

"It is such a wonderful feeling to be in the countryside."¹
The Phenomenon of the Austrian *Sommerfrische*

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"Nature as a landscape is the fruit and product of a theoretical spirit"²

Those who live in the country are completely at home with nature; nature is a part of everyday life: the forest provides wood; the earth, fields; and the water, fish. There is no specific reason to go into the open countryside and to abandon oneself to its observation. The landscape only becomes nature for the person who goes out into it to experience its feeling of the "all-embracing," its omnipresence in free, relishing observation:³

When, while the lovely valley teems with vapor around me, and the meridian sun strikes the upper surface of the impenetrable foliage of my trees, and but a few stray gleams steal into the inner sanctuary, I throw myself down among the tall grass by the trickling stream; and as I lie close to the earth, a thousand unknown plants are noticed by me: when I hear the buzz of the little world among the stalks, and grow familiar with the countless indescribable forms of the insects and flies, then I feel the presence of the Almighty, who formed us in his own image, and the breath of that universal love which bears and sustains us.⁴

The fields, the river, the mountains are not "landscape" of their own accord; they only become so when one confronts them, for no practical reason, in order to feel at one with nature. Those aspects that appeared useful or useless and were rejected as being hostile were transported into greatness, sublimity, and beauty—transferred aesthetically into a landscape.⁵

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, most travelers were principally interested in the human world, in the artistic and historic monuments of bygone times, in

the civilization of foreign peoples. Nature, untouched and uncultivated by man, appeared intimidating, unaesthetic, dangerous: "Any kind of landscape or view is imperfect without those human figures which bestow it with liveliness," expressed Dr. Johnson on his journey to the Hebrides with James Boswell.⁶ Before the nineteenth century, the category of landscape painting also enjoyed less esteem in Europe than the treatment of religious, historical, or mythological themes or portraiture. During his first period of office (1769–90) as president of the Royal Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds laid down a set of academic principles that envisioned landscape painting as the depiction of an idealized, perfect nature, as the manifestation of beauty; these directives were accepted by artists for many years.⁷ Exceptions were made by a few landscape painters in the seventeenth century, such as Claude Lorrain, who used idealized landscapes to deliver a moral message,⁸ Nicolas Poussin, who imbued them with a classical grandeur, or Salvator Rosa, who created wild and exalted scenes. But by the eighteenth century, classical landscape painting had degenerated into a "routine, vacuous stylistic hull."⁹ Correspondingly, it was cultivated fields, houses, villages, fences, or trees that finally made a landscape beautiful—both through their diversity and also as a witness of human settlement.¹⁰ Mountains were seen as dangerous and repulsive, symbols for the fall from grace. Ruins of a world torn asunder, they surrounded the valley regions, cultivated by man, like a hostile arena.¹¹ A description of a Swiss alpine crossing, dating from 1765/67, describes the perils awaiting the traveler: "abysses," "the clamor of vultures and other birds of prey," the "chill of this savage wilderness."¹²

Approximately one hundred years later, the very same mountain world evoked quite different impressions: "One has to have stood up there oneself in order to have a notion of all the magnificence and grandeur and then

these hours will be counted among the most beautiful and unforgettable in one's life."¹³ The philosophers and poets of the second half of the eighteenth century contributed to this change in man's attitude to untouched nature. In particular, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's description of the "noble savage" and the idealization of "primitive peoples" (such as the native Americans and the original inhabitants of the Pacific islands) resulted in simplicity being associated with virtue and the natural landscape being held in greater esteem. The psychic assimilation of experiences in the mountains with religious metaphors ("the beauty and grandeur of creation," "preaches the word of God") transferred these into an enchantment with nature. The idea of exaltation aestheticized terror: mountains now produced feelings of dread but, at the same time, veneration.

Painters as Precursors and Beneficiaries of Tourism: "Landscape Painting Increases the Desire to Travel"¹⁴

In his treatise *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), Edmund Burke draws attention to those properties and qualities which cumulate in the feeling of sublimity: enormity, infinity, light, and also the color black. He saw the terror produced by the sublime as absolutely combined with a sensation of pleasure (once the sources of that terror are identified as mere emulation), resulting in a "delightful horror,"¹⁵ as is the case with art. Hugh Blair, in his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783), described those emotions which ennoble the human spirit and result in sublime feelings: "Not the merry landscape, the meadow of flowers, ... but venerable mountain peaks, the lonely lake, the primeval forest and the waterfall, which plunges over boulders."¹⁶ It took country folk a long time to understand "why a stranger would travel more than a hundred miles just to look at their hideous mountains."¹⁷

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Romanticism propagated the importance of those emotions that landscapes evoked—the more picturesque the landscape, the more stirring the subsequent emotions. Individual pleasure could be obtained from impressive outlooks and

views. These views, however, had to be organized and arranged into individual landscape scenes in order to not overwhelm through their sheer overabundance.¹⁸ Through a continuous change of their "point of view" travelers learned to identify individual scenes: the terrifying ravine, the enchanting valley, the threatening, snow-covered mountain peaks. Painters placed these landscapes in the correct dimension: easily approachable (the valley, the tranquil river) or better admired from a distance (the mountains, the stormy ocean). They populated their pictures with "aborigines," melancholy fishermen, adventurous hunters, and pretty dairymaids—if necessary, attired in saucily torn garments. Alpine lakes, because of their mirroring and color-changing effects, were particularly in demand as components of paintings, whereas they had been regarded simply as utilities into the nineteenth century. It is reported that, in 1804, Chateaubriand described the Riviera as "dreary."¹⁹

Usually, travel reports paved the way for tourism in attractive regions, followed by artists who discovered new panoramas or satisfied the demand for pictures of popular destinations.²⁰

In the 1830s and 1840s, a relatively independent group of artists had come together in the small village of Barbizon in the forests around Fontainebleau in France: the paint-

ers Camille Corot, Charles-François Daubigny, Jules Dupré, Jean-François Millet, Théodore Rousseau, and Gustave Courbet came here for brief or lengthy periods and dedicated themselves to the study of nature and its ever-changing appearance. In the beginning, sketches made in the open-air were regarded as preliminary work for paintings produced later in the studio. With time, however, it became more accepted that a work produced directly in front of the object *en plein air* was more authentic than a studio painting. Admittedly, it was left to the next generation—the Impressionists—to uncompromisingly produce their works directly in natural surroundings.²¹

In the 1830s plans were made to develop the forest of Fontainebleau according to the designs of C.F. Denen-court; in 1839 a topographic guide with five itineraries and recommended viewpoints was published. The railroad line



Charles Jacque, *Shepherdess and Sheep at the Forest Edge*, undated, private collection



Poster for the Melun railway line to Barbizon, color lithograph, Musée Municipal de l'École de Barbizon

