

M208 Music salon for Fritz Waerndorfer, Vienna

Introduction

Mackintosh designed a music room for Fritz Waerndorfer in his large suburban villa in Vienna, Austria. The inglenook fireplace required minor structural work. The work was carried out at the same time as interiors by Viennese designers Josef Hoffmann and Koloman Moser.

Authorship: Mackintosh mentions his work for Waerndorfer in letters to Hermann Muthesius. Waerndorfer wrote to Hoffmann in 1902–3 describing meetings and correspondence with Mackintosh, and Mackintosh's drawings for the room.

Alternative addresses: Karl-Ludwig-Strasse 45 ¹ Carl-Ludwig-Strasse 45

Status: Standing building; altered internally and externally

Current use: Residential (2014)

Listing category: House not listed by the Bundesdenkmalamt Österreich (Austrian government agency for historic building preservation)

Chronology

1882

Permission granted for Professor Franz Ržha to build a house at Karl-Ludwig-Strasse 45, Vienna. ¹

1896

June: House bought by Fritz Waerndorfer, a cotton-spinning mill owner. ²

1900

June: Waerndorfer in Glasgow apparently at the request of Josef Hoffmann. ³

12 July: Mackintosh writes to Hermann Muthesius that he and Margaret Macdonald have been invited to send work to the Vienna Secession and to make an expenses-paid visit to Vienna for the exhibition. ⁴

October – December: Mackintosh and Macdonald visit Vienna to participate in the Eighth Exhibition of the Vienna Secession. ⁵

1902

April: Mackintosh, Macdonald and Francis H. ('Fra') Newbery (director of the Glasgow School of Art and member of the selection committee for the Scottish exhibits) travel to the International Exhibition of Modern Decorative Art in Turin, Italy. Mackintosh and Waerndorfer meet there. ⁶

29 April: Waerndorfer writes to Hoffmann that 'Mackintosh has sent full-size drawings for all fitted woodwork' and asks for Hoffmann's help in interpreting the exterior addition for the inglenook fireplace. ⁷

May: Photographs of Waerndorfer's study and children's room designed by Hoffmann are published in the German journal *Innendekoration*. The work was carried out by a W. Hollmann. ⁸

21 June: A sheet of drawings for the structural addition for Mackintosh's music room is approved by the Viennese planning authorities. ⁹

6 August: Mackintosh writes to Muthesius that he and Macdonald 'are busy just now doing two large panels for Vienna of Maeterlinck's "Seven Princesses", a most delightful and fascinating subject'. ¹⁰

c. September: Mackintosh writes to Muthesius about progress on the room. Following delays and problems while Waerndorfer was away from Vienna, work is expected to be completed four weeks later. ¹¹

December: Hoffmann spends two days in Glasgow during his visit to the UK with Baron Felician von Myrbach, director of the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Applied Arts), on behalf of the Austrian Ministry of Education, to explore craft school education and workshops. ¹²

23 December: In a letter to Hoffmann, Waerndorfer reports that the music room is almost complete, but the piano has yet to arrive. ¹³

1903

17 March 1903: In a letter to Hoffmann, Waerndorfer relates Mackintosh's enthusiasm and support for their efforts to establish a metal workshop. ¹⁴

9 June: Wiener Werkstätte founded. ¹⁵

24 June: In a letter to Hoffmann, Waerndorfer illustrates Mackintosh's suggestion for a Wiener Werkstätte monogram. ¹⁶

1906

Date inscribed on Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh's *Seven Princesses* gesso panels.

Henry Bedford Lemere photographs 'three decorative panels' in Glasgow associated with Mackintosh; these are the *Seven Princesses*. ¹⁷

1907

Approximate date of the installation of Macdonald's gesso panels. In 1909, Ludwig Hevesi wrote, 'the deep frieze did not follow until two years ago'. ¹⁸

1913

Waerndorfer transfers ownership of the house to his wife, Lili. ¹⁹

1914

May: Fritz Waerndorfer emigrates to the United States. ²⁰

1915

Lili Waerndorfer leaves Karl-Ludwig-Strasse to live with her mother in Stadiongasse, Vienna. ²¹

1915 or 1916

A newspaper advertisement announces the sale of the 'Mackintosh Salon', which is 'of particular interest', as well as works by Hoffmann, Kolo Moser and Josef Maria Olbrich. Enquiries are to be addressed to an architect named Friedrich Schön. ²²

1916

August: Eduard Leisching, director of the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry – the precursor of the Museum of Applied Arts, MAK (Museum für Angewandte Kunst) – corresponds with Schön concerning the possible acquisition of the Mackintosh room for the museum. ²³

House bought by Wilhelm and Martha Freund. ²⁴

1989

Watercolour designs for two of the four appliqué panels by Frances Macdonald for the curtain separating the Mackintosh music room from Hoffman's dining room appear on the market. ²⁵

1990

The *Seven Princesses* gesso panels are rediscovered at the Museum of Applied Arts (MAK), Vienna during building renovations. ²⁶

