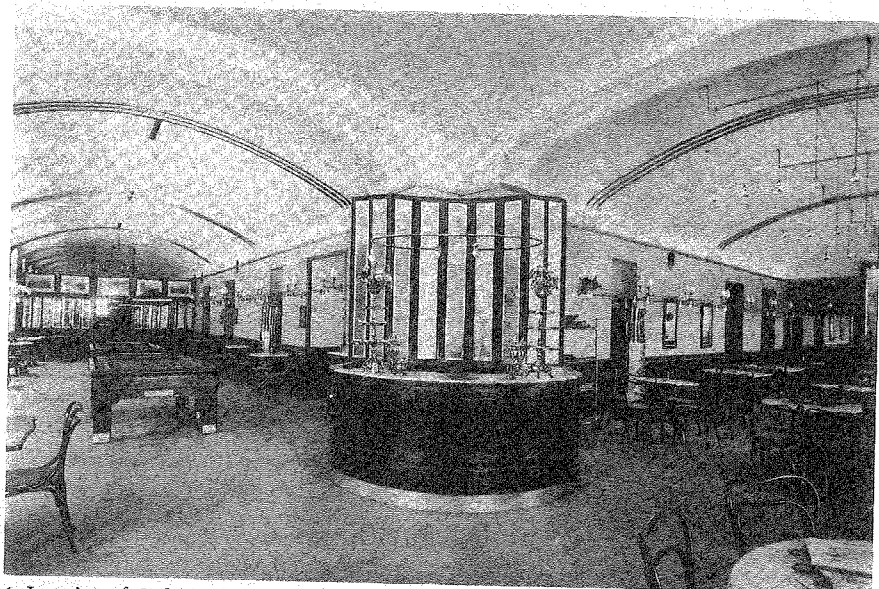


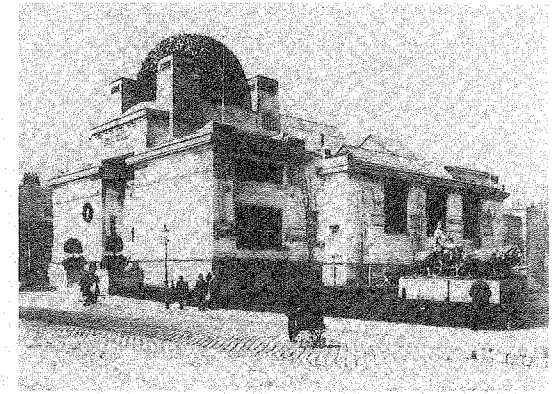
Coffeehouse Encounters: Adolf Loos's Café Museum

The newly refurbished Café Museum (at 6 Friedrichstrasse, in Vienna's first district) was opened to the public in spring 1899. (Illus. 1) The Café's distinctive interior design, the work of the architect Adolf Loos, attracted the attention of the critics and of the press. Wilhelm Schölermann wrote as follows in the *Wiener Rundschau*: „Vienna has a new coffeehouse! You mean 'Café Secession'? No, we mean 'Café Museum'. Maybe you could call it 'Café Antisecession', for what is modern about it has nothing to do with the 'Secession' whatsoever. For the Secession, tradition is nothing; for Adolf Loos everything. Since the Secession works with ornamentation, Loos would kill ornament.“¹

This juxtaposition of Secession and Loosian interior was geographically as well as stylistically determined. Joseph Olbrich's Secession building (opened in 1898) and the Café Museum existed in close physical proximity, close enough to speak of a confrontation. (Illus. 2) Here were two newly constructed Viennese institutions, both offering lessons as to what constituted „the modern“. The characterisation of Loosian design as a form of aesthetic negation – as the obliteration of Secessionist decoration and ornament – was in part an extension of Loos's own stance. In 1898 he had published a series of articles in the liberal newspaper, the *Neue Freie Presse*, chastising the Austrian products on show at the



1 Interior of Café Museum, Vienna, 1899. Photograph, Graphische Sammlung der Albertina, Vienna, ALA 2495. Copyright DACS, 2001.



