

On the Road to Fiction

Narrative Reification in Austrian Cultural Tourism¹

Regina Bendix

Bendix, Regina 1999: On the Road to Fiction: Narrative Reification in Austrian Cultural Tourism. – *Ethnologia Europaea* 29: 29–40.

The paper examines the intersection of tourist productions and materialized fiction such as *Märchen* and other narrative genres in themed environments. On the backdrop of the rarely considered history of the materialization of genres such as the folktale, a spectrum of touristic sites in Carinthia (Kärnten), Austria, are examined in terms of their aesthetic, generic, and ideological components. In the confluence of cultural commodification, market, and touristic utopias, the tensions between a globalizing economy and local aesthetic, educational and economic practices become apparent.

Prof. Regina Bendix, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, PA 19104-6398 USA. E-mail: rbendix@sas.upenn.edu

Stocked in colorful dispenser boxes at Austrian freeway rest stops, train stations, and amusement parks, Radomir Runzelschuh's folktales can be obtained for little more than candy, condoms, snacks, tampons, and similarly essential commodities typically available from sale-machines in such locations. A mere twenty Austrian Schilling and a turn of the crank on the *Märchenautomat* (Folktale Automat) releases a colorful envelope whose contents can be read out loud in the car, as the family drives on to their destination. For the family on the road to a holiday destination in the south of Austria, the Runzelschuh tales are a suitable means to set the mood. They promise magic, escape, and comfort, and are but one among many strips of narrative turned material that is awaiting them. For the ethnographer in late twentieth century Europe, Mr. Runzelschuh and his automats are an icon representing the confluence of cultural commodification, market, and touristic utopias.

The intersection of tourist productions and "children's tales" is a fruitful arena to consider for understanding the materialization of mentalifacts, specifically popular fictions. Of course

people all over the globe have always rendered narration (mythological and otherwise) in pictorials or artifacts ranging from vessels to cloths. If language is at the core of how we structure and enact cultural patterns (Urban 1991), rendering visible and graspable the codes in our heads creates the material extensions of such patterns. While there are continuities in such patterns of transformation, changing social and economic circumstances also bring forth alternate ways and purposes for materializing fiction. Drawn from Austrian tourist sites, the cases I discuss show elements of a globalizing economy of cultural production intertwined with local aesthetic, educational and economic practices. After some brief reflections on the interrelationship of materialized fiction and the human patterning of landscape, I will turn to a discussion of several tourist sites in the Austrian state of Carinthia (Kärnten), and conclude by placing the case studies in the broader European context of cultural tourism and narrative materialization.



A sample folktale letter of The Runzelschuh series.

The Materialization of Tales and the Theming of Landscapes

Asked about the reasons behind his innovation, Ferry Ebert alias Radomir Runzelschuh wrote me a letter excerpting aspects of his life history. He emphasized long periods of a kind of nomadism in search of himself. His recovery from uncertainty coincided with discovering his love for narratives and his hope for a better future based on nurturing the good in children. His tales are a mix of traditional plots and newly crafted ones, and each tale is followed with an invitation to children to write back to him and send him their tales, and he in turn promises to set them into circulation through his automats. From European narrative researchers I learned that the Runzelschuh idea germinated not only from a utopian vision of celebrating children's narrative thirst. Ebert had made a living for years in the quasi-nomadic profession of restocking the very dispensers for life's necessities next to which the *Märchenautomaten* are now sometimes stationed.² The automats are

rectangular boxes, painted with the same motives found along the rim of each tale. Ebert also offers card board varieties, fashioned like small treasure chests, which he recommends for events or locations where a more nostalgic locus of narration is called for. The only place I encountered them outside of Ebert's promotional folder was in front of Vienna's opera house, where a new tourist conveyance was attempting to break into a market saturated with horse drawn carriages: an upstart sedan chair operation, staffed by two young men in medievaesque costume, tried to lure potential customers into taking a ride. On the red plush seat sat a Runzelschuh fairy tale treasure chest, and anyone taking the service would receive a free tale envelope.³

The folktale has a rarely considered history of materialization; Runzelschuh's work is but one of the more recent permutations. If it was not for collectors who assiduously rendered narratives into texts and texts into handsomely bound volumes, the material appeal of textualized oral narrative might not have established itself as broadly as it has. We tend to dwell on folktale, song or epic's role in solidifying the nationalist *imagination* – the scholarship on such verbal arts' ties into the national project since Herder's time is substantial (e.g., Dundes 1985, Herzfeld 1982, Oinas 1978, Wilson 1976). In the process perhaps we have overlooked the very "solidity" or material presence such reified fictions take in our lives. Rendered into books, tales acquire an appeal to material ownership and they engage our sense of touch and sight, especially in illustrated form. Tales have inspired not only illustrations but also theatrical enactment (e.g., puppetry, ballet or opera) and more recently film and animation.

