A NEW METHOD OF SURFACE ORNAMENTATION: LUDWIG HEVESI'S *MALMOSAIK* IN GUSTAV KLIMT'S FACULTY PAINTINGS, *BEETHOVEN FRIEZE* AND *STOCLET FRIEZE*

by

ALEKSANDRA DIANA GLOBIG

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of the History of Art and Architecture
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

June 2013

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Student: Aleksandra Diana Globig

Title: A New Method of Surface Ornamentation: Ludwig Hevesi's *Malmosaik* in Gustav Klimt's Faculty Paintings, *Beethoven Frieze* and *Stoclet Frieze*

This thesis has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of the History of Art and Architecture by:

Joyce Suechun Cheng	Chairperson
William Sherwin Simmons	Member
Albert Narath	Member

and

Kimberly Andrews Espy	Vice President for Research and Innovation; Dean of the Graduate School

Original approval signatures are on file with the University of Oregon Graduate School.

Degree awarded June 2013

© 2013 Aleksandra Diana Globig

THESIS ABSTRACT

Aleksandra Diana Globig

Master of Arts

Department of the History of Art and Architecture

June 2013

Title: A New Method of Surface Ornamentation: Ludwig Hevesi's *Malmosaik* in Gustav Klimt's Faculty Paintings, *Beethoven Frieze* and *Stoclet Frieze*

The Austrian art critic Ludwig Hevesi wrote the article "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" in August of 1907 after seeing two separate exhibitions with paintings by the Austrian artist Gustav Klimt. The first exhibition had three easel paintings and the second, three decorative ceiling paintings. Despite the obvious differences between the two types of paintings, Hevesi noted a stylistic continuity between them. He created the term, *Malmosaik*, applicable to both easel and decorative painting, in order to discuss this continuity in his written criticisms. This thesis examines the applicability of the *Malmosaik* in Klimt's Faculty Paintings, *Beethoven Frieze* and *Stoclet Frieze,* and its impact on traditional notions of medium purity in turn-of-the-century Vienna. The *Malmosaik*, as it developed in Klimt's work, is discussed here as an innovative, non-medium specific aesthetic unique to Vienna.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Aleksandra Diana Globig

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene
Western Washington University, Bellingham

DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Arts, Art History, 2013, University of Oregon
Bachelor of Arts, Art History, 2010, University of Oregon

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Modern Art
History of Design
Austrian and German Applied Art

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Curatorial Intern, Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art, University of Oregon, Eugene, 2010-2011

Graduate Teaching Fellow, Department of the History of Art and Architecture, University of Oregon, Eugene, 2010-2013

GRANTS, AWARDS, AND HONORS:

Alice Wingwall Travel Grant, University of Oregon, Eugene, 2009

PUBLICATIONS:

Aleksandra Globig and June Irene Koehler. "Lithography." In *The Making of David McCosh: Early Paintings, Drawings, and Prints*. Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 2011.

Aleksandra Globig and June Irene Koehler. "Watercolors." In *The Making of David McCosh: Early Paintings, Drawings, and Prints*. Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 2011.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express sincere appreciation to my advisor and committee members for their assistance in the preparation of this manuscript. In addition, special thanks are due to Professor Sherwin Simmons for his invaluable contributions to this manuscript. It was because of his continual encouragement and dedication to this project that I was able to produce a document of which I am immensely proud.

I would like to thank my colleagues Andrew Webster, Anne Taylor, Jessi DiTillio, Kelly Whitford and June Koehler for being such fantastic individuals. And I would especially like to thank my friend and instructor Jacob Barto. Herr Barto, it is your fault I love the German language. I would also like to express my sincere appreciation and love to Claudia, Anna and Dorian, for welcoming me into their incredible city. Lastly, I would like to thank my parents, Marya and Jon Globig, for their unwavering love and support throughout this process.

For Herr Klimt because, for the first time, I disagree with Adolf Loos.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

I. LUDWIG HEVESI'S MALMOSAIK: INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON A NEW METHOD OF SURFACE ORNAMENTATION..... 1

II. THE MATERIALITY OF KLIMT'S WORK: AN ACCOUNT OF SCHOLARSHIP..... 4

III. VIENNESE DECORATIVE PAINTING: MAKART, BERGER AND THE KUNSTLERKOMPONIE..... 21

IV. KLIMT'S FACULTY PAINTINGS: FROM THE FIRST TO THE THIRD, THE PAINTED MOSAIC IS BORN..... 34

V. THE NUR-MALEN AND THE STYLISTEN: ISSUES REGARDING MEDIUM PURITY, THE WALL AND THE FRAME IN THE CONTEXT OF THE VIENNA SECESSION 52

VI. ORNAMENT AS NARRATIVE: KLIMT'S BEETHOVEN FRIEZE..... 62

VII. MALMOSAIK AS STRUCTURE AND NARRATIVE: THE ORNAMENTAL DENOMINATOR OF THE STOCLET FRIEZE..... 79

APPENDIX: GUSTAV KLIMT UND DIE MALMOSAIK 107

REFERENCES CITED 112

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

1. Hans Makart, *Four Allegories of Music: Religious Music, Military, Hunting, and Dance Music (Ceiling picture for the study of Nicolaus Dumba),* 1873. 500 x 450 cm, Chi Mei Museum, Tainan, Taiwan 26

2. Gustav Klimt, *Allegory of Egyptian Art*, 1890/91. Oil on stucco base, about 230 x 230 cm., Spandrel of the stairwell in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. 28

3. Julius Berger, *Musical Enchantment*, 1855. Oil on panel, 97.2 x 73 cm 31

4. Ceiling of the University of Vienna's Große Festsaal (Ceremonial Hall), Current appearance. Photo, University of Vienna, Vienna 36

5. Gustav Klimt, *Philosophy*, 1900. Oil on canvas, 430 x 300 cm., Destroyed in 1945 at Schloss Immendorf 38

6. Gustav Klimt, *Medicine*, 1901. Oil on canvas, 430 x 300 cm., Destroyed in 1945 at Schloss Immendorf 41

7. Gustav Klimt, *University Panel: Medicine: Hygeia detail*, 1898. Oil on canvas, 430 x 300cm., Destroyed in 1945 at Schloss Immendorf 43

8. Gustav Klimt, *Jurisprudence*, 1903. Oil on canvas, 430 x 300 cm., Destroyed in 1945 at Schloss Immendorf 46

9. Gustav Klimt, *Golden Apple Tree*, 1903. Oil on canvas, 100 x 100 cm., Destroyed in 1945 at Schloss Immendorf 47

10. *Installation of the Octagonal Main Room of the Display by the Union of Austrian Artists (Secession) in the Grand Palais at the Paris Exposition Universelle 1900,* Design by Josef Hoffmann, Anonymous photograph published in *The Studio* in November 1900 55

11. *The main room in the Secession's tenth exhibition (March-May 1901), with Klimt's Medicine and three additional landscapes* 56

12. *Main room of the eighteenth Secession exhibition: Klimt Collective (November-December 1903), with Klimt's Faculty Paintings Medicine* and *Philosophy*. 59

13. View of Room A in the Vienna Secession with Klimt's *Beethoven Frieze*, 1902, photograph 64

14. Gustav Klimt, *Beethoven Frieze*, *left side wall: Yearning for Happiness*, 1902. Casein paint on plaster, 2.2 x 34 m., Austrian Gallery, Vienna 67

15. Gustav Klimt, *Beethoven Frieze*, *central end wall: The Hostile Forces*, *detail with Intemperance*, 1902. Casein paint on plaster, 2.2 x 13.78 m., Austrian Gallery, Vienna 69

Figure Page

16. Koloman Moser, *Mosaic*, 1901/02. Figures made of cut and glazed tiles, remaining parts made of cast glass, 80 x 80 cm, Purchased at the exhibition by a private collector. Whereabouts unknown 71

17. Koloman Moser, *untitled*, 1901/02. Two fillings of plaster model, partly gilded with inserted pieces of cast glass. Whereabouts unknown 72

18. Alfred Roller, *Die sinkende Nacht*, 1901/02. Stenciled painting, limewater color, plaster model, metalcoating and inlays of nacre. Whereabouts unknown 73

19. Josef Maria Auchentaller, *Freude schöner Götterfunken! (detail),* 1901/02. Painting in casein colors, plaster model, and gold plated. Whereabouts unknown 74

20. Gustav Klimt, *Stoclet Frieze: unexecuted small design with the Dancer*, 1907/1908. Pencil, crayon on tracing paper, 22 x 75.3 cm, Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna 82

21. Gustav Klimt, *Stoclet Frieze: unexecuted small design with the family*, 1907/1908. Pencil, crayon on tracing paper 56.5 x 37.2 cm, Wien Museum Karlsplatz, Vienna 82

22. Gustav Klimt, *Stoclet Frieze: unexecuted small design with the Dancer*, 1907/1908. Pencil, crayon on gold-bronze tracing paper, 22 x 75.3 cm, Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna 82

23. Gustav Klimt, *Production Drawing for the Stoclet Frieze: The Dancer (detail)*, 1910/11. Tempera, watercolor, gold, silver-bronze, crayons, pencil, white, platinum, gold leaf, silver leaf, on brown paper, 195 x 120 cm, Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna 85

24. Gustav Klimt, *Production Drawing for the Stoclet Frieze: The Dancer,* 1910/11. Tempera, watercolor, gold, silver-bronze, crayons, pencil, white, platinum, gold leaf, silver leaf, on brown paper, 195 x 120 cm, Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna 87

25. Gustav Klimt (design), Wiener Werkstätte o.a. (execution) *Stoclet Frieze: Rose Bush (detail)*, 1911. Palais Stoclet, Brussels 92

26. Gustav Klimt (design), Wiener Werkstätte o.a. (execution), *Stoclet Frieze: The Dancer (detail)*, 1911, Palais Stoclet, Brussels 94

27. Gustav Klimt (design), Wiener Werkstätte o.a. (execution), *Stoclet Frieze: Rose Bush*, 1911. Palais Stoclet, Brussels 96

28. Gustav Klimt (design), Wiener Werkstätte o.a. (execution), *Stoclet Frieze: Lovers (Fulfillment)*, 1911. Palais Stoclet, Brussels 97

29. Gustav Klimt (design), Wiener Werkstätte o.a. (execution) *Stoclet Frieze: The Knight*, 1911. Palais Stoclet, Brussels 99

Figure Page

30. Gustav Klimt, *Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer I*, 1907. Oil, silver and gold paint on canvas, 138 x 138 cm, Neue Galerie, New York City, New York 101

31. Leopold Forstner, Mosaic for Schwestern Flöge façade, 1904. Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna 103

32. Koloman Moser, *The Light*, 1913-15. Oil on canvas, 123 x 180 cm. Private Collection 104

CHAPTER I

LUDWIG HEVESI'S MALMOSAIK: INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON A NEW METHOD OF SURFACE ORNAMENTATION

"*There is perhaps some great news to be recorded, perhaps a system of surface ornamentation that has a future. In fact I believe so because I have seen it coming for years, developing itself ever so systematically.*"[1]

Ludwig Hevesi

In August 1907, the Austrian art critic Ludwig Hevesi wrote an article entitled "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik", which was published in *Kunstchronik*. Hevesi wrote the article in response to two separate exhibitions of Klimt's work he had recently seen.[2] In July of 1907, Hevesi had travelled to Mannheim for the International Art Exhibition where he saw three easel paintings by the Austrian painter and decorator Gustav Klimt, respectively entitled *The Three Ages of Women* (1905), *Portrait of Fritza Riedler* (1906), and *Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer I* (1907). The following month, in the Miethke Gallery in the heart of Vienna's central district, Hevesi saw three more paintings by Klimt: *Philosophy* (1900), *Medicine (1901)*, and *Jurisprudence (1903),* originally made for the ceiling of the Große Festsaal at the University of Vienna (subsequently known as the Faculty Paintings). Despite the obvious differences between Klimt's easel paintings previously seen in Mannheim and the decorative Faculty Paintings in Vienna, Hevesi immediately noted a significant stylistic continuity between the two sets of works. The term Hevesi devised in order to emphasize such continuity is *Malmosaik*, by which he means a "new system of surface ornamentation" applicable to both easel and decorative paintings. In the article "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik," Hevesi claimed to have

[1] Ludwig Hevesi, "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik," *Kunstchronik*, 17. 33 (27 Sept. 1907), 545.

[2] Ludwig Hevesi, born in 1842, was the son of a doctor and studied medicine and classical philosophy in his youth. From 1866 onwards Hevesi was writing for two leading German language periodicals, the *Pester Lloyd* and the *Wiener Fremdenblatt*.

traced the emergence of this new system in Klimt's work, the same emergence I will trace in the present study.

If *Malmosaik* is an evocative term in the title of Hevesi's August 1907 essay on Klimt, Hevesi does not ever define it. In fact, the term does not recur in the rest of the essay. In the present study, I am interested in reconstructing the meaning of the term for Hevesi in 1907 and its conceptual power when applied to Klimt's work in the first decade of the twentieth century. I will investigate the applicability of *Malmosaik* to Klimt's work in three specific examples: the Faculty Paintings, originally done for the University of Vienna Große Festsaal in 1894 but subsequently rejected by the Austrian Ministry; the *Beethoven Frieze*, installed in the Vienna Secession building at the organization's fourteenth exhibition in 1902; and finally, the decorations for the dining room walls of the Palais Stoclet in Brussels begun in 1905. Analyzing these separate sets of Klimt's work in light of Hevesi's reception, I intend to trace the relationship between painting and decoration as it evolved in Klimt's career between 1900-1909. I will suggest that *Malmosaik*, although never specifically endorsed by Klimt himself, may be thought of as a pictorial technique that sought to integrate motifs and forms commonly applied in the decorative arts into that of easel painting. As such, *Malmosaik* lent itself to an aesthetic widely applicable to different kinds of pictorial supports at varying scales.

While Hevesi's texts have been cited in Klimt scholarship as affirming the materiality of Klimt's earlier pictorial work, they have not been read in relation to Klimt's ambition to unite painting and decoration.[3] In analyzing Hevesi's term "*Malmosaik*" in relation to three separate sets of work by Klimt, my intention is not to assess if the work(s) fulfill Hevesi's concept. Instead, I am interested in the different ways in which Klimt realizes *Malmosaik* as a non-medium specific, two-

[3] Prominent Klimt scholars Peter Vergo, Carl Schorske, Alice Strobl, Tobias Natter and Christian Nebehay have all discussed the mosaic aesthetic as it relates to Klimt's final Faculty Painting *Jurisprudence* but have not discussed the *Malmosaik* term as it relates to other media or paintings completed by Klimt prior to 1903.

dimensional aesthetic. Hevesi coined the term in order to describe the coherent relationships between painting, architecture and decorative arts in Viennese modernism. The fact that the *Malmosaik* could be successfully employed on pictures executed upon canvas, plaster, and marble, suggests that the predominately two-dimensional aesthetic was not dependent on a specific support. In contradistinction to Clement Greenberg's influential theory on medium-specific flatness, Hevesi argues for an inter-medial flatness. Greenberg's theory claimed flatness as the only condition painting shared with no other art, asserting that a return to the two-dimensional state was the only way in which painting could express its fundamental purity as medium. For Greenberg, this purity was only achievable through the retention of medium specificity. By contrast, in the case of Klimt and the *Malmosaik* aesthetic that Hevesi claims to see in Klimt's work, flatness was synonymous with the corruption of medium specificity. Klimt's combination of the qualities of mosaic with the medium of painting while still affirming the flatness of the surface represents a different account of the emergence of modernist art in turn-of-the-century Vienna.

CHAPTER II

THE MATERIALITY OF KLIMT'S WORK: AN ACCOUNT OF SCHOLARSHIP

Although Hevesi experienced the Faculty Paintings hung vertically at the Miethke Gallery in 1907, he was fully aware that *Philosophy*, *Medicine*, and *Jurisprudence* had been conceived and produced as decorative ceiling paintings. Executed in oil and gold paint on stretched canvas, the Faculty Paintings were commissioned by the Austrian Ministry of Culture and intended to be seamlessly incorporated into the heavily ornate Neo-Renaissance interior of the University of Vienna's Große Festsaal. Revisiting the Faculty Paintings in 1907, Hevesi described them as "[...] a new type of surface decoration (*Flächendekor*) into which the artist has penetrated over the course of years with innovative keys."[4] Significant in Hevesi's observation is his use of the term *Flächendekor* (surface decoration), for the Faculty Paintings, which were meant to be viewed installed on a ceiling, were being exhibited as easel paintings in an art gallery. Not only does the term 'surface' suggest a range of meanings for the *Malmosaik*, it also introduces the critic's lack of interest in distinguishing between the different types of painting within which Klimt was implementing a new aesthetic. Hevesi therefore positioned the *Malmosaik* as a non-medium specific technique of ornamentation. The fact that the *Malmosaik* aesthetic in Klimt's work was not restricted by the medium in which it was executed, removes it from the solely decorative sphere and suggests its potential application to other media.

While "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" was the first instance in which Hevesi used the term *Malmosaik*, it was not the first article in which the critic recounted his developing theories about Klimt's decorative painting aesthetic.

[4] Hevesi, "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" (August 1907), 548.

Rather it is the culmination of Hevesi's observations over a number of years. The article by Hevesi that has been mainly used by scholars who have investigated Klimt's decorative painting technique is "Zur-Klimt-Ausstellung", written in November of 1903. Written very likely in response to the exhibition of *Jurisprudence* in the Secession Building as part of the organization's eighteenth exhibition, "Zur-Klimt-Ausstellung" reads like an account of a religious pilgrimage. It chronicles the critic's experience, providing details regarding Hevesi's trip to the artist's studio and the overwhelming effect of the three Faculty Paintings on him as he experienced them there. It is in this article that Hevesi first mentions the connection between Klimt's painting style and the medium of mosaic and has led the majority of scholars to associate the *Malmosaik* almost exclusively with Klimt's trip to Ravenna in 1903, the final Faculty Painting, and other works created after 1903. While this linkage of *Malmosaik* with *Jurisprudence* provides a new method of analysis, it has resulted in the term's isolation from prior works. This thesis will argue for the applicability of the *Malmosaik* term--as both an aesthetic and as a medium--to all three Faculty Paintings, the *Beethoven Frieze* and *Stoclet Frieze*.

Hevesi's two articles "Zur-Klimt Ausstellung" and "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" have both been utilized by scholars interested in investigating the mosaic aesthetic of *Jurisprudence*, often leaving an article written one month prior to the latter essay largely unexplored. Entitled "Bilder von Gustav Klimt", it was written July of 1907, presumably after Hevesi returned from Mannheim. The article explores the mosaic aesthetic present in the three Faculty Paintings in more detail than the article in *Kunstchronik*. The relative lack of attention to this essay represents a significant gap in scholarship regarding the artist's efforts at establishing a new mode of surface decoration.

Since the precise translation of *Malmosaik* into English is somewhat difficult and ambiguous, I will propose various ways that it might be understood in relation to

the Faculty Paintings, *Beethoven Frieze*, and *Stoclet Frieze*. The term's literal meaning is 'painted mosaic', suggesting a combination of the medium of painting with stylistic qualities of mosaic. While Hevesi's August 1907 essay incorporates the term *Malmosaik* in its title, it is not used in the text of the essay. Instead, various combinations of the term's two parts (*Mal* and *Mosaik*) appear, as they do in the other articles written by Hevesi. *Mosaikmalerei, gemalte Mosaik*, and *Mosaikgebilde* were all used to describe the *Klimtschen* aesthetic, which Hevesi perceived as the future of surface decoration in Vienna.[5] Conversely, it could also mean 'a mosaic that attempts to mimic the character of a painting'. While it might be tempting to dismiss the latter interpretation, Klimt's close involvement with the mosaicists of the Vienna Secession allows for the possibility of the reversal, particularly as the *Malmosaik* aesthetic may have affected the development of other media within the Secession's artistic boundaries.

While the term literally suggests the fusion of painting and mosaic; at an interpretive level, it raises the issue of a support, an architectural wall or ceiling of which a mural became a part, or which an easel painting would hang. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Klimt's *Beethoven Frieze* (1902), where painting, mosaic, and architecture coalesced into a new cohesive decorative form. Significantly, Klimt's geometric aesthetic, coupled with the insertion of three-dimensional elements, altered all three mediums—painting, mosaic, and architecture. The *Malmosaik* blurred boundaries, introducing a new utilizable medium to the realm of decorative arts that could cohabitate with all media. The implications of this blurring or corruption of media positioned the *Malmosaik* not only as a new conception that unites decoration and pictoriality but also a new manipulation of materials and methods. This new aesthetic was poised to amend traditional expectations of

[5] Hevesi, "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" (August 1907), 545.

different media in fin-de-siècle Vienna, as well as other European centers of the avant-garde.

The essay "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" can be read as the culmination of Hevesi's scattered observations concerning the style during the years Klimt was experimenting with the aesthetic, ideas that clarified upon seeing the new "golden" easel paintings in relation to the murals shown again at the Miethke Gallery in 1907. Thus, the article was, in its conceptual focus, developed through extended experience and reflection and investment at both documenting and also deducing the motivations behind Klimt's development of a geometric aesthetic. In addition, it looked to the future, anticipating the impact that a *Malmosaik* aesthetic might have on the continuing development of art in Vienna.

Scholarship that investigates the works completed by Gustav Klimt during his involvement with the Vienna Secession analyze Hevesi's *Malmosaik* term as it relates to *Jurisprudence* (1903), Klimt's final Faculty Painting. Credited by Hevesi as the first work containing a painted mosaic aesthetic, discussion of the term as it relates to *Jurisprudence* is not inappropriate.[6] However, to assume the *Malmosaik* aesthetic developed autonomously in *Jurisprudence* positions the term as applicable only to the artist's period of artistic output after 1903. The tendency for scholars to restrict the application of the term to Klimt's work dating after 1903 has resulted in a significant gap in scholarship regarding the artist's interest in altering the material character of the surface of his paintings prior to that year. Through formal analysis of Klimt's developing geometric aesthetic prior to 1903, this thesis will attempt to fill that gap in scholarship, providing an in-depth analysis of Klimt's experimentations in mixing media, tracing the initial stages of the *Malmosaik* within works completed by the artist as early as 1898. As the bulk of scholarship already conducted on Klimt

[6] Hevesi first compared Klimt's technique of painting to the medium of mosaic in his essay "Zur-Klimt-Ausstellung" written in 1903.

investigates the artist's work through his innovative use of iconography, this thesis' analysis of the *Malmosaik* will seek to position Klimt's work within broader discussions of early modernism; mainly, the elimination of perspectival space within the picture plane, representations of realistic stonewalls in ceiling painting and the potential side effects of mixing disparate media within singular works could have had upon traditional notions and goals of retaining medium purity in early twentieth century Vienna.

Research that approaches Klimt's work through an iconographic lens has dominated scholarship on the Austrian artist for several reasons. The popularization of this approach is due in large part to the extensive amount of primary source material available from Klimt's period of artistic production. While one investigative approach, iconographic versus materialistic, does not require the exclusion of the other in order to succeed, reasons for this unequal distribution of analysis by scholars of fin-de-siècle Vienna concerning Klimt's work have been encouraged due to the allure of the high-profile scandal that surrounded the artist's paintings between 1898-1904.

The public outrage the Faculty Paintings caused in Vienna resulted in an abundance of publications actively documenting the various sides of the conflict.[7] The degree of agitation that was maintained in Vienna about these works has influenced a majority of scholars to approach the 'scandalous' iconographic content within the three paintings as symptoms illustrating broader cultural issues present in Vienna at the turn of the century. Scholars focused on Klimt's use of iconography between 1898-1904 seek to connect the forms and motifs present within the first two Faculty Paintings and the *Beethoven Frieze* as a means to explain the drastic alterations Klimt implemented within his final Faculty Painting *Jurisprudence*.

[7] By the year 1900, Vienna had fifty-five publications in circulation, providing every faction of the Faculty Painting scandal a platform for the purpose of publicly broadcasting popular opinion.

Through their analysis of iconography as it developed within the four works, scholars explain Klimt's reworking of *Jurisprudence* as the artist visually expressing the rejection he experienced from the Viennese cultural elite responsible for escalating the aesthetic scandal surrounding *Philosophy* and *Medicine* to the political sphere.

The stylistic differences between *Philosophy,* Klimt's first Faculty Painting, and the last, *Jurisprudence*, represent a dramatic shift in the artist's style. His painting technique had transformed from an impressionistic aesthetic that communicated atmospheric depth, to a multi-layered two-dimensionally structured subterranean environment. Rather than accepting this change in the artist's style as Klimt's response to criticism, this thesis will approach the early developments of the artist's geometric aesthetic as the result of his involvement with the Vienna Secession and his interest in experimenting with discordant media. This analytic approach will position Klimt's *Malmosaik* as a by-product of his initial academic training as a mural painter, and as a direct result of his subsequent involvement and collaborations with the *Stylisten* and the *Nur-Malen* of the Vienna Secession (1898-1905).[8]

A resurgence in Klimt scholarship occurred in 1973 due to the purchase of his *Beethoven Frieze* by the Austrian Ministry of Education. After its purchase it was restored over the course of ten years under the direction of Manfred Koller from the Federal Office of Monuments Vienna. Finally, in the course of the general renovation of the Secession Building in 1985, a room was created in the basement for the *Beethoven Frieze*, while a replica was created that traveled and made the work known to a larger audience outside of Vienna. The replicate Frieze, exhibited as far

[8] This thesis, in its investigation of Klimt's *Malmosaik* aesthetic, will not discuss the extensive iconographic meanings in the artist's work between the years 1898 and 1904 unless the iconography present within the work directly informs Klimt's interest in the medium of mosaic or the applied arts. For a succinct yet thorough examination of the iconographic content in Klimt's work see Peter Vergo, *Art in Vienna, 1898-1918: Klimt, Kokoschka, Schiele and Their Contemporaries*, (London: Phaidon, 1993). For a more detailed analysis see Christian Nebehay, *Gustav Klimt: From Drawing to Painting* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1994). For a detailed account of the iconographic content of Klimt's Faculty Paintings see Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-De-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981).

away as New York City, coupled with Hans Holbein's 1986 exhibition *Dreams and Reality*, and its prominent placement of Klimt's *The Kiss* in the exhibition's "Dreams" section, elevated Klimt, and more specifically, the allure of Fin-de-Siècle Viennese culture in the spheres of both popular culture and academic scholarship.

