From Agram to Zagreb: The Austro-Hungarian Legacy in Tourism Discourses of Croatian Capital

Olga Orlić

Institute for Anthropological Research, Zagreb, Croatia

ABSTRACT

Tourist promotion is not only about creating an attractive image of a destination, but is also highly informative of social values and the dominant ideology within a particular society. During the past decades, along with the process of joining the European Union, a lot has been done to promote Zagreb as a typical Central European city, implying the natural belonging of Zagreb (and Croatia) to the „real" or Western Europe. This paper analyses visual and textual representations of Zagreb in tourist promotional materials focusing on the multicultural Austro-Hungarian heritage and its role as a symbolic resource used in the process of urban identity building. It provides an insight into the discursive practices of heritage selection and cultural representation, through which local identification with this heritage ranges from (implicitly) neutral to overtly positive. Any dissonant heritage with negative connotations is absent, thus providing an idyllic, harmonious Austro-Hungarian past as part of urban identity.

Keywords: tourism, representation, cultural heritage, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, anthropologyIntroduction

Introduction

Tourism and cultural heritage are closely connected, making it a particularly interesting topic of cultural research. Tourist promotion is not only about creating an attractive image of a destination, but it is also highly informative of social values and the dominant ideology within a particular society.

Representational practices constitute an importan element of economy and identity politics of every place that already is, or wants to become a tourist destination. Visiting web pages is quite often the first encounter of the future visitor with the destination. Therefore, online marketing and branding are sine qua non for majority of tourist destinations. Everything you can find out on web pages in the question forms a part of carefully selected imaginaries, with the single aim – to make destinations as much as attractive as possible[1]. Therefore, web pages of tourist destinations are not filled with just practical information for tourists (how to reach the destination, were to stay over and where to eat), but with those about how to spend time at the place and nearby. This particular part often includes information about heritage resources of the destination.

During the past decades, along with the process of joining the European Union, a lot has been done to promote

Zagreb as a typical Central European city, implying the natural belonging of Zagreb (and Croatia) to the „real" or Western Europe. In this particular analysis we want to analyse to what extent and in which way is the cultural heritage (broadly perceived) from the period of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy represented in the tourist marketing and branding of the city of Zagreb. This relates to the heritage from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, when this part of Croatia belonged to the Austro-Hungary (i.e. the Hungarian part). Having in mind that the Austrian Empire (and in the last phase the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) had long lasting and important influence on Zagreb, called Agram at the time, the legacy in question bears strong connotations connected with local identity and culture as well as Europeanization processes.

Heritage and Representation – Theoretical Background

Despite the quite branched typology and numerous definitions of what heritage is [2,3], the quite basic definition seems to be the most useful: „what we inherit from the past and use in the present"[4]. Cultural heritage used to be the elite part of the heritage pool[5]. However, within this elitist part of the heritage things are not so simple and

unambiguous. Cultural heritage has had a significant place since the inception of the tourist activities, usually ascribed to the Grand Tour. Regardless of the fact that the Grand Tour had changed its route slightly over time[6,] it always included cities like Rome, Venice and Paris. These cities are known for its history and art works, we could even say that these cities and their art pieces visited are perceived as the world heritage and are considered to be of importance for education. However, these heritage sites, when classified according to Williams' perceptions of culture, would definitively be classified as "high culture"[7]. Even before this, formally recognized inception of tourism, people and their practices shaped the ideas about what heritage is and how it is to be valued. This is in accordance with some researchers of heritage who stress that there is no such thing as the pre-existing heritage[8]. On the contrary, the actual and contemporary needs of the community define what heritage is (again in accordance to Williams' ideas about how selective tradition works, in his case from generation to generation).

