



Theses and Dissertations

---

2013-06-04

## Women and the Wiener Werkstätte: The Centrality of Women and the Applied Arts in Early Twentieth-Century Vienna

Caitlin J. Perkins Bahr  
Brigham Young University - Provo

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd>



Part of the [Art Practice Commons](#)

---

### BYU ScholarsArchive Citation

Bahr, Caitlin J. Perkins, "Women and the Wiener Werkstätte: The Centrality of Women and the Applied Arts in Early Twentieth-Century Vienna" (2013). *Theses and Dissertations*. 3987.  
<https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/3987>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact [scholarsarchive@byu.edu](mailto:scholarsarchive@byu.edu), [ellen\\_amatangelo@byu.edu](mailto:ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu).

Women and the Wiener Werkstätte: The Centrality of Women and the Applied Arts  
in Early Twentieth-Century Vienna

Caitlin Josephine Perkins Bahr

A thesis submitted to the faculty of  
Brigham Young University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Heather Jensen, Chair  
Martha Lynne Peacock  
Alan F. Keele

Department of Visual Arts

Brigham Young University

May 2013

Copyright © 2013 Caitlin Josephine Perkins Bahr

All Rights Reserved

## ABSTRACT

### Women and the Wiener Werkstätte: The Centrality of Women and the Applied Arts in Early Twentieth-Century Vienna

Caitlin Josephine Perkins Bahr  
Department of Visual Arts, BYU  
Master of Arts

In this thesis I explore the importance of elite women in early twentieth-century Vienna in relation to the Wiener Werkstätte. My research has led me to believe that the Werkstätte held a more egalitarian view of women than other contemporary European applied arts workshops. Unfortunately the art-historical canon has generally overlooked the applied arts of the Wiener Werkstätte, as well as the significant roles of women in the Werkstätte as artists, clients, patrons, and promoters. In this thesis, I consider cases of women in these roles in early twentieth-century Vienna in order to gain a greater understanding of Viennese women's place economically and politically, as well as socially and culturally. In particular, I examine the Werkstätte's primary records of sales and production (called model books), housed in the Wiener Werkstätte archives at the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna, as a means to better understanding their participation. The evidence of the importance of women in relation to the Wiener Werkstätte, includes: 1) the creation of new opportunities for women in the arts; 2) the emergence and popularity of a liberating reformed fashion; 3) the focus of the Werkstätte on creating objects that would appeal to a female clientele; and 4) the Werkstätte's success, particularly among prominent wealthy female art patrons. I conclude that women's roles as artists, clients, patrons, and promoters can be seen as positions of empowerment for Viennese women of the early twentieth century.

Keywords: Vienna, Wiener Werkstätte, fin-de-siècle, twentieth century, women, applied arts

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the guidance of the phenomenal faculty of the Brigham Young University Art History area. I give special thanks to my graduate committee: Heather Jensen and Martha Peacock, who are the best professors and role models any student could wish for, and Alan Keele, who guided me to Otto Wagner's Kirche am Steinhof during my first visit to Vienna in 2007, opening the floodgates for my fascination with the Vienna Secession and the Wiener Werkstätte. I extend my sincere thanks to Martha Ostergar for her editing assistance. Additionally, my fellow graduate students deserve my utmost gratitude for their constant and priceless encouragement and support.

I acknowledge and thank Brigham Young University Graduate Studies for awarding me a Graduate Research Fellowship, which permitted me to travel to Vienna to conduct archival research. This allowed me to develop my thesis in ways that had been unattainable from home. I give inestimable thanks to Dr. Elisabeth Schmuttermeier, renowned scholar and curator of the Wiener Werkstätte archives at the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts (MAK), for her correspondence and aid. I also thank Regina Karner, Marguerite Ifsits, and Andrea Hanzal at the Wien Museum, as well as the staff at the MAK, for their assistance.

Finally, I wish to thank my family, including my brother and my late father. I express my gratitude to my grandparents, Garold and Norma Davis, who accompanied me in Vienna, first as hosts and most recently as translators and research assistants. I thank my mother, Donnette Perkins, for being a steadfast voice of reason and wisdom, and for teaching me that I am a person who can do difficult things. Above all, I thank my husband, Jason Bahr, whose unwavering love, devotion, and confidence made this project possible.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page .....	i
Abstract .....	ii
Acknowledgements .....	iii
Table of Contents .....	iv
Table of Figures .....	v
Introduction .....	1
Background .....	2
New Opportunities for Women in the Arts .....	12
Reformation Fashion .....	16
Wiener Werkstätte Focus on a Female Clientele .....	21
Female Clients of the Wiener Werkstätte .....	25
Decline of the Wiener Werkstätte .....	33
Conclusion .....	36
Figures .....	38
Bibliography .....	60

## TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1 and Figure 2. Koloman Moser, zebra cabinet, 1904.....	38
Figure 3. Josef Hoffmann, Parts of a 106-piece cutlery set for Lili and Fritz Waerndorfer, 1904-08.....	38
Figure 4. Josef Hoffmann, leather book bindings, made by Wiener Werkstätte, 1905-1915.....	39
Figure 5. Koloman Moser, rocking figures, made by Wiener Werkstätte, c. 1905.....	39
Figure 6. Josef Hoffman and others, Palais Stoclet, view of dining room and Gustav Klimt’s mosaic frieze towards the rear wall, 1905-1911.....	40
Figure 7. Friederike Maria Beer-Monti in Wiener Werkstätte dress made from Wiener Werkstätte fabric “Stichblatt” by Ugo Zovetti. She stands in her apartment that was furnished by Josef Hoffmann, c. 1913.....	40
Figure 8. Wiener Werkstätte model book 9, Österreichische Museum für angewandte Kunst, Archiv Wiener Werkstätte.....	41
Figure 9. Wiener Werkstätte model book 9, Österreichische Museum für angewandte Kunst, Archiv Wiener Werkstätte.....	41
Figure 10. Wiener Werkstätte model book 7, page 372. Record detailing the materials and sales of three clasps designed by Josef Hoffmann. Photographic credit: Thomas Matyk Photo: © MAK Ownership credit: MAK – Austrian Museum for Applied Arts/Contemporary Art.....	42
Figure 11. Wiener Kunst im Hause, room designed for the fifteenth Secession Exhibition, 1902. Photograph originally published in <i>Das Interieur</i> IV (1903): 231.....	43
Figure 12. Wiener Werkstätte reception and exhibition room, ca. 1904.....	43
Figure 13. John Robert Parsons, <i>May Morning, Jane Morris</i> , 1865.....	44
Figure 14. May Morris, 1909.....	44
Figure 15. Wiener Werkstätte textile samples. <i>Top left</i> , Arthur Scharrisch, “Blumenwiese,” 1910-12; <i>top right</i> , Wilhelm Martens, “Kranichgeier,” 1910-12; <i>center left</i> , Mitzi Vogel, “Kanarienvogel,” 1910-11; <i>center right</i> , Wilhelm Jonasch, “Hameau,” before 1914; <i>bottom Left</i> , Gustav Kalhammer, “Schönau,” 1910-12; <i>bottom right</i> , Vally Wieselthier, “Salpinx,” 1914-19.....	45

Figure 16. Ladies' dresses from Wiener Werkstätte fashion photograph album, 1911.....	45
Figure 17. Blouse featuring Josef Hoffmann's "Apollo" fabric design. From Wiener Werkstätte fashion photograph album, 1911.....	46
Figure 18. Mela Köhler, postcard featuring blouse made from Josef Hoffmann's "Apollo" fabric design, 1911.....	46
Figure 19. Josef Hoffmann, "Apollo" fabric sample.....	46
Figure 20. Gustav Klimt, <i>Portrait of Friederike Maria Beer-Monti</i> , 1916.....	47
Figure 21. Dagobert Peche, "Marina," 1911/12.....	47
Figure 22. Paul Poiret, poster "Paul Poiret in Vienna," November 1911.....	47
Figure 23. Fashion illustration featuring a Paul Poiret evening coat, 1922.....	47
Figure 24. Mizi Vogel, cloth flower made from the Wiener Werkstätte silk "Kanarienvogel," ca. 1915.....	48
Figure 25. Emilie Flöge wearing a necklace by Josef Hoffmann, ca. 1905.....	49
Figure 26. Josef Hoffmann, silver chain and heart-shaped pendant with opals, made by Wiener Werkstätte, ca. 1905.....	49
Figure 27. Emilie Flöge wearing a reform dress and a necklace by Kolo Moser, ca. 1910.....	50
Figure 28. Kolo Moser, necklace, silver, white chalcedony, cornelian, ca. 1905.....	50
Figure 29. Josef Hoffmann, "Wedding Table" from the exhibition "Der Gedeckte Tisch," 1907.....	51
Figure 30. Dora Kallmus (Madam D'Ora), Berta Zuckerkandl, 1908.....	51
Figure 31. Josef Hoffmann, fitting rooms of the Schwestern Flöge fashion house, 1904.....	52
Figure 32. Emilie Flöge modeling a reform dress of her own design, 1906.....	52
Figure 33. Dora Kallmus (Madam D'Ora), Emilie Flöge, 1909.....	53

Figure 34. Gustav Klimt, <i>Portrait of Sonja Knips</i> , 1898. ....	53
Figure 35. Josef Hoffmann, tea and coffee service, 1904-05. ....	54
Figure 36. Sonja Knips wearing a dress featuring Eduard J. Wimmer-Wisgrill’s “Ameise” fabric, 1911.....	54
Figure 37. Editha Mautner von Markhof with her daughters on the terrace, ca. 1905. ....	55
Figure 38. Koloman Moser, inkwell, 1903. ....	55
Figure 39. Josef Hoffmann, pepper shaker, 1903. ....	56
Figure 40. Fritz and Lili Waerndorfer (née Hellmann) with their children. ....	56
Figure 41. Koloman Moser, brooch, 1912. ....	57
Figure 42. Josef Hoffmann, brooch, 1904. ....	57
Figure 43. Dora Kallmus (Madam D’Ora), Alma Mahler wearing a choker by Koloman Moser, 1909.....	57
Figure 44. Leopoldine “Poldy” Wittgenstein (née Kalmus). ....	58
Figure 45. Margarethe “Gretle” Stoneborough-Wittgenstein. ....	58
Figure 46. Dagobert Peche, jewelry box, 1920.....	59
Figure 47. Josef Hoffmann, jewelry box, ca. 1904.....	59

## Introduction

The art world in turn-of-the-century Vienna was dominated by a historicist ideology that was governed by Emperor Franz Joseph and the official art academy. In an attempt to break away from the dominating traditional molds, a group of conventionally trained artists founded the Vienna Secession (Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs). The purpose of this group was to challenge the accepted academic style in an attempt to create art that reflected the modern world around them. Among the Secession artists were Koloman Moser and Josef Hoffmann, who founded the Wiener Werkstätte (Vienna Workshops), a subgroup of the Vienna Secession, in 1903. As a cooperative of applied artists, the Werkstätte aimed to elevate decorative arts to the level of so-called “fine” arts. Unusual for their time, the Werkstätte also aimed at recognizing the contributions of women artists. Unfortunately the art-historical canon has generally overlooked the applied arts of the Wiener Werkstätte, as well as the significant roles of women in the Werkstätte as artists and patrons. In this thesis I will examine the role of client, patron, and promoter and point to evidence that these roles can be seen as positions of empowerment for Viennese women of the early twentieth century. The evidence lies in the importance of women in relation to the Wiener Werkstätte, including: 1) the creation of new opportunities for women in the arts; 2) the emergence and popularity of a liberating reformed fashion; 3) the focus of the Werkstätte on creating objects that would appeal to a female clientele; and 4) the Werkstätte’s success, particularly among prominent wealthy female art patrons.

Scholarly inquiry into the Wiener Werkstätte as an important modernist art group principally started in the 1980s, and relatively little is written about them.<sup>1</sup> Most of the literature

---

All translations, unless otherwise noted, are by Garold N. Davis.

<sup>1</sup> For further reading of key information regarding the Wiener Werkstätte see: Christian Brandstätter, *Wiener Werkstätte: Design in Vienna 1903-1932* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2003); Gabriele Fahr-Becker, *Wiener*

about the Werkstätte specifically addresses the lives and work of Josef Hoffmann and Kolo Moser, the founders and most prominent designers of the group.<sup>2</sup> In my thesis I will establish the Werkstätte as a noteworthy art component of Viennese modernism in order to show that it was much more influential than previously credited. I intend to add to this discussion by assessing the Wiener Werkstätte sociohistorically and by using a feminist theoretical model. I will investigate the clientele of the Wiener Werkstätte, which included upper-class women who purchased objects for the decoration of their homes and adornment of their own bodies. While some information has been published about the main families who patronized the Werkstätte, no one has expressly considered the roles of most of the women in this group.<sup>3</sup>

## Background

The social and economical climate of turn-of-the-century Vienna has been examined at length, giving good background into the sociopolitical situations of the time.<sup>4</sup> An understanding of Vienna's general cultural condition at the turn of the century is necessary to situate the applied

---

*Werkstätte 1903-1932* (Köln: Benedikt Taschen Verlag GmbH, 1995); Peter Noever, ed, *Yearning for Beauty: The Wiener Werkstätte and the Stoclet House* (Vienna: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2006); and Werner J. Schweiger, *Wiener Werkstätte: Design in Vienna 1903-1932* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984).

<sup>2</sup> For more information about Hoffman and Moser see: Daniele Baroni and Antonio D'Auria, *Kolo Moser: Graphic Artist and Designer* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1984); August Sarnitz, *Josef Hoffmann, 1870-1956: In the Realm of Beauty* (Cologne: Taschen, 2007); and Sandra Tretter, ed, *Koloman Moser 1868-1918* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2007).

<sup>3</sup> Some scholars have examined Berta Szeps Zuckerkandl and Emilie Flöge, two influential women in turn-of-the-century Vienna. Emilie Flöge, though significant by her own merit as the director of Schwestern Flöge, a leading fashion salon in Vienna, is often defined primarily by her relationship with Gustav Klimt. Both women are addressed later in this thesis. For more information on Zuckerkandl, Flöge, and other main patron families of the Werkstätte see: Wolfgang Georg Fischer, *Gustav Klimt und Emilie Flöge: Genie und Talent, Freundschaft und Besessenheit* (Vienna: Verlag Christian Brandstätter, 1987); Birgit Schwaner, *Die Wittgensteins: Kunst und Kalkül* (Vienna: Metroverlag, 2008); and Berta Szeps, *My Life and History* trans. John Sommerfield (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., first published 1938).

<sup>4</sup> For more information on the sociopolitical and cultural background of turn-of-the-century Vienna see: Christian Brandstätter, *Vienna 1900: Art, Life & Culture* (New York: The Vendome Press, 2006); William M. Johnston, *Vienna Vienna: The Golden Age 1815-1914* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1981); and Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1980).

arts in their place and to understand the significance of women's relation to the Wiener Werkstätte. As in other European countries, the middle class was gaining unprecedented power in Vienna, but they were unable to integrate socially with the nobility. However, because the middle class included bankers and industrialists, this group was able to control the finances of Vienna. Thus the middle class held the power of mainstream cultural movements, and they became important patrons of the arts. Carl Schorske, in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, encapsulates this principle, saying, "The life of art became a substitute for the life of action. Indeed, as civic action proved increasingly futile, art became almost a religion, the source of meaning and the food of the soul."<sup>5</sup> This quote makes clear the great significance of the arts among the Viennese elite. Many of the leaders and supporters of the Secession and Wiener Werkstätte came from this social stratum.

