

Cat. 1 / Architectural fragment, undated / document paper, torn / 40.5 x 41.5 cm / Inv.nr. D 4043/ 2 (1993) Cat. 2 / Townhall, undated / document paper, torn / 16.9 x 22.5 cm / Inv.Nr. D 4043/ 1 (1993)

## Thomas Röske

## Through the Strength and Mercy of Venus – The Forgotten Berlin Sculptor Emil Steiner

ppreciation for the German sculpture of the 'Gründerzeit' period is at very low ebb today. Along with the hero worship it was designed to promote at the time, and which is still considered to be eternally revanchist, it has been repressed from memory, in spite of a short period of critical and historical interest in the 1970s and '80s. Who can remember even the most important names in the Berlin school of sculpture today? After 1871 it populated the expanding Empire with statues and portrait busts of men of genius, politicians and soldiers, by artists such as Gustav Eberlein (1847–1926), or Rudolf Siemering (1835-1905). Even Reinhold Begas (1831-1911), creator of the "National Monument" to Emperor Wilhelm I, the Neptune Fountain at the royal palace in Berlin and the Bismarck monument that once stood in front of the German Reichstag, does not linger in the memory. A "Lapidarium" for the remains of the "Siegesallee" (the 'Victory Avenue' in the Tiergarten), which Begas supervised between 1895 and 1911, has been installed in Berlin in an old industrial building since 19811 and has been closed for a long time: the stone ancestors of Wilhelm II are wrapped in years of dust.

But it is not only because of the lack of interest of later generations, weary of monuments, that today little is known of the Berlin sculptor Emil Steiner (1848–1900) beyond the bare facts of his working life.<sup>2</sup> His contemporaries had already erased him from memory, after his incarceration in a lunatic asylum in 1893.

At first Steiner (ill. 1) had a very promising career, equipped with all the important elements: talent, ambition and contacts.<sup>3</sup> He was born 1848, the year of the failed revolution, in Glogau near Stettin into a family that could hardly be called subversive: his father was a teacher; his mother was related to the German nobility. Steiner's connections to the aristocracy, particularly his friendship with the artloving Prince Georg (1826–1902), a cousin of Emperor Friedrich III, stimulated his development for some time. And they were precisely the elements that later sealed his fate.

His parents lived apart after 1864, his father as a "High School Professor" in Posen, his mother as a house owner in Breslau. His two older brothers, who were both successful in their careers as a government architect and a photographer, lived in Stade and Berlin. Emil Steiner attended High School up to the Sekunda. Then he studied sculpture 1866–70 at the Berlin Academy of Art, against the will of his parents, with the respected teacher Carl Heinrich Möller (1802–1882),4



III. 1 / Adolf Closs "Emil Steiner", undated Wood engraving from: Gartenlaube 2 1888, p. 579

who continued the Berlin tradition of realistic historical representation of his own Professor, Christian Daniel Rauch (1777–1857).

After winning several awards<sup>5</sup> Steiner made his debut in the Annual Academy exhibition of 1870, showing the life sized representation of a figure from Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's epic poem "Messias" (1748–98), which provoked intense discussion when it was first published. Steiner's sculpture was of "Seraph Abdiel Abadona" (ill. 2).<sup>6</sup> The fallen but contrite Angel, who refused to participate in Hell's conspiracy against the Messiah and thereby wins His mercy, is represented by Steiner as a sedentary half nude with partly feathered, partly leather wings. Abadona appears as described, sitting "below the throne" of Satan, pondering "the future and the past with his soul full of fear": "Before his face / from which poured a clouded, horrific and melancholic darkness / he saw only pain layered on pain, accumulating into eternity." The tense seated position, reminiscent of Michelangelo's "Moses", displays unrest preceding action; the crossed arms, fist and open hand make inner conflict visible.

