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# RETHINKING VIENNA 1900



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## THE IMAGE OF WOMEN IN PAINTING

Clichés and Reality in Austria-Hungary, 1895–1905



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Ever since Carl Schorske's book *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* first focused the attention of cultural and art history on Vienna, most references to Austro-Hungarian culture of the *fin de siècle* have tended to project the Viennese pattern onto the whole region. It is only local scholars who have attempted to correct this perspective when writing on Czech, Polish, or Hungarian culture, but they too have often narrowed the focus by discussing one nation only. Thus the publications of Czech, Polish, or Hungarian scholars tend to move within the framework of their own national discourse and neglect the comparative dimension with other cultural centers of the Monarchy. As a result of historically based attitudes, they prefer to stress the French connection with their individual national cultures. This attitude, which ultimately stems from the particularist preoccupations of alienated neighbors, is fairly widespread.

The present study is a first attempt at lifting the veil which has covered the visual culture of the region; that is, beyond the influence of Vienna. By using a specific theme—the representation of women—it attempts to map the attitudes and outlooks which were current in Prague, Cracow, and Budapest at the same time as Klimt's paintings were causing such a

scandal in Vienna. It explores the question of whether the modern art of these centers reflected shared preoccupations, or rather expressed fundamental differences between national cultures, with distinct national and aesthetic priorities.

At the turn of the century Central Europe was relatively marginal to European culture as a whole. Culturally it looked to Germany, but also (and more importantly for the fine arts) to France for inspiration and models, absorbing many influences that originated in Paris.<sup>1</sup> The way in which the artists of the smaller nations selected from the pluralistic palette of the Western European art scene was decisively influenced by local artistic tradition and cultural heritage. In painting, not only the new stylistic experiments had to be learned, but also new ways of looking at familiar subjects, especially at women and femininity, although this latter task was not necessarily a conscious goal. Women provided the most popular subject matter, after landscapes, for the artists of modernism, and the one that offered the greatest potential for artistic experimentation. New approaches to art and a new aesthetic were phenomena parallel to the social developments of urban life, but there were also likely to be clashes between the two, in this age of the "new woman."<sup>2</sup>

In the four important art centers of the region (Vienna, Budapest, Prague, and Cracow), the breakthrough to modernism came simultaneously. The local (national) schools of art all attempted to be cosmopolitan and modern, but also to be unique, in the sense of producing art typical only of their own nation and its perception of itself.<sup>3</sup> This fundamentally similar *Kunstwollen* of the four art centers stimulated the leading masters to plough their own furrow strongly differentiated from their contemporaries, yet acting on similar impulses.

### Fashionable Images of Woman in *Fin-de-Siècle* Painting

An amazingly rich variety of images of woman could be found in the painting of the 1890s. In traditional genres of painting, female figures were allegorical; this applied not only to traditional scenes with allusions to antiquity, but also to the representation of modernity, such as inventions and technology (e.g., electricity). Second, portraiture, especially the flattering portrayal of women, was still very much in fashion. Third, in genre painting, women from all classes of society were painted, from the poorest peasants through poverty-stricken working women (especially in Belgian painting), and all the layers of the middle class up to the

highest ranks of society. Special attention was paid to domesticity as a characteristic of femininity. The Victorian “angel in the house” was a widespread ideal. Yet impressionism also depicted women in the public spaces characteristic of modern metropolitan life, and celebrated the contemporary fashionable types of “modern beauty” of a more liberated Western society.<sup>4</sup>

From the many novelties offered by the French painting of the 1870s and 1880s, two major shifts were influential as models that traveled far beyond the boundaries of the French art scene. First, there was the change in the painting of domestic interiors from one of narrative detail to one of atmosphere, focusing also on the emotional and intellectual state of the model. Second, there was the metamorphosis of traditional biblical and mythological subjects into misogynistic visions of woman, in which the female principle became demonized. These two different types of representations offered the artist two new ways of seeing womankind with a heightened psychological insight: painters now began to explore aspects of the autonomous individual behind the feminine façade. In the process they projected their own irrational fears and emotions onto the female model. The latter process has hitherto received more attention from art historians than the former because of its shocking images and its close connection to psychoanalysis.<sup>5</sup>

Every stylistic epoch creates its own dominant symbols of the female. The art of the *fin de siècle* from the 1890s onwards is particularly rich in representations of women, which, in contrast to the practice of realism, essentially drew on two opposed archetypes: the fertile, protective mother or pure virgin, and her opposite, the seductive courtesan, the mysterious female. One of the most important personifications of the sexual instincts was the wicked temptress—conceived as Eve, Salome, Nana, or similar biblical or literary figures. Freed from their traditional biblical and mythological contexts, as well as from religious significance, the *femmes fatales* of the nineteenth century became pervasive figures, the play of subjective fantasy.<sup>6</sup>

Although the male artists of the 1890s in the Dual Monarchy did not necessarily accept the hidden message concerning women in the works of the French impressionists as subsequently interpreted, they certainly perceived the difference between pictorial tradition of their native schools in the depiction of women, and the work of the modernists. The cultural climate of the Munich Secession and the strongly misogynistic streak in the German symbolists (well known in the art circles of the Monarchy) offered plenty of new clichés to be picked up and exploited.<sup>7</sup>

## The Viennese Scene between 1897 and 1905

The artistic production of the period between 1897 and 1905 is so multifaceted, and its components influenced by so many political, social, and artistic factors, that it is impossible to offer a single, all-embracing theory to explain its protean character.<sup>8</sup> A great deal has been written about this *fin-de-siècle* Viennese art: important aspects of its genesis and the nature of its achievements have been analyzed in minute detail.<sup>9</sup> The inspiration of the philosophy of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche on the intellectuals and artists of the age has also been extensively examined. Nor is it surprising that psychoanalytic interpretations have proliferated in the analysis of an art that stemmed from the same milieu as Freud and Weininger.<sup>10</sup>

The outburst of creative energies, as shaped by the experimental phase of *Jugendstil*, created a specifically Viennese style in the visual arts. In painting, the dominant personality of the Secession, whose visual erudition supplied it with a new palette of images in the early years, was its charismatic first president, Gustav Klimt. All the decisive and remarkable artistic happenings, the great successes, failures, and scandals, revolve around his works. For this reason, I propose to limit discussion of the images of women in turn-of-the-century Viennese painting to the works of Klimt.<sup>11</sup>

Although far from being the only major theme or aspect to it, Klimt's fame was firmly established because of his art's openly erotic character. His whole *oeuvre* is indeed dominated by images of women. His drawings, in which he omits reference to the individual personality of the model, are likewise dominated by the image of "woman," of femaleness as such. However, his approach to femininity is by no means similar to the misogynistic depictions of some of the great symbolists (e.g., Gustave Moreau) or to those of popular contemporaries like Franz von Stuck. One reason for this difference may be that such literary or spiritual inspirations as stimulated this sort of view of women, like Decadence and satanism, were hardly present in Vienna, just as the Western European specter of the *femme fatale* was unable to flourish in Viennese culture.<sup>12</sup> Woman as the allegory of evil appeared only when she could be used as thematic material—for example by Klimt in his stern allegory of "Tragedy," in his oil painting *Judith* (1900), in the hostile forces of his *Beethoven frieze* (1902), or to indicate the inexorability of the Furies in his university painting *Jurisprudence* (1904).

Before the rise of the expressionist generation<sup>13</sup> (Schiele, Kokoschka), and apart from Alfred Kubin (who surely does not belong to the Viennese

art world),<sup>14</sup> it is very difficult to detect earlier, in the circle of Klimt and his literary friends (Hermann Bahr, Ludwig Hevesi, Felix Salten, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and even Arthur Schnitzler) an unrepentantly misogynistic attitude between 1890 and 1903; nor can we find much in the way of images of demonic women. The characterization of women in Schnitzler, the writer who created perhaps the richest gallery of them in his works, is always very acutely observed and realistic.<sup>15</sup> One could even say that he feels more sympathy for female characters than for men; his *süße Mädl* and trusting heroines inspire much more affection and pity in the reader than do the male protagonists. Typically they are more vulnerable and exploitable; their sins are the sins of the age. The archetypal evil heroines of mythology were all created later (e.g., Hofmannsthal's *Electra*, 1904). Even then these bewitching figures did not stand for the whole gender, rather constituting only one of several different types.

Whether the views on women of this generation of writers were really influenced by their everyday contact with Viennese feminists such as Rosa Mayreder, Marie Lang, or Grete Meisel-Hess, who were themselves literary personalities and whose critical attitude and views on the relationship between the sexes was by no means bitterly combatant, is an interesting question which merits further research.<sup>16</sup>

Although the theories of the "satanist" Przybyszewski were well known, they had no followers in Vienna, while the dramas of Strindberg and Wedekind made an impact only on the circle around Karl Kraus. The critics of the Secession—Loos and some of his hangers on—were the real representatives of the highly ambivalent and negative picture of woman.<sup>17</sup> Only after 1905 did they become influential among the young bohemians, while the realistic, and thus more understanding, representation of women was always present in the imperial capital.<sup>18</sup>

At the high point of their artistic careers, and before the time-bomb of Weininger's theories exploded in 1902–1903, there was little evidence that the vanguard of the Secession (Gustav Klimt, Kolo Moser, Carl Moll) suffered either as individuals or as philosophizing intellectuals from the sexual crisis of *fin-de-siècle* man which was the real source of the demonic image of woman.<sup>19</sup> Klimt never really focused on the issue of *Geschlechterkampf* as such. His allegory of love (*Love*, 1895) shows the woman as victim, whose tragic fate will inevitably follow the innocent self-abandonment of her first infatuation.<sup>20</sup> Contemporary woman never appears as a fearful, mesmerizing creature in Klimt's canvases. The demonic quality in his specific portrayals of powerful women is

exclusively restricted to the goddesses and demonic figures of Greek mythology or to heroines from the Bible. The female element (femaleness) becomes frightful and menacing only if it represents something more than an individual woman, as when it stands for superhuman forces such as that of nature herself, or assumes the form of goddesses like Pallas Athena, of evil spirits like the Erinyes (Furies) or water nymphs. Their significance is closely tied to tradition, and thus to an historical representation of their specific roles; Klimt accepts this tradition, but nevertheless modernizes it by enriching its female depiction with disturbingly sensual and sexual qualities. In this way the female figures become the embodiments of eternal human instincts presented in a modern form.<sup>21</sup> The ambivalence of the power they represent in Greek mythology cannot be projected onto the larger canvas of Klimt's general statements about "woman." This is a point well made by Robert Goldwater, who writes: "... for Klimt the sexual is never the sinful: youth may suggest the sadness of old age, and birth an inevitable death, but the sensuous is not evil and woman is neither the incarnation of temptation, nor the image of all that is ideal."<sup>22</sup>

The most daring novelty of Klimt's representation of woman lay in the courage with which he broke the taboo of depicting pregnancy in the female nude (*Hope I*, 1903).<sup>23</sup> The artist's passionate interest in the female body was not an intellectual attempt to analyze the psyche of women, her fears, pains, sorrows or any powerful emotion, but an obsession with catching the individual moments of psycho-physical eroticism in the female body.<sup>24</sup> This is the obsession which drove him to draw hundreds of erotic sketches of his nude models. These drawings were not made for public consumption, nor were they loaded with the traditional visual codes of Western art. Thus they are deeply revealing of Klimt's preoccupations. Naturally every individual—and the artist is no exception—behaves and thinks according to social contexts and given situations. Klimt exploited his artistic knowledge of female physical eroticism in his symbolic "mankind" pictures, making them thus into powerful images of the victory of the life-principle over death. He was obsessed with catching and fixing the moment of sensual ecstasy. In the rapidly sketched drawings of models, no doubt voyeurism played a role, as well as the typical artistic obsession of catching each gesture, pose and feeling. But when such figures were included in his great symbolic canvases of life and death, Klimt certainly used them to symbolize and sensualize the anonymous miracle of love. Eros is portrayed as the only force on earth which can rescue life and beauty, even if only temporarily, from death and the shadow of mortality.

