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Hilma af Klint's Amimetic Images and Kandinsky's Abstract Art

Raphael Rosenberg

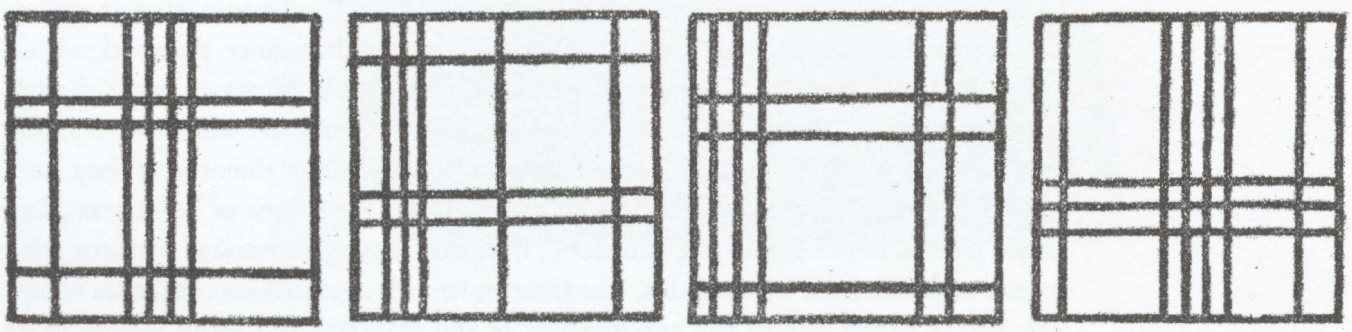
Who was the first abstract painter? Was it Kandinsky, was it Kupka or was it rather Malevich? The exhibition *Hilma af Klint – A Pioneer of Abstraction,* touring internationally since 2013, has put the global spotlight on a largely unknown Swedish woman artist. Furthermore, it has given new impetus to this old query. Art historians, critics, but also a large public are puzzled by the large, non-figurative and powerful paintings that clearly predate the canvases commonly considered as "the" first abstract works of art. Still, most discussions on this topic overlook the fact that even Hilma af Klint was not the first to paint non-figurative canvases. Artists had made abstract images for centuries, though they did not consider them works of art. I suggest calling such pictures, if they were made before 1900, "amimetic" – since they emerged outside the classical doctrine of mimesis, the imitation of nature, which was grounded in Aristotle's *Poetics*. The concept of "amimeticism" is useful because it prevents confusion with 20th-century capital-A Abstract Art and it avoids the term "abstract", which carries unsuitable connotations of "removal from" and "generalisation" of an object in an image. Over the past 15 years I have investigated a body of amimetic images and explored a diversity of form and material. In previous studies, I have divided these images into three groups according to their function and the context to which they were attached: first, blots made by chance; second, images related to discourses on the aesthetic of effect; and third, images depicting invisible things.[1]

The first group consists of images that arose by chance, or at least seem to have done so – blots perceived as interesting, beautiful, or expressive. Since the fourth millennium BC, from prehistoric Egypt to Neolithic Scandinavia, stone-workers producing vases or flint axes were looking for stones that, once polished, would reveal specific patterns. They therefore chose remarkable minerals, even though these were often more difficult to carve. From very early on the stone-workers succeeded in placing the accidental patterns in the middle of the objects they were carving. Around 100 AD the Romans developed the technique of book-matching stone panels, hence achieving amimetic, irregular, but symmetrical patterns with minor unpredictable inequalities. The interest in such decorations continues to this day and is partly due to the preciousness of the material, but more so due to its

amimetic aesthetic qualities. The best evidence for this is the great number of techniques used since the second millennium BC to produce artificial marbling in glass, ceramics, painting, stucco, paper and textiles by a variety of cultures across the world.

The French poet and draughtsman Victor Hugo (1802–85), had a lifelong interest in blots made by playing with chance. Over several decades he developed unusual techniques, mainly based on ink: dripping, blotting and natural drying producing lacerated margins, washing with the barb of a plume, folding, making impressions on paper with diverse objects, etc. The sheet illustrated here is extremely simple to produce, though multifaceted in its effect. Hugo poured ink, possibly mixed with some diluted detritus, at the bottom of a glossy board – it is the recto of a visiting card from Théophile Gautier, who in 1862 wrote the first essay on Hugo's drawings.[2] He may have helped the puddle to spread up to the middle and washed it to the top right. He then let the liquid dry, forming on the one hand shades with smooth transitions – they look like volumes – and on the other hand some dark linear margins – single hesitant lines and fine webs of hair. One result is the opposition between the closure of the form on the left and its opening to the right. Depending on the direction one turns this sheet, the drawing unfolds different amimetic expressions and some figurative associations. We have clear clues that Hugo was both interested in the expressive effect of amimetic images and in the potentiality of different figures that might emerge from them.