2 Vienna Secession building, 1898. Photograph, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien.

Jubilee exhibition which celebrated fifty years of Emperor Franz-Joseph's reign. Loos's essays spanned a remarkable range, dealing with everything from interior design to underclothes, furniture to plumbing, transport vehicles to clothing, hats and footwear. Overall the message was clear: not only design, but also the implements of everyday life revealed Austria to be a culturally backward nation. Plumbing fixtures provided Loos with a particularly vivid example: „Our taps, sinks, water closets, washstands, and other things are still far inferior to the English and American fittings. [...] In this respect, America is to Austria as Austria is to China.“²

Loos praised what he felt were lamentably few instances of unostentatious, well crafted commodities produced in Austria – simple, unadorned leathersgoods, for instance. The references to America and England were strategic, important to Loos's self-promotion as an architect (and cultural critic) in Vienna at this period. He had travelled to the United States in 1893, visiting the Chicago World Exhibition and returning to Vienna via London in 1896. It was his encounter with Anglo-Saxon modernity, Loos claimed, that rendered him an effective critic of Austrian culture.

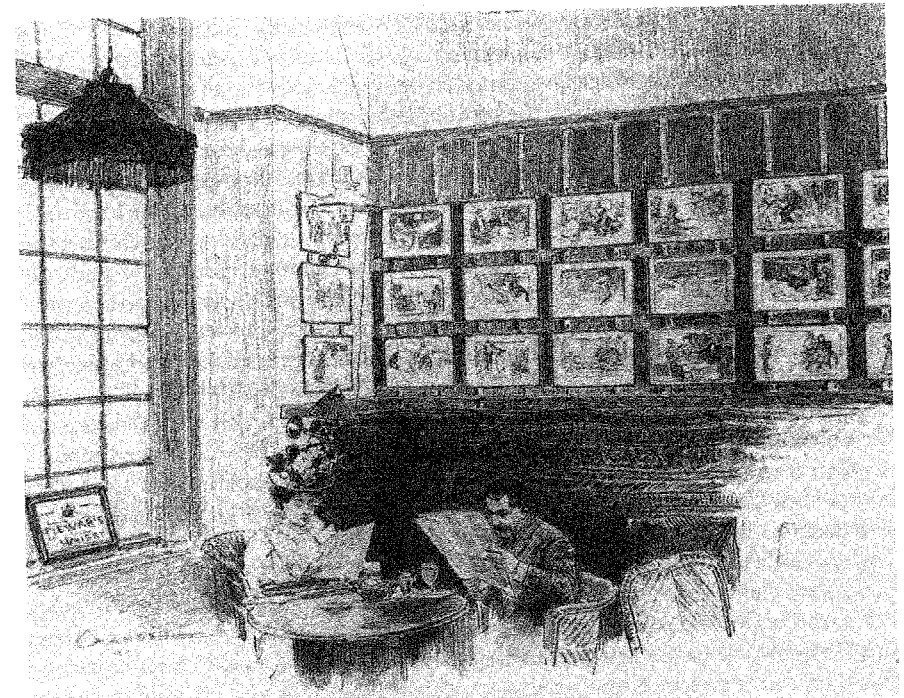
The 1898 articles enabled Loos to address his ideas to a wider audience; prior to this, his writing had been published in specialised journals and his executed work as an architect was spare, consisting of refitted interiors for private apartments and for exclusive Viennese gentlemen's tailors.³ For Loos, the Café Museum project represented the opportunity to publicly demonstrate the ideas he had so vociferously argued in his journalism. The fact that the refurbishment involved a Café (an urban space accessible to the public) rendered the project ideal for producing a high-profile demonstration piece on the issue of modernity. As did the Café's location: close not only to the Secession but also to the Academy of Fine Arts, the Künstlerhaus, the Opera and the Musikverein. Loos claimed that his aim in producing an appropriately modern Café was not to invent anything new, but rather to reformulate the simplicity of the Viennese Biedermeier Café.

He drew an analogy with male clothing: just as the man's frock coat had changed little between 1800 und 1900, so the fin-de-siècle Café should resemble that of the earlier 19th century.⁴ This affiliation with men's dress emphasises not only the plainness but also the apparently inherent masculinity of the Café as an urban space, a gendering reinforced (in the case of the Café Museum) by the gentlemen's club atmosphere created by the presence of billiard tables and newspapers. Late 19th-century photographs of the Café Museum show a simple but elegant interior, like the photographs themselves it would seem, a study in monochrome. Photography sustains the idea of plain white walls, of surfaces stripped bare of ornament. In this stark, almost minimalist guise, the Café seems to live up to its soubriquet of „Café Nihilismus“.⁵