Nevertheless, Klimt cannot be regarded as the great “psychologist of women,” since his psychological interest in his models—even in his portraiture—was very limited. Contemporaries saw these portraits, together with the great symbolic compositions, as the most bewitching novelties of the “Viennese Decadence,” and they were quick to note the fact that, in most of the portraits, the ornamental dresses were evidently more the focus of the artist’s attention than the models themselves.<sup>25</sup>

Klimt represented most aspects of life that interested him in the form of female figures; but this does not mean that he perceived the world as fundamentally the realm of the feminine. The female figure was a deliberate artistic device, but that did not imply that the artist was unaware of the other layers of reality which were not the province of the feminine. All the important decisions in turn-of-the-century Vienna were still made by men—it was only in the realm of sexuality that an awareness of tension between the sexes became a live issue in Vienna. No rational contemporary would have agreed that the entire multifaceted world could be represented only in terms of the figure of woman. By the same token, the *oeuvre* of Klimt cannot be interpreted only as homage to matriarchy, the supposed guiding force of modernism.<sup>26</sup>

One aspect of contemporary life, however—and an important one—did have an impact on Klimt’s work, namely the change then taking place in the role of women, and the new discoveries of psychology, especially sexual psychology. Yet the vision of Viennese modernism cannot be reduced to this single aspect, nor forced into an artificially narrow frame of interpretation dependent upon it. The artist’s individual psyche and intellect remain paramount. There is perhaps one very important point where a definite distinction has to be made between Klimt’s erotica and the drawings of a Rops or a Schiele. There is no sign that Klimt despises women, desires to humiliate them, or regards them as hostile beings. To him, woman is part of the natural world, a fragment of the infinite continuum that is the stream of life, a passive element in nature. Thus women, in contrast to men, who are never represented as lost in the ecstatic moment, are much closer to nature itself. This reflected a widespread view at the time, and was by no means peculiar to Klimt. His attitude is that of the outsider, of the omnipotent but sympathetic voyeur, of the artistic genius who, through his intellect and talent is an observer of the woman’s world but is not dominated by it. The *oeuvre* of Klimt, with its ultimately self-confident and calm attitude, reflects the standpoint of a generation of artists who had not experienced a sexual identity crisis, unlike the succeeding generation of expressionists.<sup>27</sup> This generation perceived and acknowledged the “otherness” of femininity,



took joy in it and made it serve their art. Women were their models, muses, lovers, patrons, and even symbols, but were not feared as enemies or treated as equals.

Klimt's later pictures became more and more autonomous, and more distanced from any specific social reality. Their *Wirklichkeitsferne* (distance from reality) was heightened by sophisticated stylization and enigmatic allegorical content. It is exactly this solipsistic attitude, focusing on the inner world of the artist, which was carried further by the following generation of expressionists, and which differentiated the greatest achievements of the leading Viennese master from Czech, Polish, or Hungarian contemporaries. It is the sociohistorical component which, for understandable reasons, was missing from much of Viennese art around 1900. The other art centers, even if they were beginning to loosen the strong social ties between what the artists produced and what was expected of them, could never completely escape social reality to the same extent as the Austrians, especially Klimt, Schiele, and the young Kokoschka. In this respect, the expressionist generation, in spite of their generational revolt against the Klimt-generation, are faithful followers of the social pattern inherited from their fathers.

The attitude of this young generation toward women was fundamentally different from that of the fathers' generation, and not only because misogynistic theories arrived in Vienna later, after 1905. The sea-change in this respect was partly the result of the remarkable influence of Otto Weininger, but it was also the consequence of the fact, that the leading young painters such as Kokoschka and Schiele were psychologically unbalanced adolescents, yet already recognized as prodigies creating masterpieces. It was they who were exposed to fashionable sexual theories and whose artistic works were saturated with the then-popular misogyny.

These artists failed to develop a critical distance from the extremely negative attitude not only toward women, but also from the whole issue of sexuality. The Viennese artistic scene was not backward by comparison with Western-European art centers but it went its own individual way.

### Images of Women in the Other Art Centers of Austria-Hungary

As mentioned above, the attention of artistic and social life in Vienna at 1900 was focused on the vanguard of the Secession, and especially on Klimt, although many other masters were active at that time. From the perspective of Prague, Cracow, or Budapest, the works exhibited in the

Secession represented the *Kunstwollen* (artistic will) of Vienna, from which local artists wished to be liberated.<sup>28</sup>

To begin with, opinions about the essential tasks of modern painting were quite different in the other artistic centers. Although the early 1890s were everywhere marked by an aesthetic revolt against the direct influence of politics in art, the patriotic themes of Czech, Polish, and Hungarian painting expected by the public were still deeply rooted in local cultures. When the local painters wanted to enrich their works with some profound significance, philosophical or mythical, they drew their inspiration from the traditional images of women already to hand in national mythology or history.<sup>29</sup> Thus, the personification of Prague, Hungary, or Poland goes back to earlier allegories incorporated in the figures of Libussa, Slavia, Hungaria, or Polonia. However, the way in which these mother-figures were represented could endow the image with a dramatically new meaning.

As already remarked, Greek mythology and the North German sagas provided appropriate models for treatment as *femmes fatales*, but now related to contemporary theories of religious history and anthropology. "Earth-mother" goddesses or progenitresses could be represented as matriarchal powers ruling a city, a country or a whole region. Their symbolic potential made them especially beloved by the symbolists.

In Czech and Polish painting, symbolism and Decadence were the most important artistic tendencies in the 1890s; as a result, the national mythologies of these two nations were comprehensively reinterpreted by this artistic generation.<sup>30</sup> The situation was somewhat different in Hungary, where symbolism was not a dominant artistic trend, and its belated protagonists did not simultaneously absorb the most popular concepts of Decadence, which so often led to the demonizing of woman. In Hungary only a handful of such pictures were painted in the 1890s. Moreover, the figure of Hungaria, the iconographical type which had been crystallized by historicism, had a strongly positive significance which was widely accepted. There was no scope for artists to reevaluate her traditional attributes.

Another important reason why Hungarian *fin-de-siècle* painting is so lacking in images of demonic women is that the old patriarchal order of the family and the relationship between the sexes had hardly yet been challenged. There was a movement for women's emancipation in Hungary (mainly after 1904), but this found very little echo among Hungarian artists. The traditional roles of women were firmly defined, and even sensitive writers were hardly aware of the future danger posed by the emancipated woman to male hegemony.<sup>31</sup>

## Poland

In Poland in the second part of the nineteenth century, female creativity was also much in evidence. There were several important and very popular female writers (e.g., Eliza Orzeszkowa [1841–1910], and Maria Konopicka [1842–1910] to mention the two most important). There were also several minor stars of the literary circles of Warsaw's and especially of Cracow's Bohemia—actresses, muses, or indeed writers. Perhaps the most plausible explanation for the relatively well-developed emancipation of Polish women has been given by Adam Zamoyski: "The frequent imprisonment or exile of the menfolk in a family left women in positions of great responsibility for its survival, and their participation in conspiratorial and even patriotic guerilla activity tended to place them on an equal footing with men. As a result, they were voicing views and demands on the subject of sexual equality and freedom that were not heard in England or France until after the First World War."<sup>32</sup> Polish modernist painting is rich in representing such figures. In portraiture, sharply observed and characterized pictures of fashionable ladies constitute a stunning gallery of emancipated femininity (for example, works by Konrad Krzyżanowski, Józef Mehoffer, and Stanisław Wyspiański); in religious and genre painting, peasant Madonnas populate the canvases (for instance, those by Kasimir Sichulsky, Vlastimir Hofman, and Władisław Jarocki).<sup>33</sup>

Unfortunately, one of the first symbolist paintings by the short-lived Polish impressionist painter Władisław Podkowiński was lost after it was shown at the Columbian Exhibition of 1893 in Chicago. We only know that it depicted nude women dancing in sinister abandon with skeletons. The old image of the *danse macabre* seemed to remain a popular theme with the Polish symbolists, since it occurs both in Wyspiański's dramatic *chef-d'oeuvre*, *The Wedding*, and in several paintings by Wojtech Weiss, the Cracow painter who was an enthusiastic follower of Stanisław Przybyszewski. *The Dance* (1899) and *The Obsession* (1899–1900), both by Weiss, represent male and female nudes in a Dionysian frenzy, totally abandoned to the instinct of lust. Although Przybyszewski's theories were well known and popular in Cracow for a time, his satanism did not find widespread reflection in pictorial representation, except for these few works by Wojtech Weiss.

All the great masters of Polish symbolism struggled with the intellectual and emotional trauma that arose from the partition of their homeland; they created symbolic compositions that were also a documentation of their artistic reaction to the tragic history of the Poles.<sup>34</sup> The works of

two major artists, Malczewski and Wyspiański, demonstrate the different ways in which the female personification of Polonia was depicted in the 1890s.

The older master, Jacek Malczewski (1854–1929), was very prolific and throughout his career painted many compositions with powerful images of the *femme fatale* in different roles.<sup>35</sup> His highly enigmatic early work, the *Vicious Circle* (1895–97), concerns the workings of a distinctively Polish sensibility: the wheel of fortune whirls around the painter-acolyte, who sits at the top of a ladder. Among the wildly dancing nude or semi-nude figures are a young peasant couple and some peasant women. For the Polish intellectuals of the time, the role of these female peasant figures would have been an unmistakable reference to the nation, the earth-bound natural element of instincts which can turn destructive (as in the peasant riots), but which is also the potential future strength of the nation.

In all his work, Malczewski gave differing and ambiguous roles to women, depicting them as temptresses (*The Temptation of Fortune*, 1904), as harbingers of death, as harpies poisoning the source of life (*The Poisoned Well*, *Chimera*, 1905), and as the personification of foreign oppressors such as Prussia and Austria (*The Year*, 1905). In 1897 he produced *The Painter's Inspiration*, where the vision of the eternal muse, Polonia, appears to the artist: "Like a sleep-walker, Polonia presents a disquieting rather than reassuring image, with a tattered army greatcoat falling from her shoulders, a straw crown hanging from her head, and a soap bubble borne carefully before her—the symbols of degradation, betrayal and illusion. She brings the painter not the benediction he might expect in better times, but the despair he is bound to feel in reconciling a pursuit of the goals of art with service to an enslaved nation."<sup>36</sup> This interpretation of the homeland, as a demanding lover who has to be served forever, is only one of the many projections of Malczewski's fertile imagination.

As his career progressed, Malczewski increasingly subjectivized his enigmatic allegories of tragic Polish history. He himself became the central hero of these symbolic compositions of life's wanderers, lonely men whose fate is determined by the irrational whimsies and moods of all-knowing evil—the female spirits. The general image of the martyred nation—so common since the Romantic period in Polish literature—was in Malczewski's art turned into the martyrdom of the lonely artist, the isolated Polish male genius.

