CULTURAL TOURISM IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHEAST EUROPE. ITS SELECTIVE UTILIZATION OF CULTURAL LAYERS

Scientific paper

Peter Jordan

Abstract
The purpose – Cultural and city tourism are intensively promoted by most Central and Southeast European countries. But frequently identity and historiography of the modern nation states is at odds with some periods of history and emphasizes others. This may result in a rather selective presentation of the cultural heritage also to tourists and in difficulties to define a tourism brand. Selective presentation refers also to the cultural heritage of minorities and Communism.
Methodology, approach – The paper investigates into the attitudes of various Central and Southeast European countries in this respect. Methods applied are personal observations as well as surveys of websites of national and regional tourist boards.
Findings – Political strive for national homogeneity is very often also extended to the field of tourism resulting in the neglect of certain tourist attractions or in not explicitly attributing them to their originators, especially as regards more recent periods of history. Most obvious cases in this respect are the disregard of the Hungarian cultural heritage in Romania, of the Ottoman cultural heritage in Serbia and of not attributing the German cultural heritage to their originators in Slovenia. On the other hand we witness a lot of openness in this respect. Best practices can be observed in Poland related to the Hanseatic/Prussian/German as well as Jewish and Kashubian cultural heritage, in Czechia related to the (supra-national) Austrian cultural heritage, in Slovakia related to the German and Rusyn cultural heritage and not the least in Croatia related to the Venetian and Austrian cultural heritage. This resulted already in significant success on the tourism market by prompting additional demand and attracting a quality segment.
This research is original because it relates national and regional tourism branding to a wider historical-political background. An added value results also from the comparative view over rather divergent countries.
Keywords cultural tourism, cultural heritage, Central Europe, Southeast Europe, touristic branding, historical layers

INTRODUCTION

Central and Southeast Europe have undergone so many historical changes that their current cultural landscape can be compared to the cross-section of an old tree, to which every period has contributed a ring. It is right for this reason a fertile soil for cultural tourism, since all of its current nation states are not only in the position to offer just one uniform cultural layer, but many of them. This cultural variety is certainly attractive for tourists. It is, however, not always completely exploited due to strives for national homogenization, national historiography, disregard of historical cultural influences and ethnic/cultural minorities or because of a prevailingly negative image of historical periods and powers.

Based on the observation of cultural preservation measures, tourism branding and official tourism policies, the article will investigate into the attitudes of selected Central and Southeast European countries in this respect, highlight some general characteristics and trends and try to find reasons for them. It will more specifically ask for the attitude of individual countries opposite (1) historical cultural layers not conforming to current national mainstream culture, (2) contemporary minority cultures and (3) the cultural heritage of the Communist period. Conclusions will then be drawn, what this may mean for the further development of cultural tourism. Using tourism branding as an indicator, the article also reflects contemporary political-cultural relations in this part of Europe. It may thus be regarded as a work at the intersection of cultural, political and tourism geography as well as historiography.

1. CULTURE TOURISM AS A PROSPERING SEGMENT OF CURRENT TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Culture tourism in the sense of tourism of people exclusively, mainly or at least to a larger part interested in culture[1] in the most comprehensive meaning of this term[2], i.e. in the totality of human expressions, displayed a certain dynamic from the very beginning of the transformation period, but was at first limited to a small number of extraordinary attractions like Prague [Praha][3], Budapest, Cracow [Kraków] and Dubrovnik, while others only slightly less important places were neglected. This was for reasons of accessibility, insufficiently developed tourism infrastructure and a lack of promotion.

By improvement of accessibility, especially by the considerably stronger engagement of low cost airlines after 2004, as well as by intensified promotion (e.g. by declaring some cities "cultural capital of Europe") additional destinations appeared at the market and received a growing share in city tourism. Increasingly also festivals and other cultural events, also in the sector of popular and folk culture including exhibitions and opportunities to explore one's own creative powers (e.g. by pottery, painting), are offered, attract also foreign tourists and provide for diffusion also to smaller and rural sites. Typical local dining has also become an offer which can be subsumed under cultural tourism.[4]

[1] See Richards, G. (ed.), *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism.* Wallingford, CABI, 2001; Richards, G., "The Development of Cultural Tourism in Europe", in Richards, G. (ed.), *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism,* Wallingford, CABI, 2001, 241-253; Steinecke, A., Kulturtourismus. Marktstrukturen, Fallstudien, Perspektiven. München, Oldenbourg, 2007.
[2] See Levi-Strauss, C., "Natur und Kultur", in W.E. Mühlmann, E.W. Müller (eds.), *Kulturanthropologie*, Köln, Berlin, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1966, 80-107.
[3] In this article for populated places and landscapes, except transboundary landscapes, a well-known English exonym is accompanied by the endonym in rectangular brackets, when the name is used the first time.
[4] See a.o. Hall, D., Smith, M., Marciszewska, B. (eds.), *Tourism in the New Europe: The Challenges and Opportunities of EU Enlargement,* Wallingford, Cambridge (MA., United States), CABI, 2006; Jansen-Verbeke, M., Priestley, G.K., Russo, A.P. (eds.), *Cultural Resources for Tourism: Patterns, Processes and Policies*, New York, Nova Science Publishers, 2008.

Very important is the increasingly activated but still far from being exhausted large potential of ethnic or sentimental tourists. It is due to the considerable number of emigrants and refugees from this region, many of whom like to visit their places of origin or show them to their children. There are also many second and third generation migrants, who like to keep some connection to their places of descent or who wish to see, where their parents or grandparents have come from.

It has also to be mentioned, however, that the pure cultural tourist is a rare species. Rather than travelling only for this purpose, tourists interested in cultural attractions combine their cultural interest with the use of other offers like recreation, shopping or wellness.