Until the end of the 19th century, Klopstock was still widely read, he was even required reading in schools,<sup>8</sup> and when the "Abadona"





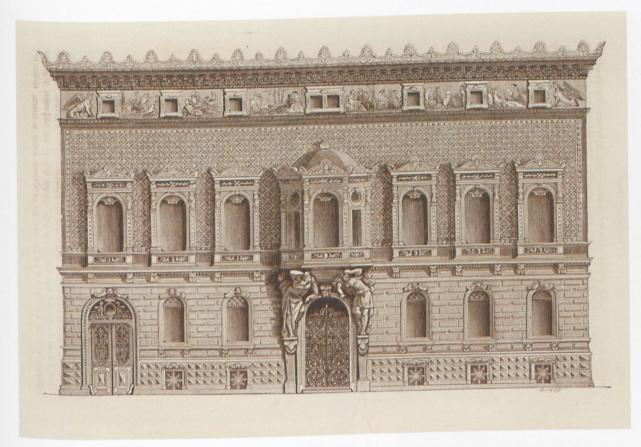
III. 3 / Emil Steiner, Atthis [1873], Heliogravure (Emil Steiner, Atthis the Rose Girl, Berlin 1887 Frontispiz).

was first exhibited, the first edition of his letters and a new edition of his works had just been published. So Steiner could be sure that educated viewers would know the context of his sculpture and the scene represented. The figure of Abadona was a real challenge for the young artist, to illustrate the psychologically complex moment through facial expression and gesture ("the psychological moment seems almost to go beyond the limits of the plastic art"10). At the same time, it could be expected that the sculpture, which was conceived specifically "to be executed in marble for a reading room", would excite literary historical interest typical for the time and which, in spite of former Roman Catholic indignation against the pardoned devil, was provoked by this imaginative expansion of Christian mythology. So success was guaranteed for the work of the twenty-two year old.

The Secretary of State for 'Spiritual, Educational and Medical Matters' was also impressed, and declared himself ready to support the cost of an ambitious subsequent work 12 – a stroke of luck, since at the time Steiner, who was short of money, 13 certainly couldn't have found the time to work on anything other than commissions, 14 mostly portraits. 15 The grant was paid to him in stages at which his work was evaluated; the final payment was made on completion of the piece. Nevertheless, the sculpture was turned down for the annual Academy exhibition of 1874 16 – probably because of fear of a scandal. "Atthis, the Rose Girl", was inspired by the favourite pupil of the Greek poet Sappho, who repeatedly mentions her in her poems. Steiner again

'staged' a literary figure. Unlike his project based on Klopstock, he responded here to a fairly new trend, as the first translation of all surviving fragments by Sappho had been published only thirty years before. 17 Judging by the illustration (Abb. 3), the girl, who has closed eyes, is garlanded with wine leaves and whose dress has slipped to reveal a breast, seems to be androgynous, lascivious and drunk. With this liberal representation of a young woman, who was moreover homosexual, Steiner apparently overstepped the boundaries of good taste at the Academy. Perhaps they even feared a repetition of the scandal of 1848, around the sculpture of "Bacchante on a Panther" (1846), which abruptly ended the career of Theodor Kalide (1801–63). 18

"Abadona" had also attracted the attention of an industrialist who had built a mansion in Berlin. The Upper Silesian knight and landowner Rudolph Pringsheim, the grandfather of Katja Mann, could afford a property on the Wilhelmstraße, in the district of the upper nobility and the government. This magnificent building, designed by Gustav Ebe and Julius Benda, took a prominent place "among the champions" with a new architecture that was opposed to "the sobriety of the Stüler-Schinkel tendency". <sup>19</sup> The fancy façade, designed in the orientalist style of the Venetian Renaissance (ill. 4), was "a sensational event for Berlin" in 1873, and extremely controversial. <sup>20</sup> On the one hand, the variety of colour was criticised ("gaudy house" <sup>21</sup>): Bright sandstone in the ground floor was contrasted with red tiles on the Piano Nobile and "colourful, partly glazed terracotta" framed the windows and the bay. On the other



III. 4 / Richard Bong "The Pringsheim house, built by Ebe and Benda" [1873], undated Wood engraving from: Zschr. f. bild. Kunst 10, 1875, p. 349

hand, the "inharmonious blending of the sister arts" was criticised. Under the roof cornice, an illustrated frieze was installed in mosaic on gold ground by Anton von Werner, later Director of the Academy, which could hardly be seen from the street. The bay window was supported by two Atlases dressed as knights after models by Emil Steiner (ill. 5) which seemed of "too large a scale for the overall impression of the plane of the façade".<sup>22</sup> The quarrel of opinions was played out in the popular press for months – Steiner could hardly have wanted better publicity.