The Vienna Secession and the Wiener Werkstätte were part of a wider shift in the fin-de-siècle European art world. The Werkstätte had origins in the English Arts and Crafts movement and the Glasgow School of Art. Berta Szeps Zuckerkandl said, "It was England, and its pre-Raphaelite movement, that influenced the development of artistic handicraft in Austria, and led to the creation of the singular *Wiener Werkstaette*. Its originator was Josef Hoffman. And, just as one used to speak of the 'Morris period,' so have come to-day to speak about the 'Hoffman period'."<sup>6</sup> These revolutionary modernist artists, who equally valued all art forms, questioned the division between the so-called "high" and "low" arts. They believed that craftsmanship was inherently equivalent to painting, that the applied arts were as valuable as grand architecture, and that sculptural qualities of functional items were as inspiring as the marble sculptures of

---

<sup>5</sup> Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Random house, Inc., 1980), 8-9.

<sup>6</sup> Berta Szeps, *My Life and History* trans. John Sommerfield (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., first published 1938), 143.

antiquity. Modernist artists also began to disregard the popular belief that “low” arts were inherently feminine, while “fine” arts were more suited for male artists. The British artists whose work most resembles that of the Wiener Werkstätte, and who influenced and was influenced by the Wiener Werkstätte, are the Scottish husband and wife team Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret MacDonald, half of the artistic group called The Four. Mackintosh and MacDonald became good friends with the chief Austrian artists of the Wiener Werkstätte, and exhibited with them at the Eighth Exhibition of the Secession in 1900, which is generally cited as the origin of the Wiener Werkstätte.<sup>7</sup>

Women’s participation in the British craftsmanship groups has been more thoroughly considered than the subject of women in the Wiener Werkstätte. Author Anthea Callen examined the temperament of Victorian Britain, which allowed women to participate in art creation and remain respectable members of society. However, even with this progressive atmosphere, there was still a “sexual division of labor” within the movement.<sup>8</sup> Women were allowed to create some crafts, most of them traditionally feminine, but were discouraged from working in perceived “masculine” fields such as “architect[ure], heavy metalwork, plasterwork, and furniture-making.”<sup>9</sup> In addition, women were not allowed to design most things, but were often given the task of making the objects that men designed. Many of the important women in the movement were only able to excel because they were related to important male members. For example, May Morris, the daughter of William and Jane Morris, was able to become the director of the

---

<sup>7</sup> Some key texts on the British Arts and Crafts movement include: Elizabeth Cumming, *Hand, Heart and Soul: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2006); Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1991); James Macauley, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010.) See below for further discussion of the Eighth Secession Exhibition as the origin of the Wiener Werkstätte.

<sup>8</sup> Anthea Callen, *Angel in the Studio: Women in the Arts and Crafts Movement 1870-1914* (London: Astragal Books, 1979), 191.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.



embroidery department of Morris & Co. when she was only twenty-three years old because of her father's influence. Thus, the first example of women's place in the workshop shows Morris's typical separation of male and female, and even though the second example shows May Morris in a position of power, that power was based on her relation to her father. While one of William Morris's main socialist arguments was against a division of labor, he still fostered a sexual division of labor in the art studio.

The Vienna Secession was established in 1897 with Gustav Klimt as its first president. The Secession was founded on new artistic ideology that challenged the traditional views of the formal art academy. Many of the founding members of the Secession were students at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts when, in rebellion against the prevalent historicist styles, they decided to break away and form their own cooperative artist group.<sup>10</sup> After the First Secession Exhibition the writer and critic Hermann Bahr called for a bridge between art and craftsmanship, an idea that the subgroup *Werkstätte* fulfilled.<sup>11</sup> Josef Hoffmann fostered the Eighth Exhibition of 1900—generally considered the origin of the *Wiener Werkstätte*—with the aim to “integrate the entire field of handicraft into the Secession programme.”<sup>12</sup> Hoffmann wanted the Eighth Exhibition to present an overview of European art and handicrafts, and even more specifically, Hoffmann wanted to compare the rest of European art to Austrian art.<sup>13</sup> To this end artists from England, Scotland, France, and Belgium were invited to the exhibition. This comparison helped

---

<sup>10</sup> For more information on the art world of fin-de-siècle Vienna see: Christian Brandstätter, *Vienna 1900: Art, Life & Culture* (New York: The Vendome Press, 2006); Tobias G. Natter and Gerbert Frodl, eds., *Klimt's Women* (Vienna: Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, 2000); Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1980); and Otto Wagner, *Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for his Students to This Field of Art* (Santa Monica: The Getty Center Publication Programs, 1988).

<sup>11</sup> Werner J. Schweiger, *Wiener Werkstätte: Design in Vienna 1903-1932* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), 16.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

to distinguish and establish a specifically Austrian art style. After the exhibition Moser observed, “One saw for the first time modern interiors arranged in accordance with new Viennese taste.... And, moreover, our works were neither Belgian, nor English, nor Japanese, but Viennese, as the majority of the critics indeed acknowledged.”<sup>14</sup>

Although the Secession artists were in general agreement, some artists disagreed on some points. Soon two main factions began to form within the Secession: the Hagen Society and the Siebener Club (Club of Seven). Their general differences are seen through each club’s nickname: the Hagen Society was known as the Naturalists, and the Siebener Club was known as the Stylists. The Stylists, which included Klimt, Otto Wagner, Moser, Hoffman, and others, gravitated to a more stylized and decorative aesthetic, while the Naturalists focused primarily on painting and drawing in a more moderate style.<sup>15</sup> These groups worked together in harmony in the Secession for several years, until in 1905 the conflicts that had arisen between them became too severe, and the Stylists seceded from the Secession. The loss of Klimt in particular was a heavy blow to the Secession, and the new Stylists offshoot came to call itself the Klimt group, of which the *Werkstätte* was a part.

The *Werkstätte*’s manifesto, published in 1905 by Josef Hoffmann and Kolo Moser, makes clear the group’s goals and beliefs regarding art and applied arts. In the manifesto they criticize the “shoddy mass production” of materials and state that, “the machine has replaced the hand, and the businessman has taken the craftsman’s place.” The manifesto became a clear attack against the cheapness of the day’s mass-produced, machine-made items, and it became a call to the masses to shun those worthless materials. Hoffmann and Moser discuss their approach to

---

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>15</sup> Christian Brandstätter, *Vienna 1900: Art, Life & Culture* (New York: The Vendome Press, 2006), 111; and Julie M. Johnson, *The Memory Factory: The Forgotten Women Artists of Vienna 1900* (Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2012), 122.

craftsmanship, specifically in regards to jewelry, bookbinding, and cabinetmaking in the statement: “So long as our cities, our houses, our rooms, our furniture, our effects, our clothes, and our jewelry, so long as our language and our feelings fail to reflect the spirit of our times in a plain, simple and beautiful way, we shall lag infinitely far behind our ancestors...”<sup>16</sup> The language of the manifesto illustrates that Hoffmann and Moser were thinking on both macro- and microscopic levels, but focusing on the juxtaposition of beauty and rationality becoming central in every aspect of life.

The main philosophy of the Klimt group and the *Werkstätte* revolved around the idea of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, or total work of art. They desired to create art objects for use in every aspect of life, so that the entire atmosphere would be aesthetically pleasing and harmonious. In other words, the *Werkstätte* believed that any object that was both beautiful and functional was a work of art. This is the reason the *Werkstätte* artists designed every type of item found in a home, from furniture and cutlery, to bookbindings and children’s toys (figs. 1-5). The Klimt group collaborated on many projects, such as the Palais Stoclet (a textbook example of *Gesamtkunstwerk*), wherein every part of the home was designed in harmony (fig. 6). Regarding the first individual exhibition of the Wiener *Werkstätte*, which presented a model of the Palais Stoclet, Berta Zuckerandl said, “And so the arts and crafts, pictorial art and architecture are gradually joining together to form a total work of art.”<sup>17</sup> Even the dress that Madame Stoclet wore for entertaining guests corresponded perfectly with the interior decoration. In fact, the *Werkstätte* designed dresses for many of their other patronesses to match their *Werkstätte*-decorated homes. Figure 7 shows a 1913 photograph of Friederike Maria Beer wearing a

---

<sup>16</sup> Schweiger, *Wiener Werkstätte*, 42-43.

<sup>17</sup> Brandstätter, *Vienna 1900*, 181.

Werkstätte dress made of the Werkstätte-designed fabric “Stichblatt” by Ugo Zovetti and standing in her apartment furnished by Hoffmann (fig. 7).<sup>18</sup>

At the same time that the Secession and its offshoots were forming, women were gaining more societal power in Europe. However this societal power was mostly through the means of familial feminism in which women achieved increased supremacy in their designated realms (which at that time meant inside the home). This meant that, among other things, women had authority over the home’s interior decoration and beautification. Scholarship shows that since the eighteenth century the interior space of the home had been seen as inherently feminine.<sup>19</sup> The notion that women had power over the decoration of the home was demonstrated in a speech given by Madame M. Pégard to the National Congress for the Decorative Arts in Paris in May 1894, in which she was asked to address the “role and influence of women on the artistic development of [France].”<sup>20</sup> Pégard discussed women’s roles as homemakers:

“Does not woman organize the home? Does she not preside over the arrangements of the interior? Does she not choose the furnishings, porcelains, bronzes, laces, silverware, tapestries, all those trinkets and a thousand things that give a residence its elegance and charm? And does she not select those numerous objects that add to female beauty: the textures, laces, embroideries, jewels, flowers, etc., etc.?”<sup>21</sup>

Since it was generally understood at the time that women had the responsibility of organizing the decoration of the home, it is obvious that women would have been the primary clients of the Wiener Werkstätte. In line with the Werkstätte, Pégard also argued in her speech that women should avoid purchasing cheap interior decorations from department stores, but instead patronize

---

<sup>18</sup> Christian Brandstätter, *Wiener Werkstätte: Design in Vienna 1903-1932* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2003), 335.

<sup>19</sup> Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 125.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 194.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

individual shops to purchase high-quality items, indicating that the upper class would have valued businesses like the Werkstätte over less-expensive alternatives.<sup>22</sup>

Alexander Mahan's 1929 book *Famous Women of Vienna* gives insight into the perception of Viennese women in the early twentieth century. He even personifies the city itself as feminine, referring to Vienna as a "smart and beautiful lad[y]."<sup>23</sup> He discusses the Viennese women who "stroll[ed] along the Graben or Kärntnerstrasse" (the street where the Werkstätte fashion department branch and shop was located), saying, "Viennese women love fine clothes and jewelry, and know how to wear them to best advantage."<sup>24</sup> Mahan also spoke to the importance of home and family life to Viennese women, stating that they were "devoted to their homes," and that, "In no city of the world are family ties held in higher esteem."<sup>25</sup> He exemplifies the cultural prevalence of women in Vienna when he says, "Some one [sic] has said that ninety per cent [sic] of the women are Catholic, ten per cent Protestants, and the remaining fifteen per cent Jews. This apparently absurd statement is explained by the fact that the population of the city is one hundred and fifteen per cent female."<sup>26</sup> These insights into the understanding of the significance of women in early twentieth-century Vienna demonstrate their fundamental roles as cultural arbiters of taste. This, in turn, solidifies the prominence of elite women's relationships with the Wiener Werkstätte.

---

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> J. Alexander Mahan, *Famous Women of Vienna* (Vienna: Halm and Goldmann, 1930), 284.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 285.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 287.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 286.

In addition to cultural importance, women were also gaining empowerment in political and economic realms in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Vienna.<sup>27</sup> A brief timeline that considers some critical laws and reformations relevant to women's rights is suggestive of this development. In 1812 women attained rights of property and inheritance through the Code of Civil Law.<sup>28</sup> This is much earlier than in other countries, where women could not be property owners until 1870 (Britain), 1900 (Germany), and 1907 (France).<sup>29</sup> The Habsburg Empire experienced drastic revolutions in 1848, after which suffrage was linked to property ownership. Thus, property-owning women gained the right to vote in parts of Austria with the February Constitution of 1861. This right was repealed in 1889, causing the women's suffrage movement to gain momentum.<sup>30</sup> Women's rights organizations began forming in Austria during the second half of the nineteenth century, the first being the Viennese Women's Employment Association, established in 1866.<sup>31</sup> In 1893 the Austrian feminist pioneers Rosa Mayreder and Auguste Fickert founded the Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenverein (General Austrian Women's Association), which endeavored to secure reforms in favor of women's rights.<sup>32</sup> In 1905 the renowned Viennese pacifist Bertha von Suttner won the Nobel Peace Prize for her best-selling

---

<sup>27</sup> For more information on the political and economic situation of Vienna in regards to women, see: Gunter Bischof, Anton Pelinka, and Dagmar Herzog, eds., *Sexuality in Austria* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2006); Hannah S. Decker, *Freud, Dora, and Vienna 1900* (New York: Free Press, 1992); David S. Luft, *Eros and Inwardness in Vienna; Weininger, Musil, Doderer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Kaethe Schirmacher, *The Modern Woman's Rights Movement* (Teddington, UK: Echo Library, 2010); and Chandak Sengoopta, *Otto Weininger; Sex, Science, and Self in Imperial Vienna* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

<sup>28</sup> David S. Luft, *Eros and Inwardness in Vienna; Weininger, Musil, Doderer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 39.

<sup>29</sup> William J. Duiker and Jackson J. Spielvogel, *The Essential World History* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing, 2010), 433.

<sup>30</sup> Luft, *Eros and Inwardness*, 40.

<sup>31</sup> Chandak Sengoopta, *Otto Weininger; Sex, Science, and Self in Imperial Vienna* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 32.

<sup>32</sup> Hannah S. Decker, *Freud, Dora, and Vienna 1900* (New York: Free Press, 1992), 80.

book *Lay Down Your Arms*, written while she was head of the Austrian Peace Society, which protested the advancing arms race of the late nineteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Universal male suffrage was granted in Austria in 1906, which led to the founding of the Austrian Women's Suffrage Committee, the first organization dedicated to procuring women's suffrage.<sup>34</sup> With its headquarters in Vienna, the Austrian Women's Suffrage Committee strove for the repeal of laws excluding women from public political organizations, which prevented Austria from joining the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance.<sup>35</sup> Although Austria generally fostered patriarchal authority (for example, a husband had administration over his wife's property unless an official contract was arranged to the contrary), it is clear that in some cases Austrian women gained political power earlier than women from other European countries.<sup>36</sup> However, it was not until 1919, after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire after World War I, that universal suffrage was granted regardless of sex or ethnicity.