A second group of amimetic images is directly linked to the aesthetic of effect, that is, to art theoretical discourses about the effect of distinct features, such as lines, colours and composition. Those discourses emerged in the 18th century and are still essential to artistic training, as well as for art-historical writings today. For instance, amimetic images are widely used for didactic purposes in books written by artists. Three examples, similar in principle but widely separated in time, may illustrate the breadth of the phenomenon. In his *Analysis of Beauty*, printed in 1753, William Hogarth declares that the crucial point in art is the serpentine "line of beauty". To illustrate this idea he inserts several amimetic images in the two plates accompanying the book. In 1805, Mary Gartside published her *Essay on Light and Shade, on Colours, and on Composition in General*. Her ambition was to explain how to paint flower still lifes. To this end she discusses the composition of colours and inserts in

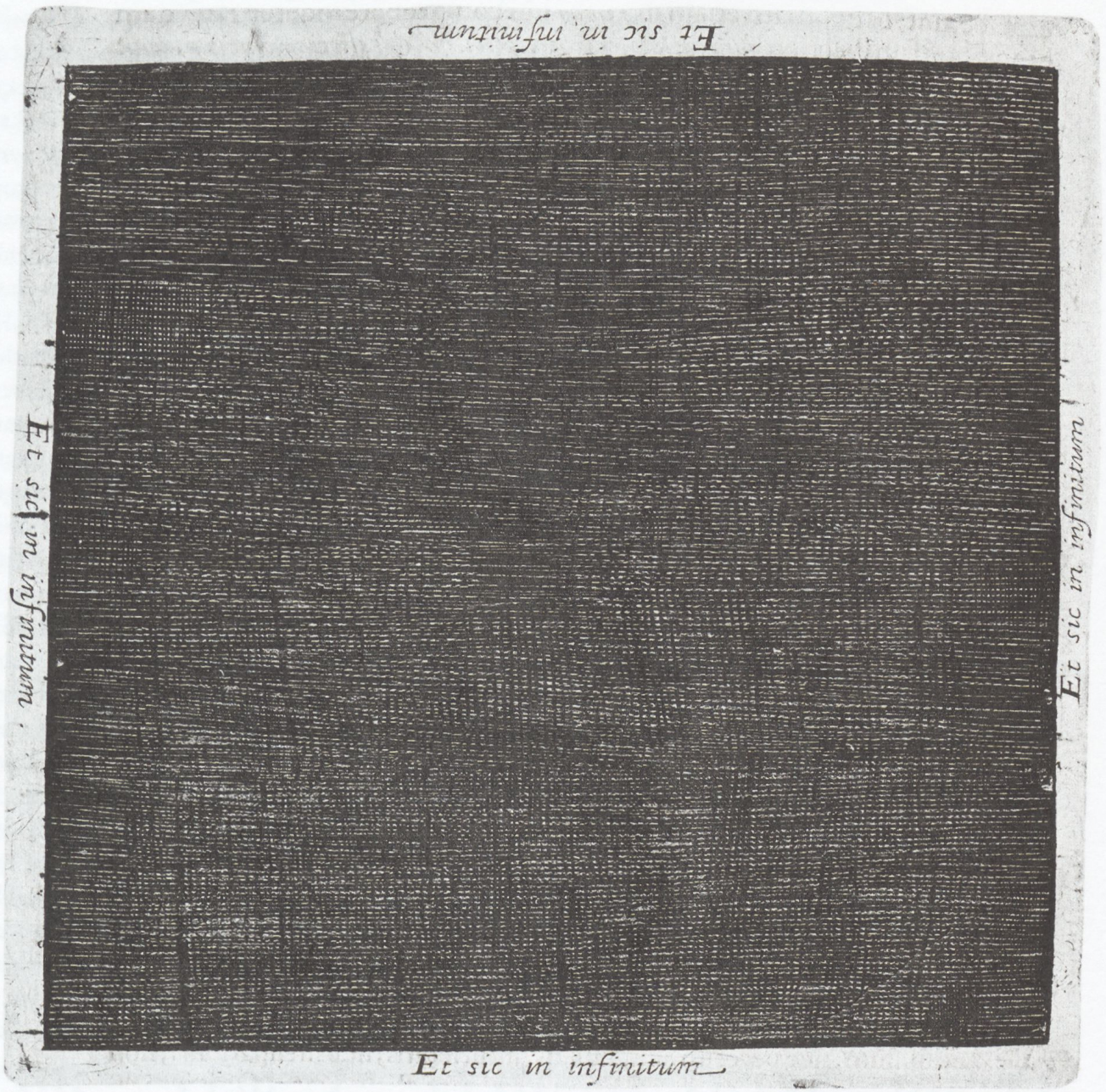


Arthur Wesley Dow, *Four Variations of Irregular Spacing*, 1899.

every copy of the book eight amimetic watercolour "blots" that illustrate how to arrange different tints in groups. In 1899, Arthur Wesley Dow published the first edition of *Composition: A Series of Exercises in Art Structure for the Use of Students and Teachers*. The book was very popular and in 1941 had already reached 20 editions.[3] Some of the illustrations look like later canvases by Piet Mondrian. However, whereas Mondrian painted his pictures to be exhibited in art galleries and collections, Dow produced the illustrations of his book for didactic purposes – to explain to the readers how to produce better (figurative) works of art. Some artists made amimetic drawings to study the composition of old masters, like Joshua Reynolds (1723–92). Others made amimetic sketches to design their own figurative compositions, as in the case of Gustave Moreau (1826–98), in whose estate there are about 50 amimetic oil paintings on panel, canvas and board. He never exhibited them during his lifetime, but had them framed for display in his museum, the Musée Gustave Moreau in Paris.