Contemporary descriptions, however, present a somewhat more complicated picture. This is Ludwig Hevesi in the May 1899 issue of *Kunst und Kunstwerk*: „The whole Café has English flock wall paper in a kind of mat green colour, rather like the grain on blotting paper; the ceiling is, however, quite white, finished with a washable oil-based paint and is completely without ornament. The wainscot and large items of furniture (pay desk, billiard tables) are of dark mahogany with single inset strips ('arteries') of boxwood in a yellowy white colour.“

Hevesi's account draws to a variety of colours and textures, a reminder that Loos's eschewal of ornament went hand-in-hand with a penchant for dramatic use of materials in ways which were both visually and texturally rich.⁶

Unlike the Secession building, now restored to a gleaming and pristine condition, the Café Museum presents a well-worn appearance and little remains of its original fittings or furniture. The Museum has not undergone the extensive reconstruction and restoration recently lavished on other famous Viennese cafés such as the Central or the Griensteidl. But this has not detracted from its status, either as an iconic representative of the Viennese café or as a monument to Viennese modernism – an important example of Loos's polemic rendered three dimensional. Photographs and written descriptions of the Café Museum, with its billiard tables and its bentwood chairs, its marble-topped tables, newspapers and journals, have played a large part not only in recording the original appearance of the Café but also in determining how we interpret it as a manifestation of turn-of-the-century Viennese modernity. But the Café in 1899 did not consist solely of the L-shaped space now so familiar from the often-reproduced photograph. Adjacent to this, there were also smaller rooms: a „Spielzimmer“ (games room), an „Extrazimmer“ and a „Gibsonzimmer“. The Gibson Room, its walls hung with framed pictures by the American illustrator Charles Dana Gibson (1867-1944), constitutes an intriguing feature of the original Café.⁷ (Illus. 3) On the one hand, with its British and American flags and its sign for Dewar's Whiskey, the room fits well with Loos's adulation of Anglo-Saxon culture. It underscores Loos's claims concerning the importance of his American Bildungsreise. On the other, the inevitable association (for contemporaries) of Charles Dana Gibson with his most famous creation, the Gibson Girl, creates a strong feminine emphasis that might seem



3 Wilhelm Gause, „Cafe Museum – Gibson Room“, 1899. Pencil drawing, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien.

incongruous given Loos's equation (as in his 1898 essay „Men's Fashion“) of modernity with correctly-dressed and tailored masculinity.⁸

The presence of the Gibson Room in the Café Museum gives one pause for thought. Although a relatively small and subsidiary space, it raises questions concerning exactly how modernity was manifested in and through the Café Museum. Prompted by the Gibson Room, this essay consists of a series of speculations on the role of femininity in articulating the modern in late 19th-century Vienna. Here it is my intention to reassess the encounter of the Café with the Secession with a view to problematising notions of a modernism based on simple binary oppositions: the plain versus the ornamental, the masculine opposed to the feminine.

Let me begin with Schölermann's assertion that „for the Secession, tradition is nothing; for Adolf Loos everything“. Given Loos's admiration of the Biedermeier period, the Café Museum would seem to accord well with this pronouncement. But the connotations of Biedermeier were also important for the artists of the Secession. In 1899, the year in which Loos's Café opened, Gustav Klimt showed his „Schubert at the Piano“ (destroyed 1945) at the fourth Secession exhibition. Like the Café

Museum, this was a work conceived as a dialogue between „1800 und 1900“, albeit, in the case of Klimt, a dialogue presented in rather more feminised terms. Alma Schindler (later Mahler-Werfel) recorded in her diary: „his 'Schubert' is wonderful [...] Schubert sits at the piano, surrounded by ultra-modern young ladies singing.“⁹ The concept of tradition („Biedermeier“) in defining the modern was as important for the Secessionist as for Loos.¹⁰ In the case of Loos, tradition signified a perfectly achieved form which should be sustained (rather than needlessly altered); for Klimt, an authenticity in need of constant renewal and updating. Loos represented the concept of tradition through the constancy of male dress; Klimt, through the juxtaposition of the past with the ephemerality of fashionable femininity. For the Secession, the concept of modernity (the condition of being modern), was in certain ways linked to the idea of Austrian-ness. And in the case of the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1899 this was, it must be stressed, very much an idea (or ideal). There was, on the one hand, the desire of certain ethnic groups to differentiate themselves from the political and cultural hegemony of German culture; on the other, the Empire's need to formulate a concept of identity which would somehow unify a highly diverse population and appease (or at least hold in check) growing nationalist movements. The writer Hermann Bahr, a passionate supporter of the Secession, wrote as follows about Klimt's „Schubert“ painting: „I only know that I get cross if people ask me if I am a German. No, I say, I am not German, I am Austrian. But that isn't a nationality, they say. Austria has become a nation, I say, we are different from the Germans, we have our own identity. Define it! Well, how can one „define“ it? But you can see it in Klimt's painting of Schubert! That quiet, mild gaze, the radiance combined with bourgeois modesty – that is the very essence of our Austrian nationality!“¹¹