My specific focus here, however, is how the tourism and heritage industry has taken on the job of making concrete the kind of mental connections between holiday experience and fiction an individual might have. Travel as a means to experience the realm of fiction and fantasy has considerable history (Jafari and Gardner 1991). Reaching Tibet or visiting Bali have been rendered as fulfillments or concretizations of fairy land imaginations (Dann 1996: 124–125). Touristic promotion has also latched

on to the idea of recapturing facets of childhood, such as advertisements promising holidays facilitating the recovery of childhood vacation experiences (Urry 1990:102–103). Drawing on fieldwork in the Austrian state of Carinthia in 1996, I will discuss words, visuals and statuary that denote the planned “theming”¹ of landscape and built environments in a different way: here, statuary, enactment, or perhaps most poignantly put, “things” drawn from fiction are supplied to enhance the experience of the real.

“Theming” is certainly not new. Certain types of gardening or landscaping as practiced by nobility in the Austrian realm as well as elsewhere in Europe deny the assumption that “theming” is a postmodern phenomenon.⁵ The countless calvaries (*Kalvarienberge*) in Catholic Austria are poignant evidence of mapping the twelve stations of the cross onto the landscape. Konrad Köstlin characterizes the architectural and enacted stations of the cross as a means to render the landscape cultural, and to provide specific meaning and memory through “religious impregnating of regionality (Köstlin 1991:432). Enacting the stations of the cross thus expands a rite into a “route of passage” (Köstlin 1991: 436). The themed environments in Austria draw some of their layout from such religious predecessors – not because their planners intended to craft them according to the religious model, but perhaps because dotting the landscape with a sequence of related themes is a familiar pattern. However, the sources, styles, and intent of the themes are not assertions of a single (religious) dogma. They rather stem from various historical, secular layers of narration and pictorialization. The potential meaning to be gleaned from ambling through them is not overtly dogmatic and affirming of collective belief as is a calvary. Rather, as is typical of reflexive modernization, the onus of interpretation is placed on the individual. The sites promise enchantment through “experience” which in turn is the latest commodified step in modernity’s quest to achieve selfhood.⁶

Aspects of these Austrian “things” are clearly inspired by narrative turned theme park in American Disneylands and -worlds. Through architecture, props, and costumed staff, they

“attempt to place the ‘guest’ into narratives” (The Project on Disney 1995:81). Yet unlike the totalizing experience aimed for by corporations like Disney and by animal experience parks such as Sea World (cf. Davis 1997) and satirized by Eco as *Travels in Hyperreality* (1986), the Austrian examples are a great deal more fragmented and fragmenting. Materialized narration can tell us a lot about the disjuncture between individual experience – which ultimately remains fully known only to the self – and the experience that is constructed, advertised, and to be paid for.

Materialized Fictions in Austrian Tourist Sites

The tourist industry has evolved from marketing landscapes, accommodations, health, and facets of culture to the absorbing or controlling of what people purportedly wish to do and feel while being tourists. Dean MacCannell, among others, has articulated the traveler’s endless effort to push beyond the touristic offering into realms of uncommodified experience (1989:97ff). It should not surprise that the industry inevitably recognizes this demand and commodifies it⁷, bringing forth in turn what Feifer has called post-tourists – people at play with what they know to be staged experiences (Feifer 1985). The key term in the leisure market at this point is “experience”. In Carinthia, in the summer of 1996, this encompassed everything from adventure-experience to taste-, Märchen-, and water-experience.

