MODELING FAME: A CLOSER LOOK AT THE WORK OF ELISABET NEY

by

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To my Mom and Dad,

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Elisabet Ney (1833-1907) used cold clay and courage to chisel into the masculine world of sculpture in two disparate art worlds, thus challenging gender and geographical barriers. Ney, the *außergewöhnlich* German-American sculptor, provides the perfect foil with which to investigate both German and American artistic endeavors in the long-nineteenth century. The significance of this study includes the consideration of nationalism, feminism, and marketing through the lens of aesthetic analysis. While Elisabet Ney's life is an interesting topic itself, the interdisciplinary analysis applied to her work allows significant discussion of other issues relevant to the visual culture of the long-nineteenth century.

The initial chapter introduces Ney as a student and young artist working in Germany, as well as prepares the palette by divesting the "sculptress phenomenon" occurring in nineteenth century in Europe and the United States. Subsequent chapters examine Ney's engagement with different sculptural types: medallions, portrait busts, monumental figures, and narrative works or "veiled self-portraits." These chapters are accompanied by a brief history of their respective category of sculpture, with the goal of explicating Ney's oeuvre within the larger world of art history. Individual case studies serve as synecdoches of visual culture and allow for branching

interdisciplinary analyses. The dissertation concludes with a reappraisal of the artist's work through comparison with her contemporaries in the art scenes in which she participated during this period of rapid modernization. In sum, this dissertation contextualizes in depth the work of Elisabet Ney from various perspectives in order to aid current art scholars in appreciating the artist's significance and contributions.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION: THE TRAINING OF ELISABET NEY AND THE POSSIBILITY FOR FEMALE SCULPTORS IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

Chances are you have seen her work, but you have never even heard her name. Sculptor Elisabet Ney (1833-1907) worked her way up in the German art world to the Bavarian court, then moved across the Atlantic to fledging post-bellum Texas and, against all odds, reestablished her career in the United States. In spite of her gender, the ambitious artist had some of the greatest men of her time including Giuseppe Garibaldi, Arthur Schopenhauer, Swante Palm, and William Jennings Bryan as her models. Today, her works are housed in numerous German collections. Her *Bust of Otto von Bismarck* is in the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin and her *Statue of Ludwig II* holds a place of honor at his highly-visited architectural project Herrenchiemsee Palace. In the United States, her Statues of Sam Houston and Stephen F. Austin are located in both the United States Capitol and the Texas State Capitol. These works are visited by schoolchildren and tourists every year, and often appear on Capitol Hill news reports as flanking devices because of their striking presences. Talented, educated, precocious, but tragically female– how did Ney accomplish so much? And why is this important figure of art not more well-known?

Florentine *maschi* of the Renaissance, Flemish *mannetjes* of the Baroque, and Parisian *hommes* of Modernism are recognized by the majority of the public– their names pretentiously plastered on the spines of coffee-table books, and commanding high prices at auction. Without a doubt, fine art produced by males of each artistic period have historically received the most scholarship and public attention. Of course, masters like Michelangelo, Rubens, and Courbet are

worthy of recognition due to their artistic contributions. However, the redundant story of the male creative genius from a cultural epoch is painfully exclusive and results in a narrow perspective for the history of art. However, we cannot forget two facts: cultural value cannot be measured by a yardstick or market price, and both genders are capable of artistic virtuosity. Luckily, the study of art history has evolved over the past few decades, providing for a more holistic understanding of the visual world of the past. With the subsequent broadening of the discipline, the possibilities for research are seemingly endless. And fortunately, much has been rediscovered, thereby expanding the canon, but more work still harkens. Toward that end is the reexamination of the work of the German-American sculptor, Elisabet Ney, as there is much more to discuss concerning this important artistic figure.

Amazingly, this '*ungewöhnliche*,' or more precisely '*außergewöhnlich*' woman, as she is rightly called, managed to establish herself as a sculptor transnationally producing many works of art worthy of consideration.[1,2] In the past, scholars have focused on the unusual aspects of the artist's life. But the analysis of her oeuvre and its significance remain unexplored. We must allow first Ney's art to speak as well. Then, its cultural significance can more accurately be

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[1] Dagmar von Stetten-Jelling, *Elisabet(h) Ney (1833-1907) Bildhauerin in Europa und Amerika, Eine ungewöhnliche Karriere*, PhD diss. (Berlin: Freie Universität, 2003); Barbara Rommé, ed. *Herrin Ihrer Kunst, Elisabet Ney, Bildhauerin in Europa und Amerika* (Stadtmuseum Münster, Wienand Verlag: Münster, 2008), 118. The subtitle of von Stetten-Jelling's work "Eine ungewöhnliche Karriere." The complete subtitle translates to "an unusual career." Within Rommé's text, the second section is titled "Elisabet Ney, eine außergewöhnliche Künstlerin in ihrer Zeit," which translates as, "Elisabet Ney, an extraordinary artist in her time."

[2] All translations are by the author, unless noted otherwise.

understood. And Ney's place in the narrative, the "canon" of art history, can be more firmly established.

***Methodology***

My methodology for this dissertation involves examining Elisabet Ney's work from various analytical stances, including ideas of nationalism, feminism, and marketing practices. To do this, I categorically study the stylistic execution and artistic merit of her works, paying attention to how the aesthetics of certain sculptural types inform these differing analyses. While in the past many have focused on Ney's personality and her unusual life, I concentrate on her art and her visionary career as a female sculptor during the long-nineteenth century. I aim to shed light on Ney's work and parse out the significance of her work and career in a more holistic sense.[3]

Using the tools of aesthetic analysis, I investigate the visual evidence 'within' Ney's oeuvre. At the same time, the branching interdisciplinary analyses allow for discussion of other issues relevant to this period of rapid modernization. First, my intention is to provide a cross-national analysis of a sculptor thriving during the long nineteenth century. Questions I broach include: How did nineteenth-century 'Germans' and 'Americans' envision themselves and others?[4] How do specific regions deal with their unique manifestations of cultural identity? And, what role does art play in establishing nationalism? Second, I examine her work in terms of early

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[3] The long-nineteenth century: 1789-1914.

[4] Within this text, for the sake of conciseness, 'Germany' and 'Germans' will be used in reference to the German-speaking nation-states and citizens unified in 1871 to form the Deutsches Reich.

feminism, as perhaps her work provides a tangible analysis for the growing concerns for gender equality. Specifically, how did female artists, and particularly female sculptors, manage to establish their careers in a male-dominated profession? And what does this case of a transnational artist reveal about tensions of gender issues in each locale? Did art contribute to early measures of feminism? Lastly, I consider the persona-making and marketing of the artist. With the democratization of art occurring in the nineteenth century, Ney was able to market and sell her works directly. In dealing with this topic, I canvass how and why Elisabet Ney constructed an identity to nudge her career to success. How did Ney market her work to gain commissions? More broadly, what economic difficulties did sculptors face in the nineteenth century? To better consider these lines of inquiry, I contemplate measures Ney used within the medium of sculpture itself to engage with these ideologies, as art often communicates better than any prose. By situating the significance of her work in a larger sense, Ney's sculpture is finally provided the proper appreciation necessary for it to enter the "canon" of art history.

The body of my dissertation includes four chapters that focus on a category of sculpture with a brief history and a case study of a selection of work(s) that explores Ney's engagement with each medium-type. At the same time, each of the chapters allow for branching interdisciplinary analyses. My research begins by introducing the sculptor Elisabet Ney through a discussion of her background and training. I also deal with the "sculptress phenomenon" that seemed to be occurring in the mid-nineteenth century in Europe and the United States. In focusing on Ney's work, I first reflect on the history of the profile portrait medallion and how Elisabet Ney utilizes its astute linear quality to render her friend Cosima von Bülow. At the same time, I dig into the networking practices of Ney in nineteenth-century Berlin to investigate how

artists carved their way into intellectual circles, like the Berlin salon world. Then, I consider the aesthetic history of the portrait bust, as the sculptural type exudes eminence. And I explore Ney's measures of marketing her work to establish a career. Next, I contemplate the tradition of full-size, monumental portraits, often made for a larger audience. Additionally, I compare the unique challenges and circumstances of obtaining a commission in the German and American art worlds. Last, I delve into the resurgence of Shakespearean themes that were occurring transnationally during the long-nineteenth century. I also analyze Ney's s *Lady Macbeth* aesthetically and consider the artist's choice of narrative subject matter for her final, perhaps feminist, masterpiece.

I conclude my dissertation project with an afterward and reappraisal of the artist considering my previous analyses as I seek to answer the question: "Was it a mistake for Ney to move to Texas?." I approach this question by comparing Ney to other American female sculptors, as well as to her contemporary in Germany, Reinhold Begas, and her competitor in Texas, Pompeo Coppini. With my varying analyses of the sculptor, my ultimate purpose is to parse out this lesser known German-American artist in order to consider the significance of her work in the larger history of art. Additionally, this is the first art historical analysis in English and helps to fill gaps in the multilingual research of Ney. Ultimately, with the use of Elisabet Ney as a case study, various discussions emerge and allow for my dissertation to contribute to a better understanding of the visual world of the long-nineteenth century.

***A pithy account of an immense life***

A brazen woman ahead of her time, Elisabet(h) Ney's ambition and talent destined her for a career in the arts as a sculptor. Francisca Bernardina Wilhelmina Elisabetha Ney was born in Münster, Westphalia to an upper-middle class, Catholic family in 1833.[5] Her mother Anna Elisabeth (Wernze) Ney was of Polish descent. Her father Johann Adam Ney was of French lineage and shared a bloodline with Napoleon's favorite general, Marshal Ney. Throughout her life, Ney claimed to be the grand-niece of the famed Marshal Ney borrowing a bit of his glory for her own.[6] Johann Adam Ney worked as a stonecutter, producing mostly religious works in the Westphalian region. While Elisabet received early training working in the three-dimensional from her father, her parents still wished for her to fill a domestic role as a wife and mother.[7] However, as a teenager, Ney began to envision clay, plaster, and marble as her tools to gain agency.

Upon reaching her majority, Ney was aware that recent measures of Prussian law reduced the output of religious decoration, including sculpture.[8] Thus, to provide herself with a steady

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[5] "Taufbucheintrag der Francisca Bernardina Wilhelmina Elisabetha Ney, 28 January 1833," Kirchenbuch 4, 83, Kirchenbuch St. Martini, Bistumsarchiv Münster, Pfaararchiv Münster, Münster, Germany.

[6] "Es muß also festgehalten werden, daß es für die Verwandtschaft mit dem Marschall Ney zumindest keine sicheren Beweise gibt. Ob Elisabet dies gewußt hat, ist unbekannt. Jedenfalls fühlte sie eine geistige Verbindung mit der berühmten historischen Gestalt und wußte sich mit der angenommenen Verwandtschaft in der Gesellschaft vorteilhaft einzuführen." von Stetten-Jelling, 23-26, 259. Throughout her life, Ney claimed to be the grand-niece of Marshal Ney, however, their relationship is undoubtedly more distant after research by von Stetten-Jelling. It is unclear whether or not Elisabet Ney knew that her relationship to Marshal Ney was more removed.

[7] Saskia Johann, *Elisabet Ney, Leben, Werk und Wirken* (Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2014), 34.

[8] Johann, 35. The Reichdeputationbeschluss of 1803 abolished all spriritual states in the Deutschen Reich resulting in a decrease of commissions from the Catholic Church. By the

client base, Ney began to think outside of the waning opportunities for sculpture in Catholic Münster. Probably inspired by the recently unveiled *Pietà* at the St. Paulus-Dome by Wilhelm Achtermann (1799-1884) in July 1950, the young artist set her sights on working with Christian Daniel Rauch (1777-1857), as Achtermann was a student of the famed Berliner.[9] A dramatic story that has perpetuated concerning the artist's early life maintains that Ney went on a hunger strike to convince her parents of her intent to pursue sculpture as a career. According to her early biographer, Bride Neill Taylor, it was not until Bishop Johann Georg Müller intervened that a compromise was reached.[10] Her parents ultimately allowed her to pursue an education in the arts, but they preferred Catholic Munich to Protestant Berlin. The reason for sending Ney to Munich was more likely because family friends resided close to the Bavarian city to keep an eye on their teenage daughter.[11]

Ney was admitted to the Munich Academy of Fine Arts in 1852, as its first female sculpture student.[12] She worked under sculptor Max von Widnmann (1812-1895), matriculated in March 1853, and graduated in July 1854 with an honorable mention.[13] Through her friendship

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time Ney became interested in sculpture, no significant sculpture workshops remained in Westphalia.

[9] Ibid., 35-36.

[10] Bride Neill Taylor, *Elisabet Ney, Sculptor* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1916), 10-11; Johann, 238. Ney was commissioned by Bishop Johann Georg Müller to complete Saint statuary. The Ney family's' relation with the church figure is apparent.

[11] Johann, 37. See fn. 173. Ney possibly stayed with her step-aunt Maria Lueder.

[12] "Matrikeleintrag der Elisabet Ney," Matrikelbuch 1841-1884, Matrikel No. 01060, Akademie der Bildenen Künste München, Munich, Germany; http://matrikel.adbk.de/05ordner/mb_1841-1884/jahr_1852/matrikel-01060. Ney was first recorded as attending sculpture courses in November 1852.

[13] Johann, 39, 41; Diploma of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, 29 July 1854, "Elisabet Ney-Art Collection," Inv. 67.78.16.3. Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas (HRC).

with Johanna Kapp (1825-1883), a fellow student of painter Johann Baptiste Berdellé (1813-1876), Ney began to make connections with intellectuals across Germany.[14] Sometime in 1852, Ney first accompanied Johanna on a visit to her hometown of Heidelberg.[15] This is where Ney would meet Johanna's father Christian Kapp (1798-1874), a Baden politician, who introduced her to Rauch as well as many other prominent figures. In gratitude, Ney produced her *Bust of Christian Kapp* in 1863.

Moreover, it was in Heidelberg that Ney would meet the love-of-her-life, Edmund Duncan Montgomery (1835-1911). He was of Scottish heritage, born illegitimate, he was raised solely by his mother in Paris and Frankfurt.[16] According to Taylor's romanticized account of their first meeting, he was a striking young man, and noted by the "aesthetically minded girl:" "He was very tall, very slim, very straight, carrying himself with the easy grace and confidence and the high head which, to her mind, bespoke a very prince of youths, clad in black velvet with abundant blond curling hair falling to his broad shoulders."[17] The strapping Montgomery was studying Medicine at the University of Heidelberg, but he also had an avid interest in philosophy.[18] In a 1904 letter to friend Hans Driesch, Montgomery recalled, "Elisabet Ney habe

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[14] Vernon Loggins, *Two Romantics and their Ideal Life* (New York: Odyssey Press, 1946), 35. Johann, 39. Johann mentions that Ney likely had to attend private lessons with Berdellé before she could be admitted to the Munich School of Fine Art.

[15] I. K. Stephens, *The Hermit Philosopher of Liendo* (Dallas, Texas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1951), 33-36.

[16] More on Edmund Montgomery in Chapter 3.

[17] Taylor, 17. This account should be taken with a grain of salt, as Taylor places their first meeting in the streets of Munich.

[18] I. K. Stephens, "Montgomery, Edmund Duncan," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fmo10; Stephens, 33-36. He studied in Heidelberg from 1852-1855. He would meet Ludwig Feuerbach and Jacob Moleschott in the circle of Kapp.

ich im schönen Heidelberg 1852 kennengelernt, als wir beide 17 Jahre alt waren. Von da an bis jetzt ist Freud und Leid des Lebens unser gemeinsames Los gewesen."[19]

Ney would move to Berlin at the end of 1854 and in 1855 she was officially accepted into the Berlin School of Sculpture on a scholarship.[20] Due to her training in Rauch's studio, Ney's style flourished in the Neoclassical style of the Prussian master. Rauch would teach as many as forty students at a time in his workshop, so his effect on the output of sculpture in Germany is immense.[21] As Ney worked in the studio of the leading sculptor of Prussia, she ranked amongst other well-known German sculptors like Reinhold Begas, Ernst Rietschel, and Melchior Zurstraßen. While in Berlin, she frequented the salon of Ludmilla Assing and Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, as well as the salon of Bettina von Armin. She likely first gained admission to the Berlin salon world due to her friendship with Elisabeth Lewald, a sister-in-law of Ludmilla

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[19] "Edmund D. Montgomery to Hans Driesch, 20 November 1904," "Edmund D. Montgomery-Elisabeth Ney Papers," box 1, fol. 2: 50, Fikes Hall of Special Collections and DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, (SMU). "I met Elisabet Ney in beautiful Heidelberg in 1852 when we were both 17 years old. From then until now, the joy and suffering of life has been our common lot." Ney never told Montgomery her true age, probably because she did not like the idea of being two years older. Her gravestone at Liendo in Hempstead, Texas is even carved with her fibbed birth year as it reads "Elisabet Ney, Sculptress, 1834-1907."

[20] "Senatsitzungsprotokolle Nr. 50," fol. 1: 6-10, Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste Berlin, Berlin, Germany; Barbara Rommé, Katharina Tiemann, and Edda Baußmann eds., *Herrin Ihrer Kunst, Elisabet Ney, Bildhaurein in Europa und Amerika*, CD-ROM, Stadmuseum Münster, 2008. (Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition, CD-ROM), 686. The Senate met to consider the Statuette of Kassandra that the artist was requested to produce. Her Christus Bust and Letter of recommendation from the Munich school of Fine Arts did not suffice at first for her admission. This extra measure for her attendance will be discussed further.

[21] "Während seiner langjährigen Tätigkeit unterrichtete Rauch in seinem Atelier vierzig Schüler, die ihn bei der Umsetzung seiner Werke Hilfestellung leisteten." Johann, 43. During his many years of work, Rauch taught forty students who also helped implements in his studio.

Assing.[22] Ney worked to brand herself at this point as a charming, engaging personality. She also kept her dark-red curls short despite the common trend for women to don long, often pulled-back tresses (refer to Fig. 1.1).[23] She would meet intellectuals, musicians, fellow artists, and other important figures including Alexander Humboldt, Joseph Joachim, Franz Liszt, Carolyne zu Sayn-Wittgenstein, the Grimm Brothers, among others.[24]

Figure 1.1. Elisabet Ney with her *Bust of Schopenhauer,* c. 1859. Photograph. Elisabet Ney Museum Collection, ENM, Austin, Texas.

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[22] Von Stetten-Jelling, 98. Ney probably first met Elisabeth Lewald in Berlin (1825-1884). There is a plethora of correspondence between the two friends from 1861 onwards. Caroline Elisabeth Althaus (maiden name) Lewald is not to be confused with Elisabeth Lewald (maiden name) Gurlitt. For more information on the Berlin Salon world, see Chapter 2.

[23] Elisabet Ney's hair has been described to be "red" or "dark-red" or even "brown" as well as "curly." From pictures, the texture of her curls is apparent. For more information on hairstyle of the nineteenth century, see Carol de Dobay Rifeli, *Coiffures: Hair in Nineteenth-Century French Literature and Culture,* (Newark NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2010).

[24] Johann, 46.

After Rauch's death, Ney worked to gain commissions by persistent and calculated self-marketing tactics. She began to travel throughout Germany to produce busts– often without commission –of eminent men so that she could stand to make a profit from reproduction orders. Eventually, her efforts paid off and she was commissioned to produce several works for the Munich Polytechnic Institute in 1868, including a monumental work of King Ludwig II of Bavaria.[25] This marks Ney's height of success in Germany, as the artist was even able to afford a villa in the Schwabing neighborhood of Munich.[26] Edmund Montgomery had also hopped around Europe working as a medical doctor in Berlin, Bonn, London, and Madeira.[27] Much of his work was as a healer for consumptives, and unfortunately he contracted tuberculosis himself in 1863.[28] Ney relationship with Montgomery continued and they secretly married at the British consulate in Madeira in November of 1863 to affirm their devotion to each other.[29] Ney and Montgomery would vacation to Tyrol, and even took a river cruise down the Nile in 1869.[30] They each shared a love of education, and were familiar with the works of several philosophers,

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[25] "Vertrag mit Elisabet Ney, 24 July 1868," Landbauämter Staatsarchiv, Munich, Germany, 7976; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 818.

[26] "Ordnungs 5," Plan Nr. 3193, 3194, Schönefeldvorstadt, 1869, Band IV, 56, "Amtsgericht München,"Grundbuchakten des Amtsgerichtes München, Munich, Germany; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 298. Ney purchased An der Grube 8 on January 26, 1869, now the address is Maria-Josefa Straße 8. Ney's villa was bought by Adolph Fürtwangler in 1907, and then the property was purchased by James Loeb in 1911. He employed architect Carl Sattler to build his Villa Loeb, made in the Baroque manor style. For more details on this historic site, visit https://www.jamesloeb.de/en/projects-events/2016/visit-of-the-town-house-of-james-loeb-in-munich.

[27] Stephens, "Montgomery, Edmund Duncan."

[28] Stephens, 89.

[29] "Edmund D. Montgomery- Elisabeth Ney Papers," box 2, fol. 44, SMU.

[30] "Our trip to Egypt," "Ney-Montgomery Papers," Cat. 2G405, fol. 10, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas; Johann, 64. It is not for certain that Ney and Montgomery visited Tyrol in 1866.

particularly Jean-Jacques Rousseau– igniting their interest in pursuing an "ideal life" together.[31] Interestingly, throughout their life, they kept their relationship private, and referred to each other only as "Miss Ney" and "Dr. Montgomery" in public.

In February 1869, Montgomery received a large inheritance from a former patient that allowed him to quit medicine and focus on his research concerning biological philosophy, or what today would be considered epigenetics.[32] By 1868, Ney began to grow frustrated with her treatment by fellow sculptors in Munich.[33] To make matters worse, there was gossip, albeit truthful, circulating about her relationship with Montgomery.[34] Montgomery was also contemplating a change of environment due to his medical condition, which was best managed in a warm climate.[35] In December 1870, Ney and Montgomery boarded the S.S. Main of Nord-

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[31] "Letzthin habe ich Rousseau 2mal gelesen und mußte ich dabei an Euch viel denken." "Elisabet Ney an eine befreundete Dame und/oder Elisabeth Lewald, 21 November 1867, München," "Nachlass Lewald-Stahr," box 16, fol. 368: 54-55, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 785. Letter from Elisabet Ney to "NN," an unknown lady friend, likely Elisabet Lewald, "I have recently read Rousseau twice and have often thought of you."

[32] "Briefwechsel Tweedie & Tweedie an Edmund Montgomery, 9 March 1869"; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 300. The patient was a Frau Forbes who Montgomery treated in Madeira.

[33] Johann, 68; "Elisabet Ney an Joseph Joachim, 15 February 1868," "Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Berlin," Elisabet Ney, 2, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.

[34] Johann, 76. See fn. 560.

[35] Eugen Müller-Münster, *Elisabeth Ney: Die seltsamen Lebensschicksale der Elisabeth Ney und des Edmund Montgomery 1833-1907* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1931), 103; von Stetten-Jelling, 161. Interestingly, Müller-Münster suggests that Montgomery got the idea to travel to America after reading "A Trip to the tropics and home through America" published in 1867. The book was written by the Marquis of Lorne, and would later become Montgomery's cousin-in-law.

deutsche Lloyd to begin a new life in the United States.[36] Their precipitous emigration was most likely due to the fact that the couple was expecting.

Other, often preposterous, theories have circulated concerning the Ney-Montgomerys sudden departure, such as that Ney was a spy for Otto von Bismarck or Ney was pregnant with Ludwig II's child.[37] But their abrupt relocation was likely due to a compilation of factors, including that the couple considered themselves cosmopolitans –citizens of the world– and hoped for a better life rooted in their ideas of a primordial and unscathed "New World."[38] They informed only their closest friends of their decision to move, saying they wished to live an "ideal life" in the utopian settlements awaiting in the United States.[39] The historical timing of their move reveals that there may have also been political reasons, since following the Franco-Prussian War, Germany would be unified under Prussian rule. The result of these changes meant a new bout of conservatism was to take place, which halted the progressive world of the Berlin salon, and liberal opportunities for women.[40]

In January 1871, the Ney-Montgomerys, along with Crescentia "Cencie" or "Cenci" Simath, who would become their lifelong housekeeper, landed in New York and journeyed to Thomasville, Georgia. The couple joined the von Stralendorffs, Vicco and Margret, who were

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[36] *New York Times*, January 30, 1871; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 342.
[37] Loggins, 126; Jo van Ammers-Küller, *Diana: Der Lebensroman einer Bildhauerin, Lebensgeschichte der Bildhauerin Elisabet Ney 1833-1907*, (Zurich: Buchclub Ex Libris, 1960), 164.
[38] "Mistress of her Art," *Washington Post,* May 22, 1904; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 342.
[39] Loggins, 159-161; Taylor, 57-59; von Stetten-Jelling, 159.
[40] Von Stetten-Jelling, 33. Montgomery believed in republicanism, and when the Revolution of 1848 occurred in Frankfurt he was said to be involved at the age of only 12.

probably friends from Italy.[41] Baron Vicco von Stralendorf was also a consumptive, and hoped for a more forgiving climate in the Southeast state. The Ney-Montgomery's had their first child, a boy named Arthur in the late spring of 1871.[42] The von Stralendorfs returned to Germany by 1872 as the Baron's illness worsened, and he died shortly after.[43] Due to the departure of their friends, two years of bad farming, and the ridicule by neighbors, the growing family needed to find a new haven.[44] During her stay in Red Wing, Minnesota, Ney gave birth to a second son named Lorne on October 10, 1872.[45] The Midwest proved to be less than ideal due to their harsh winters, so Ney, with baby in tow, ventured south to Hempstead, Texas. There, she was able to meet with a Bremen cotton merchant, Robert Leisewitz, who showed her Liendo plantation.[46] Despite its derelict condition, Ney was likely impressed by opportunities in Texas, where the land was cheap and fertile.[47] According to Taylor, Ney instantly fell in love with the colonial-

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[41] Johann, 79.

[42] Johann, 80. Arthur must have been born between March and May as he was almost two when he died in February 1873.

[43] Ibid., 81. Baron Vicco von Stralendorf would die near Weimar in 1872.

[44] Stephens, 143.

[45] Johann, 81; von Stetten-Jelling, 161. Lorne is a name of a Scottish province. Von Stetten-Jelling argues that Ney named her second son after The Marquis of Lorne, oldest son of the Eighth Duke of Argyll, in order to associate him with nobility.

[46] Von Stetten-Jelling, 151; Julia Beazley, "Liendo Plantation," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association. http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ccl01. Before the Civil War, the property was owned by the Groce family who were quite prosperous farming approximately 4,000 acres by slave labor. The plantation is called Liendo as the land was first surveyed by Spaniard Justo Liendo. After a number of owners, Liendo is now in the care of the Detering family. As a historical marker the home can be toured on the first Saturday of every month. At the former plantation, there is also a yearly Confederate Battle Reenactment. During the Civil War the grounds served as a Confederate camp, and later a prisoner of war camp.

[47] Johann, 81; Stephens, 153; W.J. Blewett, *Thomasville Southern Enterprise,* June 25, 1872.

style home and property, and once on the large balcony she purportedly shouted, "Here I will live and here I will die" (refer to Fig. 1.2).[48]

Figure 1.2. Liendo Plantation, March 2019, Hempstead, Texas. Photograph by author.

It is important to mention that Ney did not keep up regular contact with her connections in Germany. This led to a halt on the marble commission of *Statue of Ludwig II,* which she left in the care of sculptor Friedrich Ochs. Ney entrusted the maintenance of her estate, including her villa and contents of her studio to her lawyer, Karl Dürck.[49] Ney also gave her bust-study of Montgomery to her friend Johanna Kapp for the sake of privacy.[50] Based on archival evidence, it would not be until the 1880s that Ney would resume contact with most of her acquaintances in

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[48] Taylor, 65.
[49] Johann, 87; von Stetten-Jelling, 8.
[50] Johann, 103; "Elisabeth Ney an Dr. (med.) Oppenheimer, 17 November 1895," "Persönlichkeitenmappe Elisabeth Ney," 10.2: 291, Stadtarchiv Münster, Münster, Germany; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 965.

Germany. Some scholars have argued that Ney did not intend to resume her art career when she moved to the United States.[51] This could be the case, as she did not create another sculpture until 1882, aside from castings.[52] Yet perhaps she did hope to sculpt, but simply did not have the time due to the demands of raising children and maintaining a large estate.

By the winter of 1872, once the family of four was settled in Texas, Ney managed the property, while Montgomery did his research, and Cenci tended to the house.[53] Unfortunately, in February 1873, young Arthur died of diphtheria, leaving the Ney-Montgomerys to mourn for years.[54] As a result, Ney became overprotective toward her surviving son, Lorne.[55] The labor of the former plantation was done by sharecroppers who the Ney-Montgomerys paid whether there was a good or bad season. Initially, the couple aimed to educate the mostly black population on the land by forming an "African Utopia," believing in the Enlightenment notions of the power of education.[56] But their good intentions were met with resistance and they eventually stopped.[57] Montgomery later helped various students at the local Prairie View College, an "Agricultural and Mechanical School for Negroes."[58] Montgomery consistently worked on his research in his home lab and continued his philosophical work publishing actively throughout his years in Texas. This

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[51] Johann, 83; von Stetten-Jelling, 131.
[52] She did make cast studies of her children, likely to document their growth and have keepsakes.
[53] Von Stetten-Jelling, 145.
[54] Von Stetten-Jelling, 154; "Dr. Conway Nutt to Mrs. Conway Nutt, 4 February 1873" and "Elisabet Ney to Adele Burleson, 2 December 1899," "Elisabet Ney Collection," HRC; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 381.
[55] Johann, 436; von Stetten-Jelling, 162. He was taught only by Ney and tutors, and only allowed to play with certain children. Ney also dressed Lorne in strange clothing, which resulted in bullying.
[56] Taylor, 79.
[57] Von Stetten-Jelling, 159.
[58] Von Stetten-Jelling, 159-60.

would earn him the nickname and a biography by I.K. Stephens– *The Hermit Philosopher of Liendo*.[59] Ney continued in her efforts as a landowner, and even invented a rail cart design that she would patent to help with agricultural efficiency.[60]

In 1882, Ney produced a *Bust of Oran Roberts*, who at the time was Governor of Texas. She began to visualize a meaningful role for herself by reestablishing her art career in Texas. For many years, Ney tried to insert her opinions on beautifying the bare-boned Texas Capitol building and continued to execute busts of government officials with little encouragement. And despite much experimentation with different crops- cotton, corn and even watermelon– as well as starting a dairy farm with 150 cattle, Liendo was not producing a profit.[61] Rather, it was a money pit of accruing debt. And disappointments grew as teen-aged Lorne began to act out, due in part to Ney's smothering of her son and his parent's eccentric lifestyle. As a result, Montgomery accompanied his son to a preparatory school in Baltimore, Maryland in 1887.[62] Ney admits her disappointment in a letter to her long-time friend Joseph Joachim, "Life has become intolerable here; because I am satisfied in confessing my defeat in all attempt [sic] for showing great records of something done [of] worth to survive my own self."[63] Ney also stated that she wished to take

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[59] Stephen's 1951 text*, The Hermit Philosopher of Liendo*, supplies this nickname. Many of Stephens research materials are available at the SMU Degolyer Library.

[60] Von Stetten-Jelling, 155-156. Patent filed with Le Ministre de l'Agriculture et du Commerce in 1879.

[61] Von Stetten-Jelling, 154; Müller-Münster, 138.

[62] Johann, 88, 437. Lorne would later attend another preparatory school in Switzerland due to discipline issues. He married at 18 against Ney's wishes to a local Texas girl, Daisy Tompkins. He would remarry three more times to Alma Weitgen, Sarah Campbell, and a second time to Daisy Tompkins, and had six children: Edmund and Ruth with Tomkins, Theodor, Hugh, Wanda with Weitgen, and Elisabet with Campbell. In 1898, he enlisted in the Army to join the Rough Riders. He died from back injuries in 1913.

[63] Von Stetten-Jelling, 158. The artist writes to Joachim in English and German within this letter.

refuge in her art to remedy her situation: "neben der Kunst noch einen höheren und edleren Wirkungskreis zu finden."[64]

However, it would not be until 1892 that Ney would relaunch her sculpture career when the Board of Lady Managers for the Texas Building was formed for the Colombian Exposition of 1893. Through her involvement with the women's group, Ney received the commission to sculpt the statues of Stephen F. Austin and Sam Houston.[65] Initially, these life-size statues were executed on Ney's own dime, as the artist only requested that the cost of materials be covered by the Board. Ney anticipated a payout as the duo was promised to be commissioned in marble soon after the fair. To produce these large works, Ney built her studio and later residence, called *Formosa*, meaning beautiful in Portuguese, in the Hyde Park neighborhood of Austin, Texas.[66] The unusual Neoclassical structure, designed by the artist, is primarily made of Texas limestone outfitted with a portico, pediment, and round niches. It would later be enlarged in 1902 with living quarters and a crenelated tower office for Montgomery (refer to Fig. 1.3).[67] At *Formosa*, Ney also produced busts of various lawmakers like Francis Lubbock, and Joseph Dibrell, as well as busts and medallions of some of her female neighbors and advocates. Marble copies of Ney's *Stephen F. Austin* and *Sam Houston* were eventually commissioned in 1901 by the State of Texas

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[64] Von Stetten-Jelling, 158, 246-249; "Briefwechsel Elisabet Ney an Joseph Joachim, 11 January 1887," "Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Berlin," Elisabet Ney, 8, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 432. "…in addition to art, [I hope] to find a higher sphere of activity."

[65] "Contract September 28, 1892," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 3, HRC.

[66] Johann, 93; Emily Fourmy Cutrer. *The Art of the Woman* (University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 127. Construction for Ney's Austin studio, *Formosa*, took place from approximately July 1892 to November 1892. It was named *Formosa* as it means "beautiful" in Portuguese.

[67] Ney was known to sleep on the roof during warm months on a cot.

due to persistent lobbying by another women's group, the Daughters of the Republic of Texas (DRT) for the Texas State Capitol.[68] And shortly after, another set was commissioned by the State of Texas and the DRT to place in the growing Statuary Hall Collection, then housed in the United States Capitol's former House of Representatives Chamber in the south wing.[69]

Figure 1.3. "*Formosa*," now the Elisabet Ney Museum, Austin, Texas. Photograph by author.

Each of these commissions required Ney to travel back to Europe to supervise their execution in marble.[70] Also, Ney would later have many of her earlier works shipped from Europe to Texas. During her time in Austin, Ney would host salon-like gatherings at her studio

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[68] Cutrer, 187; "Contract, 13 August 1901," "Elisabet Ney Collection," HRC.
[69] Johann, 109; "Contract, 29 November 1901," "Elisabet Ney Collection," HRC.
[70] Rommé, 25-27; Johann, 192, 555. She would travel back to Europe three times: 1895-96, 1902, 1903-1904.

to discuss art and culture. She also worked to establish the Texas Academy for Liberal Arts, in order to strengthen the art scene in the nascent capital of Texas.[71] As her local reputation grew, Ney was commissioned to produce a large sculptural project, the *Albert Sidney Johnston Memorial,* by the Daughters of the Confederacy.[72] Ney's last large project was her *Lady Macbeth,* made on her own accord, and in 1906, Ney executed the work in *Serravezza* marble at Formosa. Due to her declining health, she enlisted the help of Italian stoneworker Cosimo Docchi.[73] The marble *Lady Macbeth* is now on view in Washington D.C. as part of the Smithsonian Museum of American Art collection. In May 1907, Ney suffered a heart attack and died shortly after on June 29th at *Formosa* with Edmund Montgomery and Cenci by her side.[74] Montgomery followed just a few years later on April 11, 1911, succumbing to a stroke.[75] They are buried side-by-side in their former garden at Liendo. The artist's Hyde Park studio, now the Elisabet Ney Museum, was declared a state Historical Landmark in 1972.[76] Significantly, it was the one of the first artist studios erected in Texas. What remains odd is that despite the physical relics left behind by the artist- her studio, along with works of art in Germany and the United States– her legacy has not proliferated in either locale. But that may change as scholars continue

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[71] Johann, 100. Ney's educational project did not receive state support from the Texas Senate.
[72] Jacquelyn Delin McDonald, "Sculptor Elisabet Ney, The Albert Sidney Johnston Memorial," in *Nineteenth Century Magazine* 39*,* no. 2 (Fall 2019): 28-33. See my recent article on the ASJ memorial for more details on its layering of historical contexts, as well as an aesthetic consideration of the work.
[73] Von Stetten-Jelling, 214; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 629.
[74] Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 636
[75] Johann, 220.
[76] "Formosa: The Elisabet Ney Studio and Museum" *U.S. National Park Service,* National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, September 27, 2019. https://www.nps.gov/places/formosa-the-elisabet-ney-studio-and-museum.htm

to revisit her artwork and explore its importance.[77] While the artist's life is an interesting topic of conversation, my scholarly analysis of the artist's work is intended for the art itself to impart a legacy.

***Literature Review***

Despite her fame in Germany and later Texas, Ney is not written about extensively in a fully-academic sense in any English text. Also, the artist is mentioned in only a select number of comprehensive texts concerning nineteenth century sculpture, the Berlin School of Sculpture, and women artists. While Ney has been the affection of several English authors spanning from 1916-1988, their works should be classified as historical novels.[78] These texts concerning Ney, or the Ney-Montgomerys tend to be sensationalized biographies of the occult characters or romanticized accounts of the couple and their "ideal life." It is important to mention the first biographical account of Ney published in 1916. Written by Bride Neill Taylor, "Elisabet Ney, Sculptor," exaggerates accounts and myths of artist, but still functions as an interesting resource for the persona-making measures of the artist.[79] Taylor was a friend of Ney and helped to build her career and rapport within the Austin community by publishing newspaper articles for the *Austin Daily Statesmen*.[80] After the artist's death, Taylor began to compile stories that Ney had

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[77] Edmund Duncan Montgomery is not well-known in scholarship either. His work of "vital organization," which intersected the boundaries of biology and philosophy, was ahead of its time and requires more research to consider its significance.

[78] Jan Fortune and Jean Burton. *Elisabet Ney* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942); Goar, Marjorie. *Marble Dust* (Austin, Texas: Eakin Press, 1984); Loggins; van Ammers-Küller.

[79] I will consult the early biography by Bride Neill Taylor for the sole purpose of investigating how the artist presented herself for the sake of persona-making, and marketing.

[80] Bride Neill Taylor, "The Confederate Monument," in: Austin Daily Statesman, January 17,

shared and consulted several of Ney's neighbors and friends in Austin to fashion an account of the artist's life.[81]

In 1931, the German art historian Eugene Müller-Munster wrote *Elisabeth Ney, Die seltsamen Lebenschicksale der Elisabeth Ney und des Edmund Montgomery (1833-1907)* concerning the Münster-born artist. His text relies heavily on Taylor's biography, but does bring in letters from German archives. Most importantly, he provides images of many works that were destroyed in World War II.[82] Müller-Munster's efforts brought a renewed interest in the sculptor back to her hometown, and as a result, a gallery was dedicated to her works at the Annette von Droste Museum in Münster, more popularly known as the *Drei Frauen Museum*.[83] Another text in German was published in 1960 by Dutch author Jo van Ammers-Küller titled *Diana:Der Lebensroman einer Bildhauerin, Lebensgeschichte der Bildhauerin Elisabet Ney (1833–1907)*.[84] This work is similar to Müller-Münster's in that it relies heavily on previous biographies, but does include archival letters from Ney to Ludwig II of Bavaria.

In 1977, the former director of the Elisabet Ney Museum, Mrs. J.W. Rutland, published *Sursum,* a compilation of letters and notes transcribed from the museum's archives. A notable

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1897, 4; Bride Neill Taylor, "Reckless, Ardent and Patriot," Austin Daily Statesman, March 1903.

[81] In Taylor's second edition published in 1938, she includes a preface that lists the sources she consulted to better legitimize her biographical account.

[82] Johann, 32; Müller-Münster. For instance, the Stadtmuseum Museum exhibits show the devastation to the railroad town, approximately 80% of the town was destroyed due to WW2 air bombings.

[83] The Museum honored three significant women of Münster: Ney, Annette von Droste-Hülstroff, and Princess Amalie of Gallitzen. Ney's work was given a gallery during the 1930s due to Müller-Münster's efforts. Today, the museum only features the work and life of Annette von Droste-Hülstroff.

[84] Van Ammers-Küller.

text on Ney includes Emily Fourmy Cutrer's work, *The Art of the Woman*, published in 1988.[85] The author completed the text initially for her dissertation in American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. Cutrer's text works to produce a more factual biography of Ney's time in the United States and cites material available in the Austin archive centers. The publication proves to be a reader-friendly introduction to the artist's life and work in Texas. But, again, the text still relies heavily on the first biography by Taylor and works to build the mythos of the artist. Also, as the work is focused on the historical investigation of her life in Texas, it does not delve deeply into the transnational artistic contributions of Ney.

Three recent academic works published in Germany have proven most significant for my research. In 2003, Dagmar von Stetten-Jelling, wrote her dissertation, *Elisabet(h) Ney (1833–1907). Bildhauerin in Europa und Amerika. Eine ungewöhnliche Karriere*, for the completion of her doctorate in Feminist Studies at Freie-Universität Berlin.[86] The work uses the biography of the artist to explore the situation for women in Germany and the United States during the nineteenth century. It also includes newly-discovered archival materials– Ney's letters to her friend, violinist Joseph Joachim, as well as patent certificates, and court documents. However, the overall claim of the author that Ney did not face adversity in the art world due to her gender is not convincing.[87] Another text, or rather collaborative project, was headed by the Curator of

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[85] Dr. Cutrer is now President of Texas A&M- Texarkana- A&M. Cutrer produced curriculum for Austin-based schools to engage young students with their local history. I was unable to make contact with Cutrer via email.

[86] I was unable to make contact with Dr. Dagmar Stetten-Jelling, and colleagues say she is currently limiting her academic pursuits.

[87] "Von einer direkten Diskriminierung als Frau in der Kunst hat sie nie berichtet…" von Stetten-Jelling, 219. "She never reported direct discrimination in her art as a woman…"

Stadtmuseum Münster, Barbara Rommé.[88] In preparation for an exhibition of Ney's works, Rommé edited an exhibition catalogue, which is accompanied by several articles by German scholars and art historians including: Nikolaus Gatter, Henry Keazor, Karen Lemmey and Sibylle Einholz.[89] Most of the works in the exhibition were borrowed from other German collections or private collectors. The exhibition project idea emerged due to the Stadtmuseum Münster's recent purchase of a previously unknown work by Ney, *Bust of a Child* from 1865 (refer to Fig. 1.4).[90] Along with the exhibition catalogue, Rommé and team worked with forty archival institutions in Europe and the United States to produce an accompanying CD-ROM containing a collection of various archival materials and relevant literature. From this compilation of data spanning over 1,600 "pages" and 371 archival entries, a biographical timeline was formed of "Rund 650 Einzelereignisse." The CD-ROM also includes a database of letters, either transcribed or listed with a description, and a list of over 800 bibliographic sources relevant to the artist or her

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[88] I was able to meet Dr. Barbara Rommé in Münster in May 2019. We discussed the works housed in the gallery of the museum as well as my dissertation. She is thrilled to know that an American is working on Ney.

[89] I was privileged to meet Dr. Sibylle Einholz in May 2019 in Berlin, Germany. She is an expert on the Berlin School of Sculpture, and has written various texts on Rauch. Also, Einholz was a committee member for von Stetten-Jelling's dissertation. She spoke only in German, and her apartment was decorated beautifully with a worldly collection of art, including a sculpture by Alberti Giacometti. I also met Dr. Karen Lemmey, Curator of Sculpture for the Smithsonian Museum of American Art, during my trip to Washington D.C. in December 2018. All of these German scholars were helpful and encouraging, for which I am immensely grateful.

[90] Purchased by Stadtmuseum Münster in November 2006 from Sotheby's, for $131,467 (USD). See listing here: http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/lot.131.html/2006/19th-20th-century-european-sculpture-l06232

work.[91] From this vast project, I have been able to reference archival materials from across the globe with ease.

Figure 1.4. Ney, Elisabet. *Bust of Child*, 1865. Marble. H: 42.5 cm. Stadtmuseum Münster. Münster, Germany.

The most recent academic text as well as the only art historical source on Ney is Saskia Johann's dissertation, *Elisabet Ney, Leben, Werk und Wirken*, published in 2015.[92] This work provides for the first time an exhaustively researched transnational catalogue raisonné, or *Werkkatalog,* of the artist's oeuvre. Additionally, Johann begins her text with a thoroughly cited

[91] Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 2.
[92] I was able to meet with Saskia Johann on May 7th in Göttingen. Germany. We discussed our affinity for Ney, and my ideas for my dissertation project.

biography and brief stylistic analysis of the artist's work.[93] Specifically, Johann analyzes the fluctuating style of Ney, which she separates via time period and by sculptural type: busts, figural works, and medallions and reliefs.[94] At over 800 pages, this text is painstakingly referenced and took seven years to complete. From this key foundational text, I am better able to situate and broaden the art historical research on Ney. These recent texts concerning Ney contribute to the growing scholarship of the artist, and have proven beneficial for my research. My research and approach remain novel due to my inclusion of various analyses as well as my use of the artist's work as visual evidence for aesthetic-based research. Further, my work involves considering Ney's significance within a larger context, as a case study to shed light on various topics on the long-nineteenth century. In this way, my contribution works to add evidence and call previous generalizations into question.

***19th century sculpture training***

The Mecca of the Western art world during the nineteenth century was Paris, France, where the Académie des Beaux-Arts, established in 1816, held dominance. Originally called Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture, the French Academy system was established for the study of the fine arts of painting and sculpture in 1648.[95] Soon after France's establishment of an

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[93] Her section *"Stilistische Entwicklung"* or "Stylistic Development" accounts for 45 pages of her text.

[94] I am indebted to Dr. Johann for her meticulously cited catalogue raisonné of Ney that allows for more work and research to be performed.

[95] Nicolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 12, 84-86. The first academy of this kind was founded much earlier in Florence by Cosimo I de' Medici in the sixteenth century.

academy, other countries followed suit hoping to build a community of artists that would benefit and reflect the grandiosity of their respective culture.[96] By attending an academy, an artist could distinguish his or her profession as a learned one, rather than a discipline of craft or handiwork. In this way, academies offered the study of the "Fine Arts" –meaning painting, sculpture, and architecture– to a select number of students deemed worthy of the distinction of academic training. While most academies were public institutions, for women gaining entrance to an academy often required either a recommendation or a remedial test to prove capability.[97]

Common curriculum for art schools of the nineteenth century included drawing courses for the first stage. Sketching and modeling from life, from castings, and from the figure proved to be fundamental before advancement in any program. Students would then receive medium-specific training, learning techniques as well as familiarizing themselves with the tools and media. It is likely that students produced copies as well from ancient or Renaissance works. Eventually, students would advance or matriculate for the third stage, and were finally able to produce works of their own. Matriculated students also took courses in mythology and art theory to aid their understanding of the arts.[98] Many art academies offered a prize or hosted a yearly exhibition to recognize their most prestigious students. Nicolaus Pevsner includes a time-table for the curriculum for Berlin Akademie der Künste students in 1800. While the schedule is for

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[96] "If we cast a glance at conditions as they were in 1790, we see that well over one hundred academies of art or public schools were flourishing." Pevsner, 141. For example, the Academy of Art in Berlin (Der Akademie der Künste) was founded in 1686, The Royal Danish Academy of Art in Copenhagen (Det Kongelige Danske Kunstakademi) in 1754, The Royal Academy of Arts in London was founded in 1768 and the Munich Academy of Fine Arts (Akademie der Bildenen Künste München) in 1770.

[97] Johann, 38.

[98] Johann, 39; Pevsner, 177.

painting students, it reveals the regimented programming of an art academy with twelve-hour work days, five days a week.[99]

Ney first attended the Munich Academy of Fine Arts in 1852, and worked with sculptor Max von Widnmann. She was later admitted to the Berlin School of Sculpture, and worked under its founder Christian Daniel Rauch. The two sculptors were esteemed and received numerous royal commissions throughout their long lives. Von Widnmann was commissioned for several works by King Ludwig I of Bavaria, and Rauch was commissioned to complete various public sculptures, which were received with acclaim in Prussia. Both were commissioned to complete portrait busts for King Ludwig I's Walhalla Memorial. It is important to note that throughout her life Ney mentions only Rauch as her teacher. This is possibly due to her interest in fame, as Rauch was more well-known due to his long-established career throughout Germany.[100]

In the early 1890s, Elisabet Ney and other art-loving Austinites worked to establish the Texas Academy for Liberal Arts Academy, modeled in part after European schools.[101] With the motto of *Sursum,* meaning "upwards," the institution hoped to promote a higher understanding of culture through the education of the arts. Not only would Ney offer sculpture classes at her studio, the students would also take painting and craft lessons. Further, the academy hoped to affiliate with the University of Texas at Austin and offer other courses in the liberal arts like

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[99] Pevsner, 175-76.
[100] Von Stetten-Jelling, 19.
[101] Johann, 98; "Jacob Bickler to N.G. Crush, 3 March 1894," Bi 1.3, 25: 1, Archival Collection, Elisabet Ney Museum. Austin, Texas. (ENM).

literature.[102] While the Academy eventually failed because of a lack of funding, Ney was quite thorough in her preparation for a teaching studio. Within a letter drafted to M.H. Machman, Ney inquired about the cost of various plaster casts of important classical sculptures. She writes:

> I would like to have one a life size figure, male…And send a torso of the gladiator…If you could send me a price list of various large casts for our contemplated academie, it would be a great service to me, as I promised an estimate of cost for the inner arrangement. Cast of several life size statue. f. i. [for instance] Dying gladiator Venus de milo Germanicus Sleeping Faun of Munich Faun with infant Bacchus at Mainz Theseus of the Elgin marbles The girl fastening her garment on should Slave of Michelangelo the sandle tyer [Hermes Fastening his Sandal] Bust of [?]man and various males casts & bust.[103]

This list reveals much about the artist's knowledge of Ancient and Renaissance sculpture, and proves Ney's familiarity with many works outside of German collections. Further, it suggests that Ney had utilized casts to develop her sculptural technique as a student. Each of these exemplars function to proliferate the Neoclassical approach to sculpture, as once the human form is mastered, students can better create their own manifestations of beauty. As Ney wrote, "Art, when it reflects perfect beauty, is the climax of human achievement."[104]

At the meta-level, stylistic tendencies in art tend to waver back and forth, like a pendulum oscillating between the austere, perfected and idealized versions of art associated with ancient classicism to the more naturalistic, romantic, and even expressionistic manifestations which are often associated with the times of decadence or strife. The pendulum swayed back once again in the late eighteenth century to a developed "academic art." But this time, the

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[102] Johann, 99.
[103] "Draft of letter to M. H Machman, [November 1892]," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 3, Notebook I (1892/93): 13-15, HRC.
[104] "Manuscript of a Speech, 1894," Archival Collection, ENM.

Neoclassicism format, or rather the evermore return to the classical model, would remain the standard format for sculpture well after its prime from 1780-1830.[105] The allure of the timelessness that ancient classicism provides invokes an engagement with the entire being via philosophy and aesthetics. And this is particularly the case for sculpture, which unlike painting, is not as reactionary of a medium. Also, sculpture was just beginning to emerge as a medium in-and-of-itself, rather than an extension of architecture. The austerity of Neoclassicism would evolve to incorporate more naturalism, particularly after the several excavations of Ancient sites.[106] And the medium of sculpture whole-heartedly embraced romantic tendencies by the end of the nineteenth century, with new styles emerging including impressionism, Beaux-Arts and the Neo-Gothic.

***(Im)possibility for females***

For centuries, the medium of sculpture was argued to be better suited to men due to the manual labor required; chiseling, hammering and carving were considered masculine tasks unable to be performed by the slighter female frame. Interestingly though, by the nineteenth century most sculptors relied heavily on workmen to do the stone-carving while the master artist fashioned the clay models.[107] This is in part due to the stratification of artistic skill from the genius of fine arts to the craft laborer, a division created in part by art academies. This was the

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[105] David Irwin. *Neoclassicism* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1997). 4.
[106] Irwin, 323.
[107] Ruth Butler, et al., *European Sculpture of the Nineteenth Century*, The Collections of The National Gallery of Art, Systematic Catalogue (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 57.

case throughout Europe and for American sculptors working with marble, many of whom settled in Italy to study and/or work. For instance, Hiram Powers (1805-1873) worked in Florence for the majority of his career.[108] Of course, learning to cut a marble work was part of most advanced sculpture curriculums, as was casting plaster or metal copies. In fact, females often did their own carving or casting to save money.[109] Despite the adverse situation for females, Ney pursued an education at an established art academy that legitimized her efforts and declared her artistic ability to be adroit. By attending an academy for sculpture, Ney could become an intellectual rather than a mere stonecutter. She could operate outside of the gender norms of her sex, and consequently she was allowed more license and agency to perform as an artist.[110]

As with most academic institutions, access to education in the fine arts was almost always limited to males. While the Royal Academy of London did include Swiss painter Angelika Kauffmann(1741-1807) and British painter Mary Moser (1744-1819) as founding members, most fine art academies did not admit their first female students in painting or sculpture until long after their founding.[111] In fact, the École des Beaux-Arts did not begin admitting women until 1897. Elisabet Ney was the first female sculptor student admitted to the

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[108] The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, Editors of Enclyopædia Britannica. "Hiram Powers." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 25 June 2019, www.britannica.com/biography/Hiram-Powers.

[109] Melissa Dabakis, *A Sisterhood of Sculptors : American Artists in Nineteenth-Century Rome* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 89.

[110] Simon de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex,* Trans. by Constance Borde and Sheila Malovahy-Chevallier from 1949 original, (New York: Vintage Books, 2011), 723. Of course, autonomous women are still at a disadvantage, as "Renouncing her femininity means renouncing part of her humanity."

[111] Myers, Nicole. "Women Artists in Nineteenth-Century France." In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History.* New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000.

Munich Academy of Fine Arts. And while Ney was not the first female student to attend the Berlin School of Sculpture, her admission to the program required greater effort than for male applicants. Even though Ney brought examples of her work as well as a letter of recommendation from Munich, she was still required by the Senate of the Akademie der Künste in Berlin to complete a statuette under supervision to prove her abilities.[112] Further, while Ney attended the Munich School of Fine Arts, she was likely escorted by a professor to and from her courses to ensure her reputation and her safety were accounted for.[113] Women could attend, but it was a difficult journey to be accepted, and once admitted were ostracized throughout their schooling.

Of course, this brings to mind, Linda Nochlin's provocative essay from 1971, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" Within, she explains the circumstances that prevented females from succeeding in the arts, and thus they were unable to achieve the status of "great." She concludes access to education, as well as social standing remain the primary reasons for a lack of female representation in art history. One example of how women were restricted in their training, according to Nochlin is that women were not allowed to take part in the figure drawing from nude models, for the sake of decency.[114] This prevented female students from mastering the anatomy of the human figure; a foundational skill needed for artists of all mediums. It is not likely that Ney received the same instruction as her male colleagues did, especially for nude studies. However, she did manage to gain an understanding of the human

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[112] "Senatssitzungsprotokoll, 6 January 1855," fol. 1:6, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Germany; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 58.
[113] Johann, 39
[114] Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?," 1971.

form, likely relying on castings and sculptures of the nude. While in Munich, Ney contacted King Ludwig I in order to gain access to the Bavarian sculpture collection, the Glyptothek.[115] And also in that same letter, Ney requested to receive an audience with Prussian König Friedrich Wilhlem IV, likely to access the Prussian collection of sculpture at the Altes Museum.[116] These brazen, yet necessary requests directed at the top echelons of authority indicate the lofty status of attending an art academy, whether one was male or female, during this time. These requests also reveal that Ney was willing to do whatever she could to master her craft.

Due to the social connections required, as well as the high expense of sculpture, the "second sex" was less likely to succeed in the profession in the nineteenth century. Further, as female sculptors lacked educational opportunities, including access to live models, patrons would have been reluctant to hire them. These reasons, among others, make the occurrence of a female sculptor worthy of attention, as she would have had to elbow her way into an elite social circle to gain clientele and commissions while fighting the stigmas of a male profession. Women were generally less welcome into the academic art world to begin with, less likely to fraternize with men of high society for the sake of their reputation, and less likely to be in control of any personal income or property to invest in their career. But, it was not impossible. Arguably, the

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[115] "Briefwechsel Elisabet Ney an König Ludwig I., 22 July 1854," "Nachlass König Ludwig I.," Inv. No. 89/6/2, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, München, Germany; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 44. While Ludwig I (1786-1868) abdicated the Bavarian throne in 1848, he was still involved in cultural affairs until his death.

[116] It is uncertain if Ney was able to receive a direct audience with König Friedrich Wilhelm IV as a result of this letter. But, she did later work on a restoration project at the Altes Museum.

novelty of a female sculptor –especially one with artistic talent equal to that of her male colleagues– was fascinating to the public as it challenged established gender tropes.[117]

What is most compelling is that Elisabet Ney was not the only one to navigate the unique opportunities made available by becoming a sculptor. During the nineteenth century, I argue there was a 'sculptress phenomenon,' a surge of trained female sculptors that worked to challenge traditional gender norms like never before. In her text, *A Sisterhood of Sculptors, American Sculptors in Nineteenth-Century Rome,* Melissa Dabakis discusses the formation of the "White Marmorean Flock," an unofficial community of American women who flocked to Rome to train and work in various workshops, oftentimes establishing their own studios.[118] The name was coined by writer Henry James, inspired by Nathaniel Hawthorne's use of 'marmorean' in his novel *The Marble Faun*.[119] Unfortunately, the oxymoronic term invites a tinge of lewdness referring to the mammary glands of these exceptional women, rather than to the marble masterpieces carved. Also the term works to collectivize the identities and efforts of each of the women working in Rome. Members included Anne Whitney (1821-1915), Vinnie Ream (Hoxey) (1847-1914), Harriet Hosmer (1830-1908), Edmonia Lewis (1844/6-1907), Emma Stebbins (1815-1882), Margaret Foley (1820-1877), Louisa Lander (1826-1923), and Sarah Fisher Ames (1817-1901).[120] Other female sculptors of note from this time period undoubtedly include Adèle d'Affry, also known as "Marcello," (1836-1879) as well as Camille Claudel (1864-1943). Swiss-

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[117] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble, Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 24.
[118] Dabakis, *Sisterhood of Sculptors,* 86-89.
[119] Ibid., 2.
[120] Ibid., 2.

born Marcello would become a leading sculptor in aristocratic circles of Paris with her bronze works.[121] And the French Claudel proves relevant for feminist discussions on female sculptors in the nineteenth century. Working in the workshop of Auguste Rodin, her impressionistic work is exquisitely rendered, but her life would result in tragedy due to romantic involvement with her famous teacher.[122]

Initially, most of these women were reliant on men to foster their precocious talent.[123] Thereafter, these 'sculptresses' worked to heighten their curious social position, as artists who performed labor for the sake of instilling more beauty into the world. All, whether they chose to or not, were objectified due to their female bodies. Some downplayed their female sexuality, like Harriet Hosmer and Anne Whitney, who strove to remove any connotations of femininity and therefore perceived weaknesses from their visual appearance. Some, including Vinnie Ream, utilized their charm and feminine beauty to market themselves and earn commissions.[124] Sarah Fischer Ames somehow remained loyal to her gender role as a domestic and feminine mother.[125] Where and how Elisabet Ney compares in her outward appearance is difficult to type-cast. Ney utilized her charming personality and curiosity for knowledge to market herself, and she also set herself apart with her trademark hair of short reddish curls and later with her bizarre wardrobe. But all female sculptors, despite their unique and interesting role in Western society, had to

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[121] Caterina Y. Pierre, "Marcello's Heroic Sculpture." in *Woman's Art Journal* 22, no. 1 (2001): 14-20.
[122] J.A. Schmoll, *Rodin and Camille Claudel,* Translated by John Ormod (Munich: Prestel, 1994).
[123] Nochlin, 11.
[124] Melissa Dabakis, "Sculpting Lincoln: Vinnie Ream, Sarah Fisher Ames, and the Equal Rights Movement," American Art 22, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 78-101, 86.
[125] Dabakis, "Sculpting Lincoln," 83.

constantly prove their abilities, even producing unpaid commissions at a greater rate than their male colleagues. In other words, although they undoubtedly faced greater adversity they persevered for the sake of their art. How exactly the singular figure of Elisabet Ney fits into this phenomena is most intriguing and it discloses the hidden truth of the conditions for females and females artists, particularly sculptors during the long-nineteenth century.

## CHAPTER 2

## THE WORLD OF THE BERLIN SALON: MEDALLION OF COSIMA VON BÜLOW

In the first book-length text concerning the sculptor Elisabet Ney the author, Bride Neill Taylor, summarized Ney's life. But her account seems to be from the perspective of a captivated listener, as she gathered much of the material interviewing Ney in her later years in Texas. Throughout the text are various quotations that allow the reader to gain insight into how Ney enraptured Taylor and other women in the capital town to become a kind of local celebrity. Taylor describes one of her inquisitive discussions with Ney about her sculpture career:

> "How did you come to do it?" I asked her at this point in the recital. "What impelled you?" It seemed to me thinking back on the sort of world she had defied, such an amazing thing for any girl to do. I expected her to say the demand of her soul for artistic expression drove her on. But no. "I wished to meet the great persons of the world," she replied with a frank simplicity.[126]

Most interesting is Ney's reply, "I wished to meet the great persons of the world," as this becomes reason enough for her to strive for the status of a skilled sculptor established in two continents at a time where women could not vote. This quotation was reprinted in the German biography of Ney written by Müller-Münster in 1931, "Elisabeth bekannte mit freimütiger Offenheit: „Ich will die Großen der Welt kennenzulernen."[127] From these two texts, the quotation endures as one of the artist's most famous sayings that perpetuate the story that Ney fashioned. Underlying her laconic remark, however, there is the astute truth behind the statement, because success in the arts or any aesthetic profession more often than not requires

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[126] Taylor, 11-12.
[127] Müller-Münster, 22.

knowing and understanding important people. Arguably, from the artist's early encounters in Berlin salon culture she was able to do just that.

***The Berlin Salon, Salonnières***

Private salons in wealthy and cultured housholds were widespread by the nineteenth century and by design involved the coming together of individuals for the purpose of intellectual conversation. These meetings were typically hosted by a female, or *salonnière,* with cultural topics ranging from literature, to art, philosophy and politics. The term *salonnière* was conceived from a variety of sources and was first cited in the Oxford English Dictionary of 1922 to mean "a woman who holds a salon; a society hostess."[128] The designation *salonnière* seems to also, "conjure(s) a stereotype of seductive femininity, with the added taint of class snobbery."[129] It is most important to note that the women who ran these events were influential due to their acuity and personality. Some of the most well-known *salonnière*s include: Madame Germaine de Stäel, Henriette Herz, and later on Gertrude Stein. This social practice began in the seventeenth century in France and spread to other surrounding areas in Europe including Germany, Italy, Austria and England.[130] And as we will see, the salon allowed not only for the exchange of conversation but also, as a platform for networking.

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[128] Steven D. Kale, *French Salons : High Society and Political Sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 237. The term salon was used much earlier in the nineteenth century and refers to a reception room where guests gathered for the sake of conversation. Salonnière ultimately owes its reference in the T.S. Eliot's draft of *Waste Land* as that same year the term made a reference text.

[129] Emily D. Bilski, Emily Braun, and Leon Botstein, *Jewish Women and Their Salons : the Power of Conversation* (New York: Jewish Museum, 2005), 2.

[130] Bilski, Braun, and Botstein*,* 1.

*Salonnières* were most skilled in all aspects of hosting and aimed to create an ideal environment for visitors to exchange ideas. *Salonnières* would often organize their salons as weekly affairs or *jour fixe*, occurring in the late afternoon or evening on a fixed day of the week.[131] Food and entertainment were provided but the primary concern of the salon was "the art of conversation" that would ensue. Female and male patrons could receive invitations into this progressive inner-circle of society, and similarly societal norms pertaining to creed and class were not recognized. "Depending on the era, one gained entrance through letter of introduction or vouchsafed word of mouth."[132] Novelty, esteem, sociability, and background were key to securing admission. These skilled hostesses would consider the dynamic of her guests with great care and would take great measures to ensure a well-rounded group that could conduct themselves without animosity. Additionally, these women were educated themselves in the various topics of conversation. Oftentimes, the salon evenings were devoted to a central idea or cultural topic to aid the direction of the evening. Typically, *salonnières* would also be greatly skilled in letter writing, not only to send invitations to their salon meetings, but also to exchange ideas abroad to visitors who may be on travel.

