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in the Evolution of Austrian Postwar Identity

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Abstract

This thesis will analyze the exhibition 'Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 – 1930' of the year 1985 to examine the impact it had on the perception of *Vienna 1900* in Austria and the country's postwar identity. The exhibition is significant for two parts; on the one hand, it highlights the sudden surge in interest in the time period of *Vienna 1900* in Austria. 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' laid the groundwork for a wholly new and lucrative development in the Austrian tourism industry. On the other hand, the timing of the exhibition highlights the nation's longstanding problem of identity. Situated in a time period when the Kreisky Era had just ended, but before the Waldheim Affair unsettled the country, the exhibition marks an important shift in the Austrian perception of itself. The main disciplines for this thesis are history, political science. With the support of museology the exhibition will be analyzed, while another focus will lie on the historical and political background of the time – be it *Vienna 1900* or the 1980s – to better understand the underlying themes which made the time period so special and the exhibition so successful. To showcase the importance of the exhibition to current day Austria, some of the legacies the exhibition has left behind will also be discussed. The exhibition's success at the time and its many reiterations in Vienna or abroad up to this day, show that 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' was a crucial moment for Austrians postwar identity. By reason of the political situation in Austria in the 1980s and the urge to find a new cultural identity distancing Austria from its German neighbors, the exhibition was able to meet the Zeitgeist and offer exactly what the Austrian society was longing for. This thesis reveals the importance of cultural events to the process of identity formation of a society, with the main finding that while an exhibition will not be the sole factor for the formation of an identity, it can be an instigator of change.

German Abstract

In dieser Masterarbeit wird die Ausstellung 'Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 - 1930' von 1985 untersucht, um deren Auswirkung auf die Wahrnehmung von *Wien 1900* in Österreich sowie auf die Nachkriegsidentität des Landes zu erforschen. Die Ausstellung ist in zweifacher Hinsicht bedeutsam: Einerseits zeigt sie das plötzliche Interesse an dem Zeitraum *Wien 1900* in Österreich auf, andererseits verdeutlicht der Zeitpunkt der Ausstellung auch das seit langem bestehende Identitätsproblem der Nation, welches anhand von Vermächtnissen der Ausstellung diskutiert wird. Diese Masterarbeit analysiert die Bedeutung kultureller Ereignisse für den Prozess der Identitätsbildung einer Gesellschaft mit dem Hauptfokus auf den Disziplinen Geschichte und Politikwissenschaft. Das Ergebnis zeigt, dass eine Ausstellung zwar nicht der alleinige Faktor für Identitätsbildung ist, aber dennoch ein Anstoß für Veränderung sein kann.

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Introduction

Vienna has always been a special place. Especially at the turn of the century, the city was divided into many different camps be it cultural, political or social. The population at an all-time high and with people moving to the city from all sides, it quickly turned into “the most multi-cultural city in Europe, a melting pot of Catholics, Christians, Jews and Muslims.”¹ This new situation was not braved without any issues, which explains some of the anxiety which was felt in the city at the time.² However, it would be a dishonor to only see Vienna as a puzzle of different camps, it is much more than that. It was the fertile ground for many political and scientific theories which still hold up today, for many great works of art which can still be admired in the city, but, on the flip side, it was also the hometown of some negative developments, from anti-Semitism to class dividedness.³

These glorious times of development and growth at the turn-of-the-century were followed by a time period full of struggle and hardship. Austria found itself in the midst of two World Wars in the span of roughly thirty years, which left the nation brittle and wounded. It took a long time for Austria to recover from the war, both in an economic and emotional sense.⁴ Making the recovery process even harder and prolonging the process was the fact that the Allied Powers put the label of ‘first victim’ on Austria. Unlike Germany, who immediately after the war had to come to terms with its wrongdoings, Austria was enabled by the Allied Powers to ignore their involvement in the war almost completely.⁵ This strategy seemed to work until the Waldheim Affair in 1986, which brought many hidden figures of the past back to life. In this period of revisiting the critical past and shaping the future of Austria, an exhibition on *Vienna 1900* such as ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ was just what the society needed to be reminded of the glorious times full of gold and glamour which eventually led to the formation of a new national identity.

This glimpse back into the past of Austria through the exhibition shows that there are many reasons why the society seemed to not have been able to form a proper identity

¹ Edmund De Waal, “Vienna 1900: A brush with the past,” *The Independent*. September 24, 2013. <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/features/vienna-1900-a-brush-with-the-past-8835462.html>.

² Michael Burri, “Mobilizing the Aristocrat: Pre-war Vienna and the Poetics of Belligerence in Herzl, Hofmannsthal, Kraus, and Schaukal” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1993).

³ De Waal, “Vienna 1900: A brush with the past.”

⁴ Heidemarie Uhl, “Of Heroes and Victims: World War II in Austrian Memory,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 42 (2011): 185-200.

⁵ Manfred Rauchensteiner, *Unter Beobachtung: Österreich seit 1918* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2017).

the majority could agree with for such a long time. The question is not only why Austria has not been able to form its own proper cultural identity in the past, but also what changed in the 1980s that the Austrian society felt finally able to construct a cultural identity which was neither bound to its Austro-Hungarian history nor to the problematic involvement in the world wars, especially World War II.

The exhibition 'Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 – 1930' was the starting point of an upsurge in interest in the topic *Vienna 1900* in Austria, but also to a newly discovered fondness of the nation and its hidden treasure. This sudden interest will be the main focus of this thesis, with the main research question being how the exhibition 'Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 – 1930' changed the view Austrians had on the period *Vienna 1900*, and how the success of this cultural event influenced the formation of a cultural identity in Austria. Supporting questions to discuss further details will be if 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' had such an influence on the Austrian tourist industry, that it is the reason for today's never-ending supply of *Vienna 1900* souvenirs as well as the countless exhibitions on *Vienna 1900* internationally as well as in the Austrian capital itself. And finally, a question to consider is, if Austrians are remembering *Vienna 1900* for what it was, or just what the 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' exhibition showcased in 1985.

Having an insight into these developments is still of relevance today, as there is not a single souvenir-shop in the capital of Austria which is not cluttered with Klimt paraphernalia, making it hard to believe that the craze for this time period only started 35 years ago rather than having been a staple of the Viennese tourism scene from the get-go. Additionally, Austrians still grapple with their past, fighting against the ignorance towards past wrong doings. It is interesting to see how ingrained *Vienna 1900* seems to be in today's culture in Austria, and how much of what people know and love of the time period can actually be led back to Hans Hollein's exhibition about it rather than the time period itself. It is just as important to get to the bottom of the issue of Austrian identity as there is still much to learn from it. Starting from the fragmented Austrian past full of different cultural impacts to the victim-narrative after the World Wars which had to be unlearned over the past decades to the ongoing issue with right-wing populism, the Austrian past does not make it easy for a cohesive Austrian cultural identity to be formed.

The main discipline of this thesis is history, whereas the second discipline is political science. The historical aspect can be found throughout the thesis, as the main goal

is to analyze past events, from *Vienna 1900* to the ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition.⁶ Political science is equally as important, as the political development in Austria plays a big part in the development of the nation and its society. Starting from the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire, to the development of a special branch of Liberalism in Austria, to the aftermath of the involvement in World War II; many changes in society can be traced back to the political development of the time period.⁷ As an additional discipline, the study of museums will also be incorporated in the thesis, to allow for a better understanding of the 1985 exhibition. Museology will play an important part in the analysis of the inner workings of an art exhibition and it will help displaying the significance of the smallest details of the exhibition’s layout.⁸

The thesis will concentrate on a qualitative approach, with a case study based on the exhibition titled ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 – 1930’. By concentrating on the time leading up to 1985, this thesis will further account of the what, when, where, but especially of the who and how of the exhibition. A close look will be cast on the catalogue of the exhibition itself, on Peter Vergo’s and Steven Beller’s work, as well as Carl E. Schorske’s writing, as he is mentioned several times as being a crucial factor for the interest in the decade.⁹ Additionally, some of the inspected works will be looked at closer with a contemporary view in mind, to see if the interest in *Vienna 1900* was artificially constructed in the 1980s, or if there has been interest concerning the time period beforehand. Later and earlier exhibitions will also be critically read. Earlier exhibitions will be inspected, to see what their motivation was, and why they were not as successful as the ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition. Exhibitions curated after 1985 will be discussed as well, concentrating on the connection to ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’.

Additionally, the thesis will use biographical narrative interviews, to get an even better insight to the time period, the exhibition and the society of 1985. Some of the contributors of the exhibition in 1985 will be interviewed on their views of the exhibition, its influence it had on people, the reason it was curated in the first place, and their opinion

⁶ Important works in the historical context include Carl E. Schorske’s *Fin de Siècle Vienna*, Steven Beller’s collective research on the topic of *Vienna 1900*, as well as the exhibition catalogues of ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’, and ‘Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design’.

⁷ Important works in the context of political science include Maderthaner and Musner’s *Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression*, Malachi Haim Hacohen’s analysis *The Culture of Viennese Science and the Riddle of Austrian Liberalism*, and Tony Judt’s works on Postwar Europe.

⁸ Important works for museology include Peter Vergo’s *The New Museology*, Sharon Macdonald’s *A Companion to Museum Studies* and Kali Tzortzki’s *Museum Space: Where Architecture Meets Museology*.

⁹ Steven Beller, *Austrian History, Culture, and Society*, vol. 3, *Rethinking Vienna 1900* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012).

on what underlying themes might be found. Moreover, they will be asked if they think there is a special reason why this exhibition in particular is the most popular exhibition on *Vienna 1900* to this day, and why it might have started the still ongoing enthusiasm towards the topic.¹⁰ The interviews will be conducted in the scope of a strict interview plan, so the interview questions can be compared and contrasted. An interview guide will be constructed in English as well as in German and each interviewee will be asked the same questions. The interviews will take place rather late in the process, to make sure the thesis itself is already fully developed. Due to the current Covid-19 pandemic, the interviews cannot take place in person, which is why the interviews will take place in written form, via e-mail. The full answer to the questions by the people interviewed can be found in the Appendices of the thesis.

Lastly, a large portion of the theoretical part will also focus on the question of identity. The thesis is concerned with how and if an exhibition can influence the formation of identity of a country. For this part, a strong focus will lie on past research on the topic, and different opinions will be compared to see if there are some theories or conclusions the majority can agree on.

The close analysis of ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ and the theoretical part concentrating on *Vienna 1900* and the question of identity, will then be combined to come up with an answer to the research question of how the exhibition ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ changed the Austrian view on *Vienna 1900*, and how the success of this cultural event influenced the formation of a cultural identity in Austria.

¹⁰ Béla Rásky, “Traum und Wirklichkeit,” *Haus der Geschichte Österreich*, accessed December 3, 2019, <https://www.hdgoe.at/traum-wirklichkeit>.

I. *Vienna 1900* and the Problem of Austrian Identity

Vienna 1900 is one of the most important time periods for Austrian culture. Besides Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and *The Sound of Music*, what Austria is known for internationally nowadays, usually stems from this time period. Carl E. Schorske was the first to really coin the term *Vienna 1900* in his collection of essays named *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture*, and with that, the enthusiasm around the period started to gain momentum.¹¹ In short time, *Vienna 1900* turned from a forgotten time into one of the most important cultural periods for Austrian history. However, the Viennese themselves, did not think that the mixture of science, art, and lifestyle, as it was found in Vienna, was as special as it later turned out to be.¹² Looking at the vast amount of literature that can be found on *Vienna 1900* today, it is hard to believe that the term and terminology only started to catch on in Austria in the 1980s.

A. Defining *Vienna 1900*

Vienna 1900 cannot easily be put into one discipline or artform, as it entails everything that happened at the turn of the century in culture and society. With that, not only different artists and their artwork are part of *Vienna 1900*, but also design, architecture, writing, and science. As everything was intertwined at the time, it is central to analyze the political situation of the time, the importance of the Habsburg Empire, the political tensions which started to arise in Eastern Europe, and also the situation Vienna was in economically. An important factor was also the rising turn towards anti-Semitism in Vienna, highlighted by the election of Karl Lueger as mayor.¹³ As Fludernik and Huml found in their research, it is difficult to put a label on the definition of *Vienna 1900*, as some see it “as the most important anticipation of Modernism, while others stress the culmination of certain cultural, political, and aesthetic nineteenth-century movements” to be the most important factor of the definition.¹⁴

As opposed to Paris and London, in Vienna, intellectuals did not live their lives adjacent to each other, but the important actors of the different disciplines, such as art,

¹¹ Beller, *Rethinking Vienna 1900*.

¹² Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 7-8.

¹³ Tag Gronberg, *Vienna. City of Modernity, 1890 – 1914* (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2007), 38.

¹⁴ Monika Fludernik, and Ariane Huml, "Fin De Siècle," *English and American Studies in German* 2002 (2003): 80, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783484431027.80>.

politics, and science actually came together and supported each other.¹⁵ The Vienna of 1880 – 1910 has become the trademark of Austrian culture. It is being “promoted by masterpieces of historiography such as [...] *Fin de Siècle Vienna* and [...] *Wittgenstein’s Vienna*, as well as [...] spectacular exhibitions at the Vienna *Künstlerhaus*, the *Centre Georges Pompidou* in Paris, and the *Museum of Modern Art* in New York.”¹⁶

Schorske defines the emerging culture in his collection of essays as the outcome of Vienna’s “great intellectual innovators, – in music and philosophy, in economics and architecture, and, of course, in psychoanalysis – all being broke, more or less deliberately.”¹⁷ Tag Gronberg highlights the importance of “the distinctive interconnectedness of the city’s intellectual life around 1900,” even further, as a “way of differentiating Vienna from other late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century cities.”¹⁸ Although Steven Beller does not agree with all of Schorske’s findings, he does agree that Schorske is the main persona who sparked the international interest in the time period. Egbert Klautke also stated that anyone who is planning on writing about the time period has to turn back to Schorske’s work to either support or critique it, as “it will remain a standard reference for the foreseeable future.”¹⁹ All definitions seem to have in common the finding that Austria itself did not show much interest in the time period until the 1980s, a good century after the supposedly glorious period.

1. Historical and Political Background

It has to be acknowledged that many scholars tend to glorify the period and forget to mention the many hardships that plagued Vienna at the turn of the century. As Maderthaner and Musner mention, “[t]he Vienna of 1900 has been mythologized in recent decades.”²⁰ Not only was an enormous political shift approaching, as the Habsburg Empire started to disintegrate, there was a group of people who tend to be forgotten in the retellings of the glorious years of Vienna.

¹⁵ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, XXVII.

¹⁶ Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner, “Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression,” *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 64 (2003): 25-26, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0147547903000176>.

¹⁷ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, XVIII.

¹⁸ Gronberg, *Vienna. City of Modernity, 1890 – 1914*, 17.

¹⁹ Egbert Klautke, “Sex, Coffee, Madness: New Studies on the History of Fin-de-Siècle and Inter-War Vienna,” *Central Europe* 13, no. 1-2 (2015): 113, <https://doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1080/14790963.2015.1107327>.

²⁰ Maderthaner and Musner, “Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression,” 25-26.

The Habsburg Empire was doomed to fail, as in the case of Austria-Hungary, “[s]ize meant instability, not strength, for this ambiguous empire felt itself to be without a soul – deprived of any collective identity determined by blood or geography or tradition.”²¹ The Habsburg Empire was full of differing cultures, different peoples, and different languages and to find a collective identity everyone agreed to, did not seem to be of importance for the leading family.²² Exactly this state of mind was ultimately the reason for its breakdown. When looking at it in hindsight, “[t]he one solid presence that seemed to hold everything together was the emperor himself.”²³ Once the crown prince was killed in Sarajevo, however, it was clear that the empire had shattered internally and that there was nothing Emperor Francis Joseph could do to keep the empire from falling apart. As the Habsburg Empire was then removed from the European map, Vienna was still left as the capital, of a suddenly unrecognizable Austria.²⁴ With the World Wars, the glorious time of Viennese modernism as was practiced at the turn of the century came to an abrupt halt.

Returning to the ‘dark spots’ of the past, instances like the inequalities between the different social classes, the segregation of people inside and outside of the inner city – culturally as well as spatially, and the growing anti-Semitism seemed to have been forgotten, or if at all, are only marginally mentioned in the historiographical accounts of *Vienna 1900*.²⁵ The reason for this can be found in the peculiar situation Vienna was in at the time. As proven by the rapidly rising number of habitants in Vienna, many people moved to the Austro-Hungarian capital around the turn of the century. However, “[i]nstead of finding a new ‘Heimat’ in the city, the new immigrants suffered from pauperization and collective estrangement,” as the placement in the industrial quarters was not only miserable for them, it also turned them into a “dangerous, amorphous ‘Other’ of urban society.”²⁶ What this represents is the large division that existed in Vienna, between the lavish inner city and the overlooked outskirts where poverty and hunger were daily struggles that had to be faced.

²¹ Kirk Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Polychrome Press, 1986), 16.

²² Hans Pirchegger (ed.), *Geschichte und Kulturleben Deutschösterreich von 1792 bis nach dem Weltkrieg* (Vienna: Breumüller, 1937), 311-318.

²³ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 16.

²⁴ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 16.

²⁵ Allan Janik, “Vienna 1900 Revisited: Paradigms and Problems,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 28 (1997): 1-27.

²⁶ Maderthaner and Musner, “Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression,” 25.

While the mainly Jewish bourgeoisie did manage to acquire some political power, by the turn of the century, this newly acquired authority was challenged by “an anti-Semitic, lower-middle-class populism that proved able to combine cultural reaction and municipal modernity.”²⁷ The openly anti-Semitic Christian socialist Karl Lueger (“Wer Jude ist bestimme ich”²⁸) was elected mayor despite the emperor’s disapproval, while the majority of the population also decided to look the other way when the anti-Semitism in positions of power became glaringly obvious.²⁹ This led the way towards a decade of Christian Social ruling of Vienna, full of “anti-Semitism, clericalism, and municipal socialism,” which Arthur Schnitzler and other artists tried to counter by criticizing Karl Lueger early on for his anti-Semitic politics.³⁰ It is safe to say that “Lueger’s great political achievement was the creation of an antiliberal middle-class bloc [reuniting] the petty bourgeois on the one hand and the wealthy middle classes on the other, into a clerical, antisocialist and anti-Semitic citizens’ group.”³¹ This new political trend also lent intensity to the trend of the liberal demise of Vienna’s elite. To make the culture of fin-de-siècle Vienna even more complicated, the new liberal elite did not leave its moralistic-scientific culture of law in the past. This could be seen most prominent again in Arthur Schnitzler, who managed to combine both, the moralistic-scientific and the aesthetic branch of *Vienna 1900*’s culture in his work.³² Besides Lueger’s success in rewriting the Viennese tradition, the Christian Socials under Lueger’s rule also decimated the other political parties of Vienna, by building their support base from civil servants upwards.³³ Lueger’s new politics symbolized a much larger change; “his anti-Semitism became not only an instrument of mass mobilization but also an integral component of a new kind of political culture, one that incited the masses against the old elites, and the ‘integrated’ populations against ‘outsiders’.”³⁴

Lueger could be seen as the first successful populist in Austria. His rhetoric of anti-Semitism and the ‘true Viennese’ at first started out subtle, so critics would not immediately

²⁷ Maderthaner and Musner, “Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression,” 26.

²⁸ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, 145.

²⁹ Gronberg, *Vienna. City of Modernity, 1890 – 1914*, 38.

³⁰ Schorske, “Politics and the Psyche in Fin De Siècle Vienna: Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal,” 931-932; Niekerk, “Vienna Around 1900 and the Crisis of Public Art: On Text and Music in Klimt, Mahler, and Schnitzler,” 100.

³¹ Maderthaner and Musner, “Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression,” 35.

³² Georg Brandes and Arthur Schnitzler, *Ein Briefwechsel*, ed. Kurt Bergel (Bern: Francke, 1956).

³³ John W. Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna Christian Socialism in Power 1897-1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 236, 154.

³⁴ Maderthaner and Musner, “Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression,” 36.

be able to get behind his actual goal, but it grew stronger and stronger, and in the end he managed to turn anti-Semitism and nationalism to something fashionable and admirable. This turn in politics to the anti-Semitic branch of Vienna also meant a change of spirit for many artists, especially of Jewish descent. Open-minded free artists suddenly had to change their focus in life from spiritual revelations to a fight for their rights and later-on even a fight for their lives.³⁵ The political turn from a liberal haven to the Christian Social conservative rule, however, suddenly meant a huge change, especially for the mentioned bourgeoisie. They were no longer able to control their own reality, yet alone try to understand it through their works of art; their world was “spinning out of orbit.”³⁶

Not every scholar decided to ignore this much darker past of the Viennese lower class and outcasts, something Schorske failed to acknowledge in his collection of essays. Steven Beller, for instance, decided to shine a light on the situation and focused most of his studies on the forgotten Jewish part of history.³⁷ What he seems to be the victim of, just like many other contemporary scholars is best described by Maderthaner and Musner, namely that “[i]nstead of making Carl Schorske’s perspective ever more dynamic, fin de siècle was ontologically conceptualized as the sum of its intellectual and artistic achievements, and was thus stylized into a kind of precious treasury of high culture.”³⁸ What they mean by that is that despite the now vast encyclopedia of *Vienna 1900*, most of it is “written in the shadow of Carl E. Schorske’s *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*.”³⁹ The motivation for the piece was “to make sense of the coincidence of political crisis and cultural creativity around the turn of the century,” for which he chose Vienna as a case study, especially to “demonstrate the cultural consequences of the decline of liberalism in central Europe.”⁴⁰ With his essays, the topic really took off and it cannot be ignored by any other intellectuals who want to dive deeper into the topic. Whether scholars from English, French or German backgrounds decide to research the topic of *Vienna 1900*, they all build their case on Schorske’s work.⁴¹ Despite Schorske’s own critique on his work, mentioning several times that the essays are not to be seen as a complete history of *Vienna*

³⁵ Schorske, “Politics and the Psyche in Fin De Siècle Vienna: Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal,” 936-38.

³⁶ Schorske, “Politics and the Psyche in Fin De Siècle Vienna: Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal,” 940.

³⁷ Beller, *Rethinking Vienna 1900*.

³⁸ Maderthaner and Musner, “Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression,” 27.

³⁹ Klautke, “Sex, Coffee, Madness: New Studies on the History of Fin-de-Siècle and Inter-War Vienna,” 107.

⁴⁰ Klautke, “Sex, Coffee, Madness: New Studies on the History of Fin-de-Siècle and Inter-War Vienna,” 107.

⁴¹ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*.

1900, and that his work is far from a complete historiography of *Vienna 1900*, “more than a few scholars have treated its conclusions less as critical constructions than as established wisdom.”⁴² This puts Schorske on some sort of pedestal which hurts rather than profits his reputation. Nevertheless, one cannot blame the other scholars for their doing, as his work has even created “exhibitions devoted to the topic in Europe and North America, has energized scholarship and helped writers, critics, and other intellectuals to grasp aesthetic and cultural issues in a clear and cogent manner.”⁴³

Many scholars took Schorske’s work as the holy grail and did not see the need in doing their own research into the history of *Vienna 1900* which led to this false impression of a glorified Vienna with no issues of poverty or class segregation whatsoever. It has always been quite difficult to see the backside of the coin in Vienna, as “poverty and social squalor [...] always has been hidden behind a façade of impressive beauty that suggests a homogenous urban body inspired by the classical architectural standards of the Ringstrasse.”⁴⁴ The glamour and glitz of the buildings around the *Ringstrasse*, the pompous living of the bourgeoisie of Vienna, make it difficult to see what is in the shadows. Only a handful scholars mention the outskirts of Vienna in their writing, either because they did not want to be reminded of their past or because they did not want to focus on these hardships, as it would have cast a shadow over the elite’s pompous living.⁴⁵ This is another difference between Vienna and other metropolises, as in others there was usually a large focus on the misery of the city – one only has to cast a look towards London’s literary history.⁴⁶

The underlying inequality of the different groups in Vienna ahead of World War I, if either for social status, race or religion, made the city to the “modern archetype of a doomed society, in which brilliant achievements glowed in the gathering twilight and new music covered distant thunder. [Vienna was,] as Karl Kraus dubbed it, ‘a testing lab for the end of the world’.”⁴⁷ Vienna at the turn of the century was riddled with uncertainty of what

⁴² Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, XXVIII; Burri, “Mobilizing the Aristocrat: Pre-war Vienna and the Poetics of Belligerence in Herzl, Hofmannsthal, Kraus, and Schaukal,” 4.

⁴³ Burri, “Mobilizing the Aristocrat: Pre-war Vienna and the Poetics of Belligerence in Herzl, Hofmannsthal, Kraus, and Schaukal,” 5.

⁴⁴ Maderthaner and Musner, “Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression,” 30.

⁴⁵ Klaus Hödl, *Entangled Entertainers: Jews and Popular Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Oxford: Berghan Books, 2019), 2.

⁴⁶ Maderthaner and Musner, “Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression,” 30.

⁴⁷ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 18.

was to come; politics were unstable and in constant turmoil, no one seemed to be satisfied with the current situation, but no one knew how change should happen either.

This opposition in the arts could also be seen in the Austrian society itself. The bourgeoisie of Vienna lived through an already mentioned identity shift “from liberal underdog to [a] privileged class, financially empowered and politically wedged between the lower classes and the destabilizing nobility.”⁴⁸ Additionally, to the newfound position, the liberal bourgeoisie in Austria also had to deal with the issues arising due to the multiethnic, multinational empire they were a part of.⁴⁹ Whereas Emperor Francis-Joseph was the only one holding the Austro-Hungarian Empire together, Otto Wagner seemed to embody the same for the Viennese art scene.⁵⁰ As the Habsburg Empire, also the art scene did not manage to withhold the differing views and opinions. While the Habsburg Empire internally crumbled more each day, “the modern man and woman were becoming morbidly anxious and desperately exhausted.”⁵¹ Once Hoffmann divided his style into “mannered urban rationalism on the one hand, and emotive *völkisch* décor on the other,” the “casual hypocrisies of the *Ringstrasse*’s disjunction between private and public expression” were completely reformulated rather than returned to an ‘old normal’.⁵² These instances previewed the big change which was to come, not only in the political sphere, but also in all other aspects of life. This discrepancy in values was not hidden from contemporary intellectuals, as the writer Hermann Broch connected fin-de-siècle Vienna oftentimes with a “‘vacuum of values’ [Wert-Vakuum]” and some of his colleagues, such as Freud, Hofmannsthal, Mach, and Musil, discussed the time with crises of identity, language and visuality in mind.⁵³ They all shared a certain sense of anxiety.

Because of this anxiety of what the future was to hold, many decided to rather reminisce in the past. This led many of the texts which were not riddled with anxiety seem full of nostalgia and fond look back to better times. However, if one skims through Stefan Zweig or Robert Musil, “fond nostalgia is inevitably haunted by the sense of a moment not merely past but irreparably destroyed.”⁵⁴ Gustav Klimt’s *Beethoven Frieze*, on the other

⁴⁸ Imke Meyer, “Bourgeois Innocence Lost: Uncanny Children in Turn-of-the-Century Vienna,” *Pacific Coast Philology* 50, no. 2 (2015): 186, <https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/605391>.

⁴⁹ Meyer, “Bourgeois Innocence Lost: Uncanny Children in Turn-of-the-Century Vienna,” 186.

⁵⁰ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 39.

⁵¹ Joanna Bourke, “Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Mental Illness and Modernism,” *The Lancet* 373, no. 9677 (2009): 1753, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(09\)60968-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(09)60968-5).

⁵² Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 51.

⁵³ Carl Niekerk, “Vienna Around 1900 and the Crisis of Public Art: On Text and Music in Klimt, Mahler, and Schnitzler,” *Neophilologus* 95, no. 1 (2011): 99, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11061-010-9216-2>.

⁵⁴ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 15.

hand, “suggests that there existed a desire for an affirmative model of art that would conceptualize the relationship between art and its audiences in new ways.”⁵⁵ These different scholarly findings perfectly encapsulate the confusing times of the turn of the century. While one part of the society was aching for a new era to start, the others were frantically trying to get back to ‘the good old days.’ This fight led to another defining characteristic of the art of *Vienna 1900*, namely, the “crisis in art’s public function.”⁵⁶

All of these crises might be explained by what Imke Meyer termed as ‘Uncanny Children’. According to her, this “notion of the uncanny with which we tend to operate today originates in turn-of-the-century Vienna.”⁵⁷ She claims the usage of explorations of childhood and depictions of uncanny children by fin-de-siècle artists – from Freud to Schiele – might help explore the cultural and social anxieties of Vienna’s liberal bourgeoisie of the time.⁵⁸ The children’s innocence seems to have been completely lost – which only reproduces the anxiety which was felt by so many artists at the time. Opposed to this notion of underlying anxiety of the Viennese bourgeoisie, some scholars still claim that the city should be described as “an enclave of nonviolence, a place of repressed conflict and aesthetically productive displacement.”⁵⁹ This view, however, is highly contested, as it undermines the actual political, social, and cultural events which took place at the time – which would fit with the theme of the 1985 exhibition ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’, but not with the actual historical representation of the time period.⁶⁰

Once World War II came and went, and Austria once again tried to pick up its pieces and start a new ‘normal’, it was difficult to think of the past in an unbiased way. This led to the complete overlook of *Vienna 1900* for such a long time. Once the time was rediscovered by Schorske and his contemporaries in the 1980s, a sort of excavation of the past achievements started up again in Vienna and lastly, connections were made to how these forgotten people influenced the Vienna we know today. It brought back into memory the studies of Sigmund Freud, Ludwig Wittgenstein, and Arnold Schönberg. It revived the interest in Gustav Mahler, Arthur Schnitzler, and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and it also

⁵⁵ Niekerk, “Vienna Around 1900 and the Crisis of Public Art: On Text and Music in Klimt, Mahler, and Schnitzler,” 99.

⁵⁶ Niekerk, “Vienna Around 1900 and the Crisis of Public Art: On Text and Music in Klimt, Mahler, and Schnitzler,” 105.

⁵⁷ Meyer, “Bourgeois Innocence Lost: Uncanny Children in Turn-of-the-Century Vienna,” 185.

⁵⁸ Meyer, “Bourgeois Innocence Lost: Uncanny Children in Turn-of-the-Century Vienna,” 185-186.

⁵⁹ Burri, “Mobilizing the Aristocrat: Pre-war Vienna and the Poetics of Belligerence in Herzl, Hofmannsthal, Kraus, and Schaukal,” 10.

