

Oskar Kokoschka, Works on Paper *The Early Years, 1897–1917*



**Oskar Kokoschka, Works on Paper**  
*The Early Years, 1897–1917*

*192 pages with 96 full-color plates and  
50 black-and-white illustrations*

This book, the catalogue to an exhibition presented at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, showcases the extraordinary drawings, watercolors, and lithographs of Oskar Kokoschka (1886–1980), one of Expressionism's leading figures. A wide range of works on paper is included, beginning with a delicately rendered drawing of a girl from a recently discovered student sketchbook and academic nudes drawn while Kokoschka was enrolled at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Applied Arts) from 1904 to 1908. It was during this period that he made his first professional works, charming postcards and fans for the influential Wiener Werkstätte. These decorative works soon gave way to his more mature style, characterized by a masterly command of draughtsmanship and an often-violent subject matter that plumbs the depths of the human psyche, instinct, and myth. This volume includes a broad selection of works from the years when Kokoschka was at the height of his artistic powers, creating deeply charged portraits, figure studies, and dramatic illustrations based on the literary works he authored. It concludes with examples from an important series of war drawings inspired by the artist's experiences as a soldier during World War I.

The beautifully produced color plates in this catalogue are illuminated by a scholarly essay by Alice Srobl and Alfred Weidinger, who have pursued Kokoschka's works on paper in greater depth than any other art historians. A detailed account of the development of the artist's career until 1917, their text offers compelling evidence that has led to dozens of reattributions and redatings, making this book a required addition to any art library.

Cover:  
*Das Mädchen Li und ich (The Girl Li and I)*, 1908  
(cat. no. 39). Color lithograph with tempera and  
opaque white on paper, 24 x 22 cm. Private  
collection, Zurich.

Printed in Germany









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**Oskar Kokoschka, Works on Paper** *The Early Years, 1897–1917*

*Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum*  
*June 10–August 24, 1994*

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## Preface

Thomas Krens

In 1986, the centennial of Oskar Kokoschka's birth, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum presented a retrospective of the artist's paintings, providing American audiences with a rare glimpse of the impressive breadth of Kokoschka's innovative skills and limitless imagination. Now, nearly ten years later, the museum has the privilege of bringing another aspect of this extraordinary artist's work to light.

*Oskar Kokoschka, Works on Paper: The Early Years, 1897-1917* is drawn from an exhibition of 225 works on paper held at the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna from March to May of this year. Credit for the conception, research, and organization of this remarkable survey goes to Alice Strobl and Alfred Weidinger, who have also undertaken the preparation of the catalogue raisonné of the artist's drawings and watercolors. We are honored to present this insightful exhibition in New York, and are pleased to continue our ongoing association with Austrian artists and institutions.

A project of this scope requires the dedicated efforts of many individuals. First and foremost, I would like to thank Konrad Oberhuber, Director of the Graphische Sammlung Albertina; without his enthusiastic participation, this presentation would not have been realized. Alice Strobl's and Alfred Weidinger's documentation of Kokoschka's works on paper has added invaluable to an understanding of the artist's work and his contribution to the art of the twentieth century. I would also like to thank Olda Kokoschka, the artist's widow, for her assistance and kind cooperation. My gratitude also goes to members of the Guggenheim Museum's staff who organized the exhibition in New York.

The presentation of Kokoschka's works on paper at the Guggenheim required a significant degree of international and private support. I would like to thank the Austrian Cultural Institute of New York, its director, Dr. Wolfgang Waldner, whose unflagging efforts contributed enormously to the realization of this project, and the Austrian Ministry for Foreign Affairs; Mr. and Mrs. Ronald S. Lauder; Zumtobel Staff Lighting Inc.; The City of Vienna, and its Commissioner for Cultural Affairs, Dr. Ursula Pasterk; the American Austrian Foundation; Wiener Städtische Insurance; Kunststrans; Dietl International Services; and Bank Austria. I would also like to express my gratitude to Austrian Airlines, the official carrier for this exhibition.

Finally, I would like to thank the lenders for so generously allowing us to present the richness and diversity of Kokoschka's works on paper.

It is particularly appropriate that this exhibition of Oskar Kokoschka's early drawings and watercolors has come from Vienna, where it premiered at the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, to the United States. Kokoschka's great interest in international artistic developments, evident from the beginning of his career, led him to spend the majority of his life outside Austria. In the 1920s, Kokoschka longed to find success in the United States, hoping to show his works here and to have built in this country a templelike structure that he had originally designed in 1914 as a crematorium for Wroclaw, Poland. Moreover, it seems fitting that American audiences will have the opportunity to view Kokoschka's pre-1918 drawings at the same time that an important exhibition of drawings and watercolors by Egon Schiele—a fellow Austrian—is traveling within the country.

The many exhibitions devoted to fin-de-siècle Viennese art, as this one is, have focused for the most part on the work of Schiele and Gustav Klimt. Kokoschka has remained a background figure, even though he later played a more prominent role in the avant-garde. For Klimt, the period before his death in 1918 was the culmination of a long artistic career, during which his explorations of color and form earned him great international success. Schiele's contributions to art history were made primarily in the few years before his early death, also in 1918. Kokoschka, who survived both, would continue to achieve creative heights in his rich and diverse development.

In his early works created for the Wiener Werkstätte—among them the lithograph series *Die träumenden Knaben* (*The Dreaming Boys*, 1907–08) and numerous posters and postcards—Kokoschka revealed himself to be a master of the decorative Werkstätte style. Yet, even in his earliest drawings, and particularly in his nude studies, Kokoschka interpreted the work of his exemplars—including Paul Gauguin, Ferdinand Hodler, and Auguste Rodin—in a far more spontaneous, painterly, and expressive manner than did his contemporaries. The literary and dramatic talent that informed his subsequent work led him away from the influence of Klimt and Schiele toward Expressionist and even Cubist tendencies. Visiting Berlin in 1910, Kokoschka encountered a group of German painters whose artistic freedom confirmed his departure from the dominant Viennese style; a trip to Italy in 1914 further widened his perspective. Unlike any other Austrian artist, Kokoschka became a significant figure in the German Expressionist movement before 1918, evolving an entirely individualistic style born without the influence of Fauvism.

This exhibition serves to elucidate, for the first time, Kokoschka's stylistic development through his drawings. The exact chronology of these shifts and changes is more easily established in the works on paper than in the paintings; the longer periods of time spent on each canvas, later overpainting, and varying degrees of incompleteness in the paintings make it difficult to formulate a precise dating method. This major project could not have been undertaken without the research conducted by Alice Strobl toward the catalogue raisonné of Kokoschka's drawings and watercolors, which she began in 1990. Originally, the exhibition was planned to coincide with the publication of the first volume of the catalogue raisonné in 1995; however, with the decision to close the Albertina for a major renovation, the exhibition was rescheduled to March 1994, allowing only a year for research and organization. Alice Strobl, together with Alfred Weidinger, curated the exhibition and wrote the essay that appears in this catalogue, selecting the works from some 850 early drawings discovered so far. Works not previously attributed to Kokoschka were included in the exhibition as a result of

their research, and the many scholars who viewed the exhibition in Vienna have accepted these new attributions. The exhibition also led to new discoveries, such as the influence of Rodin on Kokoschka and the redating of several works. The catalogue essay was revised for this English edition to reflect their many new observations.

Kokoschka's style changed frequently throughout his career. The exhibition's curators strove to establish the chronology of Kokoschka's works as precisely as possible, a challenging undertaking in light of the many discrepancies in previous dating and the fact that the artist often signed and dated his works some time after they were made. To best explain his stylistic developments, at least two or three particularly characteristic works were chosen from each period for the exhibition in Vienna. For its presentation in New York, eighty-eight drawings and watercolors from the original exhibition were selected, along with seven lithographs from *The Dreaming Boys* and three other works not shown in Vienna.

An exhibition and catalogue of this caliber could never have been achieved without the initiative and commitment of the many people involved. First and foremost, I would like to thank Alice Strobl and Alfred Weidinger for the conception and accomplishment of the exhibition and its catalogue. Their tireless efforts have been rewarded with many new and often astonishing discoveries. The willingness of public and private lenders alike to lend the works that were requested from their collections was the most important condition for the realization of the exhibition. We are greatly indebted to them, and we value their trust and generosity. We owe thanks to all of our colleagues from the public collections we approached for making the loans possible. We are indebted to the Austrian Ministry for Science and Research and, in particular, to its minister and vice-chancellor, Dr. Erhard Busek, whose support was vital to this major project. We also appreciate the support provided by the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and above all by Dr. Wolfgang Waldner, director of the Austrian Cultural Institute in New York, who was wholeheartedly committed to the realization of the exhibition in the United States.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to our colleagues at the Guggenheim Museum, in particular Thomas Krens, Director, Michael Govan, Deputy Director, and Diane Waldman, Deputy Director and Senior Curator, for successfully bringing the exhibition to New York.

*Translated, from the German, by Susan Schwarz*







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## Oskar Kokoschka: Early Graphic Works

Alice Strobl and Alfred Weidinger

This essay, a scholarly endeavor that includes new research and observations on Oskar Kokoschka's drawings and watercolors, was originally published in German in the catalogue to an exhibition held at the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, from March 1 through May 23, 1994. That show, *Oskar Kokoschka: Das Frühwerk (1897/98–1917)*, *Zeichnungen und Aquarelle (Oskar Kokoschka: The Early Work (1897/98–1917), Drawings and Watercolors)*, encompassed 225 examples from more than seventy collections around the world. After the close of the exhibition in Vienna, we revised our text to reflect several new insights and discoveries that resulted from the unprecedented gathering of so many works by Kokoschka. This research will be included in the first volume of our forthcoming catalogue raisonné of the artist's drawings and watercolors, which is now in preparation. For this publication, the essay has been adapted to reflect a smaller survey. The works in the exhibition at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum are referred to in this essay by catalogue number (cat. no.) and are reproduced in the catalogue section of this book, pages 63–191. Works not in the exhibition are referred to by figure number (fig. no.) and are reproduced in the body of the essay.

### 1897–98: The Secondary-School Sketchbook

The earliest record we have of Kokoschka's graphic work is a sketchbook dating from the 1897–98 school year at the Staatsrealschule, a secondary school in Vienna's Währing district.<sup>1</sup> The sketchbook, recently discovered in the collection of a family member,<sup>2</sup> contains twenty-nine drawings in various mediums, an indication of how important it was to Kokoschka's art teacher, M. Schober, to familiarize his students with a full range of techniques. The motifs in the sketchbook drawings reveal a highly focused curriculum that may have been comparable to the preparatory class at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Applied Arts). The very first drawing in the sketchbook shows an apothecary jar with a medallion featuring Hygeia, the Greek goddess of medicine (fig. no. 1). It documents Kokoschka's early interest in antiquity, which was to play a highly important role throughout his career.

The discovery of the sketchbook has allowed us to attribute the pencil drawing *Little Mother* (cat. no. 1), which Kokoschka gave to a cousin, to the same period. The sketchbook also shows that at this time Kokoschka began experimenting with ways in which to sign his work (this tendency continued until around 1906). Our newfound familiarity with his earliest signatures has made it possible for us to credit to Kokoschka drawings that were previously attributed to other artists.

### 1901–04: Early Watercolors, Handmade Postcards, and Portrait Drawings

Kokoschka expressed himself more spontaneously in watercolor than in drawings. As evidenced by the previously unpublished *Italian Farm Girl in a Landscape* (cat. no. 2),<sup>3</sup> by 1901 his watercolor style had become comparatively mature. The inspiration for this work may have been a painting by Anton Romako (1832–1889) or August von Pettenkofen (1822–1889). The meaning of the watercolor is illuminated by the story "Gypsies," the artist's childhood memoir of summer vacations in the country.<sup>4</sup>

Between 1899 and 1902, Kokoschka created a series of handmade postcards, most of which he sent to his cousin Hermine Freunthaller in Inzersdorf, near Herzogenburg in the province of Lower Austria. (A calendar card for the month of March [cat. no. 3], depicting a mill in a mountain landscape, has been



1. *Hygeia*, 1897/98. Watercolor on paper, 16.6 x 12 cm. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

facing page: *Selbstbildnis (Self-Portrait)*, poster for *Der Sturm*, 1910 (cat. no. 53). Color lithograph on paper, 67.3 x 44.7 cm. Private collection, Detail.



Münchener illustriertes Wochenblatt für Kunst und Leben — G. Hartl's Verlag in München & Leipzig.



2. F. X. Weisheit, cover illustration for the April 10, 1897 issue of *Jugend*.

3. Anton Ritter von Kenner, illustration for *Ramsamperl*, 1904. Color lithograph on paper. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

preserved although it was never sent.) Like *Italian Farm Girl in a Landscape*, the cards illustrate Kokoschka's mastery of the watercolor medium.

The academic style of a pencil portrait from around 1903, *Half-Length Portrait of a Girl Looking Down* (cat. no. 4), evolved from the sketchbook drawings, and reflects the nineteenth-century values of Kokoschka's secondary-school education. Its very delicate lines have been drawn with a hard, sharp pencil; the head is modeled with shading in a range of densities.

### 1904–06: First Years at the Kunstgewerbeschule

Through Schober, Kokoschka received a government scholarship to the Kunstgewerbeschule at the k. k. Österr. Museums für Kunst und Industrie (Royal and Imperial Austrian Museum of Art and Industry), which he began attending on October 1, 1904. His first class, Elementary Drawing, consisted of drawing objects and animals and practicing composition; it was part of the required course of study, which was under the direction of Etich Mallina. Kokoschka also studied figure drawing with Mallina, anatomy drawing with Hermann Heller, and calligraphy and heraldry with Rudolf von Larisch.<sup>5</sup>

In 1905, contour—not created with a single, continuous line, but rather with several fine lines placed side by side—began to gain importance in Kokoschka's drawings. This is particularly apparent in the pencil drawing *Female Nude on a Stallion in a Forest* (cat. no. 6).<sup>6</sup> A similar approach is evident in a watercolor in the Albertina collection, *Female Nude on a Galloping Horse in a Landscape with Pond* (cat. no. 5), above all in the outlines of the rider and horse in the immediate foreground.<sup>7</sup> In the distance are a fallen horse with another nude rider and a man approaching on a galloping horse. The euphoric quality of this watercolor is created both through the position of the prominent female rider—she is virtually standing as she rides—and through the dynamic created by the approaching male rider.<sup>8</sup> What is remarkable here are the strong, round strokes defining the landscape and lending depth and spatial volume to the composition.<sup>9</sup> The same technique is used to suggest accelerated movement, which is emphasized by the nude's hair blowing behind her.<sup>10</sup> (The tension expressed in the body of the horse can be traced back to a drawing in the secondary-school sketchbook of the head, neck, and shoulders of a horse.) The cover illustration of the April 10, 1897 issue of the Munich magazine *Jugend* (fig. no. 2) may well have served as the inspiration for Kokoschka's drawing.<sup>11</sup> It, too, depicts a nude woman riding bareback by a pond, her red hair flowing behind her.<sup>12</sup>

During the 1905–06 school year, Kokoschka attended classes in the Department for Teaching Candidates for Freehand Drawing in Secondary Schools, directed by Anton Ritter von Kenner (1871–1951), while studying stylistics with Adolf Ginzel and art history with Eduard Leisching.<sup>13</sup> The influence of Kenner's drawing style (as in fig. no. 3) is most overt in three drawings Kokoschka made in spring 1906 (see, for example, *St. Luke Painting the Madonna and Child*, fig. no. 4), which were published later in an issue of the newsletter *Kneipzeitung* that was dedicated to Kenner.<sup>14</sup>

### 1906: Summer Vacation; 1906–07: Winter Semester, Begins Carl Otto Czeschka's Class

On August 4, 1906, Kokoschka sent a postcard on which he had drawn a self-portrait—the earliest one known—to his mother's brother Juliane Loidl (1887–1976). Loidl lived in Lassing, a village at the foot of the Hochkar mountain in Lower Austria, and Kokoschka spent his summer vacations with Loidl's

family.<sup>15</sup> In this self-portrait, he heightened its expressive power with a very self-confident and unmistakable line. As in the postcards to Freunthaller, Kokoschka was more individualistic and convincing in drawings that he produced outside of school.<sup>16</sup>

In autumn 1906, Kokoschka entered the Kunstgewerbeschule Painting Department, which was led by Carl Otto Czeschka (1878–1960). Czeschka's work may have already interested Kokoschka in the previous semester; he was undoubtedly familiar with the work of Czeschka's students shown at the exhibitions organized by the Kunstgewerbeschule. On the occasion of Czeschka's departure for a professorship at the Kunstschule Hamburg, Ludwig Hevesi wrote, "Every art lover still remembers [Czeschka's] students' exhibitions, where Viennese graphic arts celebrated veritable triumphs . . . a new woodcut spirit has arisen."<sup>17</sup> Very few works ascribed to Czeschka date from 1902 through 1906; this may reflect Czeschka's almost exclusive dedication to his students.<sup>18</sup> Hence, it would be misleading to suggest that the students imitated his style (see fig. no. 5). Kokoschka was, in fact, more heavily influenced by Kenner during his first semester of studies with Czeschka.<sup>19</sup>

The ink-and-watercolor drawing *Conversation at the Garden Fence* (cat. no. 7) was created at the very beginning of the semester, in October 1906. Here, as in a group of stylistically similar works only now attributed to Kokoschka, the composition reveals a distinct *horror vacui*, clearly indicating a relationship to Czeschka's woodcut style. In the drawing, the figure of a young woman emerges out of surroundings composed of a complex interlocking pattern. The turning movement of her body—as well as the placement of the arm and birch tree, both accentuated with carefully applied opaque white—reduce and contain the foreground space.

It has not been established whether Kokoschka produced the pen-and-ink *Temptation of St. Anthony* (cat. no. 8)—another new attribution—while he was still in Kenner's class or at the beginning of his winter semester with Czeschka. A certain awkwardness in the composition of the two nude girls in the foreground and the corrections in opaque white suggest that the drawing was more likely made shortly before the *Kneipzeitung* issue dedicated to Kenner appeared in June 1906. By comparison, Kokoschka's linocut of a female bather (fig. no. 6, discovered by Erwin Mitsch) is somewhat more mature and probably dates from Kokoschka's winter semester with Czeschka. That Kokoschka made linocuts is confirmed by a handwritten entry Czeschka made in the school's catalogue for the 1906–07 school year.<sup>20</sup> All these works share a decorative approach, achieved above all by modeling the figures with broken contour lines. These works are also characterized by the exotic features of the young women's faces.

In Kokoschka's design for the postcard *Dairymaid and Cow* (cat. no. 9), we find elements similar to those in *Temptation of St. Anthony*: large forms created by interlocking, small, botanical shapes.<sup>21</sup> In the postcard, this device is used to form a conical evergreen; in *Temptation of St. Anthony*, the shapes form round treetops. Volume in the postcard is achieved entirely through the illusion of perspective created by the relative sizes of shapes.

Very few examples of Kokoschka's efforts in Czeschka's department from the 1906–07 school year have been located to date. But from Czeschka's entries in the Kunstgewerbeschule catalogue, we know that Kokoschka created a number of other works in this period, among them: "Designs for commercial prints, posters, pictorial broadsheets, bookplates, etc., designs for woodcuts and linocuts executed independently by the artist. Book art. Studies from nature. Preparatory



4. St. Luke Painting the Madonna and Child, 1906. Solvent transfer print, 26 x 21 cm, Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

5. Carl Otto Czeschka, *Hanged Man*, ca. 1905. Color linocut on paper. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.

6. *Bather*, 1906. Linocut on paper, 32.6 x 19.8 cm.  
Private collection.



drawings for posters, book illustrations, and designs for typography.”<sup>22</sup> Both a list of biographical dates and the school catalogues confirm that Kokoschka produced a design for the broadsheet *The Monkey and the Parrot* (lithograph version, fig. no. 7) for the Wiener Werkstätte during the 1906–07 school year.<sup>23</sup> The design has since been lost.<sup>24</sup>

According to the curriculum of the Kunstgewerbeschule and the teachers’ remarks in the catalogues, Kokoschka had been trained in life drawing from the beginning of his studies. No life drawings from this period have been discovered, but it is likely that they would be similar in style to *Female Nude on a Galloping Horse in a Landscape with Pond* and *Female Nude on a Stallion in a Forest*. A drawing with five studies of a boy (fig. no. 8) could, like the earliest known painting by Kokoschka, *Standing Nude Girl* (Winkler/Schulz 1), be attributed to the 1906–07 winter semester.

### 1907: Summer Semester

An exhibition of paintings by Paul Gauguin (1848–1903) that opened in March 1907 at Galerie Miethke in Vienna may well have had some influence on Kokoschka’s art.<sup>25</sup> This can be inferred from a series of studies of girls with exotic facial features. Another indication is the introduction into his work of depictions of Tahitian girls wearing only skirts and endowed with rather plump limbs. In *Standing Girl with Crossed Legs at Left, Seated Girl with Knees Drawn to the Chest at Right* (cat. no. 18), Kokoschka juxtaposed the flat abstractions of clothing against the delicate contours of the figure’s body.

In his autobiography, Kokoschka confirmed that he attended life-drawing classes and also studied anatomical drawing.<sup>26</sup> From a fairly reliable list that contains biographical information on Kokoschka, it seems that he was drawing “studies of nude children” as early as spring 1906.<sup>27</sup> In his own studio, which he first rented in the 1907 summer semester, Kokoschka drew children from a circus family that he brought in from the street.

At around the same time, Kokoschka drew several nude studies of an old man and woman (for example, cat. nos. 20–21). Both were drawn in the life-drawing class at the Kunstgewerbeschule. He also drew young girls in his own studio, and, after the 1907–08 winter semester, began to draw his fellow student Lilith Lang.<sup>28</sup> In the nude studies, Kokoschka focused on the characteristic features of his models, attempting to reveal their personalities and lives through an extreme realism. Thus, in *Standing Nude Old Man, Turned to Left—The Storyteller* (cat. no. 21), he brought out the liver spots on his model’s hands and the protruding veins on his left forearm, while in *Seated Nude Old Woman with Stockings* (cat. no. 20), he highlighted the model’s sagging breasts and stomach folds.

### 1907–08 School Year: Kokoschka Enters Berthold Löffler’s Class; Works for the Wiener Werkstätte

After Czeschka left the Kunstgewerbeschule at the end of the 1907 summer semester, Kokoschka studied under Berthold Löffler, director of the Painting and Drawing Department. He also took a course in life drawing taught by Kenner and Löffler.<sup>29</sup> The catalogue for this school year indicates Kokoschka’s accomplishment in Löffler’s class: “Drawings and paintings from nature. Tapestry designs, exhibited and purchased at the 1908 *Kunstschau* [Art Show]. Illustrations for a fairy-tale book. Designs for vignettes, postcards, etc. Book art. Designs for a slide-and-shadow play, etc. Costumes.”<sup>30</sup>

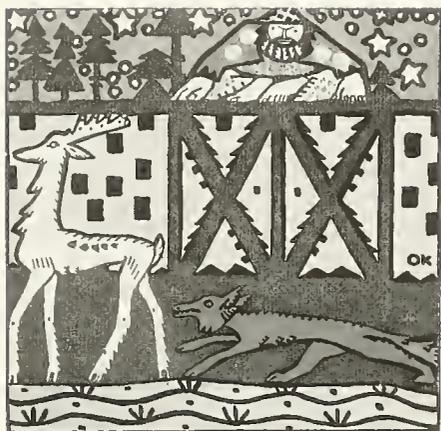
Apart from his nude studies of Lang, Kokoschka was already making many



7. *The Monkey and the Parrot*, 1907 (detail). Color lithograph on paper. Private collection.

8. *Five Studies of a Boy*, 1906. Pencil on paper, 43 x 31 cm. Private collection.





9. *Stag, Fox, and Magician*, 1907. Color lithograph on paper, 14.8 x 15.1 cm. Private collection.



10. *Stag*, 1907. *Diarium für Jäger* cover motif, 8.4 x 7.7 cm. Private collection.

designs for Wiener Werkstätte postcards in his first semester. Like Czeschka, Löffler allowed his students to accept paid assignments from the Wiener Werkstätte. Kokoschka also worked on the decor for the Cabaret Fledermaus, which was designed by the Wiener Werkstätte and opened on October 19, 1907. According to Wetner J. Schweiger, “Cabaret Fledermaus represents both the first and the purest fulfillment of the Wiener Werkstätte’s quest for a synthesis of the arts.”<sup>31</sup>

Kokoschka was committed to the idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. He designed and executed the color lithograph *Stag, Fox, and Magician* (fig. no. 9) for the cabaret’s first playbill, and even contributed to the show itself with his fairy-tale slide-and-shadow play *Das getupfte Ei* (*The Speckled Egg*). According to Hevesi, “a number of young talents from the Roller-Czeschka-Hoffmann group” participated in designing some 1,000 majolica tiles that decorated the walls of the barroom<sup>32</sup>; it is likely that Kokoschka was involved in this project, too. It is also possible that Kokoschka participated in designing the stage and the auditorium, as his name is mentioned in the playbills among the “design assistants.”

The opening performance of *The Speckled Egg* took place on October 28, 1907. Kokoschka created several figures (cat. no. 16) with movable joints attached to spring mechanisms.<sup>33</sup> Because it was a shadow play, Kokoschka, echoing Javanese traditions, made the outlines as distinct as possible. The poet Max Mell (1882–1971)<sup>34</sup> supplied the only detailed account of this slide-and-shadow play: “The shepherd is sitting on a garden wall waiting for the dancer to come by. At first we see a stag, and then a fox pass by, before the object of desire appears. The idea of waiting was used to suggest that the fairy tale is not Indian, but rather the creation of the painter Kokoschka. But the whole poetic atmosphere of the slides leaves little room for doubting Kokoschka’s originality.”<sup>35</sup> This scene is reproduced in the color lithograph on the first playbill for Cabaret Fledermaus. Another scene showed the heroine of the story, a dancer in a meadow. In it, the stars “rose and swirled in the sky above her”—probably much as they do in the lithograph *Stag, Fox, and Magician*.<sup>36</sup> For technical reasons, *The Speckled Egg* was performed but once; the only figures that have been preserved are those reproduced in this catalogue.<sup>37</sup>

Kokoschka’s tendency to geometrize is evident in the lithograph in the triangular shape of the shepherd’s body and particularly in the contour of the stag’s chest. A similar effect is achieved in a drawing of a stag in the Wiener Werkstätte archive that we have attributed to Kokoschka. By all indications it is a design for inlay work on furniture for the Wittgenstein family’s Hochreit hunting lodge, which was decorated by the Wiener Werkstätte under the supervision of Josef Hoffmann (1870–1956). However, a design by Czeschka was chosen for the final version.<sup>38</sup> Kokoschka’s design was eventually used on the cover of the *Diarium für Jäger* (fig. no. 10). Kokoschka made two pen-and-ink drawings for this hunters’ diary published by the Wiener Werkstätte.<sup>39</sup>

The very specific inclination of the Wiener Werkstätte to promote folk art is most pronounced in the postcard sketch *Dairymaid and Cow*. The postcard sketch *Horseplay* (cat. no. 11) could also be viewed in this regard. In *Mother with Three Children* (cat. no. 12), another sketch for a Wiener Werkstätte postcard, the rendering of the standing woman in profile and the shapes suggesting three folding screens in the background imply that Kokoschka was familiar with *The Dancer*, a small geometric design by Gustav Klimt (1862–1918). Klimt’s sketch, which dates from ca. 1906–07, was among his working drawings for a frieze in

the dining hall at Palais Stoclet in Brussels but was never used.<sup>40</sup> Because these sketches had not been shown publicly at that time, we must assume that Kokoschka saw them while visiting Klimt in his studio.