The Academy refused to support the sculptor further – his application to support his work on a crucifix in 1874 was turned down,<sup>23</sup> and his regular submissions to the annual exhibition were repeatedly in vain.<sup>24</sup> However, he was sought-after as a "likeness and history sculptor"<sup>25</sup> for portraits and the decoration of public buildings and rooms. In 1888, an article in the "Gartenlaube" mentions "portrait busts of German army commanders in marble, bronze etc. in the park at Babelsberg,<sup>26</sup> in the cadet house at Lichterfelde, in Hohenschwangau, Darmstadt, in the Hohenzollernmuseum, in the forts of Strasbourg, in the officers' messes of Cologne, Posen, Stettin and Breslau, and in the town halls of many cities". Moreover, he was commissioned to make "statues at the old criminal court at Moabit, at the Ministry of Public Works as well as at the Imperial Post Office":<sup>27</sup> For the latter, he created two colossal groups, Mail and Telegraphy.<sup>28</sup> He attributed the fact that his name remained largely unknown to the public to the fact that "he



III. 5 / Richard Bong (?)
[Atlases at the Palais
Pringsheim, 1873]
undated
Wood engraving
from: Zschr. f. bild. Kunst
10, 1875, p. 212

rarely sent works to exhibitions as most of his time was spent in carrying out certain orders".<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, he strove for public recognition. He applied for a Professorship in 1884 and for a "highest of all attestation of grace" in 1888. Both were denied him.<sup>30</sup> At his committal to the asylum, Steiner taught at a "further educational school".<sup>31</sup> It is doubtful that he was therefore entitled to call himself professor.

Besides fulfilling commissions for sculptures, Steiner found time to write. And during the 1880s, he even tried to make a name to himself as a man of letters.<sup>32</sup> In doing so, he wanted to direct the attention of the public and the Emperor to his native province Silesia – a rich

Cultural History of Silesia, 2nd edition Berlin 1888 volume with panels title page

III. 7 / Emil Steiner Cultural history of Silesia, 2nd edition Berlin 1888 volume with panels panel XVI



agricultural and industrial landscape, which, being part of Prussia since 1742, was important to all of Germany at end of the 19th century primarily because of its wealth in coal - as well as to his sculptural and graphic works.33 In 1883, Steiner self-published a "Cultural History of Silesia" which had been completed at least six years before.34 The two-volume original compilation from different history books and illustrated works consists of 30 pages in octavo and a lavish panel volume with 34 "frieze pictures" and a splendid title page (ill. 6) after sketches by the artist. The elongated images (ill. 7) each combine several events from phases of Silesian history, similar to the reliefs that decorated contemporary public buildings. Even stylistically they are indebted to historism, although the drawing of contours and hatchings is relaxed, referring to the hand of the artist. In 1888, the Zenkers publishing house in Berlin printed a second edition with better reproductions. The work received the desired attention, as an addendum on the title page makes clear: "in consideration of the patriotic contents. His Majesty the German Emperor has graciously deigned to accept a copy of this publication."

In the same year, Zenkers published the "epic lyrical poem" "Hogolie. A Sudeten treasure. Rübezahl songs".<sup>35</sup> This little volume, with poems dedicated to districts in Silesia, also makes reference to the father and protector of the People: the frontispiece is an engraved reproduction of a statue of Wilhelm I as Duke of Silesia, which Steiner had created for the Officer's Mess at the Cadet Training School at

Lichterfelde. A similarly designed booklet of epic lyric poetry by Steiner, enhanced with gilt edging, had been published by Rosenbaum & Hart in Berlin the previous year: "Atthis, the Rose Girl – Sapphic odes and lesbian songs after the Greek". 36 Verses in the style of the Greek poetess Sappho, are put into the mouths of figures from her work and her surroundings. Steiner made a tribute to his own "Atthis"-sculpture, completed ten years before, which is included as the frontispiece (ill. 3). He himself ensured that this "Self promotion" reached those who had once despised the work; he sent it to the Academy "as a small sign of gratitude". 37