⁶⁰ Künstlerhaus, “Ohne Klimt: Klimt und das Künstlerhaus,” *Ausstellung*, accessed December 13, 2019, <https://www.k-haus.at/de/ausstellung/29/ohne-klimt.html>.

brought up the vastly different opinions which were curated in fin-de-siècle Vienna; from Zionist Theodor Herzl to Adolf Hitler.⁶¹

2. First Instances of Austrian Liberalism

As opposed to other European cities, in Vienna there never seemed to be a division between the different areas of study. For instance, the culture of science was not just working in their own realm, they were very much included in “broader humanistic visions and invested in political and educational projects of major historical significance.”⁶² This interplay of all kinds of different cultures in Vienna at the turn of the century made the city and its achievements so special. For most of the public, the philosophy of science in Vienna is generally associated with liberalism. That the philosophy was explored through many different political viewpoints – from socialist, liberal to even fascist – is oftentimes forgotten today, as only the “liberal variant proved adaptable to Western democracies.”⁶³ In an effort to explain this phenomenon of *Vienna 1900* became the standard example of political crisis and innovation – be it artistic or scientific – merging together.

One difference of Austrian liberalism to other European strands, however, is that in Austria, according to Deborah Coen, uncertainty played a central part in the scientific education which was meant to form people’s character.⁶⁴ The liberal strand of Austrian politics was troubled in asserting dominance opposed to other political currents which claimed to have absolute certainty over what was true and what was not. This issue with uncertainty might have been another reason for the easy rise of more populist parties in Austria – people wanted certainty, and whoever claimed to have it, was given a vote.

Austria also differentiates from other western European countries by its relatively long ongoing and strong aristocratic dimensions in their liberalism.⁶⁵ Michael Burri analyzes that “the ‘aristocrat’ presents a link between what are often seen as two unrelated moments: the fin de siècle and the outbreak of war (from Vienna) in 1914.”⁶⁶ The complete implosion of Austrian liberalism and the acceptance of German ethnonationalism,

⁶¹ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 17.

⁶² Malachi Haim Hacohen, “The Culture of Viennese Science and the Riddle of Austrian Liberalism,” *Modern Intellectual History* 6, no. 2 (2009): 369, <https://doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1017/S1479244309002133>.

⁶³ Hacohen, “The Culture of Viennese Science and the Riddle of Austrian Liberalism,” 369.

⁶⁴ Deborah Coen, *Vienna in the Age of Uncertainty: Science, Liberalism, and Private Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

⁶⁵ Hacohen, “The Culture of Viennese Science and the Riddle of Austrian Liberalism,” 373-374, 381.

⁶⁶ Burri, “Mobilizing the Aristocrat: Pre-war Vienna and the Poetics of Belligerence in Herzl, Hofmannsthal, Kraus, and Schaukal,” vi.

nevertheless, came as a surprise to most.⁶⁷ What has been found out, is that the main issue was not the “vulnerability of liberal scientific discourse to fascism [but] more the radical change in political circumstances.”⁶⁸ One scholar who seemed to realize the danger some of this political rhetoric of the inter-war years, the ethnonationalism and populism, could bring was Karl Popper, as he saw the danger of the glorification of *Heimat*, and the nations leaning towards fascism.⁶⁹ However, his revelation came too late, as the term had been ingrained into Austrian politics from the turn of the century onwards.⁷⁰ Linking to the above-mentioned *Heimat*, Maderthaner and Musner’s *Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression* focuses on the oftentimes missed lower class population of Vienna. Right from the beginning, *Heimat* plays an important part, however, this time not in the homely sense of finding a place of belonging, but rather the lack of it. The time of *Vienna 1900* was a time of change and movement in Vienna, which led to many new arrivals to the city. However, most immigrants who arrived were not welcomed into the wonderful world of the *Ringstrasse*, their journey stopped at the industrial quarters, which meant a life of misery.⁷¹ The political mess and general unstable situation in Austria made the city of Vienna to a literal powder keg which was only waiting to be lit up.⁷² The fact that Vienna is still closely connected to Gustav Klimt, Egon Schiele, Arthur Schnitzler, and Sigmund Freud shows how much of an impact *Vienna 1900* has left on the world.

3. Influential Characters of *Vienna 1900*

One of the main interests in the time period stems from the interconnectedness of the different sides of the Austrian elite. This interconnectedness is, according to Schorske, what made Vienna different from the rest of Europe’s big cities. In Paris or London, each sector kept to themselves, and did not have any interest in exchanging their viewpoints.⁷³ The reason for this intertwined culture can be led back to the well-researched *Kaffeekultur* of Vienna, but it might also be for the size of the Austrian elite, which was quite small compared to other metropolises. This size-characteristic is also visible when reading about the different relationships between the personalities, as it was not

⁶⁷ Hacohen, “The Culture of Viennese Science and the Riddle of Austrian Liberalism,” 387.

⁶⁸ Hacohen, “The Culture of Viennese Science and the Riddle of Austrian Liberalism,” 389.

⁶⁹ Karl Popper, “Zur Philosophie des Heimatgedankens (1927),” in *Frühe Schriften, Gesammelte Werke in deutscher Sprache*, ed. Troels Eggers Hansen (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 10–26.

⁷⁰ Hacohen, “The Culture of Viennese Science and the Riddle of Austrian Liberalism,” 390.

⁷¹ Maderthaner and Musner, “Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression,” 25.

⁷² Günter Metken, “Tanz auf dem Vulkan,” *Die Zeit*, March 22, 1985, <https://www.zeit.de/1985/13/tanz-auf-dem-vulkan/komplettansicht>.

⁷³ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, XXVII.

uncommon to find a woman married to several of the important names of Vienna, or rather posthumously finding out about affairs between a certain number of people.⁷⁴ It is important to highlight, that scientists were also quite popular figures at the time, especially in Vienna where science and art have bounced off each other for centuries and even more so at the turn of the 19th century, thanks to the Austrian *Kaffeehauskultur* and the constant interaction between scientists and artists at cultural events of the Viennese elite.⁷⁵

It is no surprise that Gustav Klimt is heading this list, as he was one of the most influential painters of his time. From the much-contested university drawings, the *Beethoven Frieze* to *Der Kuss*, Gustav Klimt has shaped the Viennese outlook on art at the turn of the century.⁷⁶ Traditionally, architects and designers were the drivers of the modernist movement at the beginning of modernism in Vienna; the exception to this was Gustav Klimt. It was and still is difficult to put his style into a defined box, as the erotic and elegant parts of his art could only be seen as glamor, while he grounded his works by following Freud's footsteps into the uncanny, also exploring less pleasurable subjects such as aging, death, and – very fitting for Vienna – anxiety.⁷⁷ The above mentioned university drawings – *Medizin*, *Philosophie*, and *Jurisprudenz* – which Klimt was commissioned to draw in 1898 by the University of Vienna, are to this day some of his most infamous pieces, mostly because of the scandal surrounding the appointment.⁷⁸ Quite quickly into the process it was discovered that the two sides of the agreement did not share the same opinion on what those paintings should look like. The conservative professors were not too happy with the outcome of the paintings and after many public fights, the feud finally ended in 1905 when Klimt bought back the commission for all three of the paintings.⁷⁹ The political shift of Vienna did not play out in Klimt's favor either. While the government and its cultural body did support Klimt in his endeavors at the beginning of the feud with the university, with the new political era came new cultural policies, and Klimt was no longer supported by the Viennese government. The way the support turned into abuse for Klimt can also be used to further understand the growing split in Vienna's society at the time.

⁷⁴ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, 343.

⁷⁵ Hachohen, "The Culture of Viennese Science and the Riddle of Austrian Liberalism," 369.

⁷⁶ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, 271; Monika Sommer and Alexandra Steiner-Strauss, "Die Lust, die Sucht, die Kraft," *Die Presse*, January 27, 2012, <https://www.diepresse.com/727548/die-lust-die-sucht-die-kraft>.

⁷⁷ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 149.

⁷⁸ Niekerk, "Vienna Around 1900 and the Crisis of Public Art: On Text and Music in Klimt, Mahler, and Schnitzler," 98.

⁷⁹ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 151.

Despite the prominence of the three university paintings, the *Beethoven Frieze* is still one of Klimt's most well-known and impressive projects to date. The frieze was specifically designed for the Secession's 14th exhibition, and it consists of "three panels [...] depicting a series of highly allegorical scenes that together can be considered to comment on Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and on the 'Ode to Joy', the poem by Schiller that is the core of the final movement."⁸⁰ Schorske's opinion on the *Beethoven Frieze*, which he interpreted as a suggestion of a "breakdown of the public function of art," was meant to symbolize the crisis art was experiencing while communicating with its viewers.⁸¹ This opinion is in accordance with Schorske's view of *Vienna 1900* as a "withdrawal from society and politics into the realm of aesthetics."⁸² Klimt was extraordinary in his artistry and found the nerve of the time by combining the "desires of lust and luxury" with "the passive *Angst* of ennui, melancholy, and fear of transience" in his paintings.⁸³

Worth mentioning in more detail is also Oskar Kokoschka as he shows another shift in the artistry of painters in Vienna. When looking at one of Kokoschka's most well-known artworks *The Dreaming Boys*, one is able to see the influence of Klimt in his art, who he admired throughout his career, despite their quite different style in painting.⁸⁴ Kokoschka was not just known as a talented painter, but also for having an affair with Gustav Mahler's widow Alma Mahler. The affair was so influential for the artist that it changed Kokoschka's depiction of himself in his self-portraits.⁸⁵

Another character of the *Vienna 1900* art scene was Egon Schiele. Schiele was an expressionist painter from the same time period as Klimt. However, looking at the two artist's pieces of work, it is hard to find many similarities in their style. While Klimt also painted nude women and was known for the physical experience of his paintings, Schiele's raw images of young women touching themselves were highly controversial and provoking at the time. Nowadays, it is even harder to see Schiele for the artist he was, thinking about the age many of his models were when he drew them.⁸⁶ Kokoschka and Schiele had a rather similar style in painting and drawing. The artists' depictions of sexuality have often had

⁸⁰ Niekerk, "Vienna Around 1900 and the Crisis of Public Art: On Text and Music in Klimt, Mahler, and Schnitzler," 95, 96.

⁸¹ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, 263.

⁸² Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, 273.

⁸³ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 157.

⁸⁴ Oskar Kokoschka, *Oskar Kokoschka: Erzähltes Leben. Ein Selbstporträt* (Berlin: Deutsche Grammophon Gesellschaft, 1961).

⁸⁵ Hans M. Wingler and Friedrich Welz, *Kokoschka: Das druckgraphische Werk*, 2 vols. (Salzburg: Verlag Galerie Welz, 1975; 1981).

⁸⁶ Gronberg, *Vienna. City of Modernity, 1890 – 1914*, 170.

such a pornographic aspect, that its sexuality is perceived as far tougher and more challenging than the “harem steaminess of Klimt.”⁸⁷ Similar to Kokoschka, Schiele’s images were influenced by his traumatic early life, but they “also emerged from a late 19th-century obsession with photography as a tool for diagnosing mental illness.”⁸⁸ Despite Schiele’s fascination with mental illness, he was not officially diagnosed with any himself, however, his behavior was still quite eccentric and many were concerned about his close connection to much younger girls.⁸⁹

One of Schiele’s last paintings was *The Family* of 1918. It is a painting full of contradictions which shows his personal uneasiness but also the restlessness of the time. While Schiele concentrated on himself as a father figure in one of his last paintings, Klimt portrayed a similar image also focusing on a family-theme, but rather on the motherhood aspect. However, to really follow through with his artistic vision, Klimt’s depictions of motherhood were full of foreboding, the uncanny and the “loss of self.”⁹⁰ Both Schiele’s and Klimt’s depictions can be related to the uncertainties of fin-de-siècle Vienna.

Arthur Schnitzler’s and Hugo von Hofmannsthal’s motivation for their works is best explored by explaining the disintegration of society after the glorious times of *Vienna 1900* which seemed to come as a surprise for many. However, the question arose if there ever was a social whole at all, or if it was “only an illusion of unified movement resulting from an accidental articulation of fundamentally incohesive, individual parts.”⁹¹ Schorske who raised the question, explored the commotion of all of Vienna’s creative scene being suddenly occupied with the problem of a disintegrating society. While the Emperor Francis Joseph held on to the last straws of his reign, a Christian Social tidal wave rushed over Vienna. The rise of the Right, the conservatives and nationalists meant a change for the art scene as well. The right-wing politicians did not see art as art for art’s sake or as a communication tool, but rather as “a medium for producing conformity.”⁹² This open attack on art could not go unnoticed by the artists of the time. While responding to the attack on their integrity in very different ways, the goal of most artists was similar, namely, “making

⁸⁷ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 186.

⁸⁸ Bourke, “Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Mental Illness and Modernism,” 1754.

⁸⁹ Alessandra Comini, *Schiele in Prison* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974).

⁹⁰ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 219.

⁹¹ Carl E. Schorske, “Politics and the Psyche in Fin De Siècle Vienna: Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal,” *The American Historical Review* 66, no. 4 (1961): 931, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1845864>.

⁹² Niekerk, “Vienna Around 1900 and the Crisis of Public Art: On Text and Music in Klimt, Mahler, and Schnitzler,” 105.

art into an almost physical experience, and thus bringing art closer to its public.”⁹³ These formative times seemed to have led to a different conceptualization of the artists’ thoughts. Klimt and Schnitzler, with the *Beethoven Frieze* and *Leutnant Gustl* respectively, focused on “the dualistic split between spiritual and physical love,” whereas the composer Gustav Mahler, for instance, rather focused on a more monistic model which located “humankind’s ethical core in its physical configuration.”⁹⁴

Another similarity arising through these times is the interest in the uncanny. The reason for the sudden interest in the unknown is for one the demise of the Habsburg Empire, “which shook up the Austrian society to its core, most of all its bourgeoisie.”⁹⁵ Kokoschka’s aforementioned doll of Alma Mahler is only one of the uncanny depiction of the time, as Freud, for instance, also published his essay *The Uncanny* in 1919. According to Varnedoe, however, it is very important to not simply attach Viennese art to Freud’s accomplishments, as it would risk diminishing each categories achievements, while at the same time ignoring the question of why the modernist visual art was not as successful right away as other forms of art.⁹⁶ Despite *Vienna 1900* not completely reinventing the language of art, it still managed to find “the rich, modern possibilities – still fascinating and troubling – in an art of artifice.”⁹⁷

The plurality and lack of direction or cohesion of the society and culture at the turn of the century was what made the nature of the time so difficult to understand.⁹⁸ Sigmund Freud, now one of the most renowned Austrians, not only because of his findings in psychoanalysis, but also because of the new-found interest in his life, thanks to new television shows such as *Freud*, an ORF – BBC collaboration, for instance, introduce the world to many new and interesting theories; however, he was not the only one at the time who discussed the importance of dreams, childhood experiences, or even sexuality.⁹⁹ Just as important for the time were Arthur Schnitzler and Hugo von Hofmannsthal who were facing some problems at the turn of the century; their liberal views were challenged by the

⁹³ Niekerk, “Vienna Around 1900 and the Crisis of Public Art: On Text and Music in Klimt, Mahler, and Schnitzler,” 105.

⁹⁴ Niekerk, “Vienna Around 1900 and the Crisis of Public Art: On Text and Music in Klimt, Mahler, and Schnitzler,” 100, 104.

⁹⁵ Meyer, “Bourgeois Innocence Lost: Uncanny Children in Turn-of-the-Century Vienna,” 195.

⁹⁶ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 220.

⁹⁷ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 225.

⁹⁸ Schorske, “Politics and the Psyche in Fin De Siècle Vienna: Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal,” 943-44.

⁹⁹ “Freud. Abgründe im Unbewussten,” ORF, <https://orf.at/stories/3157513/>; Peter F. Buckley, “The Age of Insight: The Quest to Understand the Unconscious in Art, Mind, and Brain, from Vienna 1900 to the Present,” *American Journal Of Psychiatry* 169, no. 7 (2012): 764, <https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.ajp.2012.12020282>.

new Austrian politics. While “Schnitzler approached the problem from the moral and scientific side of the Viennese liberal tradition [...] Hofmannsthal escaped the paralysis of drift which Schnitzler thought to be integral to aesthetic culture, and from which Hofmannsthal himself had suffered.”¹⁰⁰ The mentioned anxiety which seemed so deep-seated in Vienna at the turn of the century, also led to the explosion of talent in practically all forms of art and science. Despite other cities producing great artistry at the time, no other city seemed to produce greatness in quite as many disciplines as Vienna. This sense of achievement on all levels, can be associated to the Viennese *Lebensgefühl*. Despite the overarching success and rate of invention, be it Freud or Schönberg, it took a couple of years of reflection to fully understand the greatness of Klimt and Schiele. The modernist artists were ahead of their time.

Still today many of the pieces curated for ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ can be found in Viennese museums. For one, the most popular object of the exhibition, the *Beethoven Frieze* is still exhibited in the Secession today.¹⁰¹ Especially in the first district and on the *Ringstrasse*, there is no escaping the extravagance of *Vienna 1900*. Despite the commercial interest in the time period since ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit,’ a lack of commitment to the *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* by Austrian contemporary historians can still be felt. The aftermath of World War II still bears some weight in Austria, that it is difficult for Austria scholars to analyze the “periodic crises of historical identity” in detail.¹⁰² It shows that the identity building in Austria since the end of World War II has been influenced by the wrong aspects. Historians seem to tend to look towards Germany, and especially to nonpolitical fields, to find the Austrian identity, whereas they should rather look inside of Austria and its own past to find the basis for an identity which can withhold criticism longer than the past attempts.¹⁰³

B. The Problem of Austrian Identity

In the past, especially in anglophone literature, Germany and the German Empire usually took the blame for World War I. More recently, however, historians have shifted

¹⁰⁰ Schorske, “Politics and the Psyche in Fin De Siècle Vienna: Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal,” 946.

¹⁰¹ Isolde von Mersi, “Wien: Die Bauwut des Bürgermeister,” *Die Zeit*, February 7, 1986, <https://www.zeit.de/1986/07/wien-die-bauwut-des-buergermeisters/komplettansicht?print>.

¹⁰² Steven Beller, “Reviewed Work(s): Austria in the Nineteen Fifties by Günter Bischof, Anton Pelinka and Rolf Steininger,” *German Studies Review* 21, no. 2 (May 1998): 387, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1432240>.

¹⁰³ Beller, “Reviewed Work(s): Austria in the Nineteen Fifties by Günter Bischof, Anton Pelinka and Rolf Steininger,” 387-388.

their focus more on the Central European involvement in the conflict, which leads to the realization that the Habsburg Empire played a much bigger role in the outbreak as previously stated.¹⁰⁴ This is important to know as it underlines the role of the victim that Austria has played for so many years. It seems as if the *Geschichtslüge*, which will be discussed in much more detail, has not started after World War II, it seems to have planted its seeds all the way back at the beginning of World War I.

1. Identity Construction: A Literature Review

It is important to have an understanding of the building blocks that are needed to construct an identity, again, to recognize why Austria had such a difficult time forming their own cultural identity. According to Stuart Hall, cultural identity can be defined in two different ways. On the one hand it could be thought of in terms of a “shared culture, a sort of collective ‘one true self’,” oftentimes shared by people with the same ancestry.¹⁰⁵ In this sense, a cultural identity mirrors historical experiences and cultural codes. This definition is, therefore, closely linked to the togetherness and concept of familiarity, making identity somewhat stagnant and fixated.¹⁰⁶ The other way of thinking about cultural identity focuses on the opposite of unity, namely on the constant change, which would make identity according to Hall “a process never completed and logged in contingency.”¹⁰⁷ Another, more traditional approach to identity can be found in Erik Erikson’s theory. Topical for *Vienna 1900*, Erikson bases his theories on Freud’s existential question of ‘Who am I?’ and claims that the answer to this inquiry defines a person’s identity. The sense of belonging, but also the difference which can be found in interpersonal interactions is the indicator of people’s identity, as it results from one’s own self-reflection and self-categorization in a particular group or role.¹⁰⁸

Similarly, Manuel Castell is of the opinion that identity can also portray a “source of meaning and experience,” by self-constructing said meaning through cultural attributes.¹⁰⁹ This also indicates that there can be a plurality of identities someone recognizes, which can lead to contradictions in the self-representation and social action of the person experiencing

¹⁰⁴ Beller, “Vienna 1900: a world of yesterday, today – and tomorrow?” 260.

¹⁰⁵ Stuart Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (London: Routledge, 1993), 393.

¹⁰⁶ Mustafa Koç, “Cultural Identity Crisis in the Age of Globalization and Technology,” *The Turkish Online Journal of Educational Technology* 5, no. 1 (January 2006): Article 5.

¹⁰⁷ Stuart Hall, “Introduction: Who Needs ‘Identity’?” in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage, 1996), 2.

¹⁰⁸ Erik H. Erikson, *Identity and the life cycle* (London: W.W. Norton, 1994).

¹⁰⁹ Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 6.

said plurality. While Castell highlights the importance of the self in formulating an identity, he also acknowledges that a strong institution could also be powerful enough to influence people's perception. However, only if the institution's opinion is internalized by a person and they construct their meaning around it, is it able to become an identity, as identity has to come from the self.¹¹⁰ Kenneth Gergen also shares the view of the possibility of multiple identities – but instead of experiencing said identities at the same time, he argues that, as identity can be a process which is constantly changing due to historical and cultural developments, one can have different identities “at different points of time and settings.”¹¹¹

This phenomena of the shift from stagnant identity towards the more flexible definition is also discussed by Zygmunt Bauman. He is of the opinion that this move towards plurality is not the solution for the existing problem of identity, much rather it is just a shift in problems. According to Bauman, “the modern ‘problem of identity’ was how to construct an identity and keep it solid and stable, the postmodern ‘problem of identity’ is primarily how to avoid fixation and keep the options open.”¹¹² This can be best described by focusing on the relation between differing identities. For the formation of a culture's own identity, it is also important to constantly distinguish it from other identities, as this play of differences, diversities, but also the hybridity and heterogeneity brings forward the strengths of one's own identity much more.¹¹³

Returning to Hall's theory, identity formation, therefore, functions on difference, a notion which can be based on Saussure's approach, which is that binary oppositions, which are best described as a kind of marking difference, are essential to the production of meaning.¹¹⁴ This again points out that “cultural identities are also constructed in relation to or difference from the ‘other’ ones and this construction usually appears in binary oppositions (‘us’ and ‘them’).”¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, this acknowledgement of difference can, instead of encouraging plurality in identity, halt the change by being too accepting of said

¹¹⁰ Castells, *The Power of Identity*, 6-7.

¹¹¹ Kenneth J. Gergen, *The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1991); Koç, “Cultural Identity Crisis in the Age of Globalization and Technology.”

¹¹² Zygmunt Bauman, “From Pilgrim to Tourist – or a Short History of Identity,” in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage, 1996), 18.

¹¹³ Koç, “Cultural Identity Crisis in the Age of Globalization and Technology.”

¹¹⁴ Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” 397.

¹¹⁵ Koç, “Cultural Identity Crisis in the Age of Globalization and Technology”; Kathryn Woodward, “Concepts of identity and difference,” in *Identity and difference*, ed. Kathryn Woodward (London: Sage, 1997), 8-61.

differences. Hall, therefore, highlights that a certain ‘fluidity of identity’ should be kept at all times, to keep identities from stagnating, as they should be evolving at all times.¹¹⁶

Overall, identity has many different instigators and ways to portray itself. There is the traditional approach, which focuses on the familiar, the shared roots of a culture, but there is also a more modern approach, which focuses on the difference in people on the individuality of the self and the way people interact with each other.¹¹⁷ Identity is a difficult concept to explain briefly, as it is so ingrained in every person. Usually, one only thinks of identity when they feel left out and in need of feeling accepted. This is one of the reasons, why identity plays such a big part for Austria in the 1980s; Austrians, as a society, have felt out of place for a very long time, as the past stagnant identity could not be upheld any longer, while the plurality needed for the formation of a new identity was still lacking due to the ignorance towards the nation’s past. There was an uncertainty in where to belong and how to behave, as there were no proper patterns established for anyone to compare themselves to.¹¹⁸

2. Austria’s Difficult Path towards National Identity

As has been alluded to several times already, it is mostly the shaky and uncertain past of Austria, which is the reason for its society’s issue with identity today.¹¹⁹ As Steven Beller and Frank Trommler mention in their paper on ‘Austrian Writers Confront the Past, 1945-2000’, the Austrian problem starts many years before the Austrian nation as we know it today is established. Departing from ‘Ostarrichi’, moving on to the Habsburg Empire and Austria-Hungary, which expanded the nation to an enormous size, while also incorporating many new cultures into the Empire, led to a dilution of Austrian-ness. Instead it brought forward a new cultural identity connected more to the Habsburg monarchy than to the national identity of ‘Austria’.¹²⁰ This time also brought forward many difficulties culture-wise. The problems caused by different identities started to shake up the empire. This changed in 1867, when Emperor Francis Joseph I agreed to the *Austro-Hungarian Compromise*, which was meant to deescalate the situation in the empire, but, unfortunately,

¹¹⁶ Stuart Hall, “The work of representation,” in *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage, 1997), 13-64.

¹¹⁷ Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” 392-402; Koç, “Cultural Identity Crisis in the Age of Globalization and Technology.”

¹¹⁸ Bauman, “From Pilgrim to Tourist – or a Short History of Identity,” 19.

¹¹⁹ Steven Beller and Frank Trommler, “Austrian Writers Confront the Past, 1945-2000: An Introduction,” *New German Critique* 98 (Autumn 2004): 4, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4150477>.

¹²⁰ Beller and Trommler, “Austrian Writers Confront the Past, 1945-2000: An Introduction,” 9.

turned the country even more against each other.¹²¹ All of this can be led back to different identities which have been forced together into one nation. After World War I, what was left of Austria was geographically a lot smaller, but some of the identity issues were still left unsolved. The Eastern European issue might have solved itself, by Austria-Hungary having been dissolved after the War, but there was still a big divide in identities inside the borders of what was left of Austria. A main reason for this ongoing uncertainty was the lack of attempts to “forge an Austrian national identity independent of the German.”¹²² The goal of the First Republic was after all to become part of Germany, therefore, many thought there was no need for a convincing Austrian identity.¹²³ Additionally, the political struggle for power led to a “culture war, over the content of that identity between Catholic conservative Christian Socials and anti-clerical, progressive Social Democrats.”¹²⁴ The rural farmer does not care about high culture, whereas the artist from the city does not understand how religion can play such a big part in a person’s life. Again, Austria was deprived of their wished-for identity. This uncertainty, undecidedness, and unhappiness after World War I which was felt throughout the whole country led to the more than easy ‘Anschluss’ to Germany in 1938.¹²⁵

After World War II, Austria was once more not allowed to decide for itself what path it wanted to go. In 1943 at the Moscow Conference, the Allied powers – the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom and the Republic of China – came to the conclusion that Austria was seen as the first victim of the Third Reich.¹²⁶ That this might have been far from the truth was swept under the rug by Austrian politicians, as this meant that the post-war situation would look a lot better for the nation. However, with this claim came a several-decade-long denial of what really happened prior to the *Anschluss*. No one dared to talk about the wish of being part of the German Empire after World War I, the long-lived anti-Semitic tendencies of Austrians were ignored, as well as the lack of protest from the government when Hitler decided to take over the leadership.¹²⁷ This denial made

¹²¹ André Gerrits and Dirk Jan Wolffram (eds.), *Political Democracy and Ethnic Diversity in Modern European History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 42.

¹²² Beller and Trommler, “Austrian Writers Confront the Past, 1945-2000: An Introduction,” 10.

¹²³ “Austrian National Identity,” U.S. Library of Congress, accessed May 12, 2020, <http://countrystudies.us/austria/61.htm>.

¹²⁴ Beller and Trommler, “Austrian Writers Confront the Past, 1945-2000: An Introduction,” 10.

¹²⁵ Erin R. Hochman, *Imagining a Greater Germany: Republican Nationalism and the Idea of Anschluss* (London: Cornell University Press, 2016), 26.

¹²⁶ Rauchensteiner, *Unter Beobachtung: Österreich seit 1918*.

¹²⁷ Isabel Vincent, *Hitler's Silent Partners: Swiss Banks, Nazi Gold, And The Pursuit Of Justice* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 1997).

the formation of an identity almost impossible. In addition to the issue of the *Geschichtslüge*, the oftentimes ignored influence Judaism had on the development of the time also plays a big role in discovering the problem of Austrian identity. The *Wittgenstein Initiative*, an organization concentrating on the forgotten past of *Vienna 1900*, suggests that the Viennese diversity and the Habsburg Empire's criticism of it were not in opposition, rather they were two sides of a "marginocentric phenomenon," which had the region's most marginal group, Central European Jewry, at the center.¹²⁸ These are only some of the major issues Austria had to deal with in the latter half of the 20th century. Once the capital changed under the leadership of Helmut Zilk in the 1980s, there was a chance to change the whole nation's view of itself, as Vienna as the capital had and still has the most influence on society.¹²⁹

As Beller and Trommler state, the problem with finding a contemporary Austrian identity is not the lack of identity in the past, the problem is much more that "Austrian history is so much greater than the Austrian present."¹³⁰ So not only are the many different 'Austrian' identities of the Habsburg Monarchy of the First Republic prior to 1918 a problem for the 'Austrian' identity of today, it also played a big part in the collapse of the Habsburg Empire after World War I.¹³¹ Despite the lack of interest to form an identity for the Austrian nation, a new identity did emerge, but only in the political realm. However, this amounted to a "culture war [...] over the content of that identity between Catholic conservative Christian Socials and anti-clerical, progressive Social Democrats, which exploded in the Civil War of 1934."¹³² With a nation so divided, from the political realm onwards, it is no surprise that there seemed to be little national resistance against the Anschluss in March 1938.¹³³

Once the Second World War was over, it was time for Austria to find its national identity once again. What emerged from this time period was new and different to what Austria's identity looked like before and definitely showed who had the upper hand in shaping it. The Catholic conservatives who were in charge at the time, and, therefore, were also able to shape Austrian cultural life, tried their best to cast Austria "in the mold of heir to the medieval Austria of the Babenbergs (hence avoiding the contested, supra-national

¹²⁸ Beller, "Vienna 1900: a world of yesterday, today – and tomorrow?" 265.

¹²⁹ "Jewish Medal for Mayor of Vienna," *Austrian Information* 43, no. 1 (1990): 2.

¹³⁰ Beller and Trommler, "Austrian Writers Confront the Past, 1945-2000: An Introduction," 9.

¹³¹ Doug Bruno, "The Habsburg Problem," *Conspectus Borealis* 1, no. 1 (2016), 11.

¹³² Beller and Trommler, "Austrian Writers Confront the Past, 1945-2000: An Introduction," 10.

¹³³ Vincent, *Hitler's Silent Partners: Swiss Banks, Nazi Gold, And The Pursuit Of Justice*.

