Research Article

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SCHUBERT GETS BUSTED: ANCIENT AND MODERN SOURCES FOR THE COMPOSER'S GRAVESITE MEMORIAL[1]

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ABSTRACT

Within a week of Schubert's death in 1828, his friends broached the idea of a monument at his grave. Duly installed in the Viennese Währing District Cemetery, it lay three graves from that of Beethoven, in accordance with what Schubert's brother Ferdinand interpreted as the composer's dying wish: to be buried alongside his creative idol. The memorial's configuration had no antecedent in Vienna. Schubert's bust stood within a marble structure whose design evoked ancient classical forms. Further, the shape of the bust conjured its own distinctive traditions. Its form is a herm. Originating in Athens, herms became a popular decoration for Roman villas, typically representing heroes, philosophers, and writers. The excavation and exhibition of herms in the second half of the eighteenth century inspired sculptors' depictions of contemporary illustrious figures.

Despite their wide dissemination, however, no such busts had been incorporated into a public cemetery memorial in conservative Vienna at the time of Schubert's death. Thus, placing his herm at his gravesite was an unprecedented choice, tapping into the symbolism that the rest of Europe was enthusiastically adopting.

Schubert scholarship has overlooked the traditions, ancient and modern, that informed the memorial's design. This article gives an account of the monument's sculptural and architectural antecedents, analyzes them in order to decode what meanings its planners contemplated and transmitted to individuals who visited the site, and finally offers its likely contemporary models.

KEYWORDS

Memorial; Memorial Cemetery; Bust; Herm; Vienna; Schubert Franz; Beethoven Ludwig van; Dialer Josef Alois; 19th century; Sculpture; Iron Cast; Reception Antiquity; Composer

INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 1830, a visitor making the 45-minute journey west from Vienna to the Währing District Cemetery would be startled by the recently installed graveside memorial to Franz Schubert, who died on November 19, 1828 (Fig. 1). The encounter would have been all the more arresting owing to Joseph Alois Dialer's bust of the composer peering from between Doric columns and beneath a classical pediment. In design and location, it had no antecedent in and around the city, a remarkable status.

Fig. 1: *Grave of Franz Schubert*, Schubertpark (formerly Währing Cemetery), Vienna (Photo: Herbert Josl, CC BY-SA 3.0).

A portrait bust of the composer in herm form—the figure's breast ending in a squared, quadrangular block—placed at his Vienna gravesite three decades into the nineteenth century, suggests an array of topics. Whether on the historiography of music, visual culture, or societal milieu, research on this bust has hitherto been stockpiled in separate documentary panniers, complicating scholarly efforts to extract intent and/or meaning from the work, its planners, and its then-unique placement in a local cemetery. Whereas each discipline has its own specialist literature, these discrete fields of study have yet to be conjoined to provide a fresh perspective on this work, otherwise so recognizable to those who investigate early nineteenth-century Vienna.

In 2008, Alexandra Smetana wrote: "no scholarly work has dealt in depth with the subject of funerary monuments" between 1788 and 1840.[2] Her iconographic method includes Dialer's bust of Schubert without mentioning its herm form. Other studies have used a typological approach in regard to Viennese portrait busts, but not those in cemeteries. In this article, Schubert's bust receives its iconographic due; it is joined to consideration of the classicizing typology of the herm, and, further, to the symbolic program conceived by its creators and imagined by its viewers.

Even though modern critical examination of burial culture and its monuments in German-speaking Europe confirms that no cemetery boasted an equivalent to Franz Schubert's herm prior to its installation, this herm remains largely neglected in the otherwise ample scholarly literature on Schubert.[3] Even the doyen of literature on Schubert, Otto Erich Deutsch (who had trained in art history), only mentioned in 1946 that the effigy was "an unusual thing at that time and place," noting parenthetically that in cemeteries "there was hardly any portrait sculpture" during Schubert's lifetime.[4] Rather, analyses of the bust have assessed the quality of its facial features in relation to other contemporary portraits, weighing authenticity and judging whether the sculptor relied on a life- or death-mask.[5] These other contemporary illustrations of the composer discussed in such comparisons, however, depicted him in contemporary clothing that is wholly unlike the bust's naked chest. In the plentiful scholarship on herms, including its impact on later eras, this bust is also omitted.[6]

Likewise, art historians who have related Schubert's facial features to such masks and then located his bust within a context of sculptural portraiture or tomb culture have done so without reference to the herm in general nor its impact on the period. Angela Heilmann situated the bust by Dialer "at a time when sculpture was moving between classicism and naturalism."[7] Enumerating its attributes, she gleaned that the naked torso, the smooth polishing, and the stylization of the hair place Dialer's work "in the era of a restrained classicism." She astutely diagnosed that, in 1830, idealized busts of

"immortal artists" alongside symbolic emblems were still generally preferred. However, she overlooks the nature and legacy of the herm, and how such a sculpture's unprecedented appearance in a Viennese cemetery would qualify it as an emblematic symbol in itself. Indeed, this location merits a consideration equal to its formal traits. Echoing Deutsch in her expansive master's thesis on the city's grave culture, Alexandra Smetana recognized that a bust was an atypical choice at this time for images of the deceased, since they were "usually achieved by the medallion portrait in relief."[8] She noted that the absence of period costume made the work also appear "heroic," without mentioning that the tradition and practice of the herm bust could have accorded it this same trait.

A recent impressively comprehensive history of the visual arts in Austria omits Dialer, the herm's relatively obscure sculptor. Rather, the herm specimen that is included is that of the diplomat and orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1829), carved by Johann Nepomuk Schaller, the most visible Austrian sculptor of the era.[9] Although the herms of Hammer-Purgstall and Schubert were coincidentally crafted at very nearly the same time, the former's effigy was created during his lifetime at the behest of his Maecenas, Countess Johanna Anna Purgstall-Cranstoun. As Hammer-Purgstall later recalled in his memoirs, his art patron "flattered me as a demonstration of my merit" although "without [my] knowing what has become of it."[10] Unlike this private intent and without local precedent, Dialer's herm of the deceased Schubert appeared in public, which contributed to it gaining widespread attention at the time. To consider and reconstruct how its reception functioned at the time is one of the key objectives of this article.

That Schubert's herm has not qualified as an exemplar of its kind—much less as an object of study—has abetted the entrenchment of individualized disciplinary narratives.[11] However, on close examination, its multiple elements cohere. This assembling and integration of evidence from otherwise autonomous fields of study in the history of music, visual culture, and Viennese public life bespeaks an interdisciplinary approach.[12] Far from any positivist intent that this approach may imply, in dealing with this well-known bust, this study sees creating a refreshed compendium of source materials as its primary aim. Such a compendium can then be harnessed to a critical consideration of the evidence, unencumbered by a fraught exertion to "fix the supreme laws governing individual branches of art," as Guido Adler, one of musicology's foundational elders, had sought in 1885.[13]

An artifact like Schubert's herm has a history that first must be retrieved before it can be interpreted. The following narrative draws from a wide variety of sources: first-hand

observations recorded in private correspondence, public notices, and articles in newspapers and journals. In addition, they were documented in contemporary archaeological texts, encyclopedias, catalogues, and published literature ranging from travelogues to verse and drama. Even as this documentary array proceeds from a gamut of European sources, the locus of Vienna remains foregrounded. This thorough analysis of primary sources allows me to reconstruct the artistic and intellectual environment in which to situate Dialer's herm of Franz Schubert.

This article begins with a definition of the herm and a discussion of its legacy, going on to document its revival in Europe generally and Vienna in particular. Following this, I present the likely inspiration for Schubert's memorial: portraits of the recently deceased Beethoven, Schubert's creative ideal. The location of the herm is then treated with equal importance. Herms were generally not placed in cemeteries, disdained as unappealing albeit necessary sites until the Père Lachaise Cemetery was opened outside of Paris in 1804. The cemetery's innovative composition transformed the concept of the graveyard, embracing the attractiveness of the garden while fulfilling a public need. The next section considers who among Schubert's friends was the most likely candidate to have hit upon the memorial's design. The article concludes with an assessment of its reception during the nineteenth century, shedding light on the dramatic changes in Vienna's monument culture and how this affected subsequent memorials to the city's favorite native musical son.

HERMS: DEFINITION AND REDISCOVERY

Two features—form and function—define a herm like Schubert's (Fig. 2). It has a cube or quadrangular shape consisting of a head with or without a shaft below it, which could be differentiated by specifying the former as a herm bust cut off at the chest. In 1799, Johannes Gurlitt, prominent German theologian of the Enlightenment, identified herms as "heads, alone or with a portion of the chest, placed on a smaller or larger base, on a cube, on a kind of pillar, trunk, or long column."[14] While recognizing that the broad repertory of works admitted variants, characterizing the form in terms of the naked chest ending in a four-cornered square cut has remained the norm among recent scholarly approaches to the typology of classical sculpture.[15]

From its Greek origin to its adaptation in Rome, a herm's purpose is bound up in its development in antiquity. Originating in Athens, the herm derived its name from the god Hermes, protector of travelers along whose routes such pillars were placed. As with other bust types, herms became popular decorations for later Roman villas as well as "very

Fig. 2: Josef Alois Dialer, *Bust of Franz Schubert*, 1829, bronze cast iron, 65 × 34.7 × 23.3 cm. GRANGER—Historical Picture Archive, New York (Photo: GRANGER).

often placed in and at tombs," although these burial decorations more often appeared in relief.[16] The Roman reuse of the Greek model resulted in herm heads in marble or bronze spreading to other deities, to figures from classical mythology, and finally to portraits of past luminaries. As listed by the professor of philosophy Johann Gottfried Gruber in his 1815 encyclopedia, "statesmen, philosophers, poets, orators, and other learned men and artists [were portrayed] usually naked, seldom clothed, and mostly without attributes [of the individual represented]."[17]

Gurlitt recognized that the implications of a herm were well known among appreciative cognoscenti. Especially during the previous half century, his contemporaries had benefitted from the discovery and dissemination of artifacts from classical antiquity. Excavations at Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Tivoli unearthed relics that were later installed in museums and depicted in lavishly illustrated volumes. In European cities around 1800, busts of all types flooded public and private collections and were reproduced as copies for exhibition or for use in art academies. Vienna, as the capital of the Habsburg Monarchy, was typical of these developments. In 1782, one visitor to the Belvedere, recently opened to the public as a museum, recorded 58 ancient and modern busts and, in its garden, observed "along beech trellises, 56 busts of ancient Roman emperors and Greek philosophers" set on columns.[18] In 1823, in order to relieve the overcrowded rooms of the Imperial collection of Greek and Roman antiquities at the Augustinian Corridor of the Hofburg, a large number of them were placed in the underground halls of the publicly accessible Temple of Theseus in the Volksgarten [People's Garden].[19] As early as 1784, consideration was given to bringing some of the plaster casts, antique statues, and bust portraits delivered to the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna from Rome and Florence—originally intended as examples for sculpture students—to the porcelain factory to be used as models.[20] In 1795, Joseph Müller (Count Joseph Deym, who changed his name following an unfortunate duel) "delivered the most splendid casts" of statues and busts made from Italian collections "for the expansion and enrichment" of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. Müller's own public art gallery featured such a vast collection of "busts of famous persons antiquity, of deities, and so on" that one visitor found it impossible "to describe to you all the statues and busts in this large hall, and my memory is not good enough to name them all," although other publications did so.[21] That many of these works were herms is clear from comparing such lists to the museum sources of the originals.[22]

By 1801, the Viennese Academy possessed more than 150 casts, an increase from 73 in 1783, so that its pupils no longer needed to travel to Rome to study, but instead enrolled in the antiquities class whose two subdivisions entailed:

> "the study of heads, or busts; and that of statues, and groups. Here [the students] learn from displayed masterpieces of antiquity the greatness in forms, the beautiful relationships of the parts to each other and to the whole, the noble simplicity in position and propriety, the sublime in expression, and thus ideal beauty."[23]