2. THE PROBLEM OF DICHOTONOMIES BETWEEN CURRENT NATIONAL IDENTITIES AND SOME HISTORICAL CULTURAL LAYERS AND SUBCULTURES RELATED TO THE CULTURAL-TOURISTIC OFFER

2.1. Dichotonomies with historical cultural layers

Cultural and city tourism are intensively promoted by host countries. But frequently it is not easy for them to decide, which cultural layers should be offered and promoted. All of the Central and Southeast European countries dispose over a rich and vivid history. Periods of sovereignty followed periods of control, even of occupation and suppression by external powers. Every period left a layer of cultural heritage. Identity and historiography of the currently existing nation states is at odds with some periods of history and emphasizes others. This results sometimes in a rather selective presentation of the cultural heritage, also to tourists, and in difficulties to define a tourism brand.

Selectivity increases as a rule from ancient to modern times. While older cultural strata like Greek, Thracian, Dacian and Roman are usually out of dispute and proudly presented, Ottoman, Habsburg, Russian, German and other layers are partly not accepted as constitutive elements of the nation's history and hidden away also from the tourist.

This differs, of course, from country to country. While, e.g., in Poland historical ensembles of German origin like the old city of Gdańsk or the main square of Wrocław have been sophistically renovated or rebuilt according to the historical models, and Poles in Silesia [Śląsk] or the region of former East Prussia have in general no problems to accept the German history of these territories as part of their own identity and present them in museums and by other cultural manifestations, in the Slovenian region of Kočevje, from the High Middle Ages up to WWII populated by Germans, not even an ethnographical museum (in Ribnica) conveys any mention of their former presence. In Romanian Transylvania [Ardeal], in turn, the cultural landscape shaped by the German Saxons is much better preserved and more obviously presented to tourists than what remained from Hungarians.

2.2. Dichotonomies with subcultures, minority cultures

In many a country it seems also to be a problem to admit that apart from the national culture also regional or minority cultures are presented in tourism. All current Central and Southeast European countries conceive themselves as states of their state nation, at least implicitly. Most of them achieved sovereignty rather late having emerged from multinational empires or escaped foreign domination and had for long time to accept local elites of different ethnic origin.[5] They therefore find it necessary and like to stress national homogeneity, although regional cultures and identities are partly strong and larger cultural minorities exist. Presenting also regional and minority identities by, e.g., including them into regional brands, would essentially diversify the tourism product and would also help to get rid of the partly negative image of national brands.[6]

As regards minority cultures, it seems that size matters. If minority cultures are actively presented in tourism, they are mostly smaller, declining or even just historical minorities, who are currently present only in remnants (like Germans in Romania or Jews in Poland).

2.3. Critical attitude towards most recent history: Communism

Another question in this context is to which extent to present the Communist heritage as a component of the cultural landscape. The usual approach is to regard Communism as an "accident" in national history and not to include the built and immaterial cultural heritage of this period into the tourism offer, except in an ironical form like the park of Communist monuments near Budapest. It is nevertheless a fact that at least the earlier periods of Communist rule produced some examples of good architecture and even more so of innovative urban planning (e.g. Nowa Huta near Cracow, Dunaujváros south of Budapest, Poruba near Ostrava). But even the more blunt materializations of the Communist idea like suburban housing quarters or the usually oversized and insensibly located culture houses and representative buildings up to the House of the People in Bucharest [Bucureşti] are in their monotony and gigantism telling expressions of this historical period and attractive for visitors interested in its more profound comprehension during theme and study tours.

[5] See a.o. Suppan, A., Lein, R. (eds.), *East European identities in the 19th and 20th century*, Wien, Berlin, Münster, LIT, 2009.
[6] See a.o. Light, D., "Romania: National Identity, Tourism Promotion and European Integration", in D. Hall, M. Smith, B. Marciszewska (eds.), *Tourism in the New Europe: The Challenges and Opportunities of EU Enlargement*, Wallingford, Cambridge (MA., United States), CABI, 2006, 256-269.related to Romania or Konečnik, M., "Slovenia: New Challenges in Enhancing the Value of the Tourism Destination Brand", in D. Hall, M. Smith, B. Marciszewska (eds.), *Tourism in the New Europe: The Challenges and Opportunities of EU Enlargement*, Wallingford, Cambridge (MA., United States), CABI, 2006, 81-91 related to Slovenia.

3. THE SITUATION IN INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES

This main chapter will analyze the situation in selected countries of Central and Southeast Europe under the aspects mentioned before. The analysis will try to find out to which extent cultural heritage not corresponding to the current national or mainstream culture is presented to tourists either in physical reality, e.g. by carefully preserved architectonical monuments, supplemented by adequate tourism infrastructure and correct reference to its historical origin, or by measures of touristic marketing, e.g. by advertising it on websites of tourist boards, tourist leaflets and at the occasion of marketing events like tourist fairs. This may result in the asessment of not yet sufficiently exhausted potentials as regards cultural tourism in general and more specifically potentials for thematic and study tours, i.e. for smaller, but very specific segments of the tourism market.

Investigation methods applied are personal observations of the attractions in reality, not only by the author himself, but also by his diploma students Ismar Bajrić[7], Magdalena Anna Brunner[8], Verena Kehl[9], Maria Negl[10] and Michaela Tancos[11], as well as surveys of websites of national and regional tourist boards on the internet.

3.1. Poland

What is today Poland disposes over three major historical cultural layers not corresponding to the current national mainstream culture: The Prussian, later German layer in the northern, western and southwestern parts of the country; the Austrian layer in the southwestern (Silesia) and southeastern (Galicia) parts of the country and the Russian layer in the central and eastern parts of the country. While the Prussian, later German layer is old and long-term and lasted at least in some parts of the country from the 13th century up to 1945, the period of Austrian cultural impact was limited to 1526-1742 (Silesia) and 1772-1918 (Galicia), the Russian period to the time from the Polish partitions in the late 18th century to 1918. While the Prussian/German period had an extraordinary influence especially on urban culture and architecture (the cities of the Hanseatic League) and Austrian influence on the still existing material cultural heritage is also very apparent, a Russian impact is near to non-existent.