While pursuing the question of women's involvement in the Wiener Werkstätte, I travelled to the Wiener Werkstätte archives at the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts (MAK) in Vienna. There I found and investigated the so-called "Wiener Werkstätte model books" which give insight into women's place in the Werkstätte.<sup>37</sup> These model books are hand-written records of Werkstätte sales, including the name and designer of the object, sometimes a sketch, the materials used, the date or dates it was sold, and the buyer(s) (figs. 8-10). Though other

---

<sup>33</sup> Duiker and Spielvogel, *The Essential World History*, 433.

<sup>34</sup> Tim Bonyhady, *Good Living Street: Portrait of a Patron Family, Vienna 1900* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2011), 59.

<sup>35</sup> Kaethe Schirmacher, *The Modern Woman's Rights Movement* (Teddington, UK: Echo Library, 2010), 85.

<sup>36</sup> Decker, *Freud, Dora, and Vienna 1900*, 80.

<sup>37</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Elisabeth Schmuttermeier, renowned Werkstätte scholar and curator of the Wiener Werkstätte archives at the MAK, for generously giving me access to the archival materials in the museum.

Werkstätte scholars have examined the model books they have neglected to see the noticeable significance of the recorded names of individual women. I conclude that the female-centric objects and the many female patrons listed in the model books clearly show that women occupied vital empowering roles in the Werkstätte circle as promoters, clients, and patrons.

### **New Opportunities for Women in the Arts**

Many new opportunities for women in the arts became available around the turn of the twentieth century in Vienna. The first art school in Vienna to admit women was the Austrian School of Applied Arts (where Hoffmann and Moser taught), founded in 1867. However, opposition to female students caused their admittance to be limited in 1872 and then totally prohibited from 1886 to 1887. Women were not fully admitted again until 1899.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps in response to these limitations, the Imperial School of Art Needlework was established in 1873 in Vienna as a craft school for women. The school was led by professional women embroiderers of the court, and they taught young women the traditional skills of needlework. In fact the needlework students sometimes executed designs from students at the School of Applied Arts. The first art school established specifically for the education of women in Vienna was the *Kunstschule für Frauen und Mädchen*, or the Art School for Women and Girls founded in 1897. This school accepted female students with no restrictions on race, culture, or creed, and was thus an important educational center for the many aspiring female Jewish artists at the time.<sup>39</sup> Several of the female artists of the Wiener Werkstätte attended the *Kunstschule für Frauen und Mädchen*,

---

<sup>38</sup> Birgit Ben-Eli, "Austria: Jewish Women Artists," *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia* (Jewish Women's Archive, 2009), <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/austria-jewish-women-artists> (accessed April 5, 2013).

<sup>39</sup> For more information addressing Jews and culture and the arts in fin-de-siècle Vienna see: Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964).



including Vally Wieselthier and Fritzi Löw-Lazar. The school forbade the entrance of Jewish students after 1938 when Hitler annexed Austria, and it was then used to teach Nazi ideology.<sup>40</sup>

The oldest and most prominent art school in Vienna, the Academy of Fine Arts—the main institution against which the Secession was rebelling—did not admit women until 1920-1921.

Again around the turn of the century, a number of women's artist associations were established around Europe and in the United States. The purpose of these institutions was to promote women in the arts and to create a place for women to work and exhibit free from discrimination and exclusion. The Austrian Association of Women Artists was founded in 1910, and followed the examples of women artist unions before it. Some of the first of these establishments were the Society of Female Artists of London (1855), the Vereinigung der Berliner Künstlerinnen und Kunstfreunde (1867), the Parisian Société de l'Union des Femmes Peintres et Sculpteurs (1881), and the National Association of Women Artists in the United States (1889).

The Wiener Kunst im Hause (Viennese Art in the Home) was another group of artists focused on traditional women's art, and one that set a precedent for gender equality in Viennese decorative arts workshops. In her study of the group, Rebecca Houze discusses the Wiener Kunst im Hause in relation to the Secession, the Wiener Werkstätte, women's textile arts, and women's fashion. The artists of the Wiener Kunst im Hause were students of Hoffmann and Moser at the Austrian School of Applied Arts, and the next generation of artists that later became part of the Werkstätte. Half of the artists in the Wiener Kunst im Hause were women, and the art they produced was focused on interior design and decoration. Houze argues that it is precisely because there were so many women in the Wiener Kunst im Hause that the workshop gained such notoriety for their interior textile-inspired design, as people at the time believed that women

---

<sup>40</sup> Birgit Ben-Eli, "Austria: Jewish Women Artists."

inherently knew better how to design “feminine” interior spaces.<sup>41</sup>

This principle, previously discussed in relation to France and Pégard, would have held true for Vienna, as well, as made clear in an example given by Houze: “Domestic interiors were understood by the public as intrinsically feminine spaces that were most authentically designed by women....”<sup>42</sup> Houze elaborates on this point by discussing Jacob von Falke, a cultural critic and curator of the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry, whose book *Die Kunst im Hause* (Art in the Home) was first published in 1871. Von Falke’s book acted as an “instruction manual for women’s interior decoration” and her role as “beautifier.”<sup>43</sup> It is clear that von Falke’s writings would have been familiar to the Viennese public of the turn of the century, as they were published in the journal of the Museum for Art and Industry, as well as the woman’s magazine *Wiener Mode*, “where they were eagerly read by a female audience.”<sup>44</sup> It follows that the female clientele of the Wiener Werkstätte would have occupied the role of arranging and decorating the home. The Wiener Kunst im Hause was very popular in women’s magazines in the early years of the group, relating the feminine aspect of the artists to the femininity of women’s spaces. However, a few years later, the designs of the Wiener Kunst im Hause were put in more academic art journals, showing the progression of art ideals at the time as well as the importance of textiles and influence of women’s arts and crafts.<sup>45</sup>

Houze discusses the first exhibitions—one of the earliest being the Paris Exhibition of 1900—in which the Wiener Kunst im Hause showcased their work. There they were hailed as

---

<sup>41</sup> Rebecca Houze, “From *Wiener Kunst im Hause* to the Wiener Werkstätte: Marketing Domesticity with Fashionable Interior Design,” *Design Issues* 18, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 3.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-14.

“the only truly modern and national style.”<sup>46</sup> Their early designs for interior decoration contained abundant floral decoration, very similar to what Mackintosh and the Viennese designers began to create a few years later, which, Houze argues, is evidence that those well-known artists were influenced by the students of the Wiener Kunst im Hause, not the other way around.<sup>47</sup> The Wiener Kunst im Hause also exhibited at the Eighth Secession Exhibition (1900-01) and again at the Fifteenth Secession Exhibition (1902). At this exhibition their designs were more geometric and rectilinear, echoing the trajectory of other Viennese artists. In the room designed for the Fifteenth Exhibition, the Wiener Kunst im Hause employed a graphic motif of a broken line of alternating dots and dashes, which encircled the lower half of the walls of the room in equidistant vertical bands (fig. 11). Houze argues that this broken line motif symbolizes stitching in needlework, literally wrapping the room in the influence of traditional women’s craft.<sup>48</sup> The Wiener Kunst im Hause arranged their exhibitions in a revolutionary way, mimicking an interior setting (such as a living room) in which to display their works. Hoffmann and Moser implemented this technique in the Wiener Werkstätte salesroom more than three years after the Wiener Kunst im Hause exhibited in this manner in Paris (fig. 12).

The ten members of the Wiener Kunst im Hause were Gisela von Falke, Emil Holzinger, Franz Messner, Marietta Peyfuss, Wilhelm Schmidt, Jutta Sika, Karl Sumetsberger, Therese Trethan, Else Unger, and Hans Vollmer. Of these ten artists Therese Trethan is the only one who went on to work with the Wiener Werkstätte officially; however; Gisela von Falke, Jutta Sika, Marietta Peyfuss, and Else Unger were very well known and popular artists in their own right.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 16-17.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 15.

In the Wiener Werkstätte photograph archives, housed at the MAK, Trethan is listed as undertaking the decoration design, enamel work, and execution of twenty pieces designed by the leading designers at the Werkstätte.<sup>50</sup> Houze references Berta Zuckerkandl's tribute to these young women artists saying, "In a review of Austrian works sent to the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, Zuckerkandl praised the young women students at the *Kunstgewerbeschule* [School of Applied Arts] as representing a new direction in design and a new hope for the future of the decorative arts."<sup>51</sup> These female students of the School of Applied Arts were highly acclaimed for their revolutionary works, which led the way early on for the abundant growth in opportunities for women artists in Vienna in the twentieth century.

### **Reformation Fashion**

Women occupied a unique role at the crossroads of fashion and art in early twentieth-century Vienna.<sup>52</sup> Because the "feminine" designs of early avant-garde groups gained such notoriety in women's magazines, the style was quickly adopted into the realm of material culture, and specifically women's fashion. The male designers of the Wiener Werkstätte began to create textiles, partly under the influence of their female students. From this, the Werkstätte developed the extremely successful textile and fashion departments. The Werkstätte designers used handcrafted textiles—traditionally considered a feminine art—and integrated them into the previously male-dominated industry of fashion design. Women, then, became the subject and

---

<sup>50</sup> MAK, "WW Photo Archive," *MAK-Collection Online* (Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Wien, 2011) <http://sammlungen.mak.at/sdb/do/sammlung.state?id=15> (accessed April 5, 2013).

<sup>51</sup> Rebecca Houze, "At the Forefront of a Newly Emerging Profession? Ethnography, Education and the Exhibition of Women's Needlework in Austria-Hungary in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 1 (Spring, 2008): 36.

<sup>52</sup> Houze, "From *Wiener Kunst im Hause* to the Wiener Werkstätte," 9.

clientele of the Werkstätte's modernist reworking of a feminine craft, purchased for the objects' beauty and functionality, and then used to cover the women's homes and bodies.

One of the key contributions of the Werkstätte to the world of applied arts was in the movement of women's clothing reform in which the coexistence of functionality and beauty were emphasized. Reformation clothing began to be produced around the middle of the nineteenth century in Britain and Europe. Reform clothing was usually characterized by much looser-fitting dresses, an abandonment or alteration of the corset, fewer layers of clothes to reduce weight, and occasionally the adoption of trousers. It was an attempt, mostly by women, to do away with popular fashion trends of tightly-laced corsets and copious amounts of physically restrictive fabric. These were believed to be harmful to one's health, as well as "a major cause of women's political and economic oppression," and were replaced with a healthier and more comfortable style.<sup>53</sup> As Cunningham argues, "These women desired simple, healthful, practical clothing that would allow them to be active participants in the public, professional, and economic arenas of society...."<sup>54</sup> Leaders of clothing reform believed not only that these new styles were more practical and healthful, but more beautiful as well. These reformers felt this way because they associated beauty with functionality, one of the main creeds of the Wiener Werkstätte. Early reform clothing was often mocked for being aesthetically unpleasant. However, groups such as the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood found harmony between their aesthetic ideals and the concepts of the clothing reform, which they adopted both in their paintings and for daily wear. Reformers were attracted to the reminiscence of these fashions to what they believed to be mediaeval styles. An example of this can be seen in a photograph of Jane Morris, wife and model of William

---

<sup>53</sup> Patricia A Cunningham, *Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850-1920: Politics, Health, and Art* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2003), 1.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

Morris (fig. 13). Her clothes are in the style of the Artistic Dress movement embraced by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in the 1860s. Her dark dress is unadorned, heavily draped, and she wears no accessories, attributes opposing the popular tightly corseted fashions of the day. The evolution of reformation fashion can be seen in a 1909 photograph of May Morris, the daughter of William and Jane (fig. 14). Her dress is much lighter and more decorative than her mother's of 40 years earlier. May's dress is similar to those of the Wiener Werkstätte, paving the way for the mainstream acceptance of this looser fashion. Therefore it is clear that a similar appreciation for reform clothing can be seen in many turn-of-the-century modern artistic groups.

The fashion department was easily the Werkstätte's most lucrative aspect of the business, and it was hailed as being a place where "art and fashion intertwined...and would come to make a mark on the international fashion scene, influencing the *couturier* Paul Poiret."<sup>55</sup> The Wiener Werkstätte first began producing textiles in 1905, but they opened their official textile department in 1909. The textile designs of the Wiener Werkstätte were characterized by bright colors and flat-planed floral and geometric patterns (fig. 15). The official Wiener Werkstätte fashion department was opened in 1910. The Werkstätte's designs for women's fashions consisted of relatively loose-fitting and free-flowing dresses. These more comfortable styles followed the guidelines of the dress reformation, which called for a "liberation of the body," and included the abandoning of corsets.<sup>56</sup> An album of fashion photographs was published by the Werkstätte in 1911, which shows a number of their designs and styles for women's dresses (fig. 16). Clearly by this time the Wiener Werkstätte fashion designers were designing, creating, and producing dresses for women that were not attached at the waists to corsets; that had a long,

---

<sup>55</sup> Alice Mackrell, *Art and Fashion: The Impact of Art on Fashion and Fashion on Art* (London: B T Batsford, 2005), 109.

<sup>56</sup> Alice Mackrell, *Paul Poiret* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1990), 11.

vertical silhouette with smaller, tubular skirts; and that had textile patterns typical of the Wiener Werkstätte textile department.

The Wiener Werkstätte's production of textiles and women's clothing is an example of the ideal of *Gesamtkunstwerk*. This *Gesamtkunstwerk* ideal of the Wiener Werkstätte could be a source of their desires for looser, freer, and healthier fashions that use the same textiles as objects of interior design, because it allowed a woman to match her surroundings, which, as previously mentioned, was an ideal of the Werkstätte. There are many examples of textiles, postcards, and photos of women, which all exemplify the *Gesamtkunstwerk* principle (figs. 17-19). In these pieces we see the same fabric pattern in the sample used in a fashion postcard drawing and made into an actual garment. Additionally, a number of Klimt's paintings show women wearing dresses made out of Wiener Werkstätte fabrics, made evident by surviving Werkstätte fabric samples, such as his 1916 portrait of Friederike Maria Beer-Monti in which she wears a dress featuring the "Marina" fabric design by Dagobert Peche (figs. 20 and 21).

Paul Poiret is widely recognized as a forerunner of reformation fashion, however his use of the Wiener Werkstätte ideals and practices is generally unacknowledged. In 1910 Poiret visited Vienna, where he was first introduced to the Wiener Werkstätte, its artists, and their modernist designs (fig. 22). Poiret admired the Werkstätte's naturalistic and floral styles of hand-painted silks.<sup>57</sup> In fact, he bought a large amount of textiles designed by the Wiener Werkstätte and had them shipped back to Paris so that he could use them in the construction of his dresses. Poiret was also inspired by the Werkstätte's *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the showroom where the Werkstätte's products were displayed and sold, and the Werkstätte's workshop manner of production. Poiret saw this production method as similar, yet superior, to French artist's studios

---

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 49.

or *ateliers*.<sup>58</sup> When Poiret returned to Paris in 1911, he immediately got to work setting up his own textile-manufacturing workshop, the Atelier Martine, based on the production methods of the Wiener Werkstätte. The textiles produced by the Atelier Martine are strikingly similar to the Wiener Werkstätte in terms of pattern designs. Poiret was already using bright colors, but after the opening of the Atelier Martine, his fabrics contained flat floral patterns similar to those iconic textiles produced by the Wiener Werkstätte. This can be seen in samples of Poiret's fabrics as well as fashion plates produced at the time (fig. 23).<sup>59</sup>

Although Poiret became a leader in women's *haute couture*, he did not hold the same feminist values as the Werkstätte. Poiret employed teenage girls (called *Martines*) with little or no artistic training, instructing them to draw lively patterns from nature. He then used these girls' designs to make textiles for clothing, as well as wallpapers, carpets, glassware and ceramics, which he sold through the accompanying gallery, the Maison Martine.<sup>60</sup> Poiret's use of women is closer to the British Arts and Crafts group, where women and girls were restricted to employment in the textile arts and as factory workers, because women were not seen as capable of creating masculine "high" arts. Contrastingly, the Wiener Werkstätte had a more egalitarian view of women. Women in the Wiener Werkstätte occupied more significant roles than women decorative artists in other countries, which gave the Viennese women greater empowerment.