The postcard sketch *Girl by the Window* (cat. no. 10) is also defined by geometry, as is seen in the overlapping, triangular shapes of the upper and lower body, the positioning of one hand over the other, and the lines in the apron. The geometry is repeated in the drawing of the room, the bird cage, and the ironwork in the oriel. Like *Mother with Three Children*, this sketch was created at around the same time as Kokoschka's series of lithographs for his fairy tale *Die träumenden Knaben* (*The Dreaming Boys*). In the fourth lithograph in the series, *The Distant Island* (cat. no. 35), the female figure seen from behind displays distinct parallels to *Girl by the Window*. In addition, similar compositional elements can be found in the geometric structures of contemporaneous drawings of seminude and nude models.

#### 1907–08: George Minne's Influence on Kokoschka; *The Dreaming Boys* and Other Works for the Wiener Werkstätte

Kokoschka's tendency toward increasingly angular contours evolved further in the nude studies of Lang, whose brother Erwin Lang also went to school with Kokoschka.<sup>41</sup> In all likelihood, the studies of Lilith Lang were drawn in the winter of 1907–08. Sixteen-year-old Lang's boyish figure correlated exactly to Kokoschka's artistic ideal, undoubtedly influenced by the boyish figures in sculptures by George Minne (1866–1900). Kokoschka himself acknowledged this influence.<sup>42</sup> It is further confirmed by the position of the arms of the girl in *Two Standing Female Nudes Facing Each Other* (cat. no. 17, recto), a study of Lang that echoes Minne's 1898 depiction of a kneeling boy (fig. no. 11).<sup>43</sup> These studies show that Kokoschka was interested in the rapid graphic representation of moving figures, an inclination he adopted from Japanese woodblock prints. Perhaps the drawings of Lang were also inspired by the pubescent figures in Klimt's 1902 *Beethoven Frieze* (related drawing, fig. no. 12), which Kokoschka studied in great detail. In most of his drawings, Kokoschka effectively captured the essence of the girl, in both movement and depth of expression. Based on his portraits, it has generally been assumed that Kokoschka did not become adept at exposing the psyche of his subject until 1909. But his nude studies of Lang prove that he succeeded in doing so as early as 1907; moreover, the results are truly impressive.

The studies culminated in the nude of Lang standing with her hands on her right hip. Kokoschka used this drawing for *The Girl Li and I* (cat. no. 39), the final lithograph in the series *The Dreaming Boys* (cat. nos. 32–39), which was made for a storybook.<sup>44</sup> Kokoschka may have received the assignment to create a storybook for the Wiener Werkstätte near the end of 1907. It is typical of his rapid working habits that he delivered the drawings, most likely executed in pen and ink, to the director of the Wiener Werkstätte, Fritz Wärndorfer, as early as February 4, 1908.<sup>45</sup> On March 4, Wärndorfer related the project's status to Czeschka:

*Right now we're printing a storybook by Kokoschka. First we tried to have it printed by Reisser at his cost, because we heard that he was interested in working with us and was willing to take the risk for doing the work. But when he saw Kokoschka's material, the beast came out and he wrote to us that, in light of the emerging trend, it would be hopeless to try and sell this type of book—what a swine, he wanted us to give him some corny fife and drum. But now the Kokoschka stuff is so interesting that even though God knows we*



11 George Minne, *The Little Kneeling One*, 1896. Plaster, 47 cm high. Private collection.

12 Gustav Klimt, *Standing Nude Girl*, Left Profile, 1902. Chalk on paper, 44.6 x 31.4 cm. Private collection.



13. Rudolf Kalvach, *Indian Fairy Tale*, ca. 1907/09. Oil on wood, 60 x 58.6 cm. Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

*don't have any money, we're going to print it after all, 500 copies. Maybe we'll sell them at the show.*<sup>46</sup>

Although Wärndorfer spoke of printing the storybook in March, the production may have been delayed for a while.<sup>47</sup> The presentation of the book very likely took place on June 23, 1908, in the Vienna *Kunstschau* building. This is supported by an undated letter from Kokoschka to Mell, in which he wrote, "The title of the book is *The Dreaming Boys*, and it will be publicly unveiled by the Werkstätte on the 23rd of this month in the *Kunstschau* house."<sup>48</sup> Although the catalogue for a *Kunstschau* that opened on June 2, 1908 lists a "storybook" under catalogue numbers 16, 17, 26, and 27, those were probably individual pictures from *The Dreaming Boys*.

In January 1908, a highly acclaimed Auguste Rodin exhibition, which included 150 drawings, was held at the Kunsthandlung Heller. Kokoschka's interest in the art of Rodin (1840–1917) is particularly evident in a group of his nude studies.<sup>49</sup> These drawings are characterized by fluid lines rapidly set to paper and by an extremely spare use of watercolor. However, Kokoschka's drawings are noticeably distinct from Rodin's in the rendering of the models. As in the early nude studies from 1907, a psychological quality is prominent in Kokoschka's works. Like Rodin, Kokoschka lightly sketched a schematic contour in pencil, but, contrary to the Frenchman, he added strong lines over the preliminary drawing. Kokoschka's more naturalistic approach is particularly apparent in the faces; his locution of body language is also more expressive. Rodin's coloration emphasizes flesh tones and is kept within the contours, while Kokoschka generally added watercolor accents to the extremities and without regard to outlines.

Rodin's work showed Kokoschka a much looser and freer way of handling line and thus allowed him to break away from a conservative, academic drawing style. He could now disregard interior drawing and concentrate entirely on contour. This explains two parallel styles evident in *The Dreaming Boys*; one a more traditional technique, the other derived from the highly stylized figures in Rodin's nude studies.

*The Dreaming Boys* is a series of eight lithographs printed in only a few colors, which Kokoschka then enhanced with watercolor and gouache. *The Girl Li and I* is the only print in the series in which the youthful nudes, surrounded by neutral auras, are not subordinate to the decorative system. Unlike the other figures, the two nudes are not anonymous; instead they are representations of Lang and Kokoschka himself. Kokoschka symbolically revealed his fantasy in the vertical plane of red with two birds of paradise, which at once separates and joins the two figures; in his autobiography, the artist remarked that the fairy tale was meant as a love letter to Lang.<sup>50</sup> The very flat foreground scene appears to be laid onto the landscape as in collage. We find a system of spatial zones stacked on top of one other, with a very high horizon.<sup>51</sup> In this idyllic, fairy-tale scene, a resting gazelle melts into the exotic landscape and three figures in ritualistic poses lend it a transcendental quality.

A comparison of *The Girl Li and I* with the painting *Indian Fairy Tale* (fig. no. 13), created around 1907 by Kokoschka's fellow student Rudolf Kalvach (1889–1932), suggests that Kokoschka was inspired by Kalvach's composition. This can also be discerned in a letter from Czeschka to Ankwicz von Kleehoven, dated September 11, 1952:

In October, I assigned Koko to a large table next to the window. His neighbor was Kalvach the Croatian, son of a likable, honest locomotive engineer. Kalvach's work had a very special quality, he was quite talented, and poor, too. Pretty soon, Koko started making things like Kalvach—God! Slowly, I had to show this little mimosa Koko that he was heading entirely in the wrong direction—that you can't do things like that—that you have to find your inner self. Because he had seen very little art, I told him he had to look at a lot and try to understand the problems, graphic elements—translation, the shorthand simplification of the subject—all this was Greek to him. Very slowly he found himself. Without his noticing, I was able to bring him to create works that he's still exhibiting in his shows today.<sup>52</sup>

Kokoschka's postcard design *Nude Girl in an Open Cage in Front of a Flutist* (cat. no. 13) is related thematically to *The Girl Li and I*. Based on its style, it may have been completed immediately after *The Dreaming Boys*. Both the figures and the landscape exemplify Kokoschka's tendency toward abstraction. The contours, formerly drawn with extreme sensitivity and meticulous attention to form, become more independent here. He reduced the delicate and elongated figures to their essence, stylizing them, and thus generalizing them. The landscape is treated as blocked and geometrized spatial zones, which create an effect that could easily be called Expressionist. Unlike *The Girl Li and I*, in which Kokoschka declared his love to Lang, in the postcard design he depicted her in a cage—albeit with an open door. An interpretation of this scene can be inferred from a letter addressed to Erwin Lang,<sup>53</sup> in which we learn that Lang was traveling in "artistic circles" that Kokoschka did not approve of. It is understandable that this introduced a certain distance between the two. In a late interview, Kokoschka claimed that he left Lang because of her bad reputation.<sup>54</sup> In the postcard design, the cage separates the girl from the flute player—representing Kokoschka—who is still courting her. The parrots symbolize the circle of artists Kokoschka disapproved of and their pursuit of Lang.

### 1908: The Jubilee Procession; Other Postcard Designs

A jubilee anniversary procession in honor of the Emperor was to be held on June 12, 1908. Löffler's students, including Kokoschka, were assigned by the festival committee to outfit Group XIII, "Vintage and Harvest Festival in the Time of Joseph II." On March 18, 1908, a design competition for the procession's poster was announced in the press; April 3 was the deadline for submitting entries.<sup>55</sup> Kokoschka's entry (which was not selected) shows two women waving palm fronds in adulation behind a flag bearer whose imaginative clothing is reminiscent of a uniform (cat. no. 40). The flag is yellow and black, the colors of the imperial family. Kokoschka's drawing style—especially the ritualistic expressions—is in keeping with the tone of homage and adulation.

The postcard designs with a mother-and-child motif (see, for example, cat. nos. 14–15) begin to move further away from *The Dreaming Boys*. From this time on, the subject became increasingly important for the artist and reappeared often, except during the period when he was publishing graphic works in the journal *Der Sturm*. It is treated with impassioned urgency in *Mother with Child on a Reindeer in the River* (cat. no. 14). In it, a mother rides a reindeer through a river, holding her child with both hands, her head protecting her child's. She is being threatened on all sides. The fish in the water are aggressive; on land, three figures—partially hidden in the underbrush—are leaning forward, wielding knives, their gestures similar to that of the serpent poised for attack. The



14. Gustav Klimt, *The Three Ages*, 1905. Oil on canvas, 180 x 180 cm. Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome.



15. *The Great Flood*, 1908, reproduced in the March 1908 issue of *Erdgeist*.

mother's protective posture, with her head bent to cover the head of her child, is derived from Klimt's painting *The Three Ages* (fig. no. 14).

#### 1908: Vienna *Kunstschau*; Nude and Seminude Drawings

Kokoschka showed tapestry designs, entitled *The Dream-Bearers*, in a side room at the 1908 Vienna *Kunstschau*. The designs, originally purchased by Wärndorfer but now lost, were probably similar to the works published in *Erdgeist* (see fig. no. 15) and *Girl in an Exotic Landscape*, *Fish in the Sea*, and *Boats with Gesticulating Figures*. They generated a variety of responses from the critics. The *Wiener Abendpost* wrote:

*Kokoschka saw Gauguin, van Gogh, and Röhrich. It confused him a little. His giant folding screen is a ridiculous triptych. It is the ancient Peruvian or ancient American Indian version of "little Moritz" (from Wilhelm Busch's satirical comic strip). There is nothing more ludicrous than Kokoschka's drawings. The show's organizers must have thought that the spectators would get very angry and upset in this room. But not a chance. They don't even laugh. They just look for the fastest way to get out of this cabin.<sup>56</sup>*

On June 2, 1908, the *Deutsches Volksblatt* reviewed the *Kunstschau*:

*The Dream-Bearers is the title of these designs, but they should be called Egyptian Memories, because the perspective is Egyptian and the motifs are also Egyptological. You see the holy family, Osiris and Isis with the little Horus on her lap, and you feel compelled to scream out in pain: "Oh you poor things, how you've changed—and much to your disadvantage!"<sup>57</sup>*

Art historian Richard Muther (1860–1909), writing in the June 6, 1908 issue of the Vienna newspaper *Die Zeit*, added:

*There are two rooms on the side with decorative furniture. The enfant terrible here is Kokoschka. Because premature success has damaged many a young artist (he sold everything he is showing on the first day), it would be pedagogically advisable to slow down. Therefore, Herr Kokoschka, your tapestry designs are despicable: Oktoberfest fairgrounds, raw Indian art, ethnographic museum, Gauguin gone crazy—what do I know. And yet, I can't help myself: I haven't seen a more interesting debut in years. The thing is, this enfant terrible is a true child, absolutely not a poseur, no, he's a good boy. He explained the meaning of his pictures to me himself, with a naïveté that's not of this time. And while I listened to him, with his awkward gestures and childlike utterances, I said to myself inwardly: There's something real and fresh here, something elemental that demands expression. . . . I'll have to remember the name Kokoschka. Because anyone who can be such a cannibal at twenty-two might be a very original, serious artist at thirty.<sup>58</sup>*

It is possible that *Young Girl with Bare Upper Torso Leaning Forward* (cat. no. 23) and *Standing Young Girl with Bare Upper Torso* (cat. no. 24) were also shown at the *Kunstschau*. They are directly related to Kokoschka's design for the *Kunstschau* poster, which was actually printed, representing a young woman standing among grapevines (fig. no. 16). In all likelihood, the model is still Lang. Yet another type of geometric stylization is evident in the figure. In this instance, Kokoschka was following the examples of Josef Hoffmann, Koloman Moser (1868–1918), and Klimt, the Austrian representatives of *Jugendstil*. Kokoschka's working process is easy to follow in the original design. He started with



A. BERGER DRUCK V. LITHOGRAPHIE WIEN VII. TIGER & 1908



DRUCK V. LITHOGRAPHIE WIEN VII. TIGER & 1908

DRUCK V. LITHOGRAPHIE

16. *Kunstschau Poster*, 1908. Lithograph on paper, 93.5 x 38 cm. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

17. Rudolf Kalvach, *Kunstschau Poster*, 1908. Lithograph on paper, 136.5 x 53.5 cm. Private collection.



18. *Murdered Woman*, 1909 (detail), pencil sketch on the stage directions for the premiere of *Murderer: Hope of Women*, as it appears in Albert Quendler's film *Oskar Kokoschka—Erinnerung (Oskar Kokoschka—Memory)*.

watercolor in blue, green, and yellow, which he laid over the pencil sketch as a wash. To bring out the colors even more intensely, he first worked over the schematic watercolor sketch with unglazed tempera. Finally, he accentuated the contours of the head and arms with broad ink lines. The cropped edges of the paper indicate that the format was originally slightly larger, and the top of the head was rounder and was meant to continue to the top edge of the paper. The lettering added to the top and bottom in the final poster is missing here. A comparison to the other poster for the Vienna *Kunstschau* (fig. no. 17), designed by Kalvach, clearly demonstrates that there was still a close relationship between the two artists' work in the 1908 summer semester.

The same flattening of the head and chin, seen for the first time in Kokoschka's poster design, are apparent in the frontal and three-quarter views of the figures in cat. nos. 25–29. The gestures are also very important in this group, particularly when poses emphasize volume, such as in cat. no. 29. This tendency is especially pronounced in cat. nos. 25, 28, and 29, pencil-and-watercolor drawings.

The pencil-and-watercolor drawing that Kokoschka referred to as *The Lunatic Girl* (cat. no. 26) is from the collection of Adolf Loos (1870–1933), Kokoschka's first great supporter and patron.<sup>59</sup> Most likely, it represents the dancer Elisabeth "Bessy" Bruce (1886–1921), whom Loos had met in the *Tabarin*, a Viennese cabaret, where she appeared with the Barrison Sisters dance troupe. The shape of the young woman, sitting on the floor in a relaxed position and immersed in thought, is rhomboidal; the pattern on her dress is also defined geometrically. The same approach is evident in cat. nos. 25 and 28. It is possible that all of these drawings are related to the dance troupe's performance. At the time, dance played a very important role in Vienna; at least two performances took place at the *Kunstschau's* Summer Theater. The Wiesenthal sisters had appeared before the public for the first time at the Cabaret *Fledermaus*. That same year, they performed at the garden theater of the *Kunstschau*, and the *Neue freie Presse* reported that their dance enthralled the masters of the *Kunstschau* themselves, Klimt, Alfred Roller, and Mell. In his book about Grete Wiesenthal, dance historian Oscar Bie wrote that she and her sisters "gave their bodies to the waltzes of Schubert and Lanner and liberated movement from Minne, Mackintosh, and Moser."<sup>60</sup>

For the second performance at the Summer Theater, Mell's *Der silberne Schleier (The Silver Veil)* was presented, a pantomime danced by the Wiesenthals.<sup>61</sup> From a previously unpublished letter from Mell to a Mr. Braun, dated October 8, 1908, we know that Kokoschka had made drawings for *The Silver Veil* that Mell had not yet seen, but he was nonetheless considering publishing them to illustrate his story.<sup>62</sup> A few of Kokoschka's studies mentioned in connection with dance could be related to these drawings for Mell.

Because of a gap in the chronology of the drawings and watercolors produced after this performance, we know that we have not located all of the drawings that Kokoschka created in this very important period. It is also possible that this gap reflects an interruption in the artist's work due to depression, which in turn could have been a response to the largely devastating critiques of his work at the *Kunstschau*.

**1908–09: Works from the Winter Semester; *Murderer*, *Hope of Women***  
*Mother with Child* (cat. no. 27), which depicts the familiar subject in a standing position, was probably made as early as fall 1908.<sup>63</sup> Unlike other similar drawings,

the flattening of the head is particularly prominent in the figure of the mother. The piece foreshadows the artist's tendency to uglify, which escalated considerably in the works that followed, particularly in the series *Murderer, Hope of Women*.

According to the literature on the subject, Kokoschka wrote his most important drama, *Murderer, Hope of Women*, in 1907. We maintain, however, that the first version of the work, originally titled *Hope of Women* and published in *Der Sturm* in 1910, should definitely be seen as a literary sequel to *The Dreaming Boys*, which dates to 1907–08.<sup>64</sup> It therefore cannot have been written in 1907.

A sketch on the stage directions for the premiere of *Murderer, Hope of Women* (fig. no. 18), which took place during the 1909 *Internationale Kunstschau*, shows that, in contrast to the poetic, self-contained atmosphere in *The Dreaming Boys*, Kokoschka was now interested in using as spectacular an approach as possible to illustrate ugliness and brutality. The idyllic encounter of the two sexes in *The Dreaming Boys* becomes, in *Murderer, Hope of Women*, a serious confrontation with a deadly ending. In *Murderer, Hope of Women I* (cat. no. 75), the wolf lapping up blood in the foreground symbolizes the murderer's lust for blood. Kokoschka emphasizes the difference between the sexes by endowing the man with unrestrainable power, allowing him control over the woman. The ink drawings for *Murderer, Hope of Women* (also see cat. no. 76) were probably completed as early as spring 1910.

#### 1908–09: *Robinson; El Greco*

As with *The Girl Li and I*, there are clear indications that the drawings Kokoschka made for a story based on that of Robinson Crusoe<sup>65</sup> (cat. nos. 44–45) were inspired by the art of Kalvach (such as his woodcut of the Trieste harbor, fig. no. 19). Kokoschka translated the effect of the woodcut technique into his drawings. It should not be overlooked that Kalvach, like Kokoschka, colored his works in select areas; this considerably enhances the effect of the color.

Kokoschka's *Bearded Man Sailing Up a River in a Tropical Landscape* (cat. no. 44) depicts a man in a sailboat passing by a coral reef. The sailor could very well be Robinson Crusoe, who saved himself in a sailboat after being shipwrecked. There is a fascinating beauty about the tropical island, with its lush flora and fauna. Kokoschka's preoccupation with the exotic led to the creation of new forms, harbingers of the distinctive drawing style of the *Der Sturm* period.

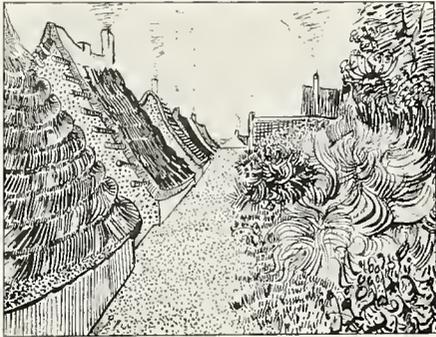
*Bearded Fisherman* (cat. no. 43), sometimes called *Japanese Fisherman*, was most likely inspired by a Chinese or Japanese woodcut. This is a good example of Kokoschka's search for new forms and graphic expressions, which ultimately led to the very complex illustrations for *Murderer, Hope of Women* of 1909–10.

The El Greco exhibition held at the Paris *Salon d'Automne* in October 1908 had a profound impact on the entire art world. As early as November 1908, a number of excellent, large-format reproductions after El Greco (by Hanfstaengl, Bruckmann, Braun, and others) were available at the Kunsthandlung Heller in Vienna. Aldabert Franz Seligmann wrote: "Three issues of the French magazine *Les Arts* also have numerous reproductions of the master's paintings, allowing a fairly comprehensive overview of El Greco's entire oeuvre."<sup>66</sup> Carl Moll, who in fall 1909 traveled to Spain with Klimt to see El Greco's paintings, possessed a complete collection of the reproductions of his works. Kokoschka, typically, was quick to react to El Greco's art; he was already incorporating the influence in the works he produced in the winter of 1908–09.



19. Rudolf Kalvach, *Ships in the Port of Trieste*, 1907–08. Color woodcut on paper. Galerie bei Albertina, Vienna.

20. El Greco, *Burial of Count Orgaz*, 1586 (detail). Oil on canvas, 480 x 360 cm. Santo Tome, Toledo, Spain.



### Utinam delectet!

21. Vincent van Gogh, *Street in Saintes-Maries II*, 1888 (detail). Pen and brush and ink on paper, 24.4 x 31.8 cm. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Bequest.

22. *Utinam delectet!*, 1910, reproduced in the November 3, 1910 issue of the magazine *Der Sturm*.

The distinctive facial shape found in El Greco's *Burial of Count Orgaz* (fig. no. 20) is evident in several of Kokoschka's female figures, above all in *Dreaming Seaman* (cat. no. 45). (It also appears, in modified form, throughout the *Murderer*, *Hope of Women* drawings). *Dreaming Seaman* probably represents the hallucination of the shipwrecked Crusoe. With his head tilted horizontally in a dreaming pose, he visualizes four sisterlike figures with long hair, who, in keeping with maritime legend, could be interpreted as sirens.<sup>67</sup> The very pointed faces of the women are indicative here: they will be repeated in *Lovers in an Exotic Landscape with Animals II* (cat. no. 51), one of two sketches for a bookplate for Emma Bacher, and in *Mother with Child Riding a Doe* (cat. no. 47).

### 1908–09: The Mother-and-Child Motif; Vincent van Gogh

In *Mother with Child Riding a Doe* (also known as *The Flight to Egypt*), Kokoschka resumed his engagement with the mother-and-child theme. The crescent moon, the lantern held by a shepherd in the background, the sleeping animals, and the mother's closed eyes identify it as a nocturnal scene. This is further emphasized by the balance of the composition, which lacks any movement. But the feeling of night is conveyed above all through the use of ink and the density of the structures.

Many of the motifs and stylistic idiosyncrasies in *Mother with Child Riding a Doe* reveal Kokoschka's interest in the art of Minne and Vincent van Gogh. There is an especially close affinity to Minne's illustrations for Emile Verhaeren's *Les Villages illusaires* (1895). The hatching in *Mother with Child Riding a Doe* is particularly effective, as are the short, tight, wavy lines and swirls, which Kokoschka borrowed from van Gogh (see fig. no. 21). Kokoschka initially used the swirl motif to represent tufts of grass; when arranged around a central point, as in this drawing, they become flowers.

*Mother and Child in Armchair with Compote on Table* (cat. no. 46), Kokoschka's only drawing of a woman breast-feeding, may have been produced around the same time or shortly before *Mother with Child Riding a Doe*. However, the focus of *Mother and Child in Armchair* is on its composition, with its pictorial space harkening back to the early postcard designs, as do the landscape elements. But the flattening of the woman's head is reminiscent of *Mother with Child Riding a Doe*. Kokoschka reproduced *Mother and Child in Armchair* in a much denser, yet more transparent, form in an ink drawing published in the November 3, 1910 issue of the Berlin art magazine *Der Sturm* (fig. no. 22).

### 1909: Designs for Costumes and Stage Scenery; Fans for the Wiener Werkstätte; Bookplates

From a file in the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule archives, we know that Kokoschka produced the following in his last school year (1908–09): "Studies from nature, illustrations, posters, costume designs, designs for stage scenery, painted fans for the Wiener Werkstätte." The entry also notes that "some of these works were exhibited at the 1909 *Kunstschau*, where their originality caused a sensation."<sup>68</sup>

*Design for a Stage Curtain with Two Scenes from a Split Set* (cat. no. 50) shows the kind of stage that was frequently used in Shakespeare productions.<sup>69</sup> (Kokoschka's passion for Shakespeare was awakened in secondary school by his teacher Leon Kellner, who was also the president of the Austrian Shakespeare-Gesellschaft [Shakespeare Society]). In Kokoschka's drawing, the two stages are rather small in comparison to the set decorations, which take up a little over half the page. On the left stage, the drama being played is that of a naked man who is incarcerated;

the scene on the right involves his nighttime liberation by force. Kokoschka drew the two stages with an exaggerated perspective, while also including in the foreground the space between the stages and the audience. The actors are rendered with fine lines, in contrast to the bulky ornamentation of the theater. A costume design, *Count Platon Aleksandrovich Zubov* (cat. no. 49), may be related to another theater work, a backdrop depicting a reception for a stately personage. It is possible that it was created for a play set in the time of Catherine the Great, whose favorite was Count Zubov.<sup>70</sup>

A folding fan for the Wiener Werkstätte (cat. no. 48) is closely related in style to the design for the split set and, therefore, would probably have been created during the summer semester of 1909.<sup>71</sup> This date is further supported by the inclusion of a bald figure bearing Kokoschka's facial features—a reference to the artist, who shaved his head in self-chastisement after the press's scornful critique of the 1909 *Internationale Kunstschau*. As he did this sometime after May 1909, the fan must have been produced no earlier than then.<sup>72</sup>

The fan is divided into seven segments; three pictorial scenes are placed between four exclusively ornamental panels. Resembling Kokoschka, the bald, winged figure in the first pictorial scene wears loose clothing and holds in his left hand a lamb at rest. He probably represents John the Baptist as the Lamb of God, who is described as an angel in the *Legenda aurea*. Once again, Kokoschka may have found some inspiration from a work by El Greco, *St. John the Evangelist and St. Francis* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). In Kokoschka's fan, John the Baptist is pointing to a soaring bird, most likely a dove symbolizing the Holy Ghost. In the pictorial scene at right, Kokoschka depicts himself riding away on a horse. Holding a flower in his left hand, he turns back to face a girl in the central, dark field, who is combing her long, dark hair. Behind the girl is a three-tiered bowl filled with exotic fruits.<sup>73</sup> A red fish is swimming in a glass goblet to her right; a reptile is on the floor, and a bird is locked in a cage.<sup>74</sup> The ornaments and symbols in the background are, like the very idea of painting a fan, of Far Eastern origin. The illustrations exemplify Kokoschka's endeavor to secularize motifs that are generally interpreted as Christian.