Klimt, both through his work and his artistic persona, represented an Austrian artistic modernism, but this was a modernism identified as much with contemporary femininity as with Biedermeier masculinity. The journalist Berta Zuckermandl's account of a visit in 1902 by Klimt and Rodin to Vienna's amusement park, the Prater, is in this respect revealing:

„Klimt and Rodin had seated themselves beside two remarkably beautiful young women – Rodin gazing enchantedly at them. Klimt had created an ideal of this type – the „modern“ woman, with a boyish slimness and a puzzling charm. [...] And, that afternoon, slim and lovely vamps came buzzing round Klimt and Rodin, those fiery lovers. [...] Rodin leaned over to Klimt and said: „I have never before experienced such an atmosphere – your tragic and magnificent Beethoven fresco; your unforgettable, temple-like exhibition, and now this garden, these women, this music ... and round it all this gay, childlike happiness [...]. What is the reason for it all?“ And Klimt slowly nodded his beautiful head and answered only one word: 'Austria'.“¹²

The Secession exhibitions included many important displays of art and design from abroad, but the institution's ultimate aim was to foster and promote an Austrian artistic avant-garde, a world-class art produced by „geniuses“ (such as Klimt) and epitomised by a new feminine physical ideal.

That ideal is demonstrated by Klimt's 1898 lifesize „Portrait of Sonja Knips“, described by Zuckermandl as the „sublimated essence of the modern type of woman“.¹³ Here, as in Klimt's other turn-of-the-century female portraits, the physicality of the sitter is dispersed, dissolved almost, into the gauzelike tissue of a white (in the case of Knips, mother-of-pearl) gown. It was by virtue of being thin that the Klimt „type“ of woman defined a contemporary Austrian, or at least Viennese, femininity. This extreme slenderness was the subject of comment (and indeed ridicule) when Klimt's work was exhibited at the 1900 Paris Exhibition.¹⁴ Prototypes of a slim and elegant Austrian femininity were by no means new, nor confined to the aesthetic realm. The Empress Elisabeth was renowned for her slender figure, achieved through rigorous dieting and exercise.¹⁵ Her assassination in 1898 gave added impetus to the cult of Elisabeth, iconic images of Sissi (the diminutive version of her name) were produced and circulated at a mass level. Slenderness, however, signified more than physical self-discipline and restraint. It also connoted a kind of restlessness: woman's refusal to conform to, or be restricted by, the more traditional female roles.

Elisabeth's many imperial residences, as well as her extensive travels across Europe, were perceived as indicative of her dissatisfaction with the constraints of court life, as an attempt to escape her position as Imperial wife and mother. Klimt's upper middle-class sitters included women engaged in a variety of professional, cultural and athletic activities. Rose von Rosthorn-Friedmann for instance, painted by Klimt in 1900–01, was a successful Alpine climber. Female physical prowess was not however interpreted merely as a matter of health. It could also be related to women's assertion of control, characterised either as passively self-destructive (as in the case of the Empress Elisabeth's anorexia) or more actively, as voracious. (Klimt's portrait of the slender Rosthorn-Friedmann, for example, was described as depicting a „modern sphinx“).¹⁶

For the Secession, the significance of this new female type was not restricted to the realm of portraiture. Several of Klimt's patrons had domestic interiors designed (often by the Secession architect Josef Hoffmann) around their female portraits. The painting of Sonja Knips was positioned centrally in a living room; that of Marie Henneberg (1901–2) above a marble fireplace, flanked by open showcases, creating the effect of an altar.¹⁷ Both pictures occupied a liminal space: the Knips painting was visible from the vestibule, Henneberg's portrait hung in the central reception hall. In each case, visitors were confronted at the entrance by an image which identified these haute-bourgeois homes not merely in terms of ownership, but also as the manifestation of a specifically Viennese modernism. This was a modernism construed as light and airy, as a stripped-down simplicity in tune with both the shimmering dress and the slenderness of the Klimtian female form.