Initially, the salon meeting began for the sake of convivial conversational exchange. So it may come as a surprise that the first salons actually occurred in the bedroom of the hostess. Marquise de Rambouillet would welcome visitors to hold conversations bedside allowing them to sit *ruelle,* or in-between the wall and her bed.[133] This practice likened the hostess's presence to

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[131] Ibid., 2.
[132] Ibid., 3.
[133] Kale, 10.

that of royalty while at the same time creating a neutralized space for guests to speak freely without crippling formalities. The equitable outlook of the salon meeting would continue, allowing for visitors to mingle with men and women of all backgrounds. However, by the 18th century, the salon began to change in purpose and practice, but not in theory or sentiment. Authors of the text, *Jewish Women and Their Salons: the Power of Conversation,* explain: as one of "the first institutions of modern culture," salons began as "an off-shoot of the court; [and] by the mid-eighteenth century, they generated a form of critical discourse in opposition to absolute monarchy."[134] The salon would continue to foster the intellectual exchange of a variety of thinkers, yet the topics would come to range in focus from literature, to art and politics. French salons have been divided into two categories: literary and political. However, Antoine Lilti in his text *The World of Salons* suggests that this distinction is not so black-and-white, as each salon demonstrates a fidelity in some part to both.[135] Yet, what can be agreed upon by most scholars is that the free-thinking and discourse that occurred within the salons of the eighteenth and nineteen century fostered the differing revolutionary movements for democracy in France, and elsewhere. And, as this new quasi-public sphere unlocked an appreciation of art and literature and an understanding of politics to other classes, the cultivation of modernity became democratized into culture.

From the beginning, salon culture has allowed for women a place of agency as bourgeois citizens. Also interesting to consider is the significant opportunity for an otherwise sequestered

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[134] Bilski, Braun, and Botstein, 2-4.
[135] Antoine Lilti, *The World of the Salons: Sociability and Worldliness in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

class from the elite, Jewish women. Recently, feminist scholars have studied the unique situation of the salon for women and especially for Jewish women. In Germany, and Berlin in particular, the most recognized *salonnière* of the long-nineteenth century was Rahel Levin Varnhagen von Ense (1771-1833).[136] Rahel held her first salon meetings from 1790 to 1806 at the Levin Family residence at Jäger Straße 54. After French Napoleonic occupation, the Levin family's wealth decreased resulting in the sale of their Berlin home and a hiatus from hosting salons.[137] In 1814, Rahel converted to Christianity in order to marry Karl Varnhagen von Ense (1785-1858), an outspoken liberal politician and writer of lesser nobility.[138] The Varnhagens would host salons after their return to Berlin at Französische Straße 20 and later in 1827 at Mauer Straße 36.[139] Many affluent guests came to their salon meetings including: Friedrich Schlegel, Friedrich Schleiermacher, Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia, Adelbert von Chamisso, Alexander and Wilhelm von Humboldt, and later Heinrich Heine and Ludwig Börne.[140] Her success as a woman of letters, and a facilitator of salon culture during the Enlightenment era despite anti-Semitic

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[136] Another well-known Berlin *salonnière* was Henriette Herz, whom Rahel Levin Varnhagen knew in her youth. Born Jewish, she would convert to Protestantism, baptized as Friederike Antonie Robert Tornow, in order to marry her husband Karl Varnhagen von Ense. Much of her writings speak to the psychological distress of the rejected Jewish community in Germany as well as her personal reflections of being Jewish.

[137] Bilski, Braun, and Botstein, 208.

[138] It is significant to note that the two wed only three days after her baptism to Protestantism. Also, it was quite progressive for the time for Rahel to marry a man fourteen years younger.

[139] Bilski, Braun, and Botstein, 209. In scholarship, the couple is frequently referred to as the Varnhagens rather than von Enses.

[140] "Rahel, Her Life and Letters." *The Athenaeum* no. 2557 (Oct 1876): 555-556. In Wilhelm von Humboldt's own words, "She[Rahel] was much sought after, not merely on account of her amiable character, but because one could be certain never to see her without hearing something worth bringing away, the material for deep and earnest thought or some happy lively idea."

measures speaks to her audacity and perseverance.[141] Rahel was also a huge supporter of Wolfgang Johann Goethe and met him on several occasions; it can even be claimed "that the Goethe-cult of romantic Berlin was actually inaugurated by Rahel."[142] Despite her gender and her class, Rahel's intellectual demeanor and her uniquely engaging social skills drew a splendid crowd from Berlin culture. Rahel Varnhagen's influence to German culture as well as more specifically to women, Jewish or otherwise, is unquestionable. And her legacy still lives on into the 20th century as her life and story have often been retold.[143]

Due to the establishment of intellectual salon culture in Berlin by Rahel Varnhagen, the road had been paved for future generations of women to make their mark within society. And throughout the mid-nineteenth century, many women continued the salon practice for the purpose of cultural exchange such as Fanny Lewald, Ada Leverson and Geneviève Strauss.[144] After the death of her parents, Ludmilla Assing (1821-1880) and her sister Ottilie Assing (1819-

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[141] After her death, Karl Varnhagen would compile Rahel's letters and diaries to publish *Rahel: Ein Buch des Andenkens für ihre Freunde.* Translates to: "Rahel: a Book in her memory for her friends"

[142] Hannah Arendt, *Rahel Varnhagen: The Life of a Jewess*, (1957), 15. Rahel frequently wrote on her kinship with Goethe due to his poetry as well and his psychological insights concerning the human condition. From his writings, she correlated her position in society as a female and as a Jewess.

[143] In 1957, Hannah Arendt published her text *Rahel Varnhagen: The Life of a Jewess* stating that it concerns "my closest friend, though she has been dead for some hundred years."[143] And in the 1970s, feminist artist Judy Chicago includes "Rachel Varnhagen" as one of the 999 names printed on tile in her feminist work "The Dinner Party." Although her name is misspelled in the work, the sentiment of the artist is clear; the honorable women of history need more recognition.

[144] "The lustre [sic] of the Salon was its social charm… The art of social life is dead." Valerian Hugo Tornius and Agnes Platt, *The salon, its rise and fall: pictures of society through five centuries* (London: T. Butterworth, 1929), 304. Until recently scholars have argued that salon culture "died" in 1815 after the landing of the Napoleon at Cannes, however this view can be discredited as dated and Francocentric.

1884) moved to Berlin to live with their uncle Karl Varnhagen.[145] Along with her uncle, Ludmilla would begin to host meetings in their shared home in the tradition of Rahel.[146] Ludmilla was a writer and journalist who often published anonymously or under pseudonyms Talora and Aachim Lothar.[147] Again at the famed Mauer Straße 36, an intellectual circle known as "Varnhagen's Kaffee" would form that would harbor great possibilities for any artist hopeful as Assing and Varnhagen had attracted many members of growing Berlin society: from scientists, to artists, poets, and musicians.[148] And quite possibly, it would be Assing that would involve our subject of interest, Elisabet Ney, in their shared coffee meetings beginning in 1855.

Nikolaus Gatter mentions that Ludmilla Assing was "involved in the Berlin art scene," and therefore we can guess that she knew of Elisabet Ney close to the time she began working in Rauch's studio.[149] Fulfilling her duties as a *salonnière*, Assing was on the lookout for those with remarkable talent or character to feed the social dynamic of her salon meetings. Assing mentions Ney fondly in a letter to fellow writer, Gustav Kühne on the 15th of October, 1855. "In dem

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[145] Ottilie Assing would later move to US in 1852 and was romantically involved with Frederick Douglass (1818-1895). She would translate many of his works into German.

[146] Ludmilla and Ottilie's parents, David (Assur) Assing and Rosa Maria Varnhagen, also hosted a salon of sorts.

[147] Ludmilla would move to Florence to avoid persecution for her politically left views and would be imprisoned in Prussia for a time for "libel."

[148] Karl Heinrich Hucke, "Fräulein Pygmalia —, Starke Frauen' im Selbstverständnis der Brief— und Salonkultur um 1850" from *Herrin Ihrer Kunst, Elisabet Ney, Bildhaurein in Europa und Amerika,* Ed. Barbara Rommé, (Stadmuseum Münster, Wienand Verlag: Münster 2008), 131-32. However, Hucke suggests in his article that these salons were more so associated with Karl Varnhagen, as the meetings would come to be known as "Varnhagen's Kaffee."

[149] Nikolaus Gatter, "So jung und hübsch und mit harten Steine arbeiten? Elisabet Ney zu Gast bei Ludmilla Assing und Karl August Varnhagen von Ense den Jahren von 1855 bis 1858" from from *Herrin Ihrer Kunst, Elisabet Ney, Bildhaurein in Europa und Amerika,* Ed. Barbara Rommé, (Stadmuseum Münster, Wienand Verlag: Münster, 2008), 82.

Rauch'schen Atelier arbeitet jetzt eine junge Freundin von mir, die sich ganz der Bildhauerei widmmet und Rauch's Schülerin geworden ist…an dem hiesigen Kunsttreiben würden Sie gewiß manche Freude haben."[150] From this letter, we can surmise that Ney and Assing were well-acquainted and also that Assing was impressed with her "*junge Freundin*." According to several sources, she had attended Assing's meetings since February 1855.[151] As a sculpture student of the great Christian Rauch, Ney was becoming well-known in Berlin social circles but not only for her artistic abilities. It would be her wit, with her strong-willed, yet reserved character that allowed her to be a recurrent guest, participating almost every week in the coffee afternoons. Or as Saskia Johann explains, "Ney war während ihrer Zeit in Berlin ein regelmäßiger Gast bein den Veranstaltungen in Ludmilla Assings Salon…"[152]

It is also plausible that Elisabet Ney and Ludmilla Assing met more directly through Karl Varnhagen. Elisabet had traveled to Heidelberg to stay with her Munich classmate Johanna Kapp's family in 1862. Johanna's father Christian Kapp, who became an advocate for Ney's success in her schooling and early career as she was able to meet several members of the Berlin bourgeoisie including Christian Rauch and Karl Varnhagen.[153] And we know for certain that Elisabet thought fondly of Karl Varnhagen as she would complete a bust of him during her time

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[150] Gatter, 82. "In Rauch's studio, there is a young friend of mine, who has devoted herself entirely to sculpture and has become Rauch's pupil, she is now working on…You would certainly enjoy the local artistry here."

[151] Ibid., 82.

[152] Johann, 46. "During her time in Berlin, Ney was a regular guest at Ludmilla Assing's salon events."

[153] "Ihre sozialen Kontakte in der neuen Heimat baute Ney mithilfe von Christian Kapp auf, der die Künstlerin im Dezemer 1854 begleitet hatte." Johann, 43, fn. 236; "Rauchstagebucheintrag, 15 December 1854," NL Rauch C.I.8, "Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Berlin, Germany.

in Berlin, (refer to Fig. 2.1). According to a poem she wrote for him on the occasion of his 72nd birthday, she penned "Dem allgeliebten Manne, dem Varnhagen, Die volle Jugendfrische hat erhalten."[154] She would finish her *Bust of Karl Varnhagen* in May of 1857, and it definitely embodies the sentiments of her birthday poem for the respected man.

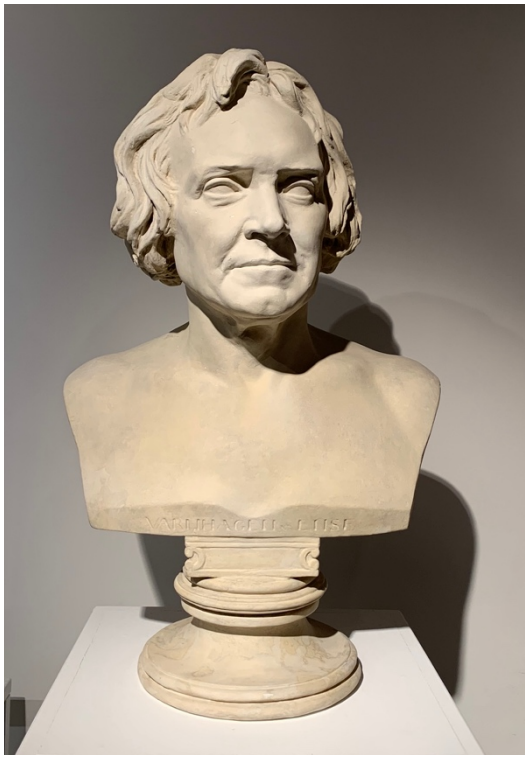

Figure 2.1. Ney, Elisabet, *Karl August Varnhagen von Ense,* 1857. Plaster. Moses Mendelssohn Colletion, Berlin, Germany. Photograph by author.

Or a third way that Elisabeth Ney could have gained admission to Berlin social circles including Ludmilla Assing's salon, or rather "Varnhagen's Kaffee," was possibly due to her close friendship with Elisabeth Althaus Lewald (1825-1884).[155] Through her friend, Ney gained

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[154] Gatter, 82. "The beloved man, who maintains a fresh youthfulness."
[155] Not to be confused with Elisabeth Lewald Gurlitt (1822-1909).

an understanding of differing social links, as Elisabeth Lewald was married to Fanny Lewald's brother Otto and knew that Ludmilla Assing was a cousin to the Lewald siblings.[156,157] From letters it seems that the Elisabet(h)s met while Ney attended Munich Art Academy of Fine Arts from 1852-54.[158,159]

Berlin socialite and writer, Fanny Lewald, also hosted a salon meeting with her partner and later husband, Adolph Stahr. It is likely that Ney was able to join Fanny Lewald's "*Montagabende*" with one of her acquaintances, perhaps with Ludmilla Assing or Karl Varnhagen who were noted as visiting in Winter 1854/55.[160] Along with Assing and Varnhagen, writer George Eliot, painter Louis Gurlitt (a brother-in-law of Fanny Lewald),[161] and composer Franz Liszt and his daughters were frequent visitors to Lewald's residence located near

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[156] "Elisabet Ney muss die Salons des Varnhagenschen Kreises und ihre Inerna sehr genau gekannt habem, den Ludmilla Assing war eine Cousine von Fanny Lewald, mit deren Schwägerin Elisabeth Lewald sie eng befreundet war." Hucke, 131.

[157] Otto and Fanny Lewald's mother, Zippora Assur, was the sister to Ludmilla's father David Assing. He decided to change his name from Assur to Assing and convert the family to Protestantism in order to reduce religious tensions. Likewise in 1831, Fanny and Otto's father David Marcus, changed the family last name as well to Lewald.

[158] "Montgomery to Driesch, November 20, 1904." Refer to fn. 19. In the 1904 letter Montgomery wrote to Driesch, he mentions how the first time he met Elisabet Ney in 1852, Elisabeth Lewald was there as well.

[159] Rommé, 232. They would remain friends for many years and Ney would use Lewald's sons Karl and Theodor as models for her work *Sursum* while the family visited Ney and Edmund Montgomery in Madeira in March of 1864. Karl and Theodor Lewald served as models for *Sursum*. Theodor Lewald would later serve as head of the Olympic Games in 1936.

[160] Petra Wilhelmy, *Der Berliner Salon im 19. Jahrhundert (1780-1914),* 2011), 232.

[161] Louis Gurlitt and Elisabeth Lewald Gurlitt, mentioned earlier, are that parents of art historian Prof. Cornelius Gurlitt, the grandparents of art dealer Hildebrand Gurlitt and great-grandparents of the reclusive Cornelius Gurlitt (1932-2014). In 2012, over 1,500 works of unknown art works were found in Gurlitt's possession. Strangely, the Nazi-looted art was collected by Hildebrand Gurlitt despite his grandmother's Jewish background. See this article for more information: https://news.artnet.com/exhibitions/gurlitt-trove-israel-1644586

Potsdamer Platz.[162] In 1904, Edmund Montgomery recalls his time in Berlin with Ney, "Wir waren zusammen in mehreren interessanten Kreisen eingeführt, so bei Varnhagen von Ense und bei Reimer."[163] Despite how they joined the "interesting circles," admittance into Mauer Straße 36 undoubtedly promoted the success of Ney in Berlin. At the Varnhagen and Lewald-Stahr residence, Ney would meet many 'great' members of society and from this circle of intellectuals and celebrity, she was able to start her sculpture career crafting portraits of the various illustrious characters she encountered.

Regardless of how exactly Elisabet Ney gained entry to this Berlin salons is secondary to the consideration of how these spaces exposed her to a new understanding of life, politics and art. We must consider the potential impact that Ludmilla Assing and Fanny Lewald, political writers for the promotion of women and Jewish rights, had upon Ney in her early adulthood. In opposition to her Münster Catholic upbringing, these strong women were living in the more progressive and liberal Berlin writing about the implications of their lesser status, as females and 'Jewesses.' Rahel Varnhagen and other women writers of the past paved the way for their outspokenness, and this is particularly the case for Fanny Lewald, as she has cited Rahel's

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[162] "Im Laufe der dreißig Jahre, in denen Fanny Lewald einen Salon führte, verkehrten dort so unterschiedlich, aber bis heute bekannte Schriftstellerpersönlichkeiten wie George Eliot, Paul Heyse, Levin Schücking, Friedrich Spielhagen und Richard Voß; ferner die Sängerin Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient, Die Schauspielerin Marie Niemann-Seebach, der Maler Louis Gurlitt (ein Schwager Fanny Lewalds), Franz Liszt, der Zoologe Anton Dohrn, der Biologe Ernst Haeckel, der Schweizer Literaturhistoriker Edouard Schuré, der Kunsthistoriker Wilhelm Lübke, der Jurist Otto von Gierke sowie zahlreiche Salonnièren sowohl konservativer als auch liberaler Kreise. Großherzog Carl Alexander von Sachsen-Weimar, der Bruder der Kaiserin Augusta, besuchte Fanny Lewald ebenso wie Ferdinand Lasalle." Wilhelmy, 233.

[163] "Together, we were introduced into many interesting circles, such as Varnhagen von Ense's and Reimer's." Hucke, 131.

writings as instrumental to her upbringing, literary or otherwise. Also, Fanny Lewald's brazen actions of living unmarried with her partner Stahr for multiple years was condoned within the Berlin bourgeoisie.[164] Obviously, we can make the connection between these 'strong' or '*stark'* women (Varnhagen, Assing, Lewald) and see how their bold actions were applied as well by Elisabet Ney into her persona, life, and myth. For one, it would be around her peak involvement in the salon world that Ney began signing letters without the "h" in 1856.[165] Perhaps, this can be considered an ode to the late Rahel Varnhagen, or simply a quasi-pseudonym to demarcate the old Elisabeth Ney of Münster and München to Elisabet Ney of cosmopolitan Berlin.[166] Further, Ney would keep her marriage to Edmund Montgomery a secret throughout their life. The idea of not marrying, openly or otherwise, and keeping maiden name must have come in part from her associations with Ludmilla Assing and Fanny Lewald. Lastly, we also know that Ney would host salon-*esque* meetings of her own once she settled in Austin, Texas. This was done in a much different place and decades later, but the goal was the same: to continue one's education into adulthood, and to proliferate the need for the discussion of art and culture.

Other than the topics and the ideas that were discussed at these salon meetings, it is important to remember that these events served the artistic, music and literary hopeful as a

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[164] "Gerade das Beispiel Fanny Lewald-Stahr zeigt anschaulich, dass auch komplizierteste persönliche Verhältnisse, in denen man dann, zumindest eine Zeit lang, ohne Trauschein lebte, toleriert wurden, wenn ihnen die, Wahrhaftigkeit garantierende, romantische Liebe zu Grunde lag." Hucke, 132. "The example of Fanny Lewald-Stahr shows clearly that even the most complicated personal relationships, in which one lived together for a time without a marriage certification, were tolerated as they were based on a truthful romantic love."

[165] Ney first signs a letter without the "h" in letter to Humboldt in December 1856 and first work we know of without the "h" is the Cosima Medallion.

[166] Also, the artist's mother went by "Elisabeth," so this measure works to differentiate the artist.

platform to market their talent and work. In Berlin, even though the population was almost half a million by 1850 and the press and advertising was becoming ever-present, many remained faithful to the social platform of the salon. For one, George Eliot continued to advertise her newest text *Middlemarch* in 1872 via readings at various salons in order to market her work and to puff up her fame to the growing middle-class.[167] As Elinor Shaffer and Catherin Brown explain:

> The salons' guests lists- as well as comments in the diaries and memoires of individual guests- show a rhizomatic pattern of interconnections…Through this intricate web of personal, professionals and aesthetic sympathies, the salons functioned successfully as efficient transmitters of cultural news.[168]

From this unique, intricate system of culture, a "rhizomatic" platform for marketing continued through the age-old tactics of affiliation and word-of-mouth. Therefore the salon system was not only beneficial for its disbursement of political ideas and literary knowledge, but also due to its potential for opportunity-making for the young and hopeful looking for a a chance, or a moment to prove their worth in their respective fields. In this way, Elisabet Ney was indebted to the Berlin social community not only for the intellectual conversations shared but also because networking stage that allowed her and her artwork to flourish.

However, even as scholars can agree that the salon was undoubtedly hugely influential throughout the past several centuries, the historical study of their circumstances is quite problematic.[169] The topic of the salon culture is typically considered among "microhistory," but

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[167] Elinor Shaffer and Catherine Brown, *The Reception of Georg Eliot in Europe* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016), 22.
[168] Shaffer, 24.
[169] Bilski, Braun, and Botstein, 3.

the research and scholarship potential concerning the importance of the cultural practice is nothing marginal. It is hard to dismiss the overall importance, political or otherwise, of these events which occurred in their half public, half private setting as simply "micro." As discussed, the spread of political ideas as well as an appreciation of humanities and culture resulted from these various spaces of phenomena. And significantly, the unique situation of salon culture has allowed for women, and particularly, Jewish women, a place for agency as bourgeois citizens like no other the past few centuries. The most difficult aspect of salon culture research remains the lack of concrete source material. There are numerous diaries and letters from many of the participants, which when compiled can form a kind of cryptic roster. These written accounts of the conversations, readings and performances that transpired must be considered as a unique kind of oral or written history. This can be considered hugely problematic due to the subjective nature of available resources, yet what remains from these accounts is the indication of the "lustre of [its].. social charm" that continues to invigorate a passion for culture to this day.

***Modeling Fame***

From the proclamation, "I wished to meet the great persons of the world," we can gather that Elisabet Ney realized the power of sociability or networking either prior to her arrival in Berlin or as a testament to her experience. Further, her intrepid goal of working with Christian Daniel Rauch was not only due to the fact that he was a skilled sculptor with the potential to teach admirable techniques. It was also due to the fact that he was well-known and therefore her association with him would work to fuel her career and give her a surefire boost into the Berlin art scene. It is difficult to say then, whether she admired his work or his name foremost.

Arguably, the differing 'great' people that she met within the various salons she attended, as well as her 'great' instructor Rauch, allowed her to emerge as an artist in her own right in the Berlin art scene after his death in December 1857. So really, her famous statement, "I wish to know the great person of the world" encapsulates many motives of the artist and harbors a deeper understanding of the artist's way of thinking. Was the artist a keen business woman after the scarce commissions from the 'greats' of the world? Or was she after fame and prestige to become a 'great' person herself? Throughout her life she would sculpt 'great' persons of the world she encountered in various formats: in the form of portrait medallions, as portrait busts and as full-size sculptures.

***The tradition of the profile- coins, cameos and medallions***

The nature of the three-dimensional medium is not to record, but rather to eternally enliven the subject. In terms of the history of art, the category of sculpture is rich and incredibly dense with material and past precedents. Many sculptural works come down to us from antiquity due to the permanence of stone, gems, and metal. From the reliefs decorating ancient structures, to freestanding sculptures within niches, ancient coinage of cultures past, or decorative jewelry, we can piece together an idea of how past artists worked within the three-dimensional and how their aesthetic process continues to inform artists to this day.

Within the history of art, the profile view has a unique narrative that differs with each culture. What is shared for each is that the profile view contains in its stark, linear presentation a substantial emphasis on the sitter's individual importance. A person's physical identity is best presented in the portrait view, as from this perspective we can ascertain the bone structure,

hairstyle and even posture of the sitter. Rather than a frontal or three-quarter view, which often disguises imperfections and concentrates more on the gaze and the character of the sitter, the profile view objectifies the sitter into a timeless space for identification, and conveys a sense of authority.

For the ancient Greeks, the profile view is seen predominately on their early coinage with only idealized gods and goddesses pictured, as lofty as their accompanying myths and legends.[170] Many of the Greeks traditions and artistic feats were assumed by their conquerors, the ancient Romans, including their mint practices. The first ruler to include his portrait, albeit idealized, on coin money would be Julius Caesar in 44-43 A.D (refer to Fig. 2.2).[171] The profile image of the dictator served as a means of propaganda as coins circulated throughout the vast Roman empire.[172] This practice of including profile view portraits of rulers on coinage has since become standard where even today in the United States, the penny contains a profile view of Abraham Lincoln, the dime – Franklin D. Roosevelt and the quarter– George Washington. We categorize currency based on the commanding profile portrait first and primarily over any of the accompanying insignia due to its easily referable presentation.

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[170] "No Greek of the classical period was allowed to be portrayed on coins; only the heads of deities were depicted." Anna M. Miller, *Cameos, Old & New, 4th Ed.* Rev. by Diana Jarrett, (Woodstock, VT: Gemstone Press, 2009), 11.

[171] John Allan, Alamiro de Avila-Martel, et. al., "Coin" from Encyclopædia Britannica, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc. April 21, 2017. https://www.britannica.com/topic/coin/Roman-coins-republic-and-empire#ref302214.

[172] Formerly, control of the Roman treasury and mint system remained in the control of the Senate, but the power of coinage would shift with imperial measures by Julius Caesar. "The use of Caesar's own portrait upon coinage set a precedent; although under Augustus and Tiberius token denominations occasionally lacked the imperial portrait, it was thereafter an essential element of virtually every gold, silver, and bronze coin of the official mints, as also of nearly all provincial and local coins." Allan, de Avila-Martel, et. al.


Figure 2.2. *First Portrait Denarius of Julius Caesar,* Issued 44 B.C.E. Image courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

Another case of the predominant use of the profile includes the production of cameos, which began in antiquity as well. Rather than an incised material, like that of seals or engravings, cameos include a projection or raised positive strata that emerges from its vibrant material typically gems or semi-precious stones such as sardonyx, quartz, or cornelian. Typically, cameos include two distinct layer or strata, where the top layer is lighter, allowing the projection of forms to emerge into space with a pop. It was during the Hellenistic period that the craft of stone carving from special stones was likely introduced from the East.[173] Cameos would often be worn as jewelry and would work to form an association between the owner and the subject matter exquisitely depicted in delicate relief. As with ancient coinage, the subjects depicted would most likely be mythological. However, in the case of the very powerful and mighty, the portrait began to emerge in cameo artmaking with the Greek Emperor Alexander the Great.[174] The capturing of his likeness did not take precedence, rather the idealized presentation of Alexander as godly ruler

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[173] From the "Orient…was the introduction of a very special kind of stone, multilayered sardonyx from India and Arabia that provided the inspiration for the cameo." Miller, 10.
[174] Miller, 10.

was of upmost importance as a claimed descendant of Hercules and Zeus.[175] By examining the profile portrait cameo carved by Pyrgoteles, we can see the various gradients of the precious stone revealed by the intricate carving process (refer to Fig. 2.3). The darkest layer protrudes towards us most, showing the horns of Dionysius, whom Alexander had a" kinship" with. The Dionysian essence seems to seep into the second layer of the stone cameo that portrays Alexander from in profile. Through the use of line, Alexander's profile and facial features are rendered as strong, stark, and handsome. The background creates a light amber plane for the two strata to seemingly float on top of and present to us the sitter's features and profile in a sublime way. From this profile cameo many others emerged, and in fact during the Roman empire, the practice of cameo portraits became more commonplace as the craft was more widespread in practice to include other classes of people.[176]

Figure 2.3. Contributed to Pyrogteles*, Alexander the Great Cameo*, 325 BCE. Cameo. Gold and enamel mount: 17th-19th century. Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France. François-Mitterand BnF, Paris, France. Cat. No. Camée.222.

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[175] "A new phenomenon in glyptics appeared on the scene: the cameo portrait. Alexander commissioned Lysippus to sculpt his portrait, Apelles to paint it, and Pyrgoteles to engrave it in stone." Ibid., 10. Miller explains that Alexander commissioned the first cameo portrait pieces.

[176] "The most important development for the cameo in this period was the use of portraits of nobles, generals, and heroes." Ibid., 14.

Cameos continued to be traded and produced with times of economic success mirroring spikes in activity and trade. And Cameo-making was a skilled trade that took decades of patience to practice and master. During the Renaissance, a time of great economic prosperity, many cameos were 'crafted' and oftentimes the subject matter was from antiquity, in order to appease classical tastes, as well as to confuse and trick art dealers. Throughout the early modern period, cameos came into style with many patrons wearing them as broaches which could be worn on hats, lapels, and even made into necklaces or chokers.[177] What remains interesting of cameo production is the fact that the medium came to be associated primarily with the configuration and composition of the profile view. As cameos that were worn tended to be small, the rendering of the person depicted demanded an keen study of features and forms which only the profile-view could provide.

This discussion of coins and cameos may seem distantly relevant, but it is their application of the profile view and their exposure to the public at-large that links these two art forms in form and function. Through the dispersal of coin-money and the commodified craft of cameo making, the profile view within a three-dimensional format came to be associated with prestige and power. It is difficult pinpoint the exact coins and cameos Elisabet Ney encountered throughout her life, but due to their ubiquitous use in Europe she was undoubtedly familiar with the art forms. This tradition of presenting gods, rulers, and heroes in the lofty side-view has persevered through many cultures and continues to summon a strong and commanding

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[177] "Elizabeth I of England is credited with introducing the custom of using cameos brooches or pendants as payment to her loyal subjects for favors or for a particular service." Ibid., 31.

representation of the subject. It is no wonder then that this established, commodified form power began to find its application in stone and metal portrait medallions on a larger scale.

### *The Portrait Medallion Beginnings and during the Long Nineteenth Century*

*"I have always been strongly moved by the profile. The face looks at you, the profile eludes you, interacting with others. The face presents many features and is thus more difficult to analyze. The profile is unity."*[178] *–David d'Angers*

During the Renaissance, within the heart of Italy, the practice of portrait medallions began. Antonio Pisano, often called Pisanello (c. 1395-1455), is credited for the invention of the art of portrait medallions.[179] Pisanello was also a skilled painter and draftsman, who diverged in practice from the tradition of copying drawings and rather studied and drew from life to produce a sensitive rendering of the subject matter at hand. It would be from his numismatic studies of ancient coins and medals that he developed the idea to make the profile portrait seen from antiquity on a larger scale. Arguably, from his drawing practices he developed a unique style which remained indebted to medieval linearity and the naturalism of the Renaissance that would work to inform and better his other artistic mediums including sculpture. One of his works includes a two-sided medal from honoring Ludovico II Gonzaga, which contains a profile portrait of the nobleman on the front and an equestrian scene on the obverse (refer to Fig. 2.4). Cast in bronze c.1447, Pisanello's rendering of Ludovico III is much larger in size than a coin at

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[178] J.G. Reinis, *The Portrait Medallions of David d'Angers, An Illustrated Catalogue of David's Contemporary and Retrospective Portraits in Bronze* (Polymath Press: New York, 1999), xxiv.

[179] "He had virtually no recent predecessors, and, with him, the art reached its highest point." "Il Pisanello" from Encyclopædia Britannica, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc. March 15, 2016, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Il-Pisanello.

a diameter of 102 mm, or just over 4 inches.[180] Yet, the composition and insignia remain grounded in the practices of the ancients with the lettering in all capitals and of course the sitter presented in profile-view.[181] On the opposite side of the coin Ludovico III is represented on horseback accompanied by Gonzaga family emblems. From the bronze portrait, we see a young Ludovico facing left, but Pisanello decides to include the figures bust and shoulders from an almost ¾ view likely to more overtly incorporate his royal attire. Ludovico III is shown without a hat in order to focus our attention on his facial features: his puffy lips, straight nose and deep-set yet heavy lidded eyes. His neck is lengthened by his clean haircut and his jaw is high as is his rank in his Mantuan culture. Many copies of this work exist due to the reproducible medium of bronze casting, it is likely that Pisanello first carved the mold into wax or plaster.


Figure 2.4 *Left*: Pisanello, *Ludovico Gonzaga, second Marquess of Mantua,* c. 1447-48. Bronze. Victoria and Albert Museum. London, United Kingdom. *Right*: Obverse side of Ludovico medal

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[180] "Ludovico Gonzaga, second Marquess of Mantua," from Victoria and Albert Museum Collection Archives. http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O93551/ludovico-gonzaga-second-marquess-of-medal-pisanello/.

[181] Text reads: "CAPITANEVS.ARMIGERORVM. LVDOVICVS. DE.GONZAGA..MARCHIO.MANTVE.ET.CET."

While the emergence of the portrait-view on medallions began with Pisanello studying ancient coins, which were commonly excavated and collected at this time by enthusiastic humanists,[182] the side-view was not exclusive to metal-making during the early Renaissance. Within the medium of painting, the female sitter was almost always presented in profile-view in Italy until the cinquecento or the High Renaissance period. In contrast to the commanding usage of the side-view on coinage, cameos, and medals, in painting the side-view seems to objectify and decry, rather than to idealize and distinguish the female individual. As mentioned before Pisanello was also a painter, and interestingly one of his painted works, today at the Louvre, is a profile-portrait of a young woman titled *Portrait of a Princess* from 1449 (refer to Fig. 2.5). If we compare this work to the Ludovico III medallion, we notice many differences despite the familiar vantage point. Rather than the stark angularity of Ludovico's profile, the young princess's features are softened and blended into a flattened plane. The princess is shown with an averted gaze, a dropped chin and protruding forehead to emphasize her beauty and her obedience. Her clothing is exquisitely rendered, allowing the texture to pop and seems to be emphasized as a larger point of interest than the actual sitter's features. She is surrounded by beautiful studies of flowers and several butterflies likening her beauty and youth to that of spring. While the details and colors of the piece are meticulously rendered, they serve the same purpose that the surrounding simple insignia does on the Ludovico III medal, as both work to identify the sitter. But the painted work's aim is primarily to please the viewer, objectifying the

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[182] "Ludovico Gonzaga, second Marquess of Mantua."

sitter in order to present an idealized version of youth, beauty and wealth.[183] Regardless of purpose and the overall effect these differing Pisanello works invoke, it seems reasonable to argue that the three-dimensional medium is best suited for the profile portrait.

Figure 2.5. Pisanello, *Portrait of a Princess,* 1435-1449. Tempera on panel. 43 x 30 cm. Louvre, Paris, France.

During the early nineteenth-century, the profile portrait medallion experienced a revival due to French sculptor David d'Angers.[184] David d'Angers, born Pierre-John David (1788-1856), was highly sought after in France for his monumental works, busts and medallions. During his lifetime, d'Angers would produce over 500 medallions of illustrious subjects mostly in profile-view with the goal of enlivening their prestige and legacy as monumental. He would make these

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[183] Patricia Simons, "Women in Frames: The Eye, The Gaze, The Profile in Renaissance Portraiture," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 25, 1988, 4–30. Profile portraiture of women during the early Renaissance has more recently received much attention in scholarship, as it seems to function against the aesthetic of the profile-view. Many articles have been published since Patricia Simon's work.

[184] "Portrait Medallions," from The Frick Collection Website, https://www.frick.org/exhibitions/d%27angers/portrait_medals.

medallions on his own dime and would travel across Europe to produce his sitters' likenesses from life.[185] He gave his wax models to various casting companies to mass produce and disseminate the sitter's image in plaster, porcelain, bronze and other metals. If we take a look at one of d'Angers's works of George Canning from 1827, today at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, we begin to see how this medallion aligns with the profile portraits of the past (refer to Fig. 2.6). The medallion is a quite portable size at 13.3 cm or 5 ¼ inches. The sitter, a British statesman, is shown to us facing left and in high relief. From this work, we begin to receive an exquisite amount of detail that records the sitter's likeness dimensionally in addition to the distinct lines of his face and neck. From d'Angers' stark presentation of Canning, we can observe his hairstyle and its texture, the shape of his nose, chin and jaw as well as his groomed facial hair and even his slightly pronounced Adam's apple disrupting the lines of his neck. The portrait medallion provides viewers then the physiognomy of the sitter's facial features uncannily while at the same time boosting the sitter's name and image amongst the great persons of the world.

The Frick Collection describes d'Angers medallions as "Eminently mobile artworks, they blurred the line between public monument and private *objet d'art.*"[186] Uniquely, the portrait medallion worked to bring sculpture into the private realm for appreciation, as due to their reproducible quality medallions were much more affordable than other forms of sculpture. These medallions undoubtedly contributed to the overall success of David d'Angers as a sculptor, who

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[185] "George Canning (1770-1827), British conservative statesman," from Metropolitan Museum of Art Collection Archives, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/188444.
[186] "Portrait Medallions."

was quoted as saying, “My task is to give to posterity the features of distinguished men of our time.”[187] This overarching statement is contextually similar to Ney’s proclamation.

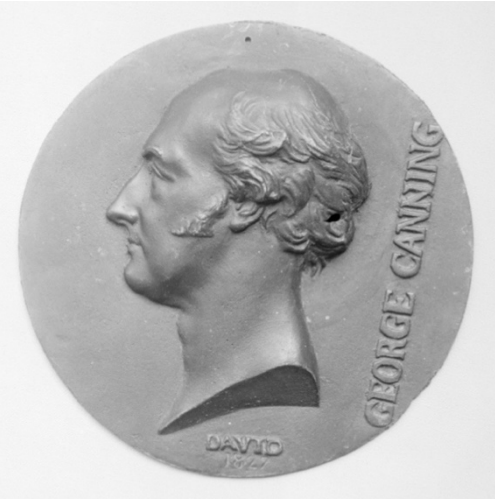
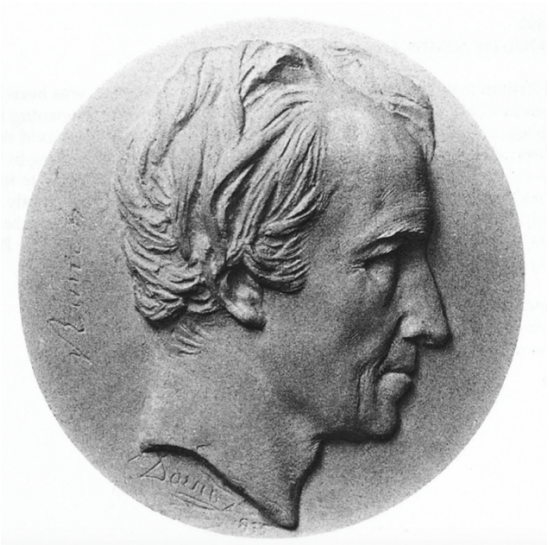



Figure 2.6. d’Angers, Pierre Jean David. *Portrait of George Canning.* 1827. Bronze. Diameter: 5 ¼ in. Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York, New York. Acc. No. 98.7.38.



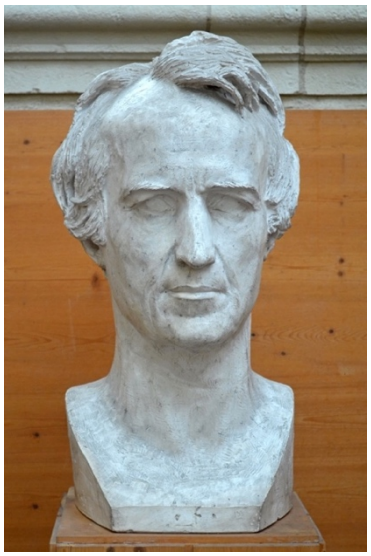


Figure 2.7. *left*- d’Angers, Pierre Jean David. *Medallion of Christian Daniel Rauch,* 1835. Plaster. Diameter: 16.8 cm. Louvre. Paris, France.
Figure 2.8. *right*- d’Angers, David. *Bust of Christian Daniel Rauch,* 1834. Plaster. Galerie David d’Angers, Angers, France.

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[187] Reinis, xxiv.

David d'Angers executed a bust sculpture of Christian Daniel Rauch in 1834 as well as a portrait medallion in 1835, so we know for certain that the two met and were well-known to each other (refer to Fig. 2.7 and Fig. 2.8).[188] It was probably due in part to of his relationship with contemporary d'Angers that Rauch also became interested in the portrait medallion as a means to record likenesses of sitters.[189] According to Rauch's late nineteenth century biographer, "Rauch was also very much interested in the art of relief in the stamping of coins and medallions. He tried to establish a school for this work, but did not receive much encouragement from the government."[190] In spite of this, he still made several reliefs and portrait medallions in order to find his preferred style and working methods. Several works by Rauch include relief panels as adornment for monumental sculptures. This includes the pedestal of his 1821 *Scharnhorst Monument*. One work that can be considered amongst the tradition of the profile portrait includes his 1841 portrait relief, *Elisabeth, Queen of Prussia* (refer to Fig. 2.9). Rauch renders the monarch in profile framed within a round classical niche containing family insignia. The Queen herself is presented almost stoically; it does not seem as if she is interested in studying the floral prop in her hands. Her hair is shown in a neatly curled arrangement and her face is smooth and even, as are her feminine, delicate features. Her shawl, rendered in high-relief, is laden with texture to display the sitter's wealth. Notably, the sculptor admirably renders a fess of ermine in a monochrome material. But, from Rauch's *Elisabeth, Queen of Prussia*, we are reminded more

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[188] It is recorded in several sources as a medallion that d'Angers prized among his "illustrious sitters."

[189] This also connects d'Angers and his practice of portrait medallions to Elisabet Ney, albeit secondarily.

[190] Ednah Dow Littlehale Cheney, *Life of Christian Daniel Rauch of Berlin, Germany,* (Boston: Lee and Shepard: 1893), 231.

so of the profile painting practices of Early Renaissance women, as the sitter seems trapped within the space for other's gaze and inspection.


Figure 2.9. Rauch, Christian Daniel. *Elisabeth, Queen of Prussia,* 1841, Marble. 34.2 x 36.2 x 5.4 cm. Private Collection, Berlin.

Elisabet Ney may have conceived of the idea of portrait medallions to idealize and "immortalize" sitters from her Berlin teacher, Christian Rauch. [191] As Johann mentions within her text, he had, "…der zahlreiche kleine, eigens angefertigte Bildnisse seiner Verwandten und Weggefährten im Treppenhaus seiner Werkstatt in Berlin und der Villa d'Alton in Halle aufgehängt..."[192] So in tune with Rauch and d'Angers, Ney sought to record the features of her

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[191] "…Die Idee, Familienmitglieder und Freunde in einem Relief oder Medaillon zu verewigen, könnte Ney wieder einmal von Rauch übernommen haben,…" Johann, 169. "Ney could have gotten the idea of immortalizing family members and friends in a relief or medallion from Rauch."

[192] Johann, 169. "… [Rauch] hung numerous small and specially made portraits of his relatives and companions in the staircase in his workshop in Berlin at the Villa d'Alton in Halle."

sitters in profile for the shared purpose of posterity, as the stark presentation involves the innate process of immortalizing the subject's appearance. But, arguably Ney was also intrigued in the historical tradition of the profile portrait, due to the effect of posterity that the portrait medallion seemed to astutely do, for the sitter and the artist.

Elisabet Ney worked in various three-dimensional media. As mentioned before, in her childhood Ney was an assistant for her father, Johann Adam Ney, who worked as a stonecutter making mostly religious works or grave stele. As a young woman, she learned differing working methods to produce freestanding and relief sculpture while in Munich. And, undoubtedly, during her apprenticeship with Christian Rauch she gained experience working with various three-dimensional medium, mastering her technique for various sculptural types. While most of her works were sculpture in-the-round, a few of her works were reliefs, or more precisely profile portrait medallions.

***The Cosima Medallion***

With the established aesthetic of the profile portrait medallion, Elisabet Ney would sculpt her various sitters into a history of prominence. She completed several relief medallions throughout her lifetime in Europe and Texas.[193] And of her surviving relief works, all are portraits and all are rendered in the exacting profile view. Ney primarily made this sculptural type for family and close acquaintances due to the less expensive and less labor intensive format. One of her modeled portraits of friends includes a splendid *Portrait Medallion of Cosima von*

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[193] At least 18 Portrait Medallions designs have been documented. See fn. 207.

*Buelow* completed in 1859 (refer to Fig. 2.10). There are three known copies in Vienna, Weimar, and Budapest, as well as a potential fourth copy in a private collection; all are approximately the same size, 48 centimeters or almost 19 inches in diameter and 6 centimeters or 2 ½ inches thick.[194] Elisabet Ney and Cosima Liszt (later von Bülow(Buelow) and then Wagner) first met in the Berlin Salon world through mutual acquaintance Ludmilla Assing, according to Johann.[195] However, there is also speculation that Ney and Cosima met informally through their shared "*gesellschaftlichen Kreisen*" in Berlin.[196] It is difficult to say with certainty how exactly they met partly due to the lack of letters during Ney's time in Europe, and also because of the undocumentable nature of salon history. Regardless, we can assume with confidence that the two connected through the unique networking available in the mid-nineteenth century salon circles of Berlin.

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[194] Müller-Munster, 129. This fourth version was printed in the Eugen Müller-Munster 1931 text. It's current status and location are unknown.

[195] "Ney und Cosima haben sich vermutlich durch Ludmilla Assing kennengelernt, in deren Salon in Berlin beide verkehrten." Johann*,* 247. "Ney and Cosima probably ran into each other at Ludmilla Assing's Berlin salon."

[196] Rommé*,* 220.


Figure 2.10. Ney, Elisabet. *Medallion of Cosima von Bülow,* Plaster. 1859. Klassik Stiftung Weimar. Weimar, Germany. Photograph taken from Rommé, 220.

Elisabet Ney and Cosima Liszt were great friends after their initial meeting, probably sometime close to Ney's first winter in Berlin of 1854/55. According to various sources, Ney was a bridesmaid when Cosima wed Hans von Bülow in 1857.[197] One can only imagine the glorious music at the celebration with Cosima's composer father, Franz Liszt, as well as her pianist husband, Hans von Bülow, in attendance. The two remained friends for many years, sending letters back and forth, in both prose or poetry form.[198] Through Cosima's father, the von Bülows became friends with the German composer Richard Wagner. In 1864, the von Bülows moved to Münich due to Wagner's instigation. Serving as the official Bavarian court composer, Wagner managed to convince King Ludwig II to appoint Hans as a court pianist.[199] By this time, Cosima and Wagner had become infatuated with one another, and Cosima would become his final muse. Cosima and Hans divorced in 1870 due to her infidelity, and she married Wagner near the end of that same year. They remained happily together until his passing in 1883. After his death, Cosima would continue the tradition of the *Bayreuth Festspielhaus* in her husband's name. Ney could not condone Cosima's decision to divorce Hans and remarry.[200] This created a rift in their relationship, and they had no interaction via letters or visits for over twenty years. It was not until 1894 that Ney sent Cosima a letter seeking funding for Ney's Ludwig II sculpture,

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[197] "In 1857 Elisabet, despite her scruples, appeared as bridesmaid at the wedding of Cosima Liszt and Liszt's favorite pupil, Hans von Bülow." Fortune and Burton, 51; Johann, 47; Taylor, 54; Müller-Münster, 31; Loggins, 71.
[198] Fortune and Burton, 40.
[199] Johann, 247; Oliver Hilmes, *Herrin des Hügels. Das Leben der Cosima Wagner* (Munich, 2007).
[200] Taylor, 54; Johann, 248.

who was a consistent supporter of Wagner despite his scandals.[201] Within this heartfelt letter, Ney recalls the once-close relationship the two shared and speaks of their tender friendship; a friendship that lives on with the enduring image Ney made of her friend in 1859.

The *Medallion of Cosima von Buelow* should be considered one of Ney's most interesting works due to the influential sitter as well as its composition. Ney modeled her subjects with an honest acuity that recorded, yet flattered the sitter. We can definitely see this style in the *Cosima Medallion*, thanks to the quality of workmanship within this piece. On close examination, the profile works to define the sitter while at the same time elevate her beauty and identity as a famed daughter and wife of composers. It is precisely Ney's skilled treatment of Cosima's distinct facial features that allow her profile to become at once beautiful and unique– a splendid effect of the work. Barbara Rommé describes the work,

> Das bislang unpublizierte Medaillon , das Elisabet Ney nutzt in diesem Medaillon die leichte Dreidimensionalität so geschickt, dass Cosima zwar unverkennbar ist, aber gleichzeitig ihr mehrfach als unproportioniert beschriebenes Äußeres nicht aufdringlich erscheint. Die raumfüllend gestalteten, aufgesteckten Haare und die erhöhten Wangenknochen und Brauen lenken den Blick von der sonst auffällig langen Nase und niedrigen Stirn ab.[202]

Ney's rendering of Cosima softens her blunt features and suspends them as an idealization of the unusual beauty that perhaps entranced Wagner. Yet, Ney remained faithful to the human form and the true representation of the sitter. With the slight modeling of Cosima's face we can

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[201] "Elisabet Ney an Cosima Wagner, 22 September 1894," NA IV A9-6: 22, Richard Wagner Museum Archives, Bayreuth, Germany; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 292.

[202] Rommé, 220. "The previously unpublished medallion, Elisabet Ney uses so cleverly a slight three-dimensionality that Cosima is indeed unmistakable in this medallion, but at the same time, her so-called unproportioned appearance does not appear obtrusive. The space-filling via the tucked hair and the raised cheekbones and brows distract the eye from the otherwise large nose and flat forehead."

appreciate her strong cheek and brow bones. Her long neck and nose are also accentuated on the basis of line rather than form. Her hair is bundled and pulled back at the nape of her neck to better reveal her physiognomy– subject and object to appreciate and identify. Her soft leftward gaze is solidified in stone and reveals Cosima's quiet confidence. If we compare the medallion to a photograph of Cosima, we can definitely see the resemblance to the sitter (refer to Fig. 2.11). Despite the grainy quality of the 1872 image, the photograph displays her characteristic features from the side: her distinct cheekbones and recognizably long nose. Often she was dismissed as gawky, but Ney creates a vision of rare beauty that is far from the norm. It is a distinct, unique and timelessly different form.

Figure 2.11. Luckhardt, Fritz, *Richard and Cosima Wagner*, 1872. Photograph.

With the *Cosima Medallion*, Elisabet Ney worked to situate the sitter as well as her own style within the historical tradition of the profile portrait. First, and most significantly, this is done through the use of the strictly profile view. The young woman rendered is undeniably Cosima von Bülow. The linear quality of this stark perspective portrays Cosima's features as a simplified study of contours, while at the same time each line is palpably and decisively rendered, likening her strong features to an even stronger identity. In addition to individualizing the sitter, Ney's *Cosima Medallion* works to associate her with the 'great' beauties of antiquity. The hairstyle chosen by Ney works to add texture and visual interest to the work, while at the same time it harkens back to hairstyles seen on ancient coins and busts of Greek and Roman goddesses (refer to Fig. 2.12). The simple intertwining hairstyle is seen as well in many ancient cameos and replicas. Further, Ney situates her sitter within the narrative of the profile with the surrounding insignia accompanying the portrait. In all capitalized letters, the medallion reads: "COSIMA VON BUELOW, GEB: ◆ LISZT" (with the Z mirrored). This decision was not meant to contribute readability since the medallion is about nineteen inches in diameter. With the use of all capitals, Ney is alluding to the use of Latin on ancient coins, as the ancient language did not have lowercase letters. The choice to include the "Z" mirrored is unusual and this idiosyncrasy could be random or playful. Lastly, Ney framed the portrait and its accompanying notations in a simple, rounded molding so as not to detract from the subject. Overall, the text and

the simple molding of the perimeter give a heightened sense of formality and prestige that descends from the history of the profile portrait.

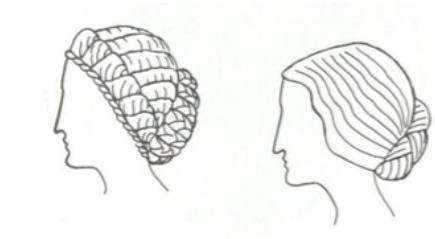

Figure. 2.12. "Crispina-type hairstyles from the second century CE." Taken from Miller, 137. (Illustration by Elizabeth Hutchinson)

Significantly, this is first time where Elisabet Ney "signs" a work of art with her newly derived name.[203] As mentioned previously, Ney began to sign Elisabeth without the "h" in 1856, but it was in 1859, on the *Cosima Medallion,* that Ney patented her new signature and identity into stone (refer to Fig. 2.13). The signature is carved underneath the neck of Cosima, and makes a clear artistic statement as it solidifies her decision to elevate her identity and status alongside other *stark* or "strong" women like Rahel Varnhagen.


Figure 2.13 Detail of *Medallion of Cosima von Bülow,* signature by artist underneath the neck. Photograph taken from the Liszt-Ferenc Memorial Museum, Budapest, Hungary. http://lisztmuseum.hu/catalogue/?q=en/adatlista

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[203] "Bedeutend ist jedoch, dass Ney in der Signatur des Objektes ihren Vornamen Elisabet erstmals ohne das h schreib." Johann, 249. "However, it is important to note that this is the first object where Ney signs her first name Elisabet without the 'h.'"

Today, one of the medallions of Cosima is housed in Budapest, Hungary at the Franz Liszt Museum. Franz Liszt was a composer with a European-wide reputation whose musical work led to the crazed "Lisztomania" during his peak.[204] In one of the main galleries of the Lizst Museum, the *Cosima Medallion* is hung opposite a similarly-sized medallion of her father (refer to Fig. 2.14). Johann mentions that the two works are in "*Übereinstimmung"* with one another and this could to be the case considering their sizing and how they mirror one another when paired.[205] The 1852 *Medallion of Franz Liszt* was completed by Ernst Rietschel (1804-1861), who was also a pupil of Christian Rauch (refer to Fig. 2.15). Rietschel renders Liszt in the profile view, giving emphasis to the composer's masculine features, attributing his substantial creativity to his strong features. Interestingly, the artist chooses to render the sitter with his hair covering his ears, thus disguising the angularity of his jaw. But, we can still appreciate the distinctive lines of his curved brow, sharp nose, and strong and puffy chin. Liszt's gaze seems to be much stronger and intense compared with Cosima's, as his deep-set eyes allow for a greater amount of shadow to collect in density. There is only a simple inscription on the *Medallion of Franz Liszt,* the sitter's name written vertically on the left side. While Rietschel's medallion is exquisitely rendered and works to create the impression of the composer's personality, it does not seem to suspend his legacy as Ney's medallion of Cosima does. As previously discussed, the subtle idealization of form and line, along with the emphasis on the text allow for the *Cosima Medallion* to be enlisted in the history of profile portrait medallions. Perhaps, Ney did see a

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[204] He was basically the first rock star and caused quite the stir at salons and concerts in the mid-nineteenth century. For more information: https://www.npr.org/2011/10/22/141617637/how-franz-liszt-became-the-worlds-first-rock-star

[205] Johann, 250. "*Übereinstimmung*" or "[in] accordance."

sketch or knew of the qualities of Rietschel's *Medallion of Franz Liszt*, but the Cosima counterpart performs in a much richer way.


Figure 2.14. Photograph taken from the Liszt-Ferenc Memorial Museum, Budapest, Hungary. http://lisztmuseum.hu/catalogue/?q=en/adatlista


Figure 2.15. Rietschel, Ernst. *Franz Liszt,* plaster, 1852. Photograph taken from the Liszt-Ferenc Memorial Museum, Budapest, Hungary. http://lisztmuseum.hu/catalogue/?q=en/adatlista

Additionally, the *Medallion of Cosima von Buelow* is a significant work in Elisabet Ney's oeuvre because of the predicaments and timing of its creation. Firstly, the medallion is a testament to the networking opportunities that were available to young artists, writers, and musicians working and living in Berlin during the 1850s. After the death of Rauch in December

1857, Ney had to arrange for her own commissions without the help of her teacher. The works that she produced in the late 1850s mostly include figures that she met through the Berlin salon world including busts of Varnhagen, Jacob Grimm, and Eilhard Mitscherlich, as well as her *Medallion of Cosima von Buelow*. Through the evenings spent at Varnhagen's Kaffee, Ney was able to bridge her artistic practice from that of an apprentice to a master in her own right. The hobnobbing of salon life cultivated for Ney's career and persona to the rank of 'great.'

***Other Medallions by Elisabet Ney***

Elisabet Ney created numerous portrait medallions throughout her career. Two of her most exquisite reliefs include portraits of her parents: Johann Adam Ney, and Anna Elisabeth Wernze Ney (refer to Fig. 2.16 and Fig. 2.17). The two plaster models have been painted a dark brown to reproduce the look of bronze and each have a diameter of 50.8 centimeters.[206] From this 1861/62 set, we can see how the artist continues to engage with the profile view. Each of her parents are displayed with large emphasis on their bone structure, yet with added details and moments of texture, such as her mother's head scarf and lace collar, or her father's smooth oxford shirt. This pair affirms Ney's interest in the traditional format of the profile view and its potential to idealize and associate sitters with those of importance throughout history. The profile view builds a link from past to present that solidifies the prestige of the sitter and the artist.

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[206] Johann, 214. The pair of medallions are each framed in a gold-colored framing, and have rust-colored painting atop to mimic the look of bronze. It is uncertain when and who painted the works. Johann states similarly in her catalogue raisonné description of the works. As Ney primarily worked with polished plaster or marble, the coloring is unusual.

Figure 2.16. *Left*- Ney, Elisabet. *Johann Adam Ney*, painted plaster, 1855. ENM, Austin, Texas. Photo taken from Rommé, 59.
Figure 2.17. *Right*- Ney, Elisabet, *Anna Elisabeth Wernze Ney*, painted plaster, 1855. ENM, Austin, Texas. Photo taken from Rommé, 231.

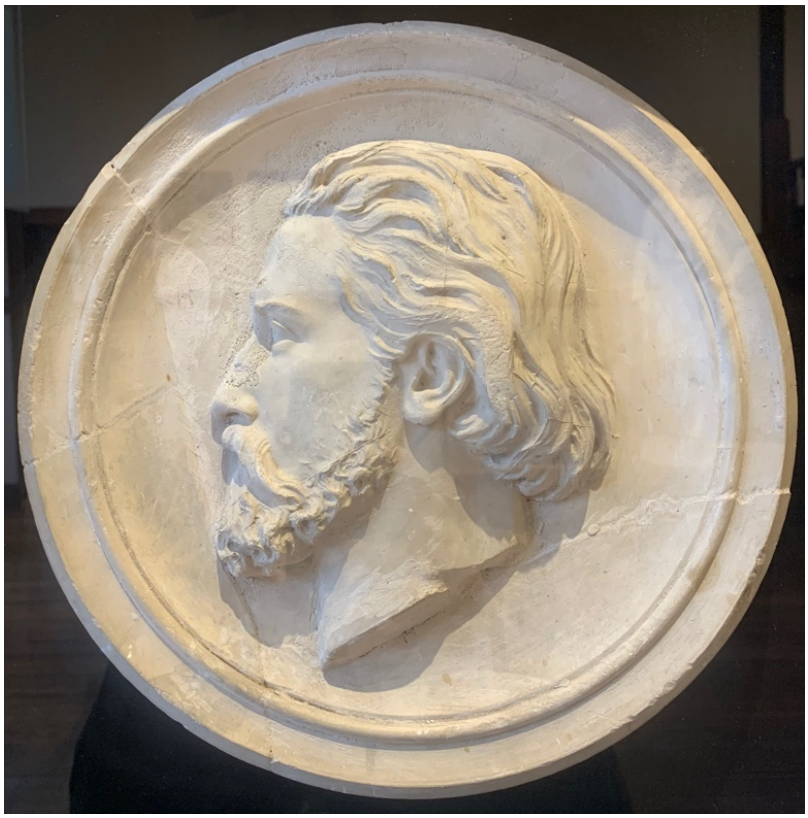

Figure 2.18. Ney, Elisabet. *Medallion of Prof. Karl von Lützow* (*Medallion of an Unknown Man),* 1859. Plaster. ENM, Austin, Texas. Photograph by the author.

Elisabet Ney completed several portrait medallions of acquaintances that speak to her to continual efforts of networking in Europe.[207] One medallion from 1859, known as *Medallion of Unknown Man*, has been argued to be of the painter Friedrich Kaulbach (refer to Fig. 2.18).[208] This prediction is reasonable, as Kaulbach painted a portrait of Ney while both worked for the Court of Hanover in late 1859. However, I believe that the identity of this unattributed medallion is of art historian, Prof. Karl von Lützow (1832-1897). In Elisabet Ney's notebooks, she often drafted letters and wrote personal notes. In a draft to "Houston and Texas Central Railroad," from 1897, the artist states:

> On Oct the 2….After repeated, urgent requests & inquiries during the weeks I learned they had at least been traced & could be turned over to me.
> In opening the boxes, the contents of one of them were alltogether more or less shattered. The long unnecessary handling of them at different point many from their destination has evidently cause the breakage, though they were very carefully packed by an expert packer. I believe that therefore I am entitled for damage and place the same at the following moderate estimate:
> The original bust of Count v. Werthern modelled by myself, irrepairable $350
> Original bust of Grafen..
> Original bust of Prof Woehler head broken off but repairable by myself 25.
> Bust of my instructor Prof. Rauch, badly injured but repairable by myself 30.
> Basrelief portrait of Prof v. Lutzow, badly broken~~injured~~ but repairable by myself $15
> Various sketches broken but repairable by myself $30.
> The above amount of 450 I am willing to accept in full satisfaction of my claim if same is paid without suit, but I have placed the damages at considerable less than they realy are & should I be force to sue on my claim I would of course as for to recover full compensation.[209]

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[207] Other known medallions by Ney include: Paula Ebers, 1895/96, Unknown woman, 1896, daughter of unknown Berlin friend, 1896, Mathilde Schwabe, 1896, King George V, 1896, Margret Runge Rose- 2 versions, 1897, Steiner Burleson- 3 copies, 1899, Bride Neill Taylor, 1899, Guy M. Bryan – 2 versions, 1900, Ella D. Dibrell- 2 other versions/studies, 1900, Lilly C. Haynie- 2 studies, 1900, Helen M. Kirby, 1904, and an "Uxor" Medallion- date unknown.

[208] Johann, 51.

[209] "Draft to Houston and Texas Central Railroad, [1897]," box 3a and 3b, Notebook II

Within this letter, one can sense the frustration of the artist, who took careful measures to ensure her work arrived unscathed from Munich (refer to Fig. 2.19). From the list of works, all are recognizable from the artist's oeuvre, except for the bas-relief. In fact, each of these works, with the exception of the original "Bust of Grafen…" are still housed in the Elisabet Ney Museum collection. Perhaps, this is because Ney was unable to repair the "Bust of Grafen" or it is one of the two known copies recorded in private collections.[210] Another possibility could be that Ney simply wrote this listing in error, as she did not include a cost for its replacement or repair in her letter draft, as she did for the other pieces. Regardless, while the handwriting was scribbled quickly in reference to a "badly broken" bas-relief of "Prof. v. Lützow," it definitely does not resemble the lettering of "Kaulbach." Further, the medallion in question contains patched cracks on the left side of the man's profile, and on the bottom right of the roundel. Therefore, as no other medallion exists in the Austin studio of an unknown male sitter, it must be "Prof. v. Lützow." While there is no mention of Karl von Lützow in any Ney archival documents, it is possible that the two first met in Munich when he began studying philosophy in Spring 1954.[211] In 1859, when the medallion was made, Prof. von Lützow began his career and served as a docent for the ancient art collections in Munich. At this time, Ney lived in Berlin but also traveled frequently for her career. In 1859, she ventured to Frankfurt and Hanover, and perhaps to Munich as well.

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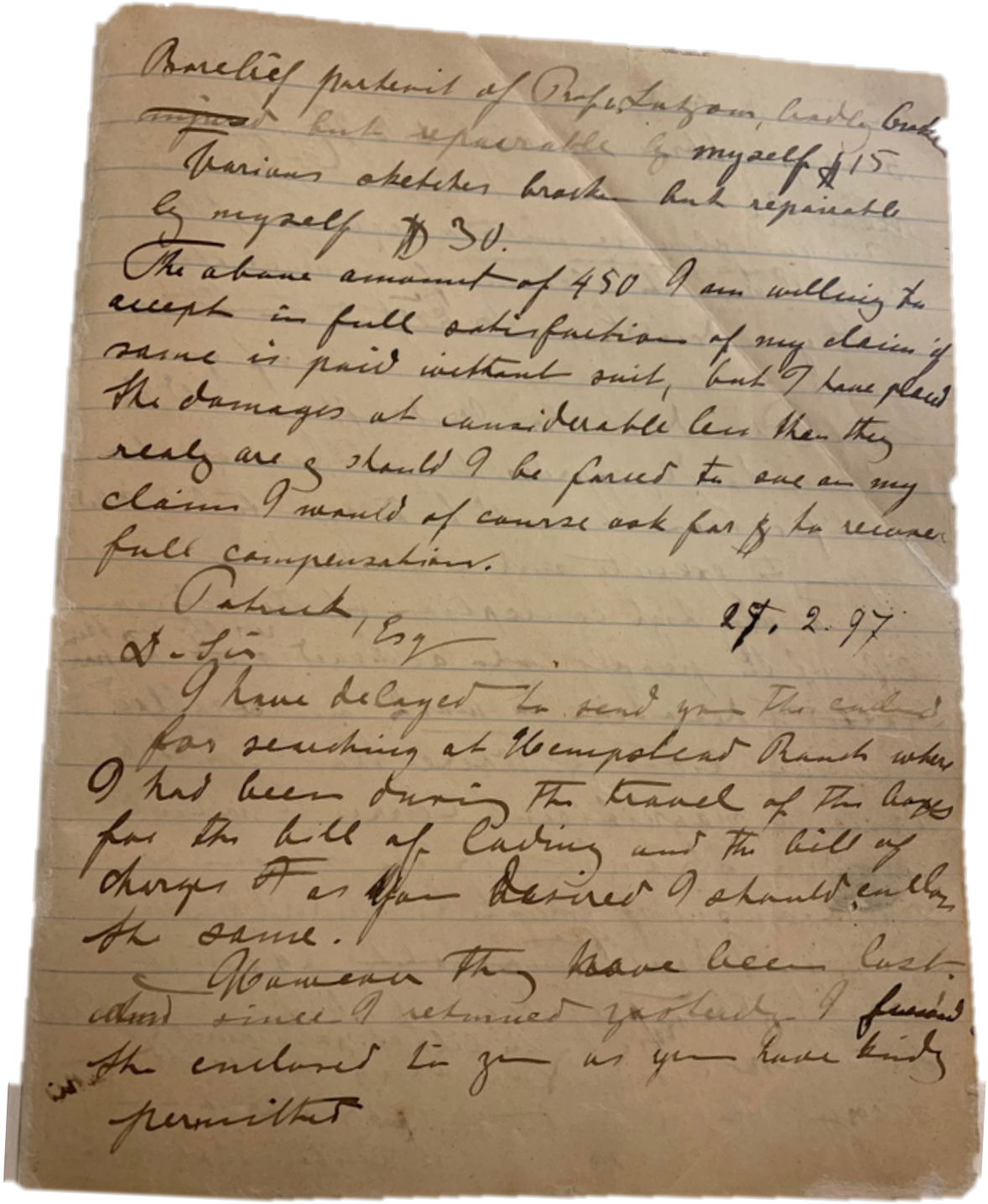
(1896/97): 17-19 or Transcription, 3-5, "Elisabet Ney Collection," HRC.