The importance of such study was reemphasized in 1810 when Chancellor Clemens von Metternich became the Academy's protector. He echoed Johann Joachim Winckelmann, a founding figure of the field of art history, who proclaimed in 1755 that "the universal distinguishing characteristic of Greek masterpieces is ultimately a noble simplicity and a quiet grandeur, both in attitude and expression."[24]

Meanwhile, in the homes of aristocratic and wealthy individuals, originals or copies of antique busts were displayed as tangible signs of sophistication, culture, and especially taste. Else Kai Sass has observed that the leading sculptors of the eighteenth century "favored the Greek herm" due in part to "the way 'taste' changed during the neo-classical period [...] and the prevalent views and conception of antiquity." However, as Christian Horn has noted, this aesthetic "would shape the art of sculpture well into the 19th century," producing what Selma Krasa has judged to be an "epigonality" and "cold academicism."[25] Stocking their own collections with effigies of bygone philosophers and writers, devotees among Vienna's nobility mirrored archaeologist Christian Gottlob Heyne's assertion of 1822 that "portraits of learned men" in the form of herms should be placed in libraries.[26] Extant examples show that these pieces imitated the herm form of their classical models, as in August Robatz's busts for the library of Count Johann Keglevich de Buzin.[27] When only the identity of a bust was given—as in the collections of Baron Franz Maria Carnea-Steffaneo (Homer, Socrates, Scipio, and Pericles) and Prince Nikolaus Esterházy (Plato and Socrates)—a reasonable inference is that some of them were herms.[28]

The passion of collectors, however, was not without peril. In 1806, one observer noted: "The taste for ancient busts, which had spread in the last century, also led many forgers to put famous names from antiquity on unknown busts."[29] Criminality aside, enterprising merchants shrewdly exploited public enthusiasm. Sensing the imbalance between demand and supply, in 1802, the Viennese firm of Tranquillo Mollo offered illustrations of antique heads at three Florins apiece for both impoverished young artists to study and art lovers to decorate their homes.[30] Responding to the eagerness of social classes below the nobility to acquire busts, the Academy created an art shop in 1822. The production and availability of copies served to "awaken and increasingly educate a

refined taste, then to stimulate, encourage, and support the artists themselves" through sales of their works, including many busts, thus having "a particularly beneficial influence on the sculpture class."[31]

The veneration accorded the legacy of Greece and Rome in aristocratic and intellectual circles during the decades around 1800, the recovery of material models in marble and bronze, and the widespread acquisition of original busts and their copies had a decisive influence on the sculptural portrayal of living individuals. Of the choices available to an artist, the herm type assumed a unique meaning. Gurlitt contended that the form—in the past reserved for illustrious men of ideas—created a symbolic connection between the ancients and notable contemporaries "of great merits," resulting in the "awakening of lofty and noble feelings, thoughts, and decisions in high-minded, noble, and more sensitive people."[32] To employ the herm was to "join the moral history of man to the natural history of his person," as Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy argued in 1788, and "to honor some special virtue of the deceased, and teach something to the people," as Pietro Giordani explained in 1813.[33] Such tribute could even be applied at one remove: In 1820, Schubert's friend Leopold Kupelwieser lithographed a three-quarter portrait of Anton Stein, professor of classics at the University of Vienna, entitled from his "grateful disciples" (former students and now well-known writers). Herms of Homer and Cicero appear at Stein's left.

In enthusiastic embrace of an idealized classical past, Europe's notables had themselves immortalized in a form that echoed their predecessors from antiquity. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe understood both the past and present symbolism of the herm and considered that "a good bust in marble is worth more than anything architectural that can be erected in someone's honor and memory."[34] His play *Torquato Tasso* (1790) opens in the country estate of the art patron Alfonso d'Este, "decorated with herms" of Virgil and Ariosto. At the drama's 1807 premiere in Weimar, these two figures were replaced with busts of Friedrich Schiller and Christoph Martin Wieland, the latter of whom was even present in the audience.[35]

HERMS IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

The presence of herms was significantly widespread in other European countries too. In France, Antoine-Denis Chaudet's herm of Napoléon (1804) became the emperor's preferred image, with both he and his brother separately commissioning further "official *portraits rétrospectifs*."[36] Contemporary wealthy Englishmen also developed a taste for the

form. In his influential 1807 book on interior design, Thomas Hope—whose brother Henry Philip and son Adrian had their herms made by the prominent sculptors John Flaxman (1802) and Bertel Thorvaldsen (1817), respectively—underscored its importance: "I shall beg to add that the Grecian method of cutting the chest square, and placing its whole mass immediately on a term [sic] or other solid support, seems much preferable to the more prevailing Roman fashion."[37] The poet William Hayley emphasized the consequence of such decoration, whether its placement in the household was hidden or exposed: "in scenes where Meditation lov'd to dwell, / The public portico or private cell, / Has many a pensive, philosophic bust."[38]

Even in Italy, the locus for the herm, native sculptors rarely carved herm portraits of their contemporaries before 1800. This changed in 1809 when Antonio Canova, one of the most celebrated sculptors in Europe at the time, began to commission herms of illustrious Italians from his apprentices for Rome's Pantheon. He commissioned 41 over the next decade, while private individuals financed eight others despite mixed responses from visitors.[39] Canova himself was portrayed as a herm by his students Antonio D'Este and Gaetano Monti, among others.[40] Even so, he came late to using the form in his own sculptural works and, even then, mostly for women—in what he called "ideal heads" (*teste ideali*), imagined from mythology, religion, history, literature, or allegory.[41] Aside from his herm of the composer Domenico Cimarosa (1816), copied from his original bust (1808), Canova tended to honor men with bas-relief portraits on the funerary stelae of their tombs.[42]

In German-speaking Europe, the appetite for the herm was considerably bolstered when, in 1807, Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria commissioned the first of the busts for his envisioned Walhalla of worthy Germans past and present. He instructed his art advisor, the sculptor Johann Georg von Dillis, that all of them had to conform to "a noble simple style in the manner of Greek busts, which have been erected as herms," and which Dillis observed in a schematic drawing from 1809.[43] Ludwig's initial enchantment with the herm stemmed from his grand tour of Italy in 1804/1805, where the "marble images from the more beautiful time of that past world" had an impact that he recalled in a poem: "a feeling of exaltation flows through me above the mundane, my soul swings rapturously through the eternal universe."[44] The idea for his Walhalla memorial may have been bolstered by his visit to France the following year, where he lodged at the Palais des Tuileries. There, he would have seen the herms of great men of the past alongside more recent French military heroes, the latter commissioned by Napoléon and his brother Lucien. As art historian Jonathan Marsden has remarked, "the herm format (*buste 'en hermes'*) specified for this series became

the standard for official '*portraits rétrospectifs*'" in palaces at Paris, Versailles, and Fontainebleau.[45]

Through Prince Ludwig's commissions, the herm made inroads among Vienna's sculptors, the choice of subjects joining the ancient form to Imperial Austria's military and political icons. Observers perceived what scholars like Simone Steger and Selma Krasa-Florian have confirmed: The prince, described as "German national honor's most tenacious representative," had chosen the herm for its suitability when commissioning publicly displayed busts by the aforementioned Austrian sculptor Johann Nepomuk Schaller. These herms included representations of Prince Karl von Schwarzenberg, hailed as "the unforgettable hero" of the Battle of Leipzig, Count Maximilian von Trauttmansdorff, and Prince Metternich.[46] The latter two were exhibited at the Vienna Academy in 1824 and 1828, only months before Schubert's death.[47]

HABSBURG PERSPECTIVE ON HERMS

The herms for Prince Ludwig are noteworthy because the Habsburgs otherwise preferred more traditionally garbed representations. In Schubert's lifetime, the only outdoor imperial bust was in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace. In 1766, Empress Maria Theresa commissioned from Balthasar Moll a bust of her recently deceased husband Francis I in contemporary dress and appearance. This style of dress in royal portraiture gave way only gradually, yielding to Roman robes fastened with disc clasps in busts of Francis II by Franz Anton Zauner (1796) and Antonio Canova (1805). Canova in fact had to persuade the authorities to allow him to dress the emperor in the ancient style of armor and chalmys (a mantle fastened with a clasp at the shoulder) rather than contemporary garments in "the modern manner," which would otherwise result in "a silly thing."[48] Although Francis II understood the political messaging of classical tropes in sculpture, he chose incarnations of these that constituted colossal public displays: the equestrian statue of his uncle Joseph II (1807) and his 1819 purchase of Canova's *Theseus and the Centaur* that was housed in its purpose-built Temple of Theseus in the Vienna Volksgarten. Contemporaries and scholars today agree that Francis II, the reigning emperor of the Habsburg monarchy when Schubert died, was no model for progressive Viennese art connoisseurship, preferring "patriotic objects" at every exhibition he attended.[49]

A similar situation existed for busts in publicly accessible places, whether the noble individuals were living or recently departed. The taste for the antique extended only as far as draping figures in classical robes, as with Giuseppe Ceracchi's Prince Wenzel Anton von

Kaunitz (1780), among others. As late as 1830, Schaller's memorial bust of Count Franz Kinsky in Theresian Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt had robes incongruously draped over a modern coat and cravat.[50]

In terms of monuments to the departed, an older tradition persisted in Austria of incorporating a portrait into a medallion or clypeus (round shield), as recommended in a local 1804 booklet on the subject, which also suggests that "To adorn the head of such a silhouette, both male and female, the Roman uncovered hair is indisputably the most appropriate, and the effect one expects from it will be best achieved by it."[51] This advice is reflected, for example, in the cenotaphs for Archduchess Maria Christina by Canova (1805) in the Augustine Church as well as that of the dramatist Heinrich von Collin by Johann Sautner (1813) in the Karlskirche [St. Charles Church], both in Vienna. Collin's friend Prince Moritz von Dietrichstein sanctioned the portrait's form and location because "to place the bust of the poet in marble, in a room dedicated to art or science [...] did not seem quite appropriate to the higher concept of a monument itself."[52] In fact, Francis II himself dictated the site, having "found the Augarten [public garden in Vienna] unsuitable for the erection of a monument to Collin, and said that a church would be the most suitable place for it."[53] Dietrichstein authorized Franz Klein to create a bust for a musical declamatory academy honoring Collin on December 15, 1811. Rather than placing it at his grave in the Gersthof Cemetery, however, the prince gifted it to the Imperial Court Library, but neither this bust nor any casts that the sculptor offered for sale survive.[54]

BEETHOVEN AS MODEL

Given the described historical precedents of the herm, and despite the revival of interest in its form around 1800, its adoption for commemorating the recently departed was an anomaly in Vienna. All the more reason to consider one particularly suggestive and immediate predecessor of Schubert's: Ludwig van Beethoven. Between his death on March 26, 1827 and that of Schubert on November 19, 1828, more than one image of the former utilizing the herm form was publicly available. By April 12, 1827, the publisher Tobias Haslinger was selling Joseph Trentsensky's lithograph of Beethoven's herm in his art shop (Fig. 3).[55] No other identification appeared. Subsequent nineteenth-century lists of Beethoven portraits initially described it as based on a bust, finally pinpointing its source as the work of Anton Dietrich from 1821.[56] Born in 1799, Dietrich was a youthful talent, winning Viennese Academy prizes for drawing (1817) and sculpture (1820). At the Academy exhibitions in 1820 and 1822, he showed two presumably different versions of a plaster bust of Beethoven.[57] Both were well received, and Dietrich himself told the composer in early July 1820 that