Hoffmann's designs carefully staged Klimt's portraits, emphasising the interiors not only as settings but also as extensions of this painted femininity. Secessionist figure type and interior were inter-related, establishing a difference from an earlier Viennese middle-class aesthetic, that of Hans Makart (1840–1894).

Makart, „prince of the Ringstrasse“ was renowned for his mid-19th century reinterpretation of lush, Venetian nudes as well as for inspiring well-padded interiors cluttered with plush pillowcases, velvet curtains and heavy draperies, dried palm branches, along with dark, solid old German-style furniture and historical ornamentation.¹⁸ Although marking the aesthetic of a new generation (Secessionist versus Ringstrassen-era), Secession interiors could at the same time be seen as a continuity with the past. Here again the issue of femininity was central. One of Klimt's sitters has recently been referred to as a „salon sibyl“, a reference to the idea that Vienna's industrialist and liberal upper middle-class perpetuated the salon culture established by Austria's 18th-century aristocracy.¹⁹ The aristocratic salon was often characterised in terms of the personality of its hostess, and so by implication, Secessionist interiors might be interpreted as a kind of feminised space, an acknowledgment of women's participation in artistic and cultural life, at least within the domestic sphere.

Both Loos and the Secessionist admired early nineteenth-century Biedermeier as a modern aesthetic of light-filled, pared-down simplicity. These aesthetic values were however differently gendered. Loos's identification with the Biedermeier café and the male dress of this period emphasises the „masculinity“ of the Café Museum interior, not only in terms of its appearance, but also as a space for men's intellectual encounter and artistic creativity. As suggested by Alma Schindler's response to Klimt's „Schubert“ painting, the Secession offered something else, the possibility of figuring the modern through woman's fashionably dressed body. For Loos on the other hand, female fashion functioned as a term of disparagement. His essay on „Ladies' Fashion“ denounced women's fashion as wasteful in its pursuit of novelty and perverse in its function of provoking „unnatural“ sensuality in male viewers.²⁰ To a certain extent, the presence of the Gibson Room in the Café Museum can easily be explained by and assimilated to Loos's published arguments. Loos' Anglo-philia is well known. For Loos, there were ways in which Anglo-Saxon culture could offer positive exemplars of a more progressive, modern femininity. He commented on the „tendency“ which emanates from England but was in fact „that persuasion invented by the refined Greeks: platonic love. The woman may be more than a good friend to the man.“²¹ Loos related the potential for platonic friendship to the evolution of the woman's „tailor-made costume“, in his view perhaps a desirable alternative to the unhealthy erotic desire stimulated by more obviously fashionable women's dress. The turn-of-the-century American girl, as conceived by Charles Dana Gibson, embodied similar ideas. In the words of one commentator: „They unite freedom of manner with modesty of behaviour. [...] Probably the Greek girls in their highest development in the times of Phidias were never so attractive as the American girl [...]“²²

This new classical ideal usefully combined the modern with the timeless, the beautiful with the unerotic (and hence the unthreatening). Tall without being gawky, willowy but not lean, this female paragon „bore her height with a sweet timidity that disarmed fear“; she was „chastity personified“.²³



4 „Gibson Girl“ by Charles Dana Gibson (1867-1944).

While Loos's view of America as the land of the new Greeks was probably based more on an admiration of American engineering achievements than on a predilection for Gibson's Girls, he would surely have appreciated that defining aspect of the Girl – her vibrant athleticism. In „Ladies' Fashion“ Loos commented positively on women cyclists, seeing in their liberated clothing the precursor of their economic independence: „only in the last years have women acquired the right to develop themselves physically. [...] the concession will be made to the twentieth-century female bicyclist to wear pants and clothing that leaves her feet free. And with this, the first step is taken toward the social sanctioning of women's work.“²⁴

The Gibson Girl swam, played golf and cycled. (Illus. 4) Americans claimed her as a modern „Goddess of the Wheel“ (Loos was not alone in making the connection between cycling and a more progressive state of affairs for women): „the new deity was a pretty American girl speeding joyously along on a bicycle. On that simple machine she rode like a winged victory, women's rights perched on the handlebars and cramping modes and manners strewn in her track.“²⁵