This paper focuses on the third group: images depicting invisible things – that is, images representing something that as such is not visible. These images are representational – but, since they depict something invisible, they cannot be imitations of nature. A striking example is the black square etched by the Swiss engraver Matthäus Merian in 1617 (following page).[4] It is part of a book titled *Utriusque cosmi maioris scilicet et minoris* [...] *historia* – in English, "The Natural History of Both Worlds, the Macrocosm and Microcosm", written by the physician and polymath Robert Fludd – an encyclopaedic work in the tradition of Pliny's *Naturalis historia*. In slightly less than 2,400 folio pages, Fludd tries to summarise systematically all existing human knowledge. He supports his arguments with about a thousand images. These were etched by the Swiss engraver Matthäus Merian and based on sketches that Fludd probably made himself. While discussing the origins of the universe, Fludd engages in the question of whether the world emerged from a primal substance (Greek *hyle*, Latin *prima materia*), as suggested by Aristotle among others, or whether God created the world out of himself, as suggested by the biblical account. From contradictory textual evidence Fludd then concludes "that from the beginning the primal substance is an existing, infinite, and formless entity, suitable for both something and nothing; it possesses neither quantity nor measure, is neither small nor large, has no qualities, is neither thin nor thick, and cannot be perceived". For Fludd this can best be rendered as an image: "Here at this point, we have ... an imaginary picture of formless material as *black smoke,* or steam, or dreadful shadow, or the darkness of an abyss, or finally painted as a rough, unorganised, and non-perceptible mass."[5]

Hence, what language cannot sufficiently describe is either represented as, or supplemented through, an image. Merian's etching consists of a nearly black, nearly square surface that extends somewhat past the book's print area. On all four sides of the black surface the inscription *Et sic in infinitum* asks the viewer to imagine its continuation beyond the sheet's edges, into the infinite. The four corners are not exactly right-angled, since, as Fludd explicitly emphasises, the *hyle* possesses no form. The plate is composed of deeply etched and densely placed horizontal lines



Matthäus Merian,
Hyle, 1617.

and a number of less dense vertical lines, with light variations in orientation and spacing. Altogether they do not form a homogenous, monochrome surface. In some places the colour becomes concentrated, while in others it is lighter in an irregular manner. The dynamic potential is therefore strong.