*Lovers in an Exotic Landscape with Animals II* (cat. no. 51) is one of two similar bookplate designs Kokoschka made for Emma Bacher (1867–1957),<sup>75</sup> neither of which were executed. They can be dated fairly precisely because of an April 27, 1909 letter from Kokoschka to his client. In both designs, the lovers are seated in the center; the young man is clearly a self-portrait, while the girl with very long hair is reminiscent of the sirens in *Dreaming Seaman*. Kokoschka's island motif appears again in the bookplate, although greatly abstracted, as the site where the lovers find refuge. The stag, sun, moon, and wolf (or lion) are on opposite sides in the two versions of the bookplate.

### 1909: *Internationale Kunstschau*

Certain parallels exist between *Lovers in an Exotic Landscape with Animals II* and *Pietà*, Kokoschka's poster for the Summer Theater at the 1909 *Kunstschau* (cat. no. 52). The poster publicized Kokoschka's drama *Murderer: Hope of Women* as well as the comedy *Sphinx und Strohmann* (*Sphinx and Scarecrow*). The similarity to the bookplate design is found primarily in the harmonious balance of the background, figures, and lettering. In addition, the sideways crescent moon and the spotted sun appear in both as symbols of man and woman.<sup>76</sup> While the design for the bookplate shows two lovers embracing, the highly expressive man and woman in the poster represent the much different events of his drama *Murderer*.



23. *Murderer, Hope of Women*, 1909 (detail), pencil sketch on the stage directions for the premiere of *Murderer, Hope of Women*, as it appears in Albert Quendler's film *Oskar Kokoschka—Erinnerungen* (*Oskar Kokoschka—Memories*).

*Hope of Women*. In a review in the July 7, 1909 edition of the *Wiener allgemeine Zeitung*, Paul Frank wrote: "Who wouldn't have stood mystified before the poster that has been brandished on every wall of late? Who would have recognized what the painter intended? Well, now you know: it was a pietà, Christ's Descent from the Cross. Left the sun, right the moon, in the center two figures, one head is a skull, the other, male, has been stripped of all skin, revealing a mass of bloody muscles."<sup>77</sup>

In the context of the drama, first published in 1910, the poster gains new levels of meaning. The artist referred to the poster's symbolism in his autobiography: "Immediately, I designed and got printed the poster expressing the content of the play: The man is blood-red, the colour of life. But he is lying dead in the lap of a woman who is white, the colour of death."<sup>78</sup> By touching the woman, the dying man regains his life force; she, in turn, loses hers and dies.<sup>79</sup> This idea of the transfer of blood from one body to the other is corroborated in a letter from Kokoschka to Alma Mahler, dated July 27, 1912, in which he wrote: "I feel as if all my blood might ebb out of me, silently and imperceptibly, from a wound in my heart, and flow slowly into you."<sup>80</sup>

Contrary to some scholarly speculation, the reviews of *Murderer, Hope of Women* indicate that the drama provoked no scandal. The play was either celebrated with great enthusiasm or dismissed as a joke.<sup>81</sup> Kokoschka's autobiography provides further insight into the production:

*Additionally there was the eerie effect of the firebrands that the Amazons snatched from the warriors' hands at the storming of the citadel, and which at first menaced the makeshift wooden set with their flames and then smouldered red in the darkness. . . . I painted their faces and bodies, where exposed. In this, I had been helped by my visits to the ethnographical museum. There I had learned how primitive peoples, presumably as a reaction to their fear of death, had decorated the skulls of the dead with facial features, with the play of expressions, the lines of laughter and anger, restoring them to the appearance of life. In a similar way I decorated the actors' arms and legs with nerve lines, muscles and tendons, just as they can be seen in my old drawings.*<sup>82</sup>

The only known visual documentation of the premiere is a sketch showing the action on stage (fig. no. 23), drawn on a page from the stage directions.

### 1909–10: Portraits; Works for Herwarth Walden's Magazine *Der Sturm*

At the end of the 1909 summer semester, Roller, the director of the Kunstgewerbeschule, urged Kokoschka to leave the school.<sup>83</sup> At the suggestion of Loos, Kokoschka also stopped working for the Wiener Werkstätte.<sup>84</sup> Around this same period, he met Karl Kraus (1874–1936), who, with Loos, introduced Kokoschka to the circle of the Viennese educator Dr. Eugenie Schwarzwald (1872–1940). Through the Akademischen Verband für Literatur und Musik (Academic Society for Literature and Music) he also met the composers Arnold Schönberg (1874–1951), Alban Berg (1885–1935), and Anton von Webern (1883–1945).

Kokoschka virtually ceased his graphic production from this time until 1910. In his autobiography, Kokoschka wrote that at the *Internationale Kunstschau* he discovered Modern painting.<sup>85</sup> While this newfound interest may have led him to a temporary abandonment of works on paper, a stronger explanation stems from the intervention of Loos, who, deeply impressed by Kokoschka's talent, arranged numerous portrait commissions for him. The most recent research shows that

Kokoschka executed at least thirty-three paintings (thirty-one portraits, one still life, and one landscape) before February 1910.<sup>86</sup> Only two independent portrait drawings were produced in this period; that is, they cannot be considered preliminary sketches for paintings: *Portrait of Adolf Loos* (fig. no. 24) and *Portrait of Karl Kraus I* (cat. no. 58). The lack of studies directly related to the portrait paintings indicates that Kokoschka made his preliminary drawings straight on the canvas. A comparison of *Portrait of Karl Kraus I* with a portrait painting of Kraus (fig. no. 25) reveals two entirely separate ways of working. Most obviously, the drawing is considerably more expressive. We believe that Kokoschka created the drawing around late October or early November 1909, shortly after he completed a portrait painting of Constantin Christomanos (Wingler 1956, no. 14; Winkler/Schulz 29), which represents the culmination of this phase. In the drawing, Kokoschka further developed his technique of using constantly changing line widths to animate his structures.

When Herwarth Walden (pseudonym of Georg Levin, 1878–1941) visited Vienna in February 1910, Kokoschka took the opportunity to draw his portrait (cat. no. 54). This is confirmed—albeit indirectly—in a letter from Loos to Walden dated October 4, 1909,<sup>87</sup> in which Loos invited him to Vienna so that Kokoschka could paint his portrait for inclusion in an exhibition of his work planned for Paul Cassirer's Berlin gallery. However, the Walden portrait painting was not executed until late June 1910 (Wingler 1986, no. 38; Winkler/Schulz 49). It is likely, then, that the drawing was produced instead of a painting while Walden was in Vienna. Thus, unlike the drawing of Kraus, which is characterized by the exceptionally expressive effect of spontaneous lines applied to paper without any preliminary sketch, that of Walden preceded a painting and is a well thought-out likeness with immense clarity. It may be that Kokoschka first drew a sketch in pencil and—probably at a later date—worked over it in ink. In some areas he followed the pencil lines precisely, but in others, particularly the outline of the face, he made changes. Only the uneven lines, drawn with a wide nib to deliberately accentuate the shape of Walden's head, are reminiscent of the Kraus portrait. In the drawings for *Murderer, Hope of Women*, which were created a short time later, these uneven lines become tighter and straighter. As with the Walden portrait, he made preliminary pencil sketches and finished the drawings in ink.

We have, for the first time, ordered the *Murderer, Hope of Women* series following the narrative of Kokoschka's text. The importance of the series, the first three drawings of which were published in *Der Sturm*,<sup>88</sup> lies not in their being illustrations for a drama, but that in each one Kokoschka focuses on a violent confrontation between a man and woman. Several motifs heighten their dramatic impact: in the first three, the man is shown holding a knife, which contradicts the text; the first drawing (cat. no. 75) includes a dog, an image that appears repeatedly in Kokoschka's works on the subject of murder. In this same drawing, the placement of the artist's initials is also noteworthy, for they appear on the woman's left thigh, relating the work to a passage in the play about a brand that the man burns into the woman's "red flesh."<sup>89</sup> In the drama, this act triggers the woman to cry out "in terrible pain" and to wound the man in his side with a knife<sup>90</sup>; he falls to the ground and is placed in captivity by his own vassals. The woman comes to the realization that the man "can neither live nor die," creeps to his cage, and "reaches through the bars with her arm and pokes into his wound, panting lustfully and wickedly, like a viper."<sup>91</sup> It is *this* second stabbing that is reproduced in the drawing.

The next illustration (cat. no. 76) depicts the confrontation between the man,



24. *Portrait of Adolf Loos*, 1909, reproduced in the June 30, 1910 issue of *Der Sturm*.



25. *Portrait of Karl Kraus*, 1909. Oil on canvas, 100 x 74.5 cm. Destroyed.

26. *The Pretty Roller Skater*, 1910. Pen and ink on paper, 19.8 x 16.5 cm. Missing since 1950–51.



27. *Portrait of Richard Debmel*, 1910. Pen and ink on paper, 31.5 x 20.8 cm. Private collection.



armed with a knife, and the woman, who collapses against his body. Here, as in the poster for the Summer Theater, the moon and the spotted sun represent the two sexes. The greatest difference between this drawing and its predecessor is that in it the man has regained his full strength and the woman, weakened, falls to the ground. According to the play, when the woman touches the man's wound, her blood mingles with his, ultimately causing her death. The brutality is most extreme in the third drawing in the series, an effect furthered by the dog lapping up a pool of blood.

Kokoschka created at least three illustrations at the Wintergarten Varieté in Berlin through his activities as a reviewer for *Der Sturm*: a portrait of Archie A. Goodale, *The Pretty Roller Skater* (fig. no. 26), and *Snake Dance* (cat. no. 74). The latter, published in the September 22, 1910 issue of *Der Sturm*, is, through its intricate detail, dense structure, and ornamental quality, related stylistically to the last drawing in the *Murderer, Hope of Women* series. Kokoschka worked in this manner for only a very short time, the style peaking in *The Pretty Roller Skater* and in a portrait of Richard Dehmel (fig. no. 27).

With the Albertina exhibition, we were able to ascertain that both *Standing Female Nude with Hips Turned to the Left, Viewed from the Back* (cat. no. 30) and *Female Nude Leaning Forward, Supporting Herself with Her Hands on the Ground* (cat. no. 31)—previously dated 1909 and 1908 respectively—should be dated 1910, contemporary with the drawings created for *Der Sturm*. This is discernible especially when we compare *Standing Female Nude with Hips Turned to the Left, Viewed from the Back* with *Murderer, Hope of Women I*. The similarities are most apparent in the hair, composed of bundles of short lines drawn in divergent directions. Particular notice should be taken of the rootlike formations on some of the hairs, reminiscent of nerve fibers or veins; this motif appears as early as 1908, in the drawing *Young Girl with Bare Upper Torso Tying Back Her Hair* (cat. no. 25). Kokoschka's inclination to make human forms ugly is strongly evident in *Female Nude Leaning Forward, Supporting Herself with Her Hands on the Ground*. This pencil drawing, watercolored in only a few areas, again suggests an immediate connection to the *Der Sturm* period. A comparison between this drawing and *Snake Dance*, as an example of the *Der Sturm* works, reveals similarities in the figures' hair dissipating into the background and the flattened chins.

### 1910–11: Portraits

In *Portrait of Karin Michaelis* (cat. no. 55), characterized by fine, nervous lines, Kokoschka paid particular attention to the smallest details, in particular his subject's wrinkles and the area around her eyes. Fearing he would recognize her "inner face" and reveal it publicly, Michaelis (1872–1950) had not wanted to be portrayed by Kokoschka. She described how the drawing (which, despite her wishes, was published in the January 28, 1911 issue of *Der Sturm*) was created:

*I was packing: he was drawing. When I bent down, he would crawl around on the floor so as not to lose sight of my face. The picture was done in twenty minutes—but what a picture! Three months of jail wouldn't have been enough to compensate for the damage he did to my "good name and reputation."<sup>92</sup>*

*Portrait of Dr. Hermann Schwarzwald* (cat. no. 56), completed on January 21, 1911, captures Schwarzwald (1871–1939) in the act of writing the name of his friend Michaelis. Although the contours of the shoulders are incomplete, as in the

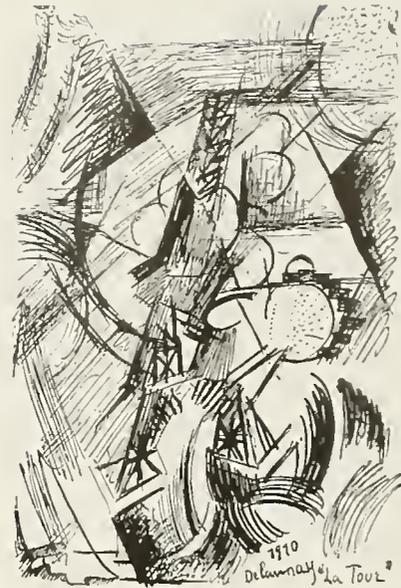
1909 portrait of Loos discussed above and similar in style, the torso is perceived as a self-contained form.

In 1911, Dr. Eugenie Schwarzwald hired Kokoschka as a drawing teacher at her school. Kokoschka was dismissed in 1912 after bureaucratic intervention for reasons made clear in a report "on the state of affairs at Dr. Eugenie Schwarzwald's Lyceum for Girls" issued by the k. k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht (Royal and Imperial Ministry for Culture and Education) on February 13 of that year:

*With almost fictional embellishment, Dr. Eugenie Schwarzwald relates how she met Kokoschka in Berlin last year, how he was in a deplorable mental and physical state and without any money, how she took pity on him and even put him up in her home like a son, hoping to lead him to a better artistic path. She claims he is extremely talented, that he has only become so savage because of the sinister Klimt group and the Modernists from the museum's school who chased him before the public as a scapegoat for their movement. Hubert {sic!} is, as she says, the child in her house now, and she is hoping that he will gradually become a better person and a better artist, since he had shown an eminent talent. She claims that she also discovered his phenomenal capacity as an instructor and therefore assigned him to the second grade (equivalent to the sixth grade in the United States) this year because the other two teachers' schedules did not allow them to take on the class. She was hoping that he would be able to fulfill the requirements using his approach. But unfortunately this was not the case. First, the young man did not seem to adhere to the curriculum, and he allowed the girls to draw whatever they liked, in a "super-Modernist" and "illustrative" style. Since September of last year, they have produced nothing but imagined pictures with figures: They drew and illuminated street scenes, people, etc., childish blunderings, mostly half-finished daubs, entirely in the style of the art he himself was senselessly and shamelessly exhibiting at the Kunstschau at that time. There was no indication of instruction or teaching whatsoever, because not a single model was copied, and instead only imaginative illustrations were made, incompletely executed by the untrained, unskilled hands. Our examiner distinctly noticed how unhappy the girls were about creating this kind of art. This kind of tomfoolery may be fun to children for about two to three hours, but then even the childish mind revolts against such distasteful games. The undersigned therefore gave Mr. Kokoschka the strictest instruction to put an immediate end to this ludicrous behavior and to stick to the relevant methods. He seriously advised him that drawing lessons must be given, and that the time must not be wasted on experimental art, which proves nothing except that the children still have no idea how to do anything. Dr. Schwarzwald was apprised of the observations and she has promised to do everything necessary to put an end to the grievance.<sup>95</sup>*

#### 1911: Illustrations for Albert Ehrenstein's *Tubutsch*; Robert Delaunay; Portraits

Kokoschka's graphic style reached maturity in the twelve ink drawings he made for the book *Tubutsch* by Albert Ehrenstein (1886–1950), which appeared in 1912.<sup>94</sup> In some of the illustrations, Kokoschka followed Ehrenstein's narrative very closely, while in others he interpreted it freely. Stylistically, we find both proto-Futurist and Cubist tendencies in the illustrations, once again demonstrating Kokoschka's rapid absorption of contemporary developments in art.<sup>95</sup> The figures in *Tubutsch and Death* (cat. no. 77) have an exaggeratedly plastic quality while also overlapping with a certain transparency. The diagonal emphasis of the composition is common to other drawings, including the illustration *Knight John of Death I* (cat. no. 78). Inspired by the drawings of Robert Delaunay (1885–1941; see fig. no. 28), which were probably introduced to him by Walden, Kokoschka



28. Robert Delaunay, *The Tower*, 1910. Pen and ink on paper, 29 x 20 cm.



29. *Visitation*, 1912. Oil on canvas, 80 x 127 cm. Österreichische Galerie, Vienna.

began at this time to explore space to a much greater extent than before.

Between November 13 and 20, 1911, Kokoschka redrew a pencil drawing in ink, the result being *Portrait of Professor Levin Ludwig Schücking II* (cat. no. 57). The two drawings, which are virtually identical save for the medium, are closely related stylistically to *Knight John of Death I*. Following a specific geometric system, the scholar's skull is formed with the finest of lines, like a spider's web. In the hair, lines cross one another repeatedly, generating a multitude of geometric shapes, while in parts of the face, especially around the eyes, mouth, and moustache, the lines are highly concentrated, allowing the spirit of the sitter to emerge. In a letter to Bacher, Kokoschka's reference to a *nervenirrsinniges* (insanely exciting) portrait<sup>96</sup> is entirely justified by these drawings, which are distinct from his previous efforts.

### 1912: Portraits

The *Self-Portrait* that Kokoschka drew in a guestbook (cat. no. 61) is a much closer likeness of the artist than a poster version printed for a lecture he gave at the Wiener Akademischen Verband für Literatur und Musik (Vienna Academic Society for Literature and Music) on January 26, 1912. While Kokoschka obviously based his self-portrait on his *Der Sturm* poster of 1910, in the later work he used an extremely spare technique to endow the face with a distinctly spiritual—almost transcendental—look. The spokes emanating from the pupil of Kokoschka's left eye bear particular notice. Similarly aggressive lines, recalling the ink drawings for *Murderer*, *Hope of Women*, can be found on the neck and chin. A review of Kokoschka's lecture "Vom Bewußtsein der Gesichte" ("On the Nature of Visions") provides the only detailed account of its content; as such, it offers some insight into Kokoschka's artistic philosophy at the time: "Reality itself is no more than a show in which all of the soul's deeds are played. . . . Currently, the desire for form is characterized by the representation of our fellow human beings and the domination of our fellow beings. The Romanic drive, the mastery of self, is replacing the Germanic addiction to power over outside ideas. These thoughts are also expressed in the portrait. The sphere of a powerful person is so vast that he can affect another person's consciousness and impress his thoughts on their image, in the same way that a person can take on the traits of someone he lives with for a long time and influences."<sup>97</sup>

In *Young Woman in an Armchair, Supporting Her Head with Her Right Hand* (cat. no. 65) we can still detect the delicate grid of fine lines that may be derived from the *Tubutsch* drawings. It was with this drawing that Kokoschka began to create works in black chalk.

Kokoschka drew *Portrait of Vaslav Nijinsky* (cat. no. 59) on the occasion of the dancer's performance in Vienna on June 20, 1912. To express Nijinsky's unusually sensitive character, Kokoschka employed the smudging technique found in the portraits of women, such as Lotte Franzos and Alma Mahler, that he had produced a short time before.

Kokoschka's paintings of 1912, such as *Visitation* (fig. no. 29; Winkler 1956, No. 60; Winkler/Schulz 77), underwent a process analogous to the stylistic developments that took place in his portrait drawings. A comparison of the artist's work in these two mediums reveals that Kokoschka's power of expression rose to greater heights through drawing.

### 1912: Alma Mahler

Kokoschka first met Alma Mahler (1879–1964) on April 12, 1912, the date he



30. *Portrait of Alma Mahler*, 1912. Oil on canvas,  
62 x 56 cm. The National Museum of Modern Art,  
Tokyo.



31. Vincent van Gogh, *Pietà* (after Delacroix), 1889. Oil on canvas, 73 x 60.5 cm.



32. *Double Nude: Lovers*, 1913. Oil on canvas, 163 x 97.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

inscribed on the first portrait he made of her.<sup>98</sup> *Portrait of Alma Mahler* (cat. no. 60), a black-chalk drawing made later that year, is a study for the painting *Portrait of Alma Mahler* (fig. no. 30; Wingler 1956, no. 78; Winkler/Schulz 88), which Kokoschka started during a trip the pair took to Mürren, in the Bernese Oberland, Switzerland, in August 1912. He completed the painting in Vienna on December 6, 1912.<sup>99</sup> The leonine features that appear in the painting are not evident in the chalk drawing.

A letter from Kokoschka to Mahler, dated July 23, 1912 and sent from Semmering, intimates that she was pregnant with his child: "Should you have a darling child by me, great, good nature is merciful and will extinguish all terrors and never tear us apart again, because we rely and rest upon each other. . . . Now we will find the sanctity of the family, you will be a mother."<sup>100</sup> Mahler's diary of 1912–13 has only recently come to light, and it provides confirmation that she was pregnant.<sup>101</sup> It also indicates that she was planning an abortion:

*We had to go to Baden-Baden, where I was to visit my sister in the asylum because it was thought that it would have a beneficial influence on her disposition. It was there that I noticed that I was expecting. From there to Munich—two days—and then on to Vienna. I arrived in Vienna in the evening—went to the apartment—alone with the child—and when I was there, I suddenly thought: I'm not Oskar's wife! Gustav's death mask had arrived in my absence and had been placed in my living room—the sight of it almost drove me mad. That smiling, forgiving, superior face made me feel stupid and made the whole situation seem somehow untrue. O.K. came—found me dissolved in tears and couldn't calm me down until he had given me permission to have the child taken away. He allowed it, but he hasn't gotten over the blow.*

After September 15, Kokoschka went from Baden-Baden to Frankfurt, where he met Franz Marc and his wife. From Frankfurt he traveled on to Cologne to see the Sonderbund exhibition (on view from May 25 through September 30, 1912), which featured six of his paintings. Van Gogh's *Pietà* (after Eugène Delacroix) of 1889 (fig. no. 31), which was also on view, particularly impressed him. Various elements of the work by van Gogh, such as the jagged rock formation in the upper-right corner, had a decisive influence on Kokoschka's style. The same structure can be seen in the painting *Portrait of Alma Mahler*. As Jaroslaw Leshko has noted, the composition of van Gogh's painting also influenced the second of seven decorative fans Kokoschka made for Mahler.<sup>102</sup>

### 1912–13: Assists Anton Ritter von Kenner at the Kunstgewerbeschule; Nude Studies

On October 1, 1912, Kokoschka began a two-semester teaching assignment as Kenner's assistant at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule. The works that were created by Kokoschka's students during these two semesters, preserved in the school's archives, emulate in style a number of Kokoschka's own nude studies. Many of these studies by Kokoschka, executed in black chalk and heightened with watercolor, may well have been produced toward the end of the 1912–13 winter semester. One group of nudes is known as the *Savoyardenknaben* (*The Savoyard Boy*), which includes *Nude Boy Lying on His Back with Knees Elevated* (cat. no. 63) and *Rear View of a Standing Nude Boy with Right Arm Elevated* (cat. no. 64). It is in many respects a continuation of the nude studies of pubescent girls that Kokoschka created around 1907 as a student at the Kunstgewerbeschule. But by the end of 1912, Kokoschka's tendency to uglify his



33. *Double-Portrait of Oskar Kokoschka and Alma Mahler*, 1912/13. Oil on canvas, 100 x 90 cm. Museum Folkwang, Essen.

subjects disappeared. In technique, these drawings utilize outlines to model the body to a greater extent than in the earlier works. Kokoschka's years of portraiture allowed him to capture very sensitive observations of the Savoyard boy's face. The artist was inclined to use nonnaturalistic watercolor accents, which serve primarily as expressive rather than modeling devices. Kokoschka drew the Savoyard boy at least fifteen times.

### 1913: *Columbus Bound*

Soon after the publication of *The Dreaming Boys*, Kokoschka attempted to find a publisher for a sequel. For a time, he titled it *The White Animal-Slayer*, but subsequently renamed it *Columbus Bound*. In a letter dated November 25, 1912, Kokoschka offered a book—probably this one—to Gurlitt, which agreed to publish it. In the same letter, Kokoschka explained that the book was about Mahler.<sup>103</sup> Scholars are in agreement that the transfer drawings for the book were produced in 1913. The month of their completion, however, has been a subject of debate stemming from an undated letter in which Kokoschka wrote, "I've now got twelve of the drawings finished." Heinz Spielmann dates this letter to around April, while Johann Winkler believes it to have been written shortly after February 4.<sup>104</sup> Winkler supports his theory with evidence that *Double-Portrait of Oskar Kokoschka and Alma Mahler* (fig. no. 33, Winkler 1956, no. 77; Winkler/Schulz 89), also mentioned in the undated letter, was painted from February to early March 1913 and was probably shown as soon as the April Berlin Secession. That Winkler's dating is correct is corroborated by strong stylistic similarities between the first lithograph for *Columbus Bound* and *Double-Portrait of Oskar Kokoschka and Alma Mahler*.

*At the Crossroads* (cat. no. 79), one of two preliminary drawings for the eponymous lithograph, illustrates two experiences recounted in Mahler's diary. During the couple's trip to Mürren, she wrote, they stood naked on the balcony at nighttime and had "incredible mountain visions." She continued: "I was lying in bed—near the window—white wisps of fog were wafting past the open balcony door, like giant bodies without form. Then Oskar had the absurd idea to put a candle out there on a chair, and so like a poor soul it was pulled by the fog—he made a nice drawing of this idea, too. How frightened both of us were—by a flickering candle!"<sup>105</sup>

The transfer drawing *Encounter* (cat. no. 80), also for an eponymous lithograph, is a variation on this same subject. The drawing style, perhaps most explicit in the rendering of Mahler, is derived from the nude studies produced in the 1912–13 winter semester. In *Encounter*, Kokoschka utilized different expressive techniques in drawing the woman and man, clearly differentiating between the radiant and fully relaxed Mahler, who approaches the artist as if in a dance, and himself, who appears bound by a rigid and dense system of lines.

