music editors and producers derogate from the centuries-old efforts of the Dalmatian people and cultural greats to preserve it, and threaten to falsify it by deleting it from the UNESCO World Heritage Register. This kind of ethnocide and culturocide according to heritage is unthinkable in the history of European and even world cultural nations [18].

It should be pointed out that throughout Croatian history, Dalmatia and its cities, which today are spatially and in any other way regulated by an unprecedented political administrative structure, have been crucial, except in cultural continuity, and when it comes to high Mediterranean heritage. in the segment of health and health culture as basic factors in the prevention and treatment of various diseases and even infectious pandemics. The sequence of Mediterranean traditions, and thus the high cultural values of Dalmatia is reflected today through numerous preserved monumental artefacts of cultural heritage, including the sphere of health culture, which can be far more intensively valorised in selective forms of cultural and health tourism. Moreover, tourist trends are a strong stimulus to the growth of health and communal culture in the tourist destinations of the Mediterranean coast, which through numerous positive socio-economic effects of tourism compensate for its lag following the transition of economic power to northern Europe and the New World. This is the case with Dalmatia, at least with a certain backlog due to objective (war casualties), but also subjective problems, especially in the process of political judging, by the reports of official audit bodies, largely criminal transformation and privatization of realized in the Croatian economy and the tourism sector since the early 1990s.

By the beginning of the tourist era from the middle of the 19th century, significant interactions of health culture and tourism were recorded in Dalmatia, which is reflected in the intensifying efforts on communal and hygienic sanitation of tourist places and the creation and then marketing positioning of Dalmatian Riviera on the trail of the same throughout the Mediterranean. In addition to tourists, all this logically benefits the local population and during the 20th century significantly raises the level of health culture and cultural and living standards in general, which in coastal Dalmatia at the beginning of the new millennium is gradually approaching Central Europe. However, it should be noted that since in the sixties of the 20th century, mass "hard" tourism through the forms of so-called Balearization and Romagnolization significantly burdens the fragile ecumenism of the Dalmatian Riviera, causing complex communal, ecological and even health epidemiological problems and, moreover, occasional epidemics of infectious diseases. Then due to the growth of tourism, and inadequate water supply and drainage of pollution and others relatively low hygienic and epidemiological standards, Dalmatia records as many as 24 serious typhoid paratyphoid water epidemics and dysentery infections, with thousands of sick tourists and residents (Zaostrog 1963, Omiš 1961 and Vodice 1965) [47]. How similar problems appear and multiply in other Mediterranean and world destinations are reacted by ecologically aware scientists and leading world organizations (UNEP, UNESCO, UNWTO...) creating in the seventies of the 20th century a modern concept of sustainable tourism that maximally protects room and the socio-cultural and health-ecological environment of tourist areas, and who should be preserved for generations to come. Along with a kind of appeal to the competent structures, numerous tourist authors of humanistic-ecological provenance write about it, especially illustratively: Alfier (1977), Krippendorf (1984), Smith (1986), Vukonić (1987), etc. Furthermore, the delay in construction pollution conditioning and recycling systems as important hygienic and sanitary and health components of quality of life and tourism, which our Mediterranean competitors realized in the seventies and eighties of the 20th century, causes significant pollution of the sea and beaches, with more complex health epidemiological incidents in Dalmatia as well. In recent years, with domestic funds and with the support of European funds and investment banks (IBRD, EBRD...), this issue and the water supply of islands and hinterlands are gradually being resolved, but at a pace that does not meet growing needs with obvious problems, especially in Zagora and islands. The problem of disposing of large waste and similar environmental pollution that disrupts the health and epidemiological picture of Dalmatia is even more pronounced, with the incompetence of the Government and local structures, which will result in penalties by European Commission due to the danger of infections and epidemics and other health threats to the population and tourists.