The history of Genesis's iconography shows that Merian's etching is more traditional than we might initially assume. As Johannes Zahlten pointed out in his book *Creatio mundi* (1979), in the Middle Ages *hyle* was frequently illustrated. There are pictures in which the primal substance is depicted as a dark, amorphous mass in God's hand (following page). However, in all medieval examples the primal substance is part of a larger picture. Fludd's innovation is the enlargement of the dark surface, which becomes an independent image. It thus powerfully conveys both the infinite extension of the *hyle* and its concentrated potentiality. *Hyle* is the first of a series of eleven amimetic etchings by Fludd and Merian from the *Utriusque cosmi* which represent the creation of the world. The entire series rests on iconographic conventions extending back to the Middle Ages. One more example makes this clearer. The second etching (page 92)[6] is, like the first, nearly square and of similar size. In the middle of the dark surface we now find a bright, regular circle with concentric light-beams. Fludd here represents the beginning of Creation; in the text above the etching he gives the following explanation: "We have drawn this forming power thus. Here in the abyss of the *hyle*, in the womb of darkness, the shining form begins to beam and radiate. Through its own power it presses the particle of darkness, and the crudest part of the *hyle* found in the circle of light, into the centre, and the watery spirits already begin to reveal themselves, increasingly thin the closer they are to the seat of light, increasingly thick the further they are from the light."[7] Represented here is, then, the divine light as *movens* – as a form-giving principle that is sending light into the formless darkness. This darkness is the primal substance and thus catalyses genesis. The light beams press the "crudest part of the *hyle*" into the centre. Between the beams, "watery spirits" resembling wheel-spokes, take form. These 29 spokes vary in width – Fludd avoids a geometrically regular and indeed a symmetrical division of the circle as much as he avoids any symbolic number. The darkness surrounding the circle is darker and more compact than in the etching of the *hyle*. This is intentional: in contrast to the first etching, here the black surface is not *hyle* but *darkness*. From the primal substances' potential in the first etching, light (in the circle) and darkness (at the border) have separated. Around the circle of light the black surface is illuminated in some places: a halo that makes the central light more radiant and intensifies the contrast between light and darkness. Merian's second etching stands in the tradition of images depicting the separation of light from darkness, the most frequent motif for illustrations of the first day of creation. From the 12th century onward, images involving a circle separated into white and black halves are frequent. Some illuminations, however, have even greater similarity to Merian's etching. For example, in the Stammheim Missal we see a circle divided vertically into black and white parts and containing concentric pairs of lines tipped with smaller circles (page 93). Fludd, a great user of libraries, must have been familiar with medieval illustrations of this sort. The fact that he extracts their

Morgan Bible,
God Creates the World
Holding Hyle in his Right Hand,
c. 1250.

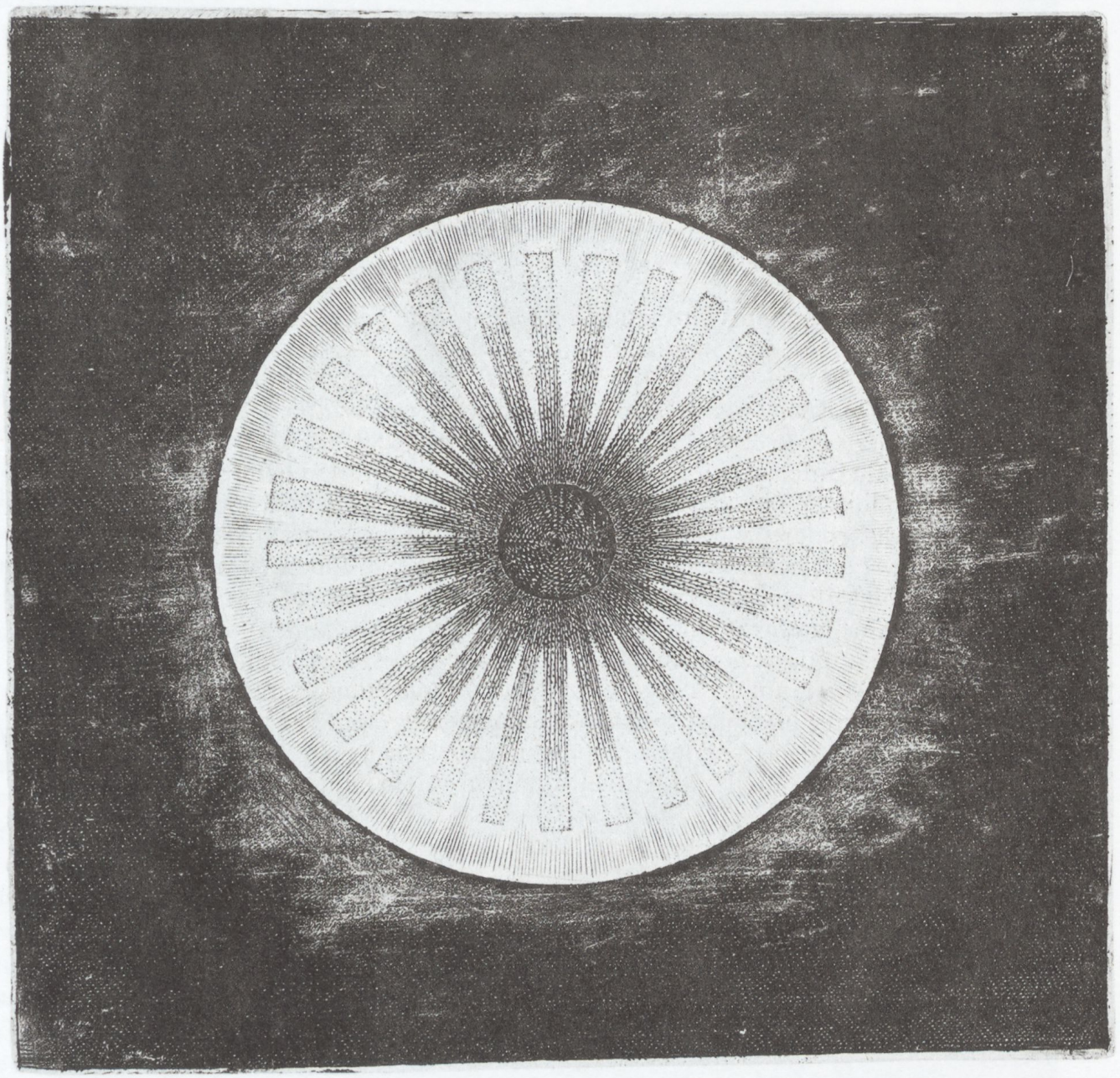
amimetic elements is linked to his very original theory of images. In an earlier chapter of the same book he had explained that one should avoid anthropomorphic representations of God because they do not catch "the incomprehensible and infinite extension" of the Creator.[8] Moreover, in his controversy with Johannes Kepler Fludd makes clear that images should not be used as illustrations or ornament, but as arguments. He applies the term "ocular demonstration" and claims that images can explain hidden things that are *not* accessible through texts.[9]

