Friderike Klauner (1916–1993) Director of the Picture Gallery and First Director of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien A biographical sketch¹

Susanne Hehenberger

Friderike Klauner's biography has received little attention so far. To date there is no entry about her in the *Dictionary of Art Historians*. In general, an over-representation of men can be observed, as only eight of the ninety-six Austrian art historians presented there are female.² In 2002, an encyclopedia was dedicated for the first time to the scientific achievements of women in Austria. The book edited by Brigitta Keintzel and Ilse Korotin *Female Scientists in and from Austria. Life – Work – Impact* presents 342 biobibliographical articles. The entry on Friderike Klauner was written by Sabine Forsthuber-Plakolm. Although Klauner's chronologically listed publications alone filled two printed pages, the author had to find out that there had actually been no publication about Klauner. On the occasion of her retirement in 1981, the *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen Vol. 77, N. F. XLI*, 1981 was dedicated to her, however, it did not include any biographical references to the First Director, not even a list of her publications.³

Childhood and studies

Friderike Klauner was born on 6 December 1916, the first of two daughters of the Viennese civil servant Georg Klauner and his wife Maria. Her younger sister Inge, the later writer Inge Merkel, was born in 1922. After graduating from a secondary school for girls in the eighteenth district of Vienna on 25 May 1935, Friderike Klauner studied history and German language and literature at the University of Vienna from the winter semester of 1935/36. Two years later, in the winter semester of 1937/38, she switched from teacher training to majoring in art history with a minor in history. Two typescripts of Klauner's papers from this period have been preserved in the Archive of the Department of Art History at the University of Vienna, probably by chance rather than consciously planned: a presentation on *The Diptych by Hugo van der Goes in the Kunsthistorisches Museum. History, technical*

¹ Unless indicated otherwise, the basic biographical information is taken from the personnel file at the archive of Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien: KHM-Archiv, III 827, PA Friderike Klauner.

² See: <u>https://arthistorians.info/</u> (10 February 2023).

³ Sabine Forsthuber-Plakolm, 'Friderike Klauner', in Brigitta Keintzel and Ilse Korotin, eds, *Wissenschafterinnen in und aus Österreich. Leben – Werk –Wirkung*, Wien, Köln and Weimar: Böhlau 2002, 373–376.

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description and state of preservation (1937/38) and another one on *The Salvator Portal* (around 1938).⁴

During her studies, she was a member of the Bund Deutscher Mädel (Association of German Girls), as the Ministry of the Interior was to determine in 1947 in the preliminary stages of her employment at the Kunsthistorisches Museum. However, she did not apply for NSDAP membership, nor is she likely to have been particularly interested in politics.⁵

Klauner registered her dissertation with Hans Sedlmayr,⁶ professor and director of the Department of Art History, in January 1940. One and a half year later, in July 1941, she submitted it on the topic of *Der Wohnraum im Wiener Biedermeier* (*The Living Room in the Viennese Biedermeier Period*). In his evaluation, Sedlmayr acknowledged that 'questions of the history of furniture' had 'very rarely been treated in a truly art-historical manner' until Klauner's doctoral thesis:

The present work is a, in my opinion successful, attempt to go further in this direction. [...] The author has a very good visual talent and quite independent ideas. Also, the whole way of proceeding is quite independently elaborated and does not follow any template. [...] The work is very clearly and logically structured, the train of thought is safely guided. The language is somewhat uncouth, but natural and very often apt in the terse, 'chopped' formulations. The results of the work are new and deserve attention.

SedImayr argued that the excellent assessment was due not least to Klauner's 'unusual independence of vision and thought.'⁷

⁷ UAW, PH RA 15102, Gutachten Hans Sedlmayr, 13.12.1941. In German: 'Die vorliegende Arbeit ist ein, m. E. geglückter, Versuch in dieser Richtung weiter zu gehen. [...] Die Verf. hat eine sehr gute visuelle Begabung und durchaus eigenständige Ideen. Auch die ganze Art des Vorgehens ist durchaus selbständig durchdacht und folgt keiner Schablone. [...] Die Arbeit ist sehr klar und folgerichtig aufgebaut, der Gedankengang sicher geführt. Die Sprache ist etwas ungehobelt, aber natürlich und sehr oft treffend in den knappen, "gehackten" Formulierungen. Die Ergebnisse der Arbeit sind neu und verdienen Beachtung.'

