

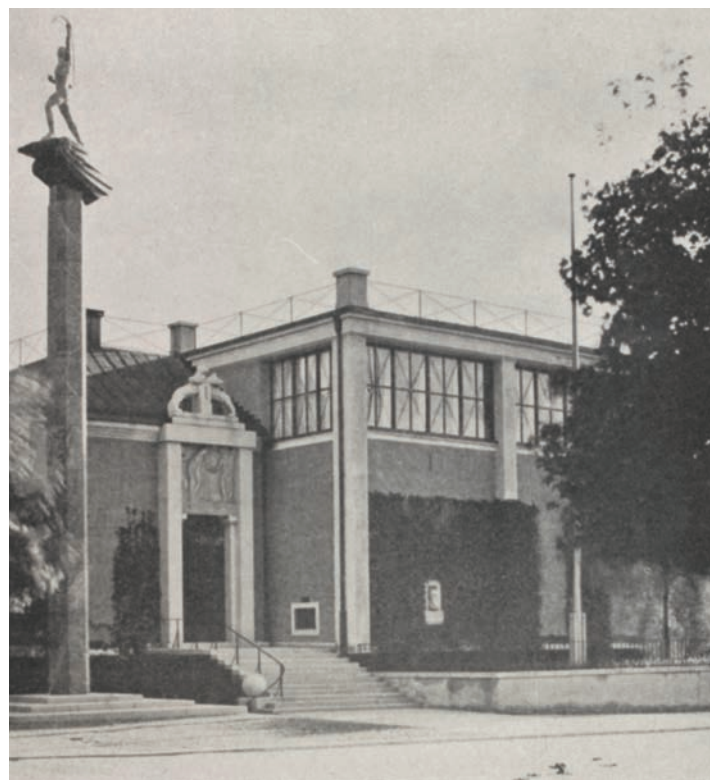
War and peace at the Stockholm ‘Austrian Art Exhibition’ of 1917

by ELIZABETH CLEGG

IN LATE AUGUST 1917, on the threshold of what would long be recalled as one of twentieth-century Europe’s most traumatic and fateful autumns, a rail journey of several days brought six impatient travellers from a stifling, demoralised Vienna some 1,500 kilometres north, by way of Prague, Dresden and Berlin, to the reinvigorating light and comparative serenity of Stockholm. Capital of the warring continent’s most confident and proactive neutral, a forum for news and views from every quarter, a favoured halt of reformists and revolutionaries and their following of spies and *agents provocateurs*, the Baltic port city was now also host to the diverse voluble assemblies of those who had come to attend a repeatedly postponed International Peace Conference.¹

The Viennese party, under the genial supervision of its leader, the German–Moravian architect and designer Josef Hoffmann, worked tirelessly between 3rd and 6th September to install around 650 components of an ambitious ‘Austrian Art Exhibition’ in the thirteen rooms of the Liljevalchs Konsthall, a municipal exhibiting gallery recently opened in the museum and entertainment quarter on the island of Djurgården (Figs. 1 and 2).² A remarkable survey of contemporary practice in the form of paintings, drawings, prints and sculpture, of glass, ceramics and metal, of textiles and documented architecture, with work by leading exponents in every category, this was the first such Austrian presentation to be seen in Scandinavia, and the largest to be sent abroad.³

Soon widely advertised, as *Österrikisk Konstutställning* (Fig. 3), the show formally opened at noon on Saturday 8th September for a convivial private view in the best inclusivist style of wartime Stockholm, marking the start of the Liljevalchs’s autumn season.⁴ But it also served, during its first seven days, as just one facet of a separately organised ‘Austrian Week’ intended to function as a relentless charm offensive. Well-attended lectures, eagerly over-subscribed concerts (given by a talented military band, here



1. Liljevalchs Konsthall, Stockholm, designed by Carl Bergsten. 1913–16. Northern façade: main entrance and high windows of Room 4. Granite column bearing a black granite *Eagle* and bronze *Archer* (1916/19) by Carl Milles. Photograph by C.G. Rosenberg. (*Arkitektur*, Stockholm, September–October 1919; image copyright Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm).

perform in the civilian disguise of a *Wiener Symphonie-Orchester*), and two rapturously received ‘Viennese Fashion Shows’ (staged by a dozen purveyors of haute couture), all in choice venues across the city, complemented each other, and the exhibition,

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¹ Planned by the international Social Democratic movement (in response to the forced abdication of the Russian Tsar in mid-March 1917) as a forceful challenge to both autocracy and militarism, the Stockholm Conference was initially set to open on 18th August, then 9th September, and was then indefinitely ‘postponed’. Generally finding favour with the authorities in Germany and Austria (though less so Hungary), it was ultimately a victim of the scepticism and suspicions of the governments of Great Britain, France, Italy and in particular their new wartime associate, the United States.

² The Liljevalchs Konsthall had been built with funds from the bequest of the Swedish industrialist and entrepreneur Carl Fredrik Liljevalch, Jr. (1837–1909), and had opened in March 1916. It was thereafter financially supported by the City of Stockholm but retained its own Administrative Board. Until 1920 the gallery showed primarily Swedish, Finnish and Danish work. The 1917 ‘Austrian Art Exhibition’ was in this respect unusual, although there were unrealised plans to host a large touring

exhibition of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century French art in the winter of 1917–18.

³ See exh. cat. *Österrikiska Konstutställningen*, Stockholm (Liljevalchs Konsthall) 1917. Before 1917 the largest exhibition of Austrian fine and applied art sent abroad had been that presented in 1911 in the ‘Austria’ pavilion at the Roman ‘Belle Arti’ segment of the Cinquantennio, the international show staged to mark fifty years of unified Italian statehood; see ‘Padiglione de l’Austria’, in exh. cat. *Esposizione Internazionale di Roma. Mostra di Belle Arti*, Rome (Valle Giulia) 1911, pp.114–45. This display, also installed by Hoffmann (on this occasion in collaboration with Friedrich Dörnhöffer, first Director of the Moderne Galerie, Vienna), comprised 392 catalogued items, although with a higher proportion of fine art than shown six years later in Stockholm.

⁴ News of the presence at this event of the British Minister to Stockholm, Sir Esme Howard, along with other official representatives of Austria’s wartime enemies, soon found its way into the relentless local rumour mill and, in due course, fantastically exaggerated, into the columns of some of the pro-German local and national press. See anon.: ‘Konst och Politik’, *Aftonbladet* 258 (23rd September 1917), p.5; and anon.: ‘Engelske ministern på österrikiska konstutställningen’, *Stockholms Dagblad* 263 (29th September 1917), p.12.

⁵ It is briefly discussed in E. Clegg: “‘Austrian Art’ on the Move: The Cultural

as diverse cultural expressions of 'Austria'. They were, more specifically, reiterated proof that 'Austria at War', for three years and on as many Fronts, had lost nothing of its daring and life-enhancing creativity, and an implicit promise of all that 'Austria at Peace' would be sure to offer. Running on thereafter to the end of September, the 'Austrian Art Exhibition' itself remained a talking point, proved a commercial triumph for its large applied arts segment, and was repeatedly and approvingly featured in the local and national press (pro-Entente as well as pro-German), from gushing amateurish first impressions to informed scholarly appraisals.

In view of success on such a scale, and at a time and place where much was seen to hang upon this, it is surprising that the 1917 Stockholm 'Austrian Art Exhibition' has attracted so little art-historical attention.⁵ One result of this neglect has been the unchecked persistence of only the most approximate and shifting notion of the show's overall character, and a reliance on arbitrary, insecure sources in the intermittent search for detail. An entirely accurate account of the contribution of each of those we would now regard as its most outstanding participants – Albin Egger-Lienz, Anton Faistauer, Gustav Klimt, Oskar Kokoschka, Egon Schiele and the sculptor Anton Hanak – is not found in the relevant pages of a single corresponding catalogue raisonné.⁶

A second outcome has been the failure to identify the true sponsor of the Stockholm show, which has accordingly been linked and/or confused with a number of quite distinct exhibiting projects of its period.⁷ Thirdly, the Stockholm event has yet to be recognised as an illuminating instance of a broader development of 1917. This was the emergence of an element of intense competition within Austria-Hungary between the military and the civilian authorities (in as far as the latter were at all able to operate in wartime without help from the former) for a stake in the control of art exhibitions sent abroad as cultural propaganda. The rivalry was symptomatic of a growing interest in the scope of propaganda in all its forms as opposed imperatives – the waging of War or the pursuit of Peace, imperial Unity or a federalist Diversity – were weighed in the balance on the advent of a new monarch: the 'Young Emperor', Karl (Fig.4).⁸

A contract for the hire of the Liljevalchs Konsthall between 15th August and 30th September 1917, for the purposes of 'an exhibition of paintings, sculpture, graphic and applied art', was signed in Stockholm on 14th June between Sven Strindberg, the gallery's first Director, and Karl Bittner, Commercial Attaché



2. Team installing the 1917 Stockholm 'Austrian Art Exhibition' assembled for a press conference at the Liljevalchs Konsthall on 4th September. From left to right: Anton Hanak, Erwin Hanslik, Josef Hoffmann, Ernst Wagner, Hans Boehler, Anton Faistauer. Photograph by Erik Holmén. (*Hvar 8 Dag*, Stockholm, 16th September 1917; image copyright Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm).

at the Austro-Hungarian Legation.⁹ As was later reported to the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry, the Ministerium des Äussern, Bittner had been commissioned to secure this formal agreement not by those responsible for the eventual 'Austrian Art Exhibition', but by the Austro-Hungarian War Ministry, the Kriegsministerium, for the benefit of its own Press and Propaganda Office, the Kriegspressequartier.¹⁰

Since the autumn of 1915 this dynamic entity had run a centrally co-ordinated programme of 'War Pictures Exhibitions', 'Kriegsbilderausstellungen' (in addition to encyclopaedic, multimedia 'War Exhibitions'), intended to honour and celebrate Austria-Hungary through a stirring visual record of the travails and triumphs of its armed forces. Initially these had been presented within the Empire and in the territory of its wartime allies and had comprised work on exclusively military themes by members of its own Art Department (men who in civilian life had trained and/or worked as artists). And this remained the case as the Kriegspressequartier first began to extend its exhibiting remit to include certain neutral foreign states.