As in Europe, painters contributed to the popularity of various regions through their work. The tragedy of the Willey family, who were wiped out by a landslide in the White Mountains of New Hampshire, initiated a kind of “catastrophe tourism” which, however, soon turned the region into a popular vacation destination.²⁶ Similarly, the paintings of Winslow Homer helped popularize the Adirondack Mountains in upstate New York.²⁷ Newport, in Rhode Island, was already starting to develop into a bathing resort for wealthy New Yorkers when Kensett visited it for the first time in 1852 and, as a result, painted many pictures of the town and its surroundings.²⁸ When

between Paris and Lyon was opened in 1849, providing a comfortable and speedy journey from the capital, which in turn led to an enormous increase in the number of tourists. Denencourt's guide was even published in English. On the one hand, the forest's popularity with tourists saved it from logging by profit-seekers, but on the other hand, the idyll which the painters had treasured so much was destroyed, caused to a large extent by the popular depictions they themselves had produced.²²

Around the middle of the nineteenth century, painters and writers often spent their summers on the Normandy coast, where the cost of living was lower than in Paris. In their paintings and articles, these intellectuals—such as Alphonse Karr, Eugène Le Poitevin, Gustave Courbet, Jean Baptiste Isabey, and Eugène Boudin—promoted these relatively undiscovered villages and contributed to their increasing popularity. Claude Monet's famous paintings of Étretat were created at a time when the area was already a well-known, popular seaside resort.²³

When Thomas Cole and, later, John Frederick Kensett, Jasper Cropsey, Frederick Edwin Church, and Sanford Gifford started traveling to the Hudson River valley in the 1820s in search of motifs, several travel guides for the region and the Catskill Mountains were already in circulation; tourism had slowly started to penetrate from New York.²⁴ For these painters, the wilderness had not merely lost its terror: it had become the embodiment of the authentic American, the warrant of divine selection. This notion of the untouched wilderness as “God's own country” became the unifying thought which bound the nation of immigrants together. It was interpreted as a specific characteristic of the still-young nation, a geographic substitute for a scanty history lacking in historical monuments²⁵ and, therefore, as a central concept of the American identity.



Thomas Cole, *A View of the Mountain Pass Called the Notch of the White Mountains (Crawford Notch)*, 1839. Andrew W. Mellon Fund, National Gallery of Art, Washington



*Der Dachstein vom Blassen
bey Hallstatt* (left) *Le Dachstein envoi du Blassen
à Hallstatt* (right)
Seizigahrsche Auszücker des Salzkammerguts und
seiner Umgebungen in Ober - Österreich.
Uns prägnantestes der Domänen des Adl. & der
verschieden en hund - Autriche.

Jakob Alt, *Der Dachstein vom Blassen bey Hallstatt*, “Popular views of the Salzkammergut in Upper Austria” (the artist with his son, Rudolf, and a mountain guide, resting), 1833, lithograph, Albertina, Vienna

Cole, Church, Fitz Hugh Lane, and Alvan Fisher visited Mount Desert Island in Maine, between 1830 and 1860, they discovered an untouched landscape. By 1880, however, there were already paved roads, summer houses, a yacht harbor, and even a railroad to the main viewpoints.²⁹

The scenic beauty of the Salzkammergut and the Hudson River valley were both “discovered” at approximately the same time. The German naturalist Alexander von Humboldt compared the Salzkammergut with Switzerland³⁰ and, on their tours and journeys, painters such as Thomas Ender, Franz Steinfeld, Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller, and Rudolf von Alt portrayed its beauties. The German painter Jakob Alt declared the lake landscape, which he traveled extensively between 1823 and 1825, to be his second spiritual home.³¹ In 1825, Friedrich Gauermann hiked through the Salzkammergut for the first time, where he “spent two days in Aussee making oil sketches, eight days were reserved for Hallstatt where I busily painted by the lake and the Strub forest brook.”³² The image to be painted was depicted from the observer’s point of view, and there were hardly any compositional changes. Baroque schemata were overcome; however, the severity in the treatment of the material still stood in the way of a realistic landscape perception.³³

Emil Jakob Schindler, like the artists of Barbizon, was also fascinated by the idea of the atmospheric, untouched experience of nature. He disapproved of heroic elements and stressed the poetic-narrative aspects of nature—consequently, he christened his artistic concept “poetic realism.”³⁴ For years, during the 1860s and 1870s, he spent his summers in Goisern, along with his family and students, where he was fascinated by the mountainous landscape which provided the basis for his recurring motif, the mill.

Another artist who spent his summers in the countryside was Hans Ranzoni, the longtime president of the Viennese Künstlerhaus. Once, when he was seated behind his easel in the open air, he heard a peasant woman say: “That would be something for my lad. He’s not really healthy, and actually a bit silly, but at least he’d be out of doors!”³⁵

It was only a small step from these contrived landscapes to seeing nature as a backdrop, as pleasant surroundings,

as a piece of decoration (with a window as the frame): “nature [is] like a theater: it presents its plays as best it can and [the person] watches and applauds when nature has satisfied him.”³⁶

Sommerfrische: “As far as nature is concerned, I’m happy with the chives in my soup”³⁷

The phenomenon of *Sommerfrische* is not easily explained: in the Grimm Brothers’ German dictionary it is defined as a recreational period, spent by a city dweller in the country during the summer.³⁸ The *Sommerfrische* could also be an apartment in the country. The verb “to *sommerfrisch*” was an expression that supposedly originated in the southern Tyrol, because the citizens of Bolzano were accustomed to “look for freshness” in order to escape from the hot days of summer in the cooler atmosphere of the surrounding mountains.³⁹ Even in medieval times “the summer heat in the formerly swampy woods of the Adige” forced “the inhabitants to seek out more pleasant locations.”⁴⁰ In his German-

Italian dictionary of 1693, Matthias Kramer translated the Italian word *refrigeria* as cool refreshment in the shade⁴¹ and noted that the population of Merano and Bolzano had derived the German word *Sommerfrische* from the Italian expressions *fresco* and *frescura*.⁴² In his book *Alpenreisen* (Journeys through the Alps) of 1849, Johann Georg Kohl wrote: “The people here [on Lake Garda] call both the period they spend in the country as well as the country house itself *frescura* (freshness).”⁴³ Another opinion concerning the origin of this expression harks back to the time when shepherds would graze their flocks on alpine pastures. At the turn of the last century, the term for this period, in Tyrolean dialect, was still *sommerfrist*.⁴⁴

The common aspect of the various etymological attempts to explain *Sommerfrische* is that it deals with an extended summer sojourn in a rural environment, as opposed to cultural travel undertaken to become acquainted with antiquity and the classical period, with foreign countries and cultures. Cultural travel was not intended as a source of recreation; its goal was rather to see “as many museums and objects of interest as possible, guided



Emil Jakob Schindler, *Sawmill near Goisern*, 1883. Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna



Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller, *View of the Dachstein with Lake Hallstatt from Hüttenekalm*, 1838, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, Vienna



View from the spa building in Semmering, photographed in 1991

more by the standards of Baedeker than one's own interests and feelings.⁴⁵ *Sommerfrische*, on the other hand, provided a possibility for remaining in one place; it offered both the continuity and repetition of the familiar.⁴⁶

