

Fritz Waerndorfer and Josef Hoffmann

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lui ai demandé 1,000 Guinées. Je n'ai pas encore reçu sa réponse et je l'attendrais si je ne craignais pas l'expiration du délai de la licence qu'il m'a fait parvenir pour l'Importation de ce tableau en Angleterre, mais les moments étant presque comptés je suis obligé de prévenir sa réponse et de me concerter avec vous sur le moyen de me faire parvenir le prix de mille guinées. Veuillez me faire passer cette somme par telle voie qui vous conviendra et qui m'en procurera la rentrée intégrale en France sans aucune déduction de charge ou autres, veuillez bien aussi m'indiquer très précisément l'adresse à laquelle je dois faire changer l'envoi.

Cette lettre vous parviendra par la correspondance de la Maison Pérégau Lafite de cette ville, vous pourriez vous servir de la même voie pour m'adresser votre réponse; c'est le moyen le plus prompt de satisfaire au désir que sa Seigneurie m'a manifesté de jouir de son tableau.

7. David to the Duke of Hamilton, 15th August 1812 (Bundle 768; first copy)

Paris le 15 Août, 1812

Monsieur Le Marquis

Je viens de recevoir la lettre que votre Seigneurie m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 24 Juin dernier, la licence que vous m'annoncez devoir m'être remise pour pouvoir vous expédier le portrait de S.M. L'Empereur des français que vous m'avez commandé m'étant parvenue je ne perds pas un instant à vous expédier ce tableau que j'adresse pour votre Compte à Mess. Hoares et Cie Banquiers, je prends cette précaution Mylord, dans l'incertitude si vous seriez vous même à Londres pour le recevoir; en conséquence vous voudrez bien donner vos ordres à ces Messieurs pour qu'ils le réclament à son arrivée et même qu'ils en fasse faire l'assurance si vous le jugez convenable, pour la valeur des mille guinées prix que j'ai fixé d'après votre invitation réitérée et que vous me promettez de me faire payer à Paris de manière que je reçoive les mille guinées, soit vingt cinq mille francs, sans aucune déduction, car vous, Mylord, si justement réputé pour être un ami zélé des arts, vous ne trouverez point extraordinaire qu'en ma qualité d'artiste; je sois tout à fait étranger aux différences de change qui peuvent exister entre un pays et l'autre.

8. Lafontaine to the Duke of Hamilton, 23rd August 1812 (Bundle 768; written from Lister (sic) Square Hotel)

Londre le 23 Août 1812

a Monsieur le Marquis de Douglas

Monsieur je lonnuer de vous anvoier une lître de mon ami David. Je aure desiere avoier un petit antertien a vict vos aussitot du tableaux que mon ami quille, vous desstiené qui et le portrait de napoléon pouer lavoire la marche a prands pouez pouer parveniere an angeletere.

9. David to the Duke of Hamilton, 20th October 1812 (Bundle 768; copy)

Paris, 20 Octobre 1812

Monsieur Le Marquis

J'ai reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 7 du mois dernier, et en même temps l'invitation par Mrs. Hoare et Cie Banquiers a Londres de me transporter chez Mrs. Perregaux Lafitte et Cie leurs correspondants pour recevoir £1050 = Stz. m'y étant présenté il y a quelques jours, on m'a payé pour cette somme celle de 18,650 = francs: voyant l'énorme différence d'avec les 25,000 francs sur les quels je comptais pour la valeur intrinsèque des mille Guinées prix de mon tableau, j'ai voulu ne point recevoir, mais Mrs. Perregaux Lafitte et Cie m'ayant observé, que plus je tarderais à recevoir plus il y aurait de dommage pour votre Seigneurie attendu que le change inclinait à plus forte baisse, j'ai crû en recevant vous éviter une perte plus considérable, j'espère, Monsieur Le Marquis, que vous

approuverez le motif qui m'a déterminé à recevoir la susdite somme de 18650 francs, ne doutant pas un instant que Votre Seigneurie, ne donne de nouveaux ordres pour me compléter celle de 25,000 francs prix convenu et sans déduction pour la différence entre le Change et la valeur intrinsèque des 1000 Guinées, ainsi que j'ai eû l'honneur de m'en expliquer encore avec votre Seigneurie, par ma dernière du 15 Août. C'est par cette même lettre que je vous annonceais, Monsieur Le Marquis, une prompte expédition de mon tableau, il était effectivement emballé et prêt à partir pour Caen, mais au moment du départ, il s'éleva une difficulté insurmontable causée par la licence qui ne permettait l'expédition que par les ports depuis Ostende jusqu'au Hâvre: il a fallu en conséquence renoncer à l'occasion de Caen, et en attendre une autre qui vient enfin de se présenter à Ostende, où j'ai envoyé le tableau avec ordre de le faire partir de suite à l'adresse de Mrs. Hoare et Cie comme, Votre Seigneurie, me l'avait indiqué.

Il est bon que vous soyéz prevenu, Monsieur Le Marquis, que la licence Anglaise qui m'a été remise pour permettre l'importation de ce tableau est expirée depuis le 30 Septembre. On m'a assuré ici qu'elle est toujours valable; c'est d'après cette assurance que je me suis déterminé à le faire partir; toutes fois s'il y a des précautions à prendre en Angleterre à cause de ce retard, Votre Seigneurie, pourra les applanir facilement, je me suis fait un devoir de l'en prévenir.

P.S. Je vous supplie, Monsieur le Marquis, qu'aussitôt l'arrivée de mon tableau d'avoir la bonté de faire prévenir M. de la fontaine, artiste distingué actuellement à Londres pour qu'il fasse enlever la poussière que le tableau peut avoir pris dans le trajet et le faire vernir ensuite; M. de la fontaine a déjà eu l'honneur de vous remettre une lettre de moi.

10. David to the Duke of Hamilton, 13th April 1813 (Bundle 1001; autograph)

Paris, le 13 Avril 1813 (Bundle 1001)

Monsieur le Marquis

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous, expédier en Novembre dernier le tableau portrait que vous m'aviez chargé d'exécuter il a été expédié pour Londres sur le navire le Eugend Capitaine L. Sumckena sorti de port d'Ostende le 21 du mois de Novembre.

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire par l'entremise de Mrs. Perregaux Lafitte Banquier de cette ville, pour vous donner avis de cette expédition et de ce qui serait nécessaire de faire à votre Douane pour renforce de la Licence qui était spéciale à ce tableau, j'ai été privé de votre réponse ce qui me laisse dans l'incertitude de savoir si ce tableau vous est bien parvenu: veuillez Monsieur Le Marquis, avoir la complaisance de m'accuser réception et de me répondre aux différents articles contenu dans ma lettre.