The number of Carinthian sites denoting narrative is remarkable, and a special tourist credit card (the *Kärnten Card*) introduced in the 1996 season offered reduced entrance fees in almost all of them. During a stay in the region south of the Wörthersee, acquaintance with such sites and associated “theming” is almost unavoidable: aside from brochures in freeway rest stops, at information booths, reception desks, and in guest rooms, many inns and hotels have appropriated elements, however minor, as part of their decor. Driving through rural streets, garden dwarves placed ostentatiously into the front yard can be a visual indicator for available guest rooms, supporting

whatever additional signage there might be. In the case of establishments geared toward families, statuary and pictorials referencing narrative are particularly numerous. At a family hotel on Rauschelesee, for instance, the house itself was painted with folktale figures, the barn with animals resembling children's books illustrations, and the extensive garden held a Snow White statue in charge of a great many more dwarves than one is accustomed to expect from the tale. The live geese were named after their literary cousins in Selma Lagerlöf's children's classic *Nils Holgersson* (1991 [1907]). Scrutiny of brochures of Carinthian guest facilities from 1996 through 1998 demonstrates that most establishments wanting to earn the designation family hotel make such concessions in in- and outdoor decor.⁸

The mixture of source references from 19th and 20th century children's books to traditional popular narrative and mass mediated narrations such as cartoons is characteristic of the entire Carinthian spectrum of tourist sites – those overtly focusing on materialized fiction and those centering on different themes. Heidi-Alm Falkert, for example, can be reached by foot or by cable way, and once one reaches the proper altitude, one will find plastic figurines along a trail, mapping Johanna Spyri's classic Swiss story (1994 [1879]) over what used to be an alpine pasture. In the Gurktal, one can board a train into a Dwarf Park (*Zwergenpark*), to see everything from dwarf mythology to Batman dwarves. Elsewhere awaits the Stuffed Animal Zoo Experience (*Plüschtier Zoo Erlebniswelt*) – with animals near wishing wells, stalked by cartoon protagonists Garfield and the Pink Panther. Some sites incorporate just a few referents to tale imagery, such as inflatable archetypes of a “fairy castle” and a “peasant home” to bounce on, amidst waterslides and other rides at the 1. Carinthian Experience Park (*1. Kärntner Erlebnispark, Presseggsee*).

In some instances, the entire site takes its characters and scenes from fiction. A good example is the Magic Forest in the Carinthian lake valley (*Zauberwald, Rauschelesee*). A portion of the forested hill side sloping down toward the lake has been augmented from an

area for recreational walking to a site filled with plywood statuary, make shift structures intended to resemble fortresses, huts, a wishing well, etc. As one enters the forest, cut out heads of generic ghouls peak out from the trees, evoking no particular (and thus all kinds of) tale, legend or myth. Mixed in amongst them are figures from Maurice Sendak's children's book *Where the Wild Things Are*, generic witches and Little Red Riding Hood.⁹ The Magic Forest serves as a gigantic playground for children to take possession of at will. The suggested themes are fairy tales, but also – thanks to the fort and the Indian teepee – the settler vs. Indian conflict, or medieval robber vs. baron games. There are no guards or other safety measures in this rocky, in places steep forest, the natural terrain is part of the experience for those veering from the path. Here resides one of the differences between these locally generated tourist sites and Disney-type environments where safety and thus containment are writ large, and the experience – whether imaginary or real – is much more controlled. Another telling difference resides in the materializations themselves. Disney, perhaps more so than any other theme park enterprise, standardizes its visual images to fit within the overall Disney style. Characters drawn from vernacular narrative appear in the look employed in Disney films, surrounded by enactments of cartoon animals bearing Disney looks. It is the sameness of the style in creatures, buildings and rides that creates the ambience. A place such as this Austrian Magic Forest, by contrast, contains a bricolage alluding to highly diverse narrative vehicles and visual inheritances. There is no effort to give all the source materials the same kind of unifying gloss. The assumption, rather, is that the glue making for the desired experience will come from the fantasy play of the children themselves, with the occasional bit of assistance from an animator.

The Keutschach tourist office in whose domain the forest is located hires a number of tale animators.¹⁰ Their task is to facilitate more structured ways to interact with this forest. With their help, “walks in the magic forest” differ drastically depending on the animator's vision of magic, narration, and childhood. Thus



Maurice Sendak in the Magic Forest, near Rauschelesee.

one such walk was a peaceful amble through the forest, with parents and kids occasionally gathering in a clearing, and getting treated to what folklorists would happily index as a typical magic tale. This walk concluded with each child receiving a magic story stone from the animator's magic story stone box – material evidence for the experience, as well as for the generic magic gift of a folktale; they were dispensed with the promise that each stone would bring more stories if carefully placed under one's pillow.

