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Susanne Kelley

Kennesaw State University, skelle16@kennesaw.edu

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"Where Hip meets Habsburg": Marketing the Personal Story in Contemporary Vienna

Susanne Kelley
Kennesaw State University

Vienna's tourist board introduced in 2003 the goal and strategy to expand the tourism market in the city to 10 million overnight stays by the year 2010. The Tourism Concept Vienna 2010¹ is a project that involves the cooperation and networking of Vienna's administrative departments and businesses in tourist, business, and city planning and focuses on adapting its marketing strategies to the changing economic and travel patterns of its target markets. At the heart of the project is the marketing campaign "Wien erwartet Sie. Vienna waits for you," whose message stresses the following five qualities: Vienna as "kulturreich," "genussreich," "erlebnisreich," "serviceorientiert," and "wirtschaftsfreundlich" ("Marketingkonzept 2008" 116).² Scheduled programs such as the *Mozartjahr* in 2006 and the *Haydnjahr* in 2000, along with exhibits about Viennese artists, movements, and monarchical figures, make clear that the marketing of memory and memory sites is still a key element in Vienna's tourism market. While Vienna Tourism also makes every effort to convince potential tourists of Vienna's appeal as a modern and progressive metropolis, the city's central marketing message conveys the traditional idea of Austria as *Kulturnation*, whose cultural value lies primarily in products and reminders of the past, particularly, and not surprisingly, the time of the Habsburg Empire.

Tracing Austria's handling of its Habsburg past throughout the twentieth century, Laurence Cole concludes in his essay "Der Habsburger Mythos"³ that after 1945 Austrian politics no longer interpreted the monarchy and its utopian myth as a political ideology. He observes that the Austrian economy gradually transformed the political weight carried by the memory of the monarchy into commercial value (484). At the same time, Cole describes a depoliticized Habsburg resurgence in Austrian cultural life over the last twenty-five years, citing a number of cultural exhibitions that often concentrate on the personalization of Habsburg figures (492–98).

Das Habsburg-Revival zeigte sich auch auf anderen Gebieten. In den großen kaiserlichen Residenzen, wie Schloss Schönbrunn oder der Wiener Hofburg, sowie in Institutionen wie dem Heeresgeschichtlichen Museum intensiviert man in den letzten Jahren eine musealisierende Erinnerung an die Habsburger. Mit der Vermarktung durch den Tourismus und dem Ausbau der Freizeitindustrie wurde das "österreichische Geschichtserbe" und damit die Habsburger-Vergangenheit als Werbemittel und Einkommensquelle konsequent ausgeschlachtet. (Cole 496)

In other words, where Austrian historical developments often included a capitalization on the Habsburgs for political purposes, the symbolic power of the monarchy now has shifted to the economic and cultural, mostly through representations of individuals' personal stories.

Vienna is no longer marketed to tourists as the once politically powerful capital but as a place that gained its importance through the talent and achievements of remarkable individuals. This essay examines the breaking down of Vienna's history and culture into personalized individual stories in order to appeal to the palate of the contemporary tourist and shows that the interest in personal stories is not restricted to members of the Habsburg family or to political figures but translates into an all-encompassing strategy that is central to Austria's presentation of its history, culture, and art to its visitors. In the following I analyze this cultural and promotional production of the individual story using the examples of Empress Elisabeth and the artist Gustav Klimt. I suggest that the marketing of Vienna has shifted from focusing on history to focusing on memory and I use Pierre Nora's concept of the *lieu de mémoire* to define Vienna's particular attractions to the tourist of the twenty-first century.

Pierre Nora, who popularized the term "memory site" in the academic discourse with his seven-volume study *Les Lieux de mémoire* (1986–92), describes 130 "places" in France that are central to its national collective memory. The symbolism of these sites and the intensity of their remembrance may shift over time, but their relationship to each other makes out a web of "Kristallisationskerne" (François and Schulze 16) constituting part of France's national memory and thus its national identity. Memory sites include not only geographical locations but also buildings, monuments, books, artworks, and figures—elements to which the culture makers in a particular society have deliberately assigned greater symbolism and which the society has decided to remember.

These *lieux de mémoire* are fundamentally remains, the ultimate embodiments of a memorial consciousness that has barely survived in a historical age that calls out for memory because it has abandoned it. They make their appearance by virtue of the deritualization of our world—producing, manifesting, establishing, constructing, decreeing, and maintaining by artifice and by will a society deeply absorbed in its own transformation and renewal, one that inherently values the new over the ancient, the young over the old, the future over the past. Museums, archives, cemeteries, festivals, anniversaries, treaties, depositions, monuments, sanctuaries, fraternal orders—these are the boundary stones of another age, illusions of eternity. [...] *Lieux de mémoire* originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory, that we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organize celebrations, pronounce eulogies, and notarize bills because such activities no longer occur naturally. (Nora, "Between Memory and History" 12)