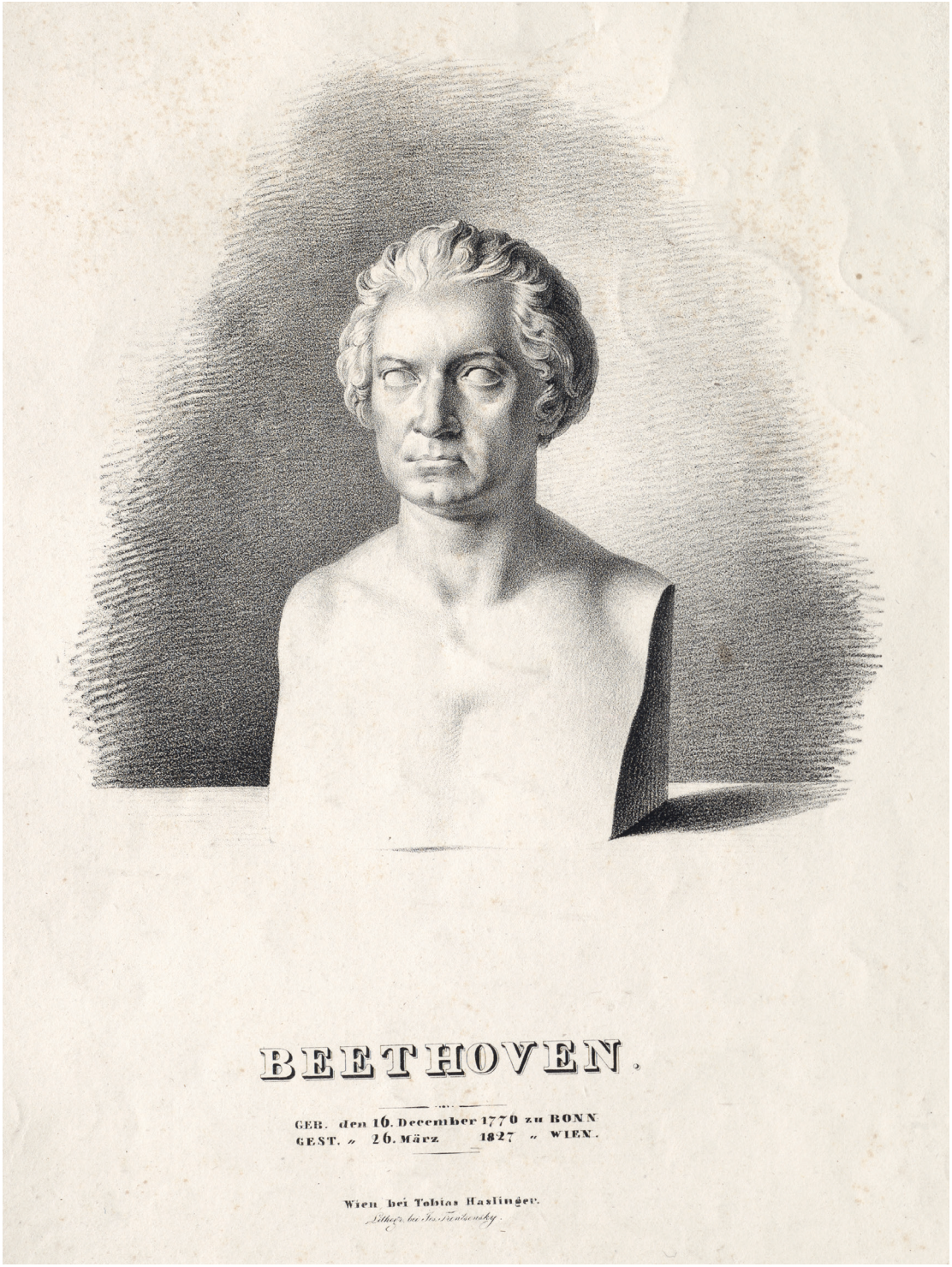

Fig. 3: Joseph Trentsensky, *Beethoven*, 1827, lithograph attributed to Joseph Kriehuber, *Bust of Ludwig van Beethoven*; published by Tobias Haslinger, Vienna; platemark: 16.7 × 17.1 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis B. Williams Collection, inv. no. 1940.1132 (Photo: CC0).

"your head looks particularly good from the front, and it was so appropriate because on one side [of the exhibition space was] Haydn, the other side Mozart."[58] Though the busts of the other composers are not listed in the catalogue, they may be related to "busts of Mozart and Haydn by a famous master from Vienna," which were available in June 1819, potentially by Dietrich's teacher Joseph Klieber.[59]

No surviving bust of Beethoven is unequivocally datable to 1820. In whatever form, Dietrich had to submit it to the Academy between February 28 and March 24.[60] Rather, two extant versions are signed and dated to 1821 and 1822 (Figs. 4, 5). For our purposes, determining their chronological order is less important than to observe that the lithograph of 1827 (Fig. 3) merged them into an intriguing hybrid that closely resembles Dialer's herm of Schubert from 1830. Trentsensky's illustration combines the herm form of the work dated 1821 (Fig. 4) with the tamer hairstyle of the 1822 version (Fig. 5).[61] The long, unruly locks made the 1821 herm appear more "Romantic," whereas the shorter, regular hairstyle of the 1822 bust rendered it "classical," even *all'antica*, although contemporary descriptions of busts *à l'antique* more readily referred to costuming them in togas or just omitting the peruke.[62]

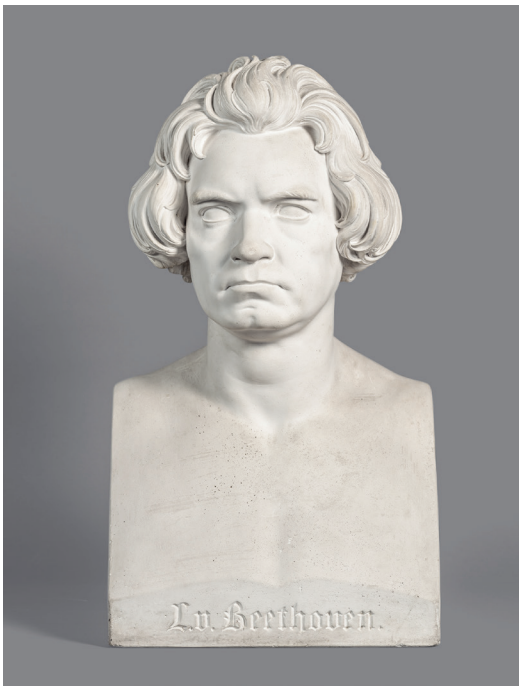

Fig. 4: Anton Dietrich, *Bust of Ludwig van Beethoven*, 1821, plaster, 55 cm. Academy of Fine Arts Vienna Art Collections, inv. no. GM-P-21 (Photo: Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, Paintings Gallery / Plaster Cast Collection).

Fig. 5: Anton Dietrich, *Bust of Ludwig van Beethoven*, 1822, plaster, painted, 53.5 × 38 × 21 cm. Alte Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. B I 335 (Photo: bpk / Nationalgalerie, SMB / Andres Kilger).

The 1821 version could be purchased from Dietrich as late as 1868.[63] For a music lover with limited financial resources, however, a lithograph of the deceased composer was an expedient and cheaper alternative to a bust, which could be ten times more costly depending on the stature of the sitter.[64] With the outpouring of public grief and the potential for its commercial exploitation, the lithograph's appearance so soon after Beethoven's death is unsurprising. Dietrich's two works supplied the publisher Haslinger and the lithographer Trentsensky with a handy template, even if we can only guess that melding the elements from two different sculptures was intended to attract as broad an audience as possible and thus accommodate "the taste of the time" with the sculptor reluctantly employing a short hairstyle.[65]

As a rendering of the composer, the lithograph did no favors for its subject. It was nonetheless in good company. On March 27, 1828—a year and a day after Beethoven's death—Haslinger announced his display of a bust by painter Josef Danhauser, who had made a mask of the composer two days after his death (Fig. 6). The timing of this notice

Fig. 6: *Bust of Ludwig van Beethoven*, plaster cast after the sculpture by Josef Danhauser from 1827, Vienna, ca. 1890, 51 cm. Beethoven-Haus Bonn (Photo: Beethoven-Haus Bonn).

Fig. 7: Josef Danhauser, *Franz Liszt Improvising at the Piano*, 1840, oil on wood, 119 × 167 cm. Alte Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. F.V. 42 (Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie / Jörg P. Anders, Public Domain Mark 1.0).

once again merged admiration and enterprise. Haslinger declared that Danhauser had started a subscription for buyers to purchase casts "so that this image must awaken a touching recollection in every art lover."[66] Danhauser's production of the mask is not in doubt, although his sole authorship of the bust is not settled. One tradition contends that it was "completed" by Dietrich, who was subsequently not mentioned in a memoir by Danhauser's eighty-year-old brother Carl.[67] For our argument, the important factor is that the displayed figure was a herm, albeit with angled sides, which Danhauser placed on the piano in his painting *Liszt at the Piano* in 1840 (Fig. 7).[68] Thus, the herm by Danhauser was already a second example of the form that was publicly available for anyone who read about Haslinger's wares or came into his shop and had an interest in the contemporary local music scene.

Schubert would have been one such visitor. In 1827 and 1828, Haslinger was his principal publisher, and he was the go-between for the composer and various correspondents.[69] Both Schubert and Haslinger shared an admiration for Beethoven. The former was even

a torchbearer at Beethoven's funeral on March 29, 1827, while the latter produced three laurel wreaths at the gravesite, the leaves of which were distributed among the bystanders and strewn over the coffin.[70] Following the funeral, Fritz von Hartmann, a friend from Linz studying law in Vienna, wrote in his diary that he went with Schubert and his friends to a tavern where they stayed "until almost 1 a.m. Needless to say, we talked on nothing but Beethoven, his works, and the well-merited honors paid to his memory today."[71] At that same inn on May 14, Hartmann's brother Franz's diary records meeting Schubert, "who talked about Beethoven and other things."[72] Later, Schubert's obituaries by his friends all made the point of his reverence for Beethoven's music, a point underscored by the close proximity of the two composers' graves.[73] The vast musicological scholarship is unanimous in agreeing that the impact of Beethoven's oeuvre on Schubert was profound.[74] Schubert's appreciation was most apparently writ large at his only concert devoted to his own works on March 26, 1828—the first anniversary of Beethoven's death—with its program that included new pieces alluding to the deceased composer's music.

For the planners of Schubert's memorial, the works of both Dietrich and Danhauser were meaningful and timely antecedents for the employment of a specific type of bust for a recently deceased artist. The choice of a herm for Schubert's memorial was thus informed by both immediate precedent and established tradition. The symbolism inherited from the form's classical forebears supplied early nineteenth-century artists with a model for representing contemporary creative titans like Beethoven. Given the well-documented and frequently analyzed significance that Beethoven occupied in Schubert's creative life, culminating in their nearly adjacent burial sites, a bust in herm form placed at the latter's grave offers a connection to both distant and immediate legacies.

THE HERM IN CEMETERY CULTURE

It was one thing to make a bust in any style, copies of which could be sold to admirers for private enjoyment in their homes or to decorate a memorial as a public act of homage. It was another thing entirely to mark an outdoor grave with a herm. The Austrian emperor Joseph II had already permitted the bereaved in 1784 "to follow their desires to present to posterity a special monument of love, respect, and or gratitude for the deceased."[75] Smetana's analysis of burial culture has concluded that it only became common practice to erect a grave monument from the 1830s, but even then, Viennese cemeteries looked very unattractive and the erection of a grave monument was very expensive.[76] As one commentator pithily noted in 1783: "What is the use of monuments in churchyards, where no one enjoys going?"[77] Johann Georg Sulzer, an influential Swiss philosopher, dismissed contemporary burial sites and their "wretched

monuments" in 1771, a sentiment that remained definitive into the next century. Unlike memorials in public squares and gardens, which one frequented with pleasure, the obligation to preserve the recollection of the departed in a cemetery was a private interest grudgingly fulfilled by placing such reminders as a pyramid, pillar, column, urn, obelisk, and so on.[78]

The absence of a model for incorporating a bust into a final resting place requires looking for precedents beyond this part of the continent. In 1801 and 1804 respectively, two public cemeteries opened: the Certosa in Bologna and Père Lachaise in Paris, both of which displayed herms of the dead by the time of Schubert's death. The relatively uniform structures of the Certosa tombs, which included herms by Giacomo De Maria, were dictated by their placement within arches of a portico in the existing Renaissance cloister. By contrast, Père Lachaise was located in sylvan fields that encouraged artistic latitude, providing a more appreciable antecedent for Schubert's resting place. By 1828, there were as many as ten herms adorning its monuments, with the first one as early as 1809 (Fig. 8). With the cemetery soon becoming a tourist attraction, Austrians who visited Père Lachaise remarked on its monuments, including the busts.[79] However, one need not have traveled to Bologna or Paris to be aware of these sites, since there were more than a half dozen guidebooks of varying quality about them, some illustrated.[80]

Fig. 8: Louis-Marie Normand, frontispiece, Jean-Pierre Brès, *Monuments funéraires choisis dans les cimetières de Paris et des principales villes de France*, vol. 1 (Paris: Normand fils, 1832). Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Philosophie, histoire, sciences de l'homme, FOL-LK7-7727 (A) (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France).