With the development of the hotel industry, the quality of Croatian and Dalmatian tourist superstructure is growing,

albeit not at the required pace and in accordance with the requirements of sophisticated tourist demand, especially due to regional administration, but also ministries and other relevant institutions, as evidenced by permanent scandals that the judiciary does not adequately resolve. Current reports from the European Commission warn Croatia of this, treating it as one of the most endangered EU countries, which brings distrust of citizens, but also of foreigners, potential tourist investors, into the Croatian judicial system. Otherwise, the acute lack of expected and necessary larger investments in primary accommodation capacities, especially in Dalmatia, is partially compensated by the expansion and growth of quality in sector of complementary capacities (over 60% of the total accommodation in the Republic of Croatia, led by Dalmatia). Despite the shortcomings of lower consumption and capacity utilization, the investment of citizens contributes to the growth of Croatian tourism as a whole and the level of housing, communal and health culture of the population in tourist destinations. This process has recently been evident not only in the coast but also in the less developed hinterland through the syntagm "Provence of the Dalmatians" and "Toscanization of Istria", which significantly contributes to the balanced development of these regions and Croatia as a whole.

#### ***4.3. The Impact of the Corona Virus Pandemic on Croatian and Dalmatian Tourism***

The Corona Pandemic SARS CoV 2 COVID-19, declared by the WHO on March 11, 2020, faced an unprecedented global challenge that, along with economic and social and especially health implications, causes strong turbulence within nation states, but also the EU and globally. Under the influence of the pandemic, international relations are marked by a new dimension of mistrust and even competition of great powers and their health epidemiological institutes in the race to find an effective vaccine as quickly as possible community, as well as interstate bilateral relations, especially between the superpowers of China and the United States (USA), which consequently withdrew from the WHO. In accordance with the WHO recommendation, the world has implemented a number of comprehensive epidemiological measures and thus socio-political actions at the global and national level, including in some places complete "lock down" and behaviour under the phrase "new normal", which includes restricting movement and socializing protective masks, and the distance during contacts, etc. [43].

According to media reports, the treated pandemic already in the initial wave during the first 9 months affected the entire humanity with over 30 million infected with a million deaths (end of September) with foci first in China and then Italy, Spain, Russia, USA, Brazil etc. Croatia coped relatively well in the first phase of the pandemic, thanks to the timely action of the National Crisis Staff, competent governmental and local institutions, the public health system and citizen discipline, resulting in a small number of sick and dead, and despite the lock down -u ", the survival of most economic entities. With some delay, it succeeded and the launch of tourism and the development of part of the main

tourist season, on which the court of the accompanying economy, as well as society as a whole, practically depended, given the high share of tourism in the national economy. The situation, however, became very serious at the start of the second wave of the pandemic in late August as the country opened up completely to tourists with the lifting of all restrictions. This caused an unexpectedly large number of infected people (over 300 cases a day), which was especially noticeable in Dalmatia, which is the main backbone of tourism development with half of all tourist units in the Republic of Croatia. Irrational relaxation of the National Staff in the level of necessary hygienic and epidemiological measures (night clubs, mass parties, weddings, political and religious gatherings, etc.), which was not crucial for tourism or the economy, with the stay of over a million tourists in during the Adriatic, it caused more than 90 cases per 100,000 inhabitants in September, with a focus in Central Dalmatia. According to that, the Republic of Croatia was ranked among the 4 most endangered EU countries, which resulted by its classification in the so-called "red zone" and endangered the second part of the season and post-season, with serious socio-economic consequences that the whole of Dalmatia has already faced due to the drastic reduction of air traffic to the Croatian south. Despite everything, Croatian and even Dalmatian tourism has achieved relatively satisfactory results in relation to the Mediterranean competition (50% from a record 2019). Timely measures to help the Croatian government to the vulnerable economy, and especially the tourism and hospitality sector, avoided serious consequences for employees and entrepreneurship. The specific unfavorable structure in the tourist accommodation capacities of the Republic of Croatia with a pronounced predominance of complementary capacities, which is not recorded in our Mediterranean competitors with a share of over 50% in the highest quality primary capacities, proved to be a comparative advantage in this crisis. Namely, the tourist season 2020 in Croatia and Dalmatia has been partially saved thanks to the complementary capacities, where the possibility of infection due to lack of mass was significantly lower. This was achieved despite the omissions and inconsistencies of the national crisis headquarters, which was burdened by politicking, with the gradual loss of authority among citizens, which was evident especially in the second wave of the pandemic, with consequences according to medical authorities [13], difficult to see. Ignorance of the causes, and all possible manifestations, duration and consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic on a global scale, with the usual long time to registration and application and action of several types of vaccines, despite the extraordinary efforts of WHO and world health experts and institutions, has given the whole problem an additional dose of uncertainty to the level of humanity, which is particularly reflected in the economic activities of the travel and tourism sectors that are most vulnerable to the pandemic. At the beginning of October 2020, the situation with the pandemic is deteriorating, according to WHO and relevant national organizations, with 35 million cases worldwide, and in some places over 50,000