Because memory sites are not materialistically but symbolically significant, their main characteristic is emblematic pliability. "Wir sprechen von einem Ort, der seine Bedeutung und seinen Sinn erst durch seine Bezüge und seine Stellung inmitten sich immer neu formierender Konstellationen und Beziehungen erhält" (François and Schulze 18). A number of publications from other countries followed Nora's *Les Lieux de mémoire*, compiling their respective nations' memory sites. With *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* in 2001, Etienne François and Hagen Schulze published their German version of Nora's project, and in 2004 and 2005, Emil Brix, Ernst Bruckmüller, and Hannes Stekl published three volumes of *Memoria Austriae*, an Austrian "Gedächtnisgeschichte."⁴

The first volume, *Memoria Austriae: Menschen, Mythen, Zeiten*, includes Laurence Coles's article redefining the Habsburg myth along with essays on Maria Theresia, Mozart, Bruno Kreisky; art and artists; the Second Republic; and tourism. All of these elements are not merely part of Austrian history; they are institutionalized memories that the authors consider most representative of contemporary "Austrian" identity. Brix, Bruckmüller, and Stekl explain in their introduction: "Es ist aber nicht die Geschichte schlechthin, die Nationen konstituiert, sondern es sind bestimmte Vorstellungen von Geschichte, bestimmte Erinnerungen an Ereignisse und Verhaltensweisen, aber auch das gemeinsame Vergessen bestimmter Geschehnisse" (*Memoria Austriae I* 9). The identification of institutionalized memories serves the understanding of a country's self-conception. The authors of *Memoria Austriae* introduce their series with the results of a 1998 survey of 1000 Austrians who responded to questions about their Austrian identity. 26% of those 1000 people named Vienna as "typically Austrian," 37% named the Stephansdom as the most significant building, followed by Schönbrunn (16%). 32% are most proud of Mozart as an important Austrian figure. Most surprising to the authors was the result that more than half of the Austrians surveyed showed the most pride in and identification with the Second Republic. Only 9% named the Habsburg Monarchy (Brix 13–16). The self-image the average Austrian citizen has of his or her country, then, only coincides partially with the image presented to the tourists, many of whom respond to the "Habsburg Revival" in the Viennese cultural scene.

One can conclude that the Habsburgs are a memory site mostly promoted to the tourists as an important part of the Austrian and Viennese image, even if that image does not translate into native-Austrian self-perception. This result underlines the important distinction between "nation branding" and the actual national identity of a country's citizens. "Nation branding" is a marketing-based creation and communication of national identity which includes "an assembly of particular rituals, images, and symbols" and the ways they are communicated globally (Aronczyk 113). While the images identified for country or city marketing and the citizens' description of their national identity may overlap and influence each other, they are not necessarily identical. Austria's economy

relies heavily on tourism—nearly 16% of Austria’s employment relies on the travel and tourism economy (“Austria Travel and Tourism” 3). Catering to the expectations of the consumer, i.e., the tourist’s image of Austria, is a necessity in today’s market economy and does not presuppose that the advertised product is authentic. In fact, Herbert Hofreither points out that only 8% of today’s Austrian population voices interest in arts and culture (15). The average Austrian’s lifestyle may not embody his or her country’s advertised identity, but that does not mean that Austrians disagree with Austria’s self-understanding as a leader of cultural preservation. Yet, the latest representational strategies demonstrate that the past is not all Austria wants to be known for. In 2004, the Viennese tourist association enticed the readers of the British newspaper *The Mail on Sunday* to visit the Austrian capital by advertising that Vienna is the place “Where Hip meets Habsburg.”⁵ Vienna as a melting pot of the traditional and the modern, the old and the hip, is the message to the potential tourist, who, nevertheless, seems to prefer the experience of Habsburg over modern Vienna, as the list of favorite tourist attractions suggests.

The number one destination in Vienna for tourists continues to be Schönbrunn Palace⁶ whose popularity, if we apply sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel’s work on the social structure of time and memory, consists less of the building itself and more of the individuals who once lived in it. Zerubavel observes that

place plays a major role in identity rhetoric [...]. Constancy of place also allows us to virtually “see” the people who once occupied the space we now do. [...] Walking down the streets of an old city, we can “make contact with the previous generations” by literally walking in their footsteps and looking at the “vistas that greeted their eyes.” (42)

Interpreting time by breaking it down into generations rather than years moves the individual closer to the past with which he or she is longing to identify. Unsurprisingly, it is more natural to create such a “historical contact chain” (58) to a person than to an object or a building. A tourist may sense the footsteps of Elisabeth who walked the same hallways only five generations ago, but will at most appreciate a piece of art or furniture installed 125 years ago. The experience of Vienna thus takes place through the individuals who made its history through their stories. Comments such as the following from a travel editorial published in the late edition of the *New York Times* of October 15, 2000, reveal that tourists indeed are enjoying the experience of Vienna through its “memory sites.” “[Maria Theresia and Elisabeth] are especially present in the city’s two great Hapsburg palaces, the Hofburg and Schönbrunn” (Ferrell). Such sentiments determine that not their palace, but the women themselves function as the “memory site” that attracts over 1.5 million tourists annually.