The striking presence of this number of herms in these cemeteries may be gauged against their dearth in other pre-1830 graveyards. For example, Ferrara authorities converted a cloister into a cemetery in 1813, but there are no herms among its busts. Rome's Non-Catholic Cemetery has portrait medallions or simple stone ledgers rather than herms.[81] A visiting artist seeking inspiration would instead have gone indoors to a church to view a herm: for example, of the sculptor Ridolfo Schadow (1824) in Rome's Sant'Andrea delle Fratte or the composer Giovanni Vincenzo Fedrigotti in Rome's Santa Maria dell'Anima.[82] A similar situation applies to German cemeteries.[83]

Père Lachaise loomed so large in early nineteenth-century burial culture because, for the first time, a cemetery met the desired expectations of a garden as described in turn-of-the-century writings and confirmed by modern scholarship.[84] In 1825, a German visitor acclaimed that the French graveyard "resembles a garden, studded with cypresses, laurel, tree of life, and the like in long rows, between which are the resting places of so many great dead beneath classical monuments."[85] In separate topographical studies a decade later, Adolph Schmidl remarked that the Währing Cemetery where Schubert was buried "seems to want to become for Vienna what Père Lachaise is for Paris," and Franz Xaver Schweickhardt considered it to be "of quite outstanding mention [...] because of its location on a gently sloping hill and its several very beautiful tombs."[86] The music critic Ludwig Rellstab even deemed the Viennese cemetery "the garden of peace" when he visited the memorials to Beethoven and Schubert in 1841.[87]

The tombs in Père Lachaise honored the departed with herms that evoked their ancient models by integrating classical design components into the entire monument. Schubert's resting place followed suit. Two Doric pillars surmounted by a pediment with quadrant ends recall the decorative acroteria of archaic structures, including the temple-like tomb altars known as *naiskoi* (Greek) or *aediculae* (Latin), well known from the often-reproduced excavations at Pompeii. The composer's grave corresponds to a contemporary description of the *Trauermonumente* [monuments of mourning] of both classical antiquity and modern Europe—"noble pillars decorated with the image of the deceased"—and it is telling that commentators described Schubert's resting place as a tabernacle.[88] Similar architectural elements can be found at the grave of the physician Ignaz Corda and the two headstones of Count Johann O'Donnell and the Schlechta and Hardtmuth families, which originally separated the tombs of Beethoven and Schubert.[89] These characteristics also appear in an 1823 drawing of an imaginary cemetery by Schubert's friend, the artist Moritz von Schwind, with some of the gravestones lined up against a wall.[90]

With a bust usually placed in a niche below the pediment, the ancient tradition of depicting the departed with a bust portrait on an upright inscribed stone slab or stele was

something rarely emulated by Viennese sculptors. However, such relics did appear in Schubert's time, such as the well-preserved stele of the Roman freedwoman Quinctia Marita, featuring her bust, which was prominently displayed in the Temple of Theseus in 1816.[91] Current critical assessment of tomb architecture in Austria and Germany has shown that incorporating an image of the departed in a stele was a rarity before the middle of the nineteenth century and, when it occurred, was most likely to appear as a portrait medallion, usually in profile.[92]

Finally, we may turn again to Beethoven alongside whose grave Schubert himself had insisted on being buried, or so Ferdinand concluded from his brother's ramblings the evening before he died.[93] The elements of pillars, pediment, and acroteria are all present in Beethoven's memorial (Fig. 9). Its columns, however, flank the composer's name, and the pediment with its identical decorative ends appears in the center above his name and below an obelisk. It is appealing to conjecture that the planners of Schubert's memorial

Fig. 9: Louis Desprez, *Bust of Anne-Louis Girodet de Roucy, called Girodet-Trioson,* 1826, marble, 65 cm. Père Lachaise Cemetery, Paris (Photo: Mimmo109, CC BY-SA 3.0).

thought to quote motifs, as it were, from the monument to Beethoven, whom the younger composer so idolized. The prevalence of these architectural elements in Viennese and other European cemeteries, however, warrants caution in this regard. Further, though we know who was involved in the plan to erect a gravesite memorial to Schubert, we do not know who proposed incorporating a herm. A little light, however, can be shed on the few candidates.

AUTHORING SCHUBERT'S HERM

In his 1865 biography of Schubert, Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn provided the first published information on the memorial's creation:

> "The committee left the form of the monument to Schubert's friend Franz von Schober. The latter drafted the drawing under the supervision of the architect [Ludwig von] Förster, and also completed the bust begun by Arnold, whose casting took place in Blansko [town in Southern Moravia, today's Czechia]. The gravestone was made by master stonemason Wasserburger, the bust is the work of academic sculptor Franz Dialler [sic]."[94]

In the extensive scholarly literature on Schubert iconography, the individuals cited in this report have remained constant, beginning with Deutsch's indispensable publications and continuing into the present century.[95] Up until now, the mysterious Arnold has not been identified despite Kreissle's assertion that he began the bust. He can now be named; the Academy archives list Karl Arnold as a sculpture student until 1823, making him a contemporary of both Dialer and Dietrich.[96] He had no career to speak of; in 1824, he was paid for merely cleaning the aforementioned monument to Maria Christina by Canova.[97] Given that the committee of Schubert's friends (Schober, the court official and musician Johann Baptist Jenger, and Vienna's acclaimed dramatist Franz Grillparzer) was concerned with the expense of the memorial, Arnold's obscurity, like that of Dialer, may have contributed to his initial involvement. No sculptor is mentioned in Jenger's budget report of May 1830; it only lists 16 Florins for the plaster bust compared to the 195 Florins and 40 Crowns paid to Wasserburger.[98]

Of the three committee members charged with the memorial's erection none were sculptors, although Schober has been credited with some modest skill in drafting. An unsigned pencil caricature of Schubert and the singer Johann Michael Vogl, at one time in Schober's possession, has been ascribed to him, and he was director of Vienna's Lithographic

Institute from 1817.[99] Schober's alleged drawing has not survived. Evidence suggests, however, that the drawing did not incorporate a bust. After two of Schubert's friends visited his grave in 1833, one of them recalled that just the "marble work" from Schober's drawing was mentioned. Additionally, the stonemason's bill only listed payment for labor on the masonry and stone "according to a submitted drawing" without mentioning a bust.[100] Deutsch echoed this view, describing the tomb as "architecturally designed" by Schober and Förster.[101] However, Förster's expertise in this field did not naturally include sculpture. Rather, he was well versed in the most frequently used architectural styles in building exteriors.[102] In his two-volume study, *Ideen zur äussern Verzierung von Gebäuden* [Ideas for the External Decoration of Buildings] (1825), the designs display his mastery of pediments and columns, with only one plan incorporating statues that are, at best, "distant cousins" of a bust.[103]

Grillparzer has only been cited in the scholarly literature for providing the epitaph on Schubert's memorial.[104] Yet he was the only one among the three committee members whose early career indicated his knowledge of and interest in classical sculpture. Barely eighteen, he had shown his affinity for sculpture's symbolic value in an unpublished poem of 1809, "On a bust of Socrates," whose ancient herms were widely reproduced.[105] A decade later, he viewed pertinent antiquities during a four-month trip to Italy in 1819. From Naples, he traveled to Pompeii and Herculaneum, and he visited the Vatican museums and the workshops of Canova and Thorvaldsen in Rome.[106]

In the end, the idea for Schubert's sculpture design may well have come from the sculptor himself. Dialer's authorship was publicly known within a month of Schubert's death. Once again, it was Haslinger for whom "the sculptor Dialer made the well-made bust of the composer Schubert," copies of which could be had for ten Florins from the publisher's shop.[107] By June 13, as noted in Schubert's 1829 obituary, the price was now twelve Florins for a plaster cast, which "combines artistic craftsmanship with similitude."[108] On November 6, 1830, in time to commemorate Schubert's death, the first illustration from Haslinger appeared in the same journal, however, without mentioning Dialer (Fig. 10).[109]

Dialer was largely unknown; he sculpted Schubert's bust gratis, as the planners' wanted to rein in the monument's costs. As a former sculpture student at the Academy, he would have been trained in the study and copying of busts, both ancient and modern. Further, the timing suggests that he used the herm style to add a bust to his resume, similar in form to the recently shown herm of Metternich by Schaller, a sculpture professor at the institution. Dialer surely knew Schaller's herm of Trauttmansdorff, since Dialer showed his own unidentified bust at the same Academy's 1824 exhibition, where a herm

Fig. 10: *Grave of Ludwig van Beethoven*, 1827. Schubertpark (formerly Währing Cemetery), Vienna (Photo: Gugerell, CC0, via Wikimedia Commons).

would have stood out from more traditional efforts.[110] However, any hopes that more herm sculptures would be commissioned proved fruitless; Schaller's Walhalla herms were the last ones ordered from a Viennese sculptor. Nor did Dialer's herm of Schubert immediately attract any local commissions. His letter of 1833 to an unknown correspondent reveals his desperate financial situation: "in the great, rich kingdom; no altar to build, no tomb or monument to erect, no statues or groupings to place in gardens, no figural decorations to put on buildings, and so on."[111] Schubert's posthumous stature did

little to secure Dialer's artistic reputation. Mention of the herm well into the twentieth century omitted or misspelled his name or even ascribed the work to another artist.

CONCLUSIONS AND AFTERLIFE

This study focused on the hitherto overlooked herm form in Dialer's graveside bust of Schubert, the first of its kind created for a memorial in a Vienna cemetery. Its unique status was established by examining the context of the herm's reborn popularity for portraying Europe's cultural notables within the visual milieu of the Austrian capital. The changing conception of burial culture and the celebrity of Père Lachaise and its tomb sculptures in the early nineteenth century offers a reasoned explanation for the selection of a herm. Given the dearth of local examples upon which Schubert's devotees could draw, an amalgam of images of the recently deceased Beethoven offered the most apt model, especially as friends were keenly aware of Schubert's reverence for Beethoven.[112] Even without knowing the specific individual who proposed this type of bust, the choice itself was strategically meaningful, more so than typical funerary motifs like the lyre, butterfly, and snake adorning Beethoven's obelisk (Fig. 11).[113]

Representing Schubert as a herm benefitted not only from the form's association with the idea of "genius" inherited from classical antiquity and filtered through turn-of-the-century definitions in encyclopedias and archaeological studies. The absence of any defining clothing also gave the deceased an aura of timelessness and lasting fame. Given the tradition and typology of herms, including those conjoined to tombs, my narrative indicates that incorporating this bust form into Schubert's grave marker was an inspired decision, not least for Viennese contemporaries who would at once recognize its uniqueness. Seven years after Schubert's death, Schmidl's guidebook from 1835 already took note of Schubert's memorial, praising its novelty and resemblance to the composer: "there can be nothing more fitting to immortalize the memory of an eminent man than his facial features."[114]

The reception of Schubert's herm later underwent reinterpretations due to the composer's growing artistic stature and interest in his life, parallel with the contemporaneous proliferation of public monument construction known as "monument mania." These phenomena led to changing attitudes towards the fitting sculptural representation of venerated persons.[115] Of course, meaning is not static but transformed by changes in historical circumstance.[116] For urban planners of later decades, a bust became insufficient to commemorate meritorious citizens whose statues should also embody the prestige of the nation. Thus, whereas a herm in the gardenlike confines of the Währing Cemetery made sense in 1830, by 1866, "when one speaks of a monument, one usually means a statue,"

Fig. 11: "Schubert's Gravestone in the Währing Cemetery near Vienna," *Allgemeiner musikalischer Anzeiger* 2, November 6, 1830: 180. New York Public Library (Photo: New York Public Library).

as one critic wrote regarding the competition to design just such a figure of Schubert in Vienna's new city park.[117] The jury rejected initial sketches from all three entrants. Critics, including Grillparzer, advocated a bust because "it is in the head that the spirit is formed, while the body of such men seldom, indeed almost never, lends itself to representation."[118] Karl Kundmann, the eventual winner, was surely aware of the challenge to memorialize the composer. Franz Schubert had led an unheroic life, and his distinctive physical appearance had earned him the nickname *Schwammerl* ("toadstool," "tubby," or "little mushroom"), which Kreissle ascribed to his chubbiness.[119] Kundmann's solution was to seat Schubert in order to remove him from any "imposing heroism," putting a score on his lap to harmonize "the Greek ideal belly with the German beer belly" (as the Austrian writer Ferdinand Kürnberger mocked), and drape him in extraordinarily long robes, thus avoiding any evocation of an abiding classical past that Dialer sought in his herm (Fig. 12).[120]

Fig. 12: Karl Kundmann, *Franz Schubert's Monument*, 1872. City Park, Vienna (Photo: Gregorini Demetrio, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons).