---

<sup>58</sup> Virginia Gardner Troy, *The Modernist Textile: Europe and America 1890-1940* (Burlington, VT: Lund Humphries, 2006), 61.

<sup>59</sup> Additionally, Poiret was astounded that the revolutionary decorative forms created by the Wiener Werkstätte had become the popular style in Vienna. In his memoirs Poiret wrote, "I dreamed of creating in France a movement of ideas that should be capable of propagating a new mode in decoration and furnishing." Indeed, when Poiret returned to Paris he not only became known as a forerunner in *haute couture*, but as a leader in appropriation of modernist interior design. See: Nancy J. Troy, "The Image of Austria Refracted: Paris in the Mirror of Peche and the Decorative Arts in France, 1912," in *Dagobert Peche and the Wiener Werkstätte*, ed. Peter Noever, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 60.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.



Gabriele Fahr-Becker discusses this empowering role of women in the *Werkstätte* fashion department in her book *Wiener Werkstätte 1903-1932*:

“The fashion department was chiefly made up of women, not least due to the war. The men—Eduard Josef Wimmer-Wisgrill, Otto Lendecke, Max Snischek and Dagobert Peche—were responsible for more formal items of clothing. In addition to the women artists in the workshops, the *Wiener Werkstätte* also employed large numbers of women working from home, in particular for embroidery items, hat decorations and cloth flowers. Soon after the war, the fashion department found itself employing some 70 staff, excluding suppliers: success had arrived.”<sup>61</sup>

Here we see that women held vital roles as artists for the *Werkstätte*. We also see the progressive ideology of the *Werkstätte* in offering flexible working hours for women, allowing them to work from home, if necessary. Figure 24 shows an example of the cloth flowers to which Fahr-Becker refers (fig. 24).

### **Wiener Werkstätte Focus on a Female Clientele**

By all accounts, the fashion and textile departments of the *Wiener Werkstätte* were the most successful and lucrative. Indeed it was the fashion department that “secured the financial success of the *Wiener Werkstätte* during World War I and beyond.”<sup>62</sup> Although financial problems were abundant over the thirty-year era of the *Wiener Werkstätte*, the fashion, textiles, and jewelry remained popular among, and desired by, the *Werkstätte*’s customers until the end, keeping the *Werkstätte* solvent. This demonstrates that the *Werkstätte* was primarily focused on creating objects for a largely female clientele.

Many or most of the objects created by the *Werkstätte* were made for women, including fashion, textiles, and jewelry. Often items such as jewelry were sold to women or to a store, but

---

<sup>61</sup> Gabriele Fahr-Becker, *Wiener Werkstätte 1903-1932* (Köln: Benedikt Taschen Verlag GmbH, 1995), 198-199.

<sup>62</sup> Traude Hansen, *Wiener Werkstätte Mode: Stoffe, Schmuck, Accessoires* (Vienna-Munich: Edition Christian Brandstätter, 1984), 30.

in some instances in the model books a piece of jewelry was sold to a man. In 1904 Klimt was the recorded buyer of a Josef Hoffmann necklace and a ring.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, another model book lists Director Gustav Mahler and Dr. Paul Hellmann as buying *Damentäschchen* (women's purses) designed by Kolo Moser. Many photographs of Emilie Flöge depict her wearing a reform dress and a long necklace. In at least two instances the necklaces can be identified as Hoffmann and Moser designs. One of the necklaces, designed by Moser and featuring silver, white chalcedony, and red cornelian beads, has been recorded as a gift to Flöge from Gustav Klimt in 1903 (figs. 25-28). It is safe to assume that in the instances when a man is the listed buyer of a piece of women's mode, he is buying it as a gift for, or on behalf of, a woman.

The same could also be true of other objects purchased by men, such as flower vases and other functional art objects for the home. Silverware, serving utensils, dishes, and other objects for the dining room are among the most frequently listed items in the model books. Starting in October of 1906 the *Werkstätte* presented an exhibition titled *Der gedeckte Tisch* (The Laid Table), and the members of the *Werkstätte* saved press reports about the exhibition.<sup>64</sup> On October 14, 1906, the *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, a daily "Special Edition" newspaper, published a detailed account of *Der gedeckte Tisch*. It described the exhibition as "examples in the art of serving and arranging, that is, the refinement of the joys of the table through a look at a modern and artistically laid table."<sup>65</sup> The exhibition had several different tables arranged, each designed according to a different theme, including the artist's table, the breakfast table, the

---

<sup>63</sup> Wiener Werkstätte, model book 7, page 385, Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna. Klimt was given a discounted price on the necklace, presumably because of his close friendship with the designer.

<sup>64</sup> Waltraud Neuwirth, *Josef Hoffmann: Bestecke für die Wiener Werkstätte* (Vienna: self-published by the author, 1982), 15.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

dining table, the wedding table, the birthday table, and the celebration table (fig. 29).<sup>66</sup> The press release revealed the inclusion of *Gesamtkunstwerk* in *Der gedeckte Tisch* when it stated, “Everything which is part of the set table for viewing, as well as for use, should be designed, arranged, and placed according to a modern point of view.”<sup>67</sup> The article makes clear that there were mixed reviews of the exhibition and that it was criticized by some. One argument was over the true functionality of the eating utensils and stated that the objects were “charming” and aesthetically pleasing, but might be difficult to actually use for eating.<sup>68</sup>

The article ends by saying that some of the items in the exhibition “can perhaps be purchased by the less affluent,” but that most of the “beautiful things have, of course, very highly stylized prices.”<sup>69</sup> Here the journalist directly equates the style of the products of the *Werkstätte* with high prices, giving us insight to the perception of the workshop at the time. Among the Viennese public it was understood that one would need to be wealthy to patronize the *Wiener Werkstätte*. Additionally, one would need to understand the fragile juxtaposition of beauty and functionality of their products, which was not necessarily appealing to the general public. This reinforces the fact that only a small handful of elite families patronized the *Werkstätte*—those who were affluent enough, and those who shared the same modern sensibilities and appreciated the somewhat radical style of the *Werkstätte* objects.

*Der gedeckte Tisch* also gives us an insight into the function of the *Werkstätte* premises, which served as a factory, workshop, offices, and salesroom. The art critic Joseph August Lux contrasted the *Wiener Werkstätte* with typical factories and workshops, which “usually prompt a

---

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 15-16.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

slight shudder in civilized people, with their overtones of grime, unhappiness and sad, faceless surroundings in which people work not for the love of it, but under the iron rod of financial necessity.”<sup>70</sup> The Werkstätte site, on the other hand, was a beautiful place, suited for creativity. Contemporary medical studies emphasize the importance of the interior as a place of calming relaxation. Debora Silverman addresses this principle in her discussion of the *psychologie nouvelle*, a psychological movement of the 1890s that, she argues, “had direct relevance for the redefinition of interior decoration.”<sup>71</sup> Silverman states,

“First, in the wide-ranging political discussion of the pathological degeneration of the national body, attributed to the sensory overstimulation of the urban metropolis, the city was identified as an agent of “neurasthenia”; the interior took on a new role as a soothing anaesthetizer of the citizen’s overwrought nerves.”<sup>72</sup>

The idea that urban life created “neurasthenia,” or a case of chronic fatigue, was widely held in turn-of-the-century Vienna. It was even considered fashionable to have nervous disorders such as neurasthenia and hysteria, which might necessitate a stay at Josef Hoffmann’s Purkersdorf Sanatorium.<sup>73</sup> Commissioned by Viktor Zuckerkandl (brother-in-law to Berta) Purkersdorf is a macrocosmic example of the health benefits of a harmoniously designed interior space, seen as a refuge from the metropolis.

From Lux we gain an understanding of the layout of the Werkstätte. The showroom was the first room encountered upon entering, with the studios located above. This means that the showroom could function like a shop, in which passersby could enter from the street and see the Werkstätte objects arranged as though set up in an interior setting, such as in *Der gedeckte Tisch* (fig. 12). Lux describes this part of the Werkstätte, saying, “The showroom, which one enters

---

<sup>70</sup> Quoted in Fahr-Becker, *Wiener Werkstätte*, 211.

<sup>71</sup> Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France*, 79.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Colin Martin, “Secession to Sanity,” *World Health Design* (April 2009): 76.

first, offers an overview of the whole.... Fitted glass cabinets contain numerous art objects made of precious metal, wood, leather, glass and precious stones, together with the jewellery and objects of everyday use, all strictly practical in design and honouring the nature of the materials employed...<sup>74</sup> The Wiener Werkstätte salesroom, arranged like an elegant interior space, would have shown the well-to-do Viennese patronesses—previously established as the heads of the household decoration domain—that their homes could be an artistic center, and that art need not be confined to museums and the Academy.

### **Female Clients of the Wiener Werkstätte**

My research of the Wiener Werkstätte model books in the archives at the MAK leads me to conclude that women occupied a much more prominent role as patrons and purchasers of Werkstätte objects than has been previously recognized. On average, an individual woman was recorded as the buyer for about 30 percent of the sales, 50 percent of the sales recorded a male buyer, and 20 percent listed a company, project (such as the Stoclet house or Cabaret Fledermaus), or no buyer at all. Some of the most important and most frequently listed women in the Werkstätte model books are Berta Szeps Zuckerkandl, Emilie Flöge, Sonja Knips, and the women of the Mautner, Waerndorfer, and Wittgenstein families. Emilie Flöge is not counted among the 30 percent of female buyers, but among the 20 percent of companies, as her purchases were mostly for the Schwestern Flöge salon. The following examples of objects that these women purchased are not meant to represent a complete list, and are taken from a few of the model books. Nor are these several women a complete list of the Werkstätte's female patrons, just a few of the more prominent ones. That said, from these examples we are able to conclude that elite Viennese women were actually a vital part of the Werkstätte's patronage.

---

<sup>74</sup> Fahr-Becker, *Wiener Werkstätte*, 212-213.

One of the important Werkstätte clients listed in the model books in the Wiener Werkstätte archives is Berta Szeps Zuckerkandl. She was the daughter of the liberal journalist Moritz Szeps who covertly published Crown Prince Rudolf's articles in his paper, and sister-in-law to the brother of the French president Georges Clemenceau. Zuckerkandl was and is known as a leading patron of the arts in turn-of-the-century Vienna. She hosted intellectuals, writers, musicians, and artists on a weekly basis in her Hoffman-designed apartment salon.<sup>75</sup> The author and critic Ludwig Hevesi wrote of Berta Szeps Zuckerkandl:

“It was in the salon of [Berta Zuckerkandl] that the idea of a Vienna Sezession was first discussed. There it was that the small group of moderns who gave expression to this idea first met and began the fight for the revivification of art in Vienna. This spirit of initiative did not desert [Zuckerkandl] later on. Often it was she who spoke first words in important discussions; and often it was she who spoke words that no other person could have said.”<sup>76</sup>

Due to her relationship with the Clemenceau family, Zuckerkandl also had ties to the French art circles, several members of which also spent time in her salon, including Auguste Rodin and Paul Poiret, among others. She said of Poiret's visit to her house:

“Hoffmann and Klimt met Poiret in my house, and it soon turned out that there was such a close relationship between the style experiences which Poiret aspired to and the Klimt group had already realized. Whatever in fabrics, wallpapers, *passementeries*, embroidery, lace—whatever in applied arts Poiret saw at the Industrial Arts School and the Wiener Werkstätte studios, he brought together.”<sup>77</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 194. The decorations in her apartment were covered with Werkstätte fabrics, including “wall coverings, curtains, and lamp shades.” See: Peter Noever, ed, *Yearning for Beauty: The Wiener Werkstätte and the Stoclet House* (Vienna: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2006), 118.

<sup>76</sup> Szeps, *My Life and History*, 144.

<sup>77</sup> Noever, *Yearning for Beauty*, 93.

It is clear through Zuckerkandl's association with the Wiener Werkstätte that her role as a patron of the group was vital; not only as a monetary supporter, but also because of her influential salon that was an epicenter of Viennese modernism.<sup>78</sup>

Among the Werkstätte objects Zuckerkandl purchased, according to the model books, were Moser napkin rings and various Hoffmann flower baskets.<sup>79</sup> Her husband Emil, recorded in the model books as Hofrat (Councilor) Zuckerkandl, purchased Hoffmann hairpins in 1905, presumably as a gift for Berta.<sup>80</sup> Zuckerkandl expressed her devotion to the Secession movement and the Werkstätte, describing it as a “purely Austrian culture, a form of art that would weld together all the characteristics of our multitude of constituent peoples into a new and proud unity.”<sup>81</sup> This statement is just one example of the many ways Zuckerkandl promoted the Werkstätte. Photographs of Berta Zuckerkandl represent her as the arbiter of taste. The popular portrait of Zuckerkandl photographed by the renowned woman Viennese photographer Madame d'Ora depicts her wearing a reformation style dress, once again giving evidence of her centrality in Viennese modernism (fig. 30).

Emilie Flöge was a close associate of the Vienna Secession and the Wiener Werkstätte artists. In 1904 she and her sister Helene opened a fashion house in Vienna called Schwestern Flöge. The Schwestern Flöge fashion salon became the premier couturier in Vienna, producing the most popular and desirable fashions. The Flöge sisters commissioned the Wiener Werkstätte to completely design the interior of their salon (fig. 31). The fashionable styles Schwestern Flöge

---

<sup>78</sup> Elana Shapira, “Berta Zuckerkandl,” *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia* (Jewish Women's Archive, 2009), <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/zuckerkandl-bera> (accessed April 5, 2013).

<sup>79</sup> Wiener Werkstätte, model book 2, page 1006 and book 65, page 508, Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

<sup>80</sup> Wiener Werkstätte, model book 2, page 1063, Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

<sup>81</sup> Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, 237.

was producing were predominantly reformation-style clothing. Photographs exist from 1906 depicting Emilie Flöge modeling reform dresses that she and Klimt designed together (fig. 32).