The sojourns undertaken by the aristocracy to their country estates during the sowing, growing, and harvesting periods can be seen as precursors of the *Sommerfrische*. They mostly sought proximity to the court only during the winter months. In the period prior to the revolution of 1848, the bourgeoisie typically left the cities in the summer months in order to avoid the annual typhoid and dysentery epidemics and to relax in the surroundings of Vienna—at first on Sundays and holidays, later for longer periods often combined with a stay at a health resort. Women and children profited most from these bourgeois summer arrangements because successful businessmen,

civil servants, and tradesmen saw it as a sign of their consolidated financial situation to send their families to the country and to visit them on the weekends.⁴⁷ The summer trip to the country became popular among the less-well-to-do classes at a later date—their restricted financial circumstances only permitted day excursions.⁴⁸

The poor condition of the transportation network limited the location of these resorts to the immediate vicinity of Vienna. In 1852 Franz Grillparzer reported on a trip to Bad Tatzmannsdorf (about two hours from Vienna by train): “Several unfortunate incidents prolonged my journey. In Ödenburg, Doctor Reinwald awaited me, however, in a condition which appeared to prevent any continuation. He was afflicted with nausea and vomiting and any other person would have been unable to move from the spot. In spite of this, we departed from Ödenburg after the meal—where I was seated alone. The second misfortune occurred when one of his own horses, which was waiting for us as a relay about half way to Güns, became lame from inactivity. In spite of this, we traveled on with the lame horse and arrived in Güns on Wednesday evening. On the next day, the horse could not move and I had to spend the entire day in Güns (I believe one calls it *ennui*). Finally, we left the place at 4 a.m. and arrived here at around 11 a.m.”⁴⁹

The extension of the railroad network in the 1860s and 1870s permitted those seeking recreation to venture deep into the Salzkammergut, the Semmering and Rax mountain areas, as well as reach the Carinthian lakes.⁵⁰ In Germany, the bathing resorts on the Baltic and North Seas experienced a boom through summer visitors and, in the United States, the coastal towns of New England were discovered as places to spend a summer vacation. In his drama *Das weite Land*, Arthur Schnitzler outlines this development in a scene in which the hotel porter responds to a guest complaining about the tiring journey: “In three years, at the latest, we will have a railroad here, Herr von Kreindl. The Director of our hotel is leaving for Vienna shortly to discuss this matter with the Minister.”⁵¹

The introduction of statutory holiday privileges for the working population also contributed to the increased numbers enjoying the *Sommerfrische*: this vacation right was granted to commercial workers in 1910, followed in 1914 by government employees.⁵² In winter, visits were made to the springlike Riviera or Lake Garda; in the spring, to Italy or France; and in early summer possibly a few weeks by the sea. The *Sommerfrische* was a time to recuperate from these journeys and to spend an extended period of time in one place—and that at a time of ever-increasing mobility.⁵³

For the masses, the choice of a particular place to enjoy the *Sommerfrische* depended less on health or educational considerations and more on the regular visits of crowned heads of state: "Among the reasons for choosing a specific vacation resort, health reasons—if they played any role at all—were given, by and large, low priority."⁵⁴ Ischl profited particularly from the "supreme" predilection of Franz Joseph I, and it was noted that "the Emperor also took the waters and he had a truly robust constitution."⁵⁵ Archduke Karl made Reichenau a center of attraction; Napoleon III, Biarritz; and Queen Victoria, the Isle of Wight. Less elegant summer spas with simpler accoutrements sprung up in the vicinity of these noble resorts. Due to their lower prices they were frequented by the middle class (minor civil servants and master tradesmen).⁵⁶

Summer visitors took the city along with them into the countryside and accelerated the transfer of the Viennese way of life into the originally rural regions. Nature, in its cultivated and domesticated form was preferred, within a social framework and a well-developed infrastructure—in contrast to the mountaineers who sought out untouched summits.⁵⁷ Taken to an extreme, some people on their *Sommerfrische* expected to find good restaurants, interesting company, and coffeehouses stocking all the most important newspapers—"and we just have to put up with a bit of fresh air."⁵⁸

At the end of the nineteenth century, just as at the beginning, the *Sommerfrische* period involved an extended sojourn with family and the majority of the domestic staff in one's own villa or other accommodation, rented for the summer months. The "season" in the city—with its social and cultural activities such as the opera and theater, concerts and balls—lasted from late autumn until spring; June to September was spent in the countryside. Rosa Albach-Retty described setting out for the *Sommerfrische* period: "Every year, in the last week in June, holiday fever broke out. Then Anna, together with the cook and the parlor maid, retrieved the large trunks and baskets from the attic, packed part of our china service, silver cutlery, glasses and dishes, as well as my husband's hunting rifle, and made sure that everything was delivered in time to the West Train Station. This was to be certain that when we arrived punctually on July 2 in St. Gilgen everything was ready to be unpacked. In those days we traveled for

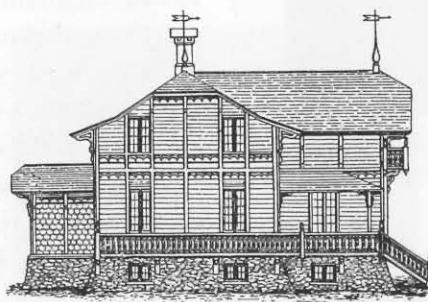
the *Sommerfrische* period with the whole kit and caboodle and, of course, with the domestic servants. This was called 'menagieren.'"⁵⁹ Certain customs formed an integral part of the institution of the *Sommerfrische*; among them, the arrival telegram... The telegram informed the *paterfamilias*, who had remained behind in the city, of the happy completion of the journey and always began with the words 'Arrived safe and sound.' Telegrams in those days still conjured up a sense of excitement. Whether announcing a

celebration or catastrophe; the text was kept short and, if necessary, the standard phrase 'letter follows' announced a later dispatch of additional, more precise information. (One famous example of such a case —'Worry! Letter follows.') Telegrams were never sent for everyday occurrences; they were reserved for special events. The safe arrival at the destination *Sommerfrische* period was just one such an event."⁶⁰

During the week, the head of the family attended to his affairs in the city and only visited on the weekends. This routine led to the Monday morning train to Vienna from Reichenau am Semmering (also a very popular *Sommerfrische* destination for Viennese society) being christened the "Busserlzug" ("kiss train") because so many fathers were kissed farewell by their families on the platform. They would then see each other again on the following Friday.⁶¹

Rental accommodations usually consisted of rooms, or entire floors, in guesthouses, hotels, or farms. Hugo von Hofmannsthal described one such type of frugal accommodation: "It is a tiny farmhouse, the so-called dining room is such that the children can never eat with us at table. They eat by themselves, outside in summer and, when it rains, in the roomy, farmhouse kitchen. When it rains, and recently it poured, there is no possibility for a guest to retire, there is only one minuscule bedroom, a so-called study is located in another outlying farmhouse."⁶²

The ever-increasing demand for accommodation led to a lively construction boom: the new summer villas were mostly patterned on the "Swiss Chalet,"⁶³ a style which, after the 1850s, overran all the newly discovered rural recreational areas. The "Swiss Style" was widely variable in its basic architectonic concept—the term merely indicated a completely arbitrary reception of the most varied decorative elements and their application in all wooden (or wood-like) components, which were greatly facilitated



Swiss-style country house, side elevation, in Andrew Jackson Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (New York, 1850)



Villa Kreuzberg, Breitenstein



The Teiber family on an excursion from Thalhof to Lackerboden, 1905, plate photograph, photo: Heinrich Teiber jr.