An early evening walk with Del Vede, a storyteller who occasionally appears on German TV, set a very different tone. He began by reversing authority between children and their parents. Face paint given to each child and wild play marked a 'reality' of childhood, within

which parents were labeled as extraterrestrial or otherwise disturbing creatures. This narrator completely ignored the icons of familiar tales and books sprinkled through the forest. Instead he told fragments of nature myths, animating the trees and stones among which everyone sat. Into this fiction entered an elderly woman, seemingly just walking her dog. Del Vede greeted her as the forest witch, a role she clearly had enacted for him before, and from here the evening segued into a lesson on environmental protection and witchcraft's connection to it. Another reality was placed atop the fragile fictional one, when the forest witch reminded Del Vede that he had not made good on his promise to feature her on one of his story tapes...¹¹

The most elaborate site to be discussed is,



Dwarf statuary along the diaper hiking mile.

literally, arranged as a road through fiction: the “Diaper Hiking Mile” (*Windelwandermeile*) located above the village of Trebesing. Its entrance is flanked by dwarves in guard houses, and dwarves appear throughout this walk, nestled between roots, sitting on tree branches, or as part of tale statuary. From a brochure about a different site we learn that dwarves are the ideal means to bridge between work/reality and leisure/fantasy.¹² Given what kinds of things dwarves tend to do in folk narrative – working hard in mines and accumulating riches – and given that the most common garden dwarves tend to be toiling away with wheelbarrows, shovels and axes, this interpretation already points toward what is arguably true of touristic endeavor in general: being a tourist is exhausting work, and most people look, like dwarves, funny or aberrant from their habitual existence while they are engaged in it. Other symbols of this nature are lady bugs – made of painted flat stones, but dwarves are more potent and more numerous, in this and many other sites. Trebesing claims to be the first village in the world to be exclusively devoted to baby tourism. Its choice of marketing strategy grew from seren-

dipitous circumstance.¹³ According to one Carinthian tourism administrator, “Carinthia was a place where even in 1980 you couldn’t get a high chair in a restaurant.” The baby hotel, and, building on it, the baby village, was at least for this area an ingenious innovation. Fifteen years later, there are many imitations in other regions of Austria¹⁴, and the diaper hiking mile was developed in the early 1990s precisely to keep up with the growing competition. Though perhaps inspired by large scale theming enterprises such as Germany’s *Die Deutsche Märchenstrasse*¹⁵, the diaper hiking mile is pedestrian not just in practice but also in artistic execution.

The dominant element in this site is nature. The path is broad in places, and sufficiently even to push a baby cart, but walking amidst huge pine trees, or along a slippery wooden bridge passage next to a cliff, one cannot forget for a moment that one is outdoors in a high altitude environment. Along the path, stories turned into painted cardboard, wood and plastic are placed atop the natural landscape. *Lucky Hans* is recognizable by the goose under his arm; a little wooden structure can be identified

as Hansel and Gretel's gingerbread house, and Snow White and the Seven Dwarves looking distinctly Disney-esque are here as well.

For those interested in the traditional narrative experience of the literate West, story texts are provided on metal plates made to look vaguely like story books, and chained to a metal storage receptacle. Families are meant to sit on the bench, then the narrator can pull the story book out of its niche and read, for example, the tale of *The Magic Table* (*Tischlein Deck-Dich*). After the reading, the book is to be put back into its storage space on the bench. Thus while figurines are nestled into the landscape, signaling the unruly forest and mountain as the space where such fiction resides, their association with books to be read out loud is scripted into this set-up as well. The folkloristic endeavor of tale collecting and publication, as well as the romantic spirit that located European legendry and tales in the wilds of nature, are then all part of what shaped this particular touristic endeavor.

To further control the way a family might take in this mile, a checklist and pencil are handed out to each child at the beginning of the mile, asking questions about all the tale and legend characters to be spotted, as well as about various plants and tree species that are flagged along the way. A field of learning and knowing is thus created, mixing real/natural and materialized/fictional elements. Filling out the form correctly results in further material benefit – a lollipop to be picked up in an inn at the end of the trail. Suddenly we realize that the experience of hiking through fiction, and the sense of vacation as play and time “away from it all” have acquired an undercurrent of school-like test and reward structures. To follow on Horkheimer and Adorno (cited in Featherstone [1995:18]): “Amusement under late capitalism is the prolongation of work...”