Although the iconographic approach to the artist's work has dominated scholarship on Klimt's artistic output for the past thirty years, Fritz Novotny commented on the materiality of Klimt's paintings as early as 1967.[9] In Novotny's introduction for Klimt's catalogue raisonné, he explained the *Beethoven Frieze* as an aesthetic issue, and not a problem of content, explaining that:

> The nature of the line drawing [...] was designed to express [...] easily definable emotional content. In art that takes this form [...] it can be expected that any change of form means a change in emotional content, if not thought content. This can be seen very clearly in the difference between the two university allegories on the one hand and the *Beethoven Frieze* on the other: while the former expressed resignation and sadness at the worlds woe's, manifesting itself in painterly uncertainty, the latter displays the heroic solemnity of an inner struggle, made visible in an austere form that is totally remote from nature. In opting for this later, non-Modernist style, giving greater freedom to elements of form, Klimt had ventured to a critical point regarding the visual rendering of metaphysical content. Was the emphasis he placed on 'open' linear form-lending weight to formal structure – an obvious and effective means of illustrating metaphysical ideas and symbols? Was not the dreamt-up harmony between form and thought content precariously threatened by the predominance of form- line, color and particularly ornamentation? There could be no doubt that ground had been gained with regard to the aesthetic effect of form but what about the clarity, unambiguousness and intensity of the thought content?[10]

Novotny's proposal that Klimt's painting aesthetic held the potential to overshadow the narrative presented in the *Beethoven Frieze* will inform this thesis' investigation of Klimt's utilization of the distinct qualities inherent in the media he manipulated in service of his own artistic creed. Novotny's emphasis on the importance of Klimt's use of line to communicate 'thought content' will be argued as

[9] The art historian Fritz Novotny compiled the first catalogue *raisonné* of Gustav Klimt's work in 1967.

[10] Fritz Novotny and Johannes Dobai, *Gustav Klimt* (with catalogue raisonné) (New York: Praeger, 1968), 36.

a fundamental aspect of the *Malmosaik* aesthetic that experiences alteration when implemented in different media. Throughout this study, scholarly labeling of Klimt as either a painter or a decorator will no longer act as exclusionary labels and instead, an argument will be posed for an innovative aesthetic that transcended all previously established expectations of media as espoused by both the academic institutions and the Vienna Secession.

Klimt's second Faculty Painting *Medicine* is discussed by scholars through the artist's decorative presentation of the figure of Hygeia. The Austrian critic Karl Kraus is often cited in order to highlight that Klimt's contemporaries recognized the emerging decorative aesthetic in the artist's paintings. 'Incapable of going beyond the conception of death as a skeleton, (Klimt) has nevertheless been able to employ the time-honored snake of Hygeia in the ornamental-worm like continuation of her Secessionist evening dress'.[11] While Kraus' comments criticize the presence of the snake as a superfluous adornment, his method of analysis highlights that the form of the snake subsumed its form within the garb of Hygeia, seamlessly leading the viewer's gaze beyond the reptile's physical form. Kraus, undoubtedly aware of the multiple perspectives present within the composition and the resulting tension from such an effect, highlights the potential side effects brought on by Klimt's technique of mixing different media within the confines of an autonomous work.

In Tina Marlowe-Storkovich's article "Medicine by Gustav Klimt", published in 2003, she argues that Klimt implemented the clustered arrangement of figures in *Medicine* with the goal of dividing each into isolated figural zones. Labeling the cluster a 'Wheel of Fortune', Marlowe-Storkovich reasons that the wheel, rather than the current, utilized by Klimt in his first Faculty Painting *Philosophy*, acts as the

[11] Frank Whitford, *Gustav Klimt* (London: Collins & Brown, 1993), 77.

directional guide to reading the work.[12] Thus the wheel, which acts as a structural tool for compositional balance, serves as both an apparatus for Klimt's developing interest in figural layering, while still serving as a visual device for communicating containment for the rotating forms.

Scholarly investigations of *Medicine's* materiality remain within the context of the figure of Hygeia, positioning the *Beethoven Frieze* as the next significant crux in the artist's developing decorative aesthetic. Because of the vast assortment of media Klimt utilized for its completion, scholars have investigated the *Beethoven Frieze* through a multitude of approaches. These have included his insertion of three-dimensional objects into the painting's surface, the canvas' relationship to its architectural support, the wide expanses of ornamental abstractions utilized, and the artist's exploitation of the unpainted surface of the canvas. These avenues of inquiry, regarding Klimt's experimentation of mixing media, position the Frieze as an important developmental stage of the *Malmosaik* aesthetic.

Beginning with an analysis by the German art historian Werner Hofmann in "Gesamtkunstwerk Wien," his contribution to the exhibition, *Der Hang zum Gesamtkunstwerk* of 1983, the potential impact Klimt's decorative aesthetic had upon the clarity of the work's narrative is discussed:

> [...] his (Klimt's) own basic motif – an eroticism that does not open up but screens itself off. Man and woman penetrate each other, protected by a precious enclosure [...]. There is no escape from this protective encasement, and fulfillment can only be achieved at the price of renouncing the world. In its motionless finality it seems tantamount to 'passionate death'.[13]

The 'protective encasement' and 'eroticism that does not open up, but screens itself off' highlights the progressive detachment of Klimt's art from traditional

[12] Tina Marlowe-Storkovich, "Medicine by Gustav Klimt," *Artibus et Historiae* 47, no. 47 (2003): 236.

[13] Werner Hofmann, "Gesamtkunstwerk Wien," in *Der Hang zum Gesamtkunstwerk* (exhibition catalogue) (Frankfurt: Germany, 1983), 88. Reprinted in Gottfried Fliedl, *Gustav Klimt 1862-1918: The World in Female Form* (Köln: Taschen, 2006), 109.

expectations required of monumental decorative works. Klimt's technique of figural representation in the *Beethoven Frieze*, unlike in *Philosophy* and *Medicine*, deliberately isolated and transfixed figures by surrounding them with 'protective encasements', the result being an obvious isolation and disengagement from the events depicted in the rest of the narrative. This expressed isolation was an effect that would, in the case of the *Stoclet Frieze*, be even more pronounced through Klimt's pairing of the figural and the decorative. Klimt's obvious disregard for medium purity positions the *Beethoven Frieze* equally within the realm of the applied arts and monumental decorative painting.

In Jane Kallir's essay "'High" and "Low" in Imperial Vienna: Gustav Klimt and the Applied Arts," published in conjunction with the 2001 exhibition *Gustav Klimt: Modernism in the Making*, she discusses the materiality of the *Beethoven Frieze* as it developed from decorative historicist painting in Vienna prior to the founding of the Vienna Secession. 'The Beethoven Frieze achieves just the right balance between art and architecture – proving that it is indeed possible to create an artwork that is fully one with its space, yet nevertheless as complex, profound and moving as any conventional easel painting'.[14] Kallir's observation that the legitimacy traditionally reserved for easel painting was achieved in Klimt's *Beethoven Frieze* suggest the work's prominent role in the ongoing internal debate between the Secession's two internal factions; the *Nur-Malen* and the *Stylisten*.

In Gottfried Fliedl's book *Gustav Klimt 1862-1918: The World in Female Form*, published in 2006, he highlights the artist's method of segregating the figural and ornamental portions of the Frieze as essential to understanding the work's narrative. 'The unique tension and complex network of relationships achieved in the Frieze is due to Klimt's implementation of a rigid narrative format in which the individual

[14] Jane Kallir, "High and Low in Imperial Vienna: Gustav Klimt and the Applied Arts." in *Gustav Klimt: Modernism in the Making,* ed. Colin B. Bailey (New York: Harry N. Abrams Incorporated, 2001), 66.

elements are self-contained, kept apart from one another by large empty areas, lined up paratactically [...] without any links between them'.[15] Klimt, opting to leave large expanses of canvas bare, suggests an unusually radical compositional technique aimed at abstraction. This technique resulted in the material ground of the painting becoming an additional carrier of the artist's message.[16]

In conjunction with Tobias Natter and Christopher Grunenberg's exhibition *Gustav Klimt: Painting, Design and Modern Life* of 2008, Eva Winkler discusses the *Beethoven Frieze* in relation to Joseph Maria Olbrich's Secession building, positioning the work as a significant stage of the *Malmosaik's* relationship with architecture. Winkler reasons that Klimt's elimination of the seams between the canvas and the plastered walls provided the work the impression of having been executed directly upon the wall, allowing the Frieze to be labeled a 'temple ornament'.[17] In addition, Winkler highlights Klimt's use of pencil upon plaster, much of it still visible, positioning the graphic arts, along with the mediums of painting, mosaic and architecture as major contributors to the pervasive visual tensions present within the work.

Regardless of the amount of scholarship conducted on the materiality of the *Beethoven Frieze*, it is not until *Jurisprudence* that scholars concerned with the artist's innovations in combining media discuss the presence of the *Malmosaik*. The complexity and effectiveness of the communicated surface tension of *Jurisprudence* was the direct result of not only Klimt's innovations in compositional layering, but also a result of the organizational role that the *Malmosaik* provided. Scholars interested in exploring the role of *Malmosaik* reference the writings of Ludwig

[15] Gottfried Fliedl, *Gustav Klimt 1862-1918 the World in Female Form* (Cologne: Taschen, 1989), 110.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Fliedl, 84.

Hevesi. One passage in particular from Hevesi's 1903 essay, "Zur Klimt-Ausstellung", has been mentioned frequently by scholars:

> Only four days previously, I had come back from Sicily. I was still intoxicated with the golden world of the mosaics, gleaming and glittering [...]. It came back to me as I stood there in front of Klimt's picture, with its shining gold[18] [...]. A new style, after all the pictorial orgies of the previous centuries [...]. This picture must be regarded as the master's final step in this particular direction.[19]

The 'final step' that Hevesi claims *Jurisprudence* fulfills, was what the critic perceived to be the height of the *Malmosaik* aesthetic at that moment. The tension that occurs between the 'aesthetic effect of form' and the clear and communicable 'thought content' as previously outlined by Novotny, finds application here in the case of Hevesi's observations concerning *Jurisprudence*. Emulating more the flattened spatial environment of the *Beethoven Frieze*, *Jurisprudence* differed drastically from *Philosophy* and *Medicine*, resulting in a work where the strength of the narrative's message was being rivaled by the artist's method of visually communicating that narrative.

In Peter Vergo's monograph of 1975, *Art in Vienna 1898-1918: Klimt, Kokoschka, Schiele and their Contemporaries,* he claims that Klimt's *Malmosaik* aesthetic was in direct conflict with Matsch's classically rendered works, *Theology* and the *Triumph of Light over Darkness*. In addition, Klimt's final Faculty Painting did not achieve any degree of stylistic compatibility with the University of Vienna's ceiling, a conflict that occurred regardless of Klimt's final reworking of the painting's iconographic content. Positioning the commission's failure as not reliant upon the scandalous content depicted within the painting, but instead as the result of the artist's

[18] Hevesi's account of visiting the artist's studio prior to the work's installation in the Secession Building reads like a religious experience. He describes the artist's studio, which had all three Faculty Paintings out on view, as dark and mysterious, an environment that he claims made *Jurisprudence* all the more monumental. He claimed that *Jurisprudence*, which was rendered almost exclusively with different gradients of black, red and gold, exhibited a solemn and religious mood usually reserved for mosaic works adorning sacred spaces.

[19] Ludwig Hevesi, "Zur Klimt-Ausstellung," in *Acht Jahre Secession*, ed. Otto Breicha (Klagenfurt: Ritter Verlag, 1984), 447.

aesthetic, Vergo reasons that 'In *Jurisprudence*, the more naturalistic conventions of Klimt's earlier work are almost completely suppressed, along with the illusionistic space, the *di sotto in su* appropriate to an intended ceiling painting, in favor of a highly abstract geometrical conception.'[20] Klimt's Faculty Paintings, lacking the necessary stylistic elements that would have achieved compatibility with the interior décor of the ceiling of the University of Vienna, raises the issue of whether Klimt had the Aula ceiling's ornate decor in mind when he worked on the three paintings.[21] That the Faculty Paintings were exhibited individually upon completion and hung vertically in the Secession building, even prior to their installation upon the University ceiling, speaks volumes about Klimt's intentions for the three works.

The stylistic differences between the three Faculty Paintings and their ability to function within an exhibition environment when they were not commissioned to do so was, in the case of *Philosophy* and *Medicine*, due to the atmospheric depth communicated within their compositions. It is Klimt's method of compositional arrangement, however, that highlights the radical stylistic differences between *Philosophy* and *Jurisprudence*. The ornamental segmentation of *Jurisprudence's* narrative was successfully communicated because of the *Malmosaik* aesthetic and its role in fixing forms upon the painting's surface, an effect communicated similarly in mosaic works. The art historian Eva di Stefano argues that the *Malmosaik* aesthetic in *Jurisprudence* was a result of Klimt's two trips to Ravenna in 1903, where he visited San Vitale.[22] In addition to Klimt's exposure to the mosaics at San Vitale, di Stefano

---

[20] Peter Vergo, *Art in Vienna, 1898-1918: Klimt, Kokoschka, Schiele and Their Contemporaries* (London: Phaidon, 1993), 80.

[21] Scholarship discussing the incompatibility of Klimt's Faculty Paintings with that of the interior of the Große Festsaal is largely overlooked in favor of investigating the stylistic differences between the works of Klimt and Matsch. This is due to the fact that no known accounts of Klimt discussing his work as it related to the halls interior exist.

[22] Klimt travelled to Ravenna twice in 1903. His first visit was in May of 1903 and his second was in the winter of the same year. Alfred Roller, who had previously visited San Vitale in order to study the technique of mosaic in connection with his work for the Breitenfelder-

highlights Klimt's childhood as the son of a goldsmith, explaining that 'The peculiarity of Klimt's 'golden style' lies not only in the massive use of pure gold leaf and gilded paper, but above all in the structural role the medium assumes in the painting.'[23] Claiming that gold, because of its dual qualities of brightness and opaqueness, has the potential to modulate the relationships between flat and plastic sections of the surface to which it is applied, di Stefano claims Klimt's style of painting was influenced by formal aspects of metalwork and other media.[24] She comments 'In *Jurisprudence*, the fluid, existential space of the first two paintings, has been petrified, fixed in black and gold, and is now a cage with no escape [...]. In the upper section, far away, abstract and cold in their geometric parameters, Truth, Justice and Law supervise the scene as if mounted in a Byzantine mosaic.'[25] Further, she defines key elements specific to *Jurisprudence* that were not present within the first two Faculty Paintings, writing that '[...] *Jurisprudence* is constructed through contrasts between rigid, flattened spatiality, linked decoratively to mosaic methods, and the shortened perspective of the powerfully three dimensional body [...]. The ornament becomes structure and message.'[26]

Eva di Stefano's point about ornament's ability to function as both a work's structural apparatus as well as an additional carrier of the work's narrative will be a focal point in this thesis' investigation of Klimt's mosaic contribution for the Wiener Werkstätte's Palais Stoclet commission of 1905-11. In the first monograph published

---

Kirche in Vienna might have incited Klimt to make his first trip to the chapel. Klimt's second trip was in the company of painter Max Lenz. Lenz recalled the enormous impact made on Klimt by the mosaics. Information published in Peter Vergo, *Art in Vienna, 1898-1918: Klimt, Kokoschka, Schiele and Their Contemporaries* (London: Phaidon, 1993), 83.

[23] Eva di Stefano, *Gustav Klimt: Art Nouveau Visionary* (New York: Sterling Publishing Co., 2008), 84.

[24] Ibid., 88.

[25] Ibid., 46.

[26] Ibid.

on Klimt's work in 1920, written by the art historian Max Eisler, the aesthetic of Klimt's mosaic is discussed in relation to other media:

> The Stoclet mosaic constitutes a definitive departure from monumental freedom and grandeur, a falling back on handicraft with its dependence on materials; for the Viennese handicrafts, on the other hand, it is a great enrichment, for here is an artist who, familiar with both the intentions of the architect and mosaic technique, is working for the combined arts [...]. The *Stoclet Frieze* is, properly speaking, an exercise in materials: the artist, not content with having made the working drawings, intervenes continually and effectively in their execution, scattering them with handwritten instructions.[27]

In Christian Nebehay's 1994 monograph, *Gustav Klimt: From Drawing to Painting*, Klimt's mosaic contribution to the Palais Stoclet commission is discussed within the context of the artist's close collaboration with Leopold Forstner and the Wiener Werkstätte's mosaic workshop. Nebehay, arguing for a mosaic that was intrinsically linked to different media, utilized first hand accounts published by Klimt's contemporaries who were knowledgeable about its process of development and realization, specifically those by Berta Zuckerkandl[28] from her article on the Stoclet *Frieze* published in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* on 23 October 1911.[29] 'The frieze took shape in the mosaic workshop of Leopold Forstner, whose noted talent for style and decorativeness urged him to experiment with new mosaic techniques.'[30] Additional impressions of the *Stoclet Frieze* by Klimt's contemporaries perceive the mosaic as the height of the artist's artistic career. '[...] this phase in the artist's development came to a natural if temporary close in that he was able to work with his own hands at least one mineral element of the bright and glittering materials he

[27] Max Eisler, *Gustav Klimt* (Vienna: Rikola Verlag, 1920), 26.

[28] Berta Zuckerkandl (1864-1945) was a prominent Austrian writer, journalist and art critic. Through her literary salon she became acquainted with men such as Gustav Klimt, Gustav Mahler, Max Reinhardt and Arthur Schnitzler. She is most famously known for her writings defending the work of Gustav Klimt during the years of the Faculty Painting scandal.

[29] Berta Zuckerkandl quote reprinted in Christian M. Nebehay, *Gustav Klimt: from drawing to painting* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1994), 158.

[30] Ibid., 161.

had striven, as a painter, to bring to luminous effect [...].'[31] The art historian Peter Vergo has published similar conclusions stating that 'In the case of the *Stoclet Frieze*, the mosaic technique in which they (the figures) are executed not only emphasizes the physical reality of the play of abstract patterns; it also heightens the tension between, on the one hand, the still essentially conventional character of the represented subject and the naturalism with the culminating figures [...].'[32]

While the Faculty Paintings and the *Beethoven Frieze* represent pivotal points in Klimt's developing decorative painting aesthetic, it is in the Palais Stoclet mosaic that the significance of the *Malmosaik* on the initial developments of early modernism in Vienna became apparent. Scholarship generally argues that the *Stoclet Frieze* embodied the full synthesis of the stylistic qualities inherent in Klimt's *Malmosaik* aesthetic upon canvas with the medium of mosaic. The potential outcome and consequences that this forged relationship could have had upon the two media individually, however, has not been evaluated. Eisler, in his account from 1920, observed that Klimt's efforts in combining different media within his mosaic greatly enriched the Viennese arena of handicraft, but the impact of Klimt's style of *Malmosaik* on Viennese painting was not considered.

Scholarship that has investigated the materiality of Klimt's works has analyzed his Faculty Paintings, *Beethoven Frieze* and *Stoclet Frieze* through a wide variety of approaches. Each approach summarized in this section provides valuable assistance in this thesis' analysis of the *Malmosaik* aesthetic. But while a majority of this above-mentioned scholarship investigated the visual tensions present in Klimt's work as solely a byproduct of the artist's methods of figural arrangements, this thesis will delve deeper into the formal aspects of his work and analyze his decorative

[31] Arpad Weixlgärtner, "Gustav Klimt," in *The Graphic Arts* (Vienna, 1912): 56.

[32] Peter Vergo, "Between Modernism and Tradition: The Importance of Klimt's Murals and Figure Painting," in *Gustav Klimt: Modernism in the Making,* ed. Colin B. Bailey (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams Incorporated, 2001)*,* 32.

aesthetic through their material foundations. Furthermore, that past scholarship has opted to analyze how Klimt's paintings relates to either architecture or the applied arts, has left investigations analyzing the relationships that resulted from the combination of all three media largely unexplored. This thesis will argue the *Malmosaik* as the connecting vein between the three different media since it directly engaged with painting, architecture, and the applied arts.

The *Malmosaik,* manipulated by Klimt to function upon canvas in a manner similar to that of tesserae tiles imbedded upon a wall, provided a system of serial arrangement to painting, a method of composition previously reserved for mosaic. That the facets of the *Malmosaik* could be rearranged infinitely, like a mosaic, brings into question the significance of Klimt's mosaic for the Palais Stoclet. If Klimt's *Malmosaik* upon canvas had reached the level of accurate depictions of mosaics, why create a true mosaic for the Palais Stoclet dining room at all? That a painting constructed with the *Malmosaik* aesthetic on canvas, inserted within the dining room wall in a manner similar to that of the *Beethoven Frieze*, was not created for the commission, represent the inherent complexity of the *Malmosaik's* potential success when applied in different media. If the *Malmosaik* can be recognized as both an aesthetic and a self-sustaining medium in its own right, than the potential for the *Malmosaik* to be realized within a variety of different media were endless in the context of the Vienna Secession. That this approach to Klimt's work has not yet been addressed attests to the stylistic innovations inherent in the *Malmosaik*, positioning it as unexampled, and not easily open to being compartmentalized within traditional analytic approaches concerning the medium of painting.

CHAPTER III

VIENNESE DECORATIVE PAINTING: MAKART, BERGER AND THE KUNSTLERKOMPONIE

"*Everything back to the surface!*"[33]

Ludwig Hevesi

Ludwig Hevesi's claim that Gustav Klimt's *Malmosaik* was a new method of surface decoration arose from the critic's observation that the aesthetic was not limited by its structural support. Additionally, the *Malmosaik* did not need to disguise or alter the structural surface to achieve its characteristic ornate effect. Instead, it directly engaged any surface it adorned enhancing the characteristic aspects of the two-dimensional surface to which it was applied. Hevesi's desire for a 'return to the surface' was in conflict with the state of both small scale and monumental painting being produced in Vienna during the latter half of the nineteenth-century. Viewing Klimt's technique/style of *Malmosaik*, both in Mannheim and in Vienna, encouraged the critic to envision it as corrective to the 'picturesque orgies of the last decade' that were brought to life through perspectival depth and were hindering innovations in the realm of the decorative arts.[34] For Hevesi, the *Malmosaik* represented the potential for an 'honest and clear' method of painting that did away with false 'formations of space' and instead presented '[...] openly admitted surface-coverings (*Flächendeckung*). No perspectival illusions, but rather the genuine abandonment of plastic visual stimuli.'[35] The 'visual stimuli' to which Hevesi referred was embodied in the work of the Neo-Baroque painter Hans Makart. The favored painter of the Imperial family, Makart had fulfilled almost all high-profile private and public

[33] Hevesi, "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" (August 1907), 546.

[34] Hevesi, "Zur Klimt-Ausstellung" (November 1903), 447.

[35] Hevesi, "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" (August 1907), 546.

imperial commissions in Vienna during the last third of the nineteenth century. His interest in painting overindulgent scenes of aristocratic pageantry and grandeur had his work in high demand amongst the Viennese upper class. Makart also contributed to the public success of Gustav Klimt and his *Kunstlerkomponie* partners Franz Matsch and Ernst Klimt. The three men, working in Makart's studio, were contracted to complete commissions left unfinished by Makart after his death in 1884.

The following discussion will compare the painting style of Makart to the decorative paintings completed by Klimt for the Kunsthistorisches Museum in order to highlight the significant departure Klimt underwent from this mentor. Through formal analysis of Klimt's work in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, this section will position the formal techniques utilized by the artist in these early decorative wall paintings as necessary predecessors to the Faculty Paintings and the *Malmosaik*.

Vienna at the turn of the century was filled with both political and cultural paradoxes. Governed by a monarchy while operating under a conservative political regime, Vienna's regard for new artistic developments and technological advancements were surprisingly democratic.[36] According to the Austrian philosopher

[36] "It was *kaiserlich-königlich* (imperial-royal) and it was *kaiserlich und königlich* (imperial and royal) to every thing and person; but esoteric lore was nevertheless required to be sure of distinguishing which institutions and persons were to be referred to as *k.k.,* and which as *k. u. k.* On paper, it called itself the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; in speaking, however, one referred to it as "Austria" – that is to say, it was known by a name which it had, as a state, solemnly renounced by oath while preserving it in all matters of sentiment, as a sign that feelings are just as important as constitutional law, and that regulations are not the really serious thing in life. By its constitution it was liberal, but its system of government was clerical. The system of government was clerical, but the general attitude to life was liberal. Before the law all citizens were equal; not everyone, of course, was a citizen. There was a parliament which made such vigorous use of its liberty that it was usually kept shut; but there was also an Emergency Powers Act, by means of which it was possible to manage without Parliament. And, each time everyone was just beginning to rejoice in absolutism, the Crown decreed that there must now be a return to parliamentary government." (Quote by Robert Musil (1905–1942)) See Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin, *Wittgentstein's Vienna* (New York: Gulf & Western Corporation, 1973), 36.