⁴ Archiv des Instituts für Kunstgeschichte, Referat *Das Diptychon von Hugo van der Goes im Kunsthistor*. *Museum. Geschichte, technische Beschreibung und Erhaltungszustand* (1937/38, Typoskript) und Referat *Das Salvatorportal* (um 1938, Typoskript).

⁵ OeStA/AdR, ZNsZ, Gauakt 179.818, Friderike Klauner.

⁶ About Sedlmayr see: <u>https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Hans_Sedlmayr</u> (23 February 2023).

Work experiences during the Second World War

Before she took the doctoral exam in December 1941, Klauner began working on a contract basis at the State Arts and Crafts Museum on 30 October 1941, where she had to record the objects taken over from the collection of the Mobiliendepot in the inventory. Klauner's employment as a scientific assistant at the State Arts and Crafts Museum ended on 31 May 1943, because a decree issued by the Reichsstatthalter (Reich Governor) in April 1943 required 'non-civil servants' to be reported to the State Employment Office for use elsewhere.⁸

From June to September 1943, she was on duty at the Research Institute at St. Florian (near Linz), which was subordinate to the Reich Governor of Upper Danube and administered the archives and libraries of the abolished monasteries. Unfortunately, the inspection of the few files that have been preserved in the Upper Austrian Provincial Archives on the Research Institute at St. Florian did not reveal any details about the specific tasks with which Friderike Klauner was entrusted there.⁹

Presumably she worked in the library in St. Florian, because from October 1943 she was employed as a research assistant in the library of the musicological institute at the University of Vienna. The director of the institute Erich Schenk¹⁰ applied for Klauner's dismissal in December 1944, which he justified with her inadequate performance of her duties and 'cheeky answers' to his admonitions. The file preserved in the university archives is not very detailed, but between the lines one gets the impression that Klauner's independence, praised by SedImayr, was not welcome in the library of the musicological institute. Politely, yet self-confidently, Klauner objected to Schenk's desired dismissal at the dean's office of the philosophical faculty and was thus at least able to achieve a change of dismissal to termination.¹¹ It is unclear, where and how she spent the last months of the war.

Beginning at the Kunsthistorisches Museum

From June 1945, Friderike Klauner (fig. 1) was hired by the Kunsthistorisches Museum's Picture Gallery to do inventory and cataloguing work, initially on a temporary contract until the end of 1947. The photograph, which has been preserved as a copy in the archive of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, probably dates from this time.

It was not until 1948 that the museum employed her as a research assistant. As mentioned above, her former BDM membership during her studies was not an obstacle. At the same time, however, fifteen former NSDAP members or party

⁸ MAK-Archiv, Hauptakten, Zl. 1075/1941, 408/1943.

⁹ OÖLA, Forschungsinstitut St. Florian. The surviving minute book of 1943 (Hs. 1) mentions Klauner several times (533/1943; 717/1943; 731/1943; 735/1943), but the records themselves are not preserved.

¹⁰ About Schenk see: <u>https://geschichte.univie.ac.at/en/persons/erich-schenk-o-prof-dr-phil</u> (10 February 2023).

¹¹ UAW, PH PA 2198.

candidates, i.e. those subject to registration under the Nazi Prohibition Act from May 1945, were also still employed at the museum.¹²



Figure 1 Friderike Klauner, around 1947. © KHM-Museumsverband, photographer: Elisabeth Schwenk.

In December 1950, Ernst H. Buschbeck¹³, director of the Picture Gallery, applied to the Ministry of Education, to which the Kunsthistorisches Museum was subordinate, for Friderike Klauner's 'Pragmatisierung' (a permanent civil servant position). Buschbeck, pictured here gesturing with his hands at a group photo (fig. 2), was a mentor to Friderike Klauner.

In his letter of recommendation, he spoke highly of Klauner's professional abilities and her full commitment:

Dr. Klauner has proven herself extraordinarily during her tenure at the Picture Gallery. Since my return from emigration in February 1946, I have systematically entrusted her with all the scientific and administrative tasks

¹² See: Susanne Hehenberger and Monika Löscher, 'Akteurinnen und Akteure im Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien. Personelle Kontinuitäten und Brüche 1933/34 – 1938 – 1945' in Tanja Baensch, Kristina Kratz-Kessemeier and Dorothee Wimmer, eds, *Museen im Nationalsozialismus. Akteure – Orte – Politik*, Köln, Weimar and Wien: Böhlau 2016, (129–146) 139.

¹³ About Buschbeck see: <u>https://www.lexikon-provenienzforschung.org/en/buschbeck-ernst</u> (23 February 2023).