No matter which were the evil powers that had to be confronted, foreign states, cruel lovers or death itself, they were all turned into appealing

1895-97

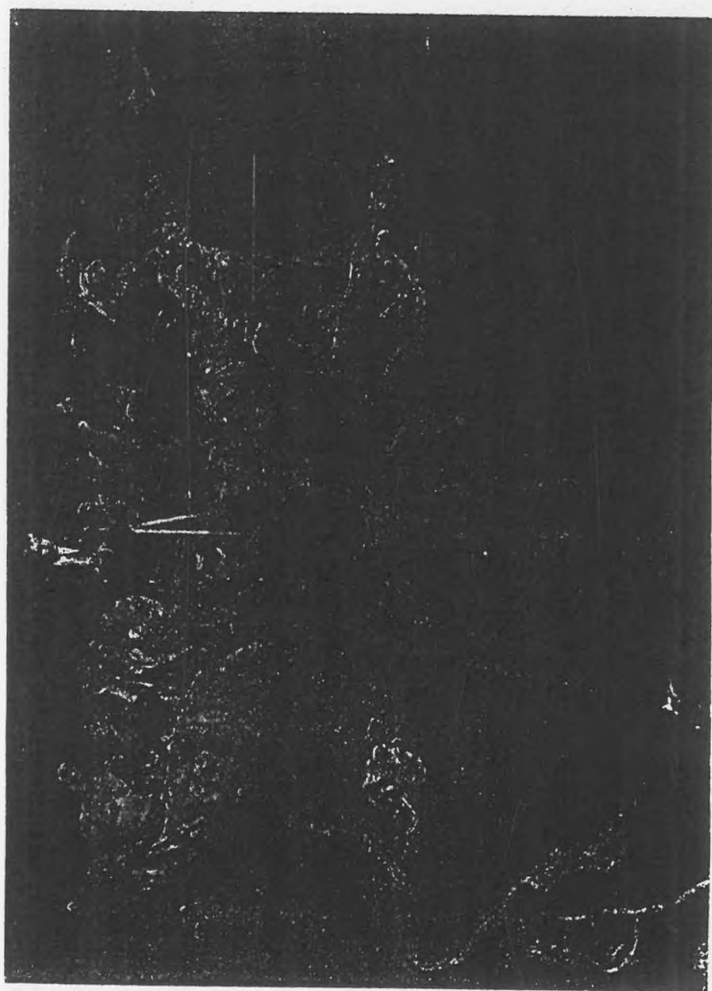


FIGURE 3 Jacek Malczewski, *The Vicious Circle* (1895–97). Courtesy of: National Museum in Poznan.



FIGURE 4 Jacek Malczewski, *Thanatos I* (1898). Courtesy of National Museum in Poznan.

sensual female bodies, ultimately all the expression of the same female principle. In this, Malczewski is the true disciple of Decadence and can be regarded as a Polish example of the artist who chose to demonize women. This was not surprising, as he lived long in Cracow and was familiar with the theories of Przybyszewski; nevertheless, his painting is too enigmatic and intellectual to be identified with the writer's crude satanism. Przybyszewski's demonic world is predicated on the statement "in the beginning there was lust."<sup>37</sup> Woman is the personification of all that is evil, the embodiment of an obscene nature, the predatory heroine who enslaves and ruins man. Malczewski sees the world around him as one dominated by female power; however, unlike Klimt, he is keen to portray himself as the long-suffering martyr and eternal victim. Narcissistically, he portrays himself as John the Baptist in his picture of *Salome* (1911), or even as Christ (*Christ and the Woman of Samaria*, 1909, 1910).

Malczewski, who all his life had contact with the German art world, certainly acquired misogynistic inclinations from German painters like Stuck, Slevogt, or Corinth. His special contribution to the gallery of artistic opportunities presented by the *femme fatale* was his way of polonizing the image: he created a strongly built, rather masculine, yet sensual and manipulative peasant woman, a type that would be recognized by Polish readers of Reymont's Nobel Prize winning novel *The Peasants* (1904–1909).<sup>38</sup> In this respect Malczewski differed markedly from his greatest Polish contemporary, Wyspiański, who idealized peasant women and who indeed married one.

Malczewski's urge to generalize the image of the opposite sex was missing from the works of the polymath genius Stanisław Wyspiański (1869–1907), who was a painter and a playwright, as well as a stage and book designer. He was the greatest Polish dramatist of his age, a reformer of the art of the theater, who concentrated mainly on literature after 1898. His art in all genres has a strongly expressive visionary quality, a typical example being his cartoon for a stained glass window for the cathedral of Lvov entitled *Polonia* (1894). It shows a delicate and melancholy lady falling into unconsciousness, a symbol of the tragic fate of the betrayed homeland. Wyspiański's favorite medium was pastel. In his sophisticated calligraphic portraits he depicted the personalities of the Cracovian cultural world, the individual personalities being brilliantly caught, whether men or women, but chiefly the former (*Portrait of Irene Solskij*, 1904).

The most popular images of womanhood created by Wyspiański are the pastel drawings made of his wife and son. Here we have the decorative and still intimate peasant Madonna figure, onto which are loaded all the



FIGURE 5 Stanisław Wyspiański, *Polonia* (1892–94). Courtesy of National Museum in Cracow.



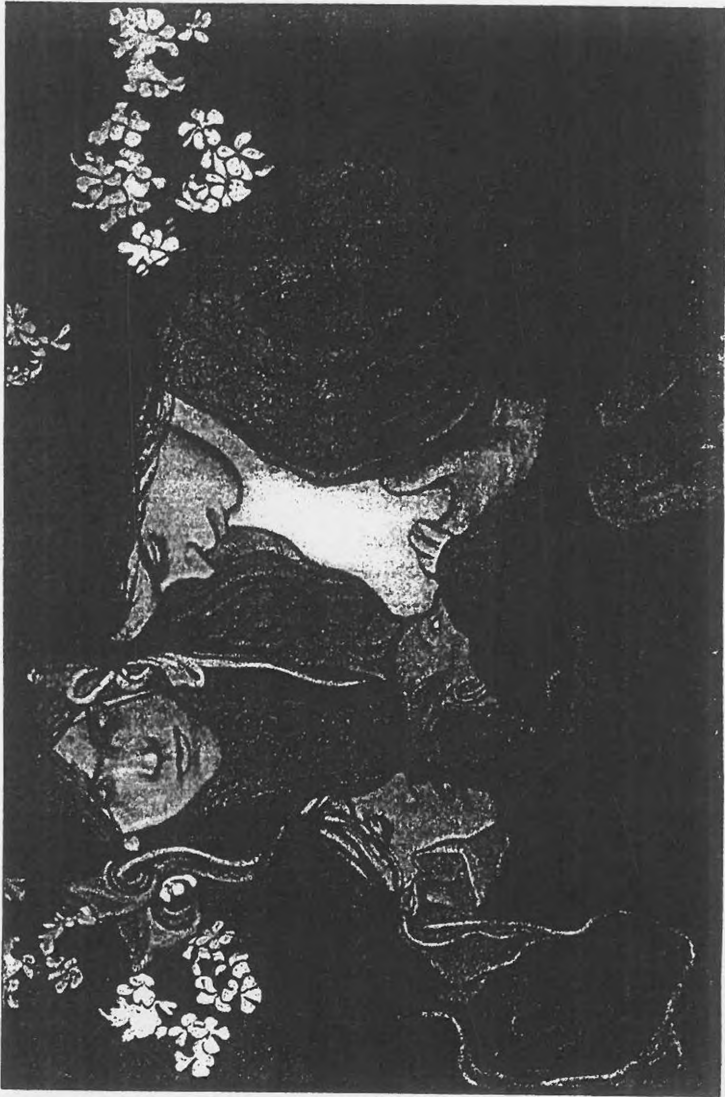


FIGURE 6 Stanisław Wyspiański, *Motherhood* (1905). Courtesy of National Museum in Cracow.

earth-mother associations of comfort and warmth. Nevertheless, for Wyspiański's Polish contemporaries, these pictures symbolized something more: an alliance between the sophisticated, decadent artistic intelligentsia of Cracow and the genuine, natural and instinctive world of the Polish peasantry. Several leading members of Cracow's Bohemia married simple but well-off peasant girls from the neighboring villages "to refresh the tired blood of the gentry," but also had another motive: to strengthen the alliance between different social classes against the common enemy of foreign oppression. Despite Przybyszewski's satanism, the cherished images of modernism in Cracow are the Madonnas and children of Wyspiański.<sup>39</sup>

## Prague

The erotic obsession of the coming generation of the 1890s in Prague was given fresh impetus by the enormous influence of French literature; however, the ground was well prepared for the reception of the latter since, from the Romantic period onwards, a heightened sensuality, closely bound up with "Angst" about mortality, had been a continuing source of inspiration for Czech artists.

The original source of this, *Máchas Mai*, was frequently reprinted and became the cult book of the decadent neo-Romantics. The local tradition and the general European fashion for the occult ensured that Prague's turn-of-the-century culture, especially its art, reflected the menacing but seductive world of mystical visions, of alienation and hopelessness. The fact that such "modern obsessions," which became characteristic of life in the great metropolises of the twentieth century, had their origin in the literature of a Gothic and Baroque city, shows how much they were psychically determined by the aesthetic environment to which their authors were exposed.

The year 1895 is often regarded as a turning-point in Czech literature, for it was in that year that the monthly *Moderní revue* began publication, and it was also the year of the manifesto of *Česká moderna* (Czech Modernism).<sup>40</sup> The *Moderní revue*'s circle included very different sorts of writers, most of whom regarded themselves as Decadents. At least at the beginning, however, they shared three characteristics: they were rebels against the realistic stream in Czech literature; they had a penchant for philosophical lyricism and they were interested in the fine and applied arts.<sup>41</sup>

One of the most charismatic personalities among them was Karel Hlaváček (1874–1898), the poet and graphic artist who died at age

twenty-three from tuberculosis after only three years of artistic activity. Hlaváček was an unrestrained experimenter who was not afraid to expose his hidden sexual complexes. He corresponded with the Pole Stanisław Przybyszewski, whose sexual theories hostile to women were well known in Prague. Indeed, on the eve of the birth of psychoanalysis, every kind of pseudo-scientific sexual theory was common currency in the city; they combined with the influence of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche to form the extremely pessimistic view of mankind and the world that the young artists shared.<sup>42</sup>

The significance of Hlaváček's graphics lies in the way in which they combined general symbols with personal feelings and passions, so that the medium attained a new emotional and expressive power. For example, in the drawing entitled *Phantom* (1897), the theme is that of woman and her erotic and emotional disillusion. She bends over the world like a blind, unfathomable, and obscure being, covering it with her dark hair; she is a bringer of misfortune, yet herself unfortunate. The sulphurous sky and the sickly yellow of the moon, rising behind her like the parody of a halo, suggest with their unnaturalness the fear abroad in the world, which is made more threatening by the fire burning on the horizon. An ancient and traditional allegory of despair is here greatly expanded and thereby achieves a greater significance. Hlaváček, the dying, marginalized Bohemian, projects his fear of death onto the woman and

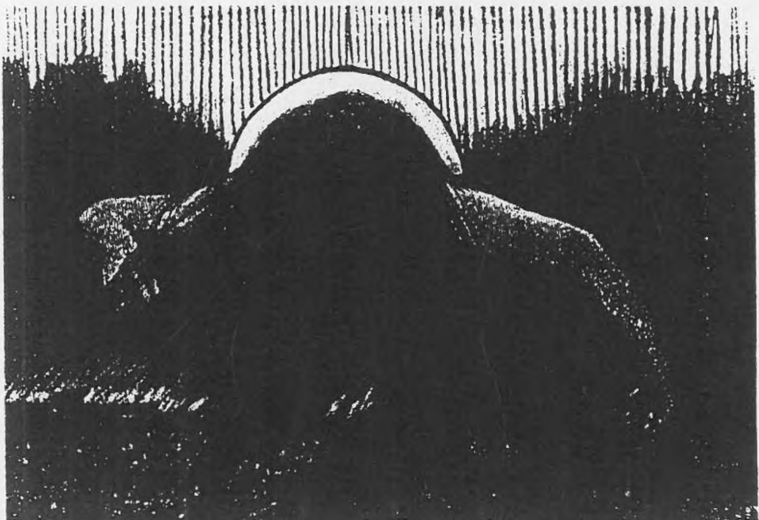


FIGURE 7 Karel Hlaváček, *Phantom* (1897).

the world. In his poems and letters he described his personal Calvary in terms of cruel fantasies that recall Ensor or Kubin: "You will certainly perceive the sad inner process that I illuminate. A feeling of brutality, a sense of the terrible and monstrous, this is what I wanted to evoke, something that lurks always behind one's shoulder, which one is always trying to escape, yet which one is compelled eternally to serve."<sup>43</sup>

He used the medieval atmosphere of nocturnal Prague and especially the Prague ghetto, as a backcloth for these internalized visions; but this eerie, magical, and decaying world is itself transformed into a nightmare, or rather into a hostile, living being, the incarnation of unknown horrors. This transmutation is clearly described in Hlaváček's letter: "I see monsters everywhere, but they are actually in me, they are psychic, because I love fear. I love fear for its own sake. I often stay out after it gets dark; in the black night I walk through the dead, dark streets of Prague, in order to experience the fear of an unexpected, violent attack, that could come at any minute."<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless Hlaváček was an exception for the generation of the 1890s. The majority of his contemporaries were passionate Czech nationalists deeply rooted in national culture.