Habsburg heritage), and culturally a child of the Catholic Baroque,” which worked rather well, as – outside of Vienna – most of Austria was Catholic and conservative and people seemed to identify quite quickly with the new “Alpine, Trachten-wearing ‘Austrian Man’.”¹³⁴ The provincial aspect was used on the one side to get the acceptance of the rural areas of Austria, but also to keep Austria in people’s mind as a small, innocent nation – this way, the *Geschichtslüge* was more believable and Austria was able to keep playing the victim of German aggression. Opposing to the provinciality-aspect, Austrian politicians also worked on making Austria known as an internationalist nation. Again, this was used to make sure that the nation was not connected to the Nazi regime, and an aspect which was actually agreed upon by both the Socialist Party and the Catholic Church.¹³⁵ In the end, this left Austria with a rather contradictory identity. It was provincial, but at the same time international, tradition was important, but not the Habsburg past.

Even though there were efforts to form a cultural identity post-war, it was difficult to do so with the determined ignorance of the actual past. Only in the 1970s intellectuals started to rediscover the history of Austria prior to the wars. However, once this path was opened, it kept on being discussed and researched which eventually led to the immense interest in *Fin-de-siècle Vienna* that we know of today. The interest was not sparked in Austria itself, but mainly by scholars from the United States and Great Britain. Once it was realized that Vienna “was now seen by Westerners as having once been something akin to the cultural birthplace of the twentieth century, Austrians wanted to incorporate *Vienna 1900* into the larger picture of Austrian heritage and identity developed after 1945.”¹³⁶ This led to the emergence of the *Vienna 1900* as we know it today. Similarly to Americans being invited to eat the ‘typical Austrian’ *Apfelstrudel mit Vanillesoße* in Salzburg, tourists were now fed the *Hilton’s Klimt-Torte* in Vienna.¹³⁷ However, just as everyone in Salzburg knew that there was not much truth to the *Apfelstrudel*-tale, “the Austrian political and cultural establishment [...] probably knew that *Vienna 1900* was a Trojan horse for post-1945 Austrian identity.”¹³⁸

Beller and Trommler rightly detected that what made *Vienna 1900* so interesting for modern-day thought experiments was less the time period itself but more the “embrace

¹³⁴ Beller and Trommler, “Austrian Writers Confront the Past, 1945-2000: An Introduction,” 10-11.

¹³⁵ Tony Judt, “The Past Is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe,” *Daedalus* 4 (1992): 87.

¹³⁶ Beller and Trommler, “Austrian Writers Confront the Past, 1945-2000: An Introduction,” 12.

¹³⁷ Norbert Rief, “‘Sound Of Music’: Der unbekannte Klang der Musik,” *Die Presse*, April 4, 2009, <https://www.diepresse.com/467493/sound-of-music-der-unbekannte-klang-der-musik>.

¹³⁸ Beller and Trommler, “Austrian Writers Confront the Past, 1945-2000: An Introduction,” 12-13.

of [...] ‘critical modernism’.”¹³⁹ The work of Klimt, Schiele, and other now well-known artists was not the art, literature, or science which was seen as traditional or normal at the turn-of-the-century. It did not fit in with the picture of the Viennese bourgeoisie at all, the artists were frowned upon, not taken for full, and oftentimes their success only started to pick up after their death.¹⁴⁰ These men who are the faces of most Viennese tourist attractions were not, or only barely accepted during their lives in Vienna.

Just like *The Sound of Music* does not show the true reaction to the *Anschluss*, most *Vienna 1900* representations fail to mention the immense Jewish contributions, both artistically and financially. And just like most Austrians knew that *The Sound of Music* depiction was wrong, most Austrians also suspected that there must have been more Jewish influence in the world of *Vienna 1900* than initially portrayed. Despite the knowledge of anti-Semitism being an issue even back then, it was difficult to accept this fact as a nation, because it directly challenges the *Geschichtslüge*, which is much more comfortable to accept than the harsh truth of Austria’s past. The Austrian society was now challenged on a moral basis. On the one hand, a “treasure of Austrian national heritage” has been discovered, which meant a growing international interest in the nation, but then this treasure was revealed to be the “product of a group, Vienna’s Jewish bourgeoisie, who were not part of the postwar Austrian society.”¹⁴¹

Even though the first explorations of *Vienna 1900* did not mention this discrepancy of the past and the present, the truth about the new-found national treasure could not be ignored forever. Which, again, leads back to the *Geschichtslüge* of Austria ignoring parts of their own history. Without acknowledging the time from 1938 to 1945 and accepting that many Austrians even profited from the time, there is no way to truthfully tackle *Vienna 1900* as part of Austrian identity.¹⁴² The blame for the lack of Austrian identity, has to be once again be put on the leadership of post-war Austria, who “was far too ready to accept this fictitious rewriting of the Austrian wartime experience, for it offered Austria both virtual indemnity from Nazi war crimes, as well as the opportunity to start the Austrian experiment again, with a clean sheet.”¹⁴³ Unfortunately, a nation cannot simply scrap its past and start from scratch, which is why the Austrian society seems to have such a hard time with identifying with any of the Austrian identities that have been put on them since the end of

¹³⁹ Beller and Trommler, “Austrian Writers Confront the Past, 1945-2000: An Introduction,” 13.

¹⁴⁰ Janik, “Vienna 1900 Revisited: Paradigms and Problems.”

¹⁴¹ Beller and Trommler, “Austrian Writers Confront the Past, 1945-2000: An Introduction,” 14.

¹⁴² Uhl, “Of Heroes and Victims: World War II in Austrian Memory,” 185-200.

¹⁴³ Beller and Trommler, “Austrian Writers Confront the Past, 1945-2000: An Introduction,” 15.

World War II.¹⁴⁴ This uncanny feeling of something being not right can be felt everywhere; from *The Sound of Music* not resonating with us, to Austrian contemporary writers who are struggling finding the right words to come to terms with the nation's past.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ Michael Z. Wise, "Austria's Identity Crisis," *The Washington Post*, February 26, 1992, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1992/02/26/austrias-identity-crisis/c1dec7de-291c-4a89-9ef6-02bbf4616bff/>.

¹⁴⁵ Rief, "'Sound Of Music': Der unbekannte Klang der Musik."

II. Traum und Wirklichkeit

Vienna 1900 was the trend topic of the 1980s, with people from across the globe discovering fin-de-siècle Vienna as a safe haven of modernism. This might have been the case because – according to Hans Hollein, the curator of ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ – Vienna at the turn of the century showed similar political and societal tendencies than Vienna in the 1980s.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, in 1985, a new interest for *Vienna 1900* was sparked in the city of origin itself. Besides a number of publications on the topic which found its way to the general public, the grand exhibition ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ was about to open its doors as well.¹⁴⁷

A. Setting the Scene

Vienna at the turn of the century was booming, be it its bourgeoisie on the one side or its growing poverty on the other. At the same time, the coffeehouse-culture, private groups and elite salons managed the jump from the private sector towards global publicity – the turn of the century turned out to become the trademark of Vienna. *Vienna 1900* is a success-story, despite it having been full of blatant opposites, which have not been encountered in this magnitude before or after the mentioned time period.¹⁴⁸ In the 1980s, in the span of a couple of years, this new trademark managed to shape the image of a city. Tourists go on excursions to find places that were of importance for Viennese modernism, just as they are looking for Sissi’s chambers and the *Schönbrunn* palace on their visit to Vienna.¹⁴⁹

All of this might be the case thanks to one exhibition: ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 – 1930’. The exhibition was monumental compared to others of the time and as it is until today one of the most visited exhibitions of Vienna with more than 622.000 visitors having come to the Austrian capital to see what *Vienna 1900* had to offer. The ‘script’ for the exhibition was written by Carl E. Schorske, which again, leads back to him being the mastermind of the concept itself. However, making the exhibition to the big

¹⁴⁶ *Von Tag zu Tag*, “Ausstellung ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 - 1930’ im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein,” Interviewed by Volkmar Parschalk, Aired March 14, 1985, on ORF, <https://www.mediathek.at/oesterreich-am-wort/suche/treffer/atom/10B8C65C-00F-000CF-00000320-10B81BDA/pool/BWEB/>.

¹⁴⁷ Metken, “Tanz auf dem Vulkan.”

¹⁴⁸ Heidemarie Uhl, “Lass besingen dich, du künftig Wien,” *Die Presse*, December 28, 2011, <https://www.diepresse.com/720013/bdquolass-besingen-dich-du-kunftig-wienldquo>.

¹⁴⁹ Heidemarie Uhl, “Museums as Engines of Identity: ‘Vienna around 1900’ and Exhibitionary Cultures in Vienna – A Comment,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 46 (2015), 99.

cultural event it was, is thanks to Hans Hollein, the curator of the exhibition who saw the exhibition's great potential.¹⁵⁰ He created the display of more than 2000 exhibits, and then organized the spectacle together with Robert Waissenberger, the director of the Historical Museum of Vienna.¹⁵¹ The main mission of the exhibition was to establish the relevance of Vienna as the laboratory of modernism, not only in Austria itself but also internationally. An additional goal was to get Gustav Klimt's art out of the 'kitsch' corner and rediscover his connection to Sigmund Freud, to the Viennese authors and philosophers, but also to analyze the underlying anti-Semitism, from Karl Lueger to Adolf Hitler.¹⁵² In Vienna at the turn of the century, everything seemed to be happening at once. The extremes were piling up – from the poorest and the richest, the living monument of the old order – Emperor Francis Joseph, and the Nouveau Riche of the assimilated Jewish entrepreneurship, the heights of medicine and philosophy, the child prostitutes, and the poor houses. *Vienna 1900* was a place where dream and reality – or 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' – were constantly overlapping, just as the equally titled exhibition showed.¹⁵³

'Traum und Wirklichkeit' was not the first exhibition in Vienna focusing on *Vienna 1900*, or on Gustav Klimt as the main topic. Baldur von Schirach, for instance, commissioned a Klimt-exhibition in 1943, in the same year he – as the *NS-Reichsstatthalter* – declared Vienna to a city "free-of-Jews".¹⁵⁴ Despite the questionable organizers, the exhibition was a public success, as it was visited by approximately 24.000 visitors, despite the grave economic situation at the time. However, the exhibition was only possible due to the shameless access to Jewish private property. According to the art historian Sophie Lillie, approximately a third of the exhibited art pieces could be considered expropriated property.¹⁵⁵ The issue of displaying stolen art pieces was not resolved at the time and the issue came up again after the 1985 exhibition. Jane Kallir, an Austro-American art dealer, reignited the discussion of the restitution of art pieces by the Austrian government in the 1990s.¹⁵⁶ One of the most famous cases of restitution was not brought up by Kallir, but by

¹⁵⁰ Uhl, "Lass besingen dich, du künftig Wien."

¹⁵¹ Almuth Spiegler, "Die Relevanz der Kunst um 1900 wird verkannt," *Die Presse*, April 2, 2018, <https://www.diepresse.com/5398567/die-relevanz-der-kunst-um-1900-wird-verkannt>.

¹⁵² Spiegler, "Die Relevanz der Kunst um 1900 wird verkannt"; Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 17.

¹⁵³ Spiegler, "Die Relevanz der Kunst um 1900 wird verkannt."

¹⁵⁴ Elke Fröhlich, ed. *Die Tagebücher Von Joseph Goebbels* Teil 2, Bd. 1, August 19, 1941 (München: Saur, 1996), 265-6.

¹⁵⁵ Sommer and Steiner-Strauss, "Die Lust, die Sucht, die Kraft."

¹⁵⁶ Jane Kallir, "Austrian Restitution Policy: Where Are We, and How Did We Get Here?" *Galerie St. Etienne*, October 1, 2015, <https://gseart.com/gse-blog/2015/10/01/austrian-restitution-policy/>.

the rightful owner of the pieces in question, Maria Altmann. This was the case ‘Bloch-Bauer’, which will, together with the restitution process in general, be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.¹⁵⁷

From today’s perspective, ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ was a timely intervention, as the guiding principles of the historical self-image of the city were eroding. The Viennese memory is based on two competitive narratives, which mirrored the ideological opposites of the political camps, namely the catholic-conservative perspective which is stuck in the hero-era Vienna’s of the time of the Turk Wars, when Vienna was the main focal point of the Christian western world against the Osman Empire of the east. The other camp was supporting the concept of Vienna as a modernist, social metropolis, which fought for worker rights or rather the social democratic city administration.¹⁵⁸ Rightly so, neither seemed to really fit with the contemporary Vienna, which eventually led to the immense success of the exhibition. The organizers shied no cost to make it as public an event as possible. In a *Der Spiegel* article about ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ from 1985, the author mentions that Klimt’s dream has become reality, despite it being a rather weird, loud, three-dimensional reality.¹⁵⁹ Meant is naturally the metallic shimmering of Klimt’s *Medizin* on the roof of the *Künstlerhaus*.¹⁶⁰ The statue of the famous Klimt painting was situated opposite of a model of the *Karl-Marx-Hof* of ‘Red Vienna’, which created a contrasting view for people looking towards the *Künstlerhaus*. These kinds of contrasts such as the shimmering glamor of Klimt and the red-brick reality of ‘Red Vienna’ were the main theme and principal of the exhibition which introduced its visitors to the peculiarities of *Vienna 1900* for six months.¹⁶¹

In Almuth Spiegler’s analysis of the exhibition 33 years after its opening, she summarizes that neither a revision of nor an addition to the exhibition would suffice for a re-telling of the past narrative, but a completely new version of the story should be curated. Unfortunately, most contemporary exhibitions on *Vienna 1900* do exactly what she asked them not to do. Spiegler also mentioned some of the angles the original exhibition missed, one of them being feminism. Despite the lack of women for the most part in ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’, feminism was a topic which already started to be explored in the art scene

¹⁵⁷ Sommer and Steiner-Strauss, “Die Lust, die Sucht, die Kraft.”

¹⁵⁸ Uhl, “Lass besingen dich, du künftig Wien.”

¹⁵⁹ “K. u. K. Disneyland,” *Der Spiegel*, April 1, 1985, <https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13511642.html>.

¹⁶⁰ Spiegler, “Die Relevanz der Kunst um 1900 wird erkannt.”

¹⁶¹ “K. u. K. Disneyland,” *Der Spiegel*.

of *Vienna 1900*. Affairs, scandals, and divorces accompanied the gender fight, in which women who not yet dared to start their own professional life, developed to helpful, smart co-producers of their male companions.¹⁶² Emancipation, hatred, and the worship of women seemed to be existing in equal parts in *Vienna 1900*. As a consequence, critics would have to add this aspect to the ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition, as it would have brought a different perspective of the time period to the table.¹⁶³

It also seems that Klimt and Schiele were being treated rather graciously by the exhibition and scholars of the 1980s, as newly published biographies depict them rather as supporters of women and pre-feminists, social pornographers rather than child pornographers, as well as anti-capitalists, reformers, and prophets rather than escapist beautifiers, a notion, which will be analyzed more closely in the next chapter.¹⁶⁴ Spiegler summarizes her opinion piece by reiterating the missed chance of the City of Vienna to reimagine the 1985 exhibition for its anniversary in 2015, as it would have been the perfect way of rediscovering the strength, the vision, and the opportunities of Viennese modernism and put it into a more contemporary context.¹⁶⁵

Lastly, when deciding on the time period which should be covered by the exhibition, the curators agreed on covering the time frame from 1870 to 1930, because it perfectly encapsulates the change the city went through. Starting out with “liberal and democratic reform, urban and economic renewal, and religious and ethnic tolerance,” Vienna was full of nervous anticipation of what was to come, however, the period “ended with the rise of nationalist and anti-Semitic mass movements,” turning the anticipation into suffering.¹⁶⁶ World War I shortly interrupted the creative frenzy of the Viennese art scene, which is why the period of the inter-war years is still included in the exhibition, whereas World War II radically obliterated it. The majority of representatives and sponsors of Viennese modernism were of Jewish descent, and were, therefore, either murdered or forced to flee the country.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² Uhl, “Lass besingen dich, du künftig Wien.”

¹⁶³ Spiegler, “Die Relevanz der Kunst um 1900 wird erkannt.”

¹⁶⁴ Jonathan Jones, “Egon Schiele: The Radical Nude review – a feminist artist ahead of his time,” *The Guardian*, October 21, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2014/oct/21/egon-schiele-the-radical-nude-review>.

¹⁶⁵ Spiegler, “Die Relevanz der Kunst um 1900 wird erkannt.”

¹⁶⁶ De Waal, “Vienna 1900: A brush with the past.”

¹⁶⁷ Uhl, “Lass besingen dich, du künftig Wien.”

1. The Dream of a Grand Exhibition

Helmut Zilk, the mayor from 1984 to 1994 had high hopes for Vienna, as he wanted the city to return to its glorious heights from the turn of the century. Once Zilk was elected mayor of Vienna, he decided to give his full attention to the maintenance of the inner city. His ordering of monuments to be restored, and new projects he set in motion only had one purpose: raise the international interest for Vienna.¹⁶⁸ Zilk's interest in the revival of Vienna was for mainly financial reason, naturally. Vienna in the 80s was slumping behind on tourism numbers in comparison to the other 'grand' cities of Europe, especially Western Europe. Zilk wanted for Austria, and Vienna in particular, to be recognized as the last Western power on the Central European front, rather than the first Eastern European metropolis.¹⁶⁹ With reviving the grand times of fin-de-siècle Vienna, Zilk hoped to lead away from the comparison with Eastern European cities, and rather remind everyone of the once great society that was situated in Vienna. Additionally, Zilk very much knew that *Vienna 1900* was a much easier topic to cover than anything that came afterwards, as Austria still very much lived in the *Geschichtslüge* of having been the victim in World War II, rather than taking any blame themselves.

In the opening statement of the catalogue for the 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' exhibition, Helmut Zilk cites Stefan Zweig's work *The World of Yesterday*; he questions the reader if it is nostalgia, admiration or melancholy with which 'we' Austrians look back to the beginning of the century. Instead of answering his own question, he goes on to explain the *Vienna 1900* has been a well-known term for Germany, Great Britain, the US and even Japan in the years prior, only Austria itself had not yet discovered the time period. Thanks to the grand exhibition this was about to change.¹⁷⁰ To end his opening statement, Zilk claims that "with the critical analysis of our history and our traditions we define our own identity," alluding to the immense impact the exhibition turned out to have on the Austrian cultural identity.¹⁷¹

Helmut Zilk realized early on that Austria was struggling to formulate a postwar identity it could live with. In the 1980s, Austria was, for the first time since the two World Wars, able to think about who they wanted to be – before, the nation was mostly focused

¹⁶⁸ Von Mersi, "Wien: Die Bauwelt des Bürgermeisters."

¹⁶⁹ Günter Bischof and Ferdinand Karlhofer, eds, *Austria's International Position after the End of the Cold War* (New Orleans: University of New Orleans Press, 2013).

¹⁷⁰ Helmut Zilk, "Danksagung," in *Traum Und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930*, eds. Tino Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien, VeranstalterIn (Wien: Eigenverlag Der Museen Der Stadt Wien, 1985), 3.

¹⁷¹ Zilk, "Danksagung," 3.

on keeping afloat while handling the aftermath of World War II. With this new-found freedom to express their identity, Austria was quick to realize, that there was not much they could hold on to. As Katherine Arens mentioned in her analysis of Austria, for the rural society outside of Vienna, it was easy to find an identity in ‘Heimat’, without thinking too much about what that meant in the sense of Austria’s past – they simply “changed their red hats to green ones”.¹⁷² But for Vienna, this shift in identity was much more difficult. The issue of dismantling Jewish achievements was especially important for Vienna, as the capital was where most of Austria’s Jewish population was situated before the World Wars.¹⁷³ Nevertheless, *Vienna 1900* stayed the most feasible resolution for a common ground which was supposed to help the society in forming a cultural identity, as the other possible options did not suffice either. On the one hand, one could wish back for the Empire, the good old times of Franz and Sissi which, on further inspection, were not so great after all.¹⁷⁴ Or, on the other hand, one could wish back the days of Nazi Austria – another point in history Austria does not want to be put in connection with. Adding to this misery is the fact that the lie of Austria being the first victim of Nazi Germany was looming over the country. The lie itself not being the issue, but rather the fact that people started to question its validity. Austria was a divided and war-stricken shell of a nation before Nazi Germany took over. It is true that they did take over, but they did not have a hard time convincing the Austrian public that this was the way to go, and it was also not difficult to convince the politicians that they were on the ‘right side of history’.¹⁷⁵

All of these factors played a big part in the decision of the City of Vienna to finance ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’; to remind everyone of the great achievements of Austria from the past. *Vienna 1900* was a period of wealth, artistry, culture, and coffee in the Austrian capital, which brought an immense amount of artwork, literature, scientific achievements, and architecture to Vienna – something that was celebrated accordingly with the exhibition in 1985.¹⁷⁶ All of this played into the creation of ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ which was curated almost to perfection for what it was needed for.

¹⁷² Katherine Arens, *New Directions in German Studies*, vol 13, *Vienna's Dreams of Europe: Culture and Identity beyond the Nation-state* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

¹⁷³ Beller, “Wittgenstein’s and Today’s Vienna: Anticipating the Future.”

¹⁷⁴ Uhl, “Lass besingen dich, du künftig Wien.”

¹⁷⁵ Klautke, “Sex, Coffee, Madness: New Studies on the History of Fin-de-Siècle and Inter-War Vienna,” 111.

¹⁷⁶ Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien VeranstalterIn, *Traum Und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930*.

Although the City of Vienna was the driving force behind the project, Hans Hollein has to be credited as well as he made an actual product out of the idea, which will be discussed in more detail later on. It has to be mentioned, however, that even though it was helpful that Helmut Zilk spared no effort nor expense to make the exhibition happen – it took Hollein’s imagination and perseverance to get the idea from paper to reality. With his architectural background, Hollein was able to create an exhibition that took the visitor to another world, back to fin-de-siècle Vienna. Together with Robert Waissenberger, he managed to get many pieces of art which were thought to be unattainable, for instance, Klimt’s *Beethoven Frieze*, or a double of the Beethoven bust from the 14th Secession.¹⁷⁷

Another supporter of the restoration of Vienna’s glorious past was Ronald S. Lauder, the former US ambassador of Vienna. The gold leaf covering of the Secession’s dome was, for instance, only possible thanks to the financial contribution of Lauder.¹⁷⁸ He is also to be thanked for the later collaborations between the City of Vienna and the MoMa in New York. Despite the decision to use the *Künstlerhaus* as the location, the *Künstlerhaus* as an institution was not involved in the creative process. The organizational efforts can mostly be led back to the Historical Museum of Vienna, and their great curators, as – according to Regina Karner – the City of Vienna, despite providing the financial support for the exhibition, did not help much with the creative process either.¹⁷⁹

Once again, Carl E. Schorske also has to be mentioned as being part of the equation. Without Schorske’s ‘playbook’ the exhibition would have never turned out the way it did. According to Steven Beller, it is quite clear that Hollein and Waissenberger took most of their inspiration from Schorske’s view of Vienna, as he managed to create a positive enough vision of the city that seemed to resonate with everyone at the time.¹⁸⁰

2. Carl E. Schorske: The Mastermind of *Vienna 1900* and his Critics
Having a closer look at Carl E. Schorske and other scholars who defined the time period *Vienna 1900* for the contemporary world, it becomes clear that Schorske was able to cover the reason for the significance of *Vienna 1900* mainly by analyzing the *Ringstrasse*

¹⁷⁷ Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien, VeranstalterIn, *Traum Und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930*.

¹⁷⁸ Von Mersi, “Wien: Die Bauwut des Bürgermeisters.”

¹⁷⁹ Regina Karner, interview by the author, Vienna, May 11, 2020.

¹⁸⁰ Steven Beller, “Fin de Fin-de-Siècle Vienna? A Letter of Remembrance,” In *Global Austria. Austria’s Place in Europe and the World*, eds. Günter Bischof and Ferdinand Karlhofer (New Orleans: University of New Orleans Press, 2016), 46-80.

in close detail.¹⁸¹ Schorske was the originator of the explanation of the connection between the emergence of psychoanalysis and Viennese modernism in all art forms and the dissolution of Austrian liberalism. He evoked the image of the pressure of nationalism and anti-Semitism forcing the liberal world of the Viennese bourgeoisie to crumble. He claimed that the “liberal *Wissenschaft* [was] succumbing under the modernist siege.”¹⁸² This nationalism and anti-Semitism entered the Viennese consciousness due to the rise of the Christian Socialists under Karl Lueger, whose goal was to implement a new set of keys into the mind of the Austrians – namely, populism, anti-Semitism, and proto-fascism.¹⁸³

One of the first scholars who detected that despite Schorske’s greatness, his view on *Vienna 1900* was not set in stone, was Steven Beller.¹⁸⁴ He, for one, criticizes Schorske’s opinion of Vienna’s liberal crisis because of the lack of acknowledgment of Jewish influence. Beller realized that almost half of the property owners of the *Ringstrasse*, as well as the main supporters of cultural and intellectual life of the society were Jewish or of Jewish descent, which many scholars failed to mention entirely in their analysis of *Vienna 1900*.¹⁸⁵ However, Jews were not only an integral part of the bourgeoisie, they were also very much present in most of the intellectual and cultural fields of *Vienna 1900* and its modernist culture. Instead of trying to ignore the influence people of Jewish descent had in this formative period of the turn of the century, Austria, and Viennese culture in particular, should highlight the Jewish influence and work on the nation’s *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. Additionally, Beller criticizes the fact that anti-Semitism, which has been a constant in Vienna for many years was only mentioned briefly in Schorske’s analyses of the time.¹⁸⁶ In Schorske’s defense, he never claimed to give a full history of the time in his essays, he even stated the opposite in his introduction of the book, but many people seem to have glanced over this part when forming their opinion on *Vienna 1900*.¹⁸⁷

Beller devoted most of his studies to the forgotten but crucial Jewish role of *Vienna 1900*. According to him, the cultural efflorescence of Vienna is rather thanks to the Jewish

¹⁸¹ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, 26.

¹⁸² Hachohen, “The Culture of Viennese Science and the Riddle of Austrian Liberalism,” 371.

¹⁸³ Hachohen, “The Culture of Viennese Science and the Riddle of Austrian Liberalism,” 371.

¹⁸⁴ Burri, “Mobilizing the Aristocrat: Pre-war Vienna and the Poetics of Belligerence in Herzl, Hofmannsthal, Kraus, and Schaukal,” 5.

¹⁸⁵ Steven Beller, “Wittgenstein’s and Today’s Vienna: Anticipating the Future,” *Wittgenstein Initiative*, April 2016, <https://wittgenstein-initiative.com/wittgensteins-and-todays-vienna-anticipating-the-future/>.

¹⁸⁶ Steven Beller, “Vienna 1900: a world of yesterday, today – and tomorrow?” In *Austrian Studies Today*, eds. Günter Bischof, Ferdinand Karlhofer, (University of New Orleans Press, 2016): 259-267.

¹⁸⁷ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, XXVII.

objectives than due to the liberal predicament.¹⁸⁸ Therefore, he is of the opinion that these formative years of *Vienna 1900* should be “the source of inspiration in the future,” rather than being forgotten and denied.¹⁸⁹ One of his main arguments is that “Schorske neglects this salient fact in a number of important ways.”¹⁹⁰ However, sometimes Beller misstates Schorske’s argumentation, which undermines his own findings as well. Beller does not need to misquote Schorske for his arguments to be meaningful. His highlighting of the completely undiscussed Jewish impact carries enough weight on its own.¹⁹¹ Despite all of his criticism, even Beller recognizes that the field of *Vienna 1900* would not exist without Schorske’s groundbreaking work.¹⁹²

Schorske and Beller are widely accepted as the most significant contributors to the *Vienna 1900* discourse, but there are many other names worth mentioning. One would be Michael Steinberg, who suggests that Schorske’s view of *Vienna 1900* is influenced in a great deal by a nineteenth-century world. He claims that Schorske does acknowledge modernism, however, his work does not entail any modernity yet. His models of culture still follow the aesthetic principles of form, rather than “engage the new and unstable experiences of modern life.”¹⁹³ Some other noteworthy scholarly contributions focusing on the topic of *Vienna 1900* are Tag Gronberg, Charlotte Ashby, and Simon Shaw-Miller’s *The Viennese Café and Fin-de-siècle Culture*, or Katherine Arens’s essay titled *Vienna’s Dreams of Europe: Culture and Identity beyond the Nation-state*.¹⁹⁴ Arens, for instance, brought a different view to the discussion of turn-of-the-century Vienna by trying to find an answer to the question why it was so hard for Austria to find its own identity.¹⁹⁵ Her main point is, that with Austrian’s borders changing so much, it was hard to find only one identity which fits for all the habitants of Austria. Additionally, she mentions that Vienna, once the capital of the Habsburg Empire, and then of what was left as Austria, is so different to the much more rural areas to the West of the capital. It was easy for the countryside to

¹⁸⁸ Hachohen, “The Culture of Viennese Science and the Riddle of Austrian Liberalism,” 371.

¹⁸⁹ Beller, “Wittgenstein’s and Today’s Vienna: Anticipating the Future.”

¹⁹⁰ Burri, “Mobilizing the Aristocrat: Pre-war Vienna and the Poetics of Belligerence in Herzl, Hofmannsthal, Kraus, and Schaukal,” 6.

¹⁹¹ Burri, “Mobilizing the Aristocrat: Pre-war Vienna and the Poetics of Belligerence in Herzl, Hofmannsthal, Kraus, and Schaukal,” 6.

¹⁹² Beller, “Vienna 1900: a world of yesterday, today – and tomorrow?” 259-267.

¹⁹³ Burri, “Mobilizing the Aristocrat: Pre-war Vienna and the Poetics of Belligerence in Herzl, Hofmannsthal, Kraus, and Schaukal,” 8-9.

¹⁹⁴ Klautke, “Sex, Coffee, Madness: New Studies on the History of Fin-de-Siècle and Inter-War Vienna,” 108; Charlotte Ashby, Tag Gronberg, and Simon Shaw-Miller, eds. *The Viennese Café and Fin-de-siècle Culture*. 1st ed. Austrian and Habsburg Studies, vol 16. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013); Arens, *Vienna’s Dreams of Europe: Culture and Identity beyond the Nation-state*.