Gibson's Girl encapsulated not only American femininity but also American modernity of the 1890s. How then should we interpret the significance of the Gibsonzimmer, that little piece of American modernity appended to the larger space of the Café Museum? 1895 had seen the opening in the Prater of the popular amusement „Venedig in Wien“.²⁶ „Venice in Vienna“ was a reconstruction of Venice, the medieval city of canals imported into modern Vienna, the Vienna of the Ringstrasse and of fast-growing transport systems. Could we, by analogy, consider the Gibson Room as a kind of „Amerika in Wien“, as an exoticisation of the modern rather than of the past? We need to remember however that „Venedig in Wien“, itself a manifestation of Viennese modernity, was not merely an exercise in nostalgia for the past as preserved in a unique Italian city. It also constituted a kind of comment on Austrian society, which more than other European countries was still structured by the co-existence of the feudal with the modern. Similarly, far from being simply the supplement to a larger entity, the Gibson Room offers a vantage point from which to reconsider the modernity of the Café Museum.

The Gibson Girl was a kind of new classical ideal, a „universal“ type.²⁷ There was no „original“ Gibson Girl, she was a „composite“ (in short, the Girl „who was all things to all men“).²⁸ These characteristics were less a consequence of late 19th-century classicism than of the technologies of representation. The Gibson Girl was a product of modern processes of mechanical reproduction. As the

Studio put it in 1896: „But for process [...] Mr. Gibson would not be Mr. Gibson.“²⁹ Through her appearances in illustrated magazines, such as *Life*, the Gibson Girl was addressed to mass audiences (of men and women), to a vast reading public, both in the United States and abroad. She represented a democratic impulse, a secular icon to whom shrines were created in every home. There were also Gibson Girl commodities, including wallpaper (deemed especially suitable for bachelors) and furnishings. The Gibson Girl was thus symptomatic of the processes of mass reproduction which were transforming everyday life in the modern world. Gibson's illustrations were reprinted on a larger scale (in folio form) and it is framed examples of these which hung on the walls of the Café Museum Gibsonzimmer. On the face of it, the statuesque American woman invoked by the Gibsonzimmer constitutes both an adjunct to the inherent masculinity embodied by the Café Museum and a robust contrast to the slender, febrile femininity promoted by the Secession. The Gibson Room effected an exoticisation of modern womanhood, proclaiming not only a femininity but also a modernity that was simultaneously elsewhere (in America) and in the future (for Austria).

But the Gibsonzimmer is also a reminder of the fact that far from existing elsewhere, modernity had already encroached upon Vienna – and in ways which problematised the identity of cafés as bastions of „masculine“ intellect. Viennese cafés were complex urban spaces. Extensions of both home and office, they functioned as sites of communication, for discussion and as places to read and write. By the late 19th century, certain Viennese coffeehouses were renowned as meeting places of the city's intellectual elite. At the same time, coffeehouses were also identified with particular forms of literature, especially those aimed at mass audiences such as newspapers and illustrated journals.³⁰ These were the very types of reading and writing increasingly disparaged by certain critics as trivial and lightweight. Edmund Wengraf in „Coffeehouse and Literature“ (1891) pronounced that „seriousness and thoroughness do not thrive in the atmosphere of the coffeehouse.“³¹ And Alfred Polgar (1906) in an iconic description of Viennese feuilleton journalism as vacuous, proceeded by way of an extended feminised metaphor: „the wishy-washy visage, winsomely set off by stylishly frizzled little curls [...].“³² Mass culture brings with it, as Andreas Huyssen has argued, the spectre of „feminisation“ – the threatened erosion of high art and cultural values that have been positively characterised as masculine.³³ Despite Adolf Loos's denunciations of Austria's backwardness, by the 1890s the forces of modernisation were much in evidence: in the form of mechanical reproduction and industrial development as well as in the increased employment of women in offices and service industries.³⁴ Loos's privileging of male dress over female fashion can be read as a defensive insistence on the masculine nature of modernity in the face of a widespread perception of an insidious „feminisation“ of culture and society.³⁵ The consequences for women of such negative formulations of the „feminine“ were however far from straightforward. In Vienna, as elsewhere in

Europe, modernisation involved a proliferation of feminist and women's movements.³⁶ The presence of these „new“ woman is often credited with provoking anxieties and misogyny in their male contemporaries. The masculine version of modernity promoted by Loos can be interpreted (in least in part) as the consequence of this prevalent misogyny. At the same time, Loos was admired by and produced work for exponents of various Viennese women's movements.³⁷ Women were interested in artistic avant-gardism (however apparently misogynistic in certain of its manifestations) not only as a means of engaging with the domain of high culture, but also for its potential to challenge and change contemporary society.