Many exhibits and events respond to the visitors’ interest in the personal stories of the celebrated figures rather than concentrating on their professional

achievements, which not only facilitates a deeper understanding of a certain period or movement but also relates the past to present identity structures. On the occasion of a 1980 exhibit about Maria Theresia, Minister Hertha Firnberg observed: "Im Gegensatz zu damals steht im Vordergrund des Interesses daher nicht mehr die überragende Herrscherpersönlichkeit, sondern die Epoche und die Persönlichkeit in Relation zu ihrer Zeit, aktiv eingreifend, aber auch bedingt durch die Vielfalt der Gegebenheiten, als ein schaffendes, aber auch als ein zeitbedingtes Wesen" (qtd. in Suppanz 219). According to Suppanz, exhibits in 1980 and 2001–02 shifted from presenting the strength of a nation through the political figure Maria Theresia to conveying her as the personalized individual who managed to combine the roles of empress, politician, mother, and reformer (Suppanz 41). The "persistent image of the 'great empress'" that contemporary culture is left with is that of "[...] der netten, fülligen Dame, die uns voll mütterlicher Ausstrahlung mit einem Hauch von Strenge aus den Werken von Hofmalern wie Martin von Meytens zulächelt, als beharrlichste Vorstellung von der 'großen Kaiserin'" (Suppanz 45). Cultural representation of influential figures stresses their normalcy over the characteristics that distinguish them from the modern-day tourist. The tourist is invited to relate to history as approachable and reachable, rather than removed and distant.

One of the posters designed for the "Vienna waits for you" campaign illustrates the relationship that potential tourists may develop with historical figures such as Maria Theresia and Elisabeth through such visuals as the "Sisi" poster. It shows a young woman in her early-to-mid-twenties, wearing a modern white dress and standing in front of Franz Xaver Winterhalter's famous 1864 painting of Empress Elisabeth dressed in a white ballroom gown. While the contemporary model and the empress share height, hair color, and facial complexion, their relationship with the observer differs. Both women are portrayed from the side, but the modern young woman's body is turned towards the observer with her head only slightly tilted in order to reveal her open and inviting facial expression. Elizabeth was painted looking reservedly over her shoulder, the front of her body turned away from the observer. The poster suggests a customized experience of history, as it promises the visitor the opportunity to personally relate to individuals like Empress Elisabeth, i.e., the opportunity to feel like a princess, so to speak. Moreover, it implies that a modern-day Elisabeth might look like the open and happy young woman photographed in front of the 1864 painting, thereby creating a "historical contact chain" of the visited with her visitor.

In her article "Sissi Revisited,"⁷ Mary Wauchope discusses Elisabeth as a contemporary marketing phenomenon, revived in the late 1990s when the culture industry compared the story of Empress Elisabeth with that of her portrayer Romy Schneider and both of them with Princess Diana's story, thereby exploiting the interest in contemporary royalty while also sparking interest in the real Elisabeth and in the 1950s romanticized movie portrayal of her life in the *Sissi* trilogy.

The emphasis in the comparisons of the three women has been on jet-set glamour, melodrama, exploitation, and tragedy: unhappy marriages, insults suffered at the hand of in-laws, parents, and the public, fear of aging, loss of children, eating disorders. And the Austrian business world has been ready to cash in on the appeal of the sensational aspects of the lives of these women. (Wauchope 181)

Although 1998, the hundredth anniversary of Sisi's death, represented the peak of this marketing opportunity, the Elisabeth phenomenon continues in and beyond Austria with such cultural events as the musical *Elisabeth* (premiered in 1992); the satire *Lissi und der wilde Kaiser* (2007); the *Princess Sissi* cartoon series (released 1997); and a plethora of exhibits such as *Sisi auf der Spur: Kutschen, Kleider, Kultobjekte* held at the Wagenburg Schönbrunn from January 2008 to March 2009. The *Sissi* trilogy and the musical tell not the story of an empire but the romanticized story of royalty trapped in a leading role within the empire. Those portrayals present Elisabeth's personal development; they blend the public and private story not unlike the most well-known paintings of her completed by Winterhalter in 1864. The standing exhibit *Sissi im Film—Möbel einer Kaiserin* in the Hofmobiliendepot remembers both, the historical Sisi and filmic Sissi, by displaying the furniture used by both. Such an exhibit transforms Elisabeth as "memory site" into a multilayered phenomenon, as the memory of Elisabeth and the memory of *Sissi* featuring Romey Schneider—who, in the eyes of many filmgoers will always "be" "Sissi"—blend into one experience for the visitor. Here, the difference between the symbolic image of the real Elisabeth and her filmic fairy-tale double begins to lose some of its significance, thereby complicating the memory site with the effort to personalize it.