1991

Two small, square gesso panels from the piano appear at auction in New York. ²⁷

1994–5

Following extensive conservation the *Seven Princesses* gesso panels are displayed at the Museum of Applied Arts (MAK), Vienna. ²⁸

2009

March: Side table sold at auction in Maastricht. ²⁹

Description

Commission

Mackintosh and Viennese client, Fritz Waerndorfer, a wealthy cotton-spinning mill owner, first became acquainted in June 1900 when Waerndorfer travelled to Britain and included a visit to Glasgow. He seems to have visited Scotland and England on behalf of Josef Hoffmann, who was vice-president of the Secession and involved in planning the Eighth Exhibition to take place later that year. ¹ In October to December 1900 Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald visited Vienna to oversee their exhibition room. ²

By April 1902, Waerndorfer had commissioned Mackintosh to design a music room for his home in the area of Vienna known as the 'Cottage-Viertel' (Cottage District) and had received drawings from Mackintosh for his scheme. ³ Waerndorfer had also at around the same time commissioned designs from his friends Josef Hoffmann, for a new dining room, and Koloman Moser, for a room for works from his art collection. By May 1902 a study and a children's room designed by Hoffmann were complete and illustrated in the German design journal *Innendekoration*. ⁴

Vienna's Cottage District was established in 1872 with the foundation of the Wiener Cottage Verein (Viennese Cottage Association), which aimed to create a residential area in the city's N.W. outer suburbs based on the ideas of the English Garden City movement. At this time, Vienna was growing rapidly and the

Cottage District was intended to provide an alternative to the ever-increasing number of grand new apartment buildings, and more humble tenements, in the city centre and inner suburbs. Heinrich von Ferstel, architect of the University of Vienna's main building and of the Votivkirche, was instrumental in promoting this aspect of housing reform. The Cottage Verein set out regulations specifying the dimensions, spacing and character of the houses to be built and activities permitted, particularly if noise or unpleasant smells were produced or if there was a risk of fire; the pursuit of trades was strictly forbidden. The houses were built by the professional and aristocratic classes and are much larger than the word 'cottage' suggests. Acknowledging the English ideas behind the district, many houses were built with unrendered brick facades, uncommon in Vienna.⁵

The house, in yellow and red brick with pyramidal and steeply pitched roofs, was built c. 1880 for a Professor Franz Ržiha and purchased by Waerndorfer in 1896.⁶

Exterior

The only surviving drawing for Mackintosh's music room is a single sheet of plans, elevations and sections showing the small external addition which was submitted to the city district planning authorities on 21 June 1902 (M405-001). The drawing is not in Mackintosh's hand and in the bottom right corner Waerndorfer himself inscribed his name and the address of the house. The drawing is also signed by Viennese architects and builders Laske Fiala with their address. Presumably they carried out the construction work.⁷ It may be that this sheet of drawings was based on others by Mackintosh: writing to Hoffmann on 29 April 1902 Waerndorfer admitted that 'I cannot quite comprehend how Mackintosh imagines the external addition for the inglenook', but was sure that Hoffmann could help. It appears that Mackintosh in fact hoped Hoffmann would look at the drawings and then inform Waerndorfer of anything that was not right.⁸ Internally, the drawings do not entirely correspond to the building work carried out, which was documented in photographs dating from c. 1903. The differences may be due to alterations to the plan for which drawings are not known.⁹

Mackintosh's design extended the existing shallow bay in the N. wall of the room to create the fireplace inglenook with a window and added a short, slightly battered chimney. The bay had a shallow, slightly pitched roof with flattened, projecting eaves, reminiscent of the canted bay at Windyhill. The chimney extended a little above the first-floor string-course. Mackintosh's addition was roughcast in the coarsely textured Scottish manner, quite different from the smooth stucco typically used in Vienna, and very much in contrast with the brick-faced house to which it was attached.¹⁰ The roughcast and the form of the chimney are similar to the rear elevation of the Willow Tea Rooms, which they slightly predate. Mackintosh's roughcast addition with its curious short chimney would have stood out against the red and yellow brick of the house, its prominence emphasised by the exposed location close to the junction of Karl-Ludwig-Strasse with Colloredogasse. Mackintosh's work, together with the distinctive porch on the E. elevation, probably designed by Hoffmann, would have drawn attention to Waerndorfer's aesthetic tastes; it is noteworthy that Waerndorfer did not commission a complete new house.