Recent approaches to heritage are directed toward the analysis of processes by which things, places, works and experiences are transformed into heritage – i.e. the process of *heritagization*. Poria defines *heritagization* as the process of using the heritage with a specific social agenda[9], which is in accordance with the above mentioned and generally accepted definition of heritage. Numerous researchers of heritage are interested into ways of using past in the present and they have directed their focus on practices of (textual and visual) representation[10], which are also found to be crucial in the process of marketing tourist destinations[11].

Stuart Hall emphasises how we, by the very process of representation, give meaning(s) to things and we do that by: „ the words we use about them, the stories we tell about them, the images of them we produce, the emotions we associate with them, the ways we classify and conceptualize them, the values we place on them"[12]. Although, as it stems from the abovementioned, language is a privileged system of representation, it is clear that visual material (and not exclusively) also plays an important part. According to the theory of representation, it does not mean just passive communication of already existing meanings, but active production of the new ones. In these terms, representation is an active process of giving meaning to culture, the process through which the culture is also produced. A key role in these processes of representation is assigned to discursive formation, i.e. to discourses, defined by Hall as:

„As they are known, define what is and is not appropriate in our formulation of, and our practices in relation to, a particular subject or site of social activity; what knowledge is considered useful, relevant and „true" in that context; and what sorts of persona or 'subjects' embody its characteristics."[12]

This definition points out the importance of the „negative analysis" within the discourse analysis[13] i.e. noticing and analyzing „the things that have been left out" in tourist representations throughout „authoritative voice" of

branding and marketing[14]. Quite often these actions are more informative than the list of features represented throughout chosen discursive formation, since they provide the direct proof of discursive „erasure" of certain elements, which also applies to the process of heritagization.[9] They can point to the potential ideological background of this erasure that stands behind the choice of heritage for representation. Therefore, it is important to know who is making the selection in question, and why, since it is a process by which individuals try to control the opinions others have about them). A good example is the tourist presentation of Scottish-Viking fights and the reports about the winners of these fights, that change depending on who is reporting[15]. Through the examples of heritagization of Transylvanian heritage in Romania and West Pomeranian heritage in Poland, Nilsson creates an argument about how often the presentation of local history is in accordance with existing nationalistic ideas, i.e. actual political needs[15]. Graham has arrived to the same conclusion, by noticing how heritage can be „discarded as the demands of present societies change, or even—as is presently occurring in eastern Europe—when pasts have to be reinvented to reflect new presents"[16].

Smith encompassed this kind of processes by the term „authorized heritage discourse" that she interprets as „hegemonic discourse about heritage, which acts to constitute the way we think, talk and write about heritage."[8]. This kind of discourse „naturalizes the practice of rounding up the usual suspects to conserve and 'pass on' to future generations, and in so doing promotes a certain set of Western elite cultural values as being universally applicable[8] (ibid). By this kind of discourse „at one level heritage is about the promotion of a consensus version of history by state-sanctioned cultural institutions and elites to regulate cultural and social tensions in the present[8]. In other words, the authorized heritage discourse defines what heritage is, and what it is not. The concept of the authorized heritage discourse is based on the idea that heritage is made in the discourse, i.e. throughout social practice, and on the idea that physical objects, monuments and sites become heritage throughout the processes of heritagization solely. While Nilsson and Smith notice that in the authorized heritage discourse the emphasis is put on the national component (heritage is most often treated as a national treasure), we think that it is more appropriate to claim that any kind of heritage in the process of heritagization is being framed within the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD), in accordance with dominant ideologies – weather they are national, local/regional or cosmopolitan.

Research context and methodology

The initial hypothesis of this paper is that the Austro-Hungarian cultural heritage, very often is not included into the national authorized heritage discourse directly, while it is simultaneously upgraded by a supranational component. In this way it creates different, ambivalent discourse, that is, however, far from being unauthorized.