The issue of how to appropriately commemorate and represent cultural figures like Schubert and Beethoven became more acute when their remains were reinterred from Währing to the new Vienna Central Cemetery in 1888. Four years earlier, one newspaper reported that Dialer's herm of Schubert was to be incorporated into a new monument. However, by the end of the year, a divided panel of experts decided that, to "do justice to this patriotic work," the old memorial was not to be used, since it could not, "in its artistically tasteless form," represent even an artistic style of the time in which it was erected.[121] What had changed? Just before the panel met, a feuilleton by the prolific critic Max Kalbeck could have reminded the committee members of Schubert's distinct appearance from a memoir by the composer's friend, the jurist Leopold von Sonnleithner. Kalbeck wondered "who committed the sin against the deceased with the bust on the monument," mentioning that the worst thing the biographer could do was to point out the resemblance between Schubert's features and those of a dark-skinned person, mirrored in the bust in question.[122] This description, often repeated and even altered to more dire variants, may well have been a contributing factor that persuaded panelists to veto the herm.[123] Instead, the jury selected Kundmann (one of its members) to create a new design in what he described as "the old form," that is, in the Greek rather than Roman tradition. This bas-relief on a stele depicts Schubert's head in profile as part of a herm shaft with a garlanded side bracket (Fig. 13),

Fig. 13: Karl Kundmann, *Franz Schubert's Monument*, 1888. Central Cemetery, Vienna (Photo: Kiefer., CC BY-SA 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons).

which displays "a female allegorical figure who places the wreath of immortality on Schubert's bust," likely recalling the tomb of the composer Luigi Cherubini in Père Lachaise (1846).[124] The resulting sculpture evokes neither the aedicula of the composer's Währing memorial nor his full frontal appearance, while closely matching the height of Beethoven's obelisk at the Central Cemetery, Paul Wasserburger's faithful copy of the original from the Währing cemetery (Fig. 14).

Subsequent acclaim for the monuments of 1872 and 1888 proceeded in inverse proportion to disfavor with the original herm and its perceived lack of artistry. Upon Schubert's exhumation, the city council gave the herm to the Vienna Men's Singing Association—the society that raised the funds for both monuments, "for safekeeping in its archives"—and subsequently granted it ownership rights in 1939. The handover began the herm's

Fig. 14: Paul Wasserburger, *Ludwig van Beethoven's Monument*, 1888. Central Cemetery, Vienna (Photo: Dave Pape, public domain, via Wikimedia Commons).

"museumification."[125] Its sculptural relocation preserved it but unmoored it from its original site and sense. The herm's art historical function was confirmed when the Association loaned it for display at the International Exhibition for Music and Theater (1892) and the centennial exhibition of the composer's birth (1897). In 1902, it was moved to a new Schubert room in Vienna City Hall. A decade later, it was placed in a new Schubert museum in the house where the composer was born. Currently, in 2024, it is in the Viennese apartment where Schubert died. Until 1925, the niche in the Währing tomb had remained empty for nearly four decades, as many photographs show (Fig. 15). Another singers' association, the Vienna Schubert Association, was responsible for the installation of a cast of Dialer's original when the new Schubertpark opened on the grounds of the old cemetery in 1925. As was the case nearly two centuries ago when Dialer's herm of Schubert was first installed, visitors can take its measure and judge its meaning for themselves.

Fig. 15: Kilophot, *Postcard of Franz Schubert's Gravestone*, 1914, collotype on paperboard, 14 × 8.9 cm. Wien Museum, Vienna, inv. no. 233631 (Photo: Wien Museum, CC0).

NOTES

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2 Alexandra Smetana, "Grabdenkmäler des Wiener Klassizismus: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Sepulkralkultur zwischen 1788 und 1840" (MA diss., University of Vienna, 2008), 3.

3 Adrien von Buttlar, "Das Grab im Garten: Zur naturreligiösen Deutung eines arkadischen Gartenmotivs," in *"Landschaft" und Landschaften im achtzehnten Jahrhundert: Beiträge des Kongresses der Deutschen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jhs. in Wolfenbüttel 1991*, ed. Heinke Wunderlich (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1995): 79–119; Jürgen Döring, "Das 'Zeitalter der Monumenten-Wuth': Zum Denkmalverständnis um 1800," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 29 (1990): 111–149; Norbert Fischer, *Vom Gottesacker zum Krematorium: Eine Sozialgeschichte der Friedhöfe in Deutschland seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1996), 60–74; Ulrike Evangelia Meyer-Woeller, "Grabmäler des 19. Jahrhunderts im Rheinland zwischen Identität, Anpassung und Individualität" (PhD diss., University of Bonn, 1999), 54–59; Rolf Selbmann, *Dichterdenkmäler in Deutschland: Literaturgeschichte in Erz und Stein* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1988); Smetana 2008, 23–26 (see note 2); Jutta Stroszeck, "Einführung," in *Vorbild Griechenland: Zum Einfluss antiker griechischer Skulptur auf Grabdenkmäler der Neuzeit*, ed. Jutta Stroszeck and Heide Frielinghaus (Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 2012): 9–27. I thank Dr. Stroszeck for confirmation in a personal communication of February 17, 2022.

4 Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Blom (1946; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1977), 907.

5 The only portrait published in Schubert's lifetime is Johann Passini's engraving of Wilhelm August Rieder's watercolor, long praised for its fidelity to its subject and advertised by Cappi and Company in *Wiener Zeitung*, December 9, 1825: 1,177. For comparisons with other portraits, see Eva Badura-Skoda, "Der Bildhauer Anton Dietrich: Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie Beethovens und Schuberts," in *Musik–Edition–Interpretation: Gedenkschrift für Günter Henle*, ed. Martin Bente (Munich: G. Henle, 1980): 30–52; Eva Badura-Skoda, "Erhaltene Porträt-Büsten Schuberts," *Schubert durch die Brille* 16, no. 17 (1996): 146–157; Elmar Worgull, "Franz Schuberts Gesichtsmaske und ihre Vorbildfunktion in Zeichnungen Moritz von Schwinds," in *Franz Schubert in Bilddokumenten seiner Freunde und Zeitgenossen: Kunsthistorische Betrachtungen zur Schubert-Ikonographie*, ed. Elmar Worgull (Worms: Werner, 2018): 55–79.

6 Studies relating the ancient herm to its revived practice include Peggy Fogelman, "'S'eri tu in viso qual ti feo Canova': Canova's Herm of a Vestal Virgin," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 22 (1994): 43–55; Daniela Gallo, "The difficult rebirth of the herm bust," *Figura: Studies on the Classical Tradition* 2 (2014): 286–314, https://doi.org/10.20396/figura.v2i0.10138; Volker Heenes, *Antike in Bildern: Illustrationen in antiquarischen Werken des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Winckelmann-Gesellschaft, 2003); Erika Naginski, *Sculpture and Enlightenment* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2009); Wolfgang Nitsche, *Das Schaffen der hochklassizistischen deutschen Bildhauer: Akademismus, Romerlebnis, Innovation, und Antikrezeption* (Bergisch

Gladbach: Eul, 1992); Else Kai Sass, "The Classical Tradition in Later European Portraiture, with Special Regard to Thorvaldsen's Portraits," in *The Classical Pattern of Modern Western Civilization: Portraiture* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1957): 71–99.

7 Angela Heilmann, "Denkmäler und Büsten," in *Schubert 200 Jahre*, ed. Ilija Dürhammer and Till Gerrit Waidelich (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1997), 181–182. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from primary and secondary sources are my own.

8 Smetana 2008, 195 (see note 2).

9 Cornelia Reiter, "Johann Nepomuk Schaller (1777–1842): Büste Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall," in *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich*, vol. 5, *19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Gerbert Frodl (Munich: Prestel, 2002): 474–475.

10 Joseph Freiheer von Hammer-Purgstall, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben, 1774–1852* (Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1940), 287; Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Erinnerungen und Briefe*, ed. Walter Höflechner and Alexandra Wagner, vol. 1 (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 2011), 207.

11 The tide of interdisciplinary approaches has risen with the accretion of repertories that have upended hitherto venerable canons. See Georgia Born, "For a Relational Musicology: Music and Interdisciplinarity, Beyond the Practice Turn," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135 (2010): 205–243; Julie Thomson Klein, "Interdisicplinarity, Humanities, and the Terministic Screens of Definition," in *Valences of Interdisciplinarity: Theory, Practice, Pedagogy,* ed. Raphael Foshay (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2011): 137–164, 144–145.

12 For a much-repeated definition of interdisciplinarity, see Julie Thompson Klein and William Newell, "Advancing Interdisciplinary Studies," in *Handbook of the Undergraduate Curriculum: A Comprehensive Guide to Purposes, Structures, Practices, and Changes*, ed. Jerry Gaff and James Ratcliffe (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1997): 393–415, 393. A large literature has wrestled with the vexing matter of differentiating definitions. See Julie Thompson Klein, "A Taxonomy of Interdisciplinarity," in *The Oxford Handbook of Interdisciplinarity*, ed. Robert Frodeman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010): 15–30.

13 Guido Adler, "Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1885): 5–20, 19. For analyses of "positivism," see, for example, Elizabeth Mansfield, "Social Art History in Retrospect," in *The Present Prospects of Social Art History*, ed. Robert Slifkin and Anthony E. Grudin (New York: Bloomsbury, 2021): 11–32, 17. In music studies, see, for instance, Giles Hooper, *The Discourse of Musicology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 14–20.

14 Johannes Gurlitt, *Ueber antike Köpfe, Hermen und Büsten* (Magdeburg: G. Ch. Kell, 1799), 3. Consult this source for additional references to earlier authors.

15 Selected works are Sheila Dillon, *Ancient Greek Portrait Sculpture: Contexts, Subjects, and Styles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 30–33; Jane Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 228–231, 236; and Ursula Merkel, *Das plastische Porträt im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bildhauerei in Frankreich und Deutschland* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), 38–39.

16 Gurlitt 1799, 10 (see note 14).

17 Johann Gottfried Gruber, "Hermen," in *Conversations-Lexicon oder encyclopädisches Handwörterbuch für gebildete Stände*, vol. 4, *G and H* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1815), 664.

18 Gottfried Edler von Rotenstein, "Reisen nach Wien und in der umliegenden Gegend, in den Jahren 1781–1783: Zweyter Abschnitt," in *Johann Bernoulli's Sammlung kurzer Reisebeschreibungen und anderer zur Erweiterung der Länder- und Menschenkenntniss dienender Nachrichten*, vol. 14 (Berlin: Richter, 1784), 3–96, 17–19, 22.

19 C. F. Weidmann, "Der Volksgarten, und Canova's Theseus," *Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunst* 14, nos. 51–52 (1823): 269–271.