[210] Johann, 308-09.

[211] Hermann Arthur Lier, "Lützow, Karl von," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,* Vol. 52, (Liepzig: Dunker and Humblot, 1906), 142-44.



Bonelli's portrait of Prof. Lafayon, badly broken
injured but repairable by myself $15
Various sketches broken but repairable
by myself $30.
The above amount of 450 I am willing to
accept in full satisfaction of my claim if
same is paid instant suit, but I have placed
the damages at considerable less than they
really are & should I be forced to sue on my
claim I would of course ask for & to recover
full compensation.

Patrick, Esq 27. 2. 97

Dear Sir

I have delayed to send you the enclosed
for searching at Hempstead Ranch when
I had been during the travel of the boxes
for the bill of lading and the bill of
charges. If as you desired I should enclose
the same.

However they have been lost
about since I returned yesterday I forward
the enclosed to you as you have kindly
permitted

Figure 2.19. Excerpt from Elisabet Ney's Notebook II- 1896/97. "Elisabet Ney Collection," HRC, Austin, Texas. Photograph by author.

Outside of the notebook entry, we can compare the *Medallion of an Unknown Man* to a later *Medallion of Karl von Lützow* (refer to Fig. 2.20). In the 1897 medallion, von Lützow is depicted with similar features, and in the same exacting profile-view. With Ney's 1859 medallion, a younger version is rendered with similar features- a strong brow, long nose, and deep-set eyes. The hairstyle in the two works are similar as well, as the figure(s) have mid-length locks combed back away from the face. The texture of the hair in each is similarly slightly wavy and full. Also, with both medallions the male is shown with a full beard, kept trimmed, except for the longer mustache. By comparing a photograph of Karl von Lützow to Friedrich Kaulbach's *Self-Portrait* from 1862, the facial features of the two men are quite similar (refer to Fig. 2.21 and Fig. 2.22). However, their physical likeness differs in their hairstyles and facial hair, as Kaulbach sports a curly, uncombed mane and a much longer beard. Aesthetically speaking, it seems that the identity of the mystery man represented in Ney's *Medallion of an Unknown Man* is arguably Prof. Karl von Lützow as well.

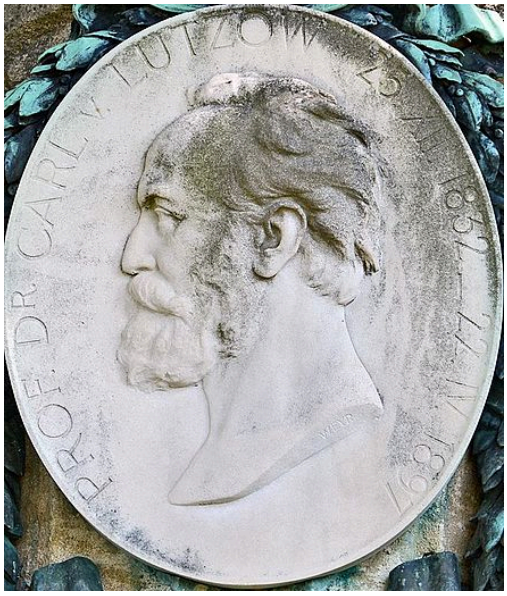



Figure 2.20. von Weyr, Rudolf Ritter. *Grave Medallion of Prof. Dr. Karl von Lützow*, 1897. Zentralfriedhof Wien. Vienna, Austria.

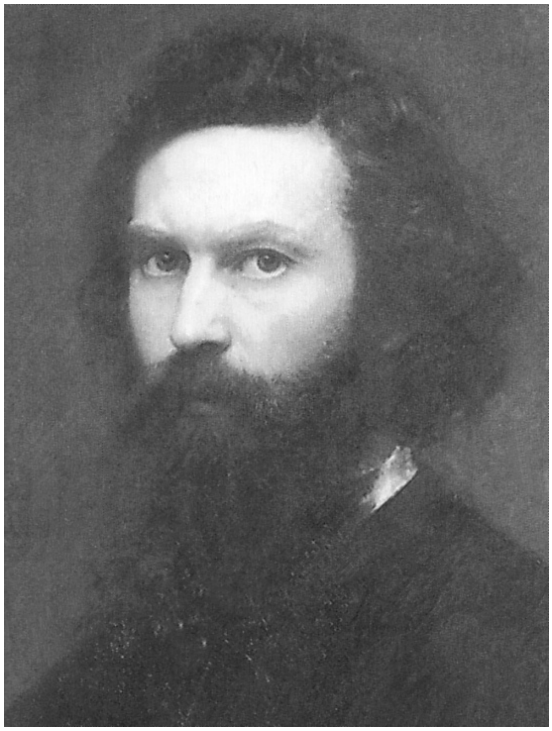


Figure 2.21. *Left*- Gertinger, Julius. Karl von Lützow, ca. 1874-1883. Wien. Photograph.
Figure 2.22. *Right*- Kaulbach, Friedrich, Self-Portrait of Friedrich Kaulbach, c. 1862. (Destroyed)

Ney works to produce a recognizable portrait of the sitter in her *Medallion of Prof. Karl von Lützow.* Done in the same year as her *Cosima Medallion*, the work shares a similar classical format as well as an keen linear study of the profile. The sitter faces left and is framed by a simple round trimming. No inscription or lettering is included on the *Medallion of Lützow,* except for the date inscribed under the neck of the piece.[212] The linearity of the profile view is heightened by the leftward gaze, his angular features, and full beard. Notably, the artist manages to create a heightened sense of depth despite the relief sculptural type. Shadow collects behind the ear and under the chin to suggest a three-dimensional form, rather than a flattened depiction.

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[212] Johann, 275.

Despite the indication of damage, the piece still functions as a piece that elevates the sitter's likeness, as well as his previously unknown prestige as a *Kunsthistoriker*.

Ney also produced a number of medallions for friends and advocates in Texas to assist her networking. In fact, Ney became quite involved in Austin supporting various causes such as education in the arts, and later women's reform. Her studio, Formosa, was used as a meeting place by many groups including the Daughters of the Republic of Texas (DRT).[213] And Ney became a *salonnière* herself, hosting women interested in arts and culture in the capital city. In 1900, Elisabet would meet Ella Dibrell (1863-1920), a Texas native, member of the DRT, and supporter of the arts in Austin. Dibrell would later prove to be one of the most devoted supporters of Ney's art and legacy. Ney's 1902 *Portrait Medallion of Ella Dibrell* is quite different in style from her previously discussed works (refer to Fig. 2.23). Rather than the austere lines and strong contours of Ney's European medallion works, Dibrell is delicately unhindered. While her bust is turned to an almost three-quarter view, her head and neck remain strictly facing right. The approach of the artist seems to be less restrained, but still the sitter is shown to us with great attention to the linearity allowed by the vantage point. We can recognize the shape of her nose, her flared nostrils and overall agreeable facial features along with her loosely tied bun and open neckline despite the faint linearity. Due to the more gestural quality, it is almost as if Ney captures the fleeting quality of her younger friend's beauty.

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[213] Rommé, 272.

Figure 2.23. *Left*- Ney, Elisabet, *Medallion of Ella D. Dibrell*, Plaster, 1900. ENM, Austin, Texas. Photo taken from Rommé, 273.
Figure 2.24. *Right*- Ney, Elisabet. *Medallion of Mrs. Rose as a Young Girl,* 1897. Plaster. Diameter: 7 ¾ in., height: 1 1/8 in. Dallas Museum of Art. Dallas, Texas. Obj. No. 1941.19. Photograph by author.

Another medallion from Ney's later sculpture career, includes her *Medallion of Mrs. Rose as a Young Girl* dating to 1897 (refer to Fig. 2.24).[214] The smaller-format medallion depicts 10-year-old Margret Runge Rose (1886-1942), the daughter of Julius and Johanna Runge. In 1887, Ney executed busts of the wealthy Galveston couple, who were second generation German-Texans. Julius Runge was a prominent businessman and worked as a consul in the port city. Ney's link to the Runges is uncertain, but it was likely through Julius Runges' involvement in the cotton industry.[215] Like the *Medallion of Ella Dibrell*, the *Medallion of Mrs. Rose as a*

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[214] Two plaster copies of this work exist, one at the Elisabet Ney Museum (ENM), and one is in storage at the Dallas Museum of Art (DMA). Additionally, a bronze version, cast in 1963 is now in the ENM collection. I was able to study both plaster pieces in person due to the help of the staff of the ENM and the DMA. Thanks to Jacqueline Allen and Shannon Sweeney.
[215] Johann, 443-447.

*Young Girl* is more delicate and gestural in its approach. The work is done in a smaller format as well, as both pieces are approximately twenty centimeters in diameter. The youth is portrayed facing right, but with her shoulders and chest rotated to be at a ¾ view. The child's face is rendered with emphasis on the profile of her features, strictly studied from the side. Despite the overall gestural approach to the work, the linear clarity of the profile is heightened. Her forehead, nose, lips, and chin are all emphasized with a undulating line that defines her facial features. Left completely down, the hair is pulled to the right shoulder and twisted away from the face. The hair is densely treated, as it builds in depth to suggest its volume and soft texture. She is wearing a contemporary blouse or dress with a square neckline that receives minor attention. While it is uncertain why Ney created this piece of Margret, one of the seven children of the couple, the work situates the youthful beauty in an idealized context.

Through the discussion of several of Elisabet Ney's other portrait medallions it becomes even more apparent just how significant the *Portrait Medallion of Cosima Wagner* remains within the oeuvre of the artist. The earliest known medallions by the artist of her parents, as well as the later medallions of her friends in Texas work to elevate the subjects status. During the latter part of Ney's career, her work loosens overall, leaning toward a more romanticized Beaux-Arts aesthetic. However, the insertion of contemporary clothing, and in the case of Ney's later works the more transient stylistic approach are not as effective as her Neoclassical rendering in the *Cosima Medallion.*

***Fin***

Within the history of art, the profile view remains a stark yet refined way to display a sitter's likeness. While the profile portrait was not developed on a larger scale until the Renaissance, the association of the profile view still remains tied to the classical past. During the long-nineteenth century, artists such as David d'Angers began to realize the potential of the practice of portrait medallions – not only to disburse the image of the illustrious but also to circulate the skill of the artist. Elisabet Ney would also be intrigued by this process of branding or persona-making that the portrait medallion astutely does so well. Her engagement with the profile portrait medallion reveals to us that Ney was concerned with representing 'great' persons and attaining the status of 'great' herself from an early point in her career

The *Portrait Medallion of Cosima von Buelow* was an early work of Elisabet Ney, produced just after she began working independently outside of Rauch's studio. Therefore, it speaks to the manner in which Ney gained experience working for commissions through her social connections in the Berlin salon. Due to her involvement in the intellectual circles of Berlin, the artist was able to market her abilities as well as affiliate herself with the 'greats' of society. Through the unique circumstances of Berlin in the 1850s, forged by many bold women of the past, Ney was able to make a place for herself in a changing society that still honored and revered the past in idiosyncratic ways, including the tradition of the profile portrait medallion.

# CHAPTER 3

## THREE PORTRAIT BUSTS AND THE REPRESENTATION OF INTELLECTUAL EMINENCE IN GERMANY

Sculpture heads or busts have existed throughout the history of art. Stylized renderings divulge cultural principles, like the Nok heads of Nigeria, while more naturalistic works provide a register of the commanding facial features of the past, like the lacquered terracotta *Bust of Lorenzo de' Medici* by Andrea del Verrocchio. The varying levels of realism reveal to us cultural values, yet the ranging stylistic approaches all work to immortalize the sitter. By cropping or limiting the sculptural work to just the head and shoulders, the sculptor is focusing our attention on the identity of the sitter. Through the portrait bust, the physical appearance of the human being is portrayed as well as *ethos* of the sitter. From this cropped human study, the viewer can discover the sitter's intelligence, personality and experience. And in actuality, the head, or the face, rather, grabs our interest first.[216] And what remains entrancing to museum visitors today is that through these three-dimensional representations of faces of the past, modern viewers see themselves reflected in the similarities of shared human features and values that have transcended millennia.

From the portrait bust, much can be conveyed beyond the precise measurements of the sitter's individual features. The sculpted head, the vessel of the brain or the 'mind,' functions as synecdoche of a human being in an intriguing way, as it seems not only to emphasize one's

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[216] "We recognize a man from his [facial] features rather than from the proportions of his body, his characteristic movements or his way of dressing." Ulrich Middeldorf. "Heads in Sculpture" from *Parnassus,* Vol. 12, No. 3 (March 1940), 18.

identity, but also to embody the thoughts of the sitter. With the bust sculpture portrait, the viewer is invited into the sitter's mind, as their likeness is portrayed to suggest their intellectual eminence. A legacy that lives on for ages is possible by this sculptural type, as by limiting the use of costuming, the sitter is suspended into a timeless state of human prestige that transcends cultural epochs. And "…the [sculptural] portrait can be produced in indefinite numbers, giving its subject an advantage not in time but space: he can be in several places at once…In other words, the portraits gives the subject a kind of artificial immortality and ubiquity."[217] It is no wonder then that Ney would execute many portrait busts throughout her transnational career. Just as she sought to meet the "great persons of the world," she also sought to capture their eminence, or 'greatness,' in marble for perpetuity not only for their sake, but for the sake of building her career.

Within this chapter, I discuss Elisabet Ney's engagement with the sculptural type of bust portraiture, particularly focusing on three works that the artist executed at various times of her career. And, I will also outline the history of the sculptural type in order to situate the historically-loaded art form. I have chosen to analyze Ney's portrait busts of Arthur Schopenhauer– philosopher, Friedrich Wöhler– chemist, and Edmund Montgomery– medical doctor, philosopher and spouse of the sculptor. In particular, each of these works speak to the artist's engagement with the portrait bust as a means to display German intellectual eminence. Also, each of the these works involved unique circumstances, which explicate the measures that

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[217] *Sculpture, From Antiquity to Present Day,* edited by Georges Duby and Jean-Luc Daval. Taschen: China, 2015, 105.

sculptors often took to gain success in their profession. In this way, Ney's use of this sculptural medium to harbor interest in her own artistic abilities via the sale of copies will be examined.

***The tradition of bust sculpture***

The sculptural bust was a common measure for men of power or intelligence to commission. For sculpture, the taste of patrons tended to be reserved, remaining loyal to established ancient traditions. Despite the less experimental nature of the medium, the seemingly timeless practice of bust sculpture continues to align sitters of the present day with the grand figures of the classical past, thus equating the present sitter's likeness and prestige with a glorious, and respectable lineage. Elisabet Ney had a keen understanding of the art market and its demands, as she would master the challenging sculptural type early in her career. Ney's work is primarily described as Neoclassical, and this is especially the case for her numerous portrait busts. Therefore, it is important to situate her work within the classical history of the portrait bust and its resurgences up until the nineteenth century.

During its beginnings in the mid-eighteenth century, Neoclassicism emerged due to the common practice of aristocrats, artists, and writers to embark on a Grand Tour as part of a worldly education, with ancient Roman sites fueling their tastes for the classical. By the turn of the nineteenth century, Neoclassicism was considered the preferred style of France because of the longstanding dominance of the French Academy, but also due to the objectives of Napoleon. With its noble applications of classicism, the style was used to incite his idea of French

nationalism as orderly, long-established and civilized.[218] In this way, the Neoclassic style was especially effective for the purposes of propaganda, as it worked to align France with the glory of the ancient world. The emergence of Neoclassicism in Germany is also indebted to its propagandistic power, "…the Germans, fired with enthusiasm by Winckelmann's works, build their aesthetic on archaeological foundations…"[219]

Following the Napoleonic Wars and the dissemination of the predominately German-speaking Holy Roman Empire, art enthusiast King Ludwig I of Bavaria decided to embark on a project to inspire German pride. With the help of Swiss historian Johannes von Müller, Ludwig I conceived of a hall or temple that would showcase portrait busts of the most influential Germans throughout history, such as Johannes Kepler, Albrecht Dürer, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.[220,221,222] For the project, Ludwig I enlisted the help of his most trusted architect, Leo von Klenze, to build a Pantheon to German greats. And through this measure, "Klenze therefore linked Greeks and Germans to a common origin."[223] During the twelve years of construction, German sculptors including Johann Gottfried Schadow, Christian Daniel Rauch, and Christian

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[218] Irwin, 262.
[219] Maurice Rheims. *19th century sculpture* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1978), 15.
[220] Simone Steger, *Die Bildnisbüsten der Walhalla bei Donaustauf Von der Konzeption durch Ludwig I. von Bayern zur Ausführung (1807–1842)*, dissertation (Ludwig–Maximilian University: Munich, 2011).
[221] The plan was likely partially conceived as a reaction to the newly renovated French Mausoleum of illustrious Frenchmen at the former St. Genevieve in Paris, the Panthéon in Paris.
[222] Steger, 13. Walhalla, the name for the project was given after the advice of von Müller, as the term "Valhalla" in Norse mythology refers to Odin's massive hall and thereby tightens the underlying notions of German nationalism and identity.
[223] Irwin, 294. The architectural project began construction in 1830 and was finished in October of 1842.

Friedrich Tieck, produced more than a hundred herm-style portrait busts to fill the grand hall.[224] Walhalla was strategically placed atop of hill overlooking the Danube River near the city of Regensburg, mimicking the sublime placement of the Parthenon in ancient Athens' acropolis. David Irwin explains, "Ludwig himself said of the building that he hoped 'the German might depart from it more German and better than when he had arrived'. Surely nationalism and moral improvement had never been so united in one building."[225] The site established an illustrative version of German intellectual history.

Figure 3.1. Turner, Joseph Mallord William. *The Opening of the Wallhalla,* 1842. Oil on mahogany. Tate, London, United Kingdom.

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[224] Irwin, 294; Steger. Steger emphasizes the use of *"dienlich"* within von Müller's various letters.

[225] Irwin, 296. Note: punctuation transcribed exactly.

Walhalla was quite influential to later German sculptors, who perhaps visited the hilltop temple near the Danube River or were familiar with artworks portraying its grandiosity. It is uncertain if Ney visited the site herself. But, she was most definitely aware of the project, and was able to study many of Rauch's busts completed for the project in his Lagerhaus studio. For example, she probably used his *Bust of Fürstenburg* (1828) to make her *Statue of Franz von Fürstenberg* (1864). Also, Johann mentions that the artist likely utilized Ludwig Schwanthaler's *Bust of Wolter von Plettenburg* (1832) to execute her *Statue of Wolter von Plettenburg* (1864) due to the similarity of the "*Gesichtsproportionen*."[226] Additionally, a painting that perpetuated the legacy of Ludwig I's grand hall includes J.M.W. Turner's *The Opening of the Wallhalla* from 1842 (refer to Fig. 3.1). It was exhibited at The Royal Academy of London in 1843, and then in Munich in 1845. Numerous engravings circulated as well, including the views printed in the 1844 edition of *Magasin Pittoresque* (refer to Fig. 3.2 and Fig. 3.3). What remains interesting, however, for our purposes is not the building, but the busts within, chosen to reflect and allegorize the 'greatness' of Germanic culture. Through the use of the sculptural type of the portrait bust, Walhalla functions to solidify the laudable aspects of the various sitters portrayed, and immortalizes their intellectual achievements as well as their likeness. The Neoclassical program was unified in its manifold aspects to glorify pursuits of the German-tongue, using the appropriated stylistic vocabulary of ancient art.

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[226] Johann, 152, 298. "facial proportions."

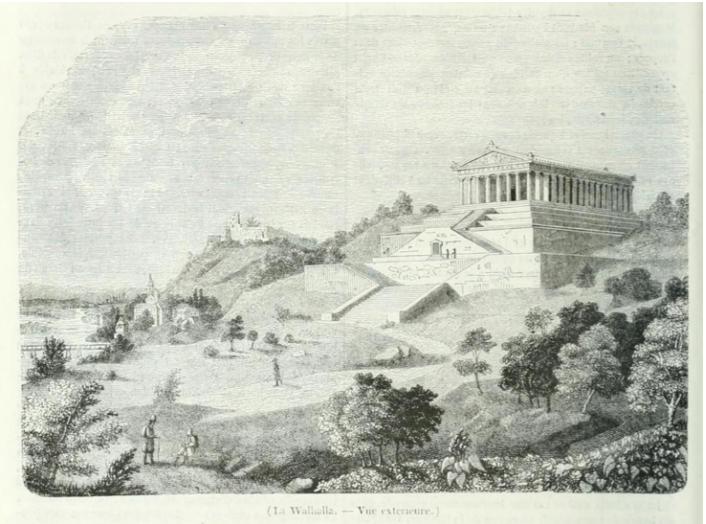


Figure 3.2. *Left*- "La Walhalla– Vue intérieure" from *Le Magasin Pittoresque,* 1844. Engraving. Taken from https://archive.org/details/magasinpittoresq12char/page/n6/mode/2up
Figure 3.3. *Right*- "La Walhalla. – Vue extérieure," from *Le Magasin Pittoresque,* 1844. Engraving. Taken from https://archive.org/details/magasinpittoresq12char/page/n6/mode/2up

As with many traditions of Western Art History, the bust portrait as a sculptural type, rather than a component or remaining piece of a full-size work, begins with the Ancient Greeks. According to Peter Stewart, the invention of the bust, a sculptural type that includes a portrait of a sitter's head and neck, often with varying amounts of the shoulders and chest, first emerged in Hellenistic Greece.[227] Prior to this, the portrait head functioned autonomously, as the head would usually be attached to a human figure.

The earliest sculpture heads in the history of western art were not designed to divulge a specific identity, but rather to honor gods and goddesses. The Ancient Greeks also developed the "herm," or "herma" style, where the head or bust is squared off at the shoulders and held up by a

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[227] "Portrait busts or heads are attested in the Hellenistic period, though we tend to associate them with Rome." Peter Stewart, *Statues in Roman society: Representation and Response* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 46.

quadrangular base.[228] Early herma works include an idealized view of the god of travel and fertility, Hermes, atop the tall square base. The location of the herma statuary functioned to mark entrances or important cites. This herm style would extend to represent figures other than Hermes by the Hellenistic period, revealing a shift in the importance of the human sitter.[229] An example of a herm statue includes Polyeuktos's *Herm of Demosthenes* originally modeled in 280 BCE, now a part of the Glyptothek collection (refer to Fig. 3.4). [230] This Roman copy of the early Greek portrait of the Athenian orator presents us with a likeness of the Athenian orator.[231] The herm with its pillared base design inspired the Roman *termini* and other manifestations including a more tapered or decorated pillar to accompany busts. The truncated quadrangular herm format

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[228] "These were usually surmounted by the bearded head of Hermes (hence the name) and had an erect phallus. They were used not only as cult objects but also for a variety of other purposes, for example, as milestones or boundary marks." The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, Editors of Enclyopædia Britannica. "Herm." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 30 June 2019, https://www.britannica.com/topic/herm.

[229] "Over the course of the Hellenistic Period (ca. 323-30 BC), Greek statue practice evolved into a thorough going *portrait* practice, and in most public settings in the Greek world—including sanctuaries of the gods—portraits came to outnumber divine images." Catherine M. Keesling, *Early Greek Portraiture, Monuments and Histories* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 1. Author uses "BC and CE" throughout text instead of the more accepted "BCE, CE"

[230] "Herm;" Cornell University Library. "Portrait Herm of Demosthenes." *Cornell University Library Digital Collections: Cornell Cast Collection*, 2013, digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:172905. The former location of the original *Herm of Demosthenes* at the Athenian agora, and the later Roman copy at the Circus of Maxentius indicate that many travelers likely touched the now-gone phallus for fortune on the basis of their beliefs in apotropaic magic.

[231] "Herm of Hermes (Getty Museum)." *Herm of Hermes*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/8636/unknown-maker-herm-of-hermes-roman-second-half-of-1st-century-ad/.

would be implemented as well by the Romans and later generations of sculptors, including Neoclassical sculptors.[232]

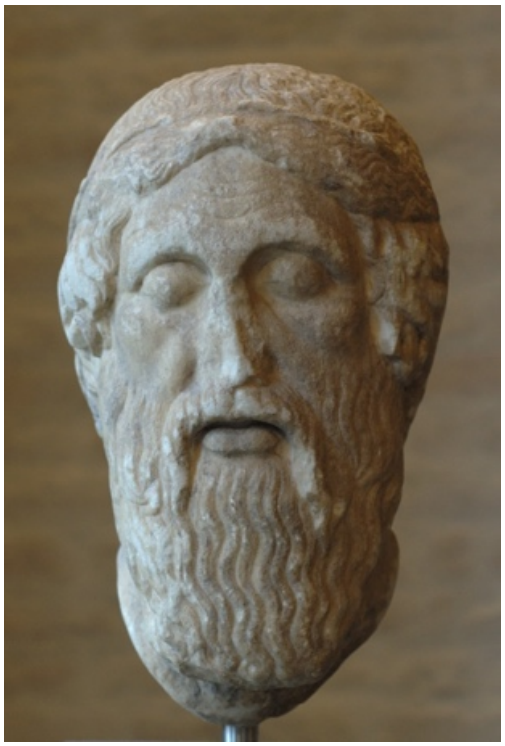

Figure 3.4. *Left*- Polyeuktos, *Herm of Demosthenes*, 280 BCE. Roman Copy of Greek original. 183 cm. Glyptothek. Munich, Germany.
Figure 3.5. *Right- Head of Homer*, c. 460 BCE. Roman marble copy of Bronze original. Glyptothek. Munich, Germany.

With the advancement of civilization portraits began to change in function and also presentation. The devotional statues of the early Greek civilization were replaced by portraits made for the purpose of honoring esteemed members of culture. Artists began to focus on rendering humanistic endeavors, highlighting their culture's intellectual progress and military

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[232] "Herm."

prowess. Perhaps the first sculpture bust ever created of an intellectual was of the great poet Homer. Several surviving works indicate portrait works of the poet exist prior to the Hellenistic period, and a number have survived the centuries. For example, a *Head of Homer*, likely from a full-figure representation, is housed at the Glyptothek in Munich, Germany (refer to Fig. 3.5).[233] With this portrait head two things are conveyed with the legendary poet's appearance: his intelligence as well as his illustrious character. First, scholars mention that his blindness, "…derives from a widespread notion in ancient cultures that blindness endows poets and singers with the special ability to memorise, and blesses them with introspection and profound knowledge."[234] What remains interesting about this classical portrait is the manner in which the sculptor depicts Homer's blindness with his eyes calmly closed.[235] It seems as if his intelligence radiates from within. A second notable physical trait includes his thick head of hair as well as his long, groomed beard to depict Homer as a "…dignified old man."[236] Thickness and length of beards will continue to symbolize wisdom as well as masculine vigor for centuries afterward. In the case of Homer, his mind and legacy as a great thinker of the Greek civilization was proliferated not only through his timeless texts but also through the enduring and numerous depictions of his physiognomy and "essence" there-in.

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[233] Raimund Wünsche, *Glyptothek, Munich: Masterpieces of Greek and Roman Sculpture,* Trans. by Rodney Batstone (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2007), 100. Glyptothek scholars believe that this Roman marble version was originally made in bronze dating to c. 460 BCE.

[234] Wünsche, 100.

[235] Ibid., 10. While much of Homer's life remains a mystery, the Western world has perceived of Homer as blind, as mentioned by the Poet Lucian. Further, it was believed that the character Demodokos from the Odyssey, a blind poet, is thought to be biographical.

[236] Ibid., 100.

The Greek's cultural successors, the Romans, utilized the three-dimensional form to produce many portrait sculptures including copying the Greeks masterpieces.[237] Paul Zanker states: "Romans were primarily interested in the faces, where they thought they could read the subjects' personalities and capabilities. Copies of entire portrait statues were rarer."[238] In contrast to the idealized versions of the Greeks, Romans were profoundly interested in portraying subjects as realistically as possible, 'warts and all.' The verism of Roman portraits emerges early in their history, "The almost exaggeratedly realistic reproduction of human physiognomy is characteristic of private portraits of the Republican period."[239] The function of the sculpture portrait expanded – it required an astute study of human features in an extremely realistic manner in order to allow viewers to fathom the subjective experiences within. The Roman demand for verisimilitude reveals that they were interested in how the outward appearance of the sitter could reveal the internal. One example of this aesthetic includes the Glyptothek's *Old Roman,* dating to c. 40 BCE. (refer to Fig. 3.6) We can definitely detect with this work of the late Republic period the intense treatment of verism. The patrician, or higher-class Roman citizen is displayed without any idealization. The matter-of-fact, hyper-realized presentation of the sitter functions to communicate the sitter's age and therefore his wisdom. His physiognomy includes deep, framing wrinkles, hollowed cheeks, tired eyes, enlarged ears and a prominent nose, all accompanied by a

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[237] Few original ancient Greek sculptures survive. The sculptures would be copied by the Romans in marble or similar, and then the bronze was melted down and employed for other uses.

[238] Paul Zanker, *Roman Portraits: Sculptures in Stone and Bronze in the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), 13.

[239] Wünsche, 129. The Roman Republic existed from 509 BCE-27 BCE. Verism, from the Latin for *Veritas* or *Verus*, refers to ideas of "truth," and is a stylistic preference for a strict, severe naturalism or realism of the subject at hand.

lack of hair. But, the amount of detail carved into the stone reflects his demeanor as well as his age. The truthful, compelling work functions to garner appreciation for the wisdom of the sitter; his full life of experiences written on his face with his wrinkles and his expression carved into marble.

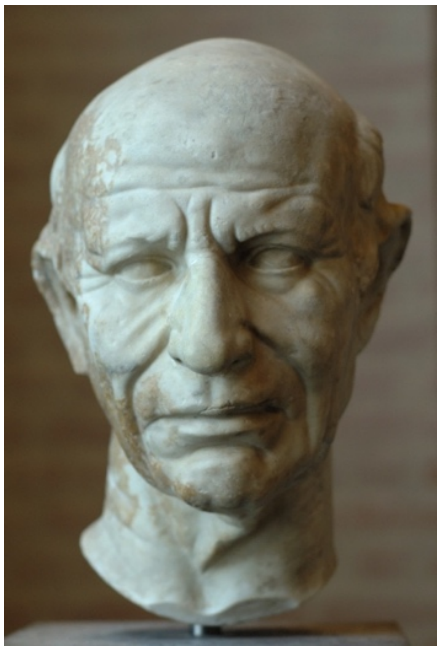

Figure 3.6. *The Old Roman,* c. 40 BCE. Marble. Glyptothek. Munich, Germany.

During the early and mid-Renaissance period artists grappled with lofty medieval conventions while simultaneously embracing naturalism resulting in a formative style. [240] Irving Lavin explains that the partitioned versions of the early and mid-Renaissance would not be abandoned for the "self-contained, abstract form" of the Roman type until the High

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[240] "The sculptured portrait did not actually disappear during the Middle Ages, but when it occurred it was included within some physical and conceptual context, notably as part of the decoration of churches and tombs." Irving Lavin, "On Illusion and Allusion in Italian Sixteenth-Century Portrait Busts," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119, no. 5 (October 15, 1975): 353–362, 357.

Renaissance.[241] A significant example of a High Renaissance bust includes Michelangelo's unfinished *Bust of Brutus* from 1538 (refer to Fig. 3.7).[242] The classical subject partnered with the classical format, a V-shaped composition on a base, places the Renaissance work within the ancient tradition of the sculpture bust.[243] Many Roman works utilize this format in German collections, including *Septimius Severus* from c. 193-211 CE (refer to Fig. 3.8). Michelangelo's use of the ancient form within his contemporary context speaks to the powerful efficacy of the ancient prototype that resurged due to renewed interest in the classical humanities. The *Bust of Brutus* is placed upon its Roman style pedestal, and the back is hollowed out. The head is turned on an axis and facing left highlighting the strong profile of the sitter as well as the stern expression shown about his brows, tight lips and clenched jaw.[244] A sense of Brutus's personality, his status, as well as his likeness is portrayed "visually and psychologically" in the Renaissance marble work thus bringing this ancient subject into our space for contemplation.[245]

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[241] Lavin, 353.

[242] "Elisabet Ney an eine befreundete Dame und/oder Elisabeth Lewald, 25 March 1869, Rome," Nachlass Lewald-Stahr," box 16, fol. 368: 69-72, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 814. Elisabet Ney was familiar with the work of Michelangelo, and was able to see many of his works in person during a trip to Florence, Venice, and Rome.

[243] Lavin, 357-58. The *Bust of Brutus* has been compared to the ancient *Bust of Caracalla*, today at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, due to the similarities of composition as well as the underlying meaning of each piece. The tyrannical murder of Brutus/Caracalla and the current situation in Florence with the Medici brothers resonated at the time.

[244] Despite the fact that the actual sitter was not present for the execution of the work, Michelangelo is still able to render a representation of the noble subject due to his access to ancient sculptures in the papal and Medici collections.

[245] Lavin, 362.

Figure 3.7. *Left-* Michelangelo, *Bust of Brutus*, 1538. Marble. Palazzo del Bargello. Florence, Italy.
Figure 3.8. *Right- Septimius Severus* from c. 193-211 CE. Glyptothek. Munich, Germany.

Ultimately, the artistic practices of the High Renaissance were accepted as the basis for art-making in Western culture. The goal of achieving balance between classical composition, virtuosic naturalism of the figure, and the illusion of space became standard for the newly established hierarchy of the Fine Arts. As mentioned before, the prestige of attending an academy of art allowed students to become professional artists, and as a result more respected than a mere craftsman. As a daughter of a craftsman, Elisabet Ney was aware of this stigma. Ney realized early the benefits of gaining an education at a fine arts academy. Throughout her career, she leveraged her academic training to her advantage –not only did she receive instruction to master her discipline, she also gained a privileged status.

***Balancing "all'antica"***

Perhaps, the most well-known Neoclassical sculptor includes Italian Antonio Canova (1757-1822). He aimed to bring harmony to his forms and believed "Sculpture is born in clay, dies in plaster, and is resurrected in marble."[246] With his busts, he would produce stark presentations, modelled with an emphasis on idealism, casting him as a favorite of Napoleon. One bust by Canova that recently hit the auction market includes his *Bust of Lucrezia d'Este* made in 1821-22 for a wealthy British banker, Alexander Baring (refer to Fig. 3.9).[247] Canova was interested in "resurrecting" the beautiful subjects of the past in marble to solidify their place in history.[248] With his Lucrezia d'Este bust, Canova presents us with a classical beauty with perfectly symmetrical features, a broad Roman nose and a groomed Grecian hairstyle. From all angles, the portrait bust shows a vision of beauty that situates the Renaissance woman within the context of classical art forms. Her presentation is severe, however, in the perfection of the surface of her marble skin and the precise texture of her hairstyle. Really, the portrait is more allegorical and could be of any woman from the past or present as the work aims to immortalize beauty.[249]

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[246] William H Gerdts, *American Neo-Classic Sculpture, The Marble Resurrection* (New York: The Viking Press, 1973), 1.

[247] "A Rediscovered Canova Marble Is Announced for Sale." *Bbys Magazine*, Barneby's Co.uk, 15 Apr. 2019, www.barnebys.co.uk/blog/a-rediscovered-canova-marble-is-announced-for-sale. A great beauty of the sixteenth century, Lucrezia d'Este was unhappily married to the quite younger Duke of Urbino, Francesco Marie II della Rovere. Her timeless beauty and charm led to a separation of the royal marriage and several extramarital affairs.

[248] Henry Moses, *The Works of Antonio Canova in Sculpture and Modeling,* Vol. III (London: Septimus Prowett, 1828), ii.

[249] Cheney, 26. Rauch knew of the work of Antonio Canova as they would both work in Rome at the same time. It is likely that Ney knew of Canova due to Rauch's familiarity with him, as well as his prominence throughout Europe.

Figure 3.9. Canova, Antonio. *Bust of Lucrezia d'Este,* c. 1821-22. Marble.

By the mid-nineteenth century, Neoclassicism became less concerned with the notion of classical idealization of forms. As archeological discoveries, such as the Elgin marbles, were brought to Western Europe, and for the first time many artists could study the surprising amount of naturalism within the Ancient Greek sculptures.[250] For the remainder of the century, Neoclassical sculptors would grapple with differing approaches, which combined differing measures of idealism and naturalism. And typically each sculptor adjusted their approach for a portrait bust depending on the circumstances and the sitter. The Berlin School of Sculpture (*Die Berliner Bildhauerschule*) led primarily by Rauch in the "Lagerhaus" at Kloster Straße 76 had a distinct style that emphasized a dualistic notion the of presentation of the sitter. As a teacher, he

[250] Irwin, 323.

would foster a Neoclassical approach that worked to solidify the *ethos* or the spirit of character of the individual, while at the same time, remaining loyal to the physical form of the sitter.[251] And, as we know, Ney was one of his last students and was highly influenced by to the guidance she received from Rauch.

***"…but the art from which you were surest to croak from hunger…" Emile Zola*** [252]

This excerpt of Emilé Zola's 1886 novel, *The Masterpiece* or *L'Oeuvre*, shares an astute understanding of the realities of sculpture.

> *A statue the administration would buy for 3000 francs cost him nearly 2000 for the model, the clay, the marble or bronze, plus all the other expenses, and all that just for it to be stuck away… The noblest of the arts, the most manly among them, sure enough; but the art from which you were surest to croak from hunger.*

All artists must assume an inherent level of risk when entering their field. And on account of the high costs involved in sculpture, it made for an even more precarious career choice – "the art from which you were surest to croak from hunger." As a result, many sculptors would often work in a guild-like collaborative workshops, in order to ensure consistent work and compensation. But this would damage their artistic status, as Rheims explains, "The sculptors' merits were conceded, their manual skill praised as much as that of a blacksmith, but unless they became recognized as great masters they had to submit to the caprices of fashion and the demands of their clientele."[253] As a result, few sculptors would leave a master's workshop, as

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[251] Peter Bloch, Sibylle Einholz, Jutta von Simson, eds. *Ethos und Pathos. Die Berliner Bildhauerschule 1786–1914* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 1990), 40.

[252] Émile Zola, *The Masterpiece*, (Ann Arbor, M.I.: University of Michigan Press, 1968), 224. From the 1886 original: *L'Oeuvre*. Also the opening quote for Maurice Rheim's 1977 text.

[253] Rheims, 9.

they would need to establish their reputation independently to gain clientele. The only way to do this was for the talented sculptor to initially invest their personal money and time, and hope for a return on their products of creativity.

Considering this, I believe Elisabet Ney was able to succeed in the German art world, and later in the United States due to keen strategic marketing and opportunistic thinking. Interestingly, Ney would use the sculptural bust in an advantageous way to showcase her talents and to build rapport as a proficient sculptor and also socially as a charismatic and intelligent persona– thereby growing her reputation two-fold. The sculpture portrait bust was major source of commissions for sculptors, like portrait paintings for painters, it was the bread-and-butter of the trade. Elisabet Ney, actually even referred to busts as "*Brotarbeit*" (or 'Bread work') in letters, thus solidifying her understanding of the grunt work.[254] Proving one's abilities to capture a sitter's likeness, as well as to suspend the sitter's legacy was a balancing act that many artists failed to achieve. But, as a trained Neoclassicist, Ney was familiar with the classical notions of image-making and legacy inherent in the bust format. Ney was able to execute skillfully her first busts without commission quite proficiently, proving her abilities as a portraitist. And, to get the most value for her investment, she set out to sculpt 'great' persons allowing her work to have a better chance of gaining recognition. Additionally, the more famous the sitter, the more likely a

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[254] "Besonders hervorzuheben ist, dass Ney das Modellieren von Büsten als Brotarbeit bezeichnet hat und sich schon früh bemühte, Aufträge für lebensgroße Denkmalfiguren zu erhalten," "Brotarbeit." Dagmar von Stetten-Jelling, "Die Bildhauerin Elisabet Ney in Europa und Amerika," in *Herrin Ihrer Kunst, Elisabet Ney, Bildhauerin in Europa und Amerika,* ed. Barbara Rommé (Stadmuseum Münster, Wienand Verlag: Münster, 2008), 44; von Stetten-Jelling, 99. Unfortunately the author does not cite a primary source in either text. I will continue to cite von Stetten-Jelling's 2003 PhD dissertation with only her last name, as the book chapter is not cited again in this text.

sculptor is to receive interest for commissioned copies. Through word-of-mouth by various acquaintances in Berlin and elsewhere, the sculptor's social reputation worked to fuel interest and gain clientele. And of course, as a young sculptress of Rauch's studio and a claimed grand-niece of Marshal Ney, Ney was also able to capitalize on her distinctive persona. All of her initial efforts to market her work, by proving her artistic skill on her own dime and by branding herself as a charming, sharp personality would help her to earn commissions across Europe despite the dismal odds of her profession.

It is interesting to consider the distribution of bust works and how they can be copied and sold multiple times, yet the power of the initial sketch continues with each version. Hiram Powers' *Proserpine*, for instance, was copied "well over one hundred times" for profit thus allowing the idealized form to be appreciated in various collections and households.[255] As previously mentioned, Ney produced copies of busts for commission. And in 1861, the artist learned quickly that by patenting and copyrighting her designs, she could stand to make a profit for years to come. But also, the copying of busts, whether in plaster, bronze, or marble, functioned to distribute her work across more markets to showcase and brand her abilities as a sculptor. Ney, like other Neoclassical sculptors including Jean-Antoine Houdon, understood that by marketing busts of public figures would draw interest in sales, as well as her own artist reputation, and therefore lead to more sales.[256] This period,

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[255] Gerdts, 93.

[256] "…He understood that sitters enjoying public recognition offered the opportunity to enhance his own reputation and might lead to the sale of reproductions in his workshop." Jack Hinton, Jean Antoine Houdon, Melissa Meighan, and P. Andrew Lins, *Encountering Genius: Houdon's Portraits of Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2011), 28.

> …has been interpreted as a feature of the emergent public sphere and as marking a moment when the democratization of the portrait, in terms of broadening entry of portraiture not only into private spaces but also within public contexts. Portraits of the celebrated also become available for consumption in multiples that were relatively inexpensive –notably as prints, as well as ceramic and metal medallions and in a wide variety of other forms.[257]

"Other forms" would include the sculpted portrait bust, made available to the public via public exhibitions and catalogues of various foundries. What is most intriguing is how Ney used some of her portrait busts to market herself. She would several busts multiple times to various exhibitions in: Leipzig, Vienna, Cologne, and Münster as well as the Berlin Academy exhibition in 1860, and the Paris Salon in 1861.[258] And later, she even exhibited several of her German portrait works in the United States.

Interestingly, the artist was privy to the laws of copyright and quickly learned that she could stand to make a profit for years to come. Ney would patent many of her works, including her *Bust of Schopenhauer, Bust of Georg V of Hanover, Bust of Jacob Grimm* and her *Bust of Eilhard Mitscherlich,* to protect her artistic property. On January 10, 1861, Ney received a patent from the Berlin Ministry of Affairs (of Spiritual, Educational and Medical) that granted "copyright protection against the unauthorized reproduction of four works, the busts of: Grimm, Mitscherlich, Schopenhauer, and King Georg V."[259] In this way, Ney was able to protect her

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[257] Hinton, et.al., 18-19.

[258] "Briefwechsel Elisabet Ney an Arthur Schopenhauer, 11 August 1860;" Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 125.

[259] "Urbeberschutz gegen unbefugte Nachbildung von vier Büsten, 10 January 1861, Berlin" "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 3, fol. 7, HRC; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 718. Copyright protection against unauthorized reproduction of four busts: Eilhard Mitscherlich, Jacob Grimm, Arthur Schopenhauer, and King Georg V of Hanover due to "Gesetz vom 11. Juni 1837."

initial investment of these four works, as the more famous the sitter, the more likely a sculptor is to receive interest in copies. Ney would offer the designs to foundries to market her work through their catalogues, Micheli Brothers or the Eichler Gympsum Foundry. Through catalogue sales, Ney would stand to earn a percentage of the profit, and the public could easily order a gypsum (or plaster) bust for 18 marks  or even an "ivory paste" bust copy for 36 marks (refer to Fig. 3.10).[260] Also, foundries offered busts in several sizes to fit any budget. Several of Ney's works, including her *Bust of Schopenhauer* and her *Bust of Friedrich Wöhler,* were reproduced several times to fulfill copy orders.[261] And with each copy, viewers are still privileged with the aesthetic of the original design, which works to build the intellectual legacy of the sitter. This practice would lead to the democratization of the bust, as before it would be hard to afford a made-to-order sculpture. And through the distribution of busts, whether in plaster or marble, the works functioned to perpetuate the importance of the sitter, but also the growing importance of the sculptor.

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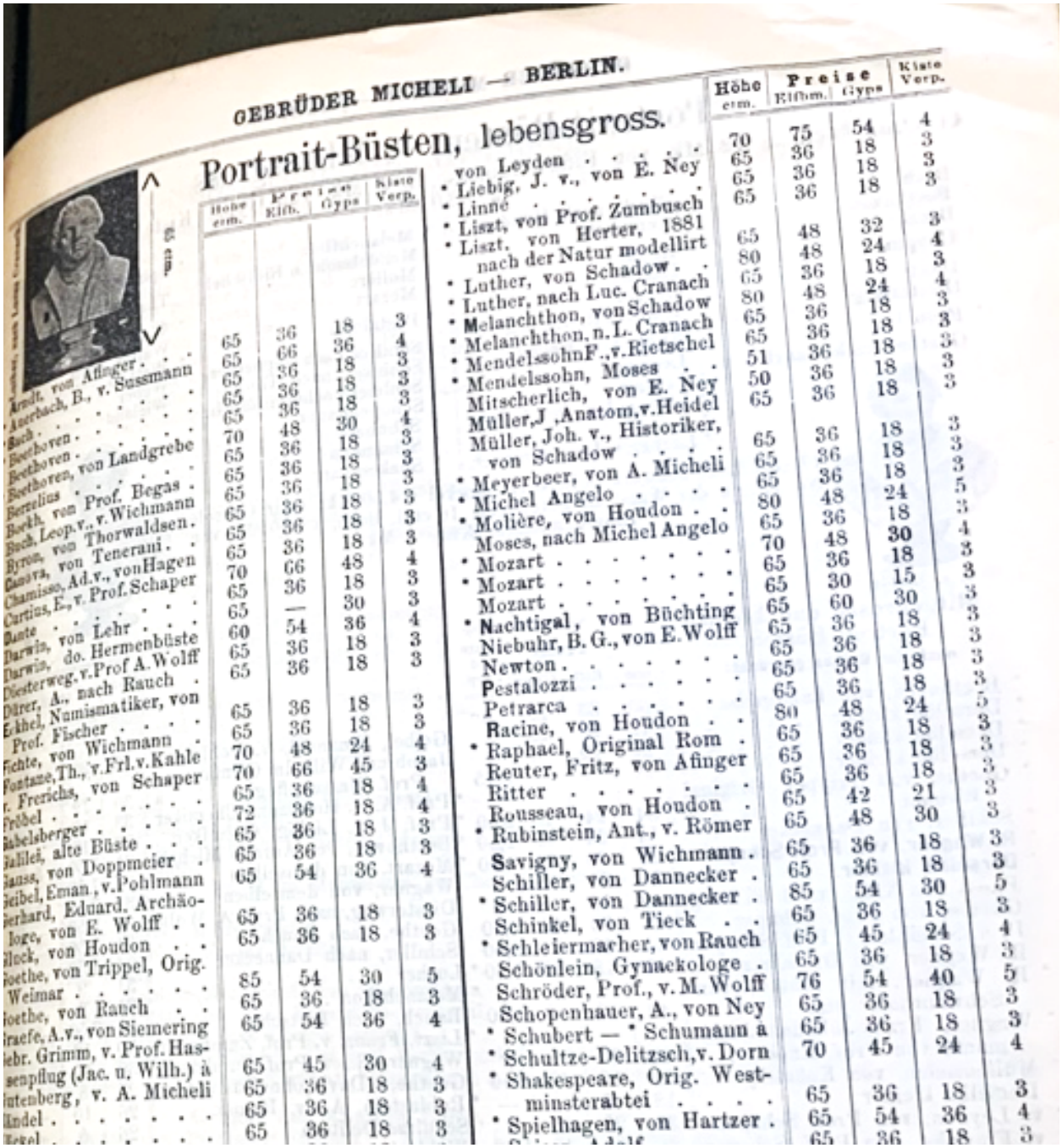
[260] "Gebrüder Micheli Trade Catalogues," Cat. No. SILNMAHTL_31116, 1897: 16-17, Trade Literature at the American History Museum Library. Smithsonian Libraries Trade Literature Collections, Washington D.C. Ney's Schopenhauer, Wöhler and Justus von Liebig sold for 36 marks in "ivory paste" or 18 marks for "gypsum." 36 marks is roughly equivalent to 600-650 dollars today. They were also available 2/3, and 1/3 size. Special thanks to Katrina Brown at the Smithsonian Library.

[261] Johann, 261, 383.



GEBRÜDER MICHELI — BERLIN.

Portrait-Büsten, lebensgross.

| | Höhe cm. | Preise Klbm. | Preise Gyps | Kiste Verp. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arndt, von Afinger | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Auerbach, B., v. Sussmann | 65 | 66 | 36 | 4 |
| Bach | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Beethoven | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Beethoven, von Landgrebe | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Berzelius | 65 | 36 | 30 | 4 |
| Borkh, von Prof. Begas | 70 | 48 | 18 | 3 |
| Buch, Leop.v., v.Wichmann | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Byron, von Thorwaldsen | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Canova, von Tenerani | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Chamisso, Ad.v., von Hagen | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Curtius, E., v. Prof. Schaper | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Dante | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Darwin, von Lehr | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Darwin, do. Hermenbüste | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Diesterweg, v. Prof A. Wolff | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Dürer, A., nach Rauch | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Eckhel, Numismatiker, von Prof. Fischer | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Fichte, von Wichmann | 70 | 48 | 24 | 4 |
| Fontane, Th., v. Frl. v. Kahle | 70 | 66 | 45 | 3 |
| v. Frerichs, von Schaper | 65 | 36 | 18 | 4 |
| Fröbel | 72 | 36 | 18 | 4 |
| Gabelsberger | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Galilei, alte Büste | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Gauss, von Doppmeier | 65 | 54 | 36 | 4 |
| Geibel, Eman., v. Pohlmann | | | | |
| Gerhard, Eduard, Archäologe, von E. Wolff | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Gluck, von Houdon | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Goethe, von Trippel, Orig. Weimar | 85 | 54 | 30 | 5 |
| Goethe, von Rauch | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Graefe, A.v., von Siemering | 65 | 54 | 36 | 4 |
| Gebr. Grimm, v. Prof. Hasenpflug (Jac. u. Wilh.) à | 65 | 45 | 30 | 4 |
| Gutenberg, v. A. Micheli | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Händel | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Hegel | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| von Leyden | 70 | 75 | 54 | 4 |
| • Liebig, J. v., von E. Ney | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| • Linné | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| • Liszt, von Prof. Zumbusch | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| • Liszt, von Herter, 1881 nach der Natur modellirt | 65 | 48 | 32 | 3 |
| • Luther, von Schadow | 80 | 48 | 24 | 4 |
| • Luther, nach Luc. Cranach | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| • Melanchthon, von Schadow | 80 | 48 | 24 | 4 |
| • Melanchthon, n. L. Cranach | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| • Mendelssohn F., v. Rietschel | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| • Mendelssohn, Moses | 51 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Mitscherlich, von E. Ney | 50 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Müller, J., Anatom, v. Heidel | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Müller, Joh. v., Historiker, von Schadow | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| • Meyerbeer, von A. Micheli | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| • Michel Angelo | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| • Molière, von Houdon | 80 | 48 | 24 | 5 |
| Moses, nach Michel Angelo | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| • Mozart | 70 | 48 | 30 | 4 |
| • Mozart | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Mozart | 65 | 30 | 15 | 3 |
| • Nachtigal, von Büchting | 65 | 60 | 30 | 3 |
| Niebuhr, B. G., von E. Wolff | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Newton | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Pestalozzi | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Petrarca | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Racine, von Houdon | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| • Raphael, Original Rom | 80 | 48 | 24 | 5 |
| Reuter, Fritz, von Afinger | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Ritter | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Rousseau, von Houdon | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| • Rubinstein, Ant., v. Römer | 65 | 42 | 21 | 3 |
| Savigny, von Wichmann | 65 | 48 | 30 | 3 |
| Schiller, von Dannecker | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| • Schiller, von Dannecker | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Schinkel, von Tieck | 85 | 54 | 30 | 5 |
| • Schleiermacher, von Rauch | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Schönlein, Gynaekologe | 65 | 45 | 24 | 4 |
| Schröder, Prof., v. M. Wolff | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| Schopenhauer, A., von Ney | 76 | 54 | 40 | 5 |
| • Schubert — • Schumann a | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| • Schultze-Delitzsch, v. Dorn | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| • Shakespeare, Orig. Westminsterabtei | 70 | 45 | 24 | 4 |
| • Spielhagen, von Hartzer | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |
| | 65 | 54 | 36 | 4 |
| | 65 | 36 | 18 | 3 |

Figure 3.10. Detail of *Gebrüder Micheli Trade Catalog,* 1897. Cat. No. SILNMAHTL_31116, 1897: 16-17, Trade Literature at the American History Museum Library. Smithsonian Libraries Trade Literature Collections, Washington D.C. Photograph by author.

The bust portrait comprises the majority of Ney's work, and there are at least forty surviving works by the artist that were completed during her transnational career. It is possible that there are more bust portraits to add to her oeuvre that remain in private collections, or were destroyed during the second war. For instance, the *Bust of Child,* which hit the market in 2008, was formerly unknown to scholars[262]. Undoubtedly, the young sculptor was heavily influenced by her time at the Berlin School of Sculpture, as her teacher Rauch produced over 150 portrait busts in his lifetime.[263] One example of Rauch's busts from his early career include his *Bust of Alexander von Humboldt (young)* dating to 1823 (refer to Fig. 3.11). With this work, we see a combined bust-style that references the herm-style of the Greeks, as the portrait is cut at the shoulders. But, the work also implements the V-shaped style of the Romans with the inclusion of a base with blank tabula and slight tapering of the bust. Rauch presents the polymath without any contemporary garments to situate his form within the ancient tradition. The face is rendered to show von Humboldt (1769-1859), slightly idealized at the age of 53. His skin and features are overall smoothed to portray the influential thinker in a flattering way. But at the same time, his wrinkled eyes, and cheeks begin to show the signs of aging. Rauch also works to present the neck, shoulders and chest of his sitter with care to the differing planes. The slight smirk on his lips as well as his leftward gaze indicate a friendly, yet strong demeanor.

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[262] Refer to Fig. 1.4 in the Introductory chapter.

[263] Jutta von Simson, *Christian Daniel Rauch* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 1996).

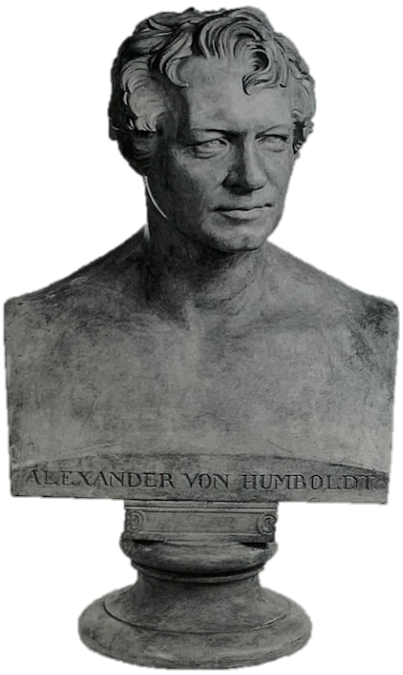



Figure 3.11. *Left*- Rauch, Christian Daniel. *Bust of Alexander von Humboldt (young),* 1823. Plaster. Berlin Nationalgalerie, Berlin, Germany.
Figure 3.12. *Right*- (Workshop of) Rauch, Christian Daniel. *Bust of Alexander von Humboldt,* 1857. Plaster. Museum für Naturkunde. Berlin, Germany.

Interestingly, Rauch would sculpt another bust of von Humboldt later in his career during the time Ney trained at his studio. The *Bust of Alexander von Humboldt* dating to 1857 was probably done with the aid of studio assistants, including Ney, as it was also the year of Rauch's death (refer to Fig. 3.12). Ney would meet Alexander von Humboldt in the Berlin salon world, so the artist knew the influential scholar outside of the studio as well. In this later bust, von Humboldt is depicted using the herm-style, but again with a slight tapering to the rectangular format. As over thirty years have passed since the previous depiction, the sitter is quite older in appearance and the bust is a record of this passing of time. Again, the surface is slightly smoothed to render von Humboldt in an agreeable manner. But, the bust includes a truthful account of the deep wrinkles on his forehead, under his eyes, and around his mouth. His hair is

still thick, yet his hairline recedes more deeply. Also the chest of von Humboldt is less defined, and his neck sags due to age. Still, the socialite and academic is shown with a slight smirk that indicate his engaging personality. This work, whether done collaboratively by Rauch and Ney, or at the very least within the Lagerhaus studio, proves to be an exemplar of Rauch's approach of presenting his subjects with an overall sense of eminence.

Ney's busts will vary in style, depending on the commission and the period of her career. But, all of her bust works remain broadly Neoclassical. She also switches in format from the Greek herm design to the Roman V-shape. Some of her later bust works are even injected with a flavor of the Neo-Baroque, or Beaux-Arts style, seen in the sculptor's various pedestal formats. The seemingly formulaic Neoclassical portrait bust is revamped and refreshed within Ney's oeuvre. But she remains loyal to the aesthetics of Rauch and his skilled abilities of balancing form and content, applying his dictum of "*das Gesicht als Spiegel seiner geistigen Existenz*" ("the face as the mirror of one's spiritual existence").[264] But, she does individualize her artwork from her teacher in small, yet effective ways to capture the particular "essence" of each individual sitter.

Further, it is important to mention Ney was perhaps aware of in the portrait bust and its possibilities for her career from an early age. Her father, Johann Adam Ney, primarily worked on religious and funerary statues in Westphalia. However, he also completed at least one bust of a church leader, Bishop Bernhard Georg Kellerman, by 1847 and he offered bust copies for the

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[264] Peter Bloch and Waldemar Grzimek, *Das klassische Berlin: Die Berliner Bildhauerschule im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1978), 103; Johann, 133. "The face as a mirror of one's spiritual existence."

"*Preis von fünf Talern.*"[265] This measure by J.A. Ney was likely done to expand his career, as he was trying to find a new niche outside of church commissions. After the *Reichsdeputationsbeschluss* of 1803, sculptors could no longer rely on steady commissions from the Catholic Church.[266] Elisabet Ney, as a result, seems to focus her attention on portraiture rather than religious works, especially after her training with Rauch. And by the mid-1850s, she was armed with an academic education from two fine art schools, and adept to tap into the business of producing and casting portrait busts. But, the key was to find sitters that attract a following, so she needed to first seek out people of interest, worthy of reproduction, in order to have a product in demand.

***Three Busts by Ney- One with and two without commission***

With the three-dimensional bust portrait, we are reminded of the vessel that is the human skull, it houses though, *being,* and our operose humanity in a uniquely engaging way. Elisabet Ney's ability to capture "the mind" was driven not only by a keen sense of perception and skill of documenting physical traits. The artist was well-versed in the "art of conversation," in the propriety of sociability, and was quite exceptional at discerning the true character, the "spirit" of her present sitter. Each of the following busts is of a 'great' man who contributed to his respective field of philosophy, chemistry, and medicine. And her later busts of government officials in Texas are testament as well to her discerning ability to capture the characteristics of differing sitters' passions to reflect each mind's activities.

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[265] Rommé, 57.
[266] Johann, 35.

***Arthur Schopenhauer- Philosopher***

Most familiar with Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) and his writings are aware of his contempt for the female sex. This drives from his overarching philosophy of "the Will" from his 1819 magnum opus, *The World as Will and Representation (Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung).* Within he explains that human beings are destined to suffer, as "the Will" and "the Will to life" *("Wille zum Leben"*) are dictated by the basic instincts of adapting and procreating.[267] To Schopenhauer, "the Will," or this striving to endure and procreate endlessly cycles and only adds to the suffering in the world. This pessimistic outlook pinpoints carnal desires and its actors as the reason for suffering. But, Schopenhauer seemingly places all fault on the female sex as without the womb, humans can break free once and for all from their "servitude" to "the Will." His misogynistic views continue throughout his life and work and this becomes blatantly clear from his essay "On Women" published in 1851. Within he describes women's single-minded interests, "It therefore lies in the nature of women to regard everything merely as a means to win the man; and their interest in anything else is always only simulated, a mere roundabout way; in other words, it ends in coquetry and aping."[268] He also dismisses women's mental and physical potential, "The sight of the female form tells us that woman is not destined for great work, either intellectual or physical. She bears the guilt of life not by doing but by suffering; she pays the

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[267] Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World As Will and Representation*, 7th ed., trans. R. B. Haldane and J. Kemp (San Bernardino, CA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2015). This is a facsimile copy of the original translation from German to English performed by Haldane and Kemp from 1883-1886. Other translations will be used; I will notate to properly differentiate.

[268] Arthur Schopenhauer, "On Women" in *The Essential Schopenhauer, Key Selections from The World as Will and Representation and Other Writings,* ed. Wolfgang Schirmacher (New York: Harper Perennial, 2010), 171.

debt by the pains of childbirth, care for the child, submissiveness to her husband, whom she should be a patient and cheerful companion."[269] Additionally, he states, "Only the male intellect, clouded by the sexual impulse, could call the undersized, narrow-shoulders, broad-hipped, and short-legged sex the fair sex…They really and truly have no bent and receptivity either for music, poetry, or the plastic arts; but when they affect and profess to like such things, it is mere aping for the sake of the keen desire to please."[270] He even contests the furtherance of civil liberties for women, "Yet when the laws conceded to women equal rights with men, they should also have endowed them with a man's faculty of reason."[271] Considering his staunch sexist views, it may come as a surprise to discover that a young female sculptor aimed to sculpt his likeness, and further that she somehow gained the favor of the philosopher.

In 1853, an article by J. Oxenford was published in Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review that praised Schopenhauer's philosophy, particularly his *The World As Will and Representation*.[272] After this review, the pessimist and his work finally began to receive the recognition he so desperately desired. With a sudden and growing interest in the aging philosopher, artists, writers and enthusiasts began to express interest in meeting with the Frankfurt local, including our subject of interest Elisabet Ney.

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[269] Schopenhauer, "On Women," 165-166.
[270] Ibid., 171.
[271] Ibid., 179. Interesting how Schopenhauer considers the legal status of women in 1851 to be "equal" to men.
[272] J. Oxenford, "Iconoclasm in German Philosophy," in *The Westminster Review* LIX, (London: John Chapman, 142 Strand, 1853), 203-212; von Stetten-Jelling, 69; Sandra Shapshay, "Schopenhauer's Aesthetics", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2018), ed. Edward N. Zalta. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/schopenhauer-aesthetics. The article was first published anonymously.

While in Berlin Ney began to establish her career, and would make portrait sculptures for several of her acquaintances. These were done for the sake of conviviality, but also with Ney's own money to build her career. At the outset of most artists' careers, commissions are difficult to come by and marketing strategies as well as an undeniable amount of talent was necessary in order to gain success. Particularly in sculpture, where the time required along with the cost of materials involved limited output, it was important to ensure your efforts would be returned. With the helpf of Edmund Montgomery, Ney created a plan guaranteed to help her fledging career. Together they were determined to win over Arthur Schopenhauer, the misogynist philosopher, not only to produce a plaster bust portrait to benefit Ney's career, but also to open his mind to the possibility of female genius.