In the case of Austro-Hungarian heritage and the modes of its potential instrumentalization, the researchers have been, by analysing the discourse on belonging to the Central European cultural area, comprised in the term *Mittleeuropa*, connected it with the Roman-Catholic Habsburg Monarchy [17]. This, geographically unclear and politically flexible term[18,19], after the fall of communism started to mark "a terrain of cultural struggle to westernize the Eastern/Central post-socialist states [20] or "return to Europe", since this part of Europe has "always already been part of Europe"[21]. Volcic has analyzed web pages of governments of the former Yugoslavia successor states and noticed that one of three main topics, being visible on all the analysed pages, by which the states tied to brand themselves, relates to "tourism and strategies for portraying the newly formed nation as an integral part of European history and culture"[22]. "Croatia presents itself as an 'essentially Central European and Mediterranean country... situated on the crossroads between Central Europe and the Mediterranean'. [22](ibid). In this manner, Volcic argues, "geographical narratives invoke 'Central/Western European heritage and landscapes'" by which Croatia and Slovenia try "detaching themselves from any 'Yugoslav' and 'Balkan' associations"[22]. They do so by „emphasizing their 'distinctive, strong, historical Central European character', the Habsburg heritage, Alpine associations and contiguity with Austria and Italy (ibid). In this example the Austro-Hungarian legacy is unambiguously represented as significant means to brand the state in accordance with „one of the main mantras in the region" - the project of joining the EU and becoming a part of the western economic, political and cultural core[22].

Lah analyzed the ways of representation of heritage on the web pages of the national tourist board and tourist boards of a number of cities in Croatia, taking the concept of the authorised heritage discourse as a starting point. He concluded that, in these cases, "representation of cultural heritage in tourist promotion and within internet pages media are great means for national identity construction"[5]. He noticed that the processes of heritagization visible on Zagreb web pages are in accordance with the actual political processes of nation building in Croatia.

The findings presented here emerged from a wider research project that explored transnational practices and multiculturalism during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Having in mind the above mentioned, the visual and/or textual materials available at web pages of the Zagreb Tourist Board were used for the analysis. Analysis is made with respect to two dimensions visible on the web page: 1) representation and the ways of representation of different types of the cultural heritage from the Austro-Hungarian period and 2) claims made to cultural (including ethnic, religious, cultural and class) diversity as direct or indirect legacy of the period during the multi-ethnic monarchy. The purpose of this kind of analysis is to provide an insight into discursive strategies used in the representation of the Austro-Hungarian cultural heritage in Zagreb, i.e. to reveal which elements of heritage have been chosen as an important part of the culture and identity of the city, and which have been left out.

Research findings

In the Introduction part of the web site, in terms of its general positioning, Zagreb is said to be the city „on the historic and political threshold between East and West, suggesting both eastern and western influences" and a city that „illustrates both the continental and Mediterranean spirit of the nation it spearheads". As capital, Zagreb is presented as representative of the nation, consisting of continental and Mediterranean parts, as a marker of civilisation[23] and as a place where all these geographical and cultural differences peacefully meet (similar[22]). However, the East is mentioned much less as one of the cultural spheres Zagreb has been influenced by (apart from the context of culinary influence (sweets) or in the context when the oriental influence being substituted by Central European one (In the case of coffee drinking), while Central Europe coupled with national identity is the central topos in the tourist discourse.

In the historical review „Zagreb throughout the centuries" the majority of data relates to the medieval period that preceded the unification of two separated historical settlements (Kaptol and Gradec). The Austro-Hungarian Compromise from 1867, by which the Monarchy became Dual, and according to which Croatia and Slavonia became a part of the Hungarian part of the Monarchy (so called Transleithania), while the Croatian part of Istria and the Kingdom of Dalmatia became the part of the Austrian part of Monarchy (so called Cisleithania) is not mentioned. The fact that in 1868 Croatia and Hungary also regulated their mutual relationships also is not specifically mentioned on the web pages related to history. One can get the impression that in the historical overview emphasis is on events that are important for developing the city in an architectural or infrastructural way, but not on the political events. The Austro-Hungarian period is therefore, mainly not mention factually as a political framework, although the year 1850 when the unification of the two historical settlements happened, and the years after that are mentioned as the most important/crucial in the urban development of the city. After the catastrophic earthquake in 1880 the events important for the modernization of the city are mentioned – for example, the introduction of the first horse-drawn tram (and first electric driven tram), and first film projections and similar.