11. David to the Duke of Hamilton, 30th April 1813 (Bundle 1129; autograph)

Paris le 30 Avril 1813

Monsieur Le Marquis

La lettre dont votre Seigneurie m'a honoré le 31 du mois dernier a comblé mes vœux, en m'apprenant qu'elle a enfin reçu le portrait de l'homme du siècle, et qu'elle est satisfaite de mon ouvrage, admiré ajoute-t-elle de tout le monde! Ces éloges de la part d'un ami des arts aussi distingué que votre Seigneurie me flatent infiniment et me font désirer d'en obtenir de nouveaux que je tacherai toujours de mériter.

Je dois croire, Monsieur le Marquis, que vous n'avez pas reçu ma précédente lettre du 20 octobre dernier, puisque votre Seigneurie ne m'en a jamais accusé réception je prends donc la liberté de vous en remettre ci jointe une copie, en vous priant, Monsieur le Marquis, de faire droit à une juste réclamation, et de vouloir bien ordonner à vos Banquiers de Londres de me faire payer par leur correspondant à Paris, la somme de six mille trois cent cinquante francs qui me sont dûs pour solde du sus dit tableau.

PETER VERGO

Fritz Waerndorfer and Josef Hoffmann

FROM the turn of the century until his financial collapse in the winter of 1913–14, Fritz Waerndorfer used his considerable wealth to promote the cause of modern art in Vienna.* He was an enthusiastic patron of the Vienna Secession, and numbered among his friends some of its most prominent members, including Gustav Klimt, Josef

Hoffmann and Kolo Moser (Fig. 10). He owned an extensive collection of works both by Austrian Secessionists and by 'corresponding' members from abroad, such as Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Georges Minne and Aubrey Beardsley. By means of commissions to Mackintosh, Hoffmann, Moser and other contemporary design-

* I am grateful to many people who helped me gather information regarding Fritz Waerndorfer and his relations with Josef Hoffmann. I am indebted, above all, to Frau Karla Hoffmann and to Mrs Fiona Waerndorfer McCleary, both of whom encouraged my researches, and made available important documentary and other material. Other members of the Waerndorfer family took a lively interest in my work. I am especially grateful to Fritz Waerndorfer's three nieces, Nora Hodges, Betty Stutz and Laura Zirner; further, to Dr and Mrs Franz Breuer, Gustl Breuer, the late Mrs Käthe Breuer, Michael Mortimer, and Clarice Bunzl-Holme. Statements regarding Fritz Waerndorfer's early life and family background are, unless otherwise indicated, based on conversation with members of his family or on his own unpublished

memoirs. Apart from Waerndorfer's letters to Hoffmann (collection Frau Karla Hoffmann, Vienna), the most important collections of documents are to be found in the Wiener Stadtbibliothek and in the Handschriftenabteilung of the Theatersammlung der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek. I have also drawn in part on the later letters Waerndorfer wrote from America to Professor Eduard Josef Wimmer; I am indebted to Herr Gino Wimmer, Vienna, for making these available to me.

Many friends and colleagues have also assisted me in response to specific queries; I should particularly like to thank Roger Billcliffe, Hofrat Universitätsprofessor Dr Gerhart Egger, Frau Dr Hanna Egger, Professor Christian M. Nebehay and Sektionsleiter Ministerialrat Dr Wilhelm Schlag.

ners, he transformed his house into a Mecca of the modern movement, the Mackintosh music room and Hoffmann dining room, in particular (Figs 17 and 14), counting among the best known artistic curiosities of Vienna. He was also financial backer and, for a time, business manager of the Wiener Werkstätte, the Viennese craft group he founded together with Hoffmann and Moser in the summer of 1903. In 1907, he took over the running of the Kabarett Fledermaus, the café-theatre which served as a showplace for everything new in poetry, satire, cabaret and dance. About the same time, he also began to support younger (and more impecunious) artists, notable among them Oskar Kokoschka and Egon Schiele.

And yet, though he held the centre of the stage for more than a decade, it has proved remarkably difficult to discover very much about Waerndorfer himself. Until recently, almost nothing has been written about the details of his relations with the Secessionists, about his tastes and inclinations, his family background, even the source of his wealth.¹ He has often been described, incorrectly, as a banker – possibly because the founding statutes of the Wiener Werkstätte gave the title ‘Kassir’ (*sic*) to the post of business manager which he then occupied.² In fact, the Waerndorfers were a prosperous manufacturing family, whose fortunes derived principally from cotton, with factories at Nachod in Bohemia and Günselsdorf in Lower Austria. The young Fritz entered the family business, presumably at the wish of his father Samuel, and after he had completed a year’s compulsory military service (1888–89), the family, who always retained a special affection for everything English, sent him to England to study the textile industry. However, from the beginning his main preoccupation was not with industry but with art. In Liverpool he started bidding for pictures at auction. He even sold one painting, it appears, to Sir Charles Robinson, then Crown Surveyor of Pictures.³ According to his recollections, he also spent much of his free time in London sketching and copying in the South Kensington Museum, where he encountered Duveen. The fact that Waerndorfer makes specific mention of the South Kensington Museum is interesting, since it suggests that, even at this early date, he was already concerning himself as much with the ‘applied’ as with the ‘fine’ arts.

By the time he returned from London to Vienna, his own tastes – in particular, his penchant for the latest

English decorative art and design – were fully formed. In the mid-1890s, there must have been few other Viennese laymen interested in the modern English style. In a letter to Hermann Bahr, he recalled how an Austrian friend with whom he had spent a good deal of time in England wanted to furnish his Viennese house in the ‘modern’, or rather in the ‘English’ manner, ‘since modern and English were at that time synonymous’; but that in the whole of Vienna there was only one interior designer who possessed a copy of the *Studio*. In the end, the house was entirely furnished out of Volume X of the *Studio*: ‘Page 10 fireplace, page 20 chest by Voisey [*sic*], etc . . .’⁴

Exactly when, or under what circumstances, Waerndorfer and Hoffmann first met is not certain. No doubt the latter’s enthusiasm for English design soon forged a bond between the two men. Probably, Hoffman’s initial knowledge of the work of British architects and designers derived, for the most part, from articles and reproductions in magazines, rather than first-hand experience. However, by early 1900 he had rather specific reasons for wanting to find out more about the latest British developments. Together with Felician von Myrbach, the recently appointed director of the Kunstgewerbeschule, Hoffmann was responsible for organising the eighth Secession exhibition (3rd November–27th December 1900), a large part of which was devoted to recent British design, including a whole room decorated and furnished by the ‘Glasgow Four’: Charles Rennie Mackintosh, his wife Margaret Macdonald, Margaret’s sister Frances, and her husband Herbert MacNair.⁵ Hoffmann was evidently anxious to bring himself up to date regarding the Scottish artists’ work. To this end, he used Waerndorfer as a go-between – a rôle for which Waerndorfer was ideally suited by virtue of his knowledge of Great Britain, his frequent trips and business contacts, and his command of the language. According to Waerndorfer’s own recollection, Hoffmann actually ‘sent’ him to Glasgow specifically to see Mackintosh⁶ – one presumes in order to discuss the details of the eighth exhibition with the Scottish artist face to face.