Interior

Mackintosh's plans for the music-room interior were at an advanced stage by late April 1902. On 29 April Waerndorfer wrote to Hoffmann that Mackintosh had 'sent full-size drawings for all fitted woodwork'.¹¹ The furnishings and fittings of the scheme recall earlier work at Mackintosh's flat in Mains Street, Glasgow, the room setting he created for the Eighth Secession exhibition in Vienna and the Rose Boudoir room setting for the International Exhibition of Modern Decorative Art in Turin.¹²

The new inglenook had a low ceiling at the same height as the frieze rail around the rest of the room, with a curious light fitting set into a dome, and built-in, upholstered seating to the right of the fireplace with arm rests reminiscent of similar seating at the Pettigrew & Stephens tea room (1899–1901), and the children's playroom in the House for an Art Lover design (1901). In the E. wall, in an existing bay with windows on all three sides, further fitted seating was set behind a newly created horseshoe-shaped opening. Mackintosh was perhaps inspired here by a similar feature created by Josef Hoffmann for Viennese industrialist Paul Wittengenstein at his country estate, Bergerhöhe, in 1898.¹³

Mackintosh also designed an elaborate case for the piano, which was to incorporate two small square gesso panels by Margaret Macdonald, *The Opera of the Winds* and *The Opera of the Seas*.¹⁴ In a rectangular opening in the W. wall, opposite the window bay, a curtain separated the music room from Hoffmann's dining room. The curtain was embellished with four appliqué panels by Frances Macdonald. It is thought that at dinner parties the curtain was drawn back to reveal musicians who played during the meal.¹⁵ By late December 1902 the furnishings and fittings for the music room were almost complete with the exception of the piano, the arrival of which seems to have been delayed until both 'Opera' gesso panels for it were ready – one of these is dated 1903.¹⁶



The centrepiece of the room was Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh's three-part gesso frieze illustrating a scene from Belgian symbolist Maurice Maeterlinck's play the *Seven Princesses*.¹⁷ The panels are dated 1906 and were photographed that year in Glasgow by London architectural photographer Henry Bedford Lemere.¹⁸ A contemporary commentary suggest the panels were installed in 1907.¹⁹ It is thought that Mackintosh also intended to create a gesso frieze to complement Macdonald's and to be installed on the facing wall.²⁰ In August 1902 Mackintosh wrote to Hermann Muthesius, 'we are busy just now doing 2 large panels for Vienna of Maeterlinck's 'Seven Princesses', a most delightful and fascinating subject'. A design drawing believed to be for his frieze is at The Hunterian.²¹

Mackintosh and the origins of the Wiener Werkstätte

On 9 June 1903 Josef Hoffmann, Koloman Moser and Fritz Waerndorfer, as financier and commercial director, founded the Wiener Werkstätte (WW), a guild modelled on English and Scottish examples, such as C. R. Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft.²² By this date Hoffmann's dining room and Moser's gallery for Waerndorfer were already complete. Intriguingly both rooms appear in the Wiener Werkstätte photographic archive, the only examples of work by Hoffmann or Moser dating from before its foundation.²³ The striking rooms for Waerndorfer may therefore be considered as a prototype project for the WW and a means of advertising their work to potential clients, with Mackintosh closely involved in its origins.

Although names of a few of the craftsmen who were involved at the Waerndorfer house are known, none of them appear in later published sources listing craftspeople working for the WW. A W. Hollmann is recorded as having carried out the earliest work for Waerndorfer's study and children's room, and, writing to Hoffmann, Waerndorfer named Max Schmidt and a W. Schmidt – described as a pupil of Hoffmann – with whom he discussed the materials of the Mackintosh room.²⁴ Nevertheless, Mackintosh's remarks in a letter from c. September 1902 suggest that the high quality of the workmanship and materials in his room were precisely those which later characterised the work of the WW. Mackintosh wrote, 'Herr Waerndorfer is having all the workmanship and material of the very best and the designs are being carried out with the greatest care, so it should be very interesting when it is finished.'²⁵

The support of Mackintosh in their new endeavour was clearly significant to Waerndorfer and Hoffmann: they separately visited the Mackintoshes in Glasgow during trips to Britain in September and December 1902 respectively; and in early 1903 Waerndorfer wrote to Mackintosh in confidence outlining their advanced plans.²⁶ Mackintosh responded with great enthusiasm, clearly believing wholeheartedly in his friends' mission. His words were later translated by Waerndorfer for Hoffmann's benefit.²⁷ Waerndorfer later conveyed to Hoffmann Mackintosh's design for a Wiener Werkstätte monogram.²⁸ Mackintosh complimented his Austrian colleagues' proposals and advised them to begin immediately. 'Yes, the plan that Hoffmann and Moser have conceived is great and brilliantly thought through, and if they have the means, they should risk nothing, and I can only say begin today! If I were in Vienna I'd like to assist with a big strong shovel!'²⁹

Reception

Mackintosh's design and choice of materials appear to have been the source of both amusement – partly at Mackintosh's expense – and annoyance to the craftsmen charged with realising the music room. In his 29 April 1902 letter to Hoffmann, Waerndorfer described an entertaining conversation with Max Schmidt and W. Schmidt who had visited him to view Mackintosh's plans. The young W. Schmidt explained: 'You see, the material is all wrong. We would work that out very differently, but Mackintosh does have *so* much taste. ... The door could be very amusing, only because there is so little [on] it. ... The joiners are going to be annoyed.' The youngster had then, as Waerndorfer reported, tackled the job with 'determination and audacity'.³⁰

The completed music room was described both before and after the installation of the *Seven Princesses* by journalist Ludwig Hevesi, an ardent supporter of avant-garde fine and applied arts, and a friend of Waerndorfer. Hevesi recalled his experience of the Hoffmann and Mackintosh rooms following a visit in November 1905. He concluded that Mackintosh's work was 'an artistic curiosity of the first order but simultaneously a site of spiritual pleasure'.³¹