By early 1917 the Kriegspressequartier had both 'Scandinavia' and 'Holland' in its exhibiting plans, and a small 'War Pictures Exhibition' was presented in Kristiania (Oslo) in March-April of that year.¹¹ Under the new, energetic command of Colonel Wilhelm Eisner-Bubna, it was now in the process of evolving a decidedly less military style of display for presentation to neutral audiences (including work on civilian themes and loans of older

Politics of International Exhibiting 1900–1918', in T.G. Natter and C. Grunenberg, eds.: *Gustav Klimt: Painting, Design and Modern Life*, Liverpool (Tate) 2008, pp.52–57 and 240–41.

⁶ See the Appendix for a list of the paintings/sculptures exhibited at the 1917 Stockholm 'Austrian Art Exhibition' by these artists (in so far as it has been possible to establish this by cross-referencing printed, manuscript and photographic records held in Stockholm archives).

⁷ For example, in the otherwise exemplary publication by J.B. Van Heerde: *Staat und Kunst: Staatliche Kunstförderung 1895–1918*, Vienna, Cologne and Weimar 1993.

⁸ Karl, who had succeeded his seemingly 'immortal' great-uncle, Franz Joseph, on 21st November 1916, had two chief policy objectives during his short reign, both much to the fore in the summer and early autumn of 1917, but both ultimately thwarted: the geo-political repositioning of Austria-Hungary through its rapid removal from the War (its chief wartime ally, Germany, had quite other ambitions), and its effective reinvention through a restructuring of the Empire as a federation of nominally autonomous states (far too great a threat to the interests of the Austro-German and Magyar elites).

⁹ Stockholms Stadsarkiv, Liljevalchs Konsthall Korrespondens (cited hereafter as SStA/LKK), E1: 2: 'Överenskommelse mellan Liljevalchs Konsthall och Dr Karl

Bittner, K i K österriska Regeringen'. Strictly speaking, this contract should refer not to the 'Austrian Government', but to the 'Austro-Hungarian Government', although the German translation (see note 17) preserves the error. The proposed show is described as an 'utställning av måleri, skulptur, grafik och konst industrielle alster'. The name 'Liljevalchs' was frequently (mis)spelt 'Liljewalchs' at this time. Sven Strindberg, who had spent several years in New York and had from 1913 to 1916 run his own art gallery in Helsinki, was a second cousin of the dramatist.

¹⁰ Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Ministerium des Äussern, Gesandtschaftsarchiv (cited hereafter as ÖStA/HHSt/MÄ/GA), Stockholm, Ausstellungen Box 112a, 1917, file 2824: draft letter, dated 9th July 1917, from the Austro-Hungarian Legation in Stockholm (Minister: Count Maximilián Hadik von Futak) to the Ministerium des Äussern: 'Seitens des k. u. k. Kriegspressequartier ist eine Kriegsbilderausstellung in Stockholm geplant, für welche die hiesige Kunsthalle für die Zeit von 1–30 September sichergestellt von Dr Bittner im Auftrag des k. u. k. Kriegsminister wurde'.

¹¹ ÖStA/HHSt/MÄ/GA, Kopenhagen & Kristiania, Ausstellungen Box 122, 1917, file A52: draft letter and report, dated 6th May 1917, from the Austro-Hungarian Legation in Kristiania to the Kriegspressequartier, regarding press reception of, and sales made at, the 'War Pictures Exhibition' held at the Kristiania Kunstforening from 19th March to 14th April 1917.

3. Poster advertising the Österrikisk Konstutställning, at the Liljevalchs Konsthall, Stockholm, designed by Anton Faistauer. 1917. Colour lithograph on paper, 100 by 70 cm. (Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm).



4. The Austrian Emperor Karl. 1917. Photograph by Hermann Clemens Kosel. Postcard. (Private collection).

paintings from museum collections), and was thereby soon arousing strenuous opposition for straying too far beyond its perceived field of expertise.¹²

Shortly after the contract with the Liljevalchs Konsthall had been signed on behalf of the Kriegspressequartier, the Austro-Hungarian Legation learnt that there was now also strong interest in arranging a display of Austrian art 'for the new Stockholm exhibiting gallery' on the part of the civilian authorities. Initially fostered by the Komitee für österreichische Edeldarbeit und Kunst (a new sub-section of the Viennese Chamber of Commerce, set up to improve the co-ordination of cultural propaganda aimed at neutral foreign states), the proposal had subsequently attracted the formal support of the Press and Propaganda Office of the Ministerium des Äusseren.¹³ As this was its first wartime venture in sponsoring an art exhibition, and this role (on the advice of the Komitee) was not to be publically advertised, the Ministerium was happy to place overall responsibility for selection and organisation in the capable hands of Josef Hoffmann, whom it promptly commissioned to investigate venues in Copenhagen and Kristiania as well as Stockholm. It appears that Hoffmann

embarked on his Scandinavian tour in late June, intending to return to Vienna by mid-July.¹⁴

Apprised of these plans for yet another display with the Liljevalchs Konsthall in its sights, the Austro-Hungarian Legation in Stockholm noted that this gallery was almost certainly large enough to house two parallel exhibitions (the space required by the Kriegspressequartier constituting little over a third of the available total). Foreseeing no risk of incompatibility between military and civilian propaganda objectives, in early July it proposed a gallery-sharing scheme, although observing that the exhibition dates would have to remain as already fixed.¹⁵

Hoffmann was eventually delayed in Kristiania for a week by the need to undergo a minor operation, and he reached Stockholm only around 16th July.¹⁶ Presented with the proposed gallery-sharing scheme, he appears not to have objected to it on principle, but he soon found reason enough to declare it entirely 'unworkable'. Upon visiting the Liljevalchs Konsthall and discovering precisely which rooms had been reserved for the Kriegspressequartier – a surviving sketch of the floor plan, pencilled in on the Legation's copy of a German translation of the contract of

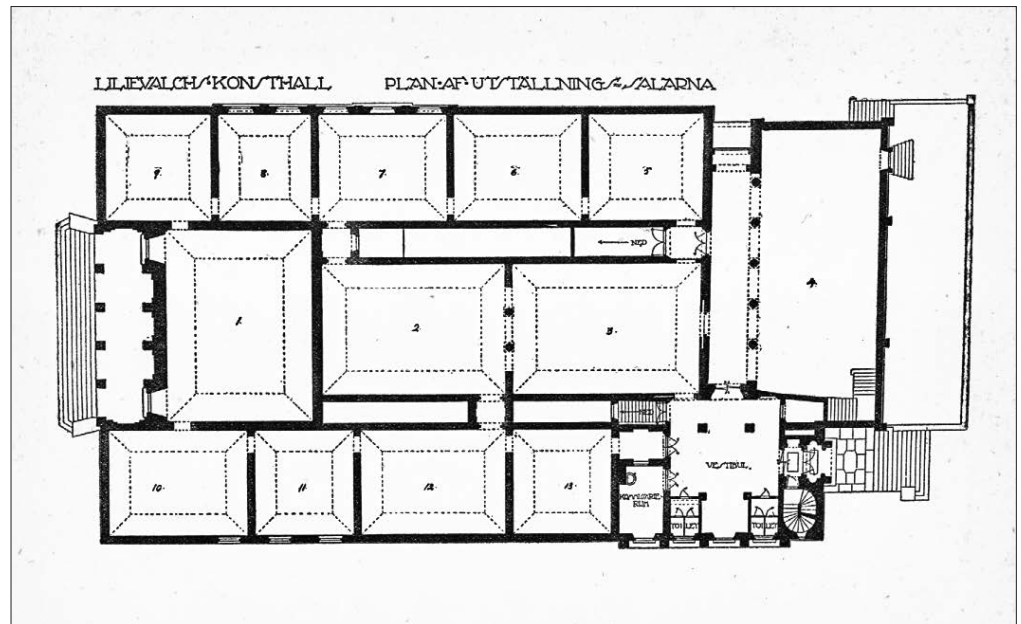
¹² On the strenuous opposition, see Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht, Unterrichts-Allgemein (cited hereafter as ÖStA/AVA/MKU/UA), 2949: Ausstellungen, Holland, 1917, file 25778, enclosure no.1: letter, dated 27th July 1917, from the Viennese artists' societies Künstlergenossenschaft, Secession and Hagenbund to the Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht, requesting support for their formal objection to the decision of the Kriegspressequartier, in planning its exhibitions 'for Holland and Scandinavia' to include work on non-military themes as well as older pictures borrowed from museum collections without seeking expert advice on the matter of selection; and enclosure no.2: letter, dated 31st July 1917, from Colonel Wilhelm Eisner-Bubna of the Kriegspressequartier (who had heard independently of the three societies' complaint) to the Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht, outlining the evolution and principles of the Kriegspressequartier exhibitions.

¹³ See ÖStA/HHSt/MÄ/GA, Stockholm, Ausstellungen Box 112a, 1917, confidential report, dated 8th February 1917, on 'Die Schaffung eines Propaganda-Komitees für

österreichische Edeldarbeit und Kunst'. The Komitee's own primary preoccupation with regard to Stockholm (building on the success of previous, purely mercantile ventures sponsored by the Viennese Chamber of Commerce) was an early to mid-September promotion and celebration of Viennese fashion: the core of what later became the multifaceted 'Austrian Week'. For the letter to Stockholm, see ÖStA/HHSt/MÄ/GA, Stockholm, Ausstellungen Box 112a, 1917, file 2824, enclosure no.1: letter, dated 16th June 1917, from Erich Pistor of the Komitee für österreichische Edeldarbeit und Kunst, forwarded by the Ministerium des Äusseren, on 25th June 1917, to the Austro-Hungarian Legation in Stockholm.

¹⁴ ÖStA/HHSt/MÄ/GA, Stockholm, Ausstellungen Box 112a, 1917, file 2824, enclosure no.1 (document cited at note 13 above).