Ludwig Wittgenstein, in Vienna 'ethics and aesthetics were one in the same'.[37] Or as Carl E. Schorske phrased it, Vienna experienced '[...] the contending forces of old ethical and the new aesthetic culture. When political issues became cultural, cultural issues became political."[38] With the absence of separation between the artistic and political realms, aesthetic tastes were being evaluated on the basis of morality, not innovation. This prevalent occurrence of political intervention in cultural achievements was one of the motivating factors behind the original members of the Vienna Secession seceding from the Künstlerhaus in 1897.[39]

In order to study painting in Vienna, one had to attend the Imperial Academy where Hans Makart was the arbiter of reputable taste. The Academy was a conservative state institution that enforced rigid formalism rather than innovation, imposing upon its students the bourgeois prejudices of an earlier generation.[40] Naturalism and academicism were the dominant styles in the most admired paintings of Austria-Hungary. Austrian ceiling and decorative wall painting, public and private, were predominately rendered to communicate perspectival depth. Makart's work, escapist in its iconography through its common depiction of mythical narratives, catered to the lavish lifestyles of the Viennese elite. A representative example of Makart's work is the Vienna Dumba Study commission of 1871, to which Hevesi referred as '[...] the first complete design project reflecting the profession and the

---

[37] Reprinted in Claude Cernuschi, *Re/Casting Kokoschka* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002), 13.

[38] Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-De-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 232.

[39] Founded in 1861, the Vienna Künstlerhaus resided within the highly ornate, Neo-Renaissance Künstlerhaus building on Karlsplatz in Vienna. Membership was widely viewed as something of a professional obligation once one finished their academic training at any of the Viennese art institutions. Roughly four hundred individuals belonged to the Künstlerhaus when Klimt joined in 1891. See Elizabeth Clegg, "The Foundation of the Viennese Secession," in *Gustav Klimt, Painting, Design and Modern Life*, ed. Tobias G. Natter and Christoph Grunenberg (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2008), 60.

[40] Janik and Toulmin, *Wittgenstein's Vienna*, 94.

artistic inclination of the owner that would be carried out by an artist on the Ringstraße in Vienna, which was under construction at the time'.[41]

Nicolaus Dumba was an incredibly influential patron in the development of art and music in Vienna during the latter half of the nineteenth century. With a lifelong interest in the arts, he served as both a prominent politician and director of such artistic organizations as the Kunstverein (1860), the Wiener Männergesangsverein (from 1865), and curator and co-founder of the k.k. Österreichishes Museum für Kunst und Industrie (from 1868). As the president of the Vienna committee for public monuments, Dumba was familiar with both public and private artistic projects commissioned in the city. His selection of Makart to redesign his personal study marked a significant stage for decorative painting in Vienna.

Dumba was significant in his active role as a patron of the arts because of his interest in commissioning painters to design the interiors of his private residence. In 1893, Dumba commissioned Franz Matsch to design the interior of his dining room and in 1897 he commissioned Gustav Klimt to design his music room. It was significant that these three men were not architects, but painters, requested to design whole interiors and not just paintings for installation. Thus, one is able to see the unique ways each painter incorporated preexisting objects in the Dumba family's collection as well as how they constructed relationships between the decorative wall paintings and accompanying architectural elements. In the case of Makart's design for the Dumba Study, decorative wall paintings were paired with lavish protruding architectural elements at the room's four corners, plaster forms advancing out from the painted walls. The result of this expansive coverage of the Study's walls with both the painted scenes and ornate sculptural additions was visually overwhelming,

[41] Quoted in Rainald Franz, "A True Memorial to the Viennese Flamboyant Style," in *Hans Makart: Painter of the Senses*, ed. Agnes-Husslein-Arco and Alexander Klee (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2011), 159.

especially when paired with the dramatic illusionistic opening of the ceiling to the sky.

The Dumba Study commission consisted of six decorative wall paintings and a ceiling painting, all of which engaged with the interior in a manner meant to evoke monumentality. The Study measured roughly nineteen by twelve feet, and while not a small room by any means, the paintings Makart designed for the space expressed a level of grandeur more suited for a ballroom than a private library. Each painted allegory was rendered in the artist's distinctly vibrant and energetic style of painting. While four of the wall paintings had backgrounds rendered exclusively with gold paint, the remaining two contained elements of perspectival depth in their pastoral landscapes. The allegories occupying the two larger walls of the Study were brimming with figures rendered through full and robust contours characteristic of High Baroque painting. The Study's ceiling painting, *Four Allegories of Music,* measuring 500 by 450 centimeters, utilized a dramatic trompe l'oeil effect that opened the ceiling to a cloudless sky (fig. 1). The dramatic contrast created between the two color palettes Makart utilized for the walls and ceiling heightened the trompe l'oeil effect of the Study's interior; the environment made more monumental through the implementation of perspectival space in the decorative works. With his *Four Allegories of Music*, Makart re-introduced into Historicist room decoration the genre of the ceiling painting seen from below.[42] It was this monumental effect, which Makart achieved in the Dumba Study, that the Austrian Ministry of Culture wanted him to replicate for the paintings in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum. The conservative theme of the history of art for the paintings above the stairwell of the Kunsthistorisches Museum would have no doubt depicted exuberant figures rendered in rich jewel tones had Makart been able to finish the commission.

[42] Franz, "A True Memorial to the Viennese Flamboyant Style," 165.

Figure 1
Hans Makart, *Four Allegories of Music: Religious Music, Military, Hunting, and Dance Music (Ceiling picture for the study of Nicolaus Dumba),* 1873. 500 x 450cm, Chi Mei Museum, Tainan, Taiwan

Contracted to complete the ceiling, lunettes and fanlight paintings of the Kunsthistorisches Museum stairwell, Makart was only able to complete the 12 fanlights, dying before he could begin the ceiling painting and 24 accompanying lunettes.[43] The task of completing the monumental ceiling painting was given to the Hungarian painter Mihály von Munkácsy. Munkácsy's work followed a similar formal aesthetic to Makart, with his painting employing an even more exaggerated trompe l'oeil than the Dumba Study ceiling painting. The 24 lunettes were divided between Gustav Klimt, Franz Matsch and Ernst Klimt.[44] The departure of Klimt's style from the style of the Neo-Baroque was evident in his lunette for the *Allegory of Egyptian Art* (fig. 2). The lunette contained a solitary female figure exhibiting an aggressive frontality with limbs and facial features reminiscent of sculpture. The commission requested that the three men incorporate depictions of objects held in the Museum's permanent collection within the allegories. Klimt accommodated this stipulation in two ways. He chose to include the collection's objects by rendering them three dimensionally and abstractly. By combining different decorative patterns from various Museum objects, Klimt reimagined Egyptian motifs as decorative backdrops for the figures in his lunettes. Klimt's technique of incorporating these reimagined motifs of Egyptian art directly referenced the aesthetic painting preferences of

[43] Gustav Klimt, Ernst Klimt and Franz Matsch first gained Imperial approval for their artistic talents when assisting Makart on the decorative painting program for the Hermesvilla, located in the Imperial Hunting Reserve. The three men, under the name of the *Kunstlerkomponie* were then hired to paint the ceilings of the two stairwells of the Burgtheater in Vienna. The Burgtheater commission was the first incidence of the *Kunstlerkomponie* taking over a commission originally given to Makart. Through the *Kunstlerkomponie's* accomplishments in the Burgtheater, the trio was selected for the Kunsthistorisches Museum commission.

[44] Division of the Kunsthistorisches Museum lunettes: Gustav Klimt was assigned the Allegory of Ancient Greek Art, Ancient Egypt, Roman and Venetian Quattrocentro and Florence of the Cinquecentro and Quattrocentro. Ernst Klimt was assigned the Allegory of the Dutch and Flemish School, the Netherlands, Italian High Renaissance, German Renaissance and Spain. Franz Matsch was assigned the Allegory of Carolingian and Burgundian Periods, Baroque and Rococo, Northern Gothic of the Late Middle Ages, Roman and Byzantine Art.

Figure 2
Gustav Klimt, *Allegory of Egyptian Art*, 1890/91. Oil on stucco base, about 230 x 230 cm., Spandrel of the stairwell in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Egyptian culture.[45] The fact that Klimt did not depict a classicized female form adorned with Egyptian iconography, like Makart often did, represents a significant shift in the artist's trajectory away from the historically established methods of painting propagated by the academy. While the Kunsthistorisches Museum provided Klimt with the visual material necessary for conceiving a composition representative of ancient Egyptian culture, the contemporaneous research of Austrian art historian Alois Riegl provided academic legitimacy to past styles neglected for design purposes in Vienna during the time which Neo-Baroque and Neo-Classical buildings were being erected along the Ringstraße:

> Painting (and other two-dimensional art) is based on the optical surface. It therefore seems likely that it would be absent from Egyptian Art, with its predilection for the tactile surface. The main objective [...] was the tactile delimitation of height and width, which could be affected in two-dimensional arts through sharp, clear, unambiguous outlines. As a result, all Egyptian painting is contour drawing, absolutely solid and crisp (modern painting, in contrast, dispenses with outlines, allowing objects to spill over into space as fluidly as possible). On the other hand, Egyptian painting eschews the delimitation of objects in depth, that is, modeling. Egyptian painting is silhouette painting; its essence never really changed. Within the outlines of a human figure, we find no modeling; only those parts were accentuated that were already distinguished by color: hair, eyes, ornament.[46]

Klimt's *Allegory of Egyptian Art* utilized accurate depictions of Ancient Egyptian motifs, while still allowing for the artist's developing affinity for a more restrained figural form. In effect, Klimt's painting aesthetic experienced minimal alteration in order to achieve a cohesive level of compatibility with the decorative aesthetic of the Ancient culture he was depicting. His method of rendering the female form in the lunette, which combined methods of clear outlines while also allowing for the retention of a thickness of form and volume, situates his female figure in the *Allegory of Egyptian Art* as illustrative of concepts outlined by Riegl. The lack of perspectival depth represented in Klimt's lunette affirmed what painting was; a medium applied

[45] Alois Riegl, *Historical Grammar of the Visual*, ed. Benjamin Binstock, trans. Jacqueline E. Jung (New York: Zone Books, 2004), 413.

[46] Ibid.

to a two-dimensional surface. Klimt's lunettes did not follow established conceptions of decorative wall paintings as propagated by Hans Makart, but instead were conceived in a manner reminiscent of another of his mentors, Julius Berger.

The stoic female figure represented in the *Allegory of Egyptian Art* was rendered with a technique of painting that Klimt had acquired from Julius Berger, an instructor at the Kunstgewerbeschule (fig. 3). Albert Ilg, head curator of the Museum at the time, spoke of the *Kunstlerkomponie's* work as being conscious of Makart's influence, but not dependent upon it, observing that:

> This clover leaf of artists which had emerged from the Vienna School of Decorative Arts followed in the footsteps of the Makart genius [...]. But today, the quality that clearly distinguishes their work from Makart's vivid Neo-Baroque richness of figures and sometimes explicitly open painting technique is to be found in the style of Julius Berger.[47]

Berger's teaching technique emphasized a flatter, more restrained and dry method of figural representation.[48] Ilg's public approval of the *Kunstlerkomponie's* Bergerian painting technique for the lunettes represents a significant shift in early twentieth century Viennese painting. As Makart's style was irrefutably the more dominant aesthetic of the period, Ilg's approval of the *Kunstlerkomponie's* adoption of Berger's alternative style of painting, laid the foundation for the less popularized style to develop further.

Klimt's *Allegory of Egyptian Art* was in direct communication with its architectural support due to the depictions of two-dimensionally rendered motifs serving as the backdrop for the figure; a corporeal form harmoniously depicted with ornamented additions upon a surface undisguised as a wall. Berger's technique of painting provided Klimt a technique of cohesively combining decorative two-dimensional motifs with figures rendered with moderate modeling. By rendering the

[47] Reprinted in Bischoff Cäcilis, *Kunsthistorisches Museum History, Architecture, Decoration* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum 2010), 72.

[48] Ibid, 125.

Figure 3
Julius Berger, *Musical Enchantment*, 1855. Oil on panel, 97.2 x 73 cm.

figures in an idealized manner without strong contours or depth, while still allowing it to retain a prominent level of anatomical clarity, a balanced dialogue between depictions of organic and inorganic was created. Berger's aesthetic was concerned with the delineation of forms rather than communicating energy through the illusion of motion. In the case of Makart's decorative painting commissions, the painter executed each of his designs, regardless of the type of painting, i.e. ceiling, wall, easel, with the same level of energy and movement; accuracy of form often exchanged for emotional grandeur.

Arguably the most striking aspect of Klimt's paintings in the Kunsthistorisches Museum was the unique juxtaposition of the two-dimensionally rendered decorative motifs with figures rendered three-dimensionally. While Hans Makart often paired these two elements in his paintings, it was never to the degree in which the decorative rivaled the figural for the dominant role in the work. In Makart's paintings the figures were the irrefutable focal points of the compositions, the decorative merely adorning their bodies and environment. Klimt's personification of Egyptian Art, while the focal point of the lunette, occupies less space in the lunette than the decorative plane that serves as the background. This distribution of the decorative and the figural would change dramatically in Klimt's later works. When discussing Klimt's *Malmosaik*, Hevesi repeatedly emphasizes that central to the style's innovation was its ability to forge a symbiotic relationship between a painted scene and its structural support. In essence, why did the structural support of a work have to be disguised or hidden when a method of decorative painting could be implemented that established fluid transitions between art and architecture? It is important to note the balance achieved in Klimt's lunettes regarding dramatic juxtapositions of disparate forms and motifs. Klimt designed the allegory in a way that incorporated two-dimensional decorative forms while maintaining the figures' three-dimensionality. This presented the work as neither

fully in dialogue with Egyptian aesthetic principles or Makart's historicist style. While Klimt's juxtaposing of the two-dimensional decorative and the three-dimensional figural found appropriate application in the context of small-scale decorative wall painting, the success of this innovative technique of formal arrangement would be challenged in the context of ceiling painting.

CHAPTER IV

KLIMT'S FACULTY PAINTINGS: FROM THE FIRST TO THE THIRD, THE PAINTED MOSAIC IS BORN

"*At this third stage stands Jurisprudence, especially the upper portion, where Justice appears with her attendants. This is already the pure mosaic construction composed out of small geometric parts, colored, golden, silver, non-plastic, a pure surface. Were Klimt to paint the image today, he would allow this upper portion, the museful vision, to predominate powerfully. At the time, he was not ready.*"[49]

Ludwig Hevesi

Klimt's three Faculty Paintings, produced between 1900 and 1903, represent a significant stage in the development of the artist's *Malmosaik* technique of painting. The first two Faculty Paintings, both exhibiting stylistic techniques previously utilized by Klimt for some of his lunettes in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, each depicted a condensed environment containing tight clusters of figural forms backed by shallow suggestions of atmospheric space. The third Faculty, *Jurisprudence*, eradicated atmospheric perspective, racking a three-planed composition into a compressed subterranean environment. In his essays, Hevesi discusses each Faculty Painting as representing a unique and imperative developmental stage of the *Malmosaik*. In addition to writing about the Faculty Paintings, in "Bilder von Gustav Klimt" and "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" Hevesi mentions additional works completed by Klimt from the same period that demonstrated a similar decorative aesthetic. While this section will focus on the *Malmosaik* as it developed through the Faculty Paintings, discussions of these additional works will be incorporated when appropriate. As the mosaic aesthetic intensified from one Faculty Painting to the next, so to did Hevesi's language for describing the formal characteristics of the aesthetic. Through a combined approach of formal analysis and material selected from Hevesi's three essays, the Faculty Paintings, with their progressive inclusion of

[49] Hevesi, "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" (August 1907), 546.

the *Malmosaik*, will be established as undeniable precedents for the stylistic innovations Klimt achieved with his *Beethoven Frieze* and *Stoclet Frieze*.

This development began in 1894 when Klimt and Franz Matsch were commissioned to design and execute a series of paintings meant to allegorize the four faculties of a traditional Austrian university - Theology, Philosophy, Medicine and Jurisprudence- for the ceiling of the newly completed Große Festsaal of the University of Vienna. Klimt and Matsch divided the commission, with Matsch taking responsibility for *Triumph of Light Over Darkness*, the large rectangular central panel of the ceiling's overall rectangular space. Surrounded by a decorative frame and emblems, four smaller rectangles, which represented the four faculties, were placed beyond its corners. Matsch took responsibility for *Theology*, while Klimt was to paint the other three, as well as most of the lunettes below. The committee found little wrong with Matsch's rendering of the *Triumph of Light Over Darkness,* but balked at Klimt's designs for *Philosophy*, *Medicine* and *Jurisprudence*. Failure to express their intended themes was not the issue, rather it was their inability to stylistically function alongside Matsch's more historicized imagining and spatial treatment of the ceiling's centerpiece (fig. 4). The viewpoint of all of the paintings was to be from the room's western end towards the podium at its eastern end. While Matsch's illusionism opens the centerpiece to the heavens above, Klimt's paintings contained much less illusionism. Klimt's Faculty Paintings were missing the trompe l'oeil effect expected of ceiling paintings being produced in Vienna and instead exhibited strange incidences of hyper realism and unorthodox methods of figural layering.

Despite initial objections to Klimt's submissions, the committee did not revoke the commission, as it was understood that Klimt and Matsch would revise their work to ensure a higher degree of cohesion in the final product. Official, as well

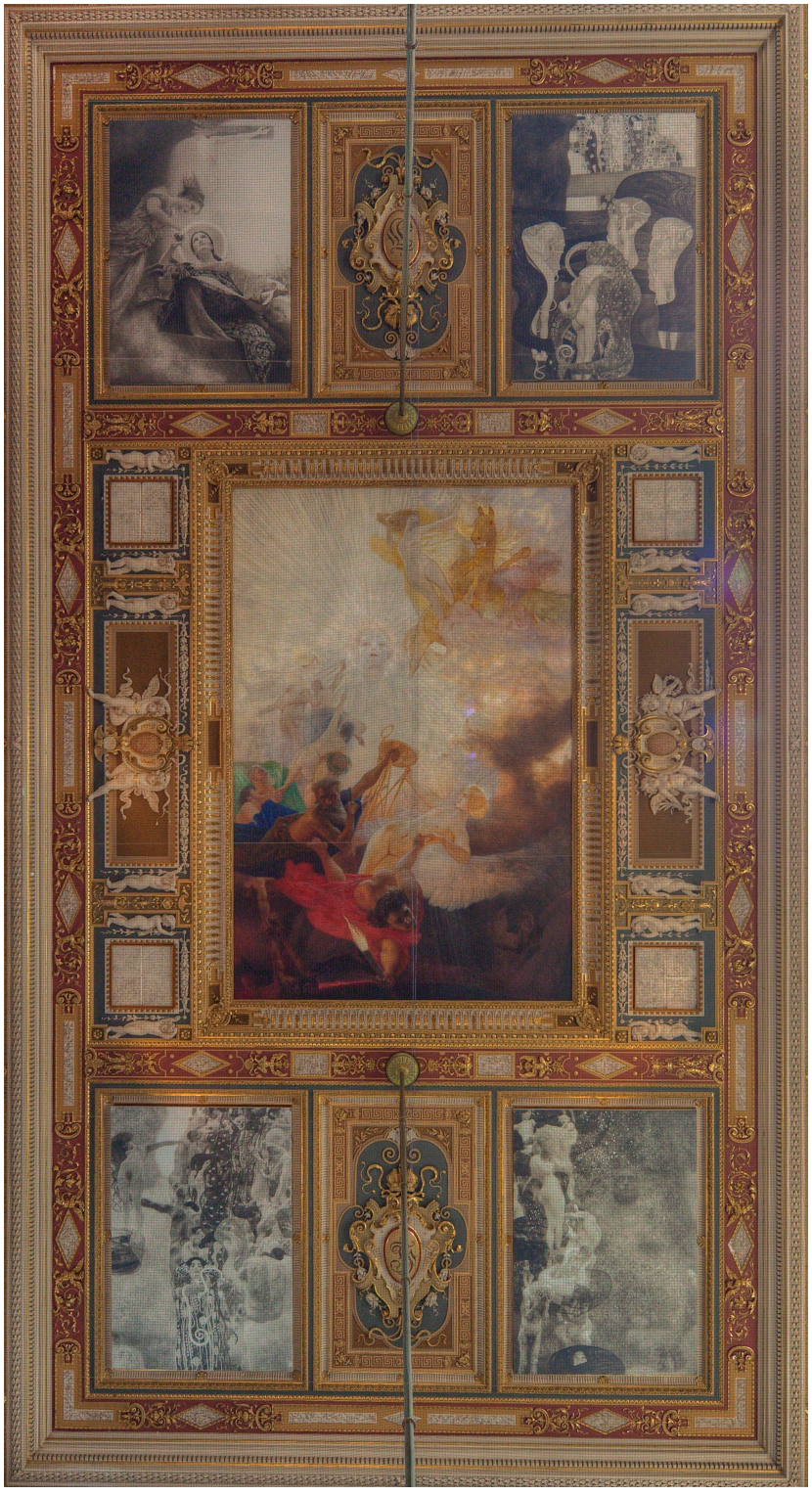

Figure 4
Ceiling of the University of Vienna's Große Festsaal (Ceremonial Hall), current appearance. Photo, University of Vienna, Vienna

as public discussion of the controversy aroused by the commission was extensive.[50] However Klimt did little to conform and adjust his developing style and conception of how to express his designed content. When Klimt exhibited *Philosophy* in conjunction with the Secession's Seventh Exhibition in 1900, his composition of the ceiling painting was layered in three separate receding planes (fig. 5). The shrouded head of a single female figure occupied the foremost plane, rising specter-like from the canvas' bottom edge. A columnar structure of figures rose up the right edge and defined a second spatial plane. A glittering atmospheric background comprised the third and extended over most of the painting's surface. In a review, written as early as 1900, Hevesi described Klimt's application of specks of gold paint on the canvas as a technique that could potentially be continually rearranged or express transforming energy, observing that:

> The space is filled with mingling colors: blue, violet, green and gray, and these colors are intertwined with a gleaming yellow that sometimes intensifies to gold. One thinks of cosmic dusk and swirling atoms, of elemental forces seeking to become tangible.[51]

By 1907, Hevesi's language for describing *Philosophy's* decorative aesthetic had developed considerably. In "Bilder von Gustav Klimt" he discusses the presence of the illusionistic elements in the first Faculty Painting as characteristic of historicist painting, stating that 'In *Philosophy* the elements of impressionistic mood-painting (*Stimmungsmalerei*) prevails; with the atmospheric problem playing the lead role, along with the light and shadow effects and the spatial perspective.'[52] While the critic takes issue with the trompe l'oeil elements in *Philosophy*, his enthusiasm for the gold

[50] For a comprehensive analysis of the controversy that surrounded Klimt's three Faculty Paintings during the years they were exhibited see Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-De-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (NY: Vintage Books, 1981).

[51] Hevesi, "Sezession: Frühjahrsaustellung (März 1900)," in *Acht Jahre Secession*, ed. Otto Breicha (Klagenfurt: Ritter Verlag, 1984), 233-234.

[52] Hevesi, "Bilder von Gustav Klimt," in *Altkunst Neukunst*, ed. Otto Breicha (Klagenfurt: Ritter Verlag, 1986), 208.

Figure 5
Gustav Klimt, *Philosophy*, 1900. Oil on canvas, 430 x 300 cm., Destroyed in 1945 at Schloss Immendorf

is evident, mentioning the 'Gold, as the highest colorist spice, just scattered ('Flinserl' sagt man in Wien) about as on a pallet.'[53] Hevesi's use of the word *Flinserl*, would have evoked for his reader the traditional folk costumes worn during the Ausseer Carnival each spring, on which small reflective metallic elements were sewn on the fabrics.[54] This reference, relating to craft, situates the function of the metallic particles represented in Klimt's sky as inherently decorative, rather than depictions of realistic stars. Present in Hevesi's observations is the critic's interest in Klimt's method of amplifying the two-dimensional quality inherent in the gold medium, while also elevating it to a cosmic level (*der Gestirne durchglitzert*).[55] This analysis reaffirms the first Faculty Painting as an early stage in the *Malmosaik's* development, since these decorative qualities in *Philosophy* would be expanded in *Medicine* and *Jurisprudence*. It is also notable, that Hevesi perceived the presence of atmospheric perspective as a 'problem' to be overcome, while also suggesting that Klimt's incorporation of the gold material contained the potential of negating a reading of perspectival depth. The inclusion of gold created a unique tension between multiple planes; for the opaque material visually affirmed that paint had been applied to a two-dimensional surface.

While Hevesi does not discuss the gold flecks in *Philosophy* as they relate to the column of figures, the relationship between the two is significant due to Klimt's interest in compressing the content of his narratives. Each figure in the column is rendered with a moderate amount of modeling, securing a certain individuality for each. In addition, the figures are also layered and interwoven with each other

[53] Hevesi, "Bilder von Gustav Klimt" (July 1907), 208.

[54] Hevesi's use of the word *Flinserl* could have also been in reference to earrings in general. *Flinserl*, the Austrian word for earring would have suggested the idea of light reflecting from tiny, sparkling earrings in constant motion, romanticizing and positioning Klimt's technique of creating the illusion of light upon canvas as something more decorative in nature and not striving to suggest a literal heaven.

[55] Hevesi, "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" (August 1907), 545.

creating a sense of an ornamental column that rises and angles slightly back and out of the picture space. However, the diaphanous fabric that circles the column seems to weave through all three planes of the composition, while the gold particles only reside within the plane of the background. This creates a continual effect of visual fluctuation between the separate planes, the two-dimensionality of the gold paint acting as pins upon the painted surface, reaffirming the work's execution upon a two-dimensional support. *Philosophy*, appears to remain conscious of its role as a ceiling painting, as evident through its retention of its illusionistic trompe l'oeil effect, while also beginning to constrict the atmospheric space through to more simplified and compressed spatial layers and the surface effect of the gold flecks.