The language of his 1909 analysis seems imbued with the other-worldly qualities of the story of the 'Seven Princesses' and its presentation in the gesso panels. 'Poetry wafts around everything; such a transfiguration of things.' At the same time he declared that 'the unusual has been made comfortable; the new, pleasing. It admits one into its confidence, but one does not know how.' He concluded that 'this art makes the human more humane. Stronger, healthier, more self-contained.'³²

The *Studio's* Vienna correspondent, another supporter of the avant-garde and acquaintance of many of its proponents, English expatriate A. S. Levetus, writing in the *Glasgow Herald* in 1909, considered Mackintosh's room and Macdonald's gesso panels to be 'perhaps their greatest work, for they were allowed perfectly free scope'.³³

In 1912, when Mackintosh's reputation was on the wane, she reminded *Studio* readers that 'some of Mr Charles Mackintosh's best work' was to be found in Vienna. Using appropriate musical allusions, she reflected on the natural, holistic precision of the design, the free rein Mackintosh had been given, and the regard in which the room was held.

The composition forms an organic whole, each part fitting into the rest with the same concord as do the passages of a great symphony; each thought resolves itself as do the chords in music, till the orchestration is perfect, the effect of repose filling the soul. The colour-scheme is red, lavender and white. Each object in the room has its due place. The accentuation always comes on the right note, and each note has been expanded to its right artistic compass. Mr and Mrs Mackintosh [...] were given unfettered discretion, and thus their imagination was allowed full scope. Many pilgrimages have been made to this room, for connoisseurs find great pleasure and delight in it. Amelia S. Levetus, 'Studio Talk', *Studio*, 57, 15 October 1912, pp. 71–2.

Subsequent history

The design and production of exclusive objects, interiors, and later buildings, for a limited and very wealthy group of patrons resulted in financially unstable circumstances, particularly for Waerndorfer who invested significant funds in the WW from his and his family's cotton-spinning businesses. In 1909 so dire was the financial position that Waerndorfer paid off loans worth around 300,000 Austro-Hungarian crowns. His personal financial security suffered and during 1913 he transferred ownership of the house to his wife, Lili. In May 1914 Waerndorfer left Vienna, emigrating to the USA alone. The following year Lili Waerndorfer and the children left the house in Karl-Ludwig-Strasse to live with her mother elsewhere in Vienna.³⁵

A short time later, during 1915 or 1916, the contents of the Waerndorfer house were offered for sale. The newspaper advertisement called attention in its headline to the 'Mackintosh Salon', described as 'of particular interest'. Work by Hoffmann, Moser and Josef Maria Olbrich was also mentioned.³⁶ Mackintosh's work was in 1916 clearly still held in esteem in some corners of Vienna. Not only did his room grab the sale headline, the furnishings and fittings were also the focus of an attempt by the director of the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry – precursor of the Museum of Applied Arts, MAK (Museum für Angewandte Kunst) – Eduard Leisching, to gain a new acquisition for his museum. The house was eventually sold to a couple named Wilhelm and Martha Freund in 1916.³⁷

Precisely what became of the Mackintosh music room is not clear but it is likely that the items entered private collections. The two small gesso panels for the piano appeared at auction in New York in 1991. At an unknown date, the three gesso panels of the *Seven Princesses* found their way into the Museum. In 1990 the panels were rediscovered in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst during extensive renovation work. Inspection by conservators revealed that the panels had been cut away from the music-room wall, destroying the lower edge of the timber panels and destabilising them. Extensive conservation work followed before the panels were put on display in winter 1994–5. ³⁸

People

Clients:

- Fritz Waemdorfer

Other:

- A. S. Levetus

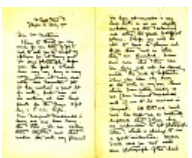
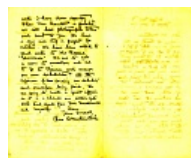

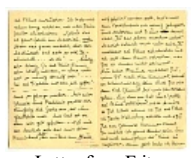

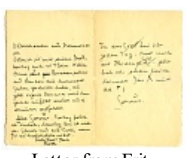



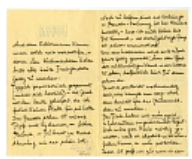

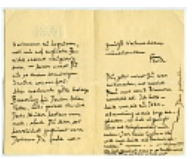


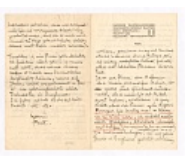


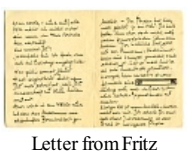
Job Book

The job books of Honeyman & Keppie (later Honeyman, Keppie & Mackintosh) are now held by The Hunterian, University of Glasgow and include four volumes related to the Mackintosh period. The books were used by the firm to keep a project-by-project, day-by-day record of contractors, suppliers and expenditure. The name of a project and/or client is usually at the top of the left-hand page, followed by information about tradesmen who tendered. The name of the measurer (quantity surveyor) is usually at the top of the right-hand page, followed by information about payments to contractors and suppliers. All of the data for M208 is entered in the tables below.