The process of personalizing those who represent real and symbolic power is not novel to the turn of the twentieth to the twenty-first century, however. From Gabriela Christen we learn that the choice of Winterhalter's portrait for the "Sisi" poster was quite appropriate as it introduces the representation of his subject's personal side in a portrait that was for the public to see. "Das Herrscherbildnis ist ein Repertoirestück in der staatlichen Propaganda. Es benötigt einen affektlosen Hauptdarsteller, der die Attribute seines Standes möglichst vorteilhaft präsentiert" (Christen 164). Christen observes that Winterhalter's paintings of Elisabeth break with the common tradition of monarchical representation that was strictly divided into official and private portraits. In the mid-nineteenth century, various European monarchs commissioned Winterhalter for both, the publicly exhibited demonstration of monarchical status and the privately hung intimate portrait. Winterhalter's official portrait of Elisabeth, used in the advertisement discussed above, blurs the line between public and private. Void of the usual monarchical regalia, Elisabeth appears as if she were captured in a fleeting moment while she was passing a monumental pillar, decorated with a set of plants (Christen 165–71). "Nur für einen kurzen Moment taucht die Ballkaiserin als romantische Vision im hellen

Licht auf," Christen maintains, characterizing the appearance as a "märchenhaften Auftritt" (169). The seeming lack of staging in this portrait suggests spontaneity and a glimpse into the empress's private realm not typical for public portraits of monarchs. At the center of the painting is no longer the representation of power, but the display of beauty, which still dominates the world's memory of Elisabeth. Not unlike Suppanz's observation regarding modern representations of Maria Theresia as a maternal figure, Juliane Vogel has argued that Elisabeth's significance as a political symbol has faded altogether and that her significance has been replaced by aesthetic representation (Vogel 32). While her beauty certainly attracted attention and admiration, insights into the rituals surrounding her splendor were even more fascinating to the general public. Elisabeth's private life, her exercise and beautification practices, and her intimate struggles in the role of empress constitute her story that continuously arouses interest and fascination.

According to James Wertsch, social memory is often "unself-conscious" with a "single committed perspective" that is "impatient with ambiguity about motives and the interpretation of events" and "links the past with the present" by producing "unquestionable heroic narratives" (44). Unlike history, which strives to consider multiple perspectives, collective or social memory portrays an often simplified and uncritical perspective, the result of which may be a focus on individuals. Events like the 2002 crowning of the young "Prinz und Prinzessin von und zu Schönbrunn" to celebrate the opening of the child-friendly area "Schloss Schönbrunn erleben," which prompted 900 entries from children all over Austria, reflect the quick enthusiasm with which not only tourists but also Austrians pass the nostalgia on to their children ("Prinz und Prinzessin von und zu Schönbrunn"). Andreas Huyssen observes in his essay "Trauma and Memory: A New Imaginary of Temporality" that contemporary Western societies are obsessed with the act of memory. Huyssen suggests that "[...] the culture of postmodernism once celebrated as a new departure beyond the modern and toward the future, has become a culture of memory haunted by the past in ways that could hardly have been foreseen [...]" (18). He and Pierre Nora observe this infatuation with the past as substantiated by the renovation, expansion, and building of museums, archives, and other "temples of memory" (Wertsch 42).

History forces memory to undergo constant transformations, and the interplay between history and memory creates *lieux de mémoire*. Moreover, a memory site, "which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community" (Nora, *Realms of Memory* xvii), can be material or non-material. Schönbrunn Palace is a memory site because it facilitates the willed and fabricated memory of the Habsburg Empire and its most popular rulers. The memory experience is artificially preserved, catering to the visitors' desire to identify with the past in a simple, accessible way. The creation reaches from the crowning ceremony to the so-called *Sisi*-ticket combination, all of which markets the contemporary experience of memory.

In 2006, Vienna Tourism added another layer to the marketing of individuals and their stories: “Im Laufe des Jahres 2006 wird die aktuelle Kampagne *Kunst & Genuss* (die kürzeste Gebrauchsanweisung für Wien) mit neuen emotionalen Botschaften erneuert werden: Menschen, die in Wien leben oder Wien erleben, erzählen ihren Gesprächspartnern, potentiellen Reisenden nach Wien, über die Stadt” (“Marketingkonzept 2006” 3). With the help of these personal statements by mostly well-known Vienna enthusiasts, culture and sensation are marketed as the authentic Viennese experience: “Wien als Marke: emotional, kreativ, genussfreudig, sportlich und unverwechselbar” (“Marketingkonzept 2008” 4).⁸ The campaign “Vienna waits for you” reveals the created image of Vienna that combines modern lifestyle with historical attractions. The campaign consists of an extensive website (www.wien.info), product design, newspaper and magazine inserts, brochures, and posters. The main leaflet designed for 2009 is entitled “Wien ... hier pulsiert das Leben.” Fine art and music are central to this Viennese experience and are promoted in such events as the *Kunstjahre* 2001 and 2002, the *Mozartjahr* 2006, and *Haydnjahr* 2009.