1888, the fateful "Year of the three Emperors" was also the ruinous turning point in Steiner's life. In the previous year he had received the largest and most prestigious commission in his career. He was to make a life sized equestrian statue of Prince Friedrich Karl (1828–1885) for a square named after him in Steglitz, close to Berlin. The recently deceased prince was one of the nephews of Wilhelm I and had won special mention as a General Field Marshal in 1866 and 1870/71. An engraving from the big bronzed zinc model which later came to the Hohenzollern Museum in Berlin<sup>38</sup> shows that Steiner opens up the strictness of the Berlin school (ill. 8): Friedrich Karl sits "in Hussar uniform, holding the Field Marshal's baton in his hand, on a rearing horse that jumps over war trophies". <sup>39</sup> While this is an unusual theme for a Berlin monument; <sup>40</sup> contemporary precursors are found in Vienna, in the monuments for Archduke Carl (1860) and Prince Eugen

III. 8 / Adolf Closs "Equestrian statue of the prince Friedrich Karl of Prussia, modelled by the sculptor Emil Steiner in Berlin", undated, Wood engraving from: Gartenlaube 2, 1888, p. 573

(1865) by Anton Dominik Fernkorn in the Heldenplatz named after them.

The granite base was laid in spring 1888.<sup>41</sup> But then the Chairman of the "Central Committee for the national monument to Prince Friedrich Karl" that had awarded the commission died, and it was withdrawn from Steiner. As he had put all his expectations into the project and had pre-financed it, he lost his whole fortune<sup>42</sup> which he, according to his medical file, "took very much to heart".<sup>43</sup> People close to him suspected this debacle was "the reason for his illness" and thought they already noticed changes in him in 1889.<sup>44</sup>

His wife and friends were alerted only four years later, however. In February 1893, Steiner did not win an important commission, a monument to the Empress Augusta – although his design had been honoured with prize and a handwritten Imperial letter.<sup>45</sup> Eight days later, on March 1st, he suddenly invited his wife and many friends to a champagne reception, and spent "a lot of money in a useless and unmethodical manner".<sup>46</sup> In addition, he paid visits to several members of the royal family: "Prince George, Princess Friedrich Karl, His Majesty the Emperor", although the latter was "not present". Therefore the next day the police brought Steiner into the "Department for the sick in mind" at the royal Charité hospital.

The doctor who examined the sculptor beforehand in his apartment took detailed minutes. Steiner thought he was the Seraph Abdiel Abadona - thereby identifying himself with his first success. At the same time this self ascription may indicate feelings of guilt, the repentance of a "sinner". Steiner explained to the doctor that: he "came directly from Valhalla with a message for His Majesty from his father; he had brought the philosopher's stone, which granted him admission. 'I will sail over with the Emperor, to bring Emperor Friedrich back to the Kyphäuser, the Stone of the Ring, 'Patros' granted me admission; this is the ring of Fastrator, which Charlemagne took off her finger and had sunk into the sea at Frankenstein. [...]' The secret of the two eggs which mean the philosopher's stone he can only reveal to the Emperor and Empress, also, that the last day has broken now and the Golden Age begins. Soon he will go to the Emperor, as soon as he is at home. He needs 25 years to make the journey to Valhalla until the fulfilment. [...] He wants to make all people happy with good deeds. He has worn the count's coronet, now he will wear the king's crown and as a true Seraph, armour adorned with many medals. He tends to mystic opinions: talks about dreams and their meaning, of Biblical languages which are found identically at different places pp. – He already noticed from the way people looked at him that something must be happening to him, he calls the doctor a 'magician'." He also now saw his works and his financial circumstances differently: "He has the largest fortune in the world, yesterday 25, today 37 thousand million - such is the value he calculates for his paintings - within three days through the strength and mercy of Venus." The doctor ended with the verdict that Steiner was, "based on the aforementioned, mentally ill and a public menace, as there is the urgent threat that, driven by his delusions, he will molest the most illustrious of persons in the nearest



future. Therefore his accommodation in a lunatic asylum appears to be necessary".