¹⁵ ÖStA/HHSt/MÄ/GA, Stockholm, Ausstellungen Box 112a, 1917, file 2824 (document cited at note 10 above): 'Da diese [Kriegspressequartier] Ausstellung jedenfalls nur einen kleinen Teil der Räume zu füllen im Stande wäre, so erscheint die Verbindung dasselbe mit der dergleich geplanten Kunstausstellung am zweckmässigsten'.



5. Plan of the Liljevalchs Konsthall, Stockholm (with north to the right), showing its thirteen exhibiting rooms. Anonymous diagram. (*Liljevalchs Konsthall Katalog No. 8: Österriskiska Konstutställningen*, Stockholm 1917).



6. Anton Hanak Room at the 1917 Stockholm 'Austrian Art Exhibition'. Seven larger visible figures, from left to right: *Prayer* (1911), *Child above the quotidian* (1912), *Transfigured* (1913/14), *Youth* (1909), *The fanatic* (1916-17), *The last man* (1916-17), *Voices from above* (1917). Anonymous photograph. Modern print from original glass negative. (Stadsmuseum, Stockholm).

14th June, indicates the spaces in question to be Rooms 2, 3 and 4 (Fig. 5) – he threatened to withdraw 'his' exhibition if no more 'reasonable' sharing arrangement could be found.¹⁷

Such intransigence, risking an open confrontation between military and civilian interests that would have greatly embarrassed the Austro-Hungarian Legation, demanded swift action; and on 18th July Karl Bittner took up the matter with a visiting representative of the Kriegspressequartier. The eventual outcome of their meeting was a decision that would have far-reaching consequences for both sides in the dispute. The Kriegspressequartier resolved to withdraw altogether from

showing its planned Stockholm exhibition, ceding the Liljevalchs Konsthall in its entirety to the Ministerium des Äussern.¹⁸

The Kriegspressequartier subsequently accounted for its withdrawal by citing a fundamental incompatibility between its own commitment to Austro-Hungarian 'parity' (by which it did indeed set great store) and the desire of the Ministerium des Äussern, despite its own Austro-Hungarian status, to present a purely 'Austrian' exhibition in Stockholm.¹⁹ The fact, however, that (even fifty years after the advent of Dualism) such distinctions were invariably lost on audiences abroad – as was to be the

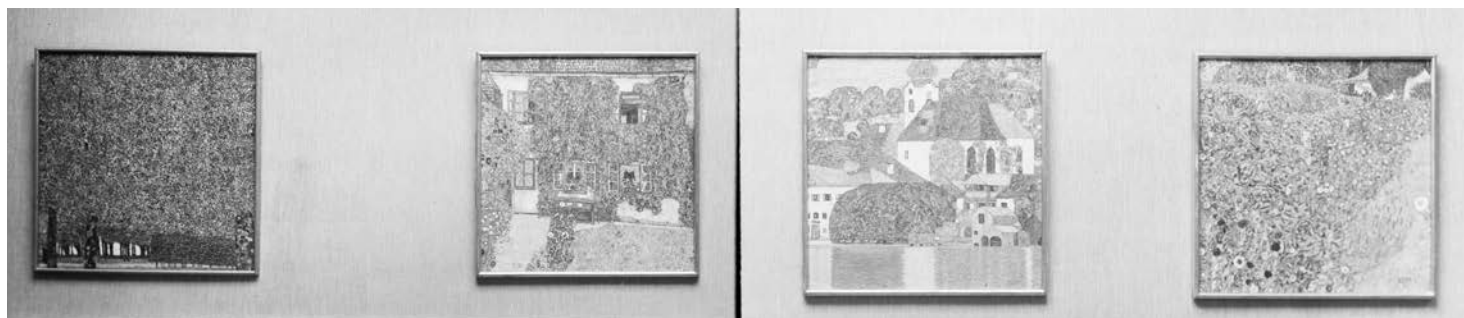
¹⁶ ÖStA/HHSt/MÄ/GA, Stockholm, Ausstellungen Box 112a, 1917, telegram, dated 8th July 1917, from Count Alexander Hoyos, Austro-Hungarian Minister in Kristiania, to the Austro-Hungarian Legation in Stockholm, on this unavoidable alteration to Hoffmann's schedule.

¹⁷ ÖStA/HHSt/MÄ/GA, Stockholm, Ausstellungen Box 112a, 1917, file 2824, enclosure no.2: German translation of the contract with the Liljevalchs Konsthall: 'Vereinbarung zwischen der Kunsthalle Liljevalchs und Dr Karl Bittner [. . .]', with annotated pencil sketch of the gallery floor plan added on page 2. ÖStA/HHSt/MÄ/GA, Stockholm, Ausstellungen Box 112a, 1917, file 2824: adjunct, dated 17th July 1917, to draft letter of 9th July (document cited at note 10 above), noting Hoffmann's reaction to the gallery-sharing plan and the arrival of a related telegram from the Ministerium des Äussern. Despite his objection, it is more than likely that Hoffmann would have recognised that the gallery's only feasible division, for the purposes of two simultaneously presented exhibitions, would involve the three large interconnecting Rooms 2, 3 and 4 being occupied by one show, and the interconnecting

sequence of the mostly smaller Rooms 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 by the other.

¹⁸ ÖStA/AVA/MKU/UA, 2961: Ausstellungen, Stockholm, 1917, file 29610: memorandum, dated 24th August 1917, noting Bittner's meeting of 18th July with Major Ferdinand Schramm-Schiessel von Perstorff, and the fact that the Liljevalchs Konsthall exhibition now '*nicht wie ursprünglich geplant war offiziell vom Kriegspressequartier, sondern vom Ministerium des Äussern veranstaltet würde*'. The Kriegspressequartier may not in fact have altogether given up on the city itself: the presence, throughout September 1917, at the newly opened commercial gallery Nya Konst, of a notably well-received exhibition of 'German War Prints and Drawings', *Tysk Krigsgrafik*, suggests the obliging hidden hand of its German counterpart. See K.A.: 'Tyskkrigsgrafik i Stockholm', *Dagens Nyheter* 237/16970 (3rd September 1917), p.3; and A. Lindblom: 'En utställning af tyska krigs-litografier', *Stockholms Dagblad* 240 (6th September 1917), p.7.

¹⁹ ÖStA/AVA/MKU/UA, 2961: Ausstellungen, Stockholm, 1917, file 29610: undated adjunct to memorandum of 24th August 1917 (document cited at note 18 above).



7. Gustav Klimt Room at the 1917 Stockholm 'Austrian Art Exhibition'. Top row (north wall): *Leda* (1917), *Barbara Flöge* (1915), *Baby* (1917). Second row (principal, east wall): *Elisabeth Lederer* (1914–16), *Death and Life* (1910/15), *Friederike Maria Beer* (1916). Third row (south wall): *The fur collar* (1916), *Mäda Primavesi* (1913), *The polecat fur* (1916/17). Bottom row (west wall, with two pairs of pictures flanking entrance from Room 1): *The park* (1909), *Forrester's house at Weissenbach II* (1914), *Church at Unterach am Attersee* (1915/16), *Italian garden landscape* (1913). Anonymous photographs. Modern prints from original glass negatives. (Stadsmuseum, Stockholm).

8. Three paintings from the Albin Egger-Lienz Room at the 1917 Stockholm 'Austrian Art Exhibition'. From left to right: *Man and wife* (preliminary version of central couple in *The Ages of Man*) (1910), *Early spring* (1906), *The sower and the devil I* (1908/09). Anonymous photograph. Modern print from original glass negative. (Stadsmuseum, Stockholm).



case in Sweden – suggests that the Kriegspressequartier simply recognised that the immediate juxtaposition of military and civilian cultural propaganda was unlikely, on this occasion, to work to its advantage. An echo of its annoyance is perhaps detectable in the evidence that not all concerned were immediately made aware of the change of plan. As late as 8th August Hoffmann found himself constrained to write to the Austro-Hungarian Legation to correct the assumption persisting among some of its staff that the exhibition he was organising was sponsored by the military authorities.²⁰

A more positively motivating factor can be seen in the redoubled efforts and raised ambitions for the Kriegspressequartier's plans for Holland. The 'War Pictures Exhibition' scheduled to open at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam in mid-October 1917, and to move on in mid-November to The Hague,²¹ was remarkable on three counts. First, for its scale (with 401 catalogued exhibits, it was well over the average size for such a display); second, for its efforts to balance military against civilian themes (albeit still with a preponderance of the former) and to insert among the largely contemporary works an occasional older item (thanks to loans of the latter from the Österreichische Staatsgalerie and other public collections in Vienna);²² and third, for its calculated appropriation of aesthetic shock value in the form of Egon Schiele's disturbing 1912 double-portrait of himself with Klimt, *Hermits*, also illustrated in its catalogue.

At the Liljevalchs Konsthall, meanwhile, Hoffmann had assumed responsibility for the three capacious gallery rooms relinquished by the Kriegspressequartier, thus increasing the space available to him by around 40 per cent. He now had the opportunity to devise a much larger exhibition than he may

originally have envisaged – should this prove possible in such a very short time. As he was eventually to inform the Legation, even with all the assembled material sent from Vienna 'under military protection', and thus assured of the 'utmost speed and security', it would have been impossible for him to honour the clause in the original contract stipulating that all proposed exhibits reach Stockholm by 5th August.²³

Hoffmann did, all the same, have to work very much against the clock, both from late July to late August in Vienna (endeavouring by every means to contact and cajole potential exhibitors and potential lenders at this least convenient time of year, calling in favours, tirelessly talking up the new project) and then on his return to Stockholm. But he was in the end able to achieve a thoroughly considered and often relatively sophisticated hang, due in no small measure to the qualities of the Stockholm venue itself. For the Liljevalchs Konsthall (later widely acclaimed for inaugurating true architectural modernity in Sweden) had been designed, by the young Carl Bergsten in 1913, in full awareness of, and high regard for, Hoffmann's own methods and achievements in the planning and utilisation of exhibiting spaces.²⁴

The Stockholm exhibition building was noted above all for its exterior (Fig. 1): a radical instance of the pan-European vogue of the early 1910s for a technologically advanced interrogation of the formal essence of (Neo-)Classicism, and a source of spontaneous ocular delight with its salmon-pink-plastered brickwork clasped by encroaching verdure. But it also evinced a thoughtful originality in the alignment and interrelation of its galleries (Fig. 5). Here, characteristically for Bergsten, obtrusive symmetry (a sequence of larger, centrally positioned rooms flanked by smaller spaces to east and west, all sharing the same

²⁰ ÖStA/HHSt/MÄ/GA, Stockholm, Ausstellungen Box 112a, 1917, file 3079, enclosure: letter, dated 8th August 1917, from Josef Hoffmann to Baron Henri de Sommaruga, Secretary of the Austro-Hungarian Legation in Stockholm.