In Czech painting and graphics, in contrast to those of the Vienna school and of Hungary, the *magna mater* figure from the prehistory of the Slavs had been deeply embedded in the national psyche since the Romantic period. Princess Libussa, the legendary founder of Prague, wife of the mythical first Premysl, "the Ploughman," and female antecedent of the royal Premyslid line, was portrayed as the wise and just ruler. Her figure is closely bound up with the cult of the Slav origins of the city, for Libussa was the prophetess who, according to legend, foresaw on the eve of her death the foundation, the future glory and indestructibility of Prague. Even though the interest in the mist-enshrouded early history of the Slavs diminished somewhat in the period of realism in Czech literature, a number of authors such as Alois Jirásek, or neo-Romantic poets like Julius Zeyer and especially Smetana's opera *Libussa*, revived the significance of the sibylline figure.<sup>45</sup> Historicist painting reproduces her idealized portrait repeatedly in the context of allegorical royal depictions, always against a background of the Hradčany.

From this it may be seen that an important source for omnipotent female figures in Czech art of the 1890s was the national myth; such figures, so far from representing a revolt against historicism, can more accurately be described as its metamorphosis, or its refinement.<sup>46</sup> In Karel Mašek's painting *The Seer—Libussa* (1893), the figure of Libussa is reinterpreted in terms of occult symbolism, appearing at night on the plateau of Vyšehrad above the Moldau as a powerful,

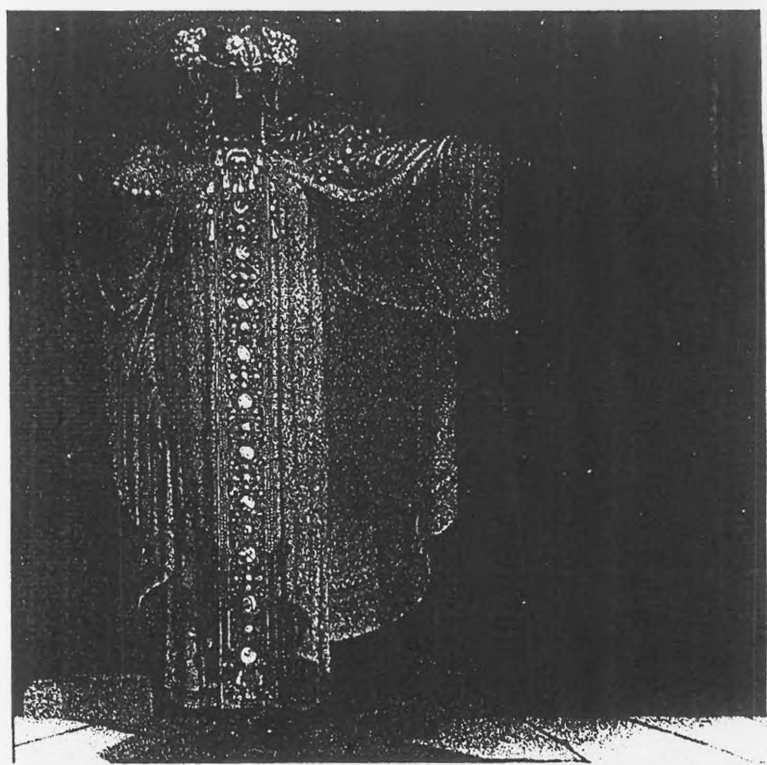


FIGURE 8 Karel Mašek, *The Seer—Libussa* (1893). Courtesy of Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

intimidating pagan priestess. Her ceremonial robe is decorated with the emblem of the Egyptian goddess of love, Hathor, and she holds a lime-tree branch from the holy tree of the ur-Slavs in her outstretched hand. She has become a *femme fatale*, ancestor of the race and goddess of love in one person, the sister of Astarte and Isis. The Vyšehrad legends included a group of apocryphal sagas which alluded to the evil, man-hating element in Libussa's nature, but which had been suppressed in the course of the national-Romantic revival. A saga about Czech Amazons who fought the Premysl men under the leadership of Vlasta kept the memory of the matriarchy of the pre-history of the Slavs alive, and thereby also the concept of the powerful woman. The figure of the beautiful Šárka, who enticed the hero, Ctirad, into a fatal trap, was a favorite theme of the neo-Romantics. She is especially prevalent in the sculpture of the 1890s. One of the most beautiful of these is by Quido Kocián, executed in alabaster and

variegated marble, a sophisticated attempt to capture the ambivalence of Šárka's character.

Evil beauty that brought great misfortune was an important leitmotif of Czech *Jugendstil* and was so deeply embedded in the contemporary international artistic repertoire of archetypes that critics and the public tended to take a negative interpretation of the male and female relationship, even when there was no convincing literary explanation of any particular scene. This emotional dissonance, the double isolation of man and woman, is particularly evident in the pictures of Jan Preisler (for example, the illustration to Julius Zeyer's poems *Píseň o hoři dobrého juna Romana Vasiliče* [1899] and the *Spring Triptych* of 1900). Even the Pre-Raphaelite-like popular picture by Max Švabinský, *The Communion of Souls* (1896), in spite of its title, does not embody the promised harmony of the muse and the artist. It reveals much more the discrepancy between male and female emotions and attitudes, according to which male genius cannot be bound by ties of gentle love, his vocation being the quest for the deeper significance of the universe. The sensitivity of Czech *Jugendstil* and symbolism to a type of painting that is laden with "philosophical" content was an inheritance of the 1880s.<sup>47</sup> The teachers of the younger generation who were active in Prague, such as Maximilian Pirner (1854–1924) and Vojtěch Hynais (1854–1925), undertook allegorical cycles of themes such as *Demon and Love* (Pirner) or a new interpretation of the traditional *Judgement of Paris* (Hynais), the focus of which were existential questions of life, love, and death. The red-haired modern Venus was equally a bringer of misfortune and danger, like Olympia or Nana. Generally, all traditional and sensual nudes could be interpreted as dangerously seductive creatures.

The typology and analysis of woman as presented in the work of Alfons Mucha would require a chapter of its own. It is only possible to indicate briefly that Mucha's world view was principally influenced by theosophy and gnosticism. His art is associated world-wide with the posters for Sarah Bernhardt, for which he developed an individual, yet very easily imitated, virtuoso calligraphic style.<sup>48</sup>

The *femme fatale* roles of this great actress, who liked to play the part of an irresistibly fascinating woman even in her own life, were immortalized for posterity with the help of Mucha's seductive art. Her poster image is one of the most popular icons of women at the turn of the century. Notwithstanding this, the Bernhardt Medeas and Toscas that Mucha depicted are scarcely more threatening or mysterious than the images in his biscuit or cigarette advertisements. Much more interesting are the less well-known early oil paintings and sketches, often depicting



FIGURE 9 Jan Preisler, *Spring* (1900)—central panel of a triptych. Courtesy of Gallery of West Bohemia, Plzen.

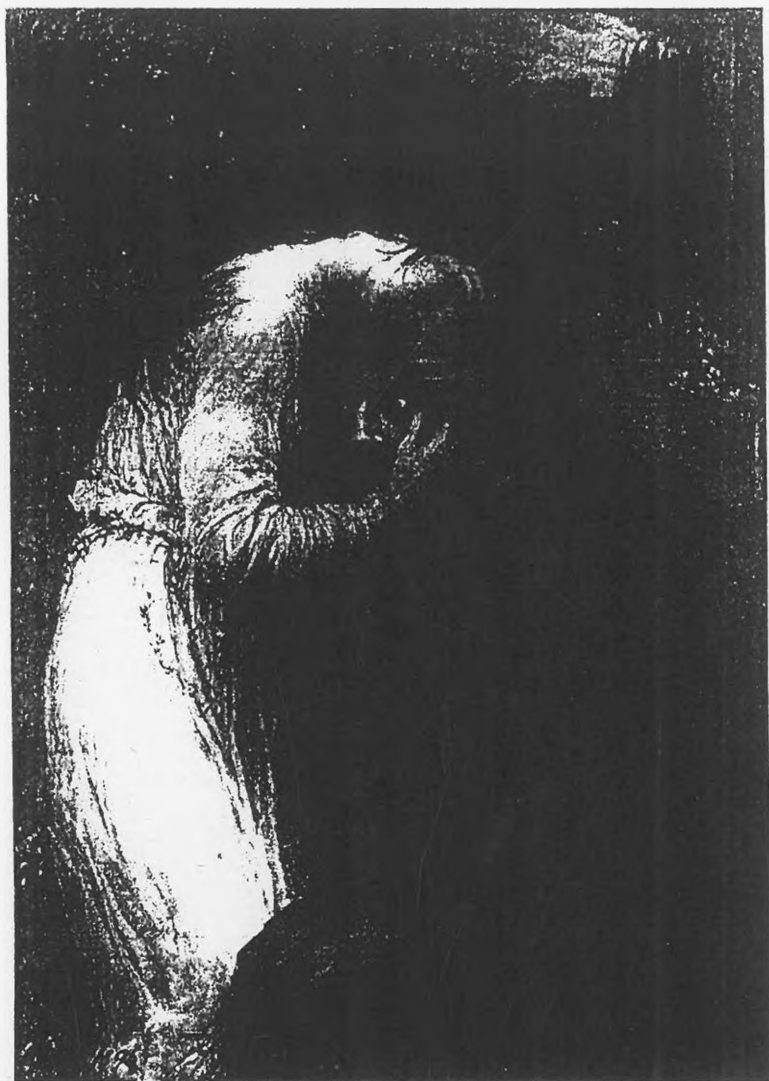


FIGURE 10 Max Švabinský, *The Communion of Souls* (1896). Courtesy of National Gallery, Prague.



dying women, or women who embody destructive passions (for instance, *The Absinthe Drinker*, circa 1900). Unfortunately an apparently key work for the metamorphosis of his *Weltanschauung* exhibited at the Salon des Cent in 1897, the cycle of *Sedm hlavních hříchů* (The Seven Deadly Sins), was lost. Contemporaries describe it as a philosophical work depicting the miserable state of mankind with all its sins, passions, and moral or psychological wounds.