This resistance to the illusionism of traditional ceiling painting in Vienna continued during 1900 and 1901 as Klimt worked on *Medicine*. First exhibited in March of 1901 as part of the Secession's tenth exhibition, *Medicine*'s composition further developed the columnar structure utilized in *Philosophy* (fig. 6). Rather than continuing to use an atmospheric plane to back the figures, Klimt opted for flat ornamental appendages and motifs that anchored the aimless forms and formed a globular mass of floating figures within the composition. The wheel-like configuration of the figures does not suggest the same fluid upward progression that the column in *Philosophy* did. The limbs of the figures in *Medicine* do not weave with each other as in *Philosophy*, but instead figures exist in isolated clusters, pasted upon and beneath one another, no longer communicating movement, but entrapment. This solidification of the work's content petrified the figures, effectively eradicating realistic readings of their corporeality and instead, fixed their forms into groupings that communicated a state of permanent arrangement. But this fixed mass of figures as ornament was not the only quality that positions *Medicine* as a pivotal incidence of the *Malmosaik*.

Rising from the painting's bottom edge and situated directly in front of the

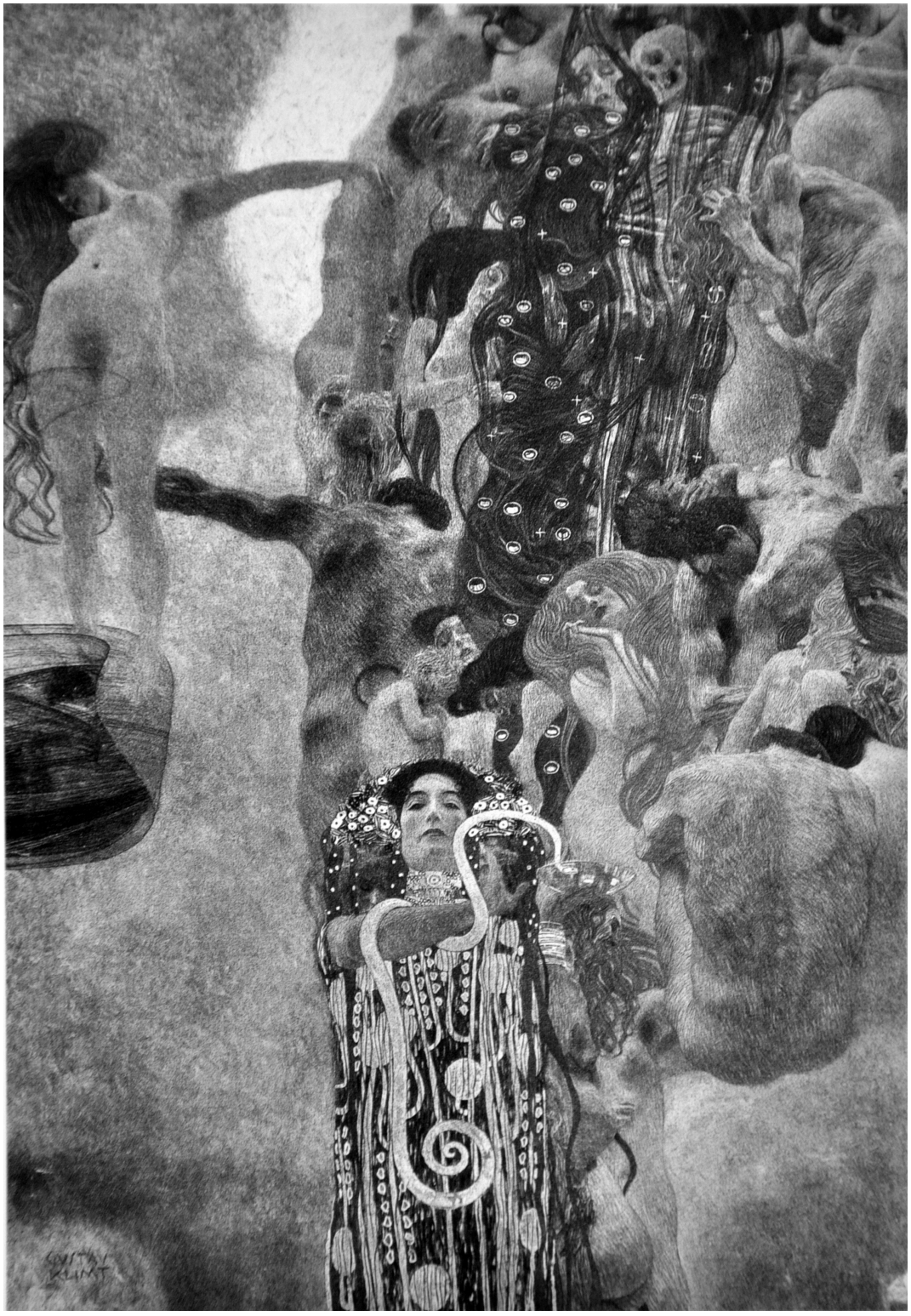

Figure 6
Gustav Klimt, *Medicine*, 1901. Oil on canvas, 430 x 300 cm., Destroyed in 1945 at Schloss Immendorf

aimless collection of bodies is a solitary female figure adorned with elements that embodied Berger's dry method of figural representation and Klimt's evolving *Malmosaik* aesthetic (fig. 7). The allegorical figure of medicine is depicted in three-quarter length, employing a full frontal stance that emphasizes her hieratic identity and dominance over the work's narrative. This formal, and seemingly traditional method of figural posturing connects Klimt's initial career as a decorative painter, when he executed works that adopted the High Baroque convention of dual vision in which the background depicts the foreground figure's message.[56] However in *Medicine*, Klimt compressed the space of these iconographically related planes, lessening further the remnants of illusionism found in *Philosophy*. In "Bilder von Gustav Klimt", Hevesi describes Hygeia as being '[...] literally adorned and bridled with golden utensils'.[57] Jeweled cuffs and textiles replete with abstract motifs 'bridle' the modeled illusionism of the goddess' face and arms. Klimt's success at creating surface tension through the dynamics of figural projection and recession is reliant on gold paint and patterns of flat ornamentation. By opting to exploit the natural aesthetic characteristics of gold paint, rather than integrate it naturalistically with the illusionistic properties of oil paint, Klimt's construction of Hygeia's body and dress represent the artist's conscious attempt to pair disparate media for a new expressive effect.

Klimt's radical foreshortening of Hygeia's right arm, when juxtaposed with the heavy modeling for her face and limbs, position her forearm as forward of her body, the elbow being the represented element closest to the viewer. At first glance, the coiled form of the snake appears at the same depth as the figure's forearm. It is not until the snake's curled tail enters the region of the figure's dress, which is a flat

[56] Marlowe-Storkovich, "Medicine by Gustav Klimt", 231. Examples of Klimt's work exhibiting this characteristic can be seen in his paintings for the ceiling of the Burgtheater in Vienna (1884-87).

[57] Hevesi, "Bilder von Gustav Klimt" (July 1907), 208.

Figure 7
Gustav Klimt, *University Panel: Medicine: Hygeia detail*, 1898. Oil on canvas, 430 x 300cm., Destroyed in 1945 at Schloss Immendorf

pattern, that the contradictory tension between surface and depth are fully experienced. The snake's coiled tail, rendered with the same gold material as the swirls on the textile, resides within the same plane as the robe. Since the form of the snake is not three-dimensional, its transition into the two-dimensional decorative pattern printed on the dress, the snake, eliminates any possibility that the viewer's gaze can remain comfortably content with the forearm's illusionism. It must recognize an emerging primacy of surface. The tension produced by this confusion of multiple depths, positions Hygeia, and *Medicine*, as Klimt's most radical incidence, to this point, of pairing the figural and decorative in oil painting.

The awareness of the painting's surface moves *Medicine* further from the realm of conventional ceiling, and even easel painting. Regardless of this expansion of a decorative aesthetic, however, Hevesi claimed that *Medicine* was still not truly monumental, writing 'It still has the style of easel painting, just as the whole time of Makart. It stands as the last outburst of that full-blooded easel-colorism."[58] While the figure of Hygeia warranted the critic's praise regarding its pronounced emphasis of the work's two-dimensional support, the majority of *Medicine's* composition still depicted an environment in dialogue with historicist ceiling painting. 'It is still frame-painting (*Staffeleibildes*), and not a real wall-image (*Waldbild*). Hygeia is the highest blossom of the Klimtian Typhus-style [...]. And then all of the smaller and larger mosaic attempts course throughout serving as the experimental foundations of *Jurisprudence*. This is finally a real wall-image.' [59]

Hevesi discusses *Jurisprudence*, in "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik", as being 'The great step in the direction of a goal becoming even more distinct.'[60] However,

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Hevesi, "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" (August 1907), 546.

Hevesi recognized that Klimt's efforts toward this 'distinct goal' were not unique, relating them to broader concerns of modernist European painting:

> In Vienna (and elsewhere) meanwhile the stylists have won the upper hand. The wall-like (*wandmäßige*) thinking of the painters (Hodler, Maurice Denis) sets in and even the achievements of Impressionism and Pointillism are made useful in this sense. Some of them tend towards fresco (most recently the splendid Karl Hofer in Rome), while in others the old art of mosaic rises again. None of them so lush and peculiar, so new, one must say, as Gustav Klimt.[61]

Thus, Klimt is positioned as part of a much broader trend toward the affirmation of the surface of the wall, but also as the artist producing the richest effect through his revision of mosaic technique and form.

Like the two Faculty Paintings preceding it, *Jurisprudence*'s composition was constructed through three separate planes, albeit more condensed, and stylized then its companion pieces (fig. 8). Carl Schorske has provided a succinct description of how *Jurisprudence* differed from *Philosophy* and *Medicine*:

> [...] the fictive space of *Philosophy* and *Medicine* was still conceived like a proscenium stage in three receding vertical planes. The viewer's perspective was from the audience's side of the footlights [...] Wissen and Hygeia, stood in a second plane, stage front, below, mediating between the spectators and the cosmic drama; the drama itself occupied the third, deepest spatial plane, and dominated the whole. In *Jurisprudence*, the entire space is raked into a unified, receding perspective, but also bisected laterally into an upper and a nether world.[62]

Jurisprudence, while still containing three distinguishable layers that were bisected laterally, differed in its creation of an image that exchanged cosmic space for a subterranean setting.

Hevesi, in his discussion of *Jurisprudence* in "Bilder von Gustav Klimt" (July 1907) compares the decorative elements of the polyp-like form in the foreground of *Jurisprudence* with a small-scale easel painting also on display in the Miethke Gallery (fig. 9).

---

[61] Ibid.

[62] Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, 250.

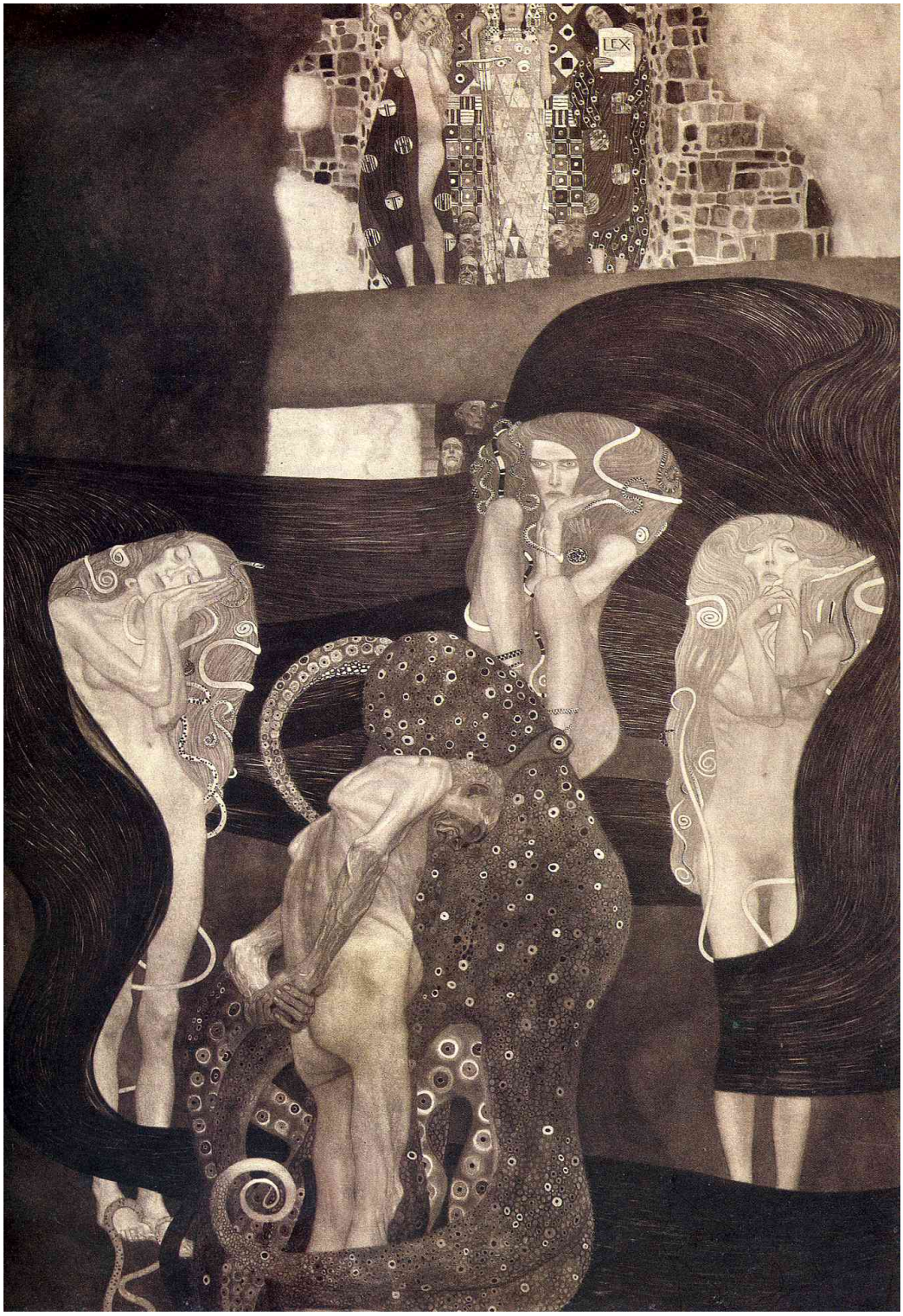

Figure 8
Gustav Klimt, *Jurisprudence*, 1903. Oil on canvas, 430 x 300 cm., Destroyed in 1945 at Schloss Immendorf

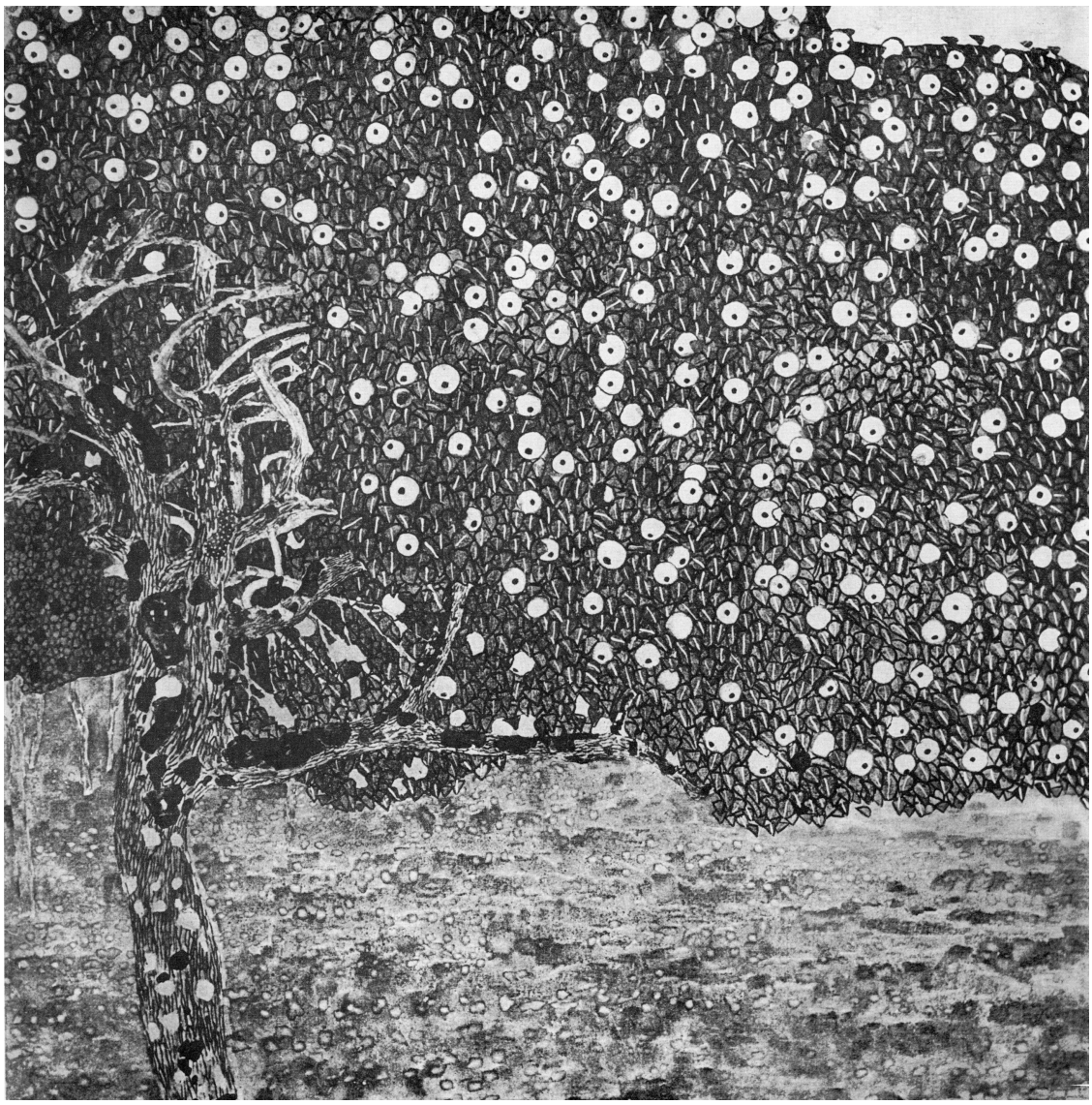

Figure 9
Gustav Klimt, *Golden Apple Tree*, 1903. Oil on canvas, 100 x 100cm., Destroyed in 1945 at Schloss Immendorf

> On the second floor of the Miethke Gallery hangs that apple tree full of golden fruit, which is merely an attempt to give the mosaic effect to a piece of wall. The bark of this tree, all sprinkled with gray, already contains in its seed the whole scale of the richly nuanced polyp in *Jurisprudence*. And incidentally the curves of its tentacles [...] a little image, a mosaic installation in the wall, is passed over, just a well-intentioned but senseless bunch of spots. A domino game of colorful stones.[63]

Klimt's painting is again discussed in "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosiak" (August 1907):

> [...] with its innumerable golden apples, sprawling out excessively in the green foliage out of the desire to cover the wall surface. Some small image would be nothing but a mere attempt to play out a museful moment in a small stretch, to strum out the melody of a mosaic wall. Thereby the principle became more geometrical, the law of construction came out of inorganic nature, out of the sphere of the crystalline forms. With that it also became more architectonic, more wall-like, and strove naturally toward the two-dimensional.[64]

Hevesi's praise of the easel painting's ornate effect suggested that the *Malmosaik* aesthetic could successfully exist within an autonomous art object, as well as being a viable tool for application to entire interiors. The critic's description of the apple tree's foliage as sprawling out of the desire to cover the wall's surface, foreshadows the aesthetic's eventual application in mosaic form in the Palais Stoclet where it would act as both structure and narrative.

Following Hevesi's proclamation that *Jurisprudence* was the real *Waldbild* in "Bilder von Gustav Klimt", the critic outlines his reasons as to why the work better expressed the decorative than the two Faculty Paintings that preceded it. Hevesi describes the work as 'All surface and style, bordering on the ideal of the two-dimensional, the covering and enlivening of the wall. It is a constructed painting for a constructed wall surface.'[65] *Jurisprudence* presented a shallow and petrified environment, the only indication of deeper space being a small figural group at the

[63] Hevesi, "Bilder von Gustav Klimt" (July 1907), 206.

[64] Hevesi, "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" (August 1907), 546.

[65] Hevesi, "Bilder von Gustav Klimt" (July 1907), 208.

top of the painting. Their spatial depth was communicated not by illusionistic perspective, but by layering and solid expanses of material. While flat decoration merely adorned figures in *Philosophy* and *Medicine*, it became both structure and message in *Jurisprudence*, bringing it closer to the realm of decorative wall painting and mosaic than easel painting.

Scholarship about *Jurisprudence* has approached the narrative of the work through a multitude of perspectives. However, all emphasize the isolation and submission of the naked male figure below to the entangling danger of the octopus and the three Furies (Alecto, Megaera, and Tisiphone). Surrounded by swirling hair, this seems to be an immediate space of visceral, vengeful response, quite in contrast to the realm of Truth Justice, and Law far above. This content is clearly different.[66] The severity of the arranged geometric forms applied in the upper portion of the composition induces qualities of crystallization and a sharpness of form associated with the inorganic. The figures above, whose role it is to uphold the law, do not appear as if they are able to intercede in the scene below due to their expressed permanence as a structural part of the painted mosaic wall.

The upper portion of *Jurisprudence* represents a significant stage in Hevesi's documentation of the *Malmosaik* aesthetic for he described the allegories of Justice as a pure surface (*reine Fläche*). The critic perceived this stage of Klimt's decorative aesthetic as a '[...] pure mosaic construction composed out of small geometric parts,

[66] In Greek Mythology, the Furies embodied a volatile paradox of avenging the dead, while also bringing with them the power of regeneration. Their ability at fulfilling both was because of their obedience to the Goddess Athena; their violent nature permitted, albeit controlled. Klimt's three female figures embody very little of this Ancient Greek rendition of the Furies though, and instead were rendered with the Gorgon-like characteristics of classical maenads. Carl Schorske has proposed the idea that Klimt's depiction of the Furies references their role in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, where they were beholden to none and resolute in their role as avengers. The primordial depiction of the Furies circling around the condemned male figure in Klimt's narrative relates directly to Aeschylus' account of their decent upon Orestes in this passage spoken by the women in the final section of the *Oresteia* '[...] look, he wants to go on trial for his crimes. Never [...] No, you'll give me blood for blood, you must! Out of your living marrow I will drain my red libation, out of your veins I suck my food, my raw, brutal cups - Wither you alive, drag you down and there you pay.' Passage selected from Aeschylus, *Oresteia*, trans. Robert Fagles (New York: Penguin Group, 1979), 243.

colored, golden, silver, non-plastic, a pure surface.'[67] The notion that a painting could become pure surface was an aspect of the *Malmosaik* aesthetic with which Hevesi had been grappling for years. In the accumulated language the critic employed to describe the emerging decorative aesthetic in the Faculty Paintings, one finds terms ranging from surface ornamentation (*Flächenschmuck*), wall decoration (*Wandschmuckes*), surface covering (*Flächebedeckung*), surface décor (*Flächendekor*), wall image (*Waldbild*), wall surface (*Mauerfläche*) to pure surface (*reine Fläche*), all of which referenced the same quality; an inherent two-dimensionality. His description of the three female allegories residing in the upper portion of the composition as a 'pure mosaic structure' is surely an affirmation of their two-dimensionality. Unlike the forms below them, their bodies have been overwhelmed and given form by the decorative motifs that surround them, their individualized apparel combining with the wall that functions both as a means for their support and as a frame. They are fused with the masonry wall.

While a realistic depiction of a wall and *Malmosaik* elements was deemed appropriate in the context of decorative wall painting (for example: the lunettes for the Kunsthistorisches Museum), they were not appropriate for depictions in ceiling paintings in early twentieth-century Austria. Klimt's decision to disregard this academically established boundary for his ceiling painting places *Jurisprudence* within broader debates concerning the translatability of painting techniques from one method of painting (easel, ceiling, wall etc.) to another. However, Klimt's experimentation with decorative painting methods within the medium of ceiling and easel painting were not without parallel in advanced circles of the Viennese art world. During the same years he was experimenting with the effects of the *Malmosaik,* debates concerning such amalgamations were being discussed and redefined in the context of the Vienna Secession, the organization in which he

[67] Hevesi, "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" (August 1907), 546.

served as President during its initial years. Within this community of artists, the group's two internal factions, the *Nur-Malen* and the *Stylisten*, were redefining debates concerning the purity of easel painting and the legitimacy of decorative wall painting. The innovative painting techniques developing in Klimt's work found support within both factions of the Secession, establishing the *Malmosaik* as a new medium, existing in a creative environment that at the time lacked an appropriate method of evaluation for both its methods of installation and its hybridization of media.

CHAPTER V

THE NUR-MALEN AND THE STYLISTEN: ISSUES REGARDING MEDIUM PURITY, THE WALL AND THE FRAME IN THE CONTEXT OF THE VIENNA SECESSION

Klimt's deliberate juxtaposition of different visual effects (mosaic, drawing and painting) in *Jurisprudence* becomes historically significant when placed in the context of ongoing developments and debates in the Vienna Secession concerning the medium of painting. The visual tension that resulted from his incorporation of disparate media within oil painting was equally dependent upon the manner in which each Faculty Painting was exhibited, since they were never installed on a ceiling. *Philosophy, Medicine* and *Jurisprudence* were displayed instead in conjunction with exhibitions held in the Vienna Secession Building. During the eight active years of the Secession, internal debates concerning easel, ceiling and decorative wall painting dictated the developing views of the Secession's two factions, the *Nur-Malen* and the *Stylisten*. Klimt's Faculty Paintings, created during these debates, navigated the boundaries between the ideologies espoused by the *Nur-Malen*, and the *Stylisten*. The conclusions drawn by both sides impacted and restricted Klimt's *Malmosaik* aesthetic.

A multitude of factors prompted the artistic split between the *Nur-Malen* (Only Painters) and the *Stylisten* (Stylists), one of which revolved around the issue of proper contextual settings for easel painting and decorative wall paintings. The polarization that occurred within the Secession concerning the relationship of painting to architecture and the decorative arts resulted in a division of the so-called 'high' and 'low' arts within the organization. This produced however, a creative environment in which Klimt's new innovations in media manipulation had critical power, for while the Faculty Paintings were conceived as ceiling decorations, they

were in fact painted upon rectangular canvases stretched like conventional easel paintings. They were monumental in scale and increasingly diverse in materials used and techniques simulated, resulting in a new style of painting that lay outside conventional categorization. The Faculty Paintings did not adhere exclusively to either the artistic practices of the *Nur-Malen* or the *Stylisten*, effectively forcing the organization to reconsider the definition of painting.