Most of the photographs that exist of Emilie Flöge show her wearing something of Werkstätte design, usually jewelry. We know she cherished her Werkstätte-designed pieces of jewelry—and by extension the Werkstätte itself—and they are described as “her beloved brooches and necklaces from the Wiener Werkstätte.”<sup>82</sup> Emilie Flöge or Schwestern Flöge is repeatedly listed in the Wiener Werkstätte model books, as are other members of her family. A few of the objects Flöge is listed as purchasing are Hoffmann and Moser fasteners and clasps, Moser necklaces, Moser brooches, Hoffmann candy dishes, and Moser pincushions.<sup>83</sup> Photographs of Emilie Flöge give an example of the style of jewelry she so often purchased from the Werkstätte (fig. 33).

Sonja Knips, née Baroness Poitier des Echelles, is best known from her 1898 portrait by Klimt (fig. 34). Knips’ portrait is known as an emblem of the turning point in Klimt’s painting style, a transition from his academic style to his more typical symbolist manner. More than just a subject of a painting, Knips was a great supporter of the Wiener Werkstätte. Hoffmann designed her family house, Villa Knips, as well as her Vienna apartment, both in 1903.<sup>84</sup> Christine Ehrlich, a female student of Josef Hoffmann, was a major contributor to Villa Knips and constructed the exterior stucco decoration.<sup>85</sup> Knips is recorded as having purchased many objects

---

<sup>82</sup> Wolfgang Georg Fischer, *Gustav Klimt und Emilie Flöge: Genie und Talent, Freundschaft und Besessenheit* (Vienna: Verlag Christian Brandstätter, 1987), 162.

<sup>83</sup> Wiener Werkstätte, model book 7, pages 415, 455, 457, 458, 585, 608, 609, 675, and book 41, pages 12-14, Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna. Other objects purchased by Flöge found throughout the model books.

<sup>84</sup> Fahr-Becker, *Wiener Werkstätte 1903-1932*, 89-90.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 91 and 93.



from the Werkstätte. Some of these include a Moser pendant, and many Hoffmann-designed objects, including serving utensils, a coffee pot, ashtrays, hatpins, a ladies' purse, and book covers.<sup>86</sup> Hoffmann's tea and coffee services from these early years of the Werkstätte were typically geometric and angular with small decorative relief, such as a set from 1904-05, which gives insight into what the coffee pot Knips purchased may have been like (fig. 35). Though little is known about Knips biographically, it is clear that she was devoted to the Wiener Werkstätte, and she infused her life and surroundings with their art. Indeed, a 1911 photograph depicts Knips wearing a dress made of Werkstätte-designed fabric (fig. 36). Gabriele Fahr-Becker attested to Knips' patronage of the Werkstätte, saying, "In her style and philosophy of life, she belonged to the Art Nouveau era; she was a firm believer in the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, something she demonstrated many times in her loyalty to the Wiener Werkstätte over the years."<sup>87</sup> Clearly her devotion to the Wiener Werkstätte was made obvious to those around her, due to her vast collection of their art objects.

Baron Karl Ferdinand Mautner von Markhof became Kolo Moser's father-in-law when Moser married Editha (Ditha) Mautner in 1905. The Markhof family was one of the most supportive patrons of the Wiener Werkstätte. Often an object designed by Moser was listed as being sold to Professor Moser or Editha Mautner (sometimes listed as Ditha Moser, Frau K. Moser, or Frau Professor Moser.) Many other Mautner von Markhof family members were listed as purchasing Werkstätte works, including the Baron and Baroness, as well as Ditha's sister, Magda. A 1905 photograph of Editha Mautner von Markhof with her daughters Ditha and Magda shows them wearing loose reform dresses (fig. 37). Jenny Mautner is also frequently

---

<sup>86</sup> Wiener Werkstätte, model book 3, page 204; book 31, pages 850-962; book 7, pages 354, 361, 411, 493, 556; book 32, pages 125-130; book 34, page 1826; book 41, pages 21, 34, 40, 46, Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

<sup>87</sup> Fahr-Becker, *Wiener Werkstätte 1903-1932*, 89-90.

listed in the model books. It is clear that she comes from the same industrialist Mautner family as Ditha, but their relationship remains unclear.<sup>88</sup> However, it is true that Jenny Mautner was the aunt of Fritz Waerndorfer, meaning two of the founders of the Werkstätte were somehow related.

The women of the Mautner family purchased a great number of Werkstätte objects, as made obvious by their abundant presence in just some of the model books. As stated previously, sometimes Ditha Moser was listed by her maiden name, implying that she was not yet married to Moser, which the dates confirm. This is just one example of the model books listing a young unmarried woman, not her father or family name, showing that she purchased Werkstätte items independently. Some of the items Ditha Mautner Moser is listed as buying include an electric floor lamp designed by Hoffmann, a Moser inkwell, Hoffmann vases, and a Moser pincushion.<sup>89</sup> Her sister Magda purchased Moser necklaces, over 200 Hoffmann nails and screws for picture hanging, a Hoffmann teapot, and multiple Moser brooches.<sup>90</sup> Baroness Mautner purchased, among other things, a Hoffmann necklace, and at least one Hoffmann snuffbox.<sup>91</sup> Jenny Mautner bought a Moser inkwell, a Moser pendant, a Hoffmann dessert service, Hoffmann cups, a Hoffmann salt shaker, and more than one Moser snuffbox.<sup>92</sup> Moser made many small containers,

---

<sup>88</sup> Reinhard Müller, "Jenny Mautner," *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* (Archiv für die Geschichte der Soziologie in Österreich, September 2012), [http://agso.uni-graz.at/marienthal/biografien/mautner\\_jenny.htm](http://agso.uni-graz.at/marienthal/biografien/mautner_jenny.htm) (accessed April 5, 2013).

<sup>89</sup> Wiener Werkstätte, model book 3, page 321; book 4, page 61; book 7, page 389, book 41, page 12, Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

<sup>90</sup> Wiener Werkstätte, model book 2, pages 1091, 1330; book 7, pages 546, 607; book 32, page 1119; Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna. The model books also inform us that in November of 1905 Magda Mautner sent six lamps into the workshop to be cleaned and repaired. Wiener Werkstätte, model book 2, page 1296, Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

<sup>91</sup> Wiener Werkstätte, model book 7, page 386; book 41, page 21 Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

<sup>92</sup> Wiener Werkstätte, model book 2, page 1079; book 3, page 304; book 4, page 97; book 7, page 511; book 41, pages 18, 37 Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

most of which featured hammered metal and metal or semi-precious stone decoration. The inkwells purchased by Ditha and Jenny Mautner probably looked similar to a remaining 1904 Moser inkwell with splayed corners and green decorative stones (fig. 38). The salt shaker that Jenny Mautner bought was likely similar to a pepper shaker currently owned by the Wittgenstein family, discussed below (fig. 39). This pepper shaker is almost plant-like in appearance, with four metal tiers and black inlaid stones.

Many women in the Waerndorfer family were also buying products from the Werkstätte (fig. 40). Fritz Waerndorfer's wife Lili was among the most frequent buyers. The model books list Lili (also listed as Fr. L. Waerndorfer or L. Waerndorfer) as having purchased a Moser brooch, and a Moser snuffbox, among other things.<sup>93</sup> Moser and Hoffmann both designed many brooches. Typically, Hoffmann's were square, while Moser's were in a circular or oval format (figs. 41 and 42). Berta Waerndorfer, Fritz's mother, also purchased Werkstätte items, which included more than one Hoffmann teapot, a Hoffmann vase, a Moser cigarette case, a Hoffmann brooch, and a Hoffmann choker.<sup>94</sup> Though Hoffmann and Moser designed many very long necklaces, their chokers were popular as well. In a 1909 bust portrait photographed by Madame D'Ora, Alma Mahler wears a large choker designed by Kolo Moser (fig. 43). This choker is likely comparable to the one purchased by Berta Waerndorfer. The model books also list a Frau Waerndorfer, making it impossible to say whether that means Lili, Berta or someone else. Adrienne Waerndorfer (relationship unknown) purchased a Hoffmann ashtray in 1905.<sup>95</sup> An

---

<sup>93</sup> Wiener Werkstätte, model book 3, pages 225, 229; book 7, pages 413, 610; book 32, page 1182; book 41, pages 37, 48; book 66, page, 912, Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

<sup>94</sup> Wiener Werkstätte, model book 2, page 1036, book 7, pages 389, 468, 599, 659, 661, 663, 664; book 31, page 906; book 41, pages 18, 23, 40, 42; book 66, page 803, Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

<sup>95</sup> Wiener Werkstätte, model book 2, pages 1066, 1138, 1295; book 7, page 651, book 41, pages 64, 68, Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

unspecified and unknown S. Waerndorfer purchased multiple cigar boxes and a Moser flower stand, but whether this patron was a man or a woman is unknown.<sup>96</sup> Lisa des Renaudes née Waerndorfer was Fritz's sister, and another loyal customer of the Werkstätte listed in the model books.<sup>97</sup>

Lili Waerndorfer was born Lili Hellmann, and it appears many of her family members also supported her husband's venture by purchasing Werkstätte objects. Some of the women in this group were Lina (or Line) Hellman, Irene Redlich Hellmann (listed throughout as Frau Dr. Hellmann, wife of Dr. Paul Hellmann), and Grete Hellmann. Lili and Grete were sisters, and Irene was their brother's wife. Lina may refer to Pauline or Karoline, both of whom were aunts of Lili and Grete. Pauline was married to Philipp Bondy, a surname that also appears in the model books, though the specific relationship is unclear. Unlike her sister-in-law Lili, who was forced to immigrate to America in 1914 with her husband when he ran out of money, Irene Redlich Hellmann died in Auschwitz concentration camp in 1944, her husband having died 30 years previously. Irene's mother was Rose Fanto, another surname that appears many times in the model books.

The final patron family addressed here is the Wittgensteins. Almost every member of this large family is listed in the model books as a patron of the Wiener Werkstätte, as well as some of their in-laws. Approximately three generations of Wittgensteins were patrons of the Werkstätte in the early years of the corporation when the model book records are the most complete. The most frequently listed women in this family are sisters Marie Pott née Wittgenstein and Clara Wittgenstein, and their sisters-in-law Justine Wittgenstein nee Hochstetter and Leopoldine

---

<sup>96</sup> Wiener Werkstätte, model book 41, pages 28, 42, 45, Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

<sup>97</sup> Wiener Werkstätte, model book 41, page 40, 40(b), Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

“Poldi” Wittgenstein née Kalmus. Poldi had three surviving daughters that were also major patrons of the *Werkstätte*: Hermine “Mining” Wittgenstein, Margarethe “Gretl” Stonborough-Wittgenstein, and Helene “Lenka” Salzer. Justine Wittgenstein’s sister Helene Hochstetter is one of the most repeated names in the model books. Helene Wittgenstein Salzer’s in-laws were also important patrons.<sup>98</sup> Some portraits of the women of the Wittgenstein family depict them wearing jewelry in the *Werkstätte* style, particularly long, layered necklaces (figs. 44 and 45).

Other important women who were patrons of the *Werkstätte* besides members of these families include the German Crown Princess Cäcilie, who purchased a piece of *Werkstätte* jewelry “which became well-known” from the Berlin branch in 1912.<sup>99</sup> Another princess purchased their objects too, listed in the model books as Prinzess Reuss. This refers to Princess Hermine Reuss of Greiz, Germany, who visited Vienna in 1904 and bought a Hoffmann hatpin and *Karaffinen* while there. She later went on to marry ex-Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany after he abdicated the throne. Although the main client base of the *Werkstätte* was a small group of elite Viennese, their popularity and influence spread outside of Austria and the upper middle class into the nobility.

### **Decline of the Wiener Werkstätte**

Research into buyers listed in the Wiener *Werkstätte* model books shows that most of the patrons were among a handful of wealthy Viennese families, and those same family names are listed over and over again. By examining the family relationships and purchasing history of the members of these extended families, we learn that the most loyal *Werkstätte* supporters were the

---

<sup>98</sup> A Wittgenstein family tree is found in Birgit Schwaner, *Die Wittgensteins: Kunst und Kalkül* (Vienna: Metroverlag, 2008), 8.

<sup>99</sup> Angela Völker, *Wiener Mode + Modefotografie: Die Modeabteilung der Wiener Werkstätte 1911-1932* (Munich: Verlag Schneider-Henn, 1984), 261.

family members of Kolo Moser and Fritz Waerndorfer, or both. Waerndorfer, Hoffmann, and Moser paid to have their designs created, and they or their family members purchased many of the objects they produced. The Werkstätte had a utopian ideal for their cooperative to spread beauty and functionality that was successful in the early years of the twentieth century, with Werkstätte branches opening in neighboring cities and countries. However, the growth and success of the Werkstätte was hampered when Austria was plunged into World War I in 1914, an event that interrupted, changed, or ended most political, social, and cultural movements in Vienna and the Empire. By 1914 Waerndorfer lost all his money supporting the Werkstätte, and he was forced to immigrate to Florida where he became a farmer. Thus the first thirteen and a half years of the twentieth century in Vienna was a small window of time that cultivated a burst of modernist creativity, one that all but disappeared after the war. The economic upheaval of the war left a society that was much less nurturing to cooperative workshops like the Wiener Werkstätte.

Around the same time after the start of the war, the Werkstätte experienced a drastic stylistic change. Interestingly, this post-WWI period is when more women began working directly with the Werkstätte. By this time, the female students of Hoffmann and Moser had graduated and joined the Werkstätte artists in the workshop. Some scholars have interpreted the stylistic change as a result of the increase of women in the Werkstätte, saying that the frivolous baroque style that emerged was more feminine. This is not necessarily the case as there is other evidence for the stylistic change. In 1915 Dagobert Peche joined the Wiener Werkstätte, and there is evidence that he brought the new post-war style with him. The other artists of the Workshop embraced this style enthusiastically, which led to a general change in the look of the objects the Workshop produced. This new style has been described in retrospect as a “bizarre

glamour” and “baroque extravagance.”<sup>100</sup> However, it was this baroque composition that the Viennese artists of the time apparently appreciated, because Berta Zuckerkandl called Peche “the greatest decorative genius that Austria has harboured since the Baroque period.”<sup>101</sup> An example of this new decorative trend can be seen in Peche’s jewel box of 1920, featuring a fawn and foliate designs (fig. 46). The style change of the Wiener Werkstätte is clear in this jewel box, which has moved from a rational geometry to a more frivolous baroque composition. It can be clearly contrasted with a jewelry box by Hoffman in 1904, which is calmer, more balanced, and features a composed, repeating geometric pattern, typical of the early style of the Werkstätte (fig. 47). Clearly Peche was perceived as the arbiter of this new style, which was appreciated and adopted by the rest of the group.

One reason this stylistic change gained such popularity after World War I may have been nostalgia for the heyday of the Habsburg Empire and the Vienna Ringstrasse. William M. Johnston in his book *Vienna Vienna: The Golden Age 1815-1914* stated, “The culture of the 1920s was dominated by nostalgia. Thinkers who, in 1900 or 1910, had taken Vienna for granted, now eulogized Habsburg Vienna.”<sup>102</sup> It is possible that the Werkstätte artists, like the rest of Vienna, felt this nostalgia, and that it caused their style to recall a more baroque-influenced decadence, reminiscent of Habsburg Vienna. One outcome of the stylistic change was that the new style seemed to have been much less based on functionality than the earlier works, which could have led to a decreased marketability. In a recessed economy following the First World War and the continued decline of the Empire, it is logical to assume that the Viennese

---

<sup>100</sup> Penelope Hunter-Stiebel, “The Decorative Arts of the Twentieth Century,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 37, no. 3 (Winter, 1979-1980): 14.