new cases per day (Russia) and more than 200,000 total deaths (USA) with rigorous epidemiological measures that disrupt economic and social life and throughout the EU. Croatia then approached the number of 20,000 total infected and 540 patients in 24 hours, which was largely the result of non-compliance with the recommended measures of the Headquarters, which is losing its initially acquired credibility. At the end of November, the situation around the world escalated with over 60 million patients and 1.5 million deaths with hotspots in the USA, Russia and even the leading EU countries where drastic curfew and lock down measures are introduced in catering, culture, education, etc., with the threat of a health system collapse. Irresponsibility of citizens, but also inconsistency and inadequacy of measures taken despite appeals from leading Croatian health and other authors, makes Croatia rapidly record further negative records and despite the gradual tightening of measures at the end of November has over 4,000 daily illnesses and 70 deaths in 24 hours or a total of over 150,000 patients and 3,000 deaths since the beginning of the pandemic, with upward trends and the danger of the overloading of the overloaded health system. Croatia was then ranked among the most endangered EU countries, with hotspots in Dalmatia, Zagreb, and northern Croatia, which in relation to the number population have become the most vulnerable regions of the EU. Consequently, even more drastic measures are being taken in the wake of the first wave of the pandemic, which will gradually intensify during January 2021, with restrictions on gatherings and a ban on the operation of catering facilities and cultural and sports and recreational institutions. By then the world already exceeded the number of 100 million sick and 2 million dead of which in the USA alone over 400 thousand, and in Brazil over 300 thousand, with further progression, and some European countries introduce new drastic measures of curfew and closing of borders and service activities, with protests of vulnerable entrepreneurs and the population. Croatia, despite more restrictive measures taken in mid-January 2021. Records close to 5,000 cases and 100 deaths per day, and since the beginning of the pandemic, a total of 200,000 patients and 5,000 deaths. However, due to the stricter measures taken by the Headquarters, the number of infected people is gradually decreasing at the end of January (approximately 10% of those tested with a declining trend), with a very slight relaxation of measures due to the danger of spreading new strains of the virus (British, South African, Brazilian...) which were already registered in neighboring countries at that time, and the danger of a possible third wave. With all that in mind, the future "Crown of the crisis", and its accompanying consequences are still completely uncertain in the segment of health, but also economic and social damage, despite the invention and approval of the competent institutions, and then the gradual application of several types of vaccines and the start of vaccination from the end 2020, and in the European Union and even Croatia at the beginning of 2021. Unfortunately, this process was marked by a great one the global affair of non-compliance of vaccine manufacturers with contractual

provisions in deliveries, which particularly affected the EU and thus Croatia. It is, however, a globally minor matter in relation to the fact that most poor third world countries cannot get the vaccine at all, which ultimately leads to gender insecurity in addition to a deep ethical issue terrestrial population and consequently all of humanity that may be endangered by mutations of viruses from these countries. The appeals of world authors such as the Holy Father the Pope and the leaders of the World Health Organization, the UN, the EU and other global institutions concerned with the protection of vulnerable social groups and countries around the world have long been on this trail, unfortunately with an uncertain outcome at least in the foreseeable future. Analyzing the situation with the Corona crisis pandemic in Croatia, and in the context of the topic of this paper, it should be noted that unlike disciplined citizens and competent authorities of Istria with a high level of culture and health culture, where the situation has always been much more favorable than the rest of the country, Dalmatians, by ignoring the recommended measures and consequently often the highest incidence per capita, showed unworthy of the high levels of cultural and thus health awareness of their ancestors who throughout history, despite pronounced migratory trends, have maintained culture and even health culture at the level of Euro-Mediterranean traditions. Having this in mind, as well as the attitude towards the danger of the current pandemic, which led the health system and the entire Croatian society, especially after the catastrophic earthquakes in Zagreb and Banovina, to severe temptations, the problems of latent existence of other negative events in sphere of social pathology. According to daily media reports, these are attitudes towards space and spatial planning and ecology, economic weaknesses and the collapse of agriculture, crime and corruption, and politicking and inefficiency in government and the judiciary, xenophobic outbursts by political and fan groups, and problems growth of drug addiction with depopulation and growth of youth emigration, etc., which is evident in Dalmatia. Following the above, it is necessary to ask oneself. "Quo vadis Dalmatia?", and to update the appeal of the eminent Dalmatian composer and humanist Ljubo Stipišić-Delmata at the beginning of the new millennium: "Come back (Dalmatian) man while you still have someone", with the paraphrase of W. Churchill's lucid saying: "Croats (well and Dalmatians) are unable to consume the enormous wealth of their culture and history".