[7] Bajrić, I., *Bosnien und Herzegowina als Tourismusdestination. Überlegungen zum Tourismus als räumlicher Einflussfaktor in einem vom Krieg gekennzeichneten Land,* diploma work, University of Vienna, 2012.
[8] Brunner, M.A., T*ourismuswerbung und touristisches Potenzial in den Ländern des östlichen Mitteleuropa*, diploma work, University of Vienna, 2013.
[9] Kehl, V., *Raumbezogene Identität als Mittel der Vermarktung am Beispiel der Tourismusdestination Kroatien,* diploma work, University of Vienna, 2011.
[10] Negl, M., *Möglichkeiten des Kulturtourismus in Kroatien im Vergleich zu klassischen Kulturtourismusdestinationen des Mittelmeerraums (Italien und Griechenland),* diploma work, University of Vienna, 2011.
[11] Tancos, M, *Touristische Entwicklung und Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten historischer Kleinstädte im Grenzraum zu Niederösterreich,* Diploma work, University of Vienna, 2013.

It has, however, to be remarked already at this point, that 'Austrian influence' is not to be conceived as a national influence originating from the territory of modern Austria, but as an impact of a common supra-national imperial culture which had developed through long-term common statehood and been nourished from (also in spatial terms) various sources. But there is certainly no doubt that Vienna [Wien] as the prestigious capital of this Empire played the role of a style model in many respects. This statement refers not only to the Polish situation, but to all other situations likewise.

Poland preserved the German urban cultural heritage excellently and much better than this could have been expected after the cruelties of World War II. The historical cores of Hanseatic cities like Gdańsk (Fig. 1) or Toruń (Fig. 2) have carefully been reconstructed or renovated, main square and cathedral quarter of Wrocław are in an excellent condition. Touristic hints at their origin and original German inscriptions are not missing. The pre-Polish past of these cities and regions has become an integrated part of the current Polish population's space-related identity. The same is certainly true for the Austrian cultural heritage, e.g. in Wrocław (baroque main hall of the University), Cracow [Kraków] or Przemyśl, especially in Galicia, where it is numerous. In contrast, a Russian cultural heritage is nowhere highlighted, even were minor traces have been left. These attitudes are not new, but have been enforced in recent times and may be explained by the fact that – in spite of all historical controversaries with German-speaking powers – Poles appreciate Central-/West-European/Latin-European culture and feel to be part of it.

In contrast to this appreciation of German and Austrian traces, highlighting minority cultures is a rather new, anyway post-Communist phenomenon. This refers especially to Jews, Kashubians and Germans. The Jewish quarter of Cracow, Kazimierz, e.g., has largely been sanitated and upgraded by tourism infrastructure in the 1990s. Also the popular culture of the Kashubians, a group residing southwest of Gdańsk and speaking a standard language not so distinct from Polish is nowadays proudly presented to tourists and an important part of Gdańsk's touristic offer. Popular culture of the small and rather scattered group of Germans in the Opole region is hardly discernable from its Silesian neighbourhood and therefore less suitable for touristic purposes, although it is by no means hidden away.

Remnants of the Communist past are only exceptionally incorporated into the touristic offer. Such an exception is certainly Nowa Huta, an example of a newly constructed Socialist-type industrial town nearby Cracow with a very specific ground plan.

Figure 1: **Well-restaurated waterfront of the former Hanseatic and German, now Polish city Gdańsk** (Photo: P. Jordan 2012)

Figure 2: **Central square of the former Hanseatic city Toruń** (Photo: P. Jordan 2011)

3.2. Czech Republic

In Czechia the most important historical cultural layer not corresponding to the current national mainstream culture is the German in the border regions and also in some cities in the interior of the country. Germans were present there since the 12th and 13th centuries and expelled shortly after World War II. Their mainly urban architectonical heritage is after its (with a few exceptions) widespread neglect in the Communist

period in most instances well-preserved and an important part of the touristic offer, but only exceptionally attributed to its originators by touristic signs or hints in information leaflets and museums. This can be explained by the ambivalent relationship between Czechs and Germans in the Bohemian Lands as well as by the events in and shortly after World War II.

Another historical cultural layer which could be classified as different from the national mainstream culture is the impact of Austrian imperial representative architecture mainly in the 19th century and up to World War I. This impact, however, has been integrated into Czech mainstream culture to such an extent that it is not regarded anymore as external. In fact, Czechs have always contributed a lot to this cultural layer. Thus, the Bohemian spas (Karlovy Vary, Mariánské Lázně, Františkovy Lázně) with the typical appearance of spas all over the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy present themselves today not only in a well-preserved state, but are also not regarded as alien to the Czech mainstream culture. The same is true for many representative and administrative Founders' Age buildings in cities, like courts, opera houses and theatres – even for old industrial buildings like the Vítkovice steelworks in Ostrava, which have partly been transformed into a museum. It even occurs that buildings and monuments reminding explicitely of the imperial past like at the battlefield of Königgrätz [Hradec Králové] (Fig. 3), in Brno (Fig. 4) or a former public bath in Liberec (Fig. 5) are carefully renovated and presented to the tourist. This trend has even been enforced during the last decade.

Treatment of minority cultures and their integration into the touristic offer is quite divergent. While the Polish minority in the Cieszyn area has in this respect no position at all, the popular cultures of "Moravian Valachia" and "Moravian Slovakia" are highlighted in an almost exaggerated way compared to what can really be seen on the spot. This may be due to the fact that while the territory of Poles in Czechia had been a matter of political dispute and even of war, "Moravian Valachia" just shows traces of a former cultural influence of Vlach herdsmen and "Moravian Slovakia" in close neighbourhood to Slovakia is a transitional region in cultural terms. Thus, both are rather regional variants of Czech culture than minority cultures and just add something to regional identity.

The rich cultural heritage of Jews in the Czech Republic has in more recent years been renovated very well and is proudly presented to tourists. This refers to the famous Jewish cemetary in Prague [Praha] as well as to many former synagogues in all parts of the country, which have – due to the disappearance of the Jewish minority – lost their former function, but have been kept in their old style, show their symbols and figure prominently in tourist guides.

The built Communist heritage is huge, but in its vast majority architectonically blunt and therefore not highlighted as a part of the touristic offer. But also the (perhaps) only example of more remarkable Socialist architecture and town planning, the Stalinist "workers' fortress" of Poruba nearby Ostrava, is rather a touristic insider tip than communicated to a wider audience of tourists.