<sup>101</sup> Schweiger, *Wiener Werkstätte*, 100.

<sup>102</sup> William M. Johnston, *Vienna Vienna: The Golden Age 1815-1914* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1981), 290.

public would have desired to spend their money on functional objects rather than decorative ones. Thus, in reality the new generation of Werkstätte artists, many of whom were women, had little to do with bringing about the new style. Unfortunately for these young female artists their time in the spotlight was cut short by a combination of cultural movements and declines.<sup>103</sup>

## Conclusion

Evidence presented in this thesis shows that women in the elite circle of the Wiener Werkstätte began to be able to hold positions of power that had not previously been available to women in the Viennese applied arts scene, including the roles of artist, designer, client, and supportive patroness. One way this is made evident is through an examination of new opportunities for women in the arts, including the expansion of art schools made available to female students, and the growing emergence of important female artists in the modernist art movement, of which the Wiener Kunst im Hause is an example. Vienna's involvement in the fashion reformation movement shows how women occupied a unique role at the crossroads of fashion and art in early twentieth century Vienna. The emphasis on the juxtaposition of beauty and functionality in reformation fashion is in harmony with the Werkstätte's ideals, as well as those of the new woman. In regards to the Werkstätte's lucrative fashion and textile departments

---

<sup>103</sup> Not only did the Wiener Werkstätte style become extravagant, but so, apparently, did its spending. After Fritz Waerndorfer left Vienna permanently for America in 1914, Otto and Mäda Primavesi became the new managers and financiers of the Workshop. This allowed the firm to continue exhibiting and producing for a few years, but there were constant threats of liquidation and downsizing. In 1926 Kuno Grohmann gave his financial aid to the Workshop in an attempt to pull it out of deficit. Before long the strain became so large that he was forced to give up his rescue endeavors, which was a "great relief" to him. (See Schweiger, *Wiener Werkstätte*, 123.) Before Grohmann left, the Wiener Werkstätte celebrated its twenty-five-year anniversary in 1928. According to Schweiger, "despite Grohmann's pleas not to plan the festivities too lavishly in view of the tense financial situation," an extensive party was planned. Many important people were invited to the event, which included a ceremony in the Albertina reception hall then a reception in the garden of Schönbrunn Palace. (See Schweiger, *Wiener Werkstätte*, 123.) The Wiener Werkstätte published an all-inclusive catalogue of their works for the event, which was described as frivolous, garish, and pretentious. (See Schweiger, *Wiener Werkstätte*, 124.) With this event for an example of the irresponsible spending of the Wiener Werkstätte, it is not difficult to see why the firm had such extensive financial difficulties.



women acted as designers, craftswomen, and clients. Additionally, women were clearly the target audience for the majority of the Werkstätte's products. This is evident by the fact that most of the Werkstätte's production centered on fashion, textiles, jewelry, and objects for the interior beautification and functionality of the home, a space that was clearly under the authority of women at this time. Finally, I have examined a number of prominent female patrons of the Werkstätte, emphasizing the Werkstätte's success and popularity among elite women up the upper middle-class.

The revival of scholarship in the area of turn-of-the-century-Viennese applied arts is still relatively new, and much more can be explored and said about these sometimes-marginalized artistic groups, such as the Wiener Werkstätte. In this thesis I have added to this investigation by expanding the understanding of the Werkstätte beyond a monographic level, and by shedding light onto the importance of the modern, twentieth-century woman in relation to the arts. My research into the model books in the Werkstätte archives of the MAK clearly supports the claim that women had a much greater and more significant involvement in the Werkstätte than previously recognized. I have focused my investigation primarily on the early years of the Werkstätte, before the major interruption of World War I on the lives of the Viennese. In doing so I have examined the modernist art world of Vienna in its prime, before economic downfall drastically changed the style, motivation, and patronage of groups like the Werkstätte. It would be interesting to consider a similar analysis of the Werkstätte beyond World War I in further scholarship. Expansion of this research is necessary to extend cultural and social anthropological awareness and to advance the canon of art history. By studying groups like the Wiener Werkstätte we can gain a greater understanding of the society and culture of early twentieth-century Vienna, as well as the lives of the people who lived there.

## FIGURES



Figure 1 and Figure 2. Koloman Moser, zebra cabinet, 1904.

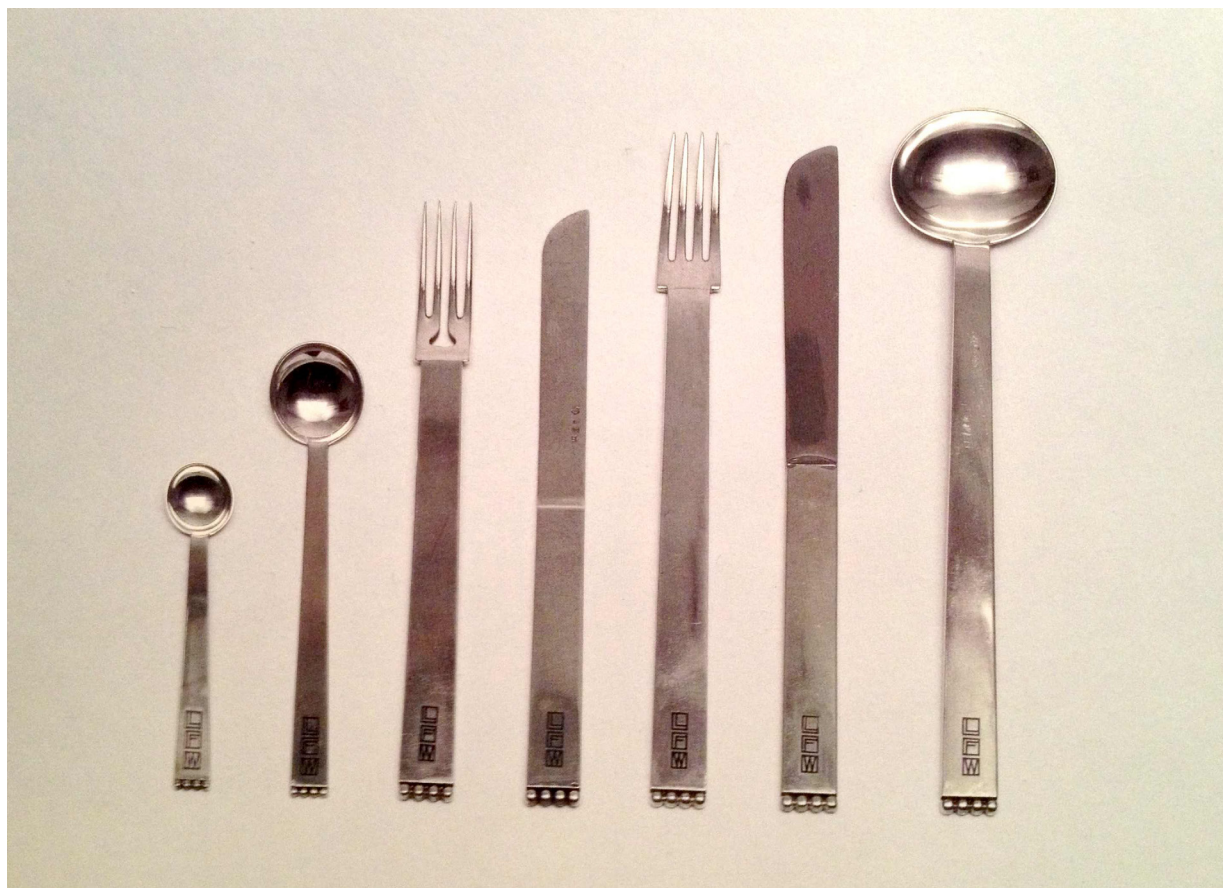


Figure 3. Josef Hoffmann, Parts of a 106-piece cutlery set for Lili and Fritz Waerndorfer, 1904-08.



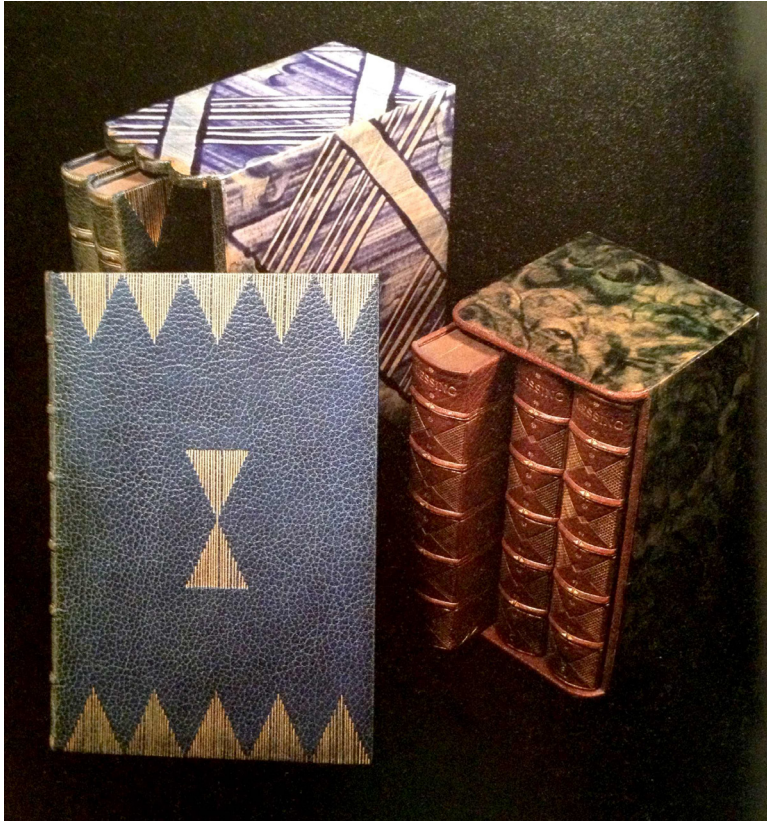


Figure 4. Josef Hoffmann, leather book bindings, made by Wiener Werkstätte, 1905-1915.



Figure 5. Koloman Moser, rocking figures, made by Wiener Werkstätte, c. 1905.



Figure 6. Josef Hoffmann and others, Palais Stoclet, view of dining room and Gustav Klimt's mosaic frieze towards the rear wall, 1905-1911.



Figure 7. Friederike Maria Beer-Monti in Wiener Werkstätte dress made from Wiener Werkstätte fabric "Stichblatt" by Ugo Zovetti. She stands in her apartment that was furnished by Josef Hoffmann, c. 1913.





Figure 8. Wiener Werkstätte model book 9, Österreichische Museum für angewandte Kunst, Archiv Wiener Werkstätte.

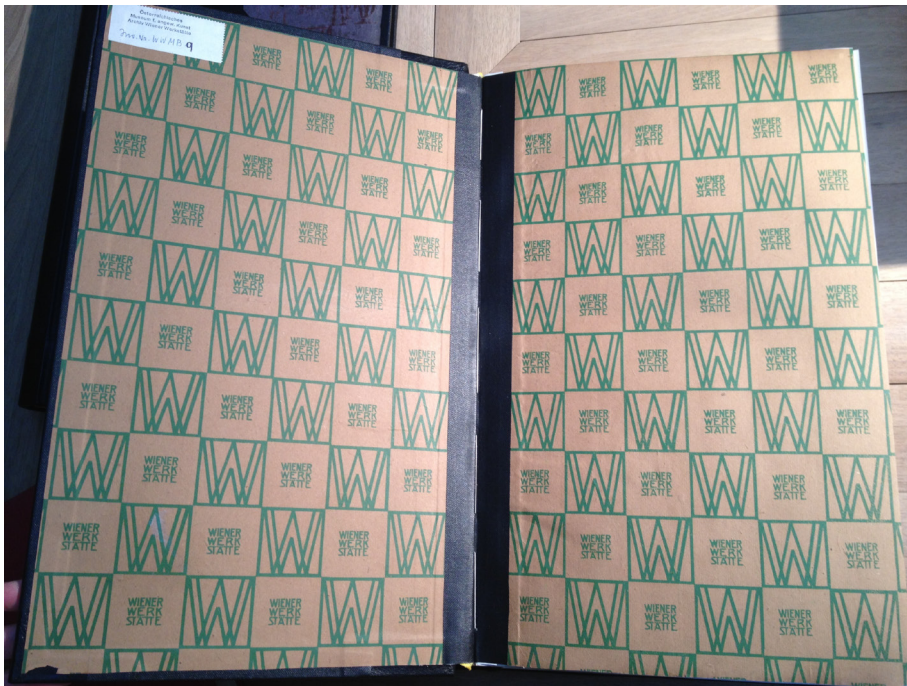


Figure 9. Wiener Werkstätte model book 9, Österreichische Museum für angewandte Kunst, Archiv Wiener Werkstätte.

372

SCHLIEßEN




 G120	WALKI-		
	A LOHN		1276
	MATR SILBER <sup>40</sup> , PUNZE <sup>02</sup>		- 42
	REGIE	20.66 12.24 9.42	29- 4218
	PNDZ V.P.K 90- SEPT HIRSHWALD RST.	18.56 4.96 27.52 28.82	422 4640
 G121	LOHN		968
	B MATR SILBER <sup>112</sup> , STEINE 3-, KETTE-PUNZE <sup>12</sup>		542
	REGIE	22.66 13.24 14.52 7.94	22- 3710
	P29 V.P.K 100- JAN. FRAU DORNDORF	1.98 2.103 4.08 26.32	371 4081
	 G122	LOHN	
MATR SILBER <sup>80</sup> , KETTE, STEINE, PUNZE 3-			380
REGIE			27- 4268
P30 V.P.K 80			427
VII HR. MOG.			4695

Figure 10. Wiener Werkstätte model book 7, page 372. Record detailing the materials and sales of three clasps designed by Josef Hoffmann. Photographic credit: Thomas Matyk Photo: © MAK Ownership credit: MAK – Austrian Museum for Applied Arts/Contemporary Art.





Figure 11. Wiener Kunst im Hause, room designed for the fifteenth Secession Exhibition, 1902. Photograph originally published in *Das Interieur* IV (1903): 231.