In a 1904 letter to Dr. Hans Driesch Montgomery recalls his and Elisabet's plans in 1859, or as he termed it the "Schopenhauer Episode." The "excursion of youthful arrogance," he recalled that the two wanted to teach the misogynist "a lesson."[273] For one, they wished to challenge Schopenhauer's staunch views of females working outside of feminine tasks, particularly as a sculptor, who according to him, "…generally contain an acknowledged treasure

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[273] "Was die Schopenhauer-Episode betrifft, so ist sie der Ausfluß jugendlichen Übermuthes gewesen. Mitte der fünfziger Jahre vertiefte ich mich in Schopenhauers Werke und fand, daß er für das Talent und den Charakter der Frauen keine Achtung hatte. Deshalb beschlossen wir, ihm eine Lektion zu geben. Der Erfolg ist in einer Anzahl seiner Briefe verzeichnet." "Edmund Montgomery to Hans Driesch, 20 November 1904;" Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 622; von Stetten-Jelling, 67. See fn. 19. "As for the Schopenhauer episode, it was the outflow of youthful exuberance. In the mid-1950s, I delved into Schopenhauer's works and found that he had no respect for the talent and character of women. So we decided to give him a lesson. Success is recorded in a number of his letters."

of profound wisdom."[274] Montgomery was raised by his mother in Frankfurt during the latter part of his childhood. He, as well as much of the city of Frankfurt, knew of the dull routines of the aging philosopher, including his afternoon walks with his poodles – all named Atman, a Hindu term for an innermost essence or consciousness, and for day-to-day, the *Spitznamen* of Butz.[275] They planned for Ney to meet Schopenhauer on his daily walk in nature with Butz in order to make him an offer he couldn't refuse, a portrait bust without payment. There is no archival record of how exactly Ney got the philosopher to sit for a portrait bust, but the story has been sensationalized to various degrees. In the first biography of Ney, Taylor describes the first meeting quite dramatically. According to Taylor, Ney went straight to Schopenhauer's home and when refused, she burst through the doors of his study and demanded that he sit for her.[276] The first encounter is also romanticized in a short 1930 play written by Leopold Wurzmann "*Der Philosoph*." It includes a memorable, albeit less intense, first meeting. Johann mentions that perhaps Schopenhauer was interested in Ney's proposal as she claimed to be the grand-niece of Marshal Ney, and he sympathized with the political figure.[277] It seems most likely that he knew of the unique aesthetic of the immortalizing portrait bust and wished to promote his legacy. And, due to the fact that the philosopher had yet to be sculpted by anyone, man or woman, he figured he would allow Ney to do the job as he was in his seventies, facing his mortality.

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[274] Arthur Schopenhauer, "On the Inner Nature of Art" from *The Essential Schopenhauer, Key Selections from The World as Will and Representation and Other Writings.* Edited by Wolfgang Schirmacher (New York: Harper Perennial, 2010), 98.
[275] Johann, 269; Loggins, 65.
[276] Taylor, 27-29.
[277] "Briefwechsel Arthur Schopenhauer an Ernst Otto Lindner, 21 November 1859;" Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 102; Johann, 259.

Portrait sittings were required for a total fourteen days in October and November of 1859 for his bust portrait, as well as to model work of his latest trusty poodle, Butz. Several copies of the bust remain, as well as a possible enlarged version of Butz. Sibylle Einholz convincingly argues that perhaps the unattributed scruffy-looking dog at Babelsberg Schloss is by Ney, as the other flanking canine in the garden is most definitely an enlarged version of her *Ludwig* or *Bulldogge* and both are carved in limestone.[278] Perhaps, due to her added efforts of sculpting the "man's best friend," Schopenhauer mentioned Elisabet(h) Ney fondly in letters to numerous friends, reporting on his sittings and their growing relationship. One letter to Adam von Doß reads, "Im Oktober 1859 kam die Bildhauerin Elisabeth Ney, Großnichte des Marshalls…Wir harmonierten wundervoll"[279] To composer, Robert von Hornstein, he states: "Denken Sie, wer heute bei mir war? Eine schöne junge Dame, eine talentvolle Bildhauerin, eine Verwandte von Marschall Ney… Sie arbeitet den ganzen Tag bei mir. Wenn ich vom Essen komme, trinken wir zusammen Kaffee, sitzen beieinander auf dem Sofa, da komme ich mir dann vor wie verheiratet."[280] Another to Otto Lindner, "Vielleicht ist Ihnen die Bildhauerin Ney bekannt; wo nicht, so verlieren Sie viel: ich habe nicht geglaubt, dass es ein so liebenswürdiges Mädchen

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[278] Sibylle Einholz, "Elisabet Ney und die Berliner Bildhauerschule," in *Herrin Ihrer Kunst, Elisabet Ney, Bildhaurein in Europa und Amerika.* ed. Barbara Rommé (Münster: Wienand Verlag, 2008), 77.

[279] "Arthur Schopenhauer an Adam von Doß, 1 March 1860;" Müller-Münster, 35. "In October 1859, the sculptor Elisabeth Ney, grand-niece of Marshal [Ney], came…We harmonized wonderfully." Many now-lost letters were copied into Müller-Münster's text.

[280] Müller-Münster, 36. "Guess who was with me today? A beautiful young lady, a talented sculptor, [and] a relative of Marshal Ney… She works with me all day. When I come home from dinner, we drink coffee together, sitting together on the sofa, and then I feel as if I am married."

geben könnte."[281] Perhaps his change of heart was due to how impressive Ney truly was for her time. At only twenty-six, the intelligent, witty and independent sculptor was already established in Berlin intellectual circles and had worked with the famed Christian Rauch.

Likewise, Ney was arguably also changed by the experience, as both had put aside their differences for the sake of the interplay of art and philosophy. Ney seems to have valued the time she spent with the withdrawn intellectual and in later accounts to friends she recalls their platonic relationship fondly.[282] Significantly, Ney would bring her inscribed copy of *The World as Will and Representation* with her when she emigrated to the United States. The book copy with a note and signature from Schopenhauer are amongst the artist's possessions still housed at her Austin studio, today the Elisabet Ney Museum. Most telling is the fact that she would name her first son Arthur, likely in honor of the philosopher. It is interesting to think of their encounter, and to contemplate what would have occurred if Schopenhauer had met an "antithesis" to his views in "On Women" at an earlier stage in his career. Yes, their friendship has been sensationalized to a degree, but I believe that Schopenhauer had a strong effect on the artist, and was not just a pawn in her ploy for fame.[283] After all, how strange would it be to name your first-born after someone you detest?

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[281] Müller-Münster, 36. "Perhaps you have met the sculptor Ney? If not you have lost a great deal: I didn't believe there could be a girl so lovely."

[282] "Briefwechsel Elisabet Ney an Alfred von Mensi-Klarbach, 26 June 1897," "Mensiana B Papers," Ney, Elisabet, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Munich, Germany; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 996.

[283] Taylor, 66.

Many Ney biographers make a point of highlighting this sculpture, and the circumstances of its creation as evidence of Ney's skill of working with the most difficult of sitters.[284] However, sensational the story of the pair, the work of itself is of great aesthetic interest. With Ney's *Bust of Schopenhauer* (refer to Fig. 3.13), we are in the presence of the philosopher in his elder years. The work is comparable to a verist Roman work, such as the *Portrait Bust of a Patrician,* as it shows a reliable depiction of the sitter's aging features. Yet, Ney's sculpture is quite effective with its stark, overall smooth and idealized presentation of the important thinker. The defining features of the philosopher are heightened, with focus on his distinct hairstyle, piercing eyes, and broad forehead slightly incised with wrinkles. The hair of the sitter receives a commendable treatment, where the head remains balanced yet truthful to the balding sign of age. Almost whimsically, the sculptor includes a small tuft of hair atop his nearly bare head, perhaps to suggest the sprouting of knowledge from within. Other signs of the sitter's age include the deep bags under his eyes, which gather shadows, as well as the slight sagging of his sunken cheeks. The facial hair is rendered to show the curly texture of his large sideburns, often called mutton-chops, which were popular at the time. But, the most interesting aspect of the sculpture remains that the pessimist is shown with a quixotic, almost playful turning of the lips. Or as Alessandra Comini describes, "…The extraordinary collaboration that brought a smile to the lips of the world's greatest pessimist."[285] The neck and shoulders of the sitter are shown bare, to allow for a more timeless form. His neck appears tense, with the various tendons and muscles

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[284] Johann, 49.
[285] Alessandra Comini, "In praise of creative misinterpretation or How a little bit of Schopenhauer changed my life," in *Arts Magazine* 52, no. 11 (1979): 21–23.

flexed. The shoulders and chest are cropped to include a slightly muscular male chest, yet the concavity below the collarbone sternum work to display a sagging composition of what once was. Ney's format for the two versions and resulting copies of the *Bust of Schopenhauer* are in alignment with both the Greek herm format and the Roman format where the bust rests on a pedestal with a scroll area with flanking ionic designs, sometimes called a tabula.[286,287] So in this way, Ney melded various bust formats to produce a unique form of her own to prove her abilities. Interestingly, by this time, she had already produced at least two busts independently, including the *Bust of Karl Varnhagen von Ense*, executed in the Roman pedestal style and the *Bust of Jacob Grimm*, rendered in the differing herm style. Perhaps then, for Ney each sitter requires a differing presentation to align with their unique personality.

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[286] "Briefwechsel Elisabet Ney an Arthur Schopenhauer, 29 Juni 1860;" "Briefwechsel Elisabet Ney an Arthur Schopenhauer, 11 August 1860;" Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 124-25. These two versions are very similar in appearance, the text differs from "Arh" to "Arth" via the request of Schopenhauer. A copy of the work from the first series can possibly be seen in Fig. 1.1. There are no known copies of the first series, with the "Arh" spelling, only one was sent a friend of Schopenhauer, a "Herr Praestel."

[287] Fortune and Burton, 92. The authors claim that Schopenhauer was quite fond of his name as it had the same spelling in English, German and French. *Voila, Arthur!*

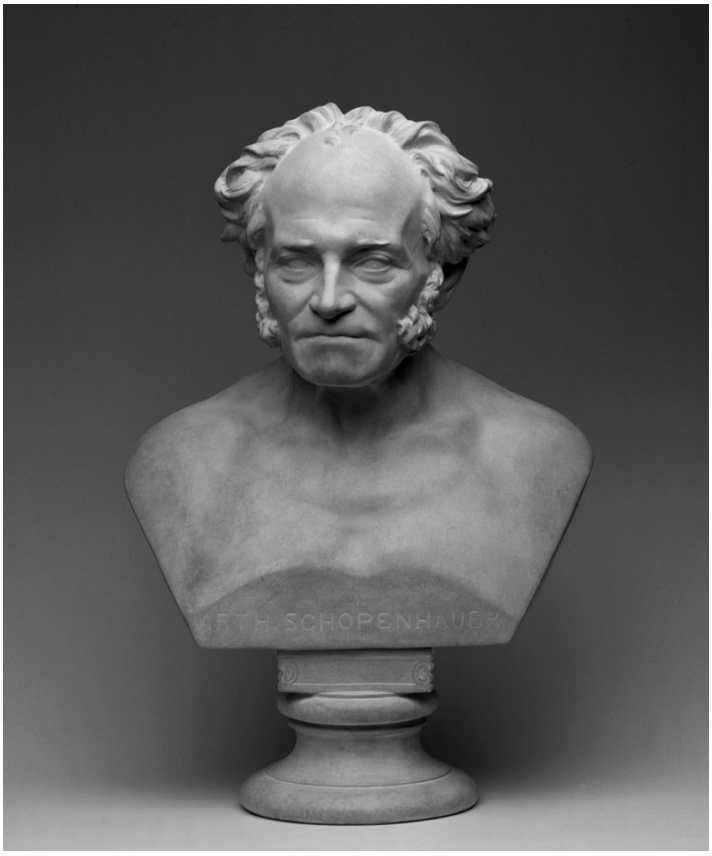


Figure 3.13. Ney, Elisabet. *Bust of Arthur Schopenhauer,* 1860. (1966 copy from second series). Plaster. Stadtmuseum Münster. Münster, Germany.

Schopenhauer argues in *The World as Will and Representation* that there are three main ways for human beings to attain a brief moment of freedom from "the Will," in order to reduce suffering.[288] One of these routes includes the *aesthetic experience* as well as creative production.[289] In terms of Schopenhauerian aesthetics, the "will-less" state of contemplation is possible, as the "true" sculpture, Ney's *Bust of Schopenhauer*, is a "representative of the Idea by

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[288] Shapshay, "Schopenhauer's Aesthetics;" Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation,* trans. Haldane and Kemp, 147.
[289] Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation,* trans. Haldane and Kemp, 127.

virtue of their (its) intricate and at the same time clear and determinate form…"[290] From its presence we can comprehend the prestige of its sitter; the strong chin, furrowed brow and deep set eyes portray a sense of intensity subject to contemplation. At the same time, the basic human form of a head resting upon bare shoulders communicate an "*Idea*," which takes the work out of the spatiotemporal context of its rendering. "And the Idea is exempt from space as well as time, since the genuine Idea is not this spatial figure before my eyes but rather the expression, the pure meaning of this figure, its innermost essence that opens itself up and speaks to me,..."[291] In this way, the viewer, can enjoy the bust without concern for the demands of life — simply as a rendering of an older, wise man and all that is essentially human within him. With the display of the sitter's ears, nose, eyes, and lips, we can perceive many of the human senses on the tangible surface with the many planes of texture. Along with "the *Idea*," the aesthetics of the work function outside of the moment of its creation, and allow the work to function in a greater context to inform us of the essential. Philosophically speaking, Ney's *Bust of Schopenhauer* aligns within the framework of the aesthetics developed by its sitter.

Through the astute observations Ney gathered throughout sittings, walks, and sharing coffee, she was able to manifest all that is essentially Schopenhauer into an engaging and timeless form. If we compare Ney's *Bust of Schopenhauer,* to several photos taken of the philosopher during the 1850s it becomes clear, just how effective the abiding sculpture works

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[290] Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation* I, trans. and ed. Judith Norman, Alistair Welchman, and Christopher Janaway (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 225. This more recent text includes smoother translations.

[291] Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, trans. Norman, Welchman, and Janaway, 234.

aesthetically (refer to Fig. 3.14 and Fig. 3.15). But, the bust resonates on more levels with the viewer, than the photo portraits. Schopenhauer explains, "Only true works of art, which are drawn directly from nature and life, have eternal youth and enduring power, like nature and life themselves. For they belong to no age, but to humanity…"[292] Schopenhauer's comment perfectly aligns with 'the life of the mind' aesthetic, an agenda particular to portrait busts. These works from the past, as well as new manifestations continue to engage viewers as the seemingly timeless sculptural type cites a history of Western human culture and artistic achievement. With this three-dimensional work, we are reminded of the vessel that is the human skull, which houses thought, or *being* –our operose humanity, the "*Wille zum Leben*"– in an intriguing way that we are constantly grappling to understand. Due to Ney's abilities as an artist, she was able to promote an aesthetic experience of the most unlikely source of beauty.

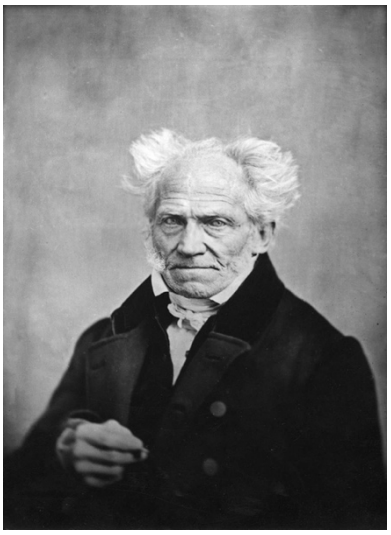

Figure 3.14. *Left-* Schäfer, Johann. *Portrait of Arthur Schopenhauer*, March 1859. Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main. Frankfurt, Germany.
Figure 3.15. *Right-* Früher Fotographie, *Portrait of Schopenhauer*, 1852. Daguerrotype.

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[292] Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation,* trans. Haldane and Kemp, 163.

After the sitting sessions were finished in Frankfurt, Ney had to quickly leave for Hanover to begin another project, her *Bust of Georg V of Hanover*. However, Schopenhauer made sure to alert his colleagues, Dr. Brockhaus and David Asher, of the bust and wishes for an announcement to be made to various publications and journals in Leipzig to promote the piece.[293] These motivations are likely twofold, as both parties stood to benefit from the marketing of the bust. Schopenhauer, as a man of seventy-one, hoped that his legacy would continue for perpetuity through his philosophical texts, advanced by his representation in the classic sculptural bust format. The artist hoped to benefit from the marketing of the bust, as she hoped to receive orders for copies of the revered thinker. And she also used the bust to market her skills in portrait sculpture in general, in order to gain the attention of future clientele with this example of her abilities.

Ney would submit the Schopenhauer bust multiple times for exhibition, in Leipzig, Vienna, Cologne, Münster and the Paris Salon in 1861.[294] Interestingly as well, the artist was already familiar with the laws of copyright and in 1861 patented her *Bust of Schopenhauer*. Interestingly, her father, Johann Adam Ney assisted his daughter by making some of the first plaster copies himself in Münster.[295] This is because she was quite busy at the time working across Europe, and her father was versed with the casting process. The timing of Ney's marketing of her newly patented bust copy is especially noteworthy. Schopenhauer died in the fall of 1860, and as Ney executed the only bust of the famed philosopher, she stood to make a

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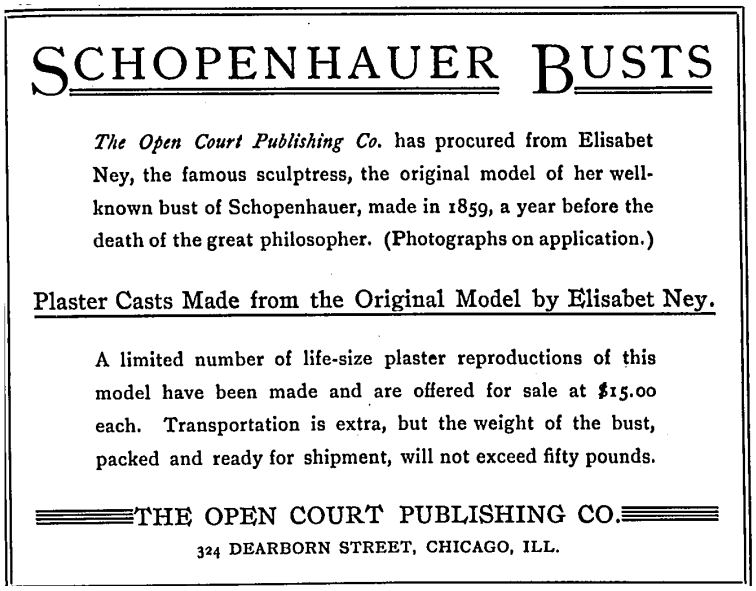
[293] "Briefwechsel Arthur Schopenhauer an David Asher, 10 November 1859;" "Briefwechsel Arthur Schopenhauer an Eduard Brockhaus, 3 November 1859;" von Stetten-Jelling, 68.
[294] "Briefwechsel Elisabet Ney an Arthur Schopenhauer, 11 August 1860;" Müller-Münster, 40.
[295] Johann, 189.

profit from copy orders. Via advertisements in Berlin and Leipzig newspapers, Ney offered copies of her design to any philosophy enthusiast. And in 1896, she shared the design with the Micheli brothers in Berlin to fulfill any new orders in Germany. Ney also would market the bust in the United States, where an interest in the philosopher had spread overseas due to an English translation published in 1886.[296] In May 1897, she included an advertisement for bust copies within the Chicago newsletter, *The Open Court Magazine.* And again in 1902, within *the Monist* quarterly, a philosophy journal. Perhaps, Ney's *Bust of Schopenhauer* is the artist's most well-known work, due to the bona-fide measures of marketing with patenting, newspaper announcements, as well as her photograph with the bust that was perhaps circulated and worked to the advantage of the artist and the sitter (refer to Fig. 3.16). Indeed, this sculpture is a tangible representation of "profound wisdom" and works to continue to legacy of Schopenhauerian texts.


SCHOPENHAUER BUSTS

*The Open Court Publishing Co.* has procured from Elisabet Ney, the famous sculptress, the original model of her well-known bust of Schopenhauer, made in 1859, a year before the death of the great philosopher. (Photographs on application.)

Plaster Casts Made from the Original Model by Elisabet Ney.

A limited number of life-size plaster reproductions of this model have been made and are offered for sale at $15.00 each. Transportation is extra, but the weight of the bust, packed and ready for shipment, will not exceed fifty pounds.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING CO.
324 DEARBORN STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

Figure 3.16. Advertisement in *The Open Court Magazine,* May 1897. Taken from: https://books.google.com/books?id=7cQNAQAAIAAJ&dq

[296] Originally translated from 1883-86 by R. B. Haldane and J. Kemp.

In a unique exchange, Arthur Schopenhauer and Elisabet Ney, each gave a great service to one another. From Ney, Schopenhauer was pushed from his humdrum lifestyle, at least for a few weeks. But, also, he was able to experience companionship and perhaps even a new perspective "On Women," more precisely on her abilities and intellect. Luckily, for his sake, Schopenhauer did get one thing right in his essay "On Women" he states, "From the same source may be traced the fact that women show more compassion and thus more loving-kindness and sympathy for the unfortunate than do men…"[297] While men are of course also capable of compassion, the compassion and sympathy which Elisabet felt for the lonesome, idiosyncratic thinker allowed for much more than a lesson to be learned, it allowed for a rich exchange of art and philosophy.

***Friedrich Wöhler- Chemist***

In the summer of 1868, Elisabet Ney earned several commissions from the Polytechnischen Schule in Munich from Gottfried von Neureuther, a professor who was recently appointed as chief architect of its new building by The Building Council.[298] With construction complete, von Neureuther was now interested in the decoration of the interior, as the new public institution would be the first institution to teach various technical disciplines in Bavaria.[299] Ney was to produce colossal busts of prominent chemists Justus Freiherr von Liebig and Friedrich Wöhler,

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[297] Schopenhauer, "On Women," 168.
[298] Johann, 372. The Polytechnischen (Hoch)schule (Polytechnical School) was later called the Königlich Bayerische Technische Hochschule (Royal Bavarian Technical Institute) in 1877, and then in 1970 was renamed the Technische Universität München (Technical University of Munich).
[299] Johann, 372.

along with mythological figures of Mercury and Iris, and lastly, a larger-than-life (*"überlebensgroße")* statue of the newly reigning King Ludwig II of Bavaria for the grand auditorium as the institution was dedicated in honor of the young monarch.[300] Within this section, I focus particularly on Ney's *Bust of Friedrich Wöhler* to continue my analysis of the portrait bust sculptural type. This portrait bust speaks to the artist's creative ability to produce an engaging work that achieves an accurate presentation of the sitter while at the same time establishing his intellectual authority.

As the commission makes clear, Ney had firmly established herself within the portrait bust market and had produced busts of numerous elites and intellectuals. However, she still welcomed promotion via personal recommendations from her social circle for commissions. Portrait busts proved lucrative and Ney could always benefit from another commission. Once Ney settled in Münich for a second time in fall 1867, she joined the *München Kunstverein* and would attend the salon meetings of Georg von Werthern, whom she knew from her time in Berlin. At the time, von Werthern was working in Munich as a Prussian envoy to the Bavarian court and was a close friend of the architect Gottfried von Neureuther.[301] It is likely that Ney received the commissions for the Polytechnic School due to her rapport with Werthern, as he also helped Ney to gain a commission from the Prussian King, later Kaiser, Wilhelm I the previous year, resulting in her *Bust of Otto von Bismarck*.[302]

Due to emerging laboratory techniques, several pioneers of the experimental sciences

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[300] Ibid., 373. The interior of the grand auditorium was never realized due to financial problems.
[301] Ibid., 69.
[302] Ibid., 65.

made discoveries never before thought imaginable, one such scientist was the German chemist Friedrich Wöhler (1800-82). In 1828, Wöhler became well-known due to his synthesizing of urea, an organic compound, from only inorganic (inanimate) materials. Prior to this, it was believed that only organic (living) materials could produce organic (biological) products, so the finding worked to debunk the scientific basis of vitalism.[303] Wöhler would later earn a position as a Professor of Chemistry in 1836 at Georg-Augustus Universität in Göttingen and would teach for over forty years, enlightening hundreds of students from around the world.[304] He would often collaborate with Justus von Liebig (1803-1873), a fellow chemist. They worked together on numerous experiments, including their discoveries using bitter almond oil, in which "They proved by their experiments that a group of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen atoms can behave like an element, take the place of an element, and can be exchanged for elements in chemical compounds."[305] To house colossal busts of two of the most innovative minds in German chemistry would fuel the academic atmosphere of the new Polytechnischen Schule in Munich.

Ney was interested in the sciences, perhaps inspired by the scientist she met in social circles, especially through her partner Montgomery. In a letter from December 1867, Ney reported to a friend that she was attending physics lectures taught by Professor Phillip Jolly, as

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[303] "Wöhler, Friedrich," in *Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 14 (Detroit, MI: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2008), 474-79. https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX2830904708/GVRL?u=txshracd2602&sid=GVRL&xid=1998c19c.

[304] H. S. van Klooster, "Friedrich Wöhler and His American Pupils," in *Journal of Chemical Education* 21, no. 4 (1944): 158–170.

[305] "Friedrich Wöhler (1800 bis 1882)." *Georg-August-Universität Göttingen*, http://www.uni-goettingen.de/de/104057.html.

well as chemistry lectures taught by Justus von Liebig.[306] And later, in February of 1868, she wrote to another friend, the great violinist Joseph Joachim, about her walks with the inspirational von Liebig, and mentioned that she passed a mathematics test. She seems delighted to have the opportunity to attend the local university in the morning, and then labor over her sculpture in the afternoon and evenings.[307] At the very least, her attendance in various lectures suggest that Ney harbored an avid interest in understanding differing disciplines, and had a fire for knowledge. Therefore, her sculptures of these scientific thinkers, including her *Bust of Wöhler,* illustrate the sculptor's sense of awe and inspiration in relation to the their respective fields, as the possibilities of science were increasingly extraordinary during this period of scientific discovery.

In Göttingen, Wöhler was shocked to learn of the commission of himself, as he was not even asked by Neureuther whether he would be willing to have a sculpture modeled after him. He wrote to his friend von Liebig,

> Du machst wohl Spaß, daß ich nach München kommen soll, um modellirt [sic] zu werden für eine Marmorbüste, die im Polytechnicum neben der Deinigen aufgestellt werden soll? [...] Aber angenommen, es sei wirklich Dein Ernst, so würde ich sagen, daß ich mit Vergnügen zu einer solchen Abconterfeiung meines Kopfes sitzen würde, so wenig auch mein schlechtes Gesicht, künstlerisch betrachtet, sich dazu eignet.[308]

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[306] "Elisabet Ney an Elisabet Lewald, 14 December 1867, München," "Nachlass Lewald-Stahr," box 16, fol. 368: 56-57; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 786.

[307] "Elisabet Ney an Joseph Joachim, 15 February 1868," "Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Berlin," Elisabet Ney, 2, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany; von Stetten-Jelling, 239-241.

[308] "Friedrich Wöhler an Justus von Liebig, 30 June 1868," "Liebigiana IIB," Wöhler an Liebig, No. 783, Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek, München, Munich, Germany; Johann, 374. "Do you relish in making me come to Munich to be modeled for a marble bust to be placed next to yours in the Polytechnicum? …But assuming that you really are serious, I will say that I would gladly sit for such an imitation of my head, no matter how poorly my face, artistically, is suited to it."

So, when Elisabet Ney began to request facial measurements and a general description of his physiognomy to prepare for his sitting, one can imagine how taken aback the modest chemist must have been. Despite his serious profession, he seems to have a good sense of humor.

> Sie wünscht, daß Du womöglich ein paar Tage früher kommen möchtest... je mehr Zeit sie hat, desto mehr kann sie Deinen Kopf studieren. Ich gab ihr Dein Medaillon in Kautschuk und sie will einstweilen vorbereiten so viel sie kann und bedarf dazu in Zentimetern 1) die Länge der Linie vom Kinn bis zum inneren Augenwinkel, 2) die Breite der Jochbeine, 3) vom Kinn bis zum Haaransatz, von der Nasenspitze bis zum Ohrloch.[309]

Ney's requests indicate that the artist had become quite proficient with the process of producing a portrait bust. All of the information gathered would help her to better prepare for the multiple sittings and even for the artist to decide her compositional approach as she had a tight deadline to meet.[310] Ney continued to follow the methods of Rauch, and diligently measured each sitter's face and upper body in order to render a most accurate portrayal.[311] But, as one can imagine, this artistic process demanded something of the sitter.

Ney's *Bust of Friedrich Wöhler* furthers her contribution of the portrait bust as a sculptural type (refer to Fig. 3.17a and Fig. 3.17b). There is something jarring about the presentation of Wöhler's unusual facial features. Despite the elongated features of the sitter's face, Ney is able to portray an introspective understanding of the sitter's character, bringing a

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[309] "Justus von Liebig an Friedrich Wöhler, 4 July 1868," "Liebigiana IIB," Wöhler an Liebig, No. 597, Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek, München, Munich, Germany; Johann, 375. "She wishes you might come a few days earlier ... the more time she has, the more she can study your head. I gave her your (Indian/natural) rubber medallion as she wants to prepare as much as she can in the meantime. And she needs in centimeters 1) the length of the line from the chin to the inner corner of the eye, 2) the width of the cheekbones, 3) from the chin to the hairline, [and 4)] from the tip of the nose to the ear canal."

[310] Johann, 375

[311] Johann, 187.

holistic program to the bust format. The originally commissioned colossal bust was destroyed in the Second World War (refer to Fig. 3.18). But several copies of the life-size bust of Wöhler exist today for us to study as the form was cast "an indefinite amount of times" in 1868, and then experienced multiple series of castings by several manufacturers.[312,313]


Figure 3.17a, and 3.17b. Ney, Elisabet. *Bust of Wöhler,* 1868. Plaster. Height: 54 cm (without pillar). Wilhelmplatz Auditorium, Georg-Augustus-Univesität Collection. Göttingen, Germany. (Photographs by author).

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[312] Ibid., 377.

[313] When visiting the Georg-Augustus-Universität in Göttingen in the summer of 2019, I met with the curator of the college's art collection, Professor Anne-Katrin Sors. She was not positive as to the number of sculptures they housed, as in former times many professors would take sculpture busts into their offices for decoration and perhaps inspiration.

Of the surviving copies, the highest quality version on record is the 1868 copy on view in the Auditorium building at Georg-Augustus Universität in Göttingen.[314] With this work, we are presented with an unmistakable vision of the chemist in his late sixties. We can appreciate the skilled rendering of the sitter's features including his gaunt cheeks, intense gaze and full head of hair. The years of dedication to his investigations in chemistry are apparent by the signs of aging due to gravity's pull on his face shown by crinkled laugh lines, sunken under-eyes, and a creased brow. Other moments of naturalism are apparent with the drooping of the neck and chin. His distinctive characteristics are given special care including his thick unruly hair, his deep set eyes, and his long nose. His eyes are shown with slight incising to indicate pupils and irises, and it appears as if he is looking upwards and left, perhaps in a day dream of what chemical to isolate next. His slender neck is partially concealed by a dynamically voluminous toga-like drapery in order to provide bulk to the slender figure and to balance the otherwise ample verticality of the piece. Perhaps, students can feel the inspiring presence of the scholar and educator, who currently looks over the Wilhlemplatz Auditorium stairway at his longtime place of work.

However, this particular copy differs from the "original" 1868 version in that the back is flattened. Also, the inscription is shortened, differing from other copies. Johann believes that this is perhaps because this was Ney's personal copy.[315] The stairway copy also includes an extension to Ney's design with an ornate pillar complete with gold engravings, probably added at a later date. The commissioned over-life-size bust can be seen in photograph of the artist's studio

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[314] Johann, 387. Ferdinand Hartzer likely used this work to help inform his own sculpture commission of Wöhler in 1890, eight years after the chemist's death.
[315] Ibid.

at the Munich Residence on the left side, behind her work *Prometheus Bound* (refer to 3.18). The photocollage reveals that the piece was designed to be in-the-round, as the profile-view of Wöhler reveals that his shoulders were completely rendered. The original *Bust of Wöhler* was destroyed in World War Two along with the other three pieces commissioned for exterior of the Auditorium of the Munich Polytechnic School (refer to 3.19). Luckily, the *Statue of King Ludwig II of Bavaria* survived as it was housed elsewhere.

Figure 3.18. Elisabet Ney's studio at the Munich Residenz, c. 1868-69. Photocollage. "Elisabet Ney Art Collection," HRC, Austin, Texas.

Figure 3.19. Böttger, G. Entrance to the Chemistry-Technical Department of the Polytechnischen Hochschule in München. c. 1900. Photograph. Taken from Johann, XLII.[316]

A cast housed in storage of the university collection of the Georg-August Universität in Göttingen provides a more precise rendering of the back of the 1868 original (refer to Fig.

[316] Dimensions for the original colossal works of Wöhler and Justus von Liebig are not listed in the Werkkatalog.

3.20).[317] It is clear that Wöhler's shoulders and back extend to the back of the sculpture suggesting a faithful in-the-round bust of the sitter. Ney's use of antique robing and the V-shaped composition, similar to the Roman bust format, works to distinguish Wöhler's presence as grandiose. The circular base with an accompanying blank scrolled tabula was also used quite often by Rauch, for example in Rauch's *Bust of Alexander von Humboldt (young),* and his *Bust of Caroline Wohlfahrt* from 1816 (refer to Fig. 3.21). And if we compare Ney's *Bust of Wöhler* to a photograph from around the same period, it is apparent that Ney worked as in the manner of Rauch, uses calipers and a pointing tool to precisely record the sitter's appearance (refer to Fig. 3.22).

Figure 3.20. Ney, Elisabet. *Bust of Wöhler,* 1868. Plaster. Georg-Augustus-Universität Collection. Göttingen, Germany. Photograph by Author.

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[317] Ibid., 389.

Figure 3.21. Rauch, Christian Daniel. *Bust of Caroline Wohlfahrt,* 1816. Marble. Berlin Nationalgalerie. Berlin, Germany. Photograph by author.

Figure 3.22. Photograph of Friedrich Wöhler, c. 1870.

Each of the copies of this portrait bust work to elevate the sitter in a history of 'greatness.' The Neoclassical format alludes to the traditions of the ancients, and associates the sitter –his likeness and his intellect– with the 'greats' of the past. And also with each copy the aesthetic remains effective in its power to engage viewers within an intimate space created by the three-dimensional. Undoubtedly, Wöhler's legacy has been perpetuated by his scientific findings, as well as his likeness carved by Elisabet Ney.

***Edmund Montgomery- Medical Doctor/Philosopher/"Best Friend"***

In the previous chapter concerning portrait medallions, I discussed how the profile format relief was a common gift, as a sign of friendship. Most of the portrait medallions produced by Ney were done on her own dime, as compared to the bust it required less material and less time to construct. But, when a subject of interest is of a certain level of intellect, personality, or fame, Ney would often produce a portrait bust as she anticipated a return in the form of copy orders. However, one bust that Ney produced without a commission or interest of economic gain is the bust of her husband, Edmund Montgomery. Ney's bust of her "best friend,"[318] but also medical doctor and philosopher, seemed to be purely for the sake of preserving the sitter in timeless marble form to establish his intellectual eminence. This work divulges much of the artist's understanding and command of the sculptural type of the portrait bust, as she wished for his likeness and contributions to live on forever.

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[318] Stephens, 343-44. Throughout Ney's life, in addition to "Dr. Montgomery," she referred to Montgomery more affectionately as her "best friend." No other term seemed to capture their unique and strong bond, nor kept them as equals. Montgomery refers to Ney in a letter to Hans Driesch as "my life mate."

Edmund Duncan Montgomery (1835-1911) was the illegitimate son of Duncan McNeill, and Isabella Davidson. Montgomery was raised by his mother, outside of Scotland with the support of his father, in Paris and then in Frankfurt.[319] Due to the circumstances of his birth, he was a forced cosmopolitan, proficient in multiple languages, but also attending the best schooling Europe had to offer at the time. He enrolled at the University of Heidelberg to study medicine and "*Naturwissenschaft*," but he was also interested in metaphysics and made acquaintances with Ludwig Feuerbach and Christian Kapp.[320] While a student in Heidelberg, he met Elisabet Ney for the first time in 1853 through Kapp's daughter Johanna. Their relationship, and later marriage, would remain secret as Ney did not want to be viewed as simply a *Hausfrau*, trapped in the dependent institution of marriage. A man ahead of his time, as well as a man in love, Montgomery understood her concerns and acquiesced. While working in Madeira, Portugal, he and Ney were married in 1863 by the British consulate to solidify legally their bond.[321] He worked at various clinics across Europe, tending to patients with tuberculosis, which he eventually contracted himself.[322] In 1869 one of his patients, Mary Jane Forbes left him an inheritance, which allowed him to leave medicine and work full-time on his philosophical pursuits in the sciences in any locale.[323] In the winter of 1870/71, the Ney-Montgomerys

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[319] Johann, 218.
[320] Johann, 218; Stephens, 29. *"Naturwissenschaft"* or "the sciences."
[321] "Marriage Certificate of E. Montgomery and E. Ney, 7 November 1863, issued by the British Consulate in Funchal, Madeira," "Edmund D. Montgomery –Elisabet Ney Papers," box 2, fol. 44; Stephens, 98; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 197.
[322] Stephens, 89; von Stetten-Jelling, 92. Montgomery contracted tuberculosis (TB) while in London in 1863.
[323] "Briefwechsel Tweedie & Tweedie an Edmund Montgomery, 9 March 1869;" Stephens, 114; von Stetten-Jelling, 134; Johann, 74.

emigrated to the United States to join a fellow German couple intent on starting a Utopian settlement. The Ney-Montgomerys eventually settled in Hempstead Texas, halfway between Austin and Houston, for the warm weather and the promise of better farming. Within their home at Liendo plantation, Montgomery continued to work on his research and writing, publishing actively in the United States and in Europe. His works aimed to bridge a gap between biological cell theory and the reactionary process of evolution within human cells and the mind. "The Hermit Philosopher of Liendo" wrote various books including "The Unity of the Organic Individual" (1880) and "Philosophical Problems in the Light of Vital Organization" (1907). He was one of the first thinkers to conceive of what is now known as epigenetics. But, his work and contributions to the sciences and philosophy are yet to be fully recognized. Perhaps, this is because, like Ney, his career straddled two continents.

During their time Madeira, Ney fashioned a *Bust of Edmund Montgomery* both to capture his likeness and to perpetuate his legacy. Ney took precautions to ensure that her plaster study was not circulated in Europe, and left the plaster bust in the care of her friend, Johanna Kapp, when she departed for the United States in late 1870. Unfortunately, Kapp died in 1883, and the whereabouts of the plaster work were then unknown. Ney desperately tried to locate the work in order to use it as a basis of a marble version and enlisted the help of a mutual friend, a Dr. Oppenheimer. In a 1895 letter, she states, "No one else could share a similar interest as hers in the bust" and there was "…no cost too big for her to repossess the item."[324] Eventually, the

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[324] "Für Niemand kann diese ähnliches Interesse haben wie für mich…es sind mir keine Kosten zu groß um mich wieder in den Besitz zu setzen." "Elisabeth Ney an Dr. (med.) Oppenheimer, 17 November 1895," "Persönlichkeitenmappe Elisabeth Ney," 10.2: 291, Stadtarchiv Münster, Münster, Germany; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM , 488;

plaster bust was located, allowing us to date the marble work from 1895 to as late as 1904.[325] Prior to the St. Louis World's Fair, she wrote to her biographer Taylor, that she planned to submit a marble version of the work for the exhibition. Whether or not this was the real reason for scavenging for the work and ordering a marble copy is up for debate, as the bust was either not selected or not even submitted to the 1904 Fair based on documentation.[326] Further, the inscription on the marble copy, "Edmond Montgomery," is not the preferred spelling of the sitter's name, as he published and signed letters with the German spelling of "Edmund." Johann mentions that the inscriptions indicates that the marble work was perhaps copied by an American stonecutter instead of a German or Italian company.[327] Johann argues that the artist did not intend to exhibit the piece, as she shielded it from her European assistants, but it could also indicate that the work was intended for an American audience.

Ney's *Bust of Edmund Montgomery* presents the viewer with a young intellectual ostensibly in his prime (refer to Fig. 3.23). At only twenty-nine years old, he had moved past his illegitimacy, become a respected doctor to aristocrats, and was active in the intellectual social circles of Heidelberg and Berlin. But, also, he had just been diagnosed with tuberculosis a year earlier as a result of his work as a healer. The presentation of Montgomery is similar to the *Bust of Schopenhauer* in that Ney presents the sitter without garments to situate him within the aesthetic of the classical portrait bust. The *Bust of Montgomery* shows the sitter with broad

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Johann, 314.

[325] "Elisabeth Ney to Bride Neill Taylor," 24 February 1904, "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 1, fol.13, HRC; Johann, 215.

[326] *Official Catalogue of Exhibitors: Universal Exposition*, *Division of Exhibits, Department B. Art* (St. Louis, MO: The Official Catalogue, 1904).

[327] Johann, 317.

shoulders and chest, more akin to a "V-shaped" Roman bust. The pedestal which the marble bust is placed upon is starkly rectangular, unlike the round bases included with the Wöhler and Schopenhauer busts. The blocky pedestal works to solidify the masculine features of the sitter, and is somewhat similar to the base of Ney's *Bust of Stephen F. Austin* from 1903. The facial features of Montgomery are attentively rendered to show a young, handsome Scotsman. The eyes intensely gaze downwards and slightly to the left. The long, slender nose works to collect shadow as well as highlight the overall symmetry of the young man's facial features. His cheeks, forehead and chin and smooth are broad in appearance.  His lips, appear slightly pursed, yet thin and delicate. Lastly, the sitter's curls, and contemporary style of facial hair are expertly rendered to showcase the dense acuity of Montgomery. Overall, the bust presents us with a precocious thinker.

Figure 3.23. Ney, Elisabet. *Bust of Edmund Montgomery,* c. 1895-1904. Marble, (speckled, tan marble base). 66 x 48.3 x 25.4 cm. (Copy from 1864 original). ENM, Austin, Texas.

Of course, there is an added rosy lens that does intensify the presentation of the work. Sensual elements of the piece include the delicacy of the lips, the virile nature of the sitter's head and facial hair, and the musculature of the bust – his shoulders, chest, neck, and upper arms are all rounded to suggest a robust and strapping figure. By comparing the work to photographs of Montgomery from the same decade, it seems possible that Ney's rendering is indeed truthful, but perhaps with added measures to emphasize the "spirit" of the work (refer to Fig. 3.24 and Fig. 3.25). Her goal, as with all of her portraiture, was to produce the sitter's likeness, but also to manifest within the representation the character of the sitter. Her holistic intent to bring forth an identity in three-dimensions remains, yet this time with an underlying sentimental motivation. The plaster bust was likely produced for the sculptor, who wished to depict the likeness of her new husband during their first year of marriage. In addition to his bust, she also made castings of her face and neck while in Madeira that she later modeled into a bust in 1903/04 (refer to Fig. 3.26). In this way, it seems the sculptor wanted to capture their likeness and demeanor at that particular moment, to divulge the enduring quality of a youthful, supportive friendship, and the beginning of their future lives together– officially committed. The *Bust of Edmund Montgomery* was not a commission, and was not used for marketing by Elisabet Ney. Rather, the sculptor realized the legacy of grandiosity and prestige that the portrait bust provided, and she aspired for her husband (and herself) to be amongst the 'great' persons of society rendered within the classically-informed sculptural type so that their many efforts could jointly live on forever.

Figure 3.24. *Left*- Edmund Montgomery in his late 20s-early 30s. ENM, Austin, Texas.
Figure 3.25. *Right*- Seidel Studio, Edmund Montgomery, 1870. Photograph. Taken from "Edmund D. Montgomery-Elisabet Ney Papers." SMU, Dallas, Texas.

Figure 3.26. Ney, Elisabet. *Self Portrait.* 1904. Marble (tan speckled marble base). 61 x 50.8 x 33 cm. ENM, Austin, Texas. Taken from Rommé, 243.

***Conclusion***

"Against this it is necessary to maintain that art has the vocation of revealing *the truth* in the form of sensuous artistic shape…therefore, has its purpose in itself, in this representation and revelation."[328] – G.W.F. Hegel

The importance of the portrait bust lies beyond the intricacies of the surface, the sculptor's treatment of the sitter's features – a distinct jawline, a long nose, or deep-set eyes – is only half of it. The sculptor must also aim to capture the character or 'essence' of their sitters to produce a work that reveals the spirit of the sitter. And, as I have demonstrated with the case studies in this chapter, Elisabet Ney was skilled in this sculptural type by producing a physical likeness but also by perpetuating the intellectual eminence of her sitter. For the legacy of the distinguished figures of the past lies in their seemingly timeless thoughts, just as much as in their particular genetic expression of human facial features. Just as the sitter's written words, or disciplinary specific contributions are produced and disseminated to suspend and spread their contributive ideas for perpetuity; so can the presence of their likeness. And from one copy to another, the aesthetic of the sculpture remains, and its representation of truth is revealed.

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[328] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, and Bernard Bosanquet and M.J. Inwood, *Introductory Lectures on Aesthetics*, Penguin Classics (New York: Penguin Books, 1993), 36.

# CHAPTER 4

## GERMANY TO TEXAS: THE KING AND THE HERO AS MONUMENTAL COMMISSIONED MARBLE SCULPTURES- LUDWIG II AND SAM HOUSTON

Life-size or monumental portraits of the entire figure function primarily for the purposes of propaganda. The large presence of the sculpture works to aggrandize the legacy of the person portrayed in an uncanny, compelling way. And at the same time, the work of art functions to display cultural values, as large figural works are typically housed in public locations, rather than smaller intimate spaces. Similar to the history of the portrait bust, portrait life-size works also include a tradition rooted in antiquity that functions to raise the reputation of the sitter to dwell amongst the 'greats' of the pastl. But with the extra effort of modeling the entire human form, the purpose of these work is dictated even in early planning. The purpose of monumental sculpture is to distribute recognized figures of 'greatness' in order to establish and continue their illustriousness, their power, and their cultural significance.

Costuming or lack-there-of, stance, body language, gesture, and proportion are just as important as the portrayal of the sitter's facial features. With the full-figure sculptural type, viewers are to recognize and honor the ideas that a person of power represent more-so than the actual person. The ideas of the figure and what it represents dictate our understanding of the work. Further, the portrait figure works to present viewers with a complete rendering of the sitter, thus situating their entire form within our space. A three-dimensional likeness of the subject is present for us to circumnavigate as a sculpture in-the-round, likely atop a pedestal or plinth to elevate their status, thus instilling their power. The substantial size as much as the likeness of the portrayed are as important and many sculptors working in this sculptural type

tend to enlarge or monumentalize the figure for impact. Sublimity of large objects, similar to the phenomena of impressive architectural spaces, allow this sculptural type to forge a unique and captivating experience for viewers.[329]

During Elisabet Ney's transnational career, she sculpted several figural works. These were primarily produced on a life-size scale, however, her works remain 'monumental' due to their striking aesthetic presence and their immense significance in terms of placement.[330] Two works by Elisabet Ney of this sculptural type include her *Statue of Ludwig II* modeled in 1870 and her *Statue of Sam Houston* modeled in 1892-3. By comparing these two works, we can consider each work's aesthetic display of nationalism, and perhaps regionalism, through which the sculptural type of the 'monumental,' life-size figure innately involves a propagandistic purpose. Also, we can consider the commissions themselves, to shed light on the marketing required for their differing cultures and market. Further, we can consider the agency of the female sculptor with each of these large works, as the time period and location of each work possibly dictate her success in gaining commissions as well.

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[329] "…by its presence provokes, a representation of *limitlessness* [sic], yet with a super-added thought of its totality." Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgement*, trans. James Creed Meredith, ed. Nicolas Walker, Oxford World's Classics (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 75.

[330] Ney would scale select sculptures colossal, or larger than life-size, if intended for architectural decoration. Otherwise she preferred to make works exactly life-size.

***The modern tradition of monumental portrait sculpture***

*"An admirable quality in sculpture is that is makes famous men more famous."*[331] *–Pliny*

The Neoclassical style and its practices initially emerged in France where the Académie des Beaux-Arts maintained dominance and support by Napoleon.[332] By rejecting the sentimentality of the Rococo, Neoclassicism worked to involve its subjects within a history of prestige *–all'antica–* equating their intellect or power to figures of the revered ancient past.[333] This is especially apparent within Neoclassical monumental sculptures of leaders, as the main purpose of the large sculpture remains to aggrandize the politics of the person depicted for the purposes of propaganda. For instance, Antonio Canova (1757-1822), the preferred sculptor of Napoleon, created a heroic work of the French ruler represented as the Roman god of war, Mars. Napoleon is presented as a colossal, idealized nude in Canova's *Napoleon as Mars the Peacemaker* executed from 1802-1806 in marble and gilded bronze (refer to Fig. 4.1). The nude body is athletic, idealized and in the *contrapposto* stance to provide naturalism and balance the severe measures of idealization. The choice to display the emperor nude works to universalize its reception, thus ensuring his legacy for future generations. His hair is shown short and messy likening him to the Hellenistic ruler Augustus, whom Napoleon had an affinity for. Over his left shoulder is a toga, which conveys the political role of the sitter. The other props – like the orb topped with the goddess of Victory, or Niké, the staff and sword – as well as its massive size,

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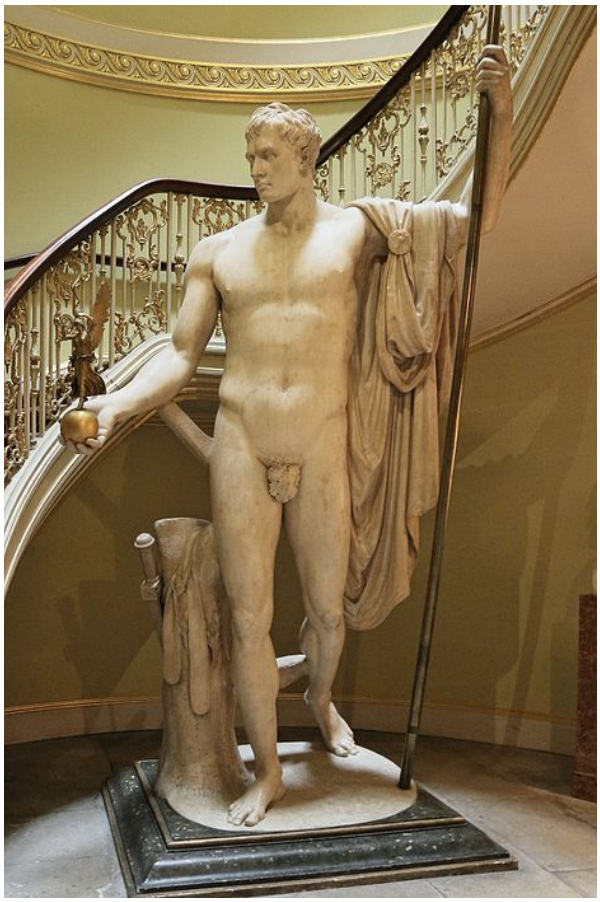
[331] Duby and Daval, 104.

[332] The style was fostered by "Napoleon himself [as he] understood the political importance of ideal art and of the links contemporary classicism established between his world and the ancient Roman Empire." R. Butler et. al, 107.

[333] "Neoclassicists in Rome and elsewhere were convinced of the moral superiority of their concerns; their style was pure, unburdened with the sentimentality of the Rococo." R. Butler et al., 207.

work to aggrandize the ruler making this artwork is a bona-fide example of manifold propaganda.[334]



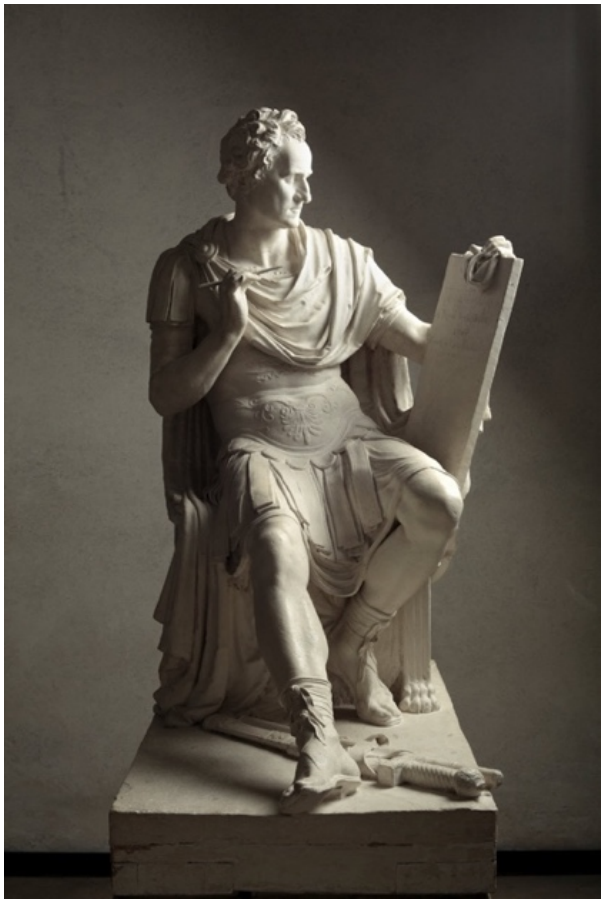


Figure 4.1. *left*- Canova, Antonio. *Napoleon as Mars the Peacemaker*,1802-1806. marble and gilded bronze. Apsley House, London, United Kingdom.
Figure 4.2. *right*- Canova, Antonio. *George Washington,* marble, 1820. (destroyed). *Modello for George Washington,* 1818, plaster. Gypsotheca e Museo Antonio Canova, Passagno, Italy.

[334] Christopher M. S. Johns. "Portrait Mythology: Antonio Canova's Portraits of the Bonapartes." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28, no. 1 (1994): 125. Despite the fact that Canova was reluctant to do this commission, and Napoleon was not pleased with its flagrant nude form, the piece was copied several times indicating public taste of the period.

Another monumental work by Antonio Canova includes his marble work, *George Washington*, completed in 1820.[335] Instead of a nude portrayal, Canova decided to present Washington in the dress of a Roman general complete with armor, cuirass, cloak, and sandals (refer to Fig. 4.2). However, this militarized depiction of Washington also shows the nation's first President partially reclined with tablet and a writing instrument composing an address to a newly formed democracy. While Canova's depiction works to encapsulate American ideals of military and civic duty, some argue that the representation of Washington in the ancient garb was preposterous. In fact, Jefferson, the diplomat who suggested Canova, once stated, "a modern in an antique dress as just an object of ridicule as a Hercules…with a periwig."[336] While bust portraits can be done sans-clothing elegantly, a sculpture of the full-length figure demands thoughtful consideration, as the monumental type allows for larger amounts of content via costuming or lack there-of.

Many Neoclassicists had to face this similar issue of whether or not to depict their illustrious subjects in contemporary or ancient garb. The choice seems to greatly divide many sculptors of the period, who felt one manner was abhorrently offensive. As we can gather, Canova was interested in the timeless garb of the ancients and "…he proclaimed that the sculptor's highest aim must be to create 'modern classics,' i.e., sculpture that demanded to be treated on a basis of equality with the ancient classics such as the *Apollo* Belvedere or the

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[335] "Canova's George Washington." *The Frick Collection*, 2018, www.frick.org/press/canova%E2%80%99s_george_washington. The original work was destroyed in a fire only a decade after the sculpture's unveiling. However, copies exist today in Italy and at the Frick Collection made for an 2008 exhibition.

[336] Lavin, 122.

*Laocoön.*"[337] In contrast, Johann Gottfried Schadow (1764-1850), who was of great influence to Rauch, held a strong aversion to the practice of using ancient costumes. In fact, H.W. Janson mentions "Schadow, a vigorous partisan of realism and authenticity, even engaged in a public argument with Goethe on this issue."[338] This is apparent by several of his works of Frederick the Great in his uniform , as "…Schadow wished to represent Frederic [sic] the Great in the costume of his time…" (refer to Fig. 4.3).[339] As for Rauch, he believed that a work should either be classical or modern in presentation, not a mixture of both.[340] In this way Rauch approached each sitter with a unique concept that demonstrates an understanding of their cultural position.

Figure 4.3. Schadow, Johann Gottfried. *Friedrich II. mit Windspielen*, 1821-2. (Bronze copy, 1906). Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin.

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[337] Janson, H. W. "German Neoclassic Sculpture in International Perspective." *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* 33, no. 3 (1972): 7. www.jstor.org/stable/40514137.
[338] Janson, 22.
[339] Cheney, 109.
[340] Cheney, 259.

Canova worked throughout Europe, and several of his works including *Venus Italica* and *Paris* were even acquired by Ludwig I of Bavaria for the Munich Residenz. Whether Elisabet Ney knew of Canova's *Napoleon as Mars* or *George Washington* is uncertain, but she definitely knew of the famed Italian Neoclassical sculptor once in Berlin as he worked across Europe achieving great success.[341] Several works of full-length statuary were completed by Ney's teachers Max von Widnmann in Munich and Christian Rauch Statue in Prussia, which the artist was surely acquainted with via the models in their studios or in public as a local of Munich and Berlin.

Max von Widnmann produced several portrait statues for the Bavarian capital of Munich. In 1863, his *Schiller Denkmal*, was erected at Maximilianplatz and in 1869 his *Standbild Goethes* was erected at Lenbachplatz (ref. to 4.4 and 4.5). Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) are two prominent figures in German intellectual history.[342] Following the Age of Enlightenment, both polymaths were active writers, poets, historians during the *Sturm und Drang* movement. They would later become friends at the end of their life fostering ideals of Weimar Classicism.[343] Interestingly, with these bronze works von Widnmann displays Schiller in contemporary dress, while Goethe is presented in an ancient vestment. Within the *Schiller Denkmal,* the thinker is shown with his left hand over his heart, and his right holding a laurel wreath- alluding to his role in poetry, philosophy, and medicine. The double

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[341] As mentioned previously, Rauch and Canova met in Rome, see fn. 249.

[342] Anneleise Senger Stiftung, *Maximilian von Widnmann: Leben und Werk* (Norderstedt, Deutschland: Books on Demand, 2019), 97, 132.

[343] Nicholas Boyle. "Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe," from *Encyclopædia Britannica*, (Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 31 Oct. 2019), www.britannica.com/biography/Johann-Wolfgang-von-Goethe.

breasted coat is fastened, and a lace ruff pokes out from his collar as well as from the sleeves of the garment. The loafer shoes and stockings are of the eighteenth century style. And the figure is shown covered with a cloak, and looking right to sternly gaze over the park he now resides. Quite disparate in presentation, the *Standbild Goethes* functions to elevate the status of its subject to a lofty classic past. The work was commissioned by Ludwig II, who wished for the prominent German to be displayed "in antiken Gewand mit der Lyra in der linken Hand."[344] The likeness of youthful Goethe is discernable, and the antique robe along with the laurel crown and string instrument place his endless intellectual pursuits within a timeless realm. However, with this classical version of Goethe, there is a risk that viewers may be unable to make out the subject until they read the inscription upon the base.[345] While both of these works were unveiled after Ney's time studying in Munich, she likely became familiar with them during her second stay in Munich from 1868-1870.

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[344] Stiftung, Annelise Senger. *Maximilian von Widnmann: Leben und Werk,* 132. "in ancient clothing, with a lyre in his left hand."
[345] Inscription reads: "JOH. WOLFGANG // VON GOETHE"


Figure 4.4. *Left*- von Widnmann, Max. *Schiller Denkmal*, 1863. Bronze. Maximilianplatz, Munich, Germany.
Figure 4.5. *Right*- von Widnmann, Max. *Standbild Goethes*, 1869. Bronze. Lenbachplatz. Munich, Germany. (Destroyed in WW2). Taken from: http://www.goethezeitportal.de/wissen/illustrationen/johann-wolfgang-von-goethe/goethe-denkmaeler/goethe-denkmaeler-und-erinnerungsorte-auf-postkarten-ii.html

Christian Rauch produced several public works that include a full-length figure. And for each project, he dedicated himself a most life-like presentation, achieved by measuring the subject when possible.[346] Rauch's *General Friedrich Wilhelm von Bülow Denkmal* from 1822 and his *Albrecht Dürer Denkmal* from 1840 were both created without the precise measurements of the deceased subjects (refer to Fig. 4.6 and Fig. 4.7). The portrait statue of General Friedrich Wilhelm von Bülow (1755-1812) shows the Prussian general in an authoritative stance in uniform. The marble work is located on the Babelplatz of Berlin, and functions to portray the

[346] Cheney, 93, 111, 255.

military prowess of the figure. The base is accompanied by symbolic eagle, and the figure rests his left hand on his sword. The general is shown looking leftward with an intense gaze to further the effect of the work. With Rauch's *Albrecht Dürer Denkmal,* the sculptor managed to produce a power-laden portrayal of the creative genius due to the sheer bulk of his design. The bronze statue of Dürer (1471-1428), located in his hometown of Nürnberg, is depicted with broad physique and layers of bulky cloth to convey his substantial contributions as a Renaissance master. Similar to his self-portraits, the figure has long hair, as well as a long beard. He holds a fistful of paintbrushes and gazes straight ahead without emotion, as if thinking introspectively. Undoubtedly, Ney was familiar with several monumental works by Rauch either while working in his studio, or during her time living in the Prussian capitol of Berlin.



Figure 4.6. *left*- Rauch, Christian Daniel. *General Friedrich Wilhelm von Bülow* Denkmal, 1822. Marble. Babelplatz, Berlin, Germany.
Figure 4.7. *right*- Rauch, Christian Daniel. *Albrecht Dürer Denkmal,* 1840. Bronze. Albrecht-Dürer-Platz, Nürnberg, Germany.

It is worth mentioning that another way that Ney was versed in figural sculpture includes her early experiences in her father's studio. As we know, Johann Adam Ney produced mostly religious for churches and cemeteries in the predominately Catholic town of Münster in Westphalia. Of his remaining and attributed works, most are figural representations of Jesus Christ or Catholic Saints. In 2006, Stadtmuseum Münster acquired his work *Hl. Sebastian* or *Saint Sebastian* from a private collection (refer to Fig.4.8) As the work was made around 1850, the work was significant to Ney's early career, as it was kept in the Ney Family garden at Bohlweg 34.[347] The figural representation of the naked and tortured body works to intensify the reaction of viewers, and due to the religious subject matter functions in a mystifying, numinous way. This work is not typical of J.A. Ney's oeuvre, as it displays a large degree of expression, comparable to the later emerging Neo-Gothic style, as well as the *Vesperbild* style of the past.[348] Obviously, the father and daughter were working to please very different clientele. But, her early exposure with the full-length figure, albeit religious, undoubtedly aided her later efforts to produce similarly jarring representations.

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[347] Rommé, 188. The work remained in Münster until it was sold by owners in 1966.
[348] Rommé, 188. Rommé makes the comparison to the Neo-Baroque. I believe that a comparison can also be made to the medieval religious style.

Figure 4.8. Ney, Johann Adam. *Hl. Sebastian,* 1850. Sandstone. 148 cm x 49 cm x 37 cm. Stadtmuseum Münster. Inv. Nr. SK- 0318-2. Taken from Rommé, 188.

***A note on Public Sculpture***

By the end of the nineteenth century, public monuments honoring military heroes and political leaders became a custom of Western society. Public sculpture functioned as signifiers of cultivated society as well as a means to showcase collective cultural values. Former director of the National Gallery of Art, Dr. Earl A. Power III, explains, "…it was because works of sculpture communicated the broader concerns of the period: as instruments of public policy; gripping expressions of a collective mood; or treasured indexes of identity."[349] Public sculpture commissions from this period of "monument mania," shrouded in their didactic approach, also served a propagandistic function. Public sculpture functioned in a compelling, engaging way

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[349] R. Butler, et al., ix.

within each culture. Due to public accessibility, full-size or larger-than-life sculptures were often how nationalistic ideologies were disseminated.

During this period of rapid modernization, nationalism was of utmost concern as it became an identifier like never before.[350] And this is especially cogent for "Germany" and the United States. The region we now call "Germany" was a loose association of various German-speaking states called the German Confederation, or *Deutscher Bund*, during the time Elisabet Ney lived there (1833-1870). Following the Napoleonic Wars, and the dissemination of the Holy Roman Empire, the Germanic lands were rearranged and no longer held a prominent position as a major European force. In 1871, the various states would unify under Prussian rule to become the German Empire, or *Deutsches Kaissereich*, which lasted until 1918. And in the New World, the United States of America, had just become a nation in 1776 and was rapidly growing in size and population. In tandem with the goals of Manifest Destiny, the United States was off to a burgeoning start at the beginning of the nineteenth century with the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. By the time the Ney-Montgomerys arrived in the states in January 1871, the young country had amassed a total of 37 states, as well as various territories. But, the United States was still recovering from the spoils of American Civil War (1861-65) and remained fragmented in spirit. Both nations were desperate to unify their citizens, and as a result, measures to invoke nationalism were of utmost concern.