²¹ See exh. cat. *Tentoonstelling van Werken van Oostenrijksche en Hongaarsche Schilders en Beeldhouwers*, Amsterdam (Stedelijk Museum) 1917. Significantly, the Dutch title makes no reference to the War or to the Kriegspressequartier. Nor does the two-part foreword: H. Tietze: 'Oostenrijksche Kunst', and B. Lazar: 'Hongaarsche Kunst', pp. 5–8 and 9–15. It is in particular the Kriegspressequartier exhibitions for Holland that have been misidentified as adaptations of the Stockholm 'Austrian Art Exhibition'. See, for example, Van Heerde, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp. 311–13.

²² These loans had, however, first been sought relatively early during the preparations for Holland. See ÖStA/AVA/MKU/UA, 2949: Ausstellungen, Holland, 1917, file 21958: draft letter, dated 28th June 1917, from the Ministerium für Kultus und

Unterricht to the Kriegspressequartier in response to its request that a certain number of older pictures be loaned from the Österreichische Staatsgalerie for inclusion in the planned exhibitions.

²³ ÖStA/HHSt/MÄ/GA, Stockholm, Ausstellungen Box 112a, 1917, file 3079, enclosure (document cited at note 20 above).

²⁴ Bergsten's own account of the Liljevalchs Konsthall was published in 1919 in the Stockholm journal he had edited in 1913–15. See H. Ahlberg and C. Bergsten: 'Liljevalchs Konsthall och Blå Porten', *Arkitektur* 49/9–10 (September–October 1919), pp. 123–29, and 49/11 (November 1919), pp. 131–34. On Bergsten's long admiration for Hoffmann, whom he had met in Vienna in 1904, during the first of several post-graduation architectural tours around Europe, see B.O.H. Johansson: 'Carl Bergsten 1879–1935', in exh. cat. *Carl Bergsten 1879–1935*, Norrköping (Stadsmuseum) 1964, pp. 4–6; and B. Festin: *Carl Bergsten – en arkitekt och hans former*, Norrköping 2005, pp. 9–10.



9. Principal, south wall of the Anton Faistauer Room at the 1917 Stockholm 'Austrian Art Exhibition'. From left to right: *Portrait of a woman* (1913), unidentified *Still life*, *Young woman on a red sofa* (1913), *Still life with rolls and a jug* (1914), *Seated lady in a blue blouse with a jewel casket* (1912/13). Anonymous photograph. Modern print from original glass negative. (Stadsmuseum, Stockholm).

maximum height of around 10 metres) was enlivened by its disruption (most obviously in the off-centre positioning of Room 4, but also in the repeated surprise of no two rooms sharing exactly the same horizontal dimensions or the same combination of top- and additional side-lighting). Of particular interest to Hoffmann, the interconnection of galleries was such as to permit, and thus to encourage, an 'optimal visitor route' (a route, that is, requiring almost no unintended retracing of steps).²⁵ This offered him the opportunity to determine the first visual impression made by any given room and, where desired, to achieve within it a hang that immediately distinguished between principal and subsidiary walls.

In response to the perceived possibilities of this setting (which had of course influenced Hoffmann's approach in selecting his show) and to the predetermined requirements for this particular account of 'Austria', several of the standard features of an installation style evolved over two decades of exhibition-making were now abandoned. Most significantly, Hoffmann eschewed his former preference for centring an entire display on one or two stars (Gustav Klimt in Paris in 1900, Klimt and the German-Bohemian sculptor Franz Metzner in Vienna in 1908), the number and/or positioning of their exhibits among the rest defining them as such.²⁶

The artists Hoffmann had more recently thus promoted (since 1911, in Rome), Klimt and the German-Moravian sculptor Anton Hanak,²⁷ were nonetheless still extremely well positioned at the Liljevalchs Konsthall. Hanak's ten large and sixteen smaller plaster and bronze figures dramatised the spacious Room 1 (Fig.6), measuring 10 by 14 metres and opening

to the south on to a tall portico. And Klimt's thirteen canvases – four landscapes, four portraits, four further figure paintings (Fig.14) and one imposing allegorical composition (Fig.15) – occupied the adjoining, eastern Room 10 (Fig.7), measuring 9 by 8 metres.²⁸ One visitor found the experience of passing among Hanak's passionately tormented beings (*The fanatic*, *The last man*) and then on into the Klimt Room's exhilarating dazzle of colour and pattern to be the most 'sensational' aspect of the display.²⁹

In Stockholm, however, no fewer than five other exhibitors were each allotted an entire room, all but one of them still classifiable as 'young'.³⁰ The eastern Tyrolean Albin Egger-Lienz and the Salzburg sophisticate Anton Faistauer were given the two large central spaces, each only slightly smaller than the Hanak Room, and were expressly so positioned in order to draw attention, through provocative contrasts, to the thematic and stylistic diversity found within contemporary Austrian art. Few commentators failed to respond to this pointed juxtaposition. The sombre rural Symbolism and austere Alpine landscapes of the eleven Egger-Lienz paintings in Room 3 (Fig.8) reminded one reviewer of the work of Ferdinand Hodler and the Finn Juho Rissanen.³¹ The sumptuous colour and festive interiority of Faistauer's eighteen portraits and still lifes in Room 2 (Fig.9) seemed to invoke the spirit of Cézanne. And his young Austrian devotee was readily acclaimed the most consummately 'francophone' artist in the show.³²

Two of the further side galleries, to the west, were occupied by what proved to be the most aesthetically challenging images to be found in the 'Austrian Art Exhibition', and one, to the

²⁵ As reflected in the more straightforwardly reportorial of the accounts of Swedish commentators on the 'Austrian Art Exhibition', this route comprised the following sequence: Rooms 3 and 2, followed by Rooms 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 (the western enfilade), Room 1 (the southern, linking space), Rooms 10, 11, 12 and 13 (the eastern enfilade) and Room 4, with occasional variations at beginning and end.

²⁶ See, respectively, exh. cat. *Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900 à Paris: Catalogue des Sections Autrichiennes*, II: *Groupe II: Oeuvres d'art*, Paris (Grand Palais) 1900, pp.57–59 ('Association des artistes autrichiens "Secession"'); and exh. cat. *Katalog der Kunstschau*, Vienna (Kunstschau) 1908, pp.15–18 (Metzner, in Rooms 6 and 7) and 59–60 (Klimt, in Room 22).

²⁷ See *Esposizione Internazionale di Roma. Mostra di Belle Arti*, op. cit. (note 3), pp.124–25 (Klimt and some pieces by Hanak, in Room 5) and pp.144–45 (Hanak and other sculptors, in the Courtyard).

²⁸ Room dimensions given here and below are derived from an annotated large version of the 1917 floor plan in the archives of the Liljevalchs Konsthall.

²⁹ See anon.: 'Wienbesöket: Utställningen i Liljevalchs Konsthall. En mångsidig uppvisning af nutida österrikisk konst', *Stockholms Dagblad* 242 (8th September

1917), pp.3 and 10, these observations on p.10. Hanak was to be the only exhibitor in the fine arts segment of the Liljevalchs Konsthall display to sell a major work to the Stockholm Nationalmuseum, which acquired his kneeling female figure in plaster, *Prayer* (visible to left of Fig.6), for its Sculpture Department. See *Statens konstsamlingars tillväxt och förvaltning 1917: Meddelan från Nationalmuseum Nr.42*, Stockholm 1918, p.13.

³⁰ While an effective merging of generational identities had occurred in 1912, when the (older) Klimtgruppe and the (younger) Neukunstgruppe had joined forces, for the purpose of exhibiting, as the Bund österreichischer Künstler, the 1917 show was the first state-sponsored Austrian venture in international promotion on a par with those in Paris (1900) and in Rome (1911) in which older and younger artists participated on the same terms.

³¹ See A.B.-s.: 'Österrikiska konstutställningen. En första öfverblick', *Svenska Dagbladet* 243 (9th September 1917), p.11. The comparison with Hodler was by now a commonplace in commentary on Egger-Lienz, who in fact resented what he perceived as its implication that his own work was derivative.

³² On Faistauer in this respect, see K. Barr: 'Den österrikiska konsten i Konsthallen.

10. Three paintings from the Egon Schiele Room at the 1917 Stockholm 'Austrian Art Exhibition'. From left to right: *Stein an der Donau, seen from the south* (1913), *Resurrection (Graves)* (1913), *Stein an der Donau, seen from the north* (1913). Anonymous photograph. Modern print from original glass negative. (Stadsmuseum, Stockholm).



east, by those that were its most effortlessly enjoyable. Room 6 held fifteen paintings by Egon Schiele. Most were land- or townscapes of subtle colouration and a haunting melancholy. But set among them were two much larger, figural compositions that defied all conventional interpretation: *Evanescence (The blind II)* and *Resurrection (Graves)* (Fig.10). The second of these, though completed in 1913, had hung for a while in the 'War Pictures Gallery' at the Kriegspressequartier's vast summer 'War Exhibition' still running in Vienna.³³ Room 9 gathered fourteen portraits and figure paintings by an artist who was far more familiar to Swedes: Oskar Kokoschka. Among these was the recently completed, wistfully allusive *Émigrés* (Fig.11), a 'self-portrait with friends' that was itself in some respects a 'war picture'.³⁴ In Room 11, by contrast, as if taking their cue from Klimt's several sartorially distinguished female subjects (Fig.7, right and left of second and third rows), hung twenty of the exquisitely piquant and escapist fashion illustrations – pastel and watercolour originals and some offset reproductions – of Otto Lendecke (Fig.12), who had also been commissioned to organise and oversee the two 'Viennese Fashion Shows'.³⁵

Other departures from Hoffmann's earlier practice appear to have been prompted by his need to cut corners. The inclusion of a small 'Slavic', in fact almost exclusively Polish, collec-



11. *Émigrés*, by Oskar Kokoschka. 1916–17. Canvas, 95 by 146 cm. (Pinakothek der Moderne, Munich; copyright DACS 2012; image copyright BPK, Berlin, and Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich).

tion in Room 5 was in truth so inadequate an acknowledgement of the vast pool of 'Austrian' artistic talent from outside the Austro-German mainstream (such as had, by common consent, greatly enriched the installation of the 1911 'Austria' pavilion in Rome) that only Swedish unfamiliarity with what

En första överblick inför vernissagen', *Stockholms Tidningen* 242 (8th September 1917), p.5.