Along the path are various diaper changing stations indicating that families are meant to spend hours along this rather short trail. The first such station is called a diapering oasis.¹⁶ Here we also find an open-air restaurant, each bench adorned with the pacifier designation. Right next to it is a Wild West playground and, at some distance, an Indian teepee circle.¹⁷ The context here explains immediately what might



A Folktale Bookbench along Trebesing's diaper hiking mile.

otherwise require a lengthy account: in this European setting the American frontier experience and the Native American encounter with whites has been mediated by fiction. Playing Cowboy and Indian often enacts very specific fictional texts – typically drawing from Karl May's popular trilogy about Winnetou and Old Shatterhand (cf. Paul 1989). These fictions certainly saturate the popular imagination, further enriched by the fact that a neighboring valley holds annual Karl May open air plays, geared toward adult and youth consumption alike. The film industry has provided far more concrete templates for materialized imagination than the Grimm tales and similar folktale collections, and hence it should not surprise that among all the elements of this particular site, the Wild West play ground is by far the most elaborate structure.¹⁸

The diaper hiking mile thus assimilates and synchronizes diachronic layers of narration and fiction which took shape at particular historical

junctures and which through writing, printing, film, and enactment took on concrete contours at various moments in time. Unlike a theme park environment that seeks to fully control the visitor's experience, the Trebesing set-up does no more than dot the landscape. Any major rain or snow storm affects the structures; potentially it could eliminate the entire site.

Concluding Questions

What is to be gleaned from examples such as these, and what kinds of questions arise from them? For one, the Carinthian narrative theming of landscapes and built environments demonstrates the *surface dominance* of particular styles and corresponding ideologies in narrative materialization, as well as the localized interpretations and alterations of a globalizing strategy (cf. Robertson 1994). Disney aims to deliver an authoritative, globally adaptable system of narrative materialization, enforced with a reach into the international market that is quite unparalleled. Disney's narrative adaptations, whether in film or in theme park, are cordoned off and aiming for totalizing perfection – in terms of style, content, and control (The Project on Disney 1995).

The quality of materialized narrative in Carinthia, heterogeneous and perhaps amateurish to those who have experienced a closed-off theme park site of the Disneyland variety, is evidence for a quite different and fragmented ideology. It attests to the layered, sometimes competing constituencies in Austrian tourism development and consumption. The Coca-Colonization of Austria (Wagnleitner 1991) has not necessarily transformed native aesthetic and economic patterns. Behind the borrowed products and images reside older preferences of display, and very different scales of conceiving of profit to be gained from materialized fiction. The Diaper Hiking Mile was free of charge for those who held the Carinthia Card, and almost free for everyone else – it was meant as an attraction enhancing the location, and the real profit was to be made through nights and meals sold. By comparison, the *Märchenwald* (tale forest) in Styria's St. Georgen, founded in 1993, is slightly more costly, but here, too, it is the profit made

from selling meals and trinkets that carries the enterprise.¹⁹ Run by the *Schnitzelwirt* (also known as "Gasthof Sonnenhof"), whose menu predictably consists of Schnitzel, this site consists of a mixture of largely animated sites (with hedgehog and bear figures familiar from German picture book illustrations), play equipment, and quite elaborate tale scenes nestled into the forest. Though an attempt is made to pipe children's music into the space, it is ultimately the tall trees and the loud voices of children at play that dominate the environment.²⁰

The idea of a *Märchenpark* enjoyed popularity already in the early 20th century (cf. Stein 1997), and in the margins of present-day high-tech amusement parks one sometimes finds remnants of such earlier, milder pleasures. They were generally located near urban centers, unlike the kinds of sites discussed here which thematize fractions of the natural environment for vacationers far from cities. The folktale as utopia remains consistent, but its place of materialized residence is shifting.

As sites of narrative materialization and consumption, each of these sites is fascinating in its own right. The placement and nature of statuary reveals cultural assumptions about where narrative resides. The popularity of the forest setting (a quite Germanic idea), emblazoned on the collective imagination in framed story collections (e.g., the German *Das Wirtshaus im Spessart*) lives on in name, even if some touristic tale forests are more tamed and peopled. Yet the bourgeois sentiment of a tale properly belonging into a book is also preserved here, as "abbreviated" a book a metal tablet chained to a bench might be. Each site practices a wild co-existence of narrative genres and allusions to narrative media. Is it only the themed environment that wildly mixes illustrated children's books, folktales, young adult fiction, histories of conquest, and mythologies of so called "primitive peoples", thereby flying in the face of scholarly efforts at generic differentiation between the oral and the literate, and between countless genres amongst them? Or are fields of experience such as those in Carinthia testimony to the ways in which layers of narrative media and genres, as well as layers of

history and colonial appropriation all coalesce into a tentative, transcultural and transgeneric space—a space where not genres and media, but experiences of fictional possibilities, past and present, are consumed?