However, the period of the sudden and intense urbanization at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, as well as the overall character of the city are mainly described only implicitly relaying on the Austro-Hungarian heritage throughout mentioning (and followed by representative photographs) of important buildings and institutions that were then founded: the Main Train station, the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Croatian State Archive (former National and University Library), the Croatian National Theatre and other representative palaces (Figure 1). In this context the Austro-
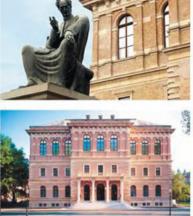
Fig.1

Hungary is mentioned explicitly quite rarely in both positive and interestingly, negative tones:

> Yellow-tinted facades and lines of wild chestnut trees echo the era when Croatia was **part of the Austro-Hungarian dual Monarchy.**

> **In 1794**, when Maksimir Park was officially opened for public, it was one of the most important landscape achievements **in Austro-Hungarian Monarchy** and the first public park in south-eastern Europe[1].

The historic events of the 20th century transformed the map of the world and left a mark on the lives of citizens of Zagreb. In 1918, after the World War I, Croatia **severed all bonds with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy** and became a part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, a new state formed by the south Slav peoples.

Similar to that, but in a more intimate manner, we are reminded of the ceremonial event when the Emperor Franz Joseph opened the Croatian National Theatre:

> The Croatian National Theatre is another key symbol of Zagreb. When night falls upon the streets and squares of the city, another life is starting here – on stage. It has been this way since 1895, when the Habsburg **Emperor Franz Josef** ceremoniously opened the theatre with a silver hammer as if saying: 'Let the show go on'.

It is interesting to note that a historical fact which makes a part of every history curriculum in Croatia is not mentioned, i.e. that the theatre was built during the reign of infamous ban Khuen-Héderváry and that a group of students protested against strong Hungarization and therefore burnt the Hungarian flag during the visit of Franz Jospeh and his wife organized with the purpose of opening the theatre.

While the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is explicitly mentioned only in a few spots, the Central Europe, Vienna and civic culture are quite frequent references. In the brochure „Step by step" that can be downloaded from web pages, the architects in charge for the plans of the building are mentioned: „Well-known **Viennese** architects Ferdinand Fellner and Herman Helmer, **who designed forty other European theatres**", and

> Praška leads us away from the main square to the so-called Green Horseshoe. This series of open green spaces, **not unlike the Ring in Vienna**, is formed in the shape of the letter 'u' and contains important institutions of public culture…. Building entrances around the Lower Town provide a link between public thoroughfares and the private sphere of residential courtyards. This atmospheric mix of small town and luxurious **Central-European metropolis** raised Zagreb to the level of contemporary cities to be reckoned with during the nineteenth century.

The fact that the railway built in 1862 „connected it [Zagreb] with all other **central European** capitals" is also mentioned. Creating connection with the Central European area, as a centre of discursive strategy, is quite obvious from the examples above, but elsewhere as well.

> In the 19th century the population increased tenfold. The twentieth century brought the Secession style to Zagreb. The city lived in the plenty of **a civil society, with firm links with all the central European centres.**

Architects and building entrepreneurs arriving from different parts of the Monarchy, mostly Vienna, are rarely mentioned in description of monuments of architecture and parks. Apart already mentioned Fellner and Helmer, the most frequently mentioned Viennese architect is Herman Bollé, who arrived from Vienna in order to reconstruct the cathedral and St. Mark Church at Upper town. Afterwards, he spent his life in Zagreb, building several important buildings, including the graveyard Mirogoj. The other architects are mentioned only occasionally, like in the case of the Main Train Station, when a Hungarian architect is mentioned.