The success of the eighth Vienna Secession exhibition may be judged from the figures: 24,455 visitors, and the sale of 241 exhibits, at a total value of 57,200 Kronen. Waerndorfer himself bought relatively little at the exhibition: a silver brooch by Margaret Macdonald, a drawing and two prints. These – for him – insignificant purchases were, however, only the prelude to a remarkable dual commission: to Mackintosh for the design and decoration of an entire music room, and to Hoffmann for the design and decoration of a dining room and (probably several) other rooms in Waerndorfer’s house at Carl-Ludwigstrasse 45 (Fig. 11), in Vienna’s nineteenth district.⁷

⁴ Waerndorfer to Bahr, 18th January 1900.

⁵ On the eighth Secession exhibition see ROGER BILLCLIFFE and PETER VERGO: ‘Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Austrian Art Revival’, *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, CXIX [November], pp. 739f.

⁶ Waerndorfer to Hoffmann, 23rd December 1902.

⁷ The house was originally built in 1880 for Professor Franz Rziha. Waerndorfer, whose father owned another house lower down the same street (Carl-Ludwigstrasse 35), bought the property in June 1896; see the archive of the housing department of the Bezirk Währing, EZ 2294. When the Carl-Ludwigstrasse changed its name to Weimarerstrasse, it also changed its numbering. The former Waerndorfer house is now Weimarerstrasse 59.

¹ On Waerndorfer’s upbringing, his collections, and his commission for the Mackintosh music room, see now PETER VERGO: ‘Fritz Waerndorfer as Collector’, *Alte und Moderne Kunst*, 26. Jg [1981], Heft 177, pp. 33–38. The Mackintosh music room has also been described by THOMAS R. HOWARTH: *Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement*, 2d. ed., London [1977], pp. 155f., and by ROGER BILLCLIFFE: *Charles Rennie Mackintosh. The Complete Furniture, Drawings and Interior Designs*, Guildford/London [1979], pp. 122f. In addition, see the article by EDUARD F. SEKLER: ‘Mackintosh und Wien’, in the catalogue *Charles Rennie Mackintosh*, Vienna, Museum des XX. Jahrhunderts [1969], pp. 12f. All quotations in this article are the author’s translation.

² In the first edition of my book *Art in Vienna*, London [1975], p. 132, I too described Waerndorfer as a banker. In this instance, I was following an account given by the historian Hans Ankewicz von Klechoven in an unpublished typescript preserved in the archives of the Oesterreichische Galerie, Vienna. It is a salutary example of how mistakes can be repeated, indeed compounded, from one generation to the next, if no-one bothers to check the facts.

³ Sir John Charles Robinson was appointed Crown Surveyor of Pictures in 1881. I am grateful to Stephen M. Lees of Cambridge University Library for helping me to discover the details of Robinson’s life and career.

It is not clear precisely when Waerndorfer commissioned Mackintosh to provide designs for the music room, but it must have been some time between the visit of the Scottish artists to Vienna in the autumn of 1900, and April 1902, when Mackintosh and Waerndorfer met again at the Turin International Exhibition of Modern Decorative Art.⁸ However, it was not until 21st June 1902 that plans were submitted to the local building authority in connection with the one important structural change necessitated by Mackintosh's designs: the erection of a small extension, of irregular dimensions, on the north façade of the house, giving on to the Coloredogasse – a feature still visible today (Fig.12). As emerges from a letter from Waerndorfer to Hoffmann of 29th April 1902, the precise way in which Mackintosh envisaged this extension, which was to house the inglenook fireplace and chimney, was not clear from the drawings, and Waerndorfer had to rely on Hoffmann's help in interpreting them.⁹ A comparison of the June 1902 plans (Fig.13) with existing photographs of the music room shows that other changes must also have been necessary, including to the doors and windows, though these changes would not, presumably, have required planning permission.

Work must have begun in the summer of 1902, and proceeded hand in hand with Hoffmann's remodelling of the adjacent dining room. From Waerndorfer's letters to Hoffmann, it seems that the commission for the dining room may have antedated that for the music room, or that in any case work on the dining room must have begun first, and then got stuck, since there is an implicit reproach in the above-mentioned letter of April 1902 regarding lack of progress ('And now, as to your dining room – my dining room – let's not talk about it, it'll get done some time.') One can only sympathise with Hoffmann, especially if he and his pupils had to help interpret Mackintosh's drawings for the music room, as well as providing their own designs for the dining room, and given also that the Beethoven exhibition at the Secession in the spring of 1902, for which Hoffmann was primarily responsible, must have consumed a good deal of time and energy. However, during the summer and autumn work on the Waerndorfer house seems to have progressed satisfactorily, since both music room and dining room were more or less finished by Christmas 1902, except for the piano.¹⁰

None of the furniture or decoration designed for these two rooms appears to have survived, but photographs and verbal descriptions provide some idea of the effect produced. In the dining room, visitors were struck by the unusual design of the windows, which could be raised or lowered by means of leather straps, 'like in a Pullman car', as the critic Ludwig Hevesi remarked.¹¹ These straps can be clearly seen in Fig.14. Hevesi, in his little-

known essay *Ein moderner Nachmittag*, also commented at some length on the effect of light achieved by Hoffmann's design:

I think it was last Sunday. Or else some other day. There was, of course, no calendar hanging in the room. It would scarcely have suited this white chamber, which is lined all around with polished white marble tiles. Above, what remains of the wall surfaces, and the ceiling too, nothing but white plaster. Rough-cast, silvered over and over, catching the light, dispersing it into a thousand particles. A white rectangle made up of white rectangles; only on the floor do black tiles alternate with white. . . . Up there, a small mirror on the wall; too high up to look in to, but reflecting space like a window on the world. Up there too, in front of each mirror, a white figurine, by Georges Minne of course. . . . In the windows, a few vases, in the vases a few green shoots, between them a small replica in marble of the Rodenbach-Monument. . . . And yet there's nothing chilly about this white microcosm. In it, one merely perceives each warm breath more distinctly. Each faint shimmer of the subtly concealed lights, like those sunk in the window embrasures so that, behind the white panels of the curtains, the sun seems to go on rising hour after hour.¹²

Interestingly, Hevesi's description corresponds to a remarkable degree with that contained in the letter Waerndorfer himself wrote to Hoffmann in December 1902 regarding the newly completed room: 'The whole room seems bathed in *golden sunlight* . . . whether the light from the lamps produces such golden reflections precisely because everything is silver and white, I couldn't say – all I can say is that the effect is like that of sunlight (daylight), which permeates everything evenly without one knowing where it comes from.'