Art, and particularly public sculpture, functioned not only to embody permanently the portrayed, but also as a means of defining nationalism, thus serving the public. To quote Rheims,

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[350] Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2006), 4.

"In reality, the true originality of the nineteenth-century sculpture lies in its public 'utility' – for a public whose taste was not sophisticated but still responded to noble actions and fine sentiments."[351] Sculpture as a medium privileged all viewership and therefore worked to unify the classes in a sense. The more accessible style of Neoclassicism was easy to understand and appreciate for the masses. And the purity and the precision of the classical form work to convey a sense of moral superiority, invoking notions of nationalism in a compelling way.[352] These public statues honoring powerful men tended to be placed on a pedestal to tower over the viewer, thus forcing all to "look up" to them as figures of cultural authority. We are to understand these allusive works as a means of communicating cultural ideals, or rather, what is quintessentially German or American.

***The 'Mad' King, getting to know Ludwig II***

King Ludwig II of Bavaria famously stated: "I wish to remain an eternal enigma to myself and others."[353] Yet, with a shroud of mystery, people's interest in the details only intensified. Elisabet Ney also led an unusually private life, primarily because she was not forthright about her relationship with Edmund Montgomery. And the line between fact and

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[351] Rheims, 11.
[352] R. Butler et al., 207.
[353] Alfons Schweiggert. *Ludwig II. und die Frauen* (München: Allitera Verlag, 2016), 66. The king borrows from Johann Schiller's 1803 drama *Die Braut von Messina, II*. A direct quote differs slightly "Ein ewig Rätsel bleiben will ich mir und anderen." In a letter dated 27 April 1876 to the actress Marie Dahn-Hausmann (1829-1909), Ludwig II writes, "Ein ewiges Räthsel will ich bleiben mir und anderen."

fiction blurred early on with Ney, as she fibbed about her age.[354] And later, she would arguably give exaggerated accounts of her past to the eager ears of Texas women, including her first biographer Bride Neill Taylor.[355] Whether by means of seclusion or by innocuous embellishment, both Ludwig II and Ney have been the targets of gossip as a result of their efforts to control their reputations for the sake of "enigma" or marketing. They were really a rather odd but brilliant duo of *outré* personalities with a keen understanding of how creating fairy tales results in public favor or at least interest.[356,357]

King Ludwig II of Bavaria (1845-1886) was born Ludwig Otto Friedrich Wilhelm into the dynastic house of Wittelsbach to his father Maximillian II of Bavaria and mother Marie of Prussia, from the house of Hollenzollern.[358] As the eldest of two sons, he became crown prince at the age of two when his father became King of Bavaria after the Revolution of 1848. His grandfather and namesake, Ludwig I, was forced to abdicate from the Catholic throne due to his

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[354] I do not believe that Ney ever told her husband Edmund Montgomery her true birth year of 1833, as Montgomery was born in 1835. Most telling is the fact that her tombstone inscription reads "Elisabet Ney, Sculptress, 1834-1907."

[355] Or perhaps, it is Bride Neill Taylor embellishing? It should also be considered that much of the biography was gathered from other's accounts of Ney.

[356] *Outré*- bizarre, out of the ordinary, violating convention or propriety. These two figures serve as perfect examples of the term.

[357] But, of course, interest can result in bad gossip, as the relationship between Ludwig II and Ney has been discussed by various writers, often with the inclusion of lewdness. It has been suggested that Ney and Ludwig II had a romantic relationship and that the 12-years-older Ney used her sexuality to charm the young king for her advantage. And, filmmakers continue interest in the mysterious "Swan King." Specifically, Ludwig II's sexuality has been examined in films, such as Luchino Visconti's 1974 "Ludwig" or more recently, "Ludwig II" from 2012 directed by Marie Noëlle and Peter Sehr.

[358] This means that King Friedrich Wilhelm IV who reigned 1840-1861 and King Wilhelm I of Prussia, later Kaiser Wilhelm I, who would reign 1871-1888 were cousins of Marie of Prussia, or cousins once-removed to Ludwig II. Additionally, as Friedrich Wilhelm IV was married to Elisabeth Ludovika of Bavaria he was also a great-uncle to Ludwig II.

affair with an Irish dancer, Eliza Gilbert (better known under her stage name of Lola Montez). Both Ludwigs shared an affinity for art as well the same birthday of August 25th, the feast day of the patron Saint of Bavaria, St. Louis (King Louis IX of France).[359] The crown prince was raised strictly in order to prepare him for the demands of court life, thus his adolescence was quite regimented.

In 1864, at the age of eighteen, Ludwig II ascended to the throne as King of Bavaria after his father succumbed to sudden illness. Early in his reign, he sided with Austria in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, however, the Prussian army easily defeated Bavarian military efforts. As a result, Ludwig II was forced to sign a treaty with Prussia for military protection, thus relinquishing the independence of Bavaria prior to the unification of the German Empire in 1871. Ludwig II was able to keep his dynastic title and Bavaria still exercised most of its affairs autonomously. The young king was still held in favor by Bavarians, during this time of uncertainty in 'Germany', or the *Kulturkampf*, as his people referred to him as "*Unser Kini*."[360] Throughout his reign, he fostered the arts in Bavaria. For one, he summoned Richard Wagner to live in Munich. Much of the musical genius's success in his later career can be attributed to his patronage including the building of the Gärtnerplatz Theater and the Bayreuther Festspielhaus.[361] Also, Ludwig II executed a number of castles during his reign including his Neuschwanstein, Linderhof, and Herrenchiemsee. These architectural feats afforded him the *Spitznamen* of the

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[359] Louis IX was the patron Saint during most of the nineteenth century, now the patron Saint is the Virgin Mary. It is also worth noting that the English/French spelling of Ludwig is Louis.
[360] From Bavarian dialect translates to: "Our most cherished King."
[361] Wagner was exiled from conservative Catholic Munich in 1865 due to his affair and later marriage with the earlier mentioned subject, Cosima (Liszt) von Bülow.

"Fairy-tale King" (*Märchenkönig*) or the "Swan King," due to his love of Wagner's Opera *Lohengrin*.[362] Neuschwanstein Palace, with its soaring Romanesque towers, picturesque location, and imagery of Germanic legends (including Lohengrin) throughout its halls, would later inspire the famous Walt Disney castle, branding the company as fantastical. Ludwig II was also referred to as "The Moon King" due to his night-owl tendencies, as well as his obsession with King Louis XIV of France.[363] He would design his own Versailles with the never completed Herrenchiemsee Palace in order to honor "The Sun King" and declare himself as a counterpart to the opulent figure.

With each year of his reign, his personal debts grew, but his visionary thinking never ceased. In 1886, several of his ministers including his former Baron Maximilian von Holnstein conspired to remove Ludwig II from the throne on grounds of insanity. With the help of three of his colleagues, Dr. Bernhard von Gudden filed a psychiatric report that the king's case of "paranoia" made him incapable of ruling for the remainder of his life, thus afforded him the last of his nicknames, "The Mad King." On June 12th, Ludwig II was seized and taken to Berg Palace near Lake Starnberg on where he could be monitored by Dr. von Gudden. The next afternoon, Ludwig II and Dr. von Gudden went on a stroll unassisted. The two would never return from their walk. Their dead bodies were found waist-deep in water near the shore of Lake Starnberg later that rainy evening by ground staff. The circumstances of the death of Ludwig II remain

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[362] Erin K. and Jamie C. Schonauer, "A Castle Fit for a Fairy-Tale King," *Face* 20, no. 2. (October 2013): 16-17.

[363] Gerhard Hojer, ed. *König-Ludwig II. Museum Herrenchiemsee* (München: Hirmer Verlag, 1986), 12.

unclear to this day; his untimely death at the age of only forty-one, as well, as many other aspects of his life, still remain an enigma. [364]

It may come as a surprise given the unfolding of German history, that Elisabet Ney actually gained a larger-than-life ("*überlebensgroße*") sculpture commission of Bavarian King Ludwig II due to her rapport with a Prussian diplomat. As mentioned previously, when Ney returned to Munich in 1867, she attended salon meetings hosted by Georg von Werthern, who was also in the Bavarian capital serving as a Prussian envoy.[365] Ney initially met von Werthern in the Berlin salon world, and he also likely helped her the previous year to gain the commission for the *Bust of Otto von Bismarck*. Von Werthern continued to promote the artist in Munich to

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[364] Prior to filing the psychiatric report, von Gudden had only met Ludwig II once. The cause of death was officially ruled as "suicide by drowning." However, according to autopsy reports, the king's lungs did not have water in them ruling this theory unlikely. Dr. von Gudden's body showed blows to the head and neck, thus the doctor and "patient" probably had an altercation of some kind. Another theory includes murder by gunshot, as an eyewitness came forward years later. In 1933, the King's fisherman, Jakob Lidl, stated that while hiding in the bushes, he saw the King trying to get into a boat to escape, perhaps arranged by loyalists. He then heard the crack of gunfire from the bank, and the king fell over dying instantly. Also, a Countess Josephine von Wraba-Kaunitz claimed to have come into the possession of the king's coat, and would show the bullet hole to visitors. However, the autopsy makes no mention of a bullet wound. Another theory is that the king died of "natural causes." In an attempt to escape, the chilling waters could have caused a heart attack or stroke. However, this theory is not vouchsafe, as it was June and the king was known to be a great swimmer. What remains interesting, and perhaps most telling is that Ludwig II's watch stopped at 8:54 PM, only twenty-four minutes after his walk with Dr. von Gudden allegedly began. The king had a love for clocks and acquired an impressive collection throughout his life. Perhaps then, this clue is more meaningful than previously thought as it divulges the ending of this mysterious occurrence to work on a timeline of the events. As the saying goes, "only time will tell." A recent article on the historical figure: https://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/study-finds-king-ludwig-ii-may-not-have-been-crazy-a-946240.html

[365] Johann, 69.

friends and colleagues, such as Gottfried von Neureuther.[366] And in the summer of 1868, Ney was awarded several commissions by von Neureuther to adorn the new construction, perhaps due to von Werthern's suggestion, or by virtue of her growing rapport in Europe.[367] According to a letter to Joseph Joachim, Elisabet Ney was also granted a studio in the Munich Residenz in the Odysseus Hall in March 1868.[368] Saskia Johann suggests that the various works for the Polytechnical Institute were simply word of mouth assignments in March 1868 by von Neureuther and King Ludwig II, and as a result the artist was given the space in the royal residence to draft the projects.[369] Ney was commissioned to execute a monumental full-length portrait statue of Ludwig II for the grand auditorium to honor the young king and benefactor of the technical school, along with colossal busts of Friedrich Wöhler and Justus von Liebig, as well as two mythological figures.[370] It would be the last of the five works that Ney would execute, and it would be the last work Ney completed in Europe before emigrating to the United States.[371]

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[366] Johann, 372. This multi-faceted commission was also discussed in Chapter III with the analysis of the *Bust of Friedrich Wöhler.*

[367] "Verlag mit Elisabet Ney, July 24, 1868," "Landbauämter," 7976, fol. 10 v, Staatsarchiv München, Munich, Germany; Johann, 70, 372. Also, it seems that only for the monumental statue of Ludwig II, Ney had to produce a bust draft first as well as a statuette to receive approval and move forward with the execution of the final design. Ney's method of working would have involved these measures regardless.

[368] "Elisabet Ney an Joseph Joachim, 16 March 1868, München," "Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Berlin," Elisabet Ney 5, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany; von Stetten-Jelling, 244; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 788.

[369] Johann, 70.

[370] Johann, 71, 373. The *Statue of King Ludwig II* was to be placed the central niche of the elaborately designed to decorate the south wall of the auditorium. For cost reasons, the interior of the auditorium was never realized.

[371] Ney did create a handful of works during her 1895-96 trip back to Germany including: *Unbekannte Frau,* 1896; *Daughter of an Unknown Berlin Friend,* 1896; *Medallion of*

According to Bride Neill Taylor, while Ney worked in the Munich Residenz she would "study the King as he went back and forth through the halls of the palace…so unobtrusively that he was not even conscious of her scrutiny."[372] And that once "The work began…the artist discovered what bitterness may be hid in the sweetness of a prince's favors. The King has all the capriciousness of his gathering madness."[373] Taylor continues her story suggesting that Ney's sight of the pacing king in his Order of St. George regalia led to her choice for the costume for the work. However, this account, whether gathered from the artist in her later years or concocted by the author, remains uncertain as the source is unreliable. Another account of Ney's sittings with Ludwig II include an eyewitness account by reporter, Amalie Auguste Scheibe, who came to visit the artist during one such sitting with Ludwig II.[374] According to the Dresden newspaper article, which Scheibe wrote under the pseudonym "S. Augustin," Ney wore a Grecian gown, and recited lines of Goethe's "Iphigenie" to please her aloof and frustrated sitter. "Wurde er während derselben müde oder ärgerlich, so ward sofort wieder zur „Iphigenie" gegriffen, und bald trug der schöne Kopf wieder den Ausdruck, den die Künstlerin brauchte."[375] The article was written shortly after the untimely death of the monarch, and also discusses the whereabouts of Ney and her "Freund Montgomery" contemplating an abduction by tribe of "wild Indians" as the

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*Mathilde Schwabe,* 1896; *Bust of Elisabeth Wentzel-Heckmann,* 1896; and *Medallion of König Georg V von Hannover,* 1896.

[372] Taylor, 36-37.

[373] Taylor, 36-37.

[374] "Zeitungsartikel mit handschriftlicher Notiz, July 1886." Preußischer Kulturbesitz, "Darmstadt Collection," 2 o 1864: Ney, Elisabeth, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 912.

[375] "Zeitungsartikel mit handschriftlicher Notiz, July 1886." "If he became tired or angry during the same, Iphigenie was immediately resorted to again, and soon the beautiful head again bore the expression that the artist needed."

likelihood of her disappearance. In all fairness, this account is more likely than Taylor's, however, there is no known link between the artist and Scheibe except for this article. Due to the timing of the article, as well as its contents, it seems that Scheibe was writing to ease the eager public's calls for some type of consolation for the passing of Ludwig II with a story that works to mend the recent wounds. The Bavarian King was actually a member of several orders but the reason for his depiction in this costuming could simply be because held an affinity for the Knights of St. George.[376] He was later depicted in his grandmaster regalia in several paintings.[377]

From correspondence, we know that Elisabet Ney solicited sittings from King Ludwig II several times from December 1868 till February 1869.[378] Ney would even travel to the king's childhood home of Hohenschwangau in Füssen in late 1868 to increase her chances of an audience with the aloof man.[379] While the artist worked on sketches for the figure and a model bust prior to the sittings using photographs, she still needed contact with the king to finish the work.[380] She pleaded with the king in a letter, "Keines von den vorhandenen Bildern aber bietet mir etwas wirklich Brauchbares zur Ausführung meiner Idee."[381] By late January, Ney, desperate to earn the commission, sent copies of her *Bust of Justus von Liebig* and *Bust of Georg von*

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[376] Hojer, 263. Ludwig II held an affinity for the Knights of St. George.
[377] For instance: Schachinger, Gabriel. *Ludwig II as the Grand Master of the Order of the Knights of St. George,* 1887.
[378] Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 803, 806-07. Letters were sent December 6th 1868, January 5th 1869, and January 20th 1869.
[379] Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 260.
[380] "Elisabeth Ney an König Ludwig II, 6 December 1868;" Müller-Münster, 71; Johann, 402; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 287.
[381] Ibid. "None of the existing photographs offer me anything useful to carry out my idea for the project."

*Werthern* to the King's chambers to showcase her abilities.[382] According to Johann it was this extra measure that finally lured the king, "Die beiden nach dem Leben modellierten Bildnisse der Ludwig II. bekannten Personen müssen ihn von Neys Qualität überzeugt haben…"[383] It was not until late February of 1869 that Ludwig II finally allowed the artist to study his physiognomy firsthand in order to finish her bust design. And over the course of only eight sittings total, Ney was able to produce a bust design that allowed her to officially receive the commission for the full-length portrait sculpture.[384] Further, Ludwig II was so impressed with the bust, he ordered a marble copy for himself.[385]

The most significant evidence of the sittings of Ludwig II include a lengthy letter from Elisabet Ney to her friend Elisabeth Lewald dated March 25, 1869. Ney seems overjoyed to share that that King Ludwig II is the sitter of the monumental work, as the royal contract was finalized earlier that month:

> Den Contract, das 8 Fuß große Standbild in Marmor für das Politechnicum binnen 2 Jahr zu vollenden, ist unterschrieben und gesiegelt mit hierher gewandert; ja noch mehr, mein letztes Modelierstück in München galt dem idealen Köpfchen des jungen Königs, welches ich in 8 Sitzungen modeliert nun hier in Marmor ausführe. – Ist das ein Sieg über

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[382] "Elisabet Ney an König Ludwig II, 20 January 1869." Müller-Münster, 73; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 807.

[383] Johann, 402. "The two portraits modeled from life of people known to him must have convinced Ludwig II of the quality of Ney's work."

[384] "8 Sitzungen modeliert." "Elisabet Ney an eine befreundete Dame und/oder Elisabeth Lewald, 25 March 1869, Rom," "Nachlass Lewald-Stahr," box 16, fol. 368: 69-72, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany; "Vertrag Gottfried Neureuther an Elisabet Ney, 09 March 1869," MA 53415, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, München, Munich, Germany; "Landbauämter," 7993, Staatsarchiv München, Munich, Germany; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 307, 814.

[385] "Elisabet Ney an eine befreundete Dame und/oder Elisabeth Lewald, 25 March 1869, Rome."

> Neid, Bosheit, Gemeinheit? Die Thatsache selber ist Sieg, besser aber noch, daß man mir sagt, dies Köpfchen sei das Schönste, Vollendetste, was ich gemacht.[386]

Ney claims "dies Köpfchen sei das Schönste, Vollendeste, was ich gemacht."[387] After a thorough analysis of this bust, we can contemplate the artist's statement with more insight.

But it is interesting to know that Ney felt an affinity for the king before the sittings had even begun. In a letter she explained, "mein eignes Bild von ihm gemacht, habe ihn oft meinen Freunden…."[388] She recalls voicing her perhaps unshared ideas of the monarch with her Munich friends in her letter,

> Ich sagte: 'nach meiner Ansicht muß er ein Mensch sein mit großen inneren Quellen,.. Daß er dabei frei von jedem Laster, enthusiastisch, hingebend an als hoch erfasste Dinge sein kann, berechtigt zu den größten Hoffnungen, selbst wenn es augenblicklich zumeist nur eine romantische Neigung fürs Theater ist. Liebe zur Einsamkeit wird ein Grund sein seiner Zurückgezogenheit;… Scheu und Ehrgeiz. Jedenfalls nimmt er den Lauf eines bedeutenden und eigenthümlichen Menschen.'[389]

Perhaps then, the overall execution of the 'legendary' king is successful due to Ney's dismissal of preconceived notions; she wished to get to know the king herself, thus allowing her to produce a work that captures his likeness as well as an unbiased study of his character.

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[386] Ibid. "The contract to complete the 8-foot statue in marble within two years for the Munich Polytechnical School has been signed and sealed; but yes, even more, my latest 'fashion piece' (*Modelierstück*) here in Munich was the ideal head of the young king, which I modeled in 8 sessions, now to be executed in marble – Is that a victory over envy, wickedness, vulgarity? The fact itself is a victory, but it is even better to be told that this little head is the most beautiful, most perfect, thing I have ever done."

[387] Ibid. "…this little head is the most beautiful, most perfect, thing I have ever done."

[388] Ibid. "I interpreted my own image of him, often to my friends…"

[389] Ibid. "I said, 'in my opinion, he must be a man with great inner sources. That he may be free of any vice, enthusiastic, devoted to highly conceived pursuits, justifies the greatest hopes, even if it is for the moment just a romantic passion for the theater. Love for loneliness shall be a reason for his seclusion, ... shyness and ambition. In any case, he takes the course of an important and peculiar man.'"

Surely, the artist felt an ounce of curious gratification whilst studying the king's features, as the opportunity was not afforded to many. "Es war eine eigenthümliche Genugthung [sic], dies vielbesprochene, nur aus äußerster Ferne von den Menschen, das nur selten gesehene Wesen, ganz in der Nähe zu betrachten."[390] She expounds much in her letter to Lewald on her sittings with Ludwig II,

> Jetzt kamen die Sitzungen. Dieselbe oben angedeutete Scheu und Ehrgeiz hatte ihn bestimmen machen, mir sagen zu lassen, in zwei Stunden würde er sitzen. Mit unendlicher Ruhe hörte ich das an. Meine Pläne waren übrigens gemacht, ich wußte, Einer davon würde sich erfüllen: Entweder würde er sitzen bis ich sagte 'fertig' oder ich betrachtete die zwei Stunden als an ein Curiosum gegeben und das bischen Arbeit darin geschehen würde nie der Welt Augen zu erblicken bekommen – Alle meine Gelassenheit, Milde, freundliche Gesinnung, Festigkeit, Stolz begleiteten mich. Nach einer Stunde Verkehr waren die meisten seiner vorgefassten Absichten, z. B. daß, er sich nicht messen lasse, er nicht sich setzen werde, 'überkommen' [sic] und am Ende der zwei Stunden hatte er sich vertraut gemacht, daß er wenigsten 6 Stunden sitzen werde. Alle Hast des Beginns war verschwunden, er schien bereits zu fühlen, daß ein wirklich menschliches Wesen menschlich ihm gegenüber stand. Fast war die ganzen 2 Stunden vorgelesen worden, was hie und da unterbrochen durch Bemerkungen über das Vorgelesene von meiner Seite, wie im Selbstgespräche geäußert, die ihn verwundert aufsehen machten oder zu kleinen Gegenbemerkungen veranlassten. Ein herrliches Bouquet fand ich am Abend zu Hause. Am andern Tage war wieder Sitzung, dann wurden wir beide krank. Das Vorlesen verminderte sich bei jeder folgenden Sitzung und ernst, tiefe Gespräche über die ernstesten, größten Fragen des Menschen knüpften sich daran. Wie jubelte ich, als ich mehr und mehr mein früheres Urtheil bestätigt fand! Er ist ein Mensch mit dem idealsten Wollen, mit einem brennenden Ernst, einem ungewöhnlich schnellem Ergreifen und einem fabelhaften Festhalten an etwas, was er begriffen, verstanden. Adel der Gesinnung, Freiheit des Denkens ist sosehr in ihm, wie nicht leicht mehr in einem Menschen von 23 Jahren sein kann. Der arme Mensch, wie er mich dauert. Ganz einsam im tiefsten Innern. Ich glaube, er hat es zuletzt empfunden, daß ich ihn schätze, ihn verstehe. Es schien ihm fast heimlich zu werden bei meiner Gegenwart. 8 Sitzungen hatte ich, die sich zu 3–4 Stunden ausdehnten durch unsere Gespräche, die durchgehends philosophischen Inhalts. Wenn er nur wieder Glauben an Menschen gewinnen könnte, um von solchen zu lernen, sich an tüchtigen Leuten zu bilden. An mir wenigstens wird er nie eine Enttäuschung erleben. Soviel die Gelegenheit es both, habe ich ohne Rücksicht

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[390] Ibid. "There was an uncanny satisfaction to behold this much-talked about, yet rarely seen human being, only seen by most from a distance."

> meine Individualität ihm offenbart und ich war glücklich, daß ich in aller Wahrheit mit ihm simpathiciren konnte.[391]

This excerpt is telling in several respects especially since it is written by the artist soon after the sittings, making her recollections fresh. Within the account the artist testifies to her "eigenthümliche" experience, mentioning the mood and personality of the king, as well as the tenor of their conversations.

While reading the letter, Lewald must have felt like a fly on the wall, now privy to the king's private behavior. For one, it is interesting to discover that Ludwig II initially announced

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[391] Ibid. "Now the sessions came. The same shyness and ambition suggested above had made him decide to let me know that he would be sitting for only two hours. With infinite silence, I listened to this. On account of this, my plans were made, I knew one of them would be fulfilled: either he would sit until I said 'finished' or I would consider the two hours as being given to a curiosity and the little work in it would never get to be seen by the world's eyes - All my serenity, gentleness, friendly attitude, firmness, [and] pride accompanied me. After an hour of contact, most of his preconceived intentions, for example: [that] he would not be measured, nor sit down were 'overcome.' And by the end of the two hours he had come to the realization that he would need to sit for at least six hours. All the haste of the beginning had disappeared, he already seemed to feel the humanity of a true human being before him. Almost the entire two hours were spent reading, which was interrupted here and there by remarks about what I read from my side, as expressed in a soliloquy, which caused him to look up in surprise or prompted him to make small counter-observations. I found a beautiful bouquet of flowers in the evening at home. The next day we had another session, then we both got sick. Reading aloud diminished at each subsequent session and serious, deep conversations concerning the most pensive, greatest questions of human beings took hold. How I rejoiced, when I found my earlier judgment more and more confirmed! He is a person of the most ideal will, with a burning seriousness, an unusually quick grasp and a fabulous hold onto something he understood. So much nobility of mind, freedom of thought is within him, it would be hard to attain more in a man of only 23 years. The poor man, how he takes me. [He is] very lonely, deep inside. I believe that he finally felt that I appreciate him, understand him. In my presence, it seemed he became almost comfortable. I had 8 sessions, which extended to 3-4 hours through our discussions, with philosophical content throughout. If only he could gain faith in people again, to learn from them, to educate himself on capable people. At least he will never be disappointed with me. As much as I have the opportunity, I have unreservedly revealed my individuality to him, and I was happy that I could sympathize with him in all truth."

that he would be present for a total of only two hours, this was not nearly enough time to allow for adequate study. Yet, somehow, Ney managed to make him comfortable, reading soliloquys, and later engaging in philosophical conversation. She also mentions that most of his preconceived ideas before the initial episode were abandoned. For example, he insisted on standing rather than sitting down (it is called a sitting or "*Sitzungen"* for a reason after all), he also refused to have his face measured, and he limited their time to two hours total. Reading between the lines, it impossible to know whether the king eventually sat down or allowed the sculptor to measure his features. But from the letter, we can be certain that Ney was able to charm him into returning for seven more sittings and to remain for three to four hours each time. Perhaps, as Ney states, "Alle Hast des Beginns war verschwunden, er schien bereits zu fühlen, daß ein wirklich menschliches Wesen menschlich ihm gegenüber stand."[392] In retrospect, we can observe a common thread between these two personalities, who each benefitted from their time together. Not only did Ney receive bouquets of flowers from the king, but she was also granted more time to become acquainted with him and study her most royal of sitters. And Ludwig II would obtain an intimate portrait bust, as well as a temporary escape from his courtly duties due to the intelligent and sympathetic sculptor.

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[392] Ibid. "All the haste of the beginning had disappeared, he already seemed to feel the humanity of a true human being before him."

Figure 4.9. Ney, Elisabet. *Bust of Ludwig II,* 1869. (Marble copy from 1871). 72 x 52 x 33 cm. König Ludwig II.- Museum, Schloss Herrenchiemsee, Bayerisches Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Garten und Seen. Chiemsee, Germany. Photograph by author.

Once her "*Modelier Buste*" or "Fashion Bust" of Ludwig II was completed and approved, Ney was released from her courtly duties for the summer to visit Italy, where Montgomery was working at the time.[393] While in Rome in 1869, Ney brought her clay model of the bust to complete the king's order for a marble copy.[394] If we study the *Bust of Ludwig II*, we can see just

[393] "Elisabet Ney an Ministerialrat Eisenhart," Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 809; Müller-Münster, 86.

[394] Johann, 420-24. One survives today and is on display at Herrenchiemsee Palace dating to 1871, another is on display at Hohenschwangau Castle from 1869. A plaster model remains at the Elisabet Ney Museum in Austin, Texas, which Ney likely had cast in Rome as well .

how "dies Köpfchen sei das Schönste, Vollendetste, was ich gemacht" (refer to Fig. 4.9).[395] Ney produced a unique and compelling work in the bust format. She achieved this through the use of the "V-shaped" Roman type with the round pedestal and blank tabula to show the young ruler in a dignified and timeless manner. The presentation is overall idealized, with its smooth surface treatment as well as his expression of upward loftiness. The king is rendered to portray his youthfulness, but his masculine features are heightened to present a vision of legacy to come. His brows and hair are full and rendered to mimic his distinctive hairstyle of thick, and unruly wavy hair. His large, deep-set eyes are incised with care to suggest their striking quality as well as to reveal that the king is in fact looking outwards in contemplation, whilst his head is slightly turned to the left.[396] If we refer to a photograph of Ludwig II from 1866, it is apparent that Ney perfectly captured his youthful, abundant hair. (refer to Fig. 4.10). His face is fleshy and full, revealing his young age, yet the king's piercing eyes and stern mouth produce a cultivated presence. Ney rendered his neck and chest to suggest a lean physique, and also included a slight Adam's apple, which is rarely seen in most of the king's high-collared uniforms. Also, the choice of the artist to portray Ludwig in drapery lined with ermine fur links the king to the ancients, while also embodying his royal status. From Wittelsbach lineage, associated with past rulers of the Holy Roman Emperor, Ludwig II considered himself a divine protector of the Bavarian people, and his reign and his appearance are likened to this hierarchal thinking. Ney was aware

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[395] "Elisabet Ney an eine befreundete Dame und/oder Elisabeth Lewald, 25 March 1869, Rom." "…this little head is the most perfect thing I have ever done."

[396] The eye color of Ludwig II is not consistent from source to source. Some say he had bright blue eyes, others deep blue, some steely gray, some light brown, and some piercing black. Regardless, from the available black-and-white photographs, we can ascertain that his eyes were large, and quite expressive.

of his opulent taste, as well as his devotion to arts and culture, as she worked in the lavish Munich Residence.[397] Her inclusion of the fur drapery likely aided the king's appreciation of the piece.

Figure 4.10. Albert, Joseph. Photograph of Ludwig II in his Knights of St. George Regalia, 1866.

Once Ney returned to her Munich Studio in Fall 1869, she began work on her design for the full-length portrait statue with a contract deadline of January 1, 1871.[398] It is probable that Ludwig II participated in additional sittings for the full-size statue, as correspondence indicates

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[397] "Elisabet Ney an Joseph Joachim, 16 March 1868, München." The Munich Residenz was destroyed in WW2. A remaining photocollage of the artist's studio shows her works in one of the opulent rooms of the Odyssey Halls. Refer to Fig. 3.18 in the previous chapter.

[398] "Briefwechsel Elisabet Ney an Gottfried Neureuther, 18 July 1868," "Elisabet Ney Collection," HRC; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 277; Johann, 75, 402. The exact date of her return in the fall is unclear.

that they were in touch during the execution of the large project.[399] Ney completed the plaster model of the *Statue of Ludwig II* in record time by December 1870.[400] By virtue of her contract, Ney received the 2500 guilders for the execution of the plaster model, but the artist would not earn the remaining 3500 guilders until the work was completed in marble.[401] Von Neureuther had proposed that the plaster version be placed temporarily in the Antikensaal of the Polytechnical Institute.[402] Ney rejected the suggestion as the contract only required the marble version to be exhibited. Further, Ney was firmly against the architect's idea to cut her design in *Pentelicone* marble to save costs.[403] The material was used more for architectural exteriors, not monumental works of monarchs. Understandably, the choice of *Pentelicone* marble would degrade the overall effect of the work destined for the milky look of Ney's preferred *Serravezza* marble.

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[399] "Briefwechsel Elisabet Ney an König Ludwig II., December 1869" Geheimes Hausarchiv, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, München, Germany; Müller-Münster, 79-84; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 327; Johann, 402.

[400] Johann, 404, 409; "Elisabet Ney an Gottfried Neureuther, 10 December 1870," "Landbauämter," 7993, Staatsarchiv München, Munich, Germany. Johann cites this letter, in which von Neureuther requests to show her plaster work.

[401] "Vertrag Gottfried Neureuther an Elisabet Ney, 09 March 1869;" Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 307; Johann, 402. 2500 guilders in 1870 is the equivalent of approximately 24,000 USD in 2015. She was likely paid before her departure to the United States at the end of December 1870.

[402] See fn. 318.

[403] "Bei Abschluss des Accords hatte die Künstlerin keine Erwägung gegen die Verwendung dieses Materials ausgesprochen, nachdem aber dieselbe das Modell hergestellt hatte und von einer größeren Reise, bei welcher sie auch Athen besucht hatte, hierher zurück kam, äußerte sie Gedanken gegen dasselbe, die ich zwar nicht theilte, welche mich aber doch veranlaßten, sofort den bestellten Stein wieder abzubestellen, was ich nun so leichter thun konnte, als ein mir wohlbekannter deutscher Architekt in Athen, welcher viele Steine des Pentelikons verarbeiten ließ, das fragliche Stück selbst verwendete, ohne mir irgend welche Ersatzkosten dafür zu verrechnen." "Gottfried Neureuther an Landbauamt München, 3 November 1886," "Landbauämter," 7993, Staatsarchiv München, Munich, Germany; Johann, 404.

Elisabet Ney along with Edmund Montgomery would leave for the United States quite shortly after Ney finished her study in December 1870. When Ney left Munich, she was probably no longer held in favor by Gottfried von Neureuther, as her sudden departure and lack of correspondence made the execution of the marble statue came to an unforeseen halt. For almost twenty years, the work was forced to await its debut, as only the plaster remained.[404] In her absence, Ney's trusted colleague Friedrich (also known as Fritz) Ochs of Berlin, stored the model.[405] Eventually, Ochs would execute the work in *Carrara* marble in 1893/4 and the State of Bavaria, under the order of King Otto, purchased the work for 15,000 marks.[406] It was initially erected in front of Linderhof Palace in 1895, until it was moved to Herrenchiemsee Palace in 1926.[407] Fortunately the work was moved indoors in 1987, and is now on display in the Ludwig II of Bavaria Museum at Herrenchiemsee Palace (refer to Fig. 4.11).[408]

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[404] The original plaster design, cast in 1869-70, was used as a puncturing model by Ochs to make the marble version in 1890-94. The puncturing model was likely destroyed after, as it's whereabouts are unknown. Another plaster copy was made in 1897 and now resides in the Elisabet Ney Museum.

[405] "Briefwechsel Georg Eichler an nien namen, 19 June 1871," "Beilage Lit B. zum Berichte des Special-Commissärs Gottfried Neureuther vom 16. Februar 1872," "Landbauämter," 7993: 24, Staatsarchiv München, Munich, Germany; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 352; Johann, 414.

[406] "Dr. Karl Dürck an Elisabet Ney, 29 April 1895, München," "Elisabeth Ney Collection," box 2, fol. 16, HRC; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 960; Johann, 415.

[407] Müller-Münster, 88.

[408] Johann, 416; Hojer, 359.

Figure 4.11. Ney, Elisabet. *Statue of Ludwig II.* 1869-70. (Marble execution by Friedrich Ochs 1890-04). 200 x 70 x 90 cm. König Ludwig II.- Museum, Schloss Herrenchiemsee, Bayerisches Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Garten und Seen. Chiemsee, Germany. Photograph by author.

***Aesthetic Analysis***

*The Statue of Ludwig II* should be considered one of Ney's greatest works as it achieves a high level of grandiosity in its execution and its overall aesthetic inspires awe for the Bavarian monarch. With this work, modeled after Ney's 1870 design, we are presented with a confident, handsome, and imposing political figure. This work is unique in its presentation as Ney does not resort to the common tropes of representing a full-length figure, she does not show the figure nude, in a toga, armor, or even on horseback. Rather, the king is portrayed extravagantly in his ceremonial dress as Grandmaster of the Order of St. George, an honor reserved only for the King of Bavaria.[409] Each of the elements of this work of art –including the portrait of his face, as well as the rendering of his physique and ceremonial uniform– are accomplished with care and precision. The size of the marble work is exactly life-size, as the piece measures 200 centimeters or almost 6 feet 7 inches. If we deduct four to six inches, the figures alone stands at about 6 feet 3 inches, which is the recorded height of Ludwig II. The head is youthful and handsome, as a young monarch should be. His body language and form take control of the surrounding space, distinguishing the man portrayed as important. And the dress is bedecked with insignia to honor and glorify the Bavarian throne and its dedication to the Catholic church. Overall, the public work implores viewers to fathom the presence of the powerful figure by birthright –his surveying gaze and dynamic stance invite notions of reverence and duty.

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[409] Sir Bernhard Burke, *The Book of Orders of Knighthood and Decorations of Honour of All Nations* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1858), 50-51. Beginning in 1778, the title of Grand Master was reserved only for the monarch of Bavaria. The Order was established as early as the twelfth century, but was reestablished by Emperor Maximillian I in 1494.

The king is shown with a strong brow that collects shadow over his deep-set eyes. His cheekbones are high and work to widen his otherwise oval-shaped face. Ney forms the puffy chin with care, yet his neck is concealed by garments (refer to Fig. 4.12) His indistinct nose is rendered with care; the proportionately small nose appears masculine from the side where Ney renders the slight bump in its bridge. Ney portrays the king's bow-shaped upper lip with delicacy, even capturing the contour of his philtrum. His lips are executed to display a sense of softness despite the overall downturned mouth. Ney does not depict Ludwig II donning his ceremonial hat, but rather chooses to capture the unmistakable wavy hairstyle of the young monarch: full, yet combed back away from the face. This also allows for his slightly large ears to peek out from under his locks, which are angled toward his jaw. With the full-length portrait statue, the face of Ludwig II is very similar to the physiognomy of Ney's bust study, however there is added effort in the large-scale piece to exaggerate certain features in order to collect shadows so that the work can be appreciated from a distance. Johann mentions in her text that the eyebrows are bushier, eye sockets deeper, and the mouth is more contoured than the bust.[410] I agree in part, these features are more pronounced– especially the eyebrows, which are noticeably fuller. But, perhaps, the details (irises, lids, creases) of the eyes are more deeply incised not necessary set deeper, also the lips are fairly exaggerated in the bust to begin with. In addition, the monarch's distinctive hair is given extra attention in the full-length work. This is especially evident from the back of the statue, where the locks of hair separate and curl rather than flatten, as in the bust (refer to Fig. 4.13 and Fig. 4.14).

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[410] Johann, 411-12.

Figure 4.12. Detail of face. Photograph by author.

Figure 4.13. *Left*- Back of bust. Photograph by author.
Figure 4.14. *Right*- Back of statue. Photograph by author.

The body of the statue corresponds to the long, lean physique of the young king, who was quite tall, over 6 feet 3 inches (or 1.91 meters).[411] The hands of the king are executed with grandiosity and appear quite life-like. His right hand set on his hip shows us the artist's firm grasp of anatomy– with knuckles, bones, and fingernails expertly rendered. Further, the right hand which grasps the mantel and sword is similarly naturalistic. Typically, white gloves would be worn with the ceremonial garb, but the youthful hands seem to balance the abundant drapery of his uniform. The bend of the left knee is highlighted by the tightening of fabric around the knee cap. Most impressively, the calves, ankles and feet are detectable despite being clothed (refer to Fig. 4.15). Each of the silk stockings are rendered to appear sheer. We can see the outlines of the calf muscles, as well as the tibial bones under the delicate accessory. Upon close examination, we can even see the slight wrinkling of the stockings at the ankles as well as on the inside of the knees. Further, the thin ceremonial shoes accent the feet of a slender, tall man. Parts of the toe box appear taunt, while other areas seem dimpled coordinating with the many bones of the feet. During the Fall of 1870, correspondence between Ney and Ludwig II continued, and it seems that the king must have attending additional sittings for this work, made evident by the extreme attention to detail within these small studies of anatomy. Perhaps, Ney's recent travels to Florence to see works by Michelangelo helped to inspire these anatomical aspects of the work.[412]

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[411] Schweiggert, 11.

[412] "Elisabet Ney an eine befreundete Dame und/oder Elisabeth Lewald, 25 March 1869, Rom;" "Draft of Letter to Mr. Brown, "Elisabeth Ney Collection," box 3a, Notebook I (1892/3), HRC. "I have stood in rapture before such work…Michelangelo's Tomb of the Medici…"

Figure 4.15. Detail of legs and feet. Photograph by author.

King Ludwig II, like all monarchs, had several Orders, but he held particular favor for the "*Königlich Bayerischer Haus-Ritter-Orden vom Heiligen Georg"* as the Catholic-based order was founded by his own House of Wittelsbach.[413] The presentation of the garb of the Grandmaster of St. George regalia for this monumental statue was a privileged sight, seen only on the feast days of St. George (April 24th) and the Immaculate Conception (December 8th). According to the official description of the regalia, it is filled with insignia to honor both the order, with their motto, "*Justus ut Palma Florebit,*" as well as its core belief in the virtue of the Virgin Mary, "*Virgini immaculatæ Bavaria immacultate.*"[414] The traditional white satin, knee-

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[413] Burke, 48. The Order of St. Hubertus was considered the order of most importance for the Bavarian throne, and likewise Ludwig II was buried in his Grandmaster uniform for the Order of St. Hubertus. See fn. 403.

[414] Burke, 52. "Immaculate Bavaria to the Immaculate Virgin" and "The just will flourish like a palm tree."

length tunic is richly embroidered in silver thread and includes fringe on the bottom. The designs include palm branches and leaves, as well as crowns, and the *Bayerischen Werken* within the shape of lozenges with thread of "argent and azure."[415] The opening for the sleeves and the collar are laced, and decorated by "a ruff of white lace," which is to "hang upon the breast by the two ends" accompany the vestment.[416] Atop the lace ruffles, lays the collar and badge of the Order, which is in the shape of a Maltese Cross (refer to Fig. 4.16).[417] The knee-length breeches, and cordwain shoes are to be of a white color and decorated with a rosette. The sleeveless mantel or robe for the Grandmaster is made of a light or "steel" blue velvet and lined with white satin. The robe is also embroidered along the edged with Bavarian lozenges, crowns, and palm insignia.[418]

Figure 4.16. Detail of tunic and regalia. Photograph by author.

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[415] James Henry Lawrence-Archer, *The Orders of Chivalry* (London: W.H. Allen, 1887), 39.
[416] Burke, 52.
[417] Lawrence-Archer, 38. The initials of the order's motto, "*Justus ut Palma Florebit,*" are not detectable on the front-side in Ney's work.
[418] Burke, 52.

If one compares Ney's execution to the actual array, the resemblance is almost obsessively accurate (refer to Fig. 4.17 and Fig. 4.18). The artist captured the weightiness of the differing materials of satin, velvet, lace, silk, fur, and fringe. The satin tunic behaves in a lighter manner, wrinkling around the elbows of the king. In contrast, the velvet robe seems to be bulkier and heavy – made evident by folding train of velvet, which slightly hangs off the pedestal (refer to Fig. 4.19). The fur border of the robe, along with the lace are rendered convincingly to further this presentation of nobility. But the *pièce de résistance* is the detailing of the regalia rendered in bas-relief, to resemble the intricate embroidery. Johann suggests that Ney possibly used some type of stamping tool, or a patrix, to achieve the texture of this piece.[419] While discussing this work with Sibylle Einholz, she mentioned that Ney's ability to achieve this level of precision and detail is due to her time in the studio of Christian Rauch, perfecting sculptural relief techniques.[420] Ney definitely seems to have gained access to the King's Order of St. George regalia as it corresponds perfectly with the placement of the differing designs of his 1867 tunic.[421] Despite the weighty materiality of the piece, Ney astutely captures the delicate embroidery, and rich textures of the heraldic outfit.

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[419] Johann, 413
[420] Sibylle Einholz, Meeting on May 13, 2019 in Berlin, Germany.
[421] Hojer, 253, 265. The work is definitely modeled from Ludwig II's 1867 regalia (Kat. 165), rather than the 1880 variant as seen in Schachinger's 1887 painting.

Figure 4.17. Grandmaster of St. George regalia, tunic, c. 1866-67. Taken from Hojer, 253.

Figure 4.18. Grandmaster of St. George regalia, mantel, 1867. Taken from Hojer, 252.

Figure 4.19. Detail of mantel. Photograph by author.

Interestingly, if the monumental statue is viewed from the front, Ludwig II seems to be rendered in *contrappasto* aligning him with the ancients of the classical past. But, if viewed from the side, he appears to be proceeding forward defying the frozen materiality of the artwork (refer to Fig. 4.20). Perhaps, then the work is rooted in past conventions, yet also moving in the direction of a visionary future. The overall aesthetic of the monumental piece is best achieved if the work is accessible from at least these two angles. While the work was initially intended to be placed inside of a niche in the auditorium of the Polytechnical Institute of Munich, dried up funds for proper materials as well as Ney's untimely departure to the United States prevented von Neureuther's vision from being realized. But, its placement in a recessed niche would have only allowed for a single vantage point, and viewers would never be able to fully appreciate the work. The exquisite detailing of the drapery continuing to the back of the work suggest that Ney

envisioned the work to be circumnavigated, and viewable from all angles. Luckily, today, the marble work is on view to favor the visions of von Neureuther and Ney. At Herrenchiemsee Palace, the full-length portrait statue of "The Moon King" is placed in a corner of the first large gallery, and is positioned to be viewed first from the side within a niche, as the painted wall behind the work contains a white rounded arch to frame visually the freestanding work. However, as visitors move through the room to the next gallery, a frontal view of the work can be appreciated as well, within the same niche-like framing, and filled in with Ludwig II's favorite color, midnight blue.

Figure 4.20. Side-view of work. Note: Artist 'signature' "Elisabet Ney fec. 1870" visible on base. Photograph by author.

The poet Paul Verlaine called Ludwig II the "only true king of this century."[422] This line of thinking is shared by the driving force of Ney's creation of the *Statue of King Ludwig II.* The work's main purpose is to promote the political power of King Ludwig II of Bavaria through a full-length portrait work. With this presentation of Ludwig II, the broader public is able to observe the particular features of the king's face, his body-language, and his grand presence. The work communicates a privileged scene of the young king, not posed or captured, but enlivened in the medium of marble. The display of the regalia of the Order of St. George represents many cultural values shared by the sovereign as the knighthood represents justice, fortitude and Catholic virtue. This work represents the striding forward of Bavarian traditions despite modernization, and the changing political climate. It propagates the public's need to remain loyal and faithful to the their region of Bavaria, and to consider their particular identity regionally as well as nationally.

Overall, with the work of the *Statue of King Ludwig II,* Ney was able to capture the likeness of the sitter and the detailing of his ceremonial garb, while at the same time adhering to the larger purpose of the commission – to aggrandize Bavaria and its King. Without a doubt, this is a beautiful work, done at the apex of Ney's career in Germany. Her efforts of marketing herself finally paid off with the commission from von Neureuther, as she became a court artist for the King of Bavaria, linking her abilities to 'greats' of the past bestowed with the same honor.

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[422] "König Ludwig II. von Bayern," *Bayerische Schlosserverwaltung Der Staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten Und Seen*. www.neuschwanstein.de/deutsch/ludwig/biograph.htm.

***"I would like to model the greatest of wild men"***

Heroes, whether mythological, militant, or entrepreneurial, function to inspire the public to attain certain virtues and share allegiance to a cause. Illustrious persons of legend, often defeat great odds despite adversity, and invoke an sense of nobility into their culture's history. One such figure in the history of Texas, as well as the United State of America, is Samuel Houston (1793-1863). The history of Texas cannot be explained without mentioning the ubiquitous role of its first President, later Governor and Senator Sam Houston. And, his story is not standard for many reasons, for one he lived with the Cherokee Indians for several years of his life. Atypical, yet widely respected, the political figure of Sam Houston shaped Texas during its early years, resulting in his enduring legacy. Before Elisabet Ney's departure to the U.S., she stated, "After having so many great men of the civilized world sit for me, I would like to model the greatest of wild men as well."[423,424] In line with her previous conviction to meet great persons, her aspirational tenets continue during the second part of her life, and once again her wish comes true as she is able to model the legendary "wild man" that is Sam Houston.

The formation of legends and heroes is not culturally specific. Each community requires these role models to inspire residents alike. During the nineteenth century, public monuments

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[423] "Verhältnissen lebte, in München eine elegante Villa besaß, in Amerika, wo sie verschollen, äußerte einmal Fräulein Ney: „Nachdem mir so viele große Männer der zivilisirten Welt gesessen, möchte ich auch den größten Wilden modelliren." "Zeitungsartikel mit handschriftlicher Notiz, July 1886." Preußischer Kulturbesitz,"Darmstadt Collection," 2 o 1864: Ney, Elisabeth, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany. This translated quote has been propagated as a famous saying of the artist in Texas.

[424] Cutrer, 142, 241. This quote was used by Cutrer for a book chapter title, "The Greatest of the Wild Men." Cutrer's footnote cites two letter drafts from the artist's diaries to contruct the saying. I am not sure if Cutrer knew of the 1886 German Newspaper article.

honoring military heroes and political leaders became a custom of Western society. In 1791, revolutionary France sanctioned the Church of St. Genevieve in Paris to become a mausoleum, called the *Panthéon*, "To the great men, from a grateful nation." Along with statues and murals throughout the architectural project, revered French citizens, like Voltaire, Emilé Zola, and Rousseau, are buried in the "temple of the nation," And in 1842, construction finished on King Ludwig I of Bavaria's visionary *Walhalla* located near Regensberg. Mentioned previously, this project functioned to aggrandize legends of the German tongue, like Martin Luther, Goethe, Albrecht Dürer, and Immanuel Kant. Over 100 busts, numerous wall panels, and a large statue of Ludwig I in ancient garb are placed in the grand hall. And in tandem with these "hall of fames," the creation of the United States Statuary Hall was approved on July 2nd, 1864 by Congress.[425] With this statute, each state was invited "to provide and furnish statues, in marble or bronze, not exceeding two in number for each State, of deceased persons who have been citizens thereof, and illustrious for their historic renown or for distinguished civic or military services" to furnish the vacant Old Hall of the House. Each of these projects– the Panthéon, the Walhalla, and Statuary Hall– were created with a shared intent- to honor great men as a means to define collective cultural values.

In Washington sculptures were submitted slowly, as states needed to find funding and local support for these works to outfit the new Statuary Hall. At first, inductions to the American "Hall of Fame" included revolutionary heroes and founding fathers such as the *Statue of Nathanael Greene* by Henry Kirke Brown representing Rhode Island in 1870 and *Roger*

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[425] Revised Statues § 1814, July 2, 1864. United States House of Representatives.

*Sherman* by Chauncey Ives representing Connecticut in 1872.[426] States were also required to make a case for their selection to the House for approval. By early 1905, Texas finally had two marble statues to submit for approval. Rep. John Stephens of Texas, addressed the House stating, "…the people of Texas…have approved the wisdom of its legislation in selecting Stephen F. Austin and Sam Houston as the proper persons to represent her in the American Valhalla [sic] know as 'Statuary Hall.'"[427] Likewise, Rep. Samuel Cooper of Texas defended the state's selection for the pair, "Stephen F. Austin and Sam Houston! The founder and the preserver! Fellow-citizens admit these statues to their rightful place in this Hall of Fame" – within his address, he also likened Austin and Houston to the Texas versions of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.[428] On February 25th, 1905, the statues of Texas legends were both accepted into the Capitol Statuary Hall by the United States House of Representatives "without objection" and with "unanimous consent."[429] Amazingly, the sculptor of theses statues, Elisabet Ney, was not mentioned by one lawmaker in the proceedings, despite her role in the modeling these two heroic 'wild men.' A hero in her own right, the sculptor Elisabet Ney, actually first executed

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[426] "The National Statuary Hall Collection." *Architect of the Capitol*, www.aoc.gov/the-national-statuary-hall-collection; Architect of the Capitol Archives. Greene was the first statue in the collection from 1870. Ives other work also representing Connecticut, his *Statue of Jonathan Trumbull*, was added in 1872 as well. The delay in replying to the Congress's call for statues in 1864 is undoubtedly due to the financial rebuilding required after the Civil War.

[427] *Proceedings in the House of Representatives on the Occasion of the Reception and Acceptance from the State of Texas of the Statues of Sam Houston and Stephen F. Austin*, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905), 60. Cited from the Address of John Hall Stephens of Texas.

[428] "*Proceedings in the House of Representatives,"* 21. Taken from the address by Samuel B. Cooper of Texas.

[429] Ibid., 139.

these works without payment over ten years prior, for the sake of her fellow Texans to decorate the Texas Building at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893.

***Sam Houston, the Hero***

*"Texas was peopled by heroes. Down to the day she established her independence no coward had ever set foot upon her soil. The men who died fighting in the Alamo, the men who were slaughtered at Goliad, the men who faced the appalling perils of campaigning on the Texan frontiers, the men who triumphantly charged the Mexican army at San Jacinto, were as valiant and fearless as ever faced death on the field of battle, and their devotion to the cause of liberty as intense as ever inspired the hearts of patriot heroes since the days of Marathon and Thermoplylæ." (Address of Mr. Gibson of Tennessee)*[430]

Governor, General, President, Senator, "The Raven" – these are just some of the many hats that Sam Houston wore during his long life. Born in the 1793 to a Presbyterian family, Houston was raised along with his five brothers and three sisters on a plantation in Virginia near Rockbridge County. Houston was only thirteen when his father died, and shortly after the Houston family resettled on a farm in Eastern Tennessee.[431] His teenage frustrations of helping with farm work and being bullied by his older brothers led Houston to escape over the Tennessee River into Cherokee territory in 1809. Over the course of three years, Houston "sojourned with the band of Chief *Oolooteka*, who adopted him and gave him the Indian name *Colonneh*, or "the Raven."[432] He considered the tribe a second family, and would work to cooperate with Native Americans in his various political roles. In 1813, he joined the army to aid with the War of 1812

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[430] Ibid., 76. Address by Henry Richard Gibson, who represented Tennessee's 2nd district from 1895-1905 within the U.S. House of Representatives.

[431] Thomas H. Kreneck, "Houston, Samuel," *The Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, Last modified 15 June 2010, www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fho73.

[432] Ibid.

and was promoted to various ranks. Houston would suffer significant injuries at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend on March 26, 1814. And historian, Dr. Thomas H. Kreneck explains, "For his valor at Horseshoe Bend, Houston won the attention of General Jackson, who thereafter became his benefactor. Houston, in return, revered Jackson and became a staunch Jacksonian Democrat."[433] Jacksonian democrats supported the expansion of voting rights to the "common man," as well as the ideals of Manifest Destiny.[434]

Houston would study law and became a lawyer in Nashville, Tennessee in 1818, serving for some time as the attorney general. In 1823, and again in 1825, he was elected to the United States House of Representative for Tennessee. In 1827, at the age of only thirty-four, Houston was elected Governor of Tennessee. In January 1829, he wed nineteen year-old local Eliza Allen, but the marriage ended after only eleven weeks, "amid much misery."[435] On April 16th, Houston, "extremely distraught" suddenly fled Tennessee to Indian territory, resigning his post as Governor for a "self-imposed exile."[436] The circumstances of his departure were never revealed, however, Houston felt it necessary to abdicate the office as he was not fit at the time.[437] For three years, he would live with the tribe of Chief *Oolooteka*, took a Cherokee wife, Diana Rogers Gentry, and became a Cherokee citizen. He gained another name at this time, *Ootsetee Ardeetahskee*, meaning "Big Drunk."[438] In 1832, Houston began to re-emerge in American

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[433] Ibid.
[434] Alfred A. Cave, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Historians* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1964).
[435] Kreneck, "Houston, Samuel."
[436] Ibid.
[437] James L. Haley, *Sam Houston* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 64.
[438] Kreneck, "Houston, Samuel."

society, serving as a tribal emissary, yet he was first prosecuted by the House of Representatives for assaulting Ohio representative William Stanbery with a cane on Pennsylvania Avenue.[439]

It would be the end of 1832 that Houston began his life in Texas, and serve a decisive role in the development of the then Mexican territory. As Mr. Gibson of Tennessee continues in his address, "Houston was a born warrior, and when the sounds of battle in Texas reached his ears he could not refrain from participation in the struggle there for independence."[440] Following his involvement in the Convention of 1833, Sam Houston grew in popularity with fellow rebel settlers of Texas and was unanimously appointed as Major General after the Consultation of 1835.[441] Houston played a major role in the Texas War of Independence at the Battle of San Jacinto, where the Texian army captured Mexican commander Santa Anna, and as a result gained their freedom as an independent nation. Kreneck states, "At San Jacinto, Sam Houston became forever enshrined as a member of the pantheon of Texas heroes and a symbol for the age."[442] Afterwards, "Old Sam Jacinto" continued to lead Texas, but within government roles –as the First, and Third President of the Texas, as well as in the Texas House of Representatives. And after the annexation of Texas as a state in 1845, he served as a Senator from 1846-1859 and lastly as Governor of Texas in 1859.[443] He resigned from the office of Governor in 1861, when

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[439] Haley, 81-81.
[440] "*Proceedings in the House of Representatives,"* 75. Cited from the address by Henry Gibson of Tennessee.
[441] Haley, 116.
[442] Kreneck, "Houston, Samuel."
[443] "Houston, Samuel (1793-1863)," *Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress, 1774-Present*, Office of the Senate Historian, http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=H000827.

Texas lawmakers decided to join the Confederacy against his advice and wishes. In his poignant resignation speech, he remarks on his refusal to take an oath to the Confederate cause:

> In the name of your rights and liberties, which I believe been trampled upon, I refuse to take this oath. In the name of the nationality of Texas, I refuse to take this oath. In the name of the Constitution of Texas, which has been trampled upon, I refuse to take this oath. In the name of my own conscience and manhood, which this Convention would degrade by dragging me before it, to pander the malice of my enemies…, I refuse to take this oath.[444]

He died in Huntsville in 1863 from complications of pneumonia at the age of 70, and was survived by his seven children along with his third wife Margaret Lea Houston.[445] His legacy continues to this day, as the city of Houston, and the Sam Houston University were named in his honor. Also, various monuments have been erected in his honor, including Elisabet Ney's *Statue of Sam Houston* (refer to Fig. 4.21).

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[444] Haley, 390-91.
[445] Haley, 414.


Figure 4.21. Ney, Elisabet. *Statue of Sam Houston.* 1892-93. (Marble copy from 1903-1904). Statuary Hall Collection. U.S. Capitol. Washington, D.C. Photograph courtesy of AOC.

***The Chicago World's Fair of 1893***

The World's Colombian Exhibition, hosted in Chicago, Illinois celebrated the unparalleled history and progress of the United States of America, as 401 years prior Christopher Columbus had landed upon the shores of the New World for the first time.[446] While the U.S. had hosted a world's fair before, the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, the Columbian Exhibition was of great importance for the nation to establish its dominance as a growing world leader. The previous fair, held in Paris in 1889, had received praise for its showcasing of French industry, art and culture, and the U.S. needed to surpass their global opponent. The hype involving the selection of which American city to house the expo or fair was indicative of the overall fanfare for the global event. Newspapers around the country were covering the polls for the competition as closely as a political election – the contenders included: New York City, Washington D.C., St. Louis, and lastly the burgeoning Midwest city of Chicago.[447]

Each world expo functioned like a microcosm of the Western world, yet each was dictated through the lens of the host. The city of Chicago, as well as the entire American nation, could stand to benefit from this spectacle event as money poured into the economy due to the surge of visitors. Another advantage of hosting a world's fair included the unique platform for defining nationalism via the measures propagandistic aggrandizement of economy and culture. In preparation for the fair, which took place from May to October of 1893, America's greatest architects planned construction of over 200 temporary buildings and pavilions to the house the

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[446] The fair was intended to open in 1892, 400 years after 1492, however planning and construction delays resulted in the opening of the fair to be postponed until 1893.

[447] Robert W. Rydell, "World's Columbian Exposition" in the *Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago Historical Society, 2005), www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1386.html.

various events and exhibitions. Each state was encouraged to participate in the fair as well, to showcase their particular merits in industry, science, or the arts. Texas lawmakers were interested, as they saw the potential of attracting people and capitol to the state. Or as Jeffrey A. Zemler puts it, "…the world's fair was not simply an opportunity to highlight the accomplishments of Texas; it was a business opportunity calculated to attract people and money to the Lone Star State."[448]

Plans came to a standstill, and the fundraising and management of the Texas Pavilion at the World's Fair was eventually turned over to a hardworking group of female delegates in June 1891, called "The Board of Lady Managers of the Texas World's Fair Exhibit Association." President, Benedette Tobin, told the *Dallas Morning News*, "If this great state is to make a creditable exhibition at the world's Columbian exposition, it must largely depend on the energetic co-operation of the women of Texas."[449] Despite difficulty raising money, The Board was able to raise enough to have a building realized. Opening a few months late, the doors of the exhibition hall were officially opened on September 16, 1893 after a dedication ceremony. Once inside the 28-foot-tall assembly room of the Spanish Renaissance style building, visitors were greeted by a full-length portrait *Statue of Sam Houston* created by Elisabet Ney.[450] Undoubtedly, without Ney's sculpture, the state's building would have been a dreadfully scant display. A critique of the sculpture appeared in the Texas Daily Statesmen, as it was under a "cynosure of thousands admiring eyes," and if the sculpture had been placed in the main art building, "it

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[448] Jeffrey A. Zemler, "The Texas Building and the Women's World's Fair Exhibit Association of Texas" from the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 115, no. 1 (2011): 23.
[449] Zemler 19; *Dallas Morning News*, November 8, 1891.
[450] Zemler, 40.

would have surely won a prize."[451]

When the Ney-Montgomerys first moved to Hempstead, Texas in 1873, Ney's life was consumed by the rearing of her children, as well as managing the large amount of land of the former Liendo plantation . But, almost a decade later, Ney began to make various efforts to restart her sculpture career in Texas. Much like the beginnings of her career in Germany, Ney would offer to make a portrait busts without financial incentive in hopes of recognition and eventually a return. In 1882 she would model a portrait bust of Governor Oran Roberts reigniting her passion for sculpture. During sittings with Roberts, she also voiced her interest in beautifying the Texas State Capitol, which was currently under construction.[452] Her input for the capitol were not taken into account, as the state insisted on a bigger is better approach, only possible through the means of cheaper work by contractors rather than sculptors. But Ney's luck would change as President Benedette Tobin had lofty goals for the Texas Pavillion including statuary commissions to revere prominent figures of Texas history. Johann suggests in her text, "Möglicherweise wurde der Kontakt der beiden Frauen durch den ehemaligen Gouverneuer Oran Roberts gefördert, den Ney 1882 porträtiert hatte."[453] Whether Roberts recommended the accomplished German sculptor, or Tobin learned of her existence through local gossip, Ney's involvement within "The Board of Lady Managers of the Texas World's Fair Exhibit

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[451] "Vanity Fair," *Austin Daily Statesman*, September 3, 1893; "Benedette Tobin to Elisabet Ney, 17 October 1893," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 2, fol. 47, HRC; Johann, 94. Ney's work was not submitted to the Women's Building, nor the main Art Building due to tight timeline she had to meet.

[452] The Texas State Capitol was constructed from 1882-1888.

[453] Johann, 454. "The contact between the two women may have been through the promotion of Governor Oran Roberts, whom Ney had done a portrait of in 1882."

Association" proved beneficial for all parties.

Originally Ney was only consulted by the Board of Lady Managers to help select an artist for the sculptural commission, and the group wished for the famed Augustus Sainte-Gaudens.[454] He was actually serving as an advisor of the Main Board of the Exposition due to his artistic expertise.[455] However, as the planning for the exposition pressed forward, fundraising efforts were not proving successful, and the association could barely afford the construction of the building itself, not to mention an exorbitant sculpture commission. As a result, Ney graciously agreed to help the women's association and took on the task of sculpting Texas 'greats,' Sam Houston and Stephen F. Austin *pro bono*. The artist only requested that the materials for the plaster works be paid for, and that eventually marble copies of the would be commissioned for the Texas State Capitol. The agreement was finalized in late September of 1892, which left Ney with less than a year from the official opening of the fair to complete the two statues. [456] Ney likely agreed to do this project as she was eager to sculpt again, but also because she had a real devotion to her new home of Texas, as well as to the hardworking women residing within its borders.

In order to complete her commissions for the 1893 fair, Ney needed to build a studio, in the state's capital of Austin, Texas. This ample working space in the Hyde Park neighborhood allowed her to carry out the monumental designs, as well as a more convenient location to

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[454] Johann, 91.

[455] *World's Colombian Exposition, 1893 Official Catalogue*, ed. M.P Handy (Chicago: W.B. Conkey, 1893), 480.

[456] "Contract, 28 September 1892," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 3, fol. 7, HRC. She was officially contracted in late September, but began drafting designs and contacting relatives of Houston and Austin by July.

consult with the members of the growing city. The studio was designed by the artist herself in a Neoclassical manner, yet with the use of local Texas granite. To say that it stood out in the suburban neighborhood of mostly Victorian homes would be an understatement. While her large workspace was under construction, the artist was able to complete detective work on the historical figures and fashioned statuettes. By November 1892. in her newly built Formosa, Ney began work on the clay design for her *Statue of Sam Houston.*[457]

***"40-years-old"***

Those familiar with the "Old Sam Jacinto" remember the man in his later years, in the role of an elder statesmen. But, why is it that we visualize political, historical or even popular figures once well-established, rather than at the decision moments in their life? Elisabet Ney's first monumental work in the United States, her *Statue of Sam Houston*, allows viewers a curious perspective of the historical figure, at the dawn of the Texan revolution. Ney explained in letters, "I have choose [sic] the age of 40 and hope to characterize in him the statesman as well as the soldier."[458] "It is a rare happening that a human being is of such supreme importance to his country at so early an age."[459] Ney was able to design a monumentalizing portrait of General

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[457] Johann, 93; "Draft of letter to [Bierly], 30 November 1892," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 3, Notebook I (1892/93): 7, HRC. Within this letter to a friend, Ney mentions that construction on her new studio is finished enough for her to begin work.