> The railway arrived in Zagreb in 1862, connecting the 40,000-strong city to the economic and **cultural**

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1 This is obviously a mistake, since Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was established in 1867.

centres of Vienna and Budapest. Built in 1892, the station building was designed by Hungarian architect Ferenc Pfaff, something of a specialist when it came to railway stations.

The largest park in Zagreb, Maksimir, is repeatedly described (at several different locations), not only as a leading example of landscape architecture in the South-East Europe, but in comparison with known parks of West European countries. Although it is mentioned that its original design is from 18th century, it is true that the park was finished in the 19th century. It is not mentioned that park was made by the group of professional Austrian artists in charge for the Emperor's parks. The leader of the group was the landscape architect for the imperial gardens Michael Sebastian Riedl, while the group included the architect Franz Schücht, the royal gardener Franjo Serafin Körbler, the sculptor Antun Dominik Fernkorn and other known artists.

Besides the representative Austro-Hungarian architecture marking visually marks of the city centre, there is yet another kind of heritage from the same period that is mentioned only by the way. It includes elements of the military and industrial heritage from the period of Austria-Hungary. Zagreb was significant seat/head of the Austro-Hungarian army, but numerous military and industrial objects from that period, as well as the heritage from the First World War are represented exclusively in the manner of mentioning their new usage They are mainly transformed into gallery and museum objects, i.e. into institutions intended to serve to exhibiting something belonging to the so called high culture (paintings, museum artefacts).

This building in the street Prilaz baruna Filipovića was once used **as the riding school of the Austro-Hungarian army, and then became the Zagreb Textile Factory**. Today it's an unmissable stop for lovers of contemporary and modern art.

The Glyptotheque…(…)… is located in the **one-time tannery and leather industry facility** the construction of which started in 1864 and gradually expanded until it was the biggest industrial plant in Zagreb. A fire destroyed most of the plant in 1926, and in 1938 the tannery went out of business.

In 2007, the Croatian Government **assigned the Zagreb tobacco factory building**, constructed in the historicist style in 1881, **to the Croatian History Museum**.

However, some other complexes of industrial heritage are barely mentioned. It is worth mentioning Paromlin – the Royal Steam Mill , as the oldest industrial complex, built initially in 1862/1863 and then rebuilt several times[25]. The Steam Mill is mentioned (together with a picture) only in the brochure Zagreb – The Film Stage, where the following is said:

In some scenes the Paromlin (steam mill) building appears as well. It is one of the first factories in Zagreb and a **rare monument of industrial architecture**, built in 1862. Paromlin completely burnt down in 1906,

but was reconstructed along with the 40-meter-tall chimney. It was later on fire several times until 1988, when it was destroyed by one of the largest urban fires (since then it has been left intact)[2].

Some other industrial heritage sites, some of them also protected, did not "earn" their place at web pages: The Beer brewery, The Franck factory, The Badel factory, , The Penkala Factory….).

In the context of a heritage resources valorization that are not perceived as equally attractive and interesting (and the industrial and military heritage are not (yet) perceived in that way), the interesting example of valorization and representation of a niche segment of heritage is the brochure „Zagreb – The film stage" where numerous movies or serials shot in Zagreb are listed, together with the locations the moviemakers used:

Of course, since **Zagreb was a typical representative of the central European architecture**, it was the best **choice for recreating** the Austrian, Hungarian, Swiss, Czech, and even some German cities.

In fact Zagreb, thanks to its architecture, has always been attractive to international film producers and directors, as **its streets and buildings can easily be used for scenes that take place in any larger central European town**, many German towns, as well as in some other cities in the Slavic countries, especially Poland.

Here one interesting thing can be noticed. The influence of the Mediterranean and eastern cultures are mentioned in the context of Zagreb being employed as the set for this kind of scenarios:

However, due to the one century old influence of the Mediterranean (Croatia has one of the longest and most beautiful Mediterranean coasts) and **eastern cultures**, some parts of the city offer a different, for these needs appropriate film sets.