¹⁹⁵ Arens, *Vienna’s Dreams of Europe: Culture and Identity beyond the Nation-state*.

identify with certain parameters that were put on them – but these did not coincide at all with what happened in Vienna.¹⁹⁶

Schachar Pinsker wrote in his concluding words, that “Vienna was certainly important but far from unique. The Viennese coffeehouse served perhaps as a paradigm, but it was also [...] a transnational phenomenon that moved from one city to another.”¹⁹⁷ These new findings are just as important as Schorske’s early work to discover the truth about *Vienna 1900*. While the topic itself is quite specific, Gavin Plumey, who concentrated on the therapy Gustav Mahler’s with Freud in 1910, was still able to form an opinion on the whole of *Vienna 1900*, through a completely new point of view, which has not been completely oversaturated yet.¹⁹⁸ Karlheinz Rossbacher added an exploration of the dark history of liberalism to the discussion of *Vienna 1900*, by focusing on “the depression, suicide, misogyny and anti-Semitism among leading intellectuals and Jewish families’ assimilation dilemmas.”¹⁹⁹

Another contributor to the discussion of political conflicts in inter-war Austria is Janek Wasserman’s, with his analysis of the “political and ideological divide between ‘Black’ and ‘Red’ Vienna.”²⁰⁰ The main argument is that ‘Red Vienna’, which gets so much attention for its exceptionality today, can only be properly assessed when looking at its polar opposite – ‘Black Vienna’, with all of its conservative, Catholic, nationalistic, and anti-Semitic circles. Wasserman’s most poignant argument, however, leads back to the *Geschichtslüge* of World War II. He claims that the ‘Austrian victim narrative’ after 1945 is the main reason why it took Austria so long to find the beauty in *Vienna 1900*.²⁰¹

Nowadays, Schorske’s work has ultimately reached the status of a classic, which does not necessarily work to Schorske’s advantage. Every scholar dealing with *Vienna 1900* feels the need to mention Schorske’s *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, but many seem to not really bother to truly understand and comprehend his viewpoint. The common opinion of the piece is simply accepted and will be used to either support or rebuke the argument that scholars want to make. Nevertheless, it will “remain a standard reference for the

¹⁹⁶ Arens, *Vienna's Dreams of Europe: Culture and Identity beyond the Nation-state*.

¹⁹⁷ Klautke, “Sex, Coffee, Madness: New Studies on the History of Fin-de-Siècle and Inter-War Vienna,” 109.

¹⁹⁸ Klautke, “Sex, Coffee, Madness: New Studies on the History of Fin-de-Siècle and Inter-War Vienna,” 110.

¹⁹⁹ Hacohen, “The Culture of Viennese Science and the Riddle of Austrian Liberalism,” 372.

²⁰⁰ Klautke, “Sex, Coffee, Madness: New Studies on the History of Fin-de-Siècle and Inter-War Vienna,” 111.

²⁰¹ Janek Wasserman, *Black Vienna: The Radical Right in the Red City, 1918–1938* (London: Cornell University Press, 2014), www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt1287d08.

foreseeable future.”²⁰² A lot has changed since Schorske published his collection of essays, and many new arguments have been raised – which would all be ignored if scholars were to only concentrate on Schorske’s view of the time.

Schorske’s depiction about *Vienna 1900* is a kind of liberal utopia, which leaves much of the harsher truths of the time untold. On the one hand, his research helped the Austrian image immensely, as it lit up *Vienna 1900* in a completely new and remarkable way. There was, however, an incentive for scholars at the time of ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ to look past the bad aspects of Vienna. Due to intensive support by the City of Vienna, the research on *Vienna 1900* in the 1980s has focused almost exclusively on “the culture of the elites, and has served in its popularized version as a basis for marketing Vienna to tourists.”²⁰³ In the time of Helmuth Zilk as mayor of Vienna, the important factor of the turn-of-the-century did not seem to be to discover its complete history, but rather to achieve for Vienna to be more profitable in the tourist sector. When thinking of ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ and its success in Austria, and later internationally, it is evident that “this success of Viennese art is linked to Vienna’s new place in the historical imagination, it is a perilous success, precisely because the new idea of Vienna is such a powerful and potentially deforming myth.”²⁰⁴ This new-found success is built on the half-truth that has been conveyed from the scholars who researched *Vienna 1900* in the 1970s and 1980s.

3. Political and Social Context: An Analysis of Current Events

The timing for an exhibition that large in scale to be successful had to be right. Not only did Vienna in the 1980s finally emerge from the post-war slump, it was also grasping for every chance of defining its own identity it could get.²⁰⁵ It was high time for the Austrian public to find a way they could identify with Austria without having to be reminded of the nation’s Nazi past, as the *Geschichtslüge* of Austria being the first victim of the Nazi regime began to crumble in the 80s. An important term which comes up time and again when discussing the Austrian identity is *Geschichtslüge*. Meant here is the tale that has been taken as the true story for many decades, namely, “the historical lie that Austria had been the first victim of National Socialism.”²⁰⁶ Whereas Germany used the postwar period to come to

²⁰² Klautke, “Sex, Coffee, Madness: New Studies on the History of Fin-de-Siècle and Inter-War Vienna,” 113.

²⁰³ Maderthaner and Musner, “Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression,” 27.

²⁰⁴ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 17.

²⁰⁵ Arens, *Vienna's Dreams of Europe: Culture and Identity beyond the Nation-state*.

²⁰⁶ Beller and Trommler, “Austrian Writers Confront the Past, 1945-2000: An Introduction,” 4.

terms with their past, Austria did the exact opposite. Once the allied powers offered the chance to get out of the aggressor role, Austrian politicians took the chance and never looked back.²⁰⁷ However, thirty years later, the ignorance from the immediate post war period started to catch up with the Austrians, in politics as well as in society.

With the *Geschichtslüge* being so prevalent, people were not forced to come to terms with the past, which, unfortunately, led to many people forgetting or ignoring the past. Those who grew up in the dire post-war years started to blame the wrong people for their despair, whereas the next generation was not learning the whole truth about the war in schools.²⁰⁸ The *Geschichtslüge* could finally be overcome in the late 1980s due to “the election of [Kurt] Waldheim as President and the broad acceptance of [Jörg] Haider as a representative of contemporary Austria.”²⁰⁹ These two events seemed to have been scarring enough to many Austrians that they started to question the lies they have been accepting for so long. People around the world started to question how a modern society could accept a President who at least knew about horrible war crimes taking place in his immediate surroundings, or why the populist rhetoric of Haider found such agreement with a part of the Austrian population.²¹⁰ These troubling incidents led to a new consciousness and interest in the past, as well as the need to correct the *Geschichtslüge* which has been a part of Austrian culture for so long and which eventually guided the society towards the reemergence of *Vienna 1900* in Austria.

The beginning of the crumbling of the *Geschichtslüge*, however, can be put on the Frischenschlager-Reder Affair of 1985.²¹¹ Walter Reder had been sentenced to life in prison in Italy after World War II as one of the biggest war criminals in Italy. However, after stating his deepest regrets for his cruel actions in 1984, he was released from prison in 1985. The moment he was freed he revoked his apology. As he was then greeted by Friedhelm Frischenschlager via handshake once he landed in Austria, the public was appalled. How could Frischenschlager, who was at the time minister of defense, be so friendly towards a war criminal? This scandal was one of the first instances for the bigger part of the Austrian public to face their past in a more critical light.²¹²

²⁰⁷ Uhl, “Of Heroes and Victims: World War II in Austrian Memory,” 187.

²⁰⁸ Rauchensteiner, *Unter Beobachtung: Österreich seit 1918*.

²⁰⁹ Beller and Trommler, “Austrian Writers Confront the Past, 1945-2000: An Introduction,” 4.

²¹⁰ Robert Menasse, “Hinaus mit dem Schuft. Jörg Haiders Mission ist beendet: Warum Österreich nicht mehr zu retten ist,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, February 23, 2002, 23.

²¹¹ Rauchensteiner, *Unter Beobachtung: Österreich seit 1918*.

²¹² Rauchensteiner, *Unter Beobachtung: Österreich seit 1918*.

With the public already being more aware of the probable lies they have been telling themselves, the Waldheim Affair which emerged the following year seemed to be the last straw for many. Kurt Waldheim was a renowned diplomat who was the UN Secretary General from 1972 to 1981. After his time at the United Nations, Waldheim decided he wanted to return to his roots by becoming the President of the Austrian republic. During the election campaign documents got discovered that linked Waldheim to war crimes in Yugoslavia and Greece.²¹³ More specifically, Kurt Waldheim decided to keep large parts of his past hidden, not mentioning them in his autobiography, or redirecting the question if directly being asked about it. The period in question was the time when he was stationed in Saloniki, Greece as a translator from 1941 onwards.²¹⁴ During his time of duty, almost a third of the population in Saloniki, the Greek Jews of the city, was deported. Waldheim refused to acknowledge this during his election campaign, as he claimed that he had only ever heard of this once he was asked by a New York Times journalist about it.²¹⁵

The story around Waldheim and his denial of involvement in any of the atrocities in the Balkans led to an uproar in the Austrian society. Some decided to take the side of Kurt Waldheim, especially the ÖVP, the Austrian people's party, defended Waldheim and his acts. They even went so far to publicly shame the World Jewish Congress for their doing, not shying back from anti-Semitic wording.²¹⁶ In general, some people were very quick to get back into the old habit of condemning people of Jewish descent, reminding everyone of what they had tried to hide for so long – namely, that the Germans did not have a hard time getting Austrians on their side in 1938. People were on the streets again, protesting against the United States, the World Jewish Congress, and everyone else who questioned the Austrian decision to keep Kurt Waldheim in the running. The ÖVP found another way to get votes for Waldheim; by telling the Austrian public that if they would not vote for Waldheim, they would let other people tell them what to do.²¹⁷ This worked wonders for the election results, as Austrians never want to be told what they should be doing.

²¹³ *Waldheim's Walzer*, directed by Ruth Beckermann (2018), <https://www.waldheimswalzer.at/de/>.

²¹⁴ Herbert Lackner, "Der Fall Kurt Waldheim: Pflicht und Dunkel," *Profil*, March 1, 2016, <https://www.profil.at/oesterreich/history/fall-kurt-waldheim-pflicht-dunkel-6253333>.

²¹⁵ John Tagliabue, "Files Show Kurt Waldheim Served Under War Criminal," *New York Times*, March 4, 1986, <https://www.nytimes.com/1986/03/04/world/files-show-kurt-waldheim-served-under-war-criminal.html>.

²¹⁶ *Waldheim's Walzer*, directed by Ruth Beckermann (2018), <https://www.waldheimswalzer.at/de/>.

²¹⁷ Bernhard Märk, "Zäsuren und (Dis-)Kontinuitäten in der österreichischen Identität. Die Auswirkungen der Waldheim-Affäre auf das kollektive Gedächtnis der Zweiten Republik" (Diss. University of Innsbruck, 2013), 102.

Despite many Austrians falling back into old habits, there was also a different movement on the rise. A group of students, and young professionals, but also older citizens started to rise up against the growing support of Kurt Waldheim. The group started protesting ahead of public appearances of Waldheim, and the support grew exponentially with the election date coming closer. The protests started to get more and more heated, especially between supporters and opposers of Waldheim. This showed once again how split the country was at the time. Those who took the *Geschichtslüge* for granted, could not accept that someone as well-known as Waldheim could have been part of such an atrocious act as the deportation of those people in the Balkans. On the other hand, those who have already started to challenge the involvement of Austria in World War II had a much harder time to accept the obvious lies and half-truths Waldheim used to get out of this uncomfortable situation.²¹⁸

Despite Waldheim being elected as president and not being convicted of any war crimes (according to the commission investigating his case, he could not have stopped what happened even if he did know), the relation of Austria to other countries suffered quite greatly. Once again Austria was reminded of their past in a rather harsh way. These troubling incidents led to a new consciousness and interest in the past, as well as the need to correct the *Geschichtslüge* which has been a part of Austrian culture for so long, and which eventually led to the reemergence of *Vienna 1900* in Austria. All of these different political streams helped make ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ to the grand exhibition it was. The Austrian society needed a distraction and the exhibition in the *Künstlerhaus* was just that.²¹⁹

The time period when ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ opened in Vienna was quite interesting for another factor, namely the approaching end of the Cold War period.²²⁰ Despite the Iron Curtain only completely falling in 1989, the early 80s already showed signs of the gates towards the East being opened in the near future. This brought Austria into a precarious situation, as Vienna was so close to the border to Eastern Europe. This closeness to the East was seen as quite positive in the past, as Vienna could work as the meeting point between East and West, but in the 1980s it was time to establish Austria as a Western power, rather than being accepted as part of the Eastern bloc. Austrian politicians wanted to establish enough dominance for other economically strong countries not to take

²¹⁸ *Waldheim's Walzer*, directed by Ruth Beckermann (2018), <https://www.waldheimswalzer.at/de/>.

²¹⁹ Uhl, “Museums as Engines of Identity: “Vienna around 1900” and Exhibitionary Cultures in Vienna—A Comment.”

²²⁰ Uhl, “Museums as Engines of Identity: “Vienna around 1900” and Exhibitionary Cultures in Vienna—A Comment,” 100.

over their leading position in this part of Europe.²²¹ One of the main threats in this instance was the Czech Republic, as its landmass is much larger than Austria's and with Prague, its capital is also a former Habsburg haven. Of course, economically the Czech Republic was doing far worse than Austria, but many saw the potential of the country, and Austria wanted to make sure to come out on top.²²² This new development towards the east could have also been a driving force for Zilk to put so much effort into the revival of the past glory of Vienna.

Another factor which played a part in generating the mood of the time period was that the right-wing parties were on a rise in popularity again in Austria. In 1983, the first coalition between the SPÖ and the FPÖ was established and went into office. The chancellor Fred Sinowatz took a chance with the openly right-wing party, after Bruno Kreisky stepped back from the SPÖ due to bad election results. This step was highly contested by many, but also celebrated by others.²²³ Despite being criticized from the beginning, the coalition seemed to function according to circumstances for approximately three years, then many things happened at once. For one, the already mentioned Frischenschlager-Reder Affair brought the first wave of critique to the forefront, as it was unacceptable for many Austrians to welcome a war criminal with a friendly handshake.²²⁴ With the election of Kurt Waldheim as president of the Austrian republic, which led to the resignation of Fred Sinowatz, enough doubts were sown that the coalition did not last much longer after that. Once Sinowatz resigned, Vranitzky took over to lead the coalition to its next election.²²⁵ In 1986, Jörg Haider was elected as the new head of the FPÖ, which would have put him in the position of vice chancellor. Vranitzky could not accept this, as Haider was already known as being more extreme right-wing and populist than any of his predecessors. This led to the split of the coalition and to new elections which ended up in favor of the SPÖ, who managed to win the election by a landslide and the first SPÖ-FPÖ coalition came to an abrupt halt.²²⁶

²²¹ James Shotter, "Vienna, the city where east meets west," *Financial Times*, December 16, 2013, <https://www.ft.com/content/1293a794-5e85-11e3-8621-00144feabdc0>.

²²² Beller, "Fin de Fin-de-Siècle Vienna? A Letter of Remembrance," 53.

²²³ Wolfgang C. Müller, "Successful failure: Ill-conceived pre-commitments and welcome bargaining failure paving the way to minority government in Austria," in *Puzzles of Government Formation: Coalition Theory and Deviant Cases*, eds. Rudy W. Andeweg and Lieven De Winter (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2011), 92.

²²⁴ Rauchensteiner, *Unter Beobachtung: Österreich seit 1918*.

²²⁵ Larry Gerber, "Foreign Minister Resigns in Austria," *AP News*, June 10, 1986, <https://apnews.com/e2e66173eaf0885bf26493f1636fe737>.

²²⁶ Rauchensteiner, *Unter Beobachtung: Österreich seit 1918*.

This at-the-time new cooperation with the right-wing party is a good indicator of where Austria was standing as a society and in political terms. It seemed as if the country was on the edge of change, which could have gone both ways. On the one hand, this could have been the straw for Austria to return to its anti-Semitic, anti-foreigners past – or it could have been the turn for Austria to decide that it did not want to have anything to do with this demeanor whatsoever.²²⁷ Somehow Austria managed to act on neither and just go back to how things were. Despite Sinowatz stepping back in protest to Waldheim being elected president, and Frischenschlager being critiqued for his friendly demeanor towards war criminals, no real consequences were taken. It was decided that Haider was too much of an extremist to be allowed in government, but more mellow extremists such as Steger were accepted by the general public.²²⁸

It shows that Austria, once again, did not try to come to terms with their decisions, but rather they tried to forget it and move on. After three years of a right-wing party in government, the SPÖ took over again and everything seemed to be forgotten – up until the next FPÖ coalition was built in the 2000s, which took an eerily similar turn, despite the ÖVP now being the party who accepted a coalition with the Austrian Freedom Party.²²⁹

4. Preparation Period: Creating ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’

The preparation time of the exhibition was a stressful time for the curators of the exhibition as Hollein had a lot of great ideas which proved to be quite difficult to get from paper to reality. For instance, the two enormous art pieces he wanted to put on the roof of the *Künstlerhaus* took a lot of planning to be realized.²³⁰ Besides the time-consuming outside-area of the exhibition, it also took quite a long time to arrange the exhibited pieces in the way Hollein envisioned. For instance, the *Beethoven Frieze*, which had to be completely restored because of being stored inadequately, also was supposed to be displayed in its full length.²³¹ This alone was already a big task for the organizational team,

²²⁷ Brigitte Bailer-Galanda and Wolfgang Neugebauer, “Right-Wing Extremism: History, Organisations, Ideology,” in *Incorrigibly Rights: Right-Wing Extremists* (Vienna: Anti Defamation League / Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes, 1996), 5-21.

²²⁸ Lothar Höbelt, *Defiant Populist: Jörg Haider and the Politics of Austria* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2003).

²²⁹ Fritz Plasser and Gilg Seeber, “The Europeanization of Austrian Political Culture: Austrian Exceptionalism Revisited,” In *Global Austria. Austria’s Place in Europe and the World*, eds. Günter Bischof and Ferdinand Karlhofer (New Orleans: University of New Orleans Press, 2016), 238-256.

²³⁰ Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien, VeranstalterIn, *Traum Und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930*.

²³¹ *Von Tag zu Tag*, “Ausstellung "Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 - 1930" im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein.”

but then the vision was to have it displayed in a similar way than at the Secession 80 years prior – in the realm of a statue of Beethoven. Now, if the visitor, who was joined by Beethoven music once they entered the room, looked past the bust, he was also able to see the *Beethoven Frieze*, just like Klimt envisioned it.²³²

This is just one example of the many small details which were put into the exhibition. To bring together all the different pieces was quite difficult and therefore the preparation was very challenging.²³³ Nevertheless, the spirit of the curators of the different sections never plummeted, as most saw it as a great honor to work with Hans Hollein, one of the most renowned architects of the time. Additionally, Robert Waissenberger's scientific concept for the exhibition was well-respected, which eased the process of receiving the different pieces of art in the form of loans.²³⁴

Regina Karner, who was present during the preparation period as one of the curators of the Historical Museum of Vienna, remembers that the process went rather smoothly. She was responsible for the *Wiener Werkstätte* section of the exhibition and her tasks included the decision-making process of which pieces were interesting enough to be put into the exhibition, but also which pieces would fit the concept Hans Hollein had for the exhibition.²³⁵ Most of the pieces were gathered from collections of the Historical Museum of Vienna, the *Museum für angewandte Kunst* or from private collections. Karner and her colleagues then had to label the pieces and make sure they were not damaged during the procurement from the different locations.²³⁶

According to the historian Heidemarie Uhl, the 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' exhibition of 1985 in the *Künstlerhaus* marked a turning point for the self-perception of Vienna. All of a sudden, *Vienna 1900* was valued as a landmark of European culture. Another interesting fact is that the exhibition took place at the *Künstlerhaus*, the headquarters of the *Künstlervereinigung*, the union Klimt broke ties with in 1897 to establish his own federation of artists, the Secession. However, Vienna did not discover

²³² Hans Hollein, "Die Rekonstruktion des Raumes von Josef Hoffmann für Klimts Beethovenfries," in *Traum Und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930*, eds. Tino Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien, VeranstalterIn (Wien: Eigenverlag Der Museen Der Stadt Wien, 1985), 544-557.

²³³ *Von Tag zu Tag*, "Ausstellung "Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 - 1930" im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein."

²³⁴ Robert Waissenberger, *Die Wiener Secession: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1971).

²³⁵ Regina Karner, interview by the author, Vienna, May 11, 2020.

²³⁶ Regina Karner, interview by the author, Vienna, May 11, 2020.

itself as the birthplace of modernity, Vienna has to thank Carl Schorske's publication of *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* for this invention.²³⁷

B. Main Contributors and Organizers

Apart from Hans Hollein, who was the well-known star-curator, it takes more than one person to create a showcasing as lavish and big as 'Traum und Wirklichkeit'. Without financial support as well as a great team in the background, Hollein would have not been able to create such a memorable exhibition.²³⁸ While the creative process is of immense importance for every exhibition, it is just as important to align the pieces of art to the visitor's best viewing experience. The science of museology explores exactly that by researching what visitors seem to like the most about going to museums and how they like the artwork to be spread out.

1. Finance and Logistics: Creating a Solid Foundation

The main funding for 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' was provided by the City of Vienna, which means it was very much in the city's interest to have an installation on the topic of *Vienna 1900*.²³⁹ Helmut Zilk, the mayor of Vienna at the time, and Franz Mrkvicka, the incumbent *Stadtrat* for culture and sport, were the main contributors and supporters representing the City of Vienna at the exhibition in Vienna, but also for the following exhibitions on *Vienna 1900* in Paris and New York City.²⁴⁰

The exhibition did not shy away from any costs to really convey the mood of the time, which on the one a positive note led to the comparison to a "K. u. K. Disneyland", on a less positive note, it cost the City of Vienna approximately 5 million German Mark, which acquit to approximately 2.5 million Euros.²⁴¹ Besides the statues outside the building, what made the exhibition so expensive was Hollein's wish to recreate as many places as possible. For instance, the exhibition refurbished the exact scene of Klimt's *Beethoven Frieze*, but instead of portraying it at the Secession, where it was first exhibited, they rebuilt it at the *Künstlerhaus*. Even though the curators were not able to get the real Beethoven bust created

²³⁷ Sommer and Steiner-Strauss, "Die Lust, die Sucht, die Kraft."

²³⁸ *Von Tag zu Tag*, "Ausstellung "Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 - 1930" im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein."

²³⁹ Tino Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien VeranstalterIn, *Traum Und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930*, Sonderausstellung des Historischen Museums Der Stadt Wien (Wien: Eigenverlag Der Museen Der Stadt Wien, 1985).

²⁴⁰ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 6.

²⁴¹ "K. u. K. Disneyland," *Der Spiegel*.

by Klinger for the Secession's fourteenth exhibition of 1902, they did manage to get a replacement from Klinger's hand out of the depot of the Boston Art Museum.²⁴²

It was decided that the *Künstlerhaus* would be the best place to display the 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' exhibition, despite the attached society not having any part as an organizer.²⁴³ The *Künstlerhaus* is a location with a vast history itself. It was built for the sole purpose of the Künstler-Society to have a place to call home. It was constructed between 1865 – 1868 and from the beginning tried to uphold the standard of the Viennese art society.²⁴⁴ The *Künstlerhaus* was, besides the *Vereinigung bildender KünstlerInnen Österreichs (VBKÖ)*, the only artist association in Austria which was allowed by the Nazis after the *Anschluss*.²⁴⁵ This could be seen as a good thing, however, it also raises the question of how morally correct the *Künstlerhaus* was behaving, if the Nazis did not see an issue in their continued workings. Adding to this suspicion is the fact that two of the *Künstlerhaus*'s presidents played a rather mentionable role in the NS-cultural politics. For one, there is the painter Leopold Blauensteiner, who joined the NSDAP back in 1933, then became the president of the *Künstlerhaus* in 1938/39 and later advanced to becoming the *Landesleiter der Reichskammer* of fine arts in Vienna. Secondly, there is Rudolf Eisenmenger, whose art was admired by Adolf Hitler, and who also acted as president of the *Künstlerhaus* from 1939-45. If these connections to the Nazi-regime in Austria were not enough, the *Künstlerhaus* was also used as the location for several propaganda-exhibitions. There was the Viennese version of 'Entartete Kunst' [Degenerate Art] of 1939, which was host to 90.000 visitors in only 31 days, the 'Berge und Menschen der Ostmark' [Mountains and People of the *Ostmark*] exhibition or 'Ein Maler erlebt die Reichsautobahn' [A Painter experiences the *Reichsautobahn*] both were meant for political causes, just as the big retrospective of Gustav Klimt's work at his 25th death day in 1943.²⁴⁶

Quite in opposition to the above-mentioned opinion, the *Künstlerhaus*-representatives do not condone the assumption of their relative-closeness to the Nazi regime. Additionally, they claim that the oftentimes mentioned antagonism between the *Künstlerhaus* and the Secession and therefore between the 'old' reactionary artist collective

²⁴² "K. u. K. Disneyland," *Der Spiegel*.

²⁴³ Künstlerhaus, "Das Künstlerhaus: Gesellschaft bildender Künstlerinnen und Künstler Österreichs - 1861 bis 2018," *Geschichte*, accessed December 10, 2019, <https://www.k-haus.at/de/kuenstlerhaus/geschichte/>.

²⁴⁴ Künstlerhaus, "Das Künstlerhaus: Gesellschaft bildender Künstlerinnen und Künstler Österreichs - 1861 bis 2018."

²⁴⁵ Science.ORF.at, "Das Künstlerhaus und die Nazis," October 18, 2011, <https://sciencev2.orf.at/stories/1689405/index.html>.

²⁴⁶ Science.ORF.at, "Das Künstlerhaus und die Nazis."

and the ‘new’ secessionist artists was only a narrative to fuel rumors of hatred between the two collectives.²⁴⁷ According to Wladimir Aichelburg, the current president of the *Künstlerhaus* collective, the *Künstlerhaus* has from the time of its opening in 1868 until today only animated people to visit their exhibition house at Karlsplatz by providing an open, discursive and interdisciplinary program.²⁴⁸ Aichelburg also claims that the art collective has outlasted all political storms of the past, never had to dissolve like the Secession or the *Hagenbund*, and therefore also never had to be reactivated or newly established. This viability and will to live, was apparently one of the reasons for a lot of envy, aversion and attacks towards the artist collective. Again, opposed to what historical records show, Aichelburg claims on the official website of the *Künstlerhaus*, that the collective was never controlled by any radical groups, whether political nor by any art scene. According to him, the art collective is the base not only for Viennese, but for the collective Austrian fine art scene.²⁴⁹ Yet the *Künstlerhaus* was the starting point of many Austrian artist’s successful careers. For instance, Otto Wagner gained his commission for the Viennese traffic facilities through the art collective.²⁵⁰ However, Aichelburg did state that he feels the *Künstlerhaus* collective was misrepresented by the ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition, as the curators decided despite using the *Künstlerhaus* as location of the exhibition, that they did not want the art collective itself play any part in the showcase. For them, this seemed as a complete distortion of history, as they feel their part in history was misrepresented or rather not mentioned at all.²⁵¹ Though the art collective was still pleased with the fact that their hub was being represented in such a positive light, from the statues on top of the building to the immersive exhibition on the inside.²⁵²

Coming back to the above-mentioned split of the *Künstlerhaus*, at the end of the 19th century, the Secession was established by Gustav Klimt and some of his contemporaries. Despite Klimt at the beginning still being part of the *Künstlerhaus*, the Secession has always been a separate organization with its own union house.²⁵³

²⁴⁷ Künstlerhaus, “Ohne Klimt: Klimt und das Künstlerhaus.”

²⁴⁸ Künstlerhaus, “Das Künstlerhaus: Gesellschaft bildender Künstlerinnen und Künstler Österreichs - 1861 bis 2018.”

²⁴⁹ Wladimir Aichelburg, “Das Künstlerhaus,” accessed December 3, 2019, <http://www.wladimir-aichelburg.at/kuenstlerhaus/>.

²⁵⁰ Mario Schwarz, “The City Structure – Streets and Squares in the Historical City,” in *Vienna: A Guide to the UNESCO World Heritage Sites*, ed. Manfred Wehdorn (Vienna: Springer, 2004), 19.

²⁵¹ Aichelburg, “Das Künstlerhaus.”

²⁵² Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, “Das Künstlerhaus in Wien,” *ANNO: Historische Österreichische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften*, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-plus?aid=abz&datum=1881&page=82&size=45>.

²⁵³ Aichelburg, “Das Künstlerhaus.”

Nevertheless, Klimt's exit of the *Künstlerhaus* and following establishment of the Secession around 1897 did create certain strains in the Viennese art scene – as artists now had to choose who they wanted to support and follow.²⁵⁴

Gustav Klimt seemed to be the first artist of the turn of the century to gain traction after his death. The exhibition for his 25th death day set in motion by Baldur von Schirach was one of the first acknowledgements of artists of that time period. With 24.096 visitors the exhibition was quite successful, despite the extraordinary circumstances and economic hardships of the nation.²⁵⁵ Later, in 1985, Klimt was once again considered the most worthy artist of *Vienna 1900*, with being considered the highlight of the 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' exhibition, and the curators positioning a larger than life statue of his *Medizin* on the roof of the *Künstlerhaus*.²⁵⁶

2. Organization of the Exhibition

As already mentioned, the concept for the exhibition was created by Hans Hollein in close consultation to Robert Waissenberger, who took over the academic supervision of the project together with the City of Vienna.²⁵⁷ Coming from a family of mining engineers, Hollein – an architect, designer, artist and teacher – deviated from his family's interest by deciding to study architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. He traveled throughout his studies and also lived and worked in Stockholm as well as the United States. In the US, he first studied architecture and urban planning at the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago to then move on the University of Berkeley where he finished up with a Master of Architecture. After his return to Vienna, Hollein started his own business in 1964. In the same year he also began his career as an editor of the magazine "Bau" while also working as a correspondent for various other journals. Another crucial part of Hollein's life were his teaching activities. Besides several guest professorates in the United States, he also taught in Germany and Austria.²⁵⁸ His successful career and life achievements only underline why the exhibition curated by him was so highly anticipated.

Hollein's counterpart, Robert Waissenberger, was an art historian and the director of the museums of the City of Vienna. He studied history, art history and German studies

²⁵⁴ Künstlerhaus, "Ohne Klimt: Klimt und das Künstlerhaus."

²⁵⁵ Gregory Maertz, "Modernist art in the service of Nazi culture: Baldur von Schirach and the Junge Kunst im Deutschen Reich exhibition," *Patterns of Prejudice* 50, nos. 4-5 (2016), 341.

²⁵⁶ Künstlerhaus, "Ohne Klimt: Klimt und das Künstlerhaus."

²⁵⁷ Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien, VeranstalterIn, *Traum Und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930*.