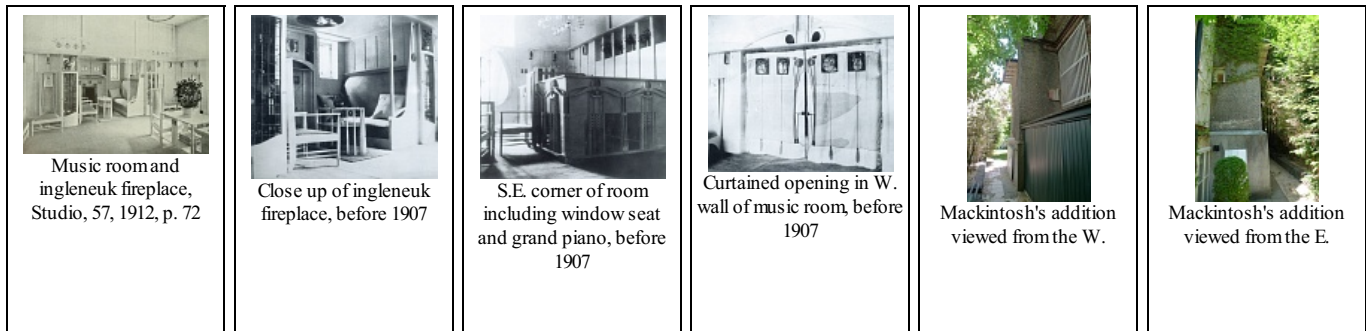
Page numbering is not consistent in the job books. Sometimes a single number refers to a double-page spread and sometimes each page is individually numbered. Here, each image of a double-page spread is identified by the number given at the top of the left-hand page. (Images of all of the pages from the four job books can be found at [Browse Job Books, Visit Book and Cash Book.](#))

The following information about M208 has been extracted from the job books:

Documents

					
Letter from Mackintosh to Hermann Muthesius, 12 July 1900, pp. 1–2	Letter from Mackintosh to Hermann Muthesius, 12 July 1900, p. 3	Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 29 April 1902, pp. 1; 4	Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 29 April 1902, pp. 2–3	Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 29 April 1902, p. 5	Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 29 April 1902, pp. 6–7
					
Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 23 December 1902, pp. 1; 4	Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 23 December 1902, pp. 2–3	Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 23 December 1902, pp. 5; 8	Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 23 December 1902, pp. 6–7	Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 23 December 1902, p. 9	Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 23 December 1902, pp. 10–11
					
Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 17 March 1903, pp. 1; 4	Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 17 March 1903, pp. 2–3	Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 17 March 1903, pp. 5; 8	Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 17 March 1903, pp. 6–7	Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 24 June 1903, pp. 1; 4	Letter from Fritz Waemdorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 24 June 1903, pp. 2–3

Images



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- Ludwig Hevesi, 'Haus Wärndorfer, 26 November 1905', in *Altkunst Neukunst. Wien 1894–1908*, Vienna: Konegen 1909; reprint: Klagenfurt: Ritter, 1986, pp. 221–7
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- Eduard F. Sekler, 'The Stoclet House by Josef Hoffmann', in *Essays in the History of Architecture presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London: Phaidon, 1967, pp. 228–44
- Eduard Sekler, 'Mackintosh and Vienna', in *The Anti-Rationalists*, ed. by Nikolaus Pevsner and J. M. Richards, London: Architectural Press, 1973
- Peter Vergo, 'The Vanished Frieze', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A thoroughly modern afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, pp. 18–40
- 'Josef Hoffmann'; 'Viktor Fiala'; 'Oskar Laske sen.'; 'Oskar Laske d. J.', *Architektenlexikon Wien 1770–1945*, www.architektenlexikon.at [accessed 28 October 2011] (German-language resource)
- Amelia S. Levetus, 'Glasgow Artists in Vienna: Kunstschau Exhibition', *Glasgow Herald*, 29 May 1909
- Amelia S. Levetus, 'Studio Talk', *Studio*, 57, 15 October 1912, pp. 71–2
- Roger Billcliffe, and Peter Vergo, 'Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Austrian Art Revival', *Burlington Magazine*, 119, 1977, pp. 739–46
- Elana Shapira, 'Modernism and Jewish Identity in Early Twentieth Century Vienna: Fritz Waerndorfer and his House for an Art Lover', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 13, Spring–Summer 2006, pp. 52–92
- Peter Vergo, 'Fritz Waerndorfer as Collector', *Arte und Moderne Kunst*, 26, 1981, pp.33–8
- Peter Vergo, 'Fritz Waerndorfer and Josef Hoffmann', *Burlington Magazine*, 125, July 1983, pp. 402–10
- 'Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Glasgow', *Immendekoration*, 13, 1902, pp. 133–6