As the treated article in the first version was finalized in January 2021, this discussion further updates it. Namely, in the context of the Corona pandemic during the past year, numerous new events and procedures took place around the world, including in Croatia and Dalmatia, in relation to the pandemic, with cyclical movements and the spread and mutation of the virus. Despite the extraordinary efforts of the international community, medical science and national health systems, to achieve the final suppression of this plague by various measures, including rigorous "lock down" procedures and mass vaccination with increasingly sophisticated vaccines and the gradual introduction of drugs, it infected

more than 270 million, and caused the deaths of over 5 million people on all continents, it fails completely. On the contrary, despite all the measures in addition to the progression or regression of the infection, it currently threatens a new fifth wave expanding "omicron" variant, resistant to several existing vaccines, which necessitates revaccination with the third so-called "Booster" dose. At the Croatian level, the National Staff, after a successful tourist season in 2021 and growing economic results when it almost prematurely declared "victory" over the crown, fails to respond in a timely manner to its recurrences and mutations, and then accelerated expansion. Weakening in epidemiological measures with a catastrophically low rate of population fragmentation (around 55%), especially in Dalmatia (only 30%), with strong opposition to the epidemiological measures of the headquarter, often subject to political influence, most often instrumentalized by radical politics under the guise of preserving democratic rights and freedoms results in accelerated patient growth and mortality (50-70 per day), almost to the level of the first wave of a pandemic with the threat of a health system collapse. This situation rightly causes outrage among the media, which call for the significant words of the great Croatian humanist V. Gotovac from the early 1990s "Croatia does not need politicians but ENLIGHTENERS".

Particularly unpleasant is the behaviour of the part of the population in Dalmatia that is dependent on health security as a condition for the success of tourism, which means the survival of the economy and literally life. This most attractive Mediterranean region, which has historically promoted advanced scientific ideas with its ingenious, world-relevant minds, today ignores world and national medical authorities as if going back to the time and state of tragically low health culture since the 18th century caused by poverty, hunger and diseases of the exhausted population due to centuries of Turkish devastation of the hinterland and economic and social stagnation of the cities-communes under jurisdiction disabled Venetian authorities at sunset, which with his travelogue "Viaggio in Dalmazia" vividly described and Venetian travel writer A. Fortis (1777).

History has shown countless times that Croats, and especially Dalmatians, can be defeated by almost nothing and no one but self-destruction, which we unfortunately witness today with the catastrophic mortality of the nation (over 60,000 deaths per year) and extremely negative population trends, unless radical measures are taken, may lead to demographic euthanasia in the long run.

## 5. Conclusion

In the conclusion of the work "Sociocultural reminiscences of pandemics, health culture and tourism in Dalmatia" (II.) it was opportune to analyse the occurrences and lessons learned during the millennium of world history, when pandemics lasted a relatively long time and affected a huge number of people with high mortality and recurrence in every generation. Nevertheless, it is to be believed that modern world science

will find globally effective solutions in time that will to definitively suppress the pandemic in accordance with the high level of civilization, and especially the medical achievements of humanity on the threshold of the new millennium. Given the membership of the Republic of Croatia in the European Union and the networking of our health care institutions with European ones, and despite the significant outflow of top staff abroad with still relevant public health potentials, such solutions will certainly be available to Croatian citizens. This will lead to a successful end in the fight against this pandemic that marked the beginning of 21st century in the world and even in Croatia including Dalmatia, provided that the political decisions in the decisions of the Headquarters and greater vaccination and self-discipline of the citizens are avoided the world and Croatia as a whole.