One of the focal points of Vienna’s art exhibits over the last few years is Gustav Klimt and the art of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The interest is primarily generated by the Leopold Museum (located in the Museumsquartier which opened in 2001) and the Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, which, since 2000, offered four exhibits with particular focus on Klimt and two more that included his art. The Belvedere showed Klimt und die Frauen from September 2000 to January 2001; Gustav Klimt: Landschaften from October 2002 to February 2003; and Gustav Klimt und die Kunstschau 1908 from October 2008 to January 2009. The Leopold features the ongoing exhibit Die Sammlung Leopold. Commercial use of Klimt’s images complements the formal displays of his art in the museums. In 2004, Vienna Tourism formed a partnership with STAUD’s Wien, whose fine preserves sold in glasses with decorative lids of the “Arts and Delights Collection.” The 5 million glasses of the collection were topped with an artwork from one of five major museums in Vienna. Of the twenty-five artworks chosen by the museums, three are by Gustav Klimt (*Der Kuss*, *Judith I*, and *Tod und Leben*) and four by Egon Schiele (*Selbstbildnis mit Judenkirschen*, *Komposition dreier Männerakte*, *Knieendes Mädchen in orangerotem Kleid*, and *Porträt Edith Schiele*.). “Diese Kooperation ist eine ideale Umsetzung unseres aktuellen Marketing-Slogans ‘Kunst & Genuss,’” comments Karl Seitlinger, director of Vienna Tourism (“Wien Tourismus und STAUD’s internationaler Auftritt mit Kunst&Genuss”). Hans Staud considered the “Arts and Delights Collection” his opportunity to combine the production of fine preserves with the promotion of Viennese culture throughout the world. The appeal of Vienna, according to this particular campaign, is the experience of history and culture packaged according to the tastes (and taste buds) of the contemporary consumer. In this case, the experience of Vienna and its art does not occur by inviting the tourist into the

lives of the artists, but by allowing the consumer to insert the art into his or her personal day-to-day life.

Remarkably, none of the images chosen by the various museums are by post-turn-of-the-century artists. In fact, the latest paintings are Klimt's *Tod und Leben* (1910/1915) and Schiele's *Porträt Edith Schiele* (1915). The fact that no newer artworks were included demonstrates that Vienna's market value is considered to be its "memory sites," with particular focus on the turn from the nineteenth to the twentieth century.⁹ This marketing decision coincides with the activity registered from the tourists who might also be buying products such as STAUD's decorated glasses. While none of the museums in the Museumsquartier placed in the top ten of the most-visited Viennese tourist attractions in 2006 and 2007, they all made it into the top thirty-five list. Comparing the popularity of art museums that find themselves in such close proximity gives insight into tourists' preferences in artists, genres, and periods when presented with an immediate choice that is not complicated by decisions regarding location, such as transportation. In 2006 and 2007, the Leopoldmuseum attracted the most visitors of the exhibition halls in the Museumsquartier (with over 300,000 visitors) followed by the Museum Moderner Kunst (244,000 visitors in 2007) and the Kunsthalle Wien (173,000 visitors in 2007) ("Top 35 Sehenswürdigkeiten, Museen, Ausstellungshäuser 2006" and "Sehenswürdigkeiten, Museen, Ausstellungshäuser 2007"). Among the top twenty tourist attractions in Vienna 2007, the Leopoldmuseum placed eleventh after the Kunsthistorisches Museum (fifth), the Belvedere (sixth), the Albertina (seventh), and the KunstHausWien (tenth). Of thirty-three attractions listed, ten are art museums, six of which exhibit art or artifacts by *fin-de-siècle* Viennese artists including Klimt, and four who have organized specific exhibits featuring or including Klimt ("Sehenswürdigkeiten, Museen, Ausstellungshäuser 2007").

The mystery and scandal surrounding his lifestyle have been attracting as much interest as his art. Recent years in particular have produced a number of projects drawing attention to Klimt's personal life and connecting it to individual art works. Publications include Elizabeth Hickey's novel *The Painted Kiss* (2005), Barbara Sternthal's biography *Diesen Kuss der ganzen Welt* (2005), Bérénice Capatti's children's book *Klimt and His Cat* (2004), and Raoul Ruiz's film *Klimt* (2006). The inspiration for Hickey's novel and Ruiz's film was, more than facts and research, Klimt's art itself. Both works take advantage of the fact that much about Klimt's life, particularly the true nature of his relationships with many of the women he painted, remains unknown. There is very limited textual evidence from Klimt himself, and even the surviving accounts about Klimt's personal life are brief and short on details. Much of the speculations about Klimt's life and character are made by interpreting his art and hypothesizing its real-life stories. Hickey gives an account of Klimt's life and art from the perspective of the woman assumed to have been Klimt's closest confidante, Emilie Flöge.¹⁰ Although the