Photographs of the Hoffmann dining room (Figs 14, 15, 16) show that it was extremely sparsely decorated and furnished. The only decorative feature was the marble patterning of the floor (the double row of small holes in the walls just above floor level was almost certainly functional, not decorative, probably serving some form of hot-air heating system). The roughly rendered ceiling was totally devoid of ornament, its coat of silver paint seeming to glitter coldly in the photographs – an effect belied by the verbal descriptions quoted above. The large rectangular windows in the north wall were the only source of natural light. The west wall, which was tiled with white marble tiles reaching to a little above head height, was also entirely bare, save for two small pylons used to display the sculptures by Minne. The effect of these sculptures was enhanced by the mirrors behind, on which Hevesi commented, which not only increased the effect of space in an already spacious room but also, as Malmberg noted, enabled the sculptures to be seen from all sides.¹³ According to Hevesi, when Klimt first saw these mirrors, which 'reflect people and

⁸ Waerndorfer conveyed to Hoffmann Mackintosh's greetings from Turin in a letter dated 29th April 1902; see SEKLER, *loc. cit.* at note 1 above, p.14.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Letter from Waerndorfer to Hoffmann, 23rd December 1902, partly published by SEKLER, *loc. cit.* at note 1 above. BILLCLIFFE (*op. cit.* at note 1 above, p.124) notes that one of the two gesso panels, by Margaret Macdonald, which adorned the piano is dated 1903, and suggests that the piano itself was not delivered to Vienna until some time in the course of that year.

¹¹ L. HEVESI: 'Haus Wærndorfer', *Alt-kunst-Neukunst*, Vienna [1909], p.222.

¹² L. HEVESI: 'Ein moderner Nachmittag', *Flagranti*, Stuttgart [1909], pp.166-67.

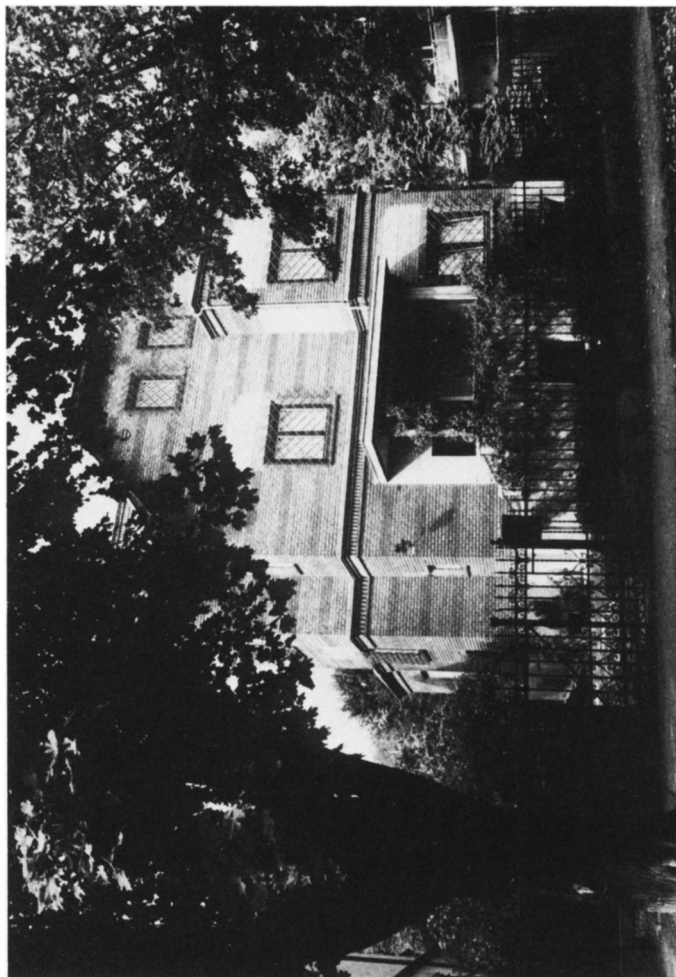
¹³ HELGA MALMBERG: *Widerhall des Herzens. Ein Peter Altenberg-Buch*, Munich [1961], p.103. Malmberg was, for a time, one of Waerndorfer's employees at the Wiener Werkstätte.



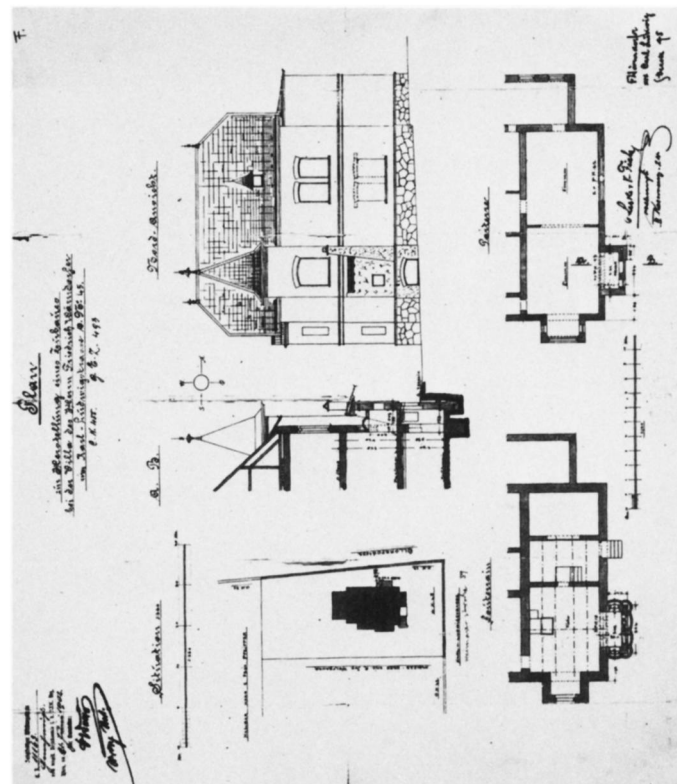
10. From left to right: Gustav Klimt, Fritz Waerndorfer, Josef Hoffmann and Kolo Moser in the garden of Waerndorfer's house. Date unknown. (Photograph courtesy of Mrs Clarice Bunzl-Holme, Vienna).