---

## References

- [1] Alfier, D., (1977/1994), Turizam, izbor radova, Institut za turizam, Zagreb.
- [2] Arsentijević, S., (1973), Filozofski sinkretizam antičke medicine, Zbornik 23. znanstvenog skupa (Split), Naučno društvo za historiju zdravstvene kulture, Beograd.
- [3] Ateljević, I., (2020), Transforming the (tourism) world for good and (re)generating the potential „new normal“, Tourism Geographies.
- [4] Antić, D., (2020), Zarazne bolesti u svijetu, Internet Portal livescience hr. 2020.
- [5] Babić, I., (1984), Prostor između Trogira i Splita, Kulturno historijska studija, Muzej grada, Trogir.
- [6] Babić, I. et al., (1987), Kulturno blago Trogira, Turistkomerc, Zagreb.
- [7] Bazala, V., (1973), Uloga talijanskih sveučilišta na medicinu Dalmacije, Zbornik 23. Znanstvenog skupa (Split), Naučno društvo za historiju zdravstvene kulture, Beograd.
- [8] Bilen, M., Bučar, K., (2004), Turistička geografija svijeta, Mikrorad. Zagreb.
- [9] Cohen, E., (1998), Tourism and AIDS in Thailand, Annals of Tourism Research, 15/4.
- [10] Cvetnić, Ž., Savić V., (2018), Pandemije kuge kroz povijest, Hrvatski veterinarski institut, Zagreb.
- [11] Cvetnić, Ž., (2020), Pandemije velikih boginja, Hrvatski veterinarski institut, Zagreb.
- [12] Dellale, don I., (1936), Vodič o prošlosti i životu Trogira, Društvo za unapređenje turizma..., Trogir.
- [13] Đikić, I., (2020), Intervju, TV Nova, 24.09. 2020.
- [14] Drache, D., (2003), Media Coverage of the 2003. SARS Outbreak, York University, Toronto.
- [15] Geić, S., (1971), Klimatske prilike i zdravstveno rekreativni turizam na trogirskom primorju, Znanstveni simpozij „O 700. obljetnici ljekarne u Trogiru, Institut za povijest zdravstvene kulture Jugoslavije, Beograd.