As many times as the Office for the Poor (Steiner thus was bankrupt) asked for a health assessment the subsequent months, it received the same information.<sup>47</sup> Because Steiner threatened to approach the core of society, he was banished to the outer periphery. In July 1894, he was transferred, "uncured", to the Berlin-Dalldorf Asylum, where he died of tuberculosis of the lung in 1900, a day before his 52nd birthday. No obituaries have been found.

Although most of the information that Steiner gave the doctor was fantastical, he wasn't mistaken about one thing: there was actually a connection between the "strength and mercy of Venus" and the latest changes in his life. "Paralytic soul disturbance" was his diagnosis. At that time, there was already an assumed causal connection between syphilis and mental illness, although it had not yet been scientifically proved. This was probably why his relatives weren't given any relevant information – or perhaps it was to protect their social standing.

Contact with the outside world continued, although it is not known who kept in touch with the asylum inmate. One of the results of this contact was a set of "coloured drawing pencils" for Steiner's

birthday in 1895.48 All that remains of his work with these is an exercise book in the Prinzhorn Collection (cat. 3) The right hand pages mostly show sketches for richly adorned banners or flags; enclosed lines of text in the margins are Greek, Latin, French or Polish mottoes (for example "Nihil Opes Sine Opera"). On the left hand pages, young women are represented in Middle Eastern garments as three-quarter figures in a Moorish surround or frame. They sit, lie or stand and occasionally carry accessories like a mandolin or a fan. Only once does Steiner depart from the scheme: by showing a small group consisting of a seated couple and a standing man, who raises a glass of champagne. In contrast, the banners are repeatedly exchanged with other motifs: at one point an elaborate staircase adorned with columns. pedestals and groups of sculpture ("a Hall of Honour") is inserted, at another a full figure portrait of "His Majesty", the befriended "Prince Georg Conrad" in a splendid interior, at another details of different bell instruments ("cymbals mallets keyboard works' "bells mallets keyboard works" "collective mallets keyboard works") at another sculpture for a fountain called "Rhine daughters to little Danube women" consisting of three naked women and a putto. On the first page of the exercise book there is not a splendid flag, but a baroquely arranged key instrument with a cupboard like body ("musical entertainment work patent"). Further labels are in German and the aforementioned four foreign languages, and these, especially on the first and last pages of the exercise book, are not completely decipherable. At least, the title on the cover, "Inventiones Musicales" (sic), explains why so many musical instruments appear in the drawings (trumpets and others brass wind instruments on the banners; a harp and a sculpture in the "Hall of Honour" picture).

The letter on the inside of the cover reveals that this "sketchbook" is the fourth of a series, which should be handed over by the "honoured Directorate of this Institute" to Steiner's "legal advisor" to "be used in the same known way". Steiner clearly claimed, besides his activity as a painter, draughtsman, sculptor and man of letters, to have also made inventions in music, which he would have liked to register as "patent pending". In fact music played a large role in the institution for Steiner. In 1896 he claimed, for example, to have written an opera, "Caliph of Cirdabi", 49 and sang himself, allegedly in the style of "English Minstrels". 50

The European clothes of the men and women represented in the book follow contemporary fashion, their poses corresponding to contemporary ideas of upper class dignity in the Empire, as usually seen in paintings and photographs. Stylistically, though, and in terms of colour choice, the drawings are unusual for their time. The open contours and loose hatching is reminiscent of the frieze pictures in the "Cultural History of Silesia". In deviating from classic proportions, Steiner goes even further. He strengthens contours with colour and only ever indicates the colouring of an area with hatching and scribbles. The resulting impression of flickering form, made with almost unmixed hues, is occasionally reminiscent of impressionist or even expressionist drawings, for example by Oskar Kokoschka.