The *Stylisten*, who identified with Gustav Klimt, Josef Hoffmann and Koloman Moser, promoted the synthesis of all artistic media within exhibition design and everyday life. Klimt's Faculty Paintings, conceived through an aesthetic that communicated decorative sensibilities, provided exhibition designers Josef Hoffmann and Koloman Moser with works stylistically compatible with the developing 'Secessionist style' of the *Stylisten*.[68] The *Nur-Malen*, who had retained a far more conservative approach toward easel painting in general, perceived the *Stylisten's* veneration of Klimt's paintings in exhibitions as an effort by the *Raumkünstler*[69] to further the cause of architecture and design at the expense of easel painting.[70] The *Stylisten* championed the Faculty Paintings as works reliant upon the artistic ideologies of their faction, regardless of the fact that the three paintings, while conceived as decorative works, were to some extent, conceived and certainly exhibited as monumental easel paintings.

[68] The *Nur-Malen* produced works in the Impressionist style that sentimentally chronicled the city of Vienna and rural life. Proper contextual settings for differing media played a prominent role in the Secession's difficult task of assimilating the works of the *Nur-Malen* and the *Stylisten* in the same exhibition environments. With the *Stylisten* focused on designing interiors predicated upon singular themes and aesthetics, specifically those practiced by their colleagues, the paintings by the *Nur-Malen* were constantly at odds with the exhibition spaces designed by Moser and Hoffmann. While these themed exhibitions were not always conceived with the works of the *Nur-Malen* in mind, they were imagined to seamlessly support the paintings by Klimt.

[69] Decorative artists

[70] Vergo, *Art in Vienna 1898-1918: Klimt, Kokoschka, Schiele and their Contemporaries*, 84.

The task of accommodating the ambiguous character of these three paintings in an exhibition setting was assigned to Joseph Hoffmann. The first photographic documentation of his incorporation of a Faculty Painting into an exhibition was at the Paris Exposition Universalle of 1900 (fig. 10). *Philosophy* served as the centerpiece of the Secession's octagonal room, being displayed prominently upon one of the longer walls. Each wall was enclosed by dark wood trim with an accompanying stencil of a circular snail form across the top and bottom of the wall planes just inside the wood trim. Smaller easel paintings hung in line on the lower part of the walls, while *Philosophy* dominated one wall, enclosed by a thin gold frame that extended to the wood trim at the top and bottom, interrupting the snail stencil's route around the room. Since it was hung perpendicular to the normal gaze, distance between viewer and painting could be altered. If one stood close to the painting, its planned aesthetic effect would have been lost since Klimt's still impressionistic facture would have been more evident and the exaggerated angularity that demarcated individuals in the figural column on the left would have seemed highly compressed and exaggerated. The figural column had likely been chosen by Klimt as a compositional device that suggested an illusionistic effect of the figures continuing beyond the panel surface, an effect suitable to ceiling painting.

Perhaps aware of the ineffectiveness of exhibiting *Philosophy* as a conventional easel painting, when *Medicine* was shown at the Secession's Tenth Exhibition in 1901, Hoffmann employed a method of display that acknowledged the work's intended architectural setting.[71] He designed a framing apparatus that attempted to position the work within a context that made concessions to both easel and decorative painting (fig. 11). He angled the painting out from the wall and framed it in a manner

[71] It is generally understood that both Hoffman and Moser contributed, albeit to different degrees, in the process of how works were organized and displayed in exhibitions in the Secession Building. While this thesis is crediting Hoffmann with the handling of Klimt's Faculty Paintings in these three different incidences, it is very likely that both Moser and Hoffmann consulted with one another on the final display of each Faculty Painting.

Figure 10
Installation of the Octagonal Main Room of the Display by the Union of Austrian Artists (Secession) in the Grand Palais at the Paris Exposition Universelle 1900, Design by Josef Hoffmann, Anonymous photograph published in *The Studio* in November 1900

Figure 11
The main room in the Secession's tenth exhibition (March-May 1901), with Klimt's Medicine and three additional landscapes.

that encouraged the viewer to look up into the pictorial space. This method of display allowed the illusionistic techniques to function more effectively than in Hoffmann's Parisian presentation of *Philosophy*. By detaching a portion of the painting from its structural support (the wall), the work was effectively removed from the sphere of easel painting.[72] With *Medicine* no longer needing to adhere to rules and expectations concerning the display methods of easel painting, the work fitted better within the criteria of the *Stylisten*.

Regardless of how they were hung, however, *Philosophy* and *Medicine* were difficult to exhibit in the context of an exhibition because of their monumentality. This was not the case for Klimt's third Faculty Painting *Jurisprudence*. His original sketch done in 1898 contained the same illusionistic qualities, as *Philosophy* and *Medicine*, communicating the atmospheric depth required of a ceiling painting. However, as work continued and the commission's execution grew more tenuous, his compositional conception changed to a shallow pictorial space comprised of multiple zones of flattened figures and decorative motifs, the *Malmosaik* harnessing them in place. These zones were not meant to evoke any sense of illusionistic realism, and instead communicated a flattened ornamental aesthetic. The *Malmosaik* was further emphasized by his representation of a wall in the upper portion of the composition. While Klimt had often included suggestions of walled environments in previous paintings, he had not represented such a realistic stonewall, or surface that negated any illusionistic opening.

Hoffmann's presentation of the three Faculty Paintings in the Secession's Eighteenth Exhibition of 1903, which was dedicated to Gustav Klimt, embedded them within lightly textured white walls. The paintings were angled slightly out

[72] *In 1901, Medicine* was installed in a manner that isolated it from other works hung in the gallery. The method of framing used for the painting simulated an architectural environment within the larger gallery space. In addition, the strategic placement of a circular black marker on the floor in front of the painting encouraged the viewer to enter into this environment.

toward the viewer at the top, but unlike the complex framing apparatus installed around *Medicine* in 1901, the paintings were now fully part of their architectural support (fig. 12). This method of installation was revealed to the viewer by the shallow recess at the bottom of each canvas. This austere 1903 presentation absorbed Klimt's work fully within the aesthetic of the *Stylisten*. While some of his easel paintings hung in thin frames on the walls, others such as the *Pallas Athene* were surrounded by elegant aedicule. The way the three Faculty Paintings were absorbed into the wall was a display technique used previously for the *Beethoven Frieze*, which Klimt had created for the Fourteenth Exhibition of 1902 and was shown again in its original form for this retrospective of Klimt's work.

The extent of Klimt's involvement with the methods of display for the Faculty Paintings is not known, a fact that has resulted in a majority of Klimt scholars aligning the artist's intentions with the artistic creed of Hoffmann and Moser.[73] But Klimt's support of the artistic endeavors propagated by the *Stylisten* did not negate nor eliminate his interest in easel painting. Instead, he seemed to have been interested in the problematic and potential possibilities that the tension between the *Nur-Malen* and *Stylisten* opened and to which the *Malmosaik* was a response. Werner Hofmann, in his book, *Gustav Klimt*, published in 1971, argues that the artistic innovations seen in Klimt's paintings were not wholly dependent upon the theories espoused by the designers of the Secession, and that Klimt's work should not be evaluated alongside the failed endeavors of the *Stylisten* and the Wiener Werkstätte. Hoffmann and Moser declared that the craftsman's work should be judged by the same standards applied to painters and sculptors. In contrast, Hofmann proposed that there does not have to be a categorical division between the artistic purpose of the painter and the craftsman, but that what should

[73] Klimt, known for his reticence at being identified as the leader of the Secession, presumably maintained the same disinterest in leading the *Stylisten*. This was evident by the fact that Moser and Hoffmann conceived and oversaw all the collaborative projects and exhibition spaces associated with the Vienna Secession, both in Vienna and abroad.

Figure 12
Main room of the eighteenth Secession exhibition: Klimt Collective (November-December 1903), with Klimt's Faculty Paintings Medicine and *Philosophy*.

be present is an evaluation of the nature of their differences. While two lines drawn on paper can evoke the form of two figures embracing, the two lines drawn should not be evaluated by the same methods as those used to evaluate a painting that depicts two lovers embracing.[74] The establishment of different media evaluated according to their unique qualities is crucial in analyzing Joseph Hoffmann's efforts to make Klimt's Faculty Paintings fit within the narrow scope of the *Stylisten*. In essence, Klimt's innovations in painting were being hindered by the restrictive methods of analysis implemented by the *Stylisten* upon all artistic works.

The restrictive methods of evaluation followed by the *Stylisten* did not acknowledge or celebrate innovation but, rather inadvertently, impeded its progress. Once the 'Secessionist style' of the *Stylisten* had been established, new stylistic techniques became difficult to assimilate within previously established rules concerning different media. In addition, the attempts by the *Stylisten* to eradicate any traces of easel painting from Klimt's Faculty Paintings did nothing to appease the alienation experienced by the *Nur-Malen* who, while favoring a far more traditional approach to painting, did not object to customized exhibition installations, or even the applied arts per se. They did, however, balk at the complete melding of craft and art.[75] Thus, the *Nur-Malen*, for whom the applied arts were, at best, an incidental concern, accused the *Raumkünstler* with seeking to further the cause of architecture and design at the expense of easel painting.[76] In an organization that claimed to support all forms of artistic expression, albeit exclusionary to those that did not coincide with their overarching artistic visions, Klimt's developing innovations in easel paintings had to be defended and legitimized in the eyes of the *Stylisten*. With his academic training as a decorative painter and with his Faculty

[74] Werner Hofmann, *Gustav Klimt* (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1971), 16.

[75] Kallir, "High and Low in Imperial Vienna: Gustav Klimt and the Applied Arts", 62.

[76] Vergo, *Art in Vienna 1898-1918: Klimt, Kokoschka, Schiele and their Contemporaries*, 84.

Paintings indebted to the *Nur-Malen*, it is apparent that Klimt's innovations in media manipulation require new methods of evaluation.

CHAPTER VI

ORNAMENT AS NARRATIVE: KLIMT'S BEETHOVEN FRIEZE

The *Stylisten* goal to create both domestic and exhibition environments that were stylistically predicated upon a singular aesthetic motif, reached full fruition in the Vienna Secession's Fourteenth Exhibition of 1902. Often referred to as the Beethoven Exhibition, the program for the Fourteenth Exhibition was conceived through the *Stylisten* members' imagining of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. The centerpiece of the Beethoven Exhibition was the display of Max Klinger's *Beethoven* (1902), a monumental *chryselephantine* sculpture. Every work exhibited was conceived to accompany and accentuate Klinger's sculpture. In addition, all work created by the Secessionists for the Beethoven Exhibition, excluding Klinger's sculpture, were conceived and executed to only exist for the duration of the exhibition and were slated for destruction once it ended. While Klimt's *Beethoven Frieze* was not destroyed with the rest of the exhibition objects, Klimt constructed the work with its termination in mind. The materials that make up the Frieze as well as its unique method of construction suggest the ephemeral character of the work while the installation gave it the appearance of being permanent.

Immediately proceeding the 1902 catalog entry describing the Beethoven Frieze's theme was a succinct passage detailing the work's construction and materials used 'Casein paint, applied plasterwork, gilding. Decorative principle: attentiveness to the arrangement of the gallery setting: ornamented plastered surface.'[77] Written for the 2011 exhibition, *Gustav Klimt Josef Hoffmann: Pioneers of Modernism* held at the Belvedere in Vienna, Ivo Hammer's essay, "Klimt's Beethoven Frieze at 110," details the methods used to restore the Frieze in order to better understand its initial

[77] Translation of *Max Klinger Beethoven XIV. Ausstellung, 25* (author of text, Ernst Stöhr). Quoted in Ivo Hammer "Klimt's Beethoven Frieze at 110" in *Gustav Klimt, Josef Hoffmann: Pioneers of Modernism*, ed. Anges Husslein-Arco and Alfred Weidinger (Vienna: Prestel Verlag, 2011), 143.

methods of construction in 1902. The interior walls of the Secession building had been covered with roughcast plaster with a grain of ca. 20 mm for the duration of the Fourteenth Exhibition. This thick grain in the plaster surface of the interior of the exhibition space is significant in relation to Hoffmann's overall exhibition goals, for this was the rough cast plastering standard for external facades during the nineteenth century. This created, thereby, the effect of a monumental 'inside out' architecture.[78] This effect would have assisted in fulfilling the exhibition's overarching goals of integrating architecture and art. In the exhibition catalogue, Hoffmann outlined the reasons behind his choice of the rough plastering, explaining that:

> In order to fulfill our purposes [...] the room needed to be endowed with a monumental character. Limitations of available resources and the self-evident obligation to use only authentic materials to energetically avoid false appearances and deception necessitated the greatest simplicity of both materials and formal language. The rough plastering of the walls, which at the same time enlivened them, therefore presented itself as the most obvious strategy. Its alternation with smoothly plastered surfaces resulted in the architectonic articulation of the walls. The rooms were meant to acquire their precious character exclusively through the value of the works of art and the sculptural embellishments, which were applied to the walls.[79]

Hoffmann's intentions for the exhibition space were further emphasized by the subtle architectural details applied within each gallery space. Klimt's Frieze was elevated above the viewer's direct line of sight to communicate a level of monumentality that exceeded its physical dimensions (fig. 13). In addition, the diffused lighting of its room was in sharp contrast to the brightly lit central room that contained Klinger's sculpture. In his essay "Sehnsucht nach dem Glück Zum Beethovenfries" from 1902, Ludwig Hevesi describes the presentation of the Beethoven Frieze as a '[...] kind of continuous ornament, just under the ceiling, as a rhythmic sequence of flowing forms, stylized human limbs and heads, striving

[78] Manfred Koller, "Gustav Klimt Beethovenfries 1902-2002," *Zeitschrift fur bildende Kunst* (February 2002): 23.

[79] Translation of *Max Klinger Beethoven XIV*, Ausstellung, 23. Quoted in Hammer "Klimt's Beethoven Frieze at 110", 141.

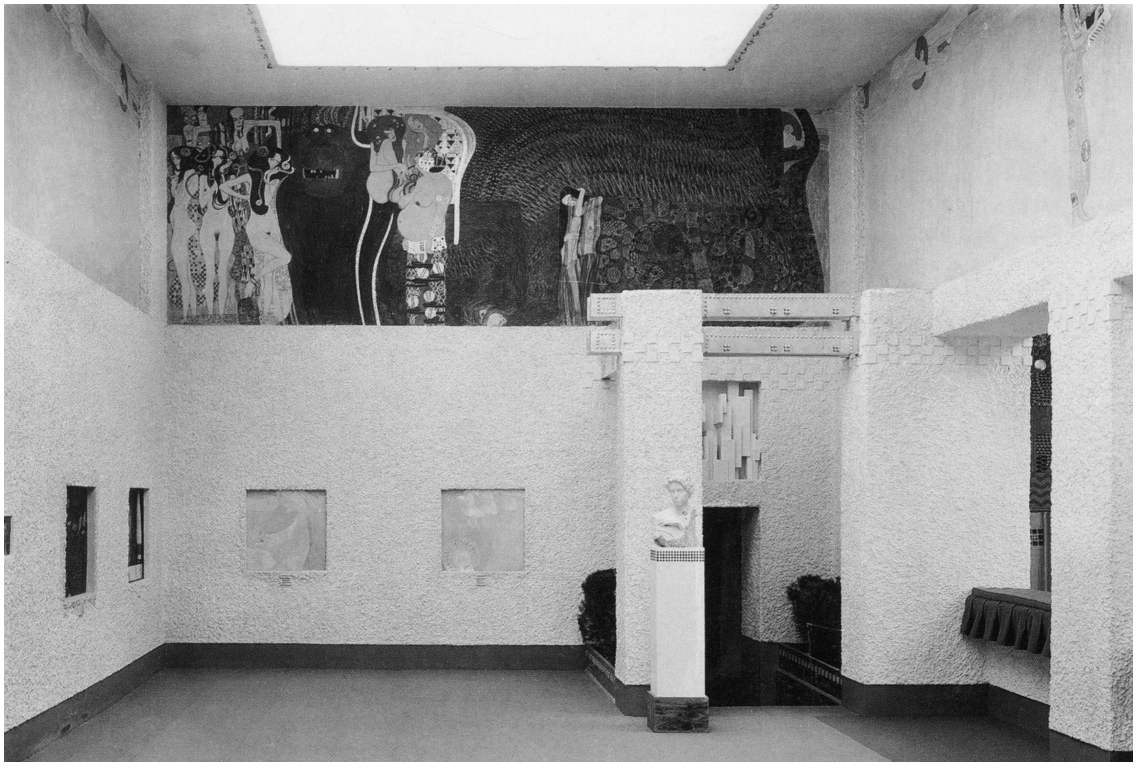

Figure 13
View of Room A in the Vienna Secession with Klimt's *Beethoven Frieze*, 1902, photograph

through wistful movements into the distance.'[80] The room was designed to resemble a hypaethral; a type of roofless Greek temple, only the ceiling opening was covered with a tautly spanned piece of velum. Since the edges of the velum ended short of the wall containing the Frieze, the uppermost portion of the Frieze was cast in shadow, granting it the illusion of being higher and loftier within its architectural setting.

Klimt's *Beethoven Frieze* was not painted on separate sections of stretched canvas, but was executed upon a complex layering of wooden support beams, reed mats, wire, and layers of plaster, making the work ephemeral in its construction. Even with its delicate construction, the work's outward appearance was as solid as the wall in which it was embedded. The wire, through its tensile strength, kept the matting in its stretched form. It is significant that the painted portions of the work were not the initial layer worked on by Klimt and the other individuals who constructed the panels. The last plaster layer applied to the panels played an integral role in the work's overall visual effect. The mortar work incised a series of score marks on the panels of the Frieze, with the marks becoming less prominent as the narrative of the Frieze progressed through the panels. The choice of sand and minimal additions of gray cement granted the Frieze's surface a cool gray coloration. While the color of the plaster remained consistent on all seven panels of the Frieze, the structure of the plasterwork changed from one wall to the next, and was to some extent, adapted to the motifs depicted.[81]

The plaster finish of the first long panel of the Frieze that ran along the room's left side was coarse, while the second panel of the Frieze that contained the Hostile Powers at the room's end was partially coarse with the second long panel on the right rendered in a smooth finish. This transition of the plaster ground from

[80] Ludwig Hevesi, "Sehnsucht nach dem Glück Zum Beethovenfries," in *Acht Jahre Secession*, ed. Otto Breicha (Vienna Ritter Verlag, 1984). Passage also quoted in Annette Vogel, *Gustav Klimt Beethovenfries. Zeichnungen* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2010), 33.

[81] Hammer, "Klimt's Beethoven Frieze at 110," 141.

course to fine was clearly intentional for it went far beyond what was technically customary for the material. Ivo Hammer, who argues that a mason likely prepared the surface directly under the instruction of Klimt, believes that the intent was to produce a lively, 'painterly' structure.[82] Hammer addresses how this varied texture was exploited for painterly purpose by writing the following about the panel containing the Hostile Powers:

> The gentle smoothing and its irregularities in the areas of Intemperance and Wantonness, for example, generated a marvelously vibrant effect in the flesh areas, while the rougher surface in the area of the face of Wantonness resulted in an enigmatic sfumato effect despite the sharp definition of the facial features. The traces of the smoothing trowel in the area of the Arts (Paradise, Kiss) are so exaggerated that the plaster surface has opened up in some places. In these surface contrasts, I perceive attempts to convey specific moods through the structure of the surface.[83]

Klimt employed casein paint, semi-precious stone inlay, gold and silver paint, mother of pearl, pieces of mirror, buttons and carpet tacks to create the figures and decorative motifs found in the *Beethoven Frieze*, successfully pairing actual objects alongside motifs painted to resemble the three-dimensional objects. All these materials, which interacted with the varied plasterwork, resulted in a picture that offered two orders of visual reading, the decorative and figural.[84] The fact that these orders combined to form a satisfying visual effect can be credited to Klimt's material and compositional design, which drew on lessons that he had been learning through his ongoing work on the Faculty Paintings. His material and formal solution is apparent in the Frieze's first figural group (fig. 14): three nude female figures who approach and ask the Knight to take up arms. The horizontal stream of female genii that crosses the upper region of the Frieze leads one's eye to this group. Each material inserted on the plaster surface, communicated varying degrees of height

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Rodolphe Rapatti, *Symbolism* (Paris: Editions Flammerion, 2005), 196.

Figure 14
Gustav Klimt, *Beethoven Frieze*, *left side wall: Yearning for Happiness*, 1902. Casein paint on plaster, 2.2 x 34 m., Austrian Gallery, Vienna

above the immediate surface plane of the Frieze, at times disrupting the continuity of the painted figures and decorative motifs depicted in the work's narrative. The final layer of extensive gilding over the surface of the Frieze was applied through standard methods with mixtion (oil size) on a ground, probably shellac, which was given a red bole coloration.[85] The gilding served a dual role in the structuring of the Frieze's narrative. On one level, it functioned as representational, as in the Knight's armor and in the harnessing elements on Intemperance (fig. 15). The gold paint was also used as a background for specific figures for the purpose of highlighting and idealization. Gold was paired with different materials to heighten its effect on the figures through the inclusion of colored glazes and thinly applied *pastiglia*. The *pastiglia* was used to differentiate the pieces of the Knight's armor, the low relief character of the material raising the surface of the work above the plaster support. The materials Klimt used for the construction of the Frieze, while not conventional in the realm of painting, created a forced dialogue between the architectural support and the panels of the work, a method of display utilized for the Beethoven Exhibition that was not solely unique to the *Beethoven Frieze*.

On exhibit in the same side room in which the *Beethoven Frieze* was installed were seventeen additional works, each of which measured 80 x 80 cm, with the exception of two smaller ones, measuring 20 x 20 cm. All were embedded in the roughly plastered wall, the display strategy that Hoffmann would repeat in his installation of Klimt's Faculty Paintings at the Secession's Eighteenth Exhibition at the end of 1903. Set at the same level behind the rough plaster surface as Klimt's Frieze, they also resembled it in their diversity of materials employed, which included fresco, beaten copper plate, sculptural relief, mosaic and other materials. Koloman Moser's mosaic, in particular, interacted with and mimicked both the material and content of the Frieze. Labeled a mosaic, the figures in Moser's panel

[85] Hammer, "Klimt's Beethoven Frieze at 110," 143.

Figure 15
Gustav Klimt, *Beethoven Frieze*, *central end wall: The Hostile Forces*, *detail with Intemperance*, 1902. Casein paint on plaster, 2.2 x 13.78m., Austrian Gallery, Vienna

were made of cut and glazed tiles, with the remaining area of the panel covered with cast glass pieces (fig. 16). The female heads and their surrounding hair, which mimic the aesthetic of Klimt's female figures drifting above, protrude in low sculptural relief, while mosaic glass pieces read as flat ground. Moser's method of forming the figural tiles demonstrates a departure from the two-dimensionality of tiling used for utilitarian purposes, establishing the medium as a viable tool for pictorial purposes.

In addition to the installed panels in the exhibition hall, there were a variety of decorative wall paintings executed both directly upon the plaster surface of the walls, as well as mimicking similar installation methods seen with Klimt's Frieze. While none of these contained the same diversity of materials as Klimt's Frieze, two works in particular grow from a similar decorative aesthetic. Located on the left end of the far wall of the main exhibition hall was a plaster panel by Koloman Moser that had pieces of cast glass inserted within it (fig. 17). The method of installation used for the panel, saw its embedment within the wall like that of the other paneled works on exhibit. Installed on a wall parallel to Moser's panel, was a wall painting by Alfred Roller (fig. 18). The work was stenciled out on plaster, and contained inserted nacre additions, expressing a similar aesthetic to Moser's panel through its luminescent surfaces.