12. Detail of the north façade of the Waerndorfer house, showing the extension added in the summer of 1902.



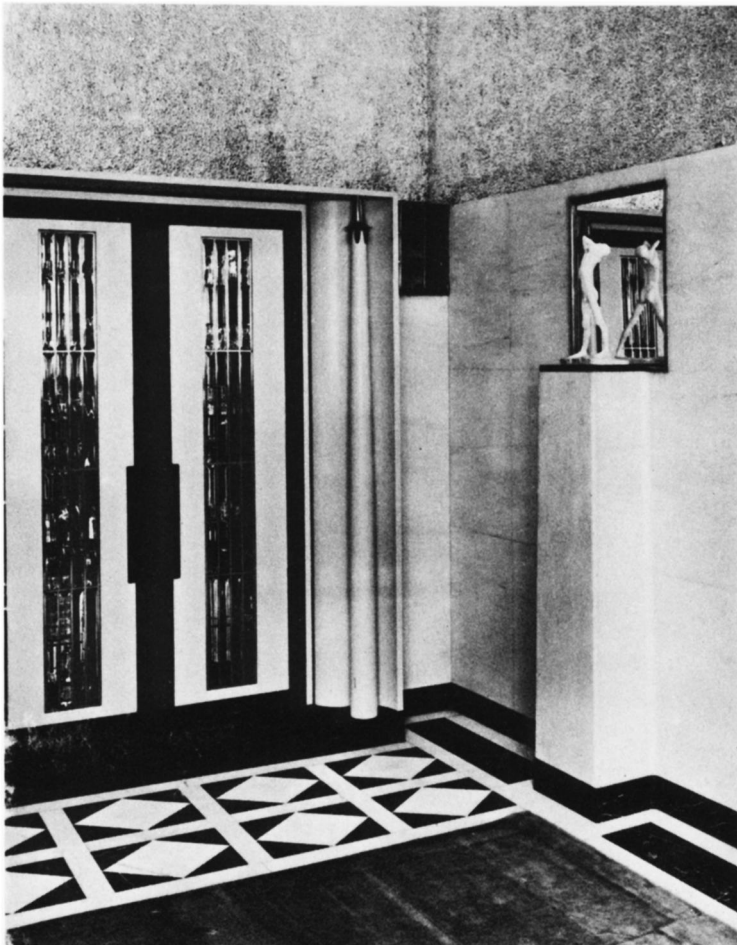
11. The Waerndorfer house in Währing, formerly Carl Ludwigstrasse 45, now Weimarstrasse 59.



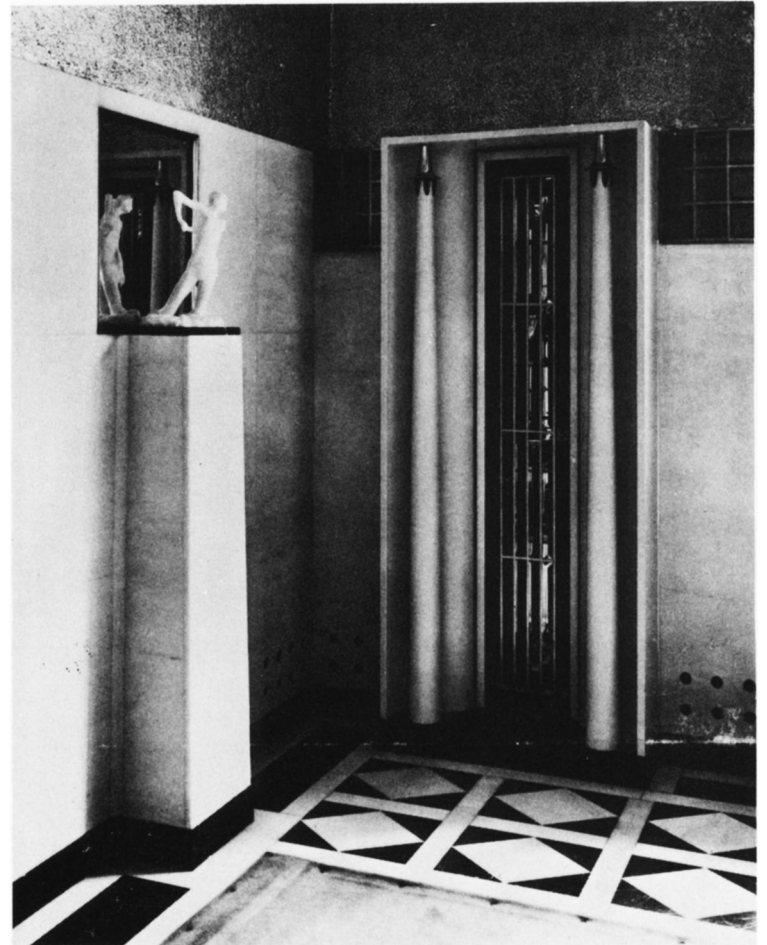
13. Plan, dated 1902, showing the necessary alterations to the music room of the Waerndorfer house.