[458] "Draft of letter to Margaret Williams, undated #2," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 3 Notebook I (1892/93), HRC; Johann, 464. Likely November/December 1892, as Johann notes.

[459] "…only a youth of vision, energy, enthusiasm and hopefulness could depict the characteristics of so great a man." "Draft of letter to Margaret Williams, undated #3," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 3, Notebook I (1892/93), HRC; Cutrer, 133.

Sam Houston, just he would have appeared right before the dawn of the Texas Revolution in 1836. She depicted Houston in this pivotal-point of his "wild" life, as this is the likeness of a man who harked to the calls of revolution, and later secured Texas from rule by a monarch. Similarly, Ney came to Texas in 1873, when the artist was also forty years old. A new life, and the promise of economic and personal freedom accompanied her when she settled her family in Texas. Perhaps, this is also why Ney chose this age to depict the Texas legend, as she, like Houston, came to Texas for a new start and for the potential of the Texas frontier.

Ney sought to render her subjects as accurately as possible, seeking to portray not only their likeness, but their persona as well. Unfortunately, as Houston had died almost thirty years earlier, the design of this large work would have to rely on detailed research and correspondence with family and acquaintances, who could testify to the likeness and personality of the General. She had performed this kind of detective work before in other commissions of bygone men of history including her Westphalian figures for the Ständehaus in Münster, and her work of Franz von Fürstenberg (refer to Fig. 4.22 and Fig. 4.23). Ney sent several letter's to one of Houston's daughters, Margaret Lea Williams, who seems to be the sculptors main point of contact for the Houston family regarding the statue. In her 1906 obituary printed in the Houston Post, it confirms that "Mrs. Williams," "Served as Her Father's Private Secretary and Took Much Interest in His Work."[460] Within various letters to Williams, Ney requested photographs, portraits, as well as any objects pertaining to his time in early Texas, including apparel, like "the

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[460] "Mrs. Williams, Sam Houston's Daughter Died in San Antonio Yesterday,"*Houston Post*, March, 12th 1906.

Cherokee costume," his sword, and belt.[461] The letters are written with an understandable degree of desperateness, "Time is *so short* [sic] & while the studio at Austin is in progress of erection I must make sketches at once here."[462] It seems that Ney also stayed with the Williams family as she mentions in a later draft, to please send… "…the sword as soon as possible. –Should you have discovered the black umbrella I left at your house, if it is not too much trouble, you would oblige me by adding it to the other articles."[463]

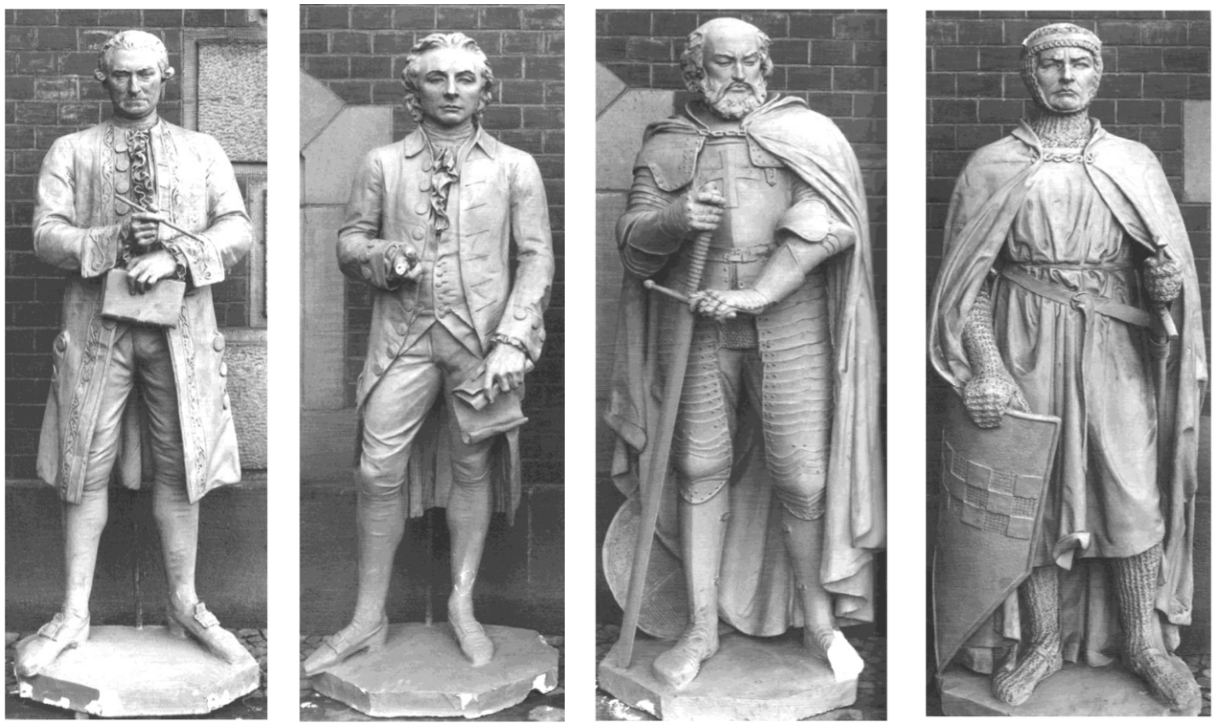

Figure 4.22. Ney, Elisabet. *Westphalian Figures* for Ständehaus Münster. 1861-2. (Destroyed WW2). Photographs taken from Rommé 90-91.

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[461] "Draft of letter to Margaret Williams, undated #2."
[462] "Draft of letter to Margaret Williams, undated #1," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 3, Notebook I (1892/93), HRC.
[463] "Draft of letter to Margaret Williams, undated #2."

Figure 4.23. Ney, Elisabet. *Statuette of Franz von Fürstenberg*, plaster, 1862. (Destroyed WW2). Photograph taken from Rommé, 185.

Along with gathering information and relics from Williams, Ney also sought the help of Houston fans and colleagues. Most important was a D.D. Claiborne of Goliad, Texas, who worked as a lawyer, and later judge. In fact, it is possible that Ney drew much of her knowledge of Sam Houston and his role in Texas history from articles written by Claiborne.[464] She requested that the judge, who had a collection of Houston memorabilia, send photographs of Houston, as well as to help with the procurement of a "Mexican blanket similar to the one Gen H used to wear."[465] Ney also wrote to Colonel William Stacy, asking for "the regular stylish riding

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[464] "What do you think of the various articles written by Daniel Clayborne[sic]?" Ibid.
[465] "Draft of letter Daniel D. Claiborne, 12 January [1893]," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 3, Notebook I (1892/93), HRC.

boots" worn by Houston.[466] Further, Ney mentioned in a letter to Mrs. A.D. Hearne, secretary Daughters of the Republic of Texas, that she had met with Major Eber Worthington Cave multiple times due to her "connection with my venerable friend Governor Roberts." It seems Ney learned from Major Cave much about Sam Houston and Stephen F. Austin, as he was appointed Secretary of State during Houston's term as Texas Governor in 1859.[467] Within each of these requests, Ney also asked the recipients to visit her Austin studio, preferably during her "leisure hours" of four to six in the afternoon, in order to examine her work and supply input. Obviously, Ney's efforts to capture the likeness of the illustrious figure is apparent from her correspondence with a number of sources.

The work took was completed in April 1893 and cast in plaster by May, just in time for presentation at the World's Colombian Exposition. The work was shipped in June and was installed in the Texas Building by August, "on a pedestal, covered with dark red…in the centre of the Auditorium."[468] Ney's general at the age of forty established his connection with the heyday of the Texas Revolution. Or as Mr. Gibson of Tennessee explains, "Those were giants in the earth in those days."[469] Overall, Ney's efforts to represent Houston for its representation at the Texas Pavilion, work to epitomize the figure as well as the Lone Star State. Unfortunately, due to time constraints, the *Statue of Stephen F. Austin* was not completed in time for the fair. As

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[466] "Draft of letter to Col. Stacy, undated," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 3, Notebook I (1892/93), HRC; J. W. (Willie B.) Rutland, ed. *Sursum! Elisabet Ney in Texas* (Austin, Texas: Elisabet Ney Museum, 1977), 28-29.

[467] Draft of letter to Mrs. A.D. Hearne, undated," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 3, Notebook I (1892/93), HRC; Rutland, 25-26.

[468] "Benedette Tobin to Elisabet Ney, 11 August 1893," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 2, fol. 47, HRC; Rutland, 36.

[469] "*Proceedings in the House of Representatives,"* 76. Cited from the address by Henry Gibson.

to why, Ney sculpted Houston first is uncertain.[470] But, I believe it was due to the simple fact that Stephen F. Austin died in 1836, before the widespread use of photography, and therefore Ney did not have any accurate representations to refer to.

***Aesthetic Analysis***

With the *Statue of Sam Houston,* we see a visionary portrayal of the historical figure; his likeness, character, and guise are all rendered with the intent of accentuating his unique and decisive role in pioneer Texas. Sam Houston was notable for his large stature and broad, muscular frame. And the presence of the 6'2" soldier is felt and then heightened once the statue is placed atop its pedestal. The commanding figure was portrayed truthfully to scale by Ney, as this detail she was certain of due to many accounts of his impressive physical appearance.[471] The figure is dressed in the distinctive garb of his Cherokee days with a long buckskin tunic and trousers. The fringing of the collar of the tunic as well as on the outside of his loose-fitting pants evoke the texture of the clothing. The movement of the trim is given special attention on the back of the piece as well indicating that the form can be appreciated in-the-round (refer to Fig. 4.24). The leather cloth appears heavy and rugged, unlike the flowy vestments of the Ancient Greeks. Particularly around the right elbow of Houston, the gathering of the sleeve produces this effect.

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[470] She simply states, "I decided to model your il.-father's [sic] statue first." "Draft of letter to Margaret Williams, undated #2."

[471] "His six foot, two inch frame bore such presence that he was commonly credited with standing as much as four inches taller. He was powerfully built and muscled, with enormous hands and thick strong fingers, his impressive frame solidly planted on feet so large that the measure around the instep was greater than their length." Haley, 36, 429. Haley also notes that in Houston's 1832 Passport his height is recorded at 6'2".

The stiff neck of the collar, as well as the opening of his tunic below act accordingly. However, one can still see in Houston's naturalistic *contrapposto* stance, the underlying anatomy of the form. The right knee, as well as the inward curve of his calf, can be detected under the buckskin pants. The shoulders are broad and rounded, but the figure is overall lean beneath the weighty outfit. The neck is slender, taut, and turned to the right. Ney renders the hands of Houston most virtuously; each component from palm to fingernail is precisely depicted. His left hand rests on the handle of his sword, and his right hand is held against his breast, with his fingers loosely clasped. Perhaps, the position of his right hand is an ode to his abilities as an orator. As one account of Houston, years later before he resigned his Texan governorship recollects, "…and a voice of the deep basso tone, which shook and commanded the soul of the hearer; added to all this a powerful manner, made up of deliberation, self-possession, and restrained majesty of action, leaving the hearer impressed with the feeling that more of his power was hidden than revealed."[472]

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[472] "His appearance is thus described by one who heard him speak at Galveston a few days before Texas joined the Confederacy:…" "*Proceedings in the House of Representatives,"* 78-79. Cited from the address by Henry Gibson of Tennessee.

Figure 4.24. *Left*- Detail of fringe. Photograph by author.
Figure 4.25. *Right*- Brady, Matthew. *Sam Houston,* 1862. Photograph.

The artist also included a Mexican *serape* or blanket that Houston was known to have worn. However, the blanket could have also been a Cherokee textile, such as the one he is wearing as a shawl in a photograph from 1861 (refer to Fig. 4.25). The artist included this prop in a compelling manner, so as to invoke the look of a mantel or royal cape, as it drapes behind the general, and falls to the ground (refer to Fig. 4.26). The shawl is lightly incised to suggest the pattern of horizontal banding and stripes across the fabric. The boots, sword and sword belt with chain are the only aspects of Houston's outfit that are from the Western world. The leather boots include a small heel needed for riding. The bunching of the boots at the ankle as well as the modeling of the feet-filled boots ground the overall naturalism of the piece. It is certain from correspondence with Margaret that Ney was able to study the sword belt and chain, as well as

perhaps the sword. Close study reveals that Houston's large saber sword is topped with a delicately modeled lion's head (refer to Fig. 4.27 and Fig. 4.28). The metal chain links are expertly rendered and seem to hang with the weight of its depicted material.

Figure 4.26. *Left*- Detail draping of blanket, Photograph by author.
Figure 4.27. *Right*- Detail of chain, and sword. Photograph courtesy of AOC.

Figure 4.28. "Sword of San Jacinto," detail of lion's head on sword. Photograph Courtesy of The Sam Houston Memorial Museum. Huntsville, Texas.

As the artist was unable to benefit from sittings with Sam Houston, she resorted to studying portraits of the leader, as well as photographs of him later in his life, perhaps including one daguerreotype dating as early as 1838 (refer to Fig. 4.29). Two early portraits of Houston were made on painted ivory. The first, rendered by a J. Wood of New Orleans, dates to 1826 during his Tennessee Congressmen days, and the other dates to 1830, showing a vision of Houston dressed in Cherokee attire, while serving as envoy (refer to Fig. 4.30 and Fig. 4.31). Whether Ney had access to these portraits is uncertain, but neither seem to resemble to photographs of Houston, including the one dating to 1838. The physiognomy, and even the slight body-types of the sitter are not in sync with later representations or accounts of Houston. Comparing Ney's execution of Houston's physiognomy to existing photographs, it seems that Ney admirably captured the likeness of the younger Houston.

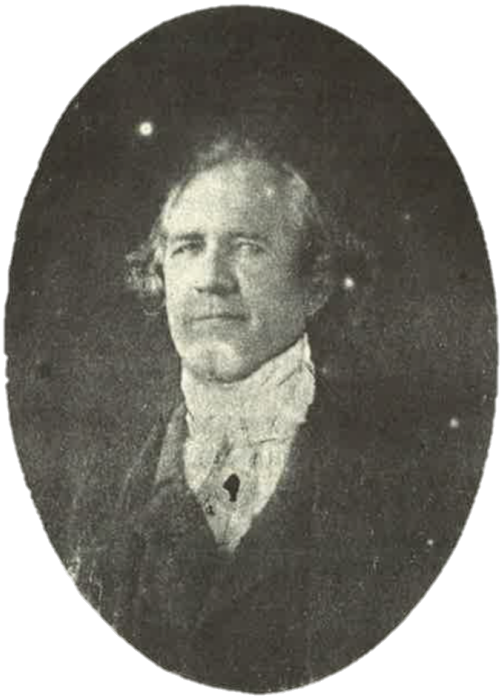

Figure 4.29. Sam Houston, c. 1838. Daguerreotype. Courtesy of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas.

Figure 4.30. Wood, J. (of New Orleans), *Congressman Sam Houston*, 1826. Painted Ivory. Texas State Archives. Austin, Texas.

Figure 4.31. Portrait of Sam Houston in Cherokee attire, c. 1830. Painted ivory. The Sam Houston Memorial Museum. Huntsville, Texas.

It is also possible that Ney was able to work with members of the Houston family who shared a likeness. Ney wrote to Claiborne in January 1893, that she hoped to host Houston's 34-year-old son William for sittings, as he was said to most resemble his father.[473] Interestingly, in his text on Houston, James L. Haley mentions that "Of all the Houston children, none bore greater resemblance to their father, either in features or in flip demeanor, than his eldest daughter, Nancy Elizabeth."[474] Perhaps, then Ney could have also met or had some type of correspondence with Nancy, or "Nannie," Houston Morrow, as she lived just north of Austin. Referring to pictures of both children at various ages, the statue resembles Nancy's features most closely. However there is no known evidence of either William or Nannie's collaboration with Ney (refer to Fig. 4.32 and Fig. 4.33).

Regardless, Ney was able to visualize the deceased sitter's facial proportions and model them in a convincing way (refer to Fig. 4.34). The face of the Sam Houston is mature and broad, with no remnants of the fleshiness of youth. His forward is tensed, yet only marked with the faint fine lines of the deep wrinkles to come. His protruding brow bone collects shadow over his expressive eyes that look outwards and to the right. His eyes are deep-set, and the pupils incised. His eyes are puffy and accompanied by small under-eye bags, perhaps genetic rather than age-related. His cheek bones are high and broad, and his jaw wide, allowing for his cheeks to concave slightly between the two features. His nose has a slight ridge, but overall is

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[473] "Few days ago I was told that Gen. Houstons son, William, is formed like his great father and alltogether much resembling him. When my state shall be advanced enough I shall see him here." "Draft of letter to Daniel D. Claiborne," 12 January [1893]." William Rogers Houston (1858- 1920).

[474] Haley, 389. Nancy ("Nannie") Houston Morrow (1846-1920).

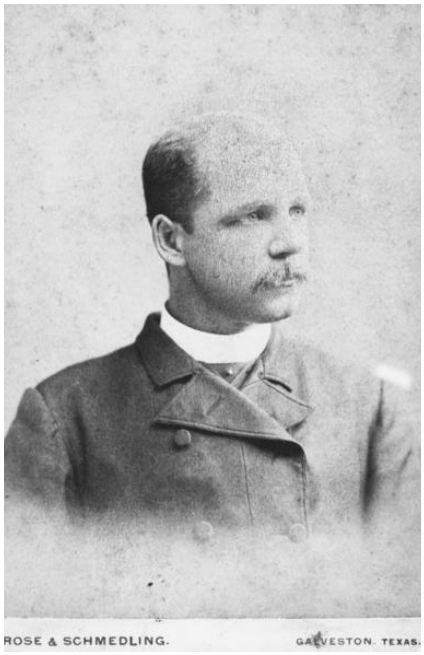


Figure 4.32. Rose & Schmedling, William Rogers Houston, c. 1885-1905. Photograph.
Figure 4.33. Nancy Houston Morrow at age 15. c. 1860-61. Photograph. The Sam Houston Memorial Museum. Huntsville, Texas.

proportionate to his face, as is his downturned mouth. The sculptor portrays Houston without facial hair, and includes an Adam's apple on his neck and a cleft chin. His hair is still thick and wavy, but rendered away from the face to reveal his overall contemplative expression. While overall the effect of the work is static –as the legacy of Sam Houston remains– the piercing gaze of the figure seems to be surveying his destiny, and the destiny of Texas.

Even though Elisabet Ney portrayed Sam Houston before he claimed the legendary status of "Old Sam Jacinto," the artist managed to cleverly allude to the manifold aspects of the monumental figure. By her inclusion of his defining Cherokee garb, and the textile blanket, Houston is portrayed in the light of a 'wild man,' a wanderer from the niceties of civilization to the wild frontier. Yet, with the details of the curved sword, and chain belt as well as the overall sturdy and imposing physique of the man, Houston can also be seen as a military hero of his

time. Further, the attention Ney committed to the hands and facial expression of the Texan, encourages viewers to fathom the thoughts of the future politician and statesmen. Houston appears composed and calm, but looks outward atop the plinth to viewers. Wild man, military hero, and orator- all presented here with the engaging design by the hand of Elisabet Ney.

Figure 4.34. Detail of face, Photograph courtesy of the AOC.

Further, The *Statue of Sam Houston* is contextually layered, as the subject is two-fold- a representation of Houston, "the preserver" of the Lone Star State itself. As intended, the work glorified Texas and its history of heroes to engage the numerous visitors near and far at the Columbian Fair of 1893. And Ney's work would continue to garner interest, as the plaster-copy was well-received at the Chicago Fair. As Tobin expressed, "everyone says you would have received the Medal," that is if the work were to be submitted to the main arts building, instead of

in the Texas building.[475] In this way, Elisabet Ney's *Statue of Sam Houston* is more than just a full-length portrait statue, it propagates many of the core ideas of American-ness, as well as the particular notions of Texas identity–namely freedom and equality– in an ostensible form. As Sam Houston once proclaimed, "Texas could exist without the United States, but the United States cannot, except at very hazard, exist without Texas."[476]

***Marble Commissions- for both Capitols***

With a record total of over 27.5 million visitors, the Chicago World's Fair ended October 30th 1893. However, the chaos of the event pressed on, as the contents of the Texas Pavilion, including Ney's *Statue of Sam Houston,* were seized as collateral by a construction firm due to an unpaid balance. The higher sum would not be rectified until 1895, and for over a year the artist anxiously awaited the return of the Statue. By mid-November 1893, Ney did finish the full-size portrait statue of *empresario* Stephen F. Austin, likely in order to increase her chances of earning the commission of the duo in marble (refer to Fig. 4.35).[477] The artist also later produced two busts of Houston, one from her original design and another as an older statesman, as well as a bust of Austin (refer to Fig. 4.36, Fig. 4.37, and Fig. 4.38). These bust portraits were produced in hopes for more commission or at copy orders to help her financial situation.

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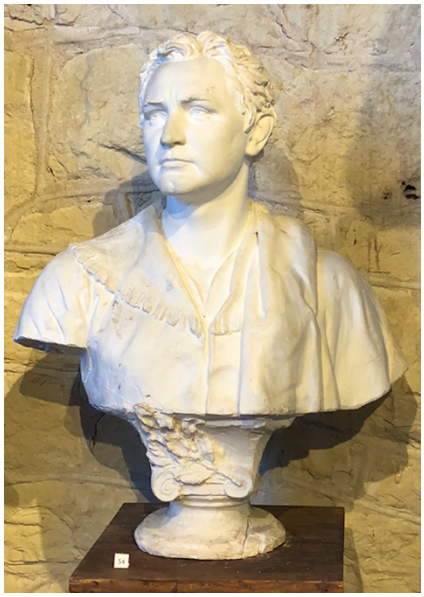
[475] "Benedette Tobin to Elisabet Ney, 21 August 1893," " Elisabet Ney Collection," box 2, fol. 47, HRC; Rutland 36-37; Johann, 95.

[476] *United States of America Congressional Record Proceedings and Debates of the 86th Congress, Second Session* 106, Part 7 (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1960), 8490. "Honor was his Creed –Sam Houston was Texas' Preserver and Conscience," Address by journalist Walter Trohan on the occasion of Houston's birthday. This is a propagated quote by the orator.

[477] Johann, 456-57.


Figure 4.35. Ney, Elisabet. *Statue of Stephen F. Austin,* 1893. (Marble copy 1903-04). Statuary Hall Collection. U.S. Capitol. Washington, D.C. Photograph courtesy of the AOC.



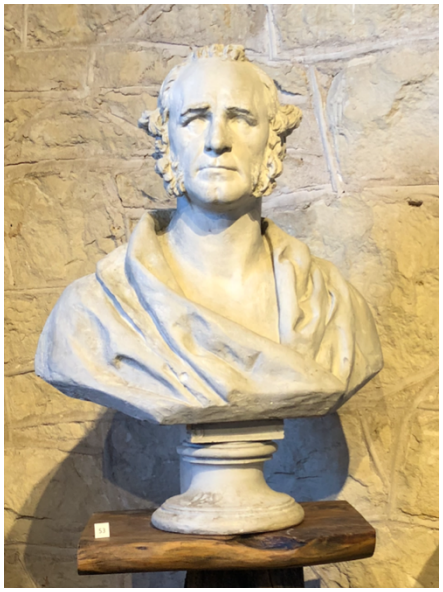


Figure 4.36. *Left*- Ney, Elisabet. *Bust of Houston (young)*, 1903. Plaster. HRC. Austin, Texas. Photograph by author.
Figure 4.37. *Right*- Ney, Elisabet. *Bust of Houston (older)*, 1893. Plaster, ENM, Austin, Texas. Photograph by author.

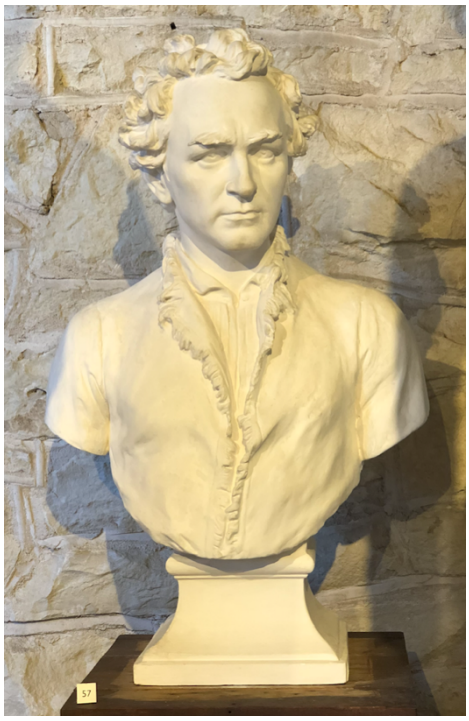


Figure 4.38. Ney, Elisabet. *Bust of Stephen F. Austin,* 1903. Plaster. ENM, Austin, Texas. Photograph by author.

Benedette Tobin considered the designs and any resulting commission to be available only to the Lady Board of Managers due to the contract from 1892. However, the works had yet to be commissioned in marble, as the board was unable to raise the necessary funds. Despite their past relationship, the women could not come to an agreement. And in June 1898, the case went to Texas court and was ruled in favor of the artist as too much time had passed; the rights to the designs, and any resulting reproduction was awarded to Ney.[478] Unfortunately, Ney did not emerge unscathed, the disagreement ultimately involved other Austin women, including mutual friends- Lucadia and Julia Pease, who sided with Tobin in the dispute.

Luckily, in the Spring of 1900 The Daughters of the Republic of Texas (DRT) appointed Ella Dancy Dibrell to their Board of Directors.[479] Ella Dancy Dibrell, wife of State Senator Joseph B. Dibrell, was fiercely dedicated to the cause of the DRT. And after extensive lobbying by the women's group, the Texas legislature awarded the commission of both statues to Ney for the Texas State Capitol in August 1901 for the sum of $8000.[480] Shortly after, Ney was also awarded the commission for the *Statue of Sam Houston* for Statuary Hall in November 1901 by the Texas Legislature. But, the DRT independently raised funds to support the commission of Ney's *Statue of Stephen F. Austin* for Statuary Hall. This was later made official by a contract dating to August 1902.[481]

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[478] "Elisabet Ney et al. vs. Benedette B. Tobin et al., 1898," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 3, fol. 7, HRC; Johann, 459. However, Ney did have to reimburse the expenses for materials of her statue of Austin, as it was not ready in time.

[479] Johann, 109.

[480] *Gammel's Laws of Texas 1897-1902*, Regular Session of the Twenty-seventh Legislature, January 8 to April 9, 1901, Miscellaneous Appropriations, 248; Cutrer, 188.

[481] *Gammel's Laws of Texas 1897-1902*, Second Called Session, Twenty-seventh Legislature 1901, Miscellaneous Appropriations, 44; "Contract between Elisabet Ney and the Daughters

Ney immediately enlisted the help of Berlin sculptor, Franz Lange, with the execution of the commission for the Texas Capitol in September 1901. Lange sent plaster puncturing models to Italy to be cut in *Serravezza* marble.[482] The artist traveled to Italy September 1902 to supervise their completion.[483] These works were installed along with their matching Texas red granite pedestals, and unveiled in a ceremony with 8,000 in attendance on January 19th, 1903.[484] These marble works are prominently placed in the main entrance of the Texas State Capitol Building, and are guarded by matching metal gates (refer to Fig. 4.39). When viewed together, the imposing stature of the Sam Houston does dwarf the comparatively petite frame of Stephen F. Austin, who stood tall at five foot, seven inches.[485] The duo of buckskin 'wild men' remain *in situ*, and flank the opening for the large rotunda that houses the impressive dome of the Texas Capitol. Lining the walls of the circular space of the rotunda are portrait paintings of every governor of Texas, including, of course, Sam Houston.

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of the Republic of Texas, 1 August 1902," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 3, fol. 7, HRC.

[482] Johann, 460.

[483] Ibid.

[484] Ibid., 116.

[485] "Austin was about five feet seven or eight inches in height, or spare form sineway [sic], graceful & easy carriage, he was a graceful dancer, of attractive manners." "Guy M. Bryan to Miss Elizabeth Ney, 24 September 1892, Quintana Brazoria County, Texas," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 1, fol. 5, HRC; Rutland, 30. Bryan is the nephew of Stephen F. Austin.


Figure 4.39. Ney, Elisabet. *Statues of Sam Houston and Stephen F. Austin,* 1892-3. (Marble 1901-02 copies). Texas State Capitol. Austin, Texas. Photograph by author.

Ney would travel again to Italy in January 1904 to supervise the second marble commission for Statuary Hall, again cut in her preferred *Serravezza* marble with red granite pedestals.[486] They were shipped from Genoa on Princess Irene to arrive in New York by April, from there the crates were carried by train to D.C. by May 1904. Ney traveled to Washington D.C. in April 1904 to meet with the Architect of the Capitol, Elliott Woods in order to prepare

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[486] "Elisabet Ney to Elliott Woods, 14 April 1904," "Artists in the Capitol," Sculptors: Elisabet Ney, Correspondence, fol. 1, Records of the Architect of the Capitol, Washington, D.C. (AOC); "Elisabet Ney to Bride Neill Taylor, 9 May 1904," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 1, fol. 13; Johann, 473.

for their arrival. However, once installed Woods became concerned with their size, as did others. Ney replied to such complaints, "God creates people, I only copy his designs."[487] While Ney's aesthetic involved precisely replicating the scale of each figure, the other works in the collection are enormous by comparison. For instance while Houston and Austin's heights measure about 81 inches, and 74 inches respectively, including the marble base. The *Statue of Samuel Adams* measures in at about 91 inches, and *The Statue of Roger Sherman* at 95 inches, again each measurement including the marble base. After correspondence with the artist by Woods, including a supplied sketch by Ney, the issue was rectified. In 1907, the capital purchased two gray granite bases at $70 each to boost the Texas Statues. It seems then, in this singular case, that not everything is bigger in Texas.

When Ney's statues were added to the Statuary Hall collection only twenty-nine sculptures were a part of the growing collection. However by the 1930s, after continued additions, concerns surfaced as to whether the Hall could support the compiled weight of the various works multi-ton sculpture works, many monumental in size and presentation.[488] Further, by 1933, the collection included a total of 65 works, and the stacked appearance of the works did

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[487] "'If I am correctly informed,' Elisabet wrote back tartly, 'God made the two men. I merely reproduced their likenesses. If you are dissatisfied about them, you should take up the matter with God.'" Fortune and Burton, 270; "God Almighty makes men. I only copy his handiwork. I suggest you take your complaint to God." Majorie von Rosenberg, *Elisabeth Ney: Sculptor of American Heroes* (Austin, T.X.: Eakins Press, 1990), 44; "She dismissed the subject briefly by answering that God had made the men and she had made their likeness." Rutland, 34; "Gott schafft die Menschen, ich kopiere nur seine Entwürfe." Renate Rocher, "Elisabet Ney." *Fembio*, www.fembio.org/biographie.php/frau/biographie/elisabet-ney/. This varied, propagated saying by the artist, translated from Rocher, reveals a humble tad of hubris.

[488] "The National Statuary Hall Collection."

not allow for the proper appreciation of the three-dimensional forms. The seventh Architect of the Capitol, David Lynn, began a plan to re-situate the growing collection to other rooms of the Capitol including the main rotunda, the crypt, and the Hall of Columns. Later, Curator of the Architect of the Capitol, Charles Garner, made the decision to keep one work from each state in Statuary Hall, likely for the sake of objectivity and consistency.[489] Further, the curator decided to place the works to alternate medium, i.e. bronze, marble, bronze. As a result, *the Statue of Stephen F. Austin* was moved first to the Senate vestibule, and then later in 1997 to the Hall of Columns. However, the Statue of Sam Houston remains prominently in Statuary Hall, the exact chamber where he once served as a Representative for Tennessee from 1823-27.

***The challenges of Germany vs. Texas commissions***

In Ney's time, establishing oneself as a sculptor was incredibly difficult; the three-dimensional medium was costly as well as time-consuming. Commissions were difficult to attain and required lengthy artistic training, as well as smart marketing and skilled self-promotion. Once sculptors left a workshop, they had to invest in their career to prove their abilities to obtain commissions. Monumental works were often commissioned by nobility or through collective bodies in order to support and ensure the legacy of significant cultural figures. But due to the time and costs involved, commissions for monumental works, like the full-length portrait, were fewer in quantity and very competitively secured. Sculptors could rarely create monumental works out-of-pocket, as the risk for a return was huge. But, Elisabet Ney was confident in her

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[489] "The National Statuary Hall Collection;" AOC.

abilities, and also trusting of her Texas community. Despite her gender, Elisabet Ney managed to establish herself transnationally, in various cities in Germany and in the United States, particularly Texas. What can her experiences and trials of achieving success in these differing locations reveal?

In Germany, Ney went against many cultural norms to achieve her lofty goal of becoming a sculptor. Ney was the first female sculpture student ever admitted in the Munich School of Fine Arts, and despite her adjusted curriculum, and constant surveillance, Ney performed well in the program. Through her friend Johanna Kapp, a painting student, Ney met her famous father, philosopher Christian Kapp. From this early experience in Munich, its seems that Ney early on realized the power of networking and continued to foster relations with the educated class a.k.a. *Bildungsbürgertum*. Through her the connection with Christian Kapp, Ney was able to meet her role model, Christian Daniel Rauch. Once in Berlin, Ney would continue to network in the salon world, increasing her network of bourgeois men and women eager to support the humanities. She would sculpt 'great' thinkers, scientists, and royal subjects. And with the large commission from Gottfried von Neureuther in Munich, Elisabet Ney had prevailed. She landed a much envied position as an in-house sculptor for the court of Bavaria. And curiously, right after the zenith of her German career, Ney moved to the United States at the age of thirty-seven.

Once in the United States, Ney abandoned sculpture turning her attention towards raising a family and trying to make a profit from landholdings. It was not until 1882, that Ney resumed her sculpture profession with the *Bust of Governor Oran Roberts* (refer to Fig. 4.40). Ney relied on networking again to establish herself and her abilities in order to receive commissions. But,

the hardships of achieving a commission and orders for bust portraits was arguably more challenging in Texas than in the more densely competitive German art world. In the New World came new demands, and particularly in the state of Texas, sculpture was not high on the list of priorities for the fledging state. Further, Ney was an older woman, and peculiar in her dress and hairstyle. I believe that her older age, and perhaps fading looks, also played some part in her difficulties in establishing a career in Texas. Ney would eventually offer her services to the Board of Lady Managers for the *Statues of Sam Houston and Stephen F. Austin* in 1892. But, it would not be until 1903 and 1904, that these works would be commissioned in marble, allowing the artist a small profit. These works were ultimately commissioned due to the lobbying and fundraising of the Daughters of the Republic. In Texas, it seems that Ney was able to forge a second career, and instill a passion for the arts, largely due to her networking and rapport with the upper-class women of Austin.

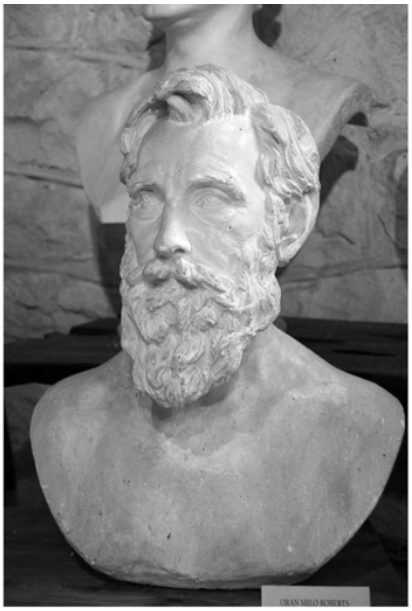

Figure 4.40. Ney, Elisabet. *Bust of Governor Oran M. Roberts,* 1883. (Plaster copy 1898). ENM, Austin, Texas. Taken from Johann, LV.

In terms of Elisabet Ney's transnational career, it is interesting to consider how her gender and appearance perhaps led to the reception of her work and abilities in each locale. In Germany, for instance, letters from Schopenhauer comment on the beauty, grace, and surprising intelligence of the young sculptor. She is objectified and sought after not only for her abilities, but due to her appearance.[490] As if a woman can either be good-looking or talented, to have both is something noteworthy and exemplary. And in Texas, the older woman was no longer heralded in letters for her looks, rather her abilities as an artist became the sole focus; her locus for the promotion of arts also garnered attention. While Texas was probably not the best location to try to start a career, I believe that Ney's age and the inherent lack of youthful beauty made her struggles to attain commissions in Texas much more difficult. Further, it is telling that most of her commissions, and her support was through the support of women's groups. These women were interested in advancing arts and culture, and Ney became a ringleader for their philanthropic efforts. It seems at least to some degree, despite their abilities or recognizable skills, a women's appearance and age unfortunately dictate career opportunities. I am not so sure that male sculptors had to face this same stigmas, proving themselves to be worthy at every stage of life.

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[490] Arthur Hübscher, ed. *Arthur Schopenhauer in seinen Briefen, Mensch und Philosoph* (Wiesbaden: F.A. Brockhaus, 1960), 184-87.

***Conclusion***

*"Mythmaking is as old as civilization. The need for myth – that recasting of figures and events into archetypes and epics– has characterized all peoples and societies. As the vehicle through which a collective consciousness signals its cultural identity, the hero often displays unusual powers or self-assertion against gigantic odds, which then, whether frustrated or victorious, are subsumed into universal meaning."*[491] *–Alessandra Comini*

The monumental, full-size portrait sculpture is intended for public consumption. The meaning of the work does not only lie in the presentation of the subject, it is intertwined with the myth, the legend, and the culturally-specific need for a particular brand of hero. Through the sculptural form, Elisabet Ney was able to fashion illusions of the 'great' men she portrayed as well as the allusions that they represent. And with the monumental sculptural type of the full-size portrait statue, comes the unique aesthetic of propaganda, as each work innately promotes the nationalism of the portrayed. However, the two works discussed in this chapter also involve a layering of cultural identifiers, which complicate their public reception. Both works are tied to certain regions– Bavaria and Texas. Still, public statues dictate ideologies of nationalism, but arguably, the added layer of regionally specific content either enriches or distracts from its propagandistic purpose. Is the regionalism of Bavarian and Texan culture encompassed in ideologies of nationalism? I suppose the answer is dictated by each viewer's reception of each work.

With the *Statue of Ludwig II,* viewers could see the last ruler of independent Bavaria, yet portrayed after Bavaria complied with the demands of Prussia. Perhaps, the king is a symbol of

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[491] Alessandra Comini, *The Changing Image of Beethoven, A Study in Mythmaking*, Rev. Ed. (Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press, 2008), 14-15.

Bavaria and also of the coming unification of the German 'nation.' But, to Ludwig II, and other Bavarians, the statue can be seen as a regionalist work. The situation of the commission and the merits of the St. George garb are unique to the Southern part of Germany and its concern for education and the arts. As for the *Statue of Sam Houston,* the statue definitely works to aggrandize the prominent leader of Texas history. His clothing, stance, and age all relate to the unique history of the American state, which had six flags fly over the territory. To Americans, who view the work, perhaps during a tour of the United States Capitol, they perceive an important figure of Texas history, yet as a component to the overall Statuary 'Hall of Fame' consisting of stone representatives for each of the fifty states. For Texans, the hero "Old Sam Jacinto" is displayed in his years before the dawn of the Texas Revolution. In each case, the nationalism or regionalism works in a balancing act that privies the viewer. The messy nature of identity is that no one box or category works to define all, we must decide for ourselves which ideologies provide the most meaning, and we must respect the rights of others to do the same. This remains a great difficulty for curators of collections of such works, as educational components must situate the multilayered significance of each object. It is a demanding job to serve the public, as you must serve all persons.

Elisabet Ney's *Statues of Ludwig II of Bavaria* and *Sam Houston* each function to portray a heroic leader in a flattering manner that alludes to their many accomplishments and merits on behalf of their constituents. With her *Statue of Ludwig II*, we see a royal figure, seemingly striding forward, handsome and outfitted in the garb of Grandmaster of the Order of St. George. We are to revere him for his efforts to support Bavaria as an important center of the arts and culture, as well as to enjoy the unique view of the aloof figure typically sequestered from the

gawking eyes of the public. With the *Statue of Sam Houston,* viewers are impressed by a large, sturdy figure in Indian garb, yet with the occidental sword and stance of *contrapposto*. We are to see this man for his contributions for the preservation of the ideals of early Texas and for his continued service throughout his life. The use of Neoclassicism works to idealize these men further. However, the undoubtedly exquisite detailing of Ludwig II's costume as well as his uncanny likeness in the 1870 work, make this work by Ney function superiorly to the *Statue of Sam Houston.* While the 1892 work is well-executed and provides a fair likeness, I argue that the artist works best to capture the likeness and spirit of the figure when they are available for sittings. For both, their legacy is only shown in a positive light, as Ney wanted to invoke a sense of respect for these men of merit; thus immortalizing rather than humanizing their efforts to situate them as exemplars for each culture and each of its factions. It seems as if Ney, who worked during the rapidly modernizing long nineteenth century, herself understood the idiosyncrasies of identity and also how to portray these ideologies with all viewers in mind.

## CHAPTER 5

## 'THE MAD WOMAN:' LADY MACBETH AND FEMINISM?????

Tragedies, comedies, and historical plays written by of William Shakespeare are best appreciated when acted on stage. But the narratives of his various dramatic characters inspire manifestations within many other art forms. Yet how can one tell a story written for the moving stage in the static medium of stone or plaster? Typically, narrative within the history of sculpture tends to be episodic, like the panels on sarcophagi and architectural friezes, or scrolling designs like those used on the *Trajan Column*. Both examples mimic two-dimensional tricks that imply the passing of time – the use of episodes or the "reading" of an arrangement of images from beginning to end. Of course, the sculptor can also resort to the use of various props and gestures that have an established iconography to help viewers ascertain the narrative subject matter. But, to produce a noticeable work –one that stops you in your tracks– the narrative is captured in an engaging way that suggests the spectacular drama of performative theater and challenges its primacy. Freestanding sculptures that depict an essential moment of a dramatic narrative include the esteemed *Laocöon and His Sons* as well as Gian Lorenzo Bernini's *Apollo and Pysche*.[492] Another such work is Elisabet Ney's late masterpiece *Lady Macbeth* (refer to Fig. 5.1).

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[492] Johann, 138. It is likely that Ney saw works by Bernini during her travels to Rome.

Figure 5.1. Ney, Elisabet. *Lady Macbeth,* 1905. Marble. 73 ¾ x 25 ¾ x 29 ½ in. Smithsonian American Art Museum. Washington D.C. Photo courtesy of Smithsonian American Art Museum. Cat. No. 1998.79.

*Lady Macbeth* was the final large sculpture project that Elisabet Ney completed in her lifetime, and arguably her most significant work due to its layered meaning, skilled execution, and engagement with the popular Shakespearean character. Further, as the work was completed outside of a contractual agreement, the artist was able to express freely the emotions of the character without the constraints of a patron. Through analysis of *Lady Macbeth,* we can examine how Ney utilized the Shakespearean tragedy of *Macbeth*, relatable to many of her time, to enshroud a deeper personal narrative. In this way, this figural work of art not only fits within the sculptural type of the narrative, but can also be considered within the sculptural type of the self-portrait. With this last provocative work by Ney, viewers are invited to witness the dreadful, miserable fate of the turbulent woman that is *Lady Macbeth*.

***The re-surgence of Shakespearean Literature in the Nineteenth Century***

"He was not of an age, but for all time."[493] To declare that William Shakespeare (1564-1616) is one of the most recognized writers of all time would not be far-fetched, but his work and legacy waned shortly after his death.[494] Beginning in the eighteenth century, there was a resurgence for the writer's passages of iambic pentameter.[495] This full-on fever followed after the translation of many of his works were published by reputable scholars and therefore more accessible in differing languages and cultures. This is particularly the case in Germany, where the term *Shakespearomania* was coined by Christian Dietrich Grabbe. Thus, the translated works

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[493] Famous quote by Benjamin Jonson, a humorist playwright of the Renaissance.
[494] Jack Lynch, *Becoming Shakespeare: The Unlikely Afterlife that Turned a Provincial Playwright into the Bard,* (New York: Walker and Company, 2007), 11.
[495] Lynch, 107.

by "Wilhelm" Shakespeare became integral to the culture as a celebration of the German language in poetic form. Alois Brandl explained Shakepeare's significance, "Englishmen lay more emphasis on his wisdom, Germans on his passion."[496] The works originaly written in English then translated for the German reader were much appreciated during the Romantic period at the turn of the nineteenth century.

While the translation of Shakespearean works widened its audience, it also welcomed cultural appropriation through the manipulation inherent in the process of translation. The text of *Macbeth* was first translated into German in 1766/67 by Christoph Martin Wieland, but the text was largely a prose translation.[497] Numerous translations of Shakespeare's plays followed during this period of Enlightenment that dismissed the practice of *belle infidelles* including versions by German literary figures Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller.[498] August Friedrich Schlegel and Johann Ludwig Tieck produced *Shakespeare's dramatische Werke,* which were published in Berlin from 1797-1810. But it was the Schlegel-Tieck version of 1833 that "is still today the most renowned German Shakespeare translation."[499,500] Courts and public theatres were constructed across the German states for performances, typically for bands of traveling

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[496] Alois Brandl, *Shakespeare and Germany,* Third Annual Shakespeare Lecture, July 1, 1913, (New York: Oxford University Press American Branch, 1913), 13. Brandl suggests that there is a divide in Shakespearean works with his notion of a "English Shakespeare" and a "German Shakespeare."

[497] Peter Kofler, "Bewitched: German Translations of *Macbeth,"* in *The Shakespearean International Yearbook* 13, ed. Tom Bishop, Alexander C.Y. Young, and Stuart Sillars (London: Routledge, 2017), 55.

[498] *belle infidelles*- beautiful, yet not completely faithful translation

[499] Kofler, 67.

[500] This translation was also compiled with the help of Wolf Heinrich von Baudissin as well as Ludwig's daughter Dorothea Tieck, whom some scholars argue brought a female perspective to the scenes with Lady Macbeth.

actors.[501] And by 1863, the *Deutsches Shakespeare Gesellschaft* was founded for those who shared an interest in the works of the British playwright, notably more than twenty years before the Goethe-Gesellschaft was founded in 1885.[502]

Germany's engagement and fascination with the British author is undeniable. In the United States of America, it seems the plays and poetry of William Shakespeare did not take hold until later. It was not until after the Civil War that Shakespeare readers were published in New York and Boston.[503] Still, book-collectors could always purchase volumes from British publishers. Notably, Shakespeare was not included in any university catalogues until 1855 for a course at the University of Virginia.[504] The lack of interest in Shakespeare is likely due to measures of the early colonies, as Virginia and Maryland were the only two to allow stage performances.[505] But, throughout the nineteenth century, touring actors from British or Irish theatres would perform in various cities in the United States. At first, these troops would perform various Shakespearean plays in the most populous cities located on the east coast. James McManaway explains, "…the touring actors might go to St. Louis and thence southward to New Orleans. As the frontier moved westward, the theater followed after."[506] While records of the American theatre are scant, by the turn of the twentieth century interest was growing in the works of the English playwright. And today, Shakespearean parks, theatres, and libraries, such as

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[501] Brandl, 6.
[502] Brandl, 10.
[503] James G. McManaway, "Shakespeare in the United States" from *PLMA* 79, No. 5 (December 1964), 515.
[504] Ibid,
[505] Ibid., 514
[506] Ibid.

the Folger Shakespeare Museum in Washington D.C. founded in 1942, are distributed throughout the United States.

When and where exactly Elisabet Ney became familiar with Shakespeare, or *Macbeth* in particular, is uncertain. Based on her letters, we know that she was well-read and familiar with other writers and poets including Lord Byron, Percy Byssche Shelley, Georg Eliot, Moliére, Mary Shelley and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.[507] Further, she exchanged poems in letters to friends and her husband, indicating an affinity for the art form. As her statue of *Lady Macbeth* is inscribed with a verse in English, we can assume that she was at the very least familiar with an original version of the play. Still, it remains unclear when exactly Ney drew inspiration for the idea, and some biographers date her idea to as early as the 1850s.[508] During her time at the academy in Munich, the director of the time, Wilhelm von Kaulbach, produced a series of illustrations of major Shakespearean characters, including his provocative portrayal of *Lady Macbeth* (refer to Fig. 5.2). Eugene Müller-Münster claims that the artist developed the idea during her time in Madeira in 1866.[509] And, Vernon Loggins, an early biographer of both Ney and Montgomery states that the sculptor's idea was inspired by attending a performance of *Macbeth* in New Orleans in 1872, in which Charlotte Cushman performed the role of Lady Macbeth.[510,511] Regardless of where the idea originated, we can safely assume that Ney's

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[507] von Stetten-Jelling, 137; "Elisabet Ney to Prof. Bickler, 24 December 1889," "Elisabet Ney Collection," HRC. Ney mentons she was reading the texts of Laurence Gronlund.
[508] Johann, 164. Taylor, 53.
[509] Müller-Münster, 121.
[510] Loggins, 116.
[511] Charlotte Cushman, a then famous actress, and outspoken character associated with many of the female sculptors who flocked to Rome. The theatrical talent was able to sing an impressive range allowing her to sing in female and male registers. Cushman even acted in

conception for her idea of *Lady Macbeth*, as narrative sculpture type, was influenced by her exposure to the play itself- written or performed, as well as exposure to other artistic manifestations.


Figure 5.2. "Lady-Macbeth –Desinn de Morin, d'après Kaulbach," 1856. Engraving. (from Kaulbach, Wilhelm. *Lady Macbeth*, 1853-55). Printed in *Le Magasin Pittoresque,* vol. 24, 385.

Additionally, we do know from letters that Ney was also inspired to produce her design as a reaction to her various disappointments during her time in the United States. As she states in

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male roles, such as her performance as Romeo in 1846 and Hamlet in 1861. Most interesting, is that Cushman served as a supportive guide for the American woman sculptors who gathered in Rome. In particular, she encouraged and endorsed the work of Edmonia Lewis, a marginalized woman of African and Native American descent. Cushman was also personally involved with two members of the "White Marmorean Flock" including Harriet Hosmer and Emma Stebbins, whom Cushman had a long-term relationship with. For more information: https://www.newenglandhistoricalsociety.com/charlotte-cushman-cross-dressing-tragedienne-of-the-19th-century/

a letter to a friend, Mrs. Sherwood, "I had not come to this country ever to work in [sic] my art again, I took it as a consolation - only I experienced deeper and more cruel disappointment. And my present work, Lady Macbeth, comes as a result of these experiences."[512] Ney was able to produce a preliminary plaster version of her vision during her time in Europe from 1895-96 (refer to Fig. 5.3).[513] In this way, Ney's experiences throughout her life, up until her finished execution of the full-size plaster in 1902, and marble copy of 1905 allow this work to function under the sculptural type as a self-portrait as well. In this way, the narrative sculpture emerges from various sources of inspiration, and also is layered with a lifetime of personal experience.

Figure 5.3. Ney, Elisabet, Design Model for *Lady Macbeth*, c. 1895-96. Plaster. ENM, Austin, Texas. Photograph by author.

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[512] "Elisabet Ney to Mrs. Sherwood, 29 March [1900]," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 1, fol. 9, HRC.

[513] Johann, 546. This plaster is incised with the location of the study, "Europe." Johann rightly mentions in her text that the work was likely cast during Ney's first return visit to Europe in 1895-96.

***'The Scottish Play'- "Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow,…"***

William Shakespeare (1564-1616) wrote *Macbeth*, with its full title being *The Tragedy of Macbeth*, during the latter part of his life as it was first performed in 1606.[514] The unmerciful tragedy examines the ruthless quest for political power by its main character Macbeth and his wife Lady Macbeth. At the opening of the play, Macbeth is serving the Scottish King Duncan as a loyal military warrior who is a fiercely 'masculine' in his brave deeds, winning two battles in the name of the King. Then, on their way to report to King Duncan, Macbeth and Banquo, another general, are visited by "Three Witches". This trio prophesize that Macbeth, Thane of Glamis, will also become Thane of Cawdor as well as King. The witches also prophesize to Banquo, "Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none. // So all hail, Macbeth and Banquo."[515] Once Macbeth returns to King Duncan, he is entrusted with the title of Thane of Cawdor, as he soon learns the previous titleholder will be executed for treason. For Macbeth, this unfolding of the vision of witchcraft is increasingly disturbing, as he realizes his apparent destiny and that he will shortly have to murder his King to take the throne of Scotland.

At first, the character of Lady Macbeth is portrayed as a ruthless, power-thirsty woman. When she hears word of her husband's new title and his destiny to become king, she becomes instantaneously cold-blooded and seemingly plans the murder herself, delegating Macbeth to carry out the deed. She asks "spirits" for their aide to make her more like a man,

> Under my battlements. Come, you spirits
> That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here,

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[514] Judith Roof, "Lady Macbeth, in the *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender* (2007), 861. The play is loosely based on the Scottish Kings Duncan and Macbeth from the 11th century, but is not historically accurate.

[515] Act 1, Scene 3, v. 68-69.

And fill me from the crown to the toe top-full
Of direst cruelty. Make thick my blood.[516]

Further, when the opportunity comes for Macbeth to murder King Duncan while he sleeps, he experiences a moment of weakness. And it is ultimately Lady Macbeth who convinces her husband to do the deed, ridiculing his 'weakness' saying things such as: "And live a coward in thine own esteem," and "When you durst do it, then you were a man;"[517] In this way, the traditional gender roles are flipped, as the weak ('feminine') husband is ordered by the strong ('masculine') wife. Here Lady Macbeth is presented as an alarming *femme fatale*, a domineering female to be reckoned with, an uncomfortably powerful force for her otherwise acquiescent gender.

Throughout the rest of the play, Macbeth, now King, grows in cruelty and madness. Rightly paranoid of his own death by regicide and haunted by the three witches prophecy, Macbeth kills any and all that threaten his position including Banquo and members of the MacDuff family. He is no longer hesitant in his actions, as his guilt dissipates into an unapologetic frenzy of vanity, doing whatever it takes to maintain his position as King of Scotland despite being haunted by ghosts of his victims. Lady Macbeth, now Queen of Scotland, grows mad as well, yet her affliction stems from the guilt and remorse of her role in the murders. She begins to question her intents, her virtue, and her humanity. She is outwardly affected, as well as subconsciously. In the melancholic first scene of Act Five, Shakespeare creates a vision of Lady Macbeth sleepwalking at night, whilst a "Gentlewoman" and "Doctor" study her bizarre,

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[516] Act 1, Scene 5, v. 42-45.
[517] Act 1, Scene 7, v. 43, 49.

seemingly supernatural behavior. Even in her sleep, she cannot escape the weight of her wrongs. The somnambulist is depicted murmuring and rubbing her hands as if to clean them. She wails, "Out, damned spot! Out, I say! – Why, then, 'tis // time to do't. Hell is murky!..."[518] The two characters witness Lady Macbeth's efforts to rid herself of the blood spilled for her and her husband's ploy to gain power. However, her guilt, the blood, can never be erased.

The play ends tragically for both; Lady Macbeth commits suicide and Macbeth is slain by the sword of the formerly loyal and virtuous MacDuff. Neither could escape their madness except by ending their mortal, non-virtuous lives. Order returns to Scotland when Malcom, son of Duncan, takes back the throne. The deeply disturbing tale still resonates with readers today as it functions as a moral tale that explores the fate of those who seek vanity. At the same time, the play works to deal with cultural anxieties and taboos. Within *Macbeth*, Shakespeare invents the "Three Witches," as during the sixteenth century the mercurial role of the demonic was of serious concern and fear.[519] Witch hunts resulted throughout Europe and the United States, ostracizing mainly women who did not fit within cultural norms- a.k.a. married woman tending to children. Lady Macbeth can be likened to a witch as she is barren and therefore does not maintain her dynastic purpose.[520] Also, Macbeth's indulgence the witches' prophecy shows him

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[518] Act 5, Scene 1, v. 30-31.

[519] Joanna Levin, "Lady MacBeth and the Daemonologie of Hysteria" in *ELH* 69, no. 1 (April 2002): 22.

[520] "It is through motherhood that woman fully achieves her physiological destiny; that is her "natural" vocation, since her whole organism is directed toward the perpetuation of the species." "Renouncing her femininity means renouncing part of her humanity." Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex,* trans. Constance Borde and Sheila Malovany-Chevallier (New York: Vintage Books, 2009), 524, 723.; "By the nineteenth century, the stereotype of women has changing completely. They were expected to be asexual, passive, and submissive." Edward Bever, "Old Age and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe," in *Articles on Witchcraft,*

to be weak in religious virtue. Another component of the demonic includes Lady Macbeth's sleepwalking scene, as somnambulism was considered supernatural as well. At the time, people, including the "Doctor" presumed that sleepwalking was some form of black magic, and that sufferers were actually possessed by a demonic spirit.[521]

Significantly, Shakespeare creates a dynamic between Macbeth and Lady Macbeth by their reversed gender roles. The psychological issues of filling an assigned heteronormative gender roles still applies today.[522] The tragedy of Lady Macbeth lies in her constant state of regret, a 'mad woman,' from her decisive moments of strength, or 'masculinity' in the beginning of the play. She is seen as unvirtuous, a *femme fatale*, who led her husband astray. Macbeth's drive for power, and ultimate demise due to his continued ambition fueled by paranoia could then be seen as a result of his domineering wife. Despite his masculine performance on the battlefield, his submissive status upon his return home at first feminizes his character, he is portrayed as emotionally weak. This alternative dynamic of a couple works to define and limit the possibilities of the duo, and even their resulting flip-back to their assigned gender roles only leads to an overkill of 'feminine' and 'masculine' behaviors, which leads to their fated deaths. In summary, this Shakespearean work– the play that cannot be named– not only relays the dangers

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*Magic and Demonology: A Twelve Volume Anthology of Scholarly Articles, Witchcraft, Women and Society* 10, ed. Brian P. Levack (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992), 240.

[521] Levin, 38.

[522] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble, Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge Classics, 1990), 24. "Indeed, precisely because certain kinds of "gender identities" fail to conform to those norms of cultural intelligibility, they appear only as developmental failures or logical impossibilities from within that domain."

of craving power, but also a fear of the occult and the threat of defying gender norms. It does, in fact, signify many things.[523]

> Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow,
> Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
> To the last syllable of recorded time;
> And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
> The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
> Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player,
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
> And then is heard no more. It is a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing.[524]

***Narrative Sculpture and the rise of the 'femme fatale' in the nineteenth century—***

Linkable to the rising popularity of Shakespeare during the nineteenth century, the notion of the *femme fatale* became a major cultural trope within fin-de-siècle literature and art. *Femme fatale*, translated from French as "fatal woman," became a term in the early twentieth century to describe dangerous female characters in film noir narratives.[525] Also referred to as a "vamp," a dangerous woman, or 'a mad woman,' the stock character has existed for much longer in cultural history. The archetype is derived from past models of 'threatening female,' i.e. Eve, Salomé, Delilah, Circe, etc. A *femme fatale*, or 'man-eater' would use her sexuality, acumen, charisma,

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[523] "She *reflects* masculine identity precisely through being the site of its absence." J. Butler, 52; "And like *hysteria passio,* Macbeth's "nothing" refers back to the female body. As the bawdy pun on "no-thing" suggests, female genitalia stands as the ultimate signified, the locus of all reproductive power. Yet, identified as a negation, that power is denied even as it is glimpsed." Levin, 46. "Nothing" could also be analyzed to mean the lack of an identity for Lady Macbeth, or as Levin argues with the lack of a phallus in Freudian theory.

[524] Act 5, Scene 5, v. 19-29.

[525] Boozer, Jack. "The Lethal Femme Fatale in the Noir Tradition," *Journal of Film and Video* 51, no. 3/4 (1999): 20. www.jstor.org/stable/20688218.

and even mysticism to get her desires. Particularly, it was the strong persuasive power of the these occult female characters over males that was considered tragic. Further, the *femme fatale* was typically "mother-less" and thereby disturbed fate and the natural order. These dominating female characters were especially unsettling during the late long-nineteenth century, as the *femme fatale* worked to fuel prevalent societal anxieties of changing gender roles in modernizing society.[526]

A deep-seated issue of the nineteenth century included the rise of the "New Woman;" she was independent, wanted equal pay, and even rode a bicycle (refer to Fig. 5.4). [527] Before the term even existed, these first-wave feminists fought for "the lesser sex" to be treated as equal to men.[528] These precocious women wished to derail hegemonic ideas of femininity, and have agency at home and in the workplace. New Women fought for reforms in education, labor, clothing, marital laws, and ultimately suffrage.[529] The societal norm of the 'feminine' role of the *Haus Frau*, or the domestic mother, was challenged as New Women fought for the right to

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[526] "…one could speak of her as a figure of male fantasy, articulating both a fascination for the sexually aggressive woman, as well as anxieties about feminine domination." Elisabeth Bronfen, "Femme Fatale: Negotiations of Tragic Desire" in *New Literary History* 35, no. 1 (2004): 106. www.jstor.org/stable/20057823.

[527] "Many linked cycling to the general ambitions of the women's movement, and [Karl] Bauer employed the bicycle as a symbol of modern woman's newfound freedom and independence." David Ehrenpreis, "Cyclists and Amazons: Representing the New Woman in Wilhelmine Germany" in *Women's Art Journal* 20, No. 1 (1999): 28.

[528] Aristotle, *Aristotle's Politics*, trans. Benjamin Jowett and H. W. Carless Davis (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1920). The idea of woman as the "Lesser Sex" begins with Aristotle.

[529] Eliza Lynn Linton, "The Girl of the Period," (1868); Sarah Grand, "The New Woman and the Old," (1898). Linton article speaks against the morality of the "New Woman." Grand argues for the progressive "New Woman," as "The Old Woman has had her day."

choose their husband, their career, and their choice to become a parent. The "New Woman" was culturally threatening, comparable to the *femme fatale* character of Lady Macbeth.


Figure 5.4. Bauer, Karl, *Female Cyclist,* 1896. Cover for *Jugend,* (July 1896).

Many manifestations of the *femme fatale* exist in literature that emerged in the late nineteenth century, such as within M.G. Lewis's *The Monk,* and Bram Stoker's *Dracula.* These female characters are also 'unsexed' and therefore become a 'man-eater' in their various plots. And the character of Lady Macbeth fits in with these contemporary examples of the 'mad woman.' But of course, the main expression of the character of Lady Macbeth is by performance in the theater. Many actresses are noted for their portrayal of the character including Rachel Felix, Sarah Siddons, Ellen Terry, and Charlotte Cushman. Prints or photographs of these actresses were often collected by fans of the actresses and collected like baseball cards (refer to Fig. 5.5). In 1918, Thomas Thedor Heine produced an etching of Lady Macbeth to for the

collaborative *Shakespeare Visionen* folio (refer to Fig. 5.6).[530] Cultural manifestations of Lady Macbeth stood to profit from this culturally-charged subject, as it worked to incorporate the popular Shakepearean narrative as well as modern anxieties of the perilous female. And today, performances of Macbeth continue, as well as the release of films where actresses such as Judi Dench, Francesca Annis, and Marion Cotillard perform the character's most loaded scene, the sleepwalking scene, with their own vision.

Figure 5.5. Charlotte Cushman as Lady Macbeth in "Macbeth," c. 1840-60. Engraving. Taken from: https://digital.library.illinois.edu/items/ae1f22b0-4e7d-0134-1db1-0050569601ca-1
Figure 5.6. Heine, Thomas Thedor. *Macbeth*, for the *Shakespeare Visionen* folio, 1918. Etching.

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[530] Julius Meier-Gräefe, ed., *Shakepeare Visionen*, *eine Huldigung Deutscher Künstler* (Munich: Marées-Gesellschaft, R. Piper, 1918). This compilation of etchings, lithographs, and woodcuts includes works by Lovis Corith, Max Beckmann, Otto Schubert, among others.