³³ On such instances of the 'macabre' in Schiele's work, but also on the seasonal/spiritual 'melancholy' in landscapes such as *Autumn sun*, see A. Lindblom: 'Österrikarna i Konsthallen: Gustav Klimt och Egon Schiele', *Stockholms Dagblad* 261 (27th September 1917), p.7. For the art historian Andreas Lindblom, one of the best-informed commentators on the Liljevalchs Konsthall show, these two painters, representing successive generations and complementary aspects of Austrian artistic genius, were its true highlight.

³⁴ On this painting, which was much noted in the Swedish press, see, in particular, anon.: 'Österrikarna ha vernissage. De första intrycken av utställningen hos Liljevalchs', *Dagens Nyheter* 243/16976 (9th September 1917), p.7. *Émigrés* shows Kokoschka, at the right, in the company of two of his closest friends in Dresden, where he had found refuge in December 1916 (having been invalided out of active service on the Galician Front, then out of service as a war artist on the Italian Front) at Dr Teuscher's Sanatorium: the physician and writer Fritz Neuberger and the actress Käthe Richter. Kokoschka's own later two-month stay in Stockholm (he

made the journey from Dresden shortly after mid-September, as most of Hoffmann's team embarked on their return to Vienna) was immortalised in the uplifting view of *Stockholm harbour* (now in the Bremen Kunsthalle), painted in October 1917, which initiated a long series of 'cities viewed from above' painted throughout Europe and beyond in the following decades.

³⁵ Celebrated at this time in Vienna as the founder-editor of the deluxe fashion magazine *Die Damenuwelt* (where the image here illustrated as Fig.12 first appeared as the third of a projected dozen 'Scenes from the Life of a Lady'), Lendecke was familiar to readers throughout Germanic Europe and beyond for his illustrations in the widely distributed Munich journal *Simplicissimus*. He received an appreciative profile in the Stockholm press, based on an interview conducted on his arrival in the city. See anon.: 'Innan wienskorna komma', *Stockholms Dagblad* 241 (7th September 1917), p.8. His display was equalled only by that of Faistauer in attracting buyers in Stockholm, among his first sales being a portrait of the elegant Empress Zita, Karl's consort, a symbol in these years of maternity and charity, but also still something of a fashion icon; see Kfs: 'Den österrikiska veckan. Stort intresse för de utställda konstverken', *Svenska Dagbladet* 250 (16th September 1917), p.12.



12. *On the terrace*, by Otto Lendেকে. 1917. Offset reproduction, of watercolour original, on paper, 26 by 20.6 cm. (*Die Damenwelt*, Vienna, June 1917; image copyright MAK, Vienna).

might have been included here allowed its absence to pass without objection.³⁶

The sheer scale, by contrast, of the chief Liljevalchs Konsthall display of design – approximately four hundred items to be found in the thirteen vitrines and around the walls of Room 4

³⁶ Most of the Polish exhibits were, moreover, not obtained from individual artists or collectors but were simply made available by the Österreichische Staatsgalerie, along with older, Austro-German works, which Hoffmann grouped into a small retrospective collection in Room 13; see ÖStA/AVA/MKU/UA, 2961: Ausstellungen, Stockholm, 1917, file 26909, enclosure: letter, dated 5th August 1917, from the Ministerium des Äusseren to the Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht, requesting that the September exhibition planned for Stockholm under its auspices, and being organised by Josef Hoffmann, be permitted to include a certain number of works borrowed from the collection of the Österreichische Staatsgalerie, both older items (to be selected in conjunction with the gallery) and contemporary works (to be selected by Hoffmann alone); and file 26909: draft letter, dated 7th August 1917, from the Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht to the Ministerium des Äusseren, granting this request and stating the relevant further conditions.

³⁷ In its eleventh year (1914) the Wiener Werkstätte had been administratively restructured and had acquired new financial backing from several members of the Primavesi family (Otto Primavesi also serving as its Commercial Director from 1915 to 1925). Both before and after that date Hoffmann had appointed new designers as his associates, but he remained the chief arbiter on aesthetic issues.

³⁸ Although no Swedish press commentary recalled the fact, this was not the first time that Austrian women had participated in an exhibition at the Liljevalchs Konsthall. Two of those featured in September 1917, Helena Johnova and Ida Schwetz-Lehmann (who both showed as ceramicists), had been among the fifty-three members of the Austrian Union of Women Artists invited to exhibit there in January–February 1917 alongside 106 members of its Swedish counterpart; see exh. cat. *Föreningen Svenska Konstnärinnor – Vereinigung Bildende Künstlerinnen Österreichs*, Stockholm (Liljevalchs Konsthall) 1917.

(Fig. 13), at 17 by 9 metres the gallery's largest exhibiting space – achieved an overall ratio of applied to fine art (almost 2:1) that was quite out of step with that maintained in earlier comparably mixed promotional exhibitions. It was here, moreover, that Hoffmann was not only at his most uncompromising in his emphasis on youth, but was also at his most pragmatic in exploiting what was to hand.

Around two hundred of the four hundred exhibits were supplied by the Wiener Werkstätte, now effectively run by Hoffmann (as sole 'survivor' of its three co-founders).³⁷ And a fair proportion of these were the work of versatile recent recruits, most of them (on account of the War) young women. The innovative textile designers Mathilde Flögl and Hilda Jesser and the exuberant ceramicist Vally Wieselthier – aged, respectively, 24, 23 and 22 in 1917 – were here able to show alongside Wiener Werkstätte stalwarts.³⁸ Hoffmann himself contributed over forty very diverse catalogued items (brooches, bonbonnières, samples of bookbinding), and was also well-represented as an architect;³⁹ and Dagobert Peche, recently appointed Director of the new Zürich branch, showed around twenty-five predominantly metal and glass objects in his flamboyantly decorative style.

While there was some resistance to taking Room 4 as seriously as the rest of the exhibition, the Swedish press was notable for the expertise it could, on occasion, bring to this part of the Liljevalchs Konsthall show. These well-informed reviewers proved especially appreciative of the blending of tradition and innovation found in the displays of textiles, glass and ceramics.⁴⁰ The chance to exhibit in Stockholm was to boost the confidence of the young people involved, not least on account of the large number of sales agreed there, even though demand eventually proved too great for some Austrian workshops to meet in difficult wartime conditions.⁴¹

As revealed by the several articles reporting and incorporating comments made by Hoffmann at the press conference he called on 4th September, during a break in installing the Liljevalchs Konsthall show (Fig. 2), he used this occasion chiefly to list and characterise the participants and to outline the rationale of the

³⁹ Three chronologically grouped sets of drawings and photographs, covering Hoffmann's major architectural projects of the last decade (among them the Palais Stoclet in Brussels, the 1911 'Austria' pavilion for Rome, and the Österreich-Haus for the 1914 Deutscher Werkbund exhibition in Cologne) can be seen ranged along the right wall in Fig. 13. Among other architects represented in the Liljevalchs Konsthall display were Otto Wagner and Hans Tessenow (the latter another strong influence on Carl Bergsten).

⁴⁰ See, in particular, A. Branting: 'Österrisk konstslöjd hos Liljevalchs. Spetsar, broderier, sidentyger och glasvaror', *Svenska Dagbladet* 257 (23rd September 1917), p. 2; and K.A.: 'Strövtåg på den österriska konstutställningen', *Dagens Nyheter* 261/16994 (27th September 1917), p. 13. Agnes Branting was Sweden's leading authority on ecclesiastical textiles and a noted textile designer in her own right.

⁴¹ SSStA/LKK, E1: 3: letter, dated 12th December 1917, from Sven Strindberg of the Liljevalchs Konsthall to Karl Bittner of the Austro-Hungarian Legation, complaining of the most unsatisfactory way that orders placed during the exhibition had been dealt with since it had closed, and noting what a bad impression he feared this had made. Bittner sent a German translation of this letter to the Ministerium des Äusseren. See ÖStA/HHSt/MÄ/GA, Stockholm, Ausstellungen Box 112a, 1917, file 5970, enclosure no. 1: German translation of Strindberg's 12th December letter; and enclosure no. 2: Karl Bittner's accompanying letter, dated 28th December 1917, to the Ministerium. Also: file 3819: final report with full lists, dated 21st May 1918, sent by the Ministerium des Äusseren to the Austro-Hungarian Legation in Stockholm, declaring the matter now settled: 'Wie an diesen Verzeichnisse hervorgeht, hat die Mehrzahl der in Betracht kommenden Firmen sämtliche Nachbestellungen nach Stockholm effektiert'.

⁴² See anon.: 'En österrisk vecka i Stockholm. Österrisk konst hos Liljevalchs', *Dagens Nyheter* 239/16972 (5th September 1917), p. 8; and E.K.-n.: 'Den österriska

display. In response, however, to questions touching on the broader cultural-political motivation of the venture he tactfully deferred to the semi-autonomous member of his team who would serve as the exhibition's ideological spokesman.⁴² This was the German-Silesian cultural geographer Erwin Hanslik (founder, in 1915, of a Viennese Institute for Cultural Research, Institut für Kulturforschung), for whom the 4th September meeting would serve as the first of several Stockholm platforms.