Figure 3: **A new museum at the battlefield of Hradec Králové presenting the battle of 1866 from the Austrian point of view** (Photo: P. Jordan 2014)

Figure 4: **Refurbished monument for the Austrian emperor Francis I in Brno** (Photo: P. Jordan 2008)

Figure 5: **The former "Kaiser-Franz-Joseph-Bad" in Liberec, well-renovated and transformed into an exhibition centre** (Photo: P. Jordan 2014)

3.3. Slovakia

The Hungarian cultural layer, originating from almost a millenium of political adherence to the Hungarian Kingdom, in its later manifestations not really discernible from a (supra-national) Austrian layer and in fact present all over the country corresponds to a still large current minority. Taking this into account, the only real historical cultural layer (in the sense of a layer lacking a recognizable current population adhering to this culture) is the layer of Carpathian Germans, who were (in declining numbers up to World War II) present in several "ethnic islands" like in Bratislava and the adjacent vinters' towns at the foothills of the Little Carpathians [Malé Karpaty], in the mining towns of Central Slovakia like Kremnica, Banská Bystrica and Banská Štiavnica, in the Spiš region or in the mining towns of Eastern Slovakia like Bardejov. All of them are excellently renovated – some (like Bardejov, Fig. 6) already in the Communist period – and a core element of the current touristic offer. Their German origin is not at all hidden away, in many cases rather emphasized. This may be explained by the (compared to the Bohemian Lands) much less problematic relationship between Slovaks and Germans already in historical times as well as by their much smaller number than in Czechia. Moreover, it may be important that the main national counterparts of Slovaks in history were not the Germans, but the Hungarians, and that the Germans used to part rather the Slovakian side in this controversy. It may also count the fact that after the fall of the Iron Curtain and even more so after Slovakia's separation from Czechoslovakia in 1993 Slovakia shows clearly a political and cultural orientation towards German-speaking countries.

The aforementioned already suggests that the attitude of official tourism policies in Slovakia makes a great difference between the large Hungarian minority and other much smaller ones. While the compact Hungarian minority region in Slovakia is (also for objective reasons) not a noticeable tourist destination and almost not mentioned as a part of the country's touristic offer, also Hungarian cultural traces elsewhere in Slovakia are not offered as such.

This strongly contrasts to official Slovakia's attitude towards the cultural heritage of the Rusyns, the only other minority with a considerable impact on the cultural landscape. This refers especially to Rusyn wooden churches (Fig. 7) in the country's northeast, which are explicitely promoted as the heritage of a minority culture and in the focus of thematic and study tours.

The Communist built heritage in Slovakia is rather characterized by architectonical and organizational accidents like the Socialist-type suburb Petržalka in Bratislava and the environmental desaster region Horná Nitra than by attractive examples. But Slovakia's tourism policy does not make use of them also under this aspect.

Figure 6: **The German-founded former mining town Bardejov in Eastern Slovakia – a "museum town" already in Communist times**
(Photo: P. Jordan 2009)

Figure 7: **Wooden church in Lukov, Eastern Slovakia** (Photo: P. Jordan 2009)

3.4. Hungary

What is today Hungary disposes over at least four historical cultural layers not corresponding to Hungarian national and mainstream culture and still visible in the cultural landscape: the pre-Hungarian Roman and Slavonic layers and the post-Hungarian Ottoman and Austrian layers. In addition, there may be found also some minor traces of the Avars and some other, rather temporary residents of the Pannonian Basin.

Like everywhere else, Hungary has no problem to present traces of the Roman Empire like the exgravations of the Roman municipium Aquincum or the Roman baths in Budapest proudly to tourists. It is, however, rather surprising that also the (rare) witnesses of a former Slavic settlement throughout the Pannonian Basin are not at all hidden away, although they have not the potential of being major tourist attractions and are therefore also not in the focus of tourism marketing (Fig. 8). It may nevertheless be regarded as a merit and an expression of a European attitude to acknowledge demonstratively that Hungarians were not the first to settle the Pannonian basin, but met there a well-developed resident culture.

Although the Ottoman period is in political terms seen as a time of occupation and supression, cultural traces of the Ottoman past have not only in recent times been carefully preserved and polished as tourist attractions. This refers for instance to the minaret in Eger (Fig. 9), to the mosque in Pécs or to the Turkish baths in Budapest. They are regarded rather as elements of a colourful cultural mosiac than as remnants of a dark historical period. Obviously Hungarian historiography has arrived at a sufficient distance to take such a position.

The Austrian cultural layer, mainly in the shape of representative and administrative buildings, but also hotels and spas, has in the Hungarian corelands anyway been formally adapted to Hungarian specifics, but is (like in Czechia and Slovakia) also otherwise conceived as an integrated part of the Hungarian cultural landscape.

Hungarian attitudes towards ethnic minorites underwent a considerable turnaround in the years after the fall of Communism. Cultural features especially of German, Croatian and Slovakian minorities are ever since a focus of preservation measures and often part of the (local) touristic offer. All minorities (except Roma) are, however, small in size, spatially scattered and due to these facts not really assets on the tourism market.

The Communist heritage in Hungary is remarkable in size, but with the exception of an ironically presented park of Communist monuments in Budapest not touristically valuated, although two industrial towns newly constructed according to Socialist principles (Dunaújváros, Tiszaújváros – formerly known as Sztálinváros and Leninváros) may have some touristic potential at least for a very special segment.

Figure 8: **A monument for Cyrill and Method at the site of the former Slavic cultural centre Blatograd [Zalavár] near Lake Balaton**
(Photo: P. Jordan 2006)

Figure 9: **Ottoman minaret in Eger** (Photo: P. Jordan 2008)

3.5. Romania

Historical cultural layers on the current territory of Romania are manyfold, although some of them correspond to still resident cultural minorities (Hungarians, Germans, Turks).

The historical cultural layer most emphasized by Romanian cultural politics in general, but also in tourism is the Roman-Dacian. Romanian nation building departed from the assumption that the rural Valachian population of herdsmen and small farmers speaking Romance dialects were descendants of a mixture of Roman soldiers and Romanized Celtic Dacians. Romanian national identity is therefore based on Romanitas and the feeling to be successors of the Romans in the Balkans. Roman-Dacian cultural traces are for this reason and as a kind of national icons highlighted wherever they occur and proudly presented to the tourist. Also in museums the Roman period occupies usually the largest space. This is not the least true for the Communist period, when Romania navigated (especially under Ceauşescu) a clearly national-Communist track emphasizing Roman roots.