There is an obvious comparison to be made between Merian's etching, *Hyle,* and Malevich's *Black Square*, an icon of Abstract art, painted almost exactly 300 years later. Visually, they resemble each other closely. However, the two images were created in different media, in very different contexts, and with different goals. Malevich's canvas hung in December 1915 at the centre of the *Last Futurist Exhibition of Painting* in St Petersburg among some other Suprematist canvases. Malevich had painted them with the intention of turning away completely from any imitation of nature. In the exhibition brochure he wrote some sentences that have since become famous: "Only with the disappearance of a habit of mind which sees in pictures little corners of nature, Madonnas and shameless Venuses, shall we witness a work of pure, living art. ... Painters should abandon subject and objects if they wish to be pure painters ... Our world of art has become new, non-objective, pure."[10] Now, I do not know whether Malevich knew Fludd's book. He might not and even if he did, I don't think that Fludd gave him the idea of painting the *Black Square.* However, Malevich definitely did not invent a new image. His innovation does not consist of designing novel forms, but of declaring amimetic images Art, declaring that contemporary art has to be abstract. Formally, both works look alike, but whereas Merian etched an amimetic image, Malevich made an abstract work of art. The difference is crucial, also on the semiotic level. Asking "what does it mean?" will lead not only to different answers, but also to different modes of answering. Merian's *Hyle* has one precise meaning. It is used to explain a specific concept developed in Fludd's text. Malevich's painting is, as Umberto Eco would say, an "open work". *Black Square* has a field of different meanings, not one specific string of meaning.

It becomes thus clear that the fundamental question is not who invented abstract images, but who invented the *idea* of Abstract Art? This is not a question about works of art as such, but about discourses: about texts and exhibitions. We thus have to seek out when and how the idea of abstraction was used in written discourses about art and when non-figurative canvases where exhibited for the first time as works of art.

Let us start with the literature of the arts. From the middle of the 19th century onward we often find in texts a dichotomy between representational qualities and abstract intrinsic values. For instance, in *The Stones of Venice* (1852), John Ruskin writes:

> We are to remember, in the first place, that the arrangement of colours and lines is an art analogous to the composition of music, and entirely independent of the representation of facts. Good colouring does not necessarily convey the image of anything but itself. It consists in certain proportions and arrangements



Matthäus Merian,
The Beginning of Creation, 1617.