Hanslik was a talented self-promoter but a true enthusiast, whose poetic fluency of exposition had won him a keen following, especially among the young. He now easily engaged the imagination of the assembled Swedish reporters, urging that the exhibition be viewed as an encapsulation of the 'Austria' extolled in his own writings: an environmentally conditioned, slowly evolving, harmoniously multi-ethnic whole, threatened by the 'sickness' of separatist nationalism but truly a model for the peaceful future of humanity.⁴³ He further developed this theme in the insistently trailed lantern lecture he gave eleven days later in the scene-stealing opulence of the Hall of Mirrors at the Grand Hôtel. Here, he also spoke with more specific reference to artists featured in the Liljevalchs Konsthall show, above all Gustav Klimt, in whose supposed 'mediation' between the cultural essence of Orient and Occident he saw prefigured the larger 'harmonising' mission of Austria.⁴⁴

A preoccupation with the future also imbues two images created, at Hoffmann's prompting, specifically for the 1917 Stockholm 'Austrian Art Exhibition'. Its most public form of announcement, the poster commissioned from Anton Faistauer (Fig.3), potentially conveyed three distinct messages over and above its function as pure advertisement.⁴⁵ As the more astute among visitors to the Liljevalchs Konsthall may have discerned, the young woman featured here was a simplified and idealised version of the portrait of the artist's wife, Ida, née Andersen, that hung at the left of the principal, south wall of the Faistauer Room (Fig.9).⁴⁶ The painting dated from what Faistauer fondly recalled as the happiest time of his life: the summer and early autumn of 1913. This had been spent with Ida, then pregnant



13. Main display of applied arts at the 1917 Stockholm 'Austrian Art Exhibition'. Anonymous photograph. Modern print from original glass negative. (Stadsmuseum, Stockholm).

with the couple's first child, in a series of idyllic rural locations, and had been crowned by the critical and commercial success of Faistauer's first one-man show, at the Viennese Galerie Miethke, running throughout the month of October, during which the child, a son, was born.⁴⁷

Exhibited in Stockholm as *Lady in a red dress*, the original had a characteristically reduced palette, with the glow of the eponymous costume set off against a dark wall. In the poster, however, chromatic description made way for chromatic symbolism. For it can be no coincidence that the particular combination of five colours found here is that conventionally employed at this time as a visual shorthand for the Empire: the red and white of Austria, the distinctive black and yellow of the House of Habsburg, and the green (and red and white) of Hungary.⁴⁸ On one level this semi-invisible branding was a safely discreet means

konstutställningen. Centraleuropa i verksamhet hos Liljevalchs', *Svenska Dagbladet* 239 (5th September 1917), p.8. Both articles feature group photographs evidently taken at the same time as the one here illustrated as Fig.2, posed on the steps linking the gallery's southern portico with its garden.

⁴³ Hanslik's arguments, as expressed in his several recent publications, most notably the volume *Österreich: Erde und Geist*, appearing in Vienna in the early spring of 1917, were an idiosyncratic elaboration on long-established patterns of Austro-German thought about Austria, given added urgency by the advent of War and to be most famously summarised in Hugo von Hofmannsthal: 'La vocation de l'Autriche', *La Revue d'Autriche* I/1 (15th November 1917), pp.8–9, also published as *idem*: 'Die österreichische Idee', *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* 138/2273, 3rd Sunday edn. (2nd December 1917), p.1. In Stockholm Hanslik appears to have persuaded Hoffmann to produce a design for a House of World Peace, Weltfriedenshaus, incorporating a theatre and several exhibition halls; see E. Sekler: *Josef Hoffmann: Das architektonische Werk. Monographie und Werkverzeichnis*, Salzburg and Vienna 1982, pp.379–80, WV 207, plan and elevation drawing, inscribed 'Josef Hoffmann Stockholm 1917'.

⁴⁴ For two detailed lecture trailers, see anon.: 'Förbrödring åt mänskligheten – En paroll från Wien framförd av prof. Hanslik', *Dagens Nyheter* 248/16981 (14th September 1917), p.6; and anon.: 'En "mänsklighetens" apostel', *Svenska Dagbladet* 248 (14th September 1917), p.2. Not all reviews of the lecture itself were so enthusiastic, one taking the opportunity to ridicule Hanslik's performance as mere 'hocus-pocus' and expressing amazement at the proposal that, of all states, Austria should in 1917 be held up as a model for the rest of humanity; see –lin: 'Den nya österrikiska mänskligheten. "Menschheitsbund" värvar proselyter på Grand Hôtel', *Stockholms Tidningen* 250 (16th September 1917), p.10. For a post-War variant on Hanslik's characterisation of Klimt, see the rather more negative account in Anton Faistauer: *Neue Malerei in*

Österreich: Betrachtungen eines Malers, Zürich, Leipzig and Vienna 1923, pp.11–14, which finds his work almost entirely 'Oriental'.

⁴⁵ It seems that a poster design may have initially been commissioned from Egon Schiele, who at an unknown date in the autumn of 1917 wrote to Hoffmann to request that the drawing originally intended for the Stockholm exhibition poster, '*die seinerzeit für die Stockholmer Ausstellung als Plakat gedachte Handzeichnung*', be returned to him; see C.M. Nebehay: *Egon Schiele 1890–1918: Leben, Briefe, Gedichte*, Salzburg 1979, p.435, no.1321.

⁴⁶ This was one of seven portraits of Ida included in the Faistauer display. She was also seen, for example, as the *Young woman on a red sofa* and as the *Seated lady in a blue blouse*, both visible in Fig.9. Only in one of the seven, however, where she is shown in half-figure wearing a dark suit and a tall, dark hat, was she identified as 'the artist's wife' ('*konstnärens hustru*'); see Appendix, Stockholm cat. no.35. Ida was the sister of Faistauer's friend and former fellow Viennese Akademie student, Robin Christian Andersen (their father was Danish), who himself exhibited four still lifes at the Liljevalchs Konsthall.

⁴⁷ Subsequent misfortune had intensified this memory of happiness. Faistauer's 1917 adaptation was made when he had only recently been 'rescued' from a series of tedious military posts through securing employment at the Viennese Army Museum, and not long after Ida's second pregnancy had ended in the death of a second son and her descent into a period of more or less continuous ill-health (from which she was never to recover, dying in August 1919).

⁴⁸ The approach adopted here might be seen as a more subtle variant of the then common practice of 'enhancing' monochrome photographic images of the most prominent Habsburgs, especially for their reproduction as postcards, through the addition of the five Austro-Hungarian colours, usually in the form of banners or ribbons.



14. *Baby*, by Gustav Klimt. 1917. Canvas, 110.9 by 110.4 cm. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, gift of Otto and Franciska Kallir with the help of the Carol and Edwin Fullinwider Fund).

of acknowledging the Austro-Hungarian Ministerium des Äussern as the exhibition's sponsor. But on another it implicitly transformed the portrait of a woman into an allegory of imperial Austria and her unborn child into an emblem of the hopes invested in its endurance. There is here a coincidental echo of Hanslik's (more unquestioningly optimistic) evocation of an 'Empire in gestation'.⁴⁹

Commentary of a less resolved but more dynamic character is to be found in the new picture made for inclusion in the Stockholm exhibition's Klimt Room (Fig.14). Produced during a reluctant mid-vacation return to Vienna (primarily undertaken so as to help Hoffmann assemble a sufficiently large and balanced body of Klimt material for the Liljevalchs Konsthall),⁵⁰ the new painting is mentioned, almost as if its creation were merely one of several scheduled Viennese chores, in the postcard messages that Klimt sent, between 8th and 13th August, to his companion Emilie Flöge, then on holiday in the

northern Tyrol, where he was soon to join her. Klimt's repeated insistence here on his lack of any desire to put brush to canvas is not out of character but does suggest that he would not have agreed to embark on 'the picture of a child', 'das Kinderbild', let alone to complete it at what for him was such unaccustomed speed, had he not been at least momentarily persuaded of the need to introduce a distinctive new note into his contribution to the Stockholm show.⁵¹

In the Klimt Room as finally arranged 'the picture of a child' hung at the right of the north wall (Fig.7, top row). Here, it would have gained prominence in relation to its chromatically subdued immediate neighbour (the 1915 portrait of Barbara Flöge, Emilie's mother) and by virtue of illumination from the tall window to the right: the sole source of additional side-lighting in this top-lit exhibiting space. A number of formal and thematic echoes would have linked the new painting with several of the dozen other pictures in the same gallery. But it was doubtless intended to be viewed primarily in relation to the largest of the earlier works, and one already familiar to many Swedish commentators: the composition now generally known as *Death and Life* (Fig.15), though exhibited in Stockholm, as on most of its earlier outings since 1911 (in Rome, Dresden, Budapest, Mannheim, Prague and Berlin), under a variant title, in this case *Love and Death*. This hung at the centre of the contiguous, east and clearly principal wall (Fig.7, second row).

Death and Life, now in its reworked version (first shown in Berlin in January–February 1916) and so prominently displayed, was difficult to accommodate within the expressly optimistic tenor of the 'Austrian Art Exhibition'. It is telling that one of the few Swedish critics to address the composition at any length focused almost exclusively on its right half, eloquently evoking the power and the pity of this 'shout for the splendour of Life in the midst of Death's corruption, strong as an echo of Sibelius. Mothers, infants, grandmothers, men and women: all sinking and all intertwined – flowers in Earth's garden caught by the first frost'.⁵² By 1917 the 'unmentionable' left half of the reworked *Death and Life* was precisely that because it so gruesomely reflected the current reality found beyond the gallery walls. The far busier appliqué of much thinner black crosses that distinguishes Death's new, icy-blue robe might allude to the improvised military graveyards now scattered just behind each of the War's many Fronts. And the 'reactivated' eye sockets of Death's skull home in on the

⁴⁹ Hanslik, *op. cit.* (note 43), is dedicated to 'dem jungen Geiste eines werdenden Reiches'.