14. Interior of the dining room of the Waerndorfer house, by Josef Hoffmann. Designed 1902.



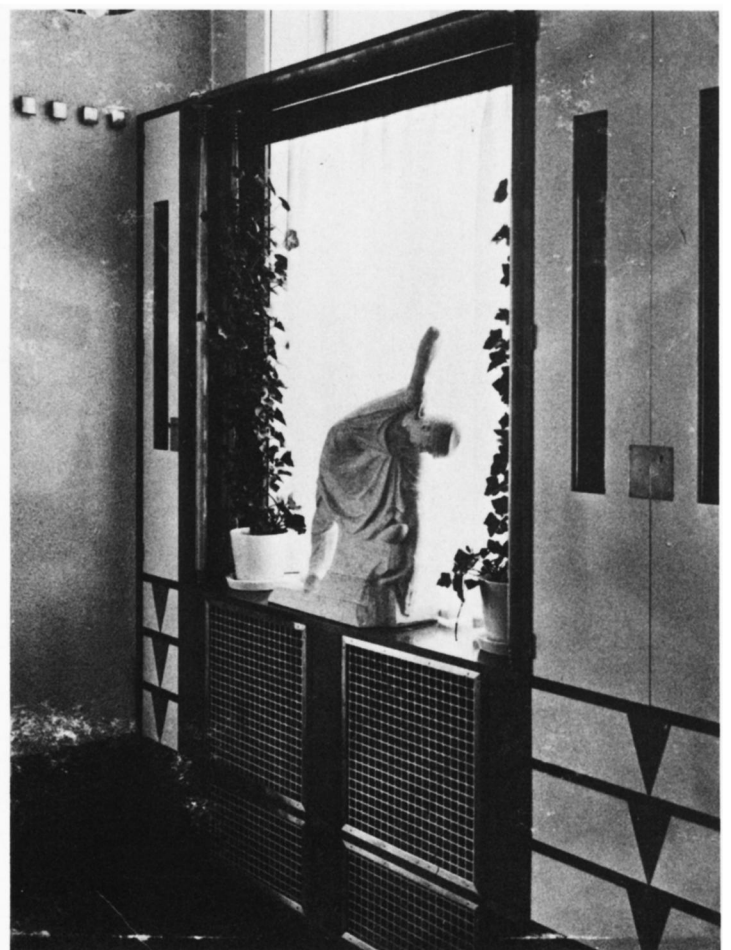
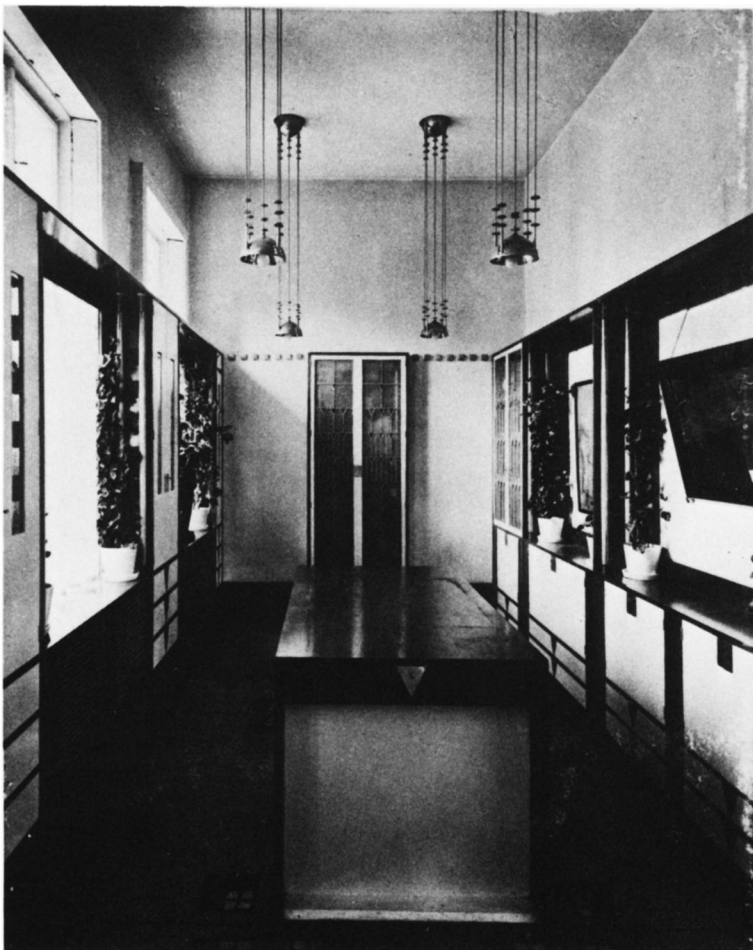
15. Interior of the dining room of the Waerndorfer house, by Josef Hoffmann, showing double doorway.



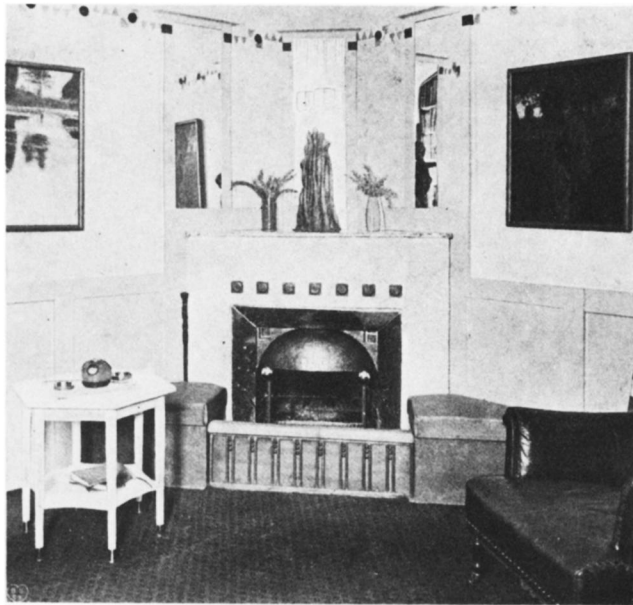
16. Interior of the dining room of the Waerndorfer house, by Josef Hoffmann, showing built-in cupboard on north wall.



17. Photograph c. 1903, showing part of the music room in the Waerndorfer house, with grand piano.



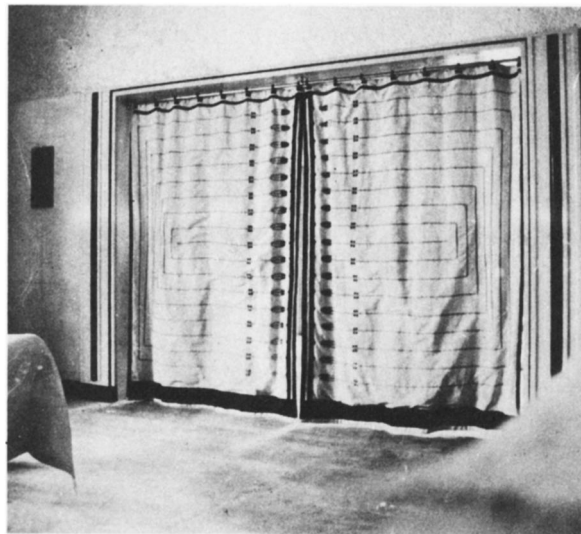
18 and 19. Views of the picture gallery of the Waerndorfer house, designed by Josef Hoffmann. 1902.



20. Fireplace in the *Herrenzimmer* of the Waerndorfer house, by Josef Hoffmann. Before 1902? From *Innendekoration*, May 1902, p. 136.