The most frequent elements of the Austro-Hungarian heritage on these web pages are visible among the elements that belong to the intangible heritage, and relate to the lifestyle and general atmosphere, culture of consumerism (coffee and beer drinking), and to the culinary legacy. The civic lifestyle, the coffee-drinking and beer-drinking culture, and their foundations in Austrian times are mentioned:

Zagrebians are big coffee drinkers, and coffee is more than just a drink, it's a social phenomenon, taken very seriously. The coffee house culture reached its peak in the 19th century, **with grand cafés inspired by Viennese models**, which acted as the hubs of social life.

2 This final statement in the brackets is false, since in 2014 the complex was almost totally demolished. The controversy around Paromlin i.e. its demolition done by current city administration is also one of issues dividing citizens. While there is a significant and loud group of experts) who are aware that the partially protected mill can play significant role in, for example ERIH (European Route of Industrial Heritage)26 and citizens who like the idea about heritagization of this complex, the complex was not secured nor taken care of27, and the city administration and major decided to demolish it, with the main excuse being the fact that it represents a security problem for the citizens.

The Austrian style of long coffees with milk and Italian finesse ousted the impact of Turkish coffee. **The grandeur of Austro-Hungarian cafés is now gone**, they have been replaced with smaller and more intimate coffee houses, adapted to suit all needs and tastes.

The trend of Vienna pastry shops and cafés was successfully transplanted to Zagreb, while the Oriental influence is also present in the repertoire of desserts. In Zagreb you can witness a harmonious co-existence of **Sacher cake**, baklava and the local kremšnita (custard cream cake).

During the Habsburg Monarchy, Zagreb accepted the new trends coming from Bavarian and Czech lands and the first small-scale brewery was opened in the mid 18th century.

The recipes for so called „simple meals" are offered, the social status of this Austro-Hungarian culinary heritage to middle and upper social classes is quite overt:

The **long period spent in the huge Austro-Hungarian Monarchy had the greatest impact** on the local tradition and the contents of **a typical Zagreb family meal**. The cuisine of middle-class Zagreb is perfectly outlined in the preserved cookbooks from the 19th century, when the self-aware bourgeois lived well and looked up to their **greatest role model - Vienna**.

Of course, many desserts came **to Zagreb's kitchens from Austrian and German sources,** like carski drobljenac (**Kaiserschmarrn**) or kitnkez, sweet quince cheese. And when Zagreb's ladies of the house wanted **to show they can compete with the lush Austrian cakes**, sparked by local pride they invented Jelačić šnite, a rich and creamy cake with walnuts and chocolate.

Here, the quite limited Hungarian influence on certain meals is mentioned:

The influence of the neighbouring Hungary left us variations on the theme of goulash and paprikash, although milder than the original. Together with špek-fileki (tripe with bacon), they make the standard line-up for traditional gablec (working class mid-morning meal).

Multiculturalism of the Austro-Hungarian heritage is emphasised on the web pages precisely in the culinary part, because in gastronomy a lot of multilingual elements has remained:

Historical destiny and position on the intersection of great empires take credit for what Zagreb offers on its menus today. In Zagreb's cuisine many influences are **blended: Austrian, Hungarian, Czech, Mediterranean (mostly Italian), French, Balkan and Turkish.**

Multilingualism is most often noticed in the Zagreb cuisine recipes, where you can spot several so called *agramer* (local urban dialect with many German loanwords) expressions for meals:

A richer version of the chicken soup is called *ajngemahtec*, **derived from the Austrian cuisine**, and made with giblets, root vegetables, peas and the obligatory noklice, fresh-egg dumplings."