Beside the exercise book which was sent to Prinzhorn in 1920 or 1921 for his collection, two torn architecture silhouettes by Steiner survive (cat. 1 and 2). They were attached to his medical file and only came to Heidelberg in 1993, as a permanent loan. The symmetrical mirror silhouette seems to represent a neo-Gothic city hall or palace; the other may be the fragment of a larger torn work. In the medical file neither is mentioned. But they wouldn't have been kept if Steiner only saw them as a pastime. He probably compromised with this technique because he lacked other means, even scissors. Do the silhouettes indicate that he also saw himself as an architect? Did Steiner dream of being a really universal artist, even more versatile than Michelangelo, even more qualified to creating a synthesis of the arts than Richard Wagner?

Cut off from his former life and working world, impoverished and without most of the materials and tools for artistic creation familiar to him, all that remained for Steiner, the formerly successful sculptor, was to dream of making work of his own. It is unclear how far the characteristically extravagant amounts of unstructured institutional free time and lack of therapeutic support, or how far his paralysing illness, is responsible for these designs, drawings and torn pictures which are not concerned with contemporary aesthetic conventions and look ahead to the art history of the future. It is only certain that this work, and the aspiration behind it, went too far not to be interpreted by the doctors as indications of insanity.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Helmut Engel, "Denkmalpflegerische Maßnahmen an Denkmälern des 19. Jahrhunderts in Berlin", in: Ethos und Pathos. Die Berliner Bildhauerschule 1786–1914. Beiträge, ed. by Peter Bloch u.a., Berlin 1990, pp. 353–364, pp. 353 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Thieme/Becker, vol. 31, 1937, p. 554. See also the entry by Julia Dittrich about Steiner in: Nationalgalerie Berlin. Das XIX. Jahrhundert. Bestandskatalog der Skulpturen, ed. by Bernhard Manz, vol. 2, Leipzig 2006, p. 770.

**<sup>3</sup>** The following is mainly taken from Steiner's medical file: Irren-Anstalt der Stadt Berlin zu Dalldorf, Krankheitsgeschichte Emil Steiner, Aktenzeichen S. 6222; Karl-Bonnhöfer-Nervenklinik, Berlin, copy in the Prinzhorn Collection, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Akademie der Künste, PrAdK Nr. 411: Schüler der Akademie, p. 211.

**<sup>5</sup>** The medical file mentions that he "received many prizes" (p. 2), but the documents of the Academy only confirm one award, in 1869, see Archiv der Akademie der Künste, PrAdK Nr. 469: Prämierungen der akademischen Schüler 1865–1883, p. 34.

**<sup>6</sup>** The Academy exhibition catalogue entry reads: "Lifesize figure: Seraph Abdiel Abbadonna (Cf. Klopstock's Messiah, II. Song). To be executed in marble for a reading room", Verzeichnis der Werke lebender Künstler, ausgestellt in den Sälen des Königl. Akademie-Gebäudes zu Berlin 1870. XLVII. Ausstellung der Königlichen Akademie der Künste, Berlin 1870, p. 68 (No. 987).

**<sup>7</sup>** Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, Der Messias, II, 632–636, cited after: Friedrich Georg Klopstock, Der Messias, Gesang I–III. Text des Erstdrucks von 1748. Studienausgabe, ed.

by Elisabeth Höpker-Herberg, Stuttgart 1986, p. 61 (translated by Peter Cross).

**8** "Abbadona in Klopstocks Messias" was even seen as an appropriate subject for a class essay in the 1860s, cf. Richard Hirsch, "Klopstock und die Pädagogen des XVIII. und XIX. Jahrhunderts", in: Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock – Werk und Wirkung, ed. by Hans-Georg Werner, Berlin 1978, pp. 125–142, p. 131.

**9** Briefe von und an Klopstock., ed. by Johann Martin Lappenberg, Braunschweig 1867; Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, Ausgewählte Werke, 6 vols., Stuttgart 1869.

**10** Bruno Meyer, "Die Berliner akademische Ausstellung IV", in: Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst 6. vol., Leipzig 1871, pp. 171–184, p. 181.