21. Fireplace in the *Herrenzimmer* of the Waerndorfer house, by Josef Hoffmann. Before 1902?



22. Double curtain for the dining room of the Waerndorfer house, by Josef Hoffmann. Designed 1902. Photograph c. 1903.



23. Children's room in the Waerndorfer house, by Josef Hoffmann in collaboration with W. Hollmann. From *Innendekoration*, May 1902, p. 136.



24. Writing desk, by Charles Rennie Mackintosh. 1902. Ebonised wood, with panels in metal, glass and gesso.

spaces in such a pictorial way', he exclaimed: 'Well, and what is there left for us painters to do?'¹⁴

The principal feature of the room was the long dining table, flanked by leather-backed chairs of two different designs. There seems to have been no other free-standing furniture of any kind. The greater part of the south wall was taken up by a built-in sideboard, with cupboards above. A particular curiosity is the design of what must have been two narrow, built-in cupboards at each end of the north (window) wall of the room (Fig.16). Flanked by two slender, tapering columns, they look more like doorways, though the plan of the house shows clearly that they could have had no such purpose. Conversely, what must have been a double doorway in the south-west corner of the room (Fig.15) appears more like a cupboard. At the eastern end of the dining room, a curtained, rectangular opening (Fig.22) led through into the music room.

There remains a possibility that Hoffmann may have designed at least one other room for Waerndorfer at about the same time as the dining room: a small gallery, evidently intended to display Waerndorfer's collections (almost certainly the oblong room on the ground floor at the back of the house, looking on to the garden). Again, surviving photographs give us a fairly good idea of what this gallery was like (Figs 18 and 19). The deep window sills were employed for the display of small sculptures, flanked by potted plants; between the windows were cupboards, presumably containing silver, porcelain and *objets d'art*. On the opposite wall is space to hang paintings, with further cupboards below. The centre of the gallery is taken up by what appears to be a huge version of an architect's plan chest, almost certainly housing part of Waerndorfer's considerable collection of drawings. The room is decorated very simply, the plaster wall-surfaces being left quite bare, save for the decorative motif of a group of little square studs at cornice level.

Apart from the photographs, no substantial documentary evidence has so far come to light regarding this commission. However, there is every reason to suppose that the gallery may have been designed and executed 'all in one breath' along with the dining room. Like the dining room, it is sparsely furnished and decorated in Hoffmann's severest black and white manner. Much of the detailing of the decoration is very similar to that of the adjacent dining room – for example, the slender pairs of columns which flank the window embrasures. The only novel detail is the use of a downward-pointing triangle as a decorative leitmotif. There is also an aside in Waerndorfer's December 1902 letter to Hoffmann, quoted above, which has previously been taken to refer to the Mackintosh music room, but which may instead refer to the Hoffmann gallery. In this letter, Waerndorfer, having enthused about the effect of the newly finished dining room, continues: 'I tell you, you've got something in store for you, the way my wife is so crazy about those two rooms. Today, if you please, she was offered a box for *Götterdämmerung* – I'd accepted, and she just telephoned me to say, "No way – today I've got to

arrange my cabinet.'" What do you say to that? I knew that's what would happen. Of course, we're both staying at home, and we'll be thinking of you.' It is not clear why Hoffmann should have been expected to suffer Lili Waerndorfer's transports of enthusiasm over two rooms, one of which he did not design; and the reference occurs in the same part of the letter in which Waerndorfer describes the effect of the Hoffmann dining room, not in the context of his description of the Mackintosh music room. Thus it would seem reasonable to suppose that the mention of 'two rooms' refers not to the dining room and the music room, but to the dining room and the gallery, and that in fact all three rooms were ready more or less simultaneously, in time for Christmas 1902.

Waerndorfer owned a number of pieces of furniture by Hoffmann. Moser and other members of the Secession, as well as a dark wooden cabinet by Mackintosh (Fig.24) bought from the 1902 Turin international exhibition of decorative art,¹⁵ which clearly had no place in the music room. It is not known in which rooms these pieces were located, but some of them, unlike the dining room and music room furniture, have at least survived. Nor is it certain whether any other rooms in the house were entirely re-designed and re-decorated by Hoffmann. Photographs published in the magazine *Innendekoration* show details of two further rooms: the *Herrenzimmer*, and the children's room.¹⁶ Both are credited to Hoffmann, and the photograph of the *Herrenzimmer* (Fig.20) is enough to make one believe that the entire room may well have been Hoffmann's work. (Another, previously unpublished photograph (Fig.21) shows rather more of the decoration of the upper wall surfaces, as well as a lamp of unusual design.) The one extant photograph of the children's room (Fig.23) does not show enough to enable one to come to any very firm conclusions, save that a number of different hands seem to have been at work here. At all events, Hoffmann's touch was sufficiently evident throughout the Waerndorfer house to cause visitors to think that, like the villas on the Hohe Warte built for Henneberg, Spitzer and other patrons of the Secession, the whole building was his creation.¹⁷

The Waerndorfer house soon became not only a meeting place for artists, writers and those connected with the Secession, but also a place of pilgrimage for admirers of modern design. As early as 1904, the fame of the Mackintosh and Hoffmann interiors had spread as far afield as Berlin.¹⁸ Hevesi described the house and Waerndorfer's extensive collection in an article of November 1905,¹⁹ and it was also included in the spring 1908 programme of Wiener Kunstwanderungen, which for a relatively high sum opened the doors of various Viennese private and semi-private collections to those interested and prepared to pay.²⁰ All the more remarkable, then, that not a single item of furniture, no trace of the decorations from either the dining room or the music room seems to have sur-

¹⁴ L. HEVESI: 'Neubauten von Josef Hoffmann', *Alt-kunst-Neukunst*, Vienna [1909], p.216.

¹⁵ BILLCLIFFE, *op. cit.* at note 1 above, p.121 (1902.8)

¹⁶ *Innendekoration* [May 1902], p.136.

¹⁷ MALMBERG, *op. cit.* at note 13 above, p.102.

¹⁸ *Berliner Boersen-Courier* [2nd November 1904].

¹⁹ 'Haus Wärndorfer', *Alt-kunst-Neukunst*, Vienna [1909], pp.221-7.