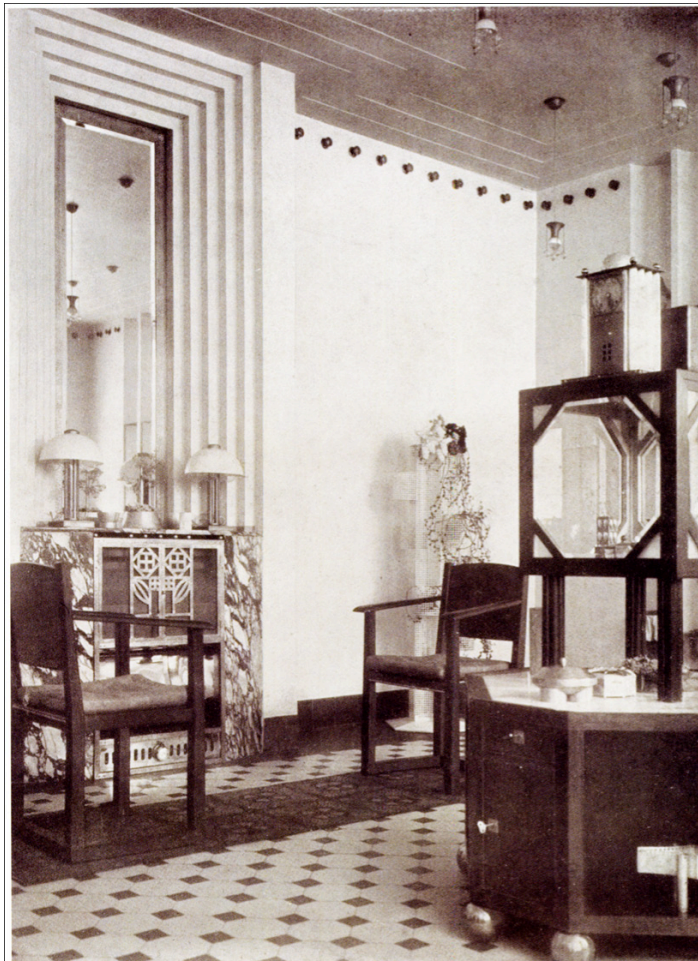


Figure 12. Wiener Werkstätte reception and exhibition room, ca. 1904.



Figure 13. John Robert Parsons, *May Morning, Jane Morris*, 1865.



Figure 14. May Morris, 1909.





Figure 15. Wiener Werkstätte textile samples. *Top left*, Arthur Scharrisch, “Blumenwiese,” 1910-12; *top right*, Wilhelm Martens, “Kranichgeier,” 1910-12; *center left*, Mitzi Vogel, “Kanarienvogel,” 1910-11; *center right*, Wilhelm Jonasch, “Hameau,” before 1914; *bottom Left*, Gustav Kalhammer, “Schönau,” 1910-12; *bottom right*, Vally Wieselthier, “Salpinx,” 1914-19.



Figure 16. Ladies' dresses from Wiener Werkstätte fashion photograph album, 1911.



Figure 17. *Left*, blouse featuring Josef Hoffmann's "Apollo" fabric design. From Wiener Werkstätte fashion photograph album, 1911.



Figure 18. *Right*, Mela Köhler, postcard featuring blouse made from Josef Hoffmann's "Apollo" fabric design, 1911.

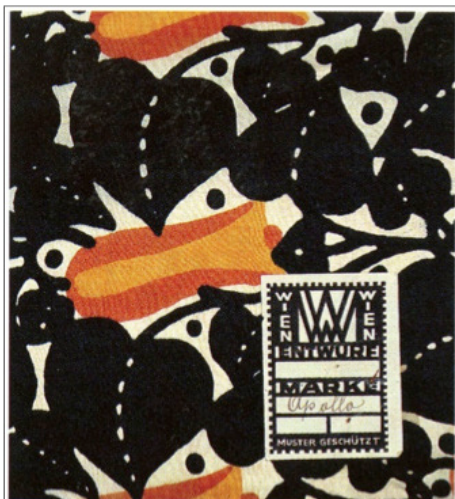


Figure 19. Josef Hoffmann, "Apollo" fabric sample.





Figure 20. Left, Gustav Klimt, *Portrait of Friederike Maria Beer-Monti*, 1916.



Figure 21. Right, Dagobert Peche, "Marina," 1911/12.

ZU GUNSTEN DES UNTER HOCHSTEM PROTEKTORATE DER DURCHLAUCHTIGSTEN FRAU ERZHERZOGIN MARIA JOSEPHA STEHENDEN VEREINES „LUPUSHEILSTÄTTE“ UND „ÖFFENTLICHES KINDERKRANKENINSTITUT“ DES UNTER DEM HOCHSTEM PROTEKTORATE DER DURCHLAUCHTIGSTEN FRAU ERZHERZOGIN MARIE VALERIE STEHENDEN „WIENER WÄRMESTÜBEN- UND WOHLTÄTIGKEITSVEREIN“

**27·28·29·NOVEMBER URANIA**

**PAUL POIRET IN WIEN**

1. KINEMATOGRAPH · 2. CONFÉRENCE GEHALTEN VON PAUL POIRET · 3. VORFÜHRUNG SEINER NEUESTEN MODE SCHÖPFUNGEN DURCH MANNEQUINS AUS POIRETS ATELIER · PROMENADE DER MANNEQUINS IM ZUSCHAUER SAAL · BEGINN ¼ 1 UHR NACHMITTAGS · PREISE DER PLATZE: 25, 20, 15, 10 U 5 KRONEN, LOGEN À 120 KRONEN · KARTENVERKAUF BEI ALLEN DAMEN DES KOMITEES OBERER VEREINE II AN DER TAGESKASSE DER URANIA I ASPERNDLPLATZ TELEPHON 23909 SOWIE BEI KEHLENBÖRFER I BEZIRK KRUGERSTRASSE 3 · TELEPHON 6238

Figure 22. Left, Paul Poiret, poster "Paul Poiret in Vienna," November 1911.



Figure 23. Right, Fashion illustration featuring a Paul Poiret evening coat, 1922.





Figure 24. Mizi Vogel, cloth flower made from the Wiener Werkstätte silk “Kanarienvogel,” ca. 1915.



Figure 25. Emilie Flöge wearing a necklace by Josef Hoffmann, ca. 1905.



Figure 26. Josef Hoffmann, silver chain and heart-shaped pendant with opals, made by Wiener Werkstätte, ca. 1905.



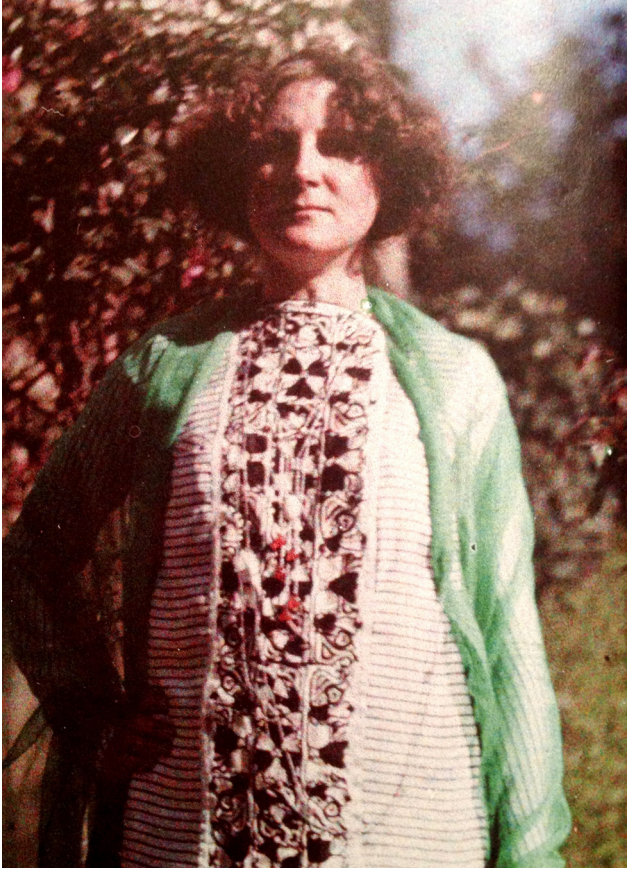


Figure 27. Emilie Flöge wearing a reform dress and a necklace by Kolo Moser, ca. 1910.

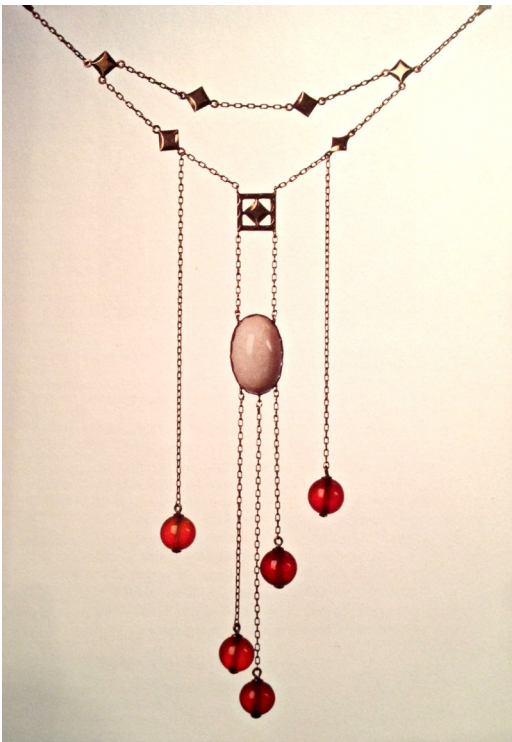


Figure 28. Kolo Moser, necklace, silver, white chalcedony, cornelian, ca. 1905.

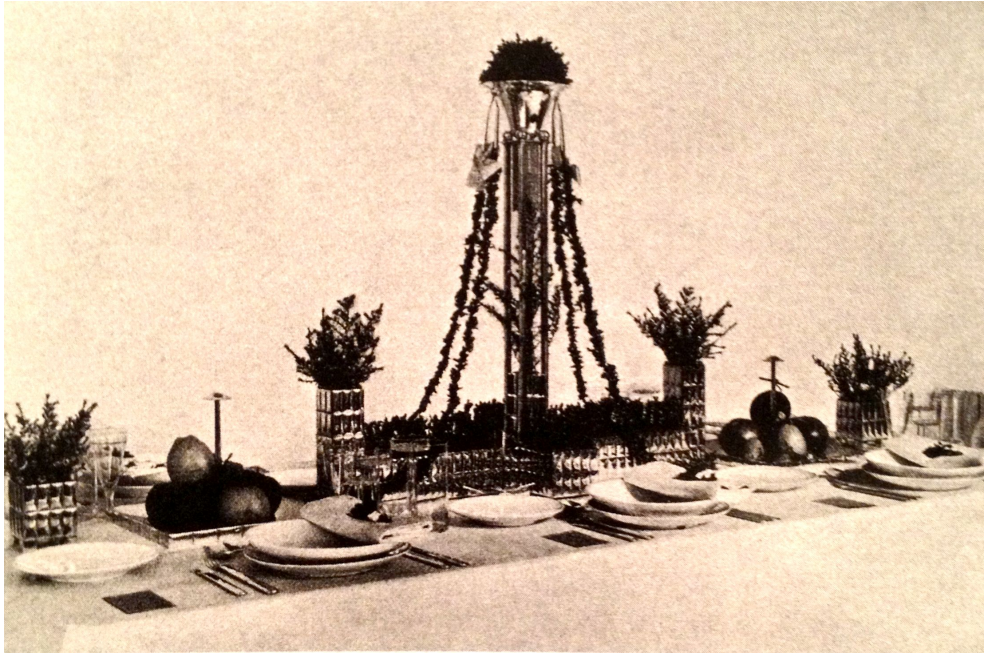


Figure 29. Josef Hoffmann, "Wedding Table" from the exhibition "Der Gedeckte Tisch," 1907.



Figure 30. Dora Kallmus (Madam D'Ora), Berta Zuckerkandl, 1908.



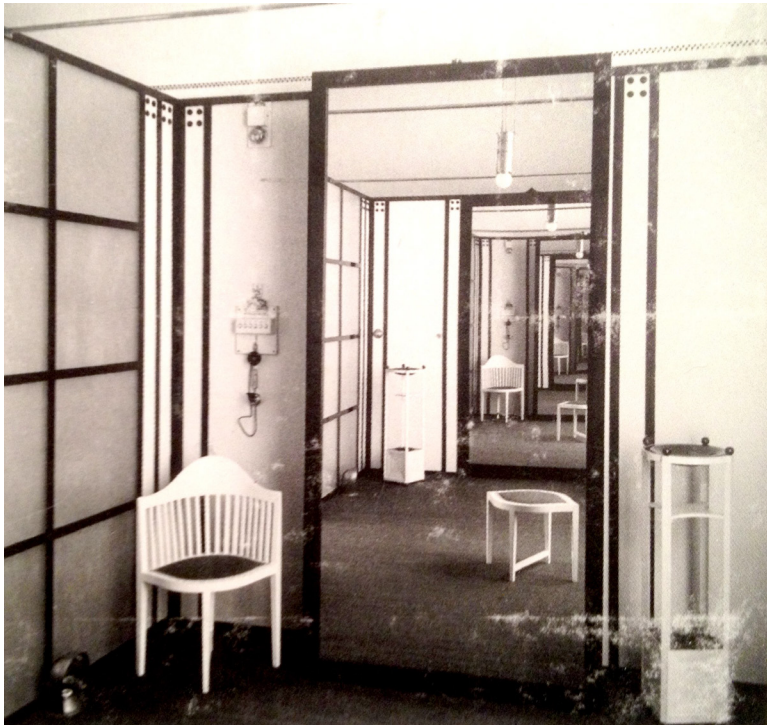


Figure 31. Josef Hoffmann, fitting rooms of the Schwestern Flöge fashion house, 1904.



Figure 32. Emilie Flöge modeling a reform dress of her own design, 1906.





Figure 33. Dora Kallmus (Madam D'Ora), Emilie Flöge, 1909.



Figure 34. Gustav Klimt, *Portrait of Sonja Knips*, 1898.

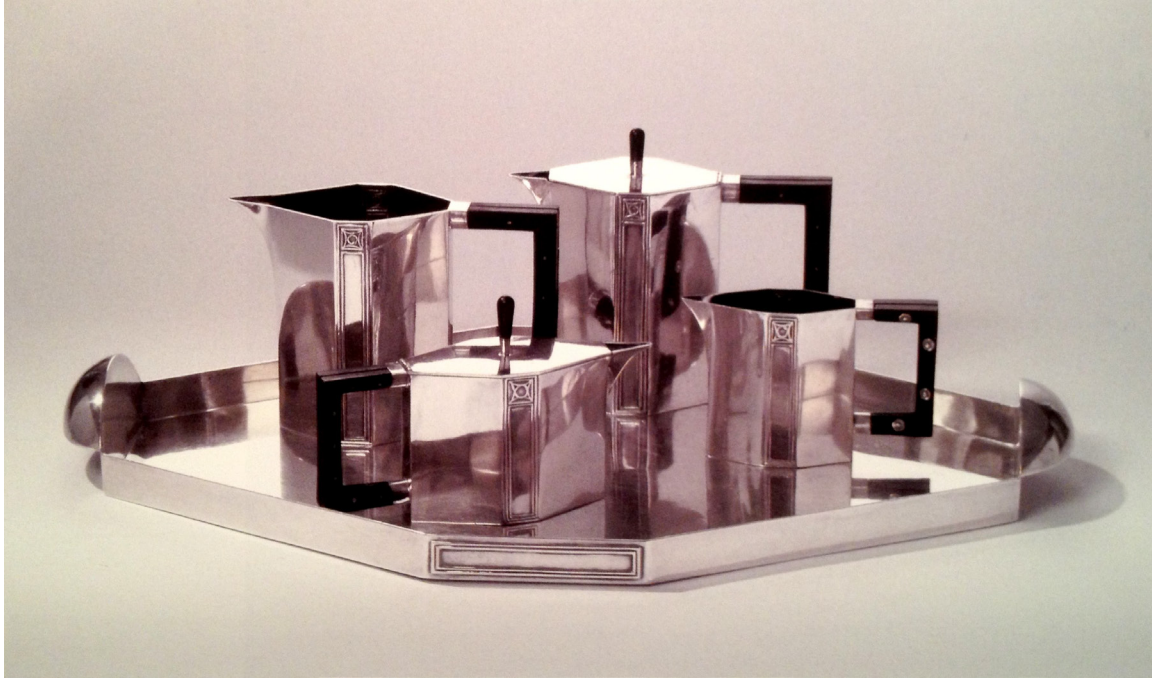


Figure 35. Josef Hoffmann, tea and coffee service, 1904-05.