book resembles a historical biography, much of its content is imagined, inspired by Klimt's art and the abundance of rumors about Klimt's life and his relationships with the women in it. Focus of *The Painted Kiss* is those relationships along with the character and interactions of the women central to Klimt's life. Like the novel, which is conceived as a flashback by Flöge who recalls the story of her relationship with Klimt from her exile in the Austrian countryside in 1944, Ruiz's film begins with Klimt on his deathbed in 1918. The film is an artistic interpretation of Klimt's memories. It blends the images of his art, the process of its creation, and encounters with the people in his life into a dreamlike, visionary account. While his male friends, like Egon Schiele, are represented as well, the women again take center stage, as they take on the roles of lovers, friends, muses, and mothers. It was Gustav Klimt's own wish that his life and legacy be defined by his art, but it turns out that the interpretation of his art is also defined by his life. Exhibits of Klimt's art tend to become exhibits about Klimt, whose story is pieced together through the individual art pieces.

The very successful 2000–01 exhibit *Klimt und die Frauen*, held in the Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, was an event in Vienna's cultural scene that was put together not only to present art but also to create a narrative of the artist's life, once again through the relationships he formed with the subjects of his art: "Im Mittelpunkt der Ausstellung stehen daher Frauen, die Klimt im Lauf seines Daseins als erfolgreicher Maler porträtiert hat" (Frodl 7). One of the exhibitors' goals was to present a previously neglected dimension of Klimt's portraits, namely, the real-life identity of the women featured in them. Tobias Natter introduces this endeavor by describing Klimt's most noteworthy clients, summarizing their relationships, and characterizing Klimt's work ethic when carrying out their commission (57–74). The articles included in the catalogue approach the topic of women's role in Klimt's work and life from various perspectives. Lisa Fischer argues that, while his art production and lifestyle depended on the support and admiration of these various women in his life, once they became subjects in his pieces, Klimt took all liberties in reformulating their character and charisma according to his own visions and fantasies (37). The overarching critique in this catalog is that Klimt did not adequately advertise the identity of the women he portrayed and that the art world did not show significant interest in the identities of Klimt's subjects, so that time and history nearly eliminated access to this information and, with it, to witnesses of Klimt's life and character. The effort behind the Klimt's Women exhibit and catalog was to research and reveal the individual stories of Klimt's subjects, while the accompanying articles tend to interpret a universalized female image by focusing on the stylized female figure as representative of Klimt's attitude towards and relationships with women.

The main portion of the catalog focuses on the biographical information about the portrayed women, and describes who commissioned the work and

the circumstances surrounding the subject's sessions with the artist. The result is a personalization of the exhibited paintings and their subjects. Instead of interpreting the portraits as displaying a mere type of femininity preferred by Klimt and representative of Viennese modernism, the exhibit suggests that each portrait tells the story of an individual financial and emotional investment in the artist and the movement. Each portrait represents two lives lived in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna—the painter's and his subject's—and performs the functions of a memory site whose symbolism can change over time, as the story of *Adele Bloch-Bauer I* shows, the painting that became the centerpiece of a restitution case between Bloch-Bauer's niece Maria Altmann and the State of Austria. Although the case involved five Klimt paintings,¹¹ the "Goldene Adele" evoked the most controversy and attention in the Austrian and international press. In 2006, the American art collector Ronald S. Lauder purchased the painting for his Neue Galerie in New York for a record price of 106 million Euro. Notably, Austrian art experts had not expected the immense spike in the painting's market value in spite of the public's newly revived interest in its story ("Leopold—'Lauder hat zu viel bezahlt'"). Still, the same art experts were among the leading voices to criticize the Austrian government for missing earlier opportunities to negotiate acquisition of the painting. Rudolf Leopold, for example, commented: "Österreich hätte, wenn viele Stellen geschickter gehandelt hätten, das Gemälde gratis bekommen" (qtd. in "Leopold—'Lauder hat zu viel bezahlt'").

Doubtlessly, the Austrian art collection has lost a representative piece with *Adele Bloch-Bauer I*, but, in spite of its relocation, the painting still is part of Austria's identity as *Kulturnation* and Vienna's image as artistic center. It is displayed as such in the Neue Galerie, a "museum devoted to early (sic) twentieth-century German and Austrian art and design" ("Mission Neue Galerie"). It also remains part of the repertoire of images used for the marketing of Vienna, as demonstrated by a 2008 television commercial advertising Austria's home soccer match on June 8 against Croatia in the Euro Cup. "Ohne Genierer quetschte man sie ["Goldene Adele"] im Euro-08-Trailer vor dem Heimspiel der österreichischen Mannschaft am Sonntag zwischen Aufnahmen von Stephansdom und Staatsoper—obwohl sie seit 2006 nicht mehr im Belvedere, sondern nahe dem Central Park hängt" (Käfer). The attention the painting received in the worldwide press only added weight to its story, thereby increasing not only its market but also its symbolic value. Therefore, even though *Adele Bloch-Bauer I* no longer resides in Vienna, cultural representations such as the broadcast commercial will preserve her ties to the city.