The presence of the Gibsonzimmer in Loos's Café Museum prompts a reconsideration of the encounter between Café and Secession in ways which eschew the fixed, binary oppositions so often used in discussing the aesthetic discourse and practice of the period. Gibson's all-American girl is a useful point of reference in pondering the complex calibrations of „femininity“ and „Austrian-ness“ which characterised and helped shape late 19th-century Viennese modernisms. Instead of a series of confrontations between masculinity and femininity, or simplicity and ornament, we are made aware that far from existing separately (across the street from each other, as it were) these were symbiotically linked terms which co-existed in a state of tension. Loos's Café Museum was an elegantly spare environment for the pursuit of serious, intellectual concerns; it was also a richly coloured and textured set of spaces identified with the ephemerality (and „frivolity“) of journalism and literary *Kleinkunst*. Similarly, the ostensibly more „feminine“ version of modernism promulgated by the Secession included an updated iconography of the femme fatale (as in the case of Rosthorn-Friedmann's portrait) shaped more by male anxieties than women's concerns. From the vantage point of the Gibson Room we are afforded further insights into the unstable and shifting relationships (between „masculinity“ and „femininity“, between „high“ and „low“ culture) distinctive to Viennese modernity at the turn of the century.

This is a slightly revised version of the paper given in March 2001 at the 27th annual conference of the Association of Art Historians in Oxford. I thank Dorothy Rowe for inviting me to participate in her session „Reconnecting the Public and Private: Art, Gender and the European City, c. 1880–1930“.