Landhaus Khuner, Payerbach near Vienna, photographed in 1930

by mechanical reproduction. A building counted as “rural” and in harmony with the non-urban environment if the gables, rafters, shutters, balconies, and verandas bore ornamental woodwork fashioned with a fretsaw.⁶⁴ These summer residences picked up the thread of the English country house tradition and attempted to satisfy the demands for comfort, coziness, reserved seclusion, and calm at the same time as capturing the panorama through look-outs, verandas, and oriels. In his book *The Architecture of Country Houses*, published in New York in 1850, Andrew Jackson Downing wrote: “The appropriate place for a country house in the Swiss style is in an audacious, mountainous environment, on the slopes, or at the foot, of a wooded hill or in a wild, picturesque valley. In such an environment, this form of architecture assumes sense and relevancy and appeals to all, whereas, on the plains,

surrounded by green meadows it would appear affected and ridiculous.”⁶⁵ The houses should “at any case, be appropriate to knickerbockers.”⁶⁶ The surrounding mountains became a kind of theatrical backdrop and provided those relaxing on the verandas and balconies with a harmonious panorama. Seen from this perspective, nature was no longer exalted and threatening, as in classical romantic aesthetics, but peaceful—an assemblage of pretty knickknacks.⁶⁷

On the other hand, Adolf Loos, who designed the Villa Khuner on the Semmering in 1930, wanted not to imitate and falsify this “country style” but to integrate technical improvements (such as central heating, permitting larger windows) into the existing traditions. “The Viennese attorney who talks to the farmers in a yokel dialect should be wiped out.... Do not build quaintly. Leave that to the country folk, the mountains and the sun. The person who dresses cutely is not cute but a tomfool. The farmer does not dress picturesquely—he is picturesque.”⁶⁸ For these reasons, “the childish attempt of our architects over the past forty years, to accommodate nature by using steep roofs, alcoves and other rustic ‘yodeling’ has flopped ignominiously.”⁶⁹ Loos was concerned with sincerity in his

relationship to nature and the landscape: "Urbanites must once again find a connection with nature. Not as day-trippers or summer guests, because that leads to the most gruesome product of our time: the Bad Ischl dirndl."⁷⁰

The standards for observing nature were set down and popularized in the nineteenth century; poets minted expressions such as "wildly romantic" and "wonderfully mellow"; one was expected to exclaim "magnificent!" from the right vantage point and not to talk loudly on lonely forest paths but to relish the silence.⁷¹ "Nature" had been discovered.... One felt indebted to this discovery, which consisted of nothing more than the fact that one word which had previously meant 'composition or condition' (our forefathers understood it as such) was now invested with a vague—even aesthetic—content: which any decent person has to evaluate as positive. This is exhibited and even regulated—in rural regions, people tap each other on the shoulder to draw the other's attention to the beauties of nature. If somebody said that this spinach-green sublimity, up hill and down dale, gave him a nauseating feel, he would be regarded as wicked."⁷²

Usually, the enjoyment of nature during the *Sommerfrische* was restricted to observing it from the comfort of the balconies and terraces. Walks and hikes in the mountains were undertaken, but no one ever left the marked paths, with their benches for taking a rest and admiring the picturesque views. Solitude in the out-of-doors could inspire artistic activity: "In short, I cannot hold back, I must go to the country! I have to write twenty plays!"⁷³ Alma Mahler described how this was in the case of Gustav Mahler: "Mahler's pattern of life never changed in the entire six years. In summer, he got up every day between six and half past six. As soon as he awoke he rang for the cook, who immediately prepared breakfast and carried it up the slick, steep path to his study house. This was located in the middle of a wood about sixty meters above the villa; the cook was not allowed to use the regular path because he could not bear to see her—or anyone else—before starting work, and so she had to climb up the slippery gravel path every morning carrying all the dishes."⁷⁴

The physical exercise that resulted from a mountain ascent could also provide a change from the everyday existence behind a desk or in front of the easel. In August 1889, Arthur Schnitzler wrote to a lady friend: "Two lines, my sweetest, from these sacred heights—I am writing these



Fashionable ladies' boot for mountain hikes, 1873,
Deutsches Schuh- und Ledermuseum, Offenbach

lines from the Hüttenekalm—countless meters above sea level (at least, I have never counted them) —in my holy solitude—snow vis-à-vis (but far away). This is already my second summit today because, exactly two hours ago, I was on the Predigerstuhl."⁷⁵ The different perception of nature—on the one hand, a provider of views for the guests and, on the other hand, the basis for the farmers' livelihood—was not always overlooked; Peter Altenberg once asked to whom the beauty of the Alps belonged: "the hillbilly who cultivates it or me, who experiences it?"⁷⁶

This meditation on the relationship between the local inhabitants and tourists could also lead to pronounced criticism of the subservient variety of tourism, as described by Karl Kraus (himself, a passionate *Sommerfrischler*): "The Austrian countenance, so often conjured up by our feature writers, is actually the visage of a sweating hotelier, busying himself everywhere, incessantly genuflecting in front of empty tables and always trying to liven up the place by reorganizing the bread-rolls.... The children should be trained to compensate for the surliness of bad inn habits, trains which arrive late or in a swinish condition, expensive automobiles, and wretched telephone calls through their very own intrusiveness. Because the Alps are ours. The Swiss also have a domain and have developed into a united people of hoteliers.... No other country worries so much about tourism as Austria, the others wait patiently and without fuss to see what the summer will bring. In England, Germany, and France everyone thinks that it is more important to take care of the locals than strangers, because these tourists will come of their own accord when the locals are taken care of."⁷⁷

The cultural activities consisted mainly of spa concerts and theater productions, and the performers really had to make an effort to satisfy their demanding guests. Singers and actors who were on their *Sommerfrische* themselves performed on these occasions, among them the famous actor Alexander Girardi. His wife reported from a journey to Holland: "If Girardi had had his way, he would have walked barefoot back to Ischl immediately after our arrival in Scheveningen."⁷⁸ In 1893, the premiere of the one-act play *Farewell Supper*, from Schnitzler's "Anatol" cycle, took place in the theater in Bad Ischl.