Figure 2 From left to right: Johann Waldum¹⁴, Ernst H. Buschbeck, Erich V. Strohmer, Günther Heinz and Ortwin Gamber, early 1950s. © KHM-Museumsverband, photographer: Elisabeth Schwenk.

that arise in a large picture gallery, such as revision and reorganization of the collection, inventory control, restoration of paintings, reorganization of the showrooms, preparations for our major foreign and domestic exhibitions, implementation of our participation in foreign exhibitions, representation of our gallery at an ICOM commission, acquisitions of the gallery by means of exchange, etc. I have also taken her to our major foreign exhibitions in Zurich, Brussels, Amsterdam, Stockholm and London to acquaint her with the difficult technical, transportation and other problems involved in the movement and installation of so many art treasures of the highest value. After Director Dr. Baldaß'¹⁵ retirement from the museum [in March 1949], my frequent absence from Vienna because of our exhibitions in Europe and America has put her in a position – far beyond her years and seniority – to manage the Picture Gallery almost permanently. [...] Dr. Klauner is an extremely serious person who is completely absorbed in her profession. She is highly conscientious and accurate; I have never noticed any carelessness or sloppiness on her part. That she is of impeccably decent character I mention particularly because this circumstance is of very special importance in the profession of a museum official. I therefore make the motion that the aforementioned be admitted to the pragmatic federal service.¹⁶

¹⁴ About Waldum see: <u>https://www.lexikon-provenienzforschung.org/en/waldum-johann</u> (23 February 2023).

¹⁵ Ludwig Baldass retired in March 1949, about his career see: <u>https://www.lexikon-provenienzforschung.org/en/baldass-ludwig</u> (10 February 2023).

¹⁶ KHM-Archiv, III 827, PA Friderike Klauner, 913/VK/1950, Buschbeck an BMU, 15.12.1950. In German: 'Dr. Klauner hat sich während ihrer Tätigkeit an der Gemäldegalerie

Buschbeck's explicit respect for his younger colleague led to the desired result: in 1952 Klauner was granted a permanent position as a scientific assistant of the Picture Gallery.

Custodian and Director of the Picture Gallery



Figure 3 Group painting, by Günther Heinz, around 1955, from left to right: Günther Heinz (1927–1992), Friedrich Kurrent (*1931), Johannes Spalt (1920–2010), Erwin Neumann (1925–1975), Mathilde Pfannl¹⁷ (1902–2000) and Friderike Klauner (1916–1993). © KHM-Museumsverband.

1946 systematisch mit allen an einer großen Gemäldegalerie vorkommenden wissenschaftlichen und Verwaltungsaufgaben befaßt, als da sind Revision und Neuordnung der Sammlung, Inventarkontrolle, Gemälderestaurierung, Neuaufstellung der Schauräume, Vorbereitungen für unsere großen Auslands- und Inlandsausstellungen, Durchführung unserer Beteiligung an ausländischen Ausstellungen, Vertretung unserer Galerie bei einer ICOM-Kommission, Erwerbungen der Galerie durch Tauschaktionen usw. Ich habe sie überdies zu unseren großen Auslandsaustellungen in Zürich, Brüssel, Amsterdam, Stockholm und London mitgenommen, um sie mit den schwierigen technischen, Transportund anderen Problemen, welche die Bewegung und Aufstellung so zahlreicher Kunstschätze von höchstem Wert involviert, vertraut zu machen. Nach Direktor Dr. Baldaß' Ausscheiden aus dem Dienste [im März 1949] ist sie durch meine oftmalige Abwesenheit von Wien wegen unserer Ausstellungen in Europa und Amerika – weit über ihre Jahre und ihr Dienstalter hinaus – in die Lage versetzt worden, die Gemäldegalerie fast ständig zu führen. [...] Dr. Klauner ist ein äußerst ernster Mensch, der völlig in seinem Beruf aufgeht. Sie ist höchst gewissenhaft und genau; ich bin ihr niemals auf eine Nachlässigkeit oder Schleuderhaftigkeit daraufgekommen. Daß sie von tadellos anständigem Charakter ist, erwähne ich deshalb besonders, weil diesem Umstand bei dem Beruf eines Museumsbeamten eine ganz besondere Bedeutung zukommt. Ich stelle daher den Antrag, die Genannte in den pragmatischen Bundesdienst aufzunehmen.' ¹⁷ About Pfannl see: <u>https://www.lexikon-provenienzforschung.org/en/pfannl-mathilde</u> (23 February 2023).