Stammheimer Missal,
The Separation of Light and Darkness, c. 1170.

> of rays of light, but not in likeness to anything. A few touches of certain greys and purples laid by a master's hand on white paper, will be good colouring; as more touches are added beside them, we may find out that they were intended to represent a dove's neck, and we may praise, as the drawing advances, the perfect imitation of the dove's neck. But the good colouring does not consist in that imitation, but in the abstract qualities and relations of the grey and purple.

The French painter Maurice Denis makes the same point in 1890 with his often quoted imperative: "Remember that a picture, before being a war horse, a nude, or whatever anecdote, is essentially a flat surface covered with colours assembled in a certain order."[11] Ruskin, Denis and many others describe abstraction and representation as two sides of the same coin. However, they underline that both sides are not equally weighted: in art, abstraction is more important than representation.[12]

Within this discourse of polarising abstraction and representation, August Endell (1871–1925), an architect, designer, author, and pioneer of *Jugendstil* in Munich, and Arthur Roessler (1877–1955), a Viennese art critic who was also active in Munich, are arguably the first ones to explicitly call for a single-sided coin – for pure abstraction. Both use a prophetic tone, predicting developments that are to come. In 1897 Endell writes: "He [the one who knows] can clearly see that we are not only at the beginning of a new epoch of style but at the beginning of a development of a totally new art, with forms that mean nothing, that depict nothing, and recall nothing; forms that excite our soul as deeply and as strong as ever music was able to do with tones."[13] In 1903 Roessler repeats this idea and makes more explicit that such a radical change will also change the beholders: "our taste will be significantly refined and we will realise that abstract ornament is the only true, meaningful, and valuable one".[14] The article was reprinted in 1905 in a popular book by Roessler on the new school of Dachau (*Neu-Dachau. Ludwig Dill, Adolf Hölzel, Arthur Langhammer*, including two illustrations of "abstract ornaments" by Adolf Hölzel (1853–1934), which Roessler had only mentioned in 1903. Although Kandinsky did not quote Endell and Roessler, their texts must have been highly inspiring for the Russian painter, writing in Munich his own theory of avant-garde art: *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, published in December 1911.[15] One of the central ideas of *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, and arguably the one responsible for the success of this book, is the same one developed by Endell and Roessler: in the future art will be purely artful, the artist will abandon mimesis entirely. Moreover, Kandinsky uses the same prophetic tone as Endell and Roessler – speaking about developments that are to come. He elaborated Roessler's remarks about the educational importance of abstract art for the beholders and extended them to the vision of abstract art as the third revelation of mankind after the Bible and the New Testament.[16] Kandinsky's book was reprinted twice within the year 1912. It had an overwhelming success among the European avant-gardes. The idea of pure abstraction was avidly reformulated by Apollinaire, Malevich, and many others.

We might now turn to exhibitions: who was the first painter to display abstract canvases as works of art? Since the question had not been researched, I started

Abb. 39. Abſtraktes Ornament.
(Zu Seite 123.)

Abb. 40. Abſtraktes Ornament.
(Zu Seite 123.)

Adolf Hölzel,
Abstract Ornaments, 1905.

an investigation with the help of two students.[17] Our preliminary finding is that Kandinsky was indeed the first, explicitly intending, from 1910 onwards, to exhibit canvases whose objects were – to put it mildly – difficult to recognise. This is the case at the Sonderbund exhibition in Düsseldorf in July 1910, where Kandinsky displayed three *Improvisations*. In all of them the figurative elements are hard to discern and they were by far the most abstract paintings at that avant-garde exhibition.[18] At this time, Kandinsky was very active in exhibiting his works, participating in eight to 15 exhibitions per year, many of which had several venues. Moreover, he was extremely strategic in the choice of paintings to be exhibited. In October 1910 he presented approximately six figurative works, most of them with Russian motifs, at the obviously rather traditionalist 21st Exhibition of the Association of South Russian Artists in Odessa.[19] Two months later he sent four quite abstract canvases (the *Improvisations* Nos. 8, 10, 13 and 16) to the exhibition *Jack of Diamonds* in Moscow, where he was once again the most abstract painter.[20] This is a position he could hold for approximately two years. It is only in October 1912 that Otto Freundlich and Piet Mondrian in Amsterdam,[21] as well as František Kupka and Francis Picabia in Paris,[22] exhibited paintings as abstract as Kandinsky's. Those works, displayed in modern shows between 1910 and 1914, are abstract in the etymological sense of the word. They appear to be non-figurative, yet all of them, including Kandinsky's pre-war paintings, are ultimately abstractions from figurative elements; or at least, they include abstractions from figurative elements. It is only in 1915 that Malevich exhibited paintings that were completely non-figurative as works of art in the exhibition mentioned above.