- 1 Allan S. Janik & Hans Veigl, Wittgenstein in Vienna: A Biographical Excursion Through the City and its History (Vienna and New York: Springer, 1998), p. 57. There was a Café Secession; located on the Rothenthurmstrasse, it had opened on Easter Sunday 1899. See the advertisement on the front page of the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 6325, 2 April 1899.
- 2 Adolf Loos, „Plumbers“ (1898), in Adolf Loos: Spoken into the Void, Collected Essays 1897-1900 (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1982: MIT Press, 1982), p. 46.
- 3 These works included projects for the Viennese tailors Ebenstein (1897) and Goldman & Salatsch (1898-1903) and furniture for the apartment of Eugen Stössler (1898-1899); see Burkhardt Rukschcio and Roland Schachel, *La vie et l'oeuvre de Adolf Loos* (Brussels and Liege: Pierre Mardaga, 1982) pp. 411-417. Loos had published in *Die Zeit, Dekorative Kunst, Ver Sacrum, Die Wage*.
- 4 Rukschcio and Schachel, Loos, p. 66, who cite Loos's lectures (1912-1913) at the Schwarzwaldschule; see also Kurt Lustenberger, Adolf Loos (Zürich, Munich, London: Artemis, 1994), p. 24.
- 5 Rukschcio and Schachel, Loos, p. 67.
- 6 Hevesi, quoted in Lustenberger, Loos, p. 42. Detailed information concerning the original appearance of the furniture, materials and colours was presented by the exhibition *Das Café Museum von Adolf Loos* (March-May 2000) at the Kaiserliches Hofmobiliendepot, Vienna in collaboration with the Graphische Sammlung Albertina. I am most grateful to Markus Kristan and Eva B. Ottlinger for subsequent sharing with me their extensive research for this exhibition.
- 7 According to Peter Altenberg, Loos had invited him along to view Gibson prints on show in Vienna at Artaria in order to admire „Anglo-Saxon culture“; see Peter Altenberg, „Zwei anglo-saxonische Künstler“, *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 6250, 1 January 1899, p. 4. The cover to a brochure on Gibson by Altenberg is illustrated in Rukschcio and Schachel, Loos, p. 67. On Charles Dana Gibson, see Fairfax Downey, *Portrait of an Era as Drawn by C.D. Gibson* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936).
- 8 Loos „Men's Fashion“ (1898) in *Spoken into the Void*, pp. 11-14.
- 9 Alma Mahler-Werfel Diaries 1898-1902, selected and translated by Antony Beaumont (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1998), Tuesday 23 May 1899, p. 143. Klimt's careful selection of the women's dress for „Schubert at the Piano“ is discussed in connection with his „Portrait of Serena Lederer“ (also 1899) in Klimt's *Women T.G. Natter and Gerbert Frodl* eds. (New Haven & London and Cologne: Yale and Dumont, 2000), p. 88.
- 10 There is not space here to discuss fully the different relationships between concepts of tradition and modernity which characterised Viennese art practice and theory at this period. This issue forms an important part of Janet Stewart's *Fashioning Vienna: Adolf Loos's Cultural Criticism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000). See also Tag Gronberg, „The Inner Man: Interiors and Masculinity in Early Twentieth-Century Vienna“, *The Oxford Art Journal*, 24:1, 2001, pp. 67-88.
- 11 Tobias G. Natter, „Princesses without a History? Gustav Klimt and 'The Community of All who Create and All who Enjoy'“ in Klimt's *Women*, p. 67.
- 12 Alessandra Comini, „The Three Stages of Life“ in Klimt's *Women*, p. 242.
- 13 Natter, Klimt's *Women*, p. 84.
- 14 See the caricature illustrated in Klimt's *Women*, p. 23.
- 15 For a biography, see for example Andrew Sinclair, *Death by Fame: A Life of Elisabeth Empress of Austria* (London: Constable, 1998).
- 16 Hevesi, who drew attention to the figure's „gleaming“ teeth, quoted in Klimt's *Women*, p. 92.
- 17 See Klimt's *Women*, pp. 96-97 (Henneberg house on the Hohe Warte, built in the early years of the last century) and pp. 86-87 (Hoffmann's later, 1924-25, home for Knips in the Nusswaldgasse, Wien XIX).
- 18 See for example the exhibition catalogue *Hans Makart Malerfürst* (1840-1884), Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 2000.
- 19 Natter, Klimt's *Women*, p. 71.
- 20 Loos, „Ladies' Fashion“ (usually dated 1898) in *Spoken into the Void*, pp. 99-103. On the significance (and dating) of this essay see Stewart, *Fashioning Vienna*, pp. 112-124.
- 21 Loos, „Ladies' Fashion“ in *Spoken into the Void*, p. 100.
- 22 Downey, *Portrait of an Era*, p. 190.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 194 and p. 206.
- 24 Loos, „Ladies' Fashion“ in *Spoken into the Void*, pp. 102-3.
- 25 Downey, *Portraits of an Era*, p. 252.
- 26 See for example, Ursula Storch, „Venedig in Wien“ in *Das Pratermuseum* (Vienna: Museen der Stadt Wien, 1993), pp. 64-66; Stewart, *Fashioning Vienna*, pp. 146-148.
- 27 J.M. Bulloch, „Charles Dana Gibson“, *The Studio*, 1896, Vol. 8, p. 78.
- 28 Downey, *Portrait of an Era*, p. 211 and p. 195.
- 29 Bulloch, *The Studio*, p. 80.
- 30 See for example, Harold B. Segel, *The Vienna Coffeehouse Wits 1890-1938* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1993).
- 31 Edmund Wengraf, „Coffeehouse and Literature“ (1891), in *The Vienna Coffeehouse Wits*, p. 386.
- 32 Alfred Polgar, „The Viennese Feuilleton“ (1906), *Ibid.*, p. 248.
- 33 Andreas Huyssen, „Mass Culture as Woman: Modernism's Other“ in *After the Great Divide. Modernism, Mass Culture and Postmodernism* (London: Macmillan, 1986), pp. 44-62, 225-227.
- 34 On women's employment, see Erna Appelt, „The Gendering of the Service Sector in Austria at the End of the Nineteenth Century“ in *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*, eds. David F. Good et. al. (Providence, R.I. and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996), pp. 115-131.
- 35 On the „feminisation“ of Viennese society, see Jacques Le Rider, *Modernity and the Crises of Identity: Culture and Society in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993) originally published as *Modernité viennoise et crises de l'identité* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1990).
- 36 Harriet Anderson, *Utopian Feminism: Women's Movements in fin-de-siècle Vienna* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press) 1992.
- 37 Loos was asked to design the interiors for the Viennese Wiener Frauenclub (1900), his „Ladies“ Fashion was published in the feminist journal *Dokumente der Frauen* (1902) and he had connections with Eugenie Schwarzwald, an energetic promotor of women's education. There was also considerable feminist admiration for the Secession. For details, see Anderson (1992).

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