Two years later, in 1954 she was promoted to the position of a 'Custos II Class'. The oil painting by Klauner's younger colleague Günther Heinz, that shows Klauner on the far right in a blue dress looking into the room, also dates from around this time (fig. 3).

In 1961, the First Director and at the same time director of the Picture Gallery, Vinzenz Oberhammer,¹⁸ applied for her advancement to a 'Custos I. Class' position, which took place in 1962. In his letter to the Ministry of Education, Oberhammer explained the reasons for Klauner's due promotion with similar high esteem as Ernst Buschbeck had expressed a few years earlier:

During her time at the museum, she has dealt in detail with the diverse and extensive holdings of the Picture Gallery and has used her excellent knowledge of the available material in several scientific essays on certain special areas of painting as well as for catalogues. Her sense of quality and her very good skills were of great benefit to the inner service of the Picture Gallery, not only in the time of the return transports of the salvaged goods but also in the following ones. Custos Dr. Klauner also proved herself very well at numerous domestic and foreign exhibitions. Dr. Klauner also always demonstrated skill and good empathy in party relations and in dealing with foreign scholars.¹⁹

Another career step was launched in 1966. On the advice of Willibrord Neumüller, librarian and archivist of Kremsmünster Abbey, Federal Chancellor Josef Klaus pointed out Klauner to the Federal Minister of Education Theodor Piffl-Percevic as a possible successor to Vinzenz Oberhammer in the management of the Picture Gallery. Neumüller had become acquainted with Friderike Klauner, when she, together with her custodian colleagues from the Kunsthistorisches Museum Bruno Thomas, Ortwin Gamber and Erwin Neumann had shared responsibility for the reorganization of the art collection in Kremsmünster Abbey starting in 1960. He was enthusiastic about Klauner's competence and saw her as particularly suited to give the Picture Gallery the 'right and calm leadership and order'. He praised her 'unerringly sure taste in arranging and designing, her manners that were

¹⁸ About Oberhammer see: <u>https://www.lexikon-provenienzforschung.org/en/oberhammer-vinzenz (23</u> February 2023).

¹⁹ KHM-Archiv, III 827, PA Friderike Klauner, 495/VK/1961, Oberhammer an BMU, 31.10.1961. In German: 'Sie befasste sich während ihrer bisherigen Tätigkeit am Museum eingehend mit den vielfältigen und umfangreichen Beständen der Gemäldegalerie und verwertete ihre vorzüglichen Kenntnisse des vorhandenen Materials in mehreren wissenschaftlichen Aufsätzen über gewisse Sondergebiete der Malerei sowie für Katalogarbeiten. Ihr Qualitätsgefühl und ihre sehr guten Fähigkeiten kamen dem inneren Dienst der Gemäldegalerie nicht nur in der Zeit der Rückbergungen, sondern auch in den folgenden stets zustatten. Kustos Dr. Klauner bewährte sich überdies sehr gut bei zahlreichen in- und ausländischen Ausstellungen. Auch im Parteienverkehr und im Umgang mit ausländischen Fachgelehrten bewies Frau Dr. Klauner immer Geschick und gutes Einfühlungsvermögen.'

appropriate for every situation', as well as her 'excellent knowledge of languages and a high connoisseurship in literature and music'.²⁰

In fact, she was appointed director of the Picture Gallery, having been given preference over her colleague Günther Heinz, who was almost 10 years younger. The photos, taken from a 1967 album compiled on the occasion of the retirement of an employee of the Picture Gallery, show Klauner in the performance of her management function at her desk and on the telephone, but also in more informal professional settings, such as cultivated conversation at the coffee table or at the buffet during a 'ham party' in the offices of the Picture Gallery (figs 4 a,b&c).



Figures 4 a, b & c Coffee break at the office of Friderike Klauner, director of the Picture Gallery, 1967. The director at work, 1967. In conversation at the ham buffet, 1967. © KHM-Museumsverband, photographer: Elisabeth Schwenk.

Before Klauner assumed the gallery directorship, she had contributed to the catalogue of the Neue Galerie, displayed in the Neue Burg in the city centre of Vienna in 1966 and then in the Stallburg from 1967, until this collection was handed over to the Österreichische Galerie in 1986.

As director of the Picture Gallery, Friderike Klauner established the first part of the secondary gallery on the second floor of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in 1968 and opened it to visitors. In a 'baroque hanging', paintings were exhibited that until then had mainly lain dormant in the depot. The second part opened in 1971. In the course of the general renovation in 1989, the secondary gallery had to close again and is still merely used as a storage room.