⁵⁰ Klimt's display at Stockholm eventually comprised items from his studio in addition to loans from six or seven collectors. It is probable that Hoffmann's enthusiastic entreaties were in some cases as effective as Klimt's perhaps more diffident approaches in amassing the final total of thirteen works. The possibility that the new picture was produced simply to make up the numbers can be discounted with a reasonable certainty.

⁵¹ The postcards from this particular sequence are now in the collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Autogr. 959/53–5 to 959/53–11) and were first published in W.G. Fischer: *Gustav Klimt und Emilie Flöge: Genie und Talent, Freundschaft und Besessenheit*, Vienna 1987, p.187, nos.355–61. Klimt seems to have found his motivic starting point in a recent series of drawings of an infant shown both with and without its mother; see A. Strobl: *Gustav Klimt: die Zeichnungen*, Salzburg 1980–89, III, pp.224–25, nos.3032–40, and IV, pp.206–07, no.3731, who views these as primarily made in preparation for the swaddled sleeping baby featured in the unfinished late painting *The bride*. A small sketchbook drawing (no.3040) may, however, be recognised as preparatory for the painting *Baby*.

⁵² See A. Lindblom: 'Österrikarne i Konsthallen', *Stockholms Dagblad* 243 (9th September 1917), p.8.

⁵³ It is not perhaps inapposite to ponder how far the choice of the new subject was

influenced by an awareness (at least on Hoffmann's part) of the especially child-friendly reputation of the Swedes. The boisterous celebrations of the annual Stockholm Children's Day, *Barnens Dag*, coincided with the exhibition's penultimate weekend.

⁵⁴ Fischer, *op. cit.* (note 51), no.361 (Autogr. 959/53–11), postcard of 13th August 1917: 'äusserst gemischte Gefühle'.

⁵⁵ While reflections of Klimt's own collection of garments and textiles from China and Japan have long been recognised in the work of his last six or seven years, it would seem that Emilie Flöge's collection of garments and garment fragments from Moravia and the Slovak-inhabited north-west of Hungary (much of which was acquired in 1998 by the Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde, Vienna, and is to be exhibited for the first time in 2012) may also have been a source of inspiration for the textiles in the new picture. This would allow a specifically 'Austrian' as well as a more universal reading of this work. It is perhaps not without significance in this respect that the painting *Baby* was acquired in 1919, from the Klimt estate, by Eugenia and Otto Primavesi (on whom see also note 37 above), whose strong interest in textiles was more than matched by an enthusiasm for the Moravian vernacular in all its forms; see E. Clegg: 'Eugenia and Otto Primavesi', in Natter and Grunenberg, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp.182–83.

⁵⁶ Kristiania eventually declined to host the show, and only a much reduced version,

explicitly male child: a future soldier offered up in sacrifice even while embraced by adoring womenfolk.

In as far as Klimt's new picture did supply a counterbalance to the earlier work, it would have done so through qualities evoked by its compositional structure as much as on account of its motif. The keen-eyed, neatly dressed and protectively swathed infant, captured in paint that was barely dry, may well have struck its first, Stockholm audience as a reassuringly happy successor to its somnolent, painfully exposed counterpart in the upper-right portion of the earlier painting.⁵³ But the more immediately conveyed contrast between the larger and the smaller canvas would have been that between a narrative and an encounter, between philosophical contemplation and sensual immersion, between chronological compression and 'real time'.

While Klimt, in his final recorded comment on the still unfinished new picture, admitted to 'extremely mixed feelings' about it,⁵⁴ one measure of its success is found in the ease with which the engaged viewer is propelled through a series of improbable but revelatory re-readings. First, attention is irresistibly shifted away from the painting's nominal subject to the true source of its formal energy: its ostensibly subject-less foreground. Next, the heap of textiles found here, brightly coloured, boldly patterned, richly embroidered, is seen to consist not so much of anonymous lengths of cloth (such as wind or wrap themselves around the figures in so many of Klimt's compositions) as of distinct items of clothing, each animated by the spirit of an absent wearer – a conceit first sparked through the 'coupling' of the plainer but most prominent (pale pink and bright yellow) garments.⁵⁵ Finally, the child, as if removed to an indeterminate point beyond this simultaneously literal and fantastical vision of the fabric of humanity, appears now as its yet-to-be defined sequel.

The closing of the 1917 Stockholm 'Austrian Art Exhibition', on the afternoon of Sunday 30th September (to make way for an innovative survey of Swedish design for the home), was as unremarkable an event as its opening had been an indisputable occasion. Yet it was soon apparent that this show, for all its success, would not be reprised in anything approaching its original form.⁵⁶ This loss of momentum can now be seen as a symptom of the rather rapid end to the expansive style of cultural propaganda favoured during the first year of the reign of the 'Young Emperor'. For, within weeks of the first anniversary of his accession, Karl was himself outwardly transformed. Heretofore the thwarted champion of Peace and Federalism,⁵⁷ he now presided,

with 168 catalogued items, transferred to Copenhagen, where it opened at Den Frie Udstilling on 19th December and ran until late January 1918; see exh. cat. *Den Øststrigske Kunststudstilling: Maleri – Plastik – Kunsrtgestanden*, Copenhagen (Den Frie Udstilling) 1917. Only Hanak and Lendecke were represented here on a scale comparable to their showing in Stockholm, and the applied arts accounted for a much smaller proportion of the whole. On the Copenhagen show, see anon.: 'Den øststrigske Kunststudstilling', *København* 354 (20th December 1917), pp.6–7; and –dan: 'Den øststrigske Udstilling', *Politiken* 83/354 (21st December 1917), p.9. Some of the former Stockholm/Copenhagen display resurfaced in the very differently oriented presentation 'A Century of Viennese Painting', staged by Carl Moll for Zürich in May–June 1918; see exh. cat. *Ein Jahrhundert Wiener Malerei*, Zürich (Kunsthhaus) 1918.

⁵⁷ Karl's federalist initiative was revived as a 'last resort' – and far too late to satisfy those it was intended to appease – in his *Völker-Manifest*, published on 28th October 1918, declaring his intention to reorganise the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy into a federation of nominally autonomous entities.

⁵⁸ Preliminary negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, between representatives of the Central Powers and of newly Bolshevik Russia, on a Peace Settlement for the entire Eastern Front, commenced on 22nd December 1917 and, after several interruptions, issued in the eponymous Treaty (greatly to the advantage of Germany and Austria-Hungary), signed on 3rd March 1918.



15. *Death and Life*, by Gustav Klimt. 1910/15. Canvas, 180.5 by 200.5 cm. (Leopold Museum, Vienna).

alongside the German Emperor, over a spectacular military victory on the Italian Front (at the Battle of Caporetto). And he found himself the initially alarmed, then relieved beneficiary of the tumultuous transformation of his principal wartime enemy (through the Bolshevik seizure of power in Petrograd and prompt resolve to take Russia out of the 'imperialist War').⁵⁸

In these circumstances, cultural propaganda was eclipsed by *Realpolitik*. But the enforced reticence in international promotion was more than compensated by lively internal debate in the context of a cross-Empire revival of art life.⁵⁹ When the Central European art exhibition as international cultural propaganda first re-emerged, in the spring and summer of 1919, its appearance was both novel and curiously familiar. In this interval between the end of War and the coming of Peace,⁶⁰ it was most eagerly used to assert the distinctive ethno-cultural profile of two of the Empire's emerging successor states: Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.⁶¹ The reduced, republican Austria was the last component of the former Empire to follow suit, with an 'Austrian Art Exhibition' for the new times.⁶²

⁵⁹ On the revival of art life across Austria–Hungary in 1917–18, its more immediate results and its after-effects in the early post-War period, see E. Clegg: *Art, Design and Architecture in Central Europe 1890–1920*, New Haven and London 2006, pp.225–65.

⁶⁰ Peace in Central Europe was formally inaugurated in two acts: the signing of the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, on 10th September 1919, and the signing of the Treaty of Trianon, on 4th June 1920, respectively with the Austrian and the Hungarian halves of the former Empire.

⁶¹ The shows in question were the *Exposition des Artistes Yougoslaves* at the Petit Palais, Paris, in April–May 1919, and the *Exposition d'Art Tchecoslovaque* at the Kunsthalle, Bern, in July–August 1919. A Polish equivalent followed with the *Exposition d'Art Polonais* at the Grand Palais, Paris, in April–June 1921; and Hungary organised the first of several internationally touring promotional exhibitions in the mid-1920s.

⁶² Discounting participation in annual/biennial events (as in Venice), specialised international surveys (as in the 1925 Paris 'arts décoratifs'), or exclusively historical displays, the Austrian Republic began to revive the spirit of the 1917 Stockholm show only a full decade later, with 'Austrian paintings and applied arts 1900–1927' (*Oostenrijksche schilderijen en kunstnijverheid 1900–1927*), which visited the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague, the Kunstkring in Rotterdam, and the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam between mid-October 1927 and late January 1928.

Appendix

Paintings/sculptures shown at the 1917 Stockholm 'Austrian Art Exhibition' by Albin Egger-Lienz, Anton Faistauer, Anton Hanak, Gustav Klimt, Oskar Kokoschka and Egon Schiele. Each entry lists, from left to right: Stockholm catalogue number; Swedish title; German title, date and number given in the catalogue raisonné. An asterisk indicates acknowledgement in the catalogue raisonné of inclusion in the Stockholm show.

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- Anton Hanak: F. Grassegger and W. Krug, eds.: *Anton Hanak (1875–1934)*, Vienna, Cologne and Weimar 1997 (authoritative, detailed monograph, rather than a true catalogue raisonné)
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- Oskar Kokoschka: J. Winkler and K. Erling: *Oskar Kokoschka: die Gemälde 1906–1929*, Salzburg 1995
- Egon Schiele: J. Kallir: *Egon Schiele: The Complete Works*, rev. ed., London 1998.