Perhaps the most important work for comparison of the *Beethoven Frieze* regarding the *Raumkünstler's* preferred methods of decorative wall painting, was a work by Josef Maria Auchentaller entitled *Freude schöner Götterfunken!*, that mimicked Klimt's Frieze installed opposite the main exhibition hall (fig. 19). Executed with casein paint, modeled plaster, and gold paint, the work exhibited similarities to Klimt's Frieze, albeit still reliant upon the conventional qualities of easel painting. Auchentaller's use of gold paint and large expanses of decorative motifs around the forms of his figures was similar to Klimt's juxtaposition of the figural and the decorative in the *Beethoven Frieze*. However, the overall visual effect was very

Figure 16
Koloman Moser, *Mosaic*, 1901/02. Figures made of cut and glazed tiles, remaining parts made of cast glass, 80 x 80cm, Purchased at the exhibition by a private collector. Whereabouts unknown

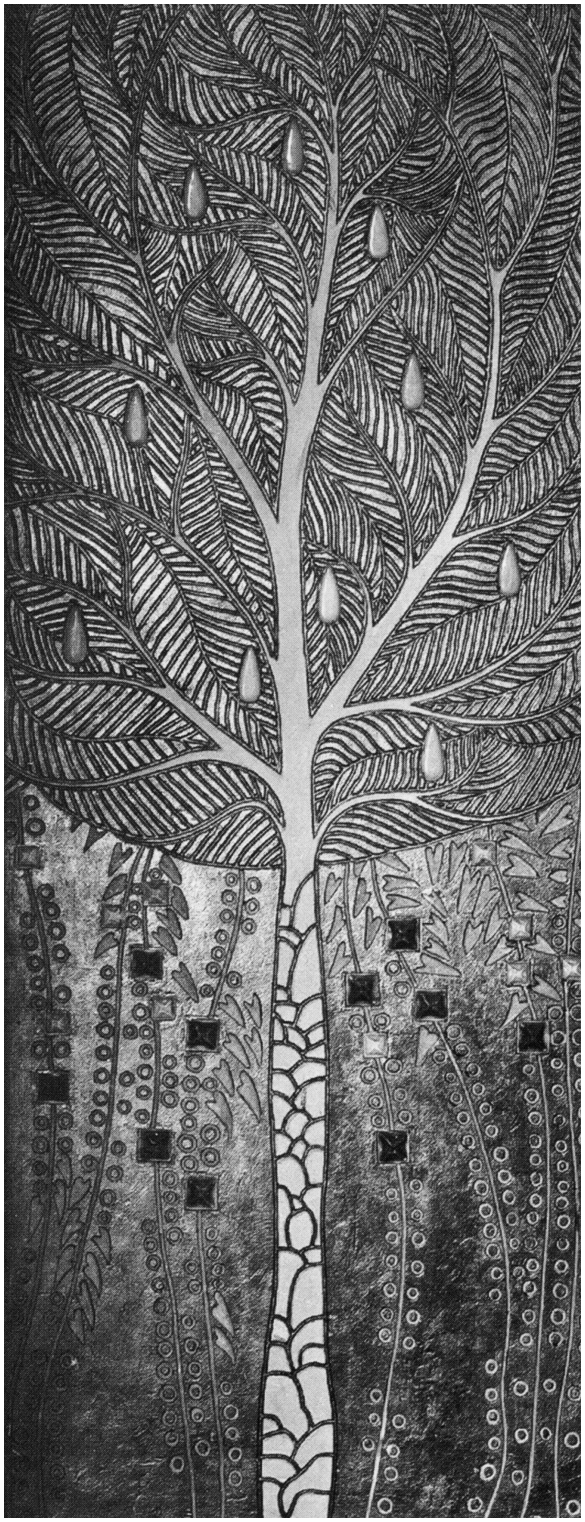

Figure 17
Koloman Moser, *untitled*, 1901/02. Two fillings of plaster model, partly gilded with inserted pieces of cast glass. Whereabouts unknown

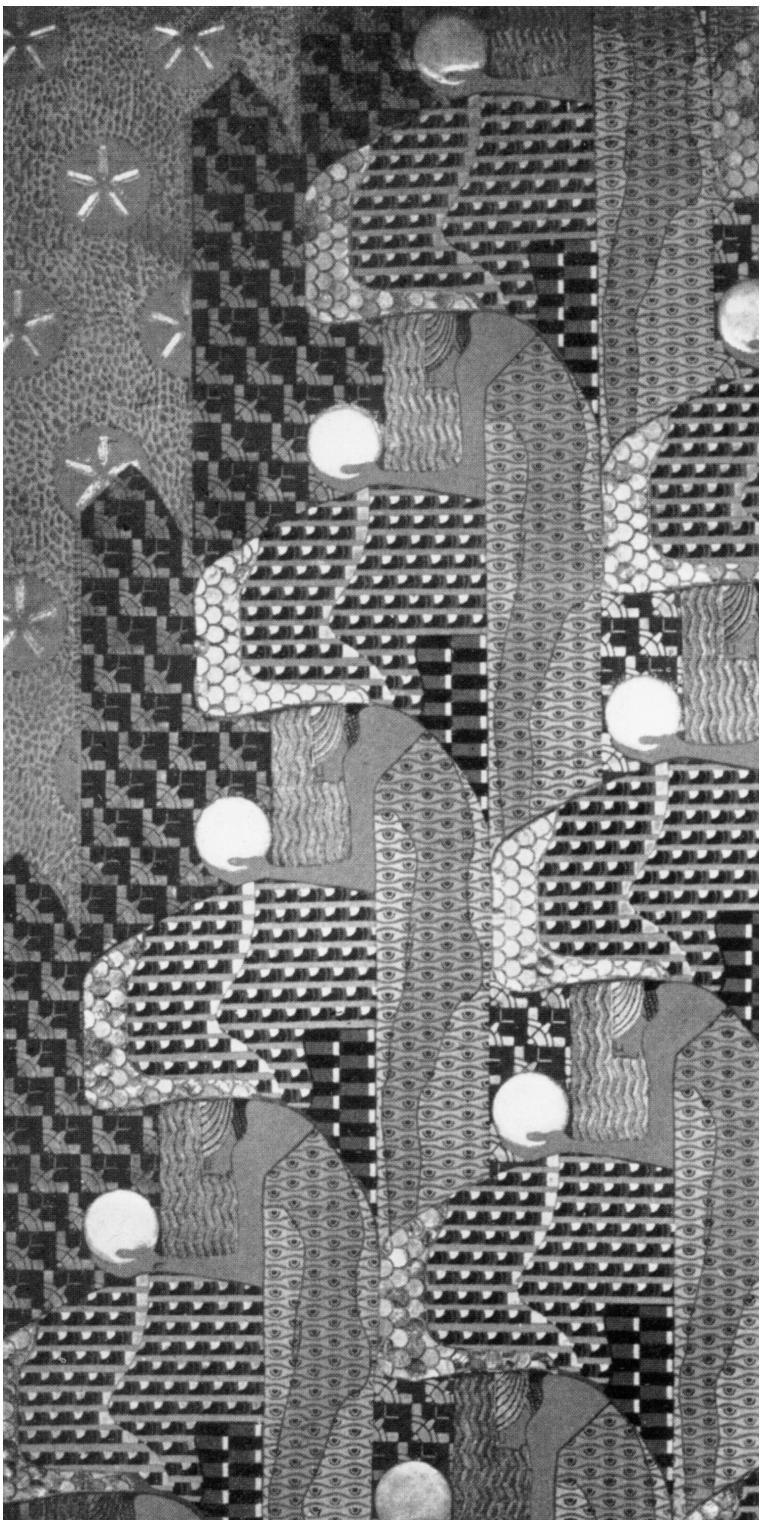

Figure 18
Alfred Roller, *Die sinkende Nacht*, 1901/02. Stenciled painting, limewater color, plaster model, metalcoating and inlays of nacre. Whereabouts unknown

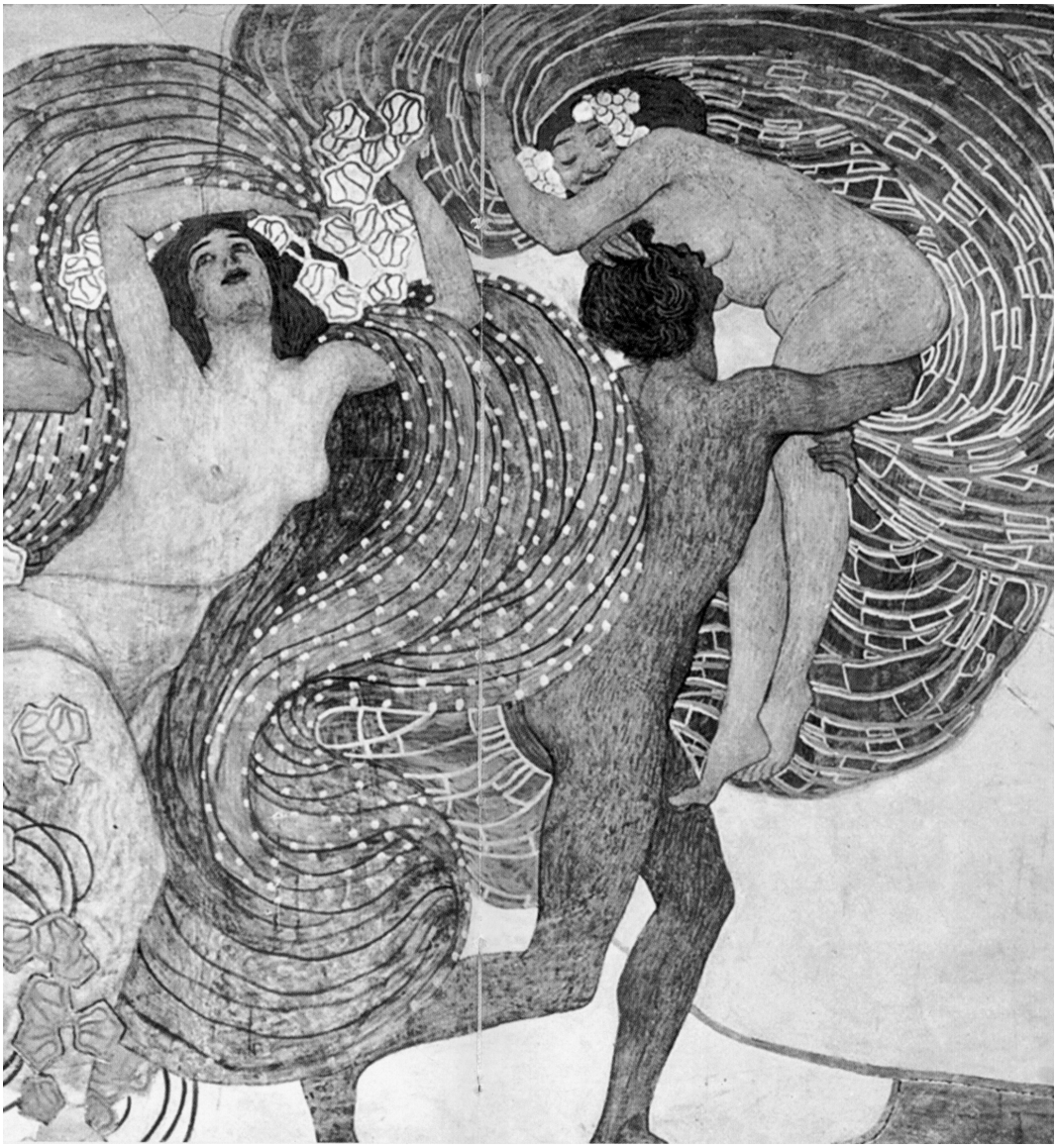

Figure 19
Josef Maria Auchentaller, *Freude schöner Götterfunken!: detail,* 1901/02. Painting in casein colors, plaster model, and gold plated. Whereabouts unknown

different. Auchentaller's figures were rendered with a higher degree of modeling, the forms of the female figures appearing voluptuous and three-dimensional when paired with flat expanses of ornament. The figures within Klimt's Frieze, which are sparse and rendered mostly by line, do not take a dominant or submissive role to the decorative motifs with which they are paired. The result was an uninterrupted reception of the Frieze's narrative; the figures at times as ornamental as the *Malmosaik* additions that adorned them. Comparatively, the interaction between Auchentaller's pairing of the figural and the decorative left each grouping glaringly separate. While meant to be a decorative wall painting, Auchentaller's work did not abandon the stylistic characteristics inherent in conventional easel painting, whereas Klimt's Frieze sought to become one decorative ornamental presence along its architectural support, privileging neither the figural nor the decorative but instead, striving for a complex visual unity that was both pictorial and ornamental.

The different methods of installation found in the Beethoven Exhibition were predicated upon goals formulated by the *Stylisten* in their attempt to unite all the arts within a singular environment. Key to the resentment felt by the *Nur-Malen* toward the *Stylisten* was Klimt's and his follower's affinity for decorative wall painting in exhibition settings. In contrast to the views of the *Nur-Malen*, the *Stylisten* saw the wall both as a field for ornament and as a surface for installing easel paintings. Dieter Bogner, a German art historian interested in the geometric aesthetic of the *Stylisten*, reasoned in 2006 that the *Stylisten* did not connect their idea of 'surface decoration' with a desire to overcome traditional artistry and replace it with absolute geometric form.[86] Rather, they considered surface decoration to be parallel to the traditional

[86] Dieter Bogner, "Gustav Klimt's 'Geometric' Compositions," in *Klimt, Schiele, Moser, Kokoscka: Vienna 1900*, ed. Serge Lemoine and Marie-Amelie zu Salm-Salm (London: Lund Humphries, 2005), 70.

art of painting and hence an expansion of their artistic creative options.[87] Simply put, the wall was as easily exploitable as the objects hung upon it.

Exhibitions held in the Secession Building during the organization's early years utilized a diverse array of ornamental friezes and wall paintings for the purposes of organization and cohesion amongst objects exhibited. The motifs rendered within these decorative works ranged from stylized flora to geometric abstractions. This wide range of motifs was contingent upon the environments they were meant to adorn. These friezes were manipulated and implemented upon the walls of the exhibition rooms with the goal of organizing the building's interior into segregated environments.[88] A wall painting was used to arbitrarily define the upper and lower boundaries of the walls, to wrap around paintings and function as decorative backdrops to sculptures and applied art objects.[89] Over the years, however, exhibition designers increasingly abstracted and repeated ornamental motifs into patterns that extended like wallpaper over entire walls. To a certain degree, the Secessionist's affinity for the possibilities of friezes and decorative wall paintings began to dominate the works being exhibited. Decorative wall paintings would be included in exhibitions containing works by both Secessionist and non-Secessionist artists. This was because all works were conceived as elements in the spatial design of a Secessionist *Raumkünstler*. When foreign artists exhibited works in a Secession Exhibition, they did so with the understanding that their work might be paired with these 'Secessionist style' accompaniments if conducive to the greater conceptual

[87] Ibid.

[88] Olbrich's Secession Building was conceived to accommodate all varieties of art objects. This was achievable through easily installable removable walls within the large interiors of the building. Decorative wall paintings often acted as extensions of these removable walls, meant to either extend or limit an environment within an exhibition space.

[89] It is important to note that all friezes created to function within a Secession exhibition were conceived as ephemeral additions. The only known incidence in which a frieze was not destroyed or painted over was Klimt's Beethoven Frieze of 1902. Regardless of the works preservation, it was created by Klimt with its destruction in mind.

goals of the exhibition. While the *Nur-Malen* favored a far more traditional approach to painting, they did not object to customized exhibition installations. They did, however, resent the increasingly dominant role the decorative wall paintings were taking in exhibitions meant to represent both factions of the Secession.[90] The solution to this conflict of interests was segregation. As the works of the *Nur-Malen* and the *Stylisten* failed to function within similar aesthetic frameworks, exhibiting in separate spaces seemed appropriate. But this meant that the artistic differences between the two sides were no longer solely conceptual but, through exhibition partitioning, now tangible. This was the case with the Beethoven Exhibition where only works by the *Stylisten* were presented to the public as the artistic identity of the organization.

Hevesi's observation that the Stylists were gaining the upper hand in Europe was evident in the Vienna Secession's Beethoven Exhibition and the organization's effort to apply the concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* not only to domestic interiors, but exhibition environments as well. The works created for the Beethoven Exhibition were not subject to the same regulatory standards as public commissions in Vienna, allowing new levels of medium experimentation for the artists involved in the exhibition. Since Klimt's *Beethoven Frieze* was only limited by its dedication to the theme of Beethoven, and not to traditional rules concerning medium purity, the result was a work that differed drastically from his publicly commissioned Faculty Paintings. Not only did the Frieze's method of installation blur the structural relationship between the work and its architectural support, but Klimt's insertion of three-dimensional objects within the work distanced the Frieze from traditional concepts of painting. He sought to create a new merger of ornament and figuration that employed subtle yet highly expressive pictorial effects so that abandonment of realistic representation of the figural at the expense of the surface's two-

[90] Vergo, *Art in Vienna 1898-1918: Klimt, Kokoschka, Schiele and their Contemporaries*, 84.

dimensionality was not necessary. The interactions between the figural and the decorative achieved a new degree of cohesion in the *Beethoven Frieze*. It is through this dialogue, between mosaic and paint, that Klimt's true mosaic of 1905 for the Palais Stoclet would be conceived. While Klimt's rendering of the figural in the *Beethoven Frieze* had achieved a far more decorative quality when compared to the figures in the Faculty Paintings, the figural and the decorative had not yet achieved a degree of cohesion that disallowed separate readings of each medium. The figures in the Frieze, while rendered less corporeally than those in the Faculty Paintings, still communicated a sense of separation from their accompanying decorative motifs. It was not until Klimt was provided the opportunity to design a true mosaic work that the experimental stages of the *Malmosaik* that had been implemented in the *Beethoven Frieze* and the Faculty Paintings would reach a level of innovation unique to the mosaic medium.

CHAPTER VII

MALMOSAIK AS STRUCTURE AND NARRATIVE: THE ORNAMENTAL DENOMINATOR OF THE STOCLET FRIEZE

"*I have the impression of an ideal space…the discreet geometry of which is broken through capriciously by the prevailing element of painted mosaic, whose splendor, however, also has its own discretion.*"[91]

Ludwig Hevesi

The Vienna Secession's Beethoven Exhibition was the organization's most accomplished *Gesamtkunstwerk* until Adolphe and Suzanne Stoclet approached Josef Hoffmann and the Wiener Werkstätte in 1904 to build a private residence in Brussels. The Palais Stoclet exists today as the fullest embodiment of the artistic endeavors of the *Stylisten*, with every aspect of the Palais' interior and exterior designed and handcrafted by the artists and artisans of the Viennese Secession and Workshop. Gustav Klimt's contribution to this commission represents a significant example of the artist's *Malmosaik*. The patrons requested that he design for their dining room a monumental work similar to his *Beethoven Frieze*, and it exists as the only known mosaic work by the artist. Since Klimt was a painter, his relationship with the mosaicist Leopold Forstner and the Wiener Mosaikwerkstätte was crucial to an artistic collaboration that affected the success and failings of the *Malmosaik's* transference from the medium of painting to mosaic. This thesis, which has contextualized and traced the development of the *Malmosaik* in a selection of Klimt's paintings prior to the *Stoclet Frieze* will approach the mosaic as it relates to and differs from these previous works with the goal of highlighting the differences that arose as a result of the medium employed. Following an initial overview of the commission, this section will analyze Klimt's preliminary designs for the mosaic. After examination of the final transfer drawings for the mosaic, Klimt's collaboration

[91] Hevesi, "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" (August 1907), 547.

with Forstner will be discussed in relation to the academic and professional backgrounds of the two men. Particular attention will be paid to the ways in which Forster used mosaic techniques to achieve a "Klimt-like" effect within the mosaic. This presents the opportunity to explore the transferability of the *Malmosaik* between media and how this contributed to its continuation in Klimt's subsequent easel paintings.

Having been impressed by the successful realization of Hoffmann's designs for the two villas on the Hohe Warte in Vienna during 1900-01, the Stoclets placed the design and execution of their new home in Brussels in the hands of Hoffmann and the Wiener Werkstätte.[92] Given an unlimited budget**,** every aspect of the residence was executed with the finest materials, with Klimt's frieze being no exception. It is evident from Hoffmann's initial architectural plans that Klimt's monumental frieze would be installed in the dining room. However, there is no evidence about a medium that was originally intended. In an article from 1905, Berta Zuckerkandl recounted that Klimt was simply expected to 'express his decorative fantasy and give it free rein to choose fresco, mosaic, or relief.'[93] If true, then Klimt was granted the artistic freedom to choose the medium that would best utilize the *Malmosaik* aesthetic for the particular decorative task.

Josef Hoffmann produced a floor plan early in the design process in which the dining room's long axis ran parallel to the house's southern facade, with a window niche that stepped toward the garden space. The niche's rectangular space was balanced on the room's opposite side by a similar niche that accommodated a serving

[92] Elisabeth Schmuttermeier, "Adolphe and Suzanne Stoclet as Patrons of the Wiener Werkstätte," in *Gustav Klimt. Expectation and Fulfillment: Cartoons for the Mosaic Frieze at the Stoclet House*, ed. Christoph Thun-Hohenstein and Beate Murr (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2012), 49-50.

[93] Berta Zuckerkandl, "Die Vergrößerung der Wiener Werkstätte," *Wiener Allgemeiner Zeitung* (October 3, 1905), 3.

buffet.[94] Thus, the wall above the buffet would have been the only surface available for a long mural. Since Klimt's first drawings suggest that he initially considering doing only one mural, scholars have assumed that the initial drawings were produced for the dining room's first orientation.[95] However, Hoffmann quickly turned the room so that its long axis was perpendicular to the southern façade, with a triangular niche that projected from the room's shorter wall toward the garden that was balanced by a similar niche projecting from the men's sitting room on the western side of the terrace. There is clear evidence that this reorientation took place in 1905, while Klimt's first began to think about his design in 1908.[96] These facts create uncertainty about Klimt's intention in his initial drawings to which discussion now turns.

Klimt's first design for the *Stoclet Frieze* was done in 1907-08 on cheap tracing paper (fig. 20). It is a long horizontal composition, a gridded field of tightly compressed organic and inorganic ornament, into which are set three vertical rectangular "windows".[97] This compositional arrangement, with openings in a wall could suggest a return to the spatial effects of historicist decorative painting, rather

[94] For a chronological analysis of Josef Hoffmann's different floor plans for the Palais Stoclet See Eduard F. Sekler**,** *Josef Hoffmann: The Architectural Works* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 75-100.

[95] See Alfred Weidinger, "The Stoclet House is really very beautiful," in *Gustav Klimt*, ed. Alfred Weidinger (London: Prestel Verlag, 2007), 122-128.

[96] Scholarship has continued to date Klimt's first and second drafts for the *Stoclet Frieze* cartoon around 1907/1908. This is two years prior to the date applied to the final transfer cartoon. More accurate dates for the three cartoons are not known with certainty. For scholarship that attempts to contextualize these three cartoon drafts see Alfred Weidinger, "The Stoclet House is really very beautiful," in *Gustav Klimt*, ed. Alfred Weidinger (London: Prestel Verlag, 2007). See also Christian Nebehay, *Gustav Klimt: From Drawing to Painting,* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Incorporated, 1994). For the most current opinion on this issue see Tobias G. Natter, *Gustav Klimt: The Complete Paintings* (Cologne: Taschen, 2012).

[97] There is a second drawing with a similar ornamental ground into which a single "window" is set. It contains a "Family," a bearded man, who leans his head to his right and stands concealed behind his "wife," who similarly bends her head. She embraces to her cheek the face of a "daughter," who stands below and to their right. This "window" is in the center of a long horizontal composition, similar to the first drawing. While the ornamental ground continues into the left half of the design, much of it remains undrawn (fig. 21).

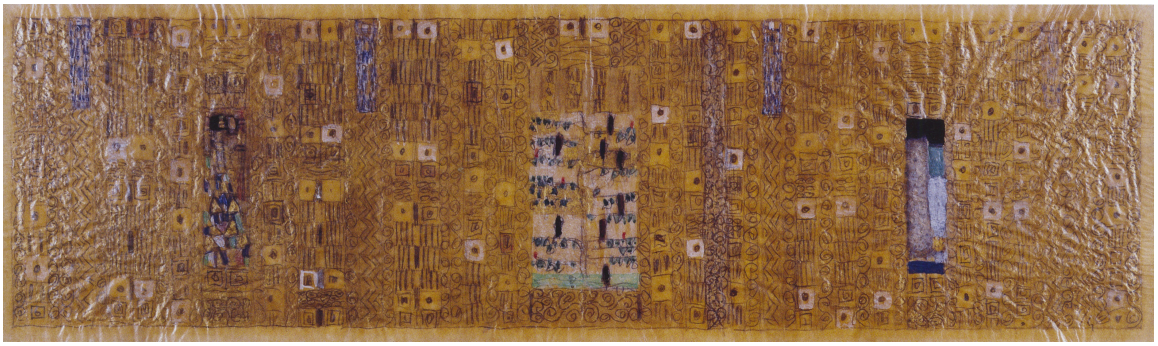

Figure 20
Gustav Klimt, *Stoclet Frieze: unexecuted small design with the Dancer*, 1907/1908. Pencil, crayon on tracing paper, 22x 75.3 cm, Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna

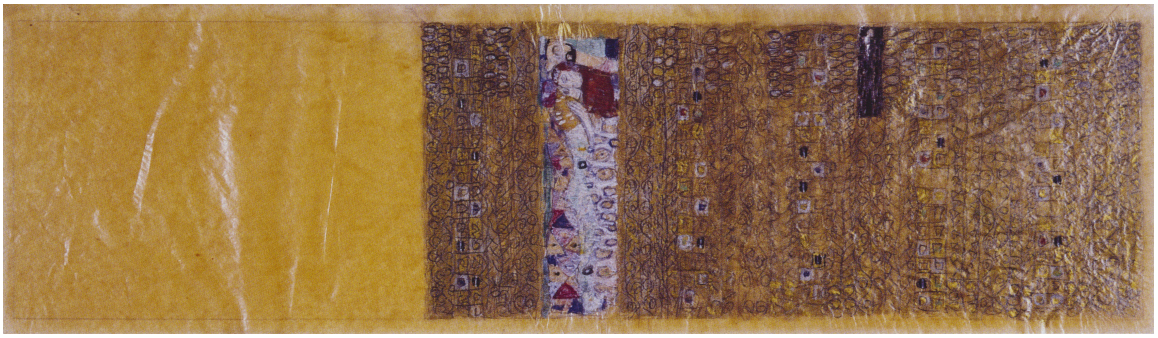

Figure 21
Gustav Klimt, *Stoclet Frieze: unexecuted small design with the family*, 1907/1908. Pencil, crayon on tracing paper 56.5 x 37.2 cm, Wien Museum Karlsplatz, Vienna

Figure 22
Gustav Klimt, *Stoclet Frieze: unexecuted small design with the Dancer*, 1907/1908. Pencil, crayon on gold-bronze tracing paper, 22 x 75.3 cm, Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna

than the continual frieze employed in his *Beethoven Frieze*. However, when one considers the ornamental intricacy of the field, it is possible that he was considering *repoussé* metalwork with enamel inserts as the medium for that ground, while the "windows" may have been conceived as marble panels with mosaic. It is significant that these "windows" contain all of the major motifs that appear in the *Stoclet Frieze*. The Dancer appears in the left "window"; the center contains a strange combination of the Knight, the Tree of Life, and the Rose Bush; while the rectangular composition within the right "window" may be seen as an abstraction of the two embracing figures that have come to be called *Fulfillment* (fig. 21).