20 J. Folnesics and E. W. Braun, *Geschichte der k. k. Wiener Porzellan-Manufaktur* (Vienna: K. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1907), 193, 195.

21 "Inländische Begebenheiten," *Wiener Zeitung*, December 30, 1795: 3,762; *Neuestes Sittengemählde von Wien*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1801), 44; Andreas Rittig von Flammenstern, "Gräflich Deym'sche (Müllersche) Kunstgallerie," *Hesperus: Ein Nationalblatt für gebildete Leser* 13, no. 43 (1814): 337–341.

22 Joseph Deym, *Beschreibung der kaiserl. Königl. Privilegirten, durch den Herrn Hofstatuarius Müller errichteten Kunstgallerie zu Wien* (Vienna: Anton Pichler, 1797), 1–32.

23 Anton Weinkopf, *Beschreibung der k. k. Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien: 1783 und 1790* (Vienna: Friedrich Jasper, 1875), 92; Hans Rudolph Füessli, *Annalen der bildenden Künste für die österreichischen Staaten*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Schaumberg, 1801), 33, 42–43.

24 *Statuten für die Österreichisch-Kaiserliche Akademie der bildenden Künste* (Vienna: K. k. Hof- und Staats-Druckerey, 1812), 17; Hermann Burg, *Der Bildhauer Franz Anton Zauner und seine Zeit* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1915), 33; Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, ed. Bernhard Seuffert (Heilbronn: Henniger, 1885), 24.

25 Sass 1957, 96 (see note 6); Christian Horn, "Remythisierung und Entmythisierung: Deutschsprachige Antikendramen der klassischen Moderne" (PhD diss., University of Karlsruhe, 2007), 43; Selma Krasa, "Biedermeier in der Skulptur?," in *Wien 1815–1848: Bürgersinn und Aufbegehren*, ed. Robert Waissenberger (Vienna: Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1986): 191–216, 196. As with Deym 1797 (see note 22) and Füessli 1801 (see note 23), French and English views also linked the herm to cultured taste. See Aubin Louis Millin, *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1806), 47–48; Thomas Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (1807; repr. New York: Dover, 1971), 46–47. See also Fogelman 1994, 53 (see note 6); Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981), 79–91; Roswitha Sycha, "Studie zu Wiener Porträtbüsten um 1800: Ein Beitrag zum Klassizismus in Österreich" (MA diss., University of Vienna, 2008), 32–33.

26 Christian Gottlob Heyne, *Akademische Vorlesungen über die Archäologie der Kunst des Alterthums* (Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg, 1822), 419.

27 Zsuzsa Sidó, "Library in the County House: Social Representation and Use of Space in 19th Century Hungary," in *Bibliothèques décors, années 1780–années 2000: Nationalités, historicisme, tranfers*, ed. Frédéric Barbier, István Monok, and Andrea De Pasquale (Budapest: Bibliothèque de l'Académie Hongroise des Sciences, 2019): 151–172, 159–160.

28 Franz Heinrich Böckh, *Wiens lebende Schriftsteller, Künstler, und Dilettanten im Kunstfache* (Vienna: B. Ph. Bauer, 1822), 121; Simon Meller, *Az Esterházy képtár története* [History of the Esterházy Picture Gallery] (Budapest: Orsz. Magyar Szépművészeti Múzeum, 1915), 245. See also Anna Frasca-Rath, "On the Reception and Agency of Neoclassical Sculpture and its Material: Case Studies from Viennese Sculpture Galleries (c. 1780–1820)," *Sculpture Journal* 30, no. 2 (2001): 177–187.

29 Aubin Louis Millin, *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1806), 172.

30 "Nachricht für Künstler und Kunstliebhaber," *Wiener Zeitung*, June 2, 1802: 2,085–2,086.

31 "Die permanente Kunstausstellung und die neue Kunsthandlung an der k. k. Akademie der vereinigten, bildenden Künste bey S. Anna," *Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunst* 13, no. 2 (1822): 13–14.

32 *Archiv für Geographie* 1822, 24 (see note 31).

33 Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, *Encyclopédie méthodique, ou par ordre de matieres*, vol. 1 (Paris: Panckoucke, 1788), 380; Pietro Giordani, "Delle sculture ne' sepolcri. Discorso all'Accademia di Belle Arti in Bologna," in *Opere di Pietro Giordani*, vol. 2 (Milan: Borroni e Scotti, 1856): 294–302, 294. See also Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, vol. 1 (Paris: Florentin Delaulne, 1719), 133–134; Louis de Jaucourt, "Hermes," in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, ed. Denis Diderot, vol. 8, *H–T* (Neufchastel: Samuel Faulche, 1765): 168–169, 168; Carl August Böttiger, *Ueber Museen und Antikensammlungen: Eine archäologische Vorlesung* (Leipzig: Dyk, 1808), 6.

34 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Goethe's nachgelassene Werke*, vol. 4 (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1832), 40. For herms of Goethe, see F. Zarncke, *Kurzgefasstes Verzeichniss der Originalaufnahmen von Goethe's Bildniss* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1888), pl. 10.

35 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Torquato Tasso* (Leipzig: Georg Joachim Göschen, 1790), 3; J. C. Gruber, "Review of *C. M. Wielands sämtliche Werke* and *C. M. Wielands Leben*," *Foreign Quarterly Review* 2 (1828): 403–461, 454. Herms of German luminaries and their sculptors include Johann Heinrich Dannecker's bust of Friedrich Schiller (1805), Christian Friedrich Tieck's Clemens Brentano (1803), Dannecker's Johann Zumsteeg (1803), Gottlob Christian Kühn's Caspar David Friedrich (1807), Thorvaldsen's Wilhelm von Humboldt (1808), Christian Daniel Rauch's Zacharias Werner (1810), and Johann Leeb's Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1826). See Anna von Sydow, ed., *Wilhelm und Caroline von Humboldt in ihren Briefen*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1909), 466. Pre-1800 herms include those by Johan Tobias Sergel (Johan Pasch, before 1767), Christopher Hewetson (Gavin Hamilton, 1784), and Jean-Joseph Espercieux (Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, 1790).

36 Jonathan Marsden, "Napoleon's Bust of 'Malbrouk'," *Burlington Magazine* 142, no. 1,166 (2000): 303–306; Elliot Davies and Emanuela Tarizzo, *Canova and His Legacy* (Verona: Paul Holberton, 2017), 72–73; Emmanuel Rodocanachi and Giuseppe Marcotti, "Élisa Baciocchi en Italie: Première Partie," *Revue Historique* 69 (1899): 273–301, 287–288; Henry Jouin, *David d'Angers et ses relations littéraires* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, 1890), 42.

37 Hope 1971 [1807], 47 (see note 25).

38 William Hayley, *An Essay on Sculpture* (London: A. Strahan, 1800), 136–137. Lord Byron disagreed after

Thorvaldsen had created his herm: "a bust looks like putting up pretensions to permanency, and smacks something of a hankering for *public* fame rather than private remembrance." See Thomas Moore, *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron: With Notices of His Life*, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1830), 498.

39 Burg 1915, 195 (see note 24). For other contemporary responses, see Stendhal (Marie-Henri Beyle), *Rome, Naples et Florence en 1817* (Paris: Delaunay, Pelicier, 1817), 47–48; John Hobhouse, *Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold* (New York: Kirk & Mercein, 1818), 294. For recent scholarship on the Pantheon and Canova, see Eveline G. Bouwers, "Il culto degli italiani illustri nella Roma pre-risorgimentale," *Memoria & Ricerca* 45 (2014): 127–156; Susanna Pasquali, "From the Pantheon of Artists to the Pantheon of Illustrious Men: Raphael's Tomb and Its Legacy," in *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea*, ed. Richard Wrigley and Matthew Cracke (Aldersthot: Ashgate, 2004): 35–56, 45–49.

40 Hugh Honour, "A List of Artists who Portrayed Canova," in *Studi in onore di Elena Basksi* (Venice: Arsenale, 1998): 155–172; Mario Guderzo et al., eds., *La mano e il volto di Antonio Canova*: *Nobile Semplicità, Serena Grandezza* (Treviso: Canova, 2008), 122, 124–125, 166, 180–181; Alessandra Imbellone, "Gaetano Matteo Monti," in *Canova: L'ideale classico tra scultura e pittura*, ed. Sergej Androsov, Fernando Mazzocca, and Antonio Paolucci (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2009), 170–171; Davies and Tarizzo 2017, 10–16 (see note 36). Giovanni Ceccarini's imposing monumental statue (1820) portrays Canova seated and enrobed up to the waist, embracing the herm shaft of Jupiter. See Stefano Grandesso, "Giovanni Ceccarini," in *Canova Thorvaldsen: La nascita della scultura moderna*, ed. Stefano Grandesso and Fernando Mazzocca (Milan: Edizioni Gallerie d'Italia, Skira, 2019), 328–329.

41 Herms of real women were few since achievements that were seen to merit a herm were largely confined to men. Even then, their chests were draped, as in Johann Gottfried Schadow's Henriette Herz (ca. 1783) and Christopher Hewetson's Angelika Kauffmann (ca. 1793). *Teste ideali* appears in a letter of April 18, 1818, referring to Canova's herm of Beatrice. See Giuseppe Pavanello, *L'opera completa del Canova* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1976), 131–132; Fernando Mazzocca, "Ideal Heads," in *Canova*, ed. Giuseppe Pavanello and Giandomenico Romanelli (Venice: Romanelli, 1992), 316–337; Fogelman 1994, 43–55 (see note 6); Fernando Mazzocca, "Erma della Filosofia," in Androsov, Mazzocca, and Paolucci 2009 (see note 40): 165–167; Francesca Sandrini, "Erma di Maria Luigia d'Asburgo," in Androsov, Mazzocca, and Paolucci 2009 (see note 40): 182–183; Stefano Grandesso, "Erma di Vestale," in Androsov, Mazzocca, and Paolucci 2009 (see note 40): 326–328; Omar Cucciniello, "Le teste ideali di Antonio Canova," in *Canova: I volti ideali*, ed. Omar Cucciniello and Paola Zatti (Milan: Electa, 2019), 19–32.

42 Giovanni Pavanello, "Stele in Memory of Giovanni Falier," in Pavanello and Romanelli 1992 (see note 41): 210–211; Francesco Leone, "Stele funeraria di Giovanni Falier," in Pavanello and Romanelli 2009 (see note 41): 301–304; Paolo Mariuz, "Antonio Canova: La 'Memoria onoraria del principe Prosper von Sinzendorf' ovvero 'Stele di Ottavio Trento'," *Arte Veneta* 60 (2003): 130–137; Fernando Mazzocca, *Capolavori di Canova: Un omaggio nel bicentenario della morte* (Milan: Carlo Ossi, 2022), 60–66.

43 *Briefwechsel zwischen Ludwig I. von Bayern und Georg von Dillis 1807–1841* (Munich: Beck, 1966), 91; Herbert Wilhelm Rott, ed., *Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen: Neue Pinakothek. Katalog der Skulpturen*, vol. 1, *Die Sammlung Ludwigs I*. (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2021), 19.

44 Ludwig I, "Rom. VI. Elegie," in *Gedichte des Königs Ludwig von Bayern*, vol. 1 (Munich: J. G. Cotta, 1829):

18–19. On Ludwig's Walhalla, see Simone Steger, "Die Bildnisbüsten der Walhalla bei Donaustauf: Von der Konzeption durch Ludwig I. von Bayern zur Ausführung (1807–1842)" (PhD diss., Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, 2011), 14–19; Eveline G. Bouwers, *Public Pantheons in Revolutionary Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1–7; Anna Marie Pfäfflin, "Kunstansichten zur Walhalla: Die 'Poetische Idee' Leo von Klenzes," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 73, no. 1 (2010): 67–98.

45 Marsden 2000, 304 (see note 36). See also Jérémie Benoît, "Une série de bustes de généraux et d'officiers morts sous la Révolution et l'Empire," *Revue du Louvre* 1 (1985): 9–20. On the political repercussions of Ludwig's sojourn, see Franz Herre, *Ludwig I.: Ein Romantiker auf Bayerns Thron* (Stuttgart: Hohenheim, 2005), 58, 66–71.