While the text of *Columbus Bound* has very little to do with her, the illustrations are indisputably an homage to Mahler. The series begins with an image of Kokoschka's resurrection because of Mahler; it ends with Mahler surviving him.

### 1913: *Nude Drawings at the Kunstgewerbeschule*

*The Savoyard Boy* series was followed by several studies of female nudes, including *Female Nude Seated on the Ground, Hands Clasped behind Her Head* (cat. no. 69). (This drawing has been related to Kokoschka's illustrations for *Bach Cantata*<sup>106</sup> and his studies of the Wrocław crematorium.<sup>107</sup>) In these nudes, the artist takes

nonnatural coloration a step further, accentuating specific areas of the body. The women depicted are greatly generalized, particularly in comparison to the Savoyard boy, whose personality emerges quite distinctly in the series of drawings.

### 1913: Illustrations for Karl Kraus's *The Great Wall of China*

We know from a letter Kokoschka wrote to Mahler that by May 17, 1913 he had completed all but one in a series of illustrations he was making for Kraus.<sup>108</sup> Almost certainly, he was referring to chalk drawings for the book *Die Chinesische Mauer (The Great Wall of China)*.<sup>109</sup> Stylistically, this series takes after the illustrations for Kokoschka's story *Columbus Bound*, but thematically it is quite different. There is little to support the theory, which has been advanced, that the series followed Kraus's narrative.<sup>110</sup> Rather, these drawings represent an impressive attempt by Kokoschka to deal with Mahler's abortion of their child. One drawing, *Der Mord (Murder)*, depicts a female corpse—with Mahler's features—partially covered by a tomb. The man bent over the grave, with whom Kokoschka probably identified, is shown as a skeleton from the waist up. His lower body, not yet sucked into the realm of the grave, still possesses its full physical form. The eerie atmosphere of this nocturnal cemetery scene is heightened by the burning torch held aloft by the half-dead man.

No less macabre is *Mother with Child and Death* (cat. no. 81). Here, Kokoschka's reference to the abortion is most direct. In it, Death touches Mahler's head with his fingertips. Mahler shamefully attempts to conceal the aborted child from Death. In *At the Spinning Wheel* (cat. no. 82) the artist communicates the unspeakable pain that Mahler inflicted on him by terminating her pregnancy. She is depicted spinning into yarn the entrails gushing forth from his stomach.

The distinguishing trait of this series is the cruel, gruesome quality of the images. That Kokoschka utilized the works as a means of expressing his feelings has been given little consideration by art historians. There are no comparable works in the entire German Expressionist movement. Nevertheless, the quest to pursue the most extreme solutions is common to all Expressionist trends.<sup>111</sup>

A comparison of the drawings that have been discovered so far with the eight lithographs for the book reveals that the artist used tracings in this series as well—probably to produce the transfer drawings. If the transfer drawings were traced from these sketches, this would mean that Kokoschka incorporated the essential elements into the transfers while he changed the backgrounds by adding and subtracting details.

### 1913: Trip to the Dolomites

On August 22, 1913, Kokoschka and Mahler met in the Dolomite mountains at the Tre Croci pass, near Cortina d'Ampezzo, to celebrate her birthday. In her memoir, she wrote of the trip:

*In Tre Croci, our life revolved around his work. In the morning we would go into the dense forest to look for the darkest, greenest spot. We found some young horses playing in a clearing. Kokoschka was immediately fascinated. We had his sketch pad and color pencils along—he stayed there by himself despite his intense fear of solitude, and the drawings he made are exceptionally beautiful. The young horses . . . ate from his hands and pockets, and tried to prove their love to him by rubbing their lovely heads against his shoulders and arms.<sup>112</sup>*

Kokoschka captured the event in several impressive charcoal drawings, such as *Two Horses by a Stream near Tre Croci* (cat. no. 85). The simplified contours in this work in particular recall the style of the nude studies produced toward the end of this summer semester. Unlike the nudes, however, in this drawing Kokoschka rubbed the charcoal heavily to indicate the effect of color and shadow. Utilizing a similar treatment, he created several other landscape drawings during the trip.

### 1913: Nude Studies

After the trip to the Dolomites, Kokoschka made several nude studies, including *Seated Seminude Woman Facing Right, Left Hand Resting on Her Head* (cat. no. 67) and *Standing Girl Facing Left with Raised Arms* (cat. no. 68). The distinguishing characteristic of these works is that the broken lines—which the artist had utilized frequently to create contour—begin to close up, and the outlines of the figures are drawn extremely fluidly, generally in black chalk. Kokoschka thus achieved forms that are significantly rounder and more self-contained than in previous works. Unlike the nude studies that Kokoschka produced while he was Kenner's assistant, in these works the coloration now follows both the shadows and the forms of the body, and the use of watercolor is more pronounced. To some extent, these works anticipate the intensity and colorfulness of the watercolors he would paint in Dresden. They must also be seen in relation to the *Bach Cantata* series.

### 1913–14: Bach Cantata

A series of lithographs entitled *O Ewigkeit—Du Donnerwort* (*Eternity, Thou Fearful Word*), more commonly known as the *Bach Cantata*, was first published in 1916 in a limited-edition portfolio by Fritz Gurlitt in Berlin.<sup>13</sup> Kokoschka started the transfer drawings for the series during the winter of 1913–14. We can surmise that the three-year delay between when he began the drawings and the publication of the portfolio was due to World War I. To a greater degree than in earlier illustrations, Kokoschka conformed to a text in making the drawings, in this case, Johann Sebastian Bach's *Cantata for the Twenty-Fourth Sunday after Trinity* (1723). However, the drawings also reflect Kokoschka's experiences and feelings from the period he spent with Mahler.

In his autobiography, Kokoschka described the circumstances surrounding the creation of these illustrations:

*With fresh eyes she {Mahler} looked at my work and saw expressed a melancholy—in the lithographs of the series Columbus Bound and Bach Cantata, for instance—which, while giving form to an inner experience, lifts it out of the sphere of a commonplace love affair. . . . I also painted a double portrait of Alma Mahler and myself at that time. But to me, and perhaps to others as well, those lithographs will always remain—in contrast to Art Nouveau, Impressionism and all the contemporary art of the period—a myth, a created symbol, heavy with the essence of meeting, begetting and parting. It was not only jealousy that made me rage against fate. I had a premonition of impending doom. The shadow of melancholy hung over our ecstasies and our love, silencing Apollo's lyre.<sup>14</sup>*

The drawings are indeed marked by melancholy, expressed above all through the darkness that dominates them. In their posture and demeanor, the figures themselves also give testimony to Kokoschka's despondency, suspended as he was between hope and fear—the theme of Bach's cantata—for his future with Mahler.

Kokoschka supplied a specific interpretation of *Man Raising His Head from the Grave, on which His Wife is Seated* (cat. no. 83) in his autobiography: "In the penultimate print of the *Bach Cantata* series I am in the grave, slain by my own jealousy, like Hyacinthus by the discus that a treacherous fate turned back upon him."<sup>115</sup>

#### 1914: Portraits

The black-chalk *Portrait of Georg Trakl* (cat. no. 70), drawn from memory (as Kokoschka noted in the lower-left corner), may well have been created as early as 1914, and probably before the *March 17 Portrait of Heinrich Benesch* (cat. no. 71). Indirectly, we are able to date a related drawing, of Franz Hauer (fig. no. 34), because it was almost certainly produced before the portrait painting of Hauer (Wingler 1956, no. 92; Winkler/Schulz 98), which was completed in October and November 1913. It is possible that *Portrait of Georg Trakl* was based on a rapid sketch Kokoschka made when Trakl visited him in his studio and wrote the poem that inspired the title of Kokoschka's painting *Tempest*.<sup>116</sup> It is the most incisive of the three portraits. Unlike the densely structured faces of Hauer and Benesch, the poet's features are described by only a few powerful lines.

#### 1914: The Wroclaw Crematorium

In 1914, Kokoschka was primarily occupied with a competition relating to a crematorium for the Wroclaw Gräbschen Cemetery.<sup>117</sup> The crematorium, which was never built, was designed by the Wroclaw municipal builder Max Berg (1870–1947).<sup>118</sup> In no less than four sketchbooks, Kokoschka worked on designs for a sixteen-meter-high painting on plaster for the project. One of these sketchbooks is in a private Swiss collection, and the existence of at least three other sketchbooks is suggested by the different bindings shown in Albert Quendler's contemporaneous film *Oskar Kokoschka—Erinnerungen* (*Oskar Kokoschka—Memories*).<sup>119</sup> In a November 2, 1916 letter to his parents Gustav (1840–1923) and Romana Kokoschka (1861–1934), he wrote that he had also submitted his own architectural plans.

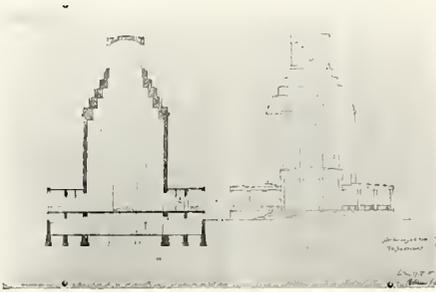
It was perhaps Walden who told Kokoschka about the competition to design a painting for the crematorium. This conclusion may be drawn from a letter to Walden, dated April 28, 1914, in which Kokoschka asked for help in obtaining a commission for painting frescoes in the United States: "I am ripe to do what is my proper work and find myself forced to go on daubing little pictures, which do not give me any satisfaction," he wrote.<sup>120</sup>

From a letter to Mahler, we know that in addition to an "official invitation" to Wroclaw, Kokoschka had received from Berg plans for the crematorium in May 1914.<sup>121</sup> A telegram from Mahler indicates that Kokoschka spent some time in Wroclaw around May 25 to conduct negotiations concerning the painting he was supposed to execute.<sup>122</sup> The plans that Kokoschka received in May could have been similar to the sketches drawn by Berg in July 1914 (fig. no. 35), preserved to this day in the archives of the Wroclaw Buildings Department.<sup>123</sup> The essential characteristics of the design are a relatively high tower with terraced levels and a lantern, as well as its strong emphasis on both the vertical and horizontal—a hallmark of Berg's buildings.

Although a letter to the publisher Kurt Wolff (1887–1963), written around late September, suggests that only a monumental painting for the interior was involved,<sup>124</sup> Kokoschka nonetheless produced highly developed sketches showing his architectural conception, for example *Design for the Crematorium in Wroclaw*:



34. *Portrait of Franz Hauer*, 1914. Chalk on paper, 41.1 x 30.9 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.



35. Max Berg, *Cross Section and Side View of the Crematorium in Breslau*, 1914. Bauarchiv, Wrocław.

36. Minaret and mosque at Samarra, the former Abbasid capital, north of Baghdad.

*Exterior View of Hall and Chimneys* (cat. no. 88) and *Cross Section of the Interior of the Crematorium in Wrocław with Design for a Painting on Plaster* (cat. no. 89).

According to Michaelis, the qualification for the design of the crematorium project was determined through a competition that specified: "The building should be like a temple and should be larger than any existing columbarium."<sup>125</sup> Kokoschka may have gone beyond the planning of a painting to designing the architecture as well because he was interested in having his painting displayed in surroundings that were appropriate and acceptable to him. Michaelis also reported that Kokoschka asked for the dimensions "proposed for the Pantheon-like structure," and worked day and night on "sometimes artistic, sometimes technical" designs, made mathematical calculations, and also familiarized himself with stone and mortar construction. Letters to Mahler document Kokoschka's fervent desire to win this commission and—through the social recognition he anticipated from this type of large-scale project—win her over once and for all.<sup>126</sup>

Even though World War I intervened and the project was never realized, Kokoschka repeatedly attempted to execute the templelike structure as late as the 1920s.<sup>127</sup> One example of his ambitions is found in an April 25, 1918 letter in which Kokoschka asked Loos to recommend him to the Jesuit Fathers Kolb and Arnauld for potential church and monastery projects.<sup>128</sup> A letter from Kokoschka to his mother shows that as late as June 11, 1923 he was still thinking of executing a "temple structure"—probably something like the crematorium—in the United States.<sup>129</sup>

Kokoschka's architectural drawings were based essentially on Berg's front elevation. His style, however, is a synthesis of ancient Roman and Mesopotamian architecture. (Based on individual pages that have been preserved from the lost sketchbooks, we know that the artist was also exploring Egyptian and Mexican models.<sup>130</sup>) One of Kokoschka's drawings for the crematorium shows a square foundation with a round base area above it and a small superstructure in the middle; it is based on Hadrian's tomb in Rome. The overall height and the towerlike appearance of the crematorium differentiate Kokoschka's scheme from the Roman landmark. This height is achieved in the truncated conical shape of the upper four levels, a form that recalls the Tower of Babel<sup>131</sup> as well as Mesopotamian architecture in general.<sup>132</sup> Between 1911 and 1913, excavations had taken place of the ninth-century ruins of Samarra (see fig. no. 36), the former Abbasid capital and an important Shiite pilgrimage site on the Tigris, north of Baghdad, an event covered by the world press.<sup>133</sup> A sketch on the back of one of Kokoschka's drawings makes this influence seem extremely likely.

Kokoschka went on to design a windowed tower in which successively recessed levels are stacked one on top of another. The windows, vertical oblongs, have coffered recesses that provide natural light for the building. The influence of the Roman Pantheon on this building has been heretofore overlooked. While the height of Kokoschka's building called for oblong openings instead of square ones, the design of the main portal is clearly inspired by the Pantheon.

Quendler's film shows drawings for the project in at least three sketchbooks, providing many important insights into the versatility of Kokoschka's painting and architectural designs. Among other things, these sketches confirm the influence of the Abbasid mosque and the existence of another design by Kokoschka incorporating characteristics of that building as well as of the Roman Colosseum.

Like the architectural drawings, designs for the large painting in the



37. *Study for Crematorium Painting*, 1914. Pencil on sketchbook page, 13.8 x 21.2 cm. Fondation Oskar Kokoschka, Vevey.



38. *Uniforms*, 1914 (pen and ink on paper, private collection), as it appears in Albert Quendler's film *Oskar Kokoschka—Erinnerungen* (*Oskar Kokoschka—Memories*).

crematorium reveal wide-ranging influences. Several studies after Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel in Padua are in the sketchbook alongside the architectural studies. It is very likely that Kokoschka visited the chapel while traveling from Venice to Rome in April 1913. By recasting the religious symbolism of Giotto's *Last Judgment* into the realm of the profane—one of Kokoschka's characteristic strategies—the artist would have created a design suitable for a crematorium. Instead of Christ in a mandorla, the artist chose Fortuna standing on a globe; in several studies, she is central in the primarily horizontal composition.

A study from the sketchbook (fig. no. 37) shows the most advanced design for Kokoschka's painting, with groupings of people as they face death. Manfred Scholze has suggested how Kokoschka's plans were influenced by John Amos Comenius, who believed that everyone creates their own death:

*Finally, I saw Death walk among their midst with a sharp scythe and a bow and arrow; he warned them in a loud voice not to forget that everyone has to die. . . . And whosoever was stricken, be they young or old, rich or poor, learned or unlearned, broke down at once. . . . They then took the dead, dragged them out, and threw them over the fence into the dark abyss that surrounds the world.*<sup>134</sup>

This study incorporates many earlier drawings in the sketchbook. In the lower left is a drawing recalling Giotto's *Lamentation* (but without illustrating the birth of a child); next to it is a motif—appearing for the first time—of Death with a child. We see people building a tower, lovers pursued by two corpses, Fortuna in the center, the Mother of Sorrows to the right, animals above, and Death attacking a king; an old man follows, carrying Death on his shoulder, and on the far right, a coffin is being carried away by four people in the presence of Death. What is remarkable about the composition is the way the individual groups are isolated, an echo of the earlier island drawings.

### 1915: Voluntary Military Service; Combat on the Eastern Front

At the beginning of 1915, Kokoschka was called to active service after enlisting. Through Loos, he was assigned to the 15th Dragoon Regiment, in which members of the imperial family and higher nobility served.<sup>135</sup> Kokoschka was expected to conform to his comrades' social status, and therefore had himself outfitted, by Goldman and Salatsch,<sup>136</sup> in a light-blue tunic with white facing, red breeches, and a golden helmet.<sup>137</sup> Kokoschka made a drawing of his uniforms, indicating the colors with handwritten notations (fig. no. 38). In the upper part of this drawing, we see him in his cavalry uniform, with a red cap and riding pants and a red tunic with black Astrachan collar, galloping away on his horse Minden Ló (which he had purchased by selling his painting *The Tempest* to a Hamburg pharmacist<sup>138</sup>). In the lower left, he is wearing his combat uniform, with a red cap and blue tunic with white collar and cuffs. To the right, he is in his dress uniform, wearing his helmet, a brown coat with leather tassels, and black dress pants.

The artist was wounded in the Russian theater near Vladimir-Wolhynsk on August 29, 1915. A letter written by Loos to Walden, dated October 18, 1915, provides perhaps the most impressive report of this event:

*Dear Herr Walden, I received your card of September 25 yesterday, October 12. After having been in action for one month, O.K. was shot in the temple in an attack near Luck on August 29. The bullet bored through his ear canal and came out through his neck. His*

horse also fell. He ended up under four dead horses, crawled out, and a Cossack spears his lance through his chest. Bandaged by the Russians, captured, and taken away. At one station, he bribes his guards with one hundred rubles to carry him off the train. Next he is lying in the station, watched by Russian guards. Two days later, the station is attacked by the Austrians. Walls fall down, but O.K. is not harmed! The Austrians take the building and O.K. is able to deliver the remaining Russians as "his" prisoners. For three weeks he was in Vladimir Volinsky, now he's in Brünn, today he is being transferred to the Palais Palfffy Hospital. Josefsplatz 1, Vienna I. Greetings to your wife. As always, yours, Adolf Loos. The most important thing is for him to get healthy soon.<sup>139</sup>

Kokoschka was awarded the highest silver medal for bravery.<sup>140</sup> After his hospitalization in Brünn, he was moved to the Palfffy Hospital, where he stayed until January 1916.<sup>141</sup>

Kokoschka first developed the ideas for his drama *Orpheus und Eurydice* while suffering from fever and delirium after he was wounded;<sup>142</sup> the play demonstrates that he was still deeply attached to Mahler.

#### 1916: Portraits

At the beginning of 1916, some of Kokoschka's paintings (but no drawings) were shown at the *Österreichische Kunstschau* in Berlin; the works had been selected by Moll and Moser.<sup>143</sup> Kokoschka was presented as the most talented of the young artists exhibited, and his portraits in particular were admired.<sup>144</sup> At the time, he mailed four drawings to Albert Ehrenstein at the editorial department of the magazine *Zeitecho*, but they were not reproduced.

On March 29, 1916, Kokoschka, who had been promoted to sublieutenant, submitted a request to the Ministry of War to be transferred to the Military Press Quarters as a war artist, describing himself as "the most well-known representative of the Modern movement in Austrian painting."<sup>145</sup> By the time the request was granted on March 3, 1917—nearly a year after it was submitted—Kokoschka was no longer interested, which he expressed in a letter to his mother dated November 26, 1916.<sup>146</sup>

While he was convalescing, Kokoschka visited the Schwarzwald School, where he drew several portraits. Several, including *Portrait of a Woman* (cat. no. 73), were dated Easter 1916 by the artist. All are closely related to a group of ink drawings of a woman in a garden (for example, fig. no. 39), which exhibit a graphic style that Kokoschka used only for an extremely brief period. The drawings could almost be called rococo; other artists were experimenting with a similar style, among them Dagobert Peche (1887–1923).

#### 1916: On the Isonzo Front

In mid-July, Kokoschka, as a liaison officer, was ordered to the Isonzo front along the Italian border. On July 10, he wrote to Ehrenstein about a painting trip that was so dangerous he feared it could cost him his life.<sup>147</sup> On July 17, he was still in Klagenfurt and accompanied a group of journalists, painters, and war illustrators to Laibach by train. After completing this assignment, Kokoschka saw an opportunity to join a Honved regiment.<sup>148</sup>

Until recently, it was not known exactly where on the Isonzo front Kokoschka had been. However, by comparing a World War I military map to Kokoschka's chalk drawings that indicate the names of towns, we were able to establish more closely where he was.<sup>149</sup> Kokoschka was stationed along an approximately nine-kilometer-long front line between Idria, Lom di Tolmino, Selo, Ciginj,



39. *Woman Standing in a Garden*, 1916. Bistre on paper, 21.6 x 17.8 cm. Private collection.



40. *The Emigrant*, 1916/17. Oil on canvas, 95 x 146 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.

41. *Portrait of Mechtilde Lichnowsky*, 1916. Charcoal on paper, 47.6 x 33 cm. Private collection.

Woltschach, and Tolmein in the “Bridgehead” combat sector.

According to the notations on two drawings, on July 22 and 23, 1916 he was in Lom di Tolmino, a group of farms on a rise west of Idria. A few days later, on July 28, he wrote to his parents that his sketchbooks already contained several portraits of high-ranking officers.<sup>150</sup> On July 29, he made it to Kal, which, at a high elevation, offered a good view of the combat sector, and he made a colored-chalk drawing on which he noted the names of all of the mountains. By August 2, he had already filled two sketchbooks with drawings, and probably felt that he had fulfilled his obligations.<sup>151</sup>

On July 30, Kokoschka described to Loos a village—undoubtedly Selo—“where the trench runs through; it was once so beautiful, but today it is shot full of holes.”<sup>152</sup> He mentioned wanting to draw a church, but he was seen by the enemy and “overcome by a cloud of shrapnel” that destroyed the house next to him. Thus Kokoschka, unharmed, made it through his second baptism by fire.<sup>153</sup>

*View from Frontline Position of Castle Mountain near Tolmein* (cat. no. 91) shows the view from the Austrian position on the slopes of Sveta Maria to the castle hill of Tolmein; we can make out the Austrian communication trenches along the front and the Isonzo river in the background. To Kokoschka, portraying the life of the soldiers on the front and in the communication zone was of equal importance to illustrating the landscapes. There are several impressive examples of this aspect of his war work, such as *Artillery Shooting Par Excellence* (cat. no. 90).

Most of these drawings are executed in black and colored chinks, some with watercolor accents. In terms of technique, these drawings, which were produced within a two-month period, exhibit striking stylistic differences. It appears that Kokoschka’s graphic style underwent a transformation here that affected his future paintings as well, including *The Emigrant* (fig. no. 40; Wingler 1956, no. 113; Winkler/Schulz 123). Rounded lines become prominent, replacing the square, angular, and aggressive qualities of the drawings from the Isonzo front. This tendency escalates in the following drawings, in which rounded forms introduce a baroque quality without sacrificing expression.

From a letter dated October 22, 1916<sup>154</sup> we know that one week before, on October 15, Kokoschka had sent drawings from the combat zone to the director of the Military Press Quarters, General von Hoen. Unfortunately, these pictures could not be located in the archives of the Military Press Quarters nor in the estate of the general.

### 1916: Berlin, Dresden

Kokoschka’s health may have improved substantially, at least temporarily, during his assignment on the Isonzo front, even though he was reportedly “on sick leave” when he returned to Berlin.<sup>155</sup> From the first week of September through late November, he stayed in Berlin, where he produced a series of important portraits. The first documented drawing is of Countess Mechtilde Lichnowsky, née Countess von Arco-Zinneberg (fig. no. 41), and is dated “9/16.” Again, we see evidence of Kokoschka’s typical working process: he traced a drawing made from life and created a second, or in this instance even a third version, in a different medium. And yet, there are distinctions in each version. In *Portrait of Rudolf Blümner* (cat. no. 72), Kokoschka employed modeling and interlocking, rounded lines to create a plastic composition. He easily progressed from the painterly approach used in the life studies to an explicitly graphic solution, which was required in adapting his work for the portfolio *Menschenköpfe* (*Human Heads*), published in December 1916.

From a letter to his mother dated November 26, we know that Kokoschka did not want to return to the war, and instead planned to go to a sanatorium in Dresden on December 1. He was befriended by doctors there, who could have helped him avoid an impending term of active duty.<sup>156</sup> He had also chosen Dresden because he was hoping to obtain a professorship at the Royal Saxon Academy.<sup>157</sup>

### 1916: *Job*

The origins of Kokoschka's play *Hiob (Job)* date back to *Sphinx and Scarecrow*, which was written in 1907. *Job* was first conceived by Kokoschka in 1913, when Franz Marc was able to persuade him, Erich Heckel, Vasily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, and Alfred Kubin to produce illustrations for a multivolume, large-format Bible. Kokoschka may have agreed to the project between March 18 and May 21, 1913.<sup>158</sup> An undated letter from Kokoschka to Marc from the period includes the following: "I'd like to do the Book of Job—please send detailed specifications about format, etc. I would suggest that the whole thing should be polychrome."<sup>159</sup> However, World War I and the death of the project's initiator, Marc, at Verdun in 1916 prevented the venture.<sup>160</sup>

Kokoschka did not take up the idea of illustrating *Job* again until sometime between December 1916 and March 1917, when he created a series of sketches for the project, which he now envisioned as a play. Paul Cassirer published the text and fourteen crayon lithographs in Berlin in 1917.<sup>161</sup>

With the illustrations for *Job*, Kokoschka became more spontaneous, and even freer in line. In *The Damsel and the Hotspur* (cat. no. 92), for example, the forms of both figures and objects become looped, curvilinear strokes. The artist created at least four versions of this drawing of two lovers, including the transfer drawing for the lithograph (Wingler/Welz 94).

A study for the final page of *Job* entitled *Finis: Anima and Job* (see cat. no. 93) demonstrates that Kokoschka understood very well how to emphasize the various spatial zones, above all by varying the density of the crayon. This is most immediately apparent in the gradations of gray values in the foreground, middleground, and background. In the first spatial zone, where the dramatic action takes place, the effect is not only achieved through the expressive use of line, but also in the overall animated quality. It seems appropriate to conclude that when Kokoschka first started making the sketches for *Job*—after the premiere performance of the play on July 3, 1916—he was already planning to create a pictorial equivalent to individual stage scenes. This is suggested by both the boxy spaces in the drawings and the distinct spatial zones.