Klimt soon moved, however, beyond this clear separation of ornamental field and figural panels, to a compositional concept that unified ornament with the pictorial. The second design, also done in 1907-08 on tracing paper, pulled the figure of the Dancing Girl from her previous portal, standing her on a strip of land that runs across the drawing's lower edge (fig. 22). A rose bush was added to the design's right third, its spread of leaves and blossoms balancing the dancer's form opposite it. The tree, which had been enclosed by the first design's central window, is now set free of its confinement. It thrusts up from the earth and spreads its coiling branches to the drawing's upper and far edges, while an undulating stream of water runs lengthwise between the flat pattern of its canopy and the earthen strip. Thus a shallow stage is created on which the dancer, tree, rose bush, and smaller plants stand, backed by the organic patterns of tree and water. The dancer's turn to the right adds a hint of narrative to this space. Thus, the composition of *Expectation*, the design on the dining room's west wall, was essentially present. Although there is no preliminary design for *Fulfillment*, the composition on the east wall, Klimt may have felt no necessity for it, since he could simply reverse the design and replace the Dancing Girl with the embracing couple.

Klimt, having established the compositional scheme, turned next to the execution of painted cartoons, which could be used as templates for the mosaics. Only the cartoon for the western wall was executed in full, for Klimt used tracing paper, probably with the aforementioned intention of reversing it for the mock-up of the eastern wall. Separate paintings were done for the embracing couple and the Knight, the single image that would appear on the north wall. However, this plan soon became unrealizable, because, rather than pencil and crayon, Klimt employed a wide variety of paints to execute the detailed designs. This choice resulted in him having to back the thin paper with canvas, because the water-based paints caused the paper to buckle and the overall weight of applied material was simply too heavy for the chosen paper.[98] Klimt's willingness to forgo the tracing paper's original function, suggests that he wanted the varied pictorial effects that different types of paint made possible. Recent research has shown that he used platinum, a material more expensive than gold, as the silver-colored metal leaf. Since platinum does not tarnish, scholars have viewed Klimt's inclusion of the material along with gold leaf as an investment in the permanence of these transfer paintings. This supposition is reinforced by the extensive reworking in the figure of the Dancer that has been revealed by recent restorations of the cartoons.[99]

The highly varied materials resulted in images that are similarly rich in pictorial effects. To choose only one example, consider the Dancer (fig. 23). The platinum and gold leaf used for her rings, bracelets, and headdress are incised and heavily worked, producing a sense of rich materiality that contrasts with the

[98] In Beate Murr's essay "The Cartoons for the Stoclet Frieze: Their Creation, Execution, and Conservation" from 2012, Klimt's choice of backing the tracing paper with canvas is proposed as the artist finding it impossible to produce works to scale on non-backed transparent paper. In addition, however, Klimt might have planned right from the start to have the cartoons copied at least in outline by a copier and then put these copies at the disposal of the workshops.

[99] See Christoph Thun-Hohenstein and Beate Murr, *Gustav Klimt: Erwartung und Erfüllung Entwürfe zum Mosaikfries im Palais Stoclet* (Vienna: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2012).

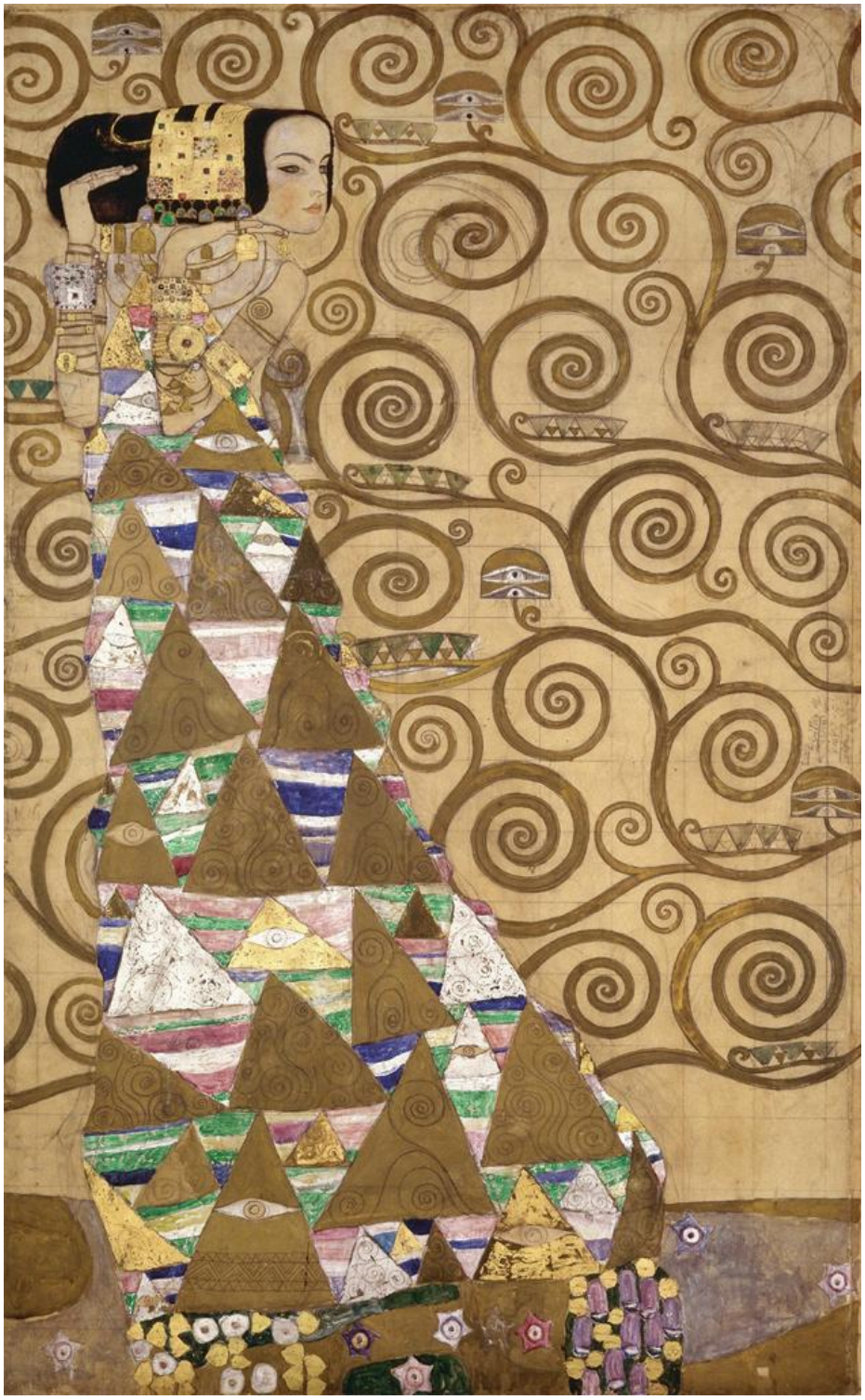

Figure 23
Gustav Klimt, *Production Drawing for the Stoclet Frieze: The Dancer (detail)*, 1910/11. Tempera, watercolor, gold, silver-bronze, crayons, pencil, white, platinum, gold leaf, silver leaf, on brown paper, 195 x 120 cm, Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna

smoothness of her arms and face, while the mixture of the large triangles of gold paint as well as platinum and gold leaf create a majestic dance on her dress with the stripes of cream, green, blue, and pink gouache. Such effects give her strong figural presence as she stands on the meadow's surface. Removal of the stream of water found in the second drawing reduced the suggestions of spatial recession, but Klimt clearly wanted a spatial tension in the narrow forestage. This is evidenced by the undulating patterns, perhaps areas of moisture, in the earthen-gold ground, which can fall back into a slightly receding plane. However, the stylized and materialized blossoms of the flowers on them are totally flat, negating that slippage. Some of the taller plants rise to overlap the tree's lower branches, an effect that creates spatial tension since the tree's base springs from a lower position on the ground plane. The rose bushes, dancer, and embracing couple also rise to obscure the spiraling pattern of the trees' branches (fig. 24). The expansion of the tree's limbs has been aptly described by Werner Hofmann as emphasizing '[...] a resting state rather than a natural growth process'[100], this passivity serving to fix the figures within the narratives of the work. Alfred Weidinger's has described this layering as collage-like:

> In the executed sketch, Klimt [...] pasted the two figural depictions – as in a collage- on the same plane as the tree, created an additional, tangible spatial level. The two rose formations, which do not belong to the same plane as the back but – similar to the figures- function on an additional level of meaning, follow a similar principle.[101]

Thus, like the small plants mentioned previously, these taller elements overlap the trees' branches, despite the fact that the trunk of the tree originates from a common ground.

Klimt's extensive alterations speak clearly of his effort to achieve a balance between the decorative and the pictorial in the cartoon paintings that would provide instruction for what he wanted in the mosaics. It is clear that Klimt wanted to

[100] Hofmann, *Gustav Klimt,* 59.

[101] Weidinger, "The Stoclet House is really very beautiful," 134.

Figure 24
Gustav Klimt, *Production Drawing for the Stoclet Frieze: The Dancer,* 1910/11. Tempera, watercolor, gold, silver-bronze, crayons, pencil, white, platinum, gold leaf, silver leaf, on brown paper, 195 x 120 cm, Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna

design a mosaic that was extremely decorative but not at the expense of losing the pictorial. This meant that a balance had to be achieved if Klimt wanted the mosaic to also express the distinct aesthetic that he had been developing in his painted works. If he produced a work that ventured fully into the realm of decorative abstraction, then his unique role as a painter designing a mosaic would have been superfluous and easily achieved by a mosaicist. That Klimt opted to design a mosaic, and not a painted frieze like the *Beethoven Frieze*, positions the cartoons for the *Stoclet Frieze* as a pivotal moment of the *Malmosaik*. This was a case of a painter designing a mosaic to mimic an aesthetic previously expressed in painting, while mosaicists were executing a mosaic in techniques that would best express a painterly effect. Klimt's extensive reworking of the cartoon argues for his awareness of this transference between artist and craftsman, each alteration to the painted cartoon positioning it further into the realm of the mosaic medium for greater ease of transference between the two media. The task of translating this extremely stylized design of organic and inorganic forms from painting to mosaic was charged to the mosaicist, Leopold Forstner. Klimt's finalized drafts for the *Stoclet Frieze* were delivered to Forstner's workshop in 1909, initiating a project that, due to the capabilities of both men, only took one year to complete.[102]

The striking formal similarities between Klimt's transfer painting and the final mosaic was due to Forstner's exceptional talent in a variety of media and his predilection for experimenting with the boundaries of the mosaic medium. Leopold Forstner began his education in the applied arts as an apprentice at the Tyrolean Institute for Glass Painting and Mosaic in Innsbruck, Austria. Once he finished the apprenticeship, Forstner enrolled at Vienna's Kunstgewerbeschule and studied under the guidance of Karl Krager and Koloman Moser from 1899 to 1902. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Kunstgewerbeschule had undergone

[102] Maria F. Rich, *Vienna 1900-1930: Art in the Home* (NY: Historical Design, 1996), 10.

significant changes, with the addition of Josef Hoffmann, Koloman Moser, and Alfred Roller to its faculty. The three men brought the artistic creed of the Vienna Secession to their positions and eventually the program of the Wiener Werkstätte. This was the academic environment in which Forstner immersed himself when he came to Vienna. Ten advanced students and recent graduates, working under the instruction of the three Secessionist faculty members, formed a group in 1901 that was known as the *Wiener Kunst im Haus* (Viennese Art in the Home). The group's motto was 'quantitatively fewer, qualitatively more selective pieces, a strong emphasis on the artist's intent and a closed and severe decorative effect."[103] Forstner designed the poster for the group's exhibition in the Secession building in 1903 that showcased furnishings, tableware, interior design and applied art objects.

Like many of the artists affiliated with the Secession and the Wiener Werkstätte, Forstner, although mosaic was his forte, was capable of working in a variety of media, his talent in printmaking being evident in his Art in the Home poster. It announced the exhibition in architectonic typeface printed below three female figures, who were entangled in their own hair. The poster differs from most other Secession-related posters in that the hair of the figures appeared to be rendered in rectangular shaped mosaic tiles. This simulation of mosaic is also found in some of Forstner's easel paintings, such as *Farmer's Wife*, an oil painting of 1908. It depicts a figure clothed in traditional Austrian attire, but rendered in intricate geometric textiles reminiscent of mosaic. With the dress's folds arrayed parallel to one another, the pattern appears relatively flat. Forstner, having already experimented with applying a flat ornamental aesthetic to the medium of painting, was an ideal candidate to oversee the construction of the mosaic panels of the *Stoclet Frieze*.

[103] Ibid.

Klimt planned, from the beginning, that the mosaics would incorporate more materials than just glass tesserae. Thus, Forstner supervised not only the craftsmen of the Mosaikwerkstätte, but oversaw the production of all of the work's additional materials.[104] Execution was divided between five studios: the Metal and Goldsmith Studio of the Wiener Werkstätte, the enamel school of the School of Applied Arts (Ms. Starck, Ms. König), Wiener Keramik (Prof. B. Löffler, Prof. Powolny), the marble works of Oreste A. Bastreri, and the aforementioned Mosaikwekstätte. Forstner's training with Koloman Moser, a painter as well as designer of mosaics, provided Klimt with a mosaicist whose aesthetic and readiness for experimentation in mixing media would result in the successful translation of the *Malmosaik* from painting to mosaic. Berta Zuckerkandl described their collaboration in an article of 1911:

> [...] Klimt, after the blueprint had been transferred to the marble surface and the drawing incised onto it, went over the outlines once more with materials in order to stamp them with the 'feel' of his hand [...]. The frieze took shape in the mosaic workshop of Leopold Forstner, whose noted talent for style and decorativeness urged him to experiment with new mosaic techniques. He was responsible for the shading of the gold tones and for the rhythm of light and shade, both of which achieve effects quite different from those of colored drawings. Forstner took unending trouble with experiments; which included eleven gold trials (among them an entirely new, crusty gold mosaic) until a really 'Klimt-like' effect was achieved.[105]

Experimentations in manipulating material in Forstner's mosaic workshop were conducted, according to the opinion above, with the goal of emulating the effect achieved in Klimt's paintings. These 'Klimt-like' effects, mentioned by Zuckerkandl and sought by Forstner, were the recurring decorative elements that had been developing over time through the Faculty Paintings and *Beethoven Frieze*: the use of gold paint and the ornamental treatment of jewelry.

---

[104] In 1908, Leopold Forstner opened his own Wiener Mosaikwerkstätte, the first workshop in Vienna wholly devoted to the art of mosaic, rather than to a trade of commercially produced pieces. It was in this workshop that the mosaic pieces for the *Stoclet Frieze* were created. See Maria F. Rich, *Vienna 1900-1930: Art in the Home* (NY: Historical Design, 1996).

[105] Published in the Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung on 23 October 1911.

The use of gold paint in *Medicine* to disrupt the spatial relationship between the limbs and torso of the figure of Hygeia has been discussed. Its use literally 'bridled' the goddess' neck away from her forearm, the opacity of the gold material resulting in an immediate awareness of the painting's two-dimensional support. This was, however, not strictly the case with Klimt's use of gold paint in the *Beethoven Frieze*, where it was used to heighten, as in the figure of the Knight, the texture of the plaster surface to which it was applied. In both of these examples, gold paint functioned as ornament and structure. In *Jurisprudence*, the gold paint both beautified the hair of the three Furies and fixed it to the spatial plane. Given gold paint's important role in these mural works as well as the so-called "golden" easel paintings of 1903-08, Forstner's arduous efforts to translate these golden effects into mosaic form is readily understandable. Indeed, a letter from Klimt to Fritz Waerndorfer shows that he had concerns about preliminary samples of the mosaic.[106] He wrote: 'The color of the gold mosaic is very beautiful, with the exception of the parts so intensively colored yellow (something I cannot stand) [...].'[107] Zuckerkandl's account of Forstner's eleven trials of gold material for the frieze 'among them an entirely new, crusty gold mosaic' provided a new textural quality that was unique to the *Stoclet Frieze* (fig. 25). This new gold texture, achieved with gold leaf in the cartoons, was paired with smoother gold tiles, which conveyed the effects of the gold paint used in the cartoons.

Jewelry had already become a means to pair and contrast the decorative and the figurative in the Faculty Paintings and the *Beethoven Frieze.* Its juxtaposition with subtly modeled skin heightened the visual effect of each. As discussed previously, three-dimensional material was inserted into the plaster surface of the *Beethoven Frieze*. This was particularly evident in the figure of Intemperance in the panel

[106] The Austrian industrialist and patron of the Vienna Secession Fritz Waerndorfer was a close acquaintance of Gustav Klimt.

[107] Weidinger, "The Stoclet House is really very beautiful," 128.

Figure 25
Gustav Klimt (design), Wiener Werkstätte o.a. (execution) *Stoclet Frieze: Rose Bush (detail)*, 1911. Palais Stoclet, Brussels

depicting the Hostile Powers. Her belted skirt was laden with real gemstones and pieces of mirror (fig. 15). Painted decorative elements in *Jurisprudence* hint at a similar effect, but without the actual incorporation of three-dimensional elements. While the colors used for the polyp-like form and three Furies are not known, Hevesi's poetic impression of the three women provides insight into their visual effect, the critic writing: 'They come from a luxurious hell where golden instruments of torture are studded with brilliant gems and martyrs bleed rubies.'[108]

This "Klimt-like" effect of surface tension was fully realized in the twelve pieces of jewelry that adorn the arms of the Dancing Girl in the *Stoclet Frieze*, all of which protrude from the enameled surfaces of the figure's limbs (fig. 26). Precious and semiprecious gemstones that are fixed within the bracelets subtly disrupt the work's surface. The successful translation of the *Malmosaik's* aesthetic into a fully mosaic frieze had consequences for Klimt's current and future work. The disruptive pairing of the figural and the decorative as seen in paintings was, in the case of the *Stoclet Frieze*, neutralized to some extent by the limitations of the mosaic medium, for the type of three-dimensional modeling achieved in oil painting was not found for the figures of the *Stoclet Frieze*. The Dancing Girl's enameled limbs and face only allowed for minor degrees of color blending. This meant that the limbs of the figure, her garments, jewelry and organic surroundings combined into a more cohesive decorative plane than the painted cartoons. The figures' aesthetic impact was, in the case of the mosaic, more equal to the decorative forms surrounding them.

The reduced variance between the figures and ornamentation in the *Stoclet Frieze*, gave dominance to the ornamental surface of the coiling Tree of Life. The figures of Fulfillment and Expectation became inferior in their flanking position with

[108] Hevesi, "Bilder von Gustav Klimt" (July 1907), 209.

Figure 26
Gustav Klimt (design), Wiener Werkstätte o.a. (execution), *Stoclet Frieze: The Dancer (detail)*, 1911, Palais Stoclet, Brussels

the rose bushes (fig. 27).[109] The commonality achieved between the motifs on the garments of the figures and the surrounding foliage unites the two (fig. 28). Werner Hofmann addressed this as follows in 1971:

> A relatively small change of formal emphasis would suffice to change Expectation and Fulfillment into stylized plants, just as the shrubs might reveal themselves as human figures. This interchangeability is based on a common ornamental denominator.[110]

The 'ornamental denominator' of the *Stoclet Frieze*, did not appear to dictate Klimt's method of rendering the figures and decorative motifs in the Faculty Paintings or *Beethoven Frieze*, positioning the mosaic work as an additional avenue for the expression of the *Malmosaik* outside the realm of painting.[111] Hofmann's observation that an 'ornamental denominator' was utilized to render the content of the *Stoclet Frieze* is significant in that the success of this common denominator did not seem to be predicated upon a specific material. Much scholarship that discusses the *Stoclet Frieze* argues that the lack of visual tension between the figural and the decorative presented a solution to a problem that had been present in Klimt's painted works. Writing in 1992, Christian Nebehay reasoned that '[...] mosaic is the ideal medium for the realization of Klimt's ideas, and it is regrettable that he only used it for the

[109] In Johannes Wieninger's essay "Japonisme in Gustav Klimt" published in 2012, he discusses the similarities between Klimt's cartoons for the *Stoclet Frieze* and Japanese decorative screens. Ludwig Hevesi also discusses this relationship in his essay "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik". Hevesi claimed that the *Malmosaik* was the perfect embellishment for interiors: "A sudden embellishment on the wall [...] a kind of irregular cloud of mosaic elements around the human figure [...] like the stylized golden clouds in Japanese paintings." Selected from Ludwig Hevesi, "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" (August 1907), 547.

[110] Hofmann, *Gustav Klimt*, 29.

[111] Werner Hofmann's reference to the ornamental denominator of the *Stoclet Frieze* becomes doubly significant when a comparison between the figures of the Dancing Girl (fig. 23), Hygeia in Medicine (fig. 7) and the female nude in the *Allegory of Egyptian Art* (fig. 2) is made. A comparison of facial features of these three female figures highlights the limitations of the *Malmosaik* when applied to the medium of mosaic and painting. The mask-like face and sharp angularity of the Dancing Girl's limbs combine to form a cohesive thought with her dress and the surrounding foliage because of the nature of the mosaic medium. Thus, the form of the figure achieves a greater level of abstraction when executed in mosaic.

Figure 27
Gustav Klimt (design), Wiener Werkstätte o.a. (execution), *Stoclet Frieze: Rose Bush*, 1911. Palais Stoclet, Brussels

Figure 28
Gustav Klimt (design), Wiener Werkstätte o.a. (execution), *Stoclet Frieze: Lovers (Fulfillment)*, 1911. Palais Stoclet, Brussels

Stoclet Frieze."[112] This passage claims that the surface tension present in Klimt's paintings, particularly the Faculty Paintings, was a problem to which the artist was seeking a solution and was discovered in the mosaic medium. But since Klimt never applied the *Malmosaik* to another mosaic work, one wonders if this supposition is correct. Since the artist continued to implement the *Malmosaik* in painted works, perhaps visual tension between figuration and ornament was his intended goal.

The transference of Klimt's *Malmosaik* into the medium of mosaic not only strained the physical limits of the mosaic medium, but also effectively altered the foundational elements of the aesthetic through its attempts at mimicking its painted counterparts. Conversely, the reflective quality of the gold tiles exhibited a level of ornamental magnificence that the gold paint in the Faculty Paintings and *Beethoven Frieze* could not achieve. Thus, regardless of the medium through which the *Malmosaik* was expressed, certain concessions had to be made. In the case of the *Stoclet Frieze*, however, the concessions are arguably the work's most striking feature, most fully seen in the autonomous mosaic installed on the dining room's north wall, a work that bears little connection to any of Klimt's painted works.

This panel contained no marble, but was composed of enamel and ceramic pieces set together in *repoussé* goldwork (fig. 29). Since there is no ground against which one can distinguish a figure, the already highly geometricized image of a knight was made ever more abstract. Weidinger has described it as the 'mediator and guardian between Expectation and Fulfillment."[113] Its degree of abstraction is unique and embodies the 'pure surface' that Hevesi saw in the upper region of *Jurisprudence*

[112] Nebehay, *Gustav Klimt: From Drawing to Painting,* 162.

[113] Weidinger, "The Stoclet House is really very beautiful," 135.

Figure 29
Gustav Klimt (design), Wiener Werkstätte o.a. (execution) *Stoclet Frieze: The Knight*, 1911. Palais Stoclet, Brussels

and labeled a 'pure mosaic construction"[114] and a 'mosaic-painting'.[115] However, in the *Stoclet Frieze*, the *Malmosaik* functions as both an aesthetic and medium for an autonomous work, implying a potential equality of the two realms of creative activity, i.e. painting and handicraft, uniting to form a single cohesive decorative expression. But as Werner Hofmann has argued, this equality could, at this point in Klimt's career, only '[...] hold true for the encroaching complex of the communal work of art. In Klimt's easel pictures abstract ornament loses its autonomy and becomes a subsidiary factor."[116] Hofmann reasons that in the portrait of *Margaret Stonborough-Wittgenstein* (1905), the decorative forms, the *Malmosaik*, are merely an accessory, whereas in the case of the *Stoclet Frieze*, they constitute a self-sustaining autonomous work.[117] In subsequent so-called "golden" portraits this would not always be the case, as in the *Portrait of Adele-Boch Bauer I* (1907) (fig. 30). The *Malmosaik's* potential for application, regardless of context or the degree in which it was applied in different types of painted works directly relates to Hevesi's initial motivation for writing the *Malmosaik* essay in 1907. Having perceived a similarity between works fully dominated by the *Malmosaik* and works that only marginally utilized the aesthetic, the critic made no distinction between the two, labeling both as painted mosaics.

That the *Malmosaik* could be the 'ornamental denominator' of an autonomous work as well as an ornate accessory in a painted portrait, positions Hevesi's term not only as a non-surface specific medium, but as a non-medium specific method of surface decoration. The *Malmosaik's* ability to dominate a work's overall aesthetic, as in the case of the mosaic of the abstracted Knight, as well as be a partial piece within

[114] Hevesi, "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" (August 1907), 546.

[115] Hevesi, "Bilder von Gustav Klimt" (July 1907), 209.

[116] Hofmann, *Gustav Klimt*, 29.

[117] Ibid.