²⁰ See the notice in *Erdegeist*, Jg. 3, Heft 3-4 [February-May 1908], p.132. I am grateful to Herr Werner J. Schweiger, Vienna, for drawing this reference to my attention.

vived – indeed, their existence cannot be traced with certainty any later than 1916. The exact fate of the two rooms has always remained something of a mystery, but the probable sequence of events would appear to be as follows. Waerndorfer, bankrupted by the financial demands of the Wiener Werkstätte, emigrated to the United States in May 1914.²¹ Prior to this, in 1913, ownership of the house in the Carl-Ludwigstrasse had been made over to his wife Lili; the change of ownership is recorded in the *Grundbuch* for the Bezirk Währing (*Urkunde* No 2578/13). Police records show that Lili Waerndorfer moved into the same house as her mother in Stadiongasse in September 1915, at which point she evidently engaged a Viennese architect, Friedrich Schön, to deal with the sale of Carl-Ludwigstrasse 45 and its contents.

At first, there seems to have been some idea of disposing separately of the two principal ‘curiosities’, the dining room and the music room, as well as some items of movable furniture. An undated newspaper cutting in the files of the Oesterreichisches Museum, presumably from 1916, announced that the famous ‘*Mackintosh Salon, eine besondere Sehenswürdigkeit, sowie Werke von Professor Hoffmann, Moser, Olbrich . . . im XVIII. Bezirk, Karl-Ludwigstr.*’ were to be sold ‘*wegen Uebersiedlung*’, and refers enquirers to the Atelier Architekt Friedrich Schön in the Türken-schanzstrasse. In April 1916, Eduard Leisching, then director of the K. und K. Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie, wrote to Hoffmann, who had evidently enquired about the fate of the two rooms, informing him that the latest news was that they had both been sold.²² Leisching’s information does not, however, appear to have been correct, since in August 1916 he himself became involved in correspondence with Schön regarding the possible acquisition of the Mackintosh room. In the end, the museum decided that it was not financially in a position to purchase any of the Mackintosh furniture; and the only further record of events is that the house itself was eventually bought some time in 1916 by a Wilhelm and Martha Freund.²³ The rest is pure surmise. It was wartime; there was no interest at all in *art nouveau* furniture, as witnessed by the fact that Schön had found it impossible to sell the furnishings of the music room and dining room separately; and anyway, by this date *art nouveau* was too old-fashioned to be considered modern, and not old enough to be of historical interest. One can well imagine that the new occupants of the house in the Carl-Ludwigstrasse found the décor hideous, and simply removed it. If this was indeed the case, the destruction of the Waerndorfer interiors must rank with the burning of Klimt’s paintings at Schloss Immendorf as one of the most serious acts of vandalism perpetrated in our century.

²¹ Police records for the Bezirk Währing show that Fritz Waerndorfer left for America on 7th May 1914.

²² Letter of 12th April 1916; Oesterreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna, archive.

²³ *Häuser-Kataster der Bundeshauptstadt Wien*, ed. J. W. SALZBERG, Vienna [1928], Bd. IX.

Shorter Notices

The cleaning of Velázquez’s portrait of Camillo Massimi

BY ENRIQUETA HARRIS AND HERBERT LANK

THE recent cleaning by Herbert Lank of Velázquez’s little known masterpiece, which I first published in this Magazine in 1958, is the occasion for reviewing the history of the painting and contributing a few additional notes.

Cleaning has marvellously brought to light and to life the likeness of one of Velázquez’s most distinguished Italian sitters, Monsignor Camillo Massimi (1620-77; Fig.26), famous connoisseur, art patron and collector, future Nuncio at the Spanish court and Cardinal, whose friendly relations with the artist are reflected in one of only two personal letters of the artist to survive, also published in these pages (THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE [1960], pp.162-66). Until a few months ago Velázquez’s painting was in the Bankes Collection at Kingston Lacy, where it hung high up on a wall in the ‘Spanish Room’. Now the property of the National Trust, it has been placed on loan in the National Gallery, where it introduces a rare and striking note of colour among the paintings in the Spanish room there. When I described the painting in 1958, after studying it at close quarters from the top of a ladder, I noted the muted colours, lamenting that much of the painting’s splendour was concealed by dirt, noticeable even in the reproductions. With the further passage of time, the concealment was nearly complete. Now that the dirt has been removed, and we can see the painting in good conditions and good light, and look at Camillo Massimi face to face, it becomes necessary to step back in order to appreciate the remarkable subtleties of technique and colour that distinguish the different materials of his outer and inner vestments, topped by the volume of the massive head, and give character to the strongly marked features. Only a colour reproduction can now do the painting justice (Fig.1).¹

Massimi’s costume, the ‘*habito da prelato*’, as it was called in the description of his portrait in the inventory of his own collection, is the most unusual feature of the painting, a costume in which few if any other prelates have sat for a portrait. Mostly they waited to be raised to the purple. Yet it was the official costume – a silk *sottana* and serge *soprana*, in ‘peacock blue’ – of a *cameriere segreto* or *d’onore*, both being personal appointments of the Pope.² Camillo Massimi was appointed *cameriere segreto* and *protonotario apostolico* by Innocent X in 1646,³ while he is described as ‘*cameriere d’honore di S. Beatitudine*’ in an *Avviso* of October 1650, when he was made a Canon of St Peter’s,⁴ possibly the occasion of the portrait. In

¹ The printing of the colour photograph has been made possible by the generous assistance of the Kress Foundation.

² I should like to record my thanks to Dr Romeo de Maio, who many years ago identified from my description the blue vestments worn by Massimi. On the colour and materials of the *habito paonazzo* worn by *camerieri segreti* and *d’onore*, and their offices, see GIROLAMO LUNADORO: *Relatiome della Corte di Roma*, Padua [1650], pp.14-15: ‘*i camerieri segreti e quei d’honore, sogliono portar sottana, e soprana, la prima di terzanello l’inverno, e d’ormisino l’estate, l’altro di saietta, ò di saia, ambedue in ogni stagione di color paonazzo*’. See also G. MORONI: *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*, VII, Venice [1841], pp.25-47. On the origin of the colour and its symbolism (modesty, temperance and humility), pp.28-9.

³ POMPEO LITTA: *Famiglie celebri italiane*, Milan – Turin, IV [1839], for his appointment by Innocent X as *cameriere segreto* and *protonotario apostolico* in 1646. For a recent notice of Massimi, see FRANCIS HASKELL: *Patrons and Painters*, London [1963], pp.115-19.

⁴ Biblioteca Vaticana, *Avvisi* 101, fol.291. ‘*Di Roma [Oct. 1650]. Martedì . . . Mons. de Massimi Cameriere d’honore di S. Beatitudine se trasferì alla Basilica di S. Pietro a prendere il possesso del canonicato conferitogli il giorno avanti da sua Santità . . .*’