### 1917: War Drawings; Peace among Nations

On March 31, 1917, Kokoschka asked Leo Kestenbergl, who was responsible for graphic editions published by Cassirer's gallery, to obtain some copper plates for him.<sup>162</sup> The artist was probably considering completing illustrations that he had planned for a play by Ferdinand Raimund as well as for a war portfolio. He had already prepared some thirty sketches for the portfolio, but was not certain how he wanted to execute them. If no other medium was appropriate, he would make lithographs. This establishes that a series of special war drawings was produced in spring 1917. It is likely that these drawings would have been very similar to the illustrations *Enslaved by the Government* (cat. no. 94) and *Soldiers Fighting Each Other with Crucifixes* (cat. no. 95). These two present a controversial view of war, expressing Kokoschka's personal perspective based on his experiences. At the

42. *Peace among Nations*, 1917. Blue crayon on paper, 50.5 x 34.4 cm. Private collection.



same time, the illustrations mirror the position asserted by the revolutionary literary circles in Germany with whom Kokoschka was in close contact.<sup>163</sup> He seems to have been particularly concerned with disseminating these ideas as widely as possible. Stylistically, the series is related to the portrait drawings that Kokoschka made in late fall 1916 in Berlin. The blue-crayon drawing *Soldiers Fighting Each Other with Crucifixes* may be seen as one of the first illustrations for the proposed antiwar portfolio. The grotesque quality of this drawing generates an apocalyptic mood, further heightened by the presence of pterodactyls flying in the distance.<sup>164</sup>

*Enslaved by the Government* may have been produced in connection with the war portfolio. It shows a person being branded by a top-hatted man, who represents the government. The branded person thus becomes part of the herd of humans crawling away on all fours in the upper right.

In summer 1917, before a mid-September trip to Stockholm, Kokoschka created a series of drawings in red pencil that expose the horrors of war: rape, pillage, execution, and many other atrocities. Kokoschka adapted his graphic style to correspond to the subjects. This is exemplified by his use of lines drawn in a nearly even intensity, a technique that creates an entirely new effect in his work.

Concluding a series of war scenes dated summer 1917 by Kokoschka is *Peace among Nations* (fig. no. 42), which was executed in blue crayon. It served as a transfer drawing for a lithograph that presumably was not executed until 1918 (Wingler/Welz 101); only one trial proof of this print is known. Other versions of this composition are a drawing in ink over chalk and a preparatory sketch that preceded the other two drawings. All three were expanded in a related drawing of a cemetery scene. Kokoschka identified these drawings with the inscription "Friedensblätter" (Peace Drawings). The couple in elegant mourning dress in the foreground, holding wreaths in their hands, can be understood as representatives of the government or of the nations. While the couple has carried the war to its grave, only then making peace possible, the other figures in the devastated landscape are grieving, thus indicating their personal losses and the misery that they have suffered. The war portfolio represents the final development in Kokoschka's early works on paper and thus the end of his first Expressionist phase.

*Translated, from the German, by Susan Schwarz*

## Abbreviations

The sources listed below are referred to in abbreviated form in the essay; each abbreviation precedes its corresponding entry.

### Briefe I

Oskar Kokoschka. *Briefe I. 1905–1919*. Ed. Olda Kokoschka and Heinz Spielmann. Düsseldorf: Claasen Verlag GmbH, 1984.

### Hevesi 1909

Ludwig Hevesi. *Alt Kunst-Neu Kunst. Wien 1894–1908*. Vienna: Verlagsbuchhandlung Carl Konegan, 1909.

### Kokoschka 1910

Oskar Kokoschka. "Mörder Hoffnung der Frauen." *Der Sturm* (Berlin and Vienna), no. 20 (July 14, 1910), pp. 155ff.

### Kokoschka 1974

Oskar Kokoschka. *My Life*. Trans. David Britt. New York: Macmillan, 1974.

### Leshko 1977

Jaroslav Leshko. *Oskar Kokoschka: Paintings, 1907–1915*. Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1977.

### Letters

Oskar Kokoschka. *Letters, 1905–1976*. Selected by Olda Kokoschka and Alfred Marnau; trans. Mary Whittal. Abridged and adapted from *Oskar Kokoschka Briefe*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1992.

### Novotny 1968

Fritz Novotny. "Oskar Kokoschka als Zeichner. Zur Kokoschka-Ausstellung in der Tate-Gallery in London 1962." In *Über das "Elementare" in der Kunstgeschichte und andere Aufsätze*. Vienna: Verlag Brüder Rosenbaum, 1968, pp. 124–30. (First published in *Apollo* (London) 77, no. 7 [September 1962], pp. 510–16.)

### Schweiger 1983

Werner J. Schweiger. *Der junge Kokoschka. Leben und Werk. 1904–1914*. Vienna and Munich: Edition Christian Brandstätter, 1983.

### Spielmann 1985

Heinz Spielmann. *Oskar Kokoschka: Die Fächer für Alma Mahler*. Dortmund: Harenburg Kommunikation, 1985.

### Wingler 1956

Hans Maria Wingler. *Oskar Kokoschka. Das Werk des Malers*. Salzburg: Verlag Galerie Welz, 1956.

### Wingler/Welz 1975

Hans Maria Wingler and Friedrich Welz. *Oskar Kokoschka. Das druckgraphische Werk*. Salzburg: Verlag Galerie Welz, 1975.

### Winkler/Schulz

Johann Winkler and Katharina Schulz. Unpublished draft of the catalogue raisonné of Oskar Kokoschka's paintings currently in preparation.

1. Kokoschka attended the k.u.k. Staatsrealschule from 1896 through 1904. Today, the school is called the Bundesrealgymnasium. It is at Schopenhauerstrasse 49 in Vienna's Eighteenth district.
2. The sketchbook is from the estate of Kokoschka's cousin Grete Carda, née Ortloff (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, inv. no. 41196).
3. This previously unknown watercolor was discovered in the same family collection.
4. Kokoschka, *Das schriftliche Werk 2: Erzählungen*, ed. Heinz Spielmann (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1974), pp. 63–82.
5. Catalogues 14, 15, 25, and 27 of the Kunstgewerbeschule at the k. k. Österreichisches Museums für Kunst und Industrie for the 1904–05 school year (Archives of the Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, Vienna).
6. Kokoschka used the reverse side of a geometry drawing by his brother Bohuslav for this drawing. The female nude is reminiscent of illustrations by Johann Friedrich Geist (1868–1948)—who went by the pseudonym Fidus—published in the magazine *Jugend*.
7. In the literature, this drawing has been called either *Amazon* or *Nude Women Riding* (see Will Grohmann, "Zeichnungen von Klimt, Kokoschka, Schiele. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der neuen Kunst in Wien," *Monatshefte für Bücherfreunde und Graphiksammler* [Leipzig] 12 [1925], p. 518). In a review of the 1945 Kokoschka exhibition in Vienna, it was also referred to as *Ride of the Valkyrie*.
8. It is possible that this watercolor was created at the same time as his sketches of a girl being attacked while bathing, which Kokoschka referred to in a December 1905 letter to his teacher Leon Kellner (1859–1928) at the Währing Staatsrealschule (*Letters*, p. 15).
9. Edvard Munch used this spatial technique in his prints as early as 1902, as in *The Garden* (etching and drypoint, 49.6 x 64.4 cm; Scheffler 188, W. 95).
10. Munch's works may have been influential here as well.
11. Like Kokoschka, Gustav Klimt had gleaned many an inspiration from *Jugend* (Alice Strobl, *Gustav Klimt. Die Zeichnungen. 1878–1903* [Salzburg: Verlag Galerie Welz, 1980], Catalogue Raisonné no. 367).
12. Also compare Kokoschka's woman in the distance of this image to the girl on the swan reproduced in *Jugend*, no. 21 (1897), p. 337.
13. Catalogues 7, 18, and 23 of the Kunstgewerbeschule at the k. k. Österr. Museums für Kunst und Industrie for the 1905–06 school year (Archives of the Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, Vienna).
14. The issue of *Kneipzeitung* dedicated to Kenner consists of a cover with thirteen individual pages and contains prose, poetry, and drawings by twelve students

from the Department for Teaching Candidates at the Kunstgewerbeschule. The individual pages are paper transfers duplicated from alcohol stencils. The illustrators drew directly on the stencils. A copy of this issue of *Kneipzeitung*, from the estate of Kenner, is in the Archives of the Hochschule für angewandte Kunst (inv. no. 2093/Q/1).

15. Rupert Feuchtmüller, "OK zeichnete in Lassing," *Morgen*, no. 1 (1977), pp. 18–28; and Rupert Feuchtmüller, "Die ersten Malversuche Oskar Kokoschkas. Zur Entdeckung der handgemalten Postkarten 1899–1902," *Morgen*, no. 22 (1982), pp. 73–80.

16. This is equally evident in another pen-and-ink drawing on a postcard addressed to Loidl. The card, dated September 16, portrays Loidl on a galloping horse. It was created shortly before Kokoschka entered Czeschka's painting department. While the influence of Kenner can still be detected in this drawing, it makes definite references to Czeschka's work.

17. Hevesi 1909, p. 237.

18. Berta Zuckerkandl, "Von den definitiven Provisorien," *Wiener allgemeine Zeitung*, October 20, 1907, pp. 2–3.

19. Kokoschka did, however, produce a small number of works in woodcut, Czeschka's favorite medium. A bookplate executed in woodcut appears to have been auctioned at the Vienna Dorotheum auction house, but has not yet been relocated. A letter to professor Leon Kellner, dated December 21, 1906, also confirms that Kokoschka worked in the medium: "I already have enough portraits and woodcuts for an exhibition, but I'd rather wait till I'm more matute" (*Briefe I*, p. 6).

20. Catalogue 2 of the Kunstgewerbeschule at the k. k. Österr. Museums für Kunst und Industrie for the 1906–07 school year (Archives of the Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, Vienna).

21. A very similar phenomenon can be found in the landscape paintings of Klimt. See Alfred Weidinger, "Gustav Klimt. Landschaften," graduate thesis, Salzburg University, 1992.

22. Catalogue 2 of the Kunstgewerbeschule at the k. k. Österr. Museums für Kunst und Industrie for the 1906–07 school year (Archives of the Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, Vienna).

23. Kokoschka himself was uncertain whether he made the lithographed broadsheet, and it was therefore not given a number in Wingler and Welz's catalogue raisonné of his prints.

24. The inventory number is available from the Wiener Werkstätte Archives.

25. One of the most important paintings by Gauguin, *The Holy Family*, had already been exhibited in Vienna, at the Secession in late 1905 (Hevesi 1909, p. 342).

26. Kokoschka 1974, pp. 18–19.

27. The artist may have made a mistake in his autobiography when he stated that he already had his own studio at that time or when he was still in Kenner's class. He contradicted the statement in a letter to his former teacher Kellner, dated December 31, 1906, in which he wrote that he probably would not have his own studio until the following semester (*Briefe I*, p. 6).

28. Lilith Lang was born on August 22, 1891. She began her studies at the Kunstgewerbeschule under professor Wilibald Schulmeister in the General Department in 1907, and finished in 1910. In the 1908–09 school year, she occasionally attended classes in Berthold Löffler's Painting and Drawing Department, where she produced costume designs and other works.

29. Catalogues 9b and 22 of the Kunstgewerbeschule at the k. k. Österr. Museums für Kunst und Industrie for the 1907–08 school year (Archives of the Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, Vienna).

30. Catalogue 7 of the Kunstgewerbeschule at the k. k. Österr. Museums für Kunst und Industrie for the 1907–08 school year (Archives of the Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, Vienna).

31. Schweiger 1983, p. 40.

32. Hevesi 1909, p. 243. It should be noted, however, that the second playbill mentions, under the heading "Notice," that the tiles in the barroom were provided by "Wiener Keramik: Prof. B. Löffler, M. Powolny."

33. It should be noted that in 1904 Kokoschka's teacher Anton Ritter von Kenner created some figures that are quite similar technically. Kenner's figures are now in the Archives of the Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

34. Heinz Spielmann suggests that Kokoschka and the poet met at a performance of Mell's pantomime *Die Tänzerin und die Marionette* (*The Dancer and the Marionette*) at a Kunstgewerbeschule garden party in 1907 (*Letters*, p. 306).

35. Max Mell, quoted in Schweiger 1983, p. 44.

36. Schweiger 1983, p. 44. Kokoschka's Wiener Werkstätte postcard no. 77, *Girl with Lamb Threatened by Robbers* (Wingler/Welz 8), and the earlier, unexecuted postcard no. 43 also reflect the plot of the shadow play.

37. According to Hans Maria Wingler, Philipp Häusler (1887–1966)—who attended the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule from 1905 through 1911 and studied under Franz Cizek, H. Haerdle, Franz Metzner, and Josef Hoffmann—literally rescued the figures from the trash can.

38. Reproduced in Werner J. Schweiger, *Wiener Werkstätte. Kunst und Kunsthandwerk. 1903–1932* (Vienna: Edition Christian Brandstätter, 1982), p. 167.

39. One copy of the diary is in a private collection in Berlin. However, only the wild boar drawings were bound into this edition (Wingler/Welz 18). Several loose drawings, including an illustration of a stag hunt (Wingler/Welz 19), were in part watercolored by the artist and are in private and public collections.
40. Alice Strobl, "Klimts Fries für den Speisesaal des Palais Stoclet in Brüssel," in *Das Palais Stoclet in Brüssel von Josef Hoffmann mit dem berühmten Fries von Gustav Klimt* (Salzburg: Verlag Galerie Welz, 1991), pp. 65–90, reproduction on p. 73.
41. Erwin Lang was in Kokoschka's classes with Carl Otto Czeschka (from 1907 to 1908) and Berthold Löffler (from 1908 to 1909). He married the dancer Grete Wiesenthal, whom Kokoschka also greatly admired.
42. Kokoschka 1974, p. 21
43. Fritz Wärndorfer had a very important collection of Minne's work. Hevesi described a visit to Wärndorfer's house: "My God, to go through the archives in Wärndorfer's house! There are strange drawers full of drawings, sketchbooks, letters, real confessional treasures. On the subject of sketchbooks—I leafed through a few of George Minne's, the old romanticist of emaciation and glorifier of the eternally gaunt" (Hevesi 1909, p. 226).
44. Kokoschka, *Die träumenden Knaben (The Dreaming Boys)*; Vienna: Wiener Werkstätte, 1908). With eight color lithographs and two vignettes based on ink drawings.
45. Carl Otto Czeschka, letter to Fritz Wärndorfer, dated February 4, 1908, quoted in Schweiger 1983, p. 60.
46. Fritz Wärndorfer, letter to Carl Otto Czeschka, dated March 4, 1908. (Mr. Franz Eder of Verlag Galerie Welz in Salzburg kindly provided us with a photocopy of the letter.)
47. A letter from Kokoschka to Erwin Lang, dated to February–March 1908[?], in which Kokoschka indicated that he wanted to send him his fairy tale, should be mentioned in this context: "If I send you my book of dreaming boys, you must be frightfully sure to adore it, because I am as sensitive as a hunchback about the smallest unkindness, and I would tear you to pieces" (*Letters*, p. 17).
48. *Letters*, p. 18.
49. These drawings were not considered in relation to Rodin's work until our exhibition at the Albertina, after an observation by Albertina Director Konrad Oberhuber. We then investigated this question and were able to greatly improve the chronology.
50. Kokoschka 1974, p. 20.
51. The same compositional scheme can be found in the landscape paintings of Klimt (see Weidinger, note 21 above).

52. Carl Otto Czeschka, letter to Ankwicz von Kleehoven, dated September 11, 1952 (Wiener Stadtbibliothek, inv. no. I.N. 198.569).
53. *Briefe I*, p. 7.
54. Interview with Kokoschka by Wolfgang G. Fischer, in Arts Council of Great Britain, *Kokoschka Lithographs*, p. 11. Quoted in Leshko 1977, p. 227.
55. Elisabeth Grosseegger, "Der Kaiser-Huldigungs-Festzug," in *Philosophisch-historische Sitzungsberichte*, vol. 585 (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992).
56. "Kunstschau 1908," *Wiener Abendpost*, supplement to *Wiener Zeitung*, June 9, 1908.
57. "Kunstschau." *Deutsches Volksblatt* (Vienna), morning edition, June 2, 1908, p. 1.
58. Richard Muther, "Die Kunstschau," *Die Zeit* (Vienna), morning edition, June 6, 1908, p. 1.
59. Adolf Loos kept this drawing in his living room (Burkhard Rukschcio and Roland Schachel, *Adolf Loos. Leben und Werk* [Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1982], p. 82.)
60. Oscar Bie, quoted in Alice Strobl, *Gustav Klimt. Die Zeichnungen. 1904-1912* (Salzburg: Verlag Galerie Welz, 1982), p. 13; p. 15, notes 7-8.
61. *Die Zeit* (Vienna), July 24, 1908, p. 3.
62. Max Mell, letter dated October 8, 1908 (Wiener Stadtbibliothek, inv. no. I.N. 198.352).
63. Kokoschka remarked that he did not add the watercolor to this drawing. This seems entirely conceivable in this and several other instances. In his autobiography, he wrote the following: "It mattered less to me that she [Alma Mahler] also took hundreds of sketches and drawings I had left behind, foolishly believing that the war would not last long. When she remarried in 1915, she is said to have given these away to young painters, by whom they were unfortunately ruined in attempts to complete them and render them saleable" (Kokoschka 1974, p. 74).
64. Edith Hoffmann, *Kokoschka, Life and Work* (London: Faber and Faber, [1947]), p. 54.
65. In a letter to Ankwicz von Kleehoven, dated September 11, 1952, Carl Otto Czeschka was probably referring to these works: "When I was already in Hamburg, he offered me some colored drawings; I was supposed to sell them, or possibly find a publisher who would be interested in bringing them out as another series of fairy-tale pictures. A picture book, then!" (Wiener Stadtbibliothek, inv. no. I.N. 158.569).

66. Aldabert Franz Seligmann, "El Greco," *Neue freie Presse* (Vienna), morning edition, November 7, 1908, p. 3.
67. Ivan Fenjö believes this drawing to represent the Temptation of St. Anthony (Ivan Fenjö, *Oskar Kokoschka. Die frühe Graphik*, ed. Reinhold Graf Bethusy-Huc [Vienna: Euro Art, 1976], pp. 28ff.).
68. Quoted in Schweiger 1983, p. 28.
69. The representation of a split set and the especially rich and decorative execution were quite common in stage backdrop designs. (This information was kindly provided by Dr. Evanthia Greisenegger at the Austrian Theatermuseum in Vienna.)
70. We are grateful to Count Johann Zubow of Stuttgart for providing very detailed information on Prince Platon Zubov Aleksandrovich (1767–1822).
71. Gustav Klimt spoke of approximately eight to ten fans painted by Kokoschka for the Wiener Werkstätte that he was going to take to Erich Lederer for Lederer to choose from (Christian M. Nebehay, *Gustav Klimt, Egon Schiele und die Familie Lederer* [Bern: Verlag Galerie Kornfeld, 1987], p. 8). This remark would indicate that other fans exist, or did exist, in addition to the three from this period discovered so far.
72. Kokoschka 1974, pp. 29–31.
73. A similar motif appears in the watercolor *Mother and Child in Armchair with Compote on Table* (cat. no. 46).
74. A similar reptile also appears on the back of the watercolor and ink drawing *Running Amok* ([1908/09], private collection).
75. *Briefe I*, p. 10. Emma Bacher, née Paulick, married the gold and silver magnate Paul Bacher. After his death, she inherited his Galerie Miethke in Vienna's inner city and in 1910 married the artist Richard Teschner (1879–1948), who was from Leitmeritz. Several other bookplate designs for Emma Bacher, besides the two discussed here, have been preserved.
76. This is the opposite of traditional German iconography.
77. Paul Frank, "Kokoschka," *Wiener allgemeine Zeitung*, July 7, 1909, p. 3.
78. Kokoschka 1974, p. 28.
79. See the text of Kokoschka's play: "(Man:) Who is suckling me with blood? I swallowed your blood, devoured your dripping body. (Woman:) I will not let you live, you vampire, you drink my blood, you weaken me, woe to you, I'll kill you—you tie me up—I caught you—and you hold me—let go of me, you bleeding man, your love is gripping me" (Kokoschka 1910, p. 156).
80. *Letters*, p. 32.

81. See, for example, *Wiener Fremden-Blatt*, July 5, 1909, p. 12; and *Neue freie Presse*, July 5, 1909.

82. Kokoschka 1974, p. 28.

83. No relevant references have yet been found in the files of the k. k. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht (Royal and Imperial Ministry for Culture and Education). However, a handwritten entry in Catalogue 20 of the Kunstgewerbeschule referring to the life-drawing course directed by Kenner and Löffler indicates that Kokoschka was "expelled in the second semester" (Archives of the Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, Vienna).

84. Loos stated, "When I met Kokoschka, he was painting playing cards and fans, his talent misused. That was no different from using a racehorse to plough fields" (quoted in Rukschcio/Schachel [see note 59 above], p. 142).

85. Kokoschka 1974, p. 34.

86. This information is taken from a draft of the catalogue raisonné of Kokoschka's paintings that is currently being prepared by Johann Winkler and Katharina Schulz.

87. Adolf Loos, letter to Herwarth Walden, dated October 4, 1909 (*Der Sturm* Archives, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin).

88. *Der Sturm* (Berlin and Vienna), no. 20 (July 14, 1910), p. 155; no. 21 (July 21, 1910), p. 163; no. 24 (August 11, 1910), p. 189.

89. Kokoschka 1910, p. 156.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.

92. Karin Michaelis, "Der tolle Kokoschka," *Das Kunstblatt* 2, no. 12 (1918), pp. 361-62.

93. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (Austrian Government Archives), Vienna, file no. 6990, entry no. 150-IIIa, from the k. k. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht (Royal and Imperial Ministry for Culture and Education).

94. *Briefe I*, p. 23. The essayist and lyricist Albert Ehrenstein, who, like Kokoschka, came from Vienna, was until his death a close friend of the artist.

95. It is possible that through Walden Kokoschka became familiar with the work of the Cubists and Futurists as early as 1910 or 1911 (Volker Pirsisch, *Der Sturm. Eine Monographie* [Herzberg: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 1985], p. 671.) The program of the first two exhibitions at Herwarth Walden's Der Sturm gallery gives some idea of Walden's relationship with the Futurists and the Cubists. The first exhibition, *The Blue Rider, Franz Flamm, Oskar Kokoschka, Expressionists*, was held in March 1912, and included works by Georges Braque, Heinrich Campendonk, Robert

Delaunay, André Derain, Raoul Dufy, Vasily Kandinsky, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Kokoschka, August Macke, Franz Marc, Max Pechstein, Henri Rousseau, and Maurice de Vlaminck, among others. The second exhibition, *The Futurists* (U. Boccioni, C. D. Carrà, L. Russolo, G. Severini), was held in April–May 1912, and included works by Braque, Delaunay, Derain, Dufy, Kandinsky, Kokoschka, and Vlaminck, among others.

96. Kokoschka, letter to Emma Bacher, dated April 27, 1909 (*Briefe I*, p. 10).

97. *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, January 28, 1912.

98. Alma Maria Mahler-Werfel married the composer and conductor Gustav Mahler in 1902; he died in 1911. In 1915, after a passionate affair with Kokoschka, she married the architect Walter Gropius. After divorcing Gropius, she married Franz Werfel in 1929; together, they emigrated to the United States.

99. *Briefe I*, p. 66.

100. *Letters*, p. 32 (dated July 27, 1913 in English edition).

101. The diary, from Mahler's estate, is in a private collection and was made available to us for research purposes.

102. Leshko 1977, pp. 213ff.

103. *Briefe I*, p. 94.

104. *Letters*, p. 39; Spielmann 1985, p. 46; the letter is also cited in the catalogue raisonné of Kokoschka's paintings that is currently being prepared by Winkler and Schulz.

105. See note 101 above.

106. Hamburger Kunsthalle, *Experiment Weltuntergang. Wien um 1900* (exh. cat.), ed. Werner Hofmann (Munich: Prestel, 1981), p. 113.

107. According to the London art market.

108. *Briefe I*, p. 105.

109. Karl Kraus, *Die Chinesische Mauer* (Leipzig: Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1914), with eight crayon lithographs by Kokoschka.

110. See Winkler/Welz 1975, pp. 78–81.

111. Richard Hamann and Jost Hermand, *Expressionismus*, vol. 5: *Deutsche Kunst und Kulture von der Gründerzeit bis zum Expressionismus* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975).

112. Alma Mahler-Werfel, *Mein Leben (My Life)*, Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1981; 1960), pp. 53–54.

113. The lithograph series was published as both a portfolio and a bound edition. The first edition of the portfolio was issued in 1916 (advance edition) and 1917 (standard edition). The second was published in 1918, with a block-print reproduction of the ink drawing *Fortuna* added to the title page. In the same year, Gurlitt also released the bound edition (Wingler/Welz, p. 88).

114. Kokoschka 1974, p. 78.

115. *Ibid.*

116. Rukschcio/Schachel (see note 59 above), p. 192.

117. For the exact location of the planned construction, see a report in *Schlesische Zeitung*, June 14, 1913.

118. Max Berg became famous for the construction of the Wrocław Century Hall (1910–12), his most important work. In this building, concrete was used over wide spans for the first time. The surface of the cupola is three times larger than that of St. Peter's in Rome, but overall it weighs only half as much.

119. The sketchbook from Switzerland was reprinted in its entirety by Heinz Spielmann in 1992 (Spielmann, "Kokoschka's Studien für das Breslauer Krematoriums-Projekt," in *Oskar Kokoschka, Lebensspuren* [exh. cat], ed. Spielmann [Schleswig-Holstein, 1992], pp. 35–54). See also *Briefe I*, p. 257.

120. *Letters*, p. 51.

121. *Briefe I*, p. 163.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 350 (note to p. 164). We also learn in Kokoschka's letter to Mahler that he planned to go to Wrocław for an extended period, which he did the following summer.

123. We thank Mr. Jerzy Ilkosz, Director of the Building Archives in Wrocław, for providing this information.

124. *Briefe I*, p. 182.

125. Karin Michaelis (see note 92 above), p. 365.

126. *Briefe I*, letter dated July 23, 1914, p. 172; and letter dated September 24, 1914, pp. 177–78.

127. Berg started working again on his plans for a crematorium in Wrocław in 1919 and then in 1923–24. The building was, in fact, constructed in 1926—one year after Berg's retirement—but it followed a design of Richard Konwiarz. (This information was kindly provided by Mr. Jerzy Ilkosz, Director of the Building Archives in Wrocław.) Dr. Albert Quendler told us that Kokoschka was still interested in the "templelike structure" in the 1920s.