However, when Mucha turned to Czech themes, his women figures gradually became idealized girls, pretty young peasants or priestesses who radiated purity and wisdom, as, for example, in his *Slavia* of 1908. These priestesses are no longer menacing, their magical aura being on the contrary comforting and protective, and above all full of hope for the future. His great late work, the monumental picture cycle entitled *Slav Epos* (1909–1930), incorporates these qualities.<sup>49</sup> The ur-Slav figures are here without exception positively portrayed and stand for such concepts as love, youth, mother-earth, and so on. The mysterious heathen priestesses have become blooming, innocent maidens of humble origin, and they are often wearing snow-white robes like those of the priestesses of Vesta. The patriotic feelings of the artist did not permit him to depict the daughters of the nation as sensual *femmes fatales*. Mucha's self-censorship was complete and incorruptible.

Women, whose traditional social and family roles, in both the pre-industrial and industrial period, ensured stability, continuity, increase, and development, were seen by Czech artists and intellectuals as "indestructible sources of life, the life force." Whether this recognition of women arose from a bitter feeling of male inadequacy and frustration in the face of Czech history and politics, or was associated with a modern psychological and moral understanding arrived at through personal experience, depended on the character and position in society of the individual Czech artist or intellectual. The most important example of the modern, positive attitude was that of Thomas Masaryk, who stood against unthinking acceptance of social tradition.<sup>50</sup> Out of the confrontation of these two fundamentally opposed attitudes to women in Prague at the turn of the century, the supporters of tolerance and emancipation emerged victorious, at least in intellectual circles, where the influence of the "Realistic Party" under Masaryk's leadership was decisive.<sup>51</sup>

In Czech literature, there were also several leading authors, such as Julius Zeyer or František Xaver Šalda, who supported emancipation. Likewise, a number of painters showed little inclination to demonize women in their works. Jakub Schikaneder, for instance, painted women with great empathy. His female figures are always isolated, radiating loneliness

and deep but ill-defined melancholy. His first great work, which was conceived in the Zola tradition of realism, depicted a tragedy in the slums of Prague (*The Murder in the House*, 1887–1890) and is uncompromisingly stark. Not surprisingly it was rejected by critics and publics alike, on the basis that the subject was not appropriate to painting. In the general artistic climate of Czech aestheticism and symbolism that was born out of the rebellion against realism, women were usually depicted either as fairies, ethereal virgins or tempting and menacing *femmes fatales* (see, for example, K. V. Mašek's *Spring* [1888] or his *The Seer—Libussa* [1893]).

While the protagonists of Decadence in the Czech 1890s turned away from reality and created its mythical opposite, the powerful, mystical woman who mastered man's fate, Schikaneder changed his style and painted the victims of life. His canvases show poetic, dreamlike interiors or the picturesquely crumbling streets of old Prague, winter scenes where lonely figures hurry along on unknown errands. These women are largely indefinable: what we perceive of them is their loneliness, a melancholy that radiates from their manner and gestures, and which become the hallmark of Schikaneder's work.

The only Czech painter who emphasized the peasant genre in the 1890s was the popular Joža Úprka, who concentrated on the decorative effect of colorful peasant costumes. In the pleasing decorativeness of his compositions, such as *Going to the Baptism* (1896) and *The Day of the Dead* (1897), something was retained of the Romantic idealization of peasantry. The peasant women stand for the moral purity of the nation and symbolize a genuine life close to nature. They are the storehouse of the nation's lost values, degraded by industrialization and urbanization. Although the Czech painters were mainly townspeople living in Prague, most of them, in common with their writer colleagues, stressed this dualistic concept of Czech culture. When the Czechs wanted to represent themselves to the outside world, they chose rural figures, such as pretty and "unspoiled" peasant girls in folk costume, to do so. A poster for the Paris World Exhibition of 1900 is a not untypical example; and when Rodin came to Prague for the opening of his exhibition in 1902, his hosts took him to a rural region of Moravia where the folkloristic traditions of the peasants were still alive.<sup>52</sup>

The art and literature of *fin-de-siècle* Prague was rich in *féerique, fatale* images because the city's creative artists were convinced that they were living under the spell of magical Prague (an ancient Slav Sorceress) and her unpredictable charm, in a city that embodied the principle of a powerful woman, mother and lover in one, a being who could bring her sons and

lovers deliverance or damnation.<sup>53</sup> But Prague, the beautiful, mystical woman remained also the eternal muse, in whose heartbeat the artists recognized the rhythm of their dreams and their visions, precisely as Max Svabinský had depicted Prague on the poster for the Rodin exhibition.

## Budapest

What seemed self-evident to the Prague symbolists at the turn of the century—namely, that without a muse there could be no great art, and without Eros no creativity—seemed to have less importance for Hungarian artists. At least it was evidently not something they thought worth discussing. The Czech and Hungarian painter generations of the 1890s were not only embedded in quite different political and social circumstances, but also drew on very different kinds of national mythology, not to mention traditions of literature and art.<sup>54</sup>

The world of Hungarian myth and legend lacks the destiny-determining demonic figure of the woman; here are no Ortruds or Krimhilden. The Hungarians do not look back to prophetess progenitors. In the cultural inheritance of medieval Hungary, there are few female figures that survive in the collective national memory. Those that do are chiefly pious, deferential daughters of the Arpad kings (Saint Elizabeth and Saint Margaret). The positive heroines of Hungarian prose and poetry were the female patriots of the Turkish wars, who courageously fought for their country.<sup>55</sup>

As for the private sphere of love life, Hungarian literature was traditionally extremely reserved, a characteristic that continued to the beginning of the twentieth century. Contemporary observers identified this strict self-censorship as a national characteristic of Hungarian men. Up to the First World War, it constituted a moral-aesthetic canon, especially for conservatives. Indeed, the modern poets of the *fin de siècle* were in rebellion against just this kind of prudery. Psychological realism and description of the real world were so deeply embedded in Hungarian prose that writers were scarcely able to depict women as demonic figures without some degree of irony or satire, an approach that fatally undermined the magical aura of these beings (as, for example, in Ferenc Molnár's comedies). Women played no powerful role in society; in contrast to Prague and Vienna, there were no literary salons or male supporters of female emancipation in the Budapest of the 1890s.<sup>56</sup>

The only poet who had the courage to deal openly with erotic passion and to unveil the power of the sexual instinct was Endre Ady, the

greatest of the Hungarian symbolist poets.<sup>57</sup> In his famous (and also notorious) *Songs for Leda*, he wrote of joy and suffering, the torture of confusing feelings, and the merciless struggle between woman and man that ends in a murderous dance of death. Ady alone was capable of evoking the *femme fatale* as goddess; sometimes it appears as if his lover Leda herself was cast in this role. Yet a closer reading reveals that for Ady the individual woman is not a determining force; having no power over him, she becomes merely a (sometimes reluctant) means for reaching the state of ecstasy. Ady reflects only on himself, on his own passion, yearning, and misery. He is in love with love, or, more precisely, he loves only himself in the reflection of the beloved. The logic of this situation was that women were interchangeable and expendable. For the soul of the Hungarian male, as Ady discovered, the mortal danger lay in his own instincts, his greed, his lust for power, his apathy and yearning for death, the “inherited sins brought from the mythical east” which he shared with the nation as a whole. It was a nation in which (from a social point of view) only the men were truly visible.

Notwithstanding this basic situation, Hungarian *fin-de-siècle* painting is very rich in representations of women, although they are mainly featured in a very traditional way.<sup>58</sup>

### *Painting*

The first Hungarian representation of the seductive, modern, and mysterious woman who clearly possessed intellectual power and the capacity to exercise it, was painted in Paris. In 1892 József Rippl-Rónai (1867–1927)<sup>59</sup> portrayed a slim young lady dressed in black with a glowing white skin. She is, however, no *femme fatale*, but rather an intriguing woman about whom the painter reveals very little. *The Woman with a Black Hat* (1894), however, painted two years later by János Vaszary (1867–1939),<sup>60</sup> is already a challenging and fascinating Parisienne, full of energy and vitality. She has something unsettling in her look, which reminds one of a highly strung animal, a cat that is tensed with energy, a dangerous, moody Nana. With its broad, generalized brush-strokes and its bold decorativeness, its glowing color contrasted with the jet-black hair and hat, this picture stands out as unique in the *oeuvre* of Vaszary. He was a relentless experimenter who was prepared to try out each new technique, style or fashionable subject; however, once he had solved a new formal problem with his usual élan, he turned to other inspirations or tasks and never repeated himself.



**FIGURE 11** János Vaszary, *The Woman with a Black Hat* (1894). Courtesy of Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest.

His supple *Red-Haired Female Nude* is typical of the caprices he tossed off with such ease, a paraphrase in fiery colors of Franz Stuck's *Sin*. However, while Stuck's work is threatening and demonic, Vaszary's is more frivolous and modern. The seductive, sensual power of attraction of the red-haired model, with skin that gleams like mother-of-pearl, is enhanced by the starkly contrasting colors; she clearly represents something that is psychologically threatening, but is by no means the overblown, implausible allegory of the Stuck painting.

There is a particular group of pictures among Vaszary's works, painted between 1900–1904, which focus on women in interior settings. Some of these are somewhat enigmatic scenes, where two women (usually one of them nude) seem to be sharing an intense erotic intimacy. One such picture shows a girl combing her hair, while her companion sits to one side, scrutinizing this activity. In another scene, both women are looking into a small mirror, again one of them dressed, the other not. The soft, pleasingly sensual forms of these nudes are veiled in a half-light. The dim boudoir corners are only vaguely indicated, and the close focus concentrates on the human epidermis, intensifying the hot-house atmosphere of these scenes and suggesting an element of voyeurism.

About the same time, Vaszary painted some monumental portraits of old peasant women, which are perhaps the most striking in Hungarian painting (*Going to Church*, 1903). These black-robed women, with hardship and poverty written on their faces, display a profound human dignity and dogged perseverance in the face of fate.

Rippl-Rónai, the Hungarian recorder of feminine beauty *par excellence*, treated another Parisienne as a *femme fatale* when he painted *Mme Mazer* in 1896. The enchantingly beautiful and elegant woman in her black robe and luxurious taste in hats has something challenging and disturbing about her, which nevertheless remains puzzling and out of focus, perhaps because of her extreme elegance.

After resettling in Hungary, Rippl-Rónai followed in the impressionists' steps by painting women—mostly the members of his family circle—in traditional genre-scenes of the life of a provincial middle-class family, going about their everyday domestic activities. The women in these paintings thus form an organic part of the painter's life and environment. How they are objectified has nothing to do with misogynist attitudes; on the contrary, they are handled quite naturally, as pleasant human companions in all stages of their life, from childhood to old age. Especially the elderly are painted with compassion and deep understanding of the innate melancholy of old age (see, for instance, *When One Lives from Memories*, 1903).