- [16] Geić, S., (1973), The interaction between Tourism and Hygienic culture, I. Simposio medico Italo- Yugoslavo, Pescara, Split.
- [17] Geić, S., (1981), Društveno ekonomske komponente razvoja turizma Trogira, Muzej grada, Trogir.
- [18] Geić, S., (2002), Turizam i kulturno civilizacijsko nasljeđe, Veleučilište u Splitu, Split 19. Geić, S., (2004.) Povratak iskonu – Klapa Trogir, Kulturološka monografija, Slobodna Dalmacija, Split.
- [19] Geić, S., (2008/12), The influence of tourism on health and health culture in the globalisation era, Zbornik Simpozija "Era nove ekonomije i novih zanimanja- Stres i mobing", Udruga Split-zdravi grad, Split.
- [20] Geić, S., (2007), Organizacija i politika turizma, Sveučilište u Splitu, Split.
- [21] Geić, S., (2011), Menadžment selektivnih oblika turizma, Sveučilište u Splitu, Split.
- [22] Geić, S., (2016), Turizam- Osnove, organizacija, ekonomika, Visoka škola ASPIRA, Split.
- [23] Geić, S. (2021.) Turizam i baština u socioekološkoj paradigmi, ASPIRA, Split.
- [24] Glasinger, L., (1971), Organizacija zdravstvene službe u srednjovjekovnom Trogiru, Zbornik Simpozija „O 700. obljetnici spomena ljekarne u Trogiru, Institut za povijest prirodnih i medicinskih znanosti JAZU, Zagreb.
- [25] Grabovski. P. et al., (2005), Serve acute respiratory sindrom (SARS), Turizam and Media, I. J. of Tourism Research, 7/1 2005.
- [26] Harari, Y. N., (2015). Kratka povijest čovječanstva (Prijevod) Fokus, Zagreb.
- [27] Ivanišević. G., Potrebica S., (2002), Prirodni ljekoviti činitelji u promicanju zdravlja u 21. st., Akademija medicinskih znanosti Hrvatske, Zagreb.
- [28] Kapor, A., (1973), Neki domaći zdravstveni radnici u 18. i 19. st., Zbornik 23. Simpozija (Split), Naučno društvo za historiju zdravstvene kulture Jugoslavije, Beograd.
- [29] Kečkement, D., (1973), Prilozi opisu i povijesti splitskog lazareta, Zbornik 23. znanstvenog skupa (Split-Pescara), Naučno društvo za historiju zdravstvene kulture, Beograd.
- [30] Knez J., Antić D. (2020), Pandemije zaraznih bolesti u svijetu, Internet portal, Lider, Zagreb.
- [31] Kordić, Š., (1973), Profesionalna deontologija liječnika Dalmacije u 19. st., Zbornik 23. Simpozija (Split), Naučno društvo za historiju zdravstvene kulture Jugoslavije, Beograd.
- [32] Krapf, K., Hunziker V., (1963), Le et l' importance du tourisme international, UN, Rome.
- [33] Krippendorf, J., (1975), Die Landschaftsfresser, Hallwag Verlag, Stuttgart.
- [34] Kulić, S., (2020), Očekivani trendovi hrvatskog gospodarstva, Intervju, Podcast Velebit.
- [35] Laine P., (1980), Liberations de tourismus, Paris.
- [36] Marasović, T., (2001), Kulturna baština I., Veleučilište u Splitu, Split.
- [37] Marković, S. i Z., (1966), Osnove turizma, ŠK Zagreb.
- [38] Meyer, K. F. (1961), Plague: in Hull, T. G. Diseases Transmitted from Animals to Man, Springfield, Illinois.
- [39] Pančić-Kombol, T., (2000), Selektivni turizam, TMCP Sagena, Matulji.
- [40] Petrić, L., (2006), Uvod u turizam, Ekonomski fakultet u Splitu, Split.
- [41] Piplović, S., (1997, 2002), A. Hauser u Dalmaciji, Društvo prijatelja baštine, Split.
- [42] Plinije, (141.), Historia naturalis III. Roma.
- [43] Polović, J. (2020), COVID-19 kao sigurnosni izazov- teorija zavjere ili pitanje koje zahtjeva odgovore, Croatian Association of International Studies, Zagreb.
- [44] Rusell, J. C., (1966), The earlier plague in: The population of Medieval Egypt, American research center, Kairo.
- [45] Smith, M. K., (2003), Issues in cultural tourism studies, Routledge, London.
- [46] Smith, V., (1986), Host and Guests, The anthropology of Tourism, Philadelphia.
- [47] Suić, M., (1969), Posljertatne hidričke epidemije u Dalmaciji, JAZU Zagreb.
- [48] Suić, M., (1970), Kolera i turizam, Privreda Dalmacije br. 11-12, Split.
- [49] Škobalj, A., (1970), Obredne gomile, Sveti Križ, Čiovo.
- [50] Tartalja, H., (1971), Naša najstarija ljekarna, Zbornik Simpozija "O 700. Obljetnici ljekarne u Trogiru", Institut za povijest prirodnih i medicinskih znanosti JAZU, Zagreb.
- [51] Velnić, V. J., (1973), Meduodnos medicine i farmacije s obje strane Jadrana, Zbornik 23. Znanstvenog skupa (Split), Naučno društvo za historiju zdravstvene kulture Jugoslavije, Beograd.
- [52] Vujević, I., (2005), Gostiteljstvo i turizam, EF u Splitu, Split.
- [53] Vukonić, B., (2005) Povijest hrvatskog turizma, Prometej, Zagreb.
- [54] Vukonić, B. et al., (1987), Turizam i razvoj, Mikrorad, Zagreb.
- [55] Wang, J., (2003), Learning from SARS to improve Hotel Management, Tourism Tribune 18/4.
- [56] Zang, G., (2003), China Tourism Industry: The impact of SARS and Rejuvenation, Beijing Social Science Press.