Taking part in cultural activities was considered a sign of refinement; one was seen in public enjoying more demanding entertainment. Even though people were busy

cultivating their social contacts, nobody was forced to communicate—contacts with others served mainly to increase one's own social prestige. For this reason, many *Sommerfrische* regions and spas published a weekly guest list with information on the names and accommodations of the new arrivals. In summer 1891, Hugo von Hofmannsthal expressed his dissatisfaction with the other guests in Bad Fusch: "I really find it a pity that I have so many new ties with me, there is nobody here to appreciate them. The lady who sits next to me at dinner is a dried out canoness from Saxony, her chambermaid, however, is called Selma. And then there's this old Polish Lieutenant Marshall, a terribly conventional figure, he sits around blustering ... glutinous, tells yarns, took part in a campaign ... disgusting.... And, as some sort of compensation, the daughters of a soap boiler from Graz sit opposite me; absolutely blond, absolutely clean."⁷⁹ The summer guests avoided all-too-close contacts with the local population; these contacts were restricted principally to "greetings when (they) met during a walk and the promise to help if anyone needed a position in the city; the children from the city, however, played with the farmers' children."⁸⁰

The clothing—particularly that of the men—showed a strong propensity for local, traditional influences. They wore loden jackets and leather trousers—and the Emperor, when he was in Ischl, only sported hunting gear. This masquerading in local costumes also led to ridicule: "On the banks [of the Attersee] live people with loden jackets and naked knees, and, if they would stay silent, you would never know that they came from Berlin."⁸¹ The ladies usually chose less cumbersome materials than in the city; the designs, however, were just as uncomfortable: a parasol protected them from the dreaded tan, long excursions into the mountains were undertaken in long skirts, corsets, booties, and thin stockings. In 1891, Viscountess Harburton founded the English "Rational Dress Society," organized to adapt female clothing to the more practical male equivalent for sporting activities such as cycling, swimming, tennis, and mountaineering. A few years later, it was possible to wear culottes; the corset, however, was still *de rigueur*.⁸² An exception to these strict constraints was offered by the "reform dresses," designed by Emilie Flöge for her salon and very popular in intellectual circles. They hung down from the shoulders like loose



The Emperor Franz Joseph I leaving the Imperial Villa in Bad Ischl, 1905

sacks, without corsets, and offered room for deep breathing, independent thinking, and movement (see p. 26).

"The Salzkammergut is an ideal landscape conceived by the Creator for his own pleasure"⁸³

The historical area of the Salzkammergut consists of the Styrian Aussee region and the Upper-Austrian Traun valley from Hallstatt over Ischl to Ebensee. Today the area around Traunsee, Mondsee, and Wolfgangsee are also included. For centuries, the Salzkammergut enjoyed privileges in connection with salt extraction and trade

and was administered directly by the Imperial Chambers in Vienna. In the middle of the nineteenth century these privileges slowly diminished—the salt, however, remained a major industrial factor as well as being used as brine for medicinal bath purposes.

The interest in spas and climatic resorts had increased since the Age of Enlightenment, when much emphasis was placed on hygiene and health services. After the middle of the eighteenth century numerous treatises were published on the benefits of mineral spas and, at the same time, the first seaside resorts were established in England. Both bathing and drinking sea water were recommended, although bathing meant splashing around more than actually swimming. The main season for this was originally winter.⁸⁴ Those who were not able to travel to the sea still did not have to forego its healing properties—the saline bath produced the same results. In 1803 the first saline bath establishment was opened near Magdeburg.⁸⁵

The saline doctors of the Salzkammergut had recognized the alleviating properties of the medicinal brine bath, but it was only when the Viennese doctor Franz de Paula Wirer sent the first spa guests to Ischl that it, along with Gmunden and Aussee, became recognized as health resorts,⁸⁶ slowly integrating the surrounding communities into the sphere of the summer guests.

Dr. Wirer's connections to the court in Vienna led to more and more members of the aristocracy and upper class being included in the guest lists of the various resorts. When the Archduke Franz Karl and his wife Sophie, who until that time had remained childless, took the waters in Ischl, the little town became famous due to the births of the "salt princes" Franz Joseph, Ferdinand Maximilian,

and Karl Ludwig. Franz Joseph I returned every year with his parents and later with his wife Elisabeth, and spent, as Emperor, sixty summers in Ischl. He had been given a villa there as a wedding present and transformed it into a summer residence. In the summer of 1914—the last which the Emperor spent in Ischl—he signed the ultimatum to Serbia on July 23 and on July 28 the manifesto "To My Peoples," which marked the beginning of World War I.

There was no end to the flow of summer guests—poets, composers, actors, and singers came to the resorts, among them Nikolaus Lenau, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Johannes Brahms, Anton Bruckner, Johann Strauss, Arnold Schönberg, Maria Jeritza, Leo Slezak, Olga Wisinger-Florian, Carl Moll, and Adalbert Stifter. Peter Altenberg spent a total of twenty-three summers in Gmunden, his "home village of the soul."⁸⁷ Sigmund Freud spent many summers in the Aussee region and reported, in his *Traumdeutung* (Interpretation of Dreams) of 1900, of two wish-fulfillment dreams with a connection to Hallstatt and Aussee. His small daughter had a dream about Aussee: "Just as sincere is another dream which the scenic beauties of Aussee aroused in my young daughter who was only three and a quarter years old at the time. She had traveled across the lake for the first time and the passage went by too quickly for her. She did not want to leave the boat at the landing stage and wept bitterly. On the following morning she told me: Last night I was on the lake again. Let us hope that she was more happy with the duration of that journey."⁸⁸

"The Attersee is the Lake of Heaven"⁸⁹

In 1897, Gustav Klimt spent his first extended summer country holiday with the Flöge family, in Fieberbrunn in Tyrol. The summer of 1898 was spent in St. Agatha near Bad Goisern and, in 1899, the Flöge family and Klimt visited Golling, where a picturesque waterfall attracted many visitors and a spa offered relief for those suffering from gout.⁹⁰ Gustav's brother Ernst had been married to Helene Flöge and, after Ernst's early death, Gustav became the guardian of their small daughter Helene. Klimt had a close relationship with his sister-in-law's sister Emilie Flöge. This intimate connection to the entire family led to the *Sommerfrische* period being spent together in the Salzkammergut.