²⁵⁸ "Hans Hollein," Hans Hollein, accessed May 5, 2020, <https://www.hollein.com/ger/Zur-Person/Hans-Hollein>.

at the University of Vienna, and afterwards immediately started to work for the City of Vienna. His biggest achievement during his many years as the director of the museums was on the one hand the start of continuous exhibitions at the Hermesvilla and the Otto-Wagner-Pavillon but also the scientific catalogues which were published with grand exhibitions such as 'Traum und Wirklichkeit'.²⁵⁹

Right from the beginning, it was clear that neither Waissenberger nor Hollein wanted to create solely a 'turn-of-the-century exhibition'. Therefore, they decided to broaden the timeframe, so they would have more room to expand on certain concepts which were developing at the time. Additionally, they did not want to only show the period from only one side, rather they wanted to portray the many different disciplines which were popular in Vienna at the time. This led to the creation of 24 different stations and themes which is meant to split the exhibition into manageable portions. Each station is focusing on one significant initial event – what this meant for fin-de-siècle Vienna will then be shown in the aftermath of the event. The main goal of Hollein was really to convey the mood of *Vienna 1900*.²⁶⁰

An interesting factor to include is the question of how much of their knowledge of museology Hans Hollein and Robert Waissenberger have used while creating the concept for 'Traum und Wirklichkeit'. From Hollein's interview prior to the exhibition, it can be deduced that Waissenberger and himself have definitely thought about the question who to cater the exhibition towards, and they wanted to make the possible audience as broad as possible.²⁶¹ With their effort to make the exhibition enjoyable for simple visitors who only wanted to wander through an older time, who wanted to immerse themselves in the past, but also as enjoyable for art fanatics and critiques who wanted to really get to know the art in more detail, exactly this feat seemed to have been perfectly accomplished by them. With the detailed labels of the different sections throughout the exhibition, the wanderer was able to learn something new if he wanted to, without having to have a look into the catalogue. The fanatic, however, could read through the over 700 pages long catalogue to add a deeper level of information.²⁶²

²⁵⁹ "Robert Waissenberger," Wien Geschichte Wiki.

²⁶⁰ Hans Hollein, "Das Konzept zur Präsentation der Ausstellung 'Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930,'" in *Traum Und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930*, eds. Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien, VeranstalterIn (Wien: Eigenverlag Der Museen Der Stadt Wien, 1985), 36-37.

²⁶¹ *Von Tag zu Tag*, "Ausstellung "Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 - 1930" im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein."

²⁶² *Von Tag zu Tag*, "Ausstellung "Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 - 1930" im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein."

3. Searching for a Title: Influential Theories

One question which seems to stay unanswered is how Hans Hollein came up with the title for the exhibition. Andrea Kindler published an essay on the reality of the dream in *Vienna 1900*, in which she tries to establish the importance of dreams for the artists of the time, which might bring light to Hollein's way of thinking when choosing the title. Kindler claims that the apparent indistinguishability of dream and reality, the merging of the reality of the life and the reality of the dream, as well as the often-felt identity, provides the time diagnosis of *Vienna 1900* perfectly. The affinity towards the dream and the ambivalence of dream and reality seem to be a characteristic of Viennese modernism and can even be considered somewhat of an Austrian peculiarity.²⁶³ The time of *Vienna 1900* is, according to Wolfgang Lange, one of the most exciting and innovative experimental stations of modernism, a time shaped by the morbid feeling of an era coming to its end, by the decline and demise of deep-rooted, handed-down traditions and values.²⁶⁴ Due to this feeling of reality growing into something unmanageable, the younger generation of *Vienna 1900* started to develop an emotional state and general mood, which translated into them feeling like they belonged to a culture deemed to decay.²⁶⁵

Sigmund Freud's theses then also seem to be symptoms of the time, rather than Freud being the reason for other authors concentrating on the human psyche. The interest of young Viennese modernists in the human psyche did not develop out of the imitation of ideas from Freud, but rather out of an already inherently existing tendency towards introspection and the individual desire to explore one's own self.²⁶⁶ The people restarted to listen to their inner-self and gave their dreams a space to exist, as the outside world did not seem to bring stability any longer.²⁶⁷ The world the artists of the turn of the century were living in was so obscure, so puzzling and confusing just like a dream, because the

²⁶³ Andrea Kindler, "Die Wirklichkeit Des Traumes in Der Wiener Moderne. Eine Untersuchung Zur Bedeutung Des Traumes in Den Werken Von Arthur Schnitzler, Richard Beer -Hofmann Und Hugo Von Hofmannsthal," (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2007), 28.

²⁶⁴ Wolfgang Lange, "Im Zeichen der Dekadenz: Hugo von Hofmannsthal und die Wiener Moderne," in *Funkkolleg. Literarische Moderne. Europäische Literatur im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Studienheft 3, 1993), 4.

²⁶⁵ Kindler, "Die Wirklichkeit Des Traumes in Der Wiener Moderne. Eine Untersuchung Zur Bedeutung Des Traumes in Den Werken Von Arthur Schnitzler, Richard Beer -Hofmann Und Hugo Von Hofmannsthal," 35.

²⁶⁶ Schorske, *Fin de Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture*, 181-203.

²⁶⁷ Kindler, "Die Wirklichkeit Des Traumes in Der Wiener Moderne. Eine Untersuchung Zur Bedeutung Des Traumes in Den Werken Von Arthur Schnitzler, Richard Beer -Hofmann Und Hugo Von Hofmannsthal," 40-41.

traditional understanding of reality and the self of humanity gave way to the tendency of people rather resolving all their existing values. This uncertainty and dream-like indistinguishability of life was what triggered the intense confrontation with the contemporary attitude towards life by many artists of fin-de-siècle Vienna; they were all trying to find answers to these existential questions.²⁶⁸ The dream, according to Kindler, then creates quite the individual function inside the sought after finding of existence and the self. She concludes that the border between inside and outside, between the dream and reality is being questioned by the young-Viennese authors in the course of them dissolving the old, traditional orientation systems. They are contrasting and disguising the border in the hopes to come to a deeper understanding of their own selves, of the world and of life in general. This indistinguishability leads the dream to be as real as the actual awake reality. The reason that the theory about dreams gained such a strong status in Vienna at the turn of the century, should, therefore, not be traced back to Freud's *Traumdeutung*. It is much more plausible that the general feel of the time, combined with the special Austrian characteristic of *Vienna 1900* led to the fascination with the dream of many artists of the time.²⁶⁹

Hans Hollein might have had the same thoughts as Andrea Kindler when deciding on the title for the exhibition in 1985. He does mention Freud several times in the catalogue, and he also does not shy back from discussing the many different friendships and societies which engulfed throughout the 'Ringstrasse Society', but he also never dares to make Freud's *Traumdeutung* the leading piece for people's interest in the dream. He also acknowledges the general interest in the inner-self due to the many changes of the outside world, and he definitely sees a similar conclusion to Kindler.²⁷⁰

Kindler's last words can be used as a connection to today's world. Humankind is always looking for an alternative when being confronted with a rather dull reality. In the past, this alternative was found in dreams, or rather the depiction of dreams in many

²⁶⁸ Niekerk, "Vienna Around 1900 and the Crisis of Public Art: On Text and Music in Klimt, Mahler, and Schnitzler."

²⁶⁹ Kindler, "Die Wirklichkeit Des Traumes in Der Wiener Moderne. Eine Untersuchung Zur Bedeutung Des Traumes in Den Werken Von Arthur Schnitzler, Richard Beer -Hofmann Und Hugo Von Hofmannsthal," 400-409.

²⁷⁰ Hollein, "Das Konzept zur Präsentation der Ausstellung ,Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930,'" 36-37.

different art forms which leads to the comparison of dream and reality, or ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’.²⁷¹

4. Museology: A Discussion of the Exhibition’s Architecture

Museology covers the topic of organizing, planning and arranging museums, but it might also help in the discovery of how much an exhibition can influence the formation of an identity.²⁷² According to the study of museology, the placement of artwork is of immense importance, as is the architecture of the space used to display the art.

Peter Vergo’s simplest definition of museology is “the study of museums, their history and underlying philosophy, the various ways in which they have, in the course of time, been established and developed, their avowed and unspoken aims and policies, their educative or political or social rôle.”²⁷³ However, the field of study also includes who is visiting each museum and why – the audience so to say – and who the museum is supposed to cater towards. Naturally, this is different for each museum, which means it has to be taken into account at all times. One factor which should be considered at all times, however, is a set of requirements to make the visit as pleasurable as possible. These are, according to Charles Saumarez Smith, to offer “a mixed style of presentation; [...] a degree of audience involvement in the methods of display; [...] an awareness of the amount of artificiality in methods of display; and [...] different, but equally legitimate, methods of interpretation.”²⁷⁴ Extrapolating this set of requirements onto ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’, it is safe to say that both Hollein and Waissenberger have put a lot of thought into the experience the audience would have walking through the exhibition, as the exhibited artworks were, for instance, of many different subjects, be it from *Wiener Werkstätte* kitchenware to fine art paintings by Klimt. The audience was insofar involved in the methods of display, as they were able to choose their own path throughout the museum. At the same time, the audio of Beethoven’s symphony surrounding the *Beethoven Frieze* also made the exhibition more interactive. The cards shortly introducing each art piece worked as a method of interpretation for the day-to-day visitor, while the more detailed catalogue

²⁷¹ Kindler, “Die Wirklichkeit Des Traumes in Der Wiener Moderne. Eine Untersuchung Zur Bedeutung Des Traumes in Den Werken Von Arthur Schnitzler, Richard Beer -Hofmann Und Hugo Von Hofmannsthal,” 420.

²⁷² Vergo, *The New Museology*.

²⁷³ Peter Vergo, “Introduction,” in *The New Museology*, ed. Peter Vergo (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 1.

²⁷⁴ Charles Saumarez Smith, “Museums, Artefacts, and Meanings,” in *The New Museology*, ed. Peter Vergo (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 20.

made an extensive interpretation possible.²⁷⁵ Philip Wright mentions something similar in his chapter on museology, as he states that “[t]he present fiction in museums – that every visitor is equally motivated, equipped, and enabled ‘to experience art directly’ – should be abandoned.”²⁷⁶ This is exactly what Hollein and Waissenberger seemed to have done by providing easy access for those who are not inherently interested in art, but also having the catalogue ready, in case someone actually wanted to have a more in-depth experience than just walking through the exhibition.

The immense popularity of the exhibition might be explained through another factor of museology, namely an analysis of who is going to the museum and why. Nick Merriman conducted a survey in Great Britain, right around the time of the ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition, which found that the people – at least in Great Britain – are most inclined to visit a museum to get to know the past, or for a specific interest, meaning a specific exhibition on a topic the person is interested in.²⁷⁷ Interestingly, people above sixty and retired seem to be less inclined to go to the museum than any other group whereas students are the ones who claim to be frequent museum visitors the most. This shows the two main indicators in this survey, namely age and education. The low-status elderly was the group to least likely visit a museum, whereas the younger generation with tertiary education seem to be visiting museums most often.²⁷⁸ It is not reasonable to put this survey on Austrian museum statistics, however, the chance that education does play a role in the likelihood of visiting a museum is rather high in Austria as well.

A third mentionable aspect why people decide to visit museums is the social factor of the experience. According to a study by Wright on social ties between visitors, it is revealed that “75 to 95% of all visitors are accompanied by friends.”²⁷⁹ This means that while the experience in a museum is supposed to be educational to some point, the exhibition should also manage to make it enjoyable as a social event. Again, Hollein and Waissenberger seem to have managed to take this aspect into account as well. According to Hollein, it is easily manageable to walk through the exhibition in two hours without

²⁷⁵ *Von Tag zu Tag*, “Ausstellung "Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 - 1930" im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein.”

²⁷⁶ Philip Wright, “The Quality of Visitors’ Experiences in Art Museums,” in *The New Museology* ed. Peter Vergo (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 147.

²⁷⁷ Nick Merriman, “Museum Visiting as a Cultural Phenomenon,” in *The New Museology* ed. Peter Vergo (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 153 – 158.

²⁷⁸ Merriman, “Museum Visiting as a Cultural Phenomenon,” 157.

²⁷⁹ Wright, “The Quality of Visitors’ Experiences in Art Museums,” 132.

having to spend too much time at one piece in particular.²⁸⁰ This would make it possible for a group of friends to meet and walk through the exhibition together, without having to spend a whole day at the museum.²⁸¹

With the expert use of museology by the curators, 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' managed to please both the weekend visitor with friends, but also the art connoisseur, which might be part of the explanation for the large number of visitors.

5. Curators and Art Dealers

For the 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' exhibition to be as successful as it was, the commitment of many people was needed. Hans Hollein managed a great feat by building an exhibition loved by many. Besides Hollein, the second most important person on the team was Robert Waissenberger, the exhibition manager. His task was to manage and oversee the exhibition during its running-time. Waissenberger was previously known for heading the magistrate department ten on 'Museums of Vienna' of the City of Vienna, but the exhibition was his most renowned work up to this point.²⁸²

However, no matter how engaged and eager these two men were, the exhibition would have never been as successful if it would not have been for the prior work of Otto Kallir. Kallir is the original founder of the *Neue Galerie* in Vienna as well as the *Galerie St. Etienne* in New York City, and helped shape the art-collectors' interest in pieces of art from the time of *Vienna 1900*. The predecessor of the *Galerie St. Etienne* first opened its doors for a retrospective Egon Schiele exhibition, but was later-on also known as the exclusive Austrian representative for artists such as Alfred Kubin and Oskar Kokoschka.²⁸³ Additionally, Kallir also discovered Richard Gerstl, who is today known as a major Expressionist next to Schiele and Kokoschka, but was almost forgotten at the time.²⁸⁴ Due to World War II, Kallir immigrated to the United States in 1939, where he "established New York's *Galerie St. Etienne* and helped to introduce Austrian Expressionism to this country."²⁸⁵ His work did not stop after the war, as he dedicated his time to the restitution

²⁸⁰ *Von Tag zu Tag*, "Ausstellung "Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 - 1930" im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein."

²⁸¹ Wright, "The Quality of Visitors' Experiences in Art Museums," 132.

²⁸² "Robert Waissenberger," *Geschichte Wiki Wien*, accessed December 3, 2019, https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Robert_Waissenberger.

²⁸³ "History," *Galerie St. Etienne*.

²⁸⁴ Stefan Trinks, "Richard Gerstl in Wien: Der österreichische van Gogh?" *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, October 6, 2019, <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/kunst/was-den-maler-richard-gerstl-einzigartig-macht-16417165.html>.

²⁸⁵ "History," *Galerie St. Etienne*, accessed December 3, 2019, <https://www.gseart.com/history>.

of art which was taken from Jews during the Holocaust. When the issue of looted artwork surfaced again in the 1980s, Kallir's earlier work was instrumental for the resolution of the issue.

Together with Kallir, Ronald Lauder, the founder of the *Neue Galerie* in New York City, helped promote *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* for it to become of interest for international art dealers. With his connections to Paris and New York City, he knew how to attract the attention of the international art community towards Vienna. Lauder naming his New York Museum of Austrian and German Art the *Neue Galerie* was to honor Otto Kallir posthumously.²⁸⁶

Many other people played an important part in the curation and the success of the exhibition as well. Dr. Reingard Witzmann, for instance, worked at the exhibition as a curator of the Historical Museum of Vienna. She is still involved heavily in the Austrian art scene to this day, as she was the main curator of the *Wien Museum* up until 2008.²⁸⁷ Similarly, Dr. Regina Karner was another one of the curators who helped gather the objects which were to be displayed at the 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' exhibition. Being responsible for the *Wiener Werkstätte* findings, she was in the midst of the tumult at all times.²⁸⁸ As already mentioned, she helped pick out the right pieces, collected them from different art collectors, from private collectors to federal museums in Austria, and was then responsible to label them accordingly, so every visitor would be know exactly what they were looking at when walking through the exhibition – a task which was of immense importance to Hans Hollein.²⁸⁹

In summary, Hollein's connections to the United States and Ronald Lauder had a large impact on the quality of the exhibition. With World War II and the persecution of Jews in Europe, many art pieces, unfortunately, were burned or destroyed. However, there were some pieces left in private hands, whose owners were kind enough to lend the pieces to the exhibition. Besides Waissenberger and Lauder, who were the main contributors to the vast art collection, another name that has to be mentioned in this section is Georg Kargl. He was the owner of the Metropol at the time of the exhibition, which was considered the trade quality hub for art of *Vienna 1900*. The art which was talked about by Carl E. Schorske and William Hohnston; the art Ronald Lauder collected, and the art which Hollein

²⁸⁶ "History," Galerie St. Etienne.

²⁸⁷ Uhl, "Lass besingen dich, du künftig Wien."

²⁸⁸ Regina Karner, interview by author, Vienna, May 11, 2020.

²⁸⁹ *Von Tag zu Tag*, "Ausstellung "Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 – 1930" im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein."

wanted to display in his exhibition ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’.²⁹⁰ Besides Hollein and Waissenberger, each curator was responsible for organizing additional items to be put on display at the exhibition. Therefore, Karner, Witzmann, and all their colleagues also played a big role in the process of collecting all the necessary art.²⁹¹

Without the contribution of each and every curator, the exhibition would have never managed to be of such scope and most likely would not have been such a success. Naturally, Hans Hollein attracted media interest as being one of the most renowned architects of the time, but he would not have managed to create such an exhibition on his own.

C. The Exhibition: ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 – 1930’

On March 28, 1985 ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ opened its doors to the public for the first time. For six months, people had the chance to visit the exhibition on a daily basis, before some pieces of the exhibition moved on to other exhibitions in Paris and New York City.²⁹² The hard work of everyone paid off, with more than 600.000 visitors, the exhibition is to this day one of the most successful exhibitions showcased in Vienna.

1. The Catalogue as a Guide through the Exhibition

As Hans Hollein stated in his radio interview, the curation of the catalogue, as well as in which format it will be published is not in the hands of the curator of the exhibition. Rather, the Historical Museum of Vienna and Robert Waissenberger with his scientific concept were more in charge of this endeavor – as well as Tino Erben who eventually designed the catalogue as well as the posters for the exhibition.²⁹³

The catalogue is arranged in the particular order of the different stations in the exhibition rather than into specific rubrics such as politics, culture, or music. This helps the reader to be more aware of the cross connections of the different categories.²⁹⁴ The pieces of writing in the catalogue were mainly written by contemporary experts in each of their

²⁹⁰ Georg Schöllhammer, “Georg Kargl 1955-2018,” *Institut “Kunst”* 3 (2018), <https://www.springerin.at/2018/3/georg-kargl-19552018/>.

²⁹¹ Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien, VeranstalterIn, *Traum Und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930*, 6.

²⁹² Rásky, “Traum und Wirklichkeit.”

²⁹³ Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien, VeranstalterIn, *Traum Und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930*.

²⁹⁴ Marion Diederichs-Lafite, “Wien 1870-1930 – Traum und Wirklichkeit,” *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, 40, no. 5 (May 1985): 268, <https://doi.org/10.7767/omz.1985.40.5.268a>.

fields, which made it possible to connect the two different Viennas; *Vienna 1900* and the Vienna of the 1980s.²⁹⁵

In his *Von Tag zu Tag* interview prior to the exhibition, Hollein explained that there would be a catalogue accompanying the exhibition which would explain each station in much more detail as well as show many of the thousands of art pieces which were exhibited. Additionally, Hollein mentioned that, especially for people from Vienna, it would be beneficial to visit the exhibition more than once, as he thinks that it would be too extensive to be seen only one time. In his opinion, the perfect way to experience the exhibition for the first time would be a walk-through which last approximately two hours, then to return home with a copy of the catalogue, read through the parts that were of particular interest and return to the exhibition to see it with a more deepened knowledge of the time period.²⁹⁶

When asked if several hundred pages of catalogue were too much for a 'normal person' visiting the exhibition, Hollein agreed wholeheartedly. He thought that a smaller catalogue with only the most important facts would be more than enough for the majority of visitors. Additionally, he mentioned that with the descriptions his team added to each of the different stations, a normally interested visitor should be able to walk through the exhibition without needing any other aid to understand what Hollein was trying to convey.²⁹⁷

The structure of the exhibition is best explained as 24 different stations which are not necessarily divided up by subject areas, but rather each represent a new initial phenomenon. The exhibition starts out with the *Makart Procession* in the 1870s. This parade was organized for the twenty-fifth wedding anniversary of Emperor Francis Joseph and his wife Elizabeth, also known as the beloved Franz and Sissi, and it was the first of such grandeur and with such interesting costumes. Another station of the exhibition was for instance Gustav Mahler, or Otto Wagner, or Karl Lueger and his communalization of the city.²⁹⁸ Then there were also stations for the big names in art of the time. Gustav Klimt's pieces were displayed, as well as Schiele and Kokoschka's greatest work, but there were also stations for the architects, composers, and writers of the time. Interestingly, the exhibition showed three of Klimt's main portraits of women next to each other for the first

²⁹⁵ Diederichs-Lafite, "Wien 1870-1930 – Traum und Wirklichkeit," 268.

²⁹⁶ Rásky, "Traum und Wirklichkeit"; *Von Tag zu Tag*, "Ausstellung "Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 - 1930" im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein."

²⁹⁷ *Von Tag zu Tag*, "Ausstellung "Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 - 1930" im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein."

²⁹⁸ Richard S. Geehr, *Karl Lueger: mayor of fin de siècle Vienna* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990).

time, one of them being the highly contested portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer, which is today better known under its aryanized name *Woman in Gold*.²⁹⁹

2. Creation of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*: Works of Art used for the Exhibition

Hollein needed the pieces used for the exhibition to be able to show the *metaphorical sense* of events which were not able to be portrayed in its true state. Because of his vision to create a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, rather than an ordinary art exhibition, a wide variety of artwork was used and displayed in the exhibition.³⁰⁰ Classics such as paintings by Klimt, Schiele, and others were part of the exhibition as well, but Hollein additionally made sure to use music to underline the experience of the exhibition.³⁰¹

The theme of most forms of art seemed to be crossing borders – in the geographical sense as well as in the sense of different fields. What fascinated Hollein the most, was this synthesis of art to a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, which he saw accomplished the most in Vienna at the turn of the century.³⁰² For the sake of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, Hollein also declines rather vehemently that the epoch could be described as art nouveau, as he claims it would be too easy to reduce the time period to this one attribute. He refers to the immense broad range of activities at the turn of the century, as Vienna was the home for so many different artists. A good example for this would be the architects Otto Wagner, Josef Hoffmann and Adolf Loos. All three were active in Vienna at approximately the same time, yet they were extremely different in their styles.

Hollein wanted to display many different phenomena of the time in the scope of this one exhibition, from Freud's first endeavors into psychoanalysis, and his depiction of the dream, to the political development in Vienna. This includes the formation of the social democratic party, to the communalization of Vienna through Karl Lueger or the establishment of the housing laws which all changed Vienna from its core. Hollein claimed that he wants his exhibition to not be solely an exhibition of fine art, but a way to show the

²⁹⁹ *Von Tag zu Tag*, "Ausstellung "Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 - 1930" im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein."

³⁰⁰ Eva Branscome, *Hans Hollein and Postmodernism: Art and Architecture in Austria, 1958-1985* (London: Routledge, 2017), 223.

³⁰¹ *Von Tag zu Tag*, "Ausstellung "Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 - 1930" im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein."

³⁰² Hollein, "Das Konzept zur Präsentation der Ausstellung ,Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930,'" 36-37.

broad spread creativity Vienna's.³⁰³ He acknowledges that there will always be fields which are portrayed more easily, such as classic fine art, but he tried to create an exhibition full of metaphors which should help visualizing things that are not as easily displayed otherwise. An example for this would be on the one hand the music he wants to be played in the background which would also help immerse the visitor into the exhibition. On the other hand, showing the shot-through uniform of Franz Ferdinand is the perfect metaphor to introduce the visitor to World War I. Hollein wanted his exhibition to be based on science, but it was of great importance to him to bring in an experience-oriented aspect as well. Another way to achieve this was to recreate the exact scenery of the *Beethoven Frieze*. The aura of the original is in this case enough to fully immerse the audience into the exhibition.³⁰⁴

The question of where most pieces were from is quickly answered by Hollein himself, as he mentioned in the *Von Tag zu Tag* interview that most were given to the exhibition by the Historical Museum of Vienna. Some other federal museums were also willing to lend some of their artwork to the exhibition, and some of the pieces were also retrieved from private collectors from all over the world. Thanks to the *Wiener Werkstätte* being an integral part of the exhibition, furniture was also being exhibited.³⁰⁵ However, due to space restrictions, Hollein decided to not replicate whole interiors, as it would take up too much room. However, one section of the exhibition was dedicated to the topic of furniture nonetheless.³⁰⁶

Despite the organizational power being entirely held by Hans Hollein, it would be naïve to think that the City of Vienna did not have any say in the decision-making process. The City was the main financial contributor which also meant that they had a say in what the exhibition, the catalogue in particular, and the general project might look like.³⁰⁷ Additionally, with Zilk's major interest in the project, it is also clear that he wanted to be involved in some of the decisions, as he wanted to make sure that Vienna was seen as an international metropolis.³⁰⁸

³⁰³ *Von Tag zu Tag*, "Ausstellung "Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 - 1930" im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein."

³⁰⁴ Hollein, "Die Rekonstruktion des Raumes von Josef Hoffmann für Klimts Beethovenfries," 544-557.

³⁰⁵ *Von Tag zu Tag*, "Ausstellung "Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 - 1930" im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein."

³⁰⁶ Hollein, "Das Konzept zur Präsentation der Ausstellung ,Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930,'" 36-37.

³⁰⁷ Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien, VeranstalterIn, *Traum Und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930*.

³⁰⁸ Zilk, "Danksagung," 3.

3. Public Reception and a Newly Discovered Identity?

The exhibition was a complete success from its opening day onwards; to put it in Beller's words: "Fin-de-siècle Vienna simply chimed with the times".³⁰⁹ In total, approximately 622.000 visitors showed up to see what the *Künstlerhaus* had to offer besides the large statue of Klimt's *Medizin* on its roof.³¹⁰ The exhibition marked a turning point in the architecture of grand exhibitions in Austria. Hans Hollein's approach to use elements such as replicas and models was new to the Austrian museum scene and was of central importance for the image of Vienna in the national and international art scene.³¹¹

According to Regina Karner, the exhibition did great with those who went to visit it. With the success of the exhibition, *Vienna 1900* cemented itself as a trademark for Austria and the Vienna got a completely new image. According to Karner, after the exhibition, especially Klimt and Schiele were presented with a completely new cultural awareness. Thanks to the exhibition, the term *Vienna 1900* and Viennese modernism in general turned into something known on an international level. Additionally, Karner mentioned that she thinks that the souvenir business around Klimt is still flourishing to this day because of 'Traum und Wirklichkeit'.³¹²

The reception of the general public was widely positive, as they felt completely immersed in the experience and did see the time period in a completely new light. The exhibition was new in many ways, as it was almost interactive because it played on many senses at once. People also seemed to like the many different pieces of art which were displayed, from statues to paintings to household items.³¹³ It helped them understand what living like the elite of fin-de-siècle Vienna might have been like. In addition, it seemed like by 1985, the Austrian society was finally able to accept *Vienna 1900* as part of their cultural identity, which was only highlighted by the ravaging success of 'Traum und Wirklichkeit'. The Waldheim Affair which took place mere months after the exhibition seemed to have a rather large impact on the people's reception of fin-de-siècle Vienna, as it brought once again to the forefront the "greatest victims of Austria's time as part of the Third Reich: Vienna's Jews."³¹⁴ The new acknowledgement of the time period also highlighted the deep-

³⁰⁹ Beller, "Fin de Fin-de-Siècle Vienna? A Letter of Remembrance," 50.

³¹⁰ Uhl, "Lass besingen dich, du künftig Wien."

³¹¹ Rásky, "Traum und Wirklichkeit."

³¹² Regina Karner, interview by author, May 11, 2020.

³¹³ Peter Mahr, "Hollein mit Lyotard. Annäherung an die Erzählung der Architektur," *Der Falter*, 1985, <https://homepage.univie.ac.at/peter.mahr/003f4-03.html>.

³¹⁴ Beller, "Fin de Fin-de-Siècle Vienna? A Letter of Remembrance," 53-54.

rooted anti-Semitism in Austria, which could already be felt at the turn-of-the-century, which then escalated during World War II. This awareness helped on the one hand to further the popularity of the time period of *Vienna 1900*, but on the other hand it also fueled the resistance against the preservation of the *Geschichtslüge* by politicians such as Waldheim.

The success of the topic of *Vienna 1900* could mostly be felt in the two follow-up exhibitions on the same topic in Paris and New York City, as, according to Steinberg, the exhibition in Paris was literally “mobbed” by visitors.³¹⁵ In general, the exhibitions showcased from 1984 to 1986 did play their part in influencing the intellectual history of the general knowledge of *Vienna 1900*.³¹⁶ This international acclaim the exhibition was enjoying was priceless for Austrian tourism, as a heightened interest in the nation who birthed artists such as Klimt, Schiele and Kokoschka came with it. Financially, ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ was an enormous success, not only because of its undisputed visitor numbers, but also because of the interest in the time period that was sparked by the exhibition.³¹⁷ With this new-found awareness of the Viennese past, fin-de-siècle Vienna definitely brought more tourism to the city – and therefore, the exhibition fulfilled its first and foremost goal – to make Vienna relevant once more.³¹⁸ Another indicating factor for the success of fin-de-siècle Vienna in terms of tourism is the ever-successful *Upper Belvedere*; it is one of the top three tourist attractions in Vienna – with more than 1 million visitors every year – thanks to exhibiting *Der Kuss* by Gustav Klimt.³¹⁹ The *Belvedere* is closely followed in visitor numbers by the *Secession*, which has been restored by Helmut Zilk in the 1980s.³²⁰

While Vienna has many different topics and time periods it could focus on for its tourism to flourish, *Vienna 1900* as an era and the artists from the turn-of-the-century seem to impact the tourist industry of Vienna the most. ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ made way for countless merchandise, be it copies of Klimt’s most renowned work, duplicates of *Wiener*

³¹⁵ Michael P. Steinberg, “‘Fin-de-siècle Vienna’ Ten Years Later: ‘Viel Traum, Wenig Wirklichkeit’,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 22 (1991): 161, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0067237800019925>.

³¹⁶ Steinberg, “‘Fin-de-siècle Vienna’ Ten Years Later: ‘Viel Traum, Wenig Wirklichkeit’,” 160.

³¹⁷ Mario Schulze, *Wie die Dinge Sprechen lernten: Eine Geschichte des Museumsobjektes 1968-2000* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2017) 182, <https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839439159-fm>.

³¹⁸ Zilk, “Danksagung,” 3.

³¹⁹ Michael Huber, “Besucherzahlen der Bundesmuseen: Das Rekordjahr im Detail,” *Der Kurier*, January 25, 2019, <https://kurier.at/kultur/besucherzahlen-der-bundesmuseen-das-rekordjahr-im-detail/400388564>; “Die Klimt-Sammlung des Belvedere,” Belvedere, accessed May 22, 2020, <https://www.belvedere.at/sites/default/files/jart-files/Klimt-Sammlung-Belvedere.pdf>

³²⁰ Von Mersi, “Wien: Die Bauwut des Bürgermeisters.”