Abšmalcane mahune (boiled green beans with fried breadcrumbs), or Zagreb-style *faširanci* (minced meat steaks), or *Filana* paprika – fresh peppers stuffed with minced meat, together with a sort of disclaimer: „Filana paprika is a traditional Zagreb dish, although it can also be found in neighboring countries. For example, "Toltött paprika" in Hungary (which is probably a bit more spicy), "Gefüllte Paprika" in Germany, etc.

Also in the brochure Upper Town, some of the Old Zagreb Words are listed, together with their translation. This points out to the direct influence of German language that shaped the so called Agramerski or purgerski speech, as noticed before[28]. Here words like *purger* (a person from Zagreb), *gablec* (brunch), *grincajg* (soup vegetables), *haustor* (house entrance), *frtalj* (a quarter), *plac* (market, squere) and some others, are listed (for extensive list of German borrowing In the Zagreb Speech see dictionaries [29,30].

In the brochure „Welcome to Zagreb" the gastronomic heritage is connected with influences arriving from different cultural spheres:

As all capital cities, Zagreb is **a meeting place of diverse cultural inf**luences – some simply spilling over the border and others arriving from far away. **Dishes with German-sounding names reflect Zagreb's Central Eu**ropean connections, **but** countless **Mediterranean** and **Middle** Eastern recipes have also taken root in the city.

At some other places the multicultural features and intercultural contacts can be implicitly noticed in the description of artistic and stylistic influences on the architectural heritage from that period:

The Zagreb Cathedral is the most monumental and the most impressive Gothic-style sacral building southeast of the Alps. Its ground plan, with slender cross-ribbed arches within three polygonal apses with narrow windows, **resembles French architectural pattern** (ex. the one in Troyes); the details of its subsequently added naves (of equal height) correspond to the building patterns of modern **German architecture**; imaginative sculptures, on the other hand, reflect influence of **Czech schools**.

Religious architectural heritage is represented throughout Catholic churches mainly (The Church of St. Blaise, The Church of St. Francis of Assisi, t. Mark's Church, The Cathedral of Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary), whereas other religious heritage is not mentioned in this section (Architectural Monuments). Ethnic diversity is barely mentioned, and multiculturalism has been acknowledged as a fact, although very superficially, without any concretization.

Over the centuries, the city was inhabited by **people coming from all over** Europe; and, in recent years,

by people coming from different parts of Croatia, ensuring a **rich cultural life.**

Having that in mind, it is interesting to note that Jews and their contribution to the building and development of the city are not specially emphasised. The role of Salamon Berger in the foundation of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb has been acknowledged, without explicitly mentioning his Jewish origin:

The Ethnographic Museum was founded in 1919 on the initiative of Salamon Berger, a textile merchant and industrialist **from Slovakia** who left the Museum one of the first and largest collections of folk costumes and textiles in Croatia.

The Jewish museum is listed under the Museum section, and by clicking on the link you get the address and telephone number only (but this is the case with some other museums as well, like the Museum of Sports, the Museum of Mushrooms etc.) The location of the synagogue destroyed during NDH is not mentioned.

Religious diversity is mentioned in the section and a brochure about the Mirogoj graveyard:

Mirogoj accommodates **people of all religions**, which is why **Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim symbols** can be seen on many of the gravestones.

The **Jewish part of the arcades and the entire Jewish cemetery** on Mirogoj are one of the few that were preserved during World War II in Central Europe.

In the brochure, the religious tolerance of the time (explained by the fact that all religions had a right of religious burial at the same graveyard) was appraised:

In terms of religion, most space was foreseen for the Catholics and then for the followers of the Orthodox and Jewish religion, as well as Protestants. Each religion under statute was guaranteed "full and unlimited performance of religious burial rituals at the funeral of the deceased", which was a very advanced provision and an idea that made **Mirogoj today to a position of a monument to religious tolerance**, where not just Christianity but **all the religions are equally respected**.