The Austrian cultural and tourist scene thus claims Gustav Klimt and his works, whether displayed in Austria or elsewhere, as its own, and the focus of Klimt exhibits in Vienna remains on his identity as a Viennese and Austrian artist. The exhibit Klimt's Women, which *Adele Bloch-Bauer I* and *II* were part of as well, makes the point of tying Klimt to the story of Vienna:

Es ist ein besonderer Vorzug, eine Gustav Klimt gewidmete Schau in Wien zu veranstalten (derartiges hat es hier sehr lange nicht—und in diesem Umfang und thematischen Anspruch noch nie—gegeben). In dieser Stadt, am “Originalschauplatz”, befinden sich nach wie vor mehrere ortsfeste, monumentale Frühwerke des Malers, die mit dem späteren Schaffen verglichen werden können und die Klimts künstlerischen Werdegang eindrucksvoll dokumentieren. In der Österreichischen Galerie Belvedere selbst, direkt neben der Klimt-Ausstellung, sind Hauptwerke eines der bewunderten Vorbilder Klimts, nämlich Hans Markarts zu sehen; Wien mit seiner Ringstraße, dem Gebäude der Secession und vielen anderen Zeugen und Repräsentanten der “Klimt-Ära” bietet auch heute, ein Jahrhundert später, den Hintergrund, vor dem eine solche Ausstellung mehr Reiz entfalten, viel mehr Information bieten kann als anderswo. (Frodl 7–8)

The exhibitors encourage the visitor to engage personally, not only with the art of Gustav Klimt but also with the painter himself, who once walked the same streets and worked in the same buildings in which the visitors now find themselves. The exhibit facilitates the creation of a “personal contact chain” with the artist and the women he painted. This message is, of course, not original, but is made explicit throughout the texts that advertise Vienna as a worthwhile tourist destination. The Vienna Tourism website includes the outline of a Vienna sightseeing tour entitled *Der Jugendstilpracht auf der Spur: Ein Klimt-Spaziergang durch Wien*, which not only guides the tourist to some of the main attractions in Vienna but also through Klimt’s life: “Wenn Sie das Werk von Gustav Klimt und das Ambiente, in dem es entstanden ist, kennen lernen wollen, folgen Sie unserem Spaziergang ...” (Daniel 1). This Viennese “stroll” begins in the Burgtheater featuring ceiling murals painted by Klimt and his brother at the beginning of their professional careers. Next, the tourist follows Klimt’s life and career to the Kunsthistorische Museum, the Leopold Museum, the Secession, the Karlsplatz, the Museum für angewandte Kunst, and finally the Belvedere. The actual experience here is *Kulturstadt* Vienna, but again fashioned in the personalized setting of Gustav Klimt’s life and career.

Vienna Tourism states in its 2009 marketing concept the following goal: “Wien als weithin anerkannte Kreativ-, Kunst- und Genussmetropole fernab der Musealisierung zu positionieren” (“Marketingkonzept 2009” 4). This statement seems to contradict the practical and theoretical assumptions discussed in this essay. This latest marketing strategy of relocating the emphasis to less institutionalized experiences appears to undermine the centrality and success of the museums in the Viennese culture scene. It also seems to go against the observations made by such cultural theorists as Pierre Nora and Andreas Huyssen, who have observed modern societies’ increased attention to the institutions that archive their histories. This essay observes that the postmodern cultural fascination with determining

and preserving "memory sites" (a term that is not limited to museums) and the financially motivated marketing of emotional indulgence to the contemporary tourist are not incommensurate, but rather mutually inform the present-day approach to the representation of a location's identity and history. In Vienna this manifests itself with the tourism board's efforts to stress the personalization of the city's experience by focusing cultural programs around historical individuals and their stories. Creativity and emotion take the place of education and structure: "Botschaften, die dem potentiellen Gast signalisieren, dass Wien seiner Gefühlswelt so wohl tun wird wie kaum eine andere Stadt" ("Marketingkonzept 2009" 4). Vienna Tourism promises the potential tourist emotional recreation while facilitating his or her interest in the city's historical and cultural wealth. The effort concentrates on customizing the city experience for the twenty-first-century tourist who is expecting to return home from his or her vacation having not only gained factual knowledge about Vienna's history but also, and more importantly, formed a personal connection to the city and its stories. Vienna Tourism markets the opportunity to blend the visitor's stories with those of the city, visualized by such images as the "Sisi" poster. The "Klimt-Spaziergang" or tours that focus on the daily lives of the Habsburgs¹² go beyond mere contextualization of history. They constitute programs that make the city come to life for the twenty-first-century tourist. The past and the present connect in and through the tourist who seeks out the institutions and exhibits that allow him or her to establish personal contact (Zerubavel) with individuals such as Elisabeth or Klimt and their stories.