128. Letret in the Adolf Loos Archives, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

129. Letter in the Kokoschka Archives, Zentralbibliothek, Zurich.
130. Kokoschka's interest in Egyptian burial sites is manifest particularly in individual drawings from the lost sketchbooks that appear in Albert Quendler's film.
131. Heinz Spielmann (see note 119 above), p. 45.
132. Heinz Ulrich Lehmann, "Zu drei wiedergefundenen Entwürfen Oskar Kokoschkas für ein Krematorium in Breslau (Wroclaw) von 1914," *Dresdener Kunstblätter* 30, no. 4 (1986), pp. 104–10.
133. The first research on Samatra was conducted by Ernst Herzfeld in 1909. His preliminary report on the excavations was published in 1912 by Verlag Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen).
134. John Amos Comenius, quoted in Manfred Scholze, "Zu einigen weltanschaulich-philosophischen Grundlagen im Werk von Oskar Kokoschka" (an analysis of the development of Kokoschka's philosophies and their influence on his works, presented with several examples), diss., Pädagogischen Hochschule Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander, Dresden, 1989, p. 40.
135. Kokoschka 1974, p. 84.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
137. *Ibid.*
138. *Ibid.*, and *Letters*, pp. 59–60.
139. *Der Sturm* Archives, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. Kokoschka delivered two Russian medical officers and the medical team to the 59th Infantry Regiment after the Austrians stormed the building.
140. Recommendation for reward number 337257, dated October 4, 1915 (War Archives, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna).
141. *Letters*, p. 70.
142. The drawings illustrating the play were not produced until 1917–18.
143. *Neue freie Presse*, January 9, 1916, p. 18.
144. Franz Servaes, "Wiener Kunstschau," *Vossische Zeitung*, evening edition, January 10, 1916, p. 2.
145. War Archives, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna, AOK-KPQu. 34/K2, no. 1399. The request was approved on March 3, 1917, and Kokoschka was then appointed as a war artist.
146. *Briefe I*, p. 259.

147. *Letters*, p. 72.
148. Kokoschka 1974, p. 98. A Honved regiment consisted of Hungarian soldiers.
149. The Director Emeritus of the War Archives at the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Dr. Erich Hillbrand, was extremely helpful in identifying the locations.
150. Letters in the collection of Dr. Olda Kokoschka, Villeneuve. Only one of these portrait drawings has been located so far. It shows the artillery lieutenant Dr. Anton Csete von Falda.
151. *Briefe I*, p. 244.
152. *Ibid.*
153. In March 1917, the church was razed in an attack.
154. War Archives, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna, AOK-KPQu. 34, no. 1399.
155. War Archives, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna, AOK-KPQu. 34, no. 1399.
156. *Briefe I*, p. 259.
157. See, in particular, *Briefe I*, p. 259.
158. See two letters from Marc to Kubin, dated March 18 and May 21, 1913 (in Andreas Hüneke, ed., *Der Blaue Reiter. Dokumente einer geistigen Bewegung*, third ed. [Leipzig: Reclam-Verlag, 1991; 1989], pp. 517–18).
159. Kokoschka, letter to Marc, in Hüneke (see note 158 above), pp. 517–18.
160. Each artist participating in the project was to contribute one volume. The volumes were supposed to be issued by Der Blaue Reiter under Reinhard Piper's imprint in quarterly or semiannual intervals. Only Kubin's illustrations for the Book of Daniel were published, by Georg Müller in Munich in 1918. Pen-and-ink drawings by Klee for this project have been preserved, as well as woodcuts by Marc for the Book of Genesis and paintings and drawings by Kandinsky for the Apocalypse. See Hüneke (note 158 above), pp. 516–26 and p. 591 (note 365).
161. *Briefe I*, p. 265. The transfer drawings for the fourteen lithographs have not been located.
162. *Ibid.*, pp. 264ff.
163. These circles included, among others, Albert Ehrenstein, Walter Hasenclever, and Ivar von Lücken. Kokoschka was also friends with actors Ernst Deutsch and Käthe Richter.

164. Processions featuring crucifixes and red flags were in fact quite common in Germany (Hamann/Hermand [see note III above], p. 40).

In the captions to the following catalogue, dimensions are given in centimeters, with height preceding width. Dates in brackets were arrived at through stylistic analysis and related research; dates without brackets are firmly documented (note that in some cases, these dates may not match those assigned by Kokoschka retrospectively).

The provenance, exhibition history, and bibliographic references for all of the works reproduced will be included in the Albertina's catalogue raisonné of Kokoschka's drawings and watercolors, currently in preparation.



1. *Das kleine Mütterchen* (*Little Mother*), 1897/98.  
Pencil on sketchbook page, 16.6 x 12 cm. Signed  
lower right: Kokoschka. Private collection, Vienna.

pages 66–67:

2. *Italienisches Bauernmädchen in Landschaft*  
(*Italian Farm Girl in a Landscape*), 1901.  
Watercolor, tempera, and pencil on paper, 29.3 x  
22.5 cm. Signed and dated lower left:  
Oskar Kokoschka 1901. Private collection, Vienna.

3. *Mühle in Berglandschaft* (*Mill in a Mountain  
Landscape*), calendar card for the month of  
March, [1902]. Watercolor on board, 13.8 x 8.8 cm.  
Signed lower left: OKOKOSCHKA. Graphische  
Sammlung Albertina, Vienna 41.107.

Das Kl. Mütterchen



N. K. Schwa



Julia Kokosa No 1901



4. *Brustbild eines nach unten blickenden Mädchens*  
(*Half-Length Portrait of a Girl Looking Down*),  
[ca. 1903]. Pencil on paper, 27.4 x 21.9 cm. Signed  
lower right: Kokoschka. Graphische Sammlung  
Albertina, Vienna 41.106.

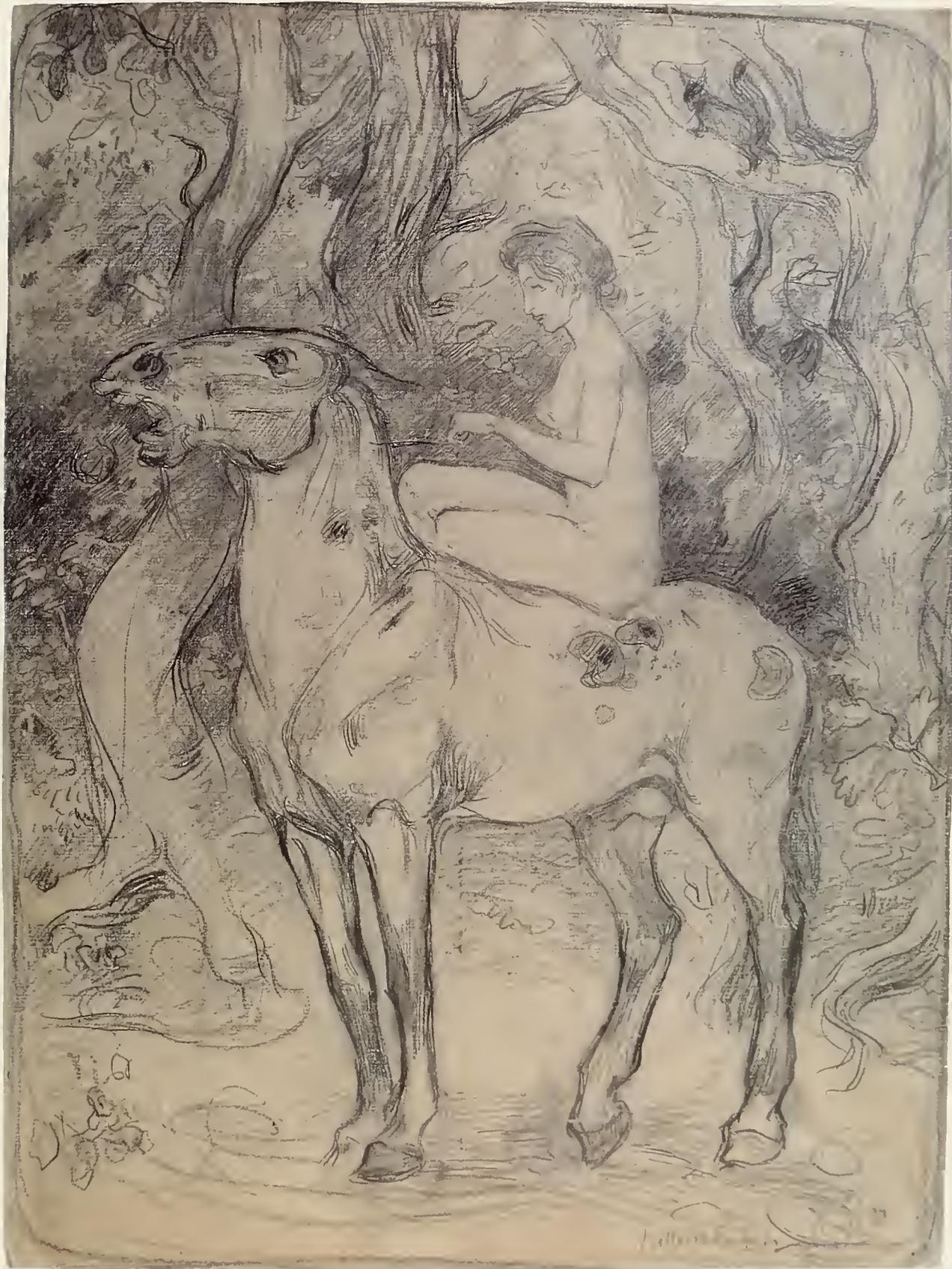
pages 70–71:

5. *Mädchenakt auf galoppierendem Schimmel*  
*in Weiberlandschaft* (*Female Nude on a Galloping*  
*Horse in a Landscape with Pond*), 1905. Watercolor,  
black chalk, and pencil on paper, 28.3 x 37.7 cm.  
Signed and dated lower left: KOKOSCHKA.05.  
Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna 23.980.

6. *Mädchenakt auf Hengst in Waldlandschaft*  
(*Female Nude on a Stallion in a Forest*), 1905. Pencil  
on paper, 36.8 x 27.5 cm. Signed and dated lower  
right: Kokoschka 05. Private collection.







7. *Unterhaltung am Gartenzaun* (*Conversation at the Garden Fence*), [1906]. Brush and ink, watercolor, opaque white, and pencil on paper, 22.3 x 19.5 cm. Kunsthalle Bremen, Prints and Drawings Collection 1955/402.



8. *Versuchung des Heiligen Antonius (Temptation of St. Anthony)*, 1906. Pen and ink, opaque white, and pencil on paper, 24.5 x 19.5 cm. Signed and dated lower right: OK.06. Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien 116.329.

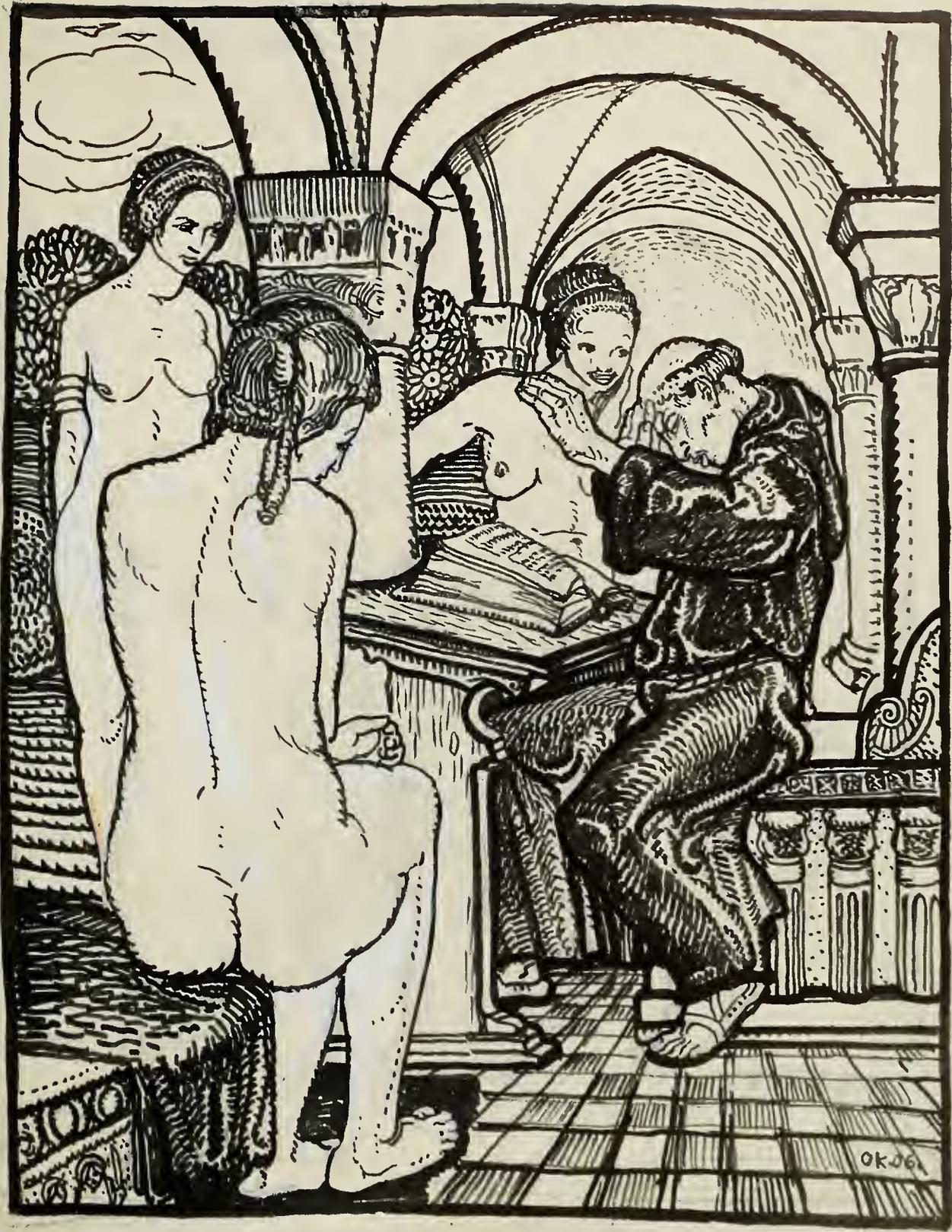
pages 76–79:

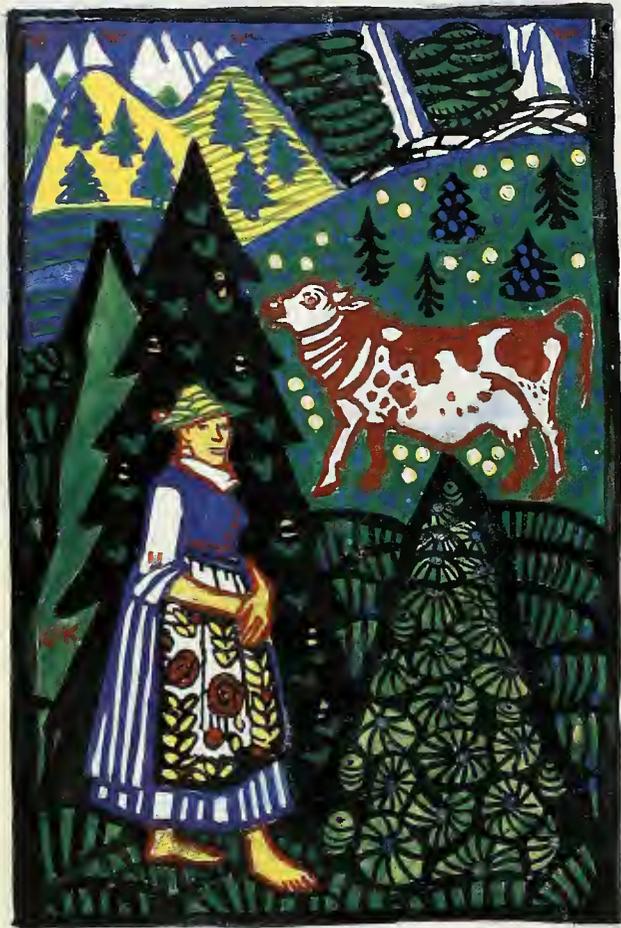
9. *Sennerin und Kuh (Dairymaid and Cow)*, sketch for Wiener Werkstätte postcard no. 80, [1907]. Brush and ink, tempera, opaque white, and pencil on paper, 15.2 x 10.2 cm. Signed center lower left: OK. Private collection.

10. *Mädchen am Fenster (Girl by the Window)*, sketch for Wiener Werkstätte postcard no. 152, [1907]. Brush and ink, watercolor, tempera, opaque white, and pencil on paper, 13.8 x 8.1 cm. Signed lower left: OK. Galerie Martin Suppan, Vienna.

11. *Tülpelsspiele (Horseplay)*, sketch for an unrealized Wiener Werkstätte postcard, [1907]. Brush and ink, tempera, opaque white, and pencil on paper, 13.4 x 8.5 cm. Signed lower left: OK. Private collection.

12. *Mutter mit drei Kindern (Mother with Three Children)*, sketch for Wiener Werkstätte postcard no. 117, [1907]. Brush and ink, watercolor, tempera, opaque white, and pencil on paper, 13.4 x 8.5 cm. Signed center left: OK. Private collection.





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23







13. *Mädchenakt in geöffnetem Käfig, davor Flötenspieler* (*Nude Girl in an Open Cage in Front of a Flutist*), sketch for an unrealized Wiener Werkstätte postcard, 1908. Brush and ink, tempera, opaque white, and pencil on paper, 13.4 x 8.4 cm. Signed center lower left: OK. Private collection.

pages 82–83:

14. *Mutter mit Kind auf Rentier im Fluß* (*Mother with Child on a Reindeer in the River*), sketch for an unrealized Wiener Werkstätte postcard, 1908. Brush and ink, tempera, opaque white, and pencil on paper, 13.4 x 8.4 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Private collection.

15. *Genoverta I*, sketch for an unrealized Wiener Werkstätte postcard, 1908. Brush and ink, tempera, and pencil on paper, 13.4 x 8.5 cm. Signed center left: OK. Private collection.







16. *Hirsch, Fuchs, Zauberer und Flötenspieler* (*Stag, Fox, Magician, and Flutist*), movable figures for the slide-and-shadow play *Das getupfte Ei* (*The Spotted Egg*), Cabaret Fledermaus, Vienna, 1907. Tempera and gold on paper, mounted on copper-sheet cutouts; stag: 12.4 x 9 cm; fox: 4 x 14 cm; magician: 7 x 1.9 cm; flutist: 15 x 12.9 cm. Private collection, Berlin.

pages 86–91:

17. recto *Zwei stehende weibliche Akte einander zugewandt; Detailstudien* (*Two Standing Female Nudes Facing Each Other; Detail Studies*), [1907]. Pencil on paper, 47 x 31.5 cm. Signed lower left: OK. Collection of Klaus Hegewisch, Hamburg.

17. verso *Sitzender Mädchenakt, die rechte Hand aufgestützt; Detailstudien* (*Seated Nude Girl, Supporting Herself with Her Right Hand; Detail Study*), [1907]. Pencil on paper, 31.5 x 47 cm. Collection of Klaus Hegewisch, Hamburg.

18. *Links mit gekreuzten Beinen stehendes Mädchen, rechts Sitzende mit hochgezogenen Knien* (*Standing Girl with Crossed Legs at Left, Seated Girl with Knees Drawn to the Chest at Right*), [1907]. Watercolor, opaque white, and pencil on paper, 44.3 x 30.7 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Drawings Collection F II 938a (cat. no. SdZ 1).

19. *Stehender Mädchenakt, die linke Hand am Kinn* (*Standing Nude Girl with Hand on Chin*), [1907]. Watercolor, gouache, and pencil on kraft paper, 44.9 x 31.5 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Stadtmuseum Linz-Nordico, Prints and Drawings Collection S II/12.

20. *Sitzender Akt einer alten Frau mit Strümpfen* (*Seated Nude Old Woman with Stockings*), [1907]. Watercolor, opaque white, and pencil on kraft paper, 45.1 x 31.7 cm. Signed lower left: OK. Private collection, Vienna.

21. *Stehender Akt eines alten Mannes nach links—Der Gaukler* (*Standing Nude Old Man, Turned to Left—The Storyteller*), [1907]. Black chalk, watercolor, gouache, and pencil on kraft paper, 44.5 x 30.9 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Stadtmuseum Linz-Nordico, Prints and Drawings Collection SII/11.



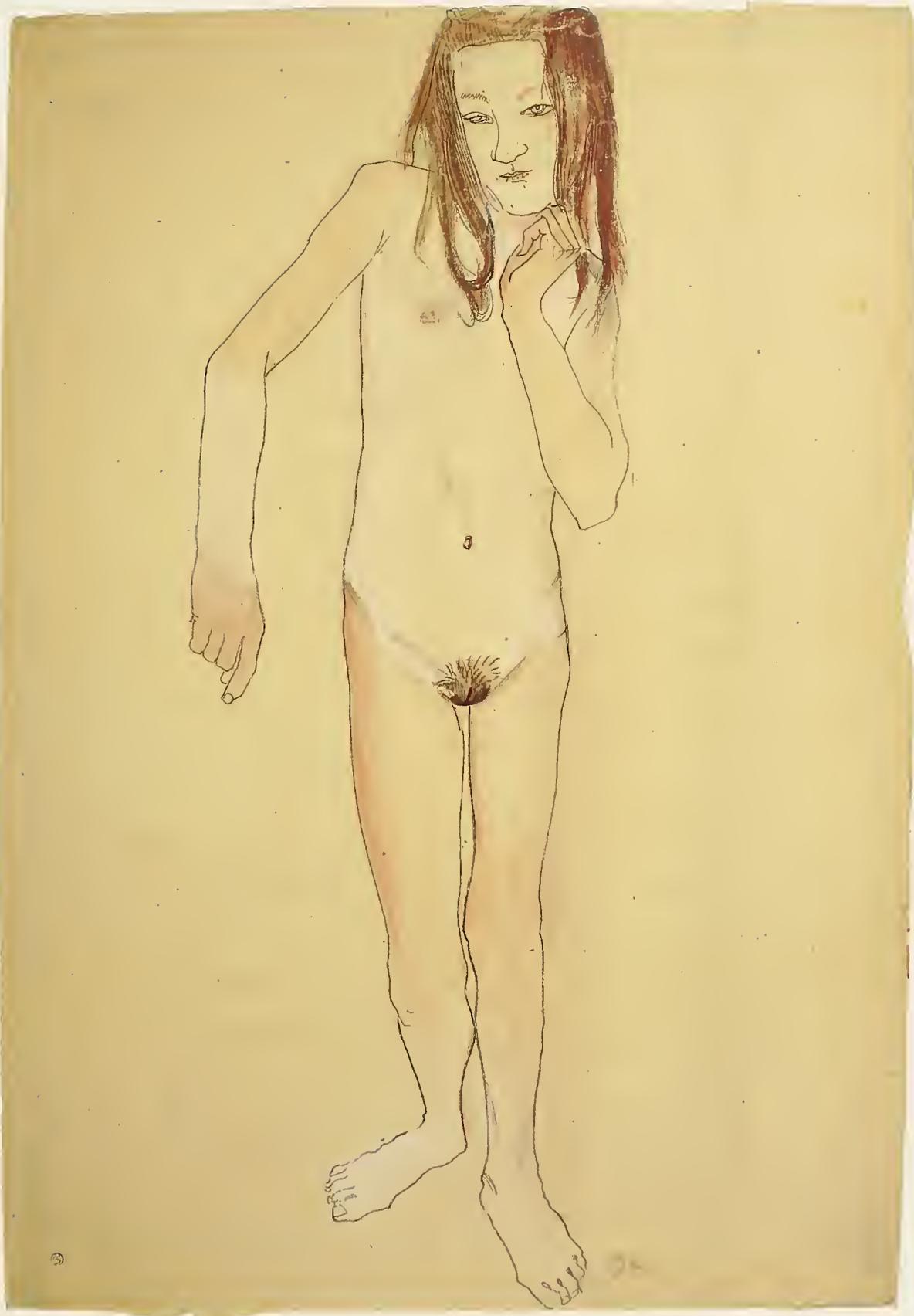


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22. *Drei Studien eines hockenden Mädchens; Detailstudie des Kopfes (Three Studies of a Crouched Girl; Detail Study of the Head)*, [1908]. Pencil on paper, 44.8 x 31.6 cm. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna 31.449.

pages 94–97:

23. *Junges Mädchen mit nacktem Oberkörper nach vorne gebeugt (Young Girl with Bare Upper Torso Leaning Forward)*, [1908]. Watercolor, tempera, and pencil on paper, 45 x 31.2 cm. Signed lower left: OK. Collection of Dr. Rudolf Leopold, Vienna.

24. *Stehendes junges Mädchen mit nacktem Oberkörper; Detailstudie (Standing Young Girl with Bare Upper Torso; Detail Study)*, [1908]. Watercolor, tempera, and pencil on paper, 44.5 x 31.1 cm. Signed lower left: OK. Galerie Richard Ruberl, Vienna.

25. *Junges Mädchen mit nacktem Oberkörper, sich die Haare aufbindend; Detailstudie (Young Girl with Bare Upper Torso Tying Back Her Hair; Detail Study)*, [1908]. Watercolor and pencil on paper, 43.7 x 30.4 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Drawings Collection F II 939 (cat. no. SdZ 2).

26. *The Lunatic Girl*, [1908]. Watercolor, gouache, and pencil on paper, 46 x 33 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien 100830.





OK







the 'mole' OK

27. *Mutter mit Kind (Mother with Child)*, [1908].  
Brush and ink, watercolor, gouache, and pencil  
on paper, 45 x 31.2 cm. Signed lower right: OK.  
Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien 115057.

*pages 100–01:*

28. *Zwei junge Mädchen beim Ankleiden (Two Young  
Girls Dressing)*, costume design, [1908]. Brush and  
ink, watercolor, gouache, tempera, and pencil on  
paper, 44 x 30.8 cm. Signed lower left: OK. Private  
collection, Germany.

29. *Junges Mädchen mit ausbolendem rechten Arm  
(Young Girl with Extended Right Arm)*, [1908].  
Watercolor and pencil on paper, 43.7 x 30.4 cm.  
Signed lower right: OK. Staatliche Museen zu  
Berlin, Drawings Collection F II 940  
(cat. no. SdZ 3).