The narrative theme-sites offered in Carinthia could, precisely because of their heterogeneous and amateurish execution, contain a greater potential for constructing such a utopian space than the homogeneously styled worlds of Disney. But utopias—and the potential upheaval associated with it—is hardly the goal of a tourist enterprise. The tourist industry rather appeals to the touristic desire for utopian difference, and profits from the desire. And here, the heterogeneity of Carinthia's sites is less of an asset, for how can one predict how and through which kinds of artifacts visitors will relate to or generate narrative memory? How predictable is a common denominator for such artifacts? Themed environments like Trebesing's bank on the broad appeal of a very narrow aesthetic selection from the vast store of art historical evidence of narrative reification. Lacking the unifying gloss of the successfully themed environment, the bricoleed images invoke (but do not spell out) a common denominator where there may not be one. Radomir Runzelschuh's folktale automat discussed at the beginning epitomize the serialized artifact 'folktale' (Lau n.d.). The narrative reifications in themed environments seek to serialize tale or more broadly narrative experiences into a profitable branch of tourism. Yet the jump between a folktale dispenser and a fiction-based experience-dispenser is vast, and possibly negotiated far more effectively in virtual space than at a very real natural landscapes.

Though initiated in an attempt to shore up unstable tourism revenue, the frailty of some of these sites parallels the frailty of Austrian tourism. Although Austria looks back at two hundred years of touristic practice, the competition from destinations spanning the globe is strong and rising.²¹ Perhaps, for a touristically exhausted region such as Austria, constructing a fictional overlay is not just an effort to copy American practices. Perhaps it rather seems like a natural course of action, not least because the wonder and magic of Austria's real land-

scape are believed to be too familiar for potential consumers.

The tourist trade builds on global economic presumptions and connections. It is the biggest, and perhaps most unpredictable trade to pursue, precisely because the market highs shift from the Alps to Tibet, and from luxury to adventure with little warning. For a country with a long history and dependency on touristic development, the global reach of tourism is devastating. It forces family businesses enmeshed in local tourism rivalries to acquaint themselves with marketing strategies and national or even European Union policies spelling out which kind of tourism will receive state support. Better than the analyses of distraught Austrian industry experts could ever explain it²², the Carinthian narrative materializations embody their producers' wavering between global strategies, European horizons and local sensibilities.

Notes

1. The fieldwork was supported by summer research grants from the University of Pennsylvania Research Foundation. Thanks go to the tourist industry representatives who were interviewed and who provided me with a great deal of print materials on aspects of Carinthian tourism. The writing was supported by a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship for university teachers. Versions of this article were presented at the American Folklore Society Meetings in Austin, Texas, October 1997, and at the International Society for Narrative Research Congress in Göttingen, Germany, July 1998. Thanks go to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett for her stimulating comments, to Lee Haring and Kim Lau for their suggestions for revision, to Cristina Bacchilega and Konrad Köstlin for pointing me to further sites, and to Claire, Helen and John Bendix for fieldwork assistance.
2. Thanks to Sabine Wienker-Piepho, Freiburg and Ingo Schneider, Innsbruck for this information.
3. I saw the sedan chair in operation only once in August 1998, and doubt that it will break into the market easily as the horse-drawn carriages are very firmly established in Vienna's Center City. The chair operators do, however, fit quite seamlessly into Vienna's Kärntnering spectrum of costumed appeals to tourists. The whole area stretching from the Sacher Hotel and the Opera to the Stefansdom generally teems with young men and women in Baroque dress, trying to sell

tickets for the popular Mozart and Strauss concerts performed in period dress as well. They constitute their own materialization, not of fictional but rather historical imaginations in everyday life.