Starting in 1900, the Flögés and Klimt were permanent summer guests at Attersee. They stayed in the guest wing of the brewery in Litzlberg near Seewalchen until 1907 and,

from 1908 to 1912, resided in the Villa Oleander in Kammerl near Kammer on Attersee. In 1913 they spent the summer on Lake Garda with only a few days on Attersee visiting Emilie's brother Hermann in the Villa Paulick in Seewalchen. From 1914 to 1916, the Flögés returned to Attersee, living in the Villa Brauner in Weissenbach; Klimt, however, took lodgings in a secluded forester's house (plates 48, 49).⁹¹

Usually, Emilie traveled ahead with the family, while Klimt continued to work in Vienna and followed later. He often sent postcards to Attersee detailing his impending arrival or the situation in Vienna: "I have already packed quite a lot—it just has to be put in the crates" (July 9, 1907);⁹² "We will seek out some walk.... Just imagine, the first time on Litzlberg and being able to enjoy it alone." (July 8, 1908).⁹³ In 1910 his work on the frieze for the Palais Stoclet in Brussels forced him to remain longer than usual in Vienna: "Looking at this stupid work for Brussels, I should stay here the whole summer" (July 26, 1910).⁹⁴ "I will just leave on Friday—and will try to take care of this 'dirty work' for Brussels while in the country" (July 27, 1910).⁹⁵ "Unfortunately, I will have to busy myself in the country with Stoclet, which really peeves me" (July 28, 1910).⁹⁶ Some less serious greetings from this summer have also been preserved: "I have just read that two waiters drowned near Attersee—watch out! Anybody who tells jokes in the boat should be hit on the head with an oar!" (July 24, 1910).⁹⁷ When he inspected the completed *Stoclet Frieze* four years later, the working summer at

Emilie Flöge in a "reform dress" in the garden at Villa Oleander in Kammerl am Attersee, c. 1910, Lumière auto-chrome plate by Friedrich Walker





Taking a break with friends on Gahberg near Weyregg am Attersee (in the foreground: Emilie Flöge and Helene Klimt), 1908

Attersee was a romantic memory; the draft for the frieze had been stretched out on a wall of the summer house, and Emilie had occasionally helped him with the work.⁹⁸ In a letter, Klimt described his daily schedule as follows:

You want to know about my timetable—how I divide my day—well, it is very simple and quite routine. I get up early in the morning, usually around 6 a.m., sometimes earlier sometimes later. If I get up and the weather is fine I go into the nearby forest. I am painting a small beech grove, mixed with a few conifers. This takes until about 8 a.m. Then there's breakfast and after that a swim in the lake—I'm careful about it though. Then I paint for a while: if there's sunshine, a picture of the lake; if it's overcast, I work on a landscape through the window of my room. Sometimes I neglect this morning painting and, instead, study my Japanese books—outdoors. Then it's noon, after lunch I take a short nap or read—until the afternoon snack. Before, or after, the snack a second swim in the lake, not always, but usually. After the snack, back to painting. This time a

large poplar with a storm welling up. Sometimes, instead of this evening painting session, I go bowling in a neighboring village; not very often though. Then twilight falls, supper, then early to bed and early to rise the next morning. Sometimes I interrupt this routine to do a little rowing to tone up my muscles a bit. This is the way my days go by, so far two weeks have passed and the shorter half of the holiday is already over. Then one is glad to return to Vienna.... The weather here is very unpredictable—really not hot and often interrupted by rain—I am prepared for all eventualities with my work—and that is really very pleasant."⁹⁹

Klimt was an enthusiastic swimmer and rower,¹⁰⁰ and he sought relaxation on extended walks. "I am doing a lot of walking in the open air."¹⁰¹ Sweet idleness was also intended to bring the desired relaxation: "During the first few days here I didn't start to work immediately, as I had planned, I let a few days just drift by."¹⁰² "Today I must seriously think about beginning to work—I'm really looking forward to it because just doing nothing becomes boring after a while, even though when I do nothing I still think fiercely, thinking day and night, artistic and non-artistic thoughts, the genuine, complete relaxation which would really do me so much good—that just doesn't exist."¹⁰³

The locals called Klimt "Waldschrat" (Forest Demon) because he was usually on his way, alone in the forest, loaded down with his painting utensils.¹⁰⁴ If he were disturbed while painting he was not very amenable, as can be taken from this report by a vacationer: "It was around the turn of the century. We were at our favorite *Sommerfrische* on Attersee, a small, quiet village between Attersee and Litzlberg.... Once there was a period of bad weather, with cold, inclement weather and rain. In spite of that, we went walking, usually along almost deserted roads. In Litzlberg—the village lies across the lake from Kammer—we saw a man in a large meadow in front of an easel, in spite of the drizzle and cold, painting an apple tree, with photographic accuracy. We went closer, the grownups said a few friendly words but the genius remained cantankerously silent. It was surprising that somebody chose such simple motifs, at a time when others looked for particularly impressive scenes of the area.... It was only later that we discovered that the unknown painter was Gustav Klimt."¹⁰⁵

Klimt brought work with him from Vienna (such as the already mentioned draft for the *Stoclet Frieze*) or created

new ones on the spot. He chose the scenes using a viewfinder as he described in a letter to Mizzi Zimmermann: "With a viewfinder, that is a hole cut into a piece of cardboard, I looked for motifs for landscapes I wanted to paint and found many or—if you prefer—few."¹⁰⁶ Sometimes he completed these paintings in his studio in Vienna, sometimes during the *Sommerfrische*, as can be seen in letters sent to Vienna: "I have five paintings in progress here, a sixth canvas is still blank, maybe I will bring this one home in the same condition. I think I will be able to finish the other five. One lake painting, a bull in a stable, a swamp, a large poplar and, in addition, some young birches; those are the motifs of the paintings. My appetite for work has, unfortunately, diminished radically with the progress on the pictures."¹⁰⁷

The weather had an influence not only on the progress of work but also on Klimt's temper: "Today, a fine day at last—apart from this today, rain, rain and more rain. It's exasperating. My holiday is almost over and I haven't been able to do anything outdoors to speak of—the last fourteen days are now upon me—and I am really annoyed that I will bring so few completed works with me.... If only the good weather would hold, that would immediately improve my spirits, but it almost looks like it's going to get bad again. It can just go to hell; on overcast days I am definitely in the worst mood."¹⁰⁸

The two World Wars brought about the demise of the classical Austrian *Sommerfrische*. The summer guests were either impoverished or in exile. Short breaks, long distance travel, and mass tourism led to present-day guests having a sentimental picture of the *Sommerfrische* as if in an operetta, nostalgically located in the fin-de-siècle—the Salzkammergut as "an empty image turned into a cliché."¹⁰⁹

¹ Therese Nickl and Heinrich Schnitzler, eds., *Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Arthur Schnitzler: Briefwechsel* (Frankfurt am Main, 1964), 241.

² Joachim Ritter, *Landschaft: Zur Funktion des Ästhetischen in der modernen Gesellschaft* (Münster, 1963), 13.

³ Ibid.; cf. Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York, 1995), 10.

⁴ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*, 1774, 1. Buch, 10. Mai, ed. Hans Christoph Buch (Berlin, 1982), 47. Translation from *The Harvard Classics Shelf of Fiction*, 1917.

⁵ Ritter, *Landschaft*, 18.

⁶ *Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*, ed. Frederick A. Pottle and Charles H. Bennett (New York, 1936), 331.