First Director of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien

According to the official regulations of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, the First Director was to be elected from among the directors of the collections by all scientific museum officials. The directors' meeting favoured a secret ballot of the twenty-two staff members entitled to vote and an alphabetical ranking of the seven candidates. In the election on 27 April 1972, fifteen of the twenty-two votes went to

²⁰ OeStA/AdR, UWK, BMU, Personalakten, Friderike Klauner, Empfehlungsschreiben von Univ.-Doz. Dr. P. Willlibrord Neumüller, Stift Kremsmünster an Bundeskanzler Dr. Josef Klaus, 1.9.1966.

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the head of the weapons collection, Bruno Thomas, who, however, subsequently declined the position of First Director, which meant that the election had to be repeated. On 30 June 1972, the second vote was held, from which Friderike Klauner became the first female First Director with sixteen of the twenty-one votes submitted. The result of the election was presented to the Minister of Science Hertha Firnberg, who entrusted Friderike Klauner with the function of the First Director as of 1 January 1973.²¹

In the 1970s, just as Austrian society was in a state of transformation, with the family law reform of 1975, for example, advancing equal rights for men and women, and wives' employment no longer dependent on their husbands' consent, it was also time to introduce changes in the museum. When Friderike Klauner took over the management of the museum, there was a lot to be done in terms of structure and construction. In 1973, for example, women were employed for the first time to supervise the museum rooms, beginning in the Neue Burg and the Neue Galerie. Klauner stated in a directors' meeting that the female museum guards made a good job and that further appointments in other areas of the collection were to follow. In the following year the newly launched children's guided tours were intended to widen the circle of visitors. Also, the phonomats set up in the vestibule and in the domed hall on the first floor aimed at broadening the media spectrum for visitors with audio tape information about the Kunsthistorisches Museum. In 1975, the UN proclaimed the 'Year of the Woman', for which the Coin Cabinet arranged a special exhibition. The introduction of the 40-hour week demanded a reorganization of the working hours and duties, especially for the museum guards.²² Due to the early death of her colleague Erwin Neumann, director of the Collection of Sculpture, Arts and Crafts, on 28 November 1975, Klauner also had to handle the administrative agendas of this collection in 1976/1977.

During Klauner's directorship, major exhibitions took place in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, such as '*Peter Paul Rubens* 1577-1640. *Exhibition on the* 400th Anniversary of His Birth' in 1977 or '*Giambologna*. A turning point in European sculpture' in 1978/79, which was open to visitors until 9 p.m. on two evenings a week. The Kunsthistorisches Museum increasingly participated in exhibitions that were not held in its own building, such as the exhibition '*Tapisseries bruxelloises au* siecle de Rubens du Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienne et des Musees Royaux d'art et d'histoire, Bruxelles' in Brussels 1977, '*Fashion in the Hapsburg Era*' at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1979 or the '*Maria Theresa exhibition*' at Schönbrunn in 1980.

Klauner also recognized the value of advertising to attract more visitors to the Kunsthistorisches Museum. In addition to the exhibition and event posters affixed in Vienna, it was also important for Klauner that the collections regularly

 ²¹ KHM-Archiv, I 84, 2, Protokolle der Direktorensitzungen, 27.4.1972, 30.6.1972, 19.9.1972.
²² KHM-Archiv, I 85, 1, Protokolle der Direktorensitzungen, 1.6.1973, 20.12.1973, 8.10.1974;
KHM-Archiv, I 174, Jahresbericht 1975.

displayed in the museum window established in 1962 in the Babenbergerstraße by her predecessor Oberhammer. $^{\rm 23}$



Figure 5 Friderike Klauner, around 1975. © KHM-Museumsverband.

Friderike Klauner demonstrated a high degree of management skills and was able to successfully implement a number of major projects: In 1974, the renovated Wagenburg reopened for visitors. The Portrait Gallery on the History of Austria opened in Ambras Castle in 1976, followed by the Ephesus Museum in the Neue Burg in 1978. Innovative were the exhibitions shown in Schloss Halbturn in Burgenland from 1974, which were mainly devoted to objects from the tapestry collection and the 'Monturdepot' (Department of Court Uniforms), or events such as the readings in the Bellottosaal initiated by her in 1977, or presentations and musical performances in the collections on the annual open day on 26 October.