Unpublished

- Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Mackintosh to Hermann Muthesius, 12 July 1900; 6 August 1902
- Vienna, Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv: letters from Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann Inv. Nr. 3996; 3997; 3998; 3999

Notes:

- 1: From 1884 to 1918 the street was known as Karl-Ludwig Strasse, named for a brother of the Austro-Hungarian emperor. In 1919 it was renamed Weimarer Strasse to mark the foundation of the German Weimar Republic. See 'Weimarer Strasse' under 'Strassen' at Wiener Cottage Verein, www.cottageverein.at [accessed 28 October 2011].
- 2: IMG 1055, Municipal Department 37 – Building Inspection, Vienna. It seems likely the original client was 'Franz Ržha', *Deutsche Biographie* online [accessed 13 October 2011].
- 3: Bezirksamt Währing, Vienna: contract of sale dated 26 June 1896; land register for the district of Währing, certificate no. 9466, 16 July 1896. See Peter Vergo, 'The Vanished Frieze', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 32, note 26.

- 4: Vienna, Secession Archive: telegram from Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 27 June 1900, Inv. Nr. 10786. In December 1902, Waerndorfer wrote to Hoffmann 'you sent me to Glasgow' which perhaps refers to this apparently initial visit in June 1900. Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv, Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 23 December 1902, Inv. Nr. 3996.
- 5: Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Charles Rennie Mackintosh to Hermann Muthesius, 12 July 1900.
- 6: On 5 October Mackintosh wrote to Franz Hancke, secretary of the Secession technical committee and member of its editorial and selection committee about their travel arrangements and transit of their work. Vienna, Secession Archive: Mackintosh to Franz Hancke, 5 October 1900, Inv. Nr. 6010; on 17 December, Mackintosh wrote to Hanke and Carl Moll, president of the Secession expressing gratitude for the reception and hospitality in Vienna. Vienna, Secession Archive: letter from Mackintosh to Carl Moll, 17 December 1900, Inv. Nr. 6011; letter from Mackintosh to Franz Hancke, 17 December 1900, Inv. Nr. 6012.
- 7: Roger Billcliffe, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh: The Complete Furniture, Furniture Drawings and Interior Designs*, Moffat, Dumfriesshire: Cameron & Hollis, 4th edn, 2009, p. 138; Eduard Sekler, 'Mackintosh and Vienna', in *The Anti-Rationalists*, ed. by Nikolaus Pevsner and J. M. Richards, London: Architectural Press, 1973, pp. 139–40.
- 8: Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv, letter from Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 29 April 1902, Inv. Nr. 3997.
- 9: *Innendekoration*, May 1902, p. 136.
- 10: IMG 1039, Municipal Department 37 – Building Inspection, Vienna (M208-001).
- 11: Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Charles Rennie Mackintosh to Hermann Muthesius, 6 August 1902.
- 12: Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Charles Rennie Mackintosh to Hermann Muthesius, c. September 1902.
- 13: Eduard Sekler, 'Mackintosh and Vienna', in *The Anti-Rationalists*, ed. by Nikolaus Pevsner and J. M. Richards, London: Architectural Press, 1973, p. 140; Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv, Inv. Nr. 3996, Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 23 December 1902.
- 14: Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv, Inv. Nr. 3996, Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 23 December 1902.
- 15: Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv, Inv. Nr. 3999, Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 17 March 1903; Werner Schweiger, *Wiener Werkstätte: Design in Vienna 1903–1932*, trans. by Alexander Lieven, London: Thames & Hudson, 1984, pp. 26–7; Eduard Sekler, 'Mackintosh and Vienna', in *The Anti-Rationalists*, ed. by Nikolaus Pevsner and J. M. Richards, London: Architectural Press, 1973, p. 140.
- 16: Peter Noever (ed.), *Der Preis der Schönheit. 100 Jahre Wiener Werkstätte*, Ostfildern-Ruit, Germany: MAK & Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2003, p. 53.
- 17: Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv, Inv. Nr. 3998, Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 24 June 1903.
- 18: The Hunterian, University of Glasgow: GLAHA 52564. An exact date for these photographs is not given in Bedford Lemere's 'day books' – his daily record of work. However, jobs were recorded chronologically and those either side of this Glasgow job date to 1906. Swindon, National Monument Register: Henry Bedford Lemere, Day Book no. 5, HBL 01/05, p. 259, negative nos. 19433/1–3.
- 19: Ludwig Hevesi, 'Ein moderner Nachmittag' in *Flagranti und andere Heiterkeiten*, Stuttgart: Bonz, 1909, reproduced in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 10.
- 20: Bezirksamt Währing, Vienna: change of ownership recorded in the land register for the district of Währing, certificate no. 2578/13. See Peter Vergo, 'The Vanished Frieze', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 39, n. 42.
- 21: Peter Vergo, 'The Vanished Frieze', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 39, n. 42.
- 22: Peter Vergo, 'The Vanished Frieze', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 39, n. 42.
- 23: Peter Vergo, 'The Vanished Frieze', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 39; Vienna, Museum für Angewandte Kunst: Wiener Werkstätte Photographic Archive, WWF 137-4-4.
- 24: Peter Vergo, 'The Vanished Frieze', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 39.
- 25: Peter Vergo, 'The Vanished Frieze', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 39, note 44.
- 26: Pamela Robertson, 'Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh: The Seven Princesses', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 72. Private Collection.