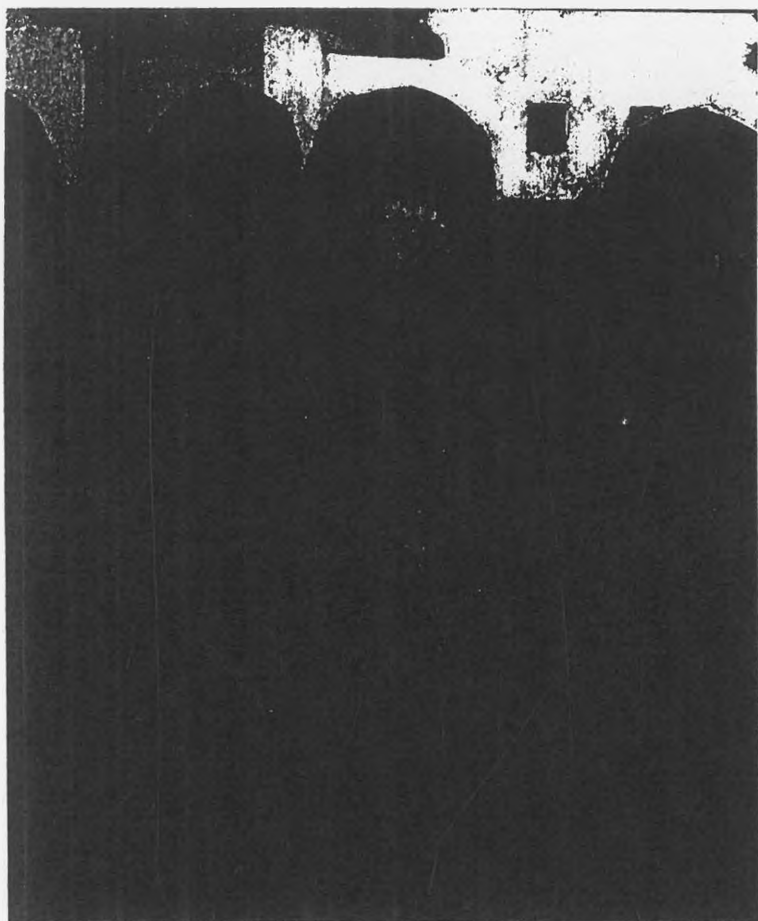


FIGURE 12 János Vaszary, *Going to Church* (1903). Courtesy of Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest.

Like the majority of Hungarian painters in the early 1890s, István Csók (1865–1961)<sup>61</sup> was an enthusiastic follower of the fine naturalism of Jules Bastien-Lepage, and painted tender, emotionally moving scenes (*Holy Communion*, 1890, or *The Orphans*, 1893) in the naturalistic manner. It was nevertheless Csók who, of all the artists of his generation, produced the most sensual depictions of women, not flinching from such rare themes in the Hungarian context as sexual aberration. But his artistic output was very uneven, and occasionally he was not free from a type of vulgar sentimentality bordering on kitsch. He has given us one

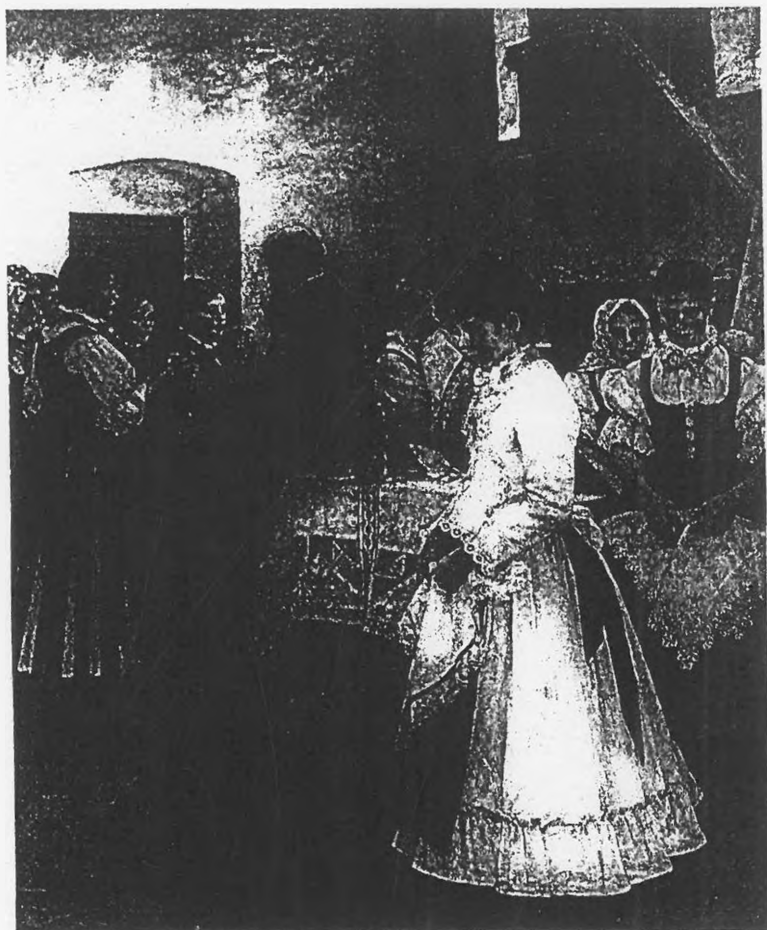


FIGURE 13 István Csók, *Holy Communion* (1890). Courtesy of Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest.

unique depiction of *Salome*, which is perhaps the least threatening image of Herodias's daughter produced at the *fin de siècle*, when she was such a fashionable subject. Salome lies belly-down on a bed, with a few roses scattered around her; she looks out of the picture into our eyes without the slightest hint of emotional tension, despite the alarming fact that she is holding in her hands the head of John the Baptist. Indeed, she displays sublime indifference to the object, which might as well be a cushion for all the emotional drama involved. The challenge of a psychological depiction seems to have been beyond the painter, or perhaps it would be



more accurate to say that it did not, in this case, interest him. Perhaps the other version of the same composition, in which the beautiful young girl embraces a <sup>leafy</sup> ~~heap~~ of roses with an identical gesture, offers an explanation for this strangely inappropriate depiction. For Csók, conveying the sensuality of the nude model was the important artistic task, and he may have simply changed the props according to the wishes of the commissioner, from roses to the head of John the Baptist. Similarly, all his huge symbolic compositions were, without exception, artistic failures, although he tried desperately to paint subjects with complicated religious and philosophical messages, for example, *Christ and Venus* (1898).

His innate sensualism and materialism, which were totally inappropriate impulses for creating mystical visions of esoteric subjects, prevented him from painting a persuasive version of any symbolical or metaphysical subject. Of his failed attempts, only those have survived that he did not himself destroy (including *Christ and Venus*), to bear witness to his clumsy attempts to choose fashionable subjects, which were then treated without any inner conviction. In Paris, Csók painted several compositions of sensual nudes, sometimes using biblical subjects (for example, *Thamar*, 1906), or else in depictions of scenes of modern life (*The Corner of the Studio*, 1905). These pictures became very popular among contemporary Hungarian collectors, who appreciated their sensual quality, which perfectly matched the conservative concept of female sensuality. The women in Csók's pictures display their charms in a way that recalls languorous odalisques, seemingly oblivious of the male gaze. From 1901 onwards, he also devoted himself to the subject of vampires and painted a number of variations on this theme while he was in Paris. Even so, none of these ugly women corresponded to the model of the *femme fatale*. Csók's real strength lay in the painting of naturally sensual and attractively unsophisticated peasant girls in decorative costumes.

The young Lajos Gulácsy (1882–1932)<sup>62</sup> is fascinated by a very different world of feeling and fantasy. A psychologically unstable creative artist who was both painter and poet, Gulácsy was sunk in a "romantic-neurotic" world of the senses during his rather short period of activity. The motifs and ideas of beauty he adopted were borrowed from the Pre-Raphaelites. A stylized cult of love similar to that of Rossetti inspired Gulácsy's finest pictures, which are poetic visions of a dream world in which the unhappy lovers are eternally forced to part. Nevertheless, underneath the lyrical scenes of melancholy, where a certain harmony between man and woman prevails, lurks the impression of an intoxicating and confused encounter in the magic garden of love, which is also the source of knowledge. In *The Magician's Garden* (1904), it is the beautiful



FIGURE 14 Lajos Gulácsy, *Paolo and Francesca* (1903). Courtesy of Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest.

Vivien who casts a bewitching gaze on Merlin, her master. In the painting titled *Ecstasy* (1908) a naked girl embraces a youth with an awkward passion that gives a flash of insight into the depth of the instincts. Perhaps this is the first painting that radiates a genuine anxiety in the projection of the Dionysian side of love in Hungarian painting.

These very few examples of the *femme fatale*, or more simply of "dangerous women," may paradoxically be seen as evidence for the fact that, in Hungarian *fin-de-siècle* painting, the then extremely fashionable theme of the "struggle between the sexes" was hardly exploited by the best masters. Most of the depictions of women at that time belong to the type of the *femme fragile*, enigmatic, lonely and gentle souls, who can only ever be victims, not victors in the war of love. The general approach adopted both by minor and leading artists—even when, from a stylistic point of view, they were highly experimental—was that of a painstaking realism in the depiction of human relations. The very few painters not belonging to this tradition were those rare and exalted individuals (Csontváry or Gulácsy) whose images of women (if they were decisive at all, as in the case of Csontváry) were not so much shaped by the real circumstances of Hungarian society, as by an individual history of pathological obsessions.

It can thus broadly be said that, in Hungarian *fin-de-siècle* painting, women were hardly ever demonized. Instead, it is the traditionally feminine aspects of women (such as fragility, ethereal purity, melancholic pensiveness, or more frequently, maternal warmth and traditional domestic virtues) which characterize the majority of the portraits, domestic interiors and genre scenes painted at this time. Old-fashioned self-censorship functioned even more rigorously in painting than in literature.

There is, however, one picture in which a pregnant woman is portrayed, and although the work is not of high quality, it makes a significant and startling comparison with Klimt's *Hope*, which was coincidentally painted in the same year (1903). The Hungarian master, Sándor Nagy (a minor painter, but a very good designer and a follower of both the French *Rose et Croix* ideals and those of the Pre-Raphaelites)<sup>63</sup> painted *The Blessed Condition*, a double portrait of his pregnant wife and himself in front of his studio window. She is of course fully dressed and leans against her husband, their bodies and profiles in a harmonious parallel, suggesting an ideal unity of soul and body. Both gaze out of the window, through which can be seen an angel-like apparition holding an equally wraith-like baby, the expected, unborn child. There is an air of preposterous piety and naivety about the scene, which, in spite of the painter's

best efforts, is embarrassingly childish, if also childlike. The art colony to which this couple belonged—the only one following the arts and crafts workshop ideal of William Morris and cultivating utopian ideas of socialism—of course rejected the sensuality of Viennese art on moral grounds, and aimed to restore the nobly moral quality of life of the Hungarian peasants. The Gödöllő artists' most lasting contribution to the visual arts was their rediscovery of folk art and the integration of its ornament into applied art nouveau; but these works lack any individualizing element.<sup>64</sup>

Pretty peasant girls and women in their decorative folk costumes, radiating good health, happiness and contentment with their station in life, were the favorite models of genre painting since the onset of romanticism in Hungarian art. Although—as in literature—some realist painters around 1900 (for example, Adolf Fényes)<sup>65</sup> occasionally chose to depict the pariahs of rural life (in a manner similar to German *Arme Leute Malerei*), the majority of the peasant models of the time belonged to an idealized world where man and woman still lived in harmony with nature and with each other. After 1900, depictions of peasant women became more and more idealized, biblical and doctrinal symbols placed in a context where genuine or normative human values are still intact and powerful. The ultimate artistic expression of this tendency is to be found in the peasant Madonna of József Koszta<sup>66</sup> (*The Three Magi*, 1906).