11 Cf. note 5.

**12** Letter from the Minister to the Directory and the Senate of the Academy, 29.12.1871; Archiv der Akademie der Künste, PrAkD Nr. 504: Unterstützung von Künstlern und Privatanstalten 1865-1874, p. 133; the project can be followed up on pp. 134 and 141–143.

**13** With a letter dated 6.8.1868 he made a grant application to the Academy, which was already turned down on 7.8. – Archiv der Akademie der Künste. PrAdK Nr. 504: Unterstützung von Künstlern und Privatanstalten 1865-1874, pp. 95-96.

14 Hermann Obrist still worries about the position of young sculptors in 1901: "How can a young sculptor, who with effort has won a municipal commission and must already be looking for the next one while executing it, how can he make time [for something really new]?" (Hermann Obrist, "Neue Möglichkeiten in der bildenden Kunst" [1901], in: H.O., Neue Möglichkeiten in der bildenden Kunst, Jena 1903, pp. 131–168, p. 156).

15 Steiner primarily showed portraits at Academy exhibitions. The 1872 and 1874 catalogue entries are particularly formulated in an advertising way: "Bust of His Excellency von Kirchbach, the Commanding General of the 5th army corps. On high order. After nature. Marble", "Bust of His Excellency Count Moltke, General Field Marshal, Chief of the large General Staff. After nature. Marble" (XLVIII. Ausstellung der Königlichen Akademie der Künste, Berlin 1872, p. 88 [1084 und 1085], cf. XLIX. Ausstellung der Königlichen Akademie der Künste, Berlin 1874, p. 84 [Nr. 1002 und 1003]). The National Gallery in Berlin owns eleven plaster portrait busts by Steiner, dated between 1870 and 1877, see Nationalgalerie Berlin 2006 (note 2), pp. 770–776.

**16** See Kunstchronik 9/1874, col. 420: "Since Steiner's splendid 'Rose Girl' has been turned down for reasons which, seeing the statue, are incomprehensible to me [...]" (Alfred Rosenberg).

**17** Poetae lyrici Graeci, ed. by Theodor Berg, Leipzig 1843. I am grateful to Michel Schroeder, Ortenberg, for this information.

**18** See the entry by Bernhard Maaz about this work in: Nationalgalerie Berlin. Das XIX. Jahrhundert. Bestandskatalog der Skulpturen, ed. by Bernhard Manz, vol. 1, Leipzig 2006, pp. 343 f.

**19** This and the following, if not indicated otherwise, after: Adolf Rosenberg, "Die Bauthätigkeit Berlin", in: Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst 10, 1875, pp. 212–220 and 346–352, p. 346.

**20** Re: the building see Laurenz Demps, Berlin-Wilhelmstraße. Eine Topographie preußisch-deutscher Macht, Berlin 1994, pp. 112–114, and Helmut Engel, "Die Baugeschichte der Wilhelmstraße im 19. Jahrhundert", in: Geschichtsmeile Wilhelmstraße, ed. by Helmut Engel and Wolfgang Ribbe, Berlin 1997, pp. 221–245, pp. 226 f.

21 Adolf Rosenberg, Anton von Werner, Bielefeld/Leipzig 1895, p. 40.

22 Rosenberg 1875 (note 19), pp. 346/347.

**23** Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, PrAdK Nr. 468: Fonds für Kunstzwecke, pp. 131 (No. 28), 139 verso (meeting of the 4.9.1874) and 147 verso (meeting of the 7.9.1874).

**24** Letter from the Senate of the Academy to the "Kgl. Staats- und Minister der geistlichen pp. Angelegenheiten" (Royal State Minister for Spiritual pp. Matters) of the 14.3.1884: PrAdK Nr. 277: Titelverleihung an Künstler 1866–1897, p. 149. Steiner only took part in the exhibitions of 1868, 1870, 1872, 1874, 1880, 1883, 1889, and 1892.

**25** This is how Steiner calls himself in the preface to the 2nd edition of his "Cultur-Geschichte Schlesiens", Berlin 1888 (without page numbers).

**26** About this cycle, in which other sculptors also participated, see the text by Julia Dittrich, in: Nationalgalerie Berlin 2006 (note 2), pp. 772 f.