Werkstätte objects, or chocolates with the artists' face on them. Even when disregarding the immense cultural impact, the exhibition had on Austria, it left a mark on the Austrian souvenir business, confirming its financial and mainstream success back in 1985 up until today.

III. Legacies

The ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition, but also *Vienna 1900* in general left quite the legacy behind. From 1985 onwards, exhibitions on the topic of *Vienna 1900* have been a staple in the museum world, not only in Austria, but internationally. This immense interest in the art of the turn-of-the-century Vienna has also opened up a discussion about the rightful owners of many art pieces, as during the time of Nazi reign in Austria many pieces of art were stolen from their mostly Jewish owners. With ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ and all its following exhibitions, a new light was cast on Austria’s failure to restitute the art to its rightful owners after World War II. Instead, a new discussion about the topic was ignited, which led to the second wave of restitution acts in the 1990s. Lastly, thanks to ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’, *Vienna 1900* also left behind a very optimistic picture of the artists in question. Due to the exhibition’s focus on the positive characteristics of the artists to enable the boom in tourism and general interest in the time period, some of the more questionable individualities seem to have been forgotten. Nowadays, 35 years after the ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition, one would think it would be high time to analyze the artists’ life in a more critical light, however, most current exhibitions still seem to shy away from exactly that. Since the grand ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition in the 1980s, there have been many more exhibitions on the time period. The most recent exhibition on the topic, titled ‘Vienna 1900’, is exhibited at the *Leopold Museum* in Vienna focusing on Schiele and Kokoschka in particular.³²¹

A. Similar Exhibitions in Other Countries

The above mentioned follow-up exhibition to ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ was displayed by the Centre Georges Pompidou whose curators created an exhibition almost identical to the one in Vienna, relying heavily on a large number of art pieces from the Viennese exhibition.³²² Only months later, Ronald Lauder opened another strikingly similar exhibition in New York City on the same topic – ‘Vienna 1900’. Again, some of the pieces were shipped to the United States to be displayed at said exhibition.³²³

³²¹ “Wien 1900: Aufbruch in die Moderne,” Leopold Museum, accessed May 20, 2020, https://www.leopoldmuseum.org/media/file/583_W1900_Folder.pdf.

³²² Gérard Régnier, et al. *Vienne, naissance d'un siècle, 1880-1938* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1986), 3-4. <https://www.centrepompidou.fr/media/document/42/6b/426b193503cbfad7e6a0023a5f259523/normal.pdf>

³²³ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 6-8.

This shows the international interest the exhibition has raised, as well as the success of ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’, not just in Austria but around the globe. With this widely successful showcasing of Viennese culture, Vienna was put back on the radar for art critics all over the world. After Paris and New York, there was also an exhibition on *Vienna 1900* in Australia in 2011.³²⁴ All of these exhibitions have one thing in common – they basically recreate ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ with only a few minor changes here and there.

Although the exhibitions in Paris, New York City and Australia might be the most well-known international replicas of ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’, they are by far not the only exhibitions which covered the topic of fin-de-siècle Vienna. The *Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais* in Paris, and *La Galleria d’Arte Moderna* in Trieste had also quite successful exhibitions on the same topic.³²⁵ Interestingly, the more recent the exhibitions, the more they focus on the more debated parts of the ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ depiction of *Vienna 1900*, for instance, the lack of acknowledgement of the Jewish impact on the time period, or the missing appreciation for the women of the time period.³²⁶ This is an important evolution of the exhibition, as no one should see the ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ depiction as the final representation of the time period.

Looking at the most prominent exhibitions on *Vienna 1900* in more detail, the first to mention has to be the already alluded to French exhibition ‘Vienne, Naissance d’un siècle, 1880 – 1938’ which was the first exhibition on *Vienna 1900* after the ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition in 1985. Having opened in February 1986, the French curators were eager to jump on the popularity train the topic seemed to have started. Besides deciding to focus on a longer period of time, the Parisienne exhibition is quite similar to the Viennese exhibition. Once the exhibition in the Centre Pompidou came to a close, most pieces immediately started their way across the pond to the first exhibition in the United States on the topic of *Vienna 1900*.³²⁷

³²⁴ Vienna: Art & Design: Klimt, Schiele, Hoffmann, Loos,” National Gallery of Victoria, accessed May 20, 2020, <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/exhibition/vienna-art-design/>.

³²⁵ “Klimt, Schiele, Moser, Kokoschka. Vienne 1900,” Musée Orsay, accessed May 20, 2020, <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/events/exhibitions/in-the-museums/exhibitions-in-the-musee-dorsay/article/vienne-1900-klimt-schiele-moser-kokoschka-4236.html?cHash=25f4739ada>; “Klimt Schiele Kokoschka – L’età d’oro di Vienna con i suoi maestri,” Museo Revoltella, accessed May 20, 2020, <https://museorevoltella.it/klimt-schiele-kokoschka-l-et-doro-di-vienna-con-i-suoi-maestri/>.

³²⁶ Johnson, *The Memory Factory: The Forgotten Women Artists of Vienna 1900*.

³²⁷ Régnier, et al. *Vienne, naissance d’un siècle, 1880 – 1938*, 3-4.

The exhibition in New York City also leans heavily on the original ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition at the *Künstlerhaus*.³²⁸ The organizers of the New York exhibition, therefore, expressed their deepest gratitude to Robert Waissenberger and Hans Hollein, who not only designed and created the concept for the Viennese installation, but, despite their busy schedules, have “given generously of their time, advice, and encouragement” to the people involved in the American version of the exhibition.³²⁹ The exhibition of the MoMA titled ‘Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design’ focused on the time frame between 1898 and 1918. The curators decided to keep the showcased materials as broad as the Viennese did beforehand, by also exhibiting everything from paintings to architecture to kitchenware.³³⁰ However, despite seeming so similar to the previous two exhibitions in Vienna and Paris respectively, the curators at the Museum of Modern Art ensured the guests that their exhibition is “substantially different in conception.”³³¹ So had the exhibition at the Centre Georges Pompidou, for instance, a focus on Freud and Red Vienna’s contradictions, whereas the exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art returned to the original exhibition’s focus.³³²

In Vienna, not a year goes by without at least one museum focusing on fin-de-siècle Vienna. The most recent exhibition on the topic, curated by the *Leopold Museum* in 2019, is titled ‘Wien 1900: Aufbruch in die Moderne’. The title, which can be translated to *birth of modernism*, already suggests the main topics of the exhibition.³³³ Very much similar to the opinion of the curators of ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ and with that in accordance with Schorske’s findings, the curators of the *Leopold Museum*’s exhibition explore *Vienna 1900* as the birthplace of modernism, not only in painting and literature, but in all kinds of disciplines. Again, similarly to the 1985 exhibition, this collection starts in 1870 with an homage to the “heyday of Viennese Historicism”.³³⁴ This brings back the overarching question, if *Vienna 1900* is what is well-known about Austrian culture, or if it is the idea of the time period the exhibition of the 1980s conveyed which people want to remember. The curators then go on to give a brief overview of how the *Ringstrasse* and the founding

³²⁸ Hollein, “Das Konzept zur Präsentation der Ausstellung ‚Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930,“” 37.

³²⁹ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 6.

³³⁰ “Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture and Design,” Museum of Modern Art, accessed May 20, 2020, <https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/1729>.

³³¹ “Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture and Design,” Museum of Modern Art.

³³² Steinberg, “‘Fin-de-siècle Vienna’ Ten Years Later: ‘Viel Traum, Wenig Wirklichkeit’,” 161.

³³³ “Wien 1900: Aufbruch in die Moderne,” Leopold Museum.

³³⁴ “Wien 1900: Aufbruch in die Moderne,” Leopold Museum.

of the Vienna Secession influenced the artists of the time, while also making sure to drop all the important names that have to be mentioned in the same breath as *Vienna 1900*, such as Klimt, Bahr, Schnitzler, Otto and Gustav Wagner, Schönberg, and Freud. Once again, the main takeaway of the exhibition seemed to have been the intertwined-ness of the time in Vienna, which led to the birth of modernism in all these disciplines at once. Besides the topical similarities to ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’, the exhibition also seemed to concentrate on the same wide variety of materials as the original exhibition on fin-de-siècle, for instance, making sure items by the *Wiener Werkstätte* were also being exhibited.³³⁵ The exhibition at the *Leopold Museum* chose to close out the exhibition by highlighting 1918 as the year of loss, not only from a personal perspective, but also in the sense of modernism in Vienna. However, similarly to the original exhibition, this one also goes on to show the aftermath of the time period, by showcasing pieces up to the 1920s. Overall, the *Leopold Museum*’s exhibition is the perfect example to show how big of an influence ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ was for the general public in Austria, as the structure of the 2019 exhibition seems to be an almost exact copy from Hans Hollein’s vision for the 1985 exhibition.³³⁶

Throughout the years, the focus of exhibitions on *Vienna 1900* was on different themes, oftentimes depending on which anniversaries were coming up in the year of the showcasing. For instance, in 2012, on the occasion of Gustav Klimt’s 150th birthday, the *Leopold Museum* showcased a Klimt exhibition titled ‘Klimt persönlich’.³³⁷ In the same year, the *Kunsthistorische Museum Wien* also celebrated the 150th birthday of Gustav Klimt by dedicating an exhibition to the artist. Said exhibition was such an enormous success that it got prolonged and was almost showcased for a full year.³³⁸ Not wanting to miss out on the opportunity of celebrating Gustav Klimt, the *Albertina* also showcased an exhibition on the artist’s works – focusing on his drawings in particular.³³⁹ Instead of focusing on one aspect of the artist’s life, the *Wien Museum* decided to make their exhibition the most extensive and broad one. The museum used the 150th birthday of the artist to showcase all they could find on the artists in one place.³⁴⁰ Five years later, in 2017, the *Albertina* focused

³³⁵ Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien, VeranstalterIn, *Traum Und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930*.

³³⁶ “Wien 1900: Aufbruch in die Moderne,” Leopold Museum.

³³⁷ “Wien 1900: Aufbruch in die Moderne,” Leopold Museum.

³³⁸ “Gustav Klimt im Kunsthistorischen Museum,” Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.khm.at/besuchen/ausstellungen/2012/gustav-klimt-im-kunsthistorischen-museum/>.

³³⁹ “Gustav Klimt: Die Zeichnungen,” Ausstellungen, Albertina, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.albertina.at/forschung/zeichnung-druckgrafik/publikationen/gustav-klimt-die-zeichnungen/>.

³⁴⁰ “Klimt. Die Sammlung des Wien Museums,” Wien Museum, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.wienmuseum.at/de/ausstellungen/archiv/klimt-die-sammlung-des-wien-museums>.

quite heavily on *Vienna 1900* once more, by dedicating two exhibitions to the topic, namely ‘Der Farbholzschnitt in Wien um 1900’ and an exhibition on Egon Schiele.³⁴¹

Then, in 2018, having the 100-year anniversary of the death of Schiele, Klimt, and arguably also Viennese modernism in mind, *Viennese Modernism* was chosen as the theme for the year for a number of exhibitions. Therefore, the *Leopold Museum* showcased not only an exhibition titled ‘Wien um 1900’, but also two Gustav Klimt exhibitions (titled ‘Gustav Klimt - Jahrhundertkünstler’ and simply ‘Gustav Klimt’) and an exhibition focusing on Egon Schiele called ‘Die Jubiläumsschau – Reloaded’.³⁴² Additionally, for the thematic year, the *Belvedere* showcased an exhibition on the difficulties of modernism in Zagreb and Vienna around 1900, as well as ‘Klimt ist nicht das Ende’, an exhibition focusing on what came after the deaths of Klimt and Schiele, and another exhibition focusing on Egon Schiele in particular.³⁴³ However, besides the usual suspects, the *Wien Museum* decided to dedicate an exhibition to Otto Wagner and his influence on the cityscape during at the turn of the century.³⁴⁴ The focus on *Vienna 1900* continued in 2019, as the *Belvedere* also opened up an exhibition about Vienna as the ‘city of women’, focusing on female artists from 1900 to 1938 in Vienna.³⁴⁵

But not only the Austrian museum scene is still focusing on *Vienna 1900*, there have been many international exhibitions as well. As already briefly mentioned, Italy was not able to resist the charm of *Vienna 1900* and curated an exhibition with the title ‘Klimt, Schiele, Kokoschka: l'età d'oro di Vienna con I suoi maestri’ for the *Civico Museo Revoltella* in Trieste in 2002.³⁴⁶ Just as noteworthy is the ‘Klimt, Schiele, Moser, Kokoschka. Vienne 1900’ exhibition which took place in Paris in 2005-2006, which focused on the four mentioned artists and their influence on the turn of the century and the shift from symbolism towards expressionism.³⁴⁷ In 2011, Australia’s *National Gallery of Victoria* opened an exhibition titled ‘Vienna: Art & Design - Klimt, Schiele, Hoffmann,

³⁴¹ “Der Farbholzschnitt in Wien um 1900,” Ausstellungen, Albertina, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.albertina.at/ausstellungen/der-farbholzschnitt-in-wien-um-1900/>; “Egon Schiele,” Ausstellungen, Albertina, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.albertina.at/ausstellungen/egon-schiele/>.

³⁴² “Archiv,” Ausstellungen, Leopold Museum, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.leopoldmuseum.org/de/ausstellungen/archiv>.

³⁴³ “Klimt ist nicht das Ende,” Ausstellungen, Belvedere, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.belvedere.at/klimt-ist-nicht-das-ende>; “Egon Schiele,” Ausstellungen, Belvedere, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.belvedere.at/egon-schiele>.

³⁴⁴ “Otto Wagner,” Wien Museum, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.wienmuseum.at/de/ausstellungen/archiv/otto-wagner>.

³⁴⁵ “Stadt der Frauen,” Ausstellungen, Belvedere, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.belvedere.at/stadt-der-frauen>.

³⁴⁶ Museo Revoltella, “Klimt Schiele Kokoschka – L'età d'oro di Vienna con i suoi maestri.”

³⁴⁷ Musée Orsay, “Klimt, Schiele, Moser, Kokoschka, Vienna 1900.”

Loos' in Melbourne.³⁴⁸ Last year, in 2019, the *Belvedere* opened up an exhibition about Gustav Klimt and his ties to Japan in Tokyo, in collaboration with the *Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum*, which proves even further how much of an international topic *Vienna 1900* has become.³⁴⁹

Overwhelmingly, the exhibitions focus on the influence *Vienna 1900* had on the coming into existence of modernism. This, once again, reminds one of Schorske's written work and the following exhibition on 'Traum und Wirklichkeit', showing that many, if not all, museums at least lean on Hollein's and Schorske's depiction of the time period rather than the actual time period itself.

B. Art Restitution: A Step towards *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*

Despite the reception of the exhibition at the time being mainly positive, there were some critical comments on some of the pieces which were displayed, and also of the way some pieces were acquired. The issue with the acquiring of some pieces of art can be led back to World War II, where many pieces of art have been stolen from Jews. Still to this day, as many as 100,000 pieces of art are still unaccounted for.³⁵⁰ This means many pieces of art are still in the wrong hands, which is something that could and should be rectified, especially once the pieces are being displayed in pompous exhibitions, generating a lot of money for the institutions exhibiting the art work.

Art Restitution has been of importance in Austria since the end of World War II in 1945. To make sure that the stolen art was returned to its rightful owners, Austria passed a "constitutional law on the restoration of law and order".³⁵¹ Said Registration Act of 1945 obliged Austrians who were in ownership of any aryanized pieces of art to register them, so it could be determined who the rightful owners of said pieces were. A mere year later, a new act was passed, the Annulment Act, whose goal it was to declare all transactions, which did not adhere to the laws reigning prior to the war, null and void.³⁵² This was, again, meant

³⁴⁸ National Gallery of Victoria, "Vienna: Art & Design: Klimt, Schiele, Hoffmann, Loos."

³⁴⁹ "Gustav Klimt. Wien und Japan 1900 Belvedere," Ausstellungen, Belvedere, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.belvedere.at/gustav-klimt-wien-und-japan-1900-0>.

³⁵⁰ Patricia Cohen, "The Story Behind 'Woman in Gold': Nazi Art Thieves and One Painting's Return," *New York Times*, March 30, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/31/arts/design/the-story-behind-woman-in-gold-nazi-art-thieves-and-one-paintings-return.html>.

³⁵¹ "The Austrian legislation on art restitution after World War Two," Art restitution - National Fund of the Republic of Austria for Victims of National Socialism, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.kunstdatenbank.at/the-austrian-legislation-on-art-restitution-after-world-war-two>.

³⁵² "Massnahmen zwischen 1945-1995," Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien - Abteilung für Restitutionsangelegenheiten der IKG Wien, accessed May 5, 2020, <http://www.restitution.or.at/historischer-hintergrund/hh-zwischen.html>

to ensure that any pieces of art or other possessions were not in the wrong hands, making sure to rule out any discriminatory laws which had been in place during the war time as well. In total, seven restitution acts were passed by Austria in the time between 1946 and 1949, all of which dealt with the restitution of any seized assets varying in applicability. Then, in 1955, the State Treaty of Vienna also included the restitution of art seized during the Nazi era, stating that if there have not been any steps taken up to this point, all property has to be returned to their rightful owners.³⁵³ Despite these efforts, it seems that Austria failed to keep their promises to the victims of the Nazi regime, which led to another Art Restitution Law in 1999, more than fifty years after the first Act was put into action. This Resolution was meant to regulate the conditions and procedures for museums of Austria if they were to restitute art.³⁵⁴ Thus, if a person claims that a piece of work in the hands of a museum might have been taken unjustly from someone during the time between 1938 to 1945, the eligibility for restitution has to be established. Once this is done, the museum has to attempt to locate the prior owners of the piece, or – much more likely nowadays – get in contact with the heirs of the owners. Despite these noble efforts, critics of the process called out that the first step – the eligibility for restitution – is not one to overcome easily.³⁵⁵

A very famous instance of this was the fight for the ownership of Klimt's painting *Woman in Gold*, also known as *Adele Bloch-Bauer I*. The portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer, as well as four other depictions of her, were stolen from the rightful owners by Nazis during World War II and were not returned after the war. Instead, the City of Vienna displayed the pieces as their own at the *Belvedere*. However, the niece of Bloch-Bauer, Maria Altmann, decided the portraits were worth fighting for, especially considering how Austria had, up to this point, neglected the restitution process, which led many to believe that the Austrian government did not want to return valuable pieces such as Klimt's works of art, to their rightful owners. Therefore, Altmann decided to sue the Republic of Austria for the paintings, a case which eventually was fought out in the United States. There, it was decided that Altmann was indeed the right owner and that Austria had to give up the paintings. The *Woman in Gold* was eventually bought by Ronald Lauder for a record price

³⁵³ "The Austrian legislation on art restitution after World War Two," Art restitution - National Fund of the Republic of Austria for Victims of National Socialism.

³⁵⁴ "Restitution," Kunst und Kultur, Bundesministerium für Kunst, Kultur, öffentlichen Dienst und Sport, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.bmkoes.gv.at/Kunst-und-Kultur/restitution.html>.

³⁵⁵ "Art restitution proceedings after 1998," Art restitution - National Fund of the Republic of Austria for Victims of National Socialism, accessed May 21, 2020, <https://www.kunstdatenbank.at/art-restitution-proceedings-after-1998>.

of \$135 million in 2006.³⁵⁶ This purchase made Klimt to one of the most expensive painters globally. The painting can now be observed at the *Museum of Modern Art* in New York City.³⁵⁷

One of the reasons it took so long for Austria to accept the restitution process and for the government to really go forward with it was once again the much mentioned *Geschichtslüge*. It is difficult to fully commit to the restitution of stolen objects, while at the same time keeping up the façade of actually being a victim of the war. However, in the late 1990s, a new generation was in positions of power, a generation which was not so keen on hiding the past, but who rather wanted the truth to come to the forefront. Most of the people in positions of power were not immediately involved in the war anymore, which made it easier to accept that Austria was in fact not the first victim, and to acknowledge that stealing valuable art pieces, jewelry, and even homes from people of Jewish descent was something the Republic of Austria had to apologize for and make right.³⁵⁸ All of this led to the signing of the Washington Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art in 1998, an agreement between Austria and 44 other countries to find a fair solution for victims of Nazi persecution. Approximately at the same time, a law was passed by the Austrian Parliament, “requiring museums to open their archives for research and to return plundered property.”³⁵⁹ This law was passed thanks to Hubertus Czernin, the journalist who discovered that the original claim that Adele Bloch-Bauer willingly left the Klimt paintings to the Republic of Austria was most likely false. He discovered that she left all her belongings to her husband, who then put his heirs as the rightful owners of all his belongings in his will. Nevertheless, not even the discovery of this false claim and the initiation of a new law was enough for Maria Altmann to simply be given her paintings by the Republic of Austria. It took until 2006 and many fights in court for her to get five of the six paintings she claimed to be hers.³⁶⁰

This story of the *Woman in Gold* was turned into a biographical drama by Simon Curtis in 2015, with dame Helen Mirren in the starring role of Marie Altmann, and Ryan Reynolds as her trusty lawyer Randy Schönberg, the grandson of the Austrian composer

³⁵⁶ Cohen, “The Story Behind ‘Woman in Gold’: Nazi Art Thieves and One Painting’s Return.”

³⁵⁷ Sommer and Steiner-Strauss, “Die Lust, die Sucht, die Kraft.”

³⁵⁸ “Recognition of different groups of victims,” National Fund of the Republic of Austria for Victims of National Socialism, accessed May 7, 2020, <https://www.nationalfonds.org/victims-recognition>.

³⁵⁹ Cohen, “The Story Behind ‘Woman in Gold’: Nazi Art Thieves and One Painting’s Return.”

³⁶⁰ Martin Engelberg, “Österreichs Umgang mit seinen Juden: Es hat sich einiges getan,” *Die Presse*, May 25, 2015, <https://www.diepresse.com/4739100/osterreichs-umgang-mit-seinen-juden-es-hat-sich-einiges-gegan?from=rss>.

Arnold Schönberg.³⁶¹ The movie was effective in bringing the issue of restitution into the forefront of people's minds once again, much to the dismay of Austrian politicians, especially because the director of the movie took quite the artistic liberties when telling the story. In Austria, the complete story of restitution in general, and the case of Adele Bloch-Bauer's portraits more particular, is told from a slightly different point of view. For instance, the film fails to mention that the Austrian journalist Hubertus Czernin was the first one to question the claim of Austria that Adele Bloch-Bauer had left her belongings to the Austrian nation – rather the film made it seem as if Randy Schönberg, the lawyer, came to this revelation.³⁶² Despite the slight changes of the history for cinematic reasons, Ronald Lauder, former ambassador of the United States in Austria and now the owner of the *Woman in Gold*, still thinks that the film did a good job, especially in portraying the struggles of Maria Altmann. Despite Lauder's opinion that Austria redeemed itself by giving up the portraits in the end, he would still never lend his "Adele" painting to any Austrian museum, not only because it is the main attraction in his own museum (the MoMA), but also because he knows that this would not be in Maria Altmann's interest.³⁶³

All in all, this tale of the *Woman in Gold* depicts how hard it is to this day to prove that something had been stolen by Nazis during the World War. It also shows that some of the highly acclaimed art pieces which were exhibited at the 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' exhibition in 1985, might have gotten into the City of Vienna's hands under the wrong circumstances. Despite the grandness of the exhibition, it is important to talk about this issue, especially in hindsight. Nowadays, when curating an exhibition on *Vienna 1900*, it would be worth mentioning that some pieces were destroyed, got lost, or were never returned to their rightful owners after World War II. Curators could also take the route of exhibiting pieces by private owners which were lent to them, to show that despite many pieces of art still being misplaced, some have been returned.³⁶⁴

Another name to be mentioned on the topic of restitution is Jane Kallir, whose grandfather, Otto Kallir, was the founder of the *Neue Galerie* in Vienna, the main place of

³⁶¹ Olga Kronsteiner, "'Die Frau in Gold': Faktentreue ist eine schlechte Dramaturgin," *Der Standard*, May 29, 2015, <https://www.derstandard.at/story/2000016549464/die-frau-in-gold-faktentreue-ist-eine-schlechte-dramaturgin>.

³⁶² Barbara Petsch, "'Die Frau in Gold': Klimts goldene Adele als Kino-Saga," *Die Presse*, June 2, 2015, <https://www.diepresse.com/4745640/die-frau-in-gold-klimts-goldene-adele-als-kino-saga?from=rss>.

³⁶³ Oliver Grimm, "Ronald Lauder: 'Die Juden sind immer der erste Sündenbock'," *Die Presse*, April 3, 2015, <https://www.diepresse.com/4701208/ronald-lauder-bdquodie-juden-sind-immer-der-erste-sundenbockldquo?from=rss>.

³⁶⁴ Cohen, "The Story Behind 'Woman in Gold': Nazi Art Thieves and One Painting's Return."

representation for modernist artists such as Klimt, Schiele, and Kokoschka prior to World War II. She made it her goal to find and return artwork which was stolen or misplaced during or after the war. Due to her connection to Vienna, Kallir started to do more research on the progress of the Austrian Restitution Policy which led her to many interesting findings, which can be observed at the *Galerie St. Etienne* website.³⁶⁵

The main reason Kallir embarked on the mission to solve the restitution issue was her finding letters from Leah Bondi addressed to Kallir's grandfather, telling him how a Nazi art dealer, Friedrich Welz, threatened her into handing him Schiele's *Portrait of Wally*.³⁶⁶ As Bondi was fearing for her life she did so, and after the war, the painting was falsely restituted and later sold to the *Österreichische Galerie*.³⁶⁷ This situation shows just how little effort went into finding the right owners of some of the stolen art work after the war, which is why Kallir decided to reopen a number of old cases and embarked on the mission to find their true owners. This led to a dramatic situation after one of New York's exhibitions on Schiele in the MoMA.³⁶⁸ On the day the pieces of art which have been borrowed from Austria were meant to be shipped back to Austria, "New York's District Attorney, Robert Morgenthau, stepped in with subpoenas for *Portrait of Wally* and a second painting, *Dead City*, that had been claimed by another family."³⁶⁹ While many saw Kallir's workings as heroic and the right thing to do, Austria's cultural minister was far from happy. Austria did not see the need for another country deciding on how they were supposed to handle their past wrongdoings. The mentioned art pieces were later returned to their rightful owners, but other restitution cases were not as easily resolved as this one. For instance, Klimt's *Beethoven Frieze* was sold to the state of Austria in the 1970s, however, after Austria restored the frieze in its entirety, Erich Lederer, the former owner of the painting claimed to have been forced into selling it and stated that he wanted it back.³⁷⁰ This case could not be solved, as the *Beirat*, who is responsible for matters of restitution in Austria, did not come to a uniform opinion. This shows that even after all those years, there is still no flawless solution to the restitution of stolen art from the Nazi era.³⁷¹

³⁶⁵ Kallir, "Austrian Restitution Policy: Where Are We, and How Did We Get Here?"

³⁶⁶ Judith H. Dobrzynski, "What makes the 'Portrait of Wally' case so significant?" *The Art Newspaper*, April 24, 2012, <http://www.judithdobrzynski.com/11595/what-makes-the-portrait-of-wally-case-so>.

³⁶⁷ Kallir, "Austrian Restitution Policy: Where Are We, and How Did We Get Here?"

³⁶⁸ Magdalena Dabrowski and Rudolf Leopold, *Egon Schiele: The Leopold Collection, Vienna* (Yale University Press, 1997), <https://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/1997/schiele/>.

³⁶⁹ Kallir, "Austrian Restitution Policy: Where Are We, and How Did We Get Here?"

³⁷⁰ Bethany Bell, "Austria panel opposes return of Klimt frieze looted by Nazis," *BBC News*, March 6, 2015, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-31747759>.

³⁷¹ Kallir, "Austrian Restitution Policy: Where Are We, and How Did We Get Here?"

Regina Karner, one of the curators for the ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition, claimed that the question of the proper handling of stolen artwork was not really asked yet back in 1985, as all of these issues only came to the surface mainly after the Waldheim Affair. With the affair unravelling in 1986, suddenly Austria was in the international spotlight to handle its past wrongdoings. She says that the Restitution Law of 1998 is what really put the returning of artwork in motion. According to Karner, the commission which was made responsible for the proper handling of artwork which might have been stolen during the Nazi era looked through the whole art collection of Austrian museums thoroughly and did return or restitute the pieces which were proven to not belong to the Republic of Austria.³⁷² If this is really the case is still contested, as many believe the commission to have been quite strict in the decision process of which pieces of art were to be returned. However, on the official website of the Austrian Government, there is a section dedicated to the restitution report which states that as of right now “7,268 objects of art [...] have returned to the rightful owners.”³⁷³

Once again, Steven Beller put it best in his *Concise History of Austria*, where he states that “[t]he recent controversy over Klimt’s golden portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer, whether it belonged to ‘Austria’ or to the Jewish family from which it had been stolen in 1938, is exemplary of the problem of ‘Austrian’ heritage.”³⁷⁴ What he means by that and what is becoming more and more obvious when diving into the topic of Adele Bloch-Bauer is that Austria still has a hard time accepting and apologizing for actions during and prior to the war. Reason for this is once again the denial of Austria’s past which has to be overcome before Austrians can accept and embrace their own heritage – and with that the darker spots of the past as well.

C. ‘Extravagant’ Lifestyles of *Vienna 1900* Artists: Problematic Attitudes

Despite the overall positive feedback on the ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition, one aspect the exhibition failed to mention seems to become the topic of criticism more and more. Tag Gronberg criticizes in his evaluation of the depictions of *Vienna 1900* that some artists were let off the hook for their interest in oftentimes very young women, some of those being Peter Altenberg and Egon Schiele, but also Gustav Klimt and other artists

³⁷² Regina Karner, interview by author, May 11, 2020.

³⁷³ “Restitution report by the City of Vienna,” Politics and Administration, City of Vienna, accessed May 23, 2020, <https://www.wien.gv.at/english/politics-administration/restitution-report.html>.