Figure 30
Gustav Klimt, *Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer I*, 1907. Oil, silver and gold paint on canvas, 138 x 138 cm, Neue Galerie, New York City, New York

a larger figurative narrative, as in the case of the Faculty Paintings, suggests its critical/theoretical flexibility. Hevesi described the *Malmosaik* as a style that communicated the feeling of a pure surface, devoid of false perspectival depth, and seemed to realize that while Klimt had led the way in Vienna to this new aesthetic, he was not the only artist who utilized it. Indeed, the *Stylisten's* affinity for eradicating all visual falsities in surface decoration demonstrates this larger aesthetic goal. A piece by Forstner from 1904 that depicts a female nude holding a wreath demonstrates the way he had begun to combine high relief ceramic sculpture and mosaic (which might be called *Plastmosaik*) in a way that altered the mosaic surface without disguising the two-dimensional surface to which it was applied (fig. 31). One can also point to Koloman Moser's *The Promise of Heaven*, his design of 1904 for the mosaic altarpiece of the Church of St. Leopold am Steinhof as an example of *Malmosaik*, but perhaps as well his late easel paintings like *The Light* of 1913-15 (fig. 32). For Hevesi and the *Stylisten*, the *Malmosaik* represented the potential for a new method of depicting a 'honest and clear' image both on canvas and on architecture that did away with false 'formations of space' and instead presented '[...] openly admitted surface-coverings (*Flächendeckung*). Not perspectival illusions, but rather the genuine abandonment of plastic visual stimuli.'[118] In Hevesi's discussion of Klimt's paintings in the essay from August of 1907, he contemplates the possible utopian achievements of the aesthetic if it was permitted to enter the domestic environment:

> I have the impression of an ideal space, as though projected in merely two dimensions [...]. The utmost consideration and parceling would be achieved. And this discrete geometry would be broken through capriciously by the prevailing element of the painted mosaic, whose splendor, however, also has its own discretion. It appears as though out of nothingness, as a sudden stroke of embellishment on the wall, in the air, more so upon the surface, as part of a background or as a kind of irregular clouded fog of mosaic elements around the human figure.[119]

[118] Hevesi, "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" (August 1907), 546.

[119] Ibid., 547.

Figure 31
Leopold Forstner, Mosaic for Schwestern Flöge façade, 1904. Austrian Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna

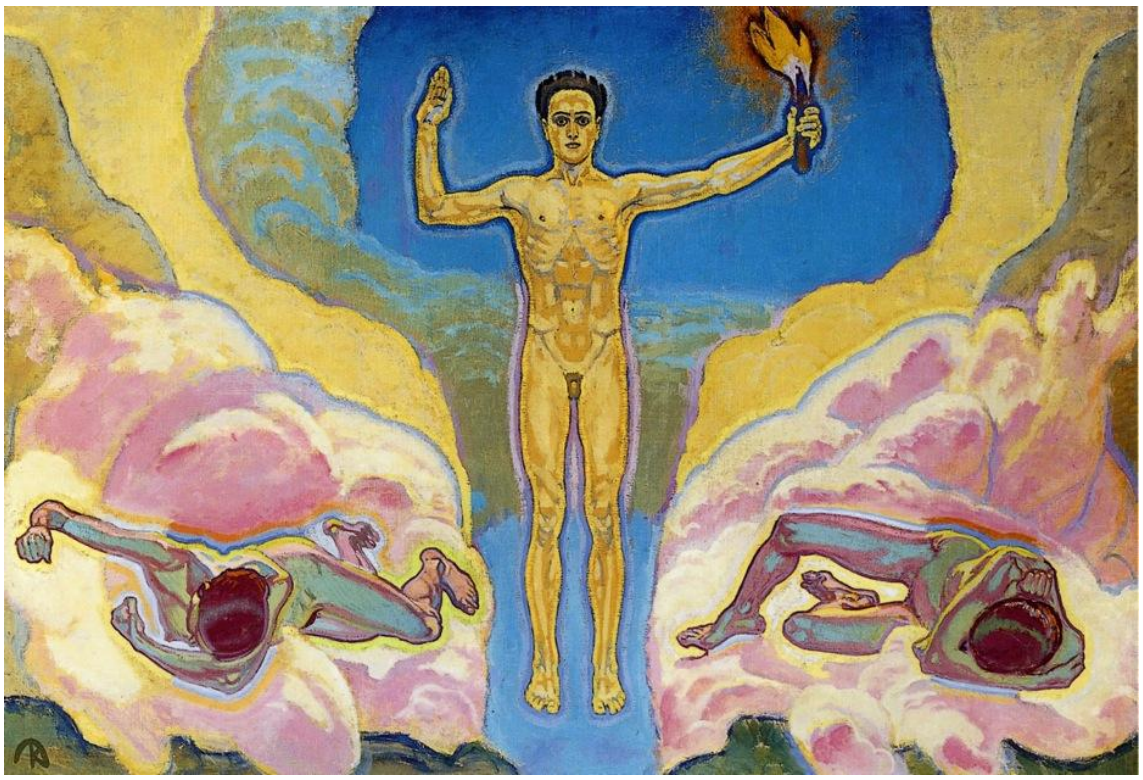

Figure 32
Koloman Moser, *The Light*, 1913-15. Oil on canvas, 123 x 180 cm. Private Collection

In conclusion, the *Malmosaik*, while analyzed in this thesis as applicable to both the medium of painting and mosaic, remains a term without tangible meaning or definitive guidelines for use in analyzing its success and failure regarding its corruption of media distinctions. But just because the term remains problematic, does not warrant its banishment from discussions of Klimt's work. What Hevesi perceived in Klimt's paintings, and labeled the *Malmosaik*, represents a symptom of the internal debate between the *Nur-Malen* and the *Stylisten* of the Vienna Secession regarding the legitimacy of surface decoration and, because of Klimt's manipulation of the medium of painting, the subsequent need to redefine the boundaries of traditional easel, ceiling and decorative wall painting. In essence, within the context of the Vienna Secession, it was not the manner in which Klimt incorporated the *Malmosaik* into his work or material used that was relevant, but rather that the artist's innovative reimagining of an ancient medium into a modern method of painting was conceived in relation to its structural support. While it was not the intent of this thesis to provide a definitive answer of what the *Malmosaik* is or which of Klimt's works warranted its application, this investigation of Hevesi's term has attempted to highlight the term's problematic nature and to trace its development through Klimt's Faculty Paintings, *Beethoven Frieze* and mosaic in Brussels. That this thesis excluded a discussion of the *Malmosaik* in relation to the artist's "gold portraits" was not due to their being irrelevant in a discussion of the term, as they are exemplary incidences of *Malmosaik*. In his discussions of *Jurisprudence*, Hevesi observed that 'Where Klimt to paint the image today (1907), he would allow this upper portion, the museful vision, to predominate powerfully. At that time he was not yet ready.' The critic found evidence for this assertion in the three easel paintings that he had seen in Mannheim. The *Portrait of Adele Boch-Bauer I* (fig. 30) became for Hevesi what *Jurisprudence* might have been, had it been imagined in 1907 and not in 1903. The most pronounced incidences of the *Malmosaik* remained in the

context of the private sphere, hindering Hevesi's hope for the style to function as a link between all artistic media; the separation of painting, the applied arts and architecture, viewed by him as an obstacle to overcome. Hevesi believed Klimt's *Malmosaik*, because of its applicability to any surface and realization through any medium, to be an innovation in surface decoration and the element that could unite all artistic media.

> What and how much is to be gained from this course remains to be determined. Meanwhile our hyper-artistic time has found a new way to express itself through painting. If Klimt were in the position today to furnish whole spaces in this style, something quite noteworthy could come out of it. And something properly Viennese, as I understand it all, which I would like to call a faceted finish (*Facettenschliff*).[120] Our greatest artists have always had that shine and shimmer that appears nowhere else.[121]

[120] The "faceted finish" here is rendered in German as *Facettenschliff* and refers to faceted cuts of gemstones and diamonds.

[121] Hevesi, "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik" (August 1907), 548.

APPENDIX

GUSTAV KLIMT UND DIE MALMOSAIK

Ludwig Hevesi
August 1907

- 545 -

Es ist vielleicht eine große Neuheit zu verzeichnen. Ein System von Flächenschmuck, das Zukunft hat. Ich glaube sogar daran, denn ich sehe es seit Jahren kommen und sich immer systematischer ausgestalten. In der anregungsreichen Mannheimer Ausstellung, in jenem so eigengeistigen Saale der Wiener Werkstätte, wo die anmutige Logik Josef Hoffmanns herrscht, hängen drei Bilder Gustav Klimts, die man in Wien noch gar nicht kennt. In denen ist der Gedanke schon voll verkörpert. Und in Wien, in der Galerie Miethke, hängen gleichzeitig seine drei großen Deckenbilder, die nun freilich Wandbilder geworden sind: die *Philosophie*, *Medizin* und *Jurisprudenz*, die der Künstler von unserer Regierung wieder zurückerstanden und seither vollendet hat. In diesen sieht man den Gedanken aufblitzen und um Gestalt ringen. In der *Philosophie* ist Klimt noch Impressionist und destilliert die malerische Stimmung aus einem a atmosphärischen Vorgang, den er ins Kosmische steigert. Aber schon ist dieser Weltraum von all den bunten Goldfunken der Gestirne durchglitzert, welche die Bildfläche mit einem Element von musivischem Glanz durchwirken. Man erinnert sich dabei, daß Whistler sein Feuerwerk in Cremorne Gardens schon ein wenig so pointiert hat; Klimt kann dieses Bild nie gesehen haben, greift übrigens weit kühner in den kosmischen Coriandolisack. Dann kommt die *Medizin*, mit jener überprächtigen Vordergrundfigur der Hygiene, in Purpur und verschwenderischen Goldschmuck. Hier blüht noch die sezessionistische Gefühlslinie, die interessant geschwungenen Kurven, der parabolische und hyperbolische Reiz; das Denken in Kegelschnitten, möchte man sagen. Es ist eine weitere Versuchsstaffel, auf der schon etwas Großartigeres entstanden war: das Hauptbild des BeethovenWandschmuckes in der Sezession, das wandgroße, Typhöusbild. Diese märchenartige Ausgeburt seiner dekorativen Phantastik war gewiß etwas Neues im Beriech des Flächenschmuckes. Aber die fließende, schwingende, schnörkelmäßige Linie, das Bewegungsprinzip der Schlange, der Ranke herrschte noch vor. Das war noch Renaissance, die aus der organischen -

- 546 -

Natur schöpfte. In der *Jurisprudenz* kommt dann der große Schritt in der Richtung eines immer deutlicher werdenden Zieles. In Wien (und anderswo) haben mittlerweile die Stilisten die Oberhand gewonnen. Das wandmäßige Denken der Maler (Hodler, Maurice Denis) setzt ein, und auch die Errungenschaften des Impressionismus und Pointillismus werden in diesem Sinne nutzbar gemacht. Die einen neigen zum Fresko hin (neuestens der treffliche Karl Hofer in Rom), den anderen geht irgendwie die alte Mosaikkunst wieder auf. Keinem so üppig und eigen, so neu, muß man sagen, wie Gustav Klimt. Als er seine ersten Experimente machte, erkannten die Beschauer gar nicht, was er meinte. Zum Beispiel, wenn er jenen Apfelbaum mit den unzähligen goldenen Äpfeln in grünen Laub malte, die so unmäßig in die Breite wucherten, vor Sehnsucht, Wandfläche zu bedecken. Manches kleine Bild wollte gar nichts sein als solcher Versuch, ein musivisches Moment auf kleiner Strecke auszuproben, die Melodie einer Mosaikwand anzuschlagen. Dabei wurde das Prinzip immer geometrischer, das Bildungsgesetz kam nun von der unorganischen Natur her, aus der Sphäre der kristallinischen Formen. Damit wurde es zugleich architektonischer, wandmäßiger, strebte naturgemäß dem Zweidimensionalen zu. Zurück in die Fläche, alles! Keine Raumgestaltung mehr, sondern offen eingestandene Flächenbedeckung. Keine perspektivischen Illusionen, sondern aufrichtiger Verzicht auf plastischen Augenreiz. Auf dieser dritten Stufe steht die Jurisprudenz, besonders der obere Teil, wo die Rechtsgöttin mit Gefolge auftritt. Da ist bereits das reine Mosaikgebilde, aus geometrischen Teilchen zusammengesetzt, farbigen, goldenen, silbernen; unplastisch, reine Fläche. Hätte Klimt das Bild heute zu malen, so ließe er diesen oberen Teil, die musivische Vision, mächtig überwiegen. Damals hielt er noch nicht soweit.

Die drei Bilder in Mannheim zeigen ihn vollbewußt und absichtsvoll auf dieser Stufe. Das eine ist ein begriffliches Thema. Drei nackte Figuren jenes sehr besonderen Klimtschen Gepräges; eine weinende altes Frau und eine junge Mutter mit ihrem Säugling. Jugend und Alter, Aufblühen und Absterben. Das immergleiche Menschenschicksal, still und ergreifend, -

- 547 -

in eine knappste Formel zusammengefaßt. Die anderen Bilder sind elegante Damenporträts (Frau Geheimrat Riedler und Frau Adele Bloch). Aber alle drei sind als gemalte Mosaiken gedacht, nämlich die Figuren zwar in der delikaten Klimtschen Mischung von Stilismen und Naturalismen naturgemäß gezeichnet und gemalt, die Einkleidung und Ausstattung aber ein musivisches Phantasiespiel. Wenn man feine

Damen von heute so dargestellt sieht, denkt man unwillkürlich an die Mosaikporträts Justinians und Theodoras in jener Prachtkapelle zu San Vitale in Ravenna. Warum sollte ein Bildnis von heute nicht ähnlich wirken können? Aber Glasflüsse und Edelsteine sind zu monumental für ein jetziges Heim, mit modernen Nützlichkeitsmöbeln, landläufigen Niedlichkeiten auf Etageren und vielleicht gar Papiertapeten. Unsere natürliche Requisitenkammer ist die Palette, die uns den Schein von allem zur Verfügung stellt, und zum Höhen greifen wir keck nach Gold und Silber in verschiedenen Tönungen, Mattheiten und Polituren. Die frühen Maler haben es ja auch getan, nur nicht mit so raffiniertem Kolorismus. Fra Beato Angelico und seinesgleichen gravieren und mustern gar ihren Goldgrund, Carlo Crivelli modelliert die verschiedensten Akzessorien (Bischofsmützen, Meßbücher) plastisch auf und bemalt und vergoldet sie dann. Wir sind nicht minder reich, sobald wir den Mut und Schick dazu haben. Und Schick und Mut, beides ist uns kürzlich durch die gesunde japanische Schule gegangen. Ohne Zweifel spielt Japan ganz wesentlich in dieses neue Klimtsche Byzanz hinein. Wenn ich diese drei letzten Bilder ansehe, denke ich unwillkürlich an europäische Kakemonos. Nur sind sie weitaus komplizierter und systematischer empfunden, schon weil sie nicht aus dem ungenierten Handgelenk einer festgestellten scheren Kunstübung kommen, sondern minutiös ausgerechnete Kombinationskunst sind. Das ist eben unsere überfütterte, kulturverdauende Zeit, die mit Gewürzen aller Zeiten und Zonen kocht.

Die Kombination einer solchen Bildfläche allein ist schon merkwürdig. Ich habe den Eindruck eines idealen Raumes, der in bloß zwei Dimensionen projiziert wäre. Begrenzt gleichsam durch eine Zusammenstellung von japanischen Wandschirmen, deren dunkle und helle Flächen, Sockel und Friesstreifen nach einem ewigen immanenten „goldenen Schnitt“ sich wie automatisch einteilen und in ein besonderes Verhältnis setzen. An feiner Abwägung und Parzellierung ist hier das Äußerste geleistet. Und diese diskrete Geometrie wird launenhaft durchbrochen durch jenes herrschende Element von gemalter Mosaik, deren Prunk doch auch wieder eine eigene Diskretion hat. Sie taucht wie aus dem Nichts hervor, bald als plötzlicher Zierstreifen an der Wand, in der Luft, in der Fläche vielmehr, bald als Teil eines Hintergrundes, oder als eine Art unregelmäßiges Nebelgewölk von Mosaikelementen um die Menschengestalt her. Das stilisierte Goldgewölk der Japaner nimmt hier Mosaikcharakter an. Und diese Mosaik besteht nicht bloß aus kleinen und großen Dreiecken, Vielecken, Ringelchen, Spiralen, Kreuzchen in Edelmetall und Farben -

und zwar von oft rätselhafter Herkunft, wie denn zum Beispiel die stilisierten Saugnäpfe des berühmten Riesenpolypen in der *Jurisprudenz* hier als selbständige ornamentale Formal vorkommen -, sondern auch aus einer großen Anzahl eigentümlicher Diagramme, die wie mit hölzernen Stempeln aufgedruckt aussehen. Alle von ganz simpler Erfindung und in allerlei Farben variiert, so daß sie auch einzeln in verschiedene Teile des Bildes eingestreut werden können, um durch das Anschlagen einer Farbe komplementär zu wirken. Die durchtriebene Schlauheit dieser feinschmeckerhaften Zusammenstellungen ist etwas ganz Neues von dekorativem Hilfsmittel. Das kommt noch nirgends vor. Man glaube nicht, daß das Zufällige, dessen Eindruck man dabei hat, echt ist. Dieser Zufall ist im Gegenteil sorgfältig präpariert und durch stundenlange Versuche, durch tagelanges Variationenspielen auf dieser Klaviatur planvoll herbeigeführt. Es ist tatsächlich eine neue Art Flächendekor, zu der der Künstler im Laufe von Jahren mit erfinderischen Tasten vorgedrungen ist. Aber freilich, es ist ganz und gar Klimt. Wehe, wenn die Nachahmerhorde sich darauf stürzen wird, um nun fingerfertig und geistlos zugleich drauf los zu klimtisieren. Es kann eine gehörige Seuche werden.

Für Klimt selbst ist dieses Gebiet unerschöpflich. Er kann die nämlichen Moleküle bis ins Unendliche wechselnd zusammensetzen; wie das Kaleidoskop sich niemals wiederholen kann. Mit den großen Bildern bei Miethke ist zugleich ein neues kleines ausgestellt, das läßt diese unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten deutlich ahnen. Ein Pergamentblatt, in Aquarell und Gold bemalt; die *Freundinnen* oder so irgendwie kann es heißen. Zwei mehr als schlanke weibliche Akte von erlesenster anatomischer Eigenart; die menschliche Gestalt wirklich nur noch als Rohstoff für die in Formen spielende Phantasie benutzt. Analog so mancher anderen Moderne, zuletzt noch Franz Metzner in seinen Figuralien zum Rheingoldpalaste in Berlin. Und dann sind diese Klimtschen *Freundinnen* wieder so musivisch inszeniert, nur mit einem gewissen Mehr an pflanzlichen Regungen. Die ganze Schöpfung steht ihm ja offen. Dieses Pergamentblatt- Preis 5000 Gulden – ist ein Werk von absonderlicher Leckerheit; man muß wirklich schon zu solchen lukullischen Ausdrücken greifen. Was und wie viel auf dieser Linie zu erreichen ist, steht ja dahin. Einstweilen hat unsere hyperartistische Zeit eine neue Art gefunden, sich malerisch auszudrücken. Wenn Klimt heute in die Lage käme, ganze Räume in diesem Stil auszustatten, könnte wohl etwas Denkwürdiges entstehen. Und etwas recht Wienerisches, worunter ich jenes ganz eigene verstehe, was ich Facettenschliff nennen möchte. Unsere größten Künstler haben immer jenes unendliche Geflimmer und Gefunkel gehabt, das sonst

nirgends vorkommt. Unsere Walzermusik hat auch diesen Facettenschliff. Auch Makart hatte ihn. Und die Wiener Toilettenkunst hat ihn; Sarah Bernhardt ließ ihre Wiener Schneiderin Madame Francine nach Paris übersiedeln, weil die Pariser das nicht haben. Selbstverständlich muß es ja nicht nach jedermanns -

Geschmack sein; ein anderer zieht das Gegenteil vor. Aber wenn eine Kunst historisch geworden ist, hören diese Widersachereien auf. Wer schimpft heute noch auf Manet? Höchstens noch auf Cezanne, ein weiteres Weilchen. Angesichts der Klimtschen Bilder bei Miethke hörte ich einem langen Wortstreit zwischen Kunstverständigen zu. Ein Freund sagte: „Für die Philosophie bin ich noch eingetreten, aber seitdem entferne ich mich immer weiter von Klimt." Ich antwortete darauf: „Je weiter Sie sich von ihm entfernen, desto mehr nähern Sie sich ihm. Das ist wie bei einer Weltumseglung. Man entfernt sich immer mehr vom Ausgangspunkt, bis man richtig wieder bei ihm eingetroffen ist." Auch wir in der Kunst umsegeln in einem fort die Weltkugel.

REFERENCES CITED

Bischoff, Cäcilis. *Kunsthistorisches Museum History, Architecture, Decoration*. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2010.

Bogner. Dieter. "Gustav Klimt's 'Geometric' Compositions." In *Klimt, Schiele, Moser, Kokoscka: Vienna 1900*. Edited by Serge Lemoine and Marie-Amelie zu Salm-Salm. London: Lund Humphries, 2005.

Cernuschi, Claude. *Re/Casting Kokoschka*. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002.

Clegg, Elizabeth. "The foundation of the Viennese Secession." In *Gustav Klimt, Painting, Design and Modern Life*. Edited by Tobias G. Natter and Christoph Grunenberg. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2008.

di Stefano, Eva. *Gustav Klimt: Art Nouveau Visionary*. New York: Sterling Publishing Co., 2008.

Eisler, Max. *Gustav Klimt*. Vienna: Rikola Verlag, 1920.

Fliedl, Gottfried. *Gustav Klimt 1862-1918 the World in Female Form.* Cologne: Taschen, 1989.

Franz, Rainald. "A True Memorial to the Viennese Flamboyant Style." In *Hans Makart: Painter of the Senses*. Edited by Agnes-Husslein-Arco and Alexander Klee. Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2011.

Hammer, Ivo. "Klimt's Beethoven Frieze at 110." In *Gustav Klimt, Josef Hoffmann: Pioneers of Modernism*. Edited by Anges Husslein-Arco and Alfred Weidinger. Vienna: Prestel Verlag, 2011.

Hevesi, Ludwig. "Bilder von Gustav Klimt." In *Altkunst-Neukunst. Wien 1894-1908.* Edited by Otto Breicha. Klagenfurt: Ritter Verlag, 1986.

———. "Gustav Klimt und die Malmosaik." *Kunstchronik* 17, no. 33 (27 September 1907): 545-49.

———. "Sehnsucht nach dem Glück Zum Beethovenfries." In *Acht Jahre Secession. (März 1897-Juni 1905). Kritik-Polemik-Chronik.* Edited by Otto Breicha. Klagenfurt: Ritter Verlag, 1984.

———. "Sezession: Frühjahrsaustellung (März 1900)." In *Acht Jahre Secession. (März 1897-Juni 1905). Kritik-Polemik-Chronik.*Edited by Otto Breicha. Klagenfurt: Ritter Verlag, 1984.

———. "Zur Klimt-Ausstellung." In *Acht Jahre Secession. (März 1897-Juni 1905). Kritik-Polemik-Chronik.* Edited by Otto Breicha. Klagenfurt: Ritter Verlag, 1984.

Hoffmann, Werner. "Gesamtkunstwerk Wien." In *Der Hang zum Gesamtkunstwerk (exhibition catalogue)*. Edited by Harald Szeemann. Berlin: Berliner Künstlerprogramm des DAAD, 1983.

——. *Gustav Klimt*. Greenwich: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1971.

Janik, Allan and Stephen Toulmin. *Wittgenstein's Vienna*. New York: Gulf & Western Corporation, 1973.

Kallir, Jane. "High and Low in Imperial Vienna: Gustav Klimt and the Applied Arts." In *Gustav Klimt: Modernism in the Making.* Edited by Colin B. Bailey. New York: Harry N. Abrams Incorporated, 2001.

Koller, Manfred. "Gustav Klimts Beethovenfries. 1902-2002." *Belvedere. Zeitschrift fur bildende Kunst* (February 2002): 23.

Marlowe-Storkovich, Tina. "Medicine by Gustav Klimt." *Artibus et Historiae* 24, no. 47 (2003): 231-252.

Nebehay, Christian Michael. *Gustav Klimt: from Drawing to Painting.* New York: H.N. Abrams, 1994.

Novotny, Fritz and Johannes Dobai. *Gustav Klimt* (with catalogue raisonné). New York: Praeger, 1968.

Rapatti, Rodolphe. *Symbolism*. Paris: Editions Flammerion, 2005.

Rich, Maria F. *Vienna 1900-1930: Art in the Home.* New York: Historical Design, 1996.

Riegl, Alois. *Historical Grammar of the Visual*. Edited by Benjamin Binstock. Translated by Jacqueline E. Jung. New York: Zone Books.

Schmuttereimer, Elisabeth. "Adolphe and Suzanne Stoclet as Patrons of the Wiener Werkstätte," In *Gustav Kllimt. Expectation and Fulfillment: Cartoons for the Mosaic Frieze at the Stoclet House*. Edited by Christoph Thun-Hohenstein and Beate Murr. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2012.

Schorske, Carl E. *Fin-De-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*. New York: Vintage Books, 1981.

Sekler, Eduard. *Josef Hoffmann: The Architectural Work*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Stöhr, Ernst. *Secession: Catalogue of the fourteenth exhibition*, 1902.

Vergo, Peter. *Art in Vienna, 1898-1918: Klimt, Kokoschka, Schiele and Their Contemporaries.* London: Phaidon, 1993.

——. "Between Modernism and Tradition: The Importance of Klimt's Murals and Figure Painting." In *Gustav Klimt: Modernism in the Making.* Edited by Colin B. Bailey. New York: Harry N. Abrams Incorporated, 2001.

Weidinger, Alfred. "The Stoclet House is really very beautiful." In *Gustav Klimt*. Edited by Alfred Weidinger. Munich, Berlin, London: Prestel Verlag, 2007.

Weixelgärtner, Arpad. "Gustav Klimt." In *The Graphic Arts*. Vienna, 1912.

Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung (23 October 1911).

Whitford, Frank. *Gustav Klimt*. London: Collins & Brown, 1993.

Zuckerkandl, Berta. "Als die Klimtgruppe sich selbtständig machte." In *Neues Wiener Journal* 10, no. 4, 1927.

——. Zuckerkandl, Berta. "Die Vergrößerung der Wiener Werkstätte." *Wiener Allgemeiner Zeitung* (3 October 1905): 3.