In 1978, Friderike Klauner succeeded in publishing the magnificent volume *Das Kunsthistorische Museum in Wien* by the Residenz Verlag in Salzburg, which presented all the museum's collections with numerous illustrations in colour and black and white. The second edition was already published in 1980.²⁴

 ²³ Herbert Haupt, Das Kunsthistorische Museum. Die Geschichte des Hauses am Ring. Hundert Jahre im Spiegel historischer Ereignisse, Wien: Christian Brandstätter Verlag 1991, 210-214; 280.
²⁴ KHM-Archiv, I 476.



Figure 6 Exhibition poster, 1981. © KHM-Museumsverband.

With her last exhibition Klauner was able to bring paintings from the Hermitage in Leningrad and the Pushkin Museum in Moscow to Vienna and present them at the KHM from May to August 1981. Nearly 146,000 visitors admired the exposed paintings.²⁵ The year before, masterpieces from the Kunsthistorisches Museum's Picture Gallery had been presented at the Pushkin Museum in Moscow and at the Hermitage in Leningrad. Around 450,000 visitors attended these two exhibitions.²⁶

In 1977 Klauner had received – perhaps also on the occasion of her sixtieth birthday – several high honors: the Österreichische Ehrenkreuz für Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1. Klasse (Austrian Cross of Honor for Science and Art, 1st class) 'in recognition of services to the expansion of the Kunsthistorisches Museum through the creation of three new galleries', as well as the Richard Meister-Medaille der Universität Wien (Richard Meister Medal of the University of Vienna) and the Fürstlich Liechtensteinischen Verdienstorden (Princely Liechtenstein Order of Merit). In 1981, the directors of the collections of the Kunsthistorisches Museum requested that Friderike Klauner be awarded the Ehrenzeichens für Verdienste um

²⁵ KHM-Archiv, I 475, Jahresbericht 1981.

²⁶ KHM-Archiv, I 475, Jahresbericht 1980.

die Republik Österreich (Decoration of Honor for Services to the Republic of Austria) for having, as Director of the Picture Gallery and during her time as First Director, 'repositioned no less than 7 important collections and made them accessible to the public'. The reasoning further stated: 'In addition to her research work, which has found expression in essays, catalogues and books, as First Director she was always concerned with improvements and renewals that have benefited the Kunsthistorisches Museum and its domestic and foreign visitors.'²⁷

After retiring, Friderike Klauner continued to engage in research, museum education and publishing. She died in Vienna on 27 September 1993. Ortwin Gamber, a professional companion for many years, who worked at the Kunsthistorisches Museum (in the Weapons Collection) from 1950 to 1985, paid tribute to the achievements of his long-time colleague and superior, writing, 'She was the first woman in such a leading position in this institute, the first [...] woman "First Director".' Gamber concluded his brief obituary in the daily newspaper 'Die Presse' of 29 September 1993, with the words: 'An amiable, generous person and an extraordinary personality of Austrian intellectual life has passed away'.²⁸

What remains of Friderike Klauner today?

Her numerous publications, of course. The memories of her from her former colleagues at the museum, now also retired, who still knew her personally. The photos displayed in this article and the painting by Günther Heinz, displayed in the lecture room of the Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Since 2004, a street in Strebersdorf, the transdanubian twenty-first district of Vienna, bears her name, although 'Friederike' is misspelled on the street sign, as she herself always wrote her name as 'Friderike'.

... and what is missing?

The portrait of Friderike Klauner has its permanent place in the gallery of former directors that adorns the staircase of the archive in the Kunsthistorisches Museum. Apart from that, there is still a lack of a memory of her that goes beyond words, as Klauner's grave at the Neustift cemetery in Vienna's nineteenth district was abandoned in 2003.

²⁷ KHM-Archiv, III 827, PA Friderike Klauner, 383/VK/1981, KHM-Direktoren an BMWF, 35.8.1961. In German: '7 bedeutende Sammlungen neu aufgestellt und dem Publikum zugänglich gemacht [...] Neben ihren Forschungsarbeiten, die in Aufsätzen, Katalogen und Büchern Niederschlag gefunden haben, war sie als Erster Direktor stets um Verbesserungen und Erneuerungen bemüht, die dem Kunsthistorischen Museum und seinen in- und ausländischen Besuchern zugute gekommen sind.'

²⁸ Ortwin Gamber, 'Nachruf Friderike Klauner', *Die Presse*, 29 September 1993. In German: 'Sie war die erste Frau in einer derart führenden Position in diesem Institut, die erste [..] Frau "Erster Direktor" [...] Ein liebenswürdiger, großzügiger Mensch und eine außergewöhnliche Persönlichkeit des österreichischen Geisteslebens ist von uns gegangen.'

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