Much in contrast to this, the phase of Slavic settlement in the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries affecting the whole territory of modern Romania and having left intensive traces, e.g., in toponymy, is completely ignored. It is not in line with the Romanian theory of Romance settlement continuity from Roman times up to the present.

Of the cultural layers corresponding to still resident cultural minorities, the German is the most appreciated by Romanian conservation and tourism policies. Transylvanian Saxon fortified churches and Saxon cities in Transylvania are styled prominent attractions in the country's touristic marketing. Sibiu, a typical Saxon city, has been elected cultural capital of Europe in 2007. But also in the Banat or in the Satu Mare

region, German (Svabian) cultural monuments are always in the focus of tourism marketing. This very positive attitude towards the German cultural layer is due to the fact that the relatively small (also earlier, but even more so nowadays) German minority was – much in contrast to the Hungarian – never conceived as a rival to Romanian national identity. Its – due to large-scale emigration – shrinking size especially after the end of Communism, the then growing importance of Romania's relations to Germany as well as its nationally neutral, but very intensive domestic political activity even increased its prestige.

The treatment of the Hungarian cultural layer by Romanian official tourism policies has improved in recent times, most significantly after the basic agreement with Hungary in 1996, but is still considerably lagging behind that of the German. This is due to the socio-political inversion inside the Carpathian arc after World War I, which gave reason to animosities on both sides, and the still very large size and significant political activity of the Hungarian minority. Some Hungarian monuments like the birthplace of the famous Hungarian king Matthew Corvin in Cluj-Napoca, his monument at the main square of this city as well as the Hungarian main church in Cluj-Napoca are nevertheless well-kept and well advertised by the official tourism board.
Ottoman supremacy over the territories of modern Romania lasted partly more than four centuries. But the area inside the Carpathian arc enjoyed a high extent of autonomy and also Valachia [Ţara Românească] and Moldova were just under indirect Ottoman rule and in cultural terms only marginally affected. The only Romanian territory under direct Ottoman rule (until 1878) was Dobrudzha [Dobrogea]. It is therefore only there that the Ottoman Empire left a stronger impact on the cultural landscape, mainly in the shape of mosques and other buildings of the religious sphere. Most of them are nowadays well-renovated, partly with financial support from Turkey. They are also part of the official Romanian tourism offer. Offside Dobrudzha the caravanserai (Hanul lui Manuc) of Bucharest is certainly the most prominent cultural monument in Ottoman style. It is well renovated, hosts again a hotel and restaurants and is a focal point of urban tourism to Bucharest. Romania needs not to hesitate highlighting Ottoman monuments, since their number is definitely too small to impair Romanian national culture.

The Austrian, later Austro-Hungarian Empire has left its visible traces in the cultural landscape inside the Carpathian arc mainly by the typical architecture of spas besides some representative buildings like theatres. Some of them are, however, in a deplorable condition, e.g. Băile Herculane (Fig. 10) or Vatra Dornei, or have been given a new, more "Romanian" face like the theatre in Timişoara. Obvious total neglect of this heritage may be explained by the fact that it is associated with the period of Hungarian direct rule between 1867 and 1918, under which Romanians had a lot to suffer.

Among the (besides Germans and Turks) smaller ethnic minorities in Romania the Ukrainians in the northernmost county of Maramureş dispose certainly over the most remarkable cultural monuments. Their wooden chuches in different shapes are well-preserved and an obligatory part of every touristic program to the north of Romania.

The Communist period has transformed Romania's cultural landscape essentially and has left at least one built monument of extraordinary touristic interest: the huge House of the People in Bucharest with a boulevard of more than two kilometres length (Fig. 11). It figures as a main sight in all Bucharest city tours. Also other Communist achievements like the Danube-Black Sea Canal or the Iron Gate dams enjoy some attention in Romanian tourism marketing. The majority of rather blunt architectonical remnants of Communism like the planned city Baia Mare or large Socialist-type housing estates remain, however, still to be discovered for tourism.

Figure 10: **One of the hotels from the Austro-Hungarian period in Băile Herculane** (Photo: P. Jordan 2011)

Figure 11: **House of the People in Bucharest** (Photo: P. Jordan 2012)

3.6. Serbia

Serbia is no exception as regards the touristic valuation of the Roman cultural layer, which is still accessible in many places like Belgrade [Beograd], Niš – the birthplace of the Roman emperor Constantine – or Bela Palanka. The attention devoted to this layer is, however, lagging far behind Romania's.

The Ottoman period lasted in the part of Serbia south of Danube and Save from the late 14th century up to 1878. It can be assumed that the built cultural heritage of this period was dense. What has remained is certainly only a minor part of it. Neglect and destruction may have been especially significant in the immediate post-Ottoman phase, when the political inversion resulted in a disregard of all that was associated with the former occupator. It has also to be taken into account that Serbia was the first independent nation state (from 1878 onwards) in the Balkans, i.e. on the territory of the former Ottoman Empire. It was fully engaged in nation-building – at the expense of every other cultural direction and most specifically of its former dominator. From the post-war Communist period onward this trend came to a halt, but this did not mean that Ottoman monuments were renovated or cared for. Just in the last decade a certain reconciliation with the Ottoman past can be noticed. This expresses itself in the renovation and presentation of some selected Ottoman monuments like the fortress in Niš (Fig. 12) or Ottoman baths (hamam) in Sokobanja (Fig. 13), while others remain in detoriated state.

Also the Austro-Hungarian cultural layer is not intentiously presented to the tourist, although it is widespread and very visible in the Vojvodina, which had been a part of the Habsburg Empire from the early 18th century up to World War I – so in a very formative period. Its moderate position in tourism marketing may, similar to Romania, be explained by the fact that it is mainly associated with Hungary and its nationalist rule between 1867 and 1918.