If there was a dominant visual representation of women in Hungarian painting between 1890 and 1905, it is that of women depicted in nature—in a garden or park, working in the fields or in a picturesque landscape. In most of these paintings the relationship between nature and the human figure is perfectly balanced. The women are seen as in perfect harmony with their natural surroundings, like plants or flowers. They are therefore not individualized, still less demonized, but rather idealized. The overwhelming number of these paintings show that this interpretation of women as natural beings, belonging more to nature than to the world of man, was not simply a reflection of the complacent attitude of male painters toward the other sex, but was one also happily accepted by the public. It seems clear that the public shared the view of women reflected in such works, or was happy to be convinced by it, as a comforting vision of the unchanging order of things.

The dream of an ideal symbiosis between woman and nature was a wishfully selective view of the world, but it contained a great residual power of suggestion and was capable of inspiring great masterpieces, for example, some of the pictures of Károly Ferenczy,<sup>67</sup> the most poetical of which is *The Painter and the Model* (1901).



FIGURE 15 József Koszta, *The Three Magi* (1906). Courtesy of Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest.

## Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to trace the connections between the clichés of womanhood in painting, with a side-glance at the socio-cultural structure of the relations between the sexes at the turn of the century. These connections are sometimes very direct, at other times indirect or nonexistent.

When comparing national schools, certain preferences are easy to explain. For example, in the strongly metropolitan painting of Vienna, peasant women are hardly featured. (The exception is the work of Andri, with his market figures). However, in all the other schools in Central Europe, we find that the representation of the peasantry, and especially of peasant women, was not only popular, but had strong ideological support: it offered the alternative of a rural utopia to the modern world

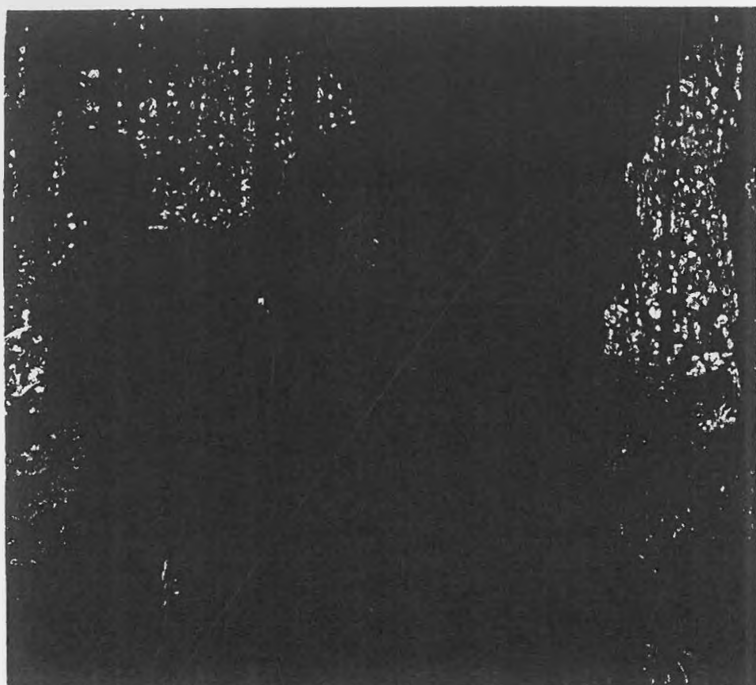


FIGURE 16 Károly Ferenczy, *The Painter and the Model* (1901). Courtesy of Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest.

of industrialization. Naturally, such attitudes precluded demonization of peasant women.

National mythologies that served as the golden store of artistic capital for nations which were not yet independent, like the Czechs or the Poles, were the carriers of positive values, even if, for the rebelliously Decadent generation, the omnipotent protectress of the glorious past could also become an ambivalent evocation of female power. Such cases were rare, however, and the phase of demonizing the sacred figures of national mythology was very short. There was soon a return to traditional idealization.

For nations where the influence of symbolism and Decadence was strong and profound, woman became a mysterious and enigmatic being, one from whom man was alienated, although he could not escape an anguished emotional dependence on her (see for example, the works of the Czech Jan Preisler and Karel Hlaváček, or the Poles, Jacek Malczewski and Wojciech Weiss). If the influence of Decadence was weak

and the local literary tradition was dominated by realism, as in Hungary, decadent images of woman (*femmes fatales*) or the element of the *Geschlechterkampf* were more or less missing from painting. The few examples to be found were evidently "imports," stylistic exercises painted abroad (János Vaszary, István Csók).

Before the birth of expressionism, the concept of the *femme fragile* was much more popular all over the Dual Monarchy, including Vienna, than the demonic woman; if so-called "modern types" were represented, the painters preferred the gently feminine wife-figures (Carl Moll, Rippl-Rónai), the *süßes Mädl* type (Felician von Myrbach) or the pretty cocotte (Luděk Marold), to the sensual *demi-mondaines* with "symbolic souls" (e.g., Wyspiański's *The Portrait of Irene Solskij*, 1900).

Although the celebration of sensuality was not confined to Vienna, it was most common in Viennese art. The virtuoso protagonist of erotic painting (Klimt) was obsessed with evoking the sexual attraction of women, but in the other art centers of the Monarchy, the intellectual climate still demanded pure and worthy subjects from the painters of the nation. From their formative years on, those artists were continuously under pressure to create something noble and sublime, to dedicate their creative powers to the national cause. Their self-censorship was more effective than that of masters in the much more metropolitan and cosmopolitan Vienna. Here, the *genius loci* encapsulated in the slogan "*Wein, Weib und Gesang*," worked also at the level of everyday behavior to stress the sensual elements in life and to make easier the social acceptance of a more open and more "modern" art and a less restrictive metropolitan life for women.

An additional factor in the individual painter's choice of what type of woman to paint, was, of course, the presence (or absence) of the emancipated woman in his immediate environment. A life embedded in well-preserved patriarchal norms did not stimulate the imagination to demonize women, as can be seen from the case of Hungary. In this context, it is perhaps of importance that the majority of Hungarian modern painters worked in the country, in provincial small towns with conservative mores, and were determined to remain close to nature. There was a steadily growing animosity toward the "cosmopolitan" capital of Budapest, which was neither aesthetic nor "national" enough to be worthy of the painter's brush. That is why Hungarian painting of this period entirely lacks modern cityscapes of Budapest. By contrast, in a town like the beloved Prague, where artistic life was open to many creative and emancipated women, even if they were mostly active in fields other than the fine arts, the view of women was more complex and ranged more

widely between appreciation and fear (e.g., Max Švabinský, Jan Preisler, Luděk Marold and Karel Hlaváček).

In the hothouse of Cracow's Bohemia where, from 1897 onwards, the charismatic Przybyszewski focused attention on the sinister world of instincts, there existed a suitable microclimate for the demonization of women. The fact that, in spite of this, only a few pictures were inspired by these theories, reveals that for most Polish intellectuals the issue of national destiny and the controversies surrounding the concepts of Christian faith and hope were considered more worthy subjects for the arts (for example, the works of Wyspiański).

Although many examples of sensual female figures can be found in the *oeuvres* of Hungarian, Czech and Polish painters, sensual aestheticism in its most liberated version, which included the possibility of ornamentation for its own sake or as veiled eroticism, was ultimately the prerogative of Vienna. The other three art centers of the Dual Monarchy followed different paths, the local image of woman being dictated by the locally determined national, cultural and psychological considerations that this study has sought to define and explicate.

The hallmark of the first generation of Viennese modernism in literature was the hegemony of the inner life of the psyche over that of quotidian reality. This narrow focus—which was concentrated on the ego of the author himself in various guises—was interwoven with a sensitive concern for language *per se*, and a desire to exploit its potential for decorative ornamentation and the creation of style (as in the case of Hofmannsthal). The painting of this generation followed a similar pattern. The mood (*Stimmung*) of the soul projected onto nature and the external world was a fundamental preoccupation; stylized role-play, *inter alia*, in the context of male eroticism, was adopted as a form of self-expression.

This ambivalent role-play itself involved a certain amount of legerdemain (it concealed, for example, a desire to exert power over the viewer, to manipulate and impress him with the force of the artistic achievement); but it also could involve self-deception, a self-conscious determination to be modern at any cost. The artists exploited social patterns, artistic clichés, and finally non-organic stylistic solutions, as quotations or formulas not integrated organically into the composition. The thirst to create something new led to the invention of a symbolic code-language for eroticism. It can be interpreted as an unconscious self-defense of the male artist against the dangerous power of femininity. But the highly stylized and sophisticated angular-geometric system of the Viennese Secession became too enigmatic and too much of a closed system to allow the free flow of emotional expression. The “golden Style” of Klimt



became an obstacle to creative freedom itself; because it allowed only an indirect expression of emotion, it had to be abandoned. The demands put upon such devices proved to be too great for the next generation. The result was an artistic or intellectual crisis, as in the careers of Hofmannsthal and Ernst Stöhr, which might even lead to the disintegration of the work and psychological disintegration of the artist, in the tragic case of Richard Gerstl to his self-destruction.

Those artists who kept themselves apart from social and artistic role-playing of this kind were equally able to withstand the impact of fashionable clichés in the social realm or the exaggerated utopian pessimism of the Kraus circle. They were thus able to maintain a balance between male self-respect and the newly discovered power of the *anima*, the mystical female force. The ultimate artistic embodiment of this delicate and highly individual balance is the art of Gustav Klimt.

The situation changed when the generation of expressionists entered the art scene. The mesmerizing influence of Otto Weininger and other misogynist authors was decisive for the child prodigies, Schiele and Kokoschka. Especially in the early years of their creativity, they focused on the tortured, neurotic images of carnal love; they demonized women not so much because of their own social experiences, but because of their tortured and problematic psychological attitude toward sexuality. Social reality is largely excluded from their early works—it is the obsession with their own traumas and fantasies that determines their vision of mankind.

In the other art centers of the Dual Monarchy, the creative female powers were everywhere differently perceived and the reaction to them was also varied.

In Prague, recognition of these powers came through the important role of Czech feminism, which sensitized not only modernists to the issue of women's emancipation, but also representatives of the previous generation of realists. While some young modernists indulged in the demonization of women for a while, the realists worked out a solution to the problem of integration, recognizing the immense potential of the feminist contribution to the cultural struggle of the Czech nation against the Germans.

In Poland, although the "New Woman" was a live issue, acknowledged among intellectuals, the situation was similar to that in Prague. Apart from a few decadent modernists, the majority of artists represented national heroines and earth-mother figures, thus the protectress rather than the inner enemy.

Before 1905 in Hungary, the issue of the discovery of the "New Woman" did not play an important role in the artistic sphere, and

feminism did not constitute a challenge to artistic perception. Writers and painters seemed to be rather unaware of the coming storm in the relations between the sexes. After 1905, artists and intellectuals were not to be spared this shock even in Hungary. Nonetheless, other factors, such as political crises and an accumulation of serious social tensions, meant that the issue of women's emancipation never became central, in either literature or the fine arts. Hungarian culture and history in the twentieth century has been dominated not so much by the *femme fatale* as by the *homme fatal*. It is, however, by no means certain that the situation was markedly different anywhere else in the region.