- 27:** 'Introduction', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 16.
- 28:** Sale catalogue *20th Century Decorative Arts*, Sotheby's New York, 14 June 1991, lot no. 328. Private Collection. See Peter Vergo, 'The Vanished Frieze', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 40; Roger Billcliffe, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh: The Complete Furniture, Furniture Drawings and Interior Designs*, Moffat, Dumfriesshire: Cameron & Hollis, 4th edn, 2009, pp. 145–6.
- 29:** 'Introduction', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 16.
- 30:** Roger Billcliffe, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh: The Complete Furniture, Furniture Drawings and Interior Designs*, Moffat, Dumfriesshire: Cameron & Hollis, 4th edn, 2009, p. 313; Wolfgang Bauer, The Bel Etage Gallery exhibiting in Maastricht for The European Art Foundation, 13–22 March 2009, exh. cat., pp. 26–9, described in this catalogue as a 'flower stand'. Private Collection.
- 31:** Vienna, Secession Archives: telegram from Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 27 June 1900, Inv. Nr. 10786. In December 1902, Waerndorfer wrote to Hoffmann 'you sent me to Glasgow' which probably refers to this apparently initial visit in June 1900. Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv: letter from Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 23 December 1902, Inv. Nr. 3996.
- 32:** On 5 October 1900, Mackintosh wrote to Franz Hancke, secretary of the Secession technical committee and member of its editorial and selection committee about their travel arrangements and transit of their work. Vienna, Secession Archives: letter from Mackintosh to Franz Hancke, 5 October 1900, Inv. Nr. 6010; on 17 December, Mackintosh wrote to Hanke and Carl Moll, president of the Secession expressing gratitude for hospitality in Vienna. Vienna, Secession Archives: letter from Mackintosh to Carl Moll, 17 December 1900, Inv. Nr. 6011; letter from Mackintosh to Franz Hancke, 17 December 1900, Inv. Nr. 6012.
- 33:** Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv: letter from Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 29 April 1902, Inv. Nr. 3997.
- 34:** *Innendekoration*, 13, 1902, p. 136.
- 35:** Hermann Müller (director of the *Wiener Cottage Verein*), 'Das Wiener Cottage, seine Entstehung und Entwicklung', lecture given at the meeting of the Fachgruppe für Architektur und Hochbau (section for Architecture and Building Construction) of the Österreichischer Ingenieur- und Architekten-Verein (Austrian Engineers' and Architects' Association), 28 February 1905, *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereins*, 2 February 1906, pp. 75–7; Wiener Cottage Verein, www.cottageverein.at [accessed 28 October 2011] (German-language resource).
- 36:** Peter Vergo, 'The Vanished Frieze', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 32; Franz Ržha, <http://bsbndb.bsb.lrz-muenchen.de> [accessed 13 October 2011].
- 37:** Laske Fiala had designed and built several houses in the Cottage District prior to working on Waerndorfer's house. See 'Oskar Laske, senior' and 'Viktor Fiala', *Lexicon of Viennese Architects, 1770–1945*, www.architektenlexikon.at [accessed 7 November 2011] (German-language resource).
- 38:** Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv: letter from Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 29 April 1902, Inv. Nr. 3997.
- 39:** Pamela Robertson, 'Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh: The Seven Princesses', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 54.
- 40:** When the house was photographed by Peter Vergo in the 1970s the chimney had been removed. Peter Vergo, 'The Vanished Frieze', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 50, fig. 9; Pamela Robertson, 'Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh: The Seven Princesses', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 54.
- 41:** Waerndorfer also sends Mackintosh's best wishes to Hoffmann and reports that Mackintosh is looking forward to Hoffmann's arrival in Turin. Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv, letter from Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 29 April 1902, Inv. Nr. 3997.
- 42:** For further descriptions and analysis of the furniture and fittings, see Roger Billcliffe, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh: The Complete Furniture, Furniture Drawings and Interior Designs*, Moffat, Dumfriesshire: Cameron & Hollis, 4th edn, 2009, pp. 143–8; Peter Vergo, 'The Vanished Frieze', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, pp. 18–40; Pamela Robertson, 'Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh: The Seven Princesses', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, pp. 41–78.
- 43:** Peter Noever, ed., *Der Preis der Schönheit. 100 Jahre Wiener Werkstätte*, MAK, Wien & Hatje Cantz Verlag, Ostfildern-Ruit, Germany, 2003, p. 41.
- 44:** Roger Billcliffe, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh: The Complete Furniture, Furniture Drawings and Interior Designs*, Moffat, Dumfriesshire: Cameron & Hollis, 4th edn, 2009, pp. 144–6.
- 45:** Pamela Robertson, 'Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh: The Seven Princesses', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 36.
- 46:** Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv: letter from Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 23 December 1902, Inv. Nr. 3996; Roger Billcliffe, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh: The Complete Furniture, Furniture Drawings and Interior Designs*, Moffat, Dumfriesshire:

Cameron & Hollis, 4th edn, 2009, p. 144.