Cultural symbols of smaller minorities like Vlachs, Slovaks, Rusyns, Bulgarians or Albanians are not at all styled tourist attractions in a country that is still very keen to demonstrate its national homogeneity.

Except for large social housing estates and some partisan and working class monuments, the Communist period has not left any touristically remarkable traces.

Figure 12: **Ottoman fortress in Niš** (Photo: P. Jordan 2006)

Figure 13: **Ottoman baths in Sokobanja, Southern Serbia** (Photo: P. Jordan 2006)

3.7. Slovenia

Of cultural layers that do not conform to the country's current cultural mainstream, Slovenia has many and some of them are obviously shaping the cultural landscape. Besides the Roman layer that is in its current visibility confined to some places, the Venetian impact along the Adriatic coast and its hinterland as well as the Habsburg layer in most of the rest of the country are certainly the most significant. The three of them are presented to the tourist as ingredients of Slovenia's cultural variety, which Slovenes are proud of. They are, however, not explicitely attributed to non-Slovenian

cultures, but rather regarded as a part of the own cultural heritage. This is especially true for the Habsburg layer, which is most visible in historical centres of cities and towns, as castles and spas and is regarded as an integrated part of Slovenian history. This attitude is not surprising, since Carniola [Kranjsko] and (Slovenian) Styria [Štajersko] were indeed some of the heartlands of the Habsburg Empire.

When it comes to admit, however, that not ethnic Slovenes, but Germans had left cultural traces in the Slovenian Lands, Slovenes seem to have difficulties. This is especially true for some cities like Maribor or Ptuj with a predominant German population up to World War I (Fig. 14). In these places hardly an indication can be found that a non-Slovenian population had contributed to what is now proudly presented to the tourist. An extreme example in this respect is the Kočevje region, which was populated by Germans up to World War II. They had been famous for their woodwork and of them were born prominent artists and scientists like the cartographer Peter Kozler. While their products and artefacts are proudly presented, e.g. in a museum, their ethnic affiliation is hidden away. This attitude may be explained by the social stratification existing up to World War I, which saw Germans in the position of the social elites in the largest part of what is today Slovenia, while ethnic Slovenes were the ground layer of society. This resulted in lasting animosities, not so different from those of Romanians opposite Hungarians in Romania inside the Carpathian arc, and persisting even in times, when this former upper stratum is practically inexistant.

While touristic hints at the (former) German ethnic minority are rare, this is quite different with the Italian (formerly Venetian) and Hungarian minorities. These minorities are not only made visible to the tourist by place names in public space, but also by their specific folklore and festivities. By their cultural impact affecting only minor parts of the country, they are obviously regarded less problematic than the German layer.

Monuments of the Communist period are not specifically valuated by official Slovenian tourism. One of Tito's residences, the castle Brdo nearby Kranj, e.g., is not styled a tourist attraction for this very reason.

Figure 14: **Ptuj in Slovenian Styria** (Photo: P. Jordan 2008)

3.8. Croatia

As both a Mediterranean and a Central European country, modern Croatia is heir of a great variety of historical cultural layers. Starting from the Roman across the East Roman and Byzantine period, the Venetian impact along the Adriatic coast, the Hungarian in the hinterland, the Habsburg and Austrian influence primarily on the interior of the country, but later (after 1797) also on the coast, this is just to mention the ones affecting the current cultural landscape most significantly apart from the Slavic and Croatian mainstream culture.

Referring to them it is obvious that Roman monuments play a most important role in the Croatian tourism offer. The Arena of Pula and Diocletian's Palace in Split are just the main examples.

Also the rich built cultural heritage of the East Roman and Byzantine periods along the coast like the Euphrasian Basilica in Poreč or the Church of Saint Donatus in Zadar (Fig. 15) is in the focus of touristic interest and branding. This refers also to the immaterial cultural heritage of the Byzantine period like the Glagolitic script, monuments of which are widespread along the Croatian coast and especially in its northern parts such as on Istria [Istra] and in the Kvarner region. They attract tourists to rather remote places like Jurandvor on the island of Krk or to tiny towns in the interior of Istria (Fig. 16). This Byzantine heritage has, however, in a way been "nationalized" as it is styled an ingredient of national Croatian identity today.

Venetian as well as Hungarian remnants are also not conceived as alien to Croatian identity. The rich built Venetian cultural heritage along the coast, mainly represented by typical Venetian-type towns and cities, as well as the Hungarian cultural heritage in the Pannonian part of the country, mainly represented by castles of the former

Hungarian nobility, are usually well-preserved and a prominent part of the touristic offer. Tourist guides and signposts do not conceal their historic origin.

The Habsburg or Austrian period, along the coast starting only after the end of Venice as a political power and as regards its impact to the cultural landscape most effective in the later 19th century and up to World War I, enjoys significant appreciation in most recent times, while it had been disregarded in the Communist period. A prominent example is Opatija, where the hotels of the Southern Railway Company as well as the old villas and parks have carefully been renovated and function as an explicit part of the touristic offer (Fig. 17).

While especially the Italian ethnic minority on Istria, closely connected with the Venetian cultural heritage, is by bilingual signposts made very visible to the visitor, this is much less true for the Hungarian and Czech minorities, the least perhaps for the Serbian minority.

Croatia's Communist cultural heritage does not play a major role in the tourism offer except on the Brioni islands [Brijuni], where a well-visited museum reminds of Tito, his summer residence and his receiving prominent international artists and politicians there.