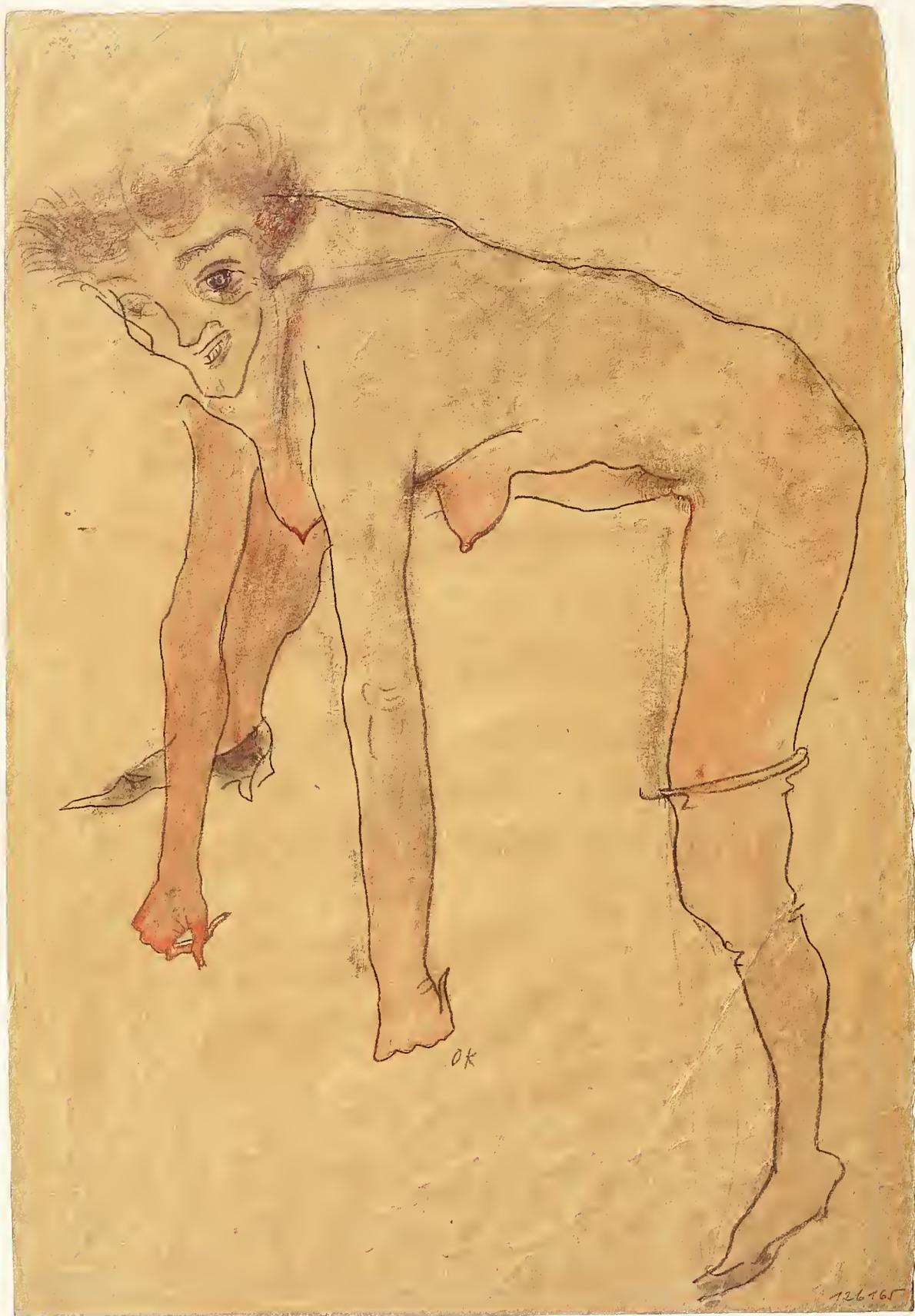




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30. *In den Hüften nach links gedrehter, stehender weiblicher Rückenakt (Standing Female Nude with Hips Turned to the Left, Viewed from the Back)*, [1910]. Pen and ink, watercolor, and pencil on paper, 45.1 x 31.1 cm. Signed lower center: OK. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Rose Gershwin Fund 549.54.





31. *Weiblicher Akt mit nach vorne geneigtem Oberkörper, die Hände auf dem Boden abgestützt* (*Female Nude Leaning Forward, Supporting Herself with Her Hands on the Ground*), [1910]. Watercolor and pencil on kraft paper, 45.1 x 31.2 cm. Signed lower center: OK. Private collection.

pages 106–13:

32. *Schlafende Frau* (*Sleeping Woman*), from the series *Die träumenden Knaben* (*The Dreaming Boys*), 1908. Color lithograph with tempera and gouache on paper, 24 x 22 cm. Signed in the stone center lower left: OK. Private collection, Zurich.

33. *Das Segelschiff* (*The Sailboat*), from the series *Die träumenden Knaben* (*The Dreaming Boys*), 1908. Color lithograph with tempera and gouache on paper, 24 x 22 cm. Signed in the stone lower left: OK. Private collection, Zurich.

34. *Die Schiffer rufen* (*The Sailors Are Calling*), from the series *Die träumenden Knaben* (*The Dreaming Boys*), 1908. Color lithograph with tempera and gouache on paper, 24 x 22 cm. Signed in the stone lower right: OK. Private collection, Zurich.

35. *Die ferne Insel* (*The Distant Island*), from the series *Die träumenden Knaben* (*The Dreaming Boys*), 1908. Color lithograph with tempera and gouache on paper, 24 x 22 cm. Signed in the stone lower right: OK. Private collection, Zurich.

36. *Paare im Gespräch* (*Couples in Conversation*), from the series *Die träumenden Knaben* (*The Dreaming Boys*), 1908. Color lithograph with tempera and gouache on paper, 24 x 22 cm. Signed in the stone center upper right: OK. Private collection, Zurich.

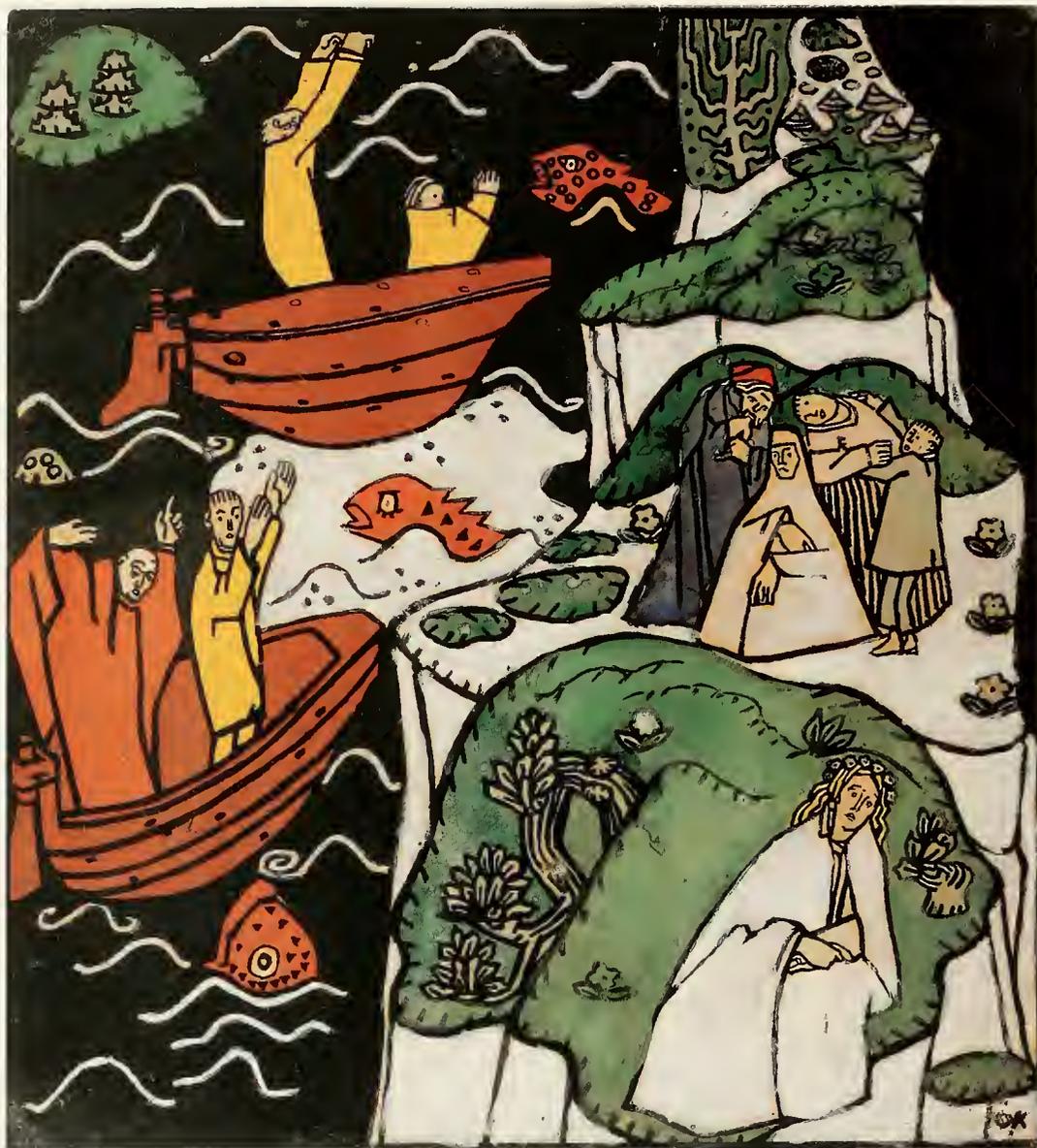
37. *Die Schlafenden* (*The Sleepers*), from the series *Die träumenden Knaben* (*The Dreaming Boys*), 1908. Color lithograph with tempera and gouache on paper, 24 x 22 cm. Signed in the stone lower center: OK. Private collection, Zurich.

38. *Die Erwachenden* (*The Awakening*), from the series *Die träumenden Knaben* (*The Dreaming Boys*), 1908. Color lithograph with tempera and gouache on paper, 24 x 22 cm. Signed in the stone lower right: OK. Private collection, Zurich.

39. *Das Mädchen Li und ich* (*The Girl Li and I*), from the series *Die träumenden Knaben* (*The Dreaming Boys*), 1908. Color lithograph with tempera and opaque white on paper, 24 x 22 cm. Signed in the stone lower right: OK. Private collection, Zurich.

















40. *Entwurf eines nicht ausgeführten Plakates für den Kaiser-Jubiläum-Huldigungsfestzug (Sketch for an Unrealized Poster for the Anniversary Procession in Honor of the Emperor)*, 1908. Tempera, watercolor, and pencil on board, 137 x 88,5 cm. Signed center lower left: OK. Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien 94210.

pages 116–17:

41. *Vier Kostümstudien für den Kaiser-Jubiläum-Huldigungsfestzug (Four Costume Studies for the Anniversary Procession in Honor of the Emperor)*, 1908. Pen and ink, watercolor, gouache, and pencil on paper, 31.8 x 45 cm. Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien 115125.

42. *Kostümentwurf für den Kaiser-Jubiläum-Huldigungsfestzug (Costume Design for the Anniversary Procession in Honor of the Emperor)*, 1908. Pen and brush and ink, watercolor, gouache, opaque white, gold tempera, and pencil on board, 24 x 17,7 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien 115136.





Handwritten notes in the top left corner, including the word "festlich" and other illegible cursive text.

Handwritten notes in the top right corner, including "4 Reiter" and other illegible cursive text.



OK

10 Bauernburschen  
mit Strohküten

43. *Bärtiger Fischer (Bearded Fisherman)*, [1908/09]. Pen and brush and ink, tempera, opaque white, and pencil on paper, 20.8 x 16.5 cm. Signed center lower right: OK. Museum am Ostwall, Dortmund SG 93.

pages 120–21:

44. *Bärtiger Mann im Segelboot in tropischer Landschaft einen Fluß hinaufsegelnd (Bearded Man Sailing Up a River in a Tropical Landscape)*, illustration for *Robinson (Robinson Crusoe)*, [1908/09]. Pen and brush and ink, watercolor, tempera, opaque white, and pencil on paper, 20.5 x 16.5 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna 39.045.

45. *Träumender Schiffer (Dreaming Seaman)*, illustration for *Robinson (Robinson Crusoe)*, [1908/09]. Brush and ink, watercolor, tempera, opaque white, and pencil on paper, 22.5 x 17.5 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Galerie Richard Ruberl, Vienna.







46. *Mutter mit Kind im Fauteuil, Obstschale auf dem Tisch* (Mother and Child in Armchair with Compote on Table), [1908/09]. Pen and brush and ink, watercolor, gouache, and pencil on board, 20.8 x 16.2 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien 94153.



47. *Mutter mit Kind auf Hindin reitend* (*Mother with Child Riding a Doe*), [1908/09]. Pen and brush and ink, and pencil on paper, 24.5 x 21 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna 31.346.



48. *Fächer für die Wiener Werkstätte (Fan for the Wiener Werkstätte)*, [1909]. Pen and brush and ink, watercolor, tempera, opaque white, silver tempera, and pencil on untanned goat leather, mounted on board, 21 x 41.5 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Galerie Würthle, Vienna.

pages 128–31:

49. *Fürst Platon Alexandrovic Zubov (Count Platon Aleksandrovich Zubov)*, [1909]. Pen and brush and ink, tempera, gouache, and pencil on board, 18.2 x 8.9 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Sammlung Schömer, Klosterneuburg 1223.

50. *Bühnenvorhangentwurf mit zwei Szenen einer Simultanbühne (Design for a Stage Curtain with Two Scenes from a Split Set)*, [1909]. Pen and brush and ink, watercolor, gouache, and pencil on paper, 28.5 x 33.5 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Private collection.

51. *Liebespaar in exotischer Landschaft mit Tieren II (Lovers in an Exotic Landscape with Animals II)*, design for a bookplate for Emma Bacher, 1909. Pen and brush and ink, and pencil on paper, 12.1 x 10.1 cm. Private collection, Germany.

52. *Pietà*, 1909. Color lithograph on paper, 122 x 79.5 cm. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna 6337.



Янцъ Платонъ Субовъ.









53. *Selbstbildnis (Self-Portrait)*, poster for  
*Der Sturm*, 1910. Color lithograph on paper,  
67.3 x 44.7 cm. Private collection.



54. *Bildniszeichnung Herwarth Walden (Portrait of Herwarth Walden)*, 1909. Pen and ink and pencil on graph paper, 28.8 x 22.5 cm. Signed lower center: OK. Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass. 1949.137.

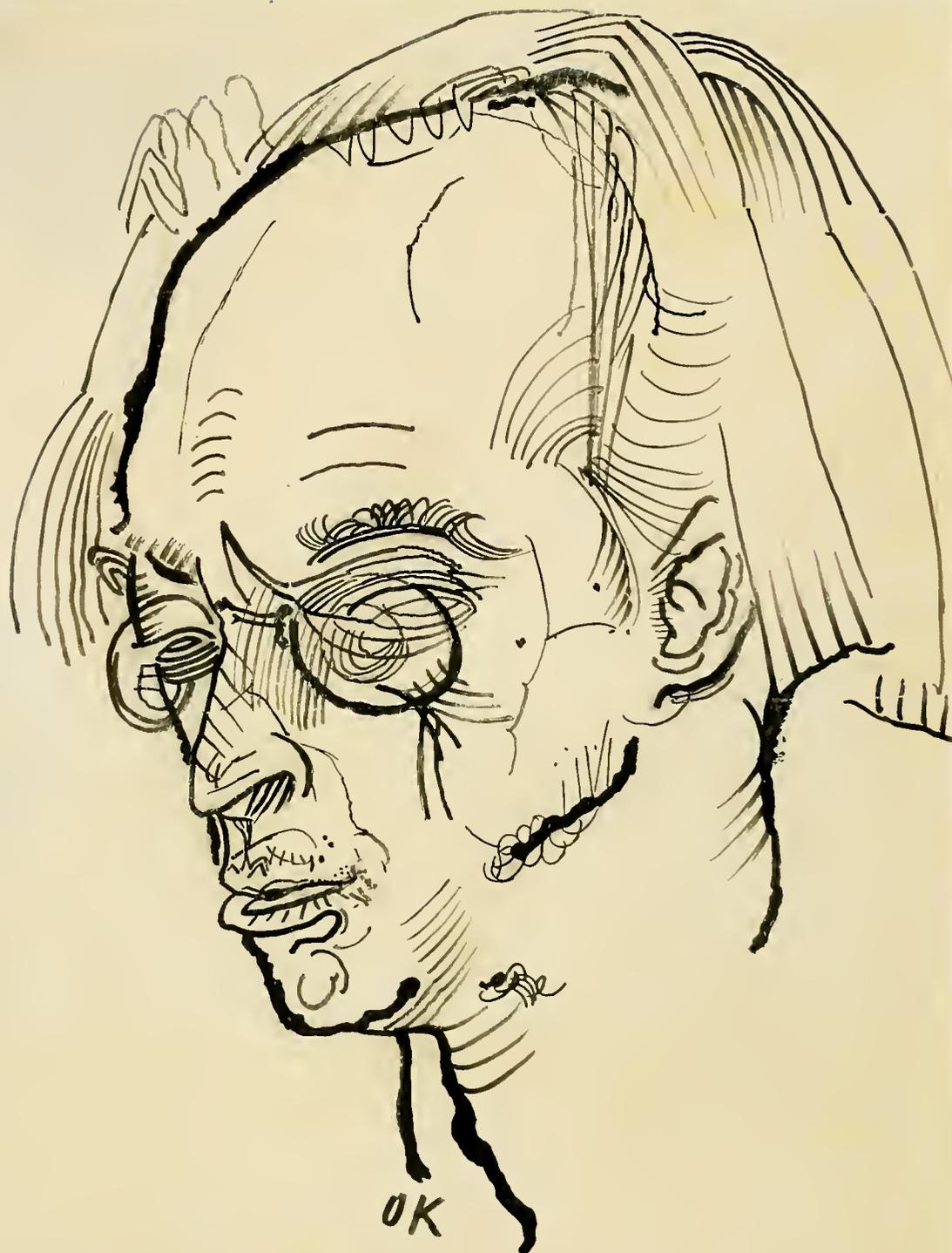
pages 136–39:

55. *Bildniszeichnung Karin Michaelis (Portrait of Karin Michaelis)*, [1911]. Pen and ink and opaque white on tracing paper, 36 x 23 cm. Signed lower left: OK. Museum Stiftung Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur 2094.

56. *Bildniszeichnung Dr. Hermann Schwarzwald (Portrait of Dr. Hermann Schwarzwald)*, 1911. Pencil on paper, 19.5 x 15 cm. Signed upper right: OKokoschka. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna 37.159.

57. *Bildniszeichnung Prof. Levin Ludwig Schücking II (Portrait of Professor Levin Ludwig Schücking II)*, 1911. Pen and ink on paper, 24.2 x 15.2 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Private collection.

58. *Bildniszeichnung Karl Kraus I (Portrait of Karl Kraus I)*, 1909. Pen and brush and ink on paper, 29.7 x 20.6 cm. Collection of Walter Feilchenfeldt.



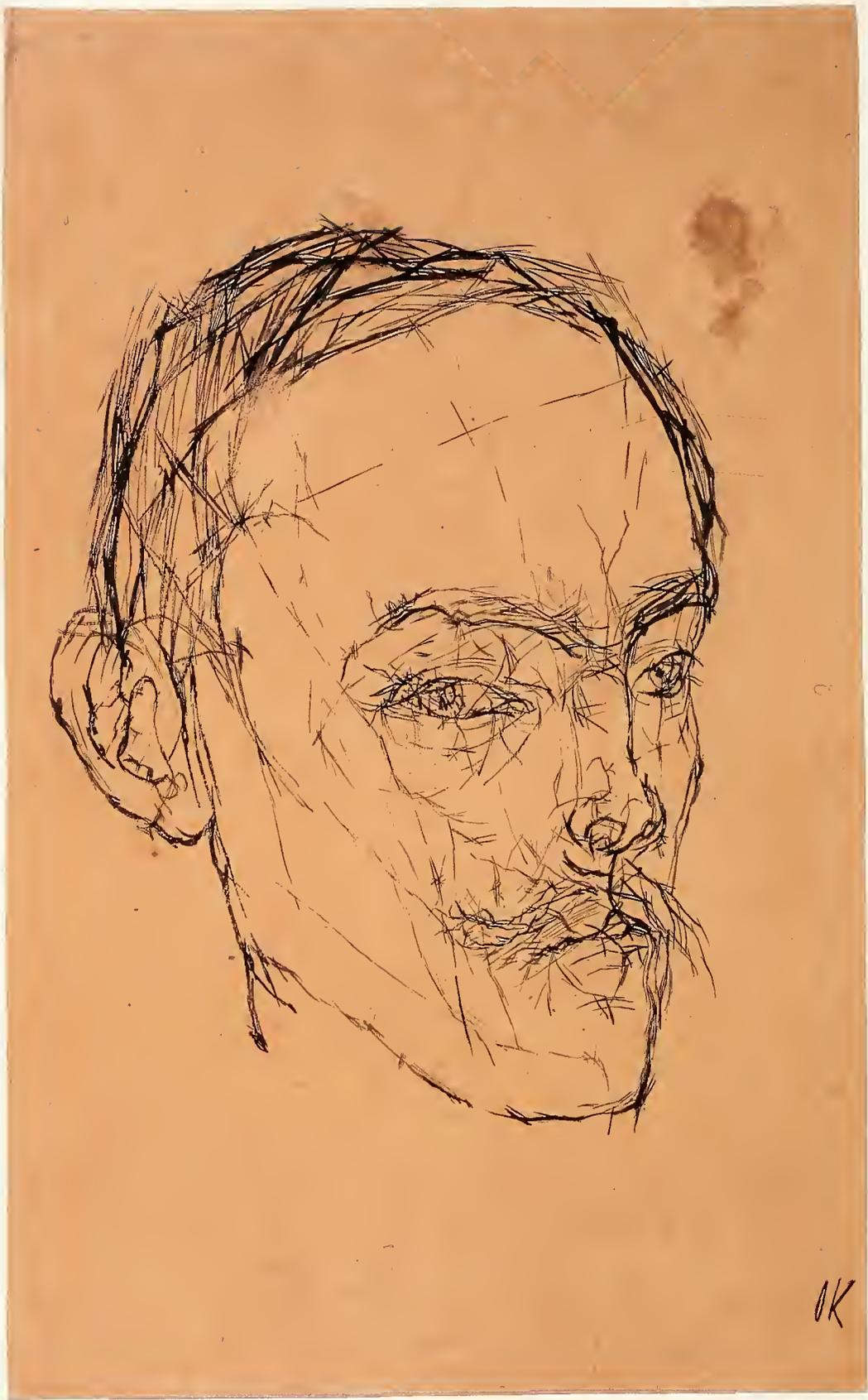


DK

Karin Mitchell

Dr. Hermann Scherwitzky 21. 1. 1904  
H. Scherwitzky







59. *Bildniszeichnung Vaclav Nijinskij (Portrait of Vaslav Nijinsky)*, [1912]. Charcoal on paper, 36.4 x 23.8. Signed lower right: OK. Private collection.

*pages 142–43:*

60. *Bildniszeichnung Alma Mahler (Portrait of Alma Mahler)*, [1912]. Black chalk on paper, 33.3 x 33.7 cm. Signed lower left: OK. Kupferstich-Kabinett der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden C 1927-4.

61. *Selbstbildnis (Self-Portrait)*, sketch for a poster announcing a lecture, 1912. Pencil on paper, 25 x 18.7 cm. Signed lower left: OK. Private collection, Hamburg.



OK



178.



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26.1.12

Vostok Otkrytiya

62. *Brustbild einer Liebkosung Alma Mablers und Oskar Kokoschkas (Half-Length Portrait of Alma Mabler Caressing Oskar Kokoschka)*, [1912]. Charcoal and white chalk on paper, 43.5 x 31 cm. Signed and dated lower right: Oskar Kokoschka 1913. Collection of Dr. Rudolf Leopold, Vienna.

*pages 146–47:*

63. *Auf dem Rücken liegender Knabenakt mit angezogenen Knien; Detailstudie (Nude Boy Lying on His Back with Knees Elevated; Detail Study)*, [1912/13]. Black chalk and watercolor on paper, 31.5 x 25.4 cm. Collection of Dr. Rudolf Leopold, Vienna.

64. *Rückenakt eines stehenden Knaben mit hochgehobenem rechtem Arm; Detailstudie (Rear View of a Standing Nude Boy with Right Arm Elevated; Detail Study)*, [1912/13]. Black chalk, watercolor, and pencil on paper, 44.5 x 29.5 cm. Private collection.



Wöhler 30. 1908  
O. W. Wöhler 1908





65. *Junge Frau im Lehnstuhl, den Kopf mit der rechten Hand abgestützt* (*Young Woman in an Armchair, Supporting Her Head with Her Right Hand*), [1912]. Black chalk on paper, 40.2 x 28 cm. Signed lower left: OK. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna 23.560.

pages 150–51:

66. *Lehnende Frau auf Ellenbogen gestützt nach links* (*Woman Leaning on Her Left Elbow*), [1913]. Gouache and crayon on paper, 29.5 x 35.3 cm. Signed center lower right: OK. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York 48.1172x161.

67. *Sitzender weiblicher Halbakt nach rechts, die linke Hand auf den Kopf gelegt* (*Seated Seminude Woman Facing Right, Left Hand Resting on Her Head*), [1913]. Black chalk, watercolor, and gouache on paper, 31 x 44.8 cm. Signed and dated lower left: OKokoschka 1911. Private collection, Germany.



OK





M. G. 1911

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68. *Stehendes Mädchen mit erhobenen Armen nach links* (*Standing Girl Facing Left with Raised Arms*), transfer drawing for the eponymous lithograph, [1913]. Black chalk on paper, 43.5 x 27.7 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna 23.561.



69. *Am Boden sitzender weiblicher Akt, die Hände an den Hinterkopf gelegt (Female Nude Seated on the Ground, Hands Clasped behind Her Head)*, [1913]. Brush and ink, watercolor, and pencil on kraft paper, 45 x 30.8 cm. Signed lower left: OK. Deutsche Bank AG.

*pages 156–57:*

70. *Bildniszeichnung Georg Trakl (Portrait of Georg Trakl)*, [1914]. Black chalk on paper, 42 x 28 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Private collection.