**27** Anonymous, "Reiterstatue des Generalfeldmarschalls Prinz Friedrich Karl von Preußen", in: Die Gartenlaube 2, 1888, p. 579 (section "Blätter und Blüthen").

**28** Hermann Alexander Müller, Biographisches Künstler-Lexikon der Gegenwart. Die bekanntesten Zeitgenossen auf dem Gesamtgebiet der bildenden Künste aller Länder mit Angaben ihrer Werke, Leipzig 1882, p. 505.

29 Gartenlaube 1888 (note 27).

**30** Letter of the Senate of the Academy 1884 (note 24), p. 149: "[...], following his earlier artistic achievements here, the sculptor Steiner has not, to our knowledge, performed any outstanding teaching, and we can find no cause to recommend awarding him the title of Professor "; letter of the Senate to the same of the 6.6.1888, ibid., p. 169: " [...], that the previous artistic activity of the aforementioned Steiner, as far as it is known to us, gives us no cause to approve his application in one or the other direction."

31 Medical file, p. 4.

**32** From 1891 to 1893 he appeared in Kürschners "Litteratur-Kalender", see Deutscher Litteratur Kalender auf das Jahr 1891, ed. by Joseph Kürschner, 13. year, Stuttgart 1891, col. 876; 1892, col. 1058; 1893, col. 1140.

**33** The content of the work entitled "Verbannt" (banned) is not clear, which is listed in the Litteratur-Kalender for 1883 and hasn't otherwise been traceable until now. As it doesn't have a rider, it may be a novel, a story or a novella. In 1896, Steiner reports to the asylum doctor taking down the minutes "of a novel, he wrote"; he also mentions unpublished writings (?): more poems and "metallurgic things", Medical file, p. 18.

**34** Emil Steiner, Cultur-Geschichte Schlesiens, von einst bis heut geschildert in Bild und Wort, Berlin 1883; 21888; in the preface of the 2nd edition Steiner thanks, "the provincial committee of the Province of Silesia" for the "donation of money" for the book "in the year 1877".

35 In the Litteratur-Kalender the book title has the rider "Lyr. Ep." (epic poem).

**36** Emil Steiner, Atthis, das Rosenmädchen. Sapphische Oden und lesbische Lieder nach dem Griechischen. Mit einer Abbildung. Berlin 1887.

**37** On the 8.10.1887 Steiner writes from Berlin W, Thiergartenstr. 22, to the Academy: "Most devotedly I allow myself to send the enclosed booklet of poems to the highly admired Royal Academy of Fine Arts which are a series about a sculpture the production of which the Higher Senate of the Royal Academy of the Arts has enabled with an extraordinary grant, and which I wrote in the hours of leisure, with the request that they incorporate the same into the Library, for the sake of the included illustration, which I present as small sign of gratitude to this High Senate Institute. With deep respect to the illustrious Royal Academy of Arts submitted by Emil Steiner." (Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, PrAdK Nr. 531: Ankäufe und Schenkungen für die Bibliothek 1886–1890, p. 111).

**38** Hight: 100 cm, plinth: 97 x 74 cm, Inv.Nr. HM 2862, GK III 3741; bought in 1898 at Lepke. I am grateful to Ulrich Feldhahn of the General Administration of the Former Ruling Prussian Royal House for this information.

39 Gartenlaube 1888 (note 27) - with ill. on p. 573.

**40** The rearing horse has only two predecessors in Berlin, in heroic groups by August Kiß (1837) and Albert Wolff (1847–48) on either side of the Altes Museum staircase.

41 Gartenlaube 1888 (note 27).

**42** Stated in the Medical file that Steiner lost his wealth in 1891, Medical file p. 9.

43 Medical file p. 3.

44 Ibid., p. 10.

45 Ibid., pp. 10 f.

46 This and the following after the Medical file pp. 4 ff.

17 Ibid., p. 8.

**48** Ibid. p. 17, entry of the 20.4.1895. April 13th was Steiner's birthday.

49 Ibid., p. 18.

**50** Ibid., p. 17