Figure 15: **The circular Byzantine Church of Saint Donatus in Zadar**
(Photo: P. Jordan 2012)

Figure 16: **Glagolitic monument in Hum, Istria** (Photo: P. Jordan 2006)

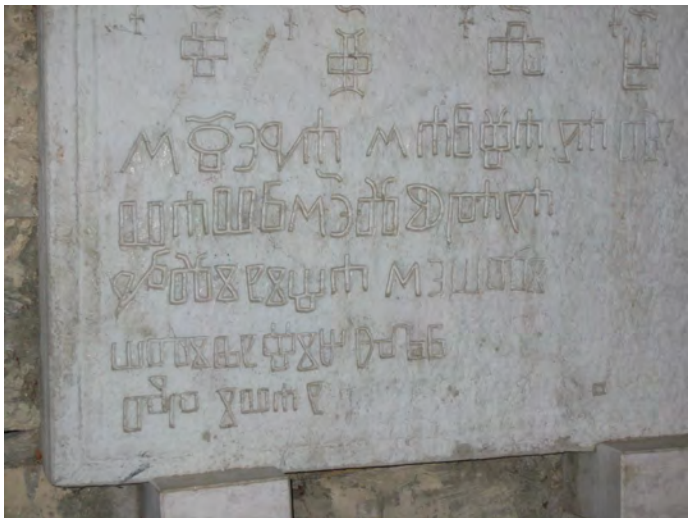

Figure 17: **Opatija's grand old hotels** (Photo: P. Jordan 2005)

4. CONCLUSIONS

Tourism in general, but cultural tourism in particular profits from cultural variety. Exceptional attractions, right attractions not conforming to current mainstream national culture and originating either from historical cultural layers, contemporary minority cultures or other political-cultural directions can therefore be regarded "the salt in the soup" of the tourism offer.

It is, however, a fact that the political strive for national homogeneity is very often also extended to the field of tourism resulting in the total neglect of certain tourist attractions or in not explicitly attributing them to their originators, especially as regards more recent periods of history. Most obvious cases in this respect are the disregard of the Hungarian cultural heritage in Romania, of the Ottoman cultural heritage in Serbia and of not attributing the German cultural heritage to their originators in Slovenia. This means not utilizing touristic potentials in cultural tourism in general and more specifically related so some tourism segments like theme and study tourism or what is titled "sentimental tourism" looking for traces of the personal past.

On the other hand we witness a lot of openness in this respect. Best practices can be observed in Poland related to the Hanseatic/Prussian/German as well as Jewish and Kashubian cultural heritage, in Czechia related to the (supra-national) Austrian cultural heritage, in Slovakia related to the German and Rusyn cultural heritage and not the least in Croatia related to the Venetian and Austrian cultural heritage. Most of these instances resulted already in significant success on the tourism market by prompting additional touristic demand and attracting a quality tourist segment.

REFERENCES

Anholt, S., "Theory and Practice of Place Branding", *Diplomatic Academy Proceedings*, 7-8, 2004, 11-28.

Anholt, S., "Why brand? Some practical considerations for nation branding", *Place Branding*, Vol. 2, 2, 2006, 97-107.

Bach, S., "Branding Croatia", *Diplomatic Academy Proceedings*, 7-8, 2004, 99-106.

Bajrić, I., *Bosnien und Herzegowina als Tourismusdestination. Überlegungen zum Tourismus als räumlicher Einflussfaktor in einem vom Krieg gekennzeichneten Land,* diploma work, University of Vienna, 2012.

Baláž, V., "Slovakia: EU Accession and Cross-border Travel", in D. Hall, M. Smith, B. Marciszewska (eds.), *Tourism in the New Europe: The Challenges and Opportunities of EU Enlargement*, Wallingford, Cambridge (MA., United States), CABI, 2006, 92-103.

Balderjahn, I., "Markenpolitik für Städte und Regionen", in Bruhn, M. (ed.), *Handbuch Markenartikel*, Vol. 3 Wiesbaden, Schäffer-Poeschl Verlag, 2004, 2357-2374.

Bernhardt, P., Hadj-Abdou, L., Liebhart, K., Pribersky, A., *Europäische Bildpolitiken*, Wien, UTB, 2009.

Brunner, M.A., T*ourismuswerbung und touristisches Potenzial in den Ländern des östlichen Mitteleuropa*, diploma work, University of Vienna, 2013.

Gerndt, H., "Innovative Wahrnehmung im Tourismus", in Köck, C. (ed.), *Reisebilder. Produktion und Reproduktion touristischer Wahrnehmung*, Münster, Waxmann, 2001, 11-20.

Govers, R., *Virtual Tourism Destination Image. Glocal identities constructed, perceived and experienced.* Doctoral thesis, University of Rotterdam , 2005.

Hall, D.R. (ed.), *Tourism and Economic Development in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*, London, Belhaven Press, 1991.

Hall, D., "Brand development, tourism and national identity: the re-imaging of former Yugoslavia", *Journal of Brand Management*, Vol. 9, 4/5, 2002, 323-334.

Hall, D., Smith, M., Marciszewska, B. (eds.), *Tourism in the New Europe: The Challenges and Opportunities of EU Enlargement,* Wallingford, Cambridge (MA., United States), CABI, 2006.

Hettlage, R., "Europas vielfältiger Raum als Gegenstand von Identitätsmanagement", in Deger, P., Hettlage, R. (eds.), *Der europäische Raum: Die Konstruktion europäischer Grenzen,* Wiesbaden, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2007, 273-306.

Hunt, J.D., "Image as a factor in tourism development", *Journal of Travel Research*, Vol. 13, 3, 1975, 1-7.

Huzak, S., "Rebranding of a tourist destination: An example of Croatia", *Acta Touristica Nova*, Vol. 3, 2, 2009, 227-268.

Jansen-Verbeke, M., Priestley, G.K., Russo, A.P. (eds.), *Cultural Resources for Tourism: Patterns, Processes and Policies*, New York, Nova Science Publishers, 2008.

Jordan, P., "Tourism and EU Enlargement: a Central European Perspective", in D. Hall, M. Smith, B. Marciszewska (eds.), *Tourism in the New Europe: The Challenges and Opportunities of EU Enlargement*, Wallingford, Cambridge (MA., United States), CABI, 2006, 65-80.

Jordan, P., "Tourism Revitalization in Eeastern European Union Countries", in M. Jansen-Verbeke, G.K. Priestley, A.P. Russo (eds.), *Cultural Resources for Tourism: Patterns, Processes and Policies*, New York, Nova Science Publishers, 2008, 231-243.

Jordan, P., Peršić, M. (eds.), *Österreich und der Tourismus von Opatija (Abbazia) vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg und zur Mitte der 1990er Jahre*, Frankfurt a. M. et al., Peter Lang, 1998.