47: Coll.: Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna. For a detailed account of the panels, see Pamela Robertson, 'Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh: The Seven Princesses', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, pp. 41–78.

48: Swindon, National Monument Register: Henry Bedford Lemere Day Book 5, HBL 01/05, p. 259, negative nos. 19433/1–3.

49: Ludwig Hevesi, 'Ein moderner Nachmittag', in *Flagranti und andere Heiterkeiten*, Stuttgart: Bonz, 1909, reproduced in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 10.

50: Amelia S. Levetus, 'Glasgow Artists in Vienna: Kunstschau Exhibition', *Glasgow Herald*, 29 May 1909.

51: Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Mackintosh to Hermann Muthesius, 6 August 1902; The Hunterian, University of Glasgow: GLAHA 41960.

52: Statutes for the WW had already been set out in May 1903. Hoffmann and Felician von Myrbach, head of the School of Applied Arts, visited Ashbee during their tour of workshops and schools of arts and crafts in the UK in late 1902 on behalf of the Imperial Ministry of Education. Initial ideas focused on a metal workshop. Werner Schweiger, *Wiener Werkstätte: Design in Vienna 1903–1932*, trans. by Alexander Lieven, London: Thames & Hudson, 1984, pp. 26–32; Peter Noever, ed., *Der Preis der Schönheit. 100 Jahre Wiener Werkstätte*, MAK, Wien & Hatje Cantz Verlag, Ostfildern-Ruit, Germany, 2003, p. 53.

53: Vienna, Museum für Angewandte Kunst: Wiener Werkstätte Photographic Archive, Hoffmann's dining room: WWF 101-11-1, WWF101-12-1 and WWF101-13-1; Moser's gallery: WWF 101-14-1 and WWF 101-15-1.

54: 'Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Glasgow', *Innendekoration*, 13, 1902, p. 136; Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv: letter from Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 29 April 1902, , Inv. Nr. 3997. For details of WW craftsmen and women see Peter Noever, ed., *Der Preis der Schönheit. 100 Jahre Wiener Werkstätte*, MAK, Wien & Hatje Cantz Verlag, Ostfildern-Ruit, Germany, 2003; Werner Schweiger, *Wiener Werkstätte: Design in Vienna 1903–1932*, trans. by Alexander Lieven, London: Thames & Hudson, 1984.

55: Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Mackintosh to Hermann Muthesius, c. September 1902.

56: Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Mackintosh to Hermann Muthesius, 6 August 1902; Eduard Sekler, 'Mackintosh and Vienna', in *The Anti-Rationalists*, ed. by Nikolaus Pevsner and J. M. Richards, London: Architectural Press, 1973, p. 140; Werner Schweiger, *Wiener Werkstätte: Design in Vienna 1903–1932*, trans. by Alexander Lieven, London: Thames & Hudson, 1984, pp. 26–7.

57: Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv: letter from Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 17 March 1903, Inv. Nr. 3999.

58: Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv: letter from Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 24 June 1903, Inv. Nr. 3998.

59: Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv: letter from Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 17 March 1903, Inv. Nr. 3999.

60: Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv: Fritz Waerndorfer to Josef Hoffmann, 29 April 1902, Inv. Nr. 3997.

61: Ludwig Hevesi, 'Haus Wärndorfer', 26 November 1905, in *Alt Kunst Neukunst. Wien 1894–1908*, Vienna: Konegen 1909; reprint Klagenfurt: Ritter, 1986, p. 222.

62: Ludwig Hevesi, 'Ein moderner Nachmittag', *Flagranti und andere Heiterkeiten*, Stuttgart: Bonz, 1909, reproduced in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, pp. 10–11.

63: Levetus' article reported on the 1909 Kunstschau at which Mackintosh and Margaret exhibited as well as reflecting on the couple's earlier Viennese commissions. Amelia S. Levetus, 'Glasgow Artists in Vienna: Kunstschau Exhibition' in *Glasgow Herald*, 29 May 1909, p. 11.

64: Amelia S. Levetus, 'Studio Talk', *Studio*, 57, 15 October 1912, pp. 71–2.

65: Peter Vergo, 'The Vanished Frieze', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 39; Werner Schweiger, *Wiener Werkstätte: Design in Vienna 1903–1932*, trans. by Alexander Lieven, London: Thames & Hudson, 1984, pp. 96–7.

66: Vienna, Museum für Angewandte Kunst: Wiener Werkstätte Photographic Archive, newspaper advertisement, source unknown, WWF 137-4-4; Peter Vergo, 'The Vanished Frieze', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 39.

67: Peter Vergo, 'The Vanished Frieze', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 39.

68: 'Introduction', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 16; Manfred Trummer, 'Bildträger und Bildaufbau. Medium and Support', in Hanna Egger, Pamela Robertson, Manfred Trummer and Peter Vergo, *Ein moderner Nachmittag. A Thoroughly Modern Afternoon*, Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, p. 83.

Mackintosh Architecture: Context, Making and Meaning

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