- 7 Joseph D. Ketner and Michael Tammenga, eds., *The Beautiful, the Sublime and the Picturesque: British Influences on American Landscape Painting* (St. Louis, Mo., 1984), 13.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Peter Peer, "Die Schule von Barbizon und die österreichische Landschaftsmalerei," in *Unter freiem Himmel: Die Schule von Barbizon und ihre Wirkung auf die österreichische Landschaftsmalerei*, ed. Christa Steinle and Gudrun Danzer (Graz, 2000), 55.
- 10 Cf. Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750 to 1915* (New York, 1997), 38f.
- 11 Hanns Haas, "Die Eroberung der Berge," in *Weltbühne und Naturkulisse: Zwei Jahrhunderte Salzburg-Tourismus*, ed. Hanns Haas, Robert Hoffmann, and Kurt Luger (Salzburg, 1994), 29f.
- 12 Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld, cited from Ritter, *Landschaft*, 18.
- 13 Travel account by Ch. Aeby, dated 1851, cited from *Berner Oberland* as reprinted in *Merian* 15, no. 7 (1962): 74f.
- 14 Alexander von Humboldt, *Kosmos: Die physikalische Beschreibung des Universums* (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1845–62), 7:191.
- 15 Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. J. T. Boulton (London, 1958), 134.
- 16 Cited from Ketner and Tammenga, *The Beautiful*, 24.
- 17 Eugen Guido Lammer, *Jungborn: Bergfahrten und Höhengedanken eines einsamen Pfadsuchers* (Munich, 1923), 47.
- 18 Haas, "Eroberung," 34.
- 19 Cf. Wolfgang Kos and Elke Krasny, eds., *Schreibtisch mit Aussicht: Österreichische Schriftsteller auf Sommerfrische* (Vienna, 1995), 141. After day trips it became fashionable, around 1870, to live directly on the lakefront.
- 20 Cf. Peer, "Barbizon," 58. See also Ketner and Tammenga, *The Beautiful*, 22.
- 21 Peer, "Barbizon," 60.
- 22 Cf. Christoph Heilmann, "Barbizon—Wege zur Natur," in *Corot, Courbet und die Maler von Barbizon*, ed. Christoph Heilmann, Michael Clarke, and John Sillevs (Munich, 1996), 10.
- 23 Robert L. Herbert, *Monet on the Normandy Coast: Tourism and Painting* (New Haven, 1994), 6.
- 24 Cf. Kevin J. Avery, "Selling the Sublime and the Beautiful: New York Landscape Painting and Tourism," in *Art and the Empire City: New York 1825–1861*, ed. Catherine Hoover Voorsanger and John K. Howat (New York, 2000), 11ff.
- 25 Cf. Stephan Koja, "Introduction," in *America: The New World in 19th-Century Painting*, ed. Stephan Koja (Munich/London/New York, 1999), 10.
- 26 Cf. Eric Purchase, *Out of Nowhere: Disaster and Tourism in the White Mountains* (Baltimore, 1999), 69ff.
- 27 Francis Murphy, *The Book of Nature: American Painters and the Natural Sublime* (New York, 1983), 41.
- 28 Avery, "Sublime," 119.
- 29 John Wilmerding, *The Artist's Mount Desert: American Painters on the Maine Coast* (Princeton, 1994), 16f. Occasionally, painters and photographers made an area popular, even earlier than travel reports. For example, in 1871, the artist Thomas Moran, accompanied an expedition into the then almost unknown Yellowstone region in Wyoming. His paintings, which familiarized a wide audience with the spectacular scenery and attracted tourists, were, in addition to the photographs of William Henry Jackson, exceedingly important for the government's decision to declare the area the first national park in 1872. Cf. Robert Hughes, *American Visions: The Epic History of Art in America* (New York, 1997), 198f.
- 30 Cited from Edwin Zellweker, *Bad Ischl: Werden-Wesen-Wandlung* (Vienna, 1951), 56.
- 31 Uwe Schögl, "Entzückend, das Salzkammergut," in *Kunst im Salzkammergut II*, ed. Künstlergilde Salzkammergut (Vienna, 1998), 17.
- 32 Cited from Ulrike Jenni, *Friedrich Gauermann 1807–1862* (Vienna, 1987), 41.
- 33 Peer, "Barbizon," 60.
- 34 Cf. ibid., 72f.
- 35 Gottfried Heindl, *Das Salzkammergut und seine Gäste: Die Geschichte einer Sommerfrische* (Vienna, 1993), 133.
- 36 Otto Friedländer, *Der letzte Glanz der Märchenstadt* (Vienna and Munich, 1969), 232.
- 37 Rudi Thomas, cited from Friedrich Torberg, *Die Tante Jolesch oder der Untergang des Abendlandes in Anekdoten* (Munich, 1975), 83.