Albin Egger-Lienz (1868–1926)

- 18 *Dödsdans, Totentanz III*, 1914, M351
- 19 *Ett par människor, Mann und Weib (Das Menschenpaar)*, 1910, M311
- 20 *Säningsmannen och djävulen, Sämann und Teufel I*, 1908/09, M245
- 21 *Tidig vår, Vorfrühling*, 1906, M218
- 22 *Våg, Das Meer. Katwijk*, 1913, M336
- 23 *Landskap med dyner, Dünenlandschaft bei Katwijk*, 1913, M335
- 24 *Middagen, Das Mittagessen II*, 1910, M274
- 25 *Skördefolk på berget, Die Bergmäher I*, 1907, M234
- 26 *Vilande herdare, Ruhende Hirten I*, 1911, M294
- 27 *Studiehuvud*, uncatalogued study for head of woman at centre-left of *Wallfärd* (1904–05) or of its adaptation as *Am Tisch des Herrn* (1912)
- 28 *Studiehuvud*, uncatalogued study for head of man at far left of *Totentanz I* (1906) or one of its later versions II to IV (1908–16)

Anton Faistauer (1887–1930)

- 29 *Dam i blå blus, Sitzende Dame im blauer Bluse mit Schmuckkassette*, 1912/13, 45
- 30 *Porträtt, Dame mit Brief*, c.1915, 113
- 31 *Porträtt, Bildnis einer jungen Frau mit offenem Buch*, 1916, 125
- 32 *Porträtt*, unidentified portrait
- 33 *Porträttstudie, Lesende Dame in Lehnstuhl*, c.1913, 73
- 34 *Konstnärrens syster, Bildnis eines Mädchens mit Äpfeln*, 1914, 90
- 35 *Konstnärrens hustru, Dame mit Hut und dunklem Kostum*, 1916, 130
- 36 *Skogsbyn, Waldinneres*, c.1914, 98
- 37 *Stilleben, Stilleben: Obst im Schüsseln und Henkelkrug auf Schreibtisch*, 1914, 85
- 38 *Stilleben, Stilleben mit Semmeln und Krug*, 1914, 91
- 39 *Stilleben*, unidentified still life
- 40 *Äpplen och glas*, unidentified still life
- 41 *Blommer*, unidentified still life
- 42 *Akt, Stehender weiblicher Akt*, c.1913, 69
- 43 *Blombukett och äpplen*, unidentified still life
- 44 *Nakna, Doppelakt*, 1913, not in catalogue raisonné; exh. cat. 2005, no.28
- 45 *Dam på divan, Junge Frau auf rotem Sofa*, 1913, 50
- 46 *Dam med röd dräkt, Frauenbildnis*, 1913, 53

Anton Hanak (1875–1934). (Each date cited is that of first version; pages and figs. cited include later versions).

- 63 *Bönen, Das Gebet*, 1911, p.72, figs.72, 84 and 86
- 64 *Barn över det alldagliga, Kind über den Alltag*, 1912, p.105, figs.133 and 162–63
- 65 *Fanatiker, Der Fanatiker*, 1916–17, pp.141–49, figs.189–97
- 66 *Rösten från ovan, Die Stimme von oben*, 1917, pp.183–85, fig.232
- 67 *Torso*, unidentified torso
- 68 *Den förklarade, Der Verklärte*, 1913/14, pp.94–96, figs.111–12 and 115–16
- 69 *Ynglingen, Der Jungling*, 1909, p.84, figs.102–03
- 70 *Torso*, unidentified torso
- 71 *12 små figurer, 12 Figürchen für Winkelsdorf*, 1914–17, p.126, figs.171–79
- 72 *Mor, Mutter*, 1909, p.72, figs.84 and 86
- 73 *4 byster*, four unidentified busts
- 74 *Människan, Der letzte Mensch*, 1916–17, pp.149–58, figs.98 and 203–08*

⁶³ Catalogue numbers for the Klimt drawings refer to the four volumes of Strobl, *op. cit.* (note 51).

⁶⁴ Inv. no.NMH206/1918. See SStA/LKK, E1:3, letter of 2nd April 1918 from Sven Strindberg of the Liljevalchs Konsthall to the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, enclosing an invoice (for 180 Swedish kronor) in respect of the Klimt drawing selected at the

Gustav Klimt (1862–1918). (The listed information was published, without WSW numbers, in Clegg, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.241, note 29).

- 97 *Porträtt av en ung flicka, Mäda Primavesi*, 1913, ND 179, WSW 213
- 98 *Porträtt, froken B., Friederike Maria Beer*, 1916, ND 196, WSW 228
- 99 *Kärlek och död, Tod und Leben*, 1910/15, ND 183*, WSW 206
- 100 *Landskap I, Park*, 1909, ND 165, WSW 196
- 101 *Landskap II, Forsthaus in Weissenbach II*, 1914, ND 182, WSW 230
- 102 *Landskap III, Kirche in Unterach am Attersee*, 1915/16, ND 198, WSW 225
- 103 *Landskap IV, Italienische Gartenlandschaft*, 1913, ND 214, WSW 215
- 104 *Porträtt, fru L., Elisabeth Lederer*, 1914–16, ND 188, WSW 227
- 105 *Leda, Leda*, 1917, ND 202, WSW 239*
- 106 *Barn, Baby*, 1917, ND 221, WSW 253*
- 107 *Blondin, Der Pelzkeragen*, 1916, ND 197, WSW 229
- 108 *Illerpäls, Der Iltispelz*, 1916/17, ND 206, WSW 242
- 109 *Porträtt, Barbara Flöge*, 1915, ND 191, WSW 222*

The drawings that Klimt also showed at the Liljevalchs Konsthall, in Room 7, alongside works on paper by a good many other artists, were evidently chosen so as best to complement and extend the selection of paintings to be found in the Klimt Room. (Equivalent care seems not to have been taken in the case of the drawings exhibited on this occasion by either Kokoschka or Schiele.) Noted in the Stockholm exhibition catalogue as twenty items embraced within a single entry (no.110: '20 teckningar'), of which it appears that only sixteen were displayed, arranged in two blocks of eight, all were in graphite and of vertical format (though in one case horizontal re-cast as vertical for the sake of Hoffmann's hang), each between 49 and 59 cm. in height and between 32 and 38 cm. in width.

As identification of these has now proved possible (only one item had so far been identified), one may say that around half were studies made in direct or indirect connection with pictures included in the 'Austrian Art Exhibition': a relatively detailed three-quarter-length portrait of Friederike Maria Beer (III/2551), for example, or an almost schematically simplified mother and child, the latter a precursor of the painted *Baby* (III/3033).⁶³ The rest, even more significantly, were made in connection with some of the most intriguing creations of Klimt's last years. Four of these (IV/3697, IV/3895, III/2515 and III/2576) charted the gradual transformation of his second portrait of Ria Munk into *The dancer* of 1916/17. A further four were part of work still in progress at the time of the Stockholm show: one (III/2860) was a relatively detailed figure study for *Adam and Eve* and was sold to the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm,⁶⁴ and three (III/3006, III/3070 and III/3075) – the most remarkable of all, albeit hard to 'read' for those unversed in Klimt's ceaseless experimentation with viewpoint, pose or accessories – were studies for the entwined or entranced, floating or dancing female semi-nudes of *The bride*.

Oskar Kokoschka (1886–1980)

- 112 *Porträtt, Carl Moll*, 1913, 96
- 113 *Hemsökelse, Heimsuchung*, 1912, 77*
- 114 *Självporträtt, Selbstbilnis*, 1912, 78
- 115 *Budskapet, Ritter, Tod und Teufel I*, 1911, 63
- 116 *Porträtt, dr A., Alfred Adler*, 1912, 82
- 117 *Fortuna, Fortuna*, 1914/15, 113
- 118 *Sposalizio, 'Sposalizio'*, 1912, 79
- 119 *Porträtt, fru F., Lotte Franzos*, 1909, 34
- 120 *Porträtt, F.H., Franz Hauer*, 1913, 98
- 121 *Utvandrare, Die Auswanderer*, 1916–17, 123
- 122 *Porträtt av Albert Ehrenstein, Albert Ehrenstein*, 1914, 104*
- 123 *Grupp med vit katt, Liebespaar mit Katze*, 1917, 126
- 124 *Porträtt av Furstinna Lichnowsky, Fürstin Mechtild Lichnowsky*, 1916, 121
- 125 *Fängnen, 'Der Gefangene'*, 1914, 105*

Egon Schiele (1890–1918)

- 203 *'Entschwebung', Entschwebung (Die Blinden II)*, 1915–16, 288*
- 204 *Gammal stad, Stadt im Grünen (Die alte Stadt III)*, 1917, 313*
- 205 *Gravar, Auferstehung (Gräber)*, 1913, 251*
- 206 *Ensamma hus*, unidentified landscape
- 207 *Höstsol, Welche Sonnenblumen (Herbstsonne II)*, 1914, 280
- 208 *Flicka, Mädchen (Die Jungfrau)*, 1917, 305*
- 209 *Landskap, Einzelne Häuser (Häuser mit Bergen)*, 1915, 292* (as Stockholm 206)
- 210 *Man och kvinna, Mann und Frau (Liebespaar I)*, 1914, 275
- 211 *Hus vid havet, Die Häuser am Meer (Häuserreihe)*, 1914, 281*
- 212 *Fenster, Hauswand (Fenster)*, 1914, 284*
- 213 *Stein. Donau, Stein an der Donau, vom Norden gesehen*, 1913, 269* (as 268 or 269)
- 214 *Stein. Donau, Stein an der Donau, vom Süden gesehen*, 1913, 268* (as 268 or 269)
- 215 *Stein. Donau, Häuser am Fluss (Die alte Stadt)*, 1914, 279
- 216 *Kvarn, Sägewerk*, 1913, 271
- 217 *Förstad, Vorstadt I*, 1914, 282*

previous autumn's 'Austrian Art Exhibition'. This communication also refers to the Museum's initial request that two 'earlier' Klimt drawings from the Liljevalchs Konsthall display be kept 'on reserve' for its consideration, with a view to a possible further purchase. No more having been heard on this matter from the curators concerned, Strindberg assumed they wished to buy only the one drawing.