³⁷⁴ Steven Beller, *A Concise History of Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 314, <https://doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1017/CBO9780511989940>.

were not innocent in this regard.³⁷⁵ Oskar Kokoschka, for instance, was not just known as a talented painter, but also for his tumultuous affair with Alma Mahler. This affair not only set the rumor-mill of the ‘Ringstrasse Society’ in high gears, it also changed Kokoschka’s depiction of himself in his self-portraits, and with that proves the influence women had on the artists of *Vienna 1900*.³⁷⁶ Alma Mahler, the wife and widow of Gustav Mahler was one of the many socialites who tightened the bond between the ‘Ringstrasse Society’ even firmer by being put in connection with more than one popular artist of the time. When Alma Mahler broke the news that she was ending the affair with Kokoschka after he returned from World War I, he answered with the commission of a life-sized doll of her image.³⁷⁷ Kokoschka started to include the Alma doll into his paintings, which could first be observed in *Girl with Doll*. More precisely, the doll in the painting is humanized and portrayed as the girl, whereas the doll the girl is holding is supposed to represent Kokoschka. This leads him to be in the arms of an “uncanny animated version of the former lover he had made lifeless through her incarnation as a doll.”³⁷⁸ Including the doll-version of his ex-lover in his paintings would have been strange enough already, however, Kokoschka also threw some grand parties with the Alma doll at the center of attention.³⁷⁹ One of said parties was also where the Alma doll found her unfortunate end – her head was found on the street outside Kokoschka’s apartment in Vienna. If this meant that he was finally over the heartbreak or if one of his guests was the culprit of the act stays a mystery.³⁸⁰

Another problematic character of the *Vienna 1900* art scene was Egon Schiele. Schiele wanted to provoke the audience from the get-go. While Klimt, his contemporary, also painted nude women and was known for the physical experience of his paintings, Schiele’s raw images of young women touching themselves were highly controversial and provoking. But, as Klimt did before, Schiele shaped the time period by his peculiar style. Just as Kokoschka, his merciless images were influenced by his traumatic early life, but this should not count as an excuse the decisions he made. Even though Schiele did not create a life-size doll of his ex-lovers, his behavior was still quite eccentric, and many were concerned about his close connection to younger girls. Especially nowadays, thinking about

³⁷⁵ Gronberg, *City of Modernity, 1890 – 1914*, 170.

³⁷⁶ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 169.

³⁷⁷ Meyer, “Bourgeois Innocence Lost: Uncanny Children in Turn-of-the-Century Vienna,” 190-191.

³⁷⁸ Meyer, “Bourgeois Innocence Lost: Uncanny Children in Turn-of-the-Century Vienna,” 194.

³⁷⁹ Bonnie Roos, “Oskar Kokoschka’s Sex Toy: The Women and the Doll Who Conceived the Artist,” *Modernism/Modernity* 12, no. 2 (2005): 291.

³⁸⁰ Meyer, “Bourgeois Innocence Lost: Uncanny Children in Turn-of-the-Century Vienna,” 194.

the age many of his models were when he drew them – many of them were a mere 14 years old – Schiele's art should not be displayed without highlighting how problematic this makes many of his pieces of art, despite their beauty.³⁸¹

Whereas Altenberg and Schiele were known for photographing and painting very young girls, by buying into the “late 19th-century obsession with photography as a tool for diagnosing mental illness,” Klimt also had a weird ‘fetish’ which is highly questionable today.³⁸² He sometimes demanded of his models to bring the paintings of their naked bodies to the seller themselves, often leading them into uncomfortable and dangerous situations on purpose.³⁸³ In the current time of the MeToo movement and women empowerment in general, this kind of behavior cannot be overlooked as easily as it was in the 1980s. Even back then there should have been more emphasis put on the wrongdoings of the artists, but instead, it almost seemed as if the curators were looking for excuses for the artists' misbehavior.³⁸⁴ The ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition failed to mention the questionable relationships of the time; even those the public at the turn-of-the-century questioned. Schiele, for instance, was incarcerated for possible unruly behavior with a minor.³⁸⁵ He was taken into custody in Neulengbach, for some part because the rural judges were opposed to his pornographic art, but the main reason for the charges were his dubious relationship with an underage girl, which law enforcement believed to be not consensual. In addition to his sentencing, the judge then also proceeded to burn one of his drawings in the courtroom, which left Schiele very distraught. Yet, these events led to some of Schiele's most iconic and well-known self-portraits, so even this traumatic event had a positive outcome for Schiele's artistic career.³⁸⁶

This is a point where the curators of ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ could have done better. None of the pieces of art would have been diminished in their beauty if the visitor would have known under which circumstances it was created. Already in the 1980s, there should have been a dialogue started to discuss the issue of grown men drawing, painting, and photographing underage girls, or boys for that matter. One of the reasons for the lack of mention of the eccentric lifestyles could be that Vienna was looking for a way to revive

³⁸¹ Gronberg, *Vienna. City of Modernity, 1890-1914*, 170.

³⁸² Bourke, “Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Mental Illness and Modernism,” 1754.

³⁸³ Gronberg, *Vienna. City of Modernity, 1890 – 1914*, 172; Beller, *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, 211.

³⁸⁴ “The Women of Klimt, Schiele And Kokoschka,” Lower Belvedere, accessed May 26, 2020, <https://www.belvedere.at/sites/default/files/jart-files/PM-Klimt-Schiele-Kokoschka-en.pdf>.

³⁸⁵ Peter Vergo, *Art in Vienna 1898 - 1918: Klimt, Kokoschka, Schiele and Their Contemporaries*. (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1975), 214-218.

³⁸⁶ Varnedoe, *Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design*, 173.

its standing in the world, and any unruly behavior which could have been frowned upon was left out.³⁸⁷ It stays questionable, however, why none of the following exhibitions on *Vienna 1900* decided to focus in more detail on the darker sides of the artists. This just seems to underline the fact that many of these exhibitions rather focused on redoing the to this day successful ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition than creating their own exhibition with new insights and more critical views on the artists’ life. Discussing the dangers of romanticizing these characters would highlight the changes the society went through and show how it is possible – despite the different level of acceptance – to still enjoy the art of someone without accepting their actions.³⁸⁸

In the end it is safe to say that ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ left many legacies behind. From numerous exhibitions leaning on the 1985 exhibition, to new efforts to properly retribute art to its rightful owners. However, some information on the exhibition’s content, or rather lack thereof, namely the legacy of great artists getting away with rather improper behavior because of their art, also has to be mentioned in this discussion. Nevertheless, many great things have come from the exhibition, and if future exhibitions start to acknowledge the wrongdoings as well as the many things the exhibition did right, the legacy of ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ will continue to be the main source for information on *Vienna 1900*.

³⁸⁷ Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien, VeranstalterIn, *Traum Und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930*.

³⁸⁸ Reinhard Steiner, *Egon Schiele, 1890 – 1918: The Midnight Soul of the Artist* (Cologne: Taschen, 2000), 41.

Conclusion

After analyzing the time period of *Vienna 1900*, highlighting the problems with identity found in Austria, closely analyzing ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’, and acknowledging the legacies the exhibition left behind, it is safe to say that there are some connections to be found between each of the topics.

Looking back, *Vienna 1900* was a special time in Austria not only because of the many artists which emerged at the time, but mostly because of the vastly different lives which could be lived in the Austrian capital. At the turn-of-the-century, modernism was on the rise, but at the same time, many artists tried to revive the glorious past – one only had to look at the building of the now famous *Ringstrasse*, each of the buildings have a renaissance feeling to it.³⁸⁹ The same uncanny feeling could be felt in politics. With the Habsburg Empire crumbling, it was time in Austria for a new strand of politics. This led to the emergence of Austrian Liberalism, but at the same time, it also made room for populist and anti-Semitic politics to the likings of Karl Lueger. Once he succeeded in becoming mayor, a real shift could be felt in the Austrian elite. Many artists, scientists, and scholars felt the need to express their disdain towards the current political situation, which turned many of them from free thinkers to political activists.³⁹⁰ It is clear to see how fin-de-siècle Vienna could leave such an impact – unrest and uncertainty do make the best motivator.

From the uncanniness of *Vienna 1900*, Austria fell into a cruel time of hardship and war. This time was as forming to the society than the previous glorious times of *Vienna 1900* had been. The dissolution of the Habsburg Empire at the end of World War I was a hard blow to Austria in the geographical sense, however, the issue with cultural identity was not solved by the break-up of the empire. By the end of the World War I, Austria felt no need to create its own cultural identity, as the main goal was to merge with the German nation.³⁹¹ This led to an uncertainty in the inter-war years which would be fatal for Austria once Adolf Hitler decided to march his troops towards Austria. As it was then decided after World War II, that Austria would be seen as the first victim of Nazi Germany, this played in the hands of the Austrian government.³⁹² The declaration of the victim role is of immense importance because it can still be felt in Austria to this day. Many Austrians actively

³⁸⁹ Maderthaner and Musner, “Outcast Vienna 1900: The Politics of Transgression.”

³⁹⁰ Niekerk, “Vienna Around 1900 and the Crisis of Public Art: On Text and Music in Klimt, Mahler, and Schnitzler.”

³⁹¹ Beller, “Vienna 1900: a world of yesterday, today – and tomorrow?”

³⁹² Uhl, “Of Heroes and Victims: World War II in Austrian Memory.”

decided to not think about the past in any circumstance and to just accept what they have been told. This close-minded thinking, however, made it practically impossible for Austria to define itself as a nation. After all, a strong national identity cannot be built on a lie. This surfaced in the 1980s, when many war crimes were brought to the public's attention, and people did not want to look away any longer. These new findings brought to light how divided the society was – as there were still many who did believe the lie of Austria being a victim of the war. On the other hand, however, there was a movement on the rise which did not accept this hypocrisy any longer.

In the midst of this cultural turmoil, the city of Vienna under the leadership of Helmut Zilk decided it was time for an exhibition which concentrated on the brighter past of Austria – a time period which was gaining interest thanks to a collection of essays from the American scholar Carl E. Schorske. This led to the creation of 'Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 – 1930'. The exhibition was opened in 1985 at the *Künstlerhaus* in Vienna and it hit the nerve of the time, which was impressively proven with more than 600.000 visitors.³⁹³ The exhibition invited the society to discover a new part of their past which does not depend on the gruesome war-past, but also manages to leave out the unpopular Habsburg Empire. This rediscovered period at the turn of the century allowed Austrians to reevaluate their past and to reform their opinion about the nation. Instead of being in the shadow of either a grand empire or the neighboring Germany, fin-de-siècle Vienna was a cultural phenomenon which was only meant for Austria, or more precisely, for Vienna. The irony of American scholars discovering the topic is not lost when looking at it from today's perspective. Nevertheless, the exhibition, curated by Hans Hollein with the help of Robert Waissenberger, was an enormous success and led the way for a cultural evolvement in Austria. With the international interest sparked thanks to follow-up exhibitions in Paris and New York City, the Austrian cultural scene completely embraced the newly found grandeur of its capital.

The claim that Austrian identity has been formed by the 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' exhibition, is not as easily proven as its influence on tourism. Nevertheless, what can certainly be stated is that 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' left behind many legacies. Besides the two follow-up exhibitions in Paris and New York City, the stream of *Vienna 1900* exhibitions does not seem to have stopped since the 1980s. Interestingly, most of these exhibitions still seem to concentrate on the same topics as the major exhibition in 1985 did.

³⁹³ Rásky, "Traum und Wirklichkeit."

This gives light to another legacy which was left behind, namely seemingly accepting the controversial lives of the most prominent artists – be it Schiele, Klimt, or Kokoschka. There is no dispute in the question of their grandeur, but in the days of the MeToo movement, there should be questions raised about their affinity towards (very young) girls. While this might not have been part of the discussion in the 1980s, it should be highlighted more at current exhibitions. In 1985, there was no place for criticism, today, however, the status of each of the artists is set and there should be more discussion towards what they could have done better.³⁹⁴

In addition to the many exhibitions, many scholars have dedicated their time towards the topic of *Vienna 1900*, whereas – similar to the exhibitions still leaning on the ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition – many are still only focused on Schorske’s view of the time period, instead of finding their own take. However, there are some exceptions to the rule; the most famous being Steven Beller. With some of his research on the topic, it is difficult to make *Vienna 1900* out as the glorious time period the exhibition made it out to be. He highlights the dark spots of the Viennese past, by mentioning the outrageous conditions the poor in Vienna had to live under, but also by pointing out the systemic racism towards people of Jewish descent which was already developing at the turn-of-the-century.

Anti-Semitism is also not lost on the ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition. While, unfortunately, not mentioning the great number of Jews who were part of the Austrian bourgeoisie in fin-de-siècle Vienna, or acknowledging that some of the pieces of art being in the hands of the Austrian Republic might have been stolen from Jews during World War II, the exhibition did raise awareness to the topic unintentionally. The follow-up exhibitions in the United States led to a surge in restitution cases in Austria. Art restitution – the act of handing back stolen artwork which was ‘lost’ or confiscated during World War II – plays a big role in Austria coming to terms with its past.³⁹⁵ Once again, Austrians had to accept that they were not simply victims of Nazi Germany but that they were part of the problem by undermining the atrocities which took place in Austria at the time. It is important for Austria to come to terms with its past, especially for finding a valid identity. Even though the exhibition has helped with clearing up some things, remembering some of the important historical aspects of Austria, it still left many spots in the dark. For the Austrian identity to

³⁹⁴ Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien, VeranstalterIn, *Traum Und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930*.

³⁹⁵ “The Austrian legislation on art restitution after World War Two,” Art restitution - National Fund of the Republic of Austria for Victims of National Socialism.

be formed by the exhibition, these dark spots have to be lifted, explored, and dealt with. A way to do so would be focusing on these darker points in history in future exhibitions to explore them as thoroughly as the general topic of *Vienna 1900*. One of the exhibitions making the first step in this direction is ‘Alles war Klar’ currently exhibited at the *Künstlerhaus*, by questioning the artist association’s institutionalized routines of the last 150 years.³⁹⁶ From the ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ exhibition in 1985, which introduced a new time period to the Austrian capital, to ‘Alles war Klar’ being exhibited at the reopening of the *Künstlerhaus*, it can be observed that the Austrian cultural identity has come a long way.

³⁹⁶ “Alles war Klar,” Ausstellungen, Künstlerhaus, accessed May 29, 2020, <https://www.k-haus.at/de/ausstellung/375/alles-war-klar.html>.

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Appendices

Chronology

Vienna 1900 (1870 – 1930)³⁹⁷

See: 0 Charts and Figures

1980s in Austria

See:

- Manfred Rauchensteiner. *Unter Beobachtung: Österreich seit 1918* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2017).
- Steven Beller, *A Concise History of Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Ruth Beckermann (director), *Waldheim's Walzer* (2018),
<https://www.waldheimswalzer.at/de/>.
- Günter Bischof and Ferdinand Karlhofer, eds. *Austria's International Position after the End of the Cold War* (University of New Orleans Press, 2013)
www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1n2txd9.
- Günter Bischof, ed. *Global Austria: Austria's Place in Europe and the World*, Contemporary Austrian Studies, vol. 20. (New Orleans, Louisiana: University of New Orleans Press, 2011).

Exhibitions on Vienna 1900

- 1943: "Gustav-Klimt-Ausstellung," Vienna, Austria (Ausstellungshaus Friedrichstraße) (on request of "NS-Reichsstatthalter Baldur von Schirach"³⁹⁸)
- 1983: Edinburgh International Festival
- March – October 1985: "Traum und Wirklichkeit, Wien 1870-1930," Vienna, Austria (Künstlerhaus)
- February – May 1986: "Vienne, Naissance d'un Siècle, 1880 – 1938," Paris, France (Centre Georges Pompidou)
- July – October 1986: "Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design," New York City, USA (MOMA)

³⁹⁷ Based on Tino Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien VeranstalterIn, *Traum Und Wirklichkeit: Wien 1870-1930*, Sonderausstellung des Historischen Museums Der Stadt Wien; vol. 93, Wien: Eigenverlag Der Museen Der Stadt Wien, 1985.

³⁹⁸ Künstlerhaus, "Ohne Klimt: Klimt und das Künstlerhaus."

- 2002: “Klimt, Schiele, Kokoschka: l'età d'oro di Vienna con I suoi maestri,” Trieste, Italy (Civico Museo Revoltella)
- 2005-2006: “Klimt, Schiele, Moser, Kokoschka. Vienne 1900,” Paris, France (Galleries nationales du Grand Palais)
- 2011: “Vienna: Art & Design - Klimt, Schiele, Hoffmann, Loos,” Melbourne, Australia (National Gallery of Victoria)
- 2012: “Klimt persönlich,” Vienna, Austria (Leopold Museum)
- 2012: “Gustav Klimt im Kunsthistorischen Museum,” Vienna, Austria (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien)
- 2012: “Gustav Klimt: Die Zeichnungen,” Vienna, Austria (Albertina)
- 2012: “Klimt. Die Sammlung des Wien Museums,” Vienna, Austria (Wien Museum)
- 2017: “Der Farbholzschnitt in Wien um 1900,” Vienna, Austria (Albertina)
- 2018: “Wien um 1900,” Vienna, Austria (Leopold Museum)
- 2018: “Gustav Klimt – Jahrhundertkünstler,” Vienna, Austria (Leopold Museum)
- 2018: “Gustav Klimt,” Vienna, Austria (Leopold Museum)
- 2018: “Die Jubiläumsschau – Reloaded,” Vienna, Austria (Leopold Museum)
- 2018: “Klimt ist nicht das Ende,” Vienna, Austria (Belvedere)
- 2018: “Egon Schiele,” Vienna, Austria (Belvedere)
- 2018: “Otto Wagner,” Vienna, Austria (Wien Museum)
- 2019: “Stadt der Frauen,” Vienna, Austria (Belvedere)
- 2019: “Gustav Klimt. Wien und Japan 1900 Belvedere,” Tokyo, Japan (Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum; Belvedere)
- 2019: “Wien 1900: Aufbruch in die Moderne,” Vienna, Austria (Leopold Museum)

Maps



Figure 1

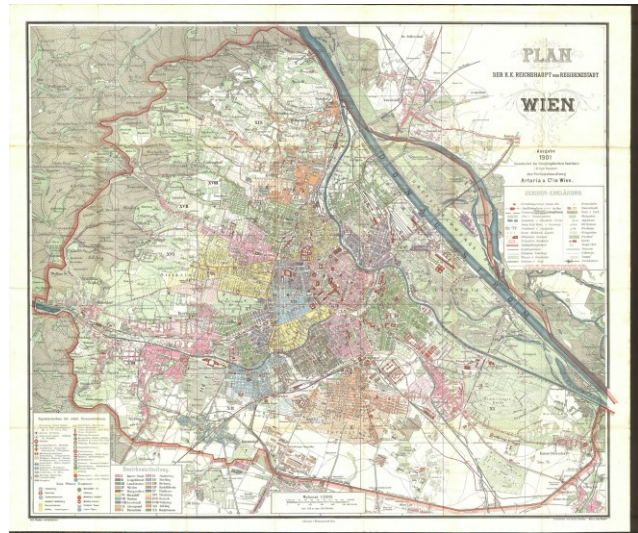


Figure 2



Figure 3

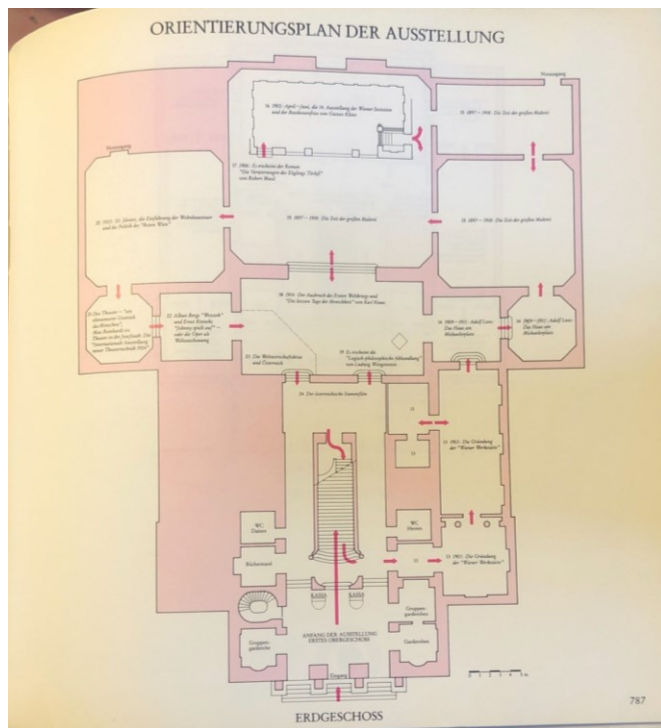


Figure 4

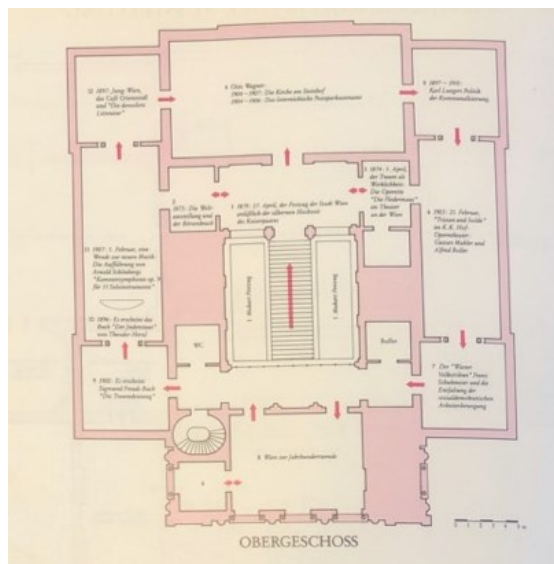


Figure 5

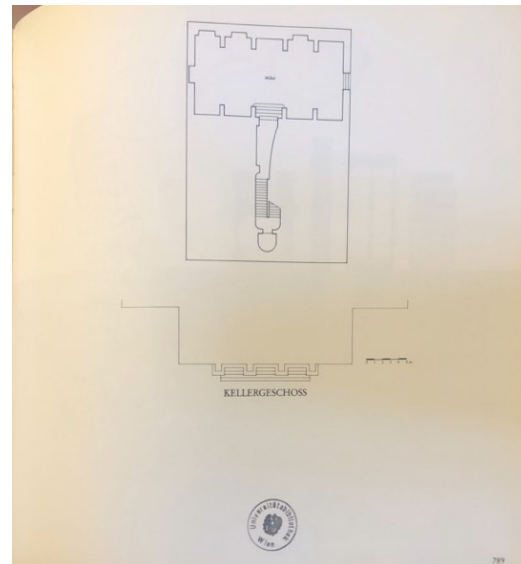


Figure 6

Dramatis Personae

Vienna 1900:

Steven Beller (born 17.11.1958)

- British-American historian
- Author of *Rethinking Vienna 1900* (critical think-piece on the excitement around *Vienna 1900*)

Sigmund Freud (06.05.1856 – 23.09.1939)

- Austrian neurologist
- Founder of psychoanalysis

Hugo von Hofmannsthal (01.02.1874 – 15.07.1929)

- Austrian novelist, librettist, poet, dramatist, narrator, and essayist.

Gustav Klimt (14.07.1862 – 06.02.1918)

- Austrian painter

Oskar Kokoschka (01.03.1886 – 22.02.1980)

- Austrian painter and poet

Karl Kraus (28.04.1874 – 12.06.1936)

- Austrian writer and journalist

Alma Mahler (31.08.1879 – 11.12.1964)

- Austrian composer, author, and socialite

Gustav Mahler (07.07.1860 – 18.05.1911)

- Austrian composer and conductors

Egon Schiele (12.06.1890 – 31.10.1918)

- Austrian painter

Arthur Schnitzler (15.05.1862 – 21.10.1931)

- Austrian author and dramatist

Carl E. Schorske (15.03.1915 – 13.09.2015)

- American cultural historian
- Author of *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (groundwork for acknowledgement of importance of *Vienna 1900*)

‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’:

Hans Hollein (30.03.1934 - 24.04.2014)

- Architect of 'Traum und Wirklichkeit'

Otto Kallir (01.04.1894 – 30.11.1978)

- *Neue Galerie* in Vienna
- Austrian American art historian, author, publisher and gallerist

Jane Kallir (born 30.07.1954)

- American art dealer, curator and author
- Granddaughter of Otto Kallir
- Co-director of the *Galerie St. Etienne* in New York

Dr. Regina Karner (born 1956)

- Curator at 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' exhibition
- Curator at *Wien Museum*
- Head of *Modesammlung* at Wien Museum

Ronald Lauder (born 26.02.1944)

- *Neue Galerie* in New York City
- *Museum of Modern Art* in New York City

Robert Waissenberger (16.08.1926 - 28.03.1987)

- Exhibition Manager 'Traum und Wirklichkeit'

Dr. Reingard Witzmann (born 1948)

- Curator at 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' exhibition
- Up until 2008 curator at *Wien Museum*

Glossary

Museology

Museology covers the topic of organizing, planning and arranging museums, but it might also help in the discovery of how much an exhibition can influence the formation of an identity.³⁹⁹ According to the study of museology, the placement of artwork is of immense importance, as is the architecture of the space used to display the art. Peter Vergo's simplest definition of museology is "the study of museums, their history and underlying philosophy, the various ways in which they have, in the course of time, been established and developed, their avowed and unspoken aims and policies, their educative or political or social rôle."⁴⁰⁰

Additional useful literature:

- Sharon Macdonald, Ed., *A Companion to Museum Studies* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006)
- Vikki McCall and Clive Gray, "Museums and the 'new museology': theory, practice and organizational change," *Museum Management and Curatorship* 29, no. 1 (2014): 19-35.
- Donald Preziosi, "Art, Art History, and Museology," *Museum Anthropology* 20, no. 2 (1996): 5-6.
- Martin R. Schärer, "Museology: The exhibited exhibition – a museological experiment," *Museum Management and Curatorship* 13, no. 2 (1994): 215-219.
- Kali Tzortzki, *Museum Space: Where Architecture Meets Museology* (New York: Routledge, 2015)
- Peter Vergo, Ed., *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books, 1989)

Traum und Wirklichkeit

'Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 – 1930' is the title of the 1985 exhibition on Vienna 1900 which was showcased at the Künstlerhaus on behalf of the City of Vienna and the Historical Museum of Vienna. As the title 'Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 – 1930'

³⁹⁹ Vergo, *The New Museology*.

⁴⁰⁰ Peter Vergo, "Introduction," in *The New Museology*, ed. Peter Vergo (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 1.

is quite long, for the most part of the thesis, it will be shortened to ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’.

The research on the exhibition is based on Hollein’s interview prior to the opening of the exhibition, as well as a close reading of the following literature:

- Tino Erben and Historisches Museum Der Stadt Wien, *Traum Und Wirklichkeit: Wien 1870-1930*, Sonderausstellung des Historischen Museums Der Stadt Wien; vol. 93, Wien: Eigenverlag Der Museen Der Stadt Wien, 1985.
- Aichelburg Wladimir, “Das Künstlerhaus,” Accessed December 3rd, 2019, <http://www.wladimir-aichelburg.at/kuenstlerhaus/> .
- *Von Tag zu Tag*, “Ausstellung ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870 – 1930’ im Künstlerhaus: Gespräch mit Hans Hollein,” interviewed by Volkmar Parschalk, Aired March 14, 1985, on ORF, <https://www.mediathek.at/oesterreich-am-wort/suche/treffer/atom/10B8C65C-00F-000CF-00000320-10B81BDA/pool/BWEB/>.
- Béla Rásky, “Traum und Wirklichkeit,” Haus der Geschichte Österreich. Accessed December 3rd, 2019. <https://www.hdgoe.at/traum-wirklichkeit>.

Fin-De-Siècle / Vienna 1900

A fitting definition of *Vienna 1900* found in the catalogue of the current exhibition on *Vienna 1900* at the *Leopold Museum* states as follows:

Around the turn of the century, Vienna was the capital of both the high nobility and of liberal intellectuals, of the splendid Ringstraße and endless slum areas, of anti-Semitism and Zionism, of a rigid conservatism and emerging Modernism. Splendor and squalor, dream and reality, dissolution of the self and new beginning characterize the esthetic pluralism and mark the Vienna of that time as a place of experimentation and a laboratory of ideas – and thus as a central motor to a turbulent movement of renewal. This heterogeneous atmosphere provided the setting for the unique consolidation of cultural efforts that today makes us look upon the period of Vienna around 1900 as the source of Modernism. This departure unfolded in various disciplines, from painting and the graphic arts via literature, music, theater, dance and architecture, all the way to medicine, psychology, philosophy, jurisprudence and economics.⁴⁰¹

Further definitions can be found in the following literature:

⁴⁰¹ “Wien 1900: Aufbruch in die Moderne,” Leopold Museum, https://www.leopoldmuseum.org/media/file/583_W1900_Folder.pdf.

- Steven Beller, *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, Austrian History, Culture, and Society, vol. 3. New York: Berghahn Books, 2012.
- Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1979.
- Carl E. Schorske, "Politics and the Psyche in Fin De Siècle Vienna: Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal," *The American Historical Review* 66, no. 4 (1961): 930-46.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/1845864>.

Interview

1. What was your role in the curation of the exhibition? / Was war Ihre Rolle bei der Zusammenstellung und Organisation der Ausstellung?

Dr. Regina Karner: *Ich war als Kuratorin zuständig für das Kapitel „Wiener Werkstätte“. Das bedeutete eine Auswahl an Objekten zu treffen, die das breite Schaffensspektrum der Wiener Werkstätte mit ihren bekannten Entwerfern Josef Hoffmann, Kolo Moser, Dagobert Peche, Berthold Löffler, Vally Wieselthier, Eduard Josef Wimmer-Wisgrill, Gudrun Baudisch, Hilda Jesser und Fritz Löw zeigte. Dazu gehörten Alltagsgegenstände, wie Produkte aus Silber, Glas, Keramik, Möbel, Schmuck und Modeentwürfe. Die gezeigten Objekte der Wiener Werkstätte stammten aus den Sammlungen des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien (heute Wien Museum), aus dem Österreichischen Museum für angewandte Kunst und aus Privatsammlungen. Ich verfasste die Beschriftungen zu den Objekten und organisierte die Transporte der Wiener Werkstätte Objekte.*

2. How did you experience the exhibition? If you have worked on exhibitions prior or afterwards, did it feel any different to those experiences? / Wie haben Sie die Ausstellung erlebt? Falls Sie noch bei anderen Ausstellungen (im Vor- oder Nachhinein) gearbeitet haben, gab es irgendwelche Unterschiede zwischen diesen und der ‚Traum und Wirklichkeit‘-Ausstellung?

RK: *Die Mitarbeit an der Ausstellung Traum und Wirklichkeit war eine schöne Arbeit. Vom Ablauf unterschied sie sich nicht wesentlich von anderen Ausstellungen. Es herrschte eine gute Stimmung, was bei Ausstellungsarbeiten nicht immer der Fall ist. Hier überwogen allerdings der gute Teamgeist und die Zusammenarbeit mit einem der renommiertesten Architekten Hans Hollein.*

3. How did people react to the exhibition? Did you feel a change in the general public's perception of Vienna 1900? Did you come across more mentions of Klimt, Schiele, Freud, etc. after the exhibition? / Wie haben die Leute auf die Ausstellung reagiert? Veränderte sich die generelle Auffassung von Wien 1900? Wurden Ihrer

Meinung nach, Namen wie Klimt, Schiele, Freud, etc. nach der Ausstellung öfters erwähnt?