At some moment of her life Hilma af Klint must have been confronted with the idea that modern art should be abstract. This could have happened in February 1916 on the occasion of Kandinsky's successful exhibition at the Carl Gummeson Gallery in Stockholm, the biggest show he had during World War I.[23] However, this confrontation cannot have been essential to af Klint. We need to keep two facts in mind: first, her pictures never claim to be pure painting, never abandon the paradigm of representation. Unlike Malevich, but very like Fludd, every one of them has a specific meaning. And second, she did want to exhibit these pictures, but in her own temple or in a location belonging to the Anthroposophical Society, not in an art gallery, and certainly not in an international avant-garde art exhibition.[24] Hilma and her friends had built a provisional form of this temple in 1917 on an island of Lake Mälaren where they spent the summer. The ground floor had a height of 3.5 metres, unusual for Swedish wooden country cottages but suited to hanging *The Ten Largest*. The main entrance was neo-Gothic. Caroline Levander has found and will publish details on this. For those two reasons, it is inappropriate to say Hilma af Klint made "Abstract Art" in the sense in which Kandinsky, the avant-gardes of the 1910s and the art-historiography of the 20th century used this term. af Klint did paint and exhibit works of art, that is, figurative works of art. However, the non-figurative drawings and canvases shown in the actual exhibition were presumably more than art for her. They have more in common with Fludd and Merian, with Georgina Houghton, as Marco Pasi argues elsewhere in this volume, with the

history of amimetic images depicting invisible things, and less with the avant-gardes of the 20th century. This is in no way pejorative: it is in the context of amimetic images that the quality – that is, the originality, vividness and power – of Hilma af Klint's paintings becomes most apparent.

af Klint definitely made non-figurative paintings several years before Kandinsky and Malevich. However, she was not the first abstract artist – for two reasons. The first is that amimetic images had existed for centuries before she was even born. The second is that her temple paintings are not artworks as art was defined in her time. Fortunately, this elevated art concept has been broadly challenged since the 1960s. It is nowadays possible to exhibit Hilma af Klint's works in an art museum and hence better perceive their substantial aesthetic qualities. Nonetheless, we should not overlook the differences from paintings by Kandinsky, Kupka, Malevich, Delaunay or Mondrian. Her amimetic images are both more and less than abstract painting: less pure art, less open works, more spiritual and much more specific in their meaning. They are stunning, but we need the explanations that she wrote in her notebooks to grasp them.

Af Klint's Amimetic Images and Kandinsky's Abstract Art

Raphael Rosenberg

1. The most comprehensive discussion is in my habilitation thesis: *Jenseits der Mimesis (1600–1900). Eine Archäologie des ungegenständlichen Bildes* (Freiburg i.B., 2003). The second part of this thesis (images related to discourses on the aesthetic of effect) and the third (images made by chance) are published in Raphael Rosenberg, *Turner – Hugo – Moreau: Entdeckung der Abstraktion* (Munich, 2007). The present paper is based on the first, as yet unpublished part of this thesis.
2. Ink on pasteboard, 8.8×5 cm. See sale catalogue Christie's, Paris, 4 April, 2012, lot 146.
3. See Arthur W. Dow, *Composition* (Berkeley, Calif. et al. 1997).
4. Robert Fludd, *Utriusque cosmi maioris scilicet et minoris* [...] *historia* (Oppenhemij, 1617), p. 26, 15.9×15.8 cm.