Figure 36. Sonja Knips wearing a dress featuring Eduard J. Wimmer-Wisgrill's "Ameise" fabric, 1911.





Figure 37. Editha Mautner von Markhof with her daughters on the terrace, ca. 1905.



Figure 38. Koloman Moser, inkwell, 1903.



Figure 39. Josef Hoffmann, pepper shaker, 1903.



Figure 40. Fritz and Lili Waerndorfer (née Hellmann) with their children.





Figure 41. *Left*, Koloman Moser, brooch, 1912.  
Figure 42. *Right*, Josef Hoffmann, brooch, 1904.

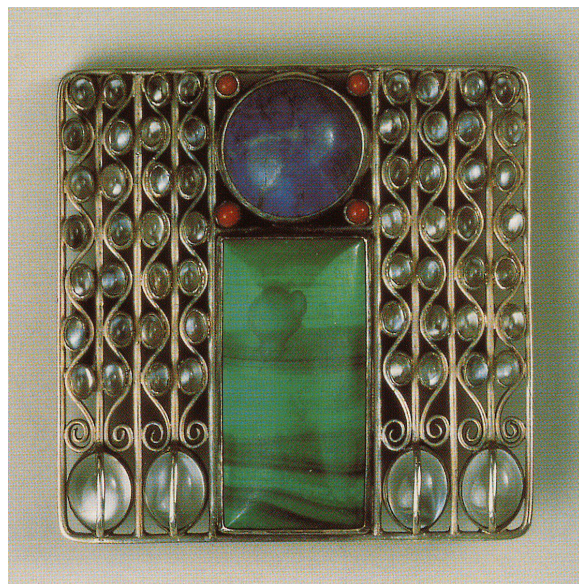


Figure 43. Dora Kallmus (Madam D'Ora), Alma Mahler wearing a choker by Koloman Moser, 1909.



Figure 44. Leopoldine “Poldy” Wittgenstein (née Kalmus).



Figure 45. Margarethe “Gretle” Stoneborough-Wittgenstein.





Figure 46. Dagobert Peche, jewelry box, 1920.



Figure 47. Josef Hoffmann, jewelry box, ca. 1904.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adamson, Glenn, ed. *The Craft Reader*. Oxford: Berg, 2010.
- Adlin, Jane and Amelia Peck. "Textiles in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: 20<sup>th</sup> Century." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 53, no. 3 (Winter, 1995-96): 63-66.
- Baroni, Daniele, and Antonio D'Auria. *Kolo Moser: Graphic Artist and Designer*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1984.
- Batchelor, Jennie and Cora Kaplan, eds. *Women and Material Culture, 1660-1830*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Ben-Eli, Birgit. "Austria: Jewish Women Artists." *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia*. Jewish Women's Archive, 2009, <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/austria-jewish-women-artists> (accessed April 5, 2013).
- Blackshaw, Gemma and Leslie Topp, ed. *Madness and Modernity: Mental Illness and the Visual Arts in Vienna 1900*. Surrey: Lund Humphries, 2009.
- Brandow-Faller, Megan Marie. "An Art Of Their Own: Reinventing *Frauenkunst* In The Female Academies And Artist Leagues Of Late-Imperial And First Republic Austria, 1900-1930." PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2010.
- Brandstätter, Christian. *Wonderful Wiener Werkstätte: Design in Vienna 1903-1932*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Vienna 1900: Art, Life & Culture*. New York: The Vendome Press, 2006.
- Boris, Eileen. *Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.
- Callen, Anthea. *Angel in the Studio: Women in the Arts and Crafts Movement 1870-1914*. London: Astragal Books, 1979.
- Cumming, Elizabeth. *Hand, Heart and Soul: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2006.
- Cumming, Elizabeth and Wendy Kaplan. *The Arts and Crafts Movement*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1991.
- Cunningham, Patricia A. *Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850-1920: Politics, Health, and Art*. Kent: Kent State University Press, 2003.
- Elliot, Bridget and Janice Helland, eds. *Women Artists and the Decorative Arts 1880-1935: The gender of ornament*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2002.



- Fahr-Becker, Gabriele. *Wiener Werkstätte 1903-1932*. Köln: Benedikt Taschen Verlag GmbH, 1995.
- Fenz, Werner. *Koloman Moser*. Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 1984.
- Fischer, Wolfgang Georg. *Gustav Klimt und Emilie Flöge: Genie und Talent, Freundschaft und Besessenheit*. Vienna: Verlag Christian Brandstätter, 1987.
- Flögl, Mathilde, ed. *Die Wiener Werkstätte 1903-1928: Modernes Kunstgewerbe und Sein Weg*. Vienna: Krystall-Verlag, 1929.
- Frank, Isabelle, ed. *The Theory of Decorative Art: An Anthology of European & American Writings, 1750-1940*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Gardner, Howard. "Freud in Three Frames: A Cognitive-Scientific Approach to Creativity." *Daedalus* 115, no. 3 (Summer, 1986): 105-134.
- Gronberg, Tag. "The Inner Man: Interiors and Masculinity in Early Twentieth-Century Vienna." *Oxford Art Journal* 24, no. 1 (2001): 69-88.
- Groot, Marjan. "Crossing the Borderlines and Moving the Boundaries." *Journal of Design History* 19, no. 2 (2006): 121-136.
- Hansen, Traude. *Wiener Werkstätte Mode: Stoffe, Schmuck, Accessoires*. Vienna-Munich: Edition Christian Brandstätter, 1984.
- Harrison-Moore, Abigail and Dorothy C. Rowe, ed. *Architecture and Design in Europe and America, 1750-2000* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006), 324.
- Hollein, Hans. *Otto Wagner: Post Office Savings Bank, Vienna, Austria. 1904-06. Church of St. Leopold, Am Steinhof, Vienna Austria. 1905-07*. Tokyo: A.D.A. Edita, 1978.
- Houze, Rebecca. "At the Forefront of a Newly Emerging Profession? Ethnography, Education and the Exhibition of Women's Needlework in Austria-Hungary in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 1 (Spring, 2008): 19-40.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Fashionable Reform Dress and the Invention of "Style" in Fin-de-siècle Vienna." *Fashion Theory* 5, no. 1 (2001): 29-56.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "From *Wiener Kunst im Hause* to the Wiener Werkstätte: Marketing Domesticity with Fashionable Interior Design." *Design Issues* 18, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 3-23.
- Hunter-Stiebel, Penelope. "The Decorative Arts of the Twentieth Century." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 37, no. 3 (Winter, 1979-1980): 2-52.

- Imrie, Nicola and Leslie Topp. "Modernity Follows Madness? Viennese Architecture for Mental Illness and Nervous Disorders." In *Madness and Modernity: Mental Illness and the Visual Arts in Vienna 1900*, edited by Gemma Blackshaw and Leslie Topp, 77-99. Surrey: Lund Humphries, 2009.
- Johnson, Julie M. *The Memory Factory: The Forgotten Women Artists of Vienna 1900*. Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2012.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Athena Goes to the Prater: Parodying Ancients and Moderns at the Vienna Secession." *Oxford Art Journal* 26, no. 2 (2003): 49-69.
- Johnston, William M. *Vienna Vienna: The Golden Age 1815-1914*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1981.
- Kallir, Jane. *Viennese Design and the Wiener Werkstätte*. New York: Galerie St. Etienne/George Braziller, 1986.
- Kaplan, Wendy, ed. *Charles Rennie Mackintosh*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1996.
- Kowaleski-Wallace, Elizabeth. *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Krzysztofowicz-Kozakowska, Stefania and Piotr Mizia. "'Sztuka', 'Wiener Secession', 'Mánes'. The Central European Art Triangle." *Artibus et Historiae* 27, no. 53 (2006): 217-259.
- Macauley, James. *Charles Rennie Mackintosh*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010.
- Mackrell, Alice. *Art and Fashion: The Impact of art on Fashion and Fashion on Art*. London: B T Batsford, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Paul Poiret*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1990.
- Mahan, J. Alexander. *Famous Women of Vienna*. Vienna: Halm and Goldmann, 1930.
- MAK. "WW Photo Archive." *MAK-Collection Online*. Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Wien, 2011, <http://sammlungen.mak.at/sdb/do/sammlung.state?id=15> (accessed April 5, 2013).
- Martin, Colin. "Secession to Sanity." *World Health Design* (April 2009): 76-77.
- Morris, William. "Art and Socialism." Lecture, Secular Hall, Humberstone Gate, Leicester, January 23, 1884.

- Müller, Reinhard. "Jenny Mautner." *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal*. Archiv für die Geschichte der Soziologie in Österreich, September 2012, [http://agso.unigraz.at/marienthal/biografien/mautner\\_jenny.htm](http://agso.unigraz.at/marienthal/biografien/mautner_jenny.htm) (accessed April 5, 2013).
- Museum of Modern Art Oxford. *Otto Wagner: Vienna 1841-1918 Designs for Architecture*. Uxbridge, Middlesex, England: The Hillingdon Press, 1985.
- Mang, Karl and Eva Mang, eds. *Viennese Architecture 1860-1930 in Drawings*. London: Academy Editions, 1979.
- Natter, Tobias G. and Gerbert Frodl, eds. *Klimt's Women*. Vienna: Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, 2000.
- Neuwirth, Waltraud. *Josef Hoffmann: Bestecke für die Wiener Werkstätte*. Vienna: self-published by the author, 1982.
- Noever, Peter, ed. *Dagobert Peche and the Wiener Werkstätte*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Yearning for Beauty. The Wiener Werkstätte and the Stoclet House*. Vienna: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2006.
- Parker, Rozsika. *The Subversive Stitch*. London: The Women's Press Ltd., 1984.
- Parker, Rozsika and Griselda Pollock. *Old Mistresses*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981.
- Pippal, Martina. *A Short History of Art in Vienna*. Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2001.
- Pollock, Griselda. *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Vision and Difference: Femininity, feminism and histories of art*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Rayner, Geoffrey, Richard Chamerlain, and Annamarie Stapleton. *Jacqueline Groag: Textil & Pattern Design: Wiener Werkstätte to American Modern*. Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club Ltd., 2009.
- Rennhofer, Maria. *Koloman Moser: Master of Viennese Modernism*. New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 2002.
- Sarnitz, August. *Josef Hoffmann, 1870-1956: In the Realm of Beauty*. Cologne: Taschen, 2007.
- Schorske, Carl E. *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*. New York: Random house, Inc., 1980.

- Schwaner, Birgit. *Die Wittgensteins: Kunst und Kalkül*. Vienna: Metroverlag, 2008.
- Schweiger, Werner J. *Wiener Werkstätte: Design in Vienna 1903-1932*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1984.
- Schwarzer, Mitchell. "Review: Architecture and Truth in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna by Leslie Topp." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 65, no.1 (March 2006): 141-142.
- Schmuttermeier, Elisabeth and Christian Witt-Döring. *Postcards of the Wiener Werkstätte: A Catalogue Raisonné*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2010.
- Searing, Helen. "Review: Madness & Modernity: Mental Illness and the Visual Arts in Vienna 1900." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69, no. 4 (December 2010):612-613.
- Shapira, Elana. "Berta Zuckerandl." *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia* (Jewish Women's Archive, 2009), <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/zuckerandl-bertha> (accessed April 5, 2013).
- Silverman, Debora L. *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: politics, Psychology, and Style*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Staggs, Janis. *Wiener Werkstätte Jewelry*. Ostfildern Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2008.
- Szepe, Berta. *My Life and History*. Translated by John Sommerfield. London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., first published 1938.
- Topp, Leslie. "An Architecture for Modern Nerves: Josef Hoffmann's Purkersdorf Sanatorium." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56, no. 4 (December, 1997): 414-437.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Architecture and Truth in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Erwin Pendl (Studio), Model of Lower Austrian Provincial Institution for the Cure and Care of the Mentally and Nervously Ill 'am Steinhof', c. 1907." In *Madness and Modernity: Mental Illness and the Visual Arts in Vienna 1900*, edited by Gemma Blackshaw and Leslie Topp, 77-99. Surrey: Lund Humphries, 2009.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Otto Wagner and the Steinhof Psychiatric Hospital: Architecture as Misunderstanding." *The Art Bulletin* 87, no. 1 (March, 2005): 130-156.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Modern Mental Hospital in Late Nineteenth-Century Germany and Austria: Psychiatric Space and Images of Freedom and Control." In *Madness, Architecture and the Built Environment*, edited by Leslie Topp, James E. Moran and Jonathan Andrews, 241-261. New York: Routledge, 2007.

- Tretter, Sandra, ed. *Koloman Moser 1868-1918*. Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2007.
- Troy, Virginia Gardner. *The Modernist Textile: Europe and America 1890-1940*. Burlington, VT: Lund Humphries, 2006.
- Völker, Angela. *Moda Wiener Werkstätte*. Firenze: Cantini Editore, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Textiles of the Wiener Werkstätte: 1910-1932*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2004.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Wiener Mode + Modedefografie: Die Modeabteilung der Wiener Werkstätte 1911-1932*. Munich: Verlag Schneider-Henn, 1984.
- Wagener, Mary L. "Fashion and Feminism in 'Fin de Siècle' Vienna." *Women's Art Journal* 10, no. 2 (Autumn, 1989 – Winter 1990): 29-33.
- Wagner, Otto. *Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for his Students to This Field of Art* Santa Monica: The Getty Center Publication Programs, 1988.
- Wainwright, Clive. "A. W. N. Pugin and the Progress of Design as Applied to Manufacture." In *A.W.N. Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival*, edited by Paul Atterbury, 161-175. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Walker, Lynn. Review of *Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement, 1870-1914*, by Anthea Callen, *Women's Art Journal* 1, no. 2 (Autumn, 1980 – Winter 1981): 69-71.
- Wiener Werkstätte, Model Books, Wiener Werkstätte Archives, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.
- Winter, Robert W. "The Arts and Crafts as a Social Movement." *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 34, no. 2 (1975): 36-40.
- Witt-Döring, Christian. "Toward an Aesthetic of Individuality: Viennese Decorative Arts Around 1900." In *New Worlds: German and Austrian Art 1890-1940*, edited by Renée Price, 404-411. New York: Neue Galerie, 2011.
- Zweig, Stefan. *The World of Yesterday*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964.