4. See Gottdiener (1997) for a discussion and exemplification of the notion of theming landscapes.
5. For an example of such aristocratic landscape theming, the Valtice and Lednice area in today's Czech Republic is a splendid example. Here, the Liechtenstein family dotted their vast lands with follies such as Greek temples, Scottish ruins and Islamic minarets. I am indebted to Veronica Aplenc for pointing me to this site; she has researched issues of historic preservation in this region (Aplenc 1997).
6. Regarding the efforts to market to the demand for experience, cf. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 139–140.
7. There is a certain helplessness on the part of tourism managers to rationalize this procedure, evident from the following quote: "The 'tourist experience' is the culmination of a given experience which can be influenced by individual, environmental, situational and personality-related factors, as well as the degree of communication between people. It is the outcome (...) which researchers and the tourism industry constantly evaluate to establish if the actual experience met the tourist's expectations. In other words, the 'tourist experience' is a complex amalgam of factors which shape the tourist's feelings and attitude towards his or her visit. Yet as tourism motivation and consumer research suggests, it is almost impossible to predict tourist responses to individual situations but a series of interrelated impacts may affect the tourist's experience" (Page 1995:24).
8. This is of course in accordance with the tourist market in general which is driven by supply differentiation. The growth of a family oriented tourism supply will also bring with it the growth of establishments or services for adults only in addition to services such as child care or children's camps to free up parents for the adult-only offering.
9. During summer 1996, there were small posters all over the Carinthian region between Klagenfurt and Villach advertising locally produced Little Red Riding Hood dolls. During Villach's big summer fair in August, the annual *Kirchtag*, we even encountered someone impersonating Little Red Riding Hood hawking her own image, this very doll.
10. One of the animators I observed in several settings and subsequently interviewed indicated that creative artists like himself had been practicing in the area for more than two decades, and the formalization of their tie-in into the Carinthian tourist offerings was a more recent development, associated with the increasing – but not necessarily successful – efforts to coordinate the tourist industry on the state and federal level.
11. The local tourist offices adjust to Del Vede's independent spirit, as he is a big draw for many children and thus also their parents. One day I was there, Del Vede failed to make the show, and a substitute had to be found quickly. "He'll say that he's an artist, and artists cannot always be bothered," hollered the exasperated innkeeper at the facility where the show was to take place. "But good artists honor their commitments!" More than fifty families with children were milling about the premises, and the innkeeper naturally feared for *his* reputation, for Del Vede's was well established.
12. According to nanologist (=dwarf researcher) Gerolf Urban: "Garden dwarves represent humankind's eternal longing for enlivening nature. Childhood is a time of unlimited fantasy which we never completely conquer. The dwarves offer us a return into this beautiful, and – compared to our total life span – much too short time" (cited from the Dwarf Park's 1996 brochure).
13. According to one field consultant, the genesis was as follows: a young man inherited a family inn close to bankruptcy; he had small children himself, and the idea to target families with very small children germinated over many rounds of drink with friends also in the tourist business.
14. The summer 1998 advertising for Swiss tourism was also very heavily geared toward families, but in interesting ways it was trying to steer away from the "tasteless" and "touristic" by advertising itself as "non-touristic." Is this the ultimate in post-tourism? or just a spruced-up version of the old dichotomy between the tourists and the (positively valued) others who merely travel or vacation? See Buzard (1993) on the tourist/ traveler dichotomy.
15. See Richter (1994) for a case study situated on the *Deutsche Märchenstrasse*.
16. With a stretch of the imagination, one might see here a latent reference to 1001 nights, esp. since oasis is not a word usually associated with diapering.
17. For an American audience, the association of Wild West and Indian play acting devoid of any guilt is perhaps startling, but in the German speaking area it is at least as widespread as the dwarves.
18. The history of travel, exploration and conquest turned fiction turned play turned tourist destination is in itself an intriguing narrative that should be further explored.
19. While Disney Environments or parks such as Sea World in Southern California (Davis 1997) also make considerable profit off concessions, toys and trinkets, the entrance fee alone is already exorbitant, because the destination itself is conceptualized as the draw, not an added benefit to a vacation setting chosen for its land-

scape, rural architecture or hotel facility.

20. Though I do not have access to any statistics, any observant traveler in the alpine regions of Austria, Switzerland and Germany will notice that the number of sites of this nature is growing, alongside the effort to expand and diversify "family tourism" offerings. A more complex event, supported by scholars from Innsbruck University, is the *Tiroler Bergsagen Festival*, held for the second time in July and August 1998 in Matrei, Tyrolia. Here nature tourism is coupled with a revisiting of "magic" in landscape, art exhibitions, enactments and readings of legends, a book publication and participatory activities for old and young. The festival won first prize in the category "event tourism" sponsored by a national tourism trade magazine in 1997.
21. In 1998, Austria gained, for the first time in more than a decade, in some sectors of tourism revenue; however, most of these gains were in urban centers, esp. Vienna, where in 1998 the 100th anniversary of Empress Sisi's death brought forth a flurry of special exhibits.
22. Throughout the 1990s, articles in the Austrian magazine *Profil*, as well as materials from the Austrian federal and state level tourism bureaus, not to speak of the local press voiced their distress about the Austrian inability to hop onto the new waves, to get with it, to play in the big tourism stakes, to streamline housing offers, to collectively advertise, to eliminate outdated inns and hotels.