5. Ibid., p. 25.
6. Ibid., p. 29, 16.3×16.6 cm.
7. Ibid., p 29f.
8. Ibid., p. 20.
9. Robert Fludd, *Veritatis proscenium* (Francofurti, 1621), pp. 5, 11. See Robert Westman, "Nature, Art, and Psyche", in *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge et al., 1984), pp. 177–229.
10. Quoted by Charles Harrison & Paul Wood, *Art in Theory 1900–1990* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 166, 173f.
11. Maurice Denis, *Du symbolisme au classicisme* (Paris, 1964), p. 33.
12. Many other authors made similar dichotomies, but they used a different vocabulary: as early as 1785 Moritz contrasts imitation (*Nachahmung*) with the pleasure in beauty for its own sake (*Vergnügen am Schönen um sein selbst willen*): Karl Philipp Moritz, *Popularphilosophie*, *Werke*, Vol. 2 (Frankfurt a.M., 1997), p. 943. In 1790 Kant opposes free (*pulchritudo vaga*) and dependent beauty (*pulchritudo adhaerens*): Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, §16. In 1868 Vittorio Imbriani underlines the superiority of blots (*macchia*) over the determination of objects (*determinazione di oggetti*): Vittorio Imbriani, *Critica d'arte e prose narrative* (Bari, 1937), p. 49. From 1876 on Fiedler faces in different texts pure seeing and enjoyment (*Genuss / Sehen um seiner selbst willen*) to the interest for representation (*Gedankeninhalt der Darstellung / gegenständlicher Inhalt*): Conrad Fiedler, *Schriften zur Kunst* Vol. 1 (München, 1991), pp. 8, 153, 256.
13. August Endell, "Formenschönheit und dekorative Kunst", in *Dekorative Kunst* 1 (1897/98), p. 75.
14. Arthur Roessler, "Das abstrakte Ornament mit gleichzeitiger Verwendung simultaner Farbenkontraste", in *Bildende Kunst, Beilage zu Nr. 228 der Wiener Abendpost* (6.10.1903), p. 5. I thank Ulrich Röthke for pointing to Roessler's texts.
15. Peg Weiss, *Kandinsky in Munich. The Formative Jugendstil Years* (Princeton, N.J., 1979), esp. p. 149f. demonstrated the influence of Endell's texts on Kandinsky; David Morgan, "The Idea of Abstraction in German Theories of the Ornament from Kant to Kandinsky", in *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 50 (1992), p. 231–242 analysed the relation between Endell, Roessler, and Kandinsky in the context of German theories of ornament. It is all the more surprising that both Endell and Roessler are practically ignored in recent publications on Kandinsky.
16. Most explicit 1913 as focus of his essay *Rückblicke*, in Wassily Kandinsky, *Die Gesammelten Schriften* (Bern, 1980), pp. 45–49.
17. Christina Bartosch and Tanja Jenni. Recently some exhibitions of the years 1910–12 have been analysed, either in the form of memorial exhibitions re-enacting older shows in the cities and places they were originally shown. However, more general investigations have not been carried out.
18. Second exhibition of the *Sonderbund westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler* at the Städtischer Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf, 16 July–9 October, 1910. Kandinsky exhibited the *Improvisations* Nos. 4, 5, 7.
19. Hans Konrad Röthel & Jean K. Benjamin, *Kandinsky. Werkverzeichnis der Ölgemälde*, 2 Vols. (München 1982 & 1984, Cat. 279); Vivian Endicott Barnett, *Kandinsky. Werkverzeichnis der Aquarelle*, 2 Vols. (München 1992 & 1994, Cat. 216, 217, 218, 224).
20. The *Improvisationen* 8, 10, 13, 16.

21. Second exhibition of the *Moderne Kunstkring* at the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 6 October–7 November, 1912. The most abstract works seem to have been *Composition* by Freundlich and *Pommier à fleurs* by Mondrian. For the rather unknown, very big canvas by Freundlich, see *Freiheit der Linie*, ed. Erich Franz (Bönen, 2007), pp. 242ff.; Carina Danzer, *Otto Freundlichs Tableau décoratif*, M.A. thesis (Heidelberg, 2009).
22. 10th *Salon d'Automne* at the Grand Palais, Paris, 1 October–8 November, 1912. Most abstract seem to have been František Kupka, *Amorpha, Fugue à deux couleurs* and Francis Picabia, *La Source*. Cf. *František Kupka – The Road to Amorpha: Kupka's Salons 1899–1913*, eds. Helena Musilová, Markéta Theinhardt & Pierre Brullé (Prague, 2012).
23. Cf. Margareta Tillberg, "Kandinsky in Sweden – Malmö 1914 and Stockholm 1916", in *Avant Garde Critical Studies* 28 (2013), pp. 325–336.
24. See Åke Fant, *Okkultismus und Abstraktion. Die Malerin Hilma af Klint* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 27f.; *Hilma af Klint: A Pioneer of Abstraction*, ed. Iris Müller-Westermann (Stockholm, 2013), p. 48. Iris Müller-Westermann found evidence of unsuccessful attempts by Hilma af Klint to exhibit in Dornach and at the Anthroposophical Society in Amsterdam (oral communication).