- 38 Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1905), 16:1526f.
- 39 Angelika Pozderna-Tomberger, "Die historische Entwicklung des Fremdenverkehrs im allgemeinen und die Entwicklung einzelner Fremdenverkehrsorte im ehemaligen österreichischen Küstenland," in *Sommerfrische: Aspekte eines Phänomens*, ed. Willibald Rosner (Studien und Forschungen aus dem Niederösterreichischen Institut für Landeskunde, Bd. 20) (Vienna, 1994), 42.
- 40 Otto Stoltz, "Das Wort 'Sommerfrische,'" in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* 86, vol. 159 (N.p., 1931), 176f. In addition, Stoltz was of the opinion that the old name Oberbozen indicated that this area previously had a connection to the city and that there were summer settlements there. Ferdinand Raimund supposedly made this known in Vienna when he found Bolzano (or Bozen) half-deserted due to the heat and went up to Oberbozen, where he dubbed the colony of quaint country houses "Sommerfrische."
- 41 Matthias Kramer, *Neu ausgefertigtes herrlich-grosses und allgemeines italiänisch-deutsches Sprach- und Wörterbuch* (Nuremberg, 1693), 938.
- 42 Ibid., 438.
- 43 Johann Georg Kohl, *Alpenreisen, 3 Theile* (Dresden-Leipzig, 1849–51), part 2, 219.
- 44 Elard Hugo Meyer, *Deutsche Volkskunde* (Strasbourg, 1898), 146.
- 45 Hanns Haas, "Die Sommerfrische—Ort der Bürgerlichkeit," in *Durch Arbeit, Besitz, Wissen und Gerechtigkeit: Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie II*, ed. Hannes Stekl et al. (Vienna, 1992), 364.
- 46 Kos and Krasny, *Schreibtisch*, 9.
- 47 Brigitte Rigele, "Mit der Stadt aufs Land: Die Anfänge der Sommerfrische in den Wiener Vororten," in *Wiener Geschichtsbücher Beiheft 2* (Vienna, 1994), 5. Cf. Peter Cséndes, "Erwachen heitere Empfindungen bei der Ankunft auf dem Lande, Landpartie und Tourismus im Biedermeier," in *Bürgersinn und Aufbegehren: Biedermeier und Vormärz in Wien 1815–1848*, cat., 109th Special Exhibition of the Historical Museum of the City of Vienna (Vienna, 1987), 471.
- 48 Sonja Herzog, *Bürgerliche Freizeit: Eine Analyse autobiographischer Texte*, thesis. (Vienna, 1998), 41.
- 49 Letter to Katharina Fröhlich, dated July 16, 1852; cited from Kos and Krasny, *Schreibtisch*, 24.
- 50 Pozderna-Tomberger, "Entwicklung des Fremdenverkehrs," 42.
- 51 Arthur Schnitzler, "Das weite Land" (1910), act 3. In *Meisterdramen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1955), 339.
- 52 Ernst Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs* (Vienna, 1985), 396f.
- 53 Kos and Krasny, *Schreibtisch*, 15.
- 54 Torberg, *Tante Jolesch*, 22f.
- 55 Peter Müller, *Die Ringstrassengesellschaft* (Vienna, 1984), 56.
- 56 Pozderna-Tomberger, "Entwicklung des Fremdenverkehrs," 39.
- 57 Kos and Krasny, *Schreibtisch*, 12.
- 58 Torberg, *Tante Jolesch*, 84.
- 59 Rosa Albach-Retty, cited from Heindl, *Salzkammergut*, 11f.
- 60 Torberg, *Tante Jolesch*, 83.
- 61 Hans Högl, "Aspekte des Urlaubs am Bauernhof und die Sommerfrische," in Rosner, *Sommerfrische*, 81.
- 62 Hugo von Hofmannsthal to Alfred von Nostiz, cited from Heindl, *Salzkammergut*, 14.
- 63 Cf. Andrew Jackson Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (New York, 1850), 123. The "Swiss Style" was very popular in Anglo-Saxon countries because it was believed that this method of construction united purpose, material, climate, and national character. See also Mario Schwarz, "Die Architektur der Sommerfrische: Heimatliche Aspekte eines internationalen Stilphänomens," in *Architektur der Sommerfrische*, ed. Eva Pusch and Mario Schwarz (St. Pölten, 1995), 77.
- 64 Monika Oberhammer, *Sommervillen im Salzkammergut: Die spezifische Sommerfrischearchitektur des Salzkammerguts* (Salzburg, 1983), 32.
- 65 Downing, *Country Houses*, 124.
- 66 Emanuel von Seidl, *Mein Landhaus* (Darmstadt, 1910), 47.
- 67 Wolfgang Kos, "Das Malerische und das Touristische: Über die Bildwürdigkeit von Motiven—Landschaftsmoden im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Faszination Landschaft: Österreichische Landschaftsmaler auf Reisen*, exh. cat. (Salzburg, 1995), 19.
- 68 Adolf Loos, "Regeln für den, der in den Bergen baut, Jahrbuch der Schwarzwald'schen Schulanstalten," in *Trotzdem 1900–1930*, ed. Adolf Opel (Vienna 1982), 120.
- 69 Adolf Loos, "Heimatkunst," text of a lecture given November 20, 1912, in the Akademischen Architektenverein Wien; in *Trotzdem 1900–1930*, 127.
- 70 Adolf Loos, "Stadt und Land," *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, October 12, 1918.
- 71 Cf. Kos and Krasny, *Schreibtisch*, 73.
- 72 Heimito von Doderer, *Die Strudlhofstiege oder Melzer und die Tiefe der Jahre* (Munich, 1951), 228.
- 73 Moritz Gottlieb Saphir, *Humoristische Schriften in zwei Bänden*, vol. 1 (Berlin, n.d.), 178.
- 74 Alma Mahler-Werfel—Gustav Mahler. *Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler. Briefe an Alma Mahler*, ed. Donald Mitchell, (Frankfurt am Main, 1971), 71.
- 75 Arthur Schnitzler, *Briefe 1875–1912*, ed. Therese Nickl and Heinrich Schnitzler (Frankfurt am Main, 1981), 48.
- 76 Kos and Krasny, *Schreibtisch*, 183.
- 77 Karl Kraus, "Pflegen den Fremdenverkehr," *Die Fackel*, April 1, 1913.
- 78 Cited from Zellweker, *Bad Ischl*, 139.
- 79 Letter to Richard Beer-Hofmann, dated July 9, 1891, cited from Kos and Krasny, *Schreibtisch*, 176.
- 80 Cf. Kos and Krasny, *Schreibtisch*, 183.
- 81 Daniel Spitzer, cited from Heindl, *Salzkammergut*, 128.
- 82 Kate Mulvey and Melissa Richards, *Decades of Beauty: The Changing Image of Women: 1890s–1990s* (London, 1998), 24.
- 83 Franz Lipp, cited from Heindl, *Salzkammergut*, 139.
- 84 John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure Travel in Contemporary Society* (London 1990), 17.
- 85 Oberhammer, *Sommervillen*, 11.
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 Peter Altenberg, *Mein Lebensabend* (Berlin, 1919), 237.
- 88 Sigmund Freud, *Die Traumdeutung* (Leipzig and Vienna, 1900), cited from the Frankfurt am Main edition, 1982, 114.
- 89 Franz Karl Ginzkey, cited from Heindl, *Salzkammergut*, 141.
- 90 Cf. Christian Nebehay, *Gustav Klimt Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1969), 494.
- 91 Cf. ibid., 440.
- 92 Flöge Estate, Cat. A, no. 76, cited from Wolfgang Georg Fischer, *Gustav Klimt und Emilie Flöge: Genie und Talent, Freundschaft und Besessenheit* (Vienna, 1987), 162.
- 93 Ibid., no. 102.
- 94 Ibid., no. 258.
- 95 Ibid., no. 260.
- 96 Ibid., no. 265.
- 97 Ibid., no. 252.
- 98 Cf. Fischer, *Klimt und Flöge*, 163.
- 99 Letter to Marie Zimmermann dated August 1903, cited from Christian M. Nebehay, "Gustav Klimt schreibt an eine Liebe," in *Klimt-Studien: Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie Belvedere 22/23*, nos. 66/67 (1978): 109f. The date was corrected to 1902 in Alfred Weidinger, "Neues zu den Landschaftsbildern Gustav Kliment" (diploma thesis, Salzburg, 1992), 82f.
- 100 Cf. Nebehay, *Dokumentation*, 440.
- 101 Letter to Marie Zimmermann, dated August 1903, cited from Nebehay, "Klimt," 109.
- 102 Ibid., 108.
- 103 Ibid., 109.
- 104 Weidinger, "Landschaftsbildern," 16 and 34.
- 105 Renate Vergeiner and Alfred Weidinger, "Gustav und Emilie: Bekanntschaft und Aufenthalte am Attersee," in *Inselräume: Teschner, Klimt & Flöge am Attersee*, exh. cat. (Vienna, 1988), 9.
- 106 Letter to Marie Zimmermann, dated August 1903, cited from Nebehay, "Klimt," 108f.
- 107 Letter to Marie Zimmermann, dated July 3, 1900, cited from ibid., 105f.
- 108 Letter to Marie Zimmermann, dated August 1903, cited from ibid., 109f.
- 109 Schögl, *Entzückend*, 9.