In Act 5, Scene 1 of *Macbeth*, Shakespeare invents an unsettling scene of somnambulism. Along with the Three Witches in *Macbeth*, sleep-walking was also considered to be occult and inserts an unnatural and mystical element to the female lead role. The Doctor remarks, "…Unnatural deeds // Do breed unnatural troubles. Infected minds//…"[531] While the aspect of sleepwalking was interpreted differently in Early Modern Europe, by the time Elisabet Ney created her manifestation, the behavior was considered more a scientific or medical issue rather than one of spiritual possession.[532] However, Joanna Levin explains in her essay "More overlapping than polarized, the demonic woman and the hysteric are metonymically linked, and the transformation of Lady Macbeth further elides the two categories."[533] Levin also explains that both states "violated patriarchal ideals, but they validated misogynist accounts of an essentially corrupted female nature."[534] So with a shift from theological to biological inquiry, scientists and physicians compiled observations, sorting cases into types for treatment.[535] But, the public of the long-nineteenth century still retained a fascination with the sleep disorder, which became associated with hysteria or mental illness. And artists of the period produced many works in response, as the unconscious state allowed for emotions and actions to occur that were otherwise repressed. The choice to depict a subject in this state "stemmed from the ideas

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[531] Act 5, Scene 1, v. 79-80.
[532] Sharda Umanath, Daniel Sarezky, and Stanley Finger, "Sleepwalking through History: Medicine, Arts, and Courts of Law," in *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences* 20, No. 4, (2011): 253-276; Isador H. Coriat, M.D., *The Hysteria of Lady Macbeth* (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1912). Also see: https://medium.com/thrive-global/how-sleepwalking-went-from-a-spiritual-oddity-to-a-medical-issue-94a25c118495.
[533] Levin, 39.
[534] Levin, 29.
[535] Umanath, Sarezky, and Finger, 256.

that sufferers could commit acts without conscious intention, and that those acts can be related to one's dispositions or real desires."[536] In other words, it was a way to depict one's true being and self, without the safeguards of a consciousness. Through words and actions, artists, actors and writers utilized this state of hysteria to reveal innermost issues.

As mentioned before, Lady Macbeth has also been a favored subject of many artists. Oftentimes she is shown in a stupor, sleepwalking by candlelight, for instance in the work by Wilhelm von Kaulbach. The print is a part of his series of illustrations of several Shakespearean characters used for publication. Lady Macbeth is shown sleepwalking, through a dark room lit by a lamp. She is briskly moving forward, indicated by the windswept shawl trailing behind her. Her eyes appear partially closed and she is grasping her hands together. In addition to the figure of Lady Macbeth, the Doctor and the Gentlewoman are in the frame witnessing the strange behavior. The work has an episodic quality by including all of the actors on stage in the scene. In contrast, other artists treat the somnambulism scene as if Lady Macbeth is seemingly awake, but still under a spell or possessed. For instance, the figure in the 1784 painting *Lady Macbeth* by Swiss painter Johann Friedrich Füssli, more commonly known as Henry Fuseli, seems more energized and dramatic (refer to Fig. 5.7). Lady Macbeth in portrayed in a bright yellow gown, and rendered to stand out from the dark background. She appears to be gliding forward, and holds a candle with an almost horizontal flame. Her left arm is raised and appears to be making a hand signal similar to the sign of benediction to banish her cursed state. Due to her horrified facial expression, she seems to be more awake and aware. In the dark corner on the right, Fuseli

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[536] Ibid., 264.

depicts the other two characters who witness the scene. They appear horrified as well, and barely any detail of the doctor's darkened face are recognizable except for the whites of his eyes.[537] Another work similar to both Kaulbach and Fuseli's versions includes Belgian Charles Soubres's *Lady Macbeth* from 1877 (refer to Fig. 5.8). Soubres's paintings includes the three characters of the scene and focuses on the hands of Lady Macbeth, but she appears to be in a more conscious state due to her fully opened eyes, and her grounded posture.

Figure 5.7. Fuseli, Henry. *Lady Macbeth (Lady Macbeth somnabule)*, 1784. Oil on canvas. Louvre, Paris, France.

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[537] In a famous work by Fuseli, *The Nightmare* from 1781, the artist also chose to create a disturbing scene concerning sleep and the unconscious through the symbolism of an incubus. Due to Fuseli's interest in the peculiarities of sleep, and his preoccupation of symbolizing its psychological effects, this work would later garner great interest among twentieth century psychologists.

Figure 5.8. Soubres, Charles. *Lady Macbeth,* 1877. Oil on canvas. Private Collection.

Additionally, Lady Macbeth's famous sleepwalking scene was favored by many famous actresses who acted in the role. In several works, Charles Louis-Müller portrays the French actress Rachel Felix performing as Lady Macbeth (refer to Fig. 5.9 and Fig. 5.10). Within these paintings, the intensity of Rachel's returned gaze placates the actress and her performance. Like the painting by Fuseli and Soubres, Louis-Müller, includes a more cognizant *Lady Macbeth,* yet with disturbing eye contact, which seems to undermine the trance-like state completely. Louis-Müller includes the Doctor and the Gentlewoman in his painting from 1849, they are shown to be fearful of the actions before them. The room is well-lit by a lamp, and Lady Macbeth is wringing her hands together below her waist. The two witnesses are rendered with special attention to their hands as well, as shown pointing to the hands of Lady Macbeth. Additionally, in another work by Louis-Müller, titled *Rachel as Lady Macbeth,* the actress is the only subject

in the frame. Again, the sitter returns her piercing gaze to the viewer and wrings her hands intensely. Similar in composition, John Singer Sargent also focused solely on the actress in his 1889 work *Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth* (refer to Fig. 5.11). However, Sargent did not depict the actress in sleepwalking. Rather, he invented a dramatic pose to display the fire-y redhead's stupor of ambition. This stunning presentation was later submitted to the Colombian World's Fair in 1893.[538]

Figure 5.9. Louis-Müller, Charles. *Lady Macbeth*, 1849. Oil on canvas. Musée de Picardie, Amiens, France.
Figure 5.10. Louis-Müller, Charles. *Rachel as Lady Macbeth*, 1849. Oil on canvas. Musée d'art et d'historie due Judaïsme, Paris, France.

[538] *World's Columbian Exposition, 1893 Official Catalogue*, 25.

Figure 5.11. Sargent, John Singer. *Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth,* 1889. Oil on canvas. Tate, London, United Kingdom. Ref No. N02053.

Obviously, Ney's choice to investigate the psyche of Lady Macbeth is not without precedent in the history of art, but it is only one of two known examples of the subject matter executed in the medium of sculpture. The other includes Lord Ronald Gower's sculpture as part of his large project, *The Shakespeare Memorial,* completed in 1888 and on display at Bancroft Gardens in Shakespeare's birthplace of Stratford-upon-Avon. While the large central pedestal that elevates a sculpture of the William Shakespeare was designed by architects Peignet and Marnez, the remaining elements of the outdoor sculpture program were completed by Lord Gower (refer to Fig. 5.12).[539] From the central pedestal are four figural pieces that represent

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[539] Jacqueline Banerjee, ed., "The Shakespeare Memorial (1888) by Lord Ronald Gower (1845-1916)," *The Victorian Web: Literature, History and Culture in the Age of Victoria*, Last modified April 2017, www.victorianweb.org/sculpture/gower/1.html.

Shakespeare's engagement with history, philosophy, comedy, and tragedy.[540] For tragedy, Gower depicts *Lady Macbeth* and behind the free-standing bronze figure, the large central pedestal reads "Life's but a walking shadow// A poor player // that struts and frets // his hours upon the stage // and then is heard no more" alluding to her ultimate suicide shortly following her sleepwalking scene (refer to Fig. 5.13 and Fig. 5.14). With this figural sculpture, the artist stressed the turmoil of the tragic sleepwalking scene. Lady Macbeth is rendered with a head covering, deeply set eyes, and dramatically carved pupils to intensify her facial expression. Her forehead is shown tensed with lines and her mouth is shut and displays a slight frown. The face is overall smooth and idealized in appearance, despite the perturbed expression. She is shown with her left hand grabbing the wrist of the clutched fist of her right hand to further allude to the sleepwalking scene. The sculptor works to indicate the movement of the figure, as most of her right foot pokes out beneath her garments, as well as the toes of her left foot. Also, her left knee is bent, as is her overall posture indicating that she is drooping forward. This work by Lord Bower can be compared to the paintings by Fuseli or Louis-Müller, as with the large open eyes, the subject appears more conscious. It is unlikely that Ney was familiar with this work, as there is no record of her visiting that area of England in her lifetime. Also, Ney's version of *Lady Macbeth* is quite disparate in terms of approach and concept.

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[540] Banerjee.

Figure 5.12. Bower, Lord Ronald. *The Shakespeare Memorial,* 1888. Bronze and Sandstone.


Figure 5.13. *Left- Lady Macbeth* from the Shakespeare Memorial*,* 1888. Photograph by Robert Friedus.
Figure 5.14. *Right*- Detail of background inscription. Photograph by Robert Friedus.

***Aesthetic Analysis of Elisabet Ney's Lady Macbeth***

*Lady Macbeth* is a provocative work that allows viewers to witness the tragic character during the decisive moment at which she realizes she cannot escape her wrongs. Elisabet Ney decides to convincingly portray Lady Macbeth sleepwalking, as this unconscious state exposes her true spirit and her latent vulnerability. To divest the process of the artist, we can refer to the numerous casts, statuettes, and two full-size plaster copies of the finished design.[541] As early as 1894-95, Ney began making sketches for what would be her last large piece. With the plaster sketch design made during one of Ney's trips to Europe, we have the first concrete study of the artist's vision. The overall composition had already been worked out in this rough model, as the dynamic turning of the shoulders is rendered in this study and well as the clutching hands. The *contrapposto-esque* position of the body are also determined from this sketch. The costume drapery of the piece is also experimented with, and the larger models will be similarly composed.

After Ney crafted the first statuette, she required anatomical studies and castings to move forward with her project. A plaster study for the design of the underlying female form reveals her efforts to accomplish a life-like form and pose (refer to Fig. 5.15). The remaining part of the plaster study show that the artist was concerned with rendering the bodily form to be draped by vestments. Ney focused attention on rendering the weight of the body through the left hip. Also with the long torso, Ney depicts the dramatic turn of the shoulders, a bit more naturalistic than

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[541] Johann, 547-53. The earliest sketches of the sculpture is a "Design Study" c. 1895-96. (Figure 5.3), and a "Female Nude" from 1896-1900 (Figure 5.15). The original plaster cast of *Lady Macbeth* (1902) (Figure 5.19) was used as a puncturing model, and now resides in HRC storage. A later cast plaster copy (1904) (Figure 5.21) is on display in the Elisabet Ney Museum. There was/is a plaster *Statuette of Lady Macbeth* (c. 1902-03), which Ney gave to Ernestine Schumann-Heink.

the previous statuette. Overall, the upper body's frame is trim and muscular with a slim waist, broad shoulders and smaller breasts. The bottom half of the work is more curvilinear, rather than angular. The thin legs, broad hips, and buttocks are trim but not as toned as the top portion. Also, the overall balance of the work, and the axes of the figure are determined to intrigue viewers from all angles.

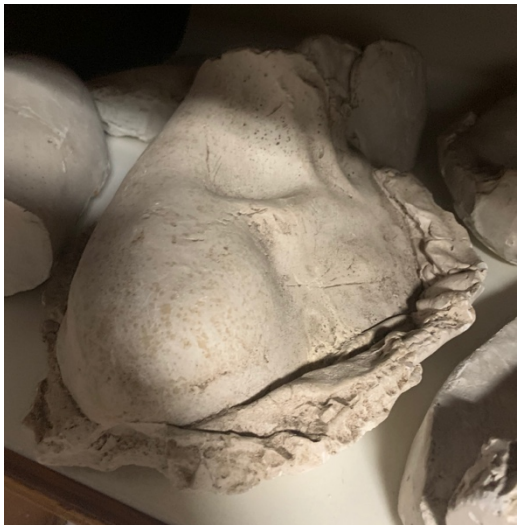

Figure 5.15. *Left*- Ney, Elisabet. Female Nude, Design Study, c. 1896-1900. Plaster. ENM, Austin, Texas. Photograph by author.
Figure 5.16. *Right*- Ney, Elisaabet. Shoulder cast study, 1899-1902. Plaster. Photograph by author.

After this lengthy process, Elisabet Ney enlisted the of her friends in the Hyde Park area of Austin, Texas. Several cast studies were made for the execution of Ney's design, as she believed "Marmor muß ich mir gute Naturabgüsse gut geformt verschaffen."[542] Various casts of

[542] "For the marble execution, I must provide good well-shaped casts." Johann 544; "Elisabet Ney to Edmund Montgomery, 19 May 1902," "Ney-Montgomery Papers," Cat. 2G405, fol. 10, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas; Johann, 544.

hands, as well as studies of arms, shoulders, and feet exist in the Elisabet Ney Museum collection that were made in preparation for this work. The artist obviously implemented these studies as either different applications for the final design or at least as aides for its contemplation, for instance the shoulder casting is very similar in appearance to the final design (refer to Fig. 5.16). The resulting work would come together as a mod-podge of differing casts, inspired by the study of selected forms from several women.

In 1902, Ney reports in a letter to Montgomery that she made arm and shoulder castings from Lilly Carver Haynie (1870-1955), sister of Ney's sculpture student, Nannie Carver Huddle.[543] Additionally, according to J.W. Rutland, long-time curator of the Elisabet Ney Museum, the body is modeled after Alma Tips (Goeth) (1870-1955), sister of Senator Walters, and the face after Ney's neighbor, Emma Baumann Reinli (1870-1922).[544] Unfortunately, there is no markings on the cast studies to determine their origin. And there is no face cast of Emma Reinli within the museum's collection. Photographs of Reinli or Tipps that might prove their participation have not been located.[545] As a result, Rutland's claims lack any concrete evidence,

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[543] "Ella Dibrell to Edmund Montgomery, 4 July 1908," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 4, fol. 2, HRC.

[544] "Notebook I (1892/93) and Notebook II (1896/97)," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 3a and 3b, HRC; Rutland, 138. Rutland's text *Sursum* includes a select collection of letters, drafts and notes relating to the artist, as well as the curator's comments. Only the involvement of Lily Carver Haynie can be confirmed via letter correspondence. There is mention of the Tips and Reinli Family in the Elisabet Ney Notebooks.

[545] "Mrs. Nell Redding," *Dallas Morning News*, April 26, 1961. I have scoured an exhaustive number of sources to try and locate any photos of either of these women. I have found pictures of relatives, but these are mostly of their children at an older age on unreliable genealogy and "find-a-grave" websites. But, a picture included with the obituary of Reinli's daughter, Nell Reinli Redding, reveals a similar facial structure to the sculpture. Also, the Reinli family is mentioned often in Ney's diaries, as well as in Ney-Montgomery correspondence in the "Elisabet Ney Collection" archives housed at the HRC.

aside from later disputes of ownership after the death of the artist, which must be considered cautiously.[546] Most interesting is the wistful face of Ney's *Lady Macbeth.* However, the origin for the defining face of the sculpture remains uncertain. Perhaps, that is what the artist intended.

Even for this overall idealized subject, Ney's method of working is rooted in her early career. To create a figural work, Ney would often cast various body parts in order to patch together a complete form using burlap and plaster, much like tape and glue. This method was shared by Rauch, as well as many other Neoclassically-trained sculptors.[547] While the concept, pose and overall effect of the work was Ney's invention, her use of cast models guided her execution. Her working methods lends some to characterize her process and therefore her works as sober representations, rather than idealized formulations.[548] However, I believe her pragmatism allowed her works to be inspired by truthful representations of the human form, which are then heightened and formed into idealized conceptions.

In her catalogue of Ney's work, Johann mentions that Ney used an unmarked face mask found amongst the collection at Ney's studio for the face of *Lady Macbeth* (refer to Fig. 5.17 and

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[546] "A statue of the grandmother of a Galvestonian ranks as the masterpiece of Elizabet Ney…Ney used the grandmother of Doris Reinli (Mrs. James H.) Sutton as a model for the haunting figure of Lady Macbeth wringing her hands in agony…Mrs. Sutton says her grandmother Emma was six-feet tall, and 'had the Bergman-like features of the statue of Lady Macbeth.'" Joel Kirkpatrick, "They remain with us, even today," *Galveston Daily News*, July 8, 1985; Doris Reinli Sutton, "My grandmother was Lady Macbeth," unpublished manuscript, 1983; "Mrs. Eugenie Haynie of Austin, Tex., the original model, who posed for the "Lady Macbeth" sculpture in our National Gallery was in Washington the past week…" "Original model of "Lady Macbeth" visits Washington," *Washington Post*, October 14, 1923.

[547] Johann, 187.

[548] Henry Keazor, "Idealische Werke versus Büsten: Die Konkurrentinnen Harriet Hosmer und Elisabet Ney," in *Herrin Ihrer Kunst, Elisabet Ney, Bildhaurein in Europa und Amerika,* ed. Barbara Rommé (Stadmuseum Münster, Wienand Verlag: Münster, 2008), 140-149.

Fig. 5.18.[549] I disagree with this idea, as when the mask is studied from the profile, it seems unlikely that this mask was used as a direct application of features. Similar in shape, the cast does share some of the strong facial features of Ney's *Lady Macbeth*- including a strong chin, and distinct brow. But, the profile of the nose in particular does not resemble Ney's work. Regardless, it seems that Ney assembled a prototype of her own-making, collecting cast studies of differing features from her acquaintances in order to produce a unique, perhaps idealized piece from various sources of inspiration.

Figure 5.17. *Left*- Ney, Elisabet. Cast of an unknown face (male?) or *The Medici Mask,* 1899-1902?. Plaster. ENM, Austin, Texas. Taken from Johann, LCCVIII.
Figure 5.18. *Right*- Profile of Cast of an unknown face (male?) or *The Medici Mask*. Photograph by author.

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[549] "Die Maske aus dem Nachlass der Künstlerin zeigt die markanten Gesichtszüge eines unbekannten Mannes mit einer großen Nase, geschwungenen Lippen und tiefer Stirn." Johann, 561. Johann refers to the mask as that of an "unknown man." The work is referred to as the "Medici Mask" due to the similarity of the headwear of the death mask of Dante Alighieri within its ENM object file.

After completing several commissions, Ney would finally be able to commit her time to produce a clay model and resulting plaster cast in 1902. Today, two plaster copies remain in Austin, however the earlier copy, cast in 1902, was used as a puncturing model for executing the marble version. Notably, the nose is shaped quite differently on the first plaster model, but is otherwise visually similar (refer to Fig. 5.19 and Fig. 5.20). The second plaster version, cast in 1904, is very similar in appearance to the marble version, however the marble copy includes greater detailing, deeper incising and relays a more finished quality (refer to Fig. 5.21). Further, the marble version has no damage, and due to the costly materiality of the milky *Serravezza* the work consequently operates in a richer, more compelling manner. During Ney's last voyage to Italy, in 1905, she decided to employ one of her stonemason's workmen named Cosimo Docchi to venture to Texas to cut *Lady Macbeth* into marble.[550] Ney is said to have worked around the clock, despite many ailments of old age. Ney explains in a letter to Bride Neill Taylor, "*What a marble dust–swallowing–time it has been!! [sic] It will take some time to clear my lungs of it…Realy, [sic] at bout 5 o'clock I get hoarse for some hours.*"[551]

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[550] Johann, 126.
[551] "Draft of letter from Elisabet Ney to Bride Neill Taylor, 4 April 1904," "Elisabet Ney Collection," HRC.

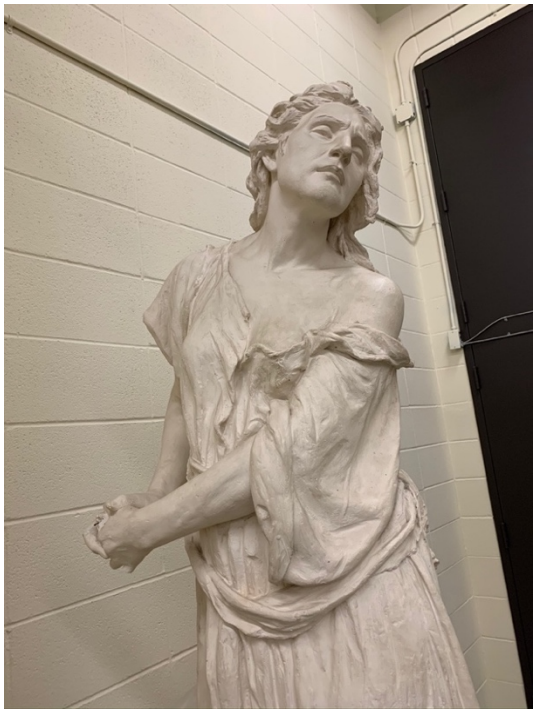

Figure 5.19. Ney, Elisabet. Puncturing model for *Lady Macbeth*, 1902. Plaster. HRC, Austin, Texas. Photograph by author.

Figure 5.20. Detail of profile, Photograph by author.

Figure 5.21. Ney, Elisabet. *Lady Macbeth,* 1904. Plaster. ENM, Austin, Texas, Photograph by author.

With the *Serravezza* marble work of *Lady Macbeth* by Elisabet Ney, we are witnessing the tragic undoing, the anagnorisis of the Shakespearean character in a precarious, fragile state.[552] Ney produced a powerful figure rendered with a potent sense of desperation. It is apparent that her *Lady Macbeth* is teeming with her painful guilt previously internally guarded. And with Ney's outward manifestation of Lady Macbeth's assumed culpability, viewers of the work become witness to her demise as if we are one of the characters on stage. Ney's sculpture provokes one to remark something similar to the Doctor, "More needs she the divine than the physician.// God, God forgive us all!..."

With *Lady Macbeth,* viewers are presented with the narrative sculpture type, which by the body language situates the character in the sleepwalking scene of Shakespeare's *Macbeth.* With the wringing of her hands, and the glazed half-open eyes, the female figure is seemingly acting out the lines of poetry.

> Out, damned spot! Out, I say! –One, Two. Why, then, 'tis time to do't. Hell is murky!– Fie, my lord, fie! A solider, and afeard? What need we fear who knows it, when non can call our power to account?– Yet who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him.[553]

But, it is the emotional moment following this crimson confession that the artist aims to seize and display. When Lady Macbeth wails, "Here's the smell of blood still. All the perfumes of // Arabia will not sweeten this little hand. Oh, Oh, Oh!"[554] To which the Doctor replies "What a sigh is there! The heart is sorely charged." (44) In fact, the base of the statue is aptly incised the

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[552] *Anagnorisis*- the turning point, or the 'krisis,' of a play, novel, etc. when the character realizes their own or another's true state in light of current circumstances.
[553] Act 5, Scene 1, v. 30-34.
[554] Act 5, Scene 1, v. 42-43.

quote “All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand. Oh!, Oh!, Oh!”[555] (refer to Fig. 5.22). The pathos of the work of art is so poignant, one can almost hear the sighs of distress, “Oh, Oh, Oh!”

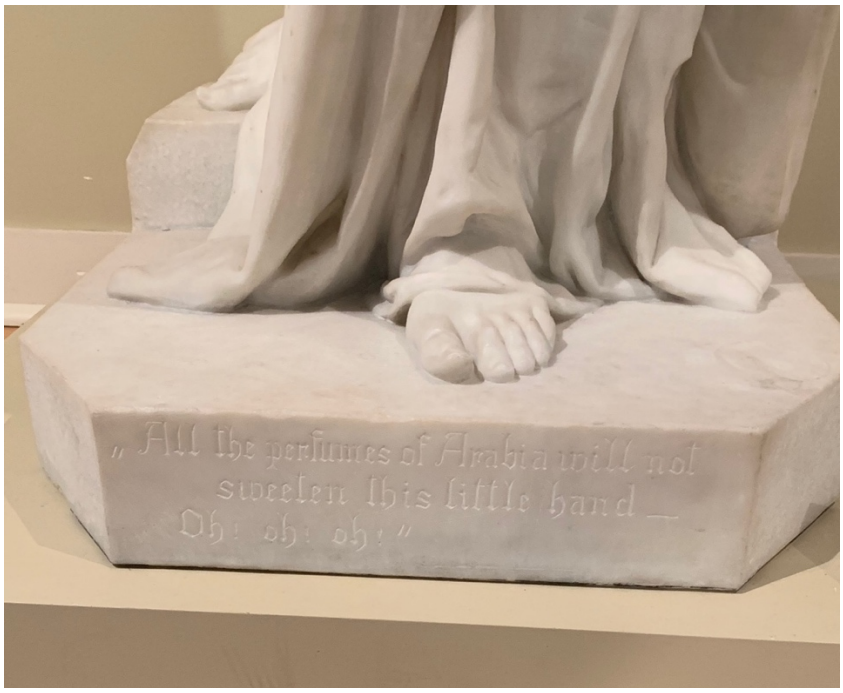


Figure 5.22. Detail of inscription. “All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand – Oh! oh! oh!” Photograph by author.

Apart from the telling half-closed eyes, Ney inserts various clues to suggest that the figure is sleepwalking. Mostly, as a narrative piece, the choice of clothing plays a large role to ground the plot line. In this way, Ney decided to render the queen in a loosely-fitting night garment. Also, the figure is barefoot, as if she had just woken and got out of bed. Lastly, the

[555] Interestingly, Ney adds exclamations after each moaning “Oh!” This punctuation may have been deliberately chosen by the artist, as the English original only contains a single exclamation point. I have yet to find a German translation that differs from the English original.

queen– careless of her behavior and appearance –is shown with a tangled mess of uncovered hair.

Viewing the work frontally, we see a dramatic figure standing in a dynamic stance with crossing axes. Her shoulders and head are dramatically rendered swaying to the right, while the arms and hands are clasped to the left of the figure balancing the form. Beneath the heavy drapery of the queen, the left leg and hip appear tensed and bearing weight, in contrast to the bent left knee. The costume of the 'mad woman' is rendered to suggest a thick night garment and loosely tied at the waist with a belt of the same material. It seems that the garment is made from heavy Scottish wool due to the cold climate of the narrative (refer to Fig. 5.23). A sleeve falls off the figure's left shoulder, almost revealing a bare breast and thus heightening the sensuousness of the piece with a juxtaposition of implied textures – flesh and wool. At the same time, the weightiness of fabric stabilize the figure due to the vertical folds, as the gathered fabric mimics the fluting of Ancient columns. But, once the work is viewed from the side, the stairs of the base are noticeable and the left leg is shown as trailing behind as if in the middle of taking a step (refer to Fig. 5.24). Notably, this astute use of varied perspective was implemented as well with Ney's *Statue of Ludwig II* discussed previously

Figure 5.23. Detail from back of fabric. Photograph by author.

Figure 5.24. *Left*- Side view. Photograph by author.
Figure 5.25. *Right*- Ney, Elisabet. *Berliner Tanzerin with additions,* 1895. Plaster. ENM, Austin, Texas. Photograph by author.

The loosely cinched belt works to define a slim waist for the female form, as does the left hip that naturalistic protrudes outward. The bulky fabric trails behind the sleeping queen, gathering on the higher step, where her right foot pauses. This also subtly quotes the folding, albeit much more decorous mantel of the *Statue of Ludwig II* as well.[556] It is also worth noting that this work may have been inspired in part by her restoration work on the *Berliner Tanzerin* or *Dancing Maenad* (refer to Fig. 5.25). During Ney's time in Berlin, she as well as many of Rauch's students, aided in the restoration of several works housed in the Altes Museum, formerly the Königliches Museum.[557] Not only is Ney noted as working on the *Berliner Tanzerin*, a copy of the work with her restoration efforts exists today at *Formosa*. Overall the positioning of the feet are similar to Ney's *Lady Macbeth.* Both depict female figures in motion, with their left feet forward, and right leg bent. Also both include a dynamic twisting of the shoulders as well as gathered drapery over an idealized female form. It seems then that Ney's clever display takes the Elizabethan tragedy that looks back to the medieval period, even further to antiquity.

The hands and arms of *Lady Macbeth* are depicted in a dramatic, sweeping manner that distinguishes it from earlier artistic versions. With the left art extended, and the right arm bent

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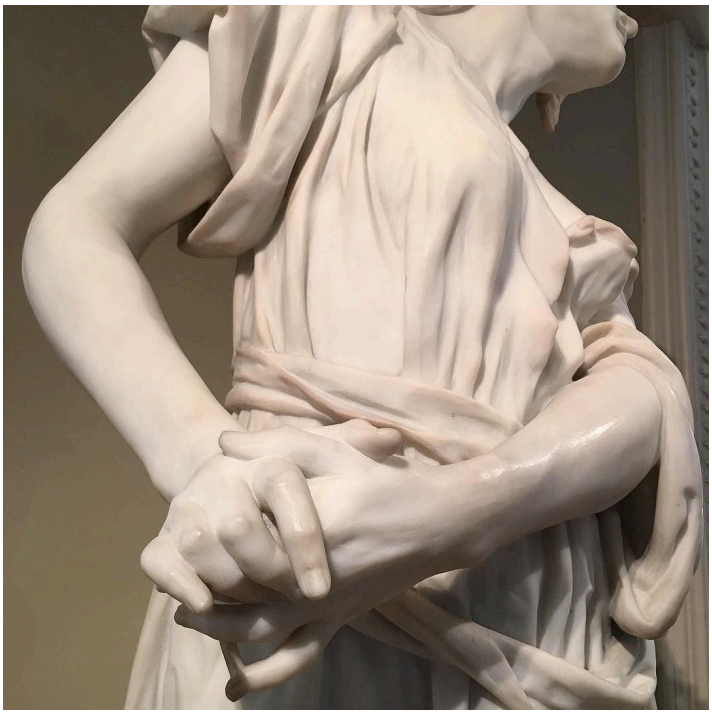
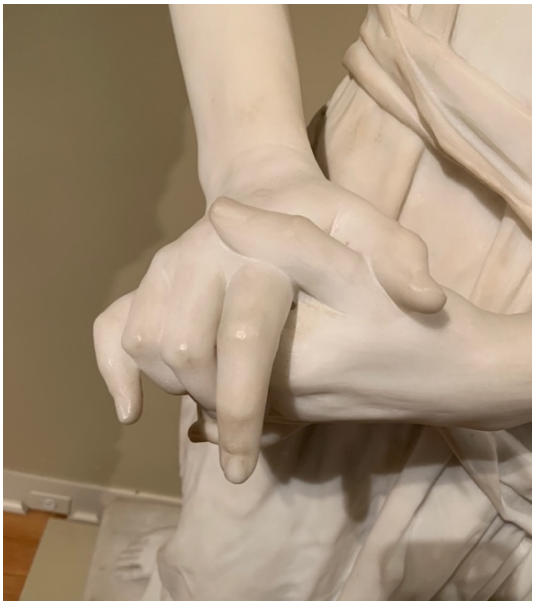
[556] Ney did have the work shipped to her Austin studio where she assembled her plaster and marble versions of Lady Macbeth, so the work could very have well inspired parts of this fellow full-figure work.

[557] "VI.5- Skulpturenergänzung im rahmen der Kaiserlichen Preisaugaben." Astrid Fendt, *Archäologie und Restaurierung: Die Skulpturenergänzungen in der Berliner Antikensammlung des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 307. Many thanks to Dr. Astrid Fendt for assisting me with my research and showing me the Munich Plaster Cast Museum, which holds many copies of Glyptothek works. Unfortunately, the Glyptothek was closed for renovations in the Summer of 2019 during my research trip.

the figures torso seems to sway to the right, as the gripping hands meet at the right side of the body. The left arm is modeled with great detail, and one can even note the radial artery. The right arm and elbow are also well formed, and protrusions of the ulna can be seen on the outside of the elbow, and wrist. (refer to Fig. 5.26). And one of the most exquisite aspects of this pieces is the rendering of the clasping hands. (refer to Fig. 5.27). They are shown gripping each other, tightly intertwined as if the figure is rubbing them clean with soap and water. The various parts of the hands– the curled fingers, overlapping thumbs, knuckles, fingernails, and the tendons of the back of the hand– are all painstakingly rendered. The hands are anatomically correct but also





communicate the inner tension of the subject's tragic psychological state.

Figure 5.26. *Left*- Detail of arms. Photograph by author.
Figure 5.27. *right*- Detail of clasping hands. Photograph by author.

To balance the rightward visual thrust,  Ney depicts the figure dramatically turning her head left, almost as if to look away from the blood on her hands. Due to the nearly straightened left arm, the left shoulder drops and therefore its sleeve does as well. This allows for a study of the upper chest, clavicle, shoulder, and neck. All are tense and defined for the tragic subject matter, yet remain feminine in presentation. From the left, one can even see the differing planes of the chest and neck (refer to Fig. 5.28). The slim, yet rounded bare shoulder can been studied from the back of the work as well. The clavicle, sternum and neck all join together in a naturalistic way. The protruding collarbone, coupled with almost fully revealed breast emphasize the femininity of the form. Also, the tensed muscles and tendons of the neck, particularly the prominent sternocleidomastoid on the right side seems to behave similarly to the vertical folds of the garment. The bare feet of *Lady Macbeth* are rendered poking out from the hems of the garment to suggest movement (refer to Fig. 5.29). Overall, the juxtaposition of the smooth, milky skin to the bulky folds of the night dress work to boast the materiality of marble, modeled by human hands.

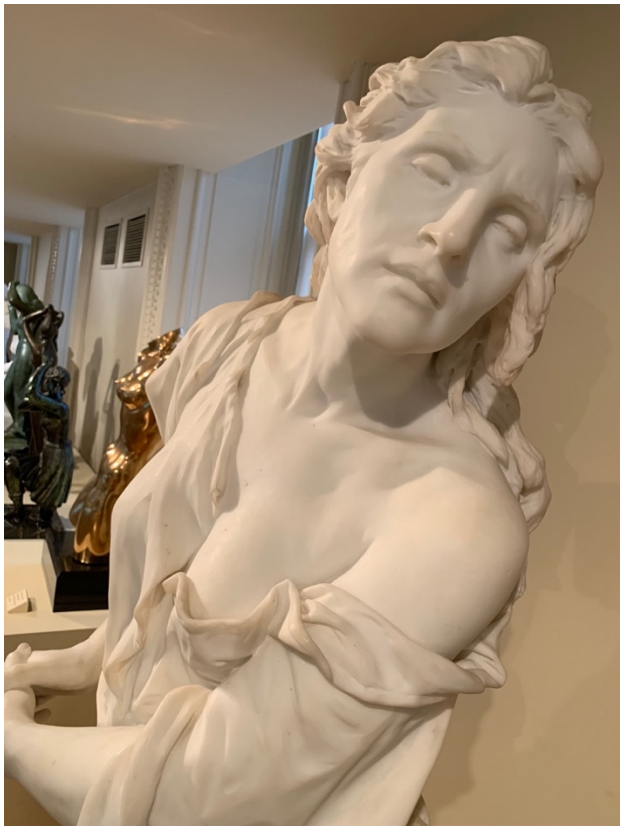



Figure 5.28. *Left*- Detail of neckline, clavicle, sternum, etc. Photography by author.
Figure 5.29. *Right*- Detail of right foot. Photograph by author.

The focal point of the piece is the wistfully melancholic face of *Lady Macbeth.* From the front of the work, the face is turned, but her emotional state can be ascertained by her tensed brows, which collect shadow, as well as her slightly parted mouth. The profile of the face is similar to ancient sculptures, as the eyes are deep-set, the nose is straight, and the jaw and chin are defined. (Similar to the *Head of Athena,* 400 BCE at the Altes Museum (refer to Fig. 5.30). The forehead is tensed with agony, making creases at the top of the nose, and along the eyebrows. Most interesting are the barely open eyes of the work, which upon close inspection are delicately incised to indicate the pupils and irises of the 'mad woman.' With this trance-like expression, Ney's rendition is most like the representation by Wilhelm von Kaulbach. This is due

to sense of action of Ney's interpretation as well as the half-open eyes on an extremely expressive face. The lips appear slightly open, and her cheeks are still fleshy, despite the character's fading youth. The sleepwalker's expression can also be compared to the faces from Hellenistic Greece–with their dramatic expressions of turmoil –perpetually agonized for the sake of portraying poetic tragedy. The heart-shaped face is overall strong in its features, as the nose, brow ridge, cheek bones and jaw are wide and prominent (refer to Fig. 5.31). I believe that Ney chose to portray the character with stronger, often considered 'masculine,' features to balance the figure's weakened state. The distinct features of the face, contrasted with the almost bare breast contradicts ideas of beauty as well as notions of 'masculine' and 'feminine,' just as the Shakespearean character does. The long hair of the queen is shown uncovered, loose and wavy indicating that the royal character had retired for the evening. Women of the medieval period would likely pull their hair back, or wear a covering in public for modesty. This form of indecency could be considered to be as lewd as her bare shoulder and feet.[558]

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[558] Another work of Ney's where hair is rendered similarly includes her *Bust of Christ* was carved into marble in 1904. The quintessential long, wavy hair of Jesus Christ appears texturally similar, yet his face is completely idealized. As both works were made around the same time, it is difficult to say which work informed the other.

Figure 5.30. *Head of Athena,* 400 BCE. Marble. Altes Museum, Berlin, Germany.

Figure 5.31. Detail of face. Photograph by author.

Studying this work of art without considering the overall *gestalt* effect due to the passionate sentiment of the latent moment portrayed would be reprehensible. The various elements, and details of the figural form each demonstrate the efforts of the artist to produce a poignant piece. *Lady Macbeth* is life-size, as with the marble base included, the piece measures 187.2 centimeters, or 6 feet, and 1.5 inches tall. Previously, scholars and writers have considered the piece to be colossal in scale, but as Ney took casts from several female subjects *pars pro toto*, I believe she intended to produce a life-like female figure, just tall.[559] To account for the base, one must subtract approximately four to six inches from the height of the marble version. This means the twisted figure measures approximately 5 feet and 7.5 inches, maybe 5 foot 9 inches if standing up straight.[560] The feet of the figure measure approximately 10 inches and or an American women's shoe size 10. Many of the women of Hyde Park, as well as the artist, were of European descent (German, Swiss, Polish) and their heights could have easily been taller than average.

Made from a block of *Serravezza*, the narrative work managed to produce a figure seemingly in motion – walking through halls of darkness, cleansing her hands, and moaning her cry for absolution.[561] The dream-like state allows her emotions to manifest in a most true form. The sense of keen despair within Ney's expressive representation of the tragic character

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[559] It is worth mentioning that in several accounts the artist was described as tall.

[560] I was able to measure the base portion of the plaster puncturing model in storage at the Harry Ransom Center. This version's base measured 5 inches. Thanks to Cristina Meisner for allowing me to study many of the HRC's art collection in storage.

[561] Ney was quite picky in the selection of the block of marble. In her visit in 1902-03, she mentions in a letter to Taylor that a piece chosen to render the piece was not of a good quality and this became apparent after they began cutting the work. Ney took another trip in 1903-04 to find and select the perfect block.

accompanied by her mastery of the female form make this one of her best pieces. Not only are we presented with a likeness of a sleepwalking woman, we are also enraptured by the overall dramatic presence of the piece, which poetically communicates the artist's tragic spirit as well.

***The 'veiled' self-portrait***

The sleepwalking scene of Lady Macbeth has been employed by many artists of various mediums in the nineteenth century, in part due to the resurgence of Shakespearean literature, as well as the cultural relevance of the *femme fatale* character-type. Elisabet Ney, with her astute study of the character, also managed to produce an allegorical self-portrait with her *Lady Macbeth.* While typically, self-portraits tended to be a study of the artist's actual physical features, this work is injected with a woeful emotionalism due to the narrative. In addition to the outward form of guilt indicated by a tragic unconscious, the Shakespearean character also involves other underlying themes of gender and motherhood that uncannily align with the artist's personal life. The artist's last work is also of the sculptural type of the self-portrait, thus labeling herself as an antagonist in her own story.

Ney produced another self-portrait, a bust, that is more straightforward in presentation and context. Mentioned previously, the plaster work was made in 1903, several decades after she originally made the plaster castings of her face in Madeira in 1864. This more direct study and reproduction of the artist's physiognomy during the height of her European career and works to immortalize the artist.[562] The artist was obviously concerned about the longevity of the work, and

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[562] Discussed as well in Chapter 3, see Figure 3.27.

its presentation for years to come as she paid for the plaster copy to the cut in marble only in 1904. Paired with her marble *Bust of Edmund Montgomery*, the duo works to solidify the couple's legacy and prominence, as an intelligent philosopher and a talented sculptor. The artist probably made the work of herself, as well as her husband, to capture their likeness during the early part of their relationship. Today, these two works are paired together and greet visitors as they first enter the doors of the Elisabet Ney Museum in Austin, Texas.

Human beings have been concerned with leaving their mark since prehistoric times. Self-portraitsm became a common measure in various mediums after the Renaissance due to the rising status of the artist.[563] The act of recording one's likeness of one's own volition illustrates a touch of hubris that came with the increase in social status– from the rank of craftsmen to creative genius. Less common in the history of Western art are self-portraits that are veiled with subject matter. These works often remain illusory, as unless written documents or evidence of artists' affinity with the narrative or subject matter as not as clear-cut. But, psychologically speaking, the works express a deep emotionalism within the narrative. A noted example includes one of Michelangelo's last sculptural pieces, his *Pieta Bandini*, c. 1545-55 (refer to Fig. 5.32).[564] During her trip to Florence, Ney possibly saw and studied this work as she mentioned in letters that she enjoyed studying his various masterpieces in person.[565] Significantly, another Renaissance artist who produced a number self-portraits includes the German Old Master,

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[563] James Hall, *The Self-Portrait: a Cultural History* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2014), 190.
[564] His self-portrait in his fresco project, *The Last Judgment* (1536-41), is also allusory as scholars believe him to be represented by the flailing skin of St. Bartholomew.
[565] "Elisabet Ney an eine befreundete Dame und/oder Elisabeth Lewald, 25 March 1869, Rom."

Albrecht Dürer.[566] Interestingly, Dürer's most famed self-portrait from 1500 includes a painting of himself depicted as Jesus Christ (refer to Fig. 5.33).[567] Another example, from the nineteen century includes Auguste Rodin's *The Creator* from 1880-90, which he will later insert into his large sculptural program *The Gates of Hell*– solidifying his role as sculptor, and creator of the design (refer to Fig. 5.34).[568]

Figure 5.32. *Left*- Michelangelo, *Pieta Bandini*, c. 1545-55. Marble. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence, Italy.
Figure 5.33. *Center*- Dürer, Albrecht. *Self-portrait at the Age of Twenty-Eight,* 1500. Oil on panel. Alte Pinakothek, Munich, Germany.
Figure. 5.34. *Right*- Rodin, Auguste. *The Creator* (detail from *The Gates of Hell),* 1880-90. Bronze. Musée Rodin, Paris, France.

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[566] Giulia Bartrum, et al. *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy: the Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 77-84.

[567] This work is quite similar as well to Ney's *Bust of Christ*, and could have also inspired her to produce her *Lady Macbeth*. Ney was likely familiar with this particular work due to the fact that it was housed in the Royal Collection in Munich since 1805. She could have also gained familiarity with the piece via a print reproduction, or at the very least knew of the artist and his oeuvre due to Rauch's monument to the painter. While the composition of Ney's *Bust of Christ* aligns with Dürer's self-portrait, her *Lady Macbeth* expands on the Old Master's idea to resemble another person, and forge a parallel.

[568] Albert Alhedeff, "Rodin: A Self-Portrait in the Gates of Hell," *Art Bulletin* 48, no. 3 (1966): 393–95.

***Lady Macbeth, The Sculptor's Confessions in Marble***

Elisabet Ney conceived of her idea for *Lady Macbeth* possibly as early as 1853 in Munich when Wilhelm von Kaulbach exhibited his *Shakespeare-Galerie*.[569] This exposure to the character as well as the "*großer popularität*" of the translation by August Wilhelm Schlegel at least sparked an idea for a project for the young artist. However, the artist did not begin her work until decades later. But arguably, with a few decades time, the artist was better equipped to approach the subject matter, and to apply her own meaning.

Several biographical similarities can be noted between the character Lady Macbeth and Elisabeth Ney. Most obvious remains that Ney married a Scottish man just as Lady Macbeth did. Ney's husband Edmund Duncan Montgomery was an illegitimate son of a prominent Scottish Baron, Lord Colonsay, Duncan McNeill. King Duncan and Duncan McNeill are similar in name and are perceived as royally superior to Macbeth and Edmund, respectively. The roles of King Duncan and Duncan McNeill do not share much in common other than their heritage, their names, and a higher rank, but it does seem to be a more than a mere coincidence. Another, more obvious similarity between Lady Macbeth and Ney is the fact that both are ambitious women who are not afraid to take action to accomplish their desires. And, as we know, the ambitions of Lady Macbeth for power led to her demise and her dreadful end. But, Ney's tragic life is not as explicit, but due to her powerful portrayal of Lady Macbeth, the work reveals an affinity with the Shakespearean *femme fatale*.

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[569] von Stetten-Jelling, 213.

Psychologically speaking, Ney likely chose the narrative, as it divulges much of her guilt that she harbored due to her many ambitions. It was a way for her to express her inner-turmoil. As a woman with a career, she likely felt she was unable to be a good wife and mother. But to be brusque, much of this guilt was inflected due to hegemonic societal standards required of her gender. Most women did not dare dream of having a profession, but from the start Ney disdained the idea of being a domestic *Hausfrau*. Ney considered marriage to be a contract of servitude, where women lose any ounce of agency. And like most trailblazers, Ney was unable to meet societal expectations due to her self-driven goals. She was to forced make sacrifices in her personal life for the sake of achieving professional success.

A dilemma for women includes choosing success in their professional or personal lives. To achieve success in both roles is not without suffering. Ney probably also felt some remorse due to her unusual relationship with her husband. Unfortunately, there is a lack of documentation to prove this, as their letters to each other were destroyed after Edmund's death.[570] It seems though, that overall the two "best friends" were able to accomplish their long-marriage based on a partnership filled with mutual support. But to remain professional in the public eye, Ney required that their relationship remain private. Her status as wife or mother could not pigeonhole her to lose any professional standing. In effect in public, she was not to be associated with her husband or her children. It seems that Montgomery was a progressive husband for his time, and perhaps shared an understanding of gender biases, as he encouraged his wife throughout her career. Luckily, they had a mutual understanding.

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[570] Johann, 48; Fortune and Burton, 292. Longtime housekeeper, Crescentia ("Cenci" or "Cencie") Simath, is believed to have burned all of their personal letters.

Despite societal expectations, the couple went against typically gender roles- where Ney could be described as more in charge, and 'masculine,' while Montgomery was more 'feminine' or submissive in that he followed his wife's lead. This is indicated by a note in the only biography dedicated exclusively to Montgomery, I.K. Stephens states that his study,

> …will make it clear that a scientist and a philosopher of Montgomery's caliber deserves a much better deal from society than the tragic fate of having been almost completely forgotten within two decades after his death, and of being remembered today, not for his scientific and philosophical contributions, but primarily because he was the husband of the great German sculptor, Elisabet Ney.[571]

But, Montgomery's legacy, or lack there-of is also due his own resolve to remain reticent about his personal life. Throughout his life, Montgomery remained fiercly dedicated to his research and would publish many essays and texts while in Texas. When Paul Carus, editor for the magazine *The Open Court,* requested a biography from the biological philosopher to accompany his publications, he replied that he wished "…to keep silent with respect to everything not directly connected with my work."[572] Perhaps, it wasn't that Montgomery was submissive, but rather an introverted intellectual who valued privacy. In fact, when Ney and Montgomery first moved to their property Liendo in Hempstead, Texas for an ideal climate for his tuberculosis, Montgomery continued his scholarly work while Ney tended to the house and land. In this way, at least for a time, Ney abandoned her career for the sake of domestic ('feminine') duties.

By the last decade of her life, Ney felt she had failed as a mother. Her first son, Arthur, died of diphtheria at a young age. And her second son, Lorne, did not want to have anything to

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[571] Stephens, 5.
[572] Stephens, 9. Stephens cites this letter from Montgomery to Paul Carus in his text. It seems Montgomery was very reticent about his personal life.

do with her. Lorne became rebellious and angry in his teens due to his unusual upbringing that brought much ridicule. Most harmful, is that fact that Ney never recognized in public that she was married to Montgomery; she would rather have the people of Hempstead think Lorne was illegitimate then admit to being a subservient wife. In 1880, Ney actually reported on a census that Lorne, her own flesh-and-blood, was adopted.[573] Ney would dress Lorne in "Fauntleroy suits…and the neighboring children accused him of wearing girl clothes."[574] Also, he was allowed to play only with certain children of whom Ney approved. After homeschooling for many years, Lorne began to act out and was sent to boarding school in Baltimore in 1887. Later, he would marry a young local girl, Daisy Tompkins without the approval of his mother causing more friction in their relationship. Lorne joined the armed forces to fight for the Rough Riders in 1898, enlisting as "Lawrence" as even his name led to teasing. Reading about their relationship, one can help but sympathize with both parties. Yes, Ney smothered her son with an unusual amount of attention and dressed him like a doll, but she was also grieving the loss of her first son. An indication of her tender motherly love includes the fact that she called him "Lore," derived from "oro" or gold in Spanish.[575] Lorne acted out of course, but Ney really just wanted what was best for him, even if she showed it in an unusual way. The heartbreak of seemingly losing another son was obviously devastating for the sculptor.

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[573] von Stetten-Jelling, 146.

[574] "Interview with Mrs. J.W. Rutland, 1966" "Elisabet Ney Collection," uncatalogued box 1, HRC.

[575] "Elisabet Ney to Julius Runge, 31 May 1887," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 1, fol. 4, HRC. Lorne was called by his mother only "Lore," she got the idea from a Waller county neighborhood, Henrietta Leisowitz, who told her of the Spanish word for gold, "oro." A casting of Lorne's arm at the age of 3-4 is inscribed simply with "Lore Aug 76" remains at the Liendo Plantation.

In Shakespeare's play, he casts Lady Macbeth as motherless and alludes to the character's state of barrenness due to her age. In the Act I of the play, right before Macbeth is to murder Duncan, Lady Macbeth proclaims:

> Does unmake you. I have given suck, and I know
> How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me.
> I would, while it was smiling in my face,
> Have plucked my nipple from his boneless gums
> And dashes the brains out, had I so sworn as you
> Have done to this.[576]

With this eerie statement, Lady Macbeth is basically admitting to Macbeth that even as a mother, she would kill her own child if she had made an agreement with her husband to do so. It reveals that Lady Macbeth was once a mother, and that she would do anything for the sake of her husband and their shared ambitions.[577] While Ney is not nearly as wicked as Lady Macbeth, the point is that she still felt motherless and, as a women of advanced years, experienced her woes. She had breastfed two infant sons, one did not survive past his toddler years due to diphtheria, and her second had disowned her. With the sculpture, Ney alludes to her own guilt as a mother, as she wonders if her fate would have been different if she had done things differently.

Last to consider is that with the narrative of *Macbeth*, Shakespeare conceives of the occult as a troubling, manipulative force. Most obvious, include his Three Witches who can determine fate, incorporating the strange and chilling presence of these magical beings provide

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[576] Act 1, Scene 7, v. 54-58.

[577] Stephanie Chamberlain, "Fantasizing Infanticide: Lady Macbeth and the Murdering Mother in Early Modern England," *College Literature* 32, no. 3 (2005): 83. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/college_literature/v032/32.3chamberlain.html.

an overall eerie sense to his tragedy.[578] Further, Shakespeare describes them as having beards, which complicates gender roles as well.[579] Unfortunately, Ney was rumored to be a witch and cast this way due to her dress and 'masculine' behavior. Most cruelly, after the death of her son Arthur, the Ney-Montgomerys had to cremate the body to prevent the highly contagious disease from spreading. Rumors spread in Hempstead, and even continue to this day, that a witch burned her infant child alive in the living room fireplace.[580] In Elizabethan times, women who were different, in other words not married and mothers, were ostracized as "other" and "occult" and often assumed to be witches.[581] They (unmarried, childless women) disrupted the status-quo of society, making their presence and lack of a normal societal role troubling. Luckily, by the mid-nineteenth century, witch hunts had calmed, but new notions of hysteria and 'mad woman' took its place.[582]

Additionally, during Shakespeare's time, sleepwalking was considered to be a "occult" occurrence as well. Somnambulists were believed to be possessed by divine power or the devil

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[578] Levin, 44-45. Many argue that Shakespeare's inclusion of the Three Witches was likely due to the current monarch of England James I of England's (James IV of Scotland) paranoid fascination with the magical world.

[579] "…By each at once her choppy finger laying // Upon her skinny lips. You should be women, // And yet your beards forbid me to interpret // That you are so." Act 1, Scene 3, v. 44-47. Description of the Three Witches by Banquo.

[580] Meeting with Billie Figueroa, Events Coordinator of Liendo Plantation, March 2, 2019. Special thanks to Billie Figueroa for her assistance.

[581] "The witch was the antithesis of the the virtuous, chaste, and silent Protestant wife in one other extremely important way. The witch was stereotypically barren...and (witches) took delight in making others barren." Allison P. Coudert, "The Myth of the Improved Status of Protestant Women: The Case of the Witchcraze," in *Articles on Witchcraft, Magic and Demonology: A Twelve Volume Anthology of Scholarly Articles, Witchcraft, Women and Society,* Vol. 10, ed. Brian P. Levack, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992), 104.

[582] Robert Munro, "Lady Macbeth: A Psychological Sketch," *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 21, no. 1 (January 1887): 35.

himself.[583] In this way, Lady Macbeth is tied to the world of witchcraft due her possession by an external dark force. In order for Ney to maintain a professional career as a sculptor, she had to portray herself as an independent, strong woman. Any hints of piety to a man would possibly work to her disadvantage and cast her as a wife or mother. The artist took measures to diminish her femininity, so that the focus remained on her artistic ability and not her body. Ney wore unusual but practical clothing for work, she also kept her hair short throughout her life. Especially in the United States, Ney's wardrobe was considered strange and different. Her presentation likely aided with the creation of the hurtful rumors in Georgia and Hempstead. While at times, Ney profited on being occult as it helped her to gain agency, it also brought unwelcome associations with witchcraft to standoffish neighbors.

While the representation of *Lady Macbeth* is not drawn on the actual physical likeness of Ney, the emotionalism of the work as well as the expression reveals a romantic correlation. With her *Lady Macbeth,* Ney divulged the pros and cons of an "ideal life;" this fictive creation allow for her affinity to the Shakespearean narrative to surface and flourish. The passion of the piece goes against the artist's typical Neoclassical format, and instead enlists a Beaux-Arts or Neo-Baroque approach. The tragic character choice, with its poignant expression and dynamic composition, is clearly applicable to the life of Ney. It thereby reveals the dilemmas of being an ambitious women with a career in sculpting. The strong, wringing hands of the figure in *Lady Macbeth* thus relate to the strong hands of Ney as a sculptor, which have manipulated clay, plaster and stone. The almost bare breast paired with the striking face, reveal a childless mother.

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[583] Umanath et. al., 254.

And perhaps, the agonizing figure could even indicate woman who failed as a wife, whose strong goals and abdication of domestic duties peg her husband as lesser. The sleepwalking figure, appears possessed, and must deal with her guilt in a unconscious state, as she cannot face her wrongs awake. The heavy Scottish wool relates to a medieval past, yet also associate the heavy burdens of womanhood which weigh heavily on the psyche of *Lady Macbeth* and the artist.

***A trope of dilemma, the tragedy of the female sculptor***

Other female sculptors of the nineteenth century also produced veiled self-portraits by the means of a well-known subject, whether literary, historical, or mythological. Due to the high cost of the materials of sculpture, works needed to be marketable or commissioned ahead of time to ensure a return. American women who worked in Rome during the nineteenth century made the most profit on copy orders for idealized busts and sculptures, or on portrait bust commissions, often from American tourists.[584] But, by utilizing a subject matter that was not directly perceived as a self-portrait, the female artist could produce a statement work that aligned with her personal narrative and artistic motives. More often than not, these veiled self-portraits were also works of tragedy.

Today, Ney's marble *Lady Macbeth* is on display in Washington D.C. in the Smithsonian Museum of American Art.[585] Its placement on the third floor– amongst a mod-podge of mostly other figural works– does not do the piece justice. Especially as *Lady Macbeth* is placed up

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[584] Dabakis, 4-5.
[585] The marble version of *Lady Macbeth* was donated by Joseph and Ella Dancy Dibrell, who were entrusted by Ney and Montgomery with Ney's artistic property and studio.

against a wall and to its left is an abstract orb-like version of a playing jack; the nearly seven foot work is by Paul Feeley, and aptly titled *Jack* from 1966. But, what flanks this piece is a work by another female sculptor of the period, Edmonia Lewis's *Death of Cleopatra* from 1876 (refer to Fig. 5.35). Lewis's work, like Ney's, applies a narrative to the medium of sculpture, while at the same time embodying a personalized meaning. Edmonia Lewis was of Native American and African American descent, and therefore related to the subject matter due to the Egyptian or African identity of the female historical figure.[586] Her idealized death is portrayed after the venom has circulated through her limp, now-dead body. Its presentation at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876 was acclaimed by some, and others met with horror, as it openly represents a scene of death.[587] Another work by Lewis that involves a veiled self-portrait includes *Hagar* from 1875 (refer to Fig. 5.36). This work shows the young Egyptian concubine of Abraham in intense prayer while in exile. Her identity as a lesser-woman of color cast out, due to jealousy fueled by Sara's inability to bear a child herself, can be likened to Lewis's lesser social status of the time as a mixed-race woman as well.[588] This work also shows the figure with a tensed brow, hands together, and stepping forward, actually quite similar in composition to

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[586] During the nineteenth century, the identity of the ancient Egyptians was highly debated. This kind of inquiry into "white-ness" and the aversion of African "black-ness" is still relevant. For instance, a 1993 work by Fred Wilson, *Grey Area (Brown Version)* at the Brooklyn Museum works to bring up historical issues of racial hierarchy involved with the *Bust of Nefertiti.*

[587] "The Death of Cleopatra." *Smithsonian American Art Museum*, americanart.si.edu/artwork/death-cleopatra-33878.

[588] Kirsten P. Buick, "The Ideal Works of Edmonia Lewis: Invoking and Inverting Autobiography," *American Art* 9, no. 2 (July 1995): 10-11.

Ney's portrayal of *Lady Macbeth*.[589] Most interestingly, other female sculptors of the period utilized the idealized self-portrait to express their hardships, their trials, and their struggles due to the adversity of the male-dominated profession. Some other works include Vinnie Ream's *Sappho* c. 1870, Harriet Hosmer's *Zenobia in Chains* from 1859, and Camille Claudel's *The Waltz* from 1883 (refer to Fig. 5.37, Fig. 5.38, and Fig. 5.39).[590]

Figure 5.35. Lewis, Edmonia. *Death of Cleopatra*, 1876. Marble. Smithsonian American Art Museum. Washington D.C. Photo courtesy of Smithsonian American Art Museum.

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[589] Lorado Taft. *The History of American Sculpture* (New York: MacMillan, 1903), 212. It is uncertain if Ney was familiar with Lewis's work. Lewis presented during Ney's hiatus from sculpture at the Centennial Exposition of 1876, but not at the following Chicago or St. Louis Fairs. However, Lewis is mentioned in Taft's texts, which Ney was familiar with as Taft addressed Ney's work as well. However, no plates of either artist are included in the text.

[590] Angelo Caranfa, *Camille Claudel: a sculpture of interior solitude* (London: Bucknell University Press, 1999); Johann, 165-66. Johann mentions *Hagar in the Wildnerness, Sappho*, *Zenobia in Chains,* and Camille Claudel in reference to the self-portrait qualities of Ney's *Lady Macbeth.* The work of these female sculptors will also receive more comparative analysis in the last chapter.

Figure 5.36. *Left*- Lewis, Edmonia. *Hagar,* 1875. Marble. Smithsonian American Art Museum. Washington D.C. Photo courtesy of Smithsonian American Art Museum.
Figure 5.37. *Right*- Ream, Vinnie. *Sappho* c. 1870. Marble. Smithsonian American Art Museum. Washington D.C. Photo courtesy of Smithsonian American Art Museum.

Figure 5.38. *Left*- Hosmer, Harriet. *Zenobia in Chains*, 1859. Marble. The Huntington Art Museum, San Marino, California.
Figure 5.39. *Right*- Claudel, Camille. *The Waltz,* 1889-1905. Bronze Musée Rodin, Paris, France.

What remains interesting about these portrayals by these female sculptors is that they are able to insert their subjectivity into the object of art, while retaining the role of creator. In her essay concerning Edmonia Lewis's idealized autobiographical works, Kirsten P. Buick discusses the manner in which Lewis was able to express her multi-racial identity as a Native American and a Black woman. Kirsten Buick states

> Through a complex process of invocation and inversion, Edmonia Lewis achieved a "creation of self through subversive interplay" with her viewers' expectations. She came into "personhood" by drawing on and reshaping the prevailing aesthetic -the neoclassical style conveyed in white marble- to illustrate sentimental literature and her heritage as an Indian, as well as those themes pertinent to the black experience in America.[591]

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[591] Buick, 15.

Of course, Lewis's disenfranchisement was compounded due to the color of her skin. But, Buick's argument can also apply to other female sculptors of all backgrounds from this period, who utilized their artistic medium to comment on their personal experiences. With idealized subject matter, woman sculptors could assert their "personhood" without the entrapment of becoming the subject of their work, thereby sidestepping objectification as a woman. However, Ney's *Lady Macbeth* and Claudel's *The Waltz* and *The Mature Age* are not idealized Neoclassical works. Yet, they remain tied to academic tradition of idealized subject matter in spite of their Beaux-Arts style.

However, psychologically-based claims are harder to argue and less definitive. But, we must let these examples that arise again and again by female sculptors of this time to speak for themselves, that is to say aesthetically, and via Marxist or feminist art history. This occurrence of numerous "veiled self-portraits" via the narrative sculpture type, and particularly by women including Ney, works to unveil political concerns of the long-nineteenth century. And much more can be extrapolated on these cultural works.

***Lady Macbeth and Feminism????***

Why is it that Macbeth is never held accountable for his murders and they are blamed on his wife? Blood was never spilled at the hands of Lady Macbeth, yet she is the only one stupefied with remorse. Ultimately, the tragic fate of Lady Macbeth is culturally assigned as she did not perform within her binary gender role.[592] Her husband's acts are blamed on her, in fact,

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[592] J. Butler, 31.

his innocence remains, as she "unsexed" herself to dominate her husband and convince him to perform his first murderous deed. As a *femme fatale*, Shakespeare treats the character as a "figure of male fantasy articulating both a fascination for the sexually aggressive woman as well as anxieties about feminine domination."[593] And "She sustains his self-delusion, but also gives voice to a feminine desire that may include him in order to attain its aim but all exceeds his fantasy realm."[594] But what if Lady Macbeth is considered for once to be the protagonist, and the tragic hero? If that were the case her tragic flaw would be that she was a woman performing as a man, due to Macbeth's fallibility. Even today, this Shakespearean play can be interpreted to shed light on cultural anxieties related to gender norms. And with Ney's approach to her work of the time-honored play, she brings a feminist perspective that works to complicate its cultural reception.

Before the term "Feminism" came to be, the equality of the sexes as well as female autonomy– economically, politically, and socially – was a growing cultural concern during the nineteenth century.[595] Following the Era of Enlightenment, when the rights and freedoms of man were widely debated and discussed, women began to assert their claim to equal treatment. First-wave feminism emerged during the mid-nineteenth lasting until the early 20th century.[596] For most involved in the women's movement, the primary concern was suffrage, as through legal status other rights could be fought for.[597] But voting was only one of a manifold of issues that

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[593] Bronfen, 106.
[594] Ibid., 106-107.
[595] The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "The Suffrage Movement." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., Last modified 16 December 2019; J. Butler, 18.
[596] "The Suffrage Movement."
[597] Ibid.

remained rooted in hegemonic tradition to disenfranchise the "second sex." Some early feminists were activists for measures other than voting rights, they also fought for marital laws, and legal rights when it came to finances and property. For instance, in "A Vindication on the Rights of Woman" from 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft "Challeng[ed] the notion that women exist only to please men, she proposed that women and men be given equal opportunities in education, work, and politics."[598] And in response to Enlightenment thinkers, particularly Jean-Jacques Rousseau, she stated that women, "are as naturally rational as men. If they are silly, it is only because society trains them to be irrelevant."[599] Women like Wollstonecraft, Louise Otto, Sojourney Truth, Lucretia Mott, and numerous others helped to advance the cause of feminism.

With the rise in activism, other aspects of feminism challenged deeply-engrained Western stereotypes of gender, including women's outward appearance. The "New Woman" was an anomaly, a strange cultural exception that made those complacent with the status-quo uncomfortable. The term "New Woman" developed in 1895, and was largely publicized by British writer Henry James.[600] The "New Woman" was strong-willed and had a career of her own. Working and commuting required a different wardrobe, and this led to dress reform that emphasized practicality or rationality, rather than subservience of the female body via her wardrobe for objectification. But, "While members of the women's movement employed this

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[598] Ibid.
[599] Ibid.
[600] "The term "New Woman" was "Christened in 1894 during a debate between Sarah Grand and Ouida in the *North American Review,* the New Woman immediately inspired censure and applause on both sides of the Atlantic." Martha H. Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895-1915* (Baltimore: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 2.

term to characterize a new kind of emancipated female ideal,…their opponents simultaneous used it to denounce women who were rejecting traditional female roles."[601] And, in Wilhlemine Germany, the disparaging term, "*Mannweib*" or "man-woman," was used to describe these modern women who came to represent the "Anxiety about the blurring of the sexes [that] extended to every area of contemporary culture."[602] The "New Woman" was thus represented on a wide scale- from an Amazonian to a "Gibson Girl." By challenging hegemonic customs from legal status to dress, the crisp-clear binary model of "male" and "female," and notions of "masculine" and "feminine" were disturbed. As a result, the "New Woman" became a symbol and even scapegoat for the anxieties of Modernity, a contemporary *femme fatale*.