Jordan, P., Schappelwein, K. et al., *International Tourism Attractions in Central and Southeastern Europe* (= Atlas of Eastern and Southeastern Europe, 3.4-G6), Berlin, Stuttgart, Borntraeger, 1999.

Jordan, P., Kocsis, K. et al., *Ethnic Consciousness in Central and Southeast Europe* (= Atlas of Eastern and Southeastern Europe, 2.9-G9), Berlin, Stuttgart, Borntraeger, 2006.

Kehl, V., *Raumbezogene Identität als Mittel der Vermarktung am Beispiel der Tourismusdestination Kroatien,* diploma work, University of Vienna, 2011.

Kern, R., *Fremde Räume: Raumbilder, Weltbilder und Bilderwelten. Eine Analyse von Bildern aus Reiseprospekten unter Aspekten visueller Anthropologie und kultursoziologischer Bildhermeneutik,* Diploma work, University of Vienna, 2005.

Kesić, T., "Country Image as a Competitive Marketing Strategy", *Diplomatic Academy Proceedings*, Vol. 7-8, 2004, 155-172.

Kiráľová, A., "Tourism in the Czech Republic", in D. Hall, M. Smith, B. Marciszewska (eds.), *Tourism in the New Europe: The Challenges and Opportunities of EU Enlargement*, Wallingford, Cambridge (MA., United States), CABI, 2006, 104-115.

Konečnik, M., "Slovenia: New Challenges in Enhancing the Value of the Tourism Destination Brand", in D. Hall, M. Smith, B. Marciszewska (eds.), *Tourism in the New Europe: The Challenges and Opportunities of EU Enlargement*, Wallingford, Cambridge (MA., United States), CABI, 2006, 81-91.

Kotler, P., Gertner, D., "Country as brand, product and beyond: A place marketing and brand management perspective", *Brand Management*, Vol. 9, 4-5, 2002, 249- 261.

Kozma, G., *Place Marketing: For Geographers and Geography teachers*. Debrecen, Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2006.

Krajnović, A., Bosna, J., Jašić, D., "Umbrella branding in tourism – model regions of Istria and Dalmatia", *Tourism and Hospitality Management,* Vol. 19, 2, 2013, 201-215.

Levi-Strauss, C., "Natur und Kultur", in W.E. Mühlmann, E.W. Müller (eds.), *Kulturanthropologie*, Köln, Berlin, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1966, 80-107.

Light, D., "Romania: National Identity, Tourism Promotion and European Integration", in D. Hall, M. Smith, B. Marciszewska (eds.), *Tourism in the New Europe: The Challenges and Opportunities of EU Enlargement*, Wallingford, Cambridge (MA., United States), CABI, 2006, 256-269.

Marciszewska, B., "Consumption of cultural tourism in Poland", in G. Richards (ed.), *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism*, Wallingford, United Kingdom, CABI, 2001, 215-226.

Marciszewska, B., "Tourism in Poland: Changes in Policy, Management and Education", in D. Hall, M. Smith, B. Marciszewska (eds.), *Tourism in the New Europe: The Challenges and Opportunities of EU Enlargement*, Wallingford, Cambridge (MA., United States), CABI, 2006, 127-136.

Mihailovic, S.Q., Strachwitz, R.G., *Heritage and the Building of Europe*, Berlin, Maecenata Verlag, 2004.

Morgan, N., Pritchard, A., *Tourism Promotion and Power: Creating images, creating identities.* Chichester, John Wiley, 1998.

Negl, M., *Möglichkeiten des Kulturtourismus in Kroatien im Vergleich zu klassischen Kulturtourismusdestinationen des Mittelmeerraums (Italien und Griechenland),* diploma work, University of Vienna, 2011.

Puczkó, L., Rátz, T., "Product Development and Diversification in Hungary", in D. Hall, M. Smith, B. Marciszewska (eds.), *Tourism in the New Europe: The Challenges and Opportunities of EU Enlargement*, Wallingford, Cambridge (MA., United States), CABI, 2006, 116-126.

Richards, G. (ed.), *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism.* Wallingford, CABI, 2001.

Richards, G., "The Development of Cultural Tourism in Europe", in Richards, G. (ed.), *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism,* Wallingford, CABI, 2001, 241-253.

Richards, G. (ed.), *Cultural Tourism. Global and Local Perspectives,* Binghamton (NY), Haworth Hospitality Press, 2007.

Smith, M., Hall, D., "Enlargement Implications for European Tourism", in D. Hall, M. Smith, B. Marciszewska (eds.), *Tourism in the New Europe: The Challenges and Opportunities of EU Enlargement*, Wallingford, Cambridge (MA., United States), CABI, 2006, 32-43.

Steinecke, A., Kulturtourismus. Marktstrukturen, Fallstudien, Perspektiven. München, Oldenbourg, 2007.

Stock, F., "Identity, image and brand: A conceptual framework", *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, Vol. 5, 2, 2009, 118-125.

Suppan, A., Lein, R. (eds.), *East European identities in the 19th and 20th century*, Wien, Berlin, Münster, LIT, 2009.

Szondi, G., "The role and challenges of country branding in transition countries: The Central and Eastern Europe experience", Place Branding and Public Diplomacy, Vol. 3, 1, 2007, 8-20.

Tancos, M, *Touristische Entwicklung und Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten historischer Kleinstädte im Grenzraum zu Niederösterreich,* Diploma work, University of Vienna, 2013.

Tuan, Y.-F., *Space and place: The perspective of experience.* Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1977.

Weichhart, P., *Raumbezogene Identität. Bausteine zu einer Theorie räumlich-sozialer Kognition und Identifikation,* Stuttgart, Steiner, 1990.

Weichhart, P., Weiske, C., Werlen, B., *Place identity and images – das Beispiel Eisenhüttenstadt,* Wien, Institut für Geographie und Regionalforschung der Universität Wien, 2006.

Peter Jordan, PhD, Associate and Honorary Professor
Institute of Urban and Regional Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences
Postgasse 7/4/2, 1010 Wien
tel. +43(1)51581-3539
Fax +43(1)51581-3533
E-mail: peter.jordan@oeaw.ac.at