However, the interesting division can be noticed within the section Travel plan, under the Other information, subsection Religion, where all the religious communities existing in Zagreb are listed, together with their contacts. The division i.e. classification relates to the fact that all Roman Catholic churches are put into one category (on one link), while Other Churches and Religious communities are available on other link. Also, some Roman Catholic churches are accompanied with the data about architectural value of the building, while such information for churches of other denominations is missing.

Conclusions

The results of the analysis show that the Austro-Hungarian heritage is quite visible on web pages of the Za-greb Tourist Board, both in textual and visual form. The period when Zagreb was under the Austria-Hungary has been recognized as very important for the infrastructural development of the city, and the representative architecture built at the time is the visual marker of the city centre (and, as it is mentioned in the brochure about the movie shootings in Zagreb, still represent the very suitable background for movies located in „Central Europe"). However, the fact that Zagreb was under the Hungarian part of the Monarchy has been unspoken, together with the fact that some not very nice events happened at the time. In the representational scene, the emphasis is put on the Austrian part of the Austro-Hungarian legacy. This is particularly visible in architecture, food (recipes), and the civic urban lifestyle, described as having its roots in the Central European cultural area. All the conflict relationship with Austria and especially Hungary are excluded from this representation. The period of the Austro-Hungary is represented throughout neutral prism of the Central Europe, with occasional mentioning of oriental influences, especially as regards food. On theweb pages we have noticed underrepresentation of both, the industrial and the military heritage, with no especially visible differentiation of heritage in terms of ethnicity, religion or class (relative invisibility of ethnic minorities in Zagreb - their presence in the city is not denied by no means, but only occasionally is this ethnic and cultural diversity approached to as something valuable (e.g. the graveyard Mirogoj). The Austro-Hungarian heritage is used in order to connect Zagreb with the Central Europe and its civic, urban, desirable culture. This can be read as very similar to discourse of the countries that want to prove their „Europeaness" that Horvat and Delanty[22] mention. Although Croatia has entered EU, the discourse visible on these web pages show how the main mantra of countries in the region, as Volčić puts it[22], is still alive and well. The Austro-Hungarian heritage is used in order to affirm the discursive strategies that speak of „returning to Europe" or "always already" belonging to Europe, as pointed out by Blok-ker[21].

The analysis of the Zagreb Tourist Board web pages made previously[5] has shown that the nation-building elements create the authorised heritage discourse dominant on web pages, and this is certainly so. Our argument is that the Austro-Hungarian heritage on web pages in question is used in the way to upgrade this national authorised heritage discourse with a supranational component that places newly formed (former socialist) state in the desirable cultural sphere – the one of the Western, civilized Europe. Vienna and the Central Europe, Austria, even the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy are here used as markers for processes of self-representation as a civilized European country. This historic period, although it is not dominant on the web pages is used as a symbol of belonging to West Europe. In this case, the Austro-Hungarian heritage is yoked into a carriage that leads the nation towards the West.

Acknowledgments

Sources

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O. Orlić

Institute for Anthropological Research, Ljudevita Gaja 32, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia
e-mail: olga.orlic@inantro.hr

OD AGRAMA DO ZAGREBA: AUSTROUGARSKO NASLJEĐE U TURISTIČKOM DISKURSU HRVATSKOG GLAVNOG GRADA

SAŽETAK

U ovom radu analizirat ćemo kako se predstavlja austrougarsko nasljeđe putem online reprezentacijskih praksi koje oblikuju turistički(e) diskurs(e) Zagreba, glavnog grada Hrvatske. S obzirom važnu ulogu kulturne baštine u turizmu, o ovom ćemo radu analizirati kako je austrougarska kulturna baština reprezentirana na mrežnim stranicama Turističke zajednice grada Zagreba. Nastojat ćemo odgovorit na pitanja o tome koji su elementi te baštine odabrani za reprezentaciju (a koji ne!) te pokušati zaključiti kakva je ideološka pozadina procesa reprezentacije te austrougarske baštine.