Pierre Nora and Andreas Huyssen posit that an infatuation with the past is inherent in all technologically advanced societies. They argue that the underlying motivation is to slow down change in order to open up the opportunity for "decipherment of what we are in the light of what we are no longer" (Nora, "Between Memory and History" 18). Robert Temel, a theorist of Viennese architecture and urbanism, adds that, "Kultur ist so ein Gedächtnis der Gesellschaft, das nichts anderes zur Auswahl hat als die Vergangenheit dieser Gesellschaft, in deren Rahmen die Zukunft oszillieren kann" (174). While reading the present through the past may be the underlying motivation of tourists visiting a city known for its cultural history, Vienna Tourism further argues that what once was is not only remembered in Vienna but also has an affecting presence, available to be discovered and experienced. Its streets and buildings are memory sites in which we may establish an intellectual and emotional connection to those who walked and lived in them before us. The visitors are encouraged to make the Viennese central to their Vienna experience, because here history, memory, and tourism are a personal affair.

NOTES

1. The business section of Vienna Tourism's official website, <http://info.wien.at/>, contains all documents pertaining to the plan "Tourism Concept Vienna 2010" along with the business reports and year-specific marketing strategies since 2003.

2. The document states: "Die Werbeagentur Young & Rubicam, die seit 2000 für den WienTourismus tätig ist, fasst die zu kommunizierende Einzigartigkeit Wiens, das Unterscheidungsmerkmal gegenüber anderen Städten, in ihrem Positionierungsvorschlag mit einem Wort zusammen: Charme. Der Markenkern Charme hat sich bestens bewährt, auch wenn der Begriff selbst aus guten Gründen in der Wortwahl des WienTourismus selten verwendet wird. Die von der Agentur entwickelte Einladung Wort-Bild-Marke in der registrierten Wort-Bild-Marke in den Wiener Wappenfarben Rot und Weiß wird der Slogan mit dem Destinationslogo für Wien und der Webadresse des WienTourismus kombiniert. Marke und Slogan werden in vielen Sprachversionen eingesetzt. In der kommenden Diskussion wird sich die Frage stellen, wie tragfähig der bisherige Markenkern für die Zukunft ist und wie die Rolle Wiens als mitteleuropäisches Kreativitätszentrum wesentlich stärker ins Spiel gebracht werden kann" ("Marketingkonzept 2008" 116).

3. Cole refers to Claudio Magris's famous work *Der habsburgische Mythos in der österreichischen Literatur*.

4. The first volume, *Menschen, Mythen, Zeiten*, was published in 2004, followed by the second volume, *Orte, Bauten, Regionen*, and the third volume, *Unternehmer, Firmen, Produkte*, in 2005.

5. The slogan was used in an ad printed in 2.3 million copies of *The Mail on Sunday's* television and weekend section ("Starke Slogans, Klassische Wien-Werbung 2004").

6. Since 2002, Schönbrunn Palace has ranked number one every year, with the exception of 2003, on the list of most-visited destinations published by Vienna Tourism. In 2003, it ranked number two behind the Schönbrunn Tiergarten, but Vienna Tourism posits that the palace was still the number one tourist destination, whereas the Tiergarten is more popular among Viennese locals ("Hitliste der Wiener Sehenswürdigkeiten 2003: Tiergarten Schönbrunn vor Schloss, Albertina auf Anhieb Platz 3").

7. "Sissi" refers to the main Elisabeth character played by Romy Schneider in director Ernst Marischka's 1955–57 movie trilogy, *Sissi*, whereas "Sisi" refers to the real-life Elisabeth, Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary.

8. In 2008, the European Soccer Championships became part of the marketing program, which prompted "sportlich" to be added to the previous formulation "Wien als Marke: emotional, genussfreudig, kunstreich und unverwechselbar" ("Wien Tourismus: Marketing 2008" 4).

9. In 2007, Staud's Vienna continued its investment in the marketing of Vienna with a "STAUD's Musik-Kollektion." The line mirrors the concept of the "Arts and Delights Collection." This time, Viennese composers, their works, and other symbols and images representing Vienna's past and present music scene are displayed on up to ten-million glasses of preserves.

10. The exact nature of Klimt's and Flöge's relationship remains unclear as the only firsthand clues we have are Klimt's postcards to Flöge. All are written in a cordial but platonic tone. Free of romanticism or eroticism, they report on everyday matters, such as a missed French class or the weather. As his art as well as the many published photographs reveal, Flöge definitely represented friend and muse to the artist, and socially Klimt's association with the Flöge family opened up many doors to Vienna's bourgeoisie.

11. The five paintings were *Adele Bloch-Bauer I and II*, *Häuser in Unterach am Attersee*, *Apfelbaum*, and *Buchenwald (Birkenwald)*.

12. Tours that focus on the daily lives of Vienna's former royalty have been designed for adult and child audiences alike. The Mitmach-Museum in Schloss Schönbrunn offers the children's program "Der Alltag am Kaiserhof," while the Kaiserappartements can be viewed with a tour featuring "kaiserliche Alltagsgeschichten."

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