## Notes

1. There is no concise comparative study on the art of Central Europe at the turn of the century. Works on the art of the individual nations or cultural centers are available, but they focus on the art contacts with Western countries only, especially on French influences. Selected comprehensive monographs and catalogues on the local national schools of painting of this age are: Peter Vergo, *Art in Vienna 1898–1918* (London, 1972); *Traum und Wirklichkeit* (Vienna, 1985); *Tschechische Kunst 1878–1914: Aus dem Weg in die Moderne*, Catalogue (Darmstadt, 1984); Petr Wittlich, *Prague Fin-de-Siècle* (Paris, 1992); *Symbolism in Polish Painting 1890–1914*, Catalogue (Detroit, 1984); Jan K. Ostrowski, *Die polnische Malerei* (Munich, 1989); Julia Szabadi, *Art Nouveau in Hungary* (Budapest, 1989); *A Golden Age*, Catalogue (London, 1989).
2. Timothy J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (London, 1985); J. Rose, *Sexuality in the Field of Vision* (London, 1986); Tamar Garb, "Gender and Representation," in Francis Francina et al., eds., *Modernity and Modernism: French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, London, 1993).
3. Ilona Sármany-Parsons, "Malerei 1890–1900: Aufbruch in die Moderne—Vienna, Prague, Budapest," in Richard G. Plaschka and Horst Haselsteiner, eds., *Mittel-europa: Idee, Wissenschaft und Kultur im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1997), 175–186.
4. Griselda Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," in Pollock, *Vision and Difference* (London, New York, 1988), 50–90.
5. H. J. Schickedanz, *Femme fatale: Ein Mythos wird entblättert* (Dortmund, 1983); Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy* (London, 1990); Barbara Eschenburg, ed., *Der Kampf der Geschlechter: Der neue Mythos in der Kunst 1850–1930* (Munich, Cologne, 1995).
6. Werner Hoffmann, *Das irdische Paradies: Motive und Ideen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1960), 146–163, and 202–289.
7. Maria Makela, *The Munich Secession* (Princeton, 1990).

8. William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind* (Berkeley, 1972); Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin, *Wittgenstein's Vienna* (New York, 1973); Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*. (New York, 1980); James Shedel, *Art and Society: The New Art Movements in Vienna, 1897-1914* (Palo Alto, 1981); Jacques Le Rider, *Das Ende der Illusion: Zur Kritik der Moderne* (Vienna, 1990).
9. Peter Vergo, *Art in Vienna, 1890-1918* (London, 1975); Wolfgang Hilger et al., *Die Wiener Secession* (Vienna, 1986); Gottfried Fliedl, *Gustav Klimt* (Cologne, 1989).
10. Alfred Pfabigan, ed., *Ornament und Askese* (Vienna, 1985).
11. Fritz Novotny and Johannes Dobai, *Gustav Klimt* (Salzburg, 1967); Werner Hoffmann, *Gustav Klimt und die Wiener Jahrhundertwende* (Salzburg, 1970); Alice Strobl, *Gustav Klimt: Die Zeichnungen*, vols. 1-3 (Salzburg, 1980-84); Frank Whitford, *Gustav Klimt* (London, 1990).
12. Hans Bizanz, *Vienna 1900* (Bristol, 1990), 14.
13. Patrick Werkner, *Physis and Psyche: Der Österreichische Frühexpressionismus* (Vienna, Munich, 1986).
14. Alfred Kubin spent his formative years in Munich at the turn of the century and was much more under the influence of the occultism and pseudo-science that was so popular with the French and Belgian symbolists, than that of the Viennese art scene. See Hans Bizanz, *Alfred Kubin* (Munich, 1877).
15. Rudolf Peter Janz and Klaus Laermann, *Arthur Schnitzler: Zur Diagnose des Wiener Bürgertums im Fin de Siècle* (Stuttgart, 1977).
16. Harriet Anderson, *Utopian Feminism: Women's Movements in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (New Haven, 1992), 246-248.
17. Nike Wagner, *Geist und Geschlecht* (Frankfurt, 1982); Edward Timms, *Karl Kraus: Apocalyptic Satirist* (New Haven, London, 1986); Lisa Fischer, *Lina Loos* (Vienna, 1994).
18. See works of Carl Moll, Max Kurzweil, Wilhelm List, Wilhelm Gause.
19. The only unequivocal depiction of the *Geschlechterkampf* in Vienna was published in *Ver Sacrum* in 1899 by Ernst Stöhr, and is an illustration to his own poem (*Ver Sacrum* 2, no. 12 [1899]: 8). It demonstrates the victory of the liberated woman over man. The artist, who was multitalented (a poet, a musician and a painter), left only a few works behind; deep depression blocked his creativity. See Christian M. Nebehay, *Ver Sacrum 1898-1903* (Vienna, 1975), 184-188; Michael Pabst, *Wiener Grafik um 1900* (Munich, 1984), 154, 156, 158.
20. Ilona Sármany-Parsons, *Viennese Painting at the Turn of the Century* (Budapest, 1991): text for page 17.
21. Werner Hofmann, "Das Fleisch erkennen," in Pfabigan, *Ornament und Askese*, 122.
22. Robert Goldwater, *Symbolism* (New York, 1979), 247-248.
23. Gottfried Fliedl, *Gustav Klimt* (Cologne, 1989), 127-132.
24. Ilona Sármany-Parsons, *Gustav Klimt* (New York, 1987), 83-87.
25. Max Eisler, *Gustav Klimt* (Vienna, 1920), 22; Angelica Bäuml, *Gustav Klimt's Women* (London, 1986).
26. Gottfried Fliedl offers a different opinion about this issue in his book (op. cit., 200-206).
27. Jacques Le Rider, "Modernismus—Feminismus, Modernität—Virilität: Otto Weininger und die asketische Moderne," in Pfabigan, *Ornament und Askese*, 242-260.
28. Roman Prahl, "Anfänge der Modernen Galerie in Prag," *Stifter Jahrbuch*, New Series, 7 (Munich, 1993): 115-125; Ilona Sármany-Parsons, "Entfremdete Nachbarn," in Eugen Thurnher, Walter Weiss et al., eds., *"Kakanien"* (Vienna, 1991), 415-437.

29. It was everywhere, above all through national Romanticism in literature, that the image-making of the nation and national heroes or heroines occurred. The visual arts relied heavily on the patterns given by native poetry or prose. Under the influence of Herder, Central European artists began to construct a national mythology out of the folklore of the peasants.
30. Robert B. Pynsent, "The Decadent Self," in Pynsent, *Questions of Identity—Czech and Slovak Ideas of Nationality and Personality* (London, 1994), 101–146; Agnieszka Morawinska, *Polnische Malerei* (Warsaw, 1984), 40–47.
31. Aladár Schöpflin, *A magyar irodalom története a XX. században* (Budapest, 1937/1990), 42–112.
32. Adam Zamoyski, *The Polish Way* (London, 1989), 318.
33. Wiesław Juszczak, *Malarstwo Polskie: Modernism* (Warsaw, 1977); Agnieszka Morawinska, ed., *Symbolism in Polish Painting, 1890–1914*, Catalogue (Detroit, 1984), 129–137.
34. Jan K. Ostrowski, *Die polnische Malerei vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn der Moderne* (Munich, 1989), 103–146.
35. Agnieszka Lawniczakowa, ed., *Malczewski: A Vision of Poland*, Catalogue (London, 1990).
36. *Ibid.*, 16.
37. Stanisław Przybyszewski, *Tosenmesse* (Berlin, 1893); Stanisław Eile, "The Prophet of the 'Naked Soul': Stanisław Przybyszewski," in László Péter and Robert B. Pynsent, eds., *Intellectuals and the Future in the Habsburg Monarchy 1890–1914* (London, 1988), 173–190.
38. Czesław Miłosz, *The History of Polish Literature* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1983), 369–371.
39. *Ibid.*, 351–358.
40. The Manifesto of Czech Modernism demanded absolute individualism in the arts. It was published in October 1895 in the journal *Rozhledy* in Prague and signed by the most important Czech writers and critics of the time, e.g., Josef Svatoopluk Machar, Otokar Brězina, Antonín Sova, the critic František Václav Krejčí, and František Xaver Šalda.
41. Otto M. Urban, ed., *Moderny Revue* (Prague, 1995).
42. Robert B. Pynsent, "Decadence, Decay, Innovation," in Pynsent, ed., *Decadence and Innovation* (London, 1989), 111–248.
43. The author's own translation from the German of *Tschechische Kunst 1878–1914* (Darmstadt, 1984), 74–75.
44. *Ibid.*, 74.
45. The legend of Libussa was very popular among German writers: Gottfried Herder, Clemens Brentano and Franz Grillparzer wrote versions of it and the last named, in his drama *Libussa*, made something like a modern, Green feminist of the mythical matriarch. The apotheosis of Libussa is to be found in the opera by Smetana. See John Tyrell, *Czech Opera* (Cambridge, 1988), 41–44, 135–141.
46. Bedřich Loewenstein, "Theatralik, Historismus, Bürgerliche Repräsentation," in *Bohemia* 29, no. 1 (1988): 33.
47. Thomas Vlček, "Natural Sensualism, Czech *Fin-de-Siècle* Art," in László Péter and Robert B. Pynsent, eds., *Intellectuals and the Future in the Habsburg Monarchy 1890–1914* (London, 1988), 107–126.
48. Jiří Mucha, *Alphonse Mucha, His Life and Art* (London, 1966).
49. Karel Šrp, ed., *Das Slawische Epos*, Catalogue (Krems, 1994).

50. Katherine David, "Czech Feminists and Nationalism in the Habsburg Monarchy: 'The First in Austria,'" *Journal of Women's History* 2 (1991): 24–45; Helena Vollet-Jellicott, *La Femme Bourgeoise à Prague, 1860–1895* (Ph.D. thesis, Lausanne, 1988).
51. Mária Neudorfl, "Masaryk and the Woman Question," in Stanley B. Winters, ed., *Thomas G. Masaryk (1850–1937): Thinker and Politician* (London, 1990).
52. *Tschechische Kunst 1878–1914*, Catalogue (Darmstadt, 1984), vol. 1, 64–65.
53. Ilona Sármany-Parsons, "The Image of the City in Turn-of-the-Century Painting in Central Europe," in *Central European University History Department Yearbook* (Budapest, 1996).
54. On Hungarian literature and culture, see Lóránt Czigány, *The Oxford History of Hungarian Literature* (Oxford, 1984); John Lukács, *Budapest 1900* (London, 1988); Peter Hanák, *Der Garten und der Werkstatt* (Vienna, 1992); Thomas Bender and Carl E. Schorske, *Budapest and New York* (New York, 1994).
55. Hungarian history painting features many heroines fighting against foreign oppressors. Examples include *Women of Eger* (1867) by Bertalan Székely, in which the enemy are the Turks, or *Ilona Zrinyi* (1859) by Viktor Madarász, in which they are the Habsburgs.
56. A book on Hungarian women writers published recently does not change the overall picture in this respect. See Anna Fábri, *"A szép tiltott táj felé"—A magyar trónok története két századforduló között, 1795–1905* (Budapest, 1996).
57. Loránd Czigány, *The Oxford History of Hungarian Literature* (Oxford, 1984), 290–297; John Lukács, *Budapest 1900*, 164–167.
58. Gyöngyi Eri and Zsuzsa Jobbágyi, eds., *A Golden Age*, Catalogue (London, Miami 1989), 143–174.
59. Mária Bernáth, *Rippl-Rónai* (Budapest, 1976).
60. Lenke Haulisch, *Vaszary János* (Budapest, 1982).
61. András Székely, *Csók István* (Budapest, 1977).
62. Judith Szabadi, *Gulácsy Lajos* (Budapest, 1983).
63. Katalin Gellér, *Nagy Sándor* (Budapest, 1978).
64. Katalin Gellér and Katalin Keserü, *A gödöllői művésztelep* (The Gödöllő Art Colony) (Budapest, 1987).
65. Nóra Aradi, *Fényes Adolf* (Budapest, 1979).
66. László Bényi, *Kosztia József* (Budapest, 1979).
67. István Genthon, *Ferenczy Károly* (Budapest, 1963).