References

Applenc, Veronica 1997: *Conservation of Cultural Identity through the Care of Monuments: Guidelines for the Lednice-Valtice Monument Zone*. M.A. Thesis in Historic Preservation, University of Pennsylvania.

Buzard, James 1993: *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture' 1800-1918*. London.

Dann, Graham M.S. 1996: *The Language of Tourism. A Sociolinguistic Perspective*. Wallingford, UK.

Davis, Susan G. 1997: *Spectacular Nature: Corporate Culture and the Sea World Experience*. Berkeley.

Dundes, Alan 1985: Nationalistic Inferiority Complexes and the Fabrication of Folklore. In: *Journal of Folklore Research*: 22:5-18.

Eco, Umberto 1986: *Travels in Hyperreality*. San Francisco.

Feifer, M. 1985: *Going Places*. London.

Gottdiener, Mark 1997: *The Theming of America. Dreams, Visions, and Commercial Spaces*. Boulder.

Haas, Hanns, Robert Hoffmann and Kurt Luger (eds.) 1994: *Weltbühne und Naturkulisse. Zwei Jahrhun-*

derte Salzburg-Tourismus. Salzburg.

Herzfeld, Michael 1982: *Ours Once More. Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece*. Austin.

Jafari, Jafar, and M. Gardner. 1991: Tourism and Fiction. Travel as fiction, fiction as a journey. In: *Cahier du Tourisme*: serie C, no. 119.

Jeggle, Utz and Gottfried Korff 1974: Zur Entwicklung des Zillertaler Regionalcharakters. In: *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 70: 39-57.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara 1998: *Destination Culture. Tourism, Museums and Heritage*. Berkeley.

Köstlin, Konrad 1991: Zu Intention und Praxis religiöser Erinnerung. In: B. Bönisch-Brednich and R.W. Brednich (eds.): *Erinnern und Vergessen. Vorträge des 27. Deutschen Volkskundekongresses*. Beiträge zur Volkskunde in Niedersachsen: vol. 5, pp. 427-440.

Lagerlöf, Selma 1991 (or. 1907): *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils Holgersson*. Trans. by V.S. Howard. Minneapolis.

Lau, Kimberly n.d.: Consuming Passions: Folklore Serialization and Ideologies of Difference in the Marketplace. Paper delivered at the 12th Congress of the ISFNR in Göttingen, Germany.

MacCannell, Dean 1989 (second ed.): *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York.

Oinas, Felix (ed.) 1978: *Folklore, Nationalism and Politics*. Columbus.

Page, Stephen 1995: *Urban Tourism*. London.

Paul, Heiner 1989: May, Karl Friedrich. In: *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 9, pp. 450-454. Berlin.

Richards, Greg (ed.) 1996: *Cultural Tourism in Europe*. Oxon.

Richter, Dieter 1994: Reisen ins Märchenland. Volkskulturelle Elemente im Tourismus und die Konstitution neuer Traditionen. In: B. Pöttler und U. Kammerhofer-Aggermann (eds.): *Tourismus und Regionalkultur*, pp. 95-105. Wien.

Robertson, Roland 1994: Globalisation or Glocalisation? *Journal of International Communication* 1:33-52.

Spyri, Johanna 1994 (or. 1879): *Heidi*. London.

Stein, Helga 1997: Märchenpark. In: *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 9, pp. 284-286. Berlin.

The Project on Disney 1995: *Inside the Mouse: Work and Play at Disney World*. Durham.

Urban, Greg 1991: *A Discourse-Centered Approach to Culture: Native South American Myths and Rituals*. Austin.

Urry, John 1990: *The Tourist Gaze. Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London.

Wagnleitner, Reinhold 1991: *Coca-Colonization und Kalter Krieg*. Wien.

Wilson, William A. 1976: *Folklore, Nationalism and Politics in Modern Finland*. Bloomington.