46 "Briefe über Kunst, Alterthum und Wissenschaft," *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, December 4, 1828: 1,162; F. C. Weidmann, "Oesterreichische Plastik," *Archiv für Geschichte, Statistik, Literatur und Kunst* 101 (1823): 530–531, 530; "Kunst und Literatur," *Archiv für Geschichte, Statistik, Literatur und Kunst* 54–55 (1823): 290–291, 291. Compare with Selma Krasa-Florian, *Johann Nepomuk Schaller 1777–1842* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1977), 55–56; and Steger 2011, 557–558 (see note 44).

47 F. C. Weidmann, "Die vierte Kunstausstellung im Gebäude der österreichisch-kaiserlichen Akademie der bildenden Künste," *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode*, July 31, 1824: 799–802, 801–802; Johann Gottfried Abraham Frenzel, "Blicke auf die Kunstmuseen und Kunstleistungen in Wien im May und June 1828," *Abend-Zeitung: Artistisches Notizenblatt*, August 1828: 57–58, 57.

48 Vittorio Malamani, *Canova* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1911), 98; Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, *Canova et ses ouvrages ou mémoires historiques sur la vie et les travaux de ce célèbre artiste* (Paris: Adrien le Clerc, 1834), 212–213. The matter of costuming sculpture was a contemporary pre-occupation. See, for example, Dominique Massonaud, *Le nue moderne au salon (1799–1853): Revue de presse* (Grenoble: ELLUG, 2005), 39–40; Heinrich Meyer's letter of March 8, 1824, approving Rauch's unrealized sketch for Goethe's monument, seated and enrobed, quoted in Karl Eggers, *Rauch und Goethe* (Berlin: F. Fontane, 1889), 60: "The antique clothing that you, dear friend, have chosen for the model is without doubt the best. An image of this kind can be valid for all time."

49 Joseph Freiherr von Hormayr, "Blicke auf die Nationalität der Kunst," *Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunst* 16, no. 32–33 (1825): 170–174, 173. See also Thomas Huber-Frischeis, Nina Knieling, and Rainer Valenta, *Die Privatbibliothek Kaiser Franz' I. von Österreich, 1784–1835* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2015), 429–441; Steger 2011, 75 (see note 44); Charlotte Stokes, "Taming the Eagles: The Habsburg Monarchy's Political Use of the 'Revolutionary' Neoclassical Style," in *Austria in the Age of the French Revolution, 1789–1815*, ed. Kinley Brauer and William E. Wright (Minneapolis, MN: Center for Austrian Studies, University of Minnesota, 1990): 69–82; Gabriele Böhm-Nevole, "Die Inszenierung der vier österreichischen Kaiser im Langen 19. Jahrhundert in der Porträtbüste," *RIHA Journal*, special issue: *Vienna as a Sculptural Centre in the Long 19th Century: Current Research on Sculpture in Central Europe* (2021), https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2021.1.81890.

50 K., "Die Enthüllung des Denkmals des k. k. Feldzeugmeisters Graffen Franz Kinsky in Wiener-Neustadt am 4. Okotober 1830," *Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift* 4, no. 11 (1830): 170–195, 189.

51 *Die Kunst, geliebten Abwesenden ein Denkmahl der Freundschaft und sanften Erinnerung mit wenig Aufwand in seinem Zimmer zu errichten* (Vienna: Carl Kupffer, 1804), 15, pl. 2.

52 Moriz Graf von Dietrichstein, *Über das Denkmahl des k. k. Hofrathes und Ritters des Leopold-Ordens Heinrich Joseph Edler von Collin* (Vienna: Anton Strauss, 1813), 3.

53 Max Lederer, *Heinrich Joseph von Collin und sein Kreis: Briefe und Aktenstücke* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1921), 153.

54 Matthäus von Collin, *Die Pilger-Reise: Ein dramatisches Gedicht zu Collin's Feyer* (Vienna: Anton Strauss, 1812), 35; Ignaz von Mosel, *Geschichte der kaiserl. Königl. Hofbibliothek zu Wien* (Vienna: F. Beck, 1835), 277; "Kurze Notizen," *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat*, October 12, 1811: 491–492, 492.

55 Heinrich Börnstein, "Beethoven's Leichenbegängniss," *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung und Unterhaltungsblatt*, April 12, 1827: 181.

56 Aloys Fuchs, "Verzeichniss der sämmtlichen Porträts von Ludwig van Beethoven, welche in dem Zeitraume von 1801 bis 1830 erschienen sind," *Allgemeiner musikalischer Anzeiger*, September 19, 1839: 206–207, 207; Aloys Fuchs, "Verzeichniss aller bisher erschienen Abbildungen Ludwig van Beethovens," *Wiener allgemeine Musik-Zeitung*, August 14, 1845: 385–387; Gustav Nottebohm, *Thematisches Verzeichniss der im Druck erschienen Werke von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1868), 195. Collections that hold the lithograph sometimes ascribe it to Joseph Kriehuber, although the earliest reference is W. von Wurzbach, *Josef Kriehuber: Katalog der von ihm lithografirten Portraits* (Munich: Hugo Helbing, 1902), 15. Even here, however, the entry indicates that his name is not marked on it.

57 *Kunstwerke, öffentlich ausgestellt im Gebäude der Oesterreichisch-kaiserlichen Akademie der bildenden Künste bey St. Anna* (Vienna: Anton Strauss, 1820), 10; *Kunstwerke, öffentlich ausgestellt im Gebäude der Oesterreichisch-kaiserlichen Akademie der bildenden Künste bey St. Anna* (Vienna: Anton Strauss, 1822), 11. On Dietrich, see *Oesterreichische National-Encyklopädie*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Friedrich Beck, 1835), 710–711.

58 Theodore Albrecht, ed., *Beethoven's Conversation Books*, vol. 2 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019), 267.

59 "Bekanntmachung," *Leipziger Zeitung*, June 10, 1819: 1,358; Johann Aloys Schlosser, *Ludwig van Beethoven* (Prague: Buchler, Stephani, and Schlosser, 1828), 74.

60 Ankündigung," *Amts-Blatt zur Wiener Zeitung*, February 19, 1820: 41.

61 In critical studies of Beethoven iconography, the composer's hair was differentiating factor, although their terms ignored the herm's symbolism. See Theodor von Frimmel, "Beethoven-Büste," *Kastner's Wiener musikalische Zeitung*, November 3, 1885: 118–119, 119; Alessandra Comini, *The Changing Image of Beethoven: A Study in Mythmaking* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 43–44; Badura-Skoda 1980, 39 (see note 5); Franz Glück, "Prolegomena zu einer neuen Beethoven-Ikonographie," in *Festschrift Otto Erich Deutsch zum 80. Geburtstag am 5. September 1963*, ed. Walter Gestenberg, Jan LaRue, and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 203–212, 205; Benedetta Saglietti, *Beethoven, ritratti e immagini: Uno studio sull'iconografia* (Turin: EDT, 2010), 101–102.

62 "Notizen," *Allgemeiner musikalischer Anzeiger*, July 31, 1830: 124; Frederick II, *Oeuvres posthumes*, vol. 15 (Berlin: Voss et fils and Decker et fils, 1788): 123. August Quittschreiber's herm of the Danish poet Adam Oehlenschläger was described as "in the antique style" in "Kunst-Nachrichten aus Kopenhagen," *Kunst-Blatt* 13, no. 15 (1819): 59–60, 60.

63 Nottebohm 1868, 197 (see note 56).

64 "Im lithographischen Institute," *Wiener Zeitung*, January 24, 1827: 98; "Bey Joseph Trentsensky," *Wiener Zeitung*, June 20, 1827: 644.

65 Carl Ferdinand Pohl, "Beethoven's Maske betreffend," *Signale für die musikalische Welt* 29, no. 7 (1871): 100.

66 "Anzeige für die Verehrer Beethovens," *Allgemeines Intelligenzblatt zur Österreichisch-Kaiserlichen privil. Wiener-Zeitung*, March 27, 1828: 499.

67 Ludwig Nohl, *Beethoven's Leben*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: E. Günther, 1877), 964; Glück 1963, 203–212 (see note 61); Rita Steblin, "Beethovens Lebendmaske in einem Bericht von C. F. Pohl," *Wiener Beethoven-Gesellschaft Mitteilungsblatt* 27, no. 1 (1996): 1–4.

68 Widely reproduced, the painting, *Franz Liszt Improvising at the Piano*, is in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Alte Nationalgalerie.

69 "Tonkunst," *Der Sammler*, December 29, 1827: 624; Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Kassel: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1964), 463, 518, 520, and 537.

70 "Correspondenz-Nachrichten, Aus Wien," *Abend-Zeitung*, April 7, 1827: 336.

71 Deutsch 1964, 419 (see note 69).

72 Deutsch 1964, 431 (see note 69).

73 Deutsch 1977 [1946], 853, 866–867, 879, 893 (see note 4).

74 Christopher H. Gibbs, "Schubert's Tombeau de Beethoven: Decrypting the Piano Trio in E-flat Major, Op. 100," in *Franz Schubert and His World*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs and Morten Solvik (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014): 241–298; John Gingerich, *Schubert's Beethoven Project* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Scott Messing, *Self-Quotation in Schubert: "Ave Maria," the Second Trio, and Other Works* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2020).

75 Josef Kropatschek, *Handbuch aller unter der Regierung des Kaisers Joseph des II. für die K. K. Erbländer ergangenen Verordnungen und Gesetze in einer Sistematischen Verbindung enthält die Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1784*, vol. 6 (Vienna: Joh. Georg Moesle, 1786), 568.

76 Smetana 2008, 25–26 (see note 2).

77 Johann Georg Purmann, "Denckmal," in *Deutsche Encyclopädie oder Allgemeines Real-Wörterbuch aller Künste und Wissenschaften von einer Gesellschaft Gelehrten*, vol. 7, *Ded–Eh* (Frankfurt am Main: Varrentrapp Sohn und Wenner, 1783): 88.

78 Johann Georg Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste*, vol. 1 (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1967), 238.

79 Anton Langerhanns, "Der Kirchhof des Père la Chaise bey Paris," *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode*, April 17, 1827: 369–370, 370; Maximilian Löwenthal, *Skizzen aus dem Tagebuche einer Reise durch Frankreich, Grossbritannien und Deutschland*, vol. 2 (Vienna: J. B. Wallishausser, 1825), 55.

80 M. M. Roger, père et fils, *Le champ du repos, ou le cimetière Mont-Louis, dit du Père Delachaise*, 2 vols. (Paris: Roger père, 1816); Pierre Françoise Piétresson de Saint-Aubin, *Promenade aux cimetières de Paris, aux sépultures royales de Saint-Denis et aux catacombes* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1820); François Gabriel Théodore de Jolimont, *Les mausolées français* (Paris: Didot, 1821); Jean-Pons-Guillaume Viennet, *Promenade philosophique au cimetière du P. La Chaise* (Paris: Ponthieu, 1824); François-Marie Marchant de Beaumont, *Manuel et itinéraire du curieux dans le cimetière du Père la Chaise* (Paris: Emler Frères, 1828); *Giornale a comodo di quelli che frequentano il Cimitero di Bologna e la sua Chiesa* (Bologna: Gambereini e Parmeggiani, 1821); *Descrizione della Certosa di Bologna ora Cimitero monumentale* (Bologna: Zecchi, 1828).

81 Ippolito Andreasi, *Cenno storico-artistico sul comunale camposanto nell'antica certosa di Ferrara* (Ferrara: Michelangelo Maccanti, 1855); Arnold and Doris Esch, "Anfänge und Frühgeschichte der deutschen evangelischen Gemeinde in Rom 1819–1875," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Bibliotheken und Archiven* 75 (1995): 366–426; Nicholas Stanley-Price, "Memorial Sculpture in the Protestant Cemetery at Rome: New Discoveries and Inventory of Identified Works," *Opuscula* 15 (2022): 187–222; "Kunstausstellung in Berlin 1826," *Kunst-Blatt*, January 11, 1827: 13–16; Bernhard Maaz, *Skulptur in Deutschland zwischen Französischer Revolution und Erstem Weltkrieg*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), 22.