RK: Die Leute, die die Ausstellung gesehen haben, waren begeistert. Wien um 1900 wurde zu einer Trademark, die Stadt selbst bekam ein neues Image. Klimt und Schiele waren und sind bis heute im kulturellen Bewusstsein präsent. Die Wiener Moderne, „Wien um 1900“ wurde zu einem internationalen Begriff. Die „Kitschindustrie“ um Klimt floriert bis heute!

4. The City of Vienna was the financial contributor to the exhibition. Were they involved in any other way (organizational, etc.) as well? / Die Stadt Wien finanzierte die Ausstellung. War die Stadt auch in anderen Bereichen involviert (organisatorische Hilfe, etc.)?

RK: Nein, die Stadt Wien finanzierte das Projekt, die Ausführung wie wissenschaftliches Konzept, Organisation und Ausstellungsproduktion hatte das Historische Museum inne.

5. The original Beethoven bust of the 14th exhibition of the *Secession*, unfortunately, did not make it to Vienna. Instead, a ‘twin’ of the statue out of the collection of one of the Wittgenstein’s was discovered and brought to Vienna. How did the organizational team find and acquire/borrow the pieces of work it did manage to get for the exhibition? / Die Originalbüste Beethovens bekannt aus der 14. Ausstellung der Sezession wurde leider nicht nach Wien geliefert. An dessen Stelle fand man einen Doppelgänger aus den Sammlungen der Wittgenstein-Familie und brachte diesen nach Wien. Wie fanden die Organisatoren die Kunststücke, die sie präsentieren wollten, und wie wurden diese errungen bzw. für die Ausstellung ausgeborgt?

RK: Die Objekte wurden parallel mit dem wissenschaftlichen Konzept von den dafür zuständigen Kuratorinnen und Kuratoren ausgewählt. Sie wurden mittels Leihvertrag aus Museen, Bibliotheken, Archiven und privaten Leihgebern entlehnt.

6. In the past years there have been several accusations that Austria did not try hard enough to give back pieces of art, which was stolen from the Jewish population

during the Nazi-era, to its rightful owner. Did you consider where the art for the exhibition was coming from and if those people were its rightful owners? Did you think of the Jewish representation when organizing the exhibition? / In den letzten Jahren kam es zu mehreren Anschuldigen, dass Österreich sich nicht genug bemüht hätte, Kunststücke, die in der Nazi-Zeit gestohlen von jüdischen Familien gestohlen wurden, an ihre wahren Besitzer zurückzugeben. Dachten Sie darüber nach, woher die Kunststücke kamen und ob diese Personen auch die wahren Besitzer dieser Stücke sind? Haben Sie über die Darstellung der Juden in Österreich nachgedacht als sie die Ausstellung mitorganisierten?

RK: Das ist richtig, diese Fragen stellten sich bei Beginn der Ausstellungsarbeiten noch nicht, sondern wurden erst nach der „Waldheim- Affäre“ öffentlich diskutiert und auf internationalen Druck aufgearbeitet. Bis dahin hielten sich die Museen bezüglich Restitution eher zurück. Erst mit dem Kunstrückgabegesetz von 1998 und der Einrichtung der Provenienz-Forschungskommission wurden die Sammlungen durchforstet und unrechtmäßig erworbene Objekte den Besitzern oder deren Erben zurückgegeben.

7. Do you think people today worshipping *Vienna 1900* are thinking of the actual period in time, or are they thinking about ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’ and how the exhibition portrayed fin-de-siècle Vienna? / Glauben Sie, dass die Leute, die heutzutage fasziniert sind von *Wien 1900* mit dem wahren Zeitraum fasziniert sind, oder denken die Leute eigentlich nur an die ‘Traum und Wirklichkeit’-Darstellung des Zeitraums, und sind damit so fasziniert?

RK: Nun wenn ich davon ausgehe, dass die Ausstellung vor 35 Jahren stattgefunden hat, gibt es bereits mehrere Generationen, die sie nur mehr vom Hörensagen kennen. Die Faszination, die noch immer von Wien um 1900 ausgeht, wird u.a. durch die Tourismusbranche, diverser Publikationen und Filmen aufrechterhalten. Es ist ein zum Teil verklärter Blick auf eine Gesellschaft, die einerseits großartige Leistungen auf dem Gebiet der Wissenschaft, Kunst und Kultur hervorgebracht hat, andererseits eine Epoche geprägt von großen sozialen Spannungen und Antisemitismus.

8. Lastly, do you think an exhibition such as 'Traum und Wirklichkeit' can have an impact on how a society forms its identity? / Abschließend möchte ich Sie fragen, ob Sie glauben, dass eine Ausstellung wie ,Traum und Wirklichkeit' einen solchen Einfluss auf die Gesellschaft haben kann, dass diese ihre Identitätsbildung danach richtet?

RK: Eine Ausstellung ist eine temporäre Angelegenheit und trägt vielleicht zum besseren Verständnis einer Sache bei. Identitätsbildung ist meiner Meinung nach zu hoch gegriffen.

Documents



Figure 7

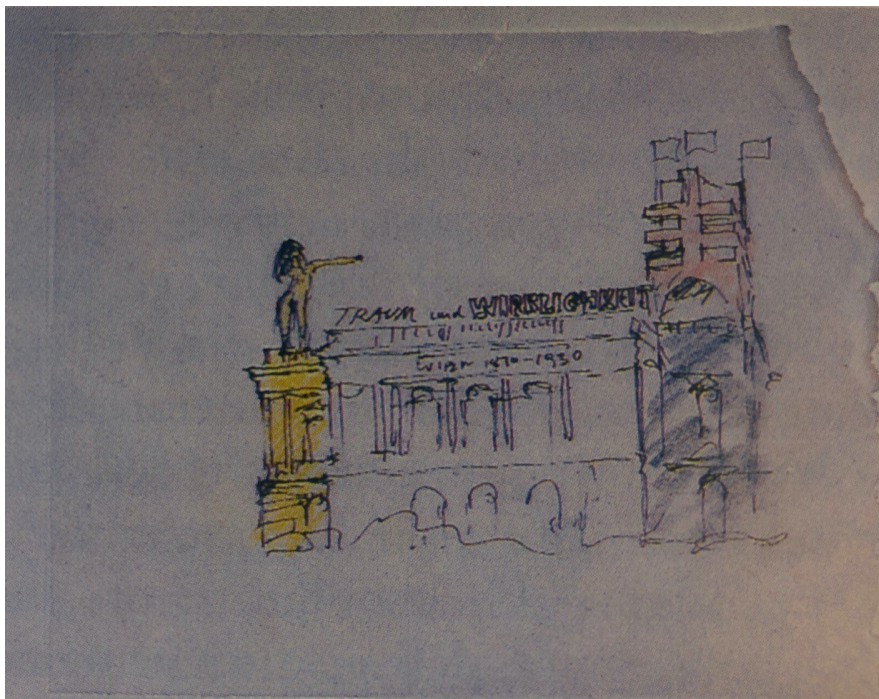


Figure 8

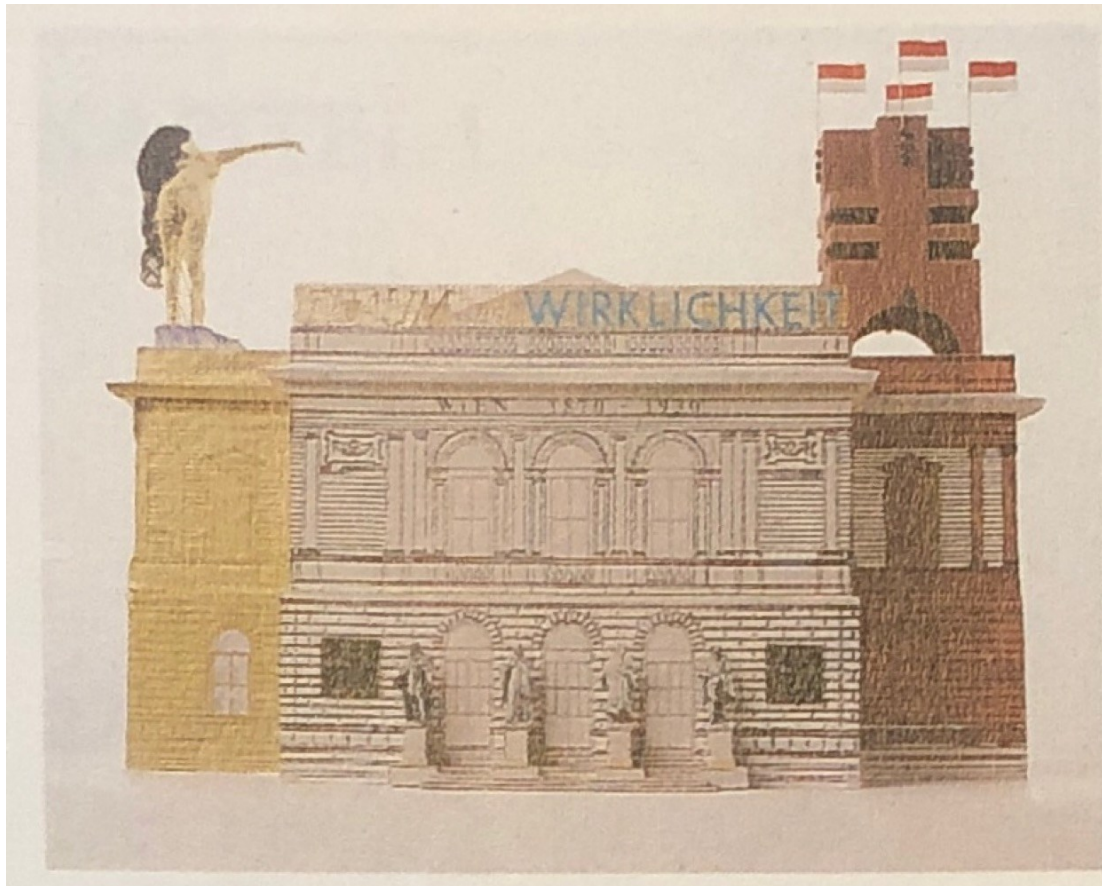


Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15

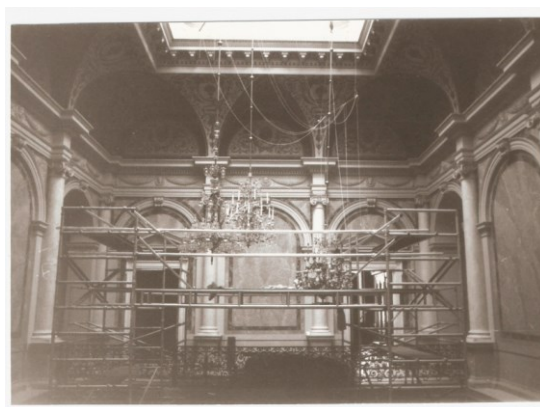


Figure 16



Figure 17

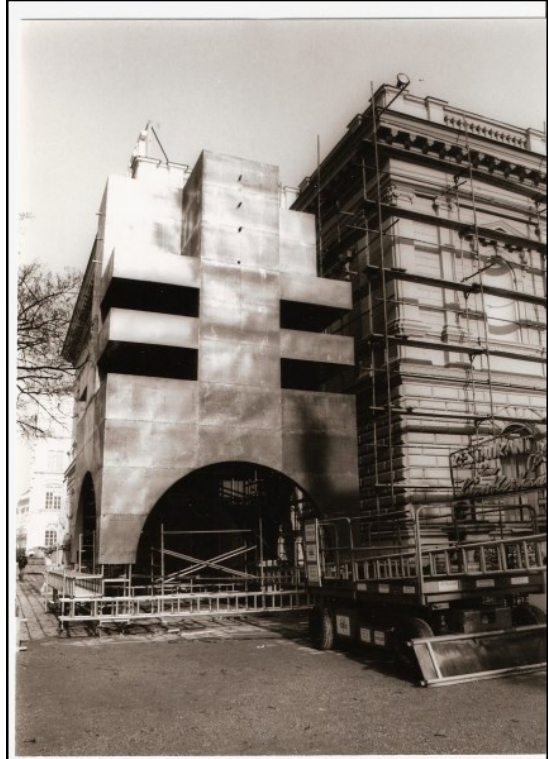


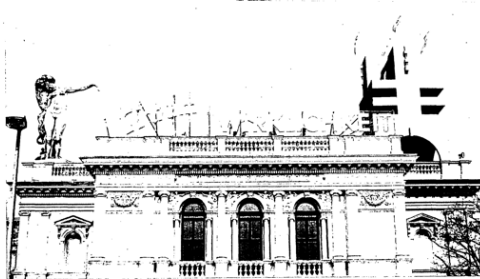
Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20



Wiener Künstlerhaus mit „Medizin“-Figur nach Klimt und „Karl-Marx-Hof“-Architektur: „Die Welt ist alles, was der Fall ist“

reiz als Hindernis zu sein. Ebenso gefragt sind die Prestigefunktionen im Auswärtigen Amt in Taipeh (5000 Dollar pro Nacht) und vor allem im Daimler Hotel im spanischen Schickler-Treffpunkt Marbella. Wer hier, für fast 19 000 Mark pro Nacht, die Suite 317 bezieht, kann sich in sechs Bädern und fünf Schlafzimmern, mit Marmorfußböden, Antiquitäten und Ölgemälden, tummeln. Zur Zimmerflucht gehört auch ein eigenes Golfplätzchen auf dem Flachdach des Apartments.

Nicht unbedingt in fünf Schlafzimmer, aber jedenfalls unter sich, fernab von Mauerstränden und Inbühlenden, will der neue Reise-Adel seine Ferienzeit verbringen. Obendrein steuert die jüngsten Angebote der Reiseunternehmer auf einen wachsenden Trend zum Luxus hin. Beispiele dafür sind etwa ein Kochkurs in verschiedenen chinesischen Provinzen (6000 Mark) und die sogenannten Offerten des Iren John Colough.

Der kutschert, für bis zu 1000 Mark am Tag, seine Kundschaft in fast 40 Jahre alten Bentley oder Rolls-Royce zu den versteckten Landhäusern des englischen Adels, wo die Touristen mit der jeweiligen Herrschaft plaudern, speisen und trinken dürfen.

Reisende, die mehr als nur Luxus erwarten, werden von Colough ebenfalls bedient. Gegen Aufpreis verkauft der smarte Jungunternehmer, vormalig ein US-Tourist, seine sogenannten „Ghently Weekends“.

Während der teuren Spätsaison durch jahrhundertaltes irisches Gemäuer sollen längst verstorbenen Mönche, Hausmädchen sowie ein ehemaliger Heizer aufstehen, ohne Gewähr natürlich. Aber, hofft Colough, „Wer so viel Geld bezahlt, der wird sich den Spuk selbst einbilden.“

AUSSTELLUNGEN

K. u. k. Disneyland

Mit großem Aufwand an Geld und Inszenierungsphantasie werden in Wien „Traum und Wirklichkeit“ der Wiener Jahrzehnte von 1870 bis 1930 demonstriert.

Dies steht sie – riesig, in goldenem Glanz, hoch über dem Treiben auf der Straße, entzückt, aber entschieden handfest und kompakt.

Diese Gestalt, ein Frauenakt mit geschlossenen Augen, schwer herabhängender Haarpracht und seitlich ausgestrecktem Arm, war um die Jahrhundertwende der Phantasie des Makers Gustav Klimt entsprungen. Er hatte sie in eine Allegorie der Medizin hineinkomponiert, die als Deckengemälde für den Festsaal der Wiener Universität bestimmt war. Aber die Professorenschaft konnte dieses sowie zwei weitere „Fakultätsbilder“ von Klimt nicht ertragen; sie wurden zurückgewiesen und sind schließlich im Zweiten Weltkrieg verbrannt.

Nun ist Klimts Traum doch wieder Wirklichkeit geworden, eine merkwürdig knaifige, dreidimensionale Realität. Als metallisch schimmernde Monumentalplastik posiert die „Medizin“ seit letzter Woche auf dem Dach des Künstlerhauses am Wiener Karlsplatz. Die ganze Eckpartie des Gebäudes dient ihr, gleichzeitig golden eingefasst, als gewaltiger Sockel.

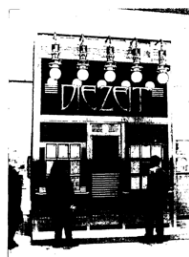
Dafür ragt über der anderen Hausseite ein Art babylonischer Turm in dumpfem Rotbraun empor. Es handelt sich um ein Architekturmotiv aus dem „Karl-

Marx-Hof“ im Vorort Heiligenstadt, aus einer programmatischen Wohnordnung des „alten Wien“ Ende der zwanziger Jahre. Damals war dort – nachdem sich Monarchie und Bürgertum bis etwa 1880 mit der preisvollen Behausung des früheren Festungsgrabs ihre Selbstdarstellung in Stadtbild verschafft hatten – ein anderthalb Kilometer langer Baublock entstanden, eine „Kriegstraße des Proletariats“.

Kontraste dieser Art sind Thema und Prinzip einer Ausstellung im Inneren des Künstlerhauses, für die das goldene Sagerpult und das Marx-Hof-Modell unübersehbar wurden. Reichlich sechs Monate lang sollen rund 2200 Schaustücke möglichst ein Massenpublikum in Wien „Traum und Wirklichkeit“ zwischen 1870 und 1930 einführen. Das Veranstalter-Team, das städtische Historische Museum zusammen mit dem Architekten Hans Hollein als Ausrichter, hatte sich schon 1983 zur 300-Jahr-Feier der abgewählten städtischen Beiratsgruppe profiliert und 413 000 Besucher im Künstlerhaus gelockt.

So ähnlich könnte es leicht wieder kommen. Die neue Ausstellung, die erkläre, nicht nur Information, sondern auch Stimmung vermitteln will (Hollein), spart keine Effekte aus. Den schon weidlich strapazierten Sujet des Jahrhundertwende-Wien wird mit enormem Aufwand (umgerechnet mindestens fünf Millionen Mark) und ausgepöbelten Regie-Gags eine höchst originelle Inszenierung abgewonnen, die der Besucher durchwandern wie ein k. u. k. Disneyland.

Kunstfest gleich im Treppenhause. Unter den historischen Gewölbekaisern des Neo-Renaissance-Baus, gilt als 6. Oktober. Katalog 795 Seiten, 300 Schilling.



Rekonstruiertes Portal von Wagner

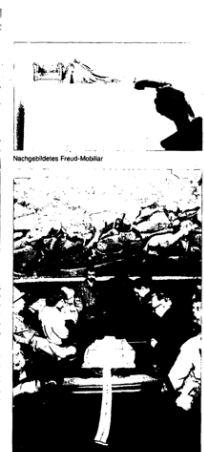
zerenden Lüstern und dem jöklichen Blick einer Franz-Joseph-Blüte sind lebensgroße Puppen gleichsam zu einem Festzug angetreten, wie er – vom Malerfräulein Hans Makart inszeniert – zur Silberhochzeit des Kaiserpaars 1879 die damals noch neue Ringstraße entlangzog.

An diesen Statisten vorbei steigt man geradezu zum Modell der „Kirche am Steinbof“ empor, fast wie auch wirklich am Stadtrand zu jenem Juwel moderner Baukunst und Ausstattung, das von Otto Wagner auf das Hängende einer psychischen Klinik gestiftet worden ist. Zur Einweihung 1907 hatte der Erbauer Franz Ferdinand freilich streng bemerkt: „Der Maria-Theresien-Stil ist doch der schönste.“

Die Gegenwart des Theodorloos wird bei „Traum und Wirklichkeit“ – ein Stockwerk tiefer – makaber durch eine leere Hülle beschworen. In einer sagenhaften Vitrine aufgefahrt, liegt die Mutterfeste und aufgeschaltete Uniform, in der er 1914 dem Attentat von Sarajewo zum Opfer fiel. Darüber: das Fotoalbum „Den Namenlosen“ von Albin Egger-Lienz und ein vergoldeter Stachelkranz. Ganz nah dabei: die junge Kaiserin Elisabeth („Sissi“), in Glanz- und Glamour.

An nichts ist gespart. Das Kunsthandwerk der „Wiener Werkstätte“ steht in kostbaren Wunderschreibern zur Schau, der Besucher schreitet über Auslegeware in Dessins der Jahrhundertwende. Der Eingang zum Despatches-Büro „Die Zeit“ von Otto Wagner ist originalgroß und maßstabgerecht mit Aluminumpfronten rekonstruiert.

Wiederanstehen, in Marmor und buntem Glas, ist auch die „Kärntner Bar“-Fassade des radikalen Architekten Adolf Loos („Ornament und Verbrechen“). Nach Ausstellungsschluss soll die Rekonstruktion an Ort und Stelle das verlorene Original ersetzen; denn die



Secessions-Saal, im dem die der Chor erlöste, ist die eigentliche Sensation von „Traum und Wirklichkeit“.

Mit ihm wird der Raum rekonstruiert, für den Gustav Klimt 1902 seinen „Beethovenfries“, eine kulturbare und kühn symbolistische Wandmalerei von 24 Metern Länge, ausgeführt hatte.

Im Gebäude der „Secessions“, der fortschrittlichen Wiener Künstlervereinigung, hatte damals eine große Beethoven-Statue des Leipziger Bildhauers Max Klinger Premiere. Sie wurde zentral aufgestellt, war aber auch aus den Seitenräumen, so aus dem mit Klimt Fries, zu sehen. Architekt Josef („Quadrat“) Hoffmann stattete das Gebäude eigens aus.

Nun ist nicht nur die Malerei, sondern auch das Puppentheater, ein Privatreisender und seiner restauriert, wieder im Original zu besichtigen, sondern auch Hoffmanns Raumgestaltung mit Rastplatz, geometrischem Ornament und einem konstruktivistischen Relief über der Tür so getreu wie möglich nachgebildet. Ein seitlicher Durchblick öffnet abermals die Sicht auf Klingers Beethoven.

Freilich ist das nicht genau das Secessions-Schaustück von 1902. Das steht im Leipziger Gewandhaus und wurde, nach etlichen Hin und Her, nicht nach Wien ausgeführt. Der Ersatz ist eine Entdeckung. Er fand sich im Depot des Bostoner Kunstmuseums, ein Zweifertisch von Klinger Hand, das einem Wittgenstein-Bruder gehört hatte.

Noch mit verweigerter Leihgaben treibt die Schau ihre Späße. Auch das in London aufbewahrte Behandlungszimmer-Möbel der Traumdeutung-Sigmund Freud kann schließlich nicht im Künstlerhaus. Doch im Freud-Raum, unter traumhaft blauem Licht, sind auf einem hohen Sockel in der Ecke eine Couch und ein Sessel in Puppenbetriehs-Maßstab zu ergäben. Selbstverständlich hat Mias Hollein sie vergoldet.

Figure 21

Figure 22

Charts and Figures

Zeittafel 1870-1930 I

Zeittafel 1870-1930 2

Bezeichnung wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen und Schriftenwerke	wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse, Zusammen- fassung des Sach- Verhalts	Wissenschaft- liche Ergebnisse	Wissenschaft- liche Ergebnisse	Wissenschaft- liche Ergebnisse
1894 1895 1896 1897 1898 1899 1900 1901 1902 1903 1904 1905 1906 1907 1908 1909 1910 1911 1912 1913 1914 1915 1916 1917 1918 1919 1920 1921 1922 1923 1924 1925 1926 1927 1928 1929 1930 1931 1932 1933 1934 1935 1936 1937 1938 1939 1940 1941 1942 1943 1944 1945 1946 1947 1948 1949 1950 1951 1952 1953 1954 1955 1956 1957 1958 1959 1960 1961 1962 1963 1964 1965 1966 1967 1968 1969 1970 1971 1972 1973 1974 1975 1976 1977 1978 1979 1980 1981 1982 1983 1984 1985 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1998 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019 2020 2021 2022 2023 2024 2025 2026 2027 2028 2029 2030 2031 2032 2033 2034 2035 2036 2037 2038 2039 2040 2041 2042 2043 2044 2045 2046 2047 2048 2049 2050 2051 2052 2053 2054 2055 2056 2057 2058 2059 2060 2061 2062 2063 2064 2065 2066 2067 2068 2069 2070 2071 2072 2073 2074 2075 2076 2077 2078 2079 2080 2081 2082 2083 2084 2085 2086 2087 2088 2089 2090 2091 2092 2093 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Arbeitsfeld, Aufbauwesen und Bauteilbauwesen	Technische Fach- Begriffe, Fachsprache des Bauwesens	Werkstoff- und Bauteilwissen	Werkstoff- und Bauteilwissen Fachwissen	Statik
<p>1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1998 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019 2020 2021 2022 2023 2024 2025 2026 2027 2028 2029 2030 2031 2032 2033 2034 2035 2036 2037 2038 2039 2040 2041 2042 2043 2044 2045 2046 2047 2048 2049 2050 2051 2052 2053 2054 2055 2056 2057 2058 2059 2060 2061 2062 2063 2064 2065 2066 2067 2068 2069 2070 2071 2072 2073 2074 2075 2076 2077 2078 2079 2080 2081 2082 2083 2084 2085 2086 2087 2088 2089 2090 2091 2092 2093 2094 2095 2096 2097 2098 2099 2100 2101 2102 2103 2104 2105 2106 2107 2108 2109 2110 2111 2112 2113 2114 2115 2116 2117 2118 2119 2120 2121 2122 2123 2124 2125 2126 2127 2128 2129 2130 2131 2132 2133 2134 2135 2136 2137 2138 2139 2140 2141 2142 2143 2144 2145 2146 2147 2148 2149 2150 2151 2152 2153 2154 2155 2156 2157 2158 2159 2160 2161 2162 2163 2164 2165 2166 2167 2168 2169 2170 2171 2172 2173 2174 2175 2176 2177 2178 2179 2180 2181 2182 2183 2184 2185 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2586 2587 2588 2589 2590 2591 2592 2593 2594 2595 2596 2597 2598 2599 2600 2601 2602 2603 2604 2605 2606 2607 2608 2609 2610 2611 2612 2613 2614 2615 2616 2617 2618 2619 2620 2621 2622 2623 2624 2625 2626 2627 2628 2629 2630 2631 2632 2633 2634 2635 2636 2637 2638 2639 2640 2641 2642 2643 2644 2645 2646 2647 2648 2649 2650 2651 2652 2653 2654 2655 2656 2657 2658 2659 2660 2661 2662 2663 2664 2665 2666 2667 2668 2669 2670 2671 2672 2673 2674 2675 2676 2677 2678 2679 2680 2681 2682 2683 2684 2685 2686 2687 2688 2689 2690 2691 2692 2693 2694 2695 2696 2697 2698 2699 2700 2701 2702 2703 2704 2705 2706 2707 2708 2709 2710 2711 2712 2713 2714 2715 2716 2717 2718 2719 2720 2721 2722 2723 2724 2725 2726 2727 2728 2729 2730 2731 2732 2733 2734 2735 2736 2737 2738 2739 2740 2741 2742 2743 2744 2745 2746 2747 2748 2749 2750 2751 2752 2753 2754 2755 2756 2757 2758 2759 2760 2761 2762 2763 2764 2765 2766 2767 2768 2769 2770 2771 2772 2773 2774 2775 2776 2777 2778 2779 2780 2781 2782 2783 2784 2785 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4186 4187 4188 4189 4190 4191 4192 4193 4194 4195 4196 4197 4198 4199 4200 4201 4202 4203 4204 4205 4206 4207 4208 4209 4210 4211 4212 4213 4214 4215 4216 4217 4218 4219 4220 4221 4222 4223 4224 4225 4226 4227 4228 4229 4230 4231 4232 4233 4234 4235 4236 4237 4238 4239 4240 4241 4242 4243 4244 4245 4246 4247 4248 4249 4250 4251 4252 4253 4254 4255 4256 4257 4258 4259 4260 4261 4262 4263 4264 4265 4266 4267 4268 4269 4270 4271 4272 4273 4274 4275 4276 4277 4278 4279 4280 4281 4282 4283 4284 4285 4286 4287 4288 4289 4290 4291 4292 4293 4294 4295 4296 4297 4298 4299 4300 4301 4302 4303 4304 4305 4306 4307 4308 4309 4310 4311 4312 4313 4314 4315 4316 4317 4318 4319 4320 4321 4322 4323 4324 4325 4326 4327 4328 4329 4330 4331 4332 4333 4334 4335 4336 4337 4338 4339 4340 4341 4342 4343 4344 4345 4346 4347 4348 4349 4350 4351 4352 4353 4354 4355 4356 4357 4358 4359 4360 4361 4362 4363 4364 4365 4366 4367 4368 4369 4370 4371 4372 4373 4374 4375 4376 4377 4378 4379 4380 4381 4382 4383 4384 4385 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Zeittafel 1870-1930 18

Zeitschl.	Ausgangspunkt, Ausgangspunkt und Ausgangspunkt	Wissenschaft und Wissenschaft	Wissenschaft und Wissenschaft	Wissenschaft
1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879
1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889
1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899
1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909
1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919
1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929
1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939

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Zeitschl.	Ausgangspunkt, Ausgangspunkt und Ausgangspunkt	Wissenschaft und Wissenschaft	Wissenschaft und Wissenschaft	Wissenschaft
1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879
1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889
1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899
1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909
1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919
1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929
1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939

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Zeitschl.	Ausgangspunkt, Ausgangspunkt und Ausgangspunkt	Wissenschaft und Wissenschaft	Wissenschaft und Wissenschaft	Wissenschaft
1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879
1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889
1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899
1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909
1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919
1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929
1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939

Zeittafel 1870-1930 21

Zeitraum	Wissenschaften und Künste	Wissenschaften und Künste	Wissenschaften und Künste	Wissenschaften und Künste	Wissenschaften und Künste
1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879
1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889
1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899
1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909
1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919
1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929
1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939

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Zeitraum	Wissenschaften und Künste	Wissenschaften und Künste	Wissenschaften und Künste	Wissenschaften und Künste	Wissenschaften und Künste
1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879
1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889
1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899
1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909
1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919
1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929
1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939

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Zeitraum	Wissenschaften und Künste	Wissenschaften und Künste	Wissenschaften und Künste	Wissenschaften und Künste	Wissenschaften und Künste
1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879	1870-1879
1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889	1880-1889
1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899	1890-1899
1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909	1900-1909
1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919	1910-1919
1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929	1920-1929
1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939	1930-1939

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Pledge of Honesty

On my honour as a student of the Diplomatische Akademie Wien, I submit this work in good faith and pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance on it.

Nina Waldsam

Vita

Growing up in Upper-Styria, I graduated from the Stiftsgymnasium Admont in 2015, after having spent year 11 of my school career in Seattle, Washington. Afterwards I moved to Graz for my bachelor's degree in English and American Studies with the complementary subject 'Europe: Language, Business and Law' at the Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz and the University of Bristol. Throughout my studies at the Diplomatic Academy as part of the Master of Advanced International Studies (MAIS) program, I worked at the HR Programs department at Magna International.

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