Whether she realized it or not, Elisabet Ney was a "New Woman," an early feminist. Throughout her entire life, she protested male hegemony with many acts of defiance. She once stated, "From quite early, my life has been a protest against the subjection to which women were doomed from their birth."[603] Throughout her life, she was a proponent of Enlightenment thinking and believed in the power of education, for all. Further, she was a supporter of practical dress, and wore clothes that suited her occupation- as a sculptor and for a time, a landowner. Apparently, her unusual dress was permissible in Europe, but not as welcome in Texas. As Taylor claims, "In Europe everything was forgiven to the artist, so they blamed the doctor [Montgomery]; but in America everything was forgiven to the man, so they blamed Miss

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[601] Ehrenpreis, 25.
[602] Ibid.
[603] "Elisabet Ney to Sara Underwood, 14 March 1886," Private Collection, Austin, Texas; Cutrer, 176. Cited from Cutrer's text.

Ney."[604] But, as cited above, the "New Woman" was denounced in Wilhelmine Germany as well via the notion of the "*Mannweib*." This led as well to a surge of the *femme fatale* character-type in literature, as well as in art.

Previously, scholars argued that Ney was not involved in the furtherance of women's rights. For instance, von Stetten-Jelling states:

> Es war jedoch nicht Neys Absicht, sich für Frauenrechte öffentlich zu engagieren oder jeman- den zu provozieren. Vielmehr fand sie Hosen sehr praktisch, besonders als Arbeitskleidung und zum Reiten auf der Plantage. Sie versuchte einfach, sie selbst zu sein, ohne sich von den Konventionen der Zeit einschränken zu lassen. Damit aber war sie ihrer Zeit bereits weit voraus. Diese Art der Freiheit wurde Frauen in Texas nicht zugestanden.[605]

But, her early protests did eventually lead to political engagement, albeit limited. During the last decade of her life, Ney became more active in clothing reforms and nascent suffrage efforts. In 1892, she drafted a letter to Mrs. Frances E. Russell, who was serving as Chairman of the Dress Committee for the Colombian Exposition.[606] Ney writes:

> I met quite recently ~~lately~~ your name in connection with the much needed Dress reform. – Since my youth I have felt this need have always acted indepently [sic] from fashion. I always felt it had a great ethical influence.
> Time look to any more now as I am yet occupied modeling the large statue of Gen. Sam Houston which will be with an other exhibited in the Texas Building. By the nature of my work I found myself compelled to give up the trailing dress which I admired for its grace. Through various stages I came at last to a ~~shape~~ form which appeared to use convenient, protective & handsome. I adopted & used it publily [sic] first in my travels in Egypt & is

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[604] Taylor, 71; Müller-Münster, 107; von Stetten-Jelling, 155.

[605] von Stetten-Jelling, 154. "However, it was not Ney's intention to publicly promote women's rights or to provoke anyone. Rather, she found pants very practical, especially as work clothes and for riding on the plantation. She simply tried to be herself without being limited by the conventions of the time. But that was already far ahead of her time. This type of freedom was not granted to women in Texas."

[606] Patricia Anne Cunningham, *Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850-1920: Politics, Health, and Art* (London: Kent State University Press, 2003), 62. Frances E. Russell worked for a "rational dress" for the World's Fair.

> varied the material according to weather, climate, season, work: dark flannel, white flannel, Miladay, linene [sic], black velvet…I, as an artist, consider it far more handsome. I wear always gaiters with it & work when it was very dusty or wet in ~~traveling~~ fashions – nicely made tan boots.
> I have never wished notoriety for it, as you believe noticing that anything has been said in public about, though I wore it dayly [sic] for over 20 years now…When I wear the Algerian Burmas. I know you feel truly interested and wish you would secure for article and ill.[ustration]…Let us make the movement a success.[607]

This letter reveals that Ney realized she could play a significant role in the furtherance of "rational dress" for women. While she confesses in the letter that she admires the grace of the trailing dress, she also explains that it is not practical for working conditions. And she realized with Russell's report that she should involve herself in the matter. The decisions of the World's Fair Dress Committee held a large stake in dress reform, as many international visitors would flock to Chicago in order to embrace world progress. Perhaps then, the attire of women could also progress to fit the new demands of modernizing society.[608]

Ney was also involved with the early suffrage movement in Texas. In a letter reply to Mariana Folsom (1845-1909), a leader in the American Women's Suffrage Association, Ney expressed her opinions on female suffrage. She wrote: "My wishes are in accord with yours, and my convictions on the subject you judge right. Women ought to be permitted not to feel any longer curtailed in they have ambitions & the desire to judge for herself. The opportunity to bring this subject forward out not to be left unnoticed."[609] She also provided a list of several

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[607] "Draft to Mrs. Frances E. Russell," "Elisabet Ney Collection," Notebook I (1892/93), box 3a. Transcription, 24-26, HRC.

[608] I have not found any correspondence, or material suggesting that Russell solicited or accepted help from Ney.

[609] "Elisabet Ney to Mariana Folsom, 3 December 1898," "Erminia Thompson Folsom Papers," Austin History Center, Texas State Library and Archives Commission, Austin, Texas.

women in the Austin community who may be interested in the cause in Texas to aide Folsom's efforts. And later, on January 21, 1907, several women activists, along with Ney, appeared before the Texas House of Representatives to present a joint commission for the enfranchisement of women.[610] While the joint commission was not adopted that day, the efforts of the various women involved helped the cause. Women's right to vote was ultimately realized in Texas in 1918 and in the United States in 1920. Unfortunately, neither Ney nor Folsom would live to practice that right.

Other women sculptors faced controversy due to their status as "New Women." The cohort of American female sculptors living in Rome included Harriet Hosmer, Anne Whitney, Edmonia Lewis, among others. Regardless of their culture, the female sculptor was implicated with challenging gender tropes. The creative profession was argued to be best suited to men, who could manipulate and work with obdurate sculptural mediums. And in almost every text concerning female sculptors, historians make note of the sculptor's body-type, height, and even their weight, as well as an objectified account of the woman's facial features. In this way, the female sculptor, or the antiquated form, the "sculptress," became a wonder of beauty and creativity. Some sculptresses used their femininity to win commissions, others downplayed it via their dress and hairstyle, and some did not risk a non-traditional appearance at all. Many female sculptors declared their dedication to their craft by remaining unmarried to keep their artistic integrity. Marrying a man would further label them and their work as 'feminine' and invite

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[610] A. Elisabeth Taylor, "Women's Suffrage," *Handbook of Texas Online.* Texas State Historical Association. Last modified on June 25, 2019. https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/viw01.

opinions of their roles as wife and mother.[611] Also, it must be mentioned that many faced scrutiny concerning the authenticity of their works, as their ability to render in the 'masculine' medium was questioned time and time again.

The sculptress phenomenon, and the interest garnered in the female sex overcoming gender norms to varying degrees, was a result of first wave feminism. However, these women were still subject to objectification, as their appearance was just as if not more important than the works they created. Unable to fit neatly into their neatly assigned gender-binary, sculptresses performed their gender in differing ways whilst engaging in a male-dominated profession.[612] In this way, sculptresses were entangled with the debates of the period, and perhaps even fueled anxieties of the time. This is why the veiled self-portrait comes to fruition, as even with the rise of the women's movement, making a blatant statement on one's identity was considered dangerous to the status-quo. However,, with the indirect self-portraits by Ney, Lewis, and Whitney, these women were able to situate their personal narratives within a broader context. This allowed for their narrative portrayals to be applicable to all of their time.

Elisabet Ney aimed to produce a representation *Lady Macbeth* that humanized the character's efforts and presents her as an lamenting martyr, rather than a dangerous *femme fatale* character. This is one of the reasons why Ney employed various models for her work. The work

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[611] Anne Whitney, Harriet Hosmer and Edmonia Lewis all remained unmarried. This is likely also why Ney kept her marriage to Montgomery secret, despite the unimaginable hurt it caused their relationship.

[612] "Whenever one ignores an established convention, one becomes a rebel…A woman who has no desire to shock, no intention to devalue herself socially, has to live her woman's condition as a woman: very often her professional success even requires it." de Beauvoir, 724-25. De Beauvior discusses the pros and cons of going against convention in order to be "a complete individual."

then becomes a collective representation of every woman she has encountered– from the Berlin salon to her own neighborhood salons in Austin, Texas. Ney is indebted to the women who were her advocates, supporters, and friends, and this piece functions to dedicate her ambitions, so as not in vain. Simply put, *Lady Macbeth* illustrates the shared tragedy of being born a woman, as women of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were still culturally dictated as "lesser" and "other."[613]

***Conclusion***

***"****In this country people are (and I suppose well founded) full of mistrust regarding motives. Being an artist myself this was what met me when six years ago I conceived of a similar mission. Though I had not come to this country ever to work in my art again, I took it up at last as a consolation - only I experienced deeper and more cruel disappointment. And my present work, Lady Macbeth, comes as a result of these experiences"* – Elisabet Ney to Mrs. Sherwood, 1900[614]

In her letter to Mrs. Sherwood, Elisabet Ney explains the motivations behind her last large work, *Lady Macbeth,* as a consolation for the numerous disappointments she experienced struggling as an artist in the United States. Six years prior, Ney hoped to establish an art school, the "Academy for Liberal Arts" in the Texas capital as part of the University of Texas at Austin.[615] She also wrote and gave lectures on art to Texas women to instill an need for an educational institution for the arts as well, including a speech "Art for Humanity's Sake" given

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[613] Unfortunately, hegemonic, misogynistic ideologies still exists in the twenty-first century. Fourth-wave of feminism fueled by the "#MeToo" movement began in 2006.
[614] "Elisabet Ney to Mrs. Sherwood, 29 March [1900]."
[615] Johann, 98; "Jacob Bickler to N.G. Crush, 3 March 1894," Archival Collection, Bi 1.3 25 1, ENM.

in Dallas, Texas.[616] But her grand ideas for educating and enlightening Texas via the arts were not met with overall enthusiasm.[617] Her work for the Colombian Exposition had not yet been commissioned in marble, and the sculptor would not receive the commission for the *Albert Sidney Johnston Memorial* until 1902. The difficulties of reestablishing her art career, coupled with her failed efforts as a landowner in the United States are conveyed in her early designs and execution of the tragic *Lady Macbeth*, with the full-size plaster copy dating to 1902/03.

The multi-layered meaning of Ney's Lady Macbeth allow for a compelling work of art. Working with the sculptural type of the narrative, Ney truthfully and poignantly depicts the tragic demise of the Shakespearean character during her sleep-walking scene. Ney also utilizes the intriguing narrative to relate to her own life and produces the work to function as a self-portrait. Not only does the work of art divulge the agony of the artist's professional disappointments, it also confesses her guilt from the dilemmas of being an ambitious woman. Further, the artist presents the compulsory tale of the tragic state for women, who lacked equal agency and could not even vote, during this time of early feminism. The tragic is perhaps the most profound representation of the authentic human condition, and Ney's *Lady Macbeth* communicates the pathos of the female condition. To quote Susanne Langer, "Tragedy is the image of fate, as comedy is of Fortune."[618]

After Ney's death in 1907, Edmund Montgomery entrusted the care of *Lady Macbeth* to

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[616] "The State Council," *Dallas Morning News*, November 3, 1894; Johann, 100; Cutrer, 179.
[617] "Trotz des Medieninteresses und den zahlreichen Fürsprechern von Neys Plänen kam es zu keiner Verwirklichung des Projektes." Johann, 100; "Elisabet Ney to Hally Bryan Perry, 03 May 1896;" Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 495; Rutland, 52; von Stetten-Jelling, 185.
[618] Bronfen, 103.

her long-time friend Ella Dibrell.[619] He wanted the work to be displayed in a northeast American city, "where she can be seen by art lovers to find enthusiastic admirers and to be c[oveted] by art collectors"[620] He explained in another letter, "To this country she belongs and I have not the slightest wish to let her go to Berlin."[621] Lorado Taft also held the work in high regard and mentioned in his text, "…the promise of a sketch of Lady Macbeth, [is] one of the most expressive and eminently sculptural conceptions among recent American ideals."[622] With this masterpiece, the legacy of the German-American sculptor lives on. "Oh! Oh! Oh!"

> See how she steps with queenly flowing grace
> Albeit her soul, with anguish dire distressed,
> Drives her, in sleep, to flee the wild unrest
> That meets the haunting quiet at every pace.
> No wringing hands can wipe the gory trace,
> Too deep it has defiled the living breast,
> And left the tortured mind in dread, unblest;
> In vain she turns from it her sightless face.
>
> The night that wrought from dust her beauteous form
> Ensouled it with the spark of righteousness -
> With ruthless pride she quenched the sacred flame,
> To shiver, now, distraught and comfortless;
> Bereft of all her winsome human claim,
> A piteous sight of blasted haughtiness.[623]

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[619] "Edmund Montgomery to Ella Dibrell, 1 August 1907," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 4, fol.1, HRC; Johann, 556.
[620] "Edmund Montgomery to Ella Dibrell, 20 August 1907," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 4, fol.1, HRC; Johann, 556.
[621] "Edmund Montgomery to Ella Dibrell, 1 January 1908," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 4, fol.1, HRC; Johann, 556.
[622] Taft, 215.
[623] "Sonnet on *Lady Macbeth"* by Edmund Montgomery, included in "Elisabet Ney to Ernestine Schumann-Heink, undated," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 2, fol. 42, HRC.

## CHAPTER 6

## AFTERWARD: WAS IT A MISTAKE TO MOVE TO TEXAS?

*"In Austin hatte sie sich allgemeine Verehrung und Liebe gewonnen, wie kein anderer Bewohner dort. Diese Verehrung erstreckte sich in der Tat über ganz Texas, –ein Staat viel größer als ganz Deutschland. Die Schulkinder lernen in dem Geschichtsunterricht, wie dankbar der Staat ihr für ihre kunstreiche Verewigung seiner Nationalhelden sei: Der Staat zeichnete sie aus durch Verleihung der Ehrendiploms einer Tochter von Texas…Ihr Studio was ein Wallfahrtsort, wohin von allen Teilen von Texas Pilger kamen, zumeist um ihr letzes großartiges Meisterwerk zu bewundern: Lady Macbeth als Nachtwandlerin schönstem Marmor, das [sic] sie selbst in Italien herrlich gebildet und ausgeführt hatte."*[624]

- Dr. Edmund Montgomery to Maria Lueder, 1 July 1907

Elisabet Ney was neither the first German-American to set foot on Texas soil nor the last. Yet her pioneering contributions to the arts and culture of the state, as its first eminent sculptor, earned her an honorary certificate as a "Daughter of Texas."[625] For almost half of her life, Ney resided in the state and spent the last fifteen years sculpting in the Austin home and studio that she herself designed. Her sculptural output invigorated the art scene in the capital, as she produced significant works of Texas heroes and statesmen, as well as her *Lady Macbeth*. Shortly following his wife's death, Edmund Montgomery wrote: "In Austin hatte sie sich allgemeine Verehrung und Liebe gewonnen, wie kein anderer Bewohner dort."[626] Loved and admired by all

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[624] Müller-Münster, 163-64. "In Austin she had gained general admiration and love like no other resident there. Indeed, this worship spanned all of Texas, a state much larger than the whole of Germany. The schoolchildren learn in history class how grateful the state is for her artful immortalization of their national heroes: the state honored her by awarding an honorary certificate as a Daughter of Texas... Her studio was a place of pilgrimage, where pilgrims came from all parts of Texas pilgrims to admire her last great masterpiece: Lady Macbeth sleepwalking in the most beautiful marble, which she had gloriously formed and carried out in Italy." Maria Leuder was the step-aunt of Ney.

[625] "Elisabet Ney: Texas' first eminent sculptor," Houston Post, 16 January 1972.

[626] "In Austin she had gained general admiration and love like no other resident there."

Texans, Elisabet Ney's memory lived on as a local celebrity, a "Daughter of Texas," a dynamic proponent for the Lone Star State.

In spite of these evident successes, this study has demonstrated that her years in Texas were filled with near constant struggle. And surely she must have asked herself: "Was it a mistake to move to Texas?" Well, to answer this question, we could consider the artist's contributions to what must have seemed to her the desperate philistines of Texas. Her 'bringing of fire' offered an opportunity for the quasi-frontier state to view world-class fine art. The many works Ney transported to or created in her Austin studio brought a higher level of art and its appreciation to the post-bellum state, which it both wanted and needed. However, as we know from the analysis of Ney's *Lady Macbeth,* one could argue that Ney herself did not believe that her time in Texas was worthwhile, as it was full of "disappointments." Sadly, the artist did not live to see many of her efforts come to fruition, particularly her hope of establishing an educational institution for the fine arts. However, due to the support of her advocates, particularly her friend Ella Dancy Dibrell, the goals of Ney were eventually realized and her legacy perpetuated.[627] Therefore, in terms of her cultural impact, which is unfortunately not a measurably quality, it was definitely not a mistake to move to Texas.

As a transnational artist, the Ney was able to contribute significantly to two art worlds, that of the European courts and intellectual worlds, and that of the nascent Texan capital. Many German scholars believe that Ney's move to Texas was detrimental to her career. Johann

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[627] "The Founding of The Texas Fine Art Association and Elisabet Ney Museum, 6 April 1911," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 5-6, HRC; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition, 1141; Johann, 182-83. Recognition for the legacy of the artist began with the Establishment of Texas Fine Arts Association in April 1911.

remarks, "Wäre sie nicht nach Amerika gegangen, hätte ihr durch ihr künstlerisches Potenzial und ihre Anpassungsfähigkeit sicherlich eine erfolgreiche Zukunft in Deutschland offen gestanden."[628] Focusing on the body of work of the artist, rather than her cultural contributions, builds this argument. Through her education, early career, and travels throughout Europe, she cultivated her artistic abilities to a degree of expertise indicated in her oeuvre. Her later works would not be as successful without these informing opportunities and experiences. Undoubtedly, Ney's artwork came to a halt for several years early in her time in the United States. As she stated, "the molding of flesh and blood" became her occupation once she became a mother.[629] And by moving to a rural locale, once Ney was able to create sculptural works again, she lacked a stimulating arts scene to nurture her career. Also, due to her relocation, she was faced with the challenge of establishing herself anew in a different community.

But, did Ney really have the agency, as a woman, to do otherwise? A private and sequestered life in a distant land seemed to be the only way to manage her circumstances. If Ney had stayed in Germany, it seems unlikely that she would have been able to uphold her artistic reputation as a mother to a seemingly illegitimate child. The scandalous situation would have garnered unwanted attention and threatened to nullify her painstaking efforts to be recognized as a professional sculptor. Like von Stetten-Jelling, Cutrer and Johann, I believe that Ney's move to the United States was primarily because she was pregnant. Also, it is worth noting that the timing of her circumstances proved dire, as shortly after her departure Prussian dominance was

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[628] Johann, 174. "If she had not gone to America, a successful career in German was certainly possible due to her artistic potential and adaptability."

[629] "I was busy with a more important art, the art of molding flesh and blood." Taylor, 63; Müller-Münster, 103; von Stetten-Jelling, 145.

growing. The German Reich was unified in 1871 and worked to instill the bonds of masculinity in order to unite the then militaristic "Fatherland." Fortuitously, the Ney-Montgomerys relocation allowed their family to live their sought after 'utopian life' amongst nature. For those reasons, I believe that the couple's departure was inevitable. While it is easy to speculate about what could have occurred had Ney remained in Europe, it is impossible to know how her story might have unfolded. Rather, it is more helpful to consider what actually happened. So in regard to Elisabet Ney's oeuvre, the question of "was it a mistake to move to Texas?" proves rhetorical. Perhaps a better question to pose is: how did Ney compare to her contemporaries?

***Contemporaries of Elisabet Ney***

In order to gain a better understanding of the artist's success or lack thereof in Germany and the United States, it is helpful to situate and compare her work to other sculptors of Ney's generation. In Germany, we can perform this exercise by comparing Ney to Reinhold Begas (1831-1911), a fellow student of Rauch, who was similar in age. In terms of American sculptors, we can compare the works of Ney to the group of woman sculptors in Rome such as Anne Whitney (1821-1915), Sarah Ames Fischer (1817-1901), and Vinnie Ream (later Vinnie Ream Hoxie) (1847-1914) who all, like Ney, have works in the U.S. Capitol. The better-known male sculptors of the period, Daniel Chester French (1850-1931) and Henry Kirke Brown (1814-1886) also contributed works to Statuary Hall that prove useful for comparison. Lastly, it is useful to consider the work of Ney's much younger competitor in Texas, the Italian-born, Pompeo Coppini (1870-1957). Both sculptors competed for commissions in Texas at the turn of the century and produced grave monuments for the Texas State Cemetery.

***Begas, Mitschüler***

Reinhold Begas was a German sculptor who first studied with Ludwig Wilhelm Wichmann, and later at the Berlin School of Sculpture under Rauch. It is likely that Begas worked in Rauch's Lagerhaus studio at the same time as Ney. However, Begas is much better known in Germany, as his career flourished during the period of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. His sculptural works are housed in various galleries, with several on display at the Neue Nationalgalerie in Berlin. Also in Berlin are his iconic Neptune Fountain in Alexanderplatz and his monuments to Friedrich Schiller and Alexander von Humboldt. It is safe to assert that he was the most prolific sculptor of Prussia during the Wilhelmine era. By comparing Ney's *Prometheus Bound* to Begas's *Prometheus*, we can perceive each sculptor's distinct stylistic approach.

The tragic story of the Titan Prometheus is one of hardship and suffering stemming from his fondness for the human race and subsequent desire for their advancement and welfare. The mythological play, *Prometheus Bound* (*Promētheús Desmōtes)* written by Aeschylus (c. 525-455 BCE), received renewed interest during the nineteenth century when it was widely translated in modern languages. At that time, a recurrent cultural theme fueled by the Enlightenment included the idea of 'bringing of fire' to the masses. Certainly, the Promethean myth resonated with sculptors, as the Titan formed humans from clay.[630] During a summer in Tyrol, Austria, Elisabet Ney began work on her sculpture *Prometheus Bound* (*Gefesselten Prometheus*) (refer to Fig. 6.1).[631] Perhaps Ney was informed of the legend by a German translation of the original Greek

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[630] Simon Hornblower, et al. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1217.

[631] "Briefwechsel Elisabet Ney an Alfred von Mensi-Klarbach, 22 May 1897," "Mensiana B Papers," Ney, Elisabet, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Munich, Germany;

text.[632] Or, she could have been familiar with contemporary renditions including the 1789 poem "Prometheus" by Goethe and the play *Prometheus Bound* by Percy Bysshe Shelley from 1820.[633] After Ney's hiatus from sculpture, the work was eventually found in ill-repair in Munich in the *Hofbaumagazin* and shipped to her Texas studio.[634] A photograph of the work shows how the figure once appeared looked before the damage (refer to Fig. 6.2).[635]

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Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 524; Johann, 347. Prometheus work is undated, but likely began during her trip to Tyrol, Austria from 1866-68. She would finish the work in her Munich Residenz Studio.

[632] Aeshylus was translated into German by Georg Christoph Tobler in 1782.

[633] Johann, 346. Ney read texts by both authors.

[634] "Karl Dürck to Elisabet Ney, 5 [February] 1897," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 2, fol. 16, HRC; "Karl Dürck to Elisabet Ney, 15 April 1897, "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 2, fol. 16, HRC; Stadtmuseum Münster Exhibition CD-ROM, 990, 995. In February 1897, Ney's lawyer, Dr. Karl Durck located the piece, last recorded in Ney's Munich Residenz Studio.

[635] Johann, 351. There was a second copy of Ney's *Prometheus Bound,* listed in the catalogue of Linderhof Palace. It was likely destroyed in World War Two. The circumstances for the creation of the copy, whether in plaster or marble, are uncertain.

Figure 6.1. Ney, Elisabet. *Prometheus Bound* (*Gefesselten Prometheus*), 1866-68?. Plaster. 175.3 x 188 x 94 cm. ENM, Austin, Texas. Photograph by author.

Figure 6.2. Photograph of Ney's *Prometheus Bound*, Plaster? (destroyed?) Formerly housed at Linderhof Palace, Ettal, Germay. Taken from Johann, XXXIX.

Ney's *Prometheus Bound* referenced a number of ancient prototypes. Specifically, *The Barbarini Faun*, *The Parthenon Dionysos,* as well as the *Belvedere Torso* (refer to Fig. 6.3, Fig. 6.4 and Fig. 6.5). Also, a comparison can be made to Michelangelo's reclining male nude, a component of *The Tomb of Giuliano de' Medici*, dating from the Renaissance (refer to Fig. 6.6). Ney likely studied all of these works during her schooling and travels across Europe.[636] Most evidently, the right leg of *Prometheus Bound* directly cites the right leg of the *Barberini Faun*. Yet, in one case the Titan is shackled and limited in movement, while, in the other, the faun is reclining in a Dionysian ecstasy. Ney's work is similar in composition to the *Parthenon Dionysos*, due to bent right leg, the weight-bearing left arm and shoulder, as well as the stoic,

[636] See fn. 115, 411, pg. 29. Ney studied works at the Glyptothek after gaining special permission from King Ludwig I. Ney also spent several months in London in 1863, and likely visited the Elgin Marbles. She also visited Italy in 1869, and particularly mentions the Medici tomb in correspondence. Further, most of these works are listed on her list of requests for cast copies for her Texas Academy of Art.

classical face.[637] The body of Ney's figure is contorting and turning in a way to illustrate strength yet complete anguish. The thick musculature of the core and back reference the *Belvedere Torso*. At the same time, the expressive rotation of the Promethean figure suggest a juxtaposition of tension and poise, similar to the counterbalanced planes of the Michelangelo's reclining nude from the Medici Tomb. [638] Several aspects of Ney's *Prometheus Bound* demonstrate the sculptor's knowledge and appreciation of ancient and Renaissance precedents.

Figure 6.3. *Barberini Faun.* c. 220 BCE. Roman Marble copy of Greek bronze. Glyptothek, Munich, Germany.

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[637] Loggins, 119; Goar, 99; Johann, 350. It has been speculated the Ney used the facial features and/or the bodies of either Giuseppe Garibaldi or Edmund Montgomery for this work.

[638] Perhaps we can make a comparison of Ney's fragmented *Prometheus Bound* to the work of Michelangelo, as his *non-finito* prisoners or slaves were never "released" from the marble, therefore allowing their unfinished state to poetically reflect the content of the works. At the same time, these works by both sculptors provide invaluable examples of the working process of each artist.

Figure 6.4. Attributed to Pheidias, *The Parthenon Dionysos,* c. 438-432 BCE. Marble (Pentelicone). British Museum. London, Great Britian. (Part of the Parthenon from Athens, Greece, referred to as the Elgin Marbles).

Figure 6.5. *Left*- Apollonius, *Belvedere Torso,* 2nd century BCE, Marble copy from c.100-200 CE. Museo Pio-Clementino, Vatican Museums. Vatican City.
Figure 6.6. *Right*- Michelangelo, Detail of reclining male nude from *The Tomb of Giuliano de' Medici,* 1520-34. Marble. Medici Chapel in the Church of San Lorenzo. Florence, Italy.

Although it employs the same mythological subject matter, Begas's *Prometheus* is starkly different in style (refer Fig. to 6.7). In this large work, Begas inserts several elements to situate the narrative including a built up mass of craggy rocks, chains on the arms and legs of the figure, and the inclusion of Vulcan. The piece has several textural allusions to situate the forms in a narrative. Its originality lies in its apparent freedom from direct classical and Renaissance sources on which Ney's Prometheus depended. Similar to, and perhaps informed by Eduard Müller's *Prometheus Bound and the Oceanids,* Begas's work differs from Ney's in its verticality and overall sense of drama (refer to Fig. 6.8). Begas's *Prometheus* also displays a classically-inspired head and hair style, but in contrast to the face of Ney's work, Begas's is clean-shaven and filled with agonizing emotion. Further, the tension of the entire body– with every muscle flexed, jutting veins, and gripping toes– works to produce a dramatic version of the narrative. Indeed, Begas's work from 1901 is an exquisite study of human form as indicated by the gripping position of the Titan.[639] In fact, Begas employed the wrestler Georg Hackenchmidt as a model to produce an impressive study of the musculature of a robust form (refer to Fig. 6.9).[640]

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[639] The piece was thought to be lost until it was discovered within the walls of the Akademie der Kunst in 1995 during renovations. Apparently, Nazi officials took great measures to protect this work. For more: https://www.bz-berlin.de/artikel-archiv/prometheus-heimkehr-auf-den-pariser-platz

[640] Esther Sophia Sünderhauf, ed. *Begas: Monumente für das Kaiserreich, (eine Ausstellung zum 100. Todestage von Reinhold Begas (1831-1911)* (Berlin: Sandstein Verlag, 2010), 31.

Figure 6.7. Begas, Reinhold. *Prometheus,* 1901. Marble. Pariser Platz. Akademie Der Kunst. Berlin, Germany.

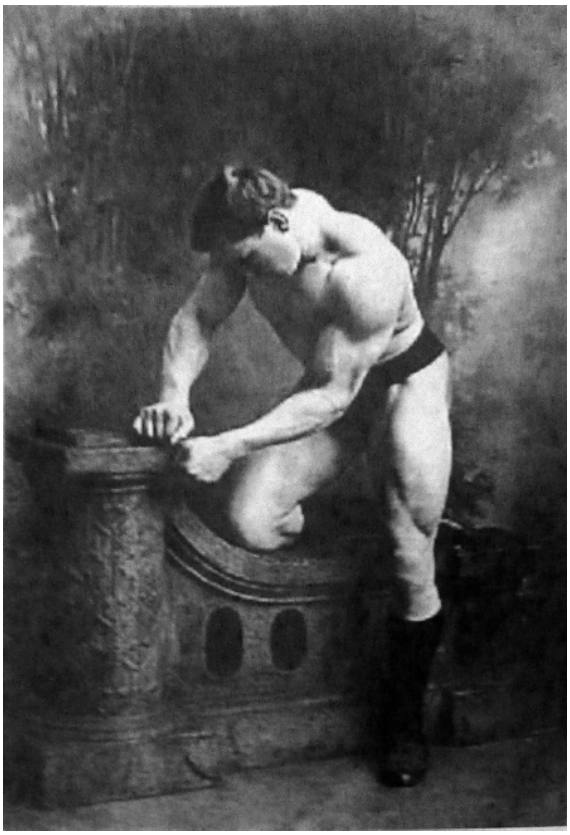

Figure 6.8. *Left*- Müller, Eduard. *Prometheus Bound and the Oceanids,* 1879. Marble. Alte Nationalgalerie. Berlin, Germany.
Figure 6.9. *Right*- Postcard of Wrestler Georg Hackenschmidt, c. 1900. Taken from Sünderhauf, 30.

Begas engaged with the Neo-Baroque style earlier in his career, while Ney for the most part remained faithful to her mentor's preference of balancing the classical form with spirit.[641] Ney's dynamic portrayal of her Promethean figure, coupled with an emotionally introspective head is more balanced compositionally. But her vision relied heavily on past exemplars, rather than the use of a model to invigorate her design. In this way, the Promethean work by Begas is more original in approach.

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[641] Sünderhauf, *Begas: Monumente für das Kaiserreich*, 13.

***American 'sculptresses' and sculptors***

Many American female sculptors traveled to Rome to receive training in the three-dimensional arts. The "White Marmorean Flock" mastered the techniques of sculpture and at the same time worked to challenge gender norms. Scholar Melissa Dabakis focused on this "Sisterhood of Sculptors" who worked as a group, supporting one another in their quests for a career in sculpture. These women "flocked" to Rome due to the material of marble available, as well as the unique opportunity to receive training from John Gibson (1790-1866), and Hiram Powers (1805-1873).[642] Also while in Rome, most established sculptors employed Italian stoneworkers to make copies of their designs for profit. For instance, Harriet Hosmer's *Beatrice Cenci* was copied multiple times due to its crowd-friendly and idealized subject matter.[643] These woman banded together as cohorts and were also supported by other New Women or early feminists of the time, predominately Charlotte Cushman.[644] Therefore, a little American bohemia of women resided in Rome together. Although there is no evidence directly linking Elisabet Ney to any of the women of the "Sisterhood of Sculptors." Surely, she must have known of them, as many also participated in the World's Colombian Exposition of 1893, and several had works inducted into Statuary Hall of the U.S. Capitol before the turn of the twentieth century. Further,

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[642] Dabakis, 45; Rinna Evelyn Wolfe, *Edmonia Lewis: Wildfire in Marble* (Parsippany, N.J.: Dillon Press, 1998), 12.
[643] "Beatrice Cenci, (1857) by Harriet Hosmer." *AGNSW:* Art Gallery of New South Wales *Collection*, 1999. www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/collection/works/1221/.
[644] Dabakis, 31-32.

Ney even shared patrons with Harriet Hosmer, as both produced works for Lady Marian Alford.[645,646]

Many of these women would establish studios in Rome, including Anne Whitney, Edmonia Lewis, and Margaret Foley. And Hosmer even set up a large workshop and employed studio assistants to help with the volume of orders.[647] Their studios were often visited by American tourists, as people were in awe at the sight of a women capable of such artistic feats.[648] They were a novelty, exemplified by conflicting notions of gender and genius, which uncannily collided. And, some of these women were successful upon their return to the United States, gaining commissions for works in the Northeast. Elisabet Ney was also often visited in her studio as a spectacle for her time, in both Berlin and Austin. It seems then, that these sculptors all utilized a unique window of opportunity finally opened up for women to master a craft. Similarly, the sculptors Marcello and Claudel were involved in this new opportunity of education in sculpture for women. The 'sculptress phenomenon' of the nineteenth century released women

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[645] "Why *do* you do portraits? Even I, a mere amateur, can model perfect likenesses…Dear Harriet is of course too good an artist to do portraits. She has commissions for ideals which will keep her busy for years." Loggins, 111; Dabakis, 83, 86; Keazor, 143-44. Lady Marion Alford supported Hosmer's art and owned the *Bust of Medusa* as well as commissioned a copy of *The Fountain of Siren.* Conversely, Ney executed a *Bust of Lady Marian Alford* and a *Statuette of Lord Brownlow* during her time in Madeira. But, it seems that the Lady Alford preferred the idealized style of Hosmer more than Ney's representative works.

[646] Alessandra Comini, "Who ever heard of a woman sculptor? Harriet Hosmer, Elisabeth Ney, and the Nineteenth Century Dialogue with the Three-dimensional," In *American Women Artists, 1830-1930,* ed. Eleanor Tufts (Washington, D.C: International Exhibitions Foundation for the National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1987), 17-25. Within Comini compares and situates the work of Harriet Hosmer and Elisabet Ney to suggest that the nineteenth century afforded a unique opportunity for female sculptors.

[647] Dabakis, 86-89.

[648] Ibid.

sculptors from the culturally engrained expectations of their gender, allowing them to be subjects of public curiosity, free to perform and parade, as long as their abilities measured up to their male competitors. However, not all women sculptors were successful and some suffered disappointments due to the limitations inherent in their gender. 'Veiled self-portraits' by women sculptors such as Lewis's *Death of Cleopatra* and Ney's *Lady Macbeth* speak to this tragic state. Interestingly, this method of expressing inner-conflict and subjectivity is utilized by several nineteenth century female artists.

Another parallel can be drawn between Ney's life-size *Statue of Stephen F. Austin* and Anne Whitney's *Statue of Samuel Adams*, both located in Statuary Hall (refer to Fig. 6.10 and Fig. 6.11). Whitney's work was one of the first pieces inducted into the collection, and established the larger-than-life, monumental size that most of the portrait statues still incorporate today. With the *Status of Samuel Adams,* we are privileged with the view of one of Massachusetts's finest, a Founding Father of the United States of America.[649] He is depicted in the clothing of the late eighteenth century with an authoritative stance enhanced by his impressive size and crossed arms. As discussed with the analysis of the *Statue of Sam Houston,* Ney preferred to portray her figures exactly life-size. As Austin measured five feet seven inches, Ney's portrayal is noticeable smaller than the other enlarged statues in the collection. However, with the petite yet realistic frame, Ney is able to render Austin, *empresario* of Texas, with an impressive attention to detail that encompasses the personhood of the sitter.[650] Holding a map of

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[649] "The National Statuary Hall Collection"

[650] While Austin was not necessarily short for his time, in various descriptions he is described as petite or small in stature. See fn. 484. Sam Houston does not seem out of place amongst the other larger-than-life depictions, as he was quite tall for his time. Perhaps this is why the

Texas, with a Kentucky long rifle balanced by his left arm, the early Texan seems to be surveying the land in front of him whilst in the frontier. Ney's work balances classical elements, like the use of *contrapposto*, with the naturalistic rendering of Austin via his physical features, as well as the textural components throughout the work. In contrast, Whitney's portrayal is more idealized and in tune with the Neoclassical style that primarily functions to establish prominence for the sitter. Also, like most sculptors who contributed to the collection, Whitney enlarged her subject to heighten the monumentality of their work.



Figure 6.10. *Left*- Whitney, Anne. *Statue of Samuel Adams,* 1870. Marble. Statuary Hall Collection. U.S. Capitol. Washington, D.C. Photograph courtesy of AOC. Height: approximately 91 in. (without pedestal).
Figure 6.11.*Right*- Ney, Elisabet. *Statue of Stephen F. Austin,* 1893. (Marble copy 1903-04). Statuary Hall Collection. U.S. Capitol. Washington, D.C. Photograph courtesy of the AOC. Height: approximately 74 in. (pedestal).

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statue of Houston was chosen to stay in Statuary Hall, while Austin was relocated twice, and now is in the Hall of Collumns, a less prominent location, rarely visited by tourists.

Several eminent male sculptors also contributed to Statuary Hall before Ney's statues of Houston and Austin were installed. Daniel Chester French, sculptor of the *Lincoln Memorial*, submitted his *Statue of Lewis Cass* to be inducted for the State of Michigan in 1889 (refer to Fig. 6.12). With French's work, we are presented with the figure of Lewis Cass in his later years sternly gazing ahead with his corpulent body weight distributed supported both by his legs and a strategically placed pedestal with drapery and an open book. Cass is depicted in a tailcoat suit to coordinate with his years of government. French also includes various narrative elements to situate the important role of the Michigan governor, senator, and later Secretary of War like the pedestal, as well as the clenched sheets in his right hand. Henry Kirke Brown, a notable sculptor of equestrian bronzes including *George Washington* at Union Square, contributed four works by the turn of the century to Statuary Hall.[651] His earliest piece of the four, the marble *Statue of Nathanael Greene* was inducted in 1870 for the State of Rhode Island (refer to Fig. 6.13). Brown's depiction shows a General of the American Revolutionary War in uniform. Greene's contrapposto stance is naturalistic, complete with hand on the right hip. The figure's outward gaze seems introspective, as he grasps his sword and sheath with his left hand. Brown's attention to the various textures of the uniform as well as the underlying human form is not unlike Ney's Austin except for the civilized urban costume and pose of Greene.

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[651] The Statues of George Clinton (New York, 1873) and Philip Kearny (New Jersey, 1888) were made in bronze, and Statues of Nathanael Greene (Rhode Island, 1870) and Richard Stockton (New Jersey, 1888) were of marble. The Statue of Stockton was completed by the artist's nephew and adopted son, Henry Kirke Bush-Brown.



Figure 6.12. *Left*- French, Daniel Chester. *Statue of Lewis Cass*, 1889. Marble. Statuary Hall Collection. U.S. Capitol. Washington, D.C. Photograph courtesy of AOC.
Figure 6.13. *Right*- Brown, Henry Kirke. *Statue of Nathanael Greene,* 1870. Marble. Statuary Hall Collection. U.S. Capitol. Washington, D.C. Photograph courtesy of AOC.

Each of these sculptures, by Ney, Whitney, French, and Brown, work to present their subject matter in a compelling way that solidifies each of these men's contributions to his state, and therefore to the nation. In comparison to Ney, the other three works differ in size, but also in their dress. As discussed in regards to Whitney's *Statue of Samuel Adams*, the works by French and Brown also vary in their level of naturalism and attention to detail. While the *Statue of Nathanael Greene* is comparable in its approach to the garments of the figures by Ney, the face of the Brown's figure is quite idealized. French's depiction of Lewis Cass is more pronounced

and realistic in its depiction of the subject's portliness and aging facial features, but the rigid posture is jarring. Each of these four sculptures were inducted early in the establishment of Statuary Hall at the United States Capitol, and work to depict historical men as heroes of liberty, justice, or democracy in the predominate Neoclassical style. Today, the menagerie of marble and bronze figures in the collection serve to represent the unique merits of their state and range in approach. It is worth noting that Ney is still the only female sculptor selected to execute both statues for a state.

It is interesting to fathom what would have occurred if Ney had moved to the Northeast and involved herself with commissions in America's artistic center. Of course, Texas was a better location for her husband's health, so a permanent move was not possible. But the question of why she didn't interact with other female sculptors while in Europe or during her travels in the United States is uncertain. I consulted Melissa Dabakis to discuss if she knew if Ney had any interaction with the "White Marmorean Flock," and she confirmed that she had also found no direct connection between the Rome-based group and Ney. She suggested that the issue could have simply been the language barrier.[652] This is certainly a factor, as Ney did not learn to speak English well until her time in Texas. Also, she even had difficulty at times communicating with her Italian stone-cutters, so this is a real possibility.[653] I believe that Ney's distinct and separate career was also due to measures Ney took to brand and market herself and her art. Individually, she was more intriguing and her work more salable. As an independent figure, without an

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[652] Email Correspondence with Dr. Melissa Dabakis, July 2019 - October 2019. Special thanks to Dr. Dabakis for her assistance.

[653] "Elisabet Ney to Bride Taylor, 28 February 1904," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 1, fol. 13, HRC.

association to other females, she was seemingly unprecedented and uncanny, which for the most part worked to her advantage.

***Immigrants in Texas***

Elisabet Ney's greatest competitors in Texas were the German-American Frank Teich (1856-1939) and the Italian-American Pompeo Coppini (1870-1957).[654][655] In 1901, Coppini was enlisted by Teich to venture to Texas as he needed an assistant to help with a large commission of several Confederate statues for the Texas Capitol Building.[656] Early on, Ney considered Teich's abilities equivalent to a construction worker or a craftsman.[657] Similarly, she remarked on the "hideous horror" of Coppini's work which was exhibited at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904.[658] In a letter to Bride Neill Taylor, she grumbles, "How to manage a work of his through the jury into the Fine Arts Building. I cannot understand."[659] Despite the fact that both men were

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[654] Susan Teich, "Teich, Frank," Handbook of Texas Online. Texas State Historical Association. http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fte05; Caroline Remy, Jean L. Levering, and Eldon S. Branda, "Coppini, Pompeo Luigi," Handbook of Texas Online. http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fco67. Frank Teich was trained by sculptor Johannes Schilling, and immigrated to the United States in 1878. He is known as the father of the granite industry in Texas. Coppini immigrated to the United States in 1896. He was trained at the Accademia di Belle Arte, and studied under Augusto Rivalta.

[655] Richard B. McCaslin, "Rebranding Texas: Pompeo Luigi Coppini and the Popular Image of the Lone Star State," in *The Art of Texas : 250 Years,* ed. Ronnie C. Tyler (Fort Worth, Texas: TCU Press, 2019), 161-179.

[656] Remy, Levering, and Branda.

[657] "Elisabet Ney to Ella Dibrell, 29 October 1901," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 1, fol. 10, HRC; Johann, 613.

[658] "2100a. Portrait Bust," *Official Catalogue of Exhibitors,* 59. Refer to fn. 343.

[659] "Elisabet Ney to Bride Taylor, 31 May 1904," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 1, fol. 13, HRC; Rutland, 156; Johann, 124. Complete citation: "How to manage a work of his [Coppini] through the jury into Fine Arts building". I can not understand. What a hideous horror booth in the Texas building. I feel strangely flattered now to know mine is theirs[sic].

much younger and never worked to establish their careers in Germany or Italy, Ney was obviously frustrated by their presence in the arts scene in Texas. This was likely due to the fact that they were both men, and thus were more likely to receive commissions. However, it is telling that after Coppini's assistance with Teich's commission, the two parted ways as a team. This is probably because Coppini realized he could manage by himself, and, to be frank, was a more skilled sculptor.

Ultimately, Coppini would prove to be Ney's biggest competitor for important commissions sponsored by the State of Texas as well as for Confederate statues funded by the Sons of the Confederacy and the Daughters of the Confederacy. Both artists produced many significant works in the early history of Texas art. However where they mainly differed was in Coppini's preference for bronze.[660] With bronze, Coppini did not have to travel back to Europe for materials, as by then, bronze foundries existed in the United States.[661] Further, bronze works are easier to transport and considered more suitable for outdoor projects. Regardless, thirty-six bronze monumental works by Coppini are scattered throughout the United States, mainly in the State of Texas.[662] More research is needed on this industrious Italian-Texan sculptor as well.

Ney and Coppini were both commissioned to produce works of art through the efforts of

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- Miss Clyde Chandler's bust by far surpasses Copp.[ini's] works."

[660] McCaslin, 165. John Troesser, "Sculptor Pompeo Luigi Coppini," Texas Sculptors, *Texas Escapes, A Magazine Written by Texas*. www.texasescapes.com/TexasArtists/Pompeo-Luigi-Coppini.htm.

[661] Karen Lemmey, "Der Aufstieg öffentlicher Bildhauerkunst in Amerika zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Herrin Ihrer Kunst, Elisabet Ney, Bildhaurein in Europa und Amerika,* ed. and trans. Barbara Rommé (Stadmuseum Münster, Wienand Verlag: Münster, 2008), 164; Thayer Tolles, "American Bronze Casting" in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000).

[662] Remy, Levering, and Branda.

chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). In 1904, Ney was awarded the commission for the *Albert Sidney Johnston Memorial* by the Texas legislature after long-standing efforts by the Houston-based chapter of the UDC (refer to Fig. 6.13).[663] The artist was paid $10,000 for the commission, a large tomb monument to honor the site of Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston's grave.[664] With this work, Ney utilizes the *gisant*, or recumbent sculptural type to reproduce a dignified scene of the general's body laid out after death. The physiognomy of Johnston, as well as his hands are carefully rendered to resemble a general sleeping peacefully (refer to Fig. 6.14 and Fig. 6.15). The gothic-style canopy, and the realistic view of the general's peaceful body allow for an elevated scene of reverence.[665] At the same time, Ney inserted narrative elements throughout her canopy-covered marble work to suggest the location of a battlefield, as Johnston died during the Battle of Shiloh. The artist chose to include a stretcher that would have been used to carry him off the battlefield, as well as incised gestural vegetation along the base of the marble work. The general is shown in his military garb, shrouded with a Confederate Flag as a covering. This aspect as well as the Lost-Cause inscription designate the work as an effort of the UDC.

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[663] Refer to fn. 72.
[664] "Contract, 16 September 1902," "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 3, fol. 7, HRC.
[665] "Charles Armstrong to Elisabet Ney, 14 September 1904" and "Charles Armstrong to Elisabet Ney, 20 September 1902, "Elisabet Ney Collection," box 2, fol. 2, HRC; "Contract with Charles Armstrong, September 1904," "Elisabet Ney Collection, box 2, fol. 2, HRC; Johann, 622; McDonald, "Sculptor Elisabet Ney, The Albert Sidney Johnston Memorial," 30. The artist produced several sketches, and specified instructions for the iron contractor Armstrong. Ney was involved with the execution of the gothic-style canopy as she wished to "instill a sense of solemnity." Many sources of inspiration for the canopy are suggested including: Münster Cathedral, Karl Friedrich Schinckel's tomb monument for Queen Louise, and Babelsberg Schloss in Potsdam.

Figure 6.14. Ney, Elisabet. *Albert Sidney Johnston Memorial*, 1904. Marble, granite, and cast iron (later painted). Texas State Cemetery, Austin, Texas. Photograph by author.

Figure 6.15. Detail of *gisant*. Photograph by author.

Pompeo Coppini was commissioned in 1912 by the William P. Rogers chapter of the UDC to produce a piece honoring all Confederate soldiers in a public plaza in Victoria, Texas. Coppini was paid $5,000 for this work called *The Last Stand* or *Firing Line* (refer to Fig. 6.16).[666] *The Last Stand* remains today in the Deleon Plaza of Victoria, Texas, just southeast of San Antonio. It includes a bronze figure holding a Kentucky rifle standing atop a large block of Texas red granite. The figure, an archetype for all Confederate soldiers, is depicted in the midst of battle. His furrowed eyes are staring intently ahead. The soldier is in the process of cocking his rifle, as his bent and tensed fingers show that he is preparing to aim and shoot down his enemy. Also, the flexed forearms with its bursting veins indicate the moment of action as well as

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[666] Henry Wolff Jr. "Day of Southern, U.S. Pride in Victoria." *Victoria Advocate*, July 10, 2002. https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=oDocAAAAIBAJ&sjid=b1oEAAAAIBAJ&pg=6942,2260931&dq=pompeo+coppini&hl=en.

the weight of the weapon. The uniform is unkempt, and in tatters as a foot soldier's might be, but this reveals the figure's broad muscular chest. This is a portrayal of a true warrior to "the cause," as he wears the clearly identifiable cap of the Confederacy. This work, like Ney's, also functions to instill a sympathetic viewpoint of Confederate efforts.

Figure 6.16. Coppini, Pompeo. *The Last Stand* or *Firing Line,* 1912. Bronze and granite. DeLeon Plaza, Victoria, Texas.

Ney and Coppini both produced portraits of John Henninger Reagan. Reagan was a Democratic politician, known as the "The Old Roman."[667] He served as Postmaster General during the Confederacy, and was involved in various roles in Texas government thereafter, including making an unsuccessful bid for governor in 1894. In 1895, Elisabet Ney produced a work of the statesman, a bust that captures his likeness and larger stature (refer to Fig. 6.17). Coppini also produced two works of Reagan, but as larger portrait statues. One was part of a series of sculptures created for *The Littlefield Fountain Memorial*, formerly situated on the University of Texas at Austin campus mall (refer to Fig. 6.18). Along with Reagan, other Confederates figures Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston, and Jefferson Davis were removed from the campus in 2017.[668] The second work, the *John H. Reagan Memorial,* was erected in Palestine, Texas in 1911 (refer to Fig. 6.19). The *Memorial* includes a figural representation of the legislator in an orator's pose and contemporary clothing, appearing as if he has just stood up from a chair atop a large curving stone base. On the bottom of the base is a seated bronze figure, a personification of the "Lost Cause" in ancient Roman attire fitted with sandals and a helmet (refer to Fig. 6.20). While this "thinking" figure is intended as a secondary component to the piece, it functions in an engaging way to complicate the overall propagandistic program of the piece.

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[667] Ben H. Proctor, "Reagan, John Henninger." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Texas State Historical Association. http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fre02.

[668] Jonah Engel Bromwich, "University of Texas at Austin Removes Confederate Statues in Overnight Operation," *New York Times*, August 21, 2017. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/21/us/texas-austin-confederate-statues.html.


Figure 6.17. *Left*- Ney, Elisabet. *Bust of John H. Reagan*, 1895. Plaster. ENM, Austin, Texas. Photograph by author.
Figure 6.18. *Right*- Coppini, Pompeo. *Statue of John H. Reagan*, 1920-28. Bronze. (part of *The Littlefield Fountain Memorial,* formerly on the University of Texas at Austin campus, removed in 2017).


Figure 6.19. *Left*- Coppini, Pompeo. *John H. Reagan Memorial,* 1911. Bronze and sandstone. Reagan Park, Palestine, Texas.
Figure 6.20. *Right*- Detail of lost cause figure

While each of the works mentioned in this comparison between Ney and Coppini function as forms of southern prejudice, I wish to concentrate rather on how these works indicate the success of these Texas artist transplants. The number of commissions that Coppini received in comparison to Ney is staggeringly skewed in his favor. Each of the large works that Ney received funding to produce in Texas were due to the advocacy and funding of Texas women through groups like the UDC or the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. While both artists received schooling in Europe, only Ney was an established sculptor to the elites of Europe. Thus, the main reason that only one work by Ney is housed at the Texas State Cemetery when there are numerous by Coppini is gender alone.

***Fazit***

Elisabet Ney's ability to render a classically-informed Prometheus is comparable to her fellow German classmate, Reinhold Begas. Each artist utilized the Promethean legend to produce dramatically different versions of merit. While Begas experienced great success in Wilhelmine Germany, it is difficult to say if Ney would have been afforded the same opportunities. In the American scene, Ney measured up to her contemporaries who also had monumental works accepted into the United States Statuary Hall Collection. Ney's figures differ in her depiction as "wild men" of frontier Texas and due her more naturalistic approach. Today, each of the statues by Ney, Whitney, French, and Brown remain in the U.S. Capitol Statuary Hall Collection as symbols of state and national pride. At the turn of the twentieth century, the amount of commission in Texas were few. While the lives of Ney and Coppini only overlapped for a short time, it is striking to learn of the swayed favor held for the less-experienced sculptor. If it were

not for the involvement of women's groups in Texas, it is unlikely that the male-dominant Texas legislature would have granted Ney many of her commissions.

While these comparisons are by no means exhaustive, they are still instructive to suggest that Elisabet Ney's ability as a sculptor was not the primary issue in her struggle for success nor for the public's general unfamiliarity with the artist. The fact is nineteenth century sculpture remains an understudied area of art history, even though there is an overwhelming amount of material on painting from this period. Future scholarship is needed for the three-dimensional medium through the study of nineteenth-century sculptors like Ney and her contemporaries. One must simply look to the nearest park, or town square and find the inspiration. Or even better, pilgrimage to Elisabet Ney's studio, *Formosa*, and experience the works housed within– for it will reveal a truly accomplished artist (refer to Fig. 6.21).

Figure 6.21. View from Front Entry of "*Formosa*" now the Elisabet Ney Museum, 2020. Photograph by author.

***A reappraisal of Ney as an Artist***

Many female artists are being written into the history of art since third-wave feminism and the resulting work of feminist art historians. Beginning in the 1970s, artists who were previously dismissed because of their gender are finally receiving recognition for their work. This is the main reason why Elisabet Ney is not well-known; she was born a woman. Additionally, Ney's legacy was stretched thin due to her transnational career. Almost like starting over again in a new profession, Ney had to establish herself twice in very different locales. Her success with from commissions in Germany did not initially carry over in the United States. Starting anew via self-promotion and unpaid portraits, the artist was finally re-discovered and given opportunities for sculptural projects late into her sixties and seventies. Thus, her oeuvre is limited to only a couple of decades of commissioned works, each following years of bona-fide marketing to establish herself in the German art world and, again in Texas culture. Neither locale necessarily knew of the contributions she had done for the other culture until fairly recently.

But in spite of it all, Ney managed to produce several monumental works that should be addressed more frequently in texts concerning the history of sculpture in Europe and America. Growing efforts to conserve her studio in Austin this past year will help to solidify Ney's legacy, as will continued exhibitions of her work in other locations, like the Stadtmuseum Münster

Exhibition in 2008.[669] Further, continued art historical research, including this dissertation, will generate increased scholarly interest in the artist and her work.[670]

Throughout this dissertation, my aim was to demonstrate how the work of Elisabet Ney can be utilized as a means to better understand the long-nineteenth century in a larger sense. I investigated Ney's engagement with the medium of sculpture considering various analyses of nationalism, marketing, and early feminism. Further, I analyzed the aesthetics of specific sculptural types through the use of case studies to suggest their unique capabilities – of starkly rendering identity, of projecting intellectual eminence, of forging heroic monumentality, and of imparting the tragic. And much more can be garnered from the oeuvre of Ney to further illuminate issues of the long-nineteenth century.

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[669] Terrelynn Moffatt and Sammy Turner, "Austin's Elisabet Ney Museum Wins $150,000 Grant to Preserve Site," *KVUE- ABC*, September 24, 2019. www.kvue.com/article/news/local/esabet-ney-museum-finalist/269-d4410308-c217-4a59-a1e2-6f05816ef4dc.

[670] Additionally, bridging together scholarly efforts across the Atlantic will help ignite a global awareness of this transnational artist. This can be made possible by a more representative and academic anthology of essays. In addition to a publication, I envision a conference, or at least a panel concerning Ney and nineteenth century sculpture with scholars from Germany and the United States. Further, it would be a marvel to have a comprehensive exhibition of the artist's less fragile works from both periods of her oeuvre in both locales.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Jacquelyn (MayMarie) Delin McDonald is both an art historian and an artist, receiving her doctorate in Aesthetic Studies in 2020 from The University of Texas at Dallas. Her art historical dissertation revealed the hidden depths and complicated life and work of Elisabet Ney, the turn-of-the-century German-American sculptor who broke gender barriers both artistic and geographic by reaching the top of her field in both Europe and Texas. Jacquelyn also completed her Bachelor of Arts in 2012 from UT Dallas in Arts and Performance, with a minor in Art History. Her studio work focused on implementing the female nude as a means to gain agency through the use of gesture and arbitrary color. Her MA in Art History, with a minor in Museum Studies, from Texas Tech University helped her combine her impressive artistic knowledge with her growing interest in the long-nineteenth century. For her master's thesis, she focused on Baden painter Wihelm Trübner and the Leibl Kreis, graduating in 2015. That same year, she returned to UT Dallas and the Edith O'Donnell Institute of Art History, a world-class center for innovative research of the visual world. While there, Jacquelyn honed her skills studying and writing about German-speaking countries, American art, and feminist art. She currently lives in Dallas, Texas with her husband, Paul, and their two dogs– Samson and Scarlet. Her post-graduation goal is helping a new generation discover the lesser-known artistic geniuses of the past.

**CURRICULUM VITAE**

**Jacquelyn Delin McDonald**
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**Education**

PhD in Humanities, Aesthetic Studies (2020) – University of Texas at Dallas
Dissertation Title: "Modeling Fame: a Closer Look at the Work of Elisabet Ney"
Dissertation Advisor: Dr. Richard Brettell, Ph.D.

MA in Art History, Minor in Museum Science (2015) – Texas Tech University
Thesis Title: "A Consideration of Wilhelm Trübner's Work during the 'Crisis Years' of 1876- 1892"
Thesis Advisor: Dr. Kevin Chua, Ph.D.

BA in Art and Performance, Minor in Art History, Major Honors (2012) – University of Texas at Dallas

**Positions**

2017-present Associate Faculty, Collin College, Spring Creek, School of Art
2018- 2020 Graduate Research Fellow, The Edith O'Donnell Institute of Art History, University of Texas at Dallas
Fall 2019 Capitol Research Fellow, United States Capitol Historical Society, Washington D.C.
2015- 2018 Teaching Assistant, School of Arts and Humanities, University of Texas at Dallas
2013- 2015 Teaching/Research Assistant, School of Art, Texas Tech University

**Publications**

2020- *The Dome*- The United State Capitol Historical Society
*Forthcoming, Article:* "Elisabet Ney and the Nineteenth Century 'Sculptress Phenomenon'"

2019- *Nineteenth Century Magazine,* Vol. 39, No. 2 - Victorian Society of America
*Article:* "Considering the Agency of 'außergewöhnlich' Sculptor Elisabet Ney in the Albert Sidney Johnston Memorial"

**Conferences/Public Lectures**

2020- Woman Artists, Women Statues, Capitol Visitor Center Podcast
*Forthcoming, Contributor:* "Anne Whitney and the Marmorean Flock" and "White Rabbits and Reformers"

2019- Autumn Lecture Series- United States Capitol Historical Society, Washington D.C.
*Lecturer:* "Elisabet Ney's *Sam Houston,* 'The Greatest of Wild Men'"

2019- 51st Annual North Texas Philosophical Association Conference
*Presenter:* "The Antithesis of "On Women:" Elisabet Ney and the aesthetics of her *Bust of Arthur Schopenhauer"*

2019- Interdisciplinary Nineteenth-Century Studies "Monuments and Memory" Conference, Southern Methodist University

*Presenter:* "Considering the Agency of '*außergewöhnlich'* 'Sculptress' Elisabet Ney in the Albert Sidney Johnson Memorial"

2019- Nineteenth Century Studies Association "Explorations" Conference, Kansas City, Missouri

*Presenter:* "A Look at the German-American Sculptor Elisabet Ney: Was it a mistake to move to Texas?"

2018- 8th Annual Research Art Writing Conference, Graduate Student Association of the School of Arts and Humanities at UT Dallas

*Presenter:* "Tragedy: Wilhelm Trübner's Ruins"

2017- 49th Annual North Texas Philosophical Association Conference

*Presenter:* "Casper David Friedrich's *Rückenfigur,* A Thickening Aesthetic*"*

2016- 7th Annual Research Art Writing Conference, Graduate Student Association of the School of Arts and Humanities at UT Dallas

*Presenter:* "The Witch "Motif," the Scapegoat of the German Renaissance"

2015- 31st Annual Conference for the Advancement of Women, Texas Tech University,

*Presenter: "*Constructs of Gender: a Study of Camille Claudel"

**Additional Experience**

2014- 2015- Texas Tech University, Summer Discovery Art Program

*Instructor*, taught art history to middle and high-school campers

*Lectures:* The Art World 101, 2d Art, 3d Art, Time-Based Art

2015- Groundwork Teaching Program, Teaching, Learning and Professional Development Center

*Chosen by Selection Committee*, program topics included: fundamentals of college teaching; classroom management; active learning; strategies for engaging students.

2014- Enrollment in Teaching Independent Study, ART 5100, Spring and Fall 2014

In addition to Teaching Assistant duties, aided with the creation of exams and assignments; graded essays and tests; prepared and delivered lectures.

2014- Visual Resource Center, Fall 2014

*Assistant to Curator*

2014- Freie Universität Berlin, Summer Semester, Intensive Deutsch II

2009- 2011- Dallas Art Dealers Association

*Intern*: Assistant to the Director, organized biannual gallery talk, docent training for high school students, delivered press material to members of DADA

2010- Alumni Relations Office, University of Texas at Dallas

*Alumni Relations Assistant*: fundraising and correspondence with alumni

**Service and Public Outreach**

2019-2020- Inaugural member of the College Advisory Committee for the Dallas Museum of Art

2015-2019- Member of Graduate Student Association of the School of the Arts and Humanities

2018- *Senator*: Organized social events for students and faculty of the department. Helped to plan and organize yearly academic conference.

2015-2017- Education Advisor, Advisory Board Member for Zeta Upsilon chapter of Kappa Alpha Theta

2014- SRO Photo Gallery at Texas Tech University,
*Writer:* "An Interview with Dana Fritz", October 2014
2013-2015- Member of Tech Art History Society
2014-2015- *President*: Implemented the use of parliamentary procedure; organized a lecture by visiting scholar; planned several trips to visit exhibitions and museums on a limited budget
Spring 2014- *Vice President*: planned yearly trip to visit exhibitions and museums

**Honors and Awards**
2019- Recipient of Capitol Research Fellowship awarded by the United States Capitol Historical Society
2018-2020- Recipient of Graduate Research Fellowship awarded by The Edith O'Donnell Institute of Art History
2019- Recipient of Kappa Alpha Theta Foundation Scholarships: Betty B. And James B. Lambert Scholarship, Lucile Moore Garrett Scholarship, Linda Moran Schmidt Scholarship
2018- Recipient of Kappa Alpha Theta Foundation Scholarship: Marilyn Chester Lynch Scholarship
2015-2018- Recipient of Graduate Student Scholarship awarded by UT Dallas School of Arts and Humanities
2016- Recipient of Kappa Alpha Theta Foundation Scholarships: Linda Moran Schmidt Scholarship, Isabel McKenney Gates Scholarship, and Virginia Bryant Shilstone Scholarship
2014-2015- Recipient of Tate -Chancellor's Council Scholarship
2013-2014- Recipient of Helen Devitt Jones Foundation Talent-Based Scholarship
2013-2015- Recipient of Assistantship Appointment awarded by Texas Tech University School of Art

**Artwork Exhibitions/Awards**
2014- "Nullified," oil and acrylic on canvas, chosen for "Body Politics" Show by Provoc8
2012- Hot and Sweaty Show at 500x Gallery
2010-2012- chosen by faculty for University of Texas at Dallas Student Shows: Spring 2010, Fall 2011, Spring 2012 and Fall 2012
2011- Artwork featured in the University of Texas at Dallas, Arts and Humanities calendar

**Memberships**
Association of Historians of Nineteenth Century Art
College Art Association
Nineteenth Century Studies Association
Interdisciplinary Nineteenth Century Studies
Historians of German, Scandinavian and Central European Art
Victorian Society of America
Kappa Alpha Theta
Phi Kappa Phi Honors Fraternity

**Languages**

English

German (Reading)

Proficient Reading Knowledge of a Foreign Language, satisfied by translation exam administered by Dr. Charles A. Grair, Ph. D. Associate Professor of German at Texas Tech University. Honored by Dr. John Gooch, Ph.D. Graduate Dean of School of Arts and Humanities at University of Texas at Dallas.

French (Reading)

Proficient Reading Knowledge of a Foreign Language, satisfied by translation exam administered by Dr. Michelle Prud'homme, Ph.D. Lecturer at University of Texas at Dallas and graded by Dr. Michael Wilson, Ph.D.