82 Harald Tesan, *Thorvaldsen und seine Bildhauerschule in Rom* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998), 244–246; Götz Eckardt, *Ridolfo Schadow: Ein Bildhauer in Rom zwischen Klassizismus und Romantik* (Cologne: Letter Stiftung, 2000), 29, 47; Maaz 2010, 245–246 (see note 81); Steger 2011, 543, 549 (see note 44); Andreas Stolzenburg, "Das Grabmal des Roveretaner Komponisten Giovanni Vincenzo Fedrigotti im Hospizhof der Kirchesanta Maria dell'Anima in Rom," *Atti della Accademia Roveretana degli Agiati di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 10 (2000): 113–119.

83 Stroszeck 2012, 9–27 (see note 3). Johann Gottfried Schadow created a toga-clad herm of the composer Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch (1801) which was put in the Berlin Singakademie. The bronze bust of the sculptor Roman Anton Boos (1810, a copy of Boos's own marble, ca. 1790), in contemporary clothing and peruke is outside St. Stephen's Church, Munich. The anonymous bust of the organist Anton Dreyssig (1816) at the Old Catholic Cemetery in Dresden has a modern cravat beneath classical robes.

84 Christian Cajus Lorenz Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: M. G. Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1780), 131–147; Johann Jakob Atzel, "Schreiben über einen Versuch in Grabmälern nebst Proben," *Wirtembergisches Repertorium der Litteratur* 2 (1782): 217–224. Critical examination of Père Lachaise properly begins with Philippe Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1977). Neither he nor his successors discuss the unique presence of herms. For further reference and preceding literature, refer to Kaylee P. Alexander, *A Data-Driven Analysis of Cemeteries and Social Reform in Paris, 1804–1924* (New York: Routledge, 2024); and Paul Bauer, *Deux siècles d'histoire au Père Lachaise* (Versailles: Mémoires et Documents, 2006).

85 "Korrespondenz und Notizen: Aus Paris," *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, April 23, 1825: col. 631.

86 Adolph Schmidl, *Wien's Umgebungen auf zwanzig Stunden im Umkreise: Nach eigenen Wanderungen geschildert*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Carl Gerold, 1835), 74; Franz Xaver Schweickhardt, *Darstellung des Erzherzogthums Oesterreich unter der Ens*, vol. 7 (Vienna: P. P. Mechitaristen, 1833), 92.

87 Ludwig Rellstab, *Reise-Berichte und -Gedichte: Erinnerungen aus den Sommerwandertagen 1841* (Leipzig: K. F. Köhler, 1842), 289.

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90 Otto Weigmann, ed., *Schwind: Des Meisters Werke in 1265 Abbildungen* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1906), 19. See also Martin Gerlach, *Alte Grabmalkunst* (Vienna: Gerlach & Wiedling, 1909), pl. 1, 8, 9, 23, 44, 49, 51.

91 "Österreich unter den Römern," *Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunst* 155/156 (1816): 659–666, 663; Anton von Steinbüchel, *Beschreibung des Theseums und dessen unterirdischer Halle in dem öffentlichen Garten nächst der k. k. Burg* (Vienna: J. G. Huebner, 1827), 36. The stele was discovered at the stie of Carnuntum, a Roman outpost east of Vienna.

92 Meyer-Woeller 1999, 90–93 (see note 3); Döring 1990, 133 (see note 3); Fischer 1996, 148 (see note 3); Smetana 2008, 219 (see note 2); Stroszeck 2012, 11 (see note 3). For photographs and lists, respectively, see Gerlach 1909 (see note 90); Max Dvořák, ed., *Österreichische Kunsttopographie*, vol. 15 (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1916). Compared to a three-dimensional bust and monument, a medallion on a stele still recalled classical antiquity while offering a less expensive alternative that saved space in an overcrowded cemetery. Kiesling's stele for the physician Johann Peter Frank (1822) was originally in the Währing Cemetery but is now in the Central Cemetery. The stele of the physician Stephan Andreas Mükisch (1827) in the Hietzing District Cemetery portrays him full sized as the Greek demigod Asclepius, healing adults and children.

93 Deutsch 1977 [1946], 825 (see note 4).

94 Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn, *Franz Schubert* (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1865), 463. This misspelling comes from Eduard von Bauernfeld's Schubert obituary.

95 Otto Erich Deutsch, *Franz Schubert: Sein Leben in Bildern* (Munich: Georg Müller, 1913); Ernst Hilmar and Margret Jestremski, eds., *Schubert-Enzyklopädie*, 2 vols. (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2004); Janet Wasserman, "A Schubert Iconography," *Music in Art* 27, no. 1–2 (2003): 199–241. See also Smetana 2008, 194–195 (see note 2).

96 Arnold Karl, Bildhauer-Schüler der Akademie aus Wien 1822 [sculpture students of the Academy in Vienna 1822], in University Archives of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, Administrative File (Verwaltungsakt), fol. 455. Information kindly provided by Dr. Eva Schober.

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98 Franz Grillparzer, *Briefe und Dokumente*, ed. August Sauer, vol. 2 (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1924), 64.

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100 Otto Erich Deutsch, *Schubert: Die Erinnerungen seiner Freunde* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1957), 103; Otto Erich Deutsch, "Schuberts Totenehren," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 73, no. 14 (1906): 307–310.

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102 "Kunst-Anzeige. Ideen zur äussern Verzierung von Gebäuden, gesammelt und lithographirt von Ludwig Förster," *Wiener Zeitung*, July 19, 1825: 1,027.

103 Ludwig Förster, *Ideen zur äussern Verzierung von Gebäuden*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Gerold, 1826), pl. 6.

104 See Deutsch 1977 [1946], 900 (see note 4): "The art of music here entombed a rich possession / but even far fairer hopes."

105 Franz Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke, Jugendwerke*, pt. 5, ed. August Sauer (Vienna: Gerlach & Weidling, 1917), 99; Weinkopf 1875, 37 (see note 23).

106 *Franz Grillparzers sämtliche Werke*, vol. 15 (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1887), 233–234, 265–266, 268; Carl Glossy and August Sauer, eds., *Grillparzers Briefe und Tagebücher: Eine Ergänzung zu seinen Werken*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1903), 39–40.

107 "Notizen," *Allgemeiner musikalischer Anzeiger*, January 17, 1829: 12.

108 Eduard von Bauernfeld, "Über Franz Schubert," *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode*, June 9, 1829: 578–581, 580.

109 "Notizen," *Allgemeiner musikalischer Anzeiger*, November 6, 1830: 179–180, 180.

110 *Kunstwerke, öffentlich ausgestellt im Gebäude der Oesterreichisch-kaiserlichen Akademie der vereinigten bildenden Künste bei St. Anna* (Vienna: Anton Strauss, 1824), 29.

111 Badura-Skoda 1996, 154 (see note 5). She theorizes that the recipient of Dialer's 1833 letter was Schober, then in Budapest.

112 Leopold von Sonnleithner, "Franz Schubert," *Monatsbericht der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates* 1, no. 2 (1829): 19–25, 21; Bauernfeld 1829, 580 (see note 108).

113 Alfred Gros, "Beethoven's Grabmal auf dem Währinger Friedhofe," *Der Österreichische Zuschauer*, May 6, 1836: 541–546, 545.

114 Schmidl 1835, 77 (see note 86).

115 An early local instance of "Monumentenmanie" was the memorial to the soldier Ferdinand Scheder in Thenneberg, lower Austria. See X. B., "Tagesfragen," *Wiener Zuschauer*, October 14, 1849: 1,891–1,893, 1,893. For the "cult of monuments," begin with Alois Riegl, *Moderne Denkmalkultus: Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung* (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1903). See Werner Kitlitschka, *Grabkult und Grabskulptur in Wien und Niederösterreich* (St. Pölten: NÖ Pressehaus, 1987), 33; Cornelia Reiter, "Der Denkmalkult," in Frodl 2002 (see note 9): 504–541; and Werner Telesko, "Der österreichische 'Denkmalkult' im 19. Jahrhundert im Spannungsfeld von Zentrum und Peripherie," in *Die Besetzung des öffentlichen Raumes: Politische Plätze, Denkmäler und Strassennamen im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Rudolf Jaworski and Peter Stachel (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2007): 145–174.

116 The scholarly literature on collective cultural memory is vast. Begin with Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoires," *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–24; more recently, Aleida Assmann, "Canon and Archive," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), 97–107.

117 "Das Wiener Schubert-Monument und die Preiskonkurrenzen," *Kunstchronik. Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, September 28, 1866: 129–131, 130.

118 Auguste von Littrow-Bischoff, *Aus dem persönlichen Verkehre mit Franz Grillparzer* (Vienna: L. Rosner, 1873), 175–176. See also Ludwig Speidel, "Das Schubert-Monument," *Neue Freie Presse*, May 25, 1866: 2; Julius Wagner, "Das Schubert-Denkmal," *Die Debatte*, January 25, 1868: 1.

119 "Franz Schubert's letzte Tage (Aus Anlass der Enthüllung seines Denkmals im Wiener Stadtparke)," *Morgen-Post*, May 15, 1872: 1; Kreissle von Hellborn 1865, 401 (see note 94). On the monument in context, see Wilhelm Englmann, "Wiener Denkmalkunst," in *Ruhmeshalle deutscher Arbeit in der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, ed. Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1916), 417–425, 421; Walter

Krause, *Die Plastik der Wiener Ringstrasse* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1980), 56–61; Scott Messing, *Schubert in the European Imagination*, vol. 2 (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 13–36; Werner Telesko, "Die Musikerdenkmäler und ihre Stellung innerhalb des Denkmalkults der Habsburgermonarchie des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Imago Musicae* 25 (2012): 111–116.

120 Ig. A., "Enthüllung des Schubertmonuments," *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst*, May 17, 1872: 157–159, 159; Ferdinand Kürnberger, "Das Denkmalsetzen in der Opposition," *Deutsche Zeitung*, November 30, 1873: 4.

121 "Schubert und Beethoven," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, April 9, 1884: 4; "Das Grabmal Schubert's," *Die Presse*, December 5, 1884: 9.

122 Max Kalbeck, "Vom Währinger Friedhofe," *Die Presse*, October 9, 1884: 1; Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn, *Franz Schubert: Eine biografische Skizze* (Vienna: L. C. Zamarski & C. Dittmarsch, 1861), 58; Kreissle von Hellborn 1865, 466 (see note 94).

123 Ludwig Speidel, "Neues und Altes über Franz Schubert," *Neue Freie Presse*, February 17, 1884: 2. In this article, Speidel quoted Josef von Spaun's unpublished denunciation of Kreissle, "Einige Bemerkungen über die Biographie Schuberts von Herrn Ritter von Kreissle-Hellborn," December 29, 1864, published in Josef von Spaun, *Neues um Franz Schubert* (Vienna: Wiener Schubertbund, 1934), 3–14. For Sonnleithner's letter of 1858 to Ferdinand Luib, see Alexander Fareanu, "Leopold von Sonnleithners Erinnerungen an Franz Schubert," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1, no. 8 (1919): 466–483. The author has analyzed the usage and repercussions of language describing Schubert's appearance in a paper read at the Thirteenth Kent Invitational Conference on Historical Musicology, Kent State University, October 15, 2022.

124 "Grabmonumente für Wiener Tonheroen," *Neue Freie Presse*, April 24, 1885: 5; "Schubert's Grabdenkmal," *Morgen-Post*, May 21, 1886: 4. Augustin Dumont's design was in turn inspired by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's painting of Cherubini and the muse of lyrical poetry (1842).

125 Variants of the term "museumification" and well-known critiques of the process appear in Walter Benjamin, "Eduard Fuchs, der Sammler und der Historiker," *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* 6 (1937): 346–381, 377; Theodor W. Adorno, *Prismen: Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1955), 176; and Hermann Broch, *Dichten und Erkennen* (Zurich: Rhein-Verlag, 1955), 79.

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