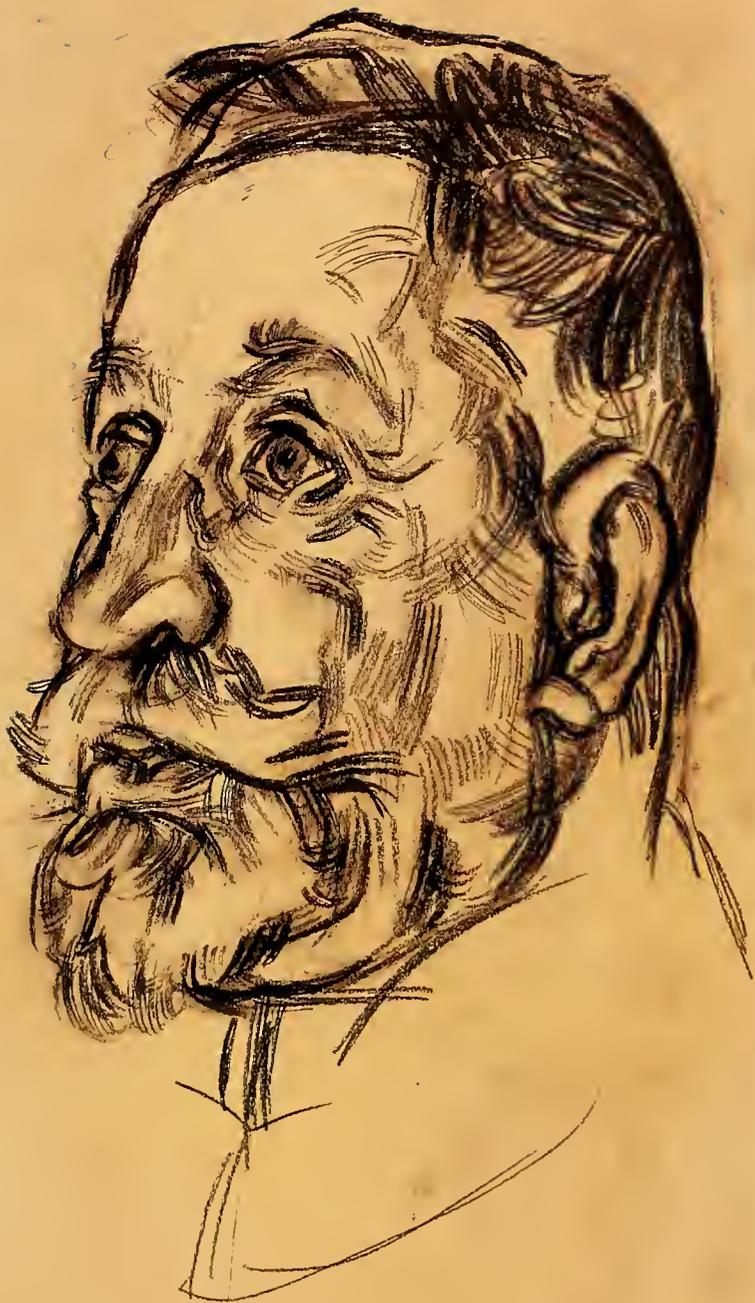
71. *Bildniszeichnung Heinrich Benesch (Portrait of Heinrich Benesch)*, 1914. Black chalk on paper, 48.1 x 32.5 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Private collection.





Der Bildhauer Georg Frake  
nach dem Gedächtnisse.

OK



Wien, 17. III. 1914

OK

72. *Bildniszeichnung Rudolf Blümner (Portrait of Rudolf Blümner)*, [1916]. Pen and ink on tracing paper, 34.8 x 30.4 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Private collection, Germany.



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73. *Frauenbildnis (Portrait of a Woman)*, 1916.  
Black chalk on paper, 51 x 38.6 cm. Signed lower  
right: OK. Kupferstich-Kabinett der Staatlichen  
Kunstsammlungen Dresden C. 1929-17.



74. *Schlangentanz (Snake Dance)*, 1910. Pen and ink and pencil on tracing paper, 23.2 x 22 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Private collection.

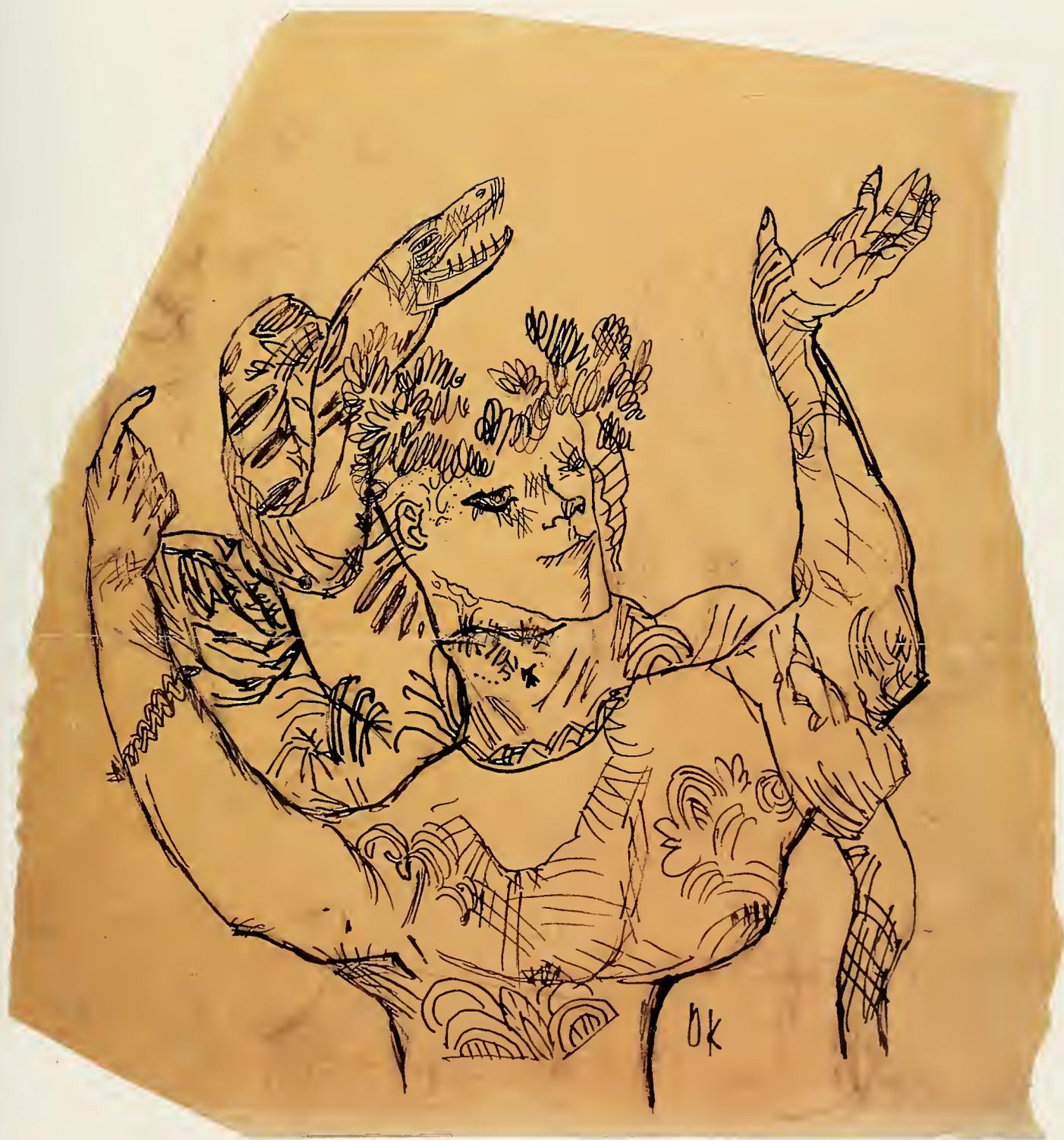
pages 164–67:

75. *Mörder Hoffnung der Frauen I (Murderer, Hope of Women I)*, [1910]. Pen and brush and ink, and pencil on tracing paper, 25.5 x 20 cm. Signed lower center: OK. Private collection.

76. *Mörder Hoffnung der Frauen II (Murderer, Hope of Women II)*, [1910]. Pen and ink and pencil on tracing paper, 27.5 x 27.5 cm. Signed lower center: OK. Private collection.

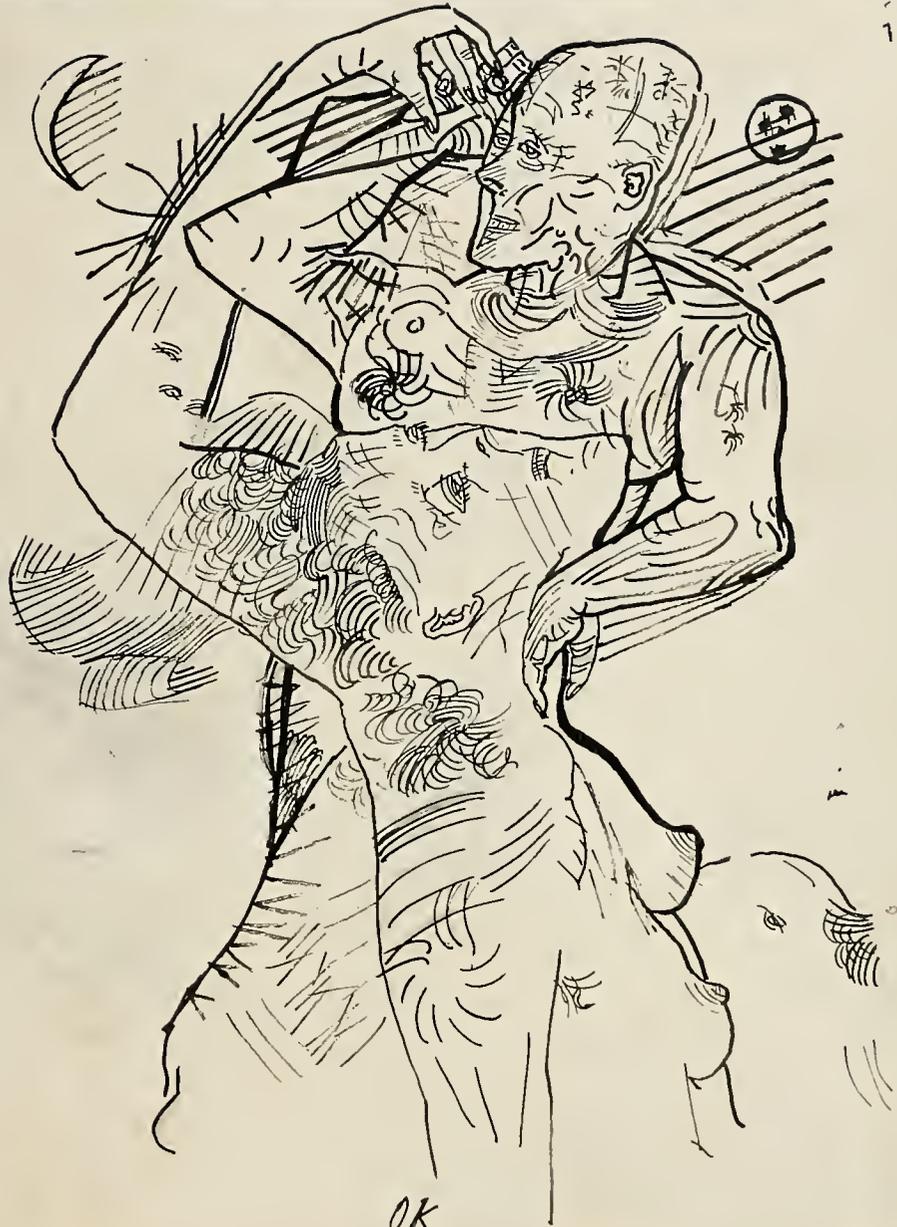
77. *Tubutsch und der Tod (Tubutsch and Death)*, 1911. Pen and ink and pencil on paper, 24.7 x 19.8 cm. Signed lower center: OK. Museum Stiftung Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur 2098.

78. *Ritter Johann des Todes I (Knight John of Death I)*, 1911. Pen and ink on paper, 26 x 18 cm. Signed lower right: OK OK. Museum Stiftung Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur 2095.





*[Faint, illegible signature and text]*



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Richter Schmitt's sketch

79. *Am Scheidewege (At the Crossroads)*, study  
for the eponymous lithograph, 1913. Black chalk on  
kraft paper, 42.5 x 29.6 cm. Signed lower right:  
OK. Collection of Dr. Rudolf Leopold, Vienna.



80. *Begegnung (Encounter)*, transfer drawing for the eponymous lithograph, 1913. Black chalk on kraft paper, 32.5 x 30 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Collection Schömer, Klosterneuburg 1220.

pages 172–75:

81. *Frau mit Kind und Tod (Mother with Child and Death)*, study for the eponymous lithograph, 1913. Black chalk on tracing paper, 46.4 x 29.7 cm. Signed lower left: OK. Collection Schömer, Klosterneuburg 1221.

82. *Am Spinnrad (At the Spinning Wheel)*, study for the eponymous lithograph, 1913. Black chalk on tracing paper, 36 x 29.5 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Collection Schömer, Klosterneuburg 1222.

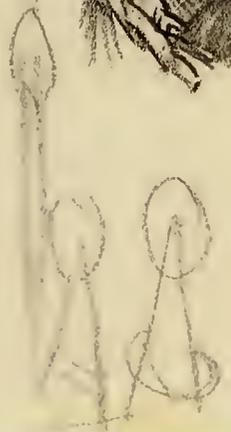
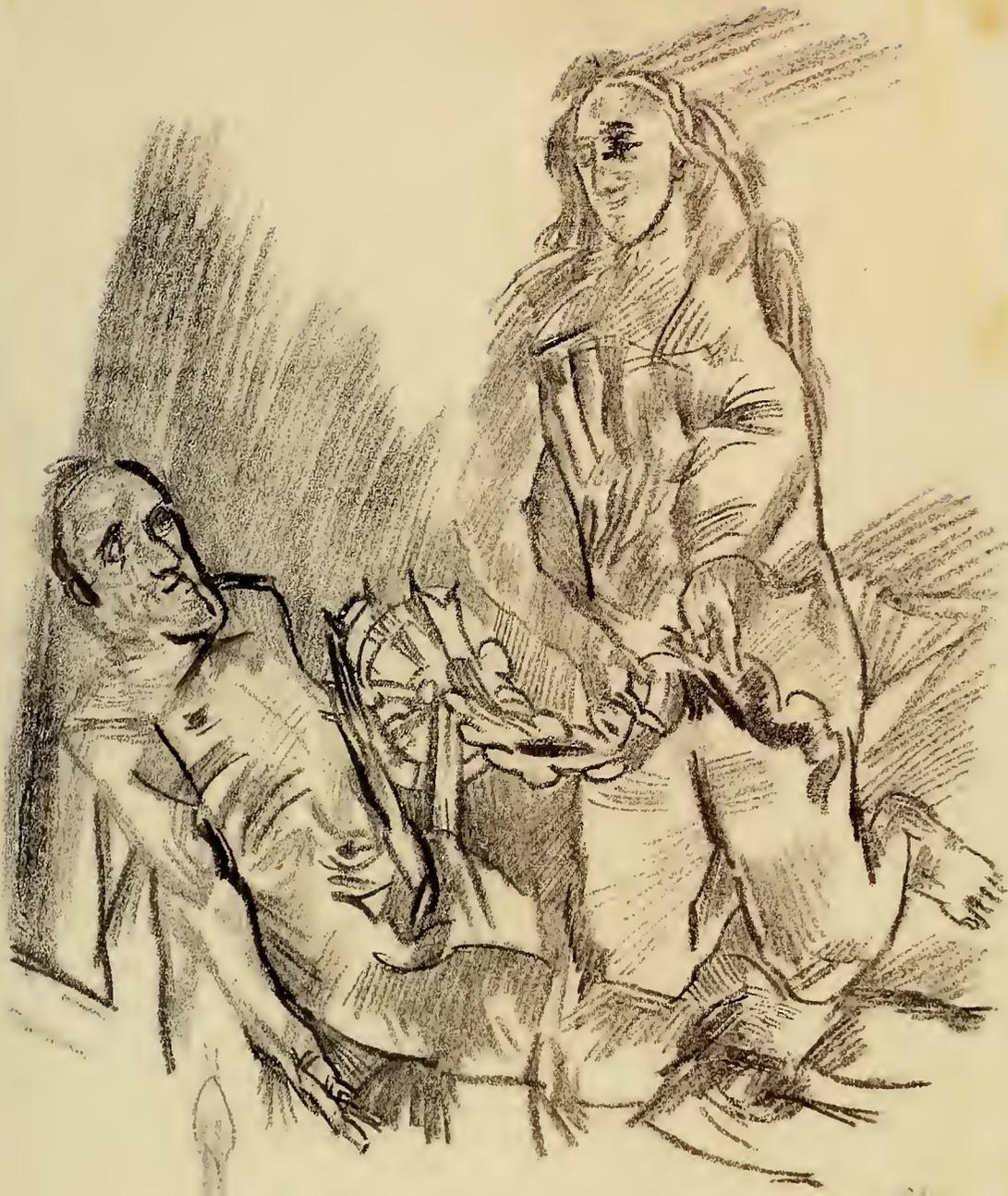
83. *Der Mann erhebt seinen Kopf aus dem Grabe, auf dem das Weib sitzt (Man Raising His Head from the Grave, on Which His Wife Is Seated)*, transfer drawing for the eponymous lithograph, [1913/14]. Black chalk on paper, 49.5 x 35.2 cm. Signed lower left: OK. Private collection, Germany.

84. *Pietà ("Es ist genug") (Pietà ("Enough is Enough"))*, transfer drawing for the eponymous lithograph, [1913/14]. Black chalk on paper, 27 x 33.5 cm. Signed lower left: OK. Nell Walden Collection, Landskrona Museum, Sweden LM 14513.





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85. *Zwei Pferde an einem kleinen Fluß bei Tre Croci*  
(*Two Horses by a Stream near Tre Croci*), 1913.  
Charcoal on tracing paper, 33.1 x 44.9 cm. Signed  
lower right: OK. Graphische Sammlung Albertina,  
Vienna 31.008.

pages 178–79:

86. *Gebäude in den Dolomiten bei Tre Croci* (*Building  
in the Dolomites near Tre Croci*), 1913. Charcoal on  
paper, 34.6 x 22.8 cm. Signed lower right: OK.  
Private collection, Germany.

87. *Im Hafel von Neapel* (*In the Port of Naples*), 1913.  
Charcoal on paper, 23.5 x 32.3 cm. Signed lower  
left: OK. Private collection, Brussels.







88. *Entwurf für das Krematorium in Breslau, Außenansicht der Halle und der Kamine* (Design for the Crematorium in Wroclaw, Exterior View of Hall and Chimneys), 1914. Brush and ink, black chalk, charcoal, and red pencil on tracing paper, 148.3 x 111.7 cm. Kupferstich-Kabinett der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden C 1983-631.



89. *Krematorium in Breslau. Aufriß des Inneren mit dem Entwurf eines Wandbildes (Cross Section of the Interior of the Crematorium in Wroclaw with Design for a Painting on Plaster)*, 1914. Pen and brush and ink, watercolor, charcoal, pastel, and pencil on tracing paper, 133 x 102.4 cm. Kupferstich-Kabinett der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden C 1983-632.

pages 184–89:

90. *Feuernde Artillerie, mit Belobung geschossen (Artillery Shooting Par Excellence)*, 1916. Pastel and black chalk on paper, 30.3 x 43.4 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Private collection, Germany.

91. *Blick auf den Schloßberg bei Tölmeim über die vordersten Stellungen (View from Frontline Position of Castle Mountain near Tölmeim)*, 1916. Watercolor and tempera on paper, 30.3 x 41.8 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Galerie Würthle, Vienna.

92. *Das Fräulein und der Heißsporn (The Damsel and the Hotspur)*, variant of the eponymous lithograph, 1916. Black chalk on paper, 33.4 x 24.9 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Private collection, Germany.

93. *Finis*, variant of the lithograph *Finis: Anima und Hiob (Finis: Anima and Job)*, 1916. Black chalk on paper, 33.5 x 24.7 cm. Signed center lower right: OK. Galerie Richard Ruberl, Vienna.

94. *Staatsfroh[n] [sic] (Enslaved by the Government)*, [1917]. Blue crayon on paper, 57.4 x 34.3 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Private collection, Vienna.

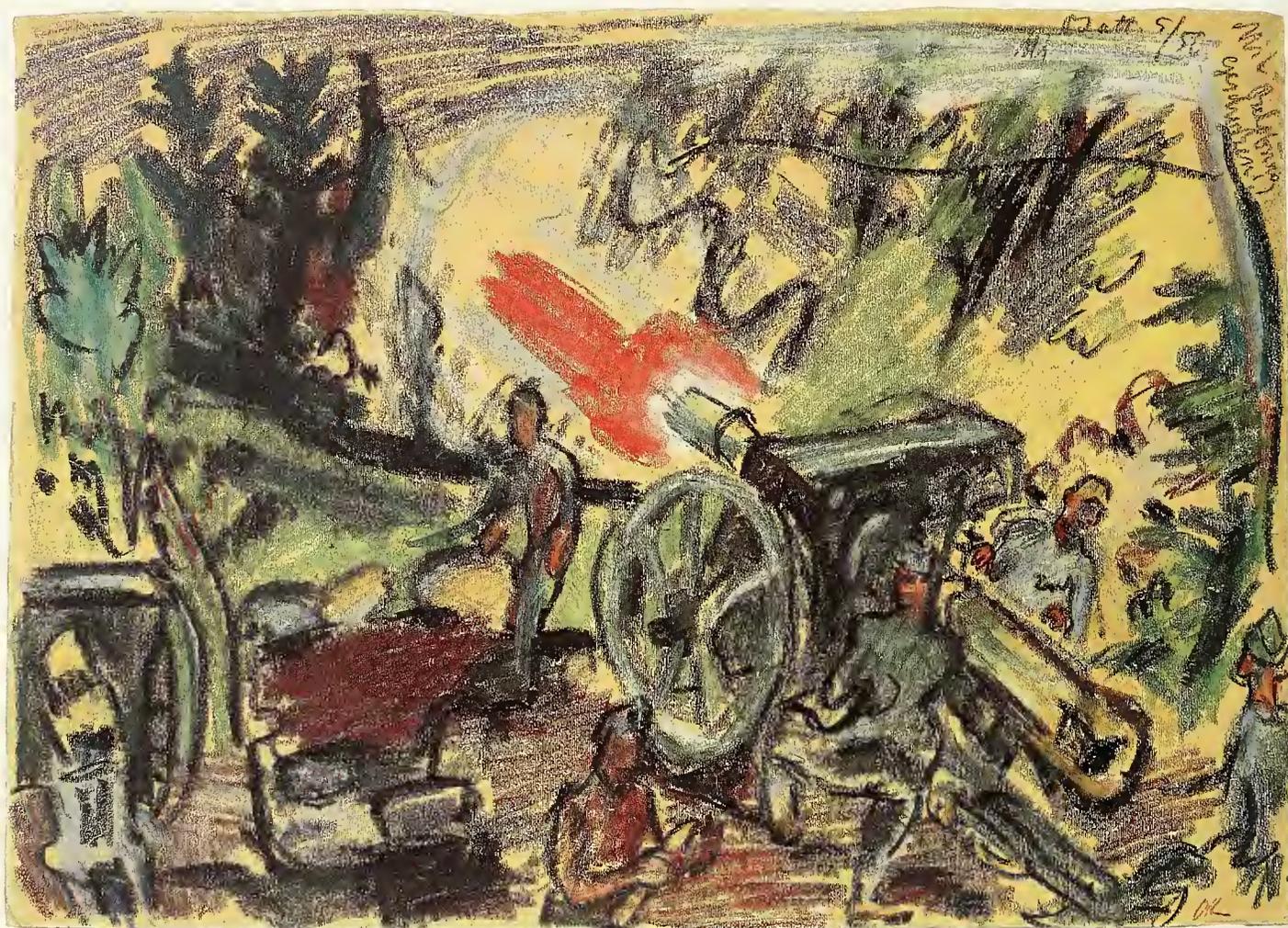
95. *Soldaten einander mit Kruzifixen bekämpfend (Soldiers Fighting Each Other with Crucifixes)*, study for a lithograph protesting the war, [1917]. Blue crayon on paper, 39.2 x 29.9 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Private collection, Germany.

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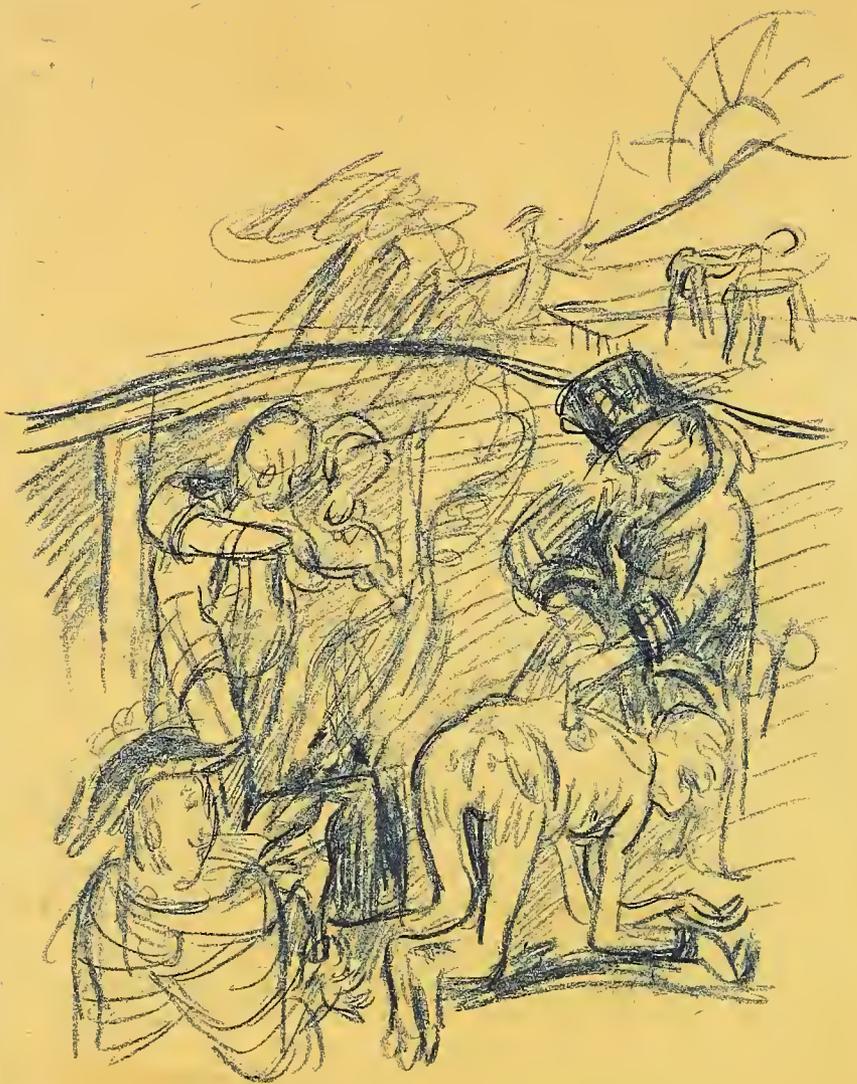




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96. *Frau am Boden sitzend an eine Bank gelehnt und Katze (Woman Leaning Against a Bench with a Cat)*, [1917]. Crayon on paper, 37.6 x 52.4 cm. Signed